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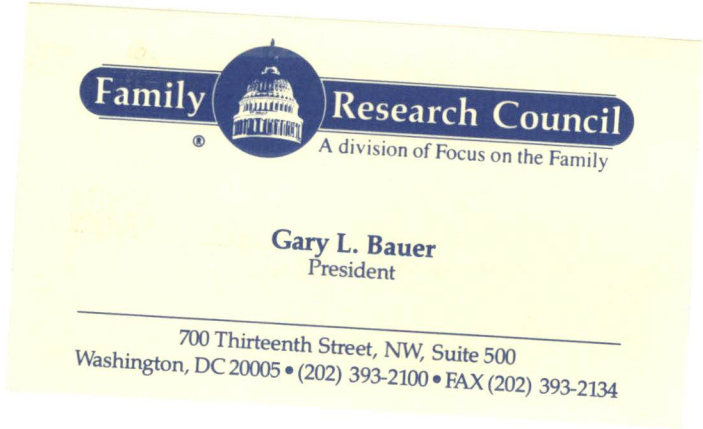
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TESTIMONY BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
PLATFORM COMMITTEE

Salt Lake City, Utah, May 26, 1992

Gary L. Bauer,
President, Family Research Council

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is a great privilege to be part of the process of crafting the Republican Party's vision of the future.

Mr. Chairman, the Grand Old Party has had a rich and varied history. It burst on the political scene in 1856 as the party defending the individual's right to be free from the evil, anti-life, anti-family institution of slavery. During the American Industrial Revolution that followed, the party championed the small entrepreneurs whose efforts created jobs and prosperity.

With the coming of the Great Depression, however, the party began to lose some of its moorings. It was too quick to accept the other party's diagnosis that the Depression was the result of capitalism itself, rather than of ill-considered government intervention. Whatever the reason, from the 30s through the 60s, the Republican Party had relatively little to contribute beyond putting a Wall Street veneer on the welfare state.

Starting in the mid-seventies, however, the Republican Party began to recover its historic, populist voice. In a political atmosphere that was thick with malaise, accommodationism, and an ever-expanding state, the GOP began once again to speak of family, church, neighborhood -- and the inalienable rights of the weakest among us. The result: twelve years of Republican administrations.

But these victories are not ours by right. We have to earn them over and over again. The recent events in Los Angeles, and the renewed attention to the plight of the urban underclass, show that we have to proclaim yet again how the fraudulent political compassion of our opponents has worsened these problems, and how the family-centered, non-statist policies that we favor can help dig us out.

The family is key to the functioning of any decent society. If we implement policies that hurt the family, we needn't expect to have safe streets, good schools, or general prosperity.

Throughout recorded history, wherever governments have not forcibly intervened, the family has been the fundamental unit of society. A government that tries to build society on any other fundamental unit is, by definition, a government both revolutionary and totalitarian. Unsurprisingly, revolutionary totalitarian governments have always tried to abolish the family, seeing it as rival to the government's own power.

Totalitarian assaults on the family have all failed; but where the utopians of the far right and the far left have failed, the social engineers of the center-left -- modern American liberalism -- have very nearly succeeded.

A quarter century ago, this nation embarked on an experiment called the Great Society. Its goal was nothing less than to abolish poverty and its effects in our nation.

Throughout that quarter century -- and in spite of the Reagan Administration -- the reigning assumption of policy-makers has been that law and order and prosperity and justice are somehow the natural state of things: they just happen.

This assumption is wrong. In reality, law, order, prosperity and justice have to be created by a complex web of spontaneously arising institutions, beginning with the family and the local community. But Great Society policy-makers thought they knew better. They thought of poverty as merely lack of money, and therefore remediable through government transfer payments; and they thought of all other social pathologies as susceptible of solutions through government therapeutic programs. Give disadvantaged people cash and social services, the reasoning went, and poverty and its effects will then be erased -- by definition.

That's not the way it works. Law, order, prosperity and justice are not the natural state of human affairs. They are the result of centuries of family life, community life, religion, and tradition. Societies, like the human species, develop immunities over time. When government policies undermine society's natural antigens -- such as the family, the community, religion -- the result is that society loses its immunity to poverty, dependency, violence, chaos. Not that society was ever completely immune from those things -- obviously not. But all these problems have increased dramatically since our government began systematically to eliminate them.

And how has government undermined the crucial intermediate institutions? In a variety of ways, implicating various levels and branches of government. Religion was attacked by means of a brand-new establishment clause jurisprudence, first introduced by the Supreme Court in 1947 (with critical help from an ACLU brief), which treated religion as a sort of toxin, from which government had to protect citizens, especially the most impressionable among us.

Other traditional institutions were attacked through substitution. When government offers to substitute for the real thing, and puts enough money behind its substitute to make it attractive, the real thing loses.

Consider the predicament of a young, poor, unmarried mother. In a pre-welfare-state society, there would be heavy societal pressure on the child's father to marry the mother and work to provide for the new family. Friends and extended family would have been around to ease the transition to adulthood and family life. Thanks to relatively low taxes, a high percentage of the young father's earnings would have gone to meeting family expenses and putting away some savings for the big climb out of poverty.

Historically -- and even today -- family formation is the most effective way out of poverty. But today, it hardly ever happens.

Today, the government offers the unmarried mother an attractive contractual arrangement: the equivalent of somewhere between \$8,500 and \$15,000 per year in combined welfare benefits, on condition that the young woman not work for pay, and not marry an employed male.

You can see the good-hearted but empty-headed reasoning that went into this policy: jobless and husbandless mothers need more aid, don't they? Well, yes. So the government offers substitutes for jobs and husbands. And more and more young women choose to do without either.

What the government offers her is a classic contract. In consideration of the government's offer of a package of benefits, the mother agrees not to engage in the activities that are crucial to the formation of a decent society. Government has bargained for social breakdown, and it has gotten it.

Of course there are heroic people in the inner cities -- usually with the help of strong churches -- who reject the government's offer and do the right thing. But such behavior, while morally correct, is economically irrational in a welfare state. In most cases, the amount of income that a poor working family can keep is not enough to make people choose that option, once you figure in the fact that employment and family life require real work, while welfare permits leisure -- indeed, requires it.

