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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
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**OA/ID Number:** 13689  
**Folder ID Number:** 13689-008

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**Folder Title:**  
Marshall Coleman for Governor Fundraiser 10/4/89 [OA 6269] [3]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>

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Non-prescription  
Drug Taxes

Title  
WI 08/28/89 QB DAILY PRESS/TIMES HERALD

Quote ID#  
435C

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
08/28/89

Type of Quote  
QB

Source  
9/DAILY PRESS/TIMES HERALD

Byline  
134/PAUST, MATTHEW

Subject(s) of Quote  
C070000,B060800,C060200,C051400

↓ Environment   ↓ Non-prescription drugs   ↓ Elderly other   ↓ Teachers

On specific issues, Wilder spoke in generalities. He pledged to support higher pay for teachers and for measures to protect the environment, especially Chesapeake Bay.

He also spoke up for senior citizens.

"Life for elderly citizens should not be doomed; it should be golden," he said, noting his efforts to remove regressive taxes, such as the sales tax on non-prescription medicine.

Title  
WI 01/26/89 QB ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Quote ID#  
1625A

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
01/26/89

Type of Quote  
QB

Source  
37/ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Byline  
8/FISHER, MARGIE

Subject(s) of Quote  
A040100,B060400,B060800,B061000

↓ Platforms   ↓ Food Tax   ↓ Non-prescript. Drugs   ↓ Taxes - other

\*\*\*\*QUESTIONABLE DATE\*\*\*\*

Flanked by his 1985 ticket mates--Gov. Gerald Baliles and Attorney General Mary Sue Terry--Wilder promised Thursday that as governor he would build upon the accomplishments of Baliles and former Gov. Charles Robb, now Virginia's junior U.S. senator.

priorities, which he described as a "Three For Virginia Plan."

His goals, he said, would be to provide permanent tax relief for all Virginians, explaining later that he will press for removal of the sales tax on food and non-prescription drugs.

He also pledged that he "will neither propose nor initiate any new state taxes." But Wilder would not rule out the possibility of signing a tax increase bill if one is passed by the legislature.

Title

WI 01/26/89 QA NEWS VIRGINIAN

Quote ID#

372C

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

01/26/89

Type of Quote

QA

Source

26/NEWS VIRGINIAN

Byline

10/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Subject(s) of Quote

B060800,B060200,A021000

*Non-prescription  
drugs* ↓ *Credits* ↓ *Political  
philosophy*

Wilder's chief cause the past two years has been a repeal of the sales tax on over-the-counter drugs. Baliles' opposition kept the measure from getting anywhere last year.

This year, the governor has not taken a position on the drug tax but said his one-time \$35 sliding scale income tax credit addresses the need for tax relief. Wilder endorsed Baliles' tax credit but said there is enough money to repeal the drug tax for permanent tax relief.

Title

WI 01/27/89 QB WINCHESTER STAR

Quote ID#

357C

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

01/27/89

Type of Quote

QB

Source

50/WINCHESTER STAR

Byline

75/TAYLOR, JOE

A040100,B030400,C040900,B060400,B060800

Platform Economic Development Drugs-Other Food Tax Non-prescription Drug Tax

Wilder unveiled a "Three for Virginia" plan as his campaign theme. The plan includes permanent tax relief and a pledge to neither initiate nor propose new taxes, extensive efforts to combat illegal drugs and drug-related crime, and creating jobs and housing in rural areas.

"I will not be satisfied until the rising tide of Virginia's economic prosperity reaches all corners of the commonwealth," Wilder said.

He said he would act as the state's anti-drug czar and that he hoped the sales tax on food could be repealed soon. He already has said he will push this year to scrap the sales tax on non-prescription drugs.

Title

WI 01/26/89 QB RAPPAHANOK NEWS

Quote ID#

333C

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

01/26/89

Type of Quote

QB

Source

79/RAPPAHANOK NEWS

Byline

116/BLEWITT, MARY K.

Subject(s) of Quote

A020806,A020804,B060400,B060800

Promises Attacks on W Food Tax Non-prescription drugs

As governor, Wilder said he would continue to push for the removal of the sales tax on food and non-prescription drugs, a concept that Gov. Gerald L. Baliles has yet to endorse. "We have non-tax revenue resources to look to," said Wilder, making reference to the lottery and pari-mutuel betting.

But Mr. Wilder's stance on sales tax was characterized as somewhat liquid by GOP House Minority Leader Andy Guest. "Well, he's flopping around again on the deck of Jerry's ship of state," said the Front Royal delegate.

Two weeks ago he told reporters he would not push for the repeal of the sales tax on non-prescription medicines, a potential return of about \$12 to every Virginian, which benefits especially the very poor and fixed income elderly," he said.

Title

WI 01/24/89 QB ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Quote ID#

1277B

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date  
01/24/89

Type of Quote  
QB

Source  
37/ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Byline  
8/FISHER, MARGIE

Subject(s) of Quote  
A021000,B060800

*Political philosophy*  
*Non-prescription drug tax*

It has been estimated that it would mean a tax savings of only about \$15 to average taxpayers. But "it's not symbolic at all," Wilder said, since the annual savings would be extended for many years.

"Not only that, Virginia will be leading the way of those states that are promoting economic growth on sound, reasonable measures rather than on regressive taxes."

The lieutenant governor said he is convinced that the repeal bill will not cost the state anything in the long run because consumers will spend their savings on other taxable goods.

Title  
WI 01/24/89 QB ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Quote ID#  
1276B

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
01/24/89

Type of Quote  
QB

Source  
37/ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Byline  
8/FISHER, MARGIE

Subject(s) of Quote  
B060800,A021000,B060200

*Non-prescription drug tax*  
*Political philosophy*  
*credits*

He said he'd changed his mind about how much effort he would make this session "because I think it's clear that the money is there" to finance the repeal - which, according to estimates, would cost the state less than \$30 million a year in lost revenues.

Alluding to the state's current revenue surplus of more than \$500 million, Wilder said "the opportunity to pass permanent tax relief is here and we need to do that."

Wilder said his decision to get behind Macfarlane's bill "does not in any wise lessen my support" for Baliles' tax-credit plan. There's no contradiction, he said, because "they are two separate entities. One is permanent tax relief and the other is a one-shot... one-year measure."

Title  
WI 01/24/89 AT ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Quote ID#  
1275B

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
01/24/89

Type of Quote  
AT

Source  
37/ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Byline  
8/FISHER, MARGIE

Subject(s) of Quote  
B060200, B060800, A020300, A020700

*Credits* ↓ *Non-prescription* ↓ *Campaign* ↓ *Legislative*  
*Drug tax*      *Strategy*

But two weeks ago, when Baliles outlined a \$100 million tax-relief program that would give a one-time income tax credit to many citizens, Wilder appeared to back off.

He said then that he would testify at committees in support of Baliles' tax-relief plan and would not ask the assembly to also pass the drug-tax repeal legislation at this session.

Wilder's decision to get behind Macfarlane's bill signaled anew that he wants bragging rights on repeal so he can highlight it in his campaign for governor.

\*\* paragraphs skipped \*\*

As for his decision to push for the sales tax repeal, Wilder said Monday that he had "never retreated" from his support of the legislation and will actively work to get Macfarlane's measure approved.

Title  
WI 01/24/89 QA ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Quote ID#  
1274B

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
01/24/89

Type of Quote  
QA

Source  
37/ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Byline  
8/FISHER, MARGIE

Subject(s) of Quote  
B060800, A020700

*non-prescription*  
*Drugs tax*      *legislation*  
Lt. Gov. Douglas Wilder, poised to formally announce as a Democratic candidate for governor on Thursday, said he has changed his mind and will push for repeal of the state's sales tax on non-prescription drugs at this General Assembly session.

The repeal legislation that has Wilder's backing was introduced in the Senate on Monday by Sen. Granger Macfarlane, D-Roanoke.

Wilder had made repeal of the drug tax a pet cause since his 1985 election as Virginia's first black statewide official.

He helped orchestrate its passage in the Senate last year - only to see it defeated in the House Finance Committee after Gov. Gerald Baliles opposed it. Wilder indicated then that he would try again this year.

Title

WI 01/24/89 QA WASHINGTON POST, THE

Quote ID#

1258B

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

01/24/89

Type of Quote

QA

Source

48/WASHINGTON POST, THE

Byline

15/BAKER, DONALD P.

Subject(s) of Quote

A020805, B060200, B060800, A020700

*Flip-Flop*      *credits*      *Non-prescription Drug taxes*      *legislative*  
Virginia Lt. Gov. L. Douglas Wilder, who said just 11 days ago that he would support Gov. Gerald L. Baliles' income tax credit plan and not push for a repeal of sales tax on non-prescription drugs this year, reversed signals today and threw his weight behind the repeal.

\* paragraphs skipped \*

Baliles unveiled his tax credit plan in his State of the Commonwealth speech on Jan. 11, after which Wilder said he would not accept Baliles' decision and not push for the repeal, which many expected would be a key ingredient in his election-year legislative package.

Instead, Wilder said he "whole-heartedly" supports Baliles' plan, in which the governor portrayed the tax credit on next year's income tax as equivalent to sales tax relief. The tax credit was prompted by a wind-fall to the state generated by changes in the tax code.

Title

WI 01/26/89 QA RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Quote ID#

1238B

Candidate

Date  
01/26/89

Type of Quote  
QA

Source  
36/RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Byline  
85/BOOKER, BETTY

Subject(s) of Quote  
B060200, B060800, A020700, B020400

↓ Credits      ↓ Non-prescription Drugs      ↓ legislative      ↓ Budget - other

Baliles linked Wilder's sales tax repeal to the tax credit that the governor proposes as a way of returning a \$100 million tax windfall from the 1986 federal tax reform. Money would be returned to low- and middle-income taxpayers on a sliding scale. Maximum credit would be \$35 per exemption.

Wilder, dependent on the governor's political support, publicly announced his support of Baliles' plan, and vigorously denied that his private reaction, reported by sources, was anger.

\*\* paragraphs skipped \*\*

He said he wants both the tax credit and sales tax repeal because, "I'd like to take what we can get while we can get it."

Sen. J. Granger Macfarlane, D-Roanoke, a staunch backer of many Sen. Eddy Dalton, R-Henrico, that the estimated \$29 million cost of repealing the sales tax is "fiscally responsible" because it comes from "\$791 million of fresh, appropriable cash" in the state surplus and anticipated lottery revenues.

\*\* paragraphs skipped \*\*

He said he also sees the sales tax repeal as a step toward removing the tax on food.

Title  
WI 01/26/89 QB RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Quote ID#  
1237B

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
01/26/89

Type of Quote  
QB

Source  
36/RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Byline  
85/BOOKER, BETTY

Subject(s) of Quote  
B060200, B060800, A021000

↓ credits      ↓ Non-prescription      ↓ legislative

repeal of the sales tax on over-the-counter drugs at the same time he supports the governor's plan to return part of the state surplus to taxpayers in the form of a tax credit.

Wilder, who is set to announce his candidacy for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination today, said his support of Gov. Gerald L. Baliles' one-time tax credit never meant he would not seek a permanent sales tax repeal this session.

"I think it is significant to say that this is the largest single tax relief measure afforded Virginians, not just in recent times, but ever," Wilder said of the tax credit measure.

\* paragraph skipped \*

After Wilder's rare appearance before the committee, two senators announced bipartisan support for removing the sales tax on non-prescription medicine.

Title

WI 02/01/89 QA HERDON HERALD TIMES

Quote ID#

1234A

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

02/01/89

Type of Quote

QA

Source

73/HERDON HERALD TIMES

Byline

113/COFFEY, JEFF

Subject(s) of Quote

B070500, B060800, B060400, A020806

Highway Taxes    Non-prescription Drug taxes    Food Tax    Promises

Wilder's term as lieutenant governor has also included public squabbles with Baliles over tax policy. Most notably, Wilder in 1986 criticized a 0.5 percent sales tax increase successfully pushed by Baliles through a special legislative session to boost transportation funding.

During the current General Assembly session, Wilder is again lobbying to repeal the sales tax on nonprescription drugs, which would cost the state about \$28 million annually and save each resident about \$5 a year.

Wilder has also said that as governor he would remove the sales tax on food. Baliles blocked Wilder's tax plans last year and has not yet endorsed them this year.

Title

WI 01/24/89 QB RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

Quote ID#

1102B

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

01/24/89

Type of Quote  
QB

Source  
35/RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

Byline  
99/MARTZ, MICHAEL

Subject(s) of Quote  
B060900, B060800, A020700

↓ proposals    ↓ Non-prescription drugs tax    ↓ legislative

He said he continues to support the governor's tax refund plan, but he believes enough money is available in this year's budget to allow repeal of the tax on non-prescription drugs.

"I think the opportunity to provide permanent tax relief is here, and I think we ought to take it," Wilder said.

Title  
WI 01/24/89 QA RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

Quote ID#  
1100B

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
01/24/89

Type of Quote  
QA

Source  
35/RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

Byline  
99/MARTZ, MICHAEL

Subject(s) of Quote  
B060800, A020200, A021000, A020805, B060900

Non-prescription ↓ Biographical ↓ Political ↓ Flip- ↓ proposals  
Drugs tax    Philosophy    Flop

Lt. Gov. L. Douglas Wilder has thrown his support behind a Senate bill that would repeal Virginia's sales tax on non-prescription drugs less than two weeks after he bowed to Gov. Gerald L. Baliles' decision not to support the tax's repeal this year.

"I have spoken with the lieutenant governor about my bill, he has encouraged me and I thank him for this encouragement," the bill's sponsor, Sen. J. Granger MacFarlane, D-Roanoke, said yesterday in a speech on the Senate floor.

Wilder, who will declare his Democratic candidacy for governor on Thursday, long had criticized the tax as an unfair burden on the poor and elderly.

He led an unsuccessful effort to repeal the tax last year, but then appeared to take himself out of the fight after Baliles, a fellow Democrat, proposed a tax relief plan that would not repeal the tax.



\*\*\*\*\*SKIPPED PARAGRAPHS\*\*\*\*\*

Last year, Baliles' supporters in the House of Delegates killed the repeal after Wilder successfully steered it through the Senate. A tax repeal measure could fare better in the House this year with all 100 seats up for election.

Baliles unveiled his tax credit plan in his State of the Commonwealth speech on Jan.11, after which Wilder said he would accept Baliles decision and not push for the repeal, which many expected would be a key ingredient in his election-year legislative package.

Instead, Wilder said he "wholeheartedly" supports Baliles' plan, in which the governor portrayed the tax credit on next year's income tax as equivalent to sales tax relief. The tax credit was promoted by a windfall to the state generated by changes in the federal tax codes.

Title

WI 02/02/89 QB SW VIRGINIA ENTERPRISE

Quote ID#

1072B

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

02/02/89

Type of Quote

QB

Source

43/SW VIRGINIA ENTERPRISE

Byline

14/GARLAND, RAY

Subject(s) of Quote

B060900,B060800

↓  
Proposals

↓  
Non-prescription  
Drugs

For several seasons now the lieutenant governor has been going back and forth on removal of the sales tax on non-prescription drugs, which might provide the typical Virginian with sufficient tax relief to order out for pizza. But in calling for outright removal of the state's 4.5 percent sales tax on food we begin to get into a realm of real money: Quite a bit in excess of \$500 million a year, or close to \$100 for every man, woman, and child.

He didn't specify how he would replace the lost revenue, a subject difficult to avoid as time goes by. For one thing, a big share of the revenue loss would come out of the hides of local government.

\*\*\*\*\*SKIPPED PARAGRAPH\*\*\*\*\*

Wilder has seized the simplest, most visible and easily understood issue of the 1989 campaign. Having done so, he will do well to leave it at that and run with it.

