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(Smith/Blessey)
October 26, 1989
Draft Two
MARSH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COLEMAN ADDRESS
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1989

Senator Warner, Congressmen Bateman, Bliley, and Slaughter. Our magnificent Republican ticket -- Marshall Coleman, Eddy Dalton, and Joe Benedetti. Ladies and gentlemen, friends.

Marshall, thank you for that kind introduction. And let me say that as always, I am delighted to be in perhaps America's most historic State. The Old Dominion. // And in one of its greatest cities. The home of Old Dominion Unversity. //

It is indeed a pleasure to speak at this distinguished school. And in this gym where the basketball Monarchs have often reigned supreme. Well, today I predict: On Tuesday, November 7, Virginia's common sense is going to reign supreme from the rivers of the Tidewater to the Shenendoah hills.

I'm talking, of course, about the Election for Governor. One of the most crucial in America. And about the man I'm proud to support. One of the top leaders in America. My friend and colleague, Marshall Coleman.

Four weeks ago, I stumped for Marshall in northern Virginia. As I did an hour ago in Richmond. I believe in this man. I admire him. We share the same philosophy and values. So let's build a bright new day for the Old Dominion. Let's elect Marshall Coleman as Governor. //

You know, people get after me for using the word "thing." The "economy thing," the "vision thing." Well, elections are funny things. When momentum changes, you can sense it, feel it. My friends, this election has turned around. Victory is in the air.

Here at Old Dominion University, you know something about victory. And how Nancy Lieberman would help the Monarchs come from behind and win the game at the buzzer. // Believe me, Marshall Coleman's taking a page from Old Dominion's book.

((A few weeks ago, Marshall was trailing. Now, he's even. And you know something? Remember how Reggie Jackson was called "Mr. October" because he always came through when the big game was on the line? Well, I think you'll find that Marshall Coleman is "Mr. November.")) //

Marshall Coleman is going to win because his election will be a victory for Virginia. This is a great State. It deserves a great Governor. And a man in the State House who will have a friend in the White House. //

Marshall Coleman is going to win because Virginia deserves a man of principle, and moderation. A man well-versed in all the issues. A man who'll fight a war on crime and drugs. And who's proposed detailed programs in child care, transportation, education, and the environment.

And Marshall Coleman is going to win because Virginia deserves fiscal sanity. And because -- if you'll forgive me -- it rejects "Wilder spending." // ((I'm all for basketball in a

gym like this, but I don't think the voters of Virginia want a State government that dribbles away opportunity and slam-dunks the taxpayer.))

Unlike his opponent, Marshall Coleman **hasn't**. And **won't**. For he opposes the "Tax and spend" policies of trial and error -- and error again. And that liberal creed which blames everyone **except** the criminal.

Marshall Coleman knows that the next Governor of Virginia must spur educational reform. Spurring change -- perhaps radical change -- to improve our educational performance.

And Marshall Coleman knows that the next Governor must combat such ills as illiteracy, drug abuse, and crime. And that to do so, the **Old Dominion** doesn't need **old ideas**. Instead, it needs a Governor who understands its people. And its values. And who will **protect** those family values which make Virginia great. Marshall Coleman **has**. Marshall Coleman **will**.

((You know, that great 19th-Century observer of democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville, 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 build 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 **Virginia will** <u>get</u> a great deal by electing Marshall Coleman as its __th Governor.

And a leader

Consider his attributes.

Marshall 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. Unlke 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. // You might call it his 20/20 vision. //

I mentioned attributes. Marshall Coleman is 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.

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

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

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

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's roll up our sleeves. And raise the Old Dominion's sights. Let's help Marshall Coleman. And his two great running mates: State Senator Eddy Dalton, as Lieutenant Governor. And State Senator Joe Benedetti, as Attorney General.

The slogan of this State is: Virginia Is For Lovers. By electing Marshall Coleman, let's ensure that years from now we can tell our kids: On Election Day 1989, America loved what Virginia did.

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

# # # #

(Smith/Blessey)
October 30, 1989
Draft Three
MARSH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COLEMAN ADDRESS
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1989

Senator Warner, Congressmen Bateman, Bliley, and Slaughter. Our magnificent Republican ticket -- Marshall Coleman, Eddy Dalton, and Joe Benedetti. Ladies and gentlemen, friends.

Marshall, thank you for that kind introduction. And let me say that as always, I am delighted to be in perhaps America's most historic State. The Old Dominion. // And in one of its greatest cities. The home of Old Dominion Unversity. //

It is indeed a pleasure to speak at this distinguished school. And in a gym where the basketball Monarchs have often reigned supreme. Well, today I predict: On Tuesday, November 7, Virginia's common sense is going to reign supreme from the rivers of the Tidewater to the Shenendoah hills.

I'm talking, as you know, about Virginia's Election for Governor. One of the most crucial in America. And about the man I'm proud to support. One of the top leaders in America. The next Governor of this great and good Commonwealth: My friend and colleague, Marshall Coleman. //

Four weeks ago, I stumped for Marshall in northern Virginia. As I did an hour ago in Richmond. I believe in this man. I admire him. We share the same philosophy and values. So let's

build a bright new day for the Old Dominion. Let's elect Marshall Coleman as Governor. //

You know, it's a funny thing about elections: When momentum changes, you can sense it, feel it. So see if you don't agree: This election has turned around. Victory is in the air.

Here at Old Dominion, of course, you know something about victory. And how Nancy Lieberman would help the Monarchs come from behind and win the game at the buzzer. // Well, believe me, Marshall Coleman's taking a page from Old Dominion's book.

((A few weeks ago, Marshall was trailing. Then, he began to catch up. And now, he's pulling ahead. ~~Remember how Reggie Jackson used to be called "Mr. October" because he always came through in the clutch? A forecast: Four days from now, they'll be calling Marshall Coleman "Mr. November."~~)) //

M.C. has gone from being considered an outside shot to sinking an outside one. (Point) Pretend like he's making a jump shot.

Marshall Coleman is going to win because his election will be a victory for Virginia. This is a great State. It deserves a great Governor. And a man in the State House who will have a friend in the White House. //

Marshall Coleman is going to win because Virginia deserves a man of principle, and moderation. A man well-versed in all the issues. A man who'll fight a war on crime and drugs. A man who's proposed detailed programs in the areas of child care, transportation, education, and the environment.

And Marshall Coleman is going to win because Virginia deserves fiscal sanity. And because -- if you'll forgive me -- it rejects "Wilder spending." // ((I'm all for basketball in a

gym like this, but I don't think the voters of Virginia want a State government that dribbles away opportunity and slam-dunks the taxpayer.))

Unlike his opponent, Marshall Coleman hasn't. And won't. For he knows that your next Governor must oppose the "Tax and spend" policies of trial and error -- and error again.

Marshall knows, too, that your next Governor must spur educational reform. So he supports greater choice for parents and students -- and merit pay for teachers. He knows that America needs a strong military. So unlike his opponent, Marshall supports those defense projects crucial to this area.

And Marshall Coleman knows that the next Governor must combat such ills as drug abuse and crime: That's why he's been endorsed by Virginia's Fraternal Order of Police. For Marshall knows that the Old Dominion doesn't need old ideas -- like the liberal creed which blames everyone except the criminal. Instead, it needs a Governor who understands its people. And its values. And who will protect those family values which make Virginia great. Marshall Coleman has. Marshall Coleman will.

((You know, that great 19th-Century observer of democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville, 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 build 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 Virginia will get a great deal by electing Marshall Coleman as its __th Governor. Here's why:

Marshall 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. // You might call it his 20/20 vision. //

Finally, Marshall Coleman is a man of good sense when it comes to the community wallet. Opposing the five major tax increases passed by his opponent's Administration. Pledging not to raise taxes as Governor. He's a man of vision. Proposing a transportation plan to reduce gridlock in areas such as Tidewater. And a man of compassion. Reaching out to all Virginians -- to black and other minority voters -- to help Virginia reach out to the future.

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

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

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

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's roll up our sleeves. And raise the Old Dominion's sights. Let's help Marshall Coleman. And his two great running mates: State Senator Eddy Dalton, as Lieutenant Governor. And State Senator Joe Benedetti, as Attorney General.

The slogan of this State is: Virginia Is For Lovers. By electing Marshall Coleman, let's ensure that years from now we can tell our kids: On Election Day 1989, America loved what Virginia did.

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

# # # #

(Smith/Blessey)
October 31, 1989
Draft Five
MARSH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COLEMAN ADDRESS
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1989

Senator Warner, Congressmen Bateman, Bliley, and Slaughter. Our magnificent Republican ticket -- Marshall Coleman, Eddy Dalton, and Joe Benedetti. Ladies and gentlemen, friends.

Marshall, thank you for that kind introduction. And let me say that as always, I am delighted to be in perhaps America's most historic State. The Old Dominion. // And in one of its greatest cities. The home of Old Dominion Unversity. //

It is indeed a pleasure to speak at this distinguished school. And in a gym where the basketball Monarchs have often reigned supreme. Well, today I predict: On Tuesday, November 7, Virginia's common sense is going to reign supreme from the rivers of the Tidewater to the Shenendoah hills.

I'm talking, as you know, about Virginia's Election for Governor. One of the most crucial in America. And about the man I'm proud to support. One of the rising young leaders in America. The next Governor of this great Commonwealth: My friend and colleague, Marshall Coleman. //

Four weeks ago, I stumped for Marshall in northern Virginia. As I did an hour ago in Richmond. I believe in this man. I admire him. We share the same philosophy and values. So let's

build a bright new day for the Old Dominion. Let's elect Marshall Coleman as Governor. //

Here at Old Dominion, of course, you know something about the kind of victory we're going to celebrate next Tuesday. And how Nancy Lieberman would help the Monarchs come from behind and win the game at the buzzer. // Well, believe me, Marshall Coleman's taking a page from Old Dominion's playbook.

