

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN®

THE REAL DELAGE ALIFETIME OF ATTACKS ON THE LGBTQ COMMUNITY

THE MOST POWERFUL AND LEAST SCRUTINIZED VICE PRESIDENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY



RIGHTS

CAMPAIGN

CONTENTS

- INTRODUCTION 3
- ATTACK ON MARRIAGE EQUALITY 4
- 6 ATTACK ON LGBTO AMERICANS IN THE WORKPLACE
- PUSHING FOR A "LICENSE 6 TO DISCRIMINATE"
- ATTACK ON LGBTO HEALTHCARE 10
- 12 ATTACK ON PLANNED PARENTHOOD AND LGBTQ HEALTH
- **BLOCKING HATE CRIMES LEGISLATION** 13
- ATTACK ON LGBTQ TROOPS 14
- 15 CONCLUSION
- PENCE'S INNER CIRCLE 16
- 18 PENCE ON THE ISSUES





n March 4th, 1841, in the early afternoon, William Henry Harrison was sworn-in as the 9th President of the United States. On March 26th, Harrison became ill with a cold. On April 4th, at 12:30 am, less than 31 days after taking office, he died.¹

John Tyler succeeded him on the basis of Sec. 1, Article II of the U.S. Constitution. A national debate, often heated, broke out over Tyler's legitimacy as head of state, and it wasn't until the Senate's vote to affirm him as the 10th President of the United States - rather than a mere "acting president" — that Tyler was permitted to go about the work of the country.²

Since that pivotal moment, eight more vice presidents have been sworn-in to the nation's highest elected office following the death or resignation of their predecessor³, and three laws — with numerous amendments — have been passed by Congress defining the protocol for ensuring the powers of the presidency are not hampered by issues of continuity.⁴⁵ And every four years, the phrase "a heartbeat away from the presidency" is trotted out by pundits to underline the importance of dissecting vice presidential nominees.

And yet, no vice president in history has wielded more influence, with less scrutiny, than Mike Pence. While Donald Trump's scandals and erratic tweets dominate the airwaves, Pence has operated largely out of public view, stacking the administration with members of his inner circle, pushing his long-standing legislative priorities, and

- The 25th Amendment: Succession of the Presidency, The National Archives, (February 10, 2017)
- Presidential Succession Act, United States Senate, (July 18,1947)
- Picking a Partner, The Wall Street Journal, (July 15, 2016)

THE REAL MIKE PENCE

currying favor with donors and candidates across the country. He has even become the first vice president in history to have his own Super PAC. And yet, many Americans do not know anything about Mike Pence or his record.

Pence serves in an administration that has spent its first year in office bending the rules, defying the Constitution, and upending the norms that protect the system of accountability for our elected officials. The Trump administration has changed the game, so to speak. The vice presidency has also changed. The experience-bereft nature of Trump on everything from budgetary analysis to foreign policy has inflated the stature and influence of his second in command⁶. It was on a golf course in July before the election that Trump made a chilling pitch to Pence as reported in The Atlantic:

"Coming into the game, Trump had formed an opinion of the Indiana governor as prudish, stiff, and embarrassingly poor, according to one longtime associate. Pence, meanwhile, had spent the primaries privately shaking his head at Trump's campaign-trail antics, and had endorsed Senator Ted Cruz for the nomination. But as the two men played golf, Pence asked what his job description would be if they wound up in the White House together. Trump gave him the same answer he'd been dangling in front of other prospective running mates for weeks: He wanted "the most consequential vice president ever."

How William Henry Harrison Invented the Inaugural Parade, The Washington Post, (January 18, 2017)

John Tyler's stormy start to a mostly forgotten presidency, Constitution Daily, National Constitution Center, (October 1, 014)

A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774 - 1875, The Library of Congress, (March 1, 1792)



Pence was sold.⁷ Some have sought to peg Pence as a "sane" voice in an otherwise chaotic administration, but those closest to him - including the president - know his extremism is a defining element of his character.

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN® In a meeting with a legal scholar, as the conversation turned to gay rights, Trump pointed to Pence and said "Don't ask that guy - he wants to hang them all!"8

Pence wields inordinate power in this administration, stealthily influencing policy decisions, stacking the administration with his own loyalists, and pushing his extremist ideology. Meanwhile, he has laid the groundwork for a presidential run, as his aides have said that he "wants to be ready" to run for president in 2020.9

This ambition is not new for Pence. In an op-ed for the New York Times, Stephen Rodrick notes that political strategists in Indiana thought Pence was interested in being governor mainly to check off executive experience on his presidential candidate resume.¹⁰

Even if checking off boxes on his resume, in each office Pence has held, his extreme positions seeking to undermine the rights and freedoms of LGBTQ people, women and others has been a defining element of his agenda.

During his 12 years in Congress, Pence introduced 90 bills and other pieces of legislation, but none became law.¹¹ His real focus was on impeding progress - on everything from marriage equality to open service of LGBTQ people in the military to funding for Planned Parenthood.

As governor, Pence was aggressively destructive in his policies. He forced through legislation to discriminate against LGBTQ people, restricted needle exchanges that would help combat the state's HIV crisis, and sought to prevent legalized same-sex marriages from being finalized in Indiana. Due in part to this, Pence was on the path towards losing his re-election bid, and now his successor is working to mitigate the damage he left behind.

Today, as vice president, Pence has been fully complicit in the distractions and lies of the Trump administration, while carrying water on legislation that would have taken health

care coverage from millions of people, lobbying Congress to pass an irresponsible tax bill, and working behind the scenes to ban transgender members of the military from serving their country.

This report, which details Mike Pence's long track record of attacks on the LGBTQ community and others, aims to begin placing a greater spotlight on Mike Pence's extreme agenda. The American public deserves to understand the motivations and ideology of a vice president that is largely unknown, but inordinately powerful within a tumultuous White House.

POLITICO

How Pence's slow walk on needle exchange helped propel Indiana's health crisis The GOP vice presi a crisis.

In word and deed, Pence has attacked LGBTQ people, women, immigrants, refugees, workers, and voters. He has attacked science, health, transparency, education, justice, and public safety. Pence as vice president is already dangerously advancing his outdated agenda. But now he continues to do all of this - just a heartbeat away from the presidency.

