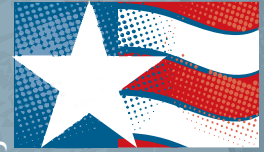


**CATHOLICS IN
PUBLIC LIFE**



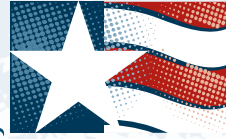
Challenges to Faith in Democracy

**DEMOCRATS FOR LIFE:
NOT PROLIFE DEMOCRATS**

CATHOLICS FOR A FREE CHOICE



**CATHOLICS IN
PUBLIC LIFE**



Challenges to Faith in Democracy

**DEMOCRATS FOR LIFE:
NOT PROLIFE DEMOCRATS**

The nonpartisan Catholics in Public Life is a project of Catholics for a Free Choice and assists Catholic policy makers and candidates for elected office articulate prochoice positions and promote sound policies that advance women's rights and reproductive health. The project provides both educational materials and skills training to help prochoice Catholics defend themselves and their positions in the face of often hostile criticism from some members of the Catholic hierarchy and right-wing groups. The project is one component of CFFC's larger public education and outreach program.

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Executive Summary

Catholic politicians, particularly Democrats, continue to receive attention for their positions on abortion with each election cycle. Prochoice Democrats have found themselves condemned by the Catholic hierarchy, which has implored voters to reject candidates who support abortion rights. Prolife Democrats have often found themselves marginalized within a party with strong official support for abortion rights.

The past four decades have witnessed a profound shift in the political allegiances of the Catholic hierarchy from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party. It has also seen the emergence of “prolife” Democratic elected officials who claim to represent the authentic position of the church on life issues. This report examines the sifting allegiances of the Catholic hierarchy, as well as the records of the prolife Catholic Democrats who have served—or are serving—in the United States Congress.

States received a great deal of attention in 2004 for their threat to deny communion to U.S. Senator and then Democratic nominee for president, John F. Kerry, because of his position on abortion. However, the hierarchy of the Catholic church has not always been a campaign obstacle to prochoice Democrats with national aspirations. In fact, the church hierarchy was once a key constituency of the Democratic Party, as many of the church’s most fundamental beliefs are in sync with the Democratic Party platform.

Prolife Democrats remain largely a Catholic phenomenon. Approximately 80 percent of the prolife Democrats in the House of Representatives are Catholic and five out of the seven prolife Democrats elected to the House in the 2006 midterm elections are Catholic. However, as this report will illustrate, many of these supposedly prolife Catholic officials are not as prolife as they claim, deviating from the position of the Catholic hierarchy on many key prolife and social issues of the day, including embryonic stem cell research.

A handful of conservative Catholic bishops in the United

Times, however, have changed. In recent decades, the hierarchy has focused on the abortion issue at the expense of other social justice teachings, a move that has largely aligned it with the Republican Party. As a result, the hierarchy of the Catholic church is today a critical cog in the Republican electoral machine, urging Catholics to vote for antichoice politicians while ignoring other issues with which it was traditionally associated. As a result, it often finds itself aligned with candidates who marginalize many of the non-abortion issues that the church hierarchy proclaims to care about so much.

The past four decades have witnessed a profound shift in the political allegiances of the Catholic hierarchy from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party.

AFTER REPEATED ELECTORAL LOSSES, INCLUDING SEN. JOHN KERRY'S LOSS TO PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH IN 2004, DEMOCRATS SCAPEGOATED THE ABORTION ISSUE AS THE REASON FOR THE PARTY'S LOSS AND BEGAN TO REACH OUT TO PROLIFE POLITICIANS.

At the same time that the Catholic hierarchy switched alliances from the Democratic Party to supporting the GOP, the Democratic Party institutionalized its support for reproductive choice and erected barriers to leadership and full party participation for its prolife members. The Democratic Party inserted a staunchly prochoice plank in its party platform, showed preference for prochoice legislators in handing out prime committee assignments, and denied some anti- and mixed-choice Democrats the support and financial backing of the party machine.

The dramatic decrease in prolife Democrats did not take place in one election cycle. Prolife Democrats remained a viable force within the party throughout the 1970s. In 1980, Democrats held a 292-seat majority in the House of Representatives, of which a stunning 125 members—43 percent—of the caucus claimed to be prolife. By comparison, Democrats have a 31-seat majority today in the 110th Congress, and prolife Democrats hold some 36 seats.

A series of factors—from institutional party rules and

operations to prevailing public opinion and the undue influence of the Catholic hierarchy and its aligned antichoice interest groups—contributed to the loss of power for prolife Democrats. While the prolife constituency within the Democratic Party has tried to regain its influence, it has faced a series of stumbling blocks.

Beginning in the late 1980s, a small, but nonetheless measurable number of Democratic prolife activists created an organized, progressive prolife movement that drew heavily from the ideas of Cardinal Joseph Bernardin of Chicago. The impetus for the movement was a speech given by Bernardin at Fordham University in 1983 in which he called for Catholics to support a consistent ethic, or “seamless garment,” on all life issues—opposing not just abortion but the death penalty and euthanasia as well as supporting social justice issues.


The idea of progressive organizations that oppose reproductive choice and equate abortion with euthanasia and the death penalty did not sit well with many in the progressive community. As a result, groups associated with the Seamless

Garment Network and like-minded antichoice progressives often found themselves ostracized over their position on choice.

Despite their emphasis on social justice issues and opposition to war and the death penalty, many in the Seamless Garment Network are heavily weighted toward abortion opposition. A 1991 report on the 101st Congress by Catholics for a Free Choice entitled *Actions Speak Louder* revealed that the philosophy behind the seamless garment antichoice movement is deeply flawed. An analysis of the voting records of members of Congress demonstrated that the majority of prochoice senators and representatives support programs that promote the equal status of women and improve conditions for raising children. Conversely, the majority of antichoice members oppose the very policies that would enhance conditions for childbearing and raising children and that would increase options for women.

After repeated electoral losses, including Sen. John Kerry's loss to President George W. Bush in 2004, Democrats scapegoated the abortion issue as the reason for the party's losses and began to

ACCORDING TO DATA FROM THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION, THE BELEAGUERED DFLA-PAC LISTED TOTAL RECEIPTS OF \$15,255 FOR THE 2006 ELECTION. BY CONTRAST, NARAL PRO-CHOICE AMERICA'S PAC LISTED TOTAL RECEIPTS OF \$1,700,309.



reach out to prolife politicians. Party leaders encouraged former Rep. Tim Roemer (D-IN), an abortion opponent, to run for chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and the Senate Democratic caucus elected antichoice Sen. Harry Reid (D-NV) to be the party's leader.

The party apparatus, including the DNC, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, began aggressively recruiting antichoice candidates for key races across the country—sometimes at the expense of the prochoice and progressive candidates favored by local party activists. Included in this mix of candidates was the most high profile recruitment of all: Pennsylvania Treasurer Bob Casey Jr. to challenge the ultra-conservative Sen. Rick Santorum (R-PA).

The Democratic National Committee also began to establish ties with Democrats for Life of America (DFLA), an emerging group established for prolife elected Democratic officials.

Another group, Democrats for Values, also was started after the 2004 elections with a mission of

fixing “the perceived lack of values in the Democratic Party.”

The DFLA unveiled the 95-10 Initiative to end 95 percent of abortions within 10 years by “promoting abstinence, personal responsibility, adoptions and support for women and families who are facing unplanned pregnancies.” The 16-point proposal includes a federally funded toll-free number to direct women with unplanned pregnancies to non-abortion counseling; increased federal collection of abortion data; federal funding to school districts for “age-appropriate pregnancy prevention education”; support for so-called “women’s right to know” measures that require abortion clinics to give women biased information that overstates the physical and psychological risks of abortion; grants to allow so-called crisis pregnancy centers to purchase ultrasounds; and support for parental notification measures.

Seeking to influence the Democratic platform and to become a player in the political game—particularly the 2006 midterm elections—DFLA formed a political action committee called the Democrats for Life of America Inc. PAC to combat the prochoice

message and views held by most Democratic party operatives and elected officials.

Despite its best intentions, the DFLA-PAC has raised few funds to allow it to “get in there and battle NARAL and the well-funded pro-choice groups,” as was its announced intention. According to data from the Federal Election Commission, the beleaguered DFLA-PAC listed total receipts of \$15,255 for the 2006 election. By contrast, NARAL Pro-Choice America’s PAC listed total receipts of \$1,700,309.

The DFLA states that its members are opposed to abortion, capital punishment and euthanasia. Other antichoice groups take the definition of “prolife” much further to include opposition to stem cell research and human cloning, all forms of contraception and even the seemingly unrelated issue of same-sex marriage.

A look at the voting records and public statements of the DFLA-affiliated members, however, reveals a group that is deeply divided on what it means to be defined as a “prolife” Democrat, as the profiles of politicians at the end of this report reveals. (Please see page 29.)

Introduction

Catholic politicians, particularly Democrats, continue to receive attention for their positions on abortion with each election cycle. Prochoice Democrats have found themselves condemned by the Catholic hierarchy, which has implored voters to reject candidates who support abortion rights. Prolife Democrats have often found themselves marginalized within a party with strong official support for abortion rights.

The past four decades have witnessed a profound shift in the political allegiances of the Catholic church from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party. It has also seen the emergence of “prolife” Democratic elected officials who claim to represent the authentic

position of the church on life issues. This report examines the shifting allegiances of the Catholic hierarchy, as well as the prolife Catholic Democrats who have served—or are serving—in the United States Congress.

Prolife Democrats remain largely a Catholic phenomenon. Approximately 80 percent of the prolife Democrats in the House of Representatives are Catholic and five out of the seven prolife Democrats elected to the House in the 2006 midterm elections are Catholic. However, as this report will illustrate, many of these supposedly prolife Catholic officials are not as prolife as they claim, deviating from the position of the Catholic hierarchy on many key prolife and social issues of the day, including embryonic stem cell research.

THIS REPORT:

- Offers a chronological evolution of the choice issue in the recent history of the Democratic Party;
- Details the collusion between the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops and antichoice candidates for Congress;
- Explains how the issue of abortion began to take priority over all other social justice issues for the church hierarchy;
- Discusses the evolution of the Democratic Party platform on reproductive choice;
- Explores the rejection of prolife Democratic activists from the progressive movement and how they became activists without a movement;
- Demonstrates the effect that Cardinal Joseph Bernardin had on the “seamless garment” movement;
- Examines Democrats for Life of America and its political operations;
- Provides biographical sketches of the House and Senate prolife Democratic membership.



The Catholic Hierarchy and the Democratic Party

A handful of conservative Catholic bishops in the United States received a great deal of attention in 2004 for their threat to deny communion to U.S. Senator and then Democratic nominee for president, John F. Kerry, because of his position on abortion. However, the hierarchy of the Catholic church has not always been a campaign obstacle to prochoice Democrats with national aspirations.

In recent decades, the hierarchy has focused on the abortion issue at the expense of other social justice teachings.

In fact, the church hierarchy was once a key constituency of the Democratic Party, as many of the church's most fundamental beliefs are in sync with the Democratic Party platform. Fr. Thomas J. Reese, S.J., former editor in chief of *America*, once wrote of this affiliation, "As the sons of working class Catholics, the bishops have traditionally been pro-labor and Democratic.... Today, the Catholic bishops are to the left of the Democrats on practically every issue except abortion and aid to Catholic schools."¹ These issues include an increase in the minimum wage, health insurance for all, economic support for immigrants and refugees, opposition to war, and social programs and government assistance for the poor.

Times, however, have changed. In recent decades, the hierarchy has focused on the abortion issue at the expense of other social justice teachings, which has largely aligned it with the Republican Party. As a result, the hierarchy of the Catholic church is today a critical cog in the Republican electoral machine, urging Catholics to vote for antichoice politicians while ignoring other social justice

issues. As a result, it often finds itself supporting candidates who marginalize many of the non-abortion issues that the church hierarchy proclaims to care about so much.

In fact, prolife Democratic leader Rep. Bart Stupak (D-MI) told the *National Catholic Reporter* in 2004 that "church leaders are increasingly partisan, all-too-ready to target prochoice Democrats but endlessly forgiving of antiabortion Republicans who oppose the hierarchy on everything from nuclear weapons production and Head Start funding to welfare work requirements and health care reform."²

At the same time the Catholic hierarchy switched alliances from the Democratic Party to supporting the GOP, the Democratic Party institutionalized its support for reproductive choice and erected barriers to leadership and full party participation for its prolife members. The Democratic Party inserted a staunchly prochoice plank in its party platform; showed preference for prochoice legislators in handing out prime committee assignments, and denied some anti- and mixed-

choice Democrats the support and financial backing of the party machine.