((A few weeks ago, Marshall was trailing. Then, he began to catch up. Now, he's pulling ahead. At this rate, with the exception of me catching a fish on the very last day of my vacation, this will be the greatest comeback of the year.)) //

Marshall Coleman is going to win because his election will be a victory for Virginia. This is a great State. It deserves a great Governor: A man in the State House who will have a friend in the White House. //

Marshall Coleman is going to win because Virginia deserves fiscal sanity. And because -- if you'll forgive me -- it rejects "Wilder spending." // ((I'm all for basketball in a gym like this, but I don't think the voters of Virginia want a State government that dribbles away opportunity and slam-dunks the taxpayer.))

Finally, Marshall Coleman is going to win because Virginia deserves a man of principle. For while two men are running for Governor, only one understands Virginia. Only one knows that Virginians expect tough answers. Honest answers. Answers to child care, transportation, education, and the environment.

Answers in the fight against crime and drugs from the banks of the Potomac to the Cumberland Gap.

Ladies and gentlemen, Marshall Coleman has supplied those answers. For he knows that Virginia deserves the Real McCoy. Not someone who masquerades as something's he's not. Not someone who wears a moderate disguise -- like every day was Halloween. Instead, Virginia needs a Governor who faces, and makes, hard choices -- who says what he means -- and means what he says. Marshall Coleman is that man. //

You know, I've seen a lot of candidates over the years. I've seen them react to victory -- and also to defeat. Defeat breaks some men -- it makes other men. And I remember how eight years ago, Marshall lost a tough campaign for Governor -- the same kind of campaign he's going to win this year.

Eight years ago, I met with Marshall a few days after Election Day. Even then, he was strong, resolute. Even then, he was a fighter determined to serve his State -- and the people he cares so much about. For he has that attribute called character -- a quality so innately Virginian. The character to examine a problem -- to understand a problem -- and then to act on that problem on every voter's behalf.

Marshall Coleman, for instance, understands that "Tax and spend" policies are nothing more than trial and error -- and error again.

Marshall Coleman has two kids -- ages 19 and 14. He uderstands that educational reform is vital to our future. So he

supports greater choice for parents and students -- and merit pay for teachers. And he understands that America needs a military that's No. 1. So, unlike his opponent, Marshall supports a strong national defense so crucial to this area's jobs and prosperity.

Yes, two candidates for Governor. But only one understands Virginia. Only one knows that the next Governor must wage real -- not rhetorical -- war against drug abuse and crime. That's why Marshall's been endorsed by Virginia's Fraternal Order of Police. Marshall Coleman understands that the Old Dominion doesn't need old ideas -- like the liberal creed which blames everyone except the criminal. Instead, it needs a Governor who understands its people. And its values. And who will protect those family values which make Virginia great. Marshall Coleman has. Marshall Coleman will.

Marshall is, to begin, an experienced man. He left law school to volunteer in the Marines. Then became a Delegate and State Senator. Prosecutor and Attorney General. He's long been on the firing line working to put criminals where they belong. Urging stiffer penalties for violent criminals. Demanding 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. Today 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. // You might call it his 20/20 vision. //

Finally, Marshall Coleman is a man of good sense, common sense. That's why he opposed the five major tax increases passed by his opponent's Administration. And why he promises not to raise taxes as Governor. Common sense marks his transportation plan to reduce gridlock in areas such as Tidewater. And he's had the good sense -- the innate compassion -- to reach out to all Virginians -- to black and other minority voters -- to help Virginia reach out to the future.

That future won't be won by gestures or gimmicks. Nor by cheap talk and wasteful policies. Instead, it will depend on government that's honest and direct.

Marshall Coleman knows that. For he knows Virginia -- from the Piedmont to the Blue Ridge Parkway. And its beauty -- from Lynchburg to Fredericksburg to the Chesapeake Bay. Most of all, he understands Virginians -- that unparalleled blend of civility, respect for tradition, and faith in God that led John Adams to say, "We all look to Virginia for examples."

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's roll up our sleeves. And raise the Old Dominion's sights. Let's help Marshall Coleman. And his two great running mates: State Senator Eddy Dalton, as Lieutenant Governor. And State Senator Joe Benedetti, as Attorney General.

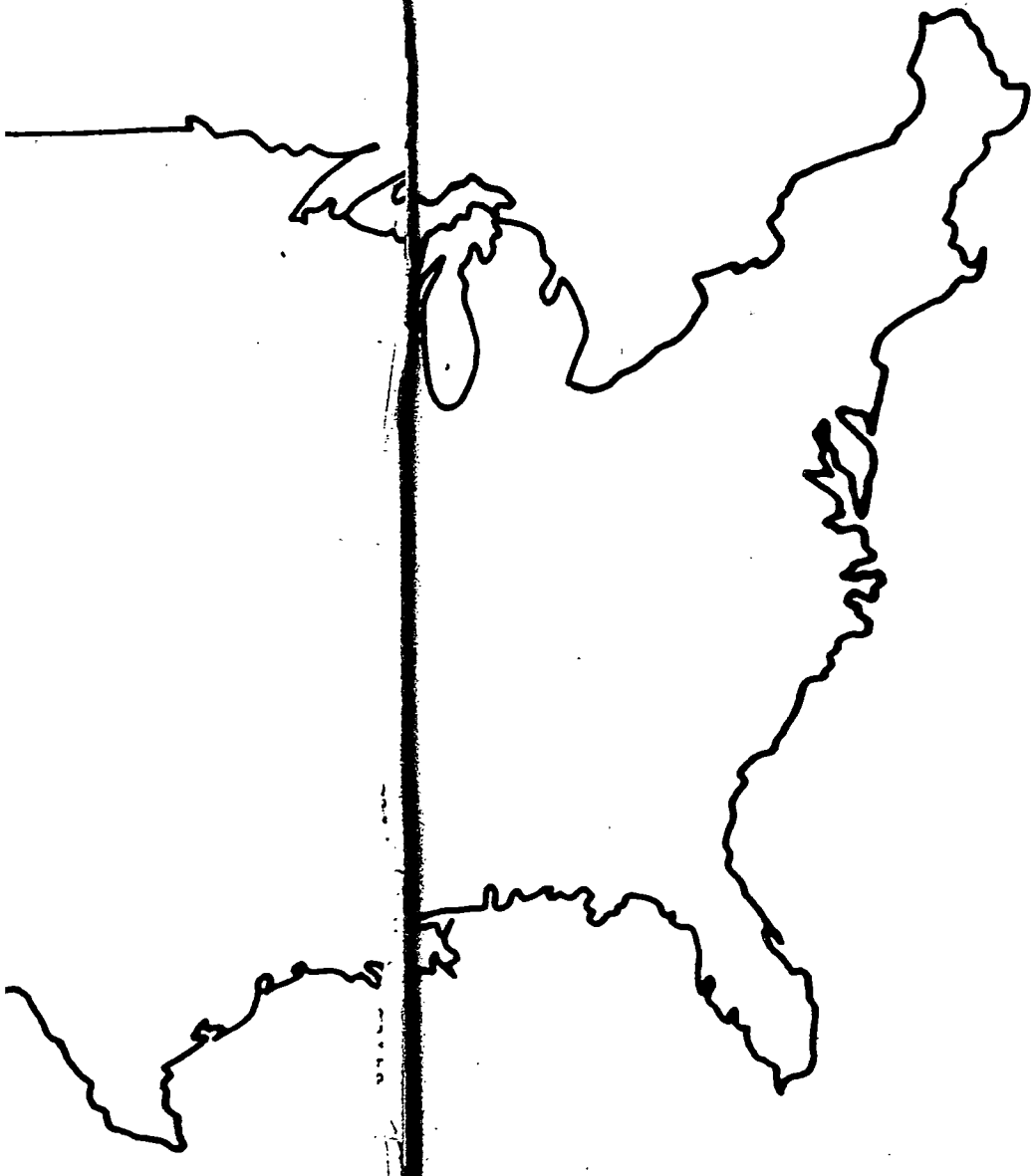
Four days till Election Day. Get out there and work. And vote. And see that others do the same. For we need Marshall Coleman in the State House. I do. You do. And so, most of all, does Virginia. Virginia Is For Lovers, this State's slogan says. Well, by electing Marshall Coleman, let's ensure that years from now we can tell our kids: On Election Day 1989, America loved what Virginia did.

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

# # # #

AMERICA THE QUOTABLE

Mike Edelhart and James Tinen



Facts On File Publications
460 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10016

thless grass, so noiseless soft and

Walt Whitman
"By Broad Potomac's Shore"
1876

th a Virginian is a noun personal. It is
himself and something over. He loves
e and *propter se:* he loves her for
r himself—because she is Virginia
g else beside. He loves to talk about

J.G. Baldwin
sh Times in Alabama and Mississippi
1853

* * *

any fear of succeeding, the intrepid
n will dauntlessly attempt to conceal
to everybody else, remains a tribal
is not escaped the comment of anthro-

James Branch Cabell
Let Me Lie
1947

* * *

ans because Virginians are all snobs,
s. A snob has to spend so much time
it he has little time left to meddle with

William Faulkner
ted in Memphis *Commercial Appeal*
1962

* * *

hillbillies, often parodied but seldom
a frontier never conquered."

Marshall Fishwick
a: A New Look at the Old Dominion
1959

* * *

ix one goal for Virginia during the
his century it would be the expansion
f our people within the tradition of
ter. And if I were to venture even the
m of our beloved state, it would be
st we have not expanded sufficiently
cultural and social horizons."