Notice what welfare does in this typical case. It transforms family formation from an economically rational choice to an economically irrational one, one that people would make only for non-economic reasons, such as religious conviction. Thank God, some people do defy the incentives and choose right. But it's asking too much of any group of human beings to expect them to defy economic incentives on a massive scale.

And what happens to the otherwise marriageable men under this system? The system makes them economically useless. Their potential role as husbands and co-custodial fathers is squeezed out

by the government, so they seek other outlets for masculine energy and other sources of affirmance: gang warfare, street life, the easy riches of the drug trade.

Meanwhile the children grow up, as we all do, with role models based on what they see. For girls, multi-generational welfare dependency: you grow up and marry the government. For boys: gang leaders, drug kingpins.

I'm not making this up, nor am I relying exclusively on white policy analysts sitting at word processors in air-conditioned offices. Black pastors and black community leaders all confirm, with personal details, what one reads in the policy analysts' charts.

With so much attention rivetted to the problems of the inner cities today, the Republican Party has an historic opportunity to point loudly and clearly to the failures of the policies initiated during the other party's last major turn in the White House.

This is also an opportunity to sound a clarion call on the subject of values. Not that values come from government -- that's the kind of Great Society thinking that we need to get away from. But political leaders need to talk about values. And we need to dismantle the corrupt Great Society project precisely because it interferes with the development and functioning of communities in

which sound values are taught and lived.

Recently Vice President Quayle gave a speech from which we can all learn. It was controversial -- as it was bound to be, since speeches that say what needs to be said are always controversial. Part of what the Vice President said was this:

Right now the failure of our families is hurting America deeply. The anarchy and lack of structure in our inner cities are testament to how quickly civilization falls apart when the family foundation cracks. Children need love and discipline. They need mothers and fathers. A welfare check is not a husband. The state is not a father. It is from parents that children learn how to behave in society; it is from parents above all that children come to understand values and themselves as men and women, mothers and fathers.

The Vice President was right to call attention to how popular culture makes matters worse by glamorizing lifestyles that are dysfunctional for the vast majority of persons who attempt them. Murphy Brown is surely to be praised for not aborting her baby; but we must not fall into the trap of believing that abortion and single motherhood exhaust the universe of options.

In real life, women's options are often limited; but in the comfort of a television story conference dealing with fictional characters, anything is possible. Murphy could have married (or re-married) the father; or she could have given the child up for adoption, thereby giving him two parents, and giving those parents great joy. Instead, the writers, producers, and network executives

chose to glamorize the single-mother "lifestyle" -- and then they hold abortion over our heads when we object.

Single parenting may work out fine for the highly-paid few among us, like the Murphy character -- though even there, the lack of a father in the home will be felt. But it's very different for the non-rich majority who watched that show. Under our constitutional system, networks and producers can make and show pretty much any kind of television show they want; but when they send the message that fathers are irrelevant, they deserve the brickbats they get.

Mr. Chairman, the Republican platform should reflect the following principles:

* The good society comes, not from good government programs, but from the self-generating, non-governmental institutions of family, community, church, voluntary association, and so forth.

* Government policy, therefore, should support, rather than substitute for, these institutions.

* Government programs that substitute for the family have the effect of destroying it, thereby inviting social dissolution such as we in fact see in our inner cities.

* It is time for a total re-conceptualization of what government does in the area of solving social problems. The new paradigm should favor individuals, families, enterprise, private problem-solving, traditional values, and human freedom.

Thank you very much.

"FAMILY VALUES" -- ACCEPT NO SUBSTITUTES

Gary L. Bauer,
President, Family Research Council

for CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

It is a given of American democracy that every principle, if sufficiently popular, sooner or later becomes a slogan. One group reduces its philosophy to a soundbite, and other groups take that soundbite, ream out its content, and use it as a vehicle for their own philosophy.

Such is currently the fate of the term "family values." Everybody and everything wants to be seen as exemplifying them -- including people who do not adhere to family values by any known or traditional definition of that term.

The fact that the professional spin doctors have latched onto "family values" is a testimony to the good sense of the American people. They won't buy into something that is not family-friendly. However, it remains to be seen whether they will also have the sense to look behind the label. I think they should, and I would like to suggest a few things to look for.

One common scam is when a politician claims the label "pro-family" yet believes that the word "family" should be interpreted so broadly as to become contentless. When such a person says he supports family values, all he means is that it's nice for people to hang out with whomever they want to hang out with. Pro-family Americans generally have something more specific in mind, such as

husbands and wives sticking together, and parents taking care of their children, including their moral upbringing. For some of our family-come-lately politicians, however, these things smack too much of sexism and repression.

A legal theorist married to a very prominent "family values" politician once wrote an article describing marriage and the family as tools of oppression and equating them with slavery and the Indian reservations. This theorist's views could receive extensive circulation if she achieves her aim of occupying the East Wing of the White House.

It is difficult to see how one can simultaneously favor both "family values" and the systematic replacement of parents by the state. Yet we have "pro-family" politicians who favor distribution of condoms in schools without parental approval; who oppose giving parents the means to exercise broad choice regarding where to send their children to school; who favor maintaining welfare policies that have decimated the family in the inner cities; and who favor policies that will further erode the amount of time parents have available to spend with their children.

In fact, it's chilling how much of what passes for "pro-family" policy today consists either of regulating the family, or subsidizing its destruction. As Immanuel Kant once said after receiving a favorable medical examination: "I'm dying of improvements."

Policy-makers and the general public should be alert. Replacing the family with the state has been on the agenda of

utopians for over a century. There is no reason to think political utopianism is dead merely because communism is dying; nor is there any reason to doubt that whatever they do to the family -- seducing spouses away through no-fault divorce laws, yanking welfare benefits as a penalty for getting married and holding a job, taking children into custody because the parents' techniques differ from those in some approved handbook -- they will have a plausible-sounding "pro-family" reason for doing it.