ATTACK ON MARRIAGE EQUALITY

In 2003, before the Supreme Court's decision in Lawrence v. Texas, which legalized private, consensual, adult sexual activity and laid the groundwork for marriage equality rulings that came a decade later, Pence - then a member of Congress representing Indiana's 6th District – was working to build momentum around legislation in the House of Representatives to ban marriage equality through a constitutional amendment.¹²

As more states began to legalize marriage equality, Pence dialed up his efforts, calling the issue a "looming constitu-

- The Radical Crusade of Mike Pence, Rolling Stone, (January 23, 2018)
- 8 The Danger of President Pence, The New Yorker, (October 23, 2017)

7

- 9 Republican Shadow Campaign for 2020 Takes Shape as Trump Doubts Grow, The New York Times, (August 5, 2017)
- 10 Rodrick, Stephen. "Do We Really Want Mike Pence to Be President?," The New York Times, (May 26, 2017)
- 11 Mike Pence, Ambitious Outsider, Gets the G.O.P. to Come Around, The New York Times (July 16, 2016)
- 12 Foes of Gay Marriage Find New Momentum, Los Angeles Times, (August 1, 2003)



HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN®

tional crisis" and asserting that his legislation was the only effective way to stop marriage equality.¹³ While in Congress, Pence co-sponsored the Marriage Protection Amendment, which failed in both the House and Senate in 2004 and 2006. That proposed Constitutional Amendment would have imposed a federal ban on marriage in every state. He also co-sponsored and championed the radical and unprecedented Marriage Protection Act - legislation to deny Federal Courts the jurisdiction to decide on guestions involving same-sex marriage - which passed in the House in 2004 and died in the Senate.

"[T]rue conservatives believe in conserving, protecting, and defending the foundational institutions of our society and of western civilization. True conservatives believe, as I do, that marriage was ordained by God, established by law, that it's the glue of the American family and the safest harbor to raise children. And true conservatives also know that the only effective response to judicial activism at the state and federal level is a constitutional amendment that defines marriage as the union between a man and a woman."

- Mike Pence, from the House floor, July 13. 2004¹⁴

MBC NEWS

Trump Reportedly Jokes About Mike Pence Wanting to 'Hang' Gays

By John Paul Brammer / Oct. 17, 2017

- 13 108th Congress, 2nd Session, Issue: Vol. 150, No. 103, H6587
- 108th Congress, 2nd Session, Issue: Vol. 150, No. 96, H5543 14
- 15 Baskin v. Bogan, 12 F. Supp. 3d 1144 (S.D. Ind. 2014), aff'd, 766 F.3d 648 (7th Cir. 2014).
- 16 (July 7. 2014)
- 17 Bowling v. Pence, 39 F. Supp. 3d 1025 (S.D. Ind. 2014).
- 18
- 19 576 U.S. ____ (2015)
- 20 Gov. Mike Pence 'disappointed' in marriage equality ruling, Indianapolis Star, (June 26, 2015)

THE REAL MIKE PENCE



Ten years later, as Governor of Indiana, Pence still had not given up his crusade to ban marriage equality at just about any cost. In 2014, U.S. District Court Judge Richard L. Young, ruling on Baskin v. Bogan, struck down an Indiana law prohibiting state recognition of same-sex marriages from other jurisdictions.¹⁵ Following the ruling, Pence's General Counsel wrote a memo to executive branch offices that said the state's ban on same-sex marriage was "in full force and effect."16

In a separate case — *Bowling v. Pence* — Judge Young again ruled that Indiana had to recognize same-sex marriages performed in other states.¹⁷ Young had thrown out an earlier case in which Pence was named as a defendant because evidence suggested that the governor did not have authority to enforce the law. However, after the Pence administration issued the memo directing agencies not to comply with the decision in Baskin, the judge reversed his decision, stating "[T]he court, after witnessing the Governor do what he claimed he could not do, reverses course and finds him to be a proper party to such lawsuits. The court wishes to reiterate that it finds the Governor's prior representations contradicting such authority to be, at a minimum, troubling."18

Less than a year later, the Supreme Court ruled in Obergefell v. Hodges that state bans on marriage equality are unconstitutional.¹⁹ Reacting to the decision, Pence said, "I believe marriage is the union between one man and one woman, and I am disappointed that the Supreme Court failed to recognize the historic role of the states in setting marriage policy in this country."²⁰ The statement by Pence flew in the face of his decade-long effort to amend the Constitution and override the voice of the states to decide their own destiny.

Ahearn, Mark G.. "Status of Same Sex Marriages According to Indiana Law and Pursuant to Court Order." Message to: All Executive Branch Agencies.

Latest ruling overturning same-sex marriage ban makes Indiana governor a party to suit, USA Today, (August 19, 2014)



HUMAN

RIGHTS

CAMPAIGN

ATTACKS ON LGBTQ AMERICANS IN THE WORKPLACE

While in the House of Representatives, Pence voted against the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA), which would have prohibited workplace discrimination based on sexual orientation.²¹ Even in 2007, ENDA was widely supported by the American public with 6 in 10 supporting it (Hart Research poll, January-February 2007), including majorities of white (58%), African-American (61%), and Latino (56%) voters, as well as self-described Democrats (70%), independents (55%), and Republican women (52%), as well as by major corporations.^{22 23}

In November 2007, ahead of the vote, Pence expressed his opposition to the bill from the House floor. He asserted that prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation would "wage war on the free exercise of religion in the workplace." He went so far as to falsely claim that if ENDA was law, an LGBTQ employee could sue because another employee kept a Bible on their desk.²⁴

ENDA passed the House by a vote of 235 to 184, with the support of 35 Republicans including current House Speaker Paul Ryan (R-WI). The bill was not voted on by the Senate.

"Under ENDA, employees around the country who possess religious beliefs that are opposed to homosexual behavior would be forced, in effect, to lay down their rights and convictions at the door. For example, if an employee keeps a Bible in his or her cubicle, if an employee displays a Bible verse on their desk, that employee could be claimed by a homosexual colleague to be creating a hostile work environment because the homosexual employee objects to passages in the Bible relating to homosexuality."