Albertis Harrison, governor
Inaugural Address
1962

* * *

"I am not a Virginian, but an American."

Patrick Henry
Speech in Continental Congress
1774

* * *

"Virginians as a breed put great store in privacy and the right to be left alone."

James J. Kilpatrick
The Foxes' Union
1977

* * *

"Never ask people where they are from. If they are from Virginia they will tell you so; if not, it will embarrass them to have to confess that they aren't."

Old Virginia proverb
Quoted by H.L. Mencken
A New Dictionary of Quotations, On Historical Principles
1942

* * *

"The Virginians have little money and great pride, contempt of Northern men, and great fondness for a dissipated life. They do not understand grammar."

Noah Webster
Letter from Williamsburg, Virginia
1785

WAY OF LIFE

"And foxhounds belling the Virginia hills."

Stephen Vincent Benet
John Brown's Body
1928

* * *

"... For me Virginia is memorable because it is beautiful in landscape and in ways of life. There is an atmosphere of repose and maturity, a grace that comes only with age."

Pearl S. Buck
America
1971

* * *

"Despite her veneer of pink-coated fox hunters and smiling house servants, Virginia has been for a century one of the poorer states of the Union."

Marshall Fishwick
Virginia: A New Look at the Old Dominion
1959

* * *

"Actually the Old Dominion is at the crossroads of two regional crossroads of two regional cultures, flirting coyly with both from time to time, but marrying neither."

Marshall Fishwick
Virginia: A New Look at the Old Dominion
1959

* * *

"Elegance, *esprit*, culture? Virginia has no art, no literature, no philosophy, no mind or aspiration of her own."

H.L. Mencken
Prejudices: Second Series
1920

* * *

"Urbanity, *politesse*, chivalry? Go to! It was in Virginia that they invented the device for searching for contraband whiskey in women's underwear."

H.L. Mencken
Prejudices: Second Series
1920

* * *

"It is, by long odds, the most civilized of the southern states, now as always."

H.L. Mencken
Prejudices: Second Series
1920

HISTORY AND POLITICS

"We all look to Virginia for examples."

John Adams
Letter to Patrick Henry
1775

* * *

"This [Civil War] is Virginia's *Iliad.*"

Stephen Vincent Benet
John Brown's Body
1928

* * *

"Viewed and considered as a settlement, Virginia is far from being arrived at that degree of perfection which it is capable of."

Andrew Burnaby
Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America
1775

* * *

"... and the gentlemen of Virginia, who are exceedingly fond of horse-racing, have spared no expense or trouble to improve the breed of them by importing great numbers from New England."

Andrew Burnaby
Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America
1775

* * *

[First impressions of Burlington]: "A square enclosed by a whitewashed wooden railing, rendered a disagreeable gray by the rain, ornamented with a pole in the center, surmounted by one of the numerous and widely diffused coiffures of the goddess of liberty, and surrounded by the principle stores of the place—occasionally animated by one of the damp, moist population, picking their way over the grass-grown brick pavement."

Teresa G. Viele
Following the Drum: A Glimpse of Frontier Life
1858

Other Cities, Towns and Regions

The Green Mountains:

"Not far from Cavendish we began to climb the Green Mountains, covered with dense forests, where the only path, strewn with rocks, and very steep when climbing up and swampy in the valleys, allowed us, now on horseback, now on foot, to make no more than two miles an hour. The tedium of that toilsome journey was increased by the gloom of the forest and by the disagreeable smell of the swamps."

Luigi Castiglioni
Travels
1785

* * *

"All the hills blush; I think that autumn must be the best season to journey over even the *Green* Mountains. You frequently exclaim to yourself, what *red* maples."

Henry David Thoreau
Excursions
1893

Lake Champlain:

"The water [of Lake Champlain] is less blue and pure than that of Lake George—a concession of quality to quantity. But its great beauty is the really great style of the landscape: this grand unflowing river, as it seems, with the generous, prolonged simplicity of its shores—green and level, without being low, on the east (till you come abreast of the Green Mountains), on the west bordered by an immense panorama of magnificent hills, receding more dimly line from line till they meet the steady azure of the great wall of the Adirondacks."

Henry James
Nation
1870

VIRGINIA



Capital: Richmond
Entered the union (with rank): June 25, 1788 (10)
State motto: *Sic semper tyrannis* (Thus always to tyrants)
State flower: American dogwood
State bird: Cardinal
State song: "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny"
State tree: Dogwood
Nickname: Mother of Presidents, The Old Dominion
Origin of state name: In honor of the Virgin Queen, Elizabeth I

Virginia is shaped like an arrowhead pointing straight toward the center of America, and Virginians have seen themselves as the quintessential Americans, pointing out the way the rest of the nation should act, since the earliest days of the colonies.

Virginia actually does serve as a kind of bridge for American geography and attitudes. It stands on the cusp between North and South, between the Atlantic Ocean and the Appalachian Mountains, between the traditional American way of life and the sprawling megalopolis that stretches from Boston to Norfok, Va., between the highest aspirations of the American spirit and the meanest tendencies of our racially benighted national subconscious.

America's first permanent English settlement was established at Jamestown in 1607. The first American baby, Virginia Dare, was born in Virginia. The first president came from the state, as did seven later ones, a record number. It was also, however, the first place in America where slaves were auctioned at the block, in 1619.

The state's enormous historical importance tinges modern life, imbuing the simplest Virginia acts with an inordinate sense of history and age. As a result, change has come slowly to Virginia, which still resists the creeping urbanism that its closeness to Washington, D.C., imports.

Virginia's economy is varied, with fishing along the coast and coal mining in the southwest. Its economy has been called one of the most recession-proof in America. The chief crop is tobacco, with

Suggested remarks for President Bush

Outline of key points:

1. Marshall Coleman is an honest, experienced leader Virginians can trust.

   a. An effective Attorney General, State Senator and Delegate. A successful lawyer. A leader who has viewed public office as a public trust.

2. Marshall Coleman will be the first governor to take office in the 90's ? -- when is N.J. inauguration), and he is a Governor for the 90's. . .

-- [Drugs and Crime - Richmond and Norfolk]
Marshall Coleman will lead Virginia in a real war on drugs that can make Virginia the anti-drug model for the Nation.

   a. Coleman was tough, effective crime fighter as Attorney General.

   b. Coleman has a bold and innovative anti-drug plan that targets drug users as well as dealers, and makes them pay for the war on drugs with large fines and the confiscated profits of dealers.

   c. Coleman has been endorsed by the police officers on the front line -- the Fraternal Order of Police.

   d. Coleman's opponent has refused to support the tough laws that are needed to win the drug war. {See talking points attached re Wilder's record.}

   e. Wilder voted against a law to make it a felony to point a gun at a police officer because, in his words, it might provoke the police to commit murder. That's the old blame-the-police-first attitude that we always hear from liberal Democrats.

-- [Taxes and Prosperity - Richmond, Norfolk]
Marshall Coleman will continue and improve upon Virginia's economy and will hold the line on taxes.

   a. Virginia's prosperity is a product of Reagan-Bush economic policies that cut taxes, spurred economic growth, and brought on an unprecedented period of economic expansion. Wilder denounced those policies, calling them a "nightmare" and a "disaster". But now he says he should be

elected to continue the prosperity of the eighties. We have it in spite of him.

b. Coleman supported President Reagan and President Bush when they needed his support – because he knew their policies would bring our economy back. Wilder wanted to go back to the failed policies of the past in 1980, 1984 and 1988 (Carter, Mondale, Dukakis).

c. If Wilder's positions on taxes had been adopted through the years, the typical Virginia family would be paying $6,000 more in taxes this year. In the last four years, Virginians have had five tax increases. And Wilder says he would probably sign a tax hike into law if he were elected Governor. Virginians can't afford him.

d. Coleman understands that it is wrong for real estate taxes to double or triple in a single year because it hits youing families and elderly citizens the hardest. He favors placing a cap on annual real estate tax hikes. Wilder says that is "irresponsible" even though 41 states have legislated such limits on property taxes.

– [Education - Richmond and, time permitting, Norfolk]
Marshall Coleman is in tune with the education reform movement and the ideas that were talked about at the Charlottesville summit -- greater choice for parents and students, merit pay for teachers, getting drugs out of the classrooms.

a. Marshall Coleman will build on the best of what is happening nationally to increase choices for parents. His opponent has criticized him for that, but the governors who assembled in Charlottesville were moving in Marshall's direction. We cannot accept the status quo; we need to move forward.

b. Marshall Coleman's call for merit pay for teachers is right on target, too. We need incentives and rewards in that profession as well as others. It makes no sense to pay the best and the worst teachers the same. Again, we cannot remain wedded to the ways of the past. Marshall Coleman will move Virginia forward.

– [Defense - Tidewater only]
Wilder says the federal government should cut what he refers to as "awesome and inordinate amounts" spent on defense because of Gorbachev's policies.

a. Coleman has supported what President Reagan and President Bush have done to rebuild our defenses.

b. Wilder ignores that we are moving toward peace and democracy around the world because America became strong again in this decade, after the Democrats left us weak.

b. Federal spending has much to do with the prosperity of Virginia, especially the Hampton Roads (Tidewater) area, and Marshall Coleman will be someone President Bush can work with to keep the economy there, as well as our national defenses, strong.

-- [Transportation - Tidewater only]
Marshall Coleman has a forward-looking plan to relieve gridlock in the most congested areas of Virginia, such as Tidewater and Northern Virginia. His regional transportation authority is an approach that can get the projects built faster and with more accountability.