BISHOPS PRIORITIZE A PROLIFE PLATFORM

In November 1975, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB, a forerunner of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops or USCCB) released its *Pastoral Plan for Pro-life Activities*, which lamented that “respect for human life has been gradually declining in our society during the past decade.” Placing the blame for this decline on a “secularizing trend and a rejection of moral imperatives based on belief in God and His plan for creation,” the bishops launched an aggressive, systemic campaign to redefine the abortion debate.

The campaign was divided into three task areas and geared toward all “Catholic sponsored or identifiably Catholic national, regional, diocesan and parochial organizations” within the church’s control:

- Education and public information on the basics of the issue at hand;

- A clergy-led effort to address the “needs” of women with problems pregnancies and those who have had or have taken part in an abortion; and
- A public policy-legislative effort directed at the three branches of government (legislative, judicial and administrative) to erect additional barriers for women seeking abortions.³

In essence, the hierarchy established its own lobbying and public relations operation within the organizational structure of the church. A key part of the legislative program was the church’s role in coordinating activities in support of the so-called Human Life Amendment outside of diocesan efforts. Stressing the political nature of the program, the hierarchy began an electoral strategy at the congressional district level that was described in the bishop’s missive as “essentially political, that is, to organize people to help persuade the elected representatives.”⁴ To leave little doubt of the bishops’ intentions, one of the written objectives of the congressional district groups was “to work for qualified candidates who will vote for a constitutional amendment, and

other pro-life issues.”

In February 1976, the administrative board of the NCCB issued a statement entitled *Political Responsibility: Reflections on an Election Year* in which the bishops stated their view of the political participation of the church: “The Church’s participation in public affairs is not a threat to the political process or to genuine pluralism, but an affirmation of their importance. The Church recognizes the legitimate autonomy of government and the right of all, including the Church herself, to be heard in the formulation of public policy.”

While much of the hierarchy’s political involvement would focus on its opposition to abortion, the statement noted that the bishops “specifically do not seek the formation of a religious voting bloc; nor do we wish to instruct persons on how they should vote by endorsing candidates. We urge citizens to avoid choosing candidates simply on the personal basis of self-interest. Rather, we hope that voters will examine the positions of candidates on the full range of issues as well as the person’s integrity, philosophy, and performance.”⁵

IN 1980, A BROAD COALITION OF CLERGY AND PROCHOICE ADVOCACY GROUPS SUED TO REVOKE THE TAX-EXEMPT STATUS OF THE NCCB FOR IMPROPER USE OF THE CHURCH'S TAX-EXEMPT STATUS.

A CHALLENGE TO THE BISHOPS' POLITICAL OPERATIONS

In 1980, following the release of the NCCB's 1975 pastoral plan that built institutional support for antichoice activities into the operations of parishes and dioceses across the country, a broad coalition of clergy and prochoice advocacy groups sued to revoke the tax-exempt status of the NCCB for improper use of the church's tax-exempt status.

The lawsuit alleged that the church had violated the rules governing its tax-exempt status by participating in political activities—specifically, antiabortion activity. According to the lawsuit, “the Roman Catholic [487 U.S. 72, 75] Church in the United States...in violation of the clear language and intent of the anti-electioneering provision of 26 U.S.C. 501(c)(3), has engaged in a persistent and regular pattern of intervening in elections nationwide in favor of candidates who support the Church's position on abortion and in opposition to candidates with opposing views.”⁶ The complaint also cited the church's financial support of “right-to-life” groups.

The case lingered in the courts for 10 years, forcing the bishops on the defensive. This period of relative calm was interrupted by the 1984 presidential campaign, when Rep. Geraldine Ferraro (D-NY), the Democratic nominee for vice president, was assailed by Cardinal John O'Connor of New York for her prochoice position. O'Connor proceeded to urge Catholics to vote only for antichoice candidates.

By 1989, it was apparent that the lawsuit would be dismissed and conservative forces within the bishop's conference began urging a stronger approach to the abortion issue. In November of that year, Bishop James McHugh of Camden, New Jersey, urged Catholics in a pastoral letter to not tolerate prochoice Catholic public officials. At the same time, pressure for Catholic lawmakers to oppose basic reproductive rights for women continued to build as the U.S. bishops passed a “Resolution on Abortion,” calling abortion “the fundamental human rights issue for all men and women of good will” and calling on practicing Catholics to “commit themselves vigorously” to overturning *Roe v. Wade* and federal and state abortion laws. The NCCB then elected Cardinal

John O'Connor to head the Committee for Pro-Life Activities.⁷

THE 1970s AND 1980s: THE EVOLUTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC POSITION ON ABORTION

Prolife Democrats remained a viable force within the party throughout the 1970s. In 1980, Democrats held a 292-seat majority in the House of Representatives, of which a stunning 125 members—43 percent—of the caucus claimed to be prolife.⁸

By comparison, Democrats have a 31-seat majority in the 110th Congress, and prolife Democrats hold some 36 seats—15 percent of the caucus.

The dramatic decrease in prolife Democrats did not take place in one election cycle. A series of factors—from institutional party rules and operations, to prevailing public opinion, to the undue influence of the Catholic hierarchy and its aligned antichoice interest groups—contributed to the change. While the prolife constituency within the Democratic Party has tried to



regain its influence, it has faced a series of stumbling blocks.


The last presidential election year in which the Democratic Party did not insert a plank into its party platform affirming a women's right to choose was 1972, when Democrat George McGovern lost to President Richard Nixon. In 1976, sensing an opportunity to re-brand the party and take full advantage of the ethical improprieties of Richard Nixon, Democrats nominated Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter—a devout Baptist—to challenge President Gerald Ford. For the first time, the Democratic Party adopted a plank in its official party platform stating support for the *Roe v. Wade* decision. The two-sentence plank stated that the party “fully recognizes[s] the religious and ethical nature of the concerns which many Americans have on the subject of abortion. We feel, however, that it is undesirable to attempt to amend the U.S. Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court decision in this area.”

In 1980, when President Jimmy Carter faced not only antichoice Republican Gov. Ronald Reagan but also a Democratic primary challenge from Massachusetts

Sen. Edward Kennedy, who had an antichoice past, the Democratic platform plank on abortion rights was strengthened and expanded to include not only support for *Roe*, but also support for broader reproductive rights, including prenatal care, family planning and assistance to the poor.

The platform stated that the party:

“fully recognize[s] the religious and ethical concerns which many Americans have about abortion. We also recognize the belief of many Americans that a woman has a right to choose whether and when to have a child. The Democratic Party supports the 1973 Supreme Court decision on abortion rights as the law of the land and opposes any constitutional amendment to restrict or overturn that decision. Furthermore, we pledge to support the right to be free of environmental and worksite hazards to the reproductive health of women and men. We further pledge to work for programs to improve the health and safety of pregnancy and childbirth, including adequate prenatal care, family planning, counseling, and services with special care to the needs of the



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poor, the isolated, the rural, and the young.”

Ironically for a party that was solidifying its position on choice, both Carter and Kennedy were equivocal in their support for abortion. Carter never shied from expressing his desire to see fewer abortions and later expressed serious concern over its legality. He later wrote, “As president, I accepted my obligation to enforce the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court ruling, and at the same time attempted in every way possible to minimize the number of abortions.”⁹ Later in his post-

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presidency years, Carter would actively oppose abortion in words as harsh as any from the antichoice political groups.¹⁰

In 1971, Kennedy wrote, “Human life, even at its earliest stages, has a certain right which must be recognized—the right to be born, the right to love, the right to grow old.”¹¹ After *Roe v. Wade*, however, Kennedy became adamantly prochoice.

Carter lost to Ronald Reagan, whose party’s platform was profoundly antichoice, stating, “While we recognize differing views on this question among Americans in general—and in our own Party—we affirm our support of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life for unborn children. We also support the

Congressional efforts to restrict the use of taxpayers’ dollars for abortion. We protest the Supreme Court’s intrusion into the family structure through its denial of the parents’ obligation and right to guide their minor children.”

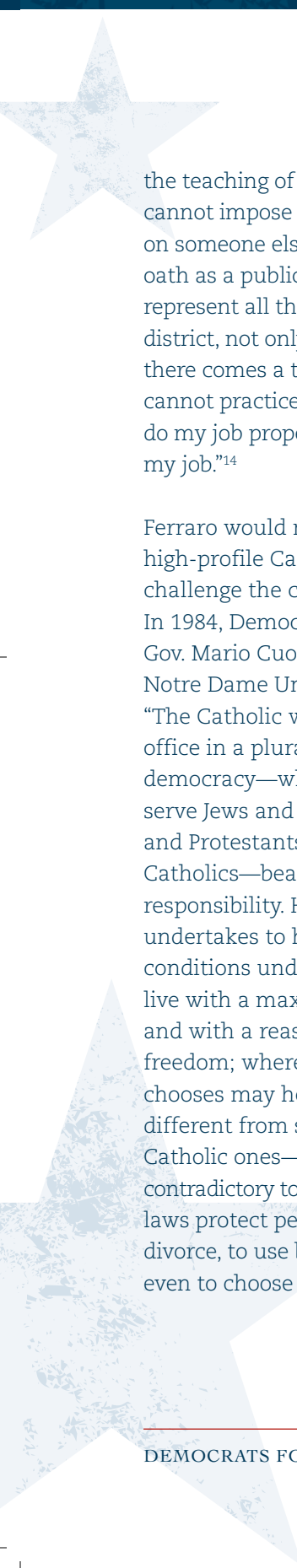
Democrats hoped that the 1984 election challenge to President Reagan by Carter’s vice president, Walter Mondale, would be energized by the first woman to be nominated for that office: Representative Geraldine Ferraro of New York. Ferraro, a staunch feminist and Catholic, had spoke openly about her personal opposition to abortion but said that she would not try to “impose my religious views” through the law.¹²

Mondale and Ferraro ran on an abortion platform that was more about the future of women’s rights under Reagan than their party’s vision: “There can be little doubt that a Supreme Court chosen by Ronald Reagan would radically restrict constitutional rights and drastically reinterpret existing laws. Today, the fundamental right of a woman to reproductive freedom rests on the votes of six members of the Supreme Court—five of whom are over 75. That

right could easily disappear during a second Reagan term.”¹³

It was Ferraro who bore the brunt of the church hierarchy’s condemnation—mainly from New York Cardinal John O’Connor. Ferraro responded that there was a “diversity of Catholic opinion on abortion” in a letter crafted with help from Catholics for a Free Choice based on a full-page *New York Times* advertisement.

In response to a question about how a particular bishop was handling the issue of abortion in his diocese during a vice-presidential debate against George H.W. Bush, Ferraro remarked, “Let me tell you that I did not come to my position on abortion very lightly. I am a devout Catholic. When I was running for Congress 1978 I sat and met with a person I felt very close to, a monsignor currently a bishop. I spoke to him about my personal feelings that I would never have an abortion, but I was not quite sure if I were ever to become pregnant as result of a rape if I would be that self-righteous. I then spoke to him; he said, ‘Gerry, that’s not good enough. There you can’t support that position.’ I said okay. That’s my religious view; I will accept



the teaching of the church, but I cannot impose my religious views on someone else. I truly take an oath as a public official to represent all the people in my district, not only the Catholics. If there comes a time where I cannot practice my religion and do my job properly, I will resign my job.”¹⁴

Ferraro would not be the only high-profile Catholic who would challenge the church hierarchy. In 1984, Democratic New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, speaking at Notre Dame University, stated, “The Catholic who holds political office in a pluralistic democracy—who is elected to serve Jews and Muslims, atheists and Protestants, as well as Catholics—bears special responsibility. He or she undertakes to help create conditions under which all can live with a maximum of dignity and with a reasonable degree of freedom; where everyone who chooses may hold beliefs different from specifically Catholic ones—sometimes contradictory to them; where the laws protect people’s right to divorce, to use birth control, and even to choose abortion.”¹⁵

Reagan would go on to win the 1984 election in a landslide, setting up the nomination of Vice President Bush four years later. The 1998 election featured Vice President George H.W. Bush against Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis in what the Democrats hoped would be their return from presidential exile. The Democratic platform plank on abortion went back to a perspective of what the party wanted to achieve rather than what its opponents would do and stated that “the fundamental right of reproductive choice should be guaranteed regardless of ability to pay.”