- Mike Pence, from the House floor, November 2007²⁵



Years later as governor of Indiana, Pence opposed efforts to amend the state law to include sexual orientation and gender identity. Even amidst public out cry over his decision to sign legislation that could have permitted widespread discrimination against LGBTQ people, he remained steadfast in his opposition to basic non-discrimination protections²⁶ which at that time had been adopted by 17 states and the District of Columbia.27

PUSHING FOR A "LICENSE TO DISCRIMINATE"

INDIANA

Less than one year after a federal court had declared Indiana's ban on same-sex marriages to be unconstitutional, Pence signed a bill that could have given businesses, organizations, and individuals a license to discriminate against LGBTQ people. When signing this dangerous law in a private ceremony, Pence was surrounded by conservative extremists - including Micah Clark of the American Family Association of Indiana, Curt Smith of the Indiana Family Institute, and Eric Miller of Advance America — who had pushed to ban marriage equality in the state, supported conversion therapy and claimed clergy could be arrested for preaching against homosexuality.²⁸ The law could have allowed discrimination



HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN®

against LGBTQ people in employment, housing, education, and health care in addition to access to services - virtually anywhere in the public square.

Pence repeatedly evaded questions on his anti-LGBTQ intentions for the bill and continuously refused to add sexual orientation to the list of protected characteristics. Over several uncomfortable minutes in an interview with George Stephanopoulos of ABC This Week, Pence repeatedly refused to answer direct questions on whether or not the bill he signed into law would permit discrimination against LGBTQ people. Asked specifically whether a fix to the legislation would be "simply adding sexual orientation as a protected class under the state's civil rights laws," Pence responded, "I will not push for that. That's a - that's not on my agenda and that's not been the - that's not been an objective of the people of the state of Indiana. And it doesn't have anything to do with this law."29

Outcry followed. Businesses, organizations, professional sports leagues, and others criticized the law as discriminatory, and a nationwide boycott of doing business with Indiana gathered strong support. In just two months, Pence's approval rating plummeted, with barely 34 percent of Hoosiers favorable of his job performance.³⁰

However, the amendment only guaranteed non-discrimination protections in the handful of municipalities where non-discrimination protections already existed.³¹



- 29 "This Week," ABC, (March 29, 2015)
- 30 Post-RFRA poll loaded with bad news for Gov. Mike Pence, IndyStar, (June 17,2015)
- 31
- 32
- 33
- 34
- 35 Official: RFRA cost Indy up to 12 conventions and \$60M, Indianapolis Star, (January 26, 2016)

- 21 H.R. 3685 (2007)
- 22 See table 5 https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/POP-natl-trends-nov-2014.pdf
- 23 See Business Coalition for Workplace Fairness, Members; Human Rights Campaign (2007)
- 24 110th Congress, 1st Session, Issue: Vol. 153, No. 172, H13233
- 25 110th Congress, 1st Session, Issue: Vol. 153, No. 172, H13233
- Mike Pence: 'Was I expecting this kind of backlash? Heavens no.', CNN, (March 31, 2015) 26
- 27 cite to HRC 2015 State Equality Index.
- 28 The Radical Crusade of Mike Pence, Rolling Stonge, (January 23, 2018)

THE REAL MIKE PENCE

Pence's administration paid Porter Novelli, a public relations firm, \$365,000 for damage control following the fallout over the law, and then, when the arrangement came to light, abruptly canceled the state's contract with the firm, while keeping many of the details of that effort secret from the public. The Indianapolis Star requested records regarding the firm's work. In response, the state produced only "heavily redacted documents [that] reveal little about what the state received in exchange for the \$365,000 it paid the firm - or why Pence ended the contract prematurely."32

Meanwhile, Pence continued to refuse to support LGBTQ non-discrimination protections for Indiana.³³ After a year of "studying" the issue, he came out against an effort to add-in these protections. He said, "I will not support any bill that diminishes the religious freedom of Hoosiers or interferes with the constitutional rights of our citizens to live out their beliefs in worship, service or work."34

Senate Bill 101 made Indiana toxic for business, costing the state more than \$60 million.³⁵

THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR



RFRA revision does not widely extend discrimination protections for LGBT, experts say, Indianapolis Star, (April 6, 2015)

What did Gov. Mike Pence get from RFRA PR contract? Blacked-out pages make it hard to tell, Indianapolis Star, (March 2, 2016)

Gay rights a no-show on Pence's '16 agenda Emphasis placed on jobs, roads, schools, health care, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette, (January 5, 2016) Pence backing religious freedom in LGBT rights debate, Associated Press, (January 13, 2016)

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN



REPUBLICANS AND BUSINESSES SPEAK OUT AGAINST PENCE'S "LICENSE TO DISCRIMINATE" BILL

"Today we are canceling all programs that require our customers/employees to travel to Indiana to face discrimination."

- Marc Benioff, CEO of Salesforce³⁶

"We are putting the 'Ford Building Project' on hold until we fully understand the implications of the freedom restoration act on our employees, both current and future. Angle's List is open to all and discriminates against none and we are hugely disappointed in what this bill represents."

- Bill Oesterie, CEO of Angie's List³⁷

"NASCAR is deeply disappointed by the legislation in Indiana. We will not embrace or participate in exclusion or intolerance. We are committed to diversity and inclusion within our sport and therefore will continue to welcome all competitors and fans at our events in the state of Indiana and anywhere else we race."

- Brett Jewkes, Senior Vice President and Senior Communications Officer of NASCAR³⁸

"I had hoped the State house wouldn't move in this direction on RFRA, but it seems as if the bill was a fait accompli from the beginning. I don't believe this legislation truly represents our state or our capital city. Indianapolis strives to be a welcoming place that attracts businesses, conventions, visitors and residents. We are a diverse city, and I want everyone who visits and lives in Indy to feel comfortable here. RFRA sends the wrong signal."

- Greg Ballard, Republican mayor of Indianapolis³⁹

"I guess the one thing I will say is a lot of people are heartsick about this. For those of us who feel like we spent years building up a great business climate and reputation for the state, you hate to see anything damage it in the way, at least for the moment. it has."

- Mitch Daniels, former Republican governor of Indiana⁴⁰



NATIONWIDE

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN®

Shortly after taking office as vice president, it became clear that the anti-LGBTQ work done by Mike Pence in Indiana was a trial run for an attempt to inflict a license to discriminate on LGBTQ people throughout the United States.

