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# FOIA MARKER

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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Draft Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13525  
**Folder ID Number:** 13525-012

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**Folder Title:**  
Dan Coats Fundraiser 4/3/90 [OA 4727] [2]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>

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# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 03/28/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 p.m. Thursday 03/29

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DAN COATS FUNDRAISER-INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA  
(03/28 Draft four)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BENNETT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ANDERSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			DELAND	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 3:00 p.m. on Thursday, 03/29, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

Quid 3/29 8:20 A - gsw

OK as drafted.  
- gsw

90 MAR 29 4 9 : 26

James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

1990 MAR 28 PM 7: 34

Grant/Nappo  
March 28, 1990  
Draft four  
A:coats

REMARKS: DAN COATS FUNDRAISER  
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA  
TUESDAY, APRIL 3, 1990  
12:20 P.M.

Thank you. My thanks to ((Father Mallory)) of Notre Dame for his invocation, and of course it's always a pleasure to see Senator Lugar. I see our new Republican state chairman is here, Keith Luce, a hard worker doing a great job. And most of all, I'm pleased to be here on behalf of the man who brings Hoosier ideas to Washington everyday, Senator Dan Coats.\\

I'm sorry that I couldn't have lunch with you today, but I've really lost my appetite. On the way over I was notified that the Secret Service had found my food taster face-down in the salad. \\ \\ They said somebody had washed my lettuce with Perrier. \\ \\

Throughout the eighties -- the decade which saw the greatest economic expansion in U.S. peacetime history, and fires of freedom begin to burn all over the world -- throughout this turbulent decade, the people of Indiana had two great men representing them in the United States Senate. Dick Lugar, and of course, Dan Quayle -- a foreign policy duo that have been instrumental to the progress we've seen internationally. Dick Lugar's tenure on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been nothing short of superb, and I continue to depend on his wise counsel as we wrestle with a world in change.

I don't have to tell you -- you already know -- how important Dan Quayle's outstanding leadership has been in crucial areas like Central and Latin America. He's served our Administration well, and he's served our Nation well. \\ Indiana's got a lot to be proud of in her favorite son -- Dan Quayle.\\ Now it's time for Dan Coats to step into that legacy of leadership in the Senate. \\

For the last ten years, Dick Lugar and Dan Quayle have built a dynasty of Republican leadership in Indiana -- with a command of the issues that has kept America number one. In 1986, Dan Quayle was re-elected by the largest winning margin of any Republican in Indiana history. Yet two years later, Senator Lugar broke the record with an even bigger margin. And come November, my common sense tells me the voters of Indiana will continue the tradition and give Dan Coats a great victory. \\

I'm here, "Back Home in Indiana," -- in what natives call the "Crossroads of America" -- to talk to you today about common sense, something Hoosiers know a lot about. Indiana is the heart of the heartland, and Hoosiers are right in the middle of the American mainstream -- with the kind of values that have made this nation great. I'm talking about values like hard work, opportunity, decency, loyalty, faith and family.

Everyone here believes that the family is the cornerstone of American society. Our Administration has placed the family at the center of its agenda for the 1990s -- to build an America where every man, woman and child is drug-free; where schools

challenge and support our kids and our teachers; and where our families can live in a clean, safe environment. Dan has been one of the biggest supporters of our pro-family agenda, reaching out to families like yours with hopes and dreams for their children's futures. Dan Coats is a voice for your values.\\\

And it's a strong voice. His work in Congress sponsoring important pro-family legislation was crucial to the progress we've already made in strengthening the family in this country. Dan Coats has helped people in areas like educational reform, family support, help for "at risk" children, and families in need. In fact, the Republican Party felt so strongly about his legislation, that we made it part of the National Platform. Mainstream values that all Americans care about -- that's why I believe we need Dan Coats in the Senate. \\\ And I think you all agree. \\\

Nothing ravages the American family more than drug abuse. Our National Drug Strategy, which I announced last September, deals with all sides of the issue -- from education and prevention to expanded treatment to stronger penalties and stepped-up enforcement. It's a tough approach, but it's a sensible one.

No part of America is safe from the scourge of drugs. This is not simply an "inner-city" problem or a "border" problem for the bureaucrats in Washington to handle. We've got to get PCP and crack off every street and out of every school in America. And it's time we got more federal resources into the hands of

those in the thick of the fight -- those on the front lines. If we are to build a better future for this country, America first must be drug-free.\\

As the Republican leader of the Senate subcommittee that deals with drugs, Dan knows the road ahead won't be easy, but that's why I need him back in the Senate. I need Dan's experience and intelligence as we fight to take back our streets.\\

Bringing Hoosier values and Hoosier vision to Washington is important to me. And I'll tell you about another great Indiana Republican who brought those values to Washington, President Benjamin Harrison. One hundred years ago, President Harrison presided over the first Congress to appropriate a billion dollar budget. That was a lot of money back then -- still is.

But since then, Congressional spending has spiralled out of control -- 1.2 trillion right now. And common sense tells us the American people aren't over-taxed. We need a budget process that can deal rationally with wasteful government spending. We need a line-item veto. \\ \\ Give me what 43 governors have -- the power to cut unnecessary spending. One of the first things Dan Coats did when he arrived in the Senate was to introduce important line-item veto legislation. (( In fact, I haven't seen anybody move that adeptly since the Indianapolis Colts snuck out of Baltimore.))

Together, we're fighting to keep your taxes low and federal spending down. Now that's what I call common sense.\\

Americans want to keep the longest peacetime economic expansion ever moving forward -- 89 months and counting. And Americans want a clean environment, too. We can do both.

Tomorrow in Washington, there's a lot at stake: clean air, a safe environment, economic growth, and the jobs of thousands of Americans. The Senate will cast an historic vote on our amendments to the Clean Air Act, a vote which will affect generations to come as we work to build a cleaner, safer America. It's going to take a lot of work to protect this great planet without throwing hard-working Americans out of work.

But common sense tells us this too. We must find that balance. And we will find that balance.

Tomorrow, Dan Coats will be in the Senate to cast one of the most important votes of his life. And I know I can count on him. But I need to count on his experience, his judgment, and his concern for people not just tomorrow, or the day after that -- but in the months and years to come. And that's why I'm counting on each of you in this room to give your all for Dan Coats. \\

I've talked today about some of the issues that are important to me as we face the new decade. But one thing to remember: as the world changes, issues will change but principles remain to the end. Dan Coats is a principled man -- who will be a voice for your values. \\

I know Hoosier values, and I admire them -- I chose my running mate from Indiana because of them. And on November 6,

when the voters of Indiana think of Dan Coats, I know they'll think of the song by another Hoosier, the great Cole Porter, -- called "You're the Top." \\

This man, Dan Coats, gives voice to the values of the heartland. Nothing could be more important as we head into a new century of challenge and change. **Let's keep Indiana great, and keep the dynasty of Republican leadership going strong. Let's continue the tradition and give Dan a huge victory. \\**

Thank you for your support, God bless you, and God bless Indiana.

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# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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(03/28 Draft four)

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FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BENNETT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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RESPONSE:

Page 4: 3<sup>rd</sup> par: 2<sup>nd</sup> sentence. -  
 Did you really mean to say  
 "American people aren't over-taxed?"  
 Deb A.

90 MAR 29 All: 40  
 James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

1990 MAR 28 PM 7: 34

Grant/Nappo  
March 28, 1990  
Draft four  
A:coats

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# # #

Action: Bill Wascher  
Document No. 127605

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REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

No Comments  
from CEA  
3/29/90

90 MAR 30 4:59:30

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

1990 MAR 28 PM 7: 34

Grant/Nappo  
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CARD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BENNETT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ANDERSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			DELAND	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 3:00 p.m. on Thursday, 03/29, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

Marycate  
 I'd cut the entire 1st 4 pgs on Clean Air  
 It's not popular in Indiana = and may well  
 Coats vote no.  
 James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702  
 Bob Gray

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

2419

DATE: 03/28/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 p.m. Thursday 03/29

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DAN COATS FUNDRAISER-INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA  
(03/28 Draft four)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BENNETT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ANDERSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			DELAND	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 3:00 p.m. on Thursday, 03/29, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

March 30, 1990

TO: CHRISS WINSTON

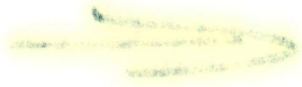
NSC concurs with the Presidential remarks for the Dan Coats Fundraiser with the changes noted.