-- [Chesapeake Bay - Tidewater]
Marshall Coleman has worked for a cleaner environment. As attorney General, he went to court to make polluters pay for the damage done by oil spills in the Bay and he has sound proposals for guarding against oil spills int he future.

Advocates for Coleman

TALKING POINTS

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 reinstituting 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.

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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.

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-- "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.

-- "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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ATTN: POLITICAL REPORTERS

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUG 1 89

Contact: Dennis Peterson
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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

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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.

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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

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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

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 <u>all</u> 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. <u>Pursue New Strategies for Corrections</u>

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. <u>Develop Alternatives to Incarceration for Non-Violent Offenders</u>

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

- 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:

- **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.

- **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.

- **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.

- **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.

- **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

- 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

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

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.

Solution #2: Abolish discretionary parole and early release.

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.

Solution #3: 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. 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.

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

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.

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

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.

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.

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.

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.**

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.

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.

Solution #9: Encourage 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.

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.

Cost Savings Per Day to House Inmates

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

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.

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

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.

Solution #11: 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. 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.

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.

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.**

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.

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.

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.

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.

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

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.

(Smith/Blessey)
October 31, 1989
Draft Five
MARSH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COLEMAN ADDRESS
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1989

Senator Warner, Congressmen Bateman, ~~Bliley~~, and ~~Slaughter~~. Our magnificent Republican ticket -- Marshall Coleman, Eddy Dalton, and Joe Benedetti. Ladies and gentlemen, friends.

Marshall, thank you for that kind introduction. And let me say that as always, I am delighted to be in perhaps America's most historic State: The Old Dominion. // And in one of its greatest cities. The home of Old Dominion Unversity. //

It is indeed a pleasure to speak at this distinguished school. And in a gym where the basketball Monarchs have often reigned supreme. Well, today I predict: On Tuesday, November 7, Virginia's common sense is going to reign supreme from the rivers of the Tidewater to the Shenendoah ~~hills~~ Valley.

I'm talking, as you know, about Virginia's Election for Governor. One of the most crucial in America. And about the man I'm proud to support. One of the rising young leaders in America. The next Governor of this great Commonwealth: My friend and colleague, Marshall Coleman. //

Four weeks ago, I stumped for Marshall in northern Virginia. As I did ~~an~~ two hours ago in Richmond. I believe in this man. I admire him. We share the same philosophy and values. So let's

build a bright new day for the Old Dominion. Let's elect Marshall Coleman as Governor. //

Here at Old Dominion, of course, you know something about the kind of victory we're going to celebrate next Tuesday. And how Nancy Lieberman would help the Monarchs come from behind and win the game at the buzzer. // Well, believe me, Marshall Coleman's taking a page from Old Dominion's playbook. //

((In fact, with the exception of me catching a fish on the very last day of my vacation, this will be the greatest comeback of the year.)) //

Marshall Coleman is going to win because his election will be a victory for Virginia. This is a great State. It deserves a great Governor: A man in the State House who will have a friend in the White House. //

Marshall Coleman is going to win because Virginia deserves fiscal sanity. And because -- if you'll forgive me -- it rejects "Wilder spending." // ((I'm all for basketball in a gym like this, but I don't think the voters of Virginia want a State government that dribbles away opportunity and slam-dunks the taxpayer.))

Finally, Marshall Coleman is going to win because Virginia deserves a man of principle. For while two men are running for Governor, only one understands Virginia. Only one knows that Virginians expect tough answers. Honest answers. Answers to child care, transportation, education, and the environment.

Answers in the fight against crime and drugs from the banks of the Potomac to the Cumberland Gap.

Ladies and gentlemen, Marshall Coleman has supplied those answers. For he knows that Virginia deserves the Real McCoy. Not someone who masquerades as something's he's not. Not someone who wears a moderate disguise -- like every day was Halloween. Instead, Virginia needs a Governor who faces, and makes, hard choices -- who says what he means -- and means what he says. Marshall Coleman is that man. //

You know, I've seen a lot of candidates over the years. I've seen them react to victory -- and also to defeat. Defeat breaks some men -- it makes other men. And I remember how eight years ago, Marshall lost a tough campaign for Governor -- the same kind of campaign he's going to win this year.

Eight years ago, I met with Marshall a few days after Election Day. Even then, he was strong, resolute. Even then, he was a fighter determined to serve his State -- and the people he cares so much about. For he has that attribute called character -- a quality so innately (sp?) Virginian. The character to examine a problem -- to understand a problem -- and then to act on that problem on every voter's behalf.

Marshall Coleman, for instance, understands that "Tax and spend" policies are nothing more than trial and error -- and error again.

Marshall Coleman has two kids -- ages 19 and 14. He understands that educational reform is vital to our future. So he

supports greater choice for parents and students -- and merit pay for teachers. And he understands that America needs a military that's No. 1. So, unlike his opponent, Marshall supports a strong national defense so crucial to this area's jobs and prosperity.

Yes, two candidates for Governor. But only one understands Virginia. Only one knows that the next Governor must wage real -- not rhetorical -- war against drug abuse and crime. That's why Marshall's been endorsed by Virginia's Fraternal Order of Police. Marshall Coleman understands that the Old Dominion doesn't need old ideas -- like the liberal creed which blames everyone except the criminal. Instead, it needs a Governor who understands its people. And its values. And who will protect those family values which make Virginia great. Marshall Coleman has. Marshall Coleman will.

Marshall is, to begin, an experienced man. He left law school to volunteer in the Marines. Then became a Delegate and State Senator. Prosecutor and Attorney General. He's long been on the firing line working to put criminals where they belong. Urging stiffer penalties for violent criminals. Demanding 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. Today in Virginia, a 20-year sentence for drug dealing can mean as little as ~~3 and 1/2 years~~ less than a quarter of that in actual time served. Marshall Coleman wants to make 20 years mean 20 years. // You might call it his 20/20 vision. //

Finally, Marshall Coleman is a man of good sense, common sense. That's why he opposed the five major tax increases passed by his opponent's Administration. And why he promises not to raise taxes as Governor. Common sense marks his transportation plan to reduce gridlock in areas such as Tidewater. And he's had the good sense -- the innate compassion -- to reach out to all Virginians -- to black and other minority voters -- to help Virginia reach out to the future.

That future won't be won by gestures or gimmicks. Nor by cheap talk and wasteful policies. Instead, it will depend on government that's honest and direct.

Marshall Coleman knows that. For he knows Virginia -- from the ~~Piedmont~~ Chesapeake Bay to the Blue Ridge Parkway. And its beauty -- from Lynchburg to Fredericksburg to the Chesapeake Bay. Most of all, he understands Virginians -- that unparalleled blend of civility, respect for tradition, and faith in God that led John Adams to say, "We all look to Virginia for examples."

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's roll up our sleeves. And raise the Old Dominion's sights. Let's help Marshall Coleman. And his two great running mates: State Senator Eddy Dalton, as Lieutenant Governor. And State Senator Joe Benedetti, as Attorney General.

Four days till Election Day. Get out there and work. And vote. And see that others do the same. For we need Marshall Coleman in the State ~~House~~ Capitol. I do. You do. And so, most of all, does Virginia. Virginia Is For Lovers, this State's slogan says. Well, by electing Marshall Coleman, let's ensure that years from now we can tell our kids: On Election Day 1989, America loved what Virginia did.

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

# # # #

Coleman For Governor

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

Advocates for Coleman

TALKING POINTS

Crime
Death Penalty
Right to Work
Taxes
Ethics

Coleman-Wilder Differences

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 elicit 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.

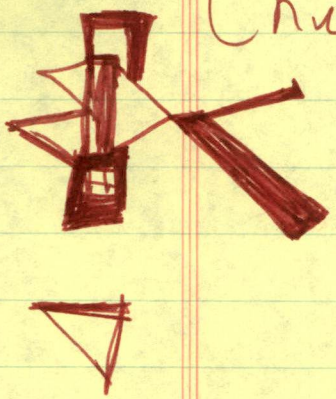
In 1980, Wilder considered a bid against conservative Democratic Congressman David Satterfield of Richmond, had Satterfield sought re-election. "Wilder said running as an 'independent Democrat' [was] one of the options he [was] considering." (Richmond News Leader, February 20, 1980)

10/31/89 Coleman

Sean Coleman - @ Princeton (609) 258-3000
~~734-7202~~, 734-0879

Warren Coleman - Williamsboro (703) 943-9292
WCKT

Old Dominion University
(804) 683-3875
Public Relations



Chesapeake

Winn

436-7522

547-6153

547-6161

David Wynne

482-1252

Elbert Wynne

Donald Wynne

497-6134

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

revised remarks
1989 NOV -1 PM 7:23
11-2/12:31 pm

October 29, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON CW

FROM: CURT SMITH CS

SUBJECT: MARSHALL COLEMAN CAMPAIGN RALLY

I. SUMMARY

On Friday, November 3, at 2:15 p.m., you will address about 6,000 students and local residents at Old Dominion University in Norfolk. You will be introduced by Marshall Coleman. Senator Warner will be master of ceremonies. Chairman Atwater, Congressmen Bateman, Slaughter, and Parris will also attend.

II. DISCUSSION

The attached remarks (11 minutes) hail Marshall Coleman, and encourage Virginians to support the Republican candidates. The remarks focus on Colemans's crime and drug plan, tax and spend policies of the Democrats, and Coleman's superb record.

