

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RESEARCH

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

GARY BAUER

Born: May 4, 1946, Covington, KY, grew up in Newport, Ky., a small blue-collar town on the Ohio River

Resides: 3610 Lido Place, Fairfax, VA 22031

Religion: Baptist

Education: 1968 Received B.A. from Georgetown College, Georgetown, KY
1973 Graduated Georgetown Law

Family: Mr. Bauer and his wife, the former Carol Hoke, have three children and reside in Fairfax, Va.

Career: 1972-1973 Director of Research, Republican National Committee
1973-1980 Director of Government Relations, Direct Mail Marketing Association
1980 Reagan/Bush Campaign, Senior Policy Analyst
1981-1982 Senior Policy Analyst, White House
1982 Deputy Assistant Director of Legal Policy
October 1982-1985 Deputy Under Secretary of Education for planning, budget and evaluation., at Department of Education
July 1985-1987 Undersecretary of Education: "... responsible for the day-to-day operations of the department and became an outspoken defender of the Administration's views on education and social issues." [The New York Times, January 30, 1987]
June 1986 named Chairman of President Reagan's Special Working Group on the Family
1987-1988 Reagan Domestic Policy Advisor, Director of Policy Development
Currently: President of the *Family Research Council*, Senior Vice President of *Focus on the Family*

Gary Bauer on school prayer: "The words "Let us bow our heads" invoke a feeling of reverence for man's belief on sacred values." We need to restore that sense of reverence to the classroom." [Washington Post, 11/27/82]

Bauer on God in education: "God is a central part of the education of our children. If you try to teach children without any emphasis on values, without any emphasis on a supreme being, you teach them in a vacuum. ... The one thing different in private schools as compared to public schools is the emphasis on values." [Interview on *A Nation at Risk*, August 26, 1984]

Bauer on homosexuality: "[Pro-gay and pro-abortion interests] reject the norms of human conduct laid out in the Scriptures that are common to Catholics and Protestants alike... In Rome before adoption of Christianity the rap on the church was that it refused to revere the gods of

the state. Today, Christianity challenges the gods of the dominant culture -- hedonism, the imperial self, and most particularly, sex without consequence." [*Washington Watch*, January 1990]

Bauer on homosexuals: "The homosexual rights movement becomes more aggressive each day. This movement wants more than 'tolerance.' Its final goal is for homosexuality to be considered acceptable and normal. These folks will not stop until they have been granted all the rights and benefits of traditional married couples." [Family Research Council, December, 1989]

In 1987, Bauer claimed Reagan Administration brought social problems to "crashing halt":

"Mr. Bauer, who speaks frequently about family values and the need for building character in young people, drew fire from Democrats when he released a report on the family last fall that was the result of a seven-month study by a 22-member interdepartmental working group.

The report, mostly written by Mr. Bauer, credited the Administration with bringing to a 'crashing halt' the 'antifamily agenda' of preceding years. 'Two liberal decades' frayed the fabric of American life, he said, bringing increased crime, illegitimate birth, drug use, teen-age pregnancy, divorce, sexually transmitted disease and poverty.

The report also said that the 'easy availability of welfare in all of its forms has become a powerful force for destruction of family life through perpetuation of the welfare culture.'" [*The New York Times*, January 30, 1987]

FAMILY RESEARCH COUNCIL: OUT OF THE MAINSTREAM

The Family Research Council (FRC) lobbies against reproductive rights, gay civil rights, and funding for the National Endowment for the Arts and public television. FRC was founded in 1981 and was a division of Focus on the Family from 1988-92. FRC is headed by its President, Gary Bauer and has a budget of approximately \$3 million per year and 25 staff members. Its newsletter, Washington Watch, claims a monthly circulation of 125,000; newsletter subscriptions provide the bulk of FRC's income. FRC also publishes Family Policy and participates on "Family News in Focus" a daily five-minute and fifteen-minute radio show [People for the American Way]

THE FAMILY RESEARCH COUNCIL'S ANTI-GAY AGENDA

THE FRC OPPOSES EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL CITIZENS

- ◆ FRC President Gary Bauer on the decision by Cracker Barrel Restaurants to refuse to hire homosexuals: *"I believe in the equality of all races and I do not believe in the equality of all sexual acts."* ["Family News in Focus", 3/4/91]

MISINFORMATION AND SCARE TACTICS

- ◆ One FRC ad against lifting the ban on gays in the military depicted a soldier's boot about to step on a land mine. "Every good soldier knows you don't march Minefield!" read the caption. The ad stated "Bill Clinton's decision to lift the military's homosexual ban will erode civilian authority and weaken the fitness of our forces . . . unless you act now" and falsely claimed that "militant homosexual groups are pressuring our new Commander-in-Chief to . . . drop all HIV testing of recruits." [The Virginian-Pilot and the Ledger-Star, 1/17/93]
- ◆ FRC President Gary Bauer: *"If you're going to go down the road of saying that two men can marry and two women can marry, then there is no ethical argument you can make against two men and a woman marrying or two men and a woman marrying... or a 40-year-old man and his 19-year-old daughter marrying."* [CNN's "Crossfire", 5/19/93]
- ◆ FRC President Gary Bauer: *"...healthy societies do not, never have, and should not treat homosexuality as being on a moral or social par with the heterosexual family. A society that does that is, in fact... on the way to decay and decadence."* [CNN's "Crossfire", 5/19/93]
- ◆ An FRC staff member once warned that gays in the military would infect other with AIDS. [People for the American Way]
- ◆ Robert Knight, Director, Cultural Studies, Family Research Council: *"You know, for centuries, in all cultures, the family has been held up as the model of civilization's foundation. There have been special protections built into the law to encourage people*

to marry, have children, stay together. These things help keep us civilized. When you embrace homosexual rights, you embrace the idea that that kind of lifestyle choice is just as valid and acceptable and useful to society as men and women forming families to raise the next generation. You're not only embracing a lie; you're embracing a very destructive policy, because you're talking about a different form of sexuality. You're talking about an aberrant form that is non-productive. It's a dead-end. It's a very sad lifestyle." [National Public Radio, 4/25/93]