While the Democratic Party leadership continued to decry the necessity of abortion, most Democrats were now firmly in support of the right to choose. Even presidential hopeful Rev. Jesse Jackson, who in a 1977 speech to participants in the March for Life questioned “the moral fabric of a nation that accepts the aborting of the life of a baby without a pang of conscience,” said he believed abortion was acceptable because “it is not right to impose private, religious and moral positions on public policy.”¹⁶

In the first presidential debate of 1988, Gov. Dukakis explained his position on abortion by stating that “the issue of abortion is a very difficult issue, one that I think that we all have to wrestle with, we have to come to terms with. I don’t favor abortion. I don’t think it’s a good thing. I don’t think most people do. The question is who makes the decision. And I think it has to be the woman, in the exercise of her own conscience and religious beliefs, that makes that decision.”¹⁷ In contrast to Dukakis, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX), the Democratic vice presidential candidate, said he was prolife, but allowed exceptions for incest and rape.¹⁸

THE 1990s: CONGRESSIONAL PROLIFE DEMOCRATS PUSH FOR CHANGE

After Dukakis’ loss to Bush, and facing at least 12 years out of the White House, prolife Democrats began to try to exert influence on the party platform by placing the blame for the party’s past losses—and potential future losses—on the issue of reproductive choice. In April

1989, a group of 50 House Democrats, led by Rep. John LaFalce (D-NY), wrote to Democratic National Committee Chair Ron Brown with a moral and increasingly political argument for changing course. The letter stated that “the principle and practice of abortion on demand is wrong” and that the platform plank on abortion was “bad public policy.” As “good Democrats” they stated, “[we] cannot accept that plank as part of our Democratic heritage and philosophy.”¹⁹ The letter, however, produced no changes in the party’s position.²⁰

In January 1992, much to the chagrin of prolife Democrats, House Speaker Tom Foley (D-WA) stated that congressional Democrats would legislatively guarantee abortion rights, and all five Democratic presidential candidates appeared together at a National Abortion Rights Action League gala.²¹

The prolife and prochoice divide between congressional Democrats even reared its head during the debate over the doomed Clinton health care initiative regarding whether or not abortion should be covered as part of the basic benefit package.

Thirty-five House Democrats wrote to Speaker Foley saying that they would not support the health care plan if abortion was included in the benefit package. The letter, written by Rep. Harold Volkmer (D-MO) stated, “If abortion is included in the federal package, this would have the effect of nullifying the Hyde Amendment and the laws of three-fourths of the states that generally prohibit tax-funded abortions. Therefore...it is absolutely necessary for any health-care legislation to explicitly exclude abortion from the scope of any benefits.”²²

The rhetoric among Democrats over the abortion issue became so contentious that prolife Rep. Ron Klink (D-PA), remarked, “I believe abortion could be the land mine that could blow up health care...there are many things we don’t know about health care reform, but we do know that every time you perform an abortion the patient dies.”²³

Other institutional forces with weight inside the party also staked out positions on abortion that continued to place prolife Democrats in the minority. In January 1993, the Congressional

Caucus for Women’s Issues voted to become prochoice. Ironically, it was prolife Reps. Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH) and Lindy Boggs (D-LA) who founded the caucus in 1977.

THE PROGRESSIVE PROLIFE MOVEMENT

Beginning in the late 1980s, a small, but nonetheless measurable, number of Democratic prolife activists created an organized, progressive prolife movement that drew heavily from the ideas of Chicago Cardinal Joseph Bernardin. The impetus for the movement was a speech given by Bernardin at Fordham University in 1983 in which he called for Catholics to support a consistent ethic, or “seamless garment,” on all life issues—opposing not just abortion but the death penalty and euthanasia as well supporting social justice issues. Bernardin said that “those who defend the right to life of the weakest among us must be equally visible in support of the quality of life of the powerless among us: the old and the young, the hungry and the homeless, the undocumented immigrant and the unemployed worker.”²⁴

THE IDEA OF PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS THAT OPPOSE REPRODUCTIVE CHOICE AND EQUATE ABORTION WITH EUTHANASIA AND THE DEATH PENALTY DID NOT SIT WELL WITH MANY IN THE PROGRESSIVE COMMUNITY.

The Seamless Garment Network was founded in 1987 by Mary Rider, who was then the leader of ProLifers for Survival. She received funding to bring together activists who generally were disposed to progressive views on social issues with the exception of abortion. While the organization is described as ecumenical, its membership is largely Catholic. Members include Feminists for Life, Democrats for Life of America, Pax Christi U.S.A., Sojourners and dozens of religious orders and congregations.

Another group, called JustLife Action/JustLife Education Fund, was an “evangelical/Catholic” coalition founded in 1985 based on Bernardin’s “seamless garment” concept. JustLife produced score cards and study guides by ranking members of Congress on their three most important issues: the nuclear arms race, economic justice and abortion.²⁵ It was staffed by employees of Evangelicals for Social Action and based out of that group’s headquarters, but, according to that group, it was “one of the visions that never really took off.”²⁶

The idea of progressive organizations that oppose

reproductive choice and equate abortion with euthanasia and the death penalty did not sit well with many in the progressive community. Historically, social progressives have advocated for the oppressed and against discrimination—including opposition to racial discrimination, discrimination against women, or intolerance toward gays and lesbians, as well as advocating for the poor and disenfranchised. Most progressives view the issue of reproductive rights as one in which one group in society is telling another how it must live and what its members are allowed to do, and not to do, with their bodies and their lives. As a result, groups associated with the Seamless Garment Network and like-minded antichoice progressives often found themselves ostracized over their position on choice. For example, Feminists for Life, a member of the Seamless Garment Network, was banned from a 1992 “Take Back the Night” March because it opposed abortion.

Nevertheless, Catholic and other progressive antichoice activists refused to leave the antiabortion movement in the hands of people and political partisans

Groups associated with the Seamless Garment Network and like-minded antichoice progressives often found themselves ostracized over their position on choice.

who were not on the “right side” of major social issues, including poverty, capital punishment and war. As Mary Meehan wrote in *The Progressive* in September 1980, “We do not enjoy opposing our old friends on the abortion issue, but we feel that we have no choice. We are moved by what pro-life feminists call the ‘consistency thing’—the belief that respect for human life demands opposition to abortion, capital punishment, euthanasia and war.”²⁷

THE SEAMLESS GARMENT NETWORK/CONSISTENT LIFE

Consistent Life describes itself as a national coalition of activists who are “committed to the protection of life, which is threatened in today’s world by war, abortion, poverty, racism, capital punishment and euthanasia.”

In its 2002 990-EZ filed with the Internal Revenue Service, the group listed gross receipts of less than \$25,000—therefore it was not required to file a disclosure report. The organization claims a membership of over 160 organizations. Becoming a member of Consistent Life requires a payment of dues, with group membership ranging from \$5 to \$200 and individual membership ranging from a \$15 to \$100. The organization’s address of record is 1426 9th Street, NW, Washington, DC, 20001, but it notes a Silver Spring, MD, P.O. Box on its Web site.

Consistent Life lists few typical programmatic activities for a national nonprofit, but they include running ads, speaking dates, “perhaps have a national conference” and an appeal for supporters to sign its mission statement.

In 2005, Paul Magno was named the interim Executive Director of Consistent Life. Magno previously was affiliated with the Washington Peace Center and the Catholic Worker Movement.

Consistent Life has established a research arm called the Institute for Integrated Social Analysis (IISA), which aims to “increase the quantity and quality of research on matters pertaining to the consistent life ethic and the connections between issues of violence from abortion and euthanasia to the death penalty and war.” The director is Rachel MacNair:

The members of the board of directors are:

- Carol Crossed, member of the board of directors of Democrats for Life
- Rose Evans, former publisher of *Harmony*, a consistent ethic magazine
- Rachel MacNair, director of IISA
- Rachel Muha, founder Christifideles (a children’s group, later evolved into home school group and now an independent school); and founder of the Brian Muha Memorial Foundation
- Linda Naranjo-Huebl, activist with Feminists for Life of Denver
- Mary Rider, founder of the Seamless Garment Network
- Scott Schaeffer-Duffy, Catholic Worker in Worcester, Massachusetts
- Julie Shockley, author of *Abortion Hurts: The link between abortion, post traumatic stress disorder and chronic illness*
- Richard Stith, Valparaiso University School of Law
- Bill Samuel, president of the board of Consistent Life

Meehan argued that it was prolife progressives who were being true to the liberal movement: “The traditional mark of the Left has been its protection of the underdog, the weak and the poor.... The basic instinct of the Left is to aid those who cannot aid themselves—and that instinct is absolutely sound. It is what keeps the human proposition going.”²⁸

Despite their emphasis on social justice issues and opposition to war and the death penalty, many in the Seamless Garment Network are heavily weighted toward abortion opposition. Seamless Garment Network founder Mary S. Rider admitted in a 2000 “Open Letter to Frances Kissling and Catholics for a Free Choice” that most Seamless Garment Network member groups and individuals “do not work collectively on all issues or necessarily weigh them equally” and that “many in the [Seamless Garment Network] see abortion as misogyny.”

The 1991 report on the 101st Congress by Catholics for a Free Choice entitled *Actions Speak Louder* revealed that the philosophy behind the seamless garment antichoice movement is



deeply flawed. An analysis of the voting records of members of Congress demonstrated that the majority of prochoice senators and representatives support programs that promote the equal status of women and improve conditions for raising children. Conversely, the majority of antichoice members oppose the very policies that would enhance conditions for childbearing and raising children and would increase options for women. The confluence of paradoxical characteristics—opposition to legal abortion and opposition to legislation that would make abortion less necessary—is common among antichoice members of Congress.

On a scale of zero to 100 in which a zero represented a congressional record that was against legislation designed to create social and economic conditions that “welcome childbearing and child-rearing” and a 100 represented a congressional record that was in favor of legislation that nurtured such conditions, prochoice Democratic senators received an average score of 87 percent, while antichoice Democrats averaged just 66 percent—a difference of 21

points. Among Catholic Democratic senators, the difference also was significant. Prochoice Democratic Catholics earned a score of 92 percent, while their antichoice colleagues averaged 74 percent.

In the House of Representatives, prochoice Democrats scored an average of 86 percent, while their antichoice colleagues scored 72 percent—a difference of 14 points. In the analysis of Catholic Democratic House members, prochoice Catholics received an average score of 89 percent, while their antichoice colleagues scored 83 percent.²⁹

The pattern repeated itself for the 102nd Congress. In the Senate, prochoice Democrats scored an average of 82 percent, while antichoice Democrats scored 51 percent—a difference of 31 points. Among Catholic Democratic senators, prochoice Catholics scored an average of 87 percent, while their antichoice Catholic colleagues averaged 42 percent—a 45 point difference.

In the House of Representatives, prochoice Democrats scored an average of 81 percent, while antichoice Democrats averaged 59

percent—a 22 point span. Catholic prochoice Democrats scored 86 percent and their Catholic antichoice colleagues scored 69 percent—a 17 point difference.³⁰

GOVERNOR BOB CASEY AND THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

If prolife Democrats remember anything about the 1992 Democratic National Convention, it is not that the party nominated Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton for president but that one of their icons, antichoice Gov. Bob Casey of Pennsylvania, was not allowed to address the convention. The supposed snub became a rallying point for frustrated prolife Democrats. Democratic operatives noted, however, that many prolife figures addressed the convention and said the reason Casey wasn't allowed to address the convention was his refusal to endorse the Clinton/Gore ticket because it was prochoice and his insistence on using a speaking slot to oppose the party's position on choice.

Casey was not the only prolife Democrat to feel unwelcome at

AFTER INTENSIVE BEHIND-THE-SCENES LOBBYING EFFORTS, PROLIFE DEMOCRATS ACHIEVED WHAT WAS VIEWED BY THEM AS A LANDMARK IN THEIR QUEST TO CHANGE THE PARTY—THE INSERTION OF AN EXEMPTION CLAUSE INTO THE OFFICIAL PLATFORM.

the 1992 convention. Then Kansas Gov. Joan Finney told the *Washington Times* that she was never asked to the podium in what was called “the year of the woman” despite her offering to take a public role. And prolife Rep. Nicholas Mavroules (D-MA) saw the convention showcase his Democratic primary opponent at the podium despite a longstanding rule that the party should stand behind incumbents in primary races.

Bob Casey continued to make his opposition to abortion the top issue during his time in office and the top beneficiary of his political capital. While governor, Casey saw provisions of his Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act challenged all the way to the Supreme Court, ensuring that the Casey name forever would be tied to the antiabortion cause. In 1994, at the expense of the party, he refused to endorse Sen. Harris Wofford’s reelection in his battle against Rep. Rick Santorum (R-PA) because Wofford’s views on abortion policy more closely resembled President Bill Clinton’s than Casey’s. This was despite the fact that it was Casey who had appointed Wofford to the seat after the death of Sen. John Heinz (R-PA). Sen. Wofford

summed up the logic behind Casey’s snub: “For Casey, abortion is a transcendent issue. My moderate position on the subject does not satisfy his determination to make abortion illegal. For Casey, [abortion] is so important that years of close friendship and agreement on all the other major issues are secondary ‘to end the killing,’ as he put it.”³¹

In March 1995, Casey began a quickly abandoned challenge to Bill Clinton in the 1996 Democratic primary by establishing a presidential exploratory committee. Casey believed there was room for a prolife challenge to Clinton; prolife Democrat John DiIulio, who later ran President George W. Bush’s Office of Faith Based and Community Initiatives, co-directed the campaign’s issues committee.³²

Casey’s public challenge to Clinton and the platform of the Democratic Party became the talk of political Washington. Veteran CNN personality Wolf Blitzer called the Casey challenge “the first public crack within the Democratic Party” on abortion. According to Blitzer, the Clinton White House was less concerned

about a Casey challenge itself then that it “may open the door for other, more serious challengers.”³³

Casey also launched the Scranton, PA-based Campaign for the American Family and the Fund for the American Family to oppose abortion and promote adoption. Casey ultimately would succumb to a rare liver disorder on May 31, 2000. Seeking to acknowledge the legacy of Gov. Casey, the Democratic Party paid tribute to him at the 2000 convention with a video commemorating his political life.