Title

WI 01/26/89 QB RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Quote ID#

880A

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

01/26/89

Type of Quote

QB

Source

36/RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Byline

85/BOOKER, BETTY

Subject(s) of Quote

B060800,B060200,A021000

*Non-prescription credits* *Political Philosophy*  
*Drugs*

Wilder, dependent on the governor's political support, publicly announced his support of Baliles' plan, and vigorously denied that his private reaction, reported by sources was anger.

\*\*\*\*SKIPPED PARAGRAPHS\*\*\*\*

Wilder said yesterday that he had not renewed his sales tax appeal effort at the time because he didn't have all the financial information needed to do so.

He said he wants both the tax credit and sales tax repeal because, "I'd like to take what we can get while we can get it."

Title

WI 01/26/89 QB RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Quote ID#

879A

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

01/26/89

Type of Quote

QB

Source

36/RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Byline

85/BOOKER, BETTY

Subject(s) of Quote

B060200,B060800,A040104

*credits* *Non-prescription Drugs* *89 convention*

Lt. Gov. L. Douglas Wilder said yesterday that he'll push for repeal of the sales tax on over-the-counter drugs at the same time he supports the governor's plan to return part of the state surplus to taxpayers in the form of a tax credit.

Wilder, who is set to announce his candidacy for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination today, said his support of Gov. Gerald L. Baliles' one time tax credit never meant he would seek a permanent sales tax repeal this session.

"I think it is significant to say that this is the largest single tax relief measure afforded Virginians, not just in recent times, but ever," Wilder said of the tax credit measure.

Title  
WI 07/04/89 AT RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Abortion

Quote ID#  
1546A

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
07/04/89

Type of Quote  
AT

Source  
36/RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Byline  
31/SHAPIRO, JEFF

Subject(s) of Quote  
C080100,A021000,A020804

↓ Abortion      ↓ Political Philosophy      ↓ Attacks on W

While Coleman welcomed the ruling, Wilder said Coleman's support of a constitutional amendment banning abortion would deny rape and incest victims the chance to end their pregnancies. Such victims account for a small percentage of those seeking abortions in Virginia.

Wilder, however, repeated that he favored "appropriate limitations" on abortions, such as parental consent for minors - an idea that he opposed in 1978, but embraced seven years later when he was running for lieutenant governor.

Coleman, a former attorney general, later accused Wilder of trying to "demagogue" the abortion issue and divert attention from his shift on the matter.

Title  
WI 07/17/89 QB VIRGINIA-PILOT

Quote ID#  
410C

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
07/17/89

Type of Quote  
QB

Source  
47/VIRGINIA-PILOT

Byline  
98/FISKE, WARREN

Subject(s) of Quote  
C080100,A020807

↓ Abortion      ↓ Vulnerability

"I've got two words for you: 'pro-choice,'" Mary Allen of  
Jonesville told the candidate. Wilder said he would vote any abortion

consent when unmarried teenagers seek abortions. Abortion has emerged as a key issue in recent weeks, with Coleman supporting further restrictions on the procedure and Wilder opposing them.

Title  
WI 07/11/89 QA DAILY PRESS/TIMES HERALD

Quote ID#  
1316B

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
07/11/89

Type of Quote  
QA

Source  
9/DAILY PRESS/TIMES HERALD

Subject(s) of Quote  
C080100,A021000  
↓ Abortion      ↓ political philosophy

There are more, as though is not tougher, and the Supreme Court is telling us that the answers are to found in state legislatures and gubernatorial contests. In Virginia, Republican Marshall Coleman and Democrat Douglas Wilder stand at almost opposite ends of the abortion spectrum. Coleman opposes abortion except when the woman's life is in danger. Wilder believes a woman's decision on whether to have an abortion should not be encumbered by government.

Title  
WI 07/16/89 QA BRISTOL HERALD-COURIER

Quote ID#  
360C

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
07/16/89

Type of Quote  
QA

Source  
5/BRISTOL HERALD-COURIER

Byline  
10/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Subject(s) of Quote  
C080100,C080600,A020804,A021000  
↓ Abortion      ↓ Family, other      ↓ attacks on W      ↓ Political Philosophy

Both candidates said they support parental consent before a minor can receive an abortion, but that was their only point of agreement on the abortion issue.

Wilder has said he supports abortion in cases of rape, incest, fetal abnormality or when the mother's life is in danger. Coleman accused Wilder of not making his position clear, saying the Democrat has issued three different statements on the subject since the U.S. Supreme Court earlier this month gave states broader authority to regulate abortion.

Title

WI 07/08/89 QB DANVILLE REGISTER, THE

Quote ID#

1230A

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

07/08/89

Type of Quote

QB

Source

11/DANVILLE REGISTER, THE

Byline

14/GARLAND, RAY

Subject(s) of Quote

C080100,A021000,A020300

↓ Abortion      Political Philosophy      ↓ Campaign Strategy

Nor did the Democratic candidate for governor, L. Douglas Wilder, seem anxious to make the great divide on abortion a focal point of the fall campaign. In a prepared statement, Wilder was careful to dole out the acceptable minimum of comfort for advocates of abortion rights, but he added, "a need exists for appropriate limitations on abortions." He was not at pains to spell out this "need" beyond endorsing a state law requiring parental involvement in the decision of a girl under 18 to have an abortion.

Title

WI 07/18/89 AT FREDRICKSBURG FREE-LANCE STAR, THE

Quote ID#

1224A

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

07/18/89

Type of Quote

AT

Source

61/FREDRICKSBURG FREE-LANCE STAR, THE

Byline

79/RAFSHOON, SCOTT

Subject(s) of Quote

↓ Abortion Political Philosophy

On the day the decision was announced, Wilder outlined his views on abortion, saying he supports it when a woman's life is in danger and in cases of rape, incest, and fetal abnormality. He said he does not support a constitutional amendment.

But within a week he said he might support restrictions beyond parental notification and consent, two areas where both of the candidates are in agreement. Then he backed off from that.

Title

WI 07/07/89 QA WASHINGTON TIMES, THE

Quote ID#

1220A

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

07/07/89

Type of Quote

QA

Source

49/WASHINGTON TIMES, THE

Subject(s) of Quote

C080100,A020804,C140200

In Virginia, pro-choice advocates say Democratic gubernatorial nominee L. Douglas Wilder's support for legal abortion has been equivocal; for example, he opposes public funding for abortion in most cases. Mr. Wilder faces Republican J. Marshall Coleman, who opposes legalized abortion.

"It seems to me that if Doug Wilder's going to win he has got to be much stronger on the issues of women's reproductive rights," said Ms. Yard. "I think he's been scared by it. Nobody wins by being scared."

Title

WI 06/29/89 QB RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

Quote ID#

1172B

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

06/29/89

Type of Quote

QB

Source

35/RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

Byline

3/WHTTLEY TYLER

Subject(s) of Quote  
C080100,A020700,A021000

↓                      ↓ Legislative                      ↓  
Abortion                      Background                      Political Philosophy

On the matter of abortions, Wilder has said he would enforce "the law of the land." As a member of the Virginia Senate, he voted in 1972 to make it a misdemeanor to encourage or assist someone in getting an abortion. Three times since then, however, he voted for proposals to make Medicaid money available to pay for abortions.

Coleman acknowledges he has changed his position on abortions. He defended state-financed abortions in 1981.

Title  
WI 07/10/89 QB UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

Quote ID#  
762A

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
07/10/89

Type of Quote  
QB

Source  
58/UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

Byline  
66/CLICK, CAROLYN

Subject(s) of Quote  
C080100

↓  
Abortion

Wilder, after releasing a tepid statement on his abortion stand shortly after the Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services decision was released, issued a more definitive statement late last week that placed him squarely in the pro-choice camp.

Wilder, who does favor requiring minors to have parental permission before undergoing an abortion, said he has received mainly favorable comments on his position.

"It's a terrible emotional issue," he said. "It tears people apart on both sides. I just can't imagine government saying to a woman who is raped that you must carry that child."

He said Coleman's tough stance would "create a whole new category of criminal" because doctors could be prosecuted for carrying out abortions.

Title  
WI 05/03/85 QB WILDER CAMPAIGN LITERATURE

Quote ID#  
596A

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date

Type of Quote

QB

Source

56/WILDER CAMPAIGN LITERATURE

Byline

44/WILDER, L. DOUGLAS

Subject(s) of Quote

B030800,C080100,C070000

Job Programs      ↓      Abortion      ↓      Environment

\*\*\*QUESTIONABLE DATE\*\*\*

46. INVESTMENT INCENTIVES FOR JOB CREATION.

I support it. So does Mr. Durette.

47. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION.

I support it. So does Mr. Durette.

48. ABORTION.

I support the right of a woman to get quality medical care and to choose to have an abortion. For instance, I believe the family of a twelve year old girl, who has been raped and is carrying a deformed fetus should have the right to choose. Mr. Durette's present position is that he would only allow an abortion when necessary to save the life of the mother.

49. METRO COMPACT.

I support it. Mr. Durette used to support it. I don't know his present position.

Title

WI 10/08/85 QB ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Quote ID#

496B

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

10/08/85

Type of Quote

QB

Source

37/ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Byline

1/YANCEY, DWAYNE

Subject(s) of Quote

C080100

↓  
Abortion

But the subject that brought the most response from the crowd was abortion. The candidates were asked where they stood on a parental-consent abortion bill that failed in the General Assembly last session.

Wilder said he was against it and noted that being somewhat physically different, I won't ever have to be confronted with the question." With that, the students interrupted him with loud cheers.

"There are those who say this girl has no say-so in it at all" whether to get an abortion, Wilder said. "I have strong reservations about foisting my will on those persons directly affected."

Title

WI 10/08/85 QA ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Quote ID#

491B

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

10/08/85

Type of Quote

QA

Source

37/ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Byline

1/YANCEY, DWAYNE

Subject(s) of Quote

A040410,C080100

'85 election      abortion

On the shaded, sedate campus of a private school in Richmond's exclusive West End, Douglas Wilder was unexpectedly greeted Monday with teen-age squeals fit for a pop idol.

In a rare joint appearance, the two candidates for lieutenant governor went into the heart of Richmond's white conservative suburbs to St. Catherine's, an Episcopal girls' school.

Yet it was Democrat Wilder, the first black to make a major bid for statewide office since Reconstruction, who clearly was the star with the chapel full of 300 preppy Madonna look-alikes.

They gave Republican John Chichester a warm reception but cheered loudly for Wilder and interrupted him several times with applause. In a class discussion afterwards, the girls took up an hour mostly praising Wilder for his direct answers to their questions and criticizing Chichester for his attacks on Wilder and his support of a parental-consent abortion bill.

Title

WI 11/01/85 QA RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

Quote ID#

203A

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

11/01/85

Type of Quote

QA

Source  
35/RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

Byline  
39/WASSON, BILL

Subject(s) of Quote  
C080100,A020700,C010000

↓ Abortion      ↓ legislative      ↓ Aid to poor

Wilder supported an amended version of the bill that would have kept juvenile judges out of the abortion issue.

Had the amended bill become law, it would have no practical effect on whether a minor could have an abortion without a parent's permission.  
\*\*\*\*SKIPPED PARAGRAPHS\*\*\*\*

In 1982, Wilder supported legislation to allow the use of state money to pay for abortions for the poor in cases in which pregnancy was the result of rape or incest.

He also supported a companion bill permitting the use of state money for abortions in cases in which continuation of the pregnancy would result in the birth of a child suffering from a severe defect jor gross deformity.

Title  
WI 10/08/85 QA RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

Quote ID#  
424B

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
10/08/85

Type of Quote  
QA

Source  
35/RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

Byline  
39/WASSON, BILL

Subject(s) of Quote  
C080100,A020807

↓ Abortion      ↓ ~~legislation~~ vulnerability

It was Wilder's statements on abortion that elicited the greatest applause from the virtually all-female audience.

Wilder said that because he is never going to have an abortion, he has "strong reservations about foisting my will on someone directly" affected.

He said current abortion law was established by the U.S. Supreme Court and added that he supports it.

Title  
WI 07/06/89 QA RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Quote ID#

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
07/06/89

Type of Quote  
QA

Source  
36/RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Byline  
31/SHAPIRO, JEFF

Subject(s) of Quote  
C080100,A020700,A020804

↓ Abortion      ↓ legislative      ↓ Attacks on W

In 1985, when he was running for lieutenant governor, he backed a consent bill that he voted against in the state Senate in 1978.

"It's called the politics of disguise," said Dennis Peterson, campaign manager for Republican nominee Marshall Coleman. "That's how a liberal Democrat gets elected in a conservative state--by fuzzing it."

Title  
WI 07/06/89 QB RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Quote ID#  
419B

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
07/06/89

Type of Quote  
QB

Source  
36/RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Byline  
31/SHAPIRO, JEFF

Subject(s) of Quote  
C080100

↓ Abortion

Speaking to reporters after remarks to the national convention of the American Council of the Blind at the Richmond Marriott, Wilder said he may refuse to sign into law restrictions on abortion if they lack "balance."

He said he favors abortion in cases of rape, incest, fetal deformity or to save a woman's life. "I don't think that abortion for purposes of birth control should be available. My God, none of us would be here," he said.

Title

Quote ID#

4188

Candidate

WILDER, DOUG

Date

07/06/89

Type of Quote

QA

Source

36/RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Byline

31/SHAPIRO, JEFF

Subject(s) of Quote

C080100,A020700

Abortion      Legislature

Lt. Gov. L. Douglas Wilder, the Democratic nominee for governor, said yesterday that he may support restrictions on abortion beyond a proposal requiring teen-age girls to get their parents' permission.

Wilder, a relatively recent convert on parental consent legislation, refused to say whether he would veto limitations on first-trimester abortions.

Title  
WI 03/12/85 QB RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

Quote ID#  
17C

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
03/12/85

Type of Quote  
QB

Source  
35/RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

Subject(s) of Quote  
C080100

↓  
Abortion

\*\*\*This is not from original article\*\*\*

"Wilder...said he favors giving women a choice whether to have an abortion." Some republicans said that adoptions and the concern of the community would take up the slack, Wilder disagreed. Wilder stated, "No one wants these children..." "No one is coming along to adopt them..."

Title  
WI 07/06/89 QA ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Quote ID#  
1358B

Candidate  
WILDER, DOUG

Date  
07/06/89

Type of Quote  
QA

Source  
37/ROANOKE TIMES AND WORLD NEWS

Byline  
8/FISHER, MARGIE

Subject(s) of Quote  
C080100,A021000,A020804

↓ Abortion      ↓ Political Philosophy      ↓ Attacks on Wilder

Coleman also noted that in 1985 Wilder criticized efforts to substitute adoption for abortion by "contending it was necessary to abort the babies because no one would want them. With more than 2 million parents seeking to adopt these children, Mr. Wilder reflects either an embarrassing lack of knowledge or shocking insensitivity."

The GOP candidate said Wilder is trying to divert the debate "to a discussion of the less than 2 percent of abortion cases involving rape or incest. He would prefer not to discuss the remaining 98 percent of cases in which unborn babies are destroyed for reasons of convenience - abortions which Mr. Wilder believes should remain legal and acceptable."

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THE  
Jeffersonian Cyclopaedia

A COMPREHENSIVE COLLECTION OF THE  
VIEWS OF

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Classified and Arranged in Alphabetical Order  
Under Nine Thousand Titles

RELATING TO GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, LAW,  
EDUCATION, POLITICAL ECONOMY, FINANCE,  
SCIENCE, ART, LITERATURE, RELIGIOUS  
FREEDOM, MORALS, ETC.

EDITED BY

JOHN P. FOLEY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

JULIAN P. BOYD

VOLUME TWO

"I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against  
every form of tyranny over the mind of man."—*Thomas Jefferson*

NEW YORK / RUSSELL & RUSSELL

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those people, who, in order to obtain justice for injuries, however great or small, must, by the laws of that Colony, attend their county court, at such a distance, with all their witnesses, monthly, till their litigation be determined?—RIGHTS OF BRITISH AMERICA. i, 136. FORD ED., i, 441. (1774.)