- ◆ Knight on the causes of homosexuality: *"The problem begins early in childhood. The best literature we have indicates [homosexuality is] a gender-identity deficit.... But they can change their behavior."* [CNN's Crossfire, 4/16/93]
- ◆ When asked why, if gays and lesbians "can change", they don't, Knight replied *"Because they're living a very destructive lifestyle."* [CNN's Crossfire, 4/16/93]
- ◆ Knight on gay-bashing: *"It's gay on gay, most of it."* [CNN's Crossfire, 4/16/93]

FRC PAINTS PARANOID PICTURE OF HUGE, POWERFUL GAY MOVEMENT

- ◆ Robert Knight: *"Family Research Council is a pretty small organization. We're up against highly-financed, large, gay organizations, OK?"* [CNN's Crossfire, 4/16/93]
- ◆ Bauer on Regina Achtenberg: *"Ms. Achtenberg has used her power and influence as a lesbian activist to promote her lifestyle and to attack institutions which are precious to many American families. The information that we've uncovered at the Family Research Council raises a question that must be addressed: With a record of anti-family activism in California, what would Ms. Achtenberg do with the power of Washington behind her agenda?"* [FRC Press Release, 5/19/93]
- ◆ *"The gay victory strategy relies on a public taken unawares, but you can help to get the truth out."* Family Research Council's Washington Watch newsletter, May 1993 issue. [AP, 5/22/93]
- ◆ Gary Bauer: *"Well, what my position is that Roberta Achtenberg fails on a number of fronts, not the least of which is she's not only an open lesbian, but she has a consistent record of attempting to force her way of living on organizations and individuals that disapprove of it."* [CNN Crossfire, 5/19/93]
- ◆ Robert Knight on the gay and lesbian rights movement: *"We're talking about a powerful agenda at work to validate a behavior that most Americans find immoral, unhealthy and destructive."* [CNN's Crossfire, 4/16/93]

YET THEY INSIST ONLY 1% OF POPULATION IS GAY

- ◆ Robert Knight: *"It's not just my view. Thirty studies from around the world, England, France, Australia, Denmark, Norway, they all point to less than 2 percent, most of them less than 1 percent."* Knight says that the percentage is low because *"the behavior is so*

abominable to most people that they reject it out of hand." [CNN's Crossfire, 4/16/93]

- ◆ Knight: "Thousands of former homosexuals give the lie to the idea that it's genetic.... There are 160 ex-gay ministries around the country. They have liberated thousands of people from the lifestyle." [CNN's Crossfire, 4/16/93]

FRC AND WOMEN IN THE MILITARY

- ◆ FRC President Gary Bauer called on President Bush to fire Navy Secretary Sean O'Keefe for his proposal to draft women into the armed forces. "We have warned for years that the drive to place women in combat would lead to the draft. Now, we can see the real and present danger that young American women will be conscripted into military service. This is a bayonet thrust at the heart of every American family," Bauer called the proposal "a betrayal of millions of Americans who supported the pro-family positions (the) party has enunciated." Drafting women, Bauer charged, would "mortally wound" American society.

AGAINST A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE

- ◆ Gary Bauer: *I think of Justices Souther, Kennedy, and Justice O'Connor who voted against us on that [Lee v. Weisman] decision and on the abortion decision. The thought struck me that these must be the only three people in America who don't understand why they were put on the Supreme Court.* " [National Affairs Briefing, 8/92]

FRC AND RUTH BADER GINSBURG

- ◆ "So, you know, I think it's fair to say that according to abortion laws, if you have a 13-year-old who wants to get an abortion based on sex selection, under the Ginsburg writing in the North Carolina Law Review article, she would be able to do that, and do it without parental consent." -- Elizabeth Law, FRCs' director of government relations [CNN, 6/15/93]
- ◆ "You asked me earlier if the term 'liberal' was bad. I think it's probably accurate with this nominee.... She is a liberal judge that, if confirmed, she will probably join the liberal left wing of the court." -- Elizabeth Law on Ruth Bader Ginsburg [CNN, 6/15/93]

AGAINST THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

- ◆ Gary Bauer on funding the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA): The NEA "has allowed itself to be used by a small cadre of cultural revolutionaries, militant homosexuals and anti-religious bigots who are intent on attacking the average American's most deeply held beliefs while sending them the bill." [Family Research Council direct mail, 10/90]

NATIONAL FATHERHOOD CAMPAIGN

- ◆ The FRC launched its National Fatherhood Campaign in a press conference on June 17. The campaign placed "pro-fatherhood" ads over Father's Day weekend in major newspapers and magazines depicting "white, middle-class fathers and children. One ad shows a father with some lumber in hand, his son nearby and the message 'The Biggest

Building Project He'll Ever Tackle Is Right in His Own Backyard.' Another ad, showing a father holding his young daughter, says, 'The Most Important Job He'll Ever Have Just Fell Right in His Lap.'

- ◆ *"It's not just the obvious father absence we can see in our cities," Bauer said. "It's also the absence of fathers we see in suburbs, where fathers have put their careers first . . . to the detriment of their children."* [The Washington Times, 6/18/93]
- ◆ William Mattox, Jr, FRCs director of research and policy analysis believes groups such as the Children's Defense Fund (CDF) and the Child Welfare League of America have "radical social agendas" and are "special-interest lobbies for social workers." [The Washington Times, 6/6/93]
- ◆ "The new administration has made it clear that it will attempt to force taxpayers once again to pay for abortions. ... The homosexual rights movement has made new gains ... The conservative voice on the Supreme Court could be shouted down." Gary Bauer, president of the Family Research Council, direct-mail appeal in April. [AP, 5/22/93]



PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY

Defending Constitutional Liberties

Family Research Council

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President: Gary Bauer

Date of founding: 1981

Activities: The Family Research Council (FRC) was a division of Focus on the Family from 1988 to 1992. The Washington-based group lobbies against reproductive freedom and civil rights for gays. A staff member of the Council once warned that gays in the military would infect others with AIDS. FRC is also opposed to funding of the National Endowment for the Arts and public television.

Membership: The Council claims that monthly circulation for its newsletter is 125,000. Most of FRC's income is from subscriptions to their newsletter.