My organization, the Family Research Council, has just released a book of diagnoses and recommendations for family policy, called Free to be Family. We are mindful of our obligation to put flesh on the bones of words like "pro-family" and "family values," and this book does just that, as far as public policy is concerned.

But the true inner sanctum of "family values" is not a public policy at all. It's lunch boxes lovingly packed; favorite bedtime stories re-read; a heartfelt grace said at a family meal; and all the memories, hopes, joys and even sorrows that go with these things. A whole world is there that government cannot create, but which is central to life for millions of Americans.

I will draw this line in the sand: Politicians who can show, convincingly, that they know and cherish this ideal deserve to be called defenders of "family values." To all others, the American people should say: "Threaten our jobs as parents, and lose yours."

"THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
AND THE POLITICS OF ABORTION"

GOVERNOR ROBERT P. CASEY
COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
NOTRE DAME LAW SCHOOL
APRIL 2, 1992

Thank you for the introduction. And the warm welcome.

At least for today, I feel like I am back in law school myself.

I studied law at George Washington University. Ellen and I were newlyweds. We had a one bedroom apartment on Skyland Place in southeast Washington.

To help make ends meet, I got a job selling encyclopedias. On commission. Door to door. In Beltsville, Maryland.

I lasted one week. I never sold a book. Not one. It was the hardest job I never had. They'd slam the door in your face. They'd curse at you.

It was almost as bad as political fund-raising.

That's when I learned a lesson that has served me well all my life.

You can stand in the doorway with a sample case full of great products, but you'll never get the chance to sell them unless you get through the front door and into the living room.

That is a lesson the national Democratic Party needs to learn in 1992.

Because in too many homes in this country, national Democrats have not been welcome because they fail the basic threshold test when voters ask them about values.

They never get the chance to open their sample case full of "issues" like economic growth and jobs. Tax fairness. Health care. Protection of the environment.

This, then, is what I want to talk about today: What I believe the Democratic Party must do if it is to seize the best chance it has had in years to recapture the White House.

In my home state of Pennsylvania two watershed events have already helped define the political dynamic of this presidential election year.

The first event was underdog Harris Wofford's election last November to the United States Senate.

That one election changed the political life of George Bush -- perhaps permanently.

By burying Bush's own Attorney General Dick Thornburgh in a landslide. One of the biggest upsets in modern American political history.

That is why the first presidential primary this year wasn't in New Hampshire. It was in Pennsylvania last November. And national politics hasn't been the same ever since.

The second watershed event is unfolding right now. It involves the high voltage "A" word. Abortion. The hottest button in American politics today.

You may have heard of the case that is before the Supreme Court called Planned Parenthood versus Casey.

Let me introduce myself. I'm Casey.

In less than three weeks, I will be in Washington when the Supreme Court hears arguments on the extent to which states like Pennsylvania can regulate abortion.

Remember the date: Wednesday, April 22. Because it is a case that has unleashed thunder on the right and lightning on the left. It is a case that goes straight to the heart and soul of our basic value system. What kind of a people, what kind of a society we want to be.

Let me tell you about Planned Parenthood versus Casey and where it comes from.

It comes from Pennsylvania and its people.

Take a picture of Pennsylvania and you have taken a snapshot of America.

On either end of our state we have two great urban centers, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, with all the ferment of big city politics and big city problems.

And in between are millions of people who are right at home in heartland America. Who live in dozens of smaller cities and hundreds of towns -- surrounded by the largest rural population you will find anywhere in the country.

And from one end of Pennsylvania to the other, families still raise their kids with the same old-fashioned values that have been handed down from one generation to the next.

Values that say, simply, that it's still okay to be a Boy Scout or a Girl Scout. It's okay to say the Pledge of Allegiance at school. To like the Reader's Digest.

Where it's still okay to take your family to church, just like your mom and dad took you. Where it's okay to expect your kids to do the same thing with their kids when they grow up.

And when they do grow up, just like their parents, they take their politics seriously. In other words -- Pennsylvania is heartland America.

And just like all over this country, when it comes down to electing a president, values and character are what make all the difference in the world. Because presidential elections are won not only on programs or policies.

Michael Dukakis had some good programs. So did Walter Mondale. But good programs are only a part of what it takes to reach the heart and soul of America when it is time to pick a president.

Heart and soul -- That's what presidential elections are all about. That's when people are moved more by the candidate's values than the candidate's programs.

And for the past 25 years, too many Democrats in this country have had a bad feeling in their hearts and in their souls about the national Democratic Party.

Because the Democratic Party broke its historic compact with mainstream America when it volunteered itself as the party of abortion on demand.

When the Democrats convene in New York this July, it will be 20 years since George McGovern "opened up the party's doors."

In the two decades since then, the party's position on abortion went from open to closed. From dialogue to dictate. And millions of Democrats headed for those open doors and walked right out. And they never came back.

Despite one national defeat after another, the party's national hierarchy has been so tightly focused on their own agenda that the leadership has forgotten where the Democratic party came from. And where it should be going.

Every four years they sacrifice the obvious long-term political prize -- the presidency -- for the short-term political and financial approval of a cluster of special interests.

Because it is the special interests who control the party's purse strings.

In the meantime they have turned the party away from the traditional values of millions of Democrats.

I am talking about the so-called Reagan Democrats that both parties are saying are essential to victory in 1992.

The same voters who were the backbone of the great coalition that voted Democratic as an article of faith for nearly two generations. That produced sure winners instead of sure losers.

And this year the White House may once again be within reach.

Because the people of this country have come to realize that they have been taken to the cleaners by the failed policies of the Reagan and Bush administrations.

But I am worried that the Democrats may once again be on their way to beating themselves. Because on the fundamental issue of abortion, the national Democratic Party doesn't speak for me.

Nor does it speak for millions of pro-life Democrats just like me. Nor the millions more who are ambivalent -- but who know they are against abortion on demand.

Democrats that the party must have if they are to win in November.

Our national Democratic party has built a wall between itself and the values that define mainstream America -- which is most of us.

