

The 2004 Democratic Presidential Candidates

ON GAY, LESBIAN, BISEXUAL,
AND TRANSGENDER ISSUES

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Note from the Policy Institute Director

THE MOST PROGRESSIVE FIELD OF CANDIDATES YET

The nine Democratic presidential candidates running in the 2004 election have, as a group, articulated the most progressive set of policy positions on issues of concern to gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender (GLBT) people in U.S. presidential election history. All nine support sexual orientation nondiscrimination laws, and eight support the extension of domestic partner benefits to same-sex couples.¹ Seven or more support lifting the ban against gay, lesbian and bisexual people serving in the military, hate crimes legislation, and equal treatment of prospective adoptive parents. At least seven also support comprehensive sex education and all have supported prevention efforts to stem the AIDS epidemic.

The greatest area of disagreement among the Democratic presidential candidates is around extending equal rights and responsibilities to same-sex couples. While all but Senator Bob Graham publicly support domestic partner benefits (which can offer concrete but limited benefits like health insurance coverage), and Graham supports them in principle, only three candidates—former U.S. Senator and Ambassador Carol Moseley Braun, Congressman Dennis Kucinich, and the Rev. Al Sharpton—support full equality, namely, extending the freedom to marry to same-sex couples. Six of the nine have expressed support for civil unions, which offer same-sex couples recognition equivalent to the rights and responsibilities married couples enjoy, but only under state law. Two of these candidates—former Vermont Governor Howard Dean and Kucinich—support recognizing civil unions under federal law, which would afford same-sex couples equal (though still separate) treatment under Social Security, immigration policy, and federal taxes. Senator Joe Lieberman and Senator John

All nine candidates support sexual orientation nondiscrimination laws, and at least eight support the extension of domestic partner benefits to same-sex couples.

1. Some of the candidates have voted for or cosponsored the federal Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA), which if passed would ban discrimination in employment on the basis of sexual orientation. A few, like Senator John Kerry and Governor Howard Dean, have sponsored or signed into law bills that ban discrimination in employment, housing and public accommodations on the basis of sexual orientation. Others have not had the opportunity to vote on such a comprehensive law, because since 1994 the primary bill before Congress has only covered employment discrimination. NGLTF seeks to build consensus within the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender community, and among a majority of Members of Congress, for a comprehensive federal nondiscrimination law that covers employment, housing, credit and public accommodations, and that bans discrimination in these areas on the basis of both sexual orientation and gender identity or expression.

Edwards say states should be able to determine whether or not to provide civil unions, and Graham is studying civil unions.

Two candidates—Dean and Moseley Braun—are on record in support of including gender identity as a protected category in nondiscrimination laws to cover transgender people.

Six of the nine have expressed support for civil unions.

A SHARP CONTRAST WITH PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH

Despite the differences among the nine declared Democratic candidates, each is clearly more supportive of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender equality than the current occupant of the White House, George W. Bush. President Bush opposes nondiscrimination and hate crimes legislation, same-sex partner recognition, adoption, sex education, and lifting the ban on openly gay service members.

A SHARP CONTRAST WITH 1992

The positions of the Democratic candidates are also in sharp contrast to 1992, the last year there was a crowded Democratic primary field. That year, the position of the leading candidate, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, on the federal gay rights bill—first introduced in the House by Bella Abzug (D-NY) in 1975 and in the Senate by Paul Tsongas (D-MA) in 1979—was unclear.² Likewise, of the three candidates then in Congress—Tsongas, Tom Harkin (D-IA) and Bob Kerrey (D-NE)—only Tsongas was a sponsor of the civil rights bill. None of the candidates said they supported the freedom to marry and Clinton and former California Governor Jerry Brown opposed federal legislation to legalize same-sex marriage. Clinton and Brown did, however, take positions in the primary supporting ending the military ban on openly gay servicemembers. Still, lesbian and gay issues had more visibility in the primary and at the 1992 Democratic convention than ever before.

On the Republican side, gay-baiting figured prominently in the 1992 Republican Convention, with delegates brandishing signs reading “Family Values Forever, Gay Rights Never,” and with seven speakers denouncing lesbian and gay rights from the podium. President George H. Bush spoke out against same-sex marriage and expressed reservations about homosexuality in general; a few years earlier he had expressed his view that nondiscrimination laws were not necessary. A meeting between the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, AIDS activists and Robert Mosbacher, chair of the Bush-Quayle reelection campaign, evoked criticism from the right, much like the recent meeting between Republican National Committee Chair Marc Racicot and the Human Rights Campaign has incurred the wrath of anti-gay activists this spring.³

President Bush opposes nondiscrimination and hate crimes legislation, same-sex partner recognition, adoption, sex education, and lifting the ban on openly gay service members.