Publications: Washington Watch (monthly) and Family Policy.

Radio: Participates daily on the five-minute and fifteen-minute "Family News in Focus" radio shows.

Finances: Budget is about \$3 million per year.

Staff: 25

Quotes from Gary Bauer: On the decision by Cracker Barrel Restaurants to refuse to hire homosexuals: "I believe in the equality of all races and I do not believe in the equality of all sexual acts." (Family News in Focus, 3/4/91)

"Clinton has pulled off... an incredible con game here.... A year after inauguration day either Reagan Democrats will feel betrayed or all those left wing radical groups will feel betrayed, and in either case, he's in trouble." (World magazine, 11/7/92)

"I think of Justices Souter, Kennedy, and Justice O'Connor who voted against us on that [Lee v. Weisman] decision and on the abortion decision. The thought struck me that these must be the only three people in America who don't understand why they were put on the Supreme Court." (National Affairs Briefing, 8/92)

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2/93

GARY BAUER

Gary Bauer serves as president of the Family Research Council, which is the research and lobbying arm of James Dobson's Focus on the Family. Bauer also serves as Senior Vice President of Focus on the Family. Prior to the FRC, Bauer served as Chief Advisor on Domestic Policy Development under Reagan, and before that as Undersecretary of the US Department of Education. During his governmental time, he promoted school prayer, aid to private schools, tuition tax credits, abortion restrictions curbs on pornography, mandatory AIDS testing, criticized school curriculums for being "value-free" and school textbooks for being "hyper-critical" of the US, and opposed fetal tissue research and the approval of a federal law banning discrimination against AIDS victims. While at the FRC, he called for the repeal of no-fault divorce statutes, the elimination of welfare policies that "encourage cohabitation and teen mothers living apart from their parents," and the passage of laws to require parental consent before teens "can obtain contraception or abortion."

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On school prayer:

"The words 'Let us bow our heads' invoke a feeling of reverence for man's belief in sacred values. We need to restore that sense of reverence to the classroom." [Washington Post 11/27/82]

On an NEA nuclear war study course:

Accusing the NEA of being "in the hands of [nuclear] freezeniks," Bauer said the course was "an incredibly obvious drive to bring political indoctrination into the classroom" and "turn today's elementary students into tomorrow's campus radicals." [Washington Post 6/13/83]

On God in education:

"God is a central part of the education of our children. If you try to teach children without any emphasis on values, without any emphasis on a supreme being, you teach them in a vacuum. ... The one thing different in private schools as compared to public schools is the emphasis on values." [Interview on "A Nation At Risk" August 26, 1984]

"... many of the things that ... [make] private schools better than public schools in the education of our children is particularly true, I think, when it comes to Christian schools, specifically, because it is in those schools where you have a God-centered education." [Interview on "A Nation At Risk" August 26, 1984]

On black values:

"The Bill Cosby show and the values it promotes may ultimately be more important to black children's success than a bevy of new federal programs." [Speaking at a national conference on the

education of black Americans, June 1986]

On the "left's" family agenda:

"The left of American politics is busily fashioning a family agenda. It includes federal day care, guaranteed parental leave, more governmental intervention into the family in the name of protecting it. All this has been tried elsewhere and failed. It must be avoided here." [Annual Leadership Conference of Eagle Forum, October 1987]

On the ingratitude of the "moral equivalency" crowd:

"I have often argued against the 'moral equivalency' crowd, and I will continue to do so. Their ingratitude is a scandal. But when I see the statistics on abortion, the retreat from marriage, the tax burden on hard-working families, the attempted elevation of homosexuality to the status of a protected activity, the state-sponsored value-free sex-ed programs in the schools, I begin to wonder whether we have abandoned the values that are at the heart of the American experiment in liberty under God - the values that make America defensible." [Speech presented at "The Heritage Foundation" May 17, 1989]

On homosexuality:

"[Pro-gay and pro-abortion interests] reject the norms of human conduct laid out in the Scriptures that are common to Catholics and Protestants alike.... In Rome before the adoption of Christianity, the rap on the church was that it refused to revere the gods of the state. Today, Christianity challenges the gods of the dominant culture -- hedonism, the imperial self, and most particularly, sex without consequence." [Washington Watch, January 1990]

On homosexuals:

"The homosexual rights movement becomes more aggressive each day. This movement wants more than 'tolerance.' Its final goal is for homosexuality to be considered acceptable and normal. These folks will not stop until they have been granted all the rights and benefits of traditional married couples." [Family Research Council, December 1989]

On Bush's treatment of homosexuals:

"Politicians continue to cower when confronted by this noisy, threatening [gay rights] movement. Most disturbing was the Bush administration's recent decision to invite homosexual leaders to the Rose Garden -- not once, but twice -- for bill signing ceremonies. No other president has given that movement such legitimacy." [The Nation, December 17, 1990]

On the attack of God-given liberties:

"The notion that man gets his rights from a God, that our liberty is God-given, that our nation is built on Godly principles -- all these things are under continuous and heavy attack." [Interview in the American Legion, February 1992]

"Because you will find that the Lincoln Memorial, the Jefferson Memorial, and the Washington Monument -- the living words etched in stone -- that make it clear that our liberty comes from no man, but from God." [National Affairs Briefing]

On education:

"Patriotism and prayer and moral instructions now have been virtually eliminated from the classroom -- replaced by sex ed and revisionist viewpoints of history that emphasize our nation's sins and failures instead of our forefather's great contributions." [Interview in the American Legion, February 1992]

On the Supreme Court:

"I think of Justices Souter, Kennedy, and Justice O'Connor who voted against us on that [Lee vs. Weisman] decision and on the abortion decision. The thought struck me that these must be the only three people in America who don't understand why they were put on the Supreme Court. Their opponents understood why. Those of us who supported them understood why. My friends, there are few things in life that are certain, but this thing is certain. These rulings will not stand. Not all the Supreme Court decisions stacked end on end can erase our religious traditions." [National Affairs Briefing]

On Hollywood:

"Sometimes Hollywood goes too far, dropping its subtle undermining of faith and family for a more overt attack that Americans clearly perceive as hostile to their beliefs. The controversy over *The Last Temptation of Christ* is one such example. The movie which portrayed Christ as a neurotic, sex-fantasizing, reluctant Savior caused a storm of protest and movie boycotts. There is no question that under our system of Constitutional liberties, Universal Pictures can produce and show such a movie. They clearly are permitted to do so. The question is whether they should have made a film that insulted millions of God-fearing Americans and mocked their most deeply held beliefs." ["Children At Risk"]

On the Boy Scout controversy:

"What we see in this sad story is the hideous strength of the homosexual lobby as it seeks to destroy every vestige of traditional values in our country and to win special privileges for itself. If the Boy Scouts won't resist, who will? Well, we will resist. Millions of pro-family Americans will resist. If our politicians and public charities lose their will or their nerve, we will not. Scout leaders may come to regret their bugle call of retreat, but whether or not they recover their courage and their moral strength, pro-family Americans will not back down." (Family News in Focus August 19, 1991)



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FREEDOM OF CHOICE ACT Unlimited and Unsafe Access to Abortion Through Nine Months of Pregnancy

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Proponents of the Freedom of Choice Act want you to believe that passage of this bill would merely codify Roe v. Wade. This is not true. FOCA goes well beyond the scope of that decision. Under Roe, the Supreme Court has upheld many state regulations and restrictions which, under FOCA would become unlawful.

•"DOCTORS-ONLY" LAWS PROHIBITED UNDER FOCA.

Currently forty-nine states limit the practice of abortion to licensed physicians. However, these "doctors-only" laws will be challenged under FOCA with the pro-abortion industry arguing that they are not "medically necessary." Under FOCA, state "requirements...to protect the health of woman undergoing" abortions are permissible only if they are "medically necessary." The 1992 Senate Committee Report on FOCA makes clear that a state cannot require that abortions be done by physicians; instead, states must also permit "medically competent" non-physicians to do abortions. Indisputably, in this area, FOCA goes beyond Roe which explicitly held that a state "may proscribe (ban) any abortion by a person who is not a physician." If FOCA passes, states will be stripped of the ability to require that abortions be done by doctors. What happened to the argument that an abortion was "between a woman and her doctor?"

•BROAD DEFINITION OF "HEALTH" WOULD ALLOW POST-VIABILITY ABORTIONS.

FOCA would eliminate all meaningful state authority to restrict the killing of unborn babies even after the point of viability (the point at which, with current medical technology, a premature infant can survive independently of the mother, which begins at 23-24 weeks of pregnancy). States will be required to permit unrestricted abortion "at any time" -- including after viability -- if the abortionist believes that an abortion would benefit a woman's "health." "Health" will be defined to include all factors, "emotional, psychological, and familial." This definition is so broad that a woman will be able to terminate a pregnancy by claiming such things as emotional distress and economic hardship.

•"VIABILITY" DEFINED BY ABORTIONIST UNDER FOCA.

FOCA prohibits states from enforcing a legally binding, objective definition of viability. Instead, states will be required to permit each abortionist to use his own definition of "viability." In other words, the only person involved in the abortion with a financial bias in favor of the woman having the abortion, the abortionist, will determine if an eight-month-old fetus is viable or not. By

allowing the abortionist to define "health" and "viability," FOCA in reality allows abortion for the full nine months of pregnancy for any reason.

•PHONY INFORMED CONSENT AND WAITING PERIOD UNDER FOCA.

Under FOCA, the informed consent and waiting period allowances that will be permissible are a sham. FOCA would ensure that the only type of information a woman would receive regarding abortion is the information the abortion clinic decides to give her. Facts about fetal development which help a woman to make an educated decision before aborting a child will not be required of the clinics. Real waiting periods coupled with informed consent that give a woman an opportunity to seriously reflect on this life-changing decision will be deemed impermissible.

Pennsylvania Governor Robert Casey summed it up very well with the following statement. "The industry (of abortion) has grown to the point where 1.6 million abortions are performed in this country every year. Today, in America, women still die and are injured by legally performed abortions. Nevertheless, we are being asked by FOCA to make abortion the least regulated industry in the nation."

The Freedom of Choice Act will eliminate virtually any state limitation on abortion. Restrictions such as those in place in Pennsylvania, which were democratically enacted and upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court would not survive under FOCA. Remember, the bill reads, "a state may not restrict the right of a woman to choose to terminate a pregnancy..."

The bottom line is this: FOCA establishes a virtually standard-less legal environment for abortion. At no time in American history -- not at our founding when abortion was discouraged by custom and common law, not in the 19th century when state after state enacted laws at the urgings of the medical community to protect both the mother and her unborn child, not in the period of abortion law reform in the 1960s and 1970s, not even after Roe v. Wade in 1973 when the States experimented with a variety of laws and regulations to test the limits of that ruling -- at no time in our history has the elected legislature of any single state adopted an abortion policy as radical and sweeping as the one FOCA would impose on every state in the union.

FOCA is unprecedented, a foolish gamble with the lives of women and waste of the lives of children.

RELEASE DATE: JULY 7, 1993

CONTACT: ELIZABETH LAW
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CLINTON TO NAME RADICAL HEALTH DIRECTOR AS U.S. SURGEON GENERAL

Joycelyn Elders, currently the Director of Health for Arkansas, is expected to be nominated for the position of Surgeon General of the United States. Americans should have concerns about Elders' lack of integrity in her current position, poor record of success in Arkansas, and inability to represent the American people on such sensitive issues as abortion, family life education and teen pregnancy.