Roe Nelson
Nancy Mobley

I think we need a little more I need a Governor with whom I can work following up on Education Summit. I need a Governor who I can work to enact bold new environmental policies that will preserve our wetlands, clean our air etc etc

Need a Gov who will support my anti crime package and help me drum up needed support in Virginia for our ethics package

in other words match some of our goals and the fact that a Gov who believes in can help me get things passed

Presidential Requested Inserts for Coleman

I need a Governor with whom I can work to follow up on the Education Summit. I need a Governor who will work with me to establish national education goals. --And a Governor who is committed to restructuring and choice in his state.

Rae Nelson

I need a Governor with whom I can work to enact bold new environmental policies that will preserve our wetlands, clean our air, enforce against polluters and clean up hazardous wastes. I have proposed a comprehensive clean air bill that will reduce acid rain, air toxics and urban smog. And I need a Governor like Marshall Coleman who will help get this important legislation enacted.

Nancy Maloley

POTUS
11/2 12:35pm

(Smith/Blessey)
November 1, 1989
Draft Five
MARSH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COLEMAN ADDRESS
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1989
2:15 P.M.

Senator Warner. Congressmen Bateman, Parris, and Slaughter. Chairman Atwater. And our magnificent Republican ticket -- Marshall Coleman, Eddy Dalton, and Joe Benedetti. Ladies and gentlemen, friends.

Marshall, thank you for that kind introduction. And let me say that as always, I am delighted to be in perhaps America's most historic State. And in one of its greatest cities. The home of Old Dominion University. //

It is indeed a pleasure to speak at this distinguished school. And in a gym where the Monarchs have often reigned supreme. Well, on Tuesday, November 7, **Virginia's common sense is going to reign supreme** from the rivers of the Tidewater to the Shenendoah Valley.

I'm talking, as you know, about Virginia's Election for Governor. One of the **most crucial** in America. And about the man I'm proud to support. One of the **rising young leaders** in America. The next Governor of this great Commonwealth: My friend and colleague, **Marshall Coleman.** //

Four weeks ago, I stumped for Marshall in northern Virginia. As I did two hours ago in Richmond. I **believe** in this man. I **admire** him. We share the same philosophy and values. So let's

build a bright **new** day for one of America's **oldest** states. **Let's elect Marshall Coleman as Governor.** //

Here at Old Dominion, of course, you **know** something about the kind of victory we're going to celebrate next Tuesday. The same way Nancy Lieberman would help the Lady Monarchs come from behind to win the game. // Well, believe me, Marshall Coleman's taking a page from Old Dominion's playbook. //

((When we win the governor's mansion in Virginia, they'll call it **the greatest comeback of the year.** // With the possible exception of the fish I caught on the last day of my vacation.)) // I know some of you have been reading the polls. And every indication is that this will be a tight race. But remember, **this** President was once counted out by the polls. The only poll that counts is the one on Tuesday.

A Marshall Coleman victory will be a victory for Virginia. This is a great State. It deserves a great Governor: A man in the **State House** who will have a friend in the **White House.** //

Marshall Coleman deserves to win because Virginia deserves fiscal sanity. And because -- if you'll forgive me -- it rejects "Wilder spending." // ((I'm all for basketball in a gym like this, but I don't think the voters of Virginia want a State government that dribbles away opportunity and slam-dunks the taxpayer.))

Finally, Marshall Coleman deserves to win because Virginia deserves a man of principle. For while two men are **running** for Governor, only one truly **understands** Virginia. Only one knows

that Virginians expect tough answers. Honest answers. Answers to child care, transportation, education, and the environment. Answers in the fight against crime and drugs from the banks of the Potomac to the Cumberland Gap.

Ladies and gentlemen, Virginia deserves a Governor who faces, and makes, hard choices -- **who says what he means -- and means what he says. Marshall Coleman is that man.** //

You know, I've seen a lot of candidates over the years. I've seen them react to victory -- and also to defeat. Defeat **breaks** some men -- it **makes** other men. And I remember how eight years ago, Marshall lost a tough campaign for Governor.

Eight years ago, I met with Marshall a few days after Election Day. Even then, he was strong, resolute. Even then, he was a fighter determined to serve his State -- and the people he cares so much about. For he has that attribute called **character** -- a quality so innately Virginian. The character to **examine** a problem -- to **understand** a problem -- and then to **act** on that problem on every voter's behalf.

Marshall Coleman, for instance, understands that "Tax and spend" policies are nothing more than trial and error -- and error again.

Marshall Coleman has two sons -- ages 19 and 14. He understands that educational reform is vital to our future. So he supports greater choice for parents and students -- and merit pay for teachers. And he understands that America needs a

military that's No. 1. Marshall Coleman supports a strong national defense so crucial to this area's jobs and prosperity.

Yes, two candidates for Governor. But only one truly understands Virginia. Only one knows that the next Governor must wage **real** -- not **rhetorical** -- war against drug abuse and crime. That's why only one -- Marshall Coleman -- has been endorsed by Virginia's Fraternal Order of Police. Marshall Coleman understands that the **Old Dominion** doesn't need **old ideas** -- like the liberal creed which blames everyone **except** the criminal. Instead, it needs a Governor who understands its people. And its values. And who will **protect** those family values which make Virginia great. Marshall Coleman **has.** Marshall Coleman **will.**

Marshall is, to begin, an **experienced man.** He left law school to volunteer in the Marines. Then became a U.S. Magistrate and Delegate. State Senator and Attorney General. He's long been on the firing line working to put criminals where they belong. Urging stiffer penalties for violent criminals. Demanding greater certainty in sentencing, and an end to easy parole and early release.

Marshall Coleman is also a **no-nonsense man.** Announcing perhaps the most comprehensive plan for fighting drugs by any candidate in any State. He agrees with me that drug kingpins should pay the ultimate price. He wants stiff mandatory sentences for drug distribution offenses. And the end of a hit-or-miss parole system that lets hardened drug dealers prey on society. Today 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. // You might call it his 20/20 vision. //**

Finally, Marshall Coleman is a man of **good sense, common sense.** That's why he opposed the five major tax increases passed by his opponent's Administration. And why he promises **not** to raise taxes as Governor. Common sense marks his regional transportation plan to reduce gridlock in areas such as Tidewater. And he's had the good sense -- the innate compassion -- to reach out to all Virginians -- to black and other minority voters -- to help Virginia reach out to the future.

That future will depend on government that's honest and direct. Marshall Coleman knows that. For he knows Virginia -- from Mount Vernon to Monticello to the beauty of Williamsburg. But most of all, he understands **Virginians** -- that unparalleled blend of civility, respect for tradition, and faith in God that led John Adams to say, "We all look to Virginia for examples."

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's roll up our sleeves. And raise Virginia's sights. Let's help Marshall Coleman. And his two great running mates: State Senator Eddy Dalton, your next Lieutenant Governor. And State Senator Joe Benedetti, your next Attorney General.

Four days till Election Day. Get out there and work. And vote. And see that others do the same. Because we **need** Marshall Coleman in the State Capital. **I** do. **You** do. And so, most of all, does **Virginia.** You know, your state slogan says: Virginia Is For Lovers. Well, by electing Marshall Coleman, let's ensure that years from now we can tell our kids: On Election Day 1989, **America loved what Virginia did.**

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

# # # #

Blessey

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

NOVEMBER 3, 1989

EVENTS:

Marshall Coleman for Governor Rally
Private Lunch

DRESS:

Men - Business Suit
Women - Day Dress

CONTACT:

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

Trip Coordinator
Barbara Jobe - 202/456-7565

Norfolk, Virginia Signal - 202/395-1511

ADVANCE:

Rick Pharr - LEAD
Chris Molineaux - PRESS
Butch Muller - USSS
Woody Lee - MIL. AIDE
John Thompson - WHCA
Terry Land - AFI
Pat Stamper - HMX

WEATHER:

Partly Sunny/Mid 60's

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

NOVEMBER 3, 1989

12:55 pm — THE PRESIDENT arrives Norfolk Naval Air Station, Norfolk, Virginia and proceeds to Motorcade.

Met By:

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Stanton (Eleanor)
Coleman Supporter

Mr. Shep Davis
Coleman Supporter

Mr. Ridge Porter
Coleman Supporter

Mr. Bill Prettyman
Coleman Supporter

Mr. Al Fuentes
Coleman Supporter

Mr. Kirk Woodruff
Coleman Supporter

ADM Vincent Lascara
Coleman Supporter

Mr. Vince Thomas
Coleman Supporter

Mr. Don Albee
Coleman Supporter

ADM Frank Kelso
Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic
Commander in Chief, U.S. Atlantic Command

1:00 pm — THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Norfolk Naval Air Station en route Old Dominion University.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead	R. Pharr
Spare	Doctor T. McBride
LIMO	THE PRESIDENT M. Coleman E. Dalton J. Benedetti
Control	A. Card S. Rogich Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater J. Parmer Official Photographer Medic
Camera I	
Camera II	G. Fendler
Wire I	
Wire II	
Staff I	J. Wray B. Kilberg L. Atwater
Staff Van	All Remaining Staff
Guest Van	All Remaining Guests
Press Van I	J. Allison
Press Van II	
Press Van III	

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Old Dominion University Field House, Guests and Staff will be escorted to either Staff Holding or Staff Viewing Area.

Please board Motorcade no later than 1:35 pm for transport to Missouri House.

1:15 pm — THE PRESIDENT arrives Old Dominion University Field House and proceeds to Holding Room.

Met By:

Former Senator Bill Spong
President, Old Dominion University

Doctor George Healy
Executive Vice President, Old Dominion University

Former Congressman Bill Whitehurst
Professor, Old Dominion University

Mr. Paul Muerello
President, College Republicans

1:17 pm — THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room.

1:19 pm — THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Off-Stage Announcement Area.

1:20 pm — THE PRESIDENT arrives Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly.