2. A 1992 NGLTF report on Clinton said that the Arkansas governor had “flip flopped on whether he would sign the federal gay and lesbian civil rights bill.” Ultimately Clinton did support the more narrow Employment Nondiscrimination Act (ENDA), although Congress has still not passed this bill into law. Activists also faulted Governor Clinton for signing a law requiring that people with HIV be reported to state health authorities, and for not supporting legislative efforts in 1991 to repeal Arkansas’s gay-only sodomy law.

3. Vaid, Urvashi (1995). *Virtual Equality: The Mainstreaming of Gay and Lesbian Liberation*. New York: Anchor Books. 120-127.

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES' POSITIONS REFLECT AMERICAN PEOPLE'S GENERAL SUPPORT FOR EQUALITY

While the Democratic candidates will inevitably come under attack from the extreme right wing for their generally pro-GLBT positions, it is important to note that these positions enjoy widespread support among the U.S. voting public.

For example, the unanimous support of the Democratic candidates for nondiscrimination laws is mirrored by a May, 2003 Gallup poll finding that nearly nine in 10 Americans (88 percent) support “equal opportunities for gays and lesbians in the workplace.”⁴ And, support for nondiscrimination protections cuts across party lines: the 2000 National Election Study found that 56 percent of Republican voters support sexual orientation nondiscrimination laws, as do 70 percent of Independents and 75 percent of Democrats.⁵

Similarly, the candidates' near unanimous support for comprehensive sex education reflects public opinion: 19 in 20 Americans (96 percent) agree that “how HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases are transmitted and how to protect against them” should be discussed in high school sex education classes.⁶

While Americans—like the Democratic presidential candidates—are still split on the issue of same-sex marriage, an overwhelming majority—just like the Democratic presidential candidates—does support equal access to the specific benefits of marriage. For example, most people feel that gays and lesbians should be entitled to inheritance rights (73 percent) and Social Security survivor benefits (68 percent).⁷ Like the majority of the Democratic presidential candidates, the U.S. public supports “legally sanctioned partnerships and unions” for gay couples by a plurality of 47 to 42 percent, according to one 2001 poll.⁸ The candidates are somewhat more supportive of the specific concept of civil unions than the general public: six of the nine support civil unions, while in a recent poll the public is evenly divided, with 49 percent supportive and 49 percent opposed to civil unions.⁹ On the other hand, the candidates are less supportive of the freedom to marry than the general public: only three of the nine support equal marriage rights, while, according to a 2001 poll, nearly forty percent of the public supports the freedom of same-sex couples to marry.¹⁰ Moreover, public support for equal marriage rights is growing rapidly: polls conducted in the last two months, for example, show majorities in Massachusetts and Hudson

Public support for equal marriage rights is growing rapidly: polls conducted in the last two months show majorities in Massachusetts and Hudson County, New Jersey support same-sex marriage.

4. Newport, Frank (2003, May 15). “Six out of 10 Americans Say Homosexual Relations Should Be Recognized as Legal; But Americans are evenly divided on issue of legal civil unions between homosexuals giving them the legal rights of married couples.” Gallup News Service.

5. Yang, Alan (2001). *The 2000 National Election Study and Gay and Lesbian Rights: Support for Equality Grows*. New York: Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

6. The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. (2001). *Inside-OUT: A Report on the Experience of Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals in America and the Public's Views on Issues and Policies Related to Sexual Orientation*. Cambridge: Author. Available at <http://www.kff.org/content/2001/3193/LGBSurveyReport.pdf>.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Newport, Frank (2003, May 15). “Six out of 10 Americans Say Homosexual Relations Should Be Recognized as Legal; But Americans are evenly divided on issue of legal civil unions between homosexuals giving them the legal rights of married couples.” Gallup News Service.

10. Kaiser Family Foundation (2001).

County, New Jersey support same-sex marriage.¹¹ Similarly, 58 percent of college freshmen support the freedom to marry, according to a 2001-2002 survey.¹²

The candidates' broad support for ending the ban against openly gay people serving in the military and for equal adoption rights is also shared by the public. Most Americans (56 to 38 percent) support allowing openly gay and lesbian people to serve in the military¹³ and a March 2002 ABC News poll found that a plurality of respondents support gay and lesbian adoption, 47 to 42 percent.¹⁴

The one issue where the positions of the Democratic candidates are least representative of public opinion is protecting transgender people from discrimination. Two candidates—Dean and Moseley Braun—are on record in support of including gender identity as a protected category in nondiscrimination laws. The other candidates have not taken a position on this issue. On the other hand, 61 percent of the public believes discrimination against transgender people should be outlawed.¹⁵

These pro-GLBT positions enjoy widespread support among the U.S. voting public.