PROPONENT OF TAX PAYER FUNDED ABORTIONS

Elders wants abortion to be funded by tax payers.¹ She claims that "if Medicaid does not pay for abortions, does not pay for family planning, but pays for pre-natal care and delivery, that's saying: I'll pay for your to have another good, healthy slave."² She equates reproductive freedom with social and economic freedom and relegates the debate over choice to a power struggle between the haves and the have nots.³ In addition, Elders is uninformed. In FY 92, Medicaid pays over \$250 million a year for Family Planning Services⁴ which includes family planning and contraceptive services. Combined with additional federal programs, funding for family planning in 1992 reached \$620 million.⁵

AN ADVOCATE FOR FOCA

Elders sees abortion on demand as a method of population quality control. In 1991, she testified before the Senate on behalf of the Freedom of Choice Act in which she stated, "abortion has had an important and positive public health effect."⁶ Elders defines quality of life by the "plannedness" and "wantedness" of each child and claims that 57 percent of American's children are unplanned and unwanted.⁷

ARKANSAS RECORD: TEEN PREGNANCY RISES 17 PERCENT UNDER ELDERS

Elders claims she wants to reduce teen pregnancy. The teen pregnancy rate has actually risen 17 percent since she assumed her post as Health Director in Arkansas in 1987.⁸ In an interview with *60 Minutes*, Elders said that she tells every girl to put a condom in her purse before she goes on a date.⁹ Despite the contraceptive education curriculum, which has been shown nationwide to correlate with the rise in teen

Alert



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pregnancy,¹⁰ and the license for sexual promiscuity she promotes, Elders attributes the rise in teen pregnancy in Arkansas to "poverty and ignorance and the Bible-Belt mentality."¹¹

ELDERS' SCHOOL BASED CLINICS PROMOTE ABORTION AND LEAVE PARENTS OUT

Elders advocates sex education from age 0-21.¹² There are currently 24 clinics in Arkansas schools even though there are 96 health department clinics throughout the state which offer the same services.¹³ Additionally, Elders has been an advocate of School Based Clinics, (which she has renamed "Student Service Centers"), despite the fact that no scientific evidence has been found to show that SBC's are effective in reducing teen pregnancy. According to Douglas Kirby, consultant for the Center for Population Options which promotes SBC's, they "had no measurable impact on teen pregnancy rates."¹⁴ While these clinics are initially implemented to provide "basic" health care to students, their primary goal, as Elders has admitted, is to dispense condoms to high school students. Free condoms are already available at every health department clinic in Arkansas.¹⁵ SBC's are also costly, costing between \$100,000-\$150,000 annually¹⁶ and there is considerable concern about medical liability for services rendered in the schools.

ELDERS' PROFESSIONAL RECORD SHOWS ABUSE OF POWER

In 1990, Representative Tim Hutchinson filed a lawsuit against her over the use of federal funds to provide condoms for SBC's. While Elders claimed that "the school board should ultimately decide what services will be offered to students in its schools,"¹⁷ she and then-Governor Clinton bypassed the previous ruling of the Arkansas Legislature and provided condoms to the SBC's using federal funds.¹⁸

Additionally, the Christian Action Council, in Ft. Smith, Arkansas, sent a request for prosecution, alleging that she violated the State Political Practice Act by her lobbying efforts at a reproductive freedom rally in January 1992 to solicit signatures for the Reproductive Choice Amendment. Elders claims that she was attending the rally as a private citizen. To the contrary, Elders told KARK news that she wasn't concerned about the grounds, that she was "just doing her job as the Health Director," and was quoted by the Arkansas Democrat as saying that she has "no qualms about using her official position to promote abortion rights."¹⁹

Elders' alleged statements at the pro-choice rally also violated the the Unborn Child Amendment, which holds that the state must do everything possible to protect the life of the child from conception to birth. Elders subsequently used state funds to hire an

attorney for her defense in the same case she said was leveled against her as a private citizen.

Ft. Smith's Christian Action Council filed a complaint, but State Attorney Mark Stodola refused to file charges and Pulaski County Circuit Court Judge John Ward denied the group's request for a special prosecutor. The state supreme court also denied the civil petition for a special prosecutor, but laid out grounds for reconsidering the petition if, among several factors, the group alleged that the prosecutor's conduct was inappropriate in the case. A second petition has been filed in Pulaski County Circuit Court, alleging that Elders and Stodola acted improperly, that Dr. Elders and Attorney Stodola are guilty of obstruction of justice, destruction of evidence (erasing part of a video tape of Elders's speech at the rally) and violating freedom of access laws. As of 6/8/93, the petition was still pending. Stodola is up for a U.S. appointment should Elders' nomination be confirmed.²⁰

The *Arkansas Democrat Gazette* reported in July of 1990 that her pay deal totalling \$103,297 was questionable because it seemed to exceed the ceiling for her post. It is now interesting to note that Elders is drawing salaries from the Arkansas Health Department, the University of Arkansas Medical School and as the Assistant to Secretary Donna Shalala at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.²¹

¹ *American Medical News*, 1/11/92.

² *Arkansas Democrat Gazette*, 1/19/92.

³ *American Medical News*, 1/11/92.

⁴ PHS Report on Population Research and Family Planning Activities, DHHS, April 1993.

⁵ PHS Report on Population Research and Family Planning Activities, DHHS, April 1993.

⁶ Senate testimony on FOCA, 1991.

⁷ Rally for Reproductive Freedom, Little Rock Arkansas, footage from Ft. Smith police tape.

⁸ Statistics provided by the Arkansas Department of Health and the Alan Guttmacher Institute.

⁹ *National Review*, "Life and Death in Arkansas," 4/26/93.

¹⁰ Statistics provided by the Arkansas Department of Health, compiled by Family Policy Council of Little Rock, 1993.

¹¹ *National Review*, "Life and Death in Arkansas" 4/26/93.

¹² As stated in January 1993 meeting with former Secretary of Health, Louis Sullivan.

¹³ Statistics provided by the Arkansas Department of Health, Little Rock, AK.

¹⁴ Douglas Kirby, Ph.D. Speech at the 16th Annual Meeting of the National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Assn., March 2, 1988.

¹⁵ Arkansas Department of Health, Little Rock, Arkansas.

¹⁶ **Family Policy Council**, Little Rock, Arkansas.

¹⁷ *The Future of Children*, Interview of Dr. Elders, 7/29/92.

¹⁸ **Respect Life**, Little Rock, Arkansas. (Section 26 of the Arkansas Constitution allows public officials to reallocate federal monies to fund state programs.)

¹⁹ *Arkansas Democrat*, 11/12/89.

²⁰ **Christian Action Council** of Fort Smith, Arkansas. Source: Dale Morfeý.

²¹ Opinions issued by the Arkansas State Atty. General April 1993.