In early February of 2017, media reports emerged about a leaked executive order being prepared by Donald Trump's White House that confirmed those fears. In direct contradiction of claims made in the past by Donald Trump that he would fight for the LGBTQ community⁴¹, the leaked order would have explicitly allowed an unprecedented expansion of taxpayer-funded discrimination with broad implications on LGBTQ people.⁴² Based on the leaked order LGBTQ people would have been at risk in the following:

- An LBT woman suffering from intimate partner violence could be refused screening and counseling for domestic violence if a provider holds religious objections to same-sex relationships;
- Transgender women could be turned away when seeking preventative care - including cancer screenings and mammograms;
- A Social Security administration employee could refuse to accept or process spousal or survivor benefits paperwork for a surviving same-sex spouse;
- · A federal contractor could launch a cyber-bullying campaign against an LGBTQ organization for advocating on behalf of transgender people without losing the contract;
- Agencies receiving federal funding, and even their individual staff members, could refuse to provide services to LGBTQ children in crisis, or to place adoptive or foster children with a same-sex couple simply because of their sexual orientation.

At the time, Politico reported Pence was behind the order, writing: "Liberals blasted the draft order as government-licensed discrimination, and the White House distanced itself from the leaked document in a public statement. Pence and a small team of conservative allies quickly began working

Gov. Mike Pence signs 'religious freedom' bill in private, Indianapolis Star, (April 2, 2015)

36

THE REAL MIKE PENCE

behind the scenes to revise the language, and in recent weeks have ratcheted up the pressure on Trump to sign it."43

In May, Trump issued a dramatically-revised executive order that on its face did not appear to affect the LGBTQ community. However, the Pence and the team working on making the leaked executive order look innocuous to the American public appeared to have stumbled upon an effective ruse punt the implementation of the leaked executive order wish list to the attorney general. Buried in Executive Order 13798, a provision instructed Attorney General Jeff Sessions to

POLITICO

Indiana poll: Pence's ratings drop after 'religious freedom' law

By KYLE CHENEY and STEVEN SHEPARD | 04/16/2015 01:02 PM EDT | Updated 04/16/2015

provide direction to all agencies on "interpreting religious liberty protections in federal law". This direction allows for a fulfillment of the original vision that is less likely to receive the same media scrutiny as the original since it will almost certainly happen in a piecemeal fashion. Reflecting on the signed order, Pence said, "I had the great privilege to stand beside President Trump as he signed an executive order to help strengthen and restore that most fundamental right from the First Amendment of the Constitution, the freedom of religion."44

In October, Sessions complied with the executive order by issuing a memo directing all federal agencies to implement it in an extremely broad manner. Yet, when testifying before the U.S. Senate, shortly thereafter, Sessions appeared tongue-tied when asked basic questions about how the sweeping, new license to discriminate directive would work in practice.⁴⁵ After a period of silence, he admitted that specific examples of discrimination were "something I never thought would arise" and requested time to follow up afterward.46

⁴¹ Trump just eviscerated his claim to being an LGBT ally, The Washington Post, (July 26, 2017)

⁴² Leaked Draft of Trump's Religious Freedom Order Reveals Sweeping Plans to Legalize Discrimination, The Nation, (February 1, 2017)

⁴³ White House aims for Thursday signing of religious liberty executive order, Politico, (May 2, 2017)

⁴⁴ Remarks by the Vice President to the Faith and Freedom Coalition, The American Presidency Project, (June 10, 2017)

⁴⁵ Jeff Sessions Just Refused To Say If His Religious Guidance Allows Anti-LGBT Discrimination, BuzzFeed, (October 18, 2017)

³⁷ Angie's List Withdraws Campus Expansion Proposal Due to Passage of Religious Freedom Bill, CNBC, (March 28, 2015) 38 NASCAR "Disappointed" in Indiana's Religious Freedom Law, TIME, (March 31, 2015)

³⁹ Mayor Greg Ballard speaks out against religious freedom bill, WTHR, (March 3, 2015)

⁴⁰ Bangert: Daniels laments RFRA damage to Indiana, Journal & Courier, (April 1, 2015)

⁴⁶ The Daily 202: What Jeff Sessions wouldn't say was more revealing than what he did, The Washington Post, (October 19, 2017)



HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

The policy continues to play out in agencies across the federal government. Most notably, in January of 2018, the Department of Health and Human Services announced new regulations in coordination with the creation of a new division within the Office of Civil Rights tasked explicitly with enforcing federal conscience and religious liberty laws. This new division and the accompanying regulation raise serious concerns regarding access to critical care for some of the most vulnerable patients — including those who are LGBTQ. The regulation prioritizes individual providers' beliefs over life-saving patient care. In practice, the broad reach of the rule could allow healthcare providers deny treatment for HIV and HIV prevention, hormone therapy treatment and transition related care, and fertility care for same-sex couples, single women, or interfaith couples based on their own personal moral or religious belief.

ATTACK ON LGBTQ HEALTHCARE

CONVERSION THERAPY

Pence is arguably most infamous for his connections to "conversion therapy" (also sometimes known as "reparative therapy") a range of dangerous and discredited practices that falsely claim to change a person's sexual orientation or gender identity. Such practices have been rejected by every mainstream medical and mental health organization for decades, but due to continuing discrimination and societal bias against LGBTQ people, some practitioners continue to conduct conversion therapy.⁴⁷ According to the American Psychiatric Association, "In the last four decades, 'reparative' therapists have not produced any rigorous scientific research to substantiate their claims of cure... [the] potential risks of reparative therapy are great, including depression, anxiety and self-destructive behavior... Therefore, the American Psychiatric Association opposes any psychiatric treatment such as reparative or conversion therapy which is based upon the assumption that homosexuality per se is a mental disorder or based upon the a priori assumption that a patient should change his/her sexual homosexual orientation."48

So severe and unnecessary is the practice that it is specifically banned in nine states and the District of

Columbia with similar legislation pending in several other states.49

On the archived website for Pence's 2000 congressional campaign, he suggested funding for HIV prevention programming should be suspended and diverted to organizations that "provide assistance to those seeking to change their sexual behavior."