THE 1996 AND 2000 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

With the Democratic ticket confident of its reelection, the 1996 Democratic National Convention in Chicago brought more opportunities for prolife Democrats than the previous convention. After intensive behind-the-scenes lobbying efforts, prolife Democrats achieved what was viewed by them as a landmark in their quest to change the party—the insertion of an exemption clause into the official

platform. The clause stated that while “the party supports a woman’s right to choose abortion,” Democratic Party candidates and elected officials “have a right to abide by their conscience on this difficult issue and are welcome participants at every level of the party.”

Party leaders who supported the platform change were Democratic National Committee Chairman Don Fowler, Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-SD), House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO) and Sen. Zell Miller (D-GA). The Clinton White House indicated that it would go along with the change but said the clause was unnecessary, as the prochoice platform “by definition allows us to follow our own consciences.”³⁴

In another change from the previous convention, Rep. Tony Hall (D-OH) was also given a non-primetime speaking slot at which he was allowed, and reportedly encouraged, to talk about his prolife views.

Not all prolife Democrats, however, saw the changes as welcoming of their views. Rep. Glenn Poshard (D-IL) told columnist Fred Barnes that prolife

Democrats were routinely punished because of their antiabortion votes, saying “There’s no group in Congress that suffers more than prolife Democrats.”³⁵ Rep. Bart Stupak (D-MI), said that antichoice Democrats are subjected to slurs and snide remarks when they vote against choice-friendly legislation and for further restricting abortion. And Gov. Bob Casey, who addressed a prolife rally miles away from the official convention site, called the convention “a very hostile environment” and the hard-fought conscience platform language “a joke.”³⁶

The Democratic platform plank on abortion was longer in 1996 than its predecessor and touted the achievements of Clinton’s first term. The platform read:

The Democratic Party stands behind the right of every woman to choose, consistent with *Roe v. Wade*, and regardless of ability to pay. President Clinton took executive action to make sure that the right to make such decisions is protected for all Americans. Over the last four years, we have taken action to end the gag rule and ensure safety at family planning and women’s health clinics. We believe it is a fundamental

constitutional liberty that individual Americans—not government—can best take responsibility for making the most difficult and intensely personal decisions regarding reproduction.

The Democratic Party is a party of inclusion. We respect the individual conscience of each American on this difficult issue, and we welcome all our members to participate at every level of our party.

Our goal is to make abortion less necessary and more rare, not more difficult and more dangerous. We support

The Democratic platform plank on abortion was longer in 1996 than its predecessor and touted the achievements of Clinton’s first term

After being elected to the Senate, Gore became prochoice and continued to speak affirmatively for reproductive choice as vice president.

contraceptive research, family planning, comprehensive family life education, and policies that support healthy childbearing. For four years in a row, we have increased support for family planning. The abortion rate is dropping. Now we must continue to support efforts to reduce unintended pregnancies, and we call on all Americans to take personal responsibility to meet this important goal.

The 2000 Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles nominated Vice President Al Gore and Connecticut Sen. Joseph Lieberman to head the Democratic ticket. The platform language around abortion reflected one of the party's strategic themes: framing the

impact that a George W. Bush presidency would have on the Supreme Court.

The Democratic Party stands behind the right of every woman to choose, consistent with *Roe v. Wade*, and regardless of ability to pay. We believe it is a fundamental constitutional liberty that individual Americans—not government—can best take responsibility for making the most difficult and intensely personal decisions regarding reproduction. This year's Supreme Court rulings show to us all that eliminating a woman's right to choose is only one justice away. That's why the stakes in this election are as high as ever. Our goal is to make abortion less necessary and more rare, not more difficult and more dangerous. We support contraceptive research, family planning, comprehensive family life education, and policies that support healthy childbearing. The abortion rate is dropping. Now we must continue to support efforts to reduce unintended pregnancies, and we call on all Americans to take personal responsibility to meet this important goal. The Democratic Party is a party of inclusion. We respect the individual conscience of each American on this difficult

issue, and we welcome all our members to participate at every level of our party. This is why we are proud to put into our platform the very words which Republicans refused to let Bob Dole put into their 1996 platform and which they refused to even consider putting in their platform in 2000: "While the party remains steadfast in its commitment to advancing its historic principles and ideals, we also recognize that members of our party have deeply held and sometimes differing views on issues of personal conscience like abortion and capital punishment. We view this diversity of views as a source of strength, not as a sign of weakness, and we welcome into our ranks all Americans who may hold differing positions on these and other issues. Recognizing that tolerance is a virtue, we are committed to resolving our differences in a spirit of civility, hope and mutual respect."

Gore, like many Democratic candidates before him and Massachusetts Sen. John Kerry after him, had trouble articulating his views on abortion, as they had changed from his time as a member of the House of Representatives to his time as vice president. According to the National Right to Life

Committee, Gore voted its position 84 percent of the time as a member of the House of Representatives from 1977 through 1984. After being elected to the Senate, Gore became prochoice and continued to speak affirmatively for reproductive choice as vice president. However, Gore's evolution on choice became a defining issue between himself and former New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley during the campaign for the Democratic nomination for president. The issue reminded Democratic voters of the ideological divide between northern and southern Democrats and the process by which public officials can evolve on the issue.

The 2000 election also saw Patrick Casey, Gov. Bob Casey's son, run for Congress from the 10th Congressional District of Pennsylvania. Casey, who was one of the party's top recruits, lost to Rep. Don Sherwood (R-PA) by approximately 12,000 votes. When Casey ran in 1998, he lost to Sherwood by fewer than 1,000 votes. In 2002, another of Casey's sons, Robert Casey Jr., ran for governor in the Democratic primary against Ed Rendell. Casey lost to Rendell, but reemerged in

2004 as a successful candidate for state treasurer and later for U.S. Senate.

ANOTHER LOSS IN 2004 AND A WIN IN 2006

In the 2004 Democratic primary campaign, longtime Ohio Rep. Dennis Kucinich, a progressive with one of the strongest antiabortion voting records in Congress, shocked the prolife Democratic community—which had hoped his candidacy would give national exposure to their minority view—when he pledged only to nominate judges to the Supreme Court who support *Roe v. Wade*. This support for *Roe v. Wade* was in stark contrast to his prior antichoice voting record, which included a vote to maintain President Bush's restrictions on U.S. aid to family planning groups overseas that use their own funds for abortion services and counseling and a vote to prohibit the Food and Drug Administration from testing, developing or approving any abortion drug.³⁷ Kucinich explained his change of heart by stating, "I don't believe in abortions, few do...I do however believe in choice." Kucinich would lose the

nomination to Sen. John Kerry, who ultimately would lose to President George Bush. After the 2004 election, Democrats immediately chose to scapegoat abortion as the reason for the party's loss. Party leaders, including House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), reportedly encouraged former Rep. Tim Roemer (D-IN), an abortion opponent, to run for chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). In the Senate, the Democratic caucus elected antichoice Sen. Harry Reid (D-NV) to be the party's leader, and the candidate recruitment arms of the party made a concerted effort to enlist antichoice candidates for the House and Senate.

When failed presidential candidate Howard Dean was elected to lead the DNC, he began a full court press to recruit prolife Democrats into the party. On NBC's "Meet the Press," Dean—a medical doctor who repeatedly stated his staunch support of reproductive rights on the campaign trail—told host Tim Russert, "I have long believed that we ought to make a home for prolife Democrats. The Democrats that have stuck with us, who are prolife, through their long period of conviction, are people who are

the kind of prolife people that we ought to have deep respect for.” He continued, “Not only are they prolife, which, I think, is a moral judgment—I happen to be strongly prochoice, as a physician—but they are pro-life for moral reasons. They also, if they’re in the Democratic Party, are really prolife. That is, they’re prolife not just for unborn children. They’re prolife for investing in children’s programs. They’re prolife for helping small children and young families. They’re prolife in making sure adequate medical care happens to children.”³⁸

The party apparatus, including the DNC, the Democratic Congressional Campaign

Committee (DCCC) and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, began aggressively recruiting antichoice candidates for key races across the country—sometimes at the expense of the prochoice and progressive candidates favored by local party activists. Included in this mix of candidates was the most high profile recruitment of all: Pennsylvania Treasurer Bob Casey Jr. to challenge the ultra-conservative Sen. Rick Santorum (R-PA).

The Democratic National Committee also began to establish ties with Democrats for Life of America (DFLA), an emerging group established for prolife elected Democratic

officials. Another group, Democrats for Values, also was started after the 2004 elections with a mission of fixing “the perceived lack of values in the Democratic Party.”

In the 2006 election cycle, in which the Democrats regained majorities in the House and the Senate, DFLA Executive Director Kristen Day bragged to the *Baptist Press* that “we worked very closely with the DCCC this election. We coordinated in helping identifying pro-life candidates. There was really a much more openness and support for the pro-life candidates. I think it was very encouraging.”³⁹

Democrats for Life of America was founded in January 1999 with a vision of fostering “respect for life, from the beginning of life to natural death,” which includes opposition to abortion, capital punishment and euthanasia, as well as opposition to embryonic stem cell research. The organization is a member of Consistent Life.

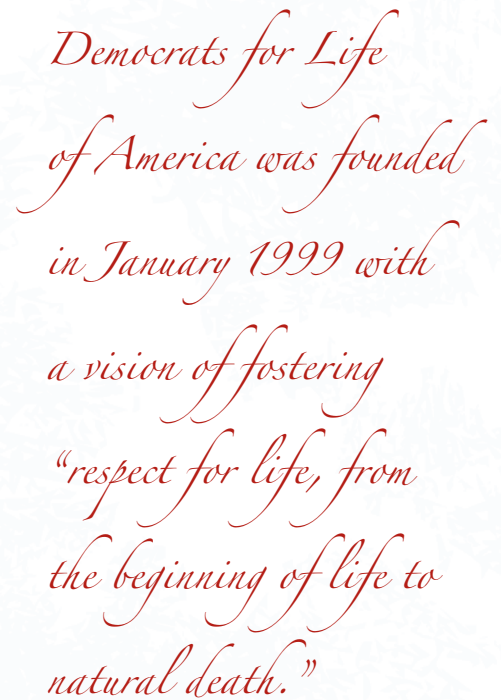
In June 2002, the organization hired its first executive director, Kristen Day, on a part-time basis. Day formerly served as chief of staff to antichoice Rep. Jim Barcia (D-MI) when he was co-chair of the prolife caucus.⁴⁰ According to DFLA’s 2005 form 990, Day works 20 hours a week at a salary of \$30,000. For that same year, total revenue for DFLA was \$67,051.⁴¹ Of this amount, \$40,420 was in the form of contributions, gifts and grants and \$12,485 was in the form of membership dues. At the end of the reporting year, DFLA’s finances were in the red to the tune of \$5,960.

Prolife writer and author Mary Meehan reported on her Web site, www.meehanreports.com that in 2006, Democrats for Life of America had a budget of approximately \$100,000 and that the organization has “several”

part-time staff. In an interview with Kirsten Day, Meehan reported that Day plans to hire a fund raiser and that they “hope to have an operating budget of \$150,000 this year.”⁴²

In announcing Day’s hire, Lois Kerschen, then president of the DFLA Board of Directors, stated that Day would be staffing DFLA’s “new national office, located in Washington, DC.”⁴³ However, more than four years later, a visit to the organization’s published mailing address at 601 Pennsylvania Ave, NW, Suite 900, reveals that the “new national office” is nothing more than an answering service that directs calls to a number of different organizations.

Since arriving at DFLA, Day has organized national recognition dinners, the DFLA political action committee, events at the Democratic National Convention in 2004 and has attempted to be a cheerleader for antichoice Democrats, showering them with congratulatory press releases after they vote to further restrict reproductive rights. Day also has worked to increase the field operations of DFLA. In 2005, it claimed to have 40 state chapters, with plans to add additional chapters by 2006. According to its



Democrats for Life of America was founded in January 1999 with a vision of fostering “respect for life, from the beginning of life to natural death.”

Web site, it is still without chapters in many of the most conservative states, including Alaska, Hawaii, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Carolina, Maine, New Hampshire and Delaware.