*B. Gates*  
Brent Scowcroft

cc: James W. Cicconi

**James W. Cicconi**  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

90 MAR 29 9:02



1990 MAR 28 PM 7: 34

Grant/Nappo  
March 28, 1990  
Draft four  
A:coats

REMARKS: DAN COATS FUNDRAISER  
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA  
TUESDAY, APRIL 3, 1990  
12:20 P.M.

Thank you. My thanks to ((Father Mallory)) of Notre Dame for his invocation, and of course it's always a pleasure to see Senator Lugar. I see our new Republican state chairman is here, Keith Luce, a hard worker doing a great job. And most of all, I'm pleased to be here on behalf of the man who brings Hoosier ideas to Washington everyday, **Senator Dan Coats.**\\

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I don't have to tell you -- you already know -- how important Dan Quayle's outstanding leadership has been in crucial areas like Central and Latin America. He's served our Administration well, and he's served our Nation well. \\ Indiana's got a lot to be proud of in her favorite son -- Dan Quayle.\\ Now it's time for Dan Coats to step into that legacy of leadership in the Senate. \\

For the last ten years, Dick Lugar and Dan Quayle have built a dynasty of Republican leadership in Indiana -- with a command of the issues that has kept America number one. In 1986, Dan Quayle was re-elected by the largest winning margin of any Republican in Indiana history. Yet two years later, Senator Lugar broke the record with an even bigger margin. And come November, my common sense tells me the voters of Indiana will continue the tradition and give Dan Coats a great victory. \\

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Everyone here believes that the family is the cornerstone of American society. Our Administration has placed the family at the center of its agenda for the 1990s -- to build an America where every man, woman and child is drug-free; where schools

challenge and support our kids and our teachers; and where our families can live in a clean, safe environment. Dan has been one of the biggest supporters of our pro-family agenda, reaching out to families like yours with hopes and dreams for their children's futures. Dan Coats is a voice for your values.\\\

And it's a strong voice. His work in Congress sponsoring important pro-family legislation was crucial to the progress we've already made in strengthening the family in this country. Dan Coats has helped people in areas like educational reform, family support, help for "at risk" children, and families in need. In fact, the Republican Party felt so strongly about his legislation, that we made it part of the National Platform. Mainstream values that all Americans care about -- that's why I believe we need Dan Coats in the Senate. \\ And I think you all agree. \\

Nothing ravages the American family more than drug abuse. Our National Drug Strategy, which I announced last September, deals with all sides of the issue -- from education and prevention to expanded treatment to stronger penalties and stepped-up enforcement. It's a tough approach, but it's a sensible one.

No part of America is safe from the scourge of drugs. This is not simply an "inner-city" problem or a "border" problem for the bureaucrats in Washington to handle. We've got to get PCP and crack off every street and out of every school in America. And it's time we got more federal resources into the hands of

those in the thick of the fight -- those on the front lines. If we are to build a better future for this country, America first must be drug-free.\\

As the Republican leader of the Senate subcommittee that deals with drugs, Dan knows the road ahead won't be easy, but that's why I need him back in the Senate. I need Dan's experience and intelligence as we fight to take back our streets.\\

Bringing Hoosier values and Hoosier vision to Washington is important to me. And I'll tell you about another great Indiana Republican who brought those values to Washington, President Benjamin Harrison. One hundred years ago, President Harrison presided over the first Congress to appropriate a billion dollar budget. That was a lot of money back then -- still is.

But since then, Congressional spending has spiralled out of control -- 1.2 trillion right now. And common sense tells us the American people aren't <sup>under</sup> ~~over~~-taxed. We need a budget process that can deal rationally with wasteful government spending. We need a line-item veto. \\ \\ Give me what 43 governors have -- the power to cut unnecessary spending. One of the first things Dan Coats did when he arrived in the Senate was to introduce important line-item veto legislation. (( In fact, I haven't seen anybody move that adeptly since the Indianapolis Colts snuck out of Baltimore.))

Together, we're fighting to keep your taxes low and federal spending down. Now that's what I call common sense.\\

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Tomorrow in Washington, there's a lot at stake: clean air, a safe environment, economic growth, and the jobs of thousands of Americans. The Senate will cast an historic vote on our amendments to the Clean Air Act, a vote which will affect generations to come as we work to build a cleaner, safer America. It's going to take a lot of work to protect this great planet without throwing hard-working Americans out of work.

But common sense tells us this too. We must find that balance. And we will find that balance.

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I know Hoosier values, and I admire them -- I chose my running mate from Indiana because of them. And on November 6,

when the voters of Indiana think of Dan Coats, I know they'll think of the song by another Hoosier, the great Cole Porter, -- called "You're the Top." \\

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Thank you for your support, God bless you, and God bless Indiana.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

50 MAR 29 P3:14

March 29, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: FREDERICK D. NELSON *FON.*  
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Dan Coats Fundraiser  
Indianapolis, Indiana

Counsel's Office offers a few comments that betray a lack of humor perhaps common to lawyers.

I recommend deletion of the Perrier joke on page 1. A presidential remark made at the expense of a specific private business concern could create undesirable and unintended market consequences for that and related enterprises.

Similarly, with regard to the second to the last paragraph on page 4, we question whether it would be appropriate for the President to characterize the home team as having "snuck out of Baltimore"; regardless of the accuracy of the characterization, intruding into this dispute (which controversy did give rise to congressional hearings a few years ago) might seem gratuitous.

We take it that the line in the same paragraph saying that "the American people aren't over-taxed" is not more humor but a simple typo.

Finally two sentences on page 5 -- "Tomorrow in Washington [the Senate will vote on clean air]"; "Tomorrow, Dan Coats will be in the Senate to cast one of the most important votes of his life" -- leads me to suggest that the date of the vote on final passage be double checked. I had understood that the vote was slated for Tuesday, the day of the speech.

cc: James W. Cicconi  
Assistant Counsel to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 03/28/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 p.m. Thursday 03/29

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DAN COATS FUNDRAISER-INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA  
(03/28 Draft four)

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>WRAY</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BENNETT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ANDERSON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			<u>BOSKIN</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			<u>DELAND</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 3:00 p.m. on Thursday, 03/29, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

**James W. Cicconi**  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

1990 MAR 28 PM 7: 34

Grant/Nappo  
March 28, 1990  
Draft four  
A:coats

REMARKS: DAN COATS FUNDRAISER  
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA  
TUESDAY, APRIL 3, 1990  
12:20 P.M.

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Thank you for your support, God bless you, and God bless Indiana.

**# # #**

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dan Coats Fundraiser  
April 3

James' Comments

① page 2

2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph - 4<sup>th</sup> line

\* now reads: "Dan Quayle was re-elected by the largest winning margin of any Republican in Indiana history..."

\* Should be changed to:

"Dan Quayle was re-elected by the largest winning margin of any Senate candidate in Indiana history..."

It is the largest margin for both Republican + Democrats - Senate

---

② page 5

4<sup>th</sup> paragraph - 1<sup>st</sup> line

\* The vote for the final passage of Clean-Air bill is set for 8 p.m. Tuesday April 3<sup>rd</sup> - i.e. the night of this speech.

The line should be changed to:

"Tonight, Dan Coats will be back in the Senate.."