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FAMILY RESEARCH COUNCIL OPPOSES ELDERS, JAMES TELLS CLINTON, "CHECK HER RECORD"

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Family Research Council Vice President Kay James announced Wednesday that FRC will oppose Joycelyn Elders for U.S. Surgeon General because of her anti-family proposals -- such as pro-abortion, school-based clinics, condom giveaways and explicit sex education for children as young as five to name a few -- and because of her record on health issues in Arkansas.

"We are afraid that this candidate will do for America what she has done for Arkansas," James said. "The Family Research Council is committed to fighting this nominee who has consistently diminished the value of our children and has fought for taxpayer funding for many anti-family plans. Bill Clinton needs to look carefully at Dr. Elders' proposed policies -- especially her advocacy of contraceptives as the cure for teen social problems."

A veteran of the confirmation process, James said Elders' performance as Arkansas health director should be of key concern to the U.S. Senate confirmation committee. She noted teen pregnancy in Arkansas has actually risen 17 percent since Elders took her post in 1987, according to the Arkansas Department of Health and the Allan Guttmacher Institute, Planned Parenthood's research arm.

James said another key issue should be the data available on Elders' policy proposals.

"Condom giveaways do not result in better behavior, fewer pregnancies or better health," James said. She noted that since 1970, more than \$2 billion has been spent on Title X, a federally funded program utilizing the contraceptive approach to reduced pregnancy; however, nonmarital teen births have risen 61 percent over the same time period. But the problem was not a lack of contraceptive knowledge. By the late 1970s, only three percent of teenagers reported that they did not know how to obtain birth control devices if they desired them.

"America does not need a surgeon general who throws in the towel from the bully pulpit of our nation's highest public health official," James said. "We need to chart a course for America that will help young people navigate tough waters -- instead of handing them faulty life preservers and wishing them good luck."

For more information, research or interviews, contact the Family Research Council.



**KAY JAMES ANSWERS
JOYCELYN ELDERS ON
THE ISSUES**

ON SEX EDUCATION...

ELDERS:

"We have driver's ed for our kids. We've taught them what to do in the front seat of the car, but not what to do in the back seat." (National Commission On Children Video, Summit 4/2/93)

JAMES RESPONDS:

Why assume they are going to be in the back seat?! Assuming that kids are going to be sexually active is comparable to giving them a license. But choosing to be sexually active is more critical than the decision to drive a car. Why don't we teach them what *not* to do in the back seat? Elders is known for saying "you can't be what you can't see." I agree with that, and unfortunately, she is not modeling anything that would give kids encouragement for abstinence.

ELDERS:

"You've been preaching abstinence for a hundred years. I've still got a problem, I've still got thousands of teen-agers having babies every year." (New York Times Magazine, 10/15/92)

JAMES RESPONDS:

The truth is that "we" have *not* been teaching abstinence to kids. Public Schools have never implemented a comprehensive abstinence education curriculum in their family life programs. Title X contraceptive education funding is \$170 million, compared with Title XX abstinence education funding at less than \$20 million. No reputable study shows that contraceptive based programs have worked and many have shown otherwise. A Louis Harris poll shows that teens who have had a sex education course that discusses contraceptives have a *50 percent higher* sexual activity rate than those who have not. Abstinence based programs are the only ones with a consistent track record of success—often dramatic success.

ON HER OPPONENTS...

ELDERS :

"Look who's fighting the pro-life movement. A celibate, male-dominated church, a male-dominated legislature, and a male-dominated medical profession." (Arkansas Democrat Gazette, 1/19/92)

JAMES RESPONDS:

Wrong. Actually, the two most prominent pro-life groups in the United States, National Right to Life and American Life League are headed by women. Many minorities are pro-life. A 1989 Wirthlin Group National Survey shows that women are far more pro-life than men. In fact, the Black Americans for Life is one of the fastest growing pro-life groups in the United States. Her *ad hominem* arguments don't really address the issues.

ELDERS :

Elders calls her critics "non-Christians with slave-master mentalities." (American Medical News, 1/11/93)

JAMES RESPONDS:

The slave imagery doesn't work on this one. Elders is trying to appeal to the days of slavery, equating the abortion struggle with a civil rights issue. Elders shouldn't denigrate the civil rights movement with her reference to what she calls "reproductive freedom." There are many of us who are growing weary of social engineers hijacking the freedom train to accomplish their own agenda.

ELDERS :

I would hope that we would provide [prostitutes] Norplant so that they could use sex if they must to buy their drugs. ("Talk Line," CNBC 6/19/93)

JAMES RESPONDS:

This is perhaps the most irresponsible statement that any public health official has ever made. It shows a complete lack of understanding of the drug crisis, the Aids epidemic and the growing menace of other sexually transmitted diseases. Elders is identifying pregnancy as the ultimate evil. What about the immoral and unhealthy behavior of prostitution? What about the abuse of drugs? It seems that Elders' only goal is to stop pregnancy, or more accurately, births.

ON THE PROGRAMS...

ELDERS :

"We pay for pregnancy, but we won't pay for contraception. That doesn't make sense." (Raleigh News and Observer, 3/6/93)

JAMES RESPONDS:

Just who is the "we" she is speaking of? "We" federal taxpayers sent \$1.5 million to Medicaid in Arkansas for contraceptive services alone. Elders shouldn't be complaining. She and then Governor Clinton had no problem reallocating federal funds to provide condoms for your school-based clinics, despite the opposition of the Arkansas Legislature. It isn't likely that with Mr. Clinton in the White House, there will be any more opposition funding similar initiatives she wants to implement for our children.

ELDERS :

"If Medicaid does not pay for abortions, does not pay for family planning, but pays for prenatal care and delivery, that's saying: 'I'll pay for you to have another good, healthy slave, but I won't pay for you to use your brain and make choices for yourself. It's a way to keep people poor, ignorant, and enslaved. If you are poor and ignorant, you are a slave.'"
(American Medical News, 1/11/93)

JAMES RESPONDS:

Elders is apparently uninformed about her own programs. Medicaid *does* pay for family planning—combined with other federal programs, over \$620 million went to Family Planning services in FY 92. Elders implies that deciding to have a child means you can't use your brain and that someone who is poor could only give birth to a slave. Having access to a federally funded abortion ensures you will be free about as much as using a condom ensures you will be safe.