**8832. VIRGINIA, Love for.**—My native State is endeared to me by every tie which can attach the human heart.—R. TO A. VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY. vii, 148. (1809.)

**8833. VIRGINIA, Political opposition in.**—Better that any one [of the other States] take the lead [against consolidation] than Virginia, where opposition is considered as commonplace, and a mere matter of form and habit.—To C. W. GOOCH. vii, 430. (M., 1826.)

**8834. VIRGINIA CONSTITUTION, Amendments to.**—That it is really important to provide a constitution for our State cannot be doubted; as little can it be doubted that the ordinance called by that name has important defects. But before we attempt it, we should endeavor to be as certain as is practicable that in the attempt we should not make bad worse. I have understood that Mr. Henry has always been opposed to this undertaking; and I confess that I consider his talents and influence such as that, were it decided that we should call a convention for the purpose of amending, I should fear he might induce that convention either to fix the thing as at present, or change it for the worse. Would it not, therefore, be well that means should be adopted for coming at his ideas of the changes he would agree to, and for communicating to him those which we should propose? Perhaps he might find ours not so distant from his, but that some mutual sacrifices might bring them together. I shall hazard my own ideas to you as hastily as my business obliges me. I wish to preserve the line drawn by the Federal Constitution between the General and particular governments as it stands at present, and to take every prudent means of preventing either from stepping over it. Though the experiment has not yet had a long enough course to show us from which quarter encroachments are most to be feared, yet it is easy to foresee, from the nature of things, that the encroachments of the State governments will tend to an excess of liberty which will correct itself (as in the late instance), while those of the General Government will tend to monarchy, which will fortify itself from day to day, instead of working its own cure, as all experience shows. I would rather be exposed to the inconveniences attending too much liberty than those attending too small a degree of it. Then it is important to strengthen the State governments; and as this cannot be done by any change in the Federal Constitution (for the preservation of that is all we need contend for), it must be done by the States themselves, erecting such barriers at the constitutional line as cannot be surmounted either by themselves or by the General Government. The only barrier in their power is a wise government. A weak one will lose ground in every contest. To obtain a wise and an able

government, I consider the following changes as important. Render the Legislature a desirable station by lessening the number of representatives (say to 100) and lengthening somewhat their term, and proportion them equally among the electors; adopt, also, a better mode of appointing senators. Render the Executive a more desirable post to men of abilities by making it more independent of the Legislature; to wit, let him be chosen by other electors, for a longer time, and ineligible forever after. Responsibility is a tremendous engine in a free government. Let him feel the whole weight of it then, by taking away the shelter of his executive council. Experience both ways has already established the superiority of this measure. Render the Judiciary respectable by every possible means, to wit, firm tenure in office, competent salaries, and reduction of their numbers. Men of high learning and abilities are few in every country; and by taking in those who are not so, the able part of the body have their hands tied by the unable. This branch of the government will have the weight of the conflict on their hands, because they will be the last appeal of reason. These are my general ideas of amendments; but, preserving the ends, I should be flexible and conciliatory as to the means.—To ARCHIBALD STUART. iii, 314. FORD ED., v, 408. (Pa., Dec. 1791.)

**8835. VIRGINIA CONSTITUTION, Bill of rights.**—The fact is unquestionable that the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution of Virginia, were originally drawn by George Mason, one of our really great men, and of the first order of greatness.—To AUGUSTUS B. WOODWARD. vii, 405. FORD ED., x, 341. (M., 1825.)

**8836. VIRGINIA CONSTITUTION, Equal rights and.**—The basis of our [Virginia] Constitution is in opposition to the principle of equal political rights, refusing to all but freeholders any participation in the natural right of self-government. It is believed, for example, that a very great majority of the militia, on whom the burthen of military duty was imposed in the late war, were unrepresented in the legislature, which imposed this burthen on them. However nature may by mental or physical disqualifications have marked infants and the weaker sex for the protection, rather than the direction of government, yet among the men who either pay or fight for their country, no line of right can be drawn. The exclusion of a majority of our freemen from the right of representation is merely arbitrary, and an usurpation of the minority over the majority; for it is believed that the non-freeholders compose the majority of our free and adult male citizens. And even among our citizens who participate in the representative privilege, the equality of political right is entirely prostrated by our constitution. Upon which principle of right or reason can any one justify the giving to every citizen of Warwick as much weight in the government as to

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 3, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:           CHRISS WINSTON *aw*  
FROM:               CURT SMITH *CS*  
SUBJECT:            REMARKS FOR THE MARSHALL COLEMAN FUNDRAISER

I.    SUMMARY

On Wednesday October 4, at 7:00 p.m. you will address a Marshall Coleman fundraising dinner for about 200 people at the Westfield Conference Center in Chantilly, Virginia.

II.   DISCUSSION

The attached remarks focus on Marshall Coleman's record and the attributes that distinguish his candidacy. The speech also notes some of the Education Summit accomplishments and goals.

Note: On page one in the first paragraph, Joe Benedetti's name is bracketed. Because his wife died on Sunday he may not be able to attend. Also, the Congressmen mentioned may be late due to an evening vote.

(Smith/Blessey)  
Draft Four  
October 3, 1989  
VIRGINIA

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COLEMAN FUNDRAISER  
CHANTILLY, VIRGINIA  
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1989  
7:00 P.M.

Senator Warner. Congressmen Bliley, Wolfe, Parris, Slaughter, Senator Tribble and other superb Virginia Republican leaders. Congressmen Coble, Dornan, Danenmeyer, Bilirakis, Bartlett, Sunquist, and DeLay. Pat Robertson. Members of the Redskins. Co-Chairmen Wheat and Smith. And, of course, our magnificent Republican ticket -- Marshall Coleman, Eddy Dalton [and Joe Benedetti].

Gordon [Smith], thank you for that kind introduction. And let me say that as always, I am delighted I am to be in one of America's most historic States. The Commonwealth of conscience and common sense. The Mother of Presidents. And if I could add this personal note: Virginia was a good friend to me in 1988 -- and I thank you for it.

Tonight, of course, we are here to salute another friend -- a good and long-time friend. His name is Marshall Coleman. // And he will be the kind of Governor the people of this great and good State deserve.

You know, that great 19th-Century observer of democracy, Alexis de Toqueville, once asked a local politician to define the role of Governor. And he received this answer: "The Governor

counts for absolutely nothing and is paid only twelve hundred dollars." ////

Well, you still can't built<sup>d</sup> an estate off a public salary. Nor should you -- for public office must be a public trust. But let me assure you: Today, the office of Governor counts for a great deal indeed. And let me say further: On November 7, a bright new day begins for the Old Dominion. // The election of Marshall Coleman as Governor.

It will be a bright day because this election is among the most crucial in America. And Virginia's decision will send a clarion call to every corner of America.

Thirty-four days from now, Virginia will decide whether it favors a man of principle. And whether it is serious about fighting a war on crime and drugs.

Thirty-four days from now, Virginia will decide whether it prefers fiscal sanity. Or whether the State House is captured by the "Tax and spend" policies of trial and error -- and error again.

Well, I know Virginia. And I know your slogan is: Virginia is for lovers. That is why tonight, I make this prediction: Next month, America is going to love what Virginia does. //

Thirty-four days from now, Virginia is going to elect a Republican Governor -- it's going to elect Marshall Coleman -- who will be a watchdog for good government in Richmond. As will his two great running mates -- State Senator Eddy Dalton, as lieutenant governor. And State Senator Joe Benedetti, as

attorney general. Together, they will protect the family values that have made America and Virginia great. And I'm here to help them do just that. //

Those values, of course, are up to **each** of us to uphold. But the Governor of Virginia -- of **any** State -- has a special role, and responsibility. For leadership in America is not merely, or even mostly, a Federal province. Increasingly, it reflects what Governors do from Concord to Carson City.

In that spirit, a week ago at the University of Virginia I convened an unprecedented event -- this Nation's first Education Summit. Where, as always, the Old Dominion was a gracious host. And where America's Governors, each Cabinet official, and I gathered to **talk. Think. And exchange ideas.**

We talked of how to boost teacher recruitment and retention. And increase the choices for parents and students. Of how best to coordinate the role of Federal, State, and local governments. And instill a drug-free and crime-free environment in our schools.

In short, we talked about how to spur educational reform. And return power to the people. For the truth is that our education system is not making the grade. It is time for change -- perhaps radical change -- to find new ways to improve education performance. For education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become.

The next Governor of the State of Virginia must help ensure that legacy -- acting in tandem with the President, the Congress,

and county and local officials, up and down the line. And that's why we need Marshall Coleman as Governor. For he understands the role of a Governor in uplifting education. And in combating such ills as illiteracy, drug abuse, and crime. And he understands Virginia. And its people. And he mirrors their values. And with your help, he will get the chance to put those values to the full advantage of each Virginian. We need Marshall Coleman in the State House. //

You know, it has been said that Virginia combines the best attributes one seeks in a State. Well, Marshall Coleman combines the best attributes one seeks in a Governor. And we need him in Richmond. //

He is, to begin, an experienced man. Marine. A Delegate and State Senator. Prosecutor and Attorney General. He's been on the firing line working to put criminals where they belong. And he has long advocated stiffer penalties for violent criminals, greater certainty in sentencing, and an end to easy parole and early release.

Then, Marshall Coleman is a no-nonsense man. Announcing perhaps the most comprehensive plan for fighting drugs by any candidate in any State. Unlike his opponent, he wants stiff mandatory sentences for drug distribution offenses. And the end of parole that lets hardened drug dealers prey on society. He knows that currently in Virginia, a 20-year sentence for drug dealing can mean as little as 3 and 1/2 years in actual time

served. Marshall Coleman wants to make 20 years mean 20 years.  
[PAUSE] You might call it his 20/20 vision.

I mentioned attributes. Marshall Coleman is also a man of good sense when it comes to the community wallet. He opposed the five major tax increases passed by his opponent's Administration. And he's pledged **not** to raise taxes as Governor. Finally, Marshall Coleman is a man of **compassion**. Reaching out to all Virginians -- to Black and other minority voters -- to help Virginia reach out to the future.

Four months ago, I addressed a Republican gathering in Richmond. And talked of how "every American, from Maine to Texas, looks to Virginia as a cradle of democracy."

Marshall knows that. He was a Virginian even in the cradle. He knows Virginia -- from the Chesapeake Bay to the Blue Ridge Parkway, from Monticello to Mount Vernon. And its beauty -- from Chincoteague to the Shenandoahs.

Most of all, he knows **Virginians** -- that unique blend of civility, respect for tradition, and faith in God that led John Adams to observe, "We all look to Virginia for examples."

Fellow Republicans, on November 7 America will again look to Virginia for examples. And it will find one in Marshall Coleman. For in a State whose people have been called "the quintessential Americans," he is a quintessential Virginian.

So let us help him. And his two great running mates. So that on Election Day, Virginia will vote for conviction and

common sense. And elect a ticket of whom we can say: Its leadership is worthy of her people.

Barbara and I thank you for what you have done to help Marshall Coleman tonight. God bless you, God bless America, and let's make Marshall Coleman the next Governor of Virginia.

# # # #

9/19/89

Coleman Fundraiser

\$25,000

McLeak night  
Hilton

Dennis Peterson (P.S.)  
COUD 358 - 1989

Main issues

War on drugs  
Law order - crime issues

~~the~~ opp. - soft on crime

Capital punishment

Wilder claims he's for it. But has  
consistently voted against it.

Col. - no taxes

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Good strike in N.H. Good  
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9/25/89 ~~Bill S. 1000~~ Levin

100 copies

bet. dinner (?) aft. reception

Westfield Conference Center

Charlottesville, VA

Acknowledgments Set by Davis  
Fin. Dir. for Campaign - in charge of event

Pot Robertson

4 Redskins players

{ Jeff Bostic  
Terry Orr  
Don Warren  
Jim Lockney } Subba Iger  
← head trainer

Congressmen

Frank Wolfe

Stan Barris

French Slaughter

Don Singmaster (TN)

Bob Dornan

Bill Dannenbeyer

Steve Bartel (TX)

Tom DeLoach

Jim Leach  
co-chair of 4/2/84

Lt. Gov. Eddy Walton (she)

Joe Benedetti - wife died

(Smith/Blessey)

Draft Three

September 27, 1989

VIRGINIA

← may or may not

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COLEMAN FUNDRAISER

Chantilly McLEAN, VIRGINIA

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1989

7:00 P.M.

{ Paul Tribble } possibly  
{ Don Huffman } cop chairman

Senator Warner, Congressman Biley, Other outstanding

members of the Virginia Congressional Delegation -- Mr. \_\_\_\_\_

and other great Virginia Republican leaders.

Gordon Smith → Bush → Coleman

((Let me say that when I first heard that I was invited to a dinner that cost \$25,000 a plate, I thought I was eating with

Malcolm Forbes.)) ((PAUSE))

((But then I got the word. Found out you were paying \$25,000 a plate not to see me eat -- but to hear me speak. And I was sort of flattered. Until Barbara put things in perspective. "Just think," she said, "how much they'd pay if you promised not to speak.)) ((PAUSE))

Well, I do promise not to speak too long tonight. After all, your plate is waiting. But let me take a few moments to say how delighted I am to be in America's most historic State. The Commonwealth of conscience and common sense. The Mother of Presidents. And if I could add this personal note: Virginia was a good friend to me in 1988 -- and I thank you for it.

But tonight, I want to speak about a good and long-time friend. Like this Commonwealth, our friend is a man of promise and principle. And on November 7, the election of Marshall

Handwritten notes and signatures on the right margin, including "P" and "R" marks.

*America the  
Quest*

Coleman as Governor will be a bright new day for the Old Dominion.

*Sally* It will be a bright day because this election is among the most crucial in America. And what Virginia decides will send a clarion call to every corner of America.

Virginia will decide whether it favors a man of principle. Or whether it wants a man whose positions shift according to the public opinion polls.

*Copy  
of  
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Virginia will decide whether it prefers fiscal sanity -- or the "Tax and spend" policies of trial and error -- and error again.

And, finally, Virginia will decide whether it is serious about fighting a war on crime and drugs. Or whether the Statehouse is captured by liberal policies which blame everyone but the criminal.

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P*

Well, I know Virginia. And I know your slogan is: Virginia is for lovers. Well, tonight, I make this prediction: Next month, America is going to love what Virginia does.

*Idolism*

Thirty-four days from now, Virginia is going to elect a Republican Governor -- it's going to elect Marshall Coleman -- who will be a watchdog for good government in Richmond. As will his two great running mates -- Eddy Dalton, as lieutenant governor. And State Senator Joe Benedetti, as attorney general. Together, protecting the family values that have made America and Virginia great.

Thirty-four days from now, Virginia is going to endorse the policies of Main Street -- and reject those who take a turn off that street -- a left turn.

And on November 7, Virginia is going to tell the National Democratic Party and all America: "If there's one thing Virginia can do without, its 'Wilder' spending."

Now, Marshall Coleman's opponent is a decent man. A well-intentioned man. He just doesn't realize that the Old Dominion State doesn't need old ideas.

On the one hand, Doug Wilder taxes. On the other hand, he spends. He'd like to do more -- but he's only got two hands.

Then we come to the area of crime, drugs, and punishment. Doug Wilder is going to show how voters can be hard on politicians who are soft on crime. [PAUSE]

In 1977, when the Virginia Legislature added the killing of policemen to those crimes subject to the death penalty, only one State Senator voted against it. Marshall Coleman's opponent.

That same year, only two State Senators voted against legislation restoring capital punishment to Virginia. Who was it? That's right. Marshall Coleman's opponent.

This man voted against denying parole to twice-convicted felons. And against repealing the law requiring early parole of prisoners left to serve. He voted against imposing a minimum 10-year sentence without parole for twice-convicted armed robbers. And -- incredibly -- he was the only legislator against imposing mandatory sentences under the habitual offender law.