Document No. 127605

MAR 29 1990

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 03/29/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 p.m. Thursday 03/29

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DAN COATS FUNDRAISER-INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA  
(03/28 Draft four)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ANDERSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			DELANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 3:00 p.m. on Thursday, 03/29, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

*Room 122*

RESPONSE:

*Comments on p. 2 and p. 4 from CEQ.*

60 : 2d P2: 09  
62 MAR 29 06

*David Strubbs*  
*X 3742*

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

1990 MAR 28 PM 7:34

Grant/Nappo  
March 28, 1990  
Draft four  
A:coatsREMARKS: DAN COATS FUNDRAISER  
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2

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*The State Song is "Back Home Again in Indiana"*

3

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4

those in the thick of the fight -- those on the front lines. If we are to build a better future for this country, America first must be drug-free.\\

As the Republican leader of the Senate subcommittee that deals with drugs, Dan knows the road ahead won't be easy, but that's why I need him back in the Senate. I need Dan's experience and intelligence as we fight to take back our streets.\\

Bringing Hoosier values and Hoosier vision to Washington is important to me. And I'll tell you about another great Indiana Republican who brought those values to Washington, President Benjamin Harrison. One hundred years ago, President Harrison presided over the first Congress to appropriate a billion dollar budget. That was a lot of money back then -- still is.

But since then, Congressional spending has spiralled out of control -- 1.2 trillion right now. And common sense tells us the American people aren't over-taxed. We need a budget process that can deal rationally with wasteful government spending. We need a line-item veto. \\ \\ Give me what 43 governors have -- the power to cut unnecessary spending. One of the first things Dan Coats did when he arrived in the Senate was to introduce important line-item veto legislation. (( In fact, I haven't seen anybody move that adeptly since the Indianapolis Colts snuck out of Baltimore.))

Together, we're fighting to keep your taxes low and federal spending down. Now that's what I call common sense.\\

Is this really what you mean?

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Americans want to keep the longest peacetime economic expansion ever moving forward -- 89 months and counting. And Americans want a clean environment, too. We can do both.

Tomorrow in Washington, there's a lot at stake: clean air, a safe environment, economic growth, and the jobs of thousands of Americans. The Senate will cast an historic vote on our amendments to the Clean Air Act, a vote which will affect generations to come as we work to build a cleaner, safer America. It's going to take a lot of work to protect this great planet without throwing hard-working Americans out of work.

But common sense tells us this too. We must find that balance. And we will find that balance.

Tomorrow, Dan Coats will be in the Senate to cast one of the most important votes of his life. And I know I can count on him. But I need to count on his experience, his judgment, and his concern for people not just tomorrow, or the day after that -- but in the months and years to come. And that's why I'm counting on each of you in this room to give your all for Dan Coats. \\

I've talked today about some of the issues that are important to me as we face the new decade. But one thing to remember: as the world changes, issues will change but principles remain to the end. Dan Coats is a principled man -- who will be a voice for your values. \\\

I know Hoosier values, and I admire them -- I chose my running mate from Indiana because of them. And on November 6,

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when the voters of Indiana think of Dan Coats, I know they'll think of the song by another Hoosier, the great Cole Porter, -- called "You're the Top." \\

This man, Dan Coats, gives voice to the values of the heartland. Nothing could be more important as we head into a new century of challenge and change. Let's keep Indiana great, and keep the dynasty of Republican leadership going strong. Let's continue the tradition and give Dan a huge victory. \\

Thank you for your support, God bless you, and God bless Indiana.

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#2779

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Indianapolis, Indiana)

For Immediate Release

April 3, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT FUNDRAISING LUNCHEON FOR SENATOR DAN COATS

Indianapolis Convention Center  
Indianapolis, Indiana

1:11 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: First, let me, once again, say how much I enjoyed reveling in the magic of Sandi Patti and her great music. And to see my friend Fred Travalena, again, here. Could have helped him with some of his gestures, the way it is -- (laughter) -- but he's coming along. And it's great, really, to be back in Indianapolis, with good friends like Dick Lugar and, of course, Don Cox and Margie Hill of our National Committee, two great representatives there. And then, seeing -- we're flying up here with our new state chairman -- he's here, Keith Luce, a hard worker doing a great job to rebuild the party.

And most of all, I'm pleased to be here on behalf of a man who brings your ideas -- Hoosier ideas to Washington every day with great integrity and honor, and I'm talking about Dan Coats, the man of the moment. It is essential he be reelected. (Applause.)

I want to thank Dick Freeland and Bob Irsay and others for this tremendously successful event. I'm sorry I couldn't get over here to have lunch with you today; I wasn't allowed to. On the way over I was notified that the Secret Service had found my food taster face down in the salad. (Laughter.) Somebody had washed my lettuce with Perrier. (Laughter.) It could have been worse -- broccoli -- could have been worse. (Laughter.)

Throughout the '80s -- the decade which saw the greatest economic expansion in U.S. peacetime history, and fires of freedom begin to burn all over the world -- throughout this turbulent decade, the people of Indiana had two great men representing them in the United States Senate. Dick Lugar and then, of course, Dan Quayle -- a foreign policy duo that have been instrumental to the progress we've seen internationally. Dick's tenure on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been -- I was telling this to Dick Freeland here -- absolutely, nothing less than superb. And I continue to depend on his wise counsel as we wrestle with a world in change.

I don't have to tell you -- you know this already -- how important Dan Quayle's outstanding leadership has been in crucial areas like Central and Latin America. And he's served our administration well and our nation well. (Applause.) So Indiana already had a lot to be proud of in these two fine men. And now we have Dan Coats, stepping into that legacy of leadership in the United States Senate.

For the last 10 years, Dick Lugar and Dan Quayle have built this dynasty of Republican leadership in Indiana -- with a command of the issues that's kept America number one. In 1986, Dan Quayle was reelected by the biggest landslide of any Senate candidate in Indiana history. And yet two years later, Dick Lugar came along, broke the record with an even bigger winning margin. And come November, my common sense tells me, that the voters of Indiana will continue to give that -- the tradition and give Dan Coats an even greater victory margin. It's going to happen. (Applause.)

MORE

So I'm here, "back home again in Indiana" -- in what natives call the "Crossroads of America" -- to talk to you today about common sense, something Hoosiers know a lot about. Indiana is the heart of the heartland, and the Hoosiers are right in the middle of an American mainstream with the kind of values that have made this nation great. And I'm talking about values like hard work, and opportunity, and decency, and loyalty, faith and family.

Everyone here believes that the family is the cornerstone of American society. Our administration has placed the family at the center of our agenda for the 1990s -- to build an America where every man, woman and child is drug-free; where schools challenge and support our kids and our teachers; and where our families can live in a clean, safe environment. Dan has been one of the biggest supporters -- as Dick Lugar referred to this -- Dan Coats has been one of the biggest supporters of our pro-family agenda, reaching out to families like yours with hopes and dreams for the children's futures. He is really your voice for your values.

And it's a strong voice. His work in Congress sponsoring important pro-family legislation was crucial to the progress that we've already made in strengthening the family in this country. And he's helped people in areas like education reform and family support and help for "at risk" children and families in need. In fact, the Republican Party felt so strongly about his legislation that we made it a part of our national platform. Mainstream values that all Americans care about. And that's why I believe we need Dan Coats in the Senate. And I know that everybody here today agrees with me on that important point. (Applause.)

Nothing ravages the American family more than drug abuse. Our National Drug Strategy, articulated by Bill Bennett -- we call it National Drug Strategy II -- which I announced last September, deals with all sides of the issue -- from education and prevention, to expanded treatment, to stronger penalties and stepped-up enforcement. It's a tough approach, but it is a sensible approach.

No part of America is safe from the scourge of drugs. This is not simply an inner-city problem or a "border" problem for bureaucrats in Washington to handle. We've got to get PCP and crack off every street and out of every school in America.

And it's time we got more federal resources into the hands of those in the thick of the fight -- those on the front lines. And if we are to build a better future for this country, America first must be drug-free. (Applause.)

As the Republican leader of the Senate subcommittee that deals with drugs, Dan knows the road ahead won't be easy, but that's another strong reason why I need him back in the Senate. I need his experience and his intelligence as we fight to take back our streets.

You know, I noticed a bunch of police officers here today and outside greeting us when we arrived at the airport, and I'd just like to say parenthetically, we owe a great debt of gratitude to the men and women in police uniform -- sheriff, whatever it is -- that are protecting our kids. I think to myself -- I went over the other day to the funeral home where a recognized, dedicated police officer -- and this in the Maryland State Police -- had been gunned down on the highway, on a major highway artery -- and I thought to myself how lucky we are to have dedicated men like, in that instance, Sergeant Wolf, or like some that are here today who are dedicating themselves to protect the lives of our families and our children. It is inspirational to me. (Applause.)