While Democrats for Life claims to have 40 state chapters, board member Carol Crossed conceded to prolife writer Mary Meehan that the groups membership growth is in fact, “very slow” and that “there certainly isn’t any money invested in that kind of thing.”⁴⁴

DFLA has three different advisory boards: a National Advisory Board, a Federal Advisory Board and a Board of Directors.

National Advisory Board

- Nat Hentoff, a syndicated columnist and journalist who writes for the *Village Voice*
- Hon. John LaFalce, a former member of Congress who represented the 29th congressional district of New York. LaFalce had a staunchly antichoice voting record
- Honorable Tim Roemer of Indiana represented the 3rd district of Indiana from 1991 until 2003. Roemer was a member of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States and was a failed candidate for chairman of the Democratic National Committee
- Honorable Chris John of Louisiana represented the 7th congressional district of Louisiana from 1997 until 2005. In 2004, John ran unsuccessfully for the United States Senate
- Honorable Charlie Stenholm represented the 17th district of Texas from 1979 until 2005
- Dr. James Zogby: Zogby is the founder and president of the Arab American Institute
- Ambassador Raymond Flynn is a former mayor of Boston, Mass, and served as ambassador to the Vatican under President Bill Clinton from 1993 until 1997. He was a failed candidate for the U.S .Congress in 1998 and is the national president of the conservative Catholic Citizenship.

Federal Advisory Board

- Rep. Jerry Costello of Illinois
- Rep. Lincoln Davis of Tennessee
- Rep. James Langevin of Rhode Island

- Rep. Alan B. Mollohan of West Virginia
- Sen. Ben Nelson of Nebraska
- Rep. James Oberstar of Minnesota
- Rep. Tim Ryan of Ohio
- Rep. Bart Stupak of Michigan
- Rep. Gene Taylor of Mississippi

Board of Directors

- Janet Robert, president of the board and owner of the Air America affiliate in Minnesota; also a failed 2002 candidate for Congress
- Carol Crossed, former director of the Seamless Garment Network
- Joe Turnham, chairman of the Alabama Democratic Party and a two-time failed candidate for Congress (1998 and 2002)
- Hon. Joan Barry, vice president of the board and a former member of the Missouri House of Representatives. Barry is a failed candidate for the 2004 Democratic nomination for Congress in the 3rd district of Missouri and president of Democrats for Life of Missouri.
- Pat Casey, son of former Pennsylvania Gov. Robert Casey, and a two-time failed candidate for Congress (1998 and 2000)
- Silvia Delamar, failed candidate for Congress in 2004 and for the Georgia State Senate in 2006
- Louis Koenig, technical director for Zinkan Enterprises Inc., a chemical company in Twinsburg, OH
- Brian Keaney, graduate student at Harvard University and secretary-treasurer of the board
- Paul Contino is the associate director of the Center for Faith and Learning at Pepperdine University where he is also associate professor of Great Books.

After the platform committee at the 2004 Democratic Convention reaffirmed a women's right to choose and specifically supported the reproductive rights of the poor, Day told the Baptist Press, "The platform language is definitely disturbing.... The platform committee was out of step with both the American public and Democrats."⁴⁵ More recently, Day has been leading DFLA's 95-10 Initiative and in July 2006, Day's book, *Democrats for Life: Pro-Life Politics and the Silenced Majority* was published by New Leaf Press.

Mary Meehan describes the board of Democrats for Life of America as "strong" and that it "as might be expected—especially where Democrats are concerned—sometimes has strong disagreements."⁴⁶ One of those disagreements was when Congresswoman Rosa DeLauro (D-CT) released a "Statement of Principles" endorsed by 55 House Democrats in 2006. Signers included members who were both strong supporters of choice and strong supporters of restrictions on abortion. Meehan notes that some on the board thought there was an obligation to speak out on the inconsistency of some who had voted to

MORE THAN THREE YEARS LATER, A VISIT TO THE ORGANIZATION'S PUBLISHED MAILING ADDRESS REVEALS THAT THE "NEW NATIONAL OFFICE" IS NOTHING MORE THAN AN ANSWERING SERVICE THAT DIRECTS CALLS TO A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT ORGANIZATIONS.

support abortion while others, notably Carol Crossed, felt that since Democrats for Life was not a Catholic group, there was no need for the organization to respond. Crossed criticized the statement that the board did issue calling it "stupid" and "nothing," according to Meehan.⁴⁷

DEMOCRATS FOR LIFE OF AMERICA POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

Seeking to influence the Democratic platform and to become a player in the political game—particularly the 2006 midterm elections—DFLA formed a Political Action Committee (PAC) called the Democrats for Life of America Inc. PAC to combat the prochoice views held by most Democratic party operatives and elected officials. Of the need to raise money to support antichoice Democrats running for state and federal offices, Day said, "Groups working nationally that are pro-choice have a tremendous head start on us.... When they put on a fundraising dinner, pro-choice Members of Congress not only attend but write \$5,000 checks. We'll have to see if pro-life Democrats in Congress are as serious."⁴⁸

Despite its best intentions, the DFLA PAC hardly has raised the funds to allow them to "get in there and battle NARAL and the well-funded pro-choice groups,"⁴⁹ as was its announced intention. According to data from the Federal Election Commission, the beleaguered PAC listed total receipts of \$15,255 for the 2006 election.⁵⁰ By contrast, NARAL Pro-Choice America's PAC listed total receipts of \$1,700,309.⁵¹

For 2006, the DFLA PAC listed just two donors, both of whom are on the board of directors. Carol Crossed contributed \$5,000 and Janet Robert donated \$10,000, exceeding the allowable donation amount by \$5,000 and forcing the cash-poor organization to issue a refund.

The PAC listed only 11 contributions directly to candidates in 2006: \$500 to Bob Casey for Pennsylvania (won); \$2,000 to Cranley for Congress (lost); \$500 to Joseph Donnelly for Congress (won); \$250 to Brad Ellsworth for Congress Committee (won); \$500 to Kenneth Ray Lucas for Congress (lost); \$500 to Charlie Melancon Campaign Committee (won); \$250 to Heath Shuler for

Congress (won); and \$500 to Friends of Charlie Wilson (won). The DFLA PAC also had an independent expenditure in the amount of \$360 for Friends of Bill Gluba (lost).

The treasurer of the PAC is Molly Pannell. Pannell has a long history in the antichoice movement and has held positions at Feminists for Life and the National Committee for a Human Life Amendment, a group closely associated with the Secretariat for Pro-Life Activities of the USCCB.⁵²

THE 95-10 INITIATIVE: REDUCE 95 PERCENT OF ABORTIONS IN 10 YEARS

At a press conference in April 2005 at the DNC headquarters, DFLA's Day unveiled the 95-10 Initiative, a DFLA package of legislative and policy initiatives to end 95 percent of abortions within 10 years by "promoting abstinence, personal responsibility, adoptions and support for women and families who are facing unplanned pregnancies." The 16-point proposal includes funding for a toll-free number to direct women with unplanned pregnancies to

non-abortion counseling; increased federal collection of abortion data; federal funding to school districts for “age-appropriate pregnancy prevention education”; support for “women’s right to know” measures that typically require abortion clinics to give women biased information that overstates the physical and psychological risks of abortion; grants to allow so-called crisis pregnancy centers to purchase ultrasounds; and support for parental notification measures.

A bill based on the initiative was to be introduced by Rep. Lincoln

Davis (D-TN), Rep. Bart Stupak, and one of the party’s rising stars, Rep. Tim Ryan (D-OH). By the middle of 2006, however, the DFLA walked away from the bill proposed by Ryan over a difference of opinion on the role that contraception plays in pregnancy prevention and the reduction of abortion.

According to Mary Meehan, the concept of the bill as announced in 2005 included a requirement for insurance companies to cover contraception. Pressure from antichoice activists including Father Frank Pavone of Priests for Life—who Meehan describes as “a friend of Democrats for Life” had “major problems with that provision—and not only because of traditional Catholic teaching against contraception.” He stressed the oft-repeated and erroneous claim that “so much ‘contraception’ is, in fact, early abortion under a different name.”⁵³

When Rep. Davis introduced the DFLA legislation, he included as a cosponsor Republican Rep. Chris Smith of New Jersey, one of the most vehemently antichoice members of the U.S. Congress.

The DFLA’s promotional material for the proposal follows the script of many conservative antichoice organizations that relies heavily on guilt and misleading information to try and dissuade women from having abortions and to downplay the need for reproductive choice and education.

According to the DFLA, “Most women who have abortions do so with great reluctance, and many would decide otherwise if they had greater support in bearing or raising the child and if alternatives were available to them. By far the two most common reasons for having abortions are that the woman’s life would be dramatically changed (for example, losing educational or career opportunities) and that she cannot afford another child.” While it is true that abortion is a serious decision, there are many other reasons why a woman would have an abortion other than not having the financial means to raise a child or a question of timing.

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While the DFLA says “preventing pregnancy is an important part of reducing the abortion rate in America,” it equivocates when it then says that “there are several ways to address prevention, but there is no clear consensus because of ethical, religious or personal reasons” despite widespread consensus on effective prevention methods.⁵⁴ When the “Reducing the Need for Abortion and Supporting Parents Act” (H.R. 1074), co-sponsored by Representatives Rosa DeLauro (D-CT) and Tim Ryan (D-OH), which seeks to reduce the number of unplanned pregnancies was introduced, DFLA was quick to denounce its emphasis on pregnancy prevention: “Our goal is to help pregnant women,” stated Day, adding that she thinks Ryan’s legislation is about “more prevention and contraception.”⁵⁵

DFLA admits that its reason for including funding for ultrasounds in its proposal is because “seeing a sonogram helps mothers make the emotional attachment to their unborn child. This has become increasingly true for women ‘raised in today’s visually

oriented society.”⁵⁶

The proposal also says it will “provide accurate information to patients receiving a positive result from an alpha-fetoprotein test,” calling in to question the accuracy of a widely used test to pinpoint genetic disorders such as spina bifida and Down syndrome and suggesting that false-positive results are widespread and women are inaccurately counseled about tests result—leading to unnecessary abortions—when no credible medical body has identified such a problem.

Despite calling itself Democrats for Life of America with a goal of fostering prolife views amongst Democrats, the group has worked closely with—and supported the legislative efforts of—Congressman Chris Smith of New Jersey. Kristen Day has acknowledged working “with Congressman Smith on a lot of issues” and to have “helped gain Democratic senators’ support for a Smith bill to promote research on stem cells from umbilical cords, which he presented as an ethical alternative to destruction of human embryos.”⁵⁷

When Rep. Davis introduced the DFLA legislation, he included as a cosponsor Republican Rep. Chris Smith of New Jersey, one of the most vehemently antichoice members of the U.S. Congress.

Conclusion

In the November 2006 elections, the Democratic Party won a majority in the House of Representatives for the first time since 1994, with prolife Democrats providing seven of the 31 new seats. However, as this report has shown, and in the profiles that follow, not all of these prolife Democrats are as prolife as they claim to be, nor does the organization that claims to represent them have as much influence as it would like us to think.

As an example, in one of the first real opportunities to show prolife colors (see box), the Democratic members of Congress we profile in the appendix below were split on how to vote.

Future elections, especially the presidential one in 2008, will likely see the Catholic hierarchy and its conservative allies seeking to shape the result, vilifying prochoice Catholics running for office and placing abortion above all other issues—to the detriment of women and their families throughout the U.S.

Future reports from Catholics in Public Life will include examinations of the political interventions of the Catholic

Amendment 368—Roll Call 534: HR 2764: "An amendment to strike the last proviso in section 622 of the bill regarding the Mexico City policy on family planning assistance." June 21, 2007

A NO vote can be characterized as a prochoice/pro-contraception vote, as it was in favor of the targeted exemption to the Mexico City Policy which would allow the U.S. to provide contraceptives to foreign NGOs to help reduce abortion, unintended pregnancies, and the spread of HIV/AIDS. A YES vote can be characterized as a prolife/anti-contraception vote.

YES		NO
Jason Altmire	Mike McIntyre	Marion Berry
Dan Boren	Charles Melancon	GK Butterfield
Jerry Costello	Allan Mollohan	Christopher Carney
Lincoln Davis	John Murtha	Ben Chandler
Joe Donnelly	James Oberstar	Henry Cuellar
Brad Ellsworth	Colin Peterson	Mike Doyle
Tim Holden	Nick Rahall	Baron Hill
Paul Kanjorski	Heath Shuler	Jim Langevin
Marcy Kaptur	Ike Skelton	Stephen Lynch
Dale Kildee	Bart Stupak	Mike Michaud
Daniel Lipinski	Gene Taylor	Mike Ross
Jim Marshall	Charlie Wilson	Tim Ryan

NO VOTE: Solomon Ortiz

hierarchy and the activities of its conservative Catholic allies. We will continue to monitor the activities of these organizations and ensure that they remain

within the parameters of the tax laws as they relate to nonprofit organizations. Please visit our Web site, www.catholicsinpubliclife.org for regular updates.