I strongly believe that more than any other issue, it is abortion that defines values in American politics today.

That is one reason why Planned Parenthood versus Casey commands so much national attention. And controversy.

It is a case the pro-abortion forces have seized upon as a vehicle to generate a decision by the high court before the November election.

In a strange turnabout, they want to provoke -- some might even say goad -- the court into overruling Roe v. Wade; producing a result that the abortion lobby and their allies in the media predict will severely embarrass the Republicans nationally.

Here is their reasoning: The Republican Party is strongly pro-life. And the abortion lobby has conveniently convinced itself that America is strongly pro-abortion.

Therefore, they argue, if the court overrules Roe, the decision will hang like a heavy stone around the Republicans' neck in the fall. I disagree.

If being pro-life is such a political negative, then will somebody please explain to me how Ronald Reagan and George Bush got elected in the first place?

And if being pro-abortion is the political asset they say it is, then why have the Democrats lost every presidential election since 1968, except the post-Watergate election of Jimmy Carter?

I believe the pro-abortion forces seriously misread the mood of the American people.

And I also believe they are deluding themselves if they really believe the tide of public opinion is moving in their direction.

The national Democratic Party either failed to understand -- or chose to ignore -- the seismic social and political shock waves generated by the Roe decision in 1973.

A decision in which Justice Blackmun, by the stroke of a pen, transformed abortion, then a crime in most states, into a fundamental constitutional right.

And this is crucial: Roe was never accepted by tens of millions of Americans who felt the court was arbitrarily overriding their own deeply held values.

Instead they banded together in what has been called the one truly authentic social movement of the 1970s. They saw Roe v. Wade at the very least as a metaphor for a host of anti-family policies.

And at worst, they saw Roe as a direct frontal attack on traditional family relationships. Between husband and wife. Parent and child. An attack that short-circuited a consensus that had already formed among most of the states. A consensus that said abortion was a crime.

Roe was nothing less than a revolution pronounced from on high. And the massive response against it by voters all over the country has had a profound effect on every national election since then.

Consider this:

On Election Day 1988, ABC News polled 100,000 voters as they left voting places in every one of the 50 states. They wanted to know what really went on in voters' minds once they were inside that voting booth. Once they were alone with just their conscience and their values.

And fully one-third of the voters volunteered -- without even being asked specifically -- that the number one issue when they were making up their mind was abortion. One-third of the voters. Some were for abortion. Some were against it.

And of those who cited abortion as the most important issue, a strong majority -- 57 percent to be exact -- pulled the lever for George Bush. Because he was pro-life. Because of what they perceived to be his values.

They gave Dukakis high marks on the issues: the environment, health care. And these voters clearly preferred Dukakis to Bush when it came to caring about people.

But they chose Bush over Dukakis in spite of these so-called issues. Why? Because of values.

That is why a strong case can be made that the winning margin of voters in 1988 rejected Michael Dukakis and the Democratic Party because of value issues -- with abortion the preeminent factor.

Dukakis lost 11 states by less than 4.6 percent. States like California, Maryland and Connecticut. Plus states with significant pro-life voting records like Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, and Missouri.

If Dukakis had not given away the high ground on the value issues -- especially abortion -- a strong argument can be made that he could have beaten Bush in those same 11 states.

Picking up enough votes in the Electoral College so that today he would be president -- instead of a private citizen.

The news media routinely pronounces that polls show most Americans favor abortion. Just like that. Case closed.

It's just not so.

What the polls really show is that most Americans are enormously uncomfortable about abortion.

In fact, abortion is so personal, so private an issue that most Americans won't discuss it publicly at all.

But when asked by pollsters, they do respond. Their answers depend on how the questions are phrased. And who is doing the asking. But certain conclusions emerge conclusively from the polling data.

For example, as many as 86 percent of all Americans favor restrictions on abortion, according to a Gallup Poll of a few weeks ago. Restrictions that are similar to those I signed into law in Pennsylvania.

Restrictions that say:

* A woman should know enough about abortion to give informed consent to the procedure itself.

* After a woman requests an abortion, there should be a 24-hour waiting period before she actually undergoes the procedure.

* Under most circumstances, a minor considering an abortion must obtain the consent of at least one parent.

* A wife should notify her husband, with exceptions, of course, to protect her safety.

These are limitations that I believe are within the Roe doctrine, as modified by Webster.

They are acceptable to a majority of the people of Pennsylvania. In fact, they are acceptable to most Americans. And we should find out this summer if they are acceptable to the Supreme Court.

But we already know that they are not acceptable to the national Democratic Party.

We know that because the national party has embraced the most extreme position -- abortion on demand.

In fact, the party won't even talk about it. They have shut off all discussion of the issue.

The special interests controlling the party are absolutely intolerant of any view on abortion other than their own most extreme view.

Just ask the 80 Democratic members of the House of Representatives who have voted against their party's pro-abortion position.

That's one-third of the Democrat's House majority, from states all over the country, who refuse to knuckle under to the party line. They have paid a price as a result.

Congressional Quarterly recently said of these pro-life representatives that "people who stick their heads up on the Democratic side get slammed."

Congressional Quarterly quoted one Congressman this way, "Democrats have made it uncomfortable for other Democrats to be pro-life."

Three years ago there still seemed to be at least some room for diversity and dialogue, even dissent. And nearly 50 House Democrats wrote Party Chairman Ron Brown urging that the abortion plank be removed from the party's platform.

The signers of the letter were liberal and conservative, male and female, first-termers and committee chairs. They came from every region, from the cities and from the farms.

Let me read to you some of what they said, because it speaks directly to what is wrong with the party today.

Here is what they wrote:

"We, along with millions of our fellow Democrats, believe that the principle and practice of abortion on demand is wrong . . . (and) the platform plank is bad public policy.

" . . . as good Democrats (we) simply cannot accept that plank as part of our Democratic heritage and philosophy.

". . . it is also poor politics.

"A good case can be made that the last three presidential elections have turned, at least in large part, on the loss of traditional Democrats who have broken with the party over so-called social issues, particularly abortion.