We're talking about values and bringing Hoosier values and Hoosier vision to Washington is important to me. Not just in stopping crime and drugs, but also in stopping those who measure progress made solely by dollars spent. You know as I do that congressional spending is spiraling out of control -- \$1.2 trillion right now. And common sense tells us the American people aren't under-taxed. We need a budget process that can deal rationally with

wasteful government spending. We need a line-item veto or some strong recision legislation. (Applause.) And so again I appeal to Congress give me what 43 governors have -- the power to cut unnecessary spending.

One of the first things that Dan Coats did when he arrived in the United States Senate was to introduce important line-item veto legislation. In fact, I haven't seen anybody move that adeptly since Chuck Person slam-dunked an opponent at Market Square Arena. Together, we're fighting to keep your taxes low and federal spending down. And that's what I call just plain common sense.

Americans want to keep the longest peacetime expansion ever moving forward -- 89 months and counting. And Americans want a clean environment -- we want that also. And it is my view we can do both. We can't do it if we move to the extreme. And I am not going to move to the extreme in environmental legislation, but we are going to pass and sign sound environmental legislation.

This morning here in Indianapolis, I went over a few blocks away and planted a tree to help kick off a great community effort to protect and preserve the beauty of this wonderful city. Today in Washington, there's also a lot at stake -- Dick and Dan both know this -- clean air, a safe environment, economic growth, and the jobs of thousands of Americans. The Senat today will cast -- what is it -- 8:00 p.m. tonight, I believe -- an historic vote on our amendments, the first meaningful amendments to the Clean Air Act; a vote which will affect generations to come as we work to build a cleaner, safer America. It's going to take a lot of work to protect this great planet without throwing hard-working Americans out of work.

I, again, reject the extremists in the environmental movement who would burden our economy by mindless regulation. And I reject those who do not recognize their obligations to clean up our environment. We've got to find the middle path. Common sense tells us to find this needed balance, and we will find it.

Tonight, Dan Coats will be back in the Senate to cast one of the most important votes of his life. And I know I can count on him. But I need to count on his experience, his judgment, and his concern for people not just tonight or tomorrow, but in the months and the years to come. And that's why I'm counting on each and every one of you in this room to give your all for Dan Coats.

I've talked today just briefly about some of the issues that are important to me as we face the new decade. But one thing to remember, as the world changes, issues will change but principles remain to the end. And you have a principled man -- Dan Coats is a principled man who will be a voice for your values.

I know Hoosier values and I admire them -- I chose my running mate from Indiana because of them. And on November 6, when the voters of Indiana think of Dan Coats, I know they'll think of the song by another Hoosier, the great Cole Porter -- called "You're the Top."

Senator Dan Coats gives voice to the values of the heartland. Nothing could be more important as we head into a new century of challenge and change. So do what you can. Let's keep Indiana great, and keep the dynasty of Republican leadership going strong. Let's continue the tradition and give this good and decent man a huge victory.

Thank you for your support. God bless the State of Indiana. God bless you all. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Resume	Re: Michael John Gerson. (1 pp.)	n.d.	P-6, (b)(6)	

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File, Drafts  
**Subseries:**  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** Dan Coats Fundraiser 4/3/90 [2]

<b>Date Closed:</b> 9/17/2004 <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> <b>Re-review Case #:</b> 2004-2249-S <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 04727
<b>MR Case #:</b> <b>MR Disposition:</b> <b>Disposition Date:</b>	<b>Appeal Case #:</b> <b>Appeal Disposition:</b> <b>Disposition Date:</b>

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STATEMENT ON CHINA  
BY SENATOR DAN COATS

6/6/89

MR. PRESIDENT, THE IMAGES THIS WEEKEND OF CHINA'S CHAOTIC SUFFERING ARE STILL FRESH. IT WAS ALMOST UNBEARABLE TO HEAR THE MEASURED ANALYSIS OF EVENTS BY DIPLOMATS-- ALL THE POLITE HEDGING AND SUBTLE LANGUAGE. THIS WAS NOT AN "INCIDENT" OR A "SETBACK." IT WAS A MONSTROUS ABORTION OF HATE AND DEFEAT-- THE WORK OF HANDS SOILED BY BLOOD.

\* WE SAW THE AVENUE OF ETERNAL PEACE LITTERED WITH THE CORPSES OF PEACEFUL PROTESTERS.

\* WE WATCHED STUDENTS ON BARRICADES CRUSHED UNDER THE TREADS OF ADVANCING TANKS.

\* WE SAW SOLDIERS FIRE ON THOSE WHO ATTEMPTED TO GATHER AND TREAT THE WOUNDED.

\* AND WE LEARNED THAT THE BODIES OF SOME STUDENTS WERE COVERED BY TROOPS WITH GASOLINE, THEN SET AFLAME TO DESTROY THE EVIDENCE OF INFAMOUS OPPRESSION.

THE CHINESE RED CROSS NOW PUTS ESTIMATES OF THE DEAD OVER 2500-- VICTIMS OF LEADERS WHO HAVE SOLD THEIR OWN PEOPLE FOR THE PITTANCE OF MOMENTARY POWER. SOMEHOW, GIVEN CHINA'S APPARENT MODERATION OF THE PAST FEW YEARS, WE CONVINCED OURSELVES THAT TOTALITARIAN VIOLENCE WAS CONSIGNED TO HISTORY-- A LONG-FORGOTTEN MADNESS. BUT THE VENEER OF RECENT COOPERATION ONLY SERVES TO HEIGHTEN THE EFFECT OF THIS VILLAINY.

PRESIDENT'S BUSH'S RESPONSE YESTERDAY WAS APPROPRIATE. AMERICA CANNOT SEND WEAPONS TO A REGIME THAT THEN TURNS THEM ON THEIR OWN, UNARMED CITIZENS. AND I AM CONVINCED THAT IN COMING WEEKS WE WILL FIND OTHER WAYS TO SUPPORT THE CHINESE PEOPLE IN THEIR TRIAL.

BUT EVEN AS WE'RE SOBERED BY CHINESE SUFFERING, THERE IS A DEEPER CAUSE FOR ENCOURAGEMENT. FOR THE MINDS WHICH DEVISE INJUSTICE AND PLAN OPPRESSION NOW KNOW SOMETHING NEW-- THE FIRST TREMOR OF FEAR.

THE WORLD WE SEE TODAY RECALLS WORDS SPOKEN NEARLY 400 YEARS AGO. WHILE ENGLAND WAITED IN 16.. FOR A SPANISH INVASION, QUEEN

ELIZABETH REVIEWED HER VASTLY OUTNUMBERED ARMY AND ADDRESSED THEM WITH THREE WORDS: LET TYRANTS FEAR.

WELL, THIS MORNING THEY DO FEAR-- ALL OVER THE WORLD. IN POLAND AND HUNGARY-- IN CHINA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE SOVIET UNION-- TYRANTS FEAR, AND WITH JUST CAUSE:

\* THEY FEAR THE PASSIONATE INTENSITY OF THE YOUNG-- CONSCIOUS THEY SERVE AN UNFOLDING PURPOSE.

\* THEY FEAR THE HARD EXPERIENCE OF THE OLD-- EMBITTERED BY DECADES OF POLITICAL BRUTALITY.

\* BUT THEY FEAR, MOST OF ALL, WHEN MEN BURDENED BY OPPRESSION STAND UPRIGHT AND SHOUT THEIR DEFIANCE. THEY FEAR, ABOVE ALL, THE CHANTED REFRAINS OF FREEDOM.

THERE WAS A TIME WHEN SOCIALISM'S COMPELLING VISION OF FORCED EQUALITY AND SECULAR IDEOLOGY WAS RINGED WITH A HALO OF INEVITABILITY. IT MARCHED FROM NATION TO NATION-- FEEDING ON THE STRENGTH OF PROMISED UTOPIA.