"Congress should support the reauthorization of the Ryan White Care Act only after completion of an audit to ensure that federal dollars were no longer being given to organizations that celebrate and encourage the types of behaviors that facilitate the spreading of the HIV virus. Resources should be directed toward those institutions which provide assistance to those seeking to change their sexual behavior."50

When the Republican Party convened in the summer of 2016 to nominate Donald Trump and Mike Pence, the official platform voted upon and confirmed by members included the line "we support the right of parents to determine the proper medical treatment or therapy for their minor children", with "therapy" added after lobbying by Tony Perkins, head of the Family Research Council, which has long publicly supported "conversion therapy" practices.⁵¹ Although denied by then-Chairman of the Republican Party Reince Priebus, the language was widely seen as an official party endorsement of "conversion therapy,"52

AFFORDABLE CARE ACT (ACA)

Pence's second-most visible attack on the health care of LGBTQ people is his long-standing opposition to the Affordable Care Act (ACA). The ACA made health care coverage a reality for many LGBTQ individuals and their families for the first time. Before the ACA's landmark changes, LGBTQ people experiencing discrimination or coverage denials too often had nowhere to turn. Many people living with HIV and AIDS struggled to afford the lifesaving medications and care they needed, and transgender people faced outright denials of care. In addition, ACA provides unprecedented federal protections for LGBTQ people by prohibiting discrimination



⁴⁸ Position Statement on Therapies Focused on Attempts to Change Sexual Orientation, American Psychiatric Association, (2000)

52 Ibid. NYT. 11/30/16.



HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN®

on the basis of sex, which has been interpreted as including both sexual orientation and gender identity. It also broadens access to insurance by expanding Medicaid coverage for lower income individuals and removing spending caps on insurance coverage.

In the House of Representatives, Pence was a leading voice opposing passage of the ACA. During his tenure, he voted to repeal the ACA — also known as "Obamacare" — in part or in full, more than 30 times.⁵³

In his first summer as vice president, Pence urged Congressional Republicans to complete the repeal of Obamacare, claiming at a political rally in Iowa that a full repeal would "relieve America."⁵⁴ For weeks, Pence played a deeply invested role in the repeal effort, inviting Senate Republicans to dinner to "woo" them in spite of their growing hesitancy in the face of public support for the ACA. When Speaker of the House Paul Ryan was forced to pull a repeal bill from the lower chamber, Pence personally jumped in to get the process back on track, leading to its passage.55

Four days after Senate Republicans failed for a second time to bring a repeal bill to the floor, Pence and Tom Price, then-secretary of Health and Human Services, hosted a roundtable meeting with conservative grassroots leaders, urging them to put pressure on their respective senators to support repeal in an upcoming procedural vote.56

At the height of national tension surrounding the effort to repeal, Pence could not bring himself to admit that people with preexisting conditions would not be guaranteed coverage under the Graham-Cassidy bill, which ultimately failed, rebuffing no less than "Fox and Friends" co-host Ainsley Earhardt when she gently pressed him for clarification.⁵⁷

HIV AND AIDS

Months after the Trump-Pence administration's failure to repeal the ACA, the White House budget proposal included

- 54
- Pence woos Senate Conservatives in Obamacare repeal push, Politico, (June 26, 2017) 55
- 57 The Washington Post, (September 21, 2017)
- 58
- 59 Wolf Blitzer Reports, CNN, (February 15, 2002)
- 60 108th Congress, 1st Session, Issue: Vol. 149, No. 63, H3457
- 61 108th Congress, 1st Session, Issue: Vol. 149, No. 63, H3457
- 62

THE REAL MIKE PENCE

entirely cutting funding for Obamacare, despite it having zero chance of passing Congress. In addition to LGBTQ people being among the 15 million who would lose coverage with the proposal to repeal the Affordable Care Act, there were significant cuts to domestic HIV and AIDS programs and over a billion dollars cut from funding for global HIV and AIDS programs.58

Mike Pence has long advocated abstinence-only education as the solution to the prevention of HIV and AIDS and asserted his belief that condoms are ineffective protection against sexually-transmitted diseases.

In 2002, Pence chided then-Secretary of State Colin Powell for his advisement that young people use condoms when engaging in sexual activity: "And the truth is that Colin Powell had an opportunity here to reaffirm this president's commitment to abstinence as the best choice for our young people, and he chose not to do that in the first instance, but - and so I think it's very sad. The other part is that, frankly, condoms are a very, very poor protection against sexually transmitted diseases, and in that sense, Wolf, this was - the secretary of state maybe inadvertently misleading millions of young people and endangering lives."59 In the same interview, Pence claimed condoms have "zero preventative value" and are "too modern of an answer."

In 2003, responding to the HIV and AIDS crisis in sub-saharan Africa, Pence argued for the Bush administration to prioritize abstinence-only education over condom distribution because it would protect the rights of faith-based organizations.⁶⁰ Pence followed this up with a call to "send them values that work" as justification for prioritizing abstinence-only education.61

As governor of Indiana, Pence's cuts to public health funding helped fuel the worst outbreak of HIV and AIDS in the state's history. The outbreak in Scott County was enabled by the closing of the local Planned Parenthood clinic, which was the county's only HIV testing center.⁶² As the outbreak

⁴⁹ Conversion Therapy Laws, Movement Advancement Project, (March 12, 2018)

⁵⁰ Mike Pence and 'Conversion Therapy': A History, The New York Times, (November 30, 2016)

⁵¹ Social conservatives hold the line on day one in Cleveland, CNN, (July 11, 2016)

⁵³ The House has voted 54 times in four years on Obamacare. Here's the full list, The Washington Post, (March 21, 2014)

Vice President Pence urges Congress to complete Obamacare repeal, Reuters, (June 3, 2017)

⁵⁶ Pence and Tom Price turn to grassroots to push Obamacare repeal, CBS News, (July 21, 2017)

Mike Pence just settled it: Republicans' Obamacare repeal bill can't guarantee protections for preexisting conditions,

Another Trump budget, another attempt to cut HIV/AIDS programs, Washington Blade, (February 14, 2018)



HUFFPOST

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

Mike Pence's Defining Moment As Governor? Enabling An HIV Outbreak

Here's what to do if you want to create a public health crisis.



of HIV and AIDS spiraled out of control, Pence was "reluctant" to lift a ban on needles exchanges that could mitigate the spread of the virus.⁶³ Only after an intervention staged by officials from the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) did Pence finally relent and authorize needle exchanges.⁶⁴