". . . The Democratic Party is seen more and more as the party of abortion -- a sure recipe for losing irretrievably a significant segment of our traditional base of support."

And how did Chairman Brown respond?

Sorry, he said. "I cannot revise nor alter the platform." And then, with a straight face, he went on to tell the House Democrats -- and here I quote again, "We have no litmus tests."

No litmus test? Well, they sure do now. Certainly for the highest office in the land.

The special interests who today control the national party impose -- no, they insist on -- a litmus test on abortion as a condition of nomination to national office.

Let me tell you why the national litmus test is dumb politics.

I am a pro-life Democrat. I beat a pro-abortion Republican when I was elected Governor in 1986. Then, in 1990, I was reelected over another pro-abortion Republican by over one million votes. The largest winning gubernatorial margin in Pennsylvania history. Against an opponent who spent \$2 million to beat me. At a time when the post-Webster spin from the abortion lobby and the national media held that pro-life candidates were doomed.

And I'll tell you something else: Pennsylvania is not the only battleground where pro-life candidates have succeeded.

Just look at what happened in other key contests in 1990.

In Kansas, pro-abortion advocates offered insurgent Democrat Joan Finney thousands of dollars to abandon her pro-life principles when she ran for Governor. Just like that old line, "I'd rather fight than switch," Joan Finney chose to fight.

She walked right out of a meeting packed with people with their checkbooks already out. And on her own, went on to beat the pro-abortion incumbent Republican Governor Mike Hayden.

In Ohio, Democratic Attorney General Anthony Celebrezze for 25 years was a champion of the rights of unborn children. Until he ran for Governor, that is. That is when he flip-flopped. And endorsed a pro-abortion platform. And he lost the election to the pro-life candidate, George Voinovich.

The same thing happened to another Democratic state attorney general, Neil Hartigan of Illinois. Four months before the gubernatorial election, he announced he was pro-abortion, despite a long pro-life record. And he lost his election to Jim Edgar, a pro-life Republican.

In Michigan, the incumbent Democratic Governor Jim Blanchard vetoed dozens of abortion restrictions. And the voters replaced him with a pro-life candidate, John Engler.

There were other important pro-life victories, too:

- * Hatfield of Oregon. Returned to the Senate.

- * Andrus of Idaho. Reelected Governor.

- * House Whip David Bonior. The highest-ranking pro-life Democrat in the House. Reelected from Michigan's 12th Congressional district.

For the winners, Republican or Democratic, there was a common factor in each case.

- * All were pro-life.

- * All were under attack.

- * All stuck to their guns.

- * And all won their elections.

Then there was 1989.

When two of the biggest elections also involved pro-life candidates who waffled. Who flinched when they felt the heat. Do you remember Republican Jim Courter of New Jersey? Or Republican Marshall Coleman of Virginia?

Each was pro-life. Each was running for governor in a major state. Each panicked in the weeks and months after the Supreme Court's Webster decision in 1989. Each felt the pressure and pulled back from their pro-life positions. And each became an asterisk in the 1989 political almanac.

But even in the face of all this evidence. . . despite election after election . . . the national Democratic Party still doesn't get it.

One thing is crystal clear, though. If the Democrats hope to elect a president in 1992, they simply can't afford to lose states like Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois. Like they did in 1988.

Nor can they afford to ignore the effect on voters all over this country of the party's radical position -- abortion on demand.

But do they recognize the force of the pro-life issue? Not by a long shot.

In fact, the crowd inside the Washington Beltway and the Democrats' national fund-raisers go so far as to actually punish those who disagree with them in the one way that hurts the most: they shut off the money.

As a result, any Democrat who is pro-life can't even get out of the gate. Because they are locked out of the fund-raising centers of New York and Washington, Miami and Los Angeles.

Just turn on your TV to see how it works.

A few months ago we all saw the big banquet in Washington that was sponsored by the National Abortion Rights Action League. And right in the thick of it, tripping over each other, were all of the Democratic presidential hopefuls. Making the obligatory pilgrimage that the party's nomination process demands.

And you can bet that Mr. and Mrs. America watching at home knew full well that not one of them had been across town at the big pro-life rally on the mall that same day.

It is this TV image that tells the whole story of what is wrong with the national Democratic Party on the abortion issue.

It is a sad commentary that this system requires so many of the party's biggest names to switch from pro-life to what they call "pro-choice." Just to position themselves as national candidates. Just so they can pass the party's presidential litmus test.

It seems more than mere coincidence that so many of the party's top names appear to have been forced in this direction in recent years. Like Joe Biden. Dick Gephardt. Sam Nunn. Bob Kerry. Jesse Jackson.

And every four years, those same special interests lead the misguided Democratic Party right off the same cliff. And the Republicans are right there to nudge them along every step of the way.

The tragedy of presidential campaigns over the past 20 years has been that the Republicans do such an effective job with their calculated appeals to Democrats who feel shut out.

Twenty years ago they branded the Democrats as the party of "Acid, Amnesty and Abortion." Values. That's what they were talking about then. That's what they are still talking about today. The kind of values that can make or break a presidential campaign.

Three years ago, Speaker of the House Tom Foley assured reporters that there was no formal Democratic leadership position on abortion. My, how times have changed.

Just listen to what he gratuitously declared in his response to the President's State of the Union address. Even though the President made no mention of abortion, for some reason Foley could not resist issuing this prediction to the national television audience:

"If the Supreme Court removes the guarantees of choice from the Constitution of the United States, this Congress will write it into the laws of the United States."

And with those 28 words, the Speaker of the House deeply offended large numbers of pro-life Democrats everywhere.

Beginning with one-third of his own members of the House. Not to mention all those pro-life Democrats like me who see the party driving itself further and further from the people. And he should have checked first with his own majority leader in the Senate, George Mitchell. Who -- while pro-choice -- opposes the very same "Freedom of Choice Act" that Speaker Foley says he will make into the law of the land.

Even as Foley spoke, all across America you could hear minds clicking off right along with their TVs.

So that brings us to the big question: How do we get them to turn back on again?