EVENT: MARSHALL COLEMAN FOR GOVERNOR RALLY

OPEN PRESS

RUFFLES AND FLOURISHES

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

HAIL TO THE CHIEF

BRIEF REMARKS

1:22 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Marshall Coleman, is announced onto Stage and proceeds to Seat.

1:23 pm Senator John Warner introduces Mr. Marshall Coleman for Remarks.

1:28 pm THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Brief Remarks by Mr. Marshall Coleman.

1:30 pm THE PRESIDENT gives Brief Remarks.

1:40 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Brief Remarks, departs Stage and proceeds to Holding Room.

1:43 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly.

1:47 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

1:50 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Old Dominion University Field House en route Missouri House.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Missouri House, Guests and Staff will remain in Motorcade Vehicles.

2:05 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Missouri House and proceeds to Dining Room.

Met By:

ADM Frank Kelso
Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic
Commander in Chief, U.S. Atlantic Command

EVENT: PRIVATE LUNCH

OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHER ONLY

2:08 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Dining Room and begins participation in Lunch.

2:43 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Lunch, departs Dining Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

2:45 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Missouri House en route Norfolk Naval Air Station.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

2:50 pm — THE PRESIDENT arrives Norfolk Naval Air Station and proceeds to board Air Force One.

2:55 pm — THE PRESIDENT departs Norfolk, Virginia en route Newark, New Jersey.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 20 Minutes)
(Interchange: Yes)
(Time Change: None)
(Food Service: Snacks)

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1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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October 26, 1989, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: METRO; PAGE B8

LENGTH: 1392 words

HEADLINE: Changing Political Tunes;
Va. Hopefuls Switch Sides on Many Issues

SERIES: ROAD TO RICHMOND

BYLINE: Donald P. Baker, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: RICHMOND

BODY:

Of all the statements made so far by the rival candidates in the increasingly rancorous contest for governor, the one that might be closest to indisputable was Democratic Lt. Gov. L. Douglas Wilder's observation that "the past is there, but it is not necessarily prologue."

And Wilder's Republican opponent, former state attorney general J. Marshall Coleman, could have been speaking of both of them when he said, "He has flipped and flopped and backed and filled."

If voters are confused about where Wilder and Coleman stand on abortion, the death penalty and some other issues, it is because both have undergone philosophical evolutions during their long public careers.

Wilder shifted from liberal to moderate during his 16 years in the state Senate, and has continued to edge toward the center during his term as lieutenant governor. Coleman has shifted from moderate to conservative since first being elected to the General Assembly in 1972.

Both candidates protest suggestions that they have amended their positions to court voters. This year, when Wilder was asked by Coleman to "name an issue" on which he had not changed his position, Wilder replied, "I've not made any modifications." During his 1981 campaign for governor, Coleman insisted, "I have always held the views and principles I advocate today."

Yet each one's records and pronouncements have provided the other with ammunition that they are now firing in commercials and on the stump, often pointing to votes or statements that are more than 10 years old.

"Who can you trust?" Coleman is fond of asking when comparing himself with Wilder.

Neither, one might answer, if it depends on consistency.

Wilder accuses Coleman of altering his position on abortion, and Coleman says Wilder has reversed his view on capital punishment.

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An examination of their records shows that both are correct.

Coleman favored abortion rights throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. Even though he campaigned vigorously for governor against Charles S. Robb in 1981, Coleman found no fault with a tie-breaking vote cast in the state Senate by Lt. Gov. Robb that permitted Medicaid financing of abortions of abnormal fetuses.

And in his official capacity as the state's chief lawyer, then-Attorney General Coleman said in an opinion interpreting the law that killing a fetus was not murder, and in another opinion helped strike down a parental consent law as unconstitutional.

It was after his loss to Robb that Coleman adopted the view that abortions should be allowed only when the life of the mother is in danger.

Last summer, after the U.S. Supreme Court returned to the states authority for restricting some abortions, Coleman backed off somewhat, saying he would not seek to ban abortions for victims of rape or incest because there is no support for such legislation in the General Assembly.

Wilder also waffled briefly after the court ruling, saying initially that "a need exists for appropriate limitations on abortion."

Later, Wilder clarified his stand, saying he would restrict abortions only to the extent that he might sign legislation requiring girls under a certain age to obtain their parents' consent before obtaining an abortion, even though he had opposed such measures in the past.

Wilder was among the most fervent legislative opponents of capital punishment for many years.

The first negative commercial of this year's general election campaign was a Coleman spot that attacked Wilder for being the only senator to vote against a 1977 measure that imposed the death penalty for those convicted of slaying a police officer. Wilder denounced the commercial as "despicable," noting that it did not point out that his vote occurred 12 years ago.

Wilder said he dropped his opposition to capital punishment when he was satisfied that it was no longer being used to discriminate against blacks, saying it was an appropriate punishment in extreme cases. As recently as Tuesday, Wilder said that he does not believe that capital punishment is a deterrent to crime, but that society has a right to demand such a penalty in certain heinous cases.

"The only time he [Wilder] was for it [capital punishment] was when he was looking for votes in the last election," Coleman said.

In another commercial, Coleman chastises Wilder for opposing a 1979 bill that would have made it a felony to brandish a firearm at a police officer, quoting news accounts in which Wilder said that it could permit police to get away with murder. That vote was believed to have a played a role in the Fraternal Order of Police's decision to support Coleman this year, after backing Wilder for lieutenant governor four years ago.

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Coleman himself voted against a bill in 1976 that would have made killing a police officer a capital offense, but switched the next year, and since then has been a proponent of the death penalty for drug kingpins and for a variety of other crimes.

In this right-to-work state, where it is illegal for strikers to keep those who want to work from crossing picket lines, each candidate has tried to portray the other as a closet supporter of collective bargaining for public employees, which is prohibited by state law, and as the tool of unions.

At the same time, both have happily accepted union endorsements, Coleman from the Fraternal Order of Police and Wilder from the Virginia Education Association.

Coleman contends that Wilder "sought to undercut" the right-to-work law. That happened after Gov. Gerald L. Baliles dispatched state troopers to Southwest Virginia's coal fields at the start the six-month-old coal strike and Wilder said that, if he were governor, "I won't have to send in anybody to do anything."

A few days later, Wilder amended his position, saying, "I would send in whatever force that is necessary to maintain law and order."

In a debate this month, Wilder criticized Coleman's sponsorship in 1974 of a public labor-management contracts bill that would have permitted public employees to "meet and confer" with their employers, which is often considered a precursor to collective bargaining. Coleman responded that he was trying to head off full-fledged collective bargaining by public employees, which was not unconstitutional at the time, and he noted that Wilder had backed a similar bill in 1980.

Both candidates promise to crack down on drug and alcohol abusers, but they didn't always act on that impulse when they had the chance as legislators.

Wilder voted against a bill in 1984 that would have made a conviction of drunk driving automatic when a driver's blood alcohol level registered 0.10, and he also voted against a mandatory 30-day driver's license suspension for anyone convicted of drunk driving.

In 1975, Coleman introduced a bill that would have allowed first-time drunk drivers to avoid automatic suspension of their driver's license.

As a member of the state Senate, Coleman voted to make the Rev. Martin Luther King's birthday a state holiday, but he later supported a 1981 veto of a similar bill.

More recently, environmentalists have charged that Coleman has shifted his position on the proposed western bypass around Washington. According to the Fauquier Democrat newspaper, before his nomination in the June Republican primary, Coleman said "it's not part of my campaign to build the western bypass."

Now, according to the newspaper, Coleman says, "it appears that ultimately there will be a western bypass. It's just a question of where, not whether." Coleman has told The Washington Post that while he favors the proposed eastern

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bypass, he believes that some western route will be built. Coleman said local governments must reach a consensus on the western bypass for the project to receive his backing.

A top adviser to one of the gubernatorial nominees, a veteran of many political campaigns, said privately that he has never seen a contest in which both candidates "had so many similar evolutions of positions."

Not everyone believes that these metamorphoses are bad.

"It's kind of a standing joke," said state Sen. Thomas J. Michie Jr. (D-Charlottesville), that when legislators seek statewide office they readjust their positions.

"It's occurred at least a dozen times since I've been in the General Assembly, whether you're talking about Marshall Coleman . . . or Doug," Michie said.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, J. MARSHALL COLEMAN.

TYPE: VIRGINIA NEWS, SERIES

SUBJECT: VIRGINIA; POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS; POLITICAL POSITIONS / PHILOSOPHY; GOVERNORS; DEATH PENALTY; ABORTION

NAMED-PERSONS: L. DOUGLAS COLEMAN; J. MARSHALL WILDER

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2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1989 The Washington Post

October 25, 1989, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: METRO; PAGE D7

LENGTH: 1052 words

HEADLINE: Coleman, Wilder Vie for Reputation as Tough Crime Fighter

SERIES: ROAD TO RICHMOND:ISSUES: CRIME AND DRUGS, Occasional

BYLINE: Dana Priest, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

From the outset of the Virginia governor's race, Democrat L. Douglas Wilder and Republican J. Marshall Coleman have fought for the honor of being crowned the state's bully against crime.

Coleman has made the issue a centerpiece in his campaign, handing out frequent and detailed descriptions of his anticrime platform and telling audiences that drug use is a "moral problem" and that the Nov. 7 election "will be a referendum on the drug war."

For his part, Wilder has portrayed himself as an equal with his Republican challenger when it comes to dealing with drug dealers and crime, and points to the law-and-order reputation he has worked at building in recent years. He tends to stress drug education and treatment as equal components to legal deterrents in his overall antidrug strategy.