Pence continued dragging his feet on full implementation for needle exchanges, waiting for a year to sign off on funding while local leaders begged for alleviation to the bureaucratic process, leading to an outbreak in Scott County that included 190 victims of HIV and AIDS.65

Pence's response to his state's HIV and AIDS crisis has become a case study for the damage elected officials can inflict on their constituents when they prioritize personal beliefs over scientific evidence and medical expertise. A professor of global public health at the University of California -San Diego said of Pence's conduct: "It's not only shortsighted. It really committed whole communities of people to death."66

It was not the first time Pence opposed needle exchanges. In 2007, he voted for the Souder amendment, which would have barred D.C. from using its own funds for a needle exchange program. The measure failed by only eight votes and is yet another instance of federal intervention at the expense of state's rights, supposedly a bedrock value of Pence's governing philosophy.⁶⁷

Two years later, Pence voted in support of a federal ban on

programs for syringe exchanges, another Souder amendment, this one failing by just seven votes.68

ATTACK ON PLANNED PARENT-HOOD AND LGBTQ HEALTH

While serving in Congress, Pence led the charge to defund Planned Parenthood because of their critical role in providing crucial access to reproductive health care, presenting an enormous threat to the health care of LGBTQ people. Pence introduced six separate measures - three bills and three amendments to legislation - that would pull all federal funding from the organization.69

In 2011, Politico noted: "Abortion-rights advocates and abortion-rights opponents don't see eye to eye on much, but they do agree on this: Nobody hates Planned Parenthood guite as much as Mike Pence." In the three previous legislative sessions, Pence had introduced a bill that would ban any funding from Title X — the only federal program solely allocated to family planning - going to organizations or other programs that provide abortion care.⁷⁰

That year, Pence introduced an amendment to a continuing resolution on the federal budget that would strip Planned Parenthood — and only them — of all federal funding. Despite knowing that Title X funding is not used by Planned Parenthood to pay for abortions, Pence argued that halting all

- Pence announces task force on Indiana drug abuse problems, Associated Press, (September 1, 2015) 63
- 64 Needle exchange bill advances despite Pence veto threat, Indiana Economic Digest, (March 31, 2015)
- 65 Plan to fight HIV, hepatitis snarled in red tape, Courier & Journal, (July 1, 2015)
- 66 CDC Urges States To Adopt Needle Exchanges To Avoid HIV Outbreaks, BuzzFeed, (December 3, 2016)
- 67 Final Vote Results for Roll Call 589, H.R. 2829, Office of the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, (June 28, 2007)
- 68 11th Congress, 1st Session, Issue: Vol. 155, No. 113, H8789-H8789
- 69 What You Need to Know About Mike Pence, Trump's New Running Mate, Planned Parenthood Action, (July 15, 2016)
- 70 Pence's War on Planned Parenthood, Politico, (February 16, 2011)



HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN®

federal financial support for women's health clinics would diminish their ability to provide abortion care.7

Six weeks later, when asked by MSNBC host Willie Geist if he were willing to hold up the entire federal budget over defunding Planned Parenthood, Pence responded: "Well well, of course I am... I think there's a broad consensus in this country, regardless of where you stand on the subject of abortion, there's a broad consensus for decades now opposing public funding of abortion and abortion providers."72

In fact, Gallup conducted a poll a few months later that found 6-in-10 Americans opposed a law that would "prohibit health clinics that provide abortion services from receiving any federal funds".73



In early 2017, as vice president, Pence cast the tie-breaking vote in the Senate that reversed an Obama administration rule that prevented states from withholding funding from Planned Parenthood and other medical centers that provide abortion care.74

The organization offers transition-related care to transgender patients at 65 of its locations. Planned Parenthood centers are frequently cited by LGBTQ patients as one of the few spaces in which they feel comfortable and validated in seeking out treatment. In a comment to NBC News, one doctor noted: "I hear frequently about lesbian and bisexual-identified women and transgender patients who report the only place they can get safe care in areas where there

- 71 House defunds Planned Parenthood, Politico, (February 18, 2011)
- 72
- Abortion, Gallup, (July 15-17, 2011) 73
- 75
- 110th Congress, 1st Session, Issue: Vol. 153, No. 72, H4471-H4475 76
- 110th Congress, 1st Session, Issue: Vol. 153, No. 72, H4471-H4475 77
- 78 111th Congress, 1st Session, Issue: Vol. 155, No. 64, H4952
- 79 111th Congress, 1st Session, Issue: Vol. 155, No. 145, H11130

THE REAL MIKE PENCE

isn't some kind of designated LGBTQ practice is often Planned Parenthood,"75

BLOCKING HATE CRIMES LEGISLATION

In 2007, when a bill to add sexual orientation, gender, gender identity and disability to the federal hate crimes prevention act was before the House of Representatives, Pence took to the House floor to assert his belief that hate crimes laws "serve no practical purpose."76 In falsely claiming the bill would punish speech, he deliberately ignored the fact that the bill under consideration applied only to crimes that resulted in bodily injury or attempted bodily injury.

"[H]ate crimes laws serve no practical purpose and, instead, serve to penalize people for their thoughts and beliefs. Now, some of these thoughts and beliefs are abhorrent. like racism and sexism, and I disdain them. But hate crimes bills are broad enough to encompass legitimate beliefs as well, and protecting the rights of freedom of speech and religion must be paramount on our minds."

- Pence, from the House floor, May 2007⁷⁷

Then, in 2009, when a bill was again considered, Pence once again took to the House floor to oppose the legislation and deny transgender people have been victims of hate crimes. He claimed there was no "evidence of any hate crimes occurring against individuals for gender identity." He also said that he opposed the legislation because it would make a federal offense "out of any violent crime that is alleged to be motivated by gender identity including, for instance, people who describe themselves as transsexuals."78

A few months later, Pence said that expanding hate crimes to cover sexual orientation and gender identity would generate a "chilling effect" on religious leaders.⁷⁹

Would Rep. Pence Shut Down The Government Over Planned Parenthood Funding? "Of Course", Political Correction, (April 5, 2011)

74 Pence breaks tie to allow states to strip family-planning dollars from abortion providers, The Washington Post, (March 30, 2017) Cuts to Planned Parenthood a Scary Prospect for Some LGBTQ Patients, NBC News, (July 21, 2017)



HUMAN

RIGHTS

CAMPAIGN®

ATTACKS ON LGBTO TROOPS

"DON'T ASK DON'T TELL" REPEAL

Ahead of the repeal of the discriminatory "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," Pence argued that the law, which barred lesbian, gay, and bisexual members of the military from serving openly, should remain in place.