BUT THESE CLAIMS HAVE TURNED TO ASHES IN THE MOUTH AS SOCIALISM HAS FAILED AMID MOUNTAINS OF THE INNOCENT DEAD. IT PROMISED TO MOVE THE WORLD, BUT COULD ONLY MANAGE TO STAIN IT WITH BLOOD.

TODAY THE PLACE OF THAT DISCREDITED CREED HAS BEEN TAKEN BY THE PROMISE OF JUSTICE. IT IS FREEDOM THAT OCCUPIES THE IMAGINATION OF PASSIONATE REFORMERS. IT IS LIBERTY THAT SHAPES THE VISIONS OF THE DISAFFECTED. AND CHINA IS THE MODEL.

TANKS MAY DIP THEIR TREADS IN BLOOD, BUT THE WEIGHT OF IRON FORCE CAN NO LONGER OUTBALANCE THE UNESTIMATED SUM OF CHINA'S HUMAN PAIN. THEIR MEMORY OF PAST WOUNDS AND THEIR ANGUISHED APPEAL TO PRINCIPLE ENSURE THAT THERE WILL BE NO RETURN TO DOCILE SUFFERING.

WE CANNOT SEE HOW DELIVERY WILL COME, OR WHEN IT WILL COME. BUT NOTHING IS MORE CERTAIN. FOR FREEDOM HAS AN INEVITABILITY OF ITS OWN-- AN INEVITABILITY ROOTED, NOT IN THE MYTH OF AN UNSEEN DIALECTIC, BUT IN THE HIGHEST HOPES OF COMMON MEN.

CHINESE FREEDOM WILL NOT BE STILLBORN. FOR THE COUNT OF TANKS AND TROOPS IS NOT THE FINAL MEASURE OF MIGHT. THE COLD CALCULUS OF POLITICAL REALITY MAY COUNSEL DESPAIR. BUT WE TRUST IN A PROVIDENCE THAT GIVES STRENGTH TO THE WEARY AND INCREASES THE POWER OF THE WEAK. AND WE HEAR THE ECHOING RING OF DETERMINED VOICES: LET TYRANTS FEAR.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR DAN COATS

PANAMANIAN CERTIFICATION

5/18/89

MR. PRESIDENT, WINSTON CHURCHILL ONCE OBSERVED THAT AN EXHIBITION OF POLITICAL BRUTALITY IS SOMETIMES SO DISTURBING THAT "THE SPECTATORS LEAVE THEIR COMFORTABLE SEATS AND HASTEN TO THE WORK OF RESCUE AND RETRIBUTION." I AM CONVINCED WE ARE SEEING JUST THIS TYPE OF EXHIBITION IN PANAMA-- A SPECTACLE OF VIOLENCE AND DECEPTION, BORN OF BOUNDLESS HUBRIS AND SUSTAINED BY CRIMINAL CORRUPTION.

MANUEL NORIEGA HAS MADE IT PAINFULLY OBVIOUS THAT HE RESPECTS NEITHER INTERNATIONAL OPINION NOR HIS OWN PEOPLE. HIS ACTIONS COMPRISE A LENGTHENING LITANY OF BETRAYAL-- AIMED BOTH AT THAT UNFORTUNATE NATION AND OUR OWN NATION AS WELL.

\* HE HAS TURNED THE RECENT PANAMANIAN ELECTION INTO A SHAM-- INVALIDATING ITS RESULTS WHEN IT WAS CLEAR HIS HAND-PICKED CANDIDATE LOST BY A MARGIN OF 3 TO 1. A VOTE IS THE MOST POWERFUL INSTRUMENT AND SACRED RIGHT OF FREE MEN, AND A MAJORITY OF VOTES IS THE FINAL EXPRESSION OF NATIONAL WILL AND GOVERNMENTAL LEGITIMACY. WHEN NORIEGA VIOLATED THAT TRUST, HE COMMITTED A

CRIME AGAINST DEMOCRATIC HOPE. WIELDING THE BLUNT INSTRUMENTS OF DEPRAVED AMBITION, HE STANDS AS A SINGLE MAN AGAINST AN ENTIRE NATION.

\* BUT NORIEGA, NOT CONTENT MERELY WITH FRAUD, PLUNGED HEADLONG INTO BRUTALITY. NORIEGA-CONTROLLED MOBS, GIVEN THE ORWELLIAN TITLE OF "DIGNITY BATTALIONS" AND ARMED WITH METAL PIPES, RUBBER HOSES AND NAIL-STUDED TWO-BY-FOURS, COMMENCED WITH ATTACKS ON OPPOSITION SUPPORTERS. PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE ENDARA WAS GIVEN A 6-INCH GASH ON THE HEAD. OPPOSITION VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE FORD WAS BEATEN BLOODY IN FRONT OF NEWS CAMERAS BEFORE BEING TAKEN INTO CUSTODY.

\* ALL THIS WAS SHOCKING FOR ITS CRASSNESS. BUT, GIVEN NORIEGA'S HISTORY, NONE OF IT SHOULD REALLY HAVE SURPRISED. THE PANAMANIAN DEFENSE FORCES HE LEADS HAVE MADE AMERICAN TROOPS AND THEIR DEPENDENTS CONSTANT TARGETS OF HARASSMENT. THE PENTAGON REPORTS 670 SUCH MAJOR INCIDENTS IN THE PAST 14 MONTHS-- INCLUDING BEATINGS, RAPES AND MURDER THREATS.

\* AND WE CANNOT FORGET THAT PANAMA CONTINUES TO BE A PRINCIPLE MONEY-LAUNDERING CENTER FOR THE SOUTH AMERICAN COCAINE TRADE, AS WELL AS A TRANSIT SITE FOR DRUGS. IT HAS BECOME A HAVEN FOR DEALERS THAT TRADE THEIR DEATH TO OUR CHILDREN UNDER THE PROTECTION-- AND WITH THE COOPERATION-- OF GENERAL NORIEGA. AND NORIEGA HIMSELF REMAINS UNDER INDICTMENT BY TWO U.S. GRAND JURIES FOR ILLICIT DRUG TRAFFICKING.

THERE IS NO MISTAKING THE GRIM, RELENTLESS DESCENT INTO OPPRESSION WE HAVE WITNESSED IN PANAMA. FOR WE HAVE SEEN IT BEFORE. WE HAVE SEEN THAT TYPE OF BLATANT FRAUD WHICH IS THE ONLY WAY FOR THE CORRUPT TO SIMULATE LEGITIMACY. WE HAVE SEEN THAT SORT OF BRUTAL VIOLENCE WHICH IS THE ONLY SHIELD FOR PETTY AND VICIOUS DESPOTS. MANUEL NORIEGA HAS BROKEN EVERY REMAINING TIE OF GOOD FAITH AND WRAPPED A BRUTAL REALITY IN A GAUZE OF UNCONVINCING LIES. HE HAS SHOWN HIMSELF EMPTY OF THOSE SYMPATHIES THAT DEFINE THE BOUNDARIES OF CIVILIZED CONDUCT.

NORIEGA'S PANAMA TODAY SHARES BOTH THE METHODS AND FRIENDSHIP OF CUBA AND NICARAGUA. ITS LEADER HAS TAKEN THE MANTLE OF CASTRO AND ORTEGA. HE HAS MANAGED TO EARN MEMBERSHIP IN THAT SELECT COMPANY OF THE CONTEMPTIBLE.

THERE CAN BE NO EXCUSE FOR COMPLACENCY WHEN THE PAINED CRIES OF THAT BATTERED NATION ARE SO DISTINCT AND SO INSISTENT.

BUT IN PANAMA WE FACE SOMETHING MORE THAN TRAGEDY AND BETRAYAL. WE FACE COMPLEX ISSUES OF STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE. FOR IN JUST A FEW MONTHS WE WILL CONFRONT THE PROSPECT OF TURNING OVER CONTROL OF

THE PANAMA CANAL COMMISSION TO A PANAMANIAN ADMINISTRATOR,  
NOMINATED BY THAT NATION'S PRESIDENT. IN JANUARY, 1990 WE ARE  
SCHEDULED BY TREATY TO PROCEED WITH THIS NEXT STEP IN PANAMA'S  
ASSUMPTION OF AUTHORITY.