ON TEENAGE PREGNANCY...

ELDERS :

"The pro-life groups, if they're really serious about it, should be working harder than anyone in behalf of school clinics or anything else that can stop this epidemic...Of course, that's if they truly want to prevent abortion." (New York Times Magazine, 10/15/92)

JAMES RESPONDS:

Pro-family and pro-life groups are working very hard to offer real solutions to real problems. Neither Elders nor anyone else has proven that School-Based Clinics reduce the rate of pregnancy. Births may be down, but abortions are up. Elders' definition of stopping the pregnancy epidemic is abortion. This is one more way she tells teens that they can be free from the consequences of their choices, even through taking innocent lives. What we need more than her judgmental accusations is a reality check. Faced with the obvious failures of contraceptive education programs, even a skeptic would consider giving abstinence education a larger share of funding. If Elders was really serious about stopping teen pregnancy and not just untimely births, she would support abstinence education and focus on real solutions.

ELDERS :

"A poor teenager with a baby is captive to a slavery the 13th amendment did not anticipate." (New York Times Magazine, 10/15/92)

JAMES RESPONDS:

A poor teenager with a baby is captive to a culture that tells her that she can have "safe sex," abort an unborn child or give it to the government to raise. If our children are encouraged to be sexually active through what Elders calls "comprehensive health education," which includes distribution of condoms and the message that abstinence is unrealistic, we can hardly call them slaves. They make choices she tells them are okay. The 13th Amendment implies that all citizens have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

ELDERS

"Most of our society believes that a baby is God's just punishment for fornication." (American Medical News, 1/11/93)

JAMES RESPONDS:

Is Dr. Elders that out of touch with most of mainstream America? Most Americans believe every child brings something unique and special to this world, even when they are not planned or wanted by their parents. Elders attempts to frame abortion as the answer to what she would call "punishment" for fornication.

ON QUALITY OF LIFE...

ELDERS :

"If I could ensure every child is a planned wanted child, I could cut poverty in half." (American Medical News, 1/11/93)

JAMES RESPONDS:

Just how does Elders intend to "ensure" planned children? If not wanted by the parents or Elders, then what? Killed through abortion? If not wanted, why not adoption? She is willing to justify the means of abortion to satisfy the end of what she believes will be planned, wanted children. Elders wants population control.

ELDERS :

"We have 19 year olds who already have five children. That's not life. We have ten year olds who've been raped by 'Mama's boyfriend' and having babies—I don't call that life. When we see a ten-year-old or a 13-year-old girl pregnant, we know she hasn't been promiscuous, she's been abused!" (New York Times Magazine, 10/15/92)

JAMES RESPONDS:

Yes, very tragically, some pregnant teenagers have been abused. But the most tragic part of this scenario is the idea that merely killing the unborn children will somehow remedy the very serious pathologies that afflict our society. So, what about the 19 year old? Elders can't have it both ways--if all 13-year-olds are victims, she can't say they are choosing to be sexually active. I'm concerned about solving the problem while she is just erasing the symptoms by killing the children. The real philosophy at work is, even at the expense of innocent lives, "no new babies."

ON MORALITY...

ELDERS :

"Let's stop this craziness about what we don't want to teach our children. Sure, it's maybe morally wrong, but it's morally wrong to go hungry, morally wrong to be abused, morally wrong to be cold."
(KARK, Channel 4, pregnancy show, 3/19/91)

JAMES RESPONDS:

If it's morally wrong, then there are no "maybes." Elders attempts to justify the immorality of many sex education programs by comparing them with what she sees as the end result of not teaching contraceptive education in schools—unwanted, hungry, abused children.

ON ABORTION...

ELDERS:

"The first thing—as we begin to look at women's rights and fetal rights—we would like for the right to life and antichoice groups to really get over their love affair with the fetus and start supporting the children." (Arkansas Democrat Gazette, 1/19/92)

JAMES RESPONDS:

Pro-lifers don't mind being called anti-choice—as long as you define the choice. Any free and civilized society in our modern world ought not to have a choice about killing unborn children. The pro-life movement is the only movement that provides real choices. Her assertion is that we care only for the unborn children. In reality, pro-life groups provide extensive services for single mothers and their children, not the least of which is giving the gift of life. There are over 3000 helping centers around the country whose primary goal is to support the pregnant mother and continue to provide resources after the child is born.

ELDERS:

"It's a power struggle between the haves and the have-nots, the rich and the poor and them and us. It's not about abortion. It's about power... there's no social or economic freedom without reproductive freedom." (Arkansas Democrat Gazette, 1/19/92)

JAMES RESPONDS:

Power is not derived from the ability to kill unborn children. There is no freedom without fundamental freedom—the right to life. And if maximum freedom is the ultimate good, we must remember the freedom of those who are still voiceless. If we cannot guarantee the most fundamental right of all, the right to life, then all other freedoms are irrelevant. They are the biggest group of "have nots" in this scenario. Elders' utilitarian ethics are far from empowering when they devastating to so many women and deny life to millions of babies every year.

A PRO-LIFE CASE FOR THE FAMILY CAP

by
Jennifer E. Marshall

Again, in the course of the welfare debate, the abortion issue has demonstrated its unique capacity to mobilize and divide.

Pro-life advocates who resist the so-called family cap, which would freeze benefits to mothers who bear additional illegitimate children while on welfare, fear with some justification that the cap could promote an increase in abortions. Pro-life advocates who support the measure share both the concern and the long-term goal of driving abortions to the point of zero.

All right-to-life activists should realize that, as one of the few weapons in the anti-illegitimacy arsenal, the family cap not only serves their cause in the long-term but deserves their active support in the present debate — subject to the critical qualification that there must be no attendant funding for abortions.

No hard data is available to demonstrate that the family cap stimulates the abortion rate. And there is reason to think that the family cap will not increase abortions, even in the short-term.

Feminists and welfare rights activists argue that the current benefits level is already far too low to cover the costs associated with a new baby. If so, it is illogical to maintain that a cap would have a sufficiently significant impact on the "affordability" of another child to necessitate such a drastic measure as abortion.