Pence — never having served a day in uniform — said from the House floor that repealing "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" would hurt morale and unit cohesion.⁸⁰ He also claimed that repealing the policy would be a "break of faith" with the military, suggesting that policymakers were "using the American military to enact a liberal political agenda."81 Meanwhile Robert Gates, the U.S. Secretary of Defense, supported the change.⁸² Admiral Mike Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that repealing DADT is "a policy that we can do and we can do it in a relatively low-risk fashion."83

On December 1, 2010, the Pentagon released a study that recommended repealing "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." The study included a survey of 115,000 soldiers and their spouses and found that 70 percent of active duty troops believed that repealing the policy would have a positive effect or no effect on their ability to complete missions.85

In an interview with CNN's John King, Pence refuted the study, suggesting that a conversation he had in a mess hall with a dozen soldiers was more convincing.⁸⁶



THE CABLE Pence Working to Reverse **Pentagon's Transgender Policies**

The vice president has long been viewed as an opponent of LGBT rights.

Foreign Policy, July 2017⁸⁴

- 80 111th Congress, 2nd Session, Issue: Vol. 156, No. 82, H4018
- 81 Area residents tell Pence they want civility, dialogue between parties, Palladium-Item, (June 4, 2010)
- Gates, Obama urge repeal of military's gay ban, Associated Press, (November 7, 2010) 82
- Gates To Senate: End 'Don't Ask' Before Courts Do, NPR, (November 30, 2010) 83
- 84 Ibid, Foreign Policy, (July 25, 2017)
- 85 DADT survey reveals military is ok with gay troops, Sec. Def. Gates urges Congress to repeal policy, New York Daily News, (December 1, 2010)
- Interview with Senator DeMint & Rep. Pence, Real Clear Politics, (December 2, 2010) 86
- 87 Interview with Senator DeMint & Rep. Pence, Real Clear Politics, (December 2, 2010)
- "One Year Out: An Assessment of DADT Repeal's Impact on Military Readiness," Palm Center, (September 20, 2012) 88
- 89 Pence Working to Reverse Pentagon's Transgender Policies, Foreign Policy, (July 25, 2017)
- 90 H.R. 2810 (2017)
- 91 Photo surfaces of evangelical pastors laying hands on Trump in the Oval Office, Washington Post, (July 12, 2007)
- 92 @TheBrodyFile. *NEW ON @TheBrodyFile : Faith advisors to @realDonaldTrump discussed strategy to reverse transgenders in military policy at WH two weeks ago," (July 26, 2017)
- 93 Trump's evangelical advisers discussed transgender ban at White House meeting, Religion News Service, (July 27, 2017)

"When you look at that Pentagon study, there's a difference between the opinions expressed in that survey by people that are down range in combat versus other people serving in different roles in the military. So I don't believe the time has come to repeal 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell."

- Pence, on CNN, December 2010⁸⁷

Legislation to repeal "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" was passed and signed into law in December 2010. A study completed in late 2012 by a panel of experts on military policy and scholars at the U.S. Military Academy, U.S. Naval Academy, U.S. Air Force Academy, and U.S. Marine Corps War College found "repeal of DADT has had no overall negative impact on military readiness or its component dimensions, including cohesion, recruitment, retention, assaults, harassment or morale."88 Further, rather than harm unit cohesion, the study found that "greater openness and honesty resulting from repeal seem to have promoted increased understanding, respect and acceptance."

TRANSGENDER TROOP BAN

Last year, Pence and his staff quietly lobbied Congress to pass an amendment banning transition-related care for transgender servicemembers.⁸⁹ The measure was defeated in the House in a 209-214 vote.90

In July 2017, Pence and Trump met with the administration's Faith Advisory Council, which includes FRC's Perkins.⁹¹ At that meeting, according to CBN's David Brody, the faith advisors discussed strategy to "reverse transgenders (sic) in military policy."92 Following the meeting, Perkins authored a letter signed by evangelicals that urged Trump to ban transgender service members from the military.93



HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN® Military leaders clearly disagreed. On Twitter, retired U.S. Army General and former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of of the Southern Evangelical Seminary, raved to The Atlantic Staff Martin Dempsey, the highest-ranking uniformed military that Mike Pence "is the 24-karat-gold model of what we official in the country, wrote: "The service of men and women want in an evangelical politician. I don't know anyone who's more consistent in bringing his evangelical-Christian worldwho volunteer and who meet our standards of service is a blessing not a burden #InclusionMakesUsStronger".⁹⁴ His view to public policy."99 predecessor, retired Admiral Mike Mullen, told USA TODAY: This is the man who is just a heartbeat away from the pres-"I led our armed forces under the flawed 'Don't ask, Don't tell' idency, and we don't have to guess what a President Mike policy and saw firsthand the harm to readiness and morale Pence would do to LGBTQ people. He has made clear his when we fail to treat all service members according to the intentions over the past two decades, never once flinching same standards. Thousands of transgender Americans are away from the anti-LGBTQ core of his political philosophy. currently serving in uniform and there is no reason to single out these brave men and women and deny them the medical Such is the power of the Overton window, so egregious is care that they require."95

The night before Trump tweeted the announcement of the transgender military ban, Pence posed at a fundraiser for a photo with Representative Vicky Hartzler (R-MO), who introduced the House amendment to end funding for medical care for transgender troops.⁹⁶

On March 24, 2017, the Trump-Pence administration released new guidance for a ban on transgender persons serving openly in the military. According to reporting by Slate's Mark Joseph Stern, Pence "played a leading role" in drafting the guidance, alongside Tony Perkins, head of the Family Research Council, and Ryan Anderson, an anti-trans activist.⁹⁷ This was done over the advisement of James Mattis, Secretary of Defense and recently retired four-star general, who supports open service of transgender troops.

CONCLUSION

"Mike Pence wanted to be President practically since he popped out of the womb... he's very ambitious, even calculating, about the steps he'll take toward that goal."