IT IS NOT TOO DIFFICULT TO PREDICT THE PUBLIC REACTION TO THIS  
SCHEDULED TRANSITION. WE AMERICANS HAVE LITTLE TOLERANCE FOR  
TYRANTS. WE HAVE EVEN LESS WHEN THEY THREATEN OUR INTERESTS. THE  
PROSPECT OF ANY DIPLOMATIC DEALINGS WITH NORIEGA, ON ANY ISSUE,  
AT ANY LEVEL WILL PROVOKE OUTRAGE-- PRESSED DOWN AND SHAKEN  
TOGETHER. AND WE WILL WITNESS A DRUMFIRE OF DEMANDS TO SCUTTLE  
THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES IN THEIR ENTIRETY. WE CAN DO OUR BEST  
TO CAREFULLY ARTICULATE THE BEST REASONS TO PRESERVE THESE  
TREATIES, BUT WE WOULD DOUBTLESSLY BE DROWNED OUT BY A THUNDERING  
RUSH OF EVENTS WHICH, IF LEFT UNCHECKED, WOULD SEEM TO GUARANTEE  
ABROGATION.

THE SENATE HAS ALREADY GIVEN ITS APPROVAL TO THESE TREATIES.  
THAT WAS A CONTROVERSY WHICH WAS FOUGHT AND DECIDED, WHETHER WE  
LIKE THE RESULTS OR NOT. NOW WE MUST SEEK SOME OPTION THAT  
SATISFIES BOTH AMERICAN INTERESTS AND AMERICAN SENSIBILITIES. WE  
MUST FIND AN ALTERNATIVE THAT DOES NOT DISCREDIT OUR COMMITMENTS  
OR SACRIFICE OUR PRINCIPLES. SO TODAY I AM OFFERING LEGISLATION  
OUTLINING AN APPROACH I BELIEVE WILL MEET THESE CHALLENGES.

THE IDEA IS REALLY QUITE SIMPLE. I HAVE PROPOSED THAT NO NEW CANAL ADMINISTRATOR BE APPOINTED UNLESS AND UNTIL THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES CERTIFIES TO CONGRESS THAT THE PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT IS ELECTED ACCORDING TO THE PROCEDURES OF ITS OWN CONSTITUTION AND IS IN CONTROL OF THE PANAMANIAN DEFENSE FORCES. IN OTHER WORDS, THE CANAL ADMINISTRATOR MUST BE SELECTED BY A LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT, AND NOT NORIEGA'S DRUG DICTATORSHIP. AND UNTIL THAT CONDITION IS MET, THE CONGRESS PLEDGES TO WITHHOLD ITS CONSENT.

BEFORE MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES BEGIN THEIR SCRUTINY, LET US BE CLEAR ABOUT ONE THING. THIS PROPOSAL-- EMBODIED IN MY BILL AND CALLED FOR IN A SENSE OF THE SENATE RESOLUTION I HOPE TO INTRODUCE LATER THIS WEEK-- IS NOT A CHANGE OF ANY SORT IN THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES, MUCH LESS AN ABROGATION OF THOSE TREATIES. IT DEALS ONLY WITH AMERICAN LAW-- THE UNITED STATES CODE-- NOT PROVISIONS THAT HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATED WITH ANY FOREIGN NATION. IT IS SIMPLY AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE EXPRESSION OF CONGRESSIONAL RESOLVE-- A METHOD TO ENSURE THAT OUR MESSAGE IS NOT MISTAKEN.

\* TO NORIEGA IT PROMISES SERIOUS AND UNRELENTING RESISTANCE TO HIS ILLEGITIMATE RULE AND ILLUSORY AUTHORITY. IT ASSERTS THAT THE NON-NEGOTIABLE PRECONDITION FOR THE NORMAL AND ORDERLY TRANSITION OF CONTROL OVER THE CANAL IS, QUITE SIMPLY, HIS ABSENCE.

\* TO THE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF PANAMA, IT PLEDGES THE RECOGNITION OF ITS LEGITIMACY-- ROOTED IN THE PANAMANIAN POPULAR WILL. IT IS ONLY WHEN THEY PICK THE CANAL ADMINISTRATOR THAT HE WILL BE RECOGNISED. IT IS ONLY WHEN THAT OFFICIAL HAS THEIR SUPPORT THAT HE WILL HAVE OUR SUPPORT AS WELL.

I CAN ALREADY IMAGINE CERTAIN OBJECTIONS TO THIS LEGISLATION. SOME WILL ARGUE IT IS INCONSISTENT WITH OUR PRINCIPLES BECAUSE IT GOES BACK ON OUR DIPLOMATIC WORD. OTHERS WILL CONTEND THAT IT WOULD ACTUALLY THREATEN OUR INTERESTS BY OFFENDING PANAMANIAN NATIONAL PRIDE AND SOLIDIFYING NORIEGA'S SUPPORT. BUT WITH ALL DUE RESPECT, I BELIEVE THESE OBJECTIONS ARE MISPLACED.

THIS PROPOSAL CANNOT POSSIBLY BE CONSTRUED AS A VIOLATION OF OUR WORD-- A BETRAYAL OF PRINCIPLE. IT SIMPLY OUTLINES THE CONDITIONS FOR OUR CONSENT-- CONSENT IT IS OUR RIGHT TO GRANT OR RESERVE ACCORDING TO WHATEVER CRITERIA WE CHOOSE. BUT THIS QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE DESERVES FURTHER ATTENTION. FOR IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IT IS A DECISION OF PRINCIPLE AND INTEGRITY TO DEAL WITH A LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT RATHER THAN SOME BRUTAL PRETENDER. IT IS AN ACT OF FIDELITY TO OUR HIGHEST IDEALS TO RESIST ANY CONCESSION OF LEGITIMACY TO NORIEGA AND HIS LAWLESS CONFEDERATES.

IT IS, ADDITIONALLY, DIFFICULT FOR ME TO IMAGINE HOW THIS PROPOSAL MIGHT OFFEND PANAMANIAN PRIDE AND THEREBY STRENGTHEN NORIEGA'S SUPPORT. OUR ACTION WOULD SIMPLY BE A RECOGNITION OF ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE PEOPLE OF PANAMA LESS THAN TWO WEEKS AGO. WE ARE SIMPLY SAYING WE'LL ONLY DEAL WITH THE GOVERNMENT THEY JUST ELECTED. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IGNORING THEIR DEMOCRATIC CHOICE WOULD BE MORE LIKELY TO EMBITTER THAN PACIFY. AND RESPECTING THAT CHOICE, I BELIEVE, WOULD ONLY INVITE THEIR RESPECT.

WE HAVE WITNESSED THE SPECTACLE OF MANUEL NORIEGA'S BRUTALIZATION OF PANAMANIAN DEMOCRACY. WE HAVE SEEN THE ARROGANT ABUSE OF OUR SOLDIERS AND CITIZENS. WE HAVE WATCHED WITH HELPLESS ANGER WHILE A DRUG-RUNNING DICTATOR HAS PADDED HIS POCKETS THROUGH OUR CHILDREN'S ADDICTION. AND NOW IT IS TIME TO LEAVE OUR COMFORTABLE SEATS AND HASTEN TO THE WORK OF RESCUE AND RETRIBUTION. WE CANNOT OBEY THE COUNCIL OF TIMIDITY AND INACTION WHEN WE HAVE OPTIONS THAT COULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE. AND THOSE OPTIONS, IT SEEMS TO ME, ARE CLEAR.

THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT.

STATEMENT ON THE AMERICAN FLAG

SENATOR DAN COATS

7/17/89

MR. PRESIDENT, OFTEN THE AMERICAN FLAG'S UNIQUE POWER TO MOVE AND INSPIRE IS ONLY EVIDENT WHEN DISPLAYED IN TIMES OF CRISIS. LIKE ON THE DAY THAT IT WAS DRAPED OVER THE CASKETS OF THOSE WHO DIED ON THE BATTLESHIP IOWA. OR ON THE DAY IT WAS BURNED BY CHANTING IRANIAN FANATICS DURING THE HOSTAGE CRISIS.