By rededicating ourselves to the protection of the powerless in our society.

This is my message to my party in 1992:

Just as we fought so hard and so well for the rights of the workers of America. For the dignity and human rights of minorities. For women and children and families. For the poor. The disabled. The dispossessed.

Just as we fought for all of these, the time has come as well to fight to protect the most vulnerable, the most defenseless, the most powerless members of our human family.

The Democrats of 1992 are heirs to an historic legacy that wraps a protective embrace around those who have no means to protect themselves.

The time has come for the Democratic Party to protect what should be a natural constituency -- our unborn children.

Just feel the passion and the power of these words:

"What happens to the mind of a person, and the moral fabric of a nation, that accepts the aborting of the life of a baby without a pang of conscience?"

"What kind of a person, what kind of a society, will we have 20 years hence if life can be taken so casually?"

Jesse Helms didn't say that. Jesse Jackson did.

In 1977. Four years after Roe v. Wade.

We Democrats must remind ourselves in 1992 that the founder of our party is Thomas Jefferson. And more than 200 years ago, in Philadelphia, Jefferson wrote:

"We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness"

I call on Democrats everywhere to become the party of life. And let this be clear:

That in fighting for life, we have a corresponding obligation to do all we can to make life worth living. For both mother and child.

To offer help and understanding for women who must endure difficult pregnancies. Good prenatal and neonatal care. Nutrition and health care. Family and medical leave. Child care. And a renewed commitment to adoption as a viable -- and affordable -- choice.

We must fight for life with the same passion that Democrats throughout history have fought for liberty. Now, more than ever, the Democratic platform should reflect the shared values of Democrats everywhere.

Because this is more than an issue of rights. It is an issue of right and wrong. And millions of Democrats believe their party's dead wrong on abortion.

And the party will stay wrong until they open the party and open the platform process to dialogue and debate. Until they stop ignoring the millions of Democrats just like me who want to protect and preserve the lives of unborn children.

I believe it is time for the party to deliver a strong message to the American people that millions of Democrats believe in protecting unborn human life.

And to deliver that message in the party platform. This is what the party must debate. And that debate must begin now.

Today I encourage like-minded Democrats everywhere to respond to this call to action. Especially those in positions of leadership. Senators and members of the House of Representatives. Governors. State Legislators. Delegates to the convention in July. Members of the platform committee. Rank and file voters all over this country.

The Democratic Party may indeed offer the best economic message. And a health care program that'll work for everyone. Along with tax fairness. And social justice. And a strong commitment to protecting our environment.

But just like that encyclopedia salesman, my party will never succeed unless we can reach into the living rooms of America to make our presentation.

There is still time. The American people are waiting. They are watching. They are ready to open the door.

I believe that if the National Democratic Party and its candidates offer a strong value-oriented message, the people will welcome them back into their homes and into their hearts. And into the White House once again.

Thank you.

An article a day of enduring significance, in condensed permanent booklet form



The Family Gap

BY FRED BARNES

A new Reader's Digest poll has uncovered a wide gulf in attitudes between families with children and couples without children or singles. This Family Gap may be the most important force in American politics today—more potent than the gender gap or the generation gap. To understand the family gap is to understand how America votes in national elections,

because, contrary to perception, families with children represent the country's most powerful voting bloc. Here is Roving Editor Fred Barnes's report.

WATCHING my daughter play soccer one day, I suddenly realized how different my life is from that of my single and childless friends. They travel, eat out, sleep late, go to parties, take in movies and plays, do whatever they want. I go to school events, attend church, eat at family restaurants, see movies my kids want to. And I've grown more conservative than my friends without children.

The Reader's Digest poll shows I'm not alone. Conducted by The Wirthlin Group, under the supervision of Richard B. Wirthlin, the poll found that married people

with children are far more conservative and religious than singles and marrieds without kids. These parents especially hold traditional moral and social values that non-parents sometimes dismiss as outdated.

Political analysts consider a five-to ten-point gap in the opinions of population groups to be significant. The family gap in the Reader's Digest poll ranged as high as 17 to 21 points.

The poll uncovered these striking findings:

- A sizable majority of people who are married with children

identify themselves as conservative. On the conservative-liberal question, a 19-point gap separates them from singles. Surprisingly, age is no factor here, as the adjacent chart illustrates. Under-35 marrieds with children are predominantly conservative, while under-35 singles shade liberal.

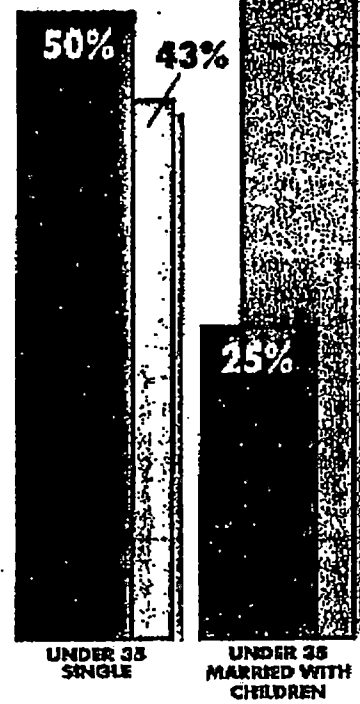
- On the explosive issue of abortion, marrieds with children are split, though they are far more likely to describe themselves as pro-life than are singles, who are overwhelmingly pro-choice.

- Married blacks with children are sometimes even more culturally conservative than their white counterparts, although fewer identify themselves as political conservatives.

Campaign Lesson. The findings of the Reader's Digest poll among adults 25 and older have enormous political significance. "As people marry and have families, they tend to vote more heavily," says Curtis Gans, director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate. They vote

In politics today, do you usually consider yourself to be liberal or conservative?

CONSERVATIVE
LIBERAL



in higher percentages than singles or marrieds with no kids.

And there are more of them. Contrary to claims, the traditional family has not vanished. Its death notice is based on the oft-repeated but misleading statistic that only 26 percent of American households consist of two parents with kids under 18 years old living at home. It's rarely noted that these families constitute 41 percent of the total population. And that figure doesn't include millions of two-parent families whose children have grown up and left home.