That's what the editor of Pence's hometown newspaper told New Yorker writer Jane Mayer, last year. In her piece, Mayer observes: "There have been other evangelical Christians in the White House, including Carter and George W. Bush, but Pence's fundamentalism exceeds theirs."98

- sUsStronger." (July 26, 2017)
- 96 again w/ @realdonaldtrump!" July 25, 2017. 8:03pm. Tweet."
- 97 Trump's Trans Troop Ban Will Never Take Effect, Slate, (March 24, 2018)
- 98 The Danger of President Pence, The New Yorker, (October 23, 2017)
- 99 God's Plan for Mike Pence, The Atlantic, (January/February 2018)

THE REAL MIKE PENCE

Richard Land, a faith advisor to Donald Trump and president

Donald Trump in his conduct, that Pence has been able to fly under the radar while refusing to compromise on his agenda. Given the volatility of Donald Trump's presidency and the eagerness and cruelty of Mike Pence, the world must know of his intentions as he inches closer to the Oval Office.

94 @Martin_Dempsey, "The service of men and women who volunteer and who meet our standards of service is a blessing not a burden #InclusionMake-

95 Accept transgender troops, allow them medical treatment, Adm. Mike Mullen tells Congress, USA Today, (July 25, 2017)

"Hartzler, Vicky. RepHartzler. "So good to see @mike pence and Karen tonight. So proud of the work he is doing as @vp making our nation great

MIKE PENCE'S INNER CIRCLE



You can tell a lot about a person by the company they keep. Pence has surrounded himself with individuals who have a deep animosity toward LGBTQ people. This combined with their ruthless ambition has provided Pence with a network of anti-LGBTQ activists who are determined to see their agenda take shape in the White House.

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN®

KEN BLACKWELL

Blackwell is a longtime supporter of Mike Pence.

search Council and a member of the Presidential

Commission on Election Integrity. He's compared

LGBTQ people to barnyard animals and called homosexuality a "transgression against God's law".

He's currently a senior fellow at the Family Re-



NICK AYERS

Chief-of-staff and political strategist to Mike Pence. The driving force behind political action committees for Trump and Pence. Pushed GOP donors to "purge" anti-Trump lawmakers. Helped elect disgraced Missouri Governor Eric Greitens, who has been indicted on charges of blackmailing a woman with whom he had an affair. Obtained ethics waiver to continue outside political consulting while employed by the administration.



Former health care consultant for Mike Pence in Indiana and current administrator of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services. Paid millions of dollars for her work to design Indiana's health care system, while at the same time working for one of the state's largest Medicaid vendors, creating a potential conflict of interest. Met with Republican Senators to persuade them to vote for the Administration's health care bill.



TONY PERKINS

President of the Family Research Council, which Southern Poverty Law Center has classified as an anti-gay hate group. Longtime supporter of Pence and Informal advisor to the Trump administration on anti-LGBTQ actions. Lobbied the administration to ban transgender members of the military from serving their country. Remarked that he had been to the White House more times in the first six months of the Trump presidency than in the entirety of the Bush administration. Reportedly co-wrote the White House's new guideline on banning transgender people from the military over the counsel of military leadership.



MARC SHORT

Former chief of staff to Mike Pence at the House Republican Conference and current White House director of Legislative Affairs. Led the Koch Brothers' expansion project in 2012 and oversaw hundreds of millions of dollars in political spending. Played a key role in pushing for the repeal of the Affordable Care Act.



MARTY OBST

Former finance director and campaign manager for Mike Pence. Co-founder of Great America Committee and America First Policies. Helped prepare Pence for potential 2020 campaign by organizing dinners for donors, CEOs, and political leaders at the Naval Observatory. Amidst White House turmoil, told a Pence donor they wanted to be prepared to run in 2020.



JEROME ADAMS

Served as the Indiana State Health Commissioner under Pence and currently serving as the surgeon general under Trump and Pence. Claimed Pence "led the way" on addressing Indiana's HIV crisis when in reality, he was universally criticized by public health experts for his neglectful and discriminatory response.



KELLYANNE CONWAY

Former pollster to Mike Pence and current trusted advisor to Donald Trump. Conducted polling for anti-LGBTQ organizations including the National Organization for Marriage, the Family Research Council, and the Military Culture Coalition. In 2014, said: "The fast way to convert a secular moderate into a values-talking, center-right conservative is showing two men french-kissing on the steps of city hall awaiting their marriage license."



ATTACKS ON VOTING RIGHTS

- » Led Trump's sham Advisory Commission on Election Integrity
- » Wasted at least 250k of tax-payer's dollars to publicly oppose NFL players protesting police brutality and racial injustice
- » Criticized Bush for signing the 1991 Civil Rights Act, calling it "objectionable" and a "quota" act.

» Directed state agencies to halt resettlement of Syrian refugees in Indiana

» Supports weakening

work" laws

unions through "right to

ATTACKS ON REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

- Signed one of the nation's most restrictive anti-abortion laws which was later blocked by a federal judge
- » Led national fight to defund Planned Parenthood and forced the closure of many clinics in Indiana
- » Cast the tie-breaking **vote** to strip protections for reproductive health care

NRA'S POCKET NRA

- Received an "A" grade and campaign endorsements from the NRA for 10 consecutive years
- » As Governor, Pence signed several extreme gun laws supported by gun lobbyists
- » Voted in favor of "concealed carry reciprocity", forcing all states to accept concealed carry permits from states with weak gun laws and permit standards.



ATTACKS ON REFUGEES AND IMMIGRANTS

- Supported Texas lawsuit to halt President Obama's DAPA and expanded DACA programs
- » Proposed "self-deportation" immigration bill in 2006

ATTACKS ON WORKERS

- » Voted against Lily Ledbetter Fair Pay Act (three times) and Paycheck Fairness Act
- » Worked to cut and privatize social security and medicare

Global warming is a myth...There, I said it. Just like the 'new Ice Age' scare of the 1970s, the environmental movement has found a new chant for their latest 'Chicken Little' attempt to raise taxes and grow centralized governmental power. The chant is 'the sky is warming! the sky is warming?

- MIKE PENCE

*(SOURCE: 2001 HOUSE CAMPAIGN WEBSITE)



HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN₆