THESE UNFORGETTABLE IMAGES PROVOKE A KIND OF PRIDE AND ANGER THAT IS EASIER FELT THAN EXPLAINED. THEY ARE EMOTIONS THAT DON'T NEED TO BE SYRUPY OR SENTIMENTAL. BUT THEY ARE ROOTED IN ONE SOLID AND EXTRAORDINARY FACT-- THAT THE FLAG SOMEHOW EMBODIES THE SELFLESSNESS OF THOUSANDS OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO DIED TO PRESERVE AN AMERICAN EXPERIMENT IN FREEDOM.

BUT NOW THE SUPREME COURT HAS DISCOVERED A CURIOUS AND DISTURBING NEW CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT. IRONICALLY, AS A FLAG FLEW OVER ITS WHITE-MARBLED BUILDING, THE COURT DETERMINED IT WAS PERFECTLY LEGAL TO BURN THE AMERICAN FLAG AS A FORM OF POLITICAL SPEECH.

THE CASE THEY DECIDED BEGAN WITH A PROTEST AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION IN 1984. IN FRONT OF CITY HALL, A PROTESTER DOUSED THE AMERICAN FLAG WITH KEROSENE AND SET IT AFLAME WHILE SEVERAL DOZEN OTHERS CHANTED, "AMERICA, THE RED, WHITE AND BLUE, WE SPIT ON YOU."

THIS KIND OF DESECRATION PROVOKES IN MOST AMERICANS, INCLUDING MYSELF, THE SORT OF BARELY RESTRAINED OUTRAGE THAT KEEPS YOU FROM SLEEPING AT NIGHT.

IT IS NOT THAT AMERICANS ARE INSECURE. WE DO NOT BLINDLY FOLLOW TRADITIONS. BUT WE DO CARE DEEPLY ABOUT SYMBOLS-- PARTICULARLY THAT ONE SYMBOL OF IDEAS AND VALUES FOR WHICH MEN AND WOMEN HAVE SACRIFICED AND DIED IN EVERY GENERATION. TO DESECRATE THE FLAG, I BELIEVE, IS TO DESECRATE THEIR MEMORY AND MAKE LIGHT OF THEIR SACRIFICE.

THERE IS A TYPE OF PATRIOTISM THAT IS HELD SO DEEPLY THAT IT FINDS EXPRESSION IN CONCRETE THINGS LIKE A PATRIOT'S CRIPPLED BODY-- OR IN BITS OF COLORED CLOTH. FOR MEN WHO HAVE RISKED DEATH IN SERVICE OF A FLAG IT IS MORE THAN JUST A SYMBOL, IT IS SACRIFICE YOU CAN HOLD IN YOUR HAND-- OR TRAMPLE UNDERFOOT IN CONTEMPT.

THE FLAG BEARS OUR PRIDE IN TIMES OF CELEBRATION. IT BEARS OUR GRIEF AT HALF-STAFF. BUT IT SHOULD NOT BE FORCED TO BEAR THE INSULTS OF A CALLOUSED AND DEFORMED CONSCIENCE.

MEN AND WOMEN WHO WE ASK TO DIE FOR A FLAG HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT DEFERENCE FOR THAT FLAG BY THOSE WHO BENEFIT FROM THEIR SACRIFICE. IT IS PART OF THE COMPACT WE MAKE WITH THOSE WHO WILL SERVE. UNTIL THIS DECISION, IT WAS THE LAW IN 48 STATES. AND IT MUST BE THE LAW ONCE AGAIN-- EVEN IF THAT TAKES A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

TOLERANCE IS AN IMPORTANT THING IN A FREE AND DIVERSE SOCIETY. AGREEMENT MUST NEVER BE A PREREQUISITE FOR CIVILITY. BUT TOLERANCE CAN NEVER BE ROOTED IN THE VIEW THAT NOTHING IS WORTH OUR OUTRAGE BECAUSE NOTHING IS WORTH OUR SACRIFICE.

CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST AUTHORED A STINGING DISSENT TO THIS MISGUIDED DECISION, ARGUING, "SURELY ONE OF THE HIGH PURPOSES OF A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IS TO LEGISLATE AGAINST CONDUCT THAT IS REGARDED AS EVIL AND PROFOUNDLY OFFENSIVE TO THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE-- WHETHER IT BE MURDER, EMBEZZLEMENT, POLLUTION OR FLAG BURNING."

JUSTICE JOHN PAUL STEVENS ADDED, REFERRING TO THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN PATRIOTISM, "IF THOSE IDEAS ARE WORTH FIGHTING FOR-- AND OUR HISTORY DEMONSTRATES THAT THEY ARE-- IT CANNOT BE TRUE THAT THE FLAG THAT UNIQUELY SYMBOLIZES THEIR POWER IS NOT ITSELF WORTHY OF PROTECTION FROM UNNECESSARY DESECRATION."

YES, WE MUST BE TOLERANT. BUT WE MUST NEVER ADOPT AN ENERVATING AND COWARDLY DISDAIN THAT STRIPS US OF PATRIOTIC

CONVICTION AND DULLS OUR ABILITY TO BE OFFENDED BY THE  
DESECRATION OF VITAL SYMBOLS. "IN THE WORLD IT IS CALLED  
TOLERANCE," WROTE DOROTHY SAYERS, "BUT IN HELL IT IS CALLED  
DESPAIR... THE SIN THAT BELIEVES IN NOTHING, CARES FOR NOTHING,  
ENJOYS NOTHING, FINDS PURPOSE IN NOTHING, LIVES FOR NOTHING, AND  
REMAINS ALIVE BECAUSE THERE IS NOTHING FOR WHICH IT WILL DIE."

## Israel and Terrorism

Column by Senator Dan Coats

8/4/89

There is a museum in Jerusalem that has a small glass case containing only the soiled, crushed shoe of a child. It was found at the Treblinka death camp. And it captures the whole Israeli attitude toward war and peace, diplomacy and negotiations: No horror is impossible. No enemy is to be trusted.

It is not an easy task to deal with an ally that has wounds this deep. Suffering, bitterness and caution run through Israel's national character like a poorly healed scar. A harsh history has created a nation that is independent by conviction, prickly by temperament, and swift to defend its interests.

But there is one indispensable key to retaining the confidence and support of a strategic ally, especially one as difficult as Israel. Winston Churchill summarized it, "It is no use once again leading other nations up the garden path and then running away when the dog growls."

Over the last ten years, the most vocal advocates of swift retribution and immediate justice for terrorist murders have come from the United States Congress. Each new instance of brutality

has been met with one pained and insistent refrain: Locate these terrorists and bring about justice.

But now one of our closest allies has done something we did not anticipate-- they acted on those words. Israeli commandos captured Sheik Abdul Karim Obeid, the terrorist leader of an organization that targets both American and Israeli citizens for abduction and assassination.

Israel might have expected praise. They got derision.

Evidently we have become so accustomed to failure-- so content with inertia-- that we cannot even recognize success when it stares us in the face. It is Israel that has given reality to our rhetoric. It is Israel that took our advice and captured a terrorist criminal-- exercising its rights as a sovereign nation, threatened from all sides, to defend its citizens and interests.

Golda Meir once said, "In our war with the Arabs we have a secret weapon-- no alternative." Organizations like Hezbollah are not just committed to a Palestinian state. They are committed to the destruction of Israel. And their methods make no exception for the innocent. Terrorist brutality leaves Israel with no alternative but resolute action.

But Arab terrorists have played their bloody trump card-- brutally murdering Colonel Higgins in Lebanon. And voices have been raised to insinuate, even declare, that Israel is to blame. The dog has made its rabid growl. And some recommend, once again, that we abandon an ally and beat a hasty and undignified retreat.

One magazine editorialized, "Israel didn't create the current crisis, but Israel did contribute to the crisis. The

kidnapping is moral cowardice, and it undermined the credibility of Israel in the West." A newspaper columnist accused Israel of "something approaching gross negligence."