Appendix: Elected Officials Affiliated with DFLA

DFLA states that its members are opposed to abortion, capital punishment and euthanasia. Other antichoice groups take the definition of “prolife” much further to include opposition to embryonic stem cell research and human cloning, all forms of contraception and even the seemingly unrelated issue of same-sex marriage.

A look at the voting records and public statements of DFLA-affiliated governors and legislators as well as those who consider themselves to be prolife, however, reveals a group that is deeply divided on what it means to be defined as a “prolife” Democrat. What follows are short biographies of senior politicians who have either associated themselves with DFLA or consider themselves to be prolife.

Representative Jason Altmire, Pennsylvania*:

Altmire, a Catholic, defeated antichoice Congresswoman Melissa Hart to represent the fourth district north and west of Pittsburgh. Altmire is antichoice and opposes abortion, with the exception of cases that involve rape, incest and the health of the woman. Altmire is a supporter of funding for family planning programs.⁵⁸

Altmire told *Congressional Quarterly* that if elected, he would be “one of the biggest advocates in Congress for stem cell research” and further that he believes support for stem cell research is “a pro-life vote” and “could very easily justify voting for it.”⁵⁹ Altmire voted in favor of the Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act of 2007 during his first days in office. Prior to voting to support embryonic stem cell research, Altmire voted against the Human Cloning Prohibition Act which would ban human cloning.

*Denotes a new member elected in 2006.

Representative Marion Berry of Arkansas:

Berry, elected to the House of Representatives from the first congressional district in 1996, is not only antichoice, but also voted in favor of the Pain Relief Promotion Act in 1999 which, among other things, banned physician assisted suicide. He voted to ban human cloning for medical research and reproduction and is an opponent of same-sex marriage, as he supported the Federal Marriage Amendment in 2004. Berry also voted in favor of a ban on gay adoptions in the District of Columbia.

On the more progressive end, Berry supports embryonic stem cell research, voting in favor of the Castle-DeGette embryonic stem cell bill in 2005 and the 2007 Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act which was vetoed by President Bush. Berry voted against the controversial Faith Based Initiative and against increased work requirements and promoting marriage for those individuals in need of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Representative Dan Boren of Oklahoma:

Boren, a state legislator elected to Congress in 2004 from the second congressional district, has not had the opportunity to vote on many defining reproductive and social issues, having only served in Congress for two years. On the conservative end, he did vote in favor of the Federal Marriage Amendment which would ban same-sex marriage and he sided with the House Republican leadership in its efforts to interfere with the medical decision-making process involving Terri Schiavo.

On the progressive end, Boren voted in favor of the Castle-DeGette embryonic stem cell bill in 2005 and the 2007 Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act. He also voted against attempts to trim the federal



budget by cutting nearly \$40 billion from welfare, child support and student lending programs.

Representative G.K. Butterfield of North Carolina:

Butterfield was elected to Congress from the first congressional district in a July 2004 special election. Butterfield, who is rated as “mixed” on reproductive choice by the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, falls on the fairly liberal side when it comes to other social issues.

He voted against the Federal Marriage Amendment which would ban same-sex marriage and for both the Castle-DeGette embryonic stem cell bill in 2005 and the Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act in 2007. On other issues, Butterfield voted against attempts to trim the federal budget with cuts to welfare, child support and student lending programs.

Representative Christopher Carney, Pennsylvania*:

Elected to the tenth district by defeating incumbent Don Sherwood, Carney, a Catholic, has a mixed message on reproductive health care. On his campaign Web site, Carney states, “I’m a Roman Catholic father of five—I do not favor abortion. I favor adoption, responsible education, and access to comprehensive reproductive health care.” In a 2005 interview with the *Times-Tribune* of Scranton, Carney indicated that he was “pro-choice to an extent,” and went on to say, “I do not support partial-birth abortion at all. I would never vote to make that legal at all ... this is a private matter.”⁶⁰

On other issues, Carney voted in favor of embryonic stem cell research supporting the Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act of 2007. A day before voting on the stem cell bill, Carney voted against the Human Cloning Prohibition Act.

Representative Ben Chandler of Kentucky:

Chandler was elected to Congress from the sixth congressional district in a special election in February 2004. While he receives a “mixed” rating on choice from the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, he is a supporter of embryonic stem cell research having voted in favor of both the 2005 Castle-DeGette bill as well as the 2007 Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act. He also voted in May 2006 for access to abortion services for women in the military (the Andrews’ amendment). Showing his conservative credentials, Chandler did vote in favor of banning same-sex marriage through the Federal Marriage Amendment.

Representative Jerry Costello of Illinois:

Costello, a Roman Catholic elected to Congress from the twelfth district in 1988, is on the conservative side of antichoice Democrats in Congress. Costello’s legislative record indicates that he is not only hostile to reproductive rights—including insurance coverage for contraception, but emerging medical technologies as well, having voted against major embryonic stem cell research in 2005 and 2007. On other issues important to DFLA, he voted against euthanasia (Pain Relief Promotion Act), and opposes human cloning for medical research and reproduction. In keeping with his conservative credentials, he also voted against gay marriage and for a ban on gay adoptions in the District of Columbia. Costello is a co-sponsor of the Pregnant Women Support Act, the rival legislation to the Ryan-DeLauro Reducing the Need for Abortion and Supporting Parents Act.

On issues supported by progressives, Costello has sponsored a constitutional amendment that stated that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on



account of gender. Costello voted against the controversial Faith Based Initiative and against increased work requirements and promoting marriage for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Representative Henry Cuellar of Texas:

Cuellar, like many of his Democratic colleagues from Texas, is on the more conservative side of the party. Elected to the heavily Catholic twenty-eighth district in November of 2004, Cuellar is antichoice. He did however vote in favor of embryonic stem cell research (Castle-DeGette) and the 2007 Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act. In addition to calling himself antiabortion, Cuellar also says that he is against same-sex marriage and voted in favor of the Federal Marriage Amendment.

While Cuellar is fairly new to Congress, he was the first Democrat to ever be endorsed by the conservative Club for Growth, which works for candidates and issues favored by conservative Republicans.⁶¹

Representative Lincoln Davis of Tennessee:

Representing the fourth district since being elected to Congress in 2002, Davis is not only antichoice, he was the primary sponsor of the Pregnant Women Support Act, which takes an anti-contraceptive approach to reducing abortions. In announcing his bill, Davis said that his initiative “provides the kind of support, information, and options that should be readily available to pregnant women in any society that truly believes in the sanctity of life.”⁶² Davis’ bill has been endorsed by the USCCB.

Davis is an opponent of embryonic stem cell research and voted against the landmark Castle-DeGette

legislation as well as its 2007 counterpart. He also is against human cloning for medical research and reproduction and voted for a federal ban on same-sex marriage. On other issues, Davis voted against increasing work hours and promoting marriage for individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Representative Joe Donnelly Sr., Indiana*:

Donnelly, a Catholic, represents the second district. Donnelly articulates his antichoice position on his Web site as follows: “In keeping with my personal faith and family values, I have consistently opposed abortion and will continue to do so in Congress. I believe that being pro-life means promoting life at every stage, from conception until natural death. I will always vote according to my faith and my conscience on life issues.”⁶³

On stem cell research, Donnelly appears to favor adult and cord stem cell research: “Where one stem cell can be taken out while the embryo continues with life... I believe in pushing the frontier, but in not damaging the embryos.” In Congress, he voted against the Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act of 2007 and against the Human Cloning Prohibition Act.

Representative Mike Doyle of Pennsylvania:

Doyle was elected to Congress in 1994 and represents the fourteenth district. Doyle voted in favor of the Abortion Non-Discrimination Act in 2002 and is a sponsor of the Reducing the Need for Abortion and Supporting Parents Act. Like most of the prolife caucus, Doyle voted for a ban on human cloning for medical research and reproduction and voted in favor of banning the practice of euthanasia and physician assisted suicide.

Doyle does have progressive credentials as he has voted in favor of embryonic stem cell research both in 2005 and 2007. He has also voted against the Federal Marriage Amendment which would ban same sex marriage and against a ban on gay adoptions in the District of Columbia. On other issues, he sponsored a constitutional amendment that stated that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of gender, voted against enacting the controversial Faith Based Initiative and opposed increased work requirements and promoting marriage for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Congressman Doyle was an endorsee of the Catholic Statement of Principles in 2006.⁶⁴

Representative Brad Ellsworth, Indiana*:

Ellsworth, a Catholic, represents the eighth district and states on his campaign web site that he “believe[s] in the value of life in all its forms, not just what people say to get elected.” He also said, “The church has guided my life and my career.”⁶⁵

In many ways, Ellsworth’s positions on social issues resemble those of the politician he replaced, Republican John Hostettler. Besides being antichoice, anti-gay marriage and anti-immigration, Ellsworth is also an opponent of embryonic stem cell research—voting against funding such research during his first days in office. Ellsworth also cast a vote against the Human Cloning Prohibition Act which would ban human cloning, as defined by the implantation of a cloned egg into a uterus.

Ellsworth has said that he considers abortion to be the biggest moral issue facing the country and that it

should be illegal. Ellsworth would make exceptions for rape, incest and the life of the woman.⁶⁶

Representative Baron Hill, Indiana*:

Hill returns to Congress to represent the ninth district after being defeated in the 2004 election by Mike Sodrel. While Hill can by no means be described as “prochoice,” he sums up his position on choice as follows, “I’m not for abortion...[b]ut I’m not for repealing *Roe v. Wade* either.” Hill went on to state, “The abortion debate has become so shrill on both sides that we never get to the point of reducing the number of abortions, which is something we all want.”⁶⁷ Hill has gone on record in support of the Ryan-DeLauro legislation to reduce unintended pregnancies. During his previous tenure in Congress, Hill voted to support the Sanchez and Meek amendments seeking to repeal the statutory prohibition on privately funded abortions in overseas military facilities.

Hill opposed human cloning for medical research and reproduction,⁶⁸ but does support embryonic stem cell research, stating, “By saying these embryos can’t be used for stem cell research, then you’re saying in-vitro fertilization should be banned because embryos are destroyed in that procedure, too. We ought to be allowing their use for medical research, because they will be otherwise discarded.”⁶⁹

On other social issues, Hill voted to ban gay adoptions in the District of Columbia; voted against the president’s Faith Based Initiative and voted against increased work requirement and marriage promotion for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Representative Tim Holden of Pennsylvania:

Holden, elected to represent the seventeenth district in

1992, has an antichoice voting record. He is opposed to human cloning, euthanasia and same-sex marriage (Federal Marriage Amendment). Holden voted in favor of the Abortion Non-Discrimination Act in 2002 and was a co-sponsor of the anti-contraception Pregnant Women Support Act. Holden is equally conservative on other issues. He voted to ban gay adoptions in the District of Columbia and to increase work requirements and promote marriage for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

In a break from his previous record, Holden voted in favor of the Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act in 2007—in contrast to 2005 when he voted against a similar measure—and voted against the Faith Based Initiative.

Congressman Holden endorsed the Catholic Statement of Principles in 2006.

Representative Paul Kanjorski of Pennsylvania:

Kanjorski, like his Pennsylvania colleagues Tim Holden and Mike Doyle, is antichoice. He has represented the eleventh congressional district since 1984. Kanjorski voted against allowing euthanasia and physician-assisted suicide and supports a ban on human cloning. Kanjorski is supportive of embryonic stem cell research, however, voting in favor of the Castle-DeGette legislation and its 2007 counterpart.

On other social issues, Kanjorski voted against increasing work requirements and promoting marriage for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families. On gay and lesbian issues, he voted against a ban on gay adoptions in the District of Columbia and against the Federal Marriage Amendment.

Representative Marcy Kaptur of Ohio:

Kaptur, a Catholic who has represented the ninth congressional district since 1982, has a mixed rating on choice—scoring 73 percent from the Planned Parenthood Federation of America—and is on the liberal side of the prolife caucus. NARAL Pro-Choice America rated her 100 percent in 2006. Kaptur has supported such prochoice initiatives as allowing military personnel to use their own funds to obtain abortion services in military hospitals overseas and supporting international family planning programs. Kaptur was a sponsor of the Lincoln Davis Pregnant Women Support Act as well as the Ryan-DeLauro Reducing the Need for Abortion and Supporting Parents Act.