In recent years, Doug Wilder has tried to appear a mainstream Democrat -- and he might be in the mainstream [PAUSE] . . . if Brookline and Berkeley were America. But the non-partisan Virginia Fraternal Order of Police, among others, isn't buying it.

In 1985, the Virginia FOP endorsed Wilder for Lieutenant Governor. Well, no more. Last week it issued the following statement: "Four years ago, Doug Wilder did not tell us the truth about his weak law enforcement record.

"We would not have knowingly supported someone with such a philosophy four years ago, and we will not do so this year. The issue is trust, and the record shows that Marshall Coleman has earned the trust and the support of police officers. Douglas Wilder misled us, and he has forfeited that trust."

Those are devastating words. About a devastatingly bad record. Instead, this Commonwealth deserves a Governor who understands its people. And mirrors their values. And with your help, it's going to get him.

You know, the writer      once said, "Virginia combines the best attributes one seeks in a State." Well, Marshall Coleman combines the best attributes one seeks in a Governor.

He is, to begin, an experienced man. Marine. A Delegate and State Senator. Prosecutor and Attorney General. He's been on the firing line working to put criminals where they belong. And he has long advocated stiffer penalties for violent

criminals, greater certainty in sentencing, and an end to easy parole and early release.

Then, Marshall Coleman is a no-nonsense man. Announcing perhaps the most comprehensive plan for fighting drugs by any candidate in any State. Unlike his opponent, he wants stiff mandatory sentences for drug distribution offenses. And the end of parole that lets hardened drug dealers prey on society. He knows that currently in Virginia, a 20-year sentence for drug dealing can mean as little as 3 and 1/2 years in actual time served. Marshall Coleman wants to make 20 years mean 20 years. [PAUSE] You might call his 20/20 vision.

I mentioned attributes. Marshall Coleman is also a man of fiscal accountability. He opposed the five major tax increases passed by his opponent's Administration. And he's pledged not to raise taxes as Governor. And of this you can be sure: Unlike his opponent, he would never appoint as chief issues advisor a lawyer for the Virginia ACLU.

Finally, Marshall Coleman is a man of compassion. Reaching out to all Virginians -- to Black and other minority voters -- to help Virginia reach out to the future.

Four months ago, I addressed a Republican gathering in Richmond. And talked of how "every American, from Maine to Texas, looks to Virginia as a cradle of democracy."

Marshall knows that. He was a Virginian even in the cradle. He knows Virginia -- from the Piedmont to the Blue Ridge Parkway,

Handwritten signature or initials, possibly "F. H. ...".

from Monticello to Mount Vernon. And its beauty -- from the rivers of the Tidewater to the Shenandoah hills.

Most of all, he knows Virginians -- that unique blend of civility, respect for tradition, and faith in God that led John Adams to observe, "We all look to Virginia for examples."

Fellow Republicans, on November 7 America will again look to Virginia for examples. And it will find one in Marshall Coleman. For in a State whose people have been called "the quintessential Americans," he is a quintessential Virginian.

So let us help him. And his two great running mates. So that on Election Day, Virginia will vote for conviction and common sense. And elect a ticket of whom we can say: Its leadership is worthy of her people.

God bless you, God bless America, and let's make Marshall Coleman the next Governor of Virginia.

# # # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH  
FOR  
CHANTILLY, VIRGINIA  
OCTOBER 4, 1989

EVENTS:

Staff Photo  
Marshall Coleman for Governor Fundraising Dinner

DRESS:

Men - Black Tie  
Women - Long Dress

CONTACT:

Office of Presidential Advance  
John G. Keller, Jr. - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator  
Kristin Goodwin - 202/456-7565

ADVANCE:

Leo Tomeu - LEAD  
Kelly Gannon - PRESS  
Buddy Burns - USSS  
John Thompson - WHCA  
David Bonwit - MIL. AIDE

WEATHER:

Partly Cloudy/Mid 60's

**BLACK  
TIE**

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

CHANTILLY, VIRGINIA

OCTOBER 4, 1989

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

5:30 pm Guests and Staff manifested aboard Nighthawk II and Nighthawk III board vans and depart West Basement en route Pentagon Landing Zone.

6:00 pm Nighthawk III departs Pentagon Landing Zone en route Chantilly, Virginia.

6:10 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart White House en route Westfields Landing Zone, Chantilly, Virginia.

HELICOPTER ASSIGNMENTS:

Marine One

THE PRESIDENT  
Mrs. Bush  
A. Card  
M. Fitzwater  
T. McBride  
L. Atwater  
Doctor  
Mil. Aide  
2 USSS

Nighthawk II (from Pentagon LZ)

J. Swift  
D. Valdez  
B. Kilberg  
J. Wray

WHCA T/O  
Medic  
7 USSS

Nighthawk III (from Pentagon LZ)

J. Allison  
Official Photographer  
1 WHCA/AV  
2 WHVD  
1 USSS  
15 Press

(Flying Time: 15 Minutes)

6:25 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Westfields Landing Zone, Chantilly, Virginia and proceed to Motorcade.

6:30 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Motorcade and depart Westfields Landing Zone en route Westfields Conference Center, Chantilly, Virginia.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead	L. Tomeu
Spare	T. McBride Doctor
LIMO	THE PRESIDENT Mrs. Bush
Follow Up	
Control	A. Card Gen. Scowcroft Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater J. Swift Official Photographer Medic

Staff I	L. Atwater B. Kilberg J. Wray
Press Van I	J. Allison
Press Van II	K. Gannon

(Drive Time: 2 Minutes)

6:32 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Westfields Conference Center and proceed to Dominion Room I.

Met By:

The Honorable John Warner  
U.S. Senator  
State of Virginia

The Honorable Tom Bliley  
U.S. Representative  
State of Virginia

The Honorable Frank Wolf  
U.S. Representative  
State of Virginia

The Reverend Pat Robertson  
Chairman of the Board and CEO  
Christian Broadcasting Network

The Honorable J. Marshall Coleman  
Virginia Gubernatorial Candidate

The Honorable Joe Benedetti  
Virginia Candidate for Attorney General

The Honorable Edwina Dalton  
Virginia Candidate for Lt. Governor

Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Smith (Ellen)  
Chairman of the Board  
The Miller & Smith Companies

Mr. and Mrs. Jim Wheat (Wiley)  
Dinner Co-Chairman

Mr. and Mrs. Richard Thomas (Barbara)  
General Manager  
Westfields Conference Center

EVENT:                    STAFF PHOTO

CLOSED PRESS

- 6:40 pm                    THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Dominion Room I  
and begin participation in Staff Photo.
- 7:00 pm                    THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush conclude participation  
in Staff Photo and proceed to Holding Room.
- 7:01 pm                    THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Holding Room  
and hold briefly.
- 7:06 pm                    THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Holding Room  
and proceed to Grand Dominion Room Off-Stage  
Announcement Area.
- 7:07 pm                    THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Grand Dominion  
Room Off-Stage Announcement Area and hold briefly.

Met By:

The Honorable J. Marshall Coleman  
Virginia Gubernatorial Candidate

The Honorable Joe Benedetti  
Virginia Candidate for Attorney General

The Honorable Edwina Dalton  
Virginia Candidate for Lt. Governor

**EVENT: MARSHALL COLEMAN FOR GOVERNOR FUNDRAISING DINNER**

**CLOSED PRESS**

**OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT**

**BRIEF REMARKS**

- 7:10 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by Mr. J. Marshall Coleman, are announced into Grand Dominion Room and proceed to Seats at Head Table.
- 7:12 pm Introductory remarks by Mr. Jim Wheat
- 7:16 pm THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Brief Remarks by Mr. Gordon Smith.
- 7:20 pm THE PRESIDENT makes Brief Remarks.
- 7:30 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Brief Remarks and returns to Seat.
- 7:32 pm Concluding remarks by Mr. J. Marshall Coleman
- 7:35 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush conclude participation in Marshall Coleman for Governor Fundraising Dinner, depart Grand Dominion Room, and proceed to Motorcade.
- 7:38 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Motorcade and depart Westfields Conference Center en route Westfields Landing Zone.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 2 Minutes)

7:40 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Westfields Landing Zone and proceed to board Marine One.

7:45 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Westfields Landing Zone, Chantilly, Virginia en route White House.

HELICOPTER ASSIGNMENTS:

Marine One

THE PRESIDENT  
Mrs. Bush  
A. Card  
M. Fitzwater  
T. McBride  
D. Valdez  
Doctor  
Mil. Aide  
2 USSS

Nighthawk II (to Pentagon LZ)

L. Atwater  
J. Swift  
B. Kilberg  
J. Wray  
WHCA T/O  
Medic  
7 USSS

Nighthawk III (to Pentagon LZ)

J. Allison  
Official Photographer

1 WHCA A/V  
2 WHVD  
1 USSS  
15 Press

(Flying Time: 15 Minutes)

8:00 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive White House.

ATTN: POLITICAL REPORTERS

# Coleman For Governor

4914 Fitzhugh Avenue, P.O. Box 17558  
Richmond, Virginia 23226  
804/358-1989

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUG 1 89

Contact: Dennis Peterson  
Jay Timmons

804/358-1989

COLEMAN ADDRESSES REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS;  
SAYS VIRGINIA WILL BE ANTI-DRUG MODEL FOR THE NATION

CHICAGO - Former Attorney General J. Marshall Coleman told a gathering of GOP governors today that his goal will be to make Virginia an anti-drug model for the nation as the Commonwealth's chief executive. The Republican nominee addressed the group during the National Governor's Conference here.

"I want to take the best of your ideas, the things that have worked in your states, and bring them to Virginia as part of my comprehensive anti-drug program. The states are indeed laboratories for democracy, and I want our Commonwealth to benefit from your successful experiments. In turn, I will seek to make Virginia an anti-drug model for the Nation," Coleman said.

"Many of us who served in Southeast Asia returned from that war to find a new war on our city streets -- the war on drugs. Now, the countryside has also become a battlefield, and none of our states, nor any portion of them, is free of the conflict. As Attorney General of Virginia during the late seventies and early eighties, I led the fight against drugs, and we won some important battles. But we are not winning them now," Coleman said. The recent Democratic administrations in Virginia have not made fighting drugs a priority, he charged.

"I want to lead an all-out assault on the greedy drug merchants as Virginia's next governor. They are people who build their fortunes on the broken lives and shattered dreams of others. The drug kingpins are random killers, and I believe they deserve the death penalty as much as any inmate on death row. The people of Virginia support me on that. They also support my plan to impose stiff mandatory sentences for all drug distribution offenses and to aggressively pursue confiscation of

the assets of drug dealers. We are prepared in Virginia to make our laws against drug trafficking as stiff as they have to be to deter that conduct," the GOP candidate declared.

The former Attorney General added that tough penalties for drug users is also an essential element of his anti-drug strategy. For drug possession offenses, Coleman has proposed stiff fines -- five and ten thousand dollars -- as well as mandatory community service, loss of driving privileges, publication of the names of convicted users, mandatory treatment and follow-up testing, and, for repeat offenders, mandatory jail time.

"As many of you have already recognized, the key to eradicating drugs is reducing and eventually eliminating the demand for drugs. Education programs in our schools and active efforts to stigmatize drug users are ingredients of that. So are heightened penalties for drug use. The users are the people who are ultimately responsible for the violent and destructive drug trade, and it is time for us to make them pay for the harm they cause," Coleman said.

The Republican candidate said drugs will be a key issue in this fall's contest for governor. "I have declared war on drugs in Virginia, while my opponent has run up the flag of surrender. As the drug crisis deepened, my opponent sat on the sidelines. He was a do-nothing lieutenant governor, and now he proposes to duplicate that performance as governor. He refuses to support my strong anti-drug plan, and he has not offered a single new idea of his own for combatting this menace," Coleman charged.

Coleman asked the GOP governors to pass along their insights and ideas and to work closely with him after the November election on anti-drug efforts and other initiatives. He said the Bush Administration will be a potent ally for the Republican state chief executives as they work to solve problems and meet challenges in their states.

# Coleman For Governor

4914 Fitzhugh Avenue, P.O. Box 17558  
Richmond, Virginia 23226  
804/358-1989

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Advocates for Coleman

## TALKING POINTS

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### Coleman-Wilder Differences

Crime  
Death Penalty  
Right to Life  
Taxes  
Ethics

#### Criminal Sentencing

As Governor, Marshall Coleman will act decisively to protect our citizens from the growing crime menace we face. As a member of the General Assembly and as Attorney General, he advocated stiffer penalties for violent criminals, greater certainty in sentencing, and an end to easy parole and early release. As Governor, Marshall Coleman will propose abolition of discretionary parole and adoption of a truth-in-sentencing system.

His Opponent's Record is Wilder. As a member of the General Assembly, Doug Wilder voted against giving the Commonwealth the right to appeal adverse evidentiary rulings in criminal cases (SJR 53, 1984). He voted against denying parole to twice-convicted felons (SB 257, 1982). He voted against repealing the law requiring early parole of prisoners with less than 6 months left to serve (SB 493, 1980). He voted against imposing a minimum 10-year sentence without parole for twice-convicted armed robbers (SB 628, 1977). And, he was the only legislator to oppose imposition of mandatory sentences under the habitual offender law (HB 1960, 1977). Douglas Wilder does not support Marshall Coleman's plan to end liberal parole policies and early release in Virginia.

#### Protecting Our Police Officers

Death Penalty. Marshall Coleman and Doug Wilder differ on whether criminals who murder police officers should face the death penalty. In 1973, Marshall Coleman co-patroned legislation (HB 1637) to authorize imposition of the death penalty for murder of a policeman or prison guard. Doug Wilder was one of only two members to vote against reinstating the death penalty in 1977 (HB 1329) after the Supreme Court removed doubts about its constitutionality. That

same year, Wilder was the only Senator to vote against imposing the death penalty for the killing of a law enforcement officer (SB 337).

Firearms. In 1979, Doug Wilder was one of four state senators to vote against making it a felony to brandish a firearm while attempting to prevent arrest by, or escape from, a police officer (SB 603). Mr. Wilder, in speaking against the legislation, said he feared it might provoke some policeman to commit murder (Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 31, 1979).

### Capital Punishment

Marshall Coleman has always been an advocate of capital punishment. As a freshman delegate in 1973, he co-sponsored death penalty legislation. After the U.S. Supreme Court revived the death penalty in the mid-seventies, Marshall Coleman supported legislation to revise and reactivate the death penalty in Virginia.

As Attorney General, Marshall Coleman led his office's successful defense of the constitutionality of that law in federal court. Marshall Coleman has proposed extending the death penalty to cover drug-related homicides and drug kingpins.

Doug Wilder was one of only two state Senators to vote "no" on the key 1977 vote to reinstate the death penalty in Virginia following the Supreme Court ruling removing doubts about the constitutionality of the legislation (HB 1329, 1977; Coleman voted "yes"). Wilder also voted against a bill to impose the death penalty for murder of a police officer (SB 377, 1977; Coleman voted "yes"). He was the only senator voting "no". In 1980 and 1981, he voted against applying the death penalty to mass murderers (SB 378, 1980; SB 693, 1981). In each case, Wilder was among a handful of senators voting "no."

Since he began running for statewide office, Wilder has said publicly that he supports the death penalty. His explanation for switching from his active anti-capital punishment posture, however, is upon inspection confusing and contradictory. Although he continued to vote against death penalty measures for at least four years after the statutes passed constitutional muster, Wilder claims he opposed the practice because it was unconstitutional (Richmond News Leader, October 8, 1985). He has also claimed "that he has always supported the death penalty in theory but consistently voted against capital punishment bills until he saw the law was applied fairly to blacks and whites alike." (Roanoke Times & World-News, October 8, 1985). In an interview with Style magazine in 1985, Wilder said, "I don't believe the death penalty is a deterrent to crime." (Style Weekly, August 13, 1985).

Additionally, a January 28, 1989 headline in the Richmond Afro-American proudly proclaims "Wilder firmly against the death penalty." AFRO Staff Writer Hazel Trice Edney reported that Wilder "[came] out against the death penalty." It quoted Wilder as saying "I'm against it" at a meeting of the Richmond Crusade for Voters in January of this year.