Married couples with kids are a political powerhouse, a voting bloc of about 92 million people, 57 percent of all Americans over 25. By contrast, only 21 million Americans over 25 are single, and only around 13 million are married without children.

A swing of ten percent in the family vote could shift nine million votes—more than enough to change the outcome of most Presidential elections. (George Bush won in 1988 by seven million votes.) A ten-percent swing among singles and marrieds without children could shift only a little over three million votes.

"You Think Differently." The Reader's Digest poll indicates that the very act of rearing children in a traditional setting is the crucial factor behind the family gap. On issue after issue, the beliefs of married people without children are closer to those of single people than to marrieds with kids, showing that parenthood is a stronger influence

in shaping political views than marriage is. The family gap dwarfs the marriage gap.

"You think differently when you have kids," says Gwendolyn Webb, a 46-year-old salesclerk in Macon, Ga., who was one of the more than 1000 randomly selected participants in the poll. Webb has two grown children.

"I've become more conservative since having children, particularly when it comes to drugs," says Terry Browning, 38, an oil-field worker in Odessa, Texas, and the father of three.

Sixty-four percent of the married people with children identify themselves as generally conservative, as opposed to 27 percent generally liberal. This wide margin—better than two-to-one—narrows to a dead heat among singles, who respond 45 percent conservative, 46 percent liberal.

The family gap is most pronounced on values that speak to the hopes and fears Americans have for their children. Bonnie Romesberg, 28, of Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, for example, says there was no doubt she would quit her job as a dental technician when her first child arrived four years ago. Now she has a second child. "They need the guidance right now when they're growing up," she says. Romesberg, whose husband is a cement finisher, intends to be a full-time homemaker through her children's teen-age years.

The family gap is pronounced on this question—a full 21 points. Sev-

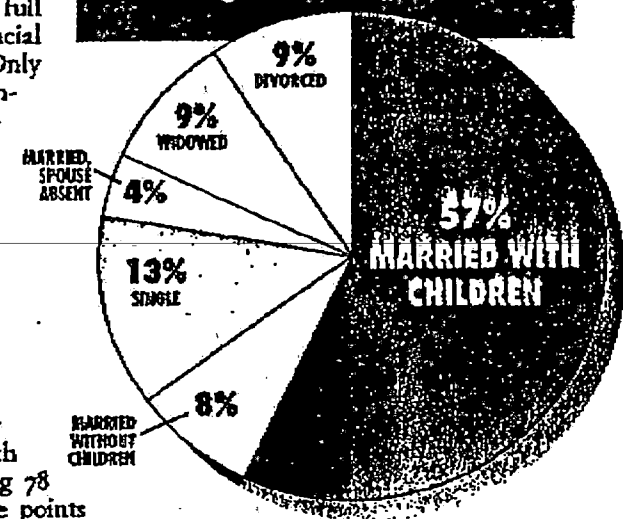
enty-four percent of married people with children believe a mother of small kids should raise them full time if there is no financial necessity to work. Only about 54 percent of singles and marrieds without children hold that opinion.

Taxpayer-funded grants by the National Endowment for the Arts for works viewed as obscene are opposed by almost all population segments, but opposition registered by married people with children is a whopping 78 percent—17 percentage points more than singles. These grants infuriate parents like John Kindred, 43, a bridge-repair supervisor in Warrensburg, N.Y. "We've got enough of that garbage coming from the underground," he says. "The government shouldn't subsidize it."

Only 28 percent of married people with children think homosexuals should have the right to marry. Forty-four percent of marrieds without kids and 46 percent of singles think homosexuals should have that right.

The issue of homosexual marriage produces an especially fervent reaction in some families. "Government should not sanction something that is morally wrong," declares Mary Jones, 45-year-old mother of two in Burlington, Ky.

Family status of U.S. population, age 25 and older



U.S. population, 25 and older: 160,943,000

It's no surprise that married people with children are especially upset about drug use. A family gap of 13 points separates them from singles on the issue of legalizing marijuana. "It's bad enough kids can get marijuana so easily now," says Ethel Ponder of Newburgh, N.Y., who is against legalization of the drug. "My four children are grown, but I'm concerned about my grandchildren." Elouise Ferguson, 51, of Cleveland, the mother of three, fears drug legalization "would spread drug use among children."

Both Ponder and Ferguson are black. They reflect the predomi-

READER'S DIGEST

dominant culture. Television, pop music, magazines and movies often glorify the glitzy, permissive values of New York, Los Angeles and a few other cities. "You have a gathering of singles there," explains political analyst Michael Barone. "They have different attitudes."

Their attitudes may be fashionable, but families with children aren't buying. "It's almost like different groups of Americans live in different countries," Barone adds. "They have little contact with each other."

Families who hold to traditional values get scant media attention, and the little they get is often scornful. Still, their values thrive—not in trendy restaurants and boutiques, but all over America in homes with children. The old virtues are quietly exalted in suburbs and rural areas and urban residential neighborhoods where families live.

Indeed, families with kids constitute an amazing phenomenon: a mass counterculture. They are also a large, cohesive voting bloc. Nearly half of American voters live in the suburbs. Distant suburbs, or exurbs, are among the fastest-growing communities in America. That's where married folks with

children find safe, affordable single-family housing. That's where traditional values, conservatism and religion prosper. And that's where victorious Presidential candidates won impressively.

"Only when issues relate to values do you effectively move voters' behavior," says pollster Wirthlin. "That's how Presidential elections are decided." George Bush's campaign in 1988 was based largely on an appeal to traditional values. He persuaded voters that he shared their values on crime, punishment and patriotism, and that Michael Dukakis didn't. He exploited the family gap and won.

For married couples with children, politics is a sideshow. They vote, but the noisy protests and policy squabbles that attract media attention have little impact on their lives. They've got other things to concentrate on.

Recently I took my daughter to a soccer game in a faraway suburb. Beside the field, a knot of mothers chatted before the game began, but not about Madonna or fashion fads. Instead, they were talking about soccer: learning skills, playing hard, playing fair—values important for their children.