Kaptur voted against a ban on euthanasia (Pain Relief Promotion Act) and against a ban on human cloning (Human Cloning Prohibition Act of 2003). She is not, however, a supporter of embryonic stem cell research having voted against both the Castle-DeGette legislation in 2005 and the 2007 Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act. On civil rights issues, Kaptur is a progressive. Kaptur opposed banning gay adoptions in the District of Columbia, voted against the controversial Faith Based Initiative and voted against increasing work requirements and promoting marriage for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Representative Dale Kildee of Michigan:

Kildee has represented the fifth congressional district since 1976. He is a reliable antichoice vote and opposed insurance coverage for contraceptives. Kildee has voted in favor of the Pain Relief Promotion Act, which banned assisted suicide and supports a ban on human cloning. He was a sponsor of the Davis Pregnant Women Support Act. On the issue of

embryonic stem cell research, Kildee voted in favor of Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act in 2007, despite opposing the Castle-DeGette legislation in 2005.

Despite his opposition to reproductive rights, Kildee has a strong progressive streak. He voted against the Federal Marriage Amendment and against a ban on gay adoptions in the District of Columbia. Kildee also sponsored a constitutional amendment that stated that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of gender.

Congressman Kildee endorsed the Catholic Statement of Principles in 2006.

Representative Jim Langevin of Rhode Island:

Langevin, a member of the Knights of Columbus, has represented the second congressional district since 2000. Langevin is a reliable vote for prolife legislation—even voting against an amendment which would have allowed military personnel and their dependents to use their own funds to obtain abortion services in overseas military hospitals. Despite this vote, Langevin was a cosponsor of the Compassionate Care for Servicewomen Act which would require emergency contraception to be available at all military health care treatment facilities. Langevin is a sponsor of the major prevention bills in the Congress, Prevention First and the Reducing the Need for Abortion and Supporting Parents Act.

Paralyzed since the age of sixteen, Langevin is a strong supporter of embryonic stem cell research and has consistently voted in support of this research while serving in Congress. Langevin is on the more progressive side of the prolife caucus. He voted against the Federal Marriage Amendment which

would ban gay marriage, sponsored a constitutional amendment that stated that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of gender and voted against increasing work requirements and promoting marriage for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Congressman Langevin endorsed the Catholic Statement of Principles in 2006.

Representative Daniel Lipinski of Illinois:

Lipinski was elected to represent the third congressional district in 2004. He is a reliable antichoice vote—voting against an amendment which would have allowed military personnel and their dependents to obtain an abortion in overseas military hospitals using their own funds.

Lipinski is an opponent of embryonic stem cell research having voted against it both in 2005 and in 2007, thus supporting the position of President George W. Bush. Lipinski voted to give federal courts jurisdiction in the Terri Schiavo dispute—siding with House conservatives in the controversial vote.⁷⁰ On the constitutional amendment to ban marriage—the Federal Marriage Amendment—Lipinski did not cast a vote. On other issues, he voted against a bill which would have cut \$40 billion from the federal budget over five years by imposing substantial changes on welfare, child support and student lending programs.⁷¹

Representative Stephen Lynch of Massachusetts:

Lynch was elected to represent the ninth district in a special election in 2001. Lynch is arguably the most conservative Democrat in the Massachusetts delegation and represents the heavily Catholic area of South Boston. He is a reliable vote for the prolife caucus—voting against an amendment which would

have allowed military personnel and their dependents to obtain an abortion in overseas military hospitals using their own funds. On issues of new technologies, Lynch has a mixed record—voting to support embryonic stem cell research in 2005 and 2007 while voting against human cloning through the implantation of a cloned egg.

On other issues, Lynch voted against the Federal Marriage Amendment and against increasing work requirements and promoting marriage for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families. On gender equity, Lynch sponsored a Constitutional amendment which stated that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of gender.

Congressman Lynch endorsed the Catholic Statement of Principles in 2006.

Representative Jim Marshall of Georgia:

Marshall, a Catholic, was elected to Congress from the third district in 2002. According to *National Journal*, Marshall is the second most conservative Democrat, behind Dan Boren of Oklahoma.⁷² In addition to opposing reproductive choice, Marshall has also opposed new medical technologies such as embryonic stem cell research—both in 2005 and 2007—and voted in favor of a ban on human cloning.

On other social issues, Marshall is equally as conservative. He voted in favor of the Federal Marriage Amendment to ban same-sex marriage and for a bill increasing work requirements and promoting marriage for those needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.⁷³ Congressman Marshall was a sponsor of the Pregnant Women Support Act in the 109th Congress.

Congressman Marshall endorsed the Catholic Statement of Principles in 2006.

Representative Mike McIntyre of North Carolina:

McIntyre has represented the seventh congressional district since being elected in 1996 and has established a solid antichoice voting record. He voted in favor of the Pain Relief Promotion Act outlawing euthanasia and physician-assisted suicide and voted against supporting embryonic stem cell research both in 2005 and again in 2007. On other issues, McIntyre voted to ban the adoption of children by gays and lesbians in the District of Columbia⁷⁴ and opposed same sex marriage.

On the more progressive end, McIntyre voted against increased work requirement and marriage promotion for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families. McIntyre was a cosponsor of the Pregnant Women Support Act in 2006 and is currently serving as a co-chair of the Faith and Values Task Force of the House Democratic Caucus.

Representative Charles Melancon of Louisiana:

Melancon was elected to Congress from the third district in 2004. He co-sponsored the Pregnant Women Support Act in 2006 stating in a press release, “We need to give women facing an unplanned pregnancy a helping hand so that they realize abortion is not their only option.” In keeping with this viewpoint, he voted against allowing military personnel and their dependents to use their own funds to obtain abortion services in overseas military hospitals.

In a break from the DFLA legislative agenda, Melancon is a supporter of embryonic stem cell research and voted in support this research in 2005 and again in 2007.

On most other issues, Melancon is a social conservative. According to an online profile, in his 2004 campaign Melancon stated that “he was pro-gun, anti-abortion and opposed to gay marriage.” However, while he reportedly opposed amending the Constitution to ban same-sex marriage,⁷⁵ he did vote in favor of the Federal Marriage Amendment in July of 2006. When asked by the *Lafayette Independent* what separated him from his 2006 opponent when it came to social issues, he answered, “I’ve got family values, and I’ve only been married once.”⁷⁶

Representative Mike Michaud of Maine:

Michaud was elected to Congress from the second congressional district in November of 2002. Michaud is rated as “mixed” on choice by the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, receiving a 60 percent score. On the Project Vote Smart 2006 Congressional National Political Awareness Test, Michaud states that he supports “reducing the number of abortions in the U.S. by investing in family planning and healthcare for women and families.” In 2007, Michaud sponsored legislation requiring emergency contraception to be available at all military health care treatment facilities.

Michaud is a supporter of embryonic stem cell research, voting for it in both 2005 and 2007. He does not however support human cloning for medical research and reproductive reasons. On other social issues, Michaud tends to be progressive. He voted against the Federal Marriage Amendment, and against increased work requirement and marriage promotion for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Congressman Michaud endorsed the Catholic Statement of Principles in 2006.

Representative Alan Mollohan of West Virginia:

Mollohan was elected to Congress from the first congressional district in 1982. Mollohan has a strong antichoice voting record, including a vote to pass the Abortion Non-Discrimination Act in 2002 and a vote in favor of President Bush’s restrictions on funding to family planning groups that provide abortion services and counseling.⁷⁷ Mollohan voted to ban euthanasia and physician-assisted suicide (the Pain Relief Promotion Act), against furthering embryonic stem cell research in 2005 and again in 2007, to ban human cloning for medical research and reproduction, and against mandating insurance coverage for contraceptives.


On other social issues, Mollohan proves to be more progressive. He voted against a ban on gay adoption in the District of Columbia, against the Federal Marriage Amendment to ban same-sex marriage and against increased work requirement and marriage promotion for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Representative John Murtha of Pennsylvania:

Murtha, a Catholic, has represented the twelfth district of his home state since 1974 and is chairman of House Appropriations Defense Subcommittee. A strong opponent of abortion, Murtha has voted to curb access to contraceptives and family planning assistance both in the United States and abroad. Murtha voted in favor of the Pain Relief Promotion Act, banning euthanasia and in favor of a ban on human cloning for medical research and reproduction. Murtha was a 2006 co-sponsor of the Pregnant Women Support Act.

Murtha voted in favor of the Castle-DeGette embryonic stem cell bill and the Stem Cell Research





Enhancement Act of 2007 and against a 1999 ban on gay adoption in the District of Columbia. Murtha also voted against the president's Faith Based Initiative and voted against increased work requirement and marriage promotion for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Representative James Oberstar of Minnesota:

Oberstar is one of the strongest opponents of reproductive choice and health in Congress. Elected to represent the eighth district in November 1974, this Catholic legislator has a long record of antichoice votes, as well as more recent votes against embryonic stem cell research in 2005 and 2007. Oberstar co-sponsored the 2006 Pregnant Women Support Act.

On other issues, Oberstar voted against the Federal Marriage Amendment, which would have banned same-sex marriage and sponsored a constitutional amendment that stated that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of gender.⁷⁸ Oberstar also voted against a ban on gay adoption in the District of Columbia. On issues of poverty and welfare, Oberstar voted against the president's Faith Based Initiative and voted against increased work requirement and marriage promotion for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Congressman Oberstar endorsed the Catholic Statement of Principles in 2006.

Representative Solomon Ortiz of Texas:

Ortiz has represented the twenty-seventh district since 1982 and has earned a firm antichoice record, including a vote in favor of the Abortion Non-Discrimination Act of 2002. Ortiz voted in favor of the Pain Relief Promotion Act banning euthanasia and


voted to ban same-sex marriage by voting in support of the Federal Marriage Amendment. He also voted to ban gay adoptions in the District of Columbia. Ortiz is a supporter of embryonic stem cell research voting in favor of the Castle-DeGette legislation in 2005 and the Stem Cell Research Act of 2007.

On issues of welfare and poverty, Ortiz voted against the president's Faith Based Initiative and against increased work requirement and marriage promotion for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families. On gender equity, Ortiz sponsored a constitutional amendment that stated that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of gender.

Representative Colin Peterson of Minnesota:

Elected from the seventh district in 1990, Peterson is solidly antichoice. Peterson was a co-sponsor of the Pregnant Women Support Act, which takes an anti-contraception approach to reducing unintended pregnancies. Peterson's opposition to contraception and other methods of family planning is consistent throughout his congressional record. The congressman is also opposed to embryonic stem cell research having voted against the Castle-DeGette embryonic stem cell research bill in 2005 and the Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act of 2007.

On other social issues, Peterson tends to toe the conservative line. He voted in favor of the Federal Marriage Amendment banning same-sex marriage and voted to ban gay adoptions in the District of Columbia. In April 1994 breaking away from his "prolife" stance, the congressman voted against replacing the death penalty with life imprisonment.⁷⁹ One of the congressman's few liberal positions was




his support for a constitutional amendment that stated that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of gender.⁸⁰

Representative Nick Rahall of West Virginia:


Rahall was elected to represent the third district in 1976. Rahall's antichoice voting record includes voting in favor of the Abortion Non-Discrimination Act of 2002⁸¹ and opposing insurance coverage for contraceptives. Rahall has voted in favor of a ban on euthanasia by supporting the Pain Relief Promotion Act, and voted against embryonic stem cell research in 2005 and 2007.

On other social issues, Rahall voted against barring gay adoptions in the District of Columbia and was the sponsor of a constitutional amendment that stated that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of gender.⁸² Rahall is an opponent of the death penalty, recording a vote in 1994 to replace the death penalty with life imprisonment.⁸³ On issues of poverty and welfare, Rahall voted against the president's Faith Based Initiative and against increased work requirement and marriage promotion for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Representative Mike Ross of Arkansas:



Ross was elected from the fourth district in 2000 and is a member of the conservative Blue Dog Coalition. Ross is solidly antichoice but in a break from DFLA ideology, Ross is a supporter of embryonic stem cell research, voting in favor of legislation in both 2005 and 2007. He is opposed to human cloning. On non-reproductive health issues, Ross voted in favor of banning same-sex marriage, against the president's



Faith Based Initiative and against increased work requirement and marriage promotion for those individuals needing Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Representative Tim Ryan of Ohio:

Ryan was elected from the seventeenth district in 2002. A Catholic, Ryan took the lead on writing and negotiating the Reducing the Need for Abortion and Supporting Parents Act, which he introduced with prochoice Congresswoman Rosa DeLauro of Connecticut. While Congressman Ryan self-identifies as prolife, he is a strong supporter of the need for and use of contraceptives to reduce unintended pregnancies. In addition to introducing his own legislation with Congresswoman DeLauro, Ryan is a co-sponsor of the Prevention First Act.

Ryan is a supporter of embryonic stem cell research having voted in favor both in 2005 and 2007. He does however support a ban on human cloning. On issues not related to choice, Ryan tends to be progressive, voting against raising work requirement for individuals on Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.⁸⁴ Ryan also voted against the Federal Marriage Amendment.

Congressman Ryan endorsed the Catholic Statement of Principles in 2006.