But there is no moral equivalence-- or even moral relation-- between Israel's act of self-preservation and the terrorist's act of shame. Israel actually offered the murderers of Colonel Higgins the freedom of their leader in a prisoner exchange, presenting Hezbollah with a stark decision that defined their true objectives. And they typically chose the terrorist's pleasure in lawless murder, even above their own cause.

By this act, these men have severed their last tenuous ties with common humanity.

The murder of Colonel Higgins has fully and finally convinced many in the Congress that diplomacy is a weak, even useless, tool to moderate terrorist demands or soften their methods. We can explore details of the whole diplomatic terrain with these fanatics. But down every vista they can only see the gallows.

The situation in the Mideast is fluid. But the moral debate has been decisively clarified by recent events. British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan once said, "I have never attended the funeral of a murdered man; but I take it that at such a ceremony some distinction is made between the mourners and the assassins."

In this case the distinction is as clear as the line between civilization and barbarism. Israel mourns. And Arab terrorists are left stained by the blood of the innocent. To confuse the

two is to confuse the very nature of justice. And America should not be a party to it.

FLOOR STATEMENT ON CONTRA AID  
SENATOR DAN COATS

MR. PRESIDENT, I APPROACH THIS DEBATE WITH A GREAT DEAL OF INTERNAL CONFLICT. I HAVE BEEN A SUPPORTER OF NICARAGUA'S ANTICOMMUNIST RESISTANCE SINCE SANDINISTA TYRANNY FIRST MADE IT NECESSARY. FOR MANY YEARS THE CONTRAS HAVE KEPT ALIVE THE FADING HOPES OF NICARAGUANS FOR A DEMOCRATIC PEACE. WE OWE THEM FAR MORE THAN WE'VE DELIVERED. THEY JUSTLY OWE US NOTHING BUT THEIR CONTEMPT.

BUT ON THE ISSUE OF AID, WE HAVE BECOME A PRISONER OF OUR PAST. TODAY WE ARE CONSIDERING A TRANSFUSION OF ANEMIC BLOOD INTO A DYING PATIENT. AND SOME MEMBERS OF THIS BODY SEEM EXPECT APPLAUSE FOR THEIR MEDICAL MASTERY. BUT THEY'VE FORGOTTEN THE FACT THAT IT WAS THEY WHO CRIPPLED THE PATIENT IN THE FIRST PLACE-- WILLFULLY, DELIBERATELY, CYNICALLY. THEY CUT THE VICTIMS THROAT AND NOW EXPECT THIS MASKING TAPE TO REPAIR THE DAMAGE. BUT THIS AID COMES IN A TRIVIAL SUM, TRIVIALIZED FURTHER BY OPPRESSIVE RESTRICTIONS. IT RISKS SOMETHING WORSE THAN DOING NOTHING AT ALL-- THE DERISIVE LAUGHTER OF THOSE WHO BENEFIT FROM OUR FAILURE.

I REMEMBER STANDING ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES JUST LAST YEAR AND WARNING MY DEMOCRATIC COLLEAGUES THAT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN POLICY VACILLATION WAS NOW THEIR'S ALONE. THEY ARE THE ONES THAT CUT OFF AID AT A TIME WHEN THE CONTRAS STILL HAD A FIGHTING CHANCE. THEY ARE THE ONES THAT HELD HIGH HOPES OF WINNING SANDINISTA GOOD WILL THROUGH PREEMPTIVE CONCESSIONS. I PRAYED THEIR APPROACH WOULD WORK. BUT THE DECISION WAS MADE AND COULD NOT BE UNDONE. THE CONTRAS WERE DESTROYED AS A FIGHTING FORCE AND AS A FACTOR IN SANDINISTA CALCULATIONS.

NOW WE ARE ASKED TO REVISIT THIS ISSUE, AS THOUGH FOREIGN POLICY GOOD JUDGEMENT COULD BE MADE RETROACTIVE BY A MAJORITY VOTE. WE ARE ASKED TO APPLY SALVE TO THOSE FRAGILE CONSCIENCES BOTHERED IN THE NIGHT BY DECISIVE AND UTTERLY MISTAKEN ACTIONS THEY TOOK OVER A YEAR AGO.

BUT THIS LEGISLATION IS NOT JUST TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE. IT IS BAD POLICY, BUNGLED PROCESS, AND BANKRUPT POLITICS.

IT IS BAD POLICY BECAUSE IT DOES NOTHING TO CORRECT A DOWNWARD SPIRAL OF DISASTROUS MISJUDGEMENT THAT HAS DOOMED AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD BOTH NICARAGUA AND THE REST OF THE REGION. FOR YEARS NOW WE HAVE BEEN FEEDING THE CONTRAS INTO A MEATGRINDER, GIVING THEM JUST ENOUGH AID TO KEEP THEM DYING IN THE JUNGLE, BUT NOT ENOUGH TO ACHIEVE THEIR FREEDOM. FINALLY, WE ABANDONED THEM ALTOGETHER, MESMERIZED BY THE TRANSPARENT PROMISES OF A COMMUNIST DICTATOR. THIS PACKAGE IS NOT A RECOGNITION OF THAT FAILURE. IT IS A CAMOUFLAGE FOR OUR CYNICISM, OR OUR ASTOUNDING CREDULITY. THIS IS NOT FOREIGN POLICY, IT IS POLITICAL MANEUVERING- AIMED AT DIFFUSING THE CRITICISM WE DESERVE.

IT IS BUNGLED PROCESS BECAUSE IT APPEARS TO YIELD TO CONGRESS POWERS THAT APPROPRIATELY RESIDE IN THE PRESIDENT. THIS LEGISLATION IS HAUNTED BY THE GHOST OF THE WAR POWERS ACT, GIVING CONGRESS A VETO OVER FOREIGN POLICY THAT VIOLATES THE SEPARATION OF THE POWERS. OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS CONGRESS HAS WRESTED CONTROL OF CENTRAL AMERICAN POLICY FROM THE EXECUTIVE AND GROSSLY MISMANAGED IT. I DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THAT POWER GRAB IN THE PAST. AND I WILL NOT START TODAY.

IT IS BANKRUPT POLITICS BECAUSE IT COVERS A TRAIL OF RESPONSIBILITY THAT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED, NOT DISGUISED. I CAN

ALREADY HEAR THE AUTOPEN MACHINES ALL OVER CAPITOL HILL WARMING UP TO SIGN LETTERS HIGHLIGHTING CONCERN FOR THE CONTRAS. WE ARE SENDING THEM BANDAIDS AND BUFFERIN, CHEESE WHIZ AND VOLLEYBALLS. BUT THOSE LETTERS WILL NOT MENTION THAT WE DESTROYED THE CONTRAS LONG AGO. AND NOTHING WE DO NOW WILL REPAIR THAT DAMAGE. IT'S ABOUT TIME TO TAKE THE HEAT FOR FAILURE.

JOHN KENNEDY WROTE, "THE GREAT REVOLUTION IN THE HISTORY OF MAN, PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE, IS THE REVOLUTION OF THOSE DETERMINED TO BE FREE." IN NICARAGUA WE HAVE PLACED OURSELVES SQUARELY ON THE WRONG SIDE OF THAT REVOLUTION. WE HAVE BETRAYED THOSE WILLING TO SACRIFICE FOR THEIR FREEDOM AND OUR SECURITY. THE DEED IS DONE. NOW IS THE TIME FOR RECKONING.

WE HAVE FAILED. BUT WE HAVE NOT FAILED THROUGH THE LIMITS OF OUR POWER. WE HAVE FAILED THROUGH THE LIMITS OF OUR OWN WILL. THAT CANNOT BE EXCUSED. AND THIS BILL CANNOT CORRECT IT. LAST YEAR IT MIGHT HAVE MADE ALL THE DIFFERENCE. TODAY IT IS THE DISHONEST EPITAPH OF A FAILED PROGRAM OF CONGRESSIONAL MEDDLING. IT IS THE WHIMPER THAT ENDS A SORRY EXPERIMENT IN MICROMANAGEMENT. AND I CAN'T BRING MYSELF TO SUPPORT IT.