"We have a different emphasis, the goals are similiar," said Wilder spokeswoman Laura Dillard.

Both candidates have promised to elevate the status of the fight against drugs and crime. Wilder wants to bring the agencies that handle the issue directly under his day-to-day supervision and has said he would be the state's drug czar. Coleman has promised to appoint both a cabinet secretary for law enforcement, now the responsibility of the Secretary of Transportation and Public Safety, and a separate drug czar to handle drug-related matters.

Virginia voters named drugs the biggest problem facing the state by 39 percent, more than on any other issue, according to a recent Washington Post poll. But the issue did not appear to play to either candidate's advantage. Asked whether "he would be tough on crime and drugs," 44 percent of those polled said the statement fit Wilder, while 42 percent said it described Coleman.

Coleman spokesman J. Bruce Hildebrand said the polls indicate that Coleman, through an aggressive television campaign against Wilder, has succeeded in raising questions about whether Wilder is soft on crime.

The Coleman camp has tried to do that largely through television commercials that scroll through various Wilder votes on the death penalty over the last 10 years. In another commercial, a gun is pointed at television viewers while the narrator says that Wilder voted against making it a felony to point a gun at a police officer. Wilder has dismissed the ads as a distortion of his record,

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and says he has supported the death penalty since 1977, following a Supreme Court decision upholding its constitutionality.

Coleman's ads and speeches have also evoked the memory of the recent presidential campaign.

Wilder's media consultant, Franklin O. Greer, said Coleman's attacks on Wilder have backfired and that Wilder is holding his ground. "Voters have become very skeptical that some candidates are using fear in a very cynical way," said Greer. "It is classic Lee Atwater Republican trash . . . . It hasn't worked."

Atwater is the Republican National Committee chairman credited with developing Massachusetts parolee Willie Horton into a campaign issue that weakened Democratic presidential candidate Michael S. Dukakis.

"Coleman perceives [crime and drugs] as an area where Wilder is somewhat vulnerable," said University of Richmond political scientist Thomas R. Morris. The key is whether it ultimately matters to voters that Wilder "is a more recent convert to a hard-line position" on crime and punishment dating back to his last few years as a state senator, said Morris.

Wilder has said that his law-and-order stance, bolstered by the 1985 endorsement by the state's Fraternal Order of Police, was a key element in his victory that year when he ran for lieutenant governor. This time, however, the FOP endorsed Coleman. Wilder has been endorsed by about two-thirds of the state's elected sheriffs and prosecutors, many of whom are Democrats.

One tangible area in which the candidates differ is on the use of boot-camp-style prisons as alternatives to conventional incarceration for some criminals. In those programs, nonviolent young criminals must pass a three to six month intensive, disciplined program in exchange for their early release.

Coleman, who visited a boot-camp prison in South Carolina, favors using boot camps for first-time, nonviolent offenders aged 18 to 25. Wilder, citing experts' questions about whether such camps actually cost less than traditional prisons to operate and actually decrease recidivism, opposes their use. Both candidates advocate increasing the use of community service as an alternative to jail in some instances, and the use of electronic bracelets to monitor some inmates on parole.

WHERE THEY STAND: DEATH PENALTY:,

Coleman: Favors expanding the death penalty to cover drug kingpins and people who commit drug-related homicides or use children to sell drugs.

Wilder: Favors expanding the death penalty to cover drug kingpins. PAROLE AND SENTENCING:

Coleman: Favors abolishing discretionary parole and early release and abolishing all parole for all drug distribution offenses. Wants to establish mandatory minimum sentences for drug and gun offenses.

Wilder: Wants the Parole Board to review parole practices with the aim of having prisoners serve longer terms and making it harder for them to earn good-time credit toward parole. ANTI-DRUG PROGRAM:

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Coleman: Plans to present a comprehensive anti-drug program to the General Assembly early next year.

Wilder: Plans to hold a drug conference of local and state law enforcement agencies and to convene a special anti-drug session of the General Assembly to implement its recommendations.

DRUG EDUCATION:

Coleman: Favors mandatory, expanded drug education for all grades in public schools.

Wilder: Favors voluntary statewide testing of students to assess their knowledge of the dangers of drug use.

FINES FOR DRUG CRIMES:

Coleman: Proposes stiffer fines for drug possession -- $ 5,000 for marijuana, $ 10,000 for controlled substances. (Currently the maximum fine is $ 1,000 plus other sanctions.) Favors mandatory treatment and random drug testing of those convicted and regular testing of parolees.

Wilder: Favors increasing fines for drug use but has not been specific. Favors mandatory drug education and treatment for those convicted of drug offenses and random drug testing of all parolees with previous drug-related convictions.

GRAPHIC: ILLUSTRATION, L. DOUGLAS WILDER.; PHOTO

TYPE: VIRGINIA NEWS, SERIES

SUBJECT: POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS; GOVERNORS; POLITICAL POSITIONS / PHILOSOPHY; CRIMES; VIRGINIA

NAMED-PERSONS: L. DOUGLAS WILDER; J. MARSHALL COLEMAN

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3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1989

October 22, 1989, Sunday, BC cycle

SECTION: Regional News

DISTRIBUTION: Virginia

LENGTH: 266 words

HEADLINE: Endoresement

DATELINE: RICHMOND, Va.

KEYWORD: Endorse

BODY:

The Richmond Times-Dispatch editorially endorsed the Republican ticket of J. Marshall Coleman, Edwina Dalton and Joseph Benedetti for governor, lieutenant governor and attorney general, respectively, Sunday.

''Mr. Coleman correctly identifies crime as one of the state's most pressing problems and clearly sees the need to deal sternly with the drug lords and other criminals who endanger society from one end of Virginia to the other,'' the editorial on the governor's race said.

''His support for the death penalty is unequivocal,'' the Times-Dispatch said of the Republican former attorney general. ''He favors harsher penalties for drug users and more effective punishment, such as prison 'boot camps' for young offenders. He would tighten parole policies. That he has been endorsed by the Virginia Fraternal Order of Police shows that the men and women on the front lines of the war against crime believe he would be the most effective commander in chief.''

In the campaign for Virginia's chief legal officer, a third editorial said, ''Joseph B. Benedetti is one of the most able candidates ever to run for the office of attorney general of Virginia. A good lawyer, an experienced legislator and a highly intelligent and sensitive individual, he could be counted on to serve Virginia well as its highest legal officer.''

In the lieutenant governor's race, an editorial said, ''State Sen. Eddy Dalton towers over her Democratic opponent. Vibrant, intelligent and thoroughly familiar with Virginia's needs and its promises, she is eminently qualified for this position of leadership.''

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Coleman for Governor

Richmond Headquarters

FAX Transmission

Date: 10/26/89

To: Dan McG + Curt Smith

Phone: _____ FAX Phone: _____

From: Frank Atkinson

Phone: (804) 358-1989 FAX Phone: (804) 353-4564

Number of pages, including cover: 34

Notes: _____

Paid for by Coleman for Governor
4914 Fitzhugh Avenue, P.O. Box 17558, Richmond, VA 23226
1340 Old Chain Bridge Road, McLean, VA 22101

in his driveway across town, refused to spend the few thousand dollars it would have cost to make this property safe and clean. He refused for three years.

When he was cited for the building code violation in 1986, Mr. Wilder promised to repair the property. But as soon as the charge was dismissed, the work on the house ceased. A grand jury investigation was similarly ended by promises to fix up the property, which were not kept.

Shortly before he took office as Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Wilder was cited again for violating the building code because of the condition of the property. This time, he got the charge dismissed by announcing that he had sold the property to a business associate. But earlier this year, it was revealed for the first time that Mr. Wilder did not sell the property three years ago -- that, in fact, he merely transferred it to a trust, for which he was the only beneficiary. Mr. Wilder deceived the people of Virginia in order to remove the house as a political liability, then effectively retained ownership while placing title to the property in another's name. And when he filled out his financial disclosure form in 1986 and 1987, he conveniently omitted mention of the trust or the property, even though he had the controlling interest in both.

Mr. Wilder's intention to deceive Virginians was obvious, and the ethics charge was a serious one, carrying criminal penalties. But Attorney General Mary Sue Terry refused to appoint an independent prosecutor to review and, if necessary, prosecute the case. The Republican members of the General Assembly asked her to appoint an independent prosecutor. Congressmen Bateman, Bliley, and Wolf and former Congressman Caldwell Butler urged her to appoint an independent prosecutor. Common Cause, the nonpartisan citizens' lobby, urged her to appoint an independent prosecutor. But Attorney General Terry chose to handle the matter herself and, to no one's surprise, she ruled that her runningmate did not violate the state ethics law.

If Mr. Wilder's conduct was not illegal, why did Ms. Terry refuse requests to have her runningmate's conduct so certified by an independent prosecutor who was above reproach and without political motivation? You would think she would be anxious to have someone not on Mr. Wilder's ticket give him a clean bill of health.

But she did not do so, and she exonerated Mr. Wilder only by construing the law in an unreasonably narrow way.

Mr. Wilder's conduct regarding his slum property in Church Hill has been reprehensible in every respect. He demonstrated gross insensitivity by refusing for more than three years to clean up the property and make it safe. He demonstrated contempt for the regulatory process by promising to fix up the property, and then immediately halting repairs once the code violation charge had been dismissed. He intentionally deceived the people of Virginia about his continuing ownership of the property in 1986. And he flagrantly disregarded the spirit, if not the letter, of the state ethics law by failing to list the property on his financial disclosure form in 1986 and 1987. What more can one person do to demonstrate a disregard for basic standards of integrity and decency?