"Reporter Hazel Trice Edney said she stood by her story, 'and so does my editor.' She said she had Wilder's remarks on tape..." (Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 26, 1989).

### Rape Victims and Victims of Crime

Marshall Coleman opposes forcing rape victims to undergo brutal cross-examination during the trial of their assailants.

He also supports a redoubling of efforts to help the victims of crime, assuring them access to courtrooms and a greater role in sentencing. Marshall Coleman supports stiff new penalties for those who exploit children for pornographic purposes and who sell or possess such illicit materials.

Doug Wilder, as a member of the Virginia legislature, sponsored legislation that would have subjected statutory rape victims under the age of fourteen to interrogation about their moral reputation (SB 302, 1972). This legislation, in effect, would have put many teenage rape victims on trial.

Doug Wilder does not propose any new penalties against child pornography.

### Right To Work

In 1977, Marshall Coleman co-patroned legislation (SJR 139) supporting the Right to Work Law in Virginia. Doug Wilder cast the lone vote in Committee against this resolution which urged Congress to continue to authorize state Right to Work laws (memorializing Section 14(b) of the federal Taft-Hartley Act).

As Attorney General from 1978 to 1982, Coleman accompanied Governor John Dalton on economic development excursions to preach the virtues of Virginia's Right to Work Law and favorable business climate. Coleman also successfully

defended the Right to Work Law when it came under a union-sponsored legal attack during his tenure as Attorney General.

As recently as July 30, 1989, Doug Wilder sought to undercut the state's Right to Work law, distancing himself from Governor Baliles decision to dispatch the State Police to uphold the rule of law during the labor strife in Southwest Virginia's coal counties. When asked whether he would follow Baliles' example and order the state police to enforce the Right to Work Law, Wilder responded, "I won't have to send in anybody to do anything." (Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 30, 1989). After he was publicly castigated for his remarks by Marshall Coleman and privately called on the carpet by Governor Baliles, the Lieutenant Governor reversed himself and stated support for Baliles' action.

### Collective Bargaining

Marshall Coleman opposes collective bargaining for public employees, concurring with the view that it will lead to government employee strikes. As Attorney General, Marshall Coleman initiated a suit against the City of Richmond over a mandatory dues check-off system for public school teachers.

Doug Wilder co-sponsored a comprehensive mandatory collective bargaining scheme in 1980 and has supported legislation promoting public sector unionism as recently as 1984.

Experience with public sector collective bargaining shows that it leads to strikes by teachers, firemen, sanitation workers, paramedics and other emergency services employees. Such strikes that threaten the public health and safety apparently do not concern Wilder. As a state senator, he was one of a handful of senators who voted against outlawing strikes by hospital workers, even when the strike would cripple hospital operations and endanger patients (HB 893, 1970).

Although Wilder says now, as in his 1985 campaign, that he opposes public sector collective bargaining, a recently published book in 1985 quotes a top AFL-CIO official as saying that Wilder gave a "100% questionnaire" from organized labor's point of view during a private meeting in which the Democrat was asked the union organization's series of survey questions (Yancey, Dwayne. When Hell Froze Over). The candidate questionnaires submitted by the AFL-CIO contained a question about support for public employee collective bargaining. Thus, Wilder was making private assurances to organized labor while expressing the opposite view in public.

## The Right to Keep and Bear Arms

Marshall Coleman supports the constitutional rights of citizens to keep and bear arms. He believes the answer to the criminal use of handguns is not gun control, but tougher measures to control gun-wielding criminals. He supports instantaneous record checks as an acceptable method of keeping guns out of the hands of criminals.

In 1984, Doug Wilder patroned legislation giving local governments the authority to regulate possession of firearms (SB 121). In May of this year, Wilder announced in Craig County that he supports a ban on semi-automatic weapons (New Castle Record, May 17, 1989). Such a ban would prohibit all semi-automatic shotguns used by Virginia hunters.

Marshall Coleman supports increasing the mandatory sentence for the use of firearms during the commission of a crime to at least five years in order to provide a better deterrent. He also favors especially severe mandatory penalties for use of semi-automatic or automatic weapons during the commission of a crime.

Doug Wilder was the only member of the Senate to oppose a mandatory two-year prison term for the use of a firearm during the commission of a felony. Marshall Coleman strongly supported the measure (HB 231, 1976).

Marshall Coleman supports the computer criminal background check passed by the Virginia General Assembly in 1989, requiring that the Virginia State Police immediately notify a gun seller if a prospective buyer has a felony criminal record.

## Taxes

Marshall Coleman has pledged not to seek a tax increase as Governor. He opposed Baliles' so-called local option tax increase. He opposed the five major tax increases initiated by and passed under the Baliles-Wilder administration. He urged immediate removal of the state tax on federal and state retirees' pensions and called for the studying the eventual phase-out of state taxation on private pensions after the Davis v. Michigan Supreme Court ruling this spring. Marshall Coleman has said he will veto any tax increase passed by the General Assembly unless it carries with it the provision of passage by a statewide referendum.

Doug Wilder has said he would be willing to sign a tax increase into law as Governor (Virginia Bar Association Debate, July 15, 1989). Lieutenant Governor Wilder was a silent partner in the 1986 tax hikes in Virginia and waited until they were safely enacted before claiming that he was opposed to them. Mr. Wilder, as a member of the state senate in the 1970's, sponsored legislation to raise income taxes (SB 513), inheritance taxes (SB 498), and motor vehicle taxes (SB 507). In 1982, Wilder voted for a 3 percent motor fuels tax and an increase in the sales tax imposed on distilled spirits (Richmond News Leader, November 1, 1985).

## Abortion

Marshall Coleman joins with Presidents Reagan and Bush in seeking to preserve and protect the sanctity of life for unborn babies. He believes an unborn baby's life deserves our compassion and the full protection of the law, and that we are morally obliged to seek alternatives to abortion, such as adoption.

It is the intention of Marshall Coleman to support passage of reasonable pro-life measures consistent with the recent Webster Supreme Court ruling, including continued strong support for passage of legislation requiring parental consent for teen-age girls to seek an abortion.

Four years ago, Doug Wilder dismissed adoption as an alternative, saying, "No one wants these children." (Richmond News Leader, March 12, 1985) Soon after the Webster decision was handed down, Wilder appeared to modify his abortion-on-demand position by acknowledging that restrictions on abortions used for birth control were needed. But after Molly Yard of the National Organization for Women called his stand "wimpish," he immediately reversed himself and retreated to his pro-abortion-on-demand position.

Wilder currently claims to support parental notification legislation "to the extent he supported it in 1985." (Virginia Bar Association Debate, July 15, 1989) But in 1985, in a debate at St. Catherine's Girls School, Wilder said "he was opposed to requiring pregnant teenagers to obtain a parent's or judge's consent before undergoing an abortion." (Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 8, 1985). And, "as recently as 1985, he voted to severely weaken a House-passed parental/judicial consent bill." (Robert G. Holland column, Richmond Times-Dispatch, August 16, 1989). Wilder opposed parental notification legislation in 1978 as a member of the State Senate (Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 10, 1989).

## Family Life Education

Marshall Coleman favors greater parental involvement in education and greater parental and community control over school curricula. He opposes and will work to rescind the state Family Life Education (sex education) mandate, which usurps the traditional role of parents as well as local control over school curricula. He believes local school boards should determine the content of all FLE curricula with full parental input.

Doug Wilder, as Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate, cast the tie-breaking vote in 1988 to enact legislation imposing these FLE mandates on every locality.

## Drunk-Driving Legislation

Marshall Coleman supports legislative measures to punish and penalize those who drive drunk.

In 1984, Doug Wilder voted against a Senate bill that would have made a conviction of drunken driving automatic if a driver's blood alcohol level registered 0.10. Wilder also voted against a mandatory 30-day driver's license suspension for a motorist convicted of drunken driving. (Richmond News Leader, November 1, 1985).

## Ethics in Government

As Attorney General, Marshall Coleman presided over an office that was not only free from hint of scandal, but which worked aggressively to bring state and local governmental wrongdoers to justice. Attorney General Coleman sought and won General Assembly passage of the State Governmental Frauds Act to make bid-rigging in government contracts a felony. As Governor, Marshall Coleman will insist upon the highest ethical standards from all who serve in a Coleman administration.

Lieutenant Governor Wilder cast one of his few tie-breaking votes as President of the Virginia Senate to defeat criminal penalties for conflict-of-interest violations. -

Upon becoming the Commonwealth's second-ranking public official, Wilder sought and obtained a 90% increase in his office budget. Using his taxpayer-

paid staff to make the arrangements, the Lieutenant Governor then accepted more than \$50,000 in speaking fees his first year in office, much of it from speeches before Virginia groups and organizations -- including public high schools, colleges and universities.

After Wilder's unprecedented practice of charging Virginia citizens to hear him speak was publicly disclosed, Wilder received intense criticism and was forced to drop the practice. He now admits it was "wrong," and although he says he turned over the collected fees to charity, he refused to provide documentation to support that claim.

**Ethical Violations By Wilder.** In 1977, Wilder sponsored legislation on behalf of a former legal client seeking to award her \$50,000 in taxpayer funds. The client was threatening to sue Wilder for malpractice to recover the \$50,000. (Washington Post, January 30, 1979) In legal suits relating to actions with his client, Wilder wrote the court in 1978, "I have been personally harassed by plaintiff, through counsel, and threatened that if I did not retain monies through a relief bill in the General Assembly of Virginia I would be sued." (Virginian-Pilot, July 28, 1989)

According to a August 17, 1989, Washington Post report, Wilder continued to hold slum property in a trust in 1986 after he said publicly that the property had been sold. He failed to disclose his trust interest as required by Virginia law. On August 17, 1989, Del. Frank Hargrove, on behalf of the Joint Legislative Caucus, called on Attorney General Mary Sue Terry to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate Wilder's failure to disclose his ownership interest.

### Party Allegiance

Marshall Coleman has been a proud supporter of and has campaigned aggressively for the election of conservative Republican presidential candidates Ronald Reagan and George Bush. In 1988, Marshall Coleman served as the statewide Co-Chairman of George Bush's Virginia pre-nomination campaign.

Doug Wilder on the other hand has supported liberals like Mike Dukakis and Walter Mondale and Jimmy Carter and George McGovern for president.

He has denounced Reagan administration economic policies, derisively criticizing the "nightmare of Reaganomics." (Richmond Afro-American, May 8, 1982). At other times he has referred to President Reagan's policies as "disastrous." (Potomac News, December 11, 1986).

Doug Wilder has said that he supported these liberal candidates because they were Democrats and he was a Democrat (Virginia Bar Association Debate, July 15, 1989). But in 1982, when a middle-of-the-road Democrat -- Owen Pickett, now Congressman from the Second District -- won the delegate votes he needed to become the Democratic nominee for the U.S. Senate, Doug Wilder declared Mr. Pickett was "too conservative" and said he would not support him. Mr. Wilder even went so far as to state that he would run for the Senate himself as an Independent if Owen Pickett did not surrender the Democratic nomination he had won fair and square.

In 1980, Wilder considered a bid against conservative Democratic Congressman David Satterfield of Richmond, had Satterfield sought re-election. "Wilder said running as an 'independent Democrat' [was] one of the options he [was] considering." (Richmond News Leader, February 20, 1980)

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Advocates for Coleman

TALKING POINTS

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DRUGS

Alone among the candidates for governor, Marshall Coleman has made the war on drugs the centerpiece of his campaign. He has declared that successfully addressing the drug crisis will be the central goal of his administration.

Key Points

1. **Detailed plan.** Marshall Coleman is the only candidate who has offered a detailed set of proposals for fighting the drug war on all fronts. The Coleman anti-drug program was released in December, at the start of the campaign. Mr. Wilder cannot cite a single anti-drug initiative he was responsible for as Lieutenant Governor, and he did not set forth any anti-drug proposals until this July. Marshall Coleman is the only candidate who is serious about undertaking a program to defeat drugs.
2. **Moral crisis.** Marshall Coleman is the only candidate who is putting the drug crisis in its proper context -- as a symptom of the erosion of traditional moral values and personal responsibility in our society.
3. **Polarizing Virginians Against Drugs.** Marshall Coleman wants to involve parents, children, students, teachers, churches, civic and community organizations and government in an effort to polarize Virginians against drug use. He is challenging Virginians to make their homes, neighborhoods, schools and communities Drug-Free Zones.
4. **Target the Users.** Marshall Coleman has put forward a plan to get tough on drug users and hold them responsible for the drug trade, the violence and the waste they cause. Through fines and community service, they will help pay for what we have to do to rid Virginia of drugs.
5. **Toughest Laws in the Country Against Dealers.** Marshall Coleman wants Virginia to have the toughest drug laws in the country in order to signal the drug merchants not to peddle their poison here. He has called for:

- Creation of a State Police Anti-Drug Strike Force.
  - Creation of a Drug Enforcement Unit in the Attorney General's Office to assist local prosecutors.
  - Death penalty for drug-related homicides.
  - Tough drug kingpin statute for large-scale traffickers, including stiff mandatory sentences, life terms for repeat offenders, and the death penalty for use of children in drug trafficking.
  - Mandatory sentences, without parole, for all drug distribution offenses.
  - Stronger laws to seize the assets and profits of drug dealers and allocate those forfeited funds to anti-drug enforcement, education and treatment. This would "turn the drug profits against the profiteers."
7. **A General for the Drug War.** Marshall Coleman saw war in Vietnam, and he led the fight against drugs as Attorney General. He's a tough, experienced leader who will not quit until we've driven the drug merchants out and polarized all Virginians against drug use.
  8. **"Shock Incarceration": An Example of Leadership.** Marshall Coleman succeeded this year in getting the General Assembly to direct the State Crime Commission to study the use of a boot camp setting for youthful offenders, including drug users. The proposal has received editorial praise, is now being considered by federal drug czar William Bennett, and is typical of the kind of innovative conservative leadership Marshall Coleman will provide as governor.
  9. **The Choice: Fight or Quit?** Many people are frustrated by the political rhetoric and inaction on drugs, and there is a widespread feeling that there's really nothing state government can or will do to turn the corner on drugs. The cynicism is understandable. But Virginians cannot accept defeat in the war on drugs and thereby give up on our children and on our future. The choice in this election is to give up and accept the status quo, or fight to change things. Those who want to fight are voting for Marshall Coleman.
  10. **What's Wrong With Wilder.** Throughout his career, Doug Wilder has been a leading opponent of most measures to toughen Virginia's anti-crime laws and to strengthen law enforcement. As Lieutenant Governor, he proposed no anti-drug initiatives and has no anti-drug accomplishments. When he finally released an anti-drug plan in July, it read like a surrender document in the drug war. He proposed

no heightened penalties for drug use, no mandatory penalties for drug dealers, no measures to eliminate liberal parole and early release, and nothing to enhance confiscation of drug dealers' assets.

## The Coleman Stand on Drugs (Detailed Outline)

### 1. The Real Drug Problem: Attitudes and Values -

- Marshall Coleman has focused on the drug crisis as a moral crisis.
- In the candidates' debates, he has emphasized that the drug epidemic "is not just the result of some technical failure by government. It is a symptom of a much broader social problem -- the weakening of families, the erosion of traditional values, the loss of a sense of purpose, of respect for one's self, of respect for others and even for life itself."
- He has often quoted Harvard University professor James Q. Wilson: "[D]rug use is wrong because it is immoral, and it is immoral because it enslaves the mind and destroys the soul."
- As Governor, Marshall Coleman will enlist Virginians in a real war on drugs. He will involve parents, teachers, students, churches, civic and community leaders by challenging them to declare their homes, neighborhoods, schools and communities "Drug-Free Zones".
- Marshall Coleman will use the governorship as a "bully pulpit" to polarize Virginians against drug use.
- By encouraging Virginians to take concrete steps to make their homes, neighborhoods, schools and communities "Drug-Free Zones", Marshall Coleman will retake Virginia from the drug merchants "inch by inch, home by home, neighborhood by neighborhood, school by school, community by community." That's the only way to fight a war and win.
- Marshall Coleman has been visiting schools and talking with students about the consequences of drug use. He has challenged them to accept responsibility for their own actions and to exert peer pressure against drug use. That is the kind of personal leadership he will provide as Governor.