The decision to abort, anyhow, is far more than an economic calculation. Twenty years of spiraling illegitimacy rates in the face of liberalized abortion laws demonstrate that many individuals do not regard abortion as a viable option.

Policy data collected by the Family Research Council suggests that abortion is even less acceptable to poor women; and an article recently published in Family Planning Perspectives found that abortion rates for teen welfare mothers are lower than national averages for all teenage girls.

Other research suggests that, whether conception was intended or not, most illegitimate births to underclass women today are "wanted." Certainly, there is



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President

anecdotal evidence to suggest that some girls have babies because they want "something to love" -- or, worse yet, because their peer group has perversely defined a baby as a status symbol. Others simply believe that abortion is wrong and choose not to compound their first mistake by committing another. While poverty dispirits some lives, in others it serves to highlight the intangibles that make life most sacred. The point of decrying moral deterioration among the underclass is to assert an easily forgotten truth: every person, regardless of economic status, is capable of the very moral commitments that argue most forcefully against abortion.

Even assuming that our ultimate objective is to save as many lives as possible, it is by no means clear that the appropriate operational measure of success in assessing the family cap is the number of lives saved in the short-term. The question itself is a red herring because it obscures the larger and more important issue: "What constitutes progress toward ending altogether the culture that finds abortion acceptable?"

There is no question that reducing illegitimacy will serve the over-arching purpose of the pro-life movement. The vast majority of abortions are performed on unmarried women -- and the proportion is growing. To reduce abortions, we should reduce the premarital sex and out-of-wedlock pregnancy that create a perceived "need" for abortion.

By gradually eliminating federal benefits, poor women who are pregnant out-of-wedlock will be forced to turn to local organizations, including right-to-life crisis pregnancy groups, that will counsel against abortion and discourage further irresponsible behavior.

Launching the arguments against illegitimacy in the context of the current debate over those benefits will give new rhetorical emphasis and more widespread attention to the arguments against abortion; for the two ills spring from the same misconception that life is cheap and motherhood bears no sacred responsibility.

Indeed, the bipartisan focus on illegitimacy is one of the most golden opportunities we have had in quite some time to reverse the message of the counterculture that has made abortion "rights" seem palatable.

We should bear in mind that what we think about the right to life has an organic relationship with our vision of the kind of society we should institute. Not by coincidence, the Declaration speaks of "life" in the same breath with "liberty" and "the pursuit of happiness" -- two conditions that speak directly to the question of how best to organize society.

By opposing the current system of welfare benefits, we advocate a transformation of the political and social culture that will sustain a more enduring pro-life consensus than even legal reform can hope to accomplish.

Jennifer E. Marshall is a policy analyst specializing in welfare at the Family Research Council, a Washington, D.C.-based research and advocacy organization.



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President

MOST AMERICANS VALUE 'TRADITIONAL VALUES' MORE THAN TOLERANCE

By a margin of 76 percent to 19 percent, Americans would rather live in a place "that strongly upholds traditional family values" than a place "that is very tolerant of non-traditional lifestyles," according to a new poll conducted by the Family Research Council.

Preference for traditional values is found among every demographic group. While blacks (86%) and Hispanics (81%) are among the groups most likely to support traditional family values, even atheists and people who never attend church favor traditional values over tolerance by a 58 to 31 percent margin.

Not surprisingly, there is a strong correlation between family status and support for traditional values. Marrieds (85%) are more likely to prefer traditionalism than never-marrieds (65%), and parents (82%) are more likely to prefer traditional values than non-parents (64%). These "family gaps" overshadow a more modest "generation gap": support for traditional values is roughly nine points higher among people age 45 and above than among people under 45.

TRADITIONAL VALUES V. TOLERANCE FOR NON-TRADITIONAL LIFESTYLES



Question: If you had to choose between the two, would you rather live in a place that was very tolerant of non-traditional lifestyles or, live in a place that strongly upheld traditional family values?

Americans' preference for traditional values can also be seen in responses to a question asking people to rate the impact on children of six social institutions. Americans give their highest ratings to "churches" and "youth organizations like the Boy Scouts" -- the two institutions most likely to help parents communicate to children conventional standards of right and wrong. "Schools" and "day care" rank third and fourth respectively, while "the entertainment industry" and "the federal government" are viewed most negatively.

The FRC survey was conducted by the Voter/Consumer Research firm during September, 1993. The survey had a sample of 1100 randomly-selected adults. The poll's margin for error is plus or minus three percentage points.

Bill Clinton Chose This Doctor

Elders on why we should spend more on AIDS research (#9 killer) than on heart disease and cancer (#1 and #2):

"Most of the people who die with heart disease and cancer are our elderly population...we all will probably die with something sooner or later."

Washington Post
June 23, 1994, p. A29

Elders on the Boy Scouts:

"Q: Did you say you believe the Boy Scouts should admit homosexuals?"

A: Yes. I also think girls who are lesbians should be allowed to join the Girl Scouts."

USA Weekend
June 3-5, 1994, p.5

Elders on sex and drugs:

On CNBC's "Talk Live" program on June 19, 1993, Dr. Elders said, "I would hope that we would provide them [drug-abusing prostitutes] Norplant, so they could still use sex if they must to buy their drugs."

The Washington Times
June 27, 1993

Elders on free drugs for addicts:

"When we say 'legalize,' I'm really talking about control. We [could] have doctors or clinics set up where addicts can get their drugs free or pay one dollar."

The Washington Times
June 2, 1994, p. A3

Elders on abortion:

"Abortion has an important and positive public health effect."

The Washington Times
August 14, 1993

Elders on fighting crime:

"...we would markedly reduce our crime rate if drugs were legalized."

Washington Post
December 8, 1993, p.3

Elders on gay adoption:

"Elders says gays and lesbians can play an important role by adopting children..."

The Advocate
March 22, 1994, p.36



Dr. Joycelyn Elders
Surgeon General of the United States

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The Clinton health plan would permit Big Government to control who enters medical school, who enters which medical specialties and where they can practice. *You will lose your choice of doctors.*

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