The Louisa property. Until the disclosure this summer that Mr. Wilder had the sole beneficial interest in the trust that held title to his Church Hill property, no one knew anything about the trust. But after the trust came to light, so did several other things. One of them was Mr. Wilder's interest in a parcel of land in Louisa County, which he received in payment for legal services in 1987 and placed in the trust. There is no question about Mr. Wilder's obligation to list this property on his financial disclosure form -- he was required by law to do that. And he failed to do so, both in 1988 and earlier this year.

Mary Sue Terry again refused to appoint an independent prosecutor, and then she again cleared him of all wrongdoing. She said he had no motive to conceal the property.

Well, if you received a piece of land in payment for defending a heinous murderer who killed the Louisa County judge in his courtroom ~~15~~ 14 years ago, that might be something you would not want dredged up in the middle of a political campaign -- particularly if the legal work yielded a tidy fee of nearly $30,000. Those indeed are the facts. Mr. Wilder represented Curtis Poindexter in his murder trial in the mid-seventies, and was paid for it two years ago. Somehow, between October 1987 when

he was deeded the property and January 1988 when he signed his financial disclosure form, Mr. Wilder forgot about, or overlooked, this piece of land that he received for those legal services.

Mr. Wilder has not yet explained why, after receiving this land in payment for legal services in 1987, he did not pay any income tax on it. According to the Washington Post, Mr. Wilder admitted in early September of this year -- 1989 -- that no income taxes had been paid on the land. Could it be that he did not disclose this property as required under the ethics laws because he knew he had not paid, and did not plan to pay, the taxes on it? Well, we don't know, because our hard-charging Attorney General cleared Mr. Wilder without ever checking into the possibility that tax evasion may have supplied the motive that made the disclosure violation intentional, and therefore criminal. Indeed, in her memorandum discussing the case, Ms. Terry never even addressed the tax evasion motive.

Honest mistakes happen. But Mr. Wilder has a clear pattern of non-disclosure of controversial and embarrassing properties. He is not above the law, and his selective compliance with it amounts to unethical conduct. He should not be rewarded with elevation to the governorship of Virginia.

False Statements

Mr. Wilder misled his clients and was reprimanded by the Supreme Court. He misled the people of Virginia to cover up his continuing ownership of slum property. And no less than a respected former Governor of his own party has directly attacked his trustworthiness.

The Robb letters. The letters that Governor Robb sent to Douglas Wilder make one thing very clear -- if you trust Chuck Robb, then you cannot trust Doug Wilder. The Robb letters refer to "deliberate distortions and untruths" by Douglas Wilder over many months. They were not written in the heat of a political campaign by an opponent. They were written in the cool deliberation of the Governor's office by a political ally and fellow partisan. And they speak volumes about the integrity -- the lack of integrity -- of Mr. Wilder. Former Governor Robb said it all when he wrote,

"Your credibility with most key participants in the political process is disappearing rapidly and many who have supported you in the past are no longer sure that you can be trusted. . ."

The Fraternal Order of Police. Also convincing on the issue of Mr. Wilder's trustworthiness is the recent statement by Officer George Austin, who was president of the FOP four years ago when that organization endorsed Mr. Wilder, and who is a state FOP board member and national officer now. Mr. Austin said:

> Four years ago, Douglas Wilder did not tell us the truth about his weak law enforcement record, about his support for releasing violent criminals early, about his failure to support law enforcement officers when it counted. He did not tell us that he had opposed making it a felony to aim a gun at a police officer in an effort to avoid arrest, and he certainly did not tell us that he had justified that vote by saying that such a law might provoke police officers to commit murder.
>
> The F.O.P. would not knowingly have 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.

The Bottom Line

There are many issues that decide campaigns, but no issue is more fundamental than the issue of trust. And on that issue -- on the central question of character -- Marshall Coleman's record is exemplary. And Douglas Wilder's record renders him unfit to hold the office of Governor. The more Virginians learn the truth about Mr. Wilder, the clearer it becomes that he should not be Governor.

We want a Governor who will honor our state's tradition of public integrity, not stain it.

We want a Governor who we can believe, not one who time and time again has attempted to mislead us.

We want a Governor who provides a positive example for our children to follow, not one whose success would send a message that integrity and character no longer matter.

We want a Governor who will seek to accomplish great things for our Commonwealth, not seek to acquire great wealth for himself at public expense.

This election is about character -- about the character of the candidates and the character of Virginia. Let it never be said that we looked the other way when character was genuinely at issue.

The Marshall Coleman Fact Sheet

Born: Staunton, Virginia June 8, 1942

Raised: Waynesboro, Virginia

Education:
Waynesboro Public Schools
Graduated Waynesboro High School 1960
BA with high honors, University of Virginia 1964
President UVA Council
Member Raven Society, ODK
Phi Beta Kappa
JD, University of Virginia Law School 1970

Military:
United States Marine Corps, 1966 - 1969
13 months service Republic of Vietnam
Veteran of "Tet Offensive"
First Lieutenant, USMC

Professional:
Partner, Arent, Fox, Kintner, Plotkin and Kahn law firm:
Leads the firm's Virginia Division
Former partner, Beveridge & Diamond, P.C., Washington, D.C.
Former partner, Lotz, Black, Coleman and Gudal law firm of Staunton, Virginia
Member, Board of Directors, NV/Ryan Homes, McLean, Va
United States Magistrate for Western District of Virginia 1971-1972

Public Service Career:
Attorney General of Virginia 1978 - 1982
First and only Republican elected AG this century
Member, Senate of Virginia 1976 - 1977
Senate Committees: Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources
Education and Health
Rehabilitation and Social Services
Member, Virginia House of Delegates 1972 - 1975
House Committees: General Laws
Corporations, Insurance and Banking
Commission to Study Needs of the Elderly
Member, Virginia State Crime Commission 1978 - 1982

Past Civic Activities:

Board of Directors, Staunton - Augusta Chamber of Commerce
Chairman, Staunton-Augusta United Fund Drive
Staunton Rotary Club

Personal:

Two sons,
Sean Kelly Coleman, 19, a Freshman at Princeton University
William Phillip "Billy" Coleman, 14, a Freshman at Lee High School, Staunton, Virginia

Mother, Marguerite Brooks Coleman of Waynesboro, Virginia
Father, deceased
One brother, Warren Coleman, a broadcast executive in Waynesboro, Virginia

Authorized and Paid for by Coleman For Governor, 4914 Fitzhugh Avenue, Richmond, Virginia 23230

Advocates for Coleman

TALKING POINTS

Biographical Information

John Marshall Coleman has spent a lifetime in service to his Commonwealth and his Nation. As a Marine in Vietnam, a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, a Senator, and Attorney General of Virginia, he has fought and worked to keep Virginia strong, free and true to its heritage of leadership. As Governor, he will provide the creative, trustworthy, conservative leadership Virginia needs in the challenging and promising times ahead.

Marshall Coleman: Portrait of a Virginia Leader

- Marshall Coleman was born and raised in Virginia and is entirely a product of Virginia's public schools.
  - He was born in Staunton, June 8, 1942, and was raised in nearby Waynesboro.
  - He attended the University of Virginia as an undergraduate and as a law student.
    - Undergraduate honors included membership in the Raven Society, ODK, and Phi Beta Kappa.
    - Served as President of the Student Council.
    - Received a Bachelor of Arts degree with high honors, 1964.
    - Received a Juris Doctor degree, 1970.
- Following his second year in law school, Marshall Coleman enlisted in the United States Marine Corps.
  - He served 13 months in Vietnam and saw duty in combat.

- He completed his military service as a First Lieutenant and returned to law school.

- Marshall Coleman practiced law in Staunton as a partner in the firm of Lotz, Black, Coleman, and Gudal.

- He served as a United States Magistrate for the Western District of Virginia.

- Marshall Coleman's legislative career began in 1972, when he was elected, without opposition, to the House of Delegates. He was re-elected in 1973.

- In 1975, he challenged an incumbent for the State Senate and was elected.

- Marshall Coleman was elected Virginia's first Republican Attorney General in 1977.

  - He was a strong, effective, conservative attorney general and a key adviser to Governor John Dalton.

  - When a state judge freed major convicted drug smugglers who had served only a brief portion of their prison terms, Attorney General Coleman filed suit challenging the judge's authority, argued the case successfully in the Virginia Supreme Court, and the drug smugglers were returned to prison.

  - Attorney General Coleman fought for truth-in-sentencing in Virginia (more uniform sentences; abolition of parole and early release).

    - Although the Democrat-controlled General Assembly blocked the measures in Virginia, the federal government and numerous states have since adopted truth-in-sentencing laws. Governor Coleman will get this passed.

  - Attorney General Coleman kept a campaign pledge and reduced the size of the attorney general's office by 10%.

  - Under Attorney General Coleman, challenges to Virginia's Right to Work and Capital Punishment statutes were successfully defended.

  - A staunch advocate for principles of federalism (states' rights), Attorney General Coleman argued cases personally in the U.S. Supreme Court when Virginia's interests were at stake.

- During the recent Democratic administrations in Virginia, Marshall Coleman has been a vocal leader of the Republican loyal opposition and has vigorously defended the interests of the taxpayers.

- Marshall Coleman has been a leading Virginia supporter of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

  -- In his 1981 campaign and throughout the eighties, Marshall Coleman strongly supported President Reagan's policies and refused to distance himself from the Reagan administration in times of trouble.

  -- Marshall Coleman supported George Bush during the campaign for the Republican presidential nomination and was co-chairman of the President's Virginia campaign.

- Since 1982, Marshall Coleman has resided in McLean. He is a partner in the McLean office of Arent, Fox, Kintner, Plotkin & Kahn.

- He has two sons: Sean, 19, and Bill, 14.