Representative Heath Shuler, North Carolina*:

Shuler, a conservative Democrat and former NFL quarterback, was once recruited by the Republican Party to run for elected office in Tennessee and now represents the eleventh district in North Carolina. Shuler states his antichoice philosophy on his campaign Web site as, "I am a pro-life Democrat and I believe that all life is sacred. I also believe that a commitment to life extends beyond the womb and means ensuring that all

people have adequate health care, receive a strong education, and be given proper care in their later years.”⁸⁵ Shuler would allow abortion in cases of rape, incest and when the life of the woman is at risk.⁸⁶ Although Shuler stated his support for embryonic stem cell research during the campaign (only if the embryos were to be discarded), he voted against the Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act once in office.⁸⁷ A day prior to that vote, Shuler voted against the Human Cloning Prohibition Act and is opposed to same sex marriage.⁸⁸

Representative Ike Skelton of Missouri:

Skelton has represented the fourth district since 1977. A hard-liner on reproductive choice, Skelton is a reliable vote against not only abortion but all aspects of family planning—including insurance coverage for contraception for federal health plans. Skelton did, however, break from DFLA and vote for embryonic stem cell legislation in 2005 and 2007. Skelton is also an opponent of euthanasia and human cloning.

Skelton voted in favor of a constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage⁸⁹ and for the controversial Faith Based Initiative⁹⁰ but opposed raising work requirements for individuals on Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

Representative Bart Stupak of Michigan:

Stupak was elected in 1992 to represent the first district. Stupak, a Catholic, is on the conservative end of the DFLA membership and has a well established antichoice voting record which includes voting against federal insurance coverage for contraceptives. In the 110th Congress, Stupak became a cosponsor of the Ryan-DeLauro “Reducing the Need for Abortion and Supporting Parents Act.” The congressman is also an

opponent of embryonic stem cell legislation, calling this research “unethical and unnecessary.”⁹¹

On issues beyond abortion and stem cell research, Stupak is more liberal. He voted against the Federal Marriage Amendment in 2006 and against banning gay adoptions in the District of Columbia.

Congressman Stupak endorsed the Catholic Statement of Principles in 2006.

Representative Gene Taylor of Mississippi:

Taylor, a Catholic elected to Congress from the fourth district in 1989, is staunchly antichoice—including voting against federal insurance coverage for contraceptives. Taylor is an opponent of the practice of euthanasia, embryonic stem cell research and human cloning for medical research and reproduction.

Taylor’s record in the Congress is one of strong support for the conservative position across the board. He voted to ban gay adoptions in the District of Columbia, in favor of a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage and was a co-sponsor of the Pregnant Women Support Act

Congressman Taylor endorsed the Catholic Statement of Principles in 2006.

Representative Charlie Wilson Jr., Ohio*:

Wilson, a Catholic who represents the sixth district after serving in the Ohio Senate, replaced prochoice Congressman Ted Strickland, who was elected governor of Ohio. He is among the more conservative members of the freshman class, having garnered the endorsement of Ohio Right to Life in 1998, 2000, 2004 and 2006. Wilson supported an amendment to the Ohio Constitution banning gay marriage.

While in the state legislature, Wilson voted to prohibit the state from investing in any stem cell research that resulted in the destruction of human embryos.⁹² This opposition to embryonic stem cell research continued in the Congress with his vote against the Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act of 2007. Prior to voting against this act, Wilson cast a vote against the Human Cloning Prohibition Act which would ban human cloning.

Senator Bob Casey, Pennsylvania:

Casey, who was the Democratic challenger to incumbent Senator Rick Santorum, won what was without a doubt one of the marquee races of the 2006 election cycle. While both Casey and Santorum are antichoice Catholics, there were major differences between the two candidates. Casey, unlike Santorum, favors the availability and use of contraception to reduce unintended pregnancies, specifically supporting the availability of emergency contraception. He said, on NBC's "Meet the Press," "I think what emergency contraception is, according to the science, is, is basically that. It is contraception, and I support it."⁹³

Casey also stated in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia survey of state treasurer candidates in 2004 that he supports state funding for contraceptives as well as requiring employers or health insurance plans to cover contraceptives. Casey also supports same-sex unions.⁹⁴

Senator Ben Nelson of Nebraska:

Nelson has a long history with DFLA. Beating the GOP tide in Nebraska in the 2000 election, Nelson has been one of the most conservative voices in the recent history of the Democratic Party. Nelson voted against an amendment offered by Senator Hillary Clinton to expand access to preventive health care

services that would reduce unintended pregnancy (including teen pregnancy) and therefore the number of abortions as well as improve access to women's health care.⁹⁵

Senator Nelson strongly opposes embryonic stem cell research,⁹⁶ and was quoted in the *Washington Times* in April 2002 stating that he thinks "embryonic cloning of human beings is wrong for any reason."⁹⁷ Nelson also voted in favor of the Federal Marriage Amendment, one of only two Democrats in the Senate to do so.⁹⁸ Senator Nelson also has been a strong supporter of President Bush—voting to confirm both John Roberts and Samuel Alito to the Supreme Court.

Senator Mark Pryor of Arkansas:

Pryor was elected to the Senate in November 2002 and has a mixed record on choice. While he scored 75 percent from NARAL Prochoice America in 2005, his 2006 rating dropped to 45 percent. DFLA gave him a 100 percent rating for the period of 2003–2004.

On choice, Pryor voted for the federal abortion ban and for a criminal penalty for harming a fetus during another crime. On the 2002 Congressional National Political Awareness Test sponsored by Project Vote Smart, Pryor indicated that abortion should be legal when the pregnancy is caused by incest or rape and when the life of the woman is endangered.

While saying that he "recognize[s] the concerns some individuals have over the ethical implications of stem cell research" Pryor ultimately voted for Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act, but also said that he would "prohibit the procedure of cloning human embryos."⁹⁹ Pryor has voiced his full support for the federal Defense of Marriage Act and endorsed a gay marriage ban in Arkansas.¹⁰⁰



Senator Harry Reid of Nevada:

Reid, the Senate Majority Leader, was first elected to the Senate in 1986. While Reid, a Mormon, identifies as being prolife, he is a solid supporter of contraception and is a chief sponsor of the Prevention First Act. In 2005, NARAL Prochoice America gave the senator a ranking of 100 percent, although that rating dropped to 65 percent in 2006.

Reid is in favor of embryonic stem cell research and sponsored the Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act in 2007. While Reid believes that marriage should only be between a man and a woman and voted for the Defense of Marriage Act in 1996, he voted against a constitutional ban on same-sex marriage 10 years later and has been a supporter of adding the category of sexual orientation into the hate crimes statute.

Governor Kathleen Babineaux Blanco of Louisiana:

Elected in 2004, Blanco, a Catholic, became the first woman elected governor of her state. On June 17, 2006, Blanco proudly signed legislation that would prohibit abortion in her state except when necessary to save the life of the woman. The measure would take effect automatically if the U.S. Supreme Court overturns *Roe v. Wade*. Upon signing the bill, Blanco said that despite the fact that the ban does not include special protections for rape and incest, “the central provision of the bill supports and reflects my personal beliefs.”¹⁰¹ Blanco also has expressed her opposition to same-sex marriage, stating in 2004 that she believed that marriage is “a sacrament between a man and a woman” and said that she would vote for the same-sex marriage ban.¹⁰²

In early 2007, Blanco announced that she would not stand for reelection and has continuously suffered from perilously low approval ratings stemming from

the local, state and federal government’s handling of Hurricane Katrina.

Governor Tim Kaine of Virginia:

Elected in 2005, Kaine regularly invoked his Catholic faith when telling voters on the campaign trail why he entered public life. He also stated that while he opposed abortion and the death penalty, he is defined by more than his faith alone.¹⁰³

When running for governor of Virginia, Kaine stated on his Web site that he “will reduce abortion in Virginia by enforcing current Virginia restrictions, passing an enforceable ban on partial-birth abortion, ensuring women’s access to health care (including legal contraception), and promoting abstinence-focused education and adoption.”¹⁰⁴

On gay marriage, Kaine supports marriage between one man and one woman, but is against a gay marriage amendment. “His concern with the proposed constitutional amendment is that it goes further and could infringe on individuals’ rights to contract with one another,” said a spokesperson.¹⁰⁵

Governor Joe Manchin of West Virginia:

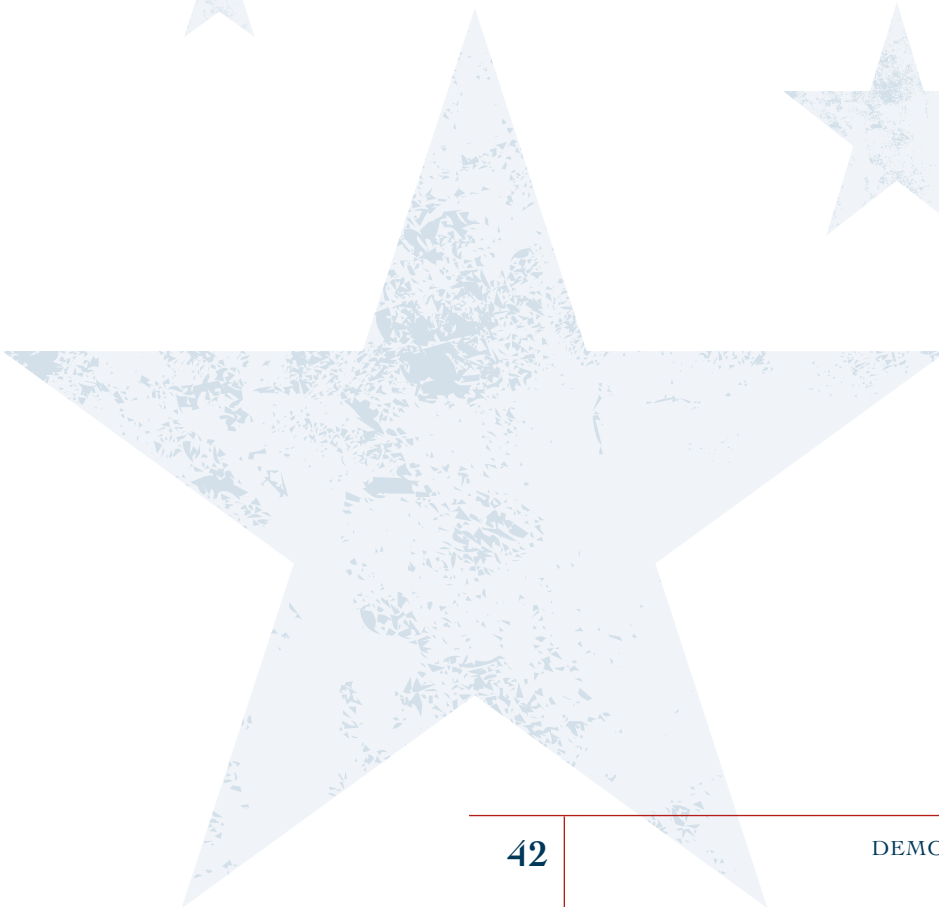
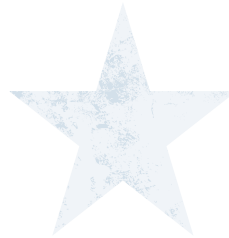
Manchin, who was elected West Virginia’s first Catholic governor in 2004, is antichoice and has used his office to further the antichoice cause. In 2005, Manchin angered Democrats in his home state by speaking at a fundraiser for West Virginians for Life, even though the state Democratic Party platform supports a women’s right to choose.¹⁰⁶

Governor Bill Ritter, Colorado:

Ritter, a former two-term Denver District Attorney, won an open-seat race in 2006 to replace antichoice Republican Governor Bill Owens. Ritter, a Catholic, has publicly stated that he is “prolife as a matter of

personal faith.” In a 2005 interview with ColoradoPols.com, Ritter said, “If *Roe v. Wade* is overturned, and the decision of whether or not to legalize abortions reverts to the states, and if the Colorado Legislature passes a bill banning abortion, I will sign the bill only if it provides protections for women who are victims of rape or incest, or to protect the life of the mother.” Ritter continued, “However, should the Colorado Legislature pass a complete ban without these protections, I would veto that bill. That said, *Roe v. Wade* is the law of the land and abortions are legal. As Governor I will act in the same way I did as DA. I will respect the law as it stands, and I will not act to undermine the right of a woman to choose to have an abortion.”¹⁰⁷

On other issues related to reproductive health, Ritter has stated that while he would support legislation calling for hospitals to inform sexual assault survivors about emergency contraception, the legislation must include an exemption for religious hospitals.¹⁰⁸ Ritter is a supporter of embryonic stem cell research, saying that believes that “it is appropriate and in the public interest to use embryos that otherwise would have been discarded for stem cell research that may lead to cures for serious and debilitating diseases.”¹⁰⁹



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