## 2. Virginia Won't Be "User Friendly" Anymore

- **Marshall Coleman has emphasized that drug users are the ones who create the market for the increasingly violent and destructive drug trade.**
  
- He has said: "It is clear that we will not win the war on drugs by battling the drug dealers alone. Those who use drugs in Virginia are collaborating with our enemy. Drug users are the reason drug dealers exist. And it is time we made the drug users accept responsibility for their actions."
  
- Alone among the candidates, he has proposed a strong, sensible plan to combat drug use in Virginia. It includes:
  1. Minimum mandatory fines of \$5,000 for possession of marijuana and \$10,000 for possession of cocaine, heroin, PCP and other illegal drugs.
  2. As an alternative, minimum mandatory community service obligations of 300 hours per offense.
  3. As an alternative for certain youthful offenders, a requirement of successful completion of a "shock incarceration" program (similar to Marine boot camp).
  4. Mandatory loss of driving privileges for one year.
  5. Monthly publication of drug possession violations in the offender's local newspaper.
  6. Mandatory participation in an approved drug treatment program and follow-up testing for one year.
  7. Mandatory jail or electronic incarceration terms for repeat offenders (marijuana - 6 mos.; all controlled substances - 12 mos.).
  8. Citizen enforcement assistance through a reward program modeled on Crime Solvers.
  9. Fines will be deposited in a Drug-Free Virginia Fund for use in funding anti-drug programs.

10. Fair warning will be given that the penalties for drug use are increasing drastically in Virginia, and users will be advised to seek treatment.

-- The Coleman program will provide a strong deterrent to drug use without imposing unreasonable new burdens on taxpayers. By relying on fines and community service as primary sanctions, the drug users pay to fund the drug war, rather than having taxpayers pay still more to incarcerate them.

-- The drug users fuel the drug trade and also cause billions of dollars in expenditures for law enforcement, medical treatment, and related social costs. Marshall Coleman says: "We've been paying for the problems drug users cause. Now it's time to make them pay."

-- The Coleman program to deter drug users has received enthusiastic endorsements from editorial and other commentators around the state.

### 3. The Toughest Laws in the Country Against Drug Dealers -

-- Marshall Coleman says Virginia must enact the strongest drug laws in the country to signal the drug merchants not to peddle their poison here.

-- The detailed Coleman anti-drug proposals are listed in the "Agenda" (see pp. 5-7). The key proposals are:

-- Creation of a State Police Anti-Drug Strike Force.

-- Creation of a Drug Enforcement Unit in the Attorney General's Office to assist local prosecutors.

-- Death penalty for drug-related homicides.

-- Tough drug kingpin statute for large-scale traffickers, including stiff mandatory sentences, life terms for repeat offenders, and the death penalty for use of children in drug trafficking.

-- Mandatory sentences, without parole, for all drug distribution offenses.

- Stronger laws to seize the assets and profits of drug dealers and allocate those forfeited funds to anti-drug enforcement, education and treatment. This would "turn the drug profits against the profiteers."

4. Leadership is the Key -

- **Marshall Coleman has been fighting for tougher laws against drug and drug-related crime throughout his public career.**
  - As Attorney General, he launched legal action against a judge who released major drug traffickers from prison before they had served their full terms. Under his leadership as Attorney General, the Commonwealth went all the way to the Supreme Court to have the drug smugglers returned to prison, and ultimately prevailed.
  - Marshall Coleman was an early champion of abolishing parole and moving to a system of truth-in-sentencing where prisoners serve the actual time to which they have been sentenced.
  - Marshall Coleman has been a strong supporter of capital punishment. In his first year in the General Assembly, he co-sponsored legislation to impose the death penalty for the killing of a law enforcement officer. He has supported key death penalty measures, including the 1977 law revising and reinstating capital punishment in Virginia, while Doug Wilder has opposed them. Marshall Coleman favors using the death penalty in the war on drugs.
    - Under Attorney General Coleman, the Commonwealth vigorously, and successfully, defended the constitutionality of its death penalty statute.
    - Marshall Coleman wants to extend the death penalty to drug-related homicides and to drug kingpins who use children in drug trafficking or knowingly sell drugs to children.
  - Marshall Coleman has opposed measures that limit the right of law-abiding citizens to own guns. He favors instantaneous record checks at the time of firearm purchases to determine if the buyer has a criminal record. Unlike Mr. Wilder, Marshall Coleman voted as a state senator in favor of mandatory sentences for use of a firearm in the commission of a felony. Marshall Coleman favors increasing these

minimum mandatory sentences to five years.

- As Attorney General, Marshall Coleman successfully defended Virginia's tough new drug paraphernalia law in federal court. The law defended by Attorney General Coleman was passed during the Dalton administration. It replaced an extremely narrow and weak paraphernalia law proposed in 1971 by State Senator Wilder.
- Attorney General Coleman proposed the creation of a statewide grand jury for drug cases. Since then, Virginia has adopted multi-jurisdictional grand juries for such cases.
- Marshall Coleman has been advocating stiff, mandatory sentences for drug dealers for well over a decade. But the tough new measures that are needed to combat the greedy and well-armed drug merchants remain bottled up in the Democrat-controlled General Assembly.
- **Marshall Coleman is the only candidate who has served in an executive post in state government and the only one with significant law enforcement experience. That experience will be essential in order to get a tough anti-drug legislative program passed.**
- Only an energetic, aggressive and knowledgeable Republican governor can force action by focusing public attention and pressure on the do-nothing, defense-oriented Democrats who man the key legislative committees.
- The choice for Virginians in this election is to fight or quit on drugs. Cynicism toward politicians who talk about drugs is understandable in view of our state leaders' neglect of the drug problem for the last eight years under Democratic governors. But we cannot throw up our hands in despair or resignation, because our children's future is at stake. Marshall Coleman is the only candidate who has made the drug war his priority and who is spelling out specific plans to wage a real war on drugs.
- **An example of Marshall Coleman's brand of sensible, innovative leadership is his "shock incarceration" proposal for non-violent youthful offenders. Sending young offenders to a boot camp setting can turn their lives around before they embark on a life of crime.**
- Several states are using this approach. Marshall Coleman traveled to South Carolina to study the program, then returned to Virginia and

urged the General Assembly to institute an evaluation of it. They did so, and JMC testified before the State Crime Commission concerning it in April 1989. The proposal was favorably received by the Commission.

- This is an example of Marshall Coleman's ability to get things done. His leadership on this issue has received widespread praise in editorials.
- Since Marshall Coleman emphasized shock incarceration in this campaign, federal drug czar William Bennett has begun to study it for use in the federal anti-drug program.

### Additional Information

See "Agenda", p. 8 (Scope of the Drug Problem in Virginia; Democrats' Inattention), p. 9 (Drug Trafficking Proposals), p. 10 (Education; Drug User Proposals), pp. 15-16 (Other Crime Issues; Wilder Record).

See Coleman Statement: "On Combatting Drug Use in Virginia; Fighting the Drug War to Win", April 20, 1989.

See Coleman Statement: "Operation Drug-Free", April 14, 1989.

See Coleman Remarks: Future Leaders and Government Students Forum, Midlothian High School, April 14, 1989.

See Coleman Statement: Testimony Regarding Shock Incarceration, Virginia Crime Commission, April 18, 1989.

# **Coleman For Governor**

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The Marshall Coleman Plan for

**MAKING 20 YEARS MEAN 20 YEARS:**

Developing and Financing a  
Correctional System That  
Keeps Violent Criminals Behind Bars

## The Marshall Coleman Plan for

### **MAKING 20 YEARS MEAN 20 YEARS: Developing and Financing a Correctional System That Keeps Violent Criminals Behind Bars**

#### INTRODUCTION

As Virginia moves into the 1990s, we must take steps now to safeguard our future from the spread of drugs and violence. The Commonwealth's next governor must act decisively to protect our citizens from the growing crime menace. We must re-establish criminal justice as a priority of state government.

Virginia's correctional system has been strained through years of neglect. As a result, the Commonwealth today is engaged in an expensive crash building program to address the overcrowding in our prisons and jails. But Virginia cannot let the challenges facing our correctional system deter us from doing what we must to strengthen enforcement of our laws. My plans for toughening criminal penalties and having inmates serve their full terms will require us to devote additional resources to corrections.

The renewed emphasis on law enforcement necessitated by growing drug abuse and violence will demand that we make a choice. The Democrats' answer to overcrowding has been to free criminals through parole and early release. If our objective is to avoid high rates of recidivism and threats to our public safety, that answer is unacceptable.

We must commit to building more prison and jail space. But we must accomplish this task by using innovative approaches that will expedite construction and hold down costs. If we shut down the revolving door in our prisons, Virginia will come out ahead in the long run. Federal studies show that it costs society, on average, seventeen times as much to release criminals early as it does to incarcerate them.

This position paper describes my plans for strengthening Virginia's criminal sentencing laws and expanding our correctional system to accommodate the increased demand for prison and jail space that Virginia will face in the decade ahead. To address these issues, we must (1) clearly define the goals for our criminal justice system, (2) identify the current problems and future challenges we must confront, and (3) develop solutions that make sense. I am confident that, with resolve and creativity, we can meet this challenge.

## The Marshall Coleman Plan for

**MAKING 20 YEARS MEAN 20 YEARS:**  
Developing and Financing a Correctional System  
That Keeps Violent Criminals Behind Bars**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

To safeguard Virginians from the growing menace of crime, we must make punishment for serious offenses certain and severe, and our prisons and jails must have adequate capacity. To strengthen our criminal penalties, Virginia should abolish parole and early release and join the numerous states that have adopted comprehensive truth-in-sentencing reforms. Tougher sentencing, including stiff mandatory sentences for offenses involving drugs and guns, will mean more need for correctional facilities. We can meet these increased needs through wise investments and new strategies for corrections. I propose the following:

**1. Establish Separate Secretariat for Public Safety**

- o **Create separate Secretary of Public Safety to coordinate law enforcement and correctional activities** -- We need a full-time, professional Secretary of Public Safety to oversee our criminal justice system. My administration will include the separate cabinet-level position of Secretary of Public Safety to coordinate Virginia's law enforcement and correctional activities. As Governor, I will make law enforcement, including the war on drugs, my top priority. In keeping with sound management practices, I will appoint a Secretary of Public Safety and a Drug Policy Director to exercise daily supervisory responsibility.

**2. Adopt Truth-in-Sentencing and Appropriate Mandatory Penalties**

- o **Abolish discretionary parole and early release** -- In Virginia today, a 20-year sentence can mean as little as 3-1/2 years actual time served. Jurors and the public are frustrated that inmates sentenced to do time often get out long before their time is up. Virginia should abolish discretionary parole and early release, and move to a system of more predictable and more uniform sentencing.
- o **Implement system of more uniform sentencing** -- Virginia's sentencing system today is so complicated that most people in our criminal justice system do not even try to understand it. The confusion results chiefly from the tremendous amount of discretion afforded judges, correctional administrators, and the parole board in determining the length of confinement. We should simplify our sentencing policies so they can be understood and trusted by the public, implemented by criminal

justice officials, and made clear to offenders. Twenty years should mean twenty years.

- o **Regiment system of good time credits** -- Under my plan, the only way inmates would be eligible for any reduction in their sentences is through credit for good behavior, which is an essential management tool for prisons. We should monitor the granting of good time and establish a more regimented good time program to make sure that it is not granted automatically.
- o **Permit juries to consider a criminal's prior convictions** -- To deal with dangerous repeat offenders, I favor reforms to allow a sentencing jury to separately consider a criminal's prior convictions and to provide severe mandatory minimum sentences for dangerous criminals who commit multiple offenses.
- o **Impose stiffer mandatory minimum sentences for felonies involving drugs and firearms** -- Virginia should move to establish stiff mandatory minimum sentences for drug and gun offenses. I favor mandatory sentences for all drug distribution offenses. I also support increasing the mandatory minimum sentence for use or display of any firearm in the commission of specified felonies from the current two years to a new five year minimum; and for a second offense, an increase from four to ten years. We should add all drug-related felonies to the list of crimes to which these mandatory sentences for the use or display of firearms apply. To better protect our police officers, I propose that the possession of an automatic firearm (or a semi-automatic firearm that has been modified to function as an automatic) carry a mandatory minimum sentence of ten years. The use or display of such a firearm in the commission of a crime of violence or a drug-related felony should require a mandatory minimum sentence of twenty years. With these stiff sentences -- without the prospect of early release -- we will send a message to gun-wielding drug criminals that Virginia is off limits.
- o **Broaden capital punishment law to include drug-related homicides and drug kingpins** -- As Governor, I will work to strengthen Virginia's death penalty law by adding drug-related homicides and the use of children in drug trafficking by drug kingpins to the list of capital crimes. The kingpins who mastermind and direct the drug trade -- who are responsible for the distribution of boatloads and planeloads of narcotics -- are random killers. They deserve the death penalty as much as any inmate on death row.

### 3. Pursue New Strategies for Corrections

The answer to the increasing demand for prison and jail space is not to release prisoners, but to build more cells, faster and more cheaply than we have done before. We need to expand our correctional capacity by building more regional jails and by

adding new prison cells through innovative approaches such as using privatization, modular construction and inmate labor.

- o **Build more state prisons and increase state's share of regional jail construction cost** -- To confront the need for more space, it is inescapable that Virginia must devote more resources to its correctional system. We must mount a major prison construction program and encourage the building of more regional jails by paying more of the cost of construction of regional jails. A significant portion of the financing for such construction can come through aggressive pursuit of fines and forfeitures from drug users and dealers. Without focused effort, asset seizures have produced tens of millions of dollars for Virginia through the federal asset forfeiture sharing program. Cost savings can be achieved through using privatization, new construction techniques, and inmate labor.
- o **Promote privatization of inmate services and prison and jail construction, financing and operation** -- Contracting with private companies for services now provided by state agencies, and promoting the private planning, construction, and operation of certain types of prison facilities will reduce costs and increase efficiency. Virginia should join the states that have enacted laws permitting privately-operated state prisons.
- o **Develop better program to involve inmates in prison and jail construction** -- Several states have adopted successful programs that involve prison inmates in the construction and refurbishment of prisons and jails. This strategy has resulted in cost-savings of 30-50%, valuable inmate training, and no reduction in quality. Inmates learn marketable skills and good work habits for use upon their release. Virginia should do more to involve inmates in prison and jail construction.
- o **Better utilize new construction techniques, such as modular and prefabricated construction** -- In order to build cells faster and more cheaply, we should look to new prison and jail construction techniques.

#### 4. Develop Alternatives to Incarceration for Non-Violent Offenders

While we need to protect society from the dangerous criminals who must remain incarcerated, we should develop alternatives to incarceration for non-violent offenders who present no threat to the community. Such alternatives will free up valuable prison and jail space so that violent and dangerous criminals can be kept off the streets.

- o **Encourage more use of electronic confinement** -- A number of jurisdictions are successfully using a program of house arrest for nonviolent offenders. Virginia should do more to encourage use of electronic confinement for non-violent

offenders awaiting trial and for non-violent offenders who are suitable candidates for remaining in the community following sentencing.