Reprints of this article are available. See page 202.

Reason Wry

EACH YEAR, our county fair has a demolition derby where contestants crash their old jalopies together until only one is left. The winner receives a cash prize. "I've got to win," one young contestant was overheard to say. "The payment is due on this car tomorrow."

—Contributed by Ronald Klaus

Infants in the Womb

Washington
Post 7-15-92

I thought for sure I was missing something. I had read the Supreme Court's latest decision on abortion and the various editorials about it. And I heard what they all had to say about the rights of women and the rights of states. But neither the courts nor the editorial writers said anything about the rights of the infant in the womb. I thought for sure I had missed it.

Then the lawyers told me that this is because unborn children, according to the Supreme Court, are not considered "persons" under our Constitution and, therefore, don't have any rights. This is astounding.

This country has spent its energies and lived its history in defending the defenseless. We have opened our gates to persecuted immigrants. We have penned legislation to care for the handicapped and the elderly. Many of us work hard for the homeless. In short, we as a country clearly recognize that the defenseless are not excluded from the human community simply because they are defenseless.

If we are to keep this great tradition, we cannot exclude infants from the human community just because they are defenseless—the lawyers say "not viable"—inside the womb. The lawyers will no doubt object that infants in the womb are technically not "persons." Let the lawyers argue all they want. Down deep we all know better.

Many compassionate people believe even animals have some rights simply because they are alive. Abortions—the more than 150,000 second- and third-trimester abortions performed annually—are frequently far more gruesome and tortuous than even the worst treatment of animals. This is beneath us as Americans and as hu-

man beings. All infants are members of the human community and are entitled to its care and protection.

That is why we spend so much time and money on prenatal care. It is why we operate in utero on even second-trimester unborn infants to correct some birth defects. We even provide intensive care for newborns who are no larger or more mature than some second- and third-trimester infants whom we abort. Down deep we all know infants in the womb are, at the least, living beings and members of the species *Homo sapiens*. That is more than enough to entitle them to protection of the human community.

The best solution to the abortion question is to eliminate the need for abortion. Until this goal can be achieved we must support legislation that discourages abortion, especially late-term abortions. The Supreme Court has affirmed in *Gov. Casey v. Planned Parenthood* the right of the state to impose some restrictions on abortions.

Now it becomes our responsibility to protect the unborn infant by working for the passage in each state of legislation that will reduce the number of second- and third-trimester abortions performed each year.

We cannot be satisfied as Americans or as human beings with laws that exclude unborn infants from the human community and deny them any rights. We must also work to guarantee all mothers their full dignity and provide them with opportunities and resources to help them carry their infants to term and to assist them with the care of their children when born.

EUNICE KENNEDY SHRIVER
Washington

File: CDF



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
July 8, 1992

CONTACT: Kristi Stone
(202) 393-2100

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND BIASES, DISTORTS FACTS, SAYS GARY BAUER

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Gary Bauer, president of the Family Research Council, blasted the Children's Defense Fund on Wednesday for misrepresenting the causes of children's poverty and for distorting the facts on such a serious issue.

"The liberal Children's Defense Fund political agenda seems clear -- bashing past administrations rather than coming up with real answers for the family and children," said Bauer, former domestic policy adviser.

Bauer notes that CDF President Marian Wright Edelman blames "government budget cuts" for the increases in child poverty rather than deal with the economic and social devastation caused by behaviors that have fueled a dramatic increase in single-parent households.

"The Children's Defense Fund ignores the evidence about the negative effects of life in a single-parent household in favor of their usual scapegoats -- allegedly stingy government officials and inadequate funding," Bauer said.

The facts tell a different story, he noted. According to a report released by the Washington-based Cato Institute in early June, real entitlement spending has INCREASED dramatically since 1989. Aid to Families with Dependent Children has increased 17 percent; Food Stamp spending has increased 46 percent; Head Start has increased 58 percent; and Medicaid has increased 85 percent.

Bauer said that the increase in children's poverty rate is the result of the breakdown of the family and an increase in single-parent households.

CDF's interpretation of the data is deceptive in three key ways, Bauer said.

1. CDF downplays the role of single parenthood in causing poverty among children.
- In 1990, 53% of children living with mother only lived in poverty.
- Only 10% of children living with both parents lived in

poverty.

This means that children living with both of their parents are FIVE TIMES less likely to live in poverty than children living with only their mothers.

2. CDF ignores unwed pregnancy statistics in the state by state data, making it impossible to see the strong correlation between high unwed pregnancy rates in a state and increased child poverty rates.
 3. CDF distorts the poverty picture by claiming that the poverty rate of children in two-parent homes and single-parent homes grew at the same rate without looking at the actual numbers of children affected.
- Between '79 and '89, the time period they cite, the poverty RATE of children in two-parent homes increased from 8.3 percent to 9.9 percent; for children in female-headed households, that increase was from 48.6 percent to 51.1 percent.
 - In 1989 the NUMBER of children in two-parent homes living in poverty was 700,000 greater than in 1979; by comparison the increase for children in female-headed households living in poverty was 1,173,000.

"This is manipulative use of the data," Bauer stated. "Although the rate of increase may be roughly similar, they can in no way be called equivalent when the numbers of children affected are so vastly greater among children in single-parent homes."

"The economy does impact families," Bauer said. "However, children in two-parent homes who enter poverty as a result of recessionary times are usually brought out of poverty by improved economic conditions. It is vital to note that this is not true for most children in mother-only homes: for these children, poverty is persistent."

"But real answers are available," Bauer said, noting the policy recommendations contained in Free to Be Family, the report released Tuesday by the Family Research Council.

Quoting the report, "The poverty rate for children in single-parent homes, even at its lowest, has never been as low as the rate for children in two-parent homes, even at its highest," Bauer said.

"Family disintegration, and social policies that foster it, are the primary cause of child poverty -- not budget cuts that have never happened. Unlike CDF's illusory budget cuts, the crisis of family break-up is all too real."

File: CDF



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