- o Offer alternative of fines or community service for non-violent offenders who are suitable to remain in the community -- We need to find more ways for offenders to put back into the community what they have taken away by the criminal conduct. In the case of drug users, this means large fines for those who can pay and community service for those who cannot. Fines and community service are appropriate for other non-violent offenders as well. Wherever appropriate, we should utilize the alternative of fines or community service for non-violent offenders who are suitable to remain in the work and family setting. Community diversion alternatives that reduce prosecution costs are also appropriate for certain offenses.
- o Create military-style boot camp for first-time, nonviolent offenders ages 18-25 -- Shock incarceration programs are already in place in a number of states. Virginia should move swiftly to create military-style boot camps for first-time, nonviolent offenders who are 18-25 years of age. Such programs involve a strict regimen of physical training, personal responsibility, physical labor, and drug counseling. They have the benefit of enhancing self-esteem and stemming offenders' movement toward deepening criminal conduct. Cost savings are immediate, since boot camps involve a fraction of the expense of incarceration, and long-term, through reduced recidivism.

##### 5. Promote Greater Inmate Work Opportunities

We should champion the concept of "factories with fences" rather than "warehouses with walls" as the model for Virginia's correctional institutions. Not only do greater inmate work and job training opportunities offer a means of lowering maintenance costs, but they can enhance the efficient operation of prisons and introduce prisoners to marketable job skills. Virginia needs to explore more ways to make inmates pay their own way and simultaneously learn valuable job skills.

## DEFINING THE GOALS

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- o Protect society from threats to public safety
  - o Deter criminal activity
  - o Make criminal penalties fit the crime
  - o Avoid disrupting work and family for non-violent offenders
  - o Rehabilitate criminals
  - o Make criminals pay share of cost
- 

In evaluating Virginia's criminal justice system, we must begin with a clear understanding of the primary goals of criminal sentencing and corrections. The primary goals of Virginia's correctional system should be:

- o **Protecting Society** -- The paramount goal of any correctional system must be to protect society from threats to public safety. Violent offenders should remain incarcerated until the end of their sentences. Prisons and jails must remain secure.
- o **Deterring Criminal Activity** -- Criminals must be put on notice that Virginia does not tolerate crime. They must understand that the especially serious drug and gun crimes will be met in Virginia with the most severe sanctions in the Nation.
- o **Imposing Appropriate Penalties** -- Criminal penalties in Virginia must be made to fit the crime -- the more serious the crime, the more severe the penalty. The sentences that our judges and juries mete out to violent offenders should be the sentences that the criminals actually serve.
- o **Creating Alternatives for Non-Violent Offenders** -- Where appropriate, non-violent offenders should be channeled into alternatives to incarceration that allow the offender to remain at work and with family members. In that way, we can help maintain stability for offenders and their families, and avoid the often corrupting influences of prison life that make for hardened criminals.
- o **Reforming Youthful Offenders** -- Offenders must be dissuaded from pursuing criminal activity upon their release. Inmates should be required to learn marketable skills. Youthful offenders are the best candidates for reform. Boot camps and effective inmate work and training programs will increase the possibility of positive behavioral changes in the lives of inmates.
- o **Shifting the Cost to the Criminal** -- Wherever possible, the criminal should be required to pay the cost of corrections -- either through forfeiture of ill-gotten gains, monetary fines, paying for alternatives to incarceration, or hard work within the system.

## CURRENT PROBLEMS AND FUTURE CHALLENGES

- o Lack of clear direction
  - o Liberal release policies
  - o Confusing sentences laws
  - o Overcrowding
  - o Need for resources
- 

As we prepare to enter the 1990s, Virginia's criminal justice system faces extraordinary challenges that we can meet only by adopting creative and sensible policies that address identified problems. Among the most significant problems and challenges facing Virginia's correctional system are:

- o **Lack of Clear Direction** -- Virginia's correctional system has been beset by lack of clear focus and direction. The Department of Corrections has been in a crisis mode with the Democrats turning to liberal release policies to compensate for the lack of bedspace resulting from poor planning.
- o **Liberal Release Policies** -- When a 20-year sentence can mean as little as 3-1/2 years actual time served, Virginia is failing to follow through on its warning to criminals and breaking its promise to our citizens. The results are that society is threatened by the early release of violent offenders, sentences do not fit the crime, and sanctions are inadequate to deter criminal activity.
- o **Confusing Sentencing Laws** -- Virginia's sentencing system today is so complicated that most people working in our criminal justice system do not even try to understand it. The confusion results from the tremendous discretion afforded judges, correctional administrators, and the parole board in determining the length of confinement.
- o **Overcrowding** -- Virginia's correctional system is 120% over its capacity. The overcrowding in state prisons has resulted in a backlog of over 1,200 state inmates in local jails. With the new mandatory sentences that are needed to deter serious crime, the short-term problem of overcrowding will grow even worse. Even if more alternatives to incarceration are developed for non-violent offenders, Virginia must build more jail and prison space.
- o **Need for Resources** -- Given the need for more space in the correctional system, Virginia will need to develop new ways to fund corrections. The two new state facilities to be added to the system next year already are predicted to be inadequate. New solutions will have to be found.

## FINDING SOLUTIONS

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- o Establish Secretary of Public Safety
  - o Adopt Truth-in-Sentencing and Other Sentencing Reforms
  - o Expand Prisons and Jails for Violent Criminals
  - o Explore Alternatives to Incarceration  
for Non-Violent Criminals
  - o Promote Greater Opportunities for Inmates to Work, Learn  
and Pay Their Own Way
- 

To safeguard Virginians from the growing menace of crime, we must make punishment for serious offenses certain and severe, and our prisons and jails must have adequate capacity. To strengthen our criminal penalties, Virginia should abolish parole and early release and join the numerous states that have adopted comprehensive truth-in-sentencing reforms. Tougher sentencing, including stiff mandatory sentences for offenses involving drugs and guns, will mean more need for correctional facilities. We can meet these increased needs through wise investments and new strategies for corrections.

### I. ESTABLISHING SEPARATE SECRETARY OF PUBLIC SAFETY FOR BETTER MANAGEMENT

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Solution #1: Create separate Secretary of Public Safety to coordinate law enforcement and correctional activities.

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Today, there is a single Secretary for both Transportation and Public Safety. We need a full-time, professional Secretary of Public Safety who can oversee our criminal justice system. We should establish a separate cabinet-level position of Secretary of Public Safety to coordinate Virginia's law enforcement and correctional activities. Establishing a separate Secretariat for Public Safety will reflect the priority that my administration will place on criminal justice.

As Governor, I will appoint men and women with experience and proven leadership ability to carry out the responsibility of ensuring that Virginia's prisons are secure. Correctional officers must be given the support necessary to do their jobs well, and they must be accorded the respect and fair treatment they deserve. We must prevent crises by identifying and responding to needs, rather than postponing action until crises occur.

## II. ADOPTING TRUTH-IN-SENTENCING AND OTHER SENTENCING REFORMS

In Virginia today, a 20-year sentence can mean as little as 3-1/2 years actual time served. Too often our juries and judges do a good job in meting out appropriate sentences, only to learn that their hard work means little because of parole. Jurors and the public are frustrated that inmates sentenced to do time often get out long before their time is up. Virginia should abolish discretionary parole and early release, and move to a system of more predictable and more uniform sentencing. "Truth-in-sentencing" will enhance deterrence and foster greater public confidence.

### A. Abolishing Parole.

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Solution #2: Abolish discretionary parole and early release.

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Under Virginia's current system of sentencing, a prisoner can be paroled after serving only one-sixth of his sentence, or less. Virginians need to be assured that violent criminals are not returned to the streets before completion of their full sentences. The unfortunate results of permissive parole practices have prompted other states and the federal government to abolish parole and replace it with a determinate sentencing system. Virginia should follow their lead in abolishing discretionary parole and early release so that prisoners would actually serve the entire time to which they are sentenced. That way we can restore public confidence that our criminal penalties mean what we say.

### B. Simplifying Sentencing.

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Solution #3: Implement system of more uniform sentencing.

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Virginia's sentencing system today is so complicated that most people in our criminal justice system do not even try to understand it. When a felon is sentenced to 20 years in prison and is back on the street in 3-1/2 years, the punishment does not fit the crime as intended. The complicating factors are the tremendous amount of discretion afforded judges, correctional administrators, and the parole board in determining the length of confinement.

A more uniform system of sentencing combined with the abolition of parole would (1) reduce the disparity in sentences, (2) act as a deterrent by making

criminal sentences more predictable, and (3) ensure that violent criminals are kept off the streets rather than being released on early parole. We should simplify our sentencing policies so they can be understood and supported by the public, implemented by criminal justice officials, and made clear to offenders.

### C. Regimenting Good Time Credits.

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Solution #4: Regiment system of good time credits to avoid routine or automatic grants.

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Under my plan, the only way prisoners would be eligible for any reduction in their sentences is through credit for good behavior, which is an essential management tool for prisons. Those states that have embraced truth-in-sentencing have strained "good time" as a carrot with which to control inmate conduct. Unfortunately, good time is too often granted automatically. To be an effective control device, it should be granted only where clearly deserved. We should monitor the granting of good time and take steps to establish a more regimented good time program.

### D. Toughening Penalties for Repeat Offenders.

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Solution #5: Permit juries to separately consider criminal's prior convictions.

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Virginia needs stronger measures to deal with dangerous repeat offenders. Currently, juries are not able to consider a defendant's prior criminal record, even in sentencing. I favor reforms that will allow a sentencing jury to separately consider a criminal's prior convictions and that will provide severe mandatory minimum sentences for dangerous criminals who commit multiple offenses.

### E. Imposing Mandatory Minimum Sentences for Crimes Involving Drugs or Guns.

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Solution #6: Impose stiff mandatory minimum sentences for the commission of drug distribution and firearm-related felonies

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As an additional deterrent to crime, Virginia should move to establish stiffer mandatory minimum sentences for certain offenses involving guns or drugs. The problem of gun-wielding criminals stalking the streets and warring with rivals has reached crisis dimensions.

I favor stiff mandatory minimum sentence for all drug distribution offenses. Heightened mandatory penalties would apply to drug distribution in and around schools and to all drug kingpins.

In 1976, I supported Virginia's move to mandatory sentences for use of a firearm in the commission of certain felonies. It is now clear that additional deterrence will require stiffer sentences. Accordingly, I favor increasing the mandatory minimum sentence for use or display of any firearm in the commission of specified felonies from the current two years to a new five year minimum; and for a second offense, an increase from four to ten years.

There are no mandatory sentences in Virginia today for use of a firearm in the commission of a drug distribution or other drug-related felony. We should add drug-related felonies to the list of crimes to which the mandatory sentences for use or display of a firearm apply.

To better protect our police officers, who face drug criminals with increasingly advanced firepower, I propose that the possession of an automatic firearm (or a semi-automatic firearm that has been modified to function as an automatic) carry a mandatory minimum sentence of ten years. The use or display of such a firearm in the commission of a crime of violence or a drug-related felony should require a mandatory minimum sentence of twenty years.

#### F. Broadening Capital Punishment to Cover Drug Crimes.

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Solution #7: Broaden Virginia's capital punishment law to authorize the death penalty for drug-related homicides and for use of children in drug trafficking by drug kingpins.

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Virginia needs capital punishment as a deterrent to certain heinous drug crimes. As Governor, I will work to strengthen Virginia's death penalty law by adding drug-related homicides and use of children in drug trafficking by drug kingpins to the list of capital murders. The kingpins who mastermind and direct the drug trade -- who are responsible for the distribution of boatloads of and planeloads of narcotics -- are random killers. They deserve the death penalty as much as any inmate on death row.

### III. PURSUING NEW STRATEGIES FOR CORRECTIONS

We need to reform our correctional system by expanding its capacity, encouraging alternatives to jail such as electronic confinement, reducing costs through privatizing prisons, and preparing our inmates for employment on the outside through public/private prison work projects. These new strategies are designed to reduce administrative costs and the tremendous expense associated with rampant recidivism.

#### A. Expanding Our Correctional Capacity.

##### 1. Dimensions of the Challenge --

**Overview:** Virginia's correctional system is already falling far short of the number of beds needed to house inmates in prisons and local jails. As of January 1989, prisons and jails in Virginia were operating at 120 percent of capacity. Since 1985, the number of people incarcerated in Virginia has increased annually at an average rate of 9.9 percent. Virginia is a fast-growing state with burgeoning urban areas. An increased prison population is an unavoidable result.

**Increase in Prison Population.** Virginia's prison population has increased dramatically, rising 116% from 1974-1987:

1974:	5,300
1987:	11,455
1989:	13,500
1990:	13,860 (projected)

With Virginia's prison capacity today at 11,543 cells, the number of state prisoners far exceeds capacity. Although two new state prisons are under construction, they are expected to be seriously over capacity on the day they open.

**Increase in Jail Population.** The population of Virginia's local jails has increased 47 percent in the last 18 months. There are 7,025 beds in local jails across the state. As of July 1989, those jails housed 11,392 inmates -- up from 7,800 in January 1988.

1988:	7,800
1989:	11,392

Over 2,500 of those inmates -- convicted felons sentenced to more than 6 months who are not needed to testify in other trials -- are eligible to be moved to state prison, but have not been moved because of overcrowding in the state prison system.

**The problem has resulted from neglect.** After years of total neglect of prison construction in the early eighties, Virginia now has a crash building program underway. But even with that program, projected needs will far outstrip the number of planned beds well into the next century. The state felon backlog in local jails is worse than at any time in memory.

**What it's worth.** Devoting additional resources to corrections makes good economic sense. A recent study by the Department of Justice reveals that it costs society, on average, 17 times as much to release criminals early as it does to incarcerate them -- because of the additional crime committed upon release and the administrative costs with recidivism.

## 2. Finding solutions.

The answer is not to release prisoners, but to build more prisons, faster and more cheaply than we have done before. We need to expand our correctional capacity by building more regional jails and adding new prison cells through innovative approaches such as using modular construction and inmate labor.

### a. Constructing More Prisons and Regional Jails.

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Solution #8: Build more state prisons and increase state's share of regional jail construction cost to be funded through increased fines, forfeitures, and cost savings.

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**How to meet the need for more space.** To confront the existing problem of overcrowding and to address the need for more prison space in the future, Virginia must be prepared to devote more resources to its correctional system. We must mount a major prison construction program and encourage the building of more regional jails. A significant portion of the financing for such construction can come through (i) the aggressive pursuit of fines and forfeitures from drug criminals and (ii) cost savings through use of privatization, new construction techniques and inmate labor.

**Adding more Regional Jails.** Regional jails are becoming an essential part of Virginia's correctional system. The state presently will pay half the cost of regional jails. To promote more regional jails, the state should be prepared to pay substantially more of the cost of regional jail construction. The investment in regional jails will be paid back quickly in the form of cost savings and enhanced efficiency.

**Funding through Drug User Fines and Drug Profit Forfeitures.** One of the most potent weapons that federal prosecutors use to combat drug trafficking is forfeiture of the proceeds and instrumentalities of drug operations. Virginia needs an aggressive drug profit and asset forfeiture program of its own, modeled on the very successful federal experience. To toughen Virginia's asset forfeiture law, we should act promptly to adopt the federal model permitting administrative forfeiture, with Commonwealth's attorneys being given the power to determine whether probable cause for forfeiture exists. The burden of proof should shift to the drug traffickers, who must prove that seized assets are not drug-related. The result will be swifter, more effective and more substantial asset forfeitures.

As a result of the passage of the tougher federal statute, federal asset seizures and forfeitures quadrupled during the period 1984-1987. In the Eastern District of Virginia alone, the federal asset forfeiture program will net more than \$10 million in 1989. A comparable program for Virginia can be expected to meet with even greater success here. It is time to make the drug criminal -- not the taxpayers -- foot the bill for waging war on drugs in the Commonwealth.

Another major source of corrections funding will be the large fines -- \$5,000 for marijuana; \$10,000 for controlled substances -- that I propose to levy on drug users. Studies show that much of the demand for drugs comes from middle- and upper-income business and professional people. These so-called casual drug users can, and will have to, pay part of the cost of our war on drugs.

**Funding through Cost Savings.** It now costs Virginia some \$45 a day for each inmate in the state's prisons. With approximately 13,500 inmates in state prisons, every dollar in costs savings per inmate per day will yield an additional \$4,927,500 in savings statewide that can be used for prison and jail construction. Such cost savings can be achieved through privatizing the services and operations at some facilities and by encouraging more inmate labor.

#### b. Privatizing for Better Efficiency.

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Solution #9: Encourage privatization of inmate services and prison and jail construction, financing and operation.

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Contracting with private companies for services now provided by state agencies, and promoting the private planning, construction, and operation of certain types of prison facilities, will reduce costs and increase efficiency. Virginia should join the states that have enacted laws permitting privately-operated state prisons.

### i. Types of Privatization.

Private Services -- Privatization is hardly a new concept. Correctional agencies in 39 states spent \$200 million on 3,215 contracts with private firms for 32 different services and programs in 1983, including food, medical, educational and vocational services. Because of free competition, contract services are generally more cost-effective than those a government agency can provide. Virginia should do more to encourage provision of inmate services by private firms.

Private Construction -- Under the private construction approach, private firms build correctional facilities, using short-term financing, lease purchases, or pooled financing. Private firms handle every aspect of prison construction, ranging from design to construction, free of government control. This approach saves costs, speeds construction and avoids lengthy delays. Streamlined construction schedules result in an average savings of 10 percent.

Of these approaches, the most popular is lease purchase, which is used by more than a dozen states. Under the lease purchase approach, private companies design, finance, construct and then lease the facility to the state. Under this approach, prison construction is made possible without committing the state to any long-term debt. We should profit from the experience of other states and pursue such opportunities here in the Commonwealth.

Private Management -- Virginia now pays an average of \$17,103 a year for each prisoner it maintains. That is \$46.86 per inmate per day. In Texas, a private firm houses prisoners for an average cost of \$34.50 per day -- 25 percent less than the Virginia rate.

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#### Cost Savings Per Day to House Inmates

<u>Facility/ Location</u>	<u>Gov't Cost</u>	<u>Private Cost</u>	<u>Savings</u>
Sante Fe, NM Jail	\$ 75	\$ 45	\$ 30
Memphis, TN Juvenile Center	\$ 103	\$ 67	\$ 36
Bay County, FL Jail	\$ 49	\$ 31	\$ 18

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The largest national prison management firm has produced cost savings at all nine institutions it runs. Inmate costs are lower than what governments had been paying. Examples of the costs savings are reductions of costs per inmate at the Santa Fe,

New Mexico County Jail from \$75 to \$45/day; Shelby Juvenile Center in Memphis, Tennessee from \$103 to \$67/day; and at the Bay County, Florida Jail from \$40 to \$31/day. With 13,500 inmates in state prisons, cost savings of \$10 a day per inmate would free up \$49 million in additional funds that could be used for new facilities.

Private firms can run prisons more cheaply because they can cut through government red tape. Sizable economies of scale are made possible by volume-buying of equipment and supplies. Under this private management approach, state prisons and local jails built and owned by the government would be run by private firms. We should promote private management where appropriate, with private firms operating correctional facilities for a fee tied to their performance.

Private Ownership and Operation -- Under the private ownership and operation approach, a private company owns, manages and operates a prison or jail. This approach can speed efforts to open a facility to handle prison overcrowding. Other advantages are the use of private capital, management quality control, and operational cost savings. The approach also relieves governments of construction and management of correctional facilities. More than 30 correctional facilities around the country are privately owned and operated for states and localities. We should revise Virginia law to permit housing inmates in prisons and jails that are privately owned and operated.

## ii. Advantages of Privatization.

Nine states now statutorily authorize their penal systems to contract with private firms. Among the benefits they have discovered are:

Speedy Mobilization of Facilities and Staff -- When a state or locality needs to respond to expand prison capacity, privatization is a practical option. States that have been under court order to ease overcrowding have chosen privatization primarily because private contractors were able to open facilities more quickly than the state.

Cost Savings in Construction -- States and localities that lack capital budgets for prison or jail construction have turned to privatization. Private financing for corrections can free government tax monies for other purposes. Governments can require private providers to meet cost ceilings. For example, the Texas Legislature, in authorizing the construction of four 500-bed facilities by private companies, required that contracts be at least 10 percent lower than corrections estimates of state costs to build and operate similar facilities.

Cost Savings in Operation -- Private operators can provide specific services at much lower costs, since they can realize economies of scale and have the incentive to maintain lower salary and overhead costs.

Meeting Special Needs -- Private prisons also offer potential for use in meeting special-needs inmates, including the handicapped, emotionally unstable and mentally ill. By placing these inmates in private facilities for specialized services, space would be made available for inmates requiring a higher level of custody. Estimates are that there are approximately 3,000 (or 20%) special-needs inmates out of a total inmate population of 15,000 in Pennsylvania.

Positive Influence on Government -- Privatization can have a positive influence on governmental corrections management services. Privatization challenges the government monopoly on corrections with different models of operation, management philosophy and new technology. With privatization, qualified providers compete to deliver better services. Governmental corrections employees need not feel threatened, however, because privatization will serve to meet the growing need for facilities.

**b. Using Inmates to Build Their Own Prisons.**

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Solution #10: Develop better programs to involve inmates in prison and jail construction.

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Currently, several states have adopted various programs that involve prison inmates in the construction and refurbishment of prisons and jails. A recent Justice Department study found that this strategy results in cost-savings, valuable inmate training and no reduction in quality. The study found that projects built by inmates cost 30-50 percent less than other projects. Inmates also learn marketable skills and good work habits for use upon their release. Participation in such programs has become highly competitive -- with inmates not only joining voluntarily but enthusiastically. Participants have shown lower rates of repeat offenses. Virginia should do more to involve inmates in prison and jail construction.

**c. Adopting New Construction Techniques.**

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Solution #11: Better utilize new construction techniques, such as modular and prefabricated construction.

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In order to build cells faster and more cheaply, we should look to new prison and jail construction techniques. Recently, a Northern Virginia firm built a pre-fabricated jail for Loudon County in 13 days at a cost of \$4,000 per bed. By contrast, conventional jail construction costs \$40,000 to \$100,000 per bed and generally takes two

years to complete. New construction techniques offer the promise of building jails faster and more cheaply.

## B. Exploring Alternatives to Incarceration.

While we need to protect society from the dangerous criminals who must remain incarcerated, we should develop alternatives to incarceration for non-violent offenders who present no threat to the community. These offenders can remain in the community as productive members of our society.

### 1. Electronic Confinement.

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Solution #12: Encourage more use of electronic confinement for non-violent offenders awaiting trial and for non-violent offenders who are suitable candidates for remaining in the community following sentencing.

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**Background.** One alternative that a number of jurisdictions are using effectively for nonviolent offenders is house arrest. Through a program of electronic confinement, the court orders offenders to remain confined in their own residences, except for employment, community service, and medical reasons. Virginia should do more to encourage use of electronic confinement for non-violent offenders awaiting trial and for non-violent offenders who are suitable candidates for remaining in the community following sentencing.

**How electronic monitoring works.** Electronic monitoring equipment receives information about monitored offenders and transmits the information over telephone lines to a computer at the monitoring agency. The two basic types are continuously signaling devices that constantly monitor the presence of an offender at a particular location and programmed contact devices that contact the offender periodically to verify his or her presence.

**Current Use.** As of February 1989, officials in 33 states were using electronic monitoring. The number of offenders subject to electronic monitoring tripled between 1987-1989. Most of those monitored were sentenced offenders on probation, participating in a program of intensive supervision in the community. An electronic monitoring program in Fairfax County has proven very effective.

**Benefits.** Electronic confinement costs a fraction of traditional incarceration and requires no new jail facilities. As a result, it can be quickly and easily implemented

to ease overcrowding. By preventing the break-up of the family, house arrest promotes stability and avoids the often corrupting influences of prisons.

**Appropriate offenses.** Typical of the offenses for which electronic incarceration is used now in other jurisdictions are major traffic offenses, including driving under the influence, driving while intoxicated, driving on a revoked or suspended permit, and property offenses, such as burglary, thefts or larcenies. Where some jail term is desirable for its deterrence value, electronic monitoring can be used for the remaining portion of the sentence.

**Requiring Criminals to Pay.** In most jurisdictions the offender pays for the monitoring. Charges typically are based on a sliding scale with a maximum fee of \$15 a day. We should do more to encourage use of electronic incarceration in Virginia.

## 2. Fines and Community Service.

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Solution #13: Wherever appropriate, we should offer alternative of fines or community service for non-violent offenders who are suitable to remain in the community.

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We need to find more ways for offenders to put back into the community what they have taken away by the criminal conduct. In the case of drug users, this means fines for those who can pay and community service for those who cannot. In some cases, community service can supplement fines. Fines and community service are appropriate for other non-violent offenders as well. Wherever appropriate, we should impose such alternatives for non-violent offenders who are suitable to remain in the work and family setting. For certain non-violent offenders, community diversion alternatives also are appropriate.

### 3. Military-Style Boot Camps.

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Solution #14: Create military-style boot camps for first-time, nonviolent offenders ages 18-25, with strict regimen of physical training, personal responsibility, physical labor, and drug counseling.

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**Background.** By offering youthful offenders the alternative of an intense military-style boot camp experience, we have the chance to shock them into staying away from crime, and out of prison forever. At the same time, we can build character and instill discipline to prepare troubled young people for productive lives in the future.

**Existing Programs.** "Shock incarceration" programs are already in place in Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, New York, Oklahoma and South Carolina. They range from three to six months long. The South Carolina program has 200 young offenders in 90-day training programs at a cost of \$2,070 per inmate per session. New York has the largest program with 500 inmates; Florida, the smallest with 100.

**Benefits.** Veterans of our armed forces know the impact of boot camps -- the shaved head, the hard work, the discipline, the team effort -- which would be important for loners as well as headstrong leaders.

**Cost.** A New York study found that for every 100 graduates of "shock incarceration," the state saves \$1.59 million. The savings come primarily from shorter sentences, with shock prisoners having their sentences cut by more than half on average. Such measurements of cost savings do not include savings resulting from reduced recidivism.

**Proposal for Virginia.** Virginia should move swiftly to create military-style boot camps for first-time, nonviolent offenders, ages 18-25, with a strict regimen of physical training, personal responsibility, physical labor, and drug counseling. Participation in such programs by qualifying offenders would be an optional alternative to incarceration.

### C. Enlarging Inmate Work and Training Program.

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Solution #15: Promote greater opportunities for inmates to learn marketable job skills by developing inmate work and training programs with the private sector.

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We should champion the concept of "factories with fences" rather than "warehouses with walls" as the model for Virginia correctional institutions. Not only does the concept offer a means of lowering maintenance costs, but it can provide opportunities for more efficient operation of prisons and also equip prisoners with marketable job skills.

**What Other States Are Doing.** In the past 10 years, almost half the states have adopted legislation calling for some form of private sector involvement in their prison work programs. Some states are relying on the private sector for correctional industries programs. A dozen state corrections departments have contracts with private firms. In Florida, a private firm assumed control of the management of all state correctional industries in 1981. In 1988, the company made a \$4 million profit and paid 60 percent of inmates' wages to defray correctional costs.

**A Sensible Program for Virginia.** Virginia needs to explore more ways to make inmates pay their own way and -- at the same time -- learn valuable job skills. No fewer than 17 states run inmate work programs in cooperation with the private sector -- making products ranging from household furniture to sheet metal fabrication. There is no reason why Virginia should not adopt this sensible approach. The criminals should help defray that costs rather than placing the full burden on law-abiding citizens.

## CONCLUSION

We can make our neighborhoods safe again. We can wage a genuine war on drugs and make Virginia the antidrug model for the Nation. But to achieve these critical goals, we must accept two central realities.

The first is that we must take violent criminals out of action, or scare them out of Virginia, by imposing tough sentences that are actually served. Our neighborhoods will not be safe and our children's future will not be secure until we place them beyond the reach of drug predators and violent criminals. Either we will resolve to take the strong law enforcement action that is needed, or we will face a steadily worsening drug and crime epidemic.

Second, we must recognize that a combination of innovative measures can meet our correctional needs if we will only put them to work for us. There has been enough head-shaking and hand-wringing. It is time to accept the challenge and move creatively and resolutely to meet it.

This does not provide all the answers. But it is a blueprint for decisive and constructive action. A Coleman administration will not leave our correctional system wanting for lack of leadership. We will get the job done.

# Coleman For Governor

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 6, 1989

Contact: Bruce Hildebrand  
Jay Timmons

## COLEMAN CITES WILDER RECORD: "LEFT WING EXTREMIST" ON CRIME

SHENANDOAH VALLEY - Former Attorney General J. Marshall Coleman and his GOP runningmates took their statewide tour to the Shenandoah Valley today. In speeches in Winchester, Harrisonburg, Roanoke and Lynchburg, Coleman promoted his tough anti-drug proposals and charged that his opponent "has a record on crime that only an ACLU lawyer could love."

The GOP nominee cited Wilder's plan to abolish the secretariat of public safety and give a political aide responsibility for daily oversight of the Virginia State Police. Coleman challenged his opponent "to pledge today that, should Mr. Wilder be elected, he will not place the responsibility of public safety in the hands of his chief policy adviser, Mr. Taylor of ACLU fame."

"Only a left wing extremist would surround himself and his campaign with some of the most liberal activists to be found in the National Democratic Party. Only a left wing extremist would put an ACLU attorney in charge of developing his policy positions and proposals -- in charge of defining his 'New Mainstream,'" Coleman added.

"It is no accident that Doug Wilder on Monday spoke of a 'New Mainstream.' He is so far outside the Virginia mainstream that he must define a "new" mainstream. When it comes to law enforcement, Doug Wilder is now, and always has been, a left wing extremist," Coleman charged.

Coleman asked his audiences to listen to the list of Wilder votes on law enforcement issues and "be the judge" of whether the extremist label is appropriate for Wilder. Coleman's citations to the Wilder record included:

-- "Of the 40-member Virginia Senate, all but one voted in 1977 to impose the death penalty for the killing of a police officer. All but one. The one voting 'no' was Senator Wilder.

ACLU  
adviser

Mainstream

Killing  
cops

-- "Thirty-four members of the Virginia Senate voted to make it a felony for a suspect to point a gun at a police officer while trying to avoid arrest. Doug Wilder voted 'no.' And let me share with you what he said in explaining that vote. Mr. Wilder said he was concerned that such a law would prompt police officers to commit murder.

-- "State Senator Wilder voted against denying parole to persons twice convicted of serious felonies.

-- "He voted against imposing a minimum sentence of ten years without parole for a second conviction for armed robbery.

-- "He was the only senator -- the only one -- to vote against mandatory sentences for repeat offenders.

-- "He was the only senator -- the only one -- to vote against a one-year mandatory sentence for use of a firearm in the commission of a felony. He talks about the need to get guns out of the hands of criminals. Where was he in 1976 when he had a chance to do something about it?

-- "On the most important death penalty vote of the seventies -- the one which determined whether we would revise and reactivate our capital murder statute after the Supreme Court opened the way for us to do so (House Bill No. 1329) -- two senators out of 40 voted 'no.' And one of them was Doug Wilder. If my opponent's idea of the mainstream had prevailed, we would have no capital punishment law in Virginia. That may be the Massachusetts mainstream, but it is not mainstream Virginia.

*Sens  
death  
penalty*

-- "In 1980 and again in 1981, he voted against imposing the death penalty for persons committing multiple homicides, or more commonly called mass murder.

-- "And, as recently as earlier this year in a speech before the Crusade for Voters, my opponent restated his opposition to the death penalty."

Coleman noted that Wilder has spent his entire career in the far left wing of the Democratic Party. "Although he knows what kind of rhetoric to use as a candidate for office, when push comes to shove he votes with, and aligns himself with, the soft-on-crime, soft-on-drugs liberals of his party."

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Can Cong. ↗  
Tom Bliley,  
who served as  
Bush Chairman,  
be mentioned  
first?