THE GAY, LESBIAN, AND BISEXUAL VOTE: AS MUCH AS 10 PERCENT OF DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY VOTERS

The broad support of GLBT issues by the Democratic primary field may reflect the growing significance of the gay vote, particularly in Democratic primaries. During the past decade the openly gay, lesbian, and bisexual (GLB) vote emerged as a sizable, discrete voting bloc of 4 to 5 percent of the vote in national Congressional and Presidential elections.¹⁶ Although one in four GLB voters backed George W. Bush in 2000 (up from only 14 percent who backed Bush's father in 1992), GLB voters are the third most loyal Democratic voting bloc after African American and Jewish voters.¹⁷ It is likely that close to 10 percent of Democratic primary voters are gay, lesbian, or bisexual.

11. Weiss, Peter (2003, May 5). "Shocking results in gay marriage poll; County 55.6% in favor, most Catholics approve." *The Jersey Journal*. <http://www.nj.com/news/jjournal/index.ssf?base/news-0/1052129486144210.xml>; Phillips, Frank (2003, April 8). "Support for gay marriage; Mass. poll finds half in favor." *Boston Globe*.

12. "2001-2 Freshmen Survey: Their Opinions, Activities, and Goals." (2002, February 1.) *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. p. A37. Available at <http://chronicle.com/free/v48/i21/opinions.htm>.

13. Kaiser Family Foundation (2001).

14. Merkle, Daniel. (2002). "More Americans Support Gay Adoption." ABCNews.com. April 2. Available at http://abcnews.go.com/sections/us/DailyNews/gayadopt_poll020402.html. Moreover, most professional organizations concerned with child welfare recognize that gay and lesbian parents are good parents, including the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Psychological Association, and the American Academy of Family Physicians. Perrin, Ellen C., MD, and the Committee on Psychosocial Aspects of Child and Family Health (2002, Feb.). "Technical Report: Coparent or Second-Parent Adoption by Same-Sex Parents." *Pediatrics*. 109(2): 341-344; Patterson, Charlotte J. (1995). *Lesbian and Gay Parenting: A Resource for Psychologists*. Washington, DC: Author. Available at <http://www.apa.org/pi/parent.html>; Stoeber, J. (2002, Oct. 17). "Delegates Vote for Adoption Policy." *FP Report* (Journal of the American Association of Family Pediatricians). Available at <http://www.aafp.org/fpr/assembly2002/10177.html>.

15. Human Rights Campaign press release (2002, September 30). Some 61 percent supported laws banning discrimination on the basis of gender identity. <http://www.hrc.org/newsreleases/2002/020930transgender.asp>.

16. Openly gay, lesbian and bisexual voters (Voter News Service does not ask about gender identity) were 5.0 percent of all voters in the 1996 Congressional/Presidential election, 4.2 percent in 1998, and 4.1 percent in 2000. This is equivalent in size to the Latino vote, and about half the size of the African American vote. Bailey, Robert (2000). *Out and Voting II: The Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Vote in Congressional Elections, 1990-1998*. New York: Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force; unpublished analysis of 2000 VNS data.

17. In 1998 89 percent of African American voters voted Democratic, as did 79 percent of Jewish voters, and 67 percent of GLB voters. Bailey (2000). Unpublished analysis of 2000 Voter News Service exit poll data.

ual.¹⁸ In a close primary—which the 2004 race is expected to be—and even in a close final election like the last one, gay votes can make the difference between victory and defeat. In spite of this, it is worth repeating that six of the nine Democratic candidates—including all those considered to be front-runners—support “separate and unequal” partner recognition rights.

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

This report summarizes the records and positions of those seeking the nomination of the Democratic Party for the office of President of the United States. It reviews voting records and statements on issues related to gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people. Because some of the candidates have not held public office where many of these issues have come before them, and because some who have held office have not taken a position on many issues of concern to GLBT people, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force sent a brief questionnaire to all the campaigns asking the candidates to take positions on transgender nondiscrimination laws, marriage, adoption, sex education, access to Social Security survivor and spousal benefits, and a few other issues. This was not meant to be a comprehensive survey but to fill gaps so that voters supportive of GLBT equality could better compare the candidates’ records and visions for America.

We have tried to fairly characterize each candidate’s record or position on each issue. This was not always easy. Many of the candidates chose not to directly answer questions we posed to them, particularly on gender identity nondiscrimination laws and same-sex marriage.

On some issues, like HIV/AIDS and education policy, many candidates cast what we consider to be bad votes a decade ago, opposing the immigration of people with HIV/AIDS into the United States, and supporting right-wing efforts to ban sex education and anti-homophobia initiatives in schools. But many who cast unfortunate votes a decade ago have improved their records on these issues, and we have noted that accordingly. Often there are not roll call votes on key issues, particularly HIV/AIDS, so we consulted with leading AIDS advocates to get a sense of how to contrast the candidates in terms of their leadership on HIV/AIDS issues. Also, three of the candidates or possible candidates profiled here did not return our surveys, despite many inquiries by NGLTF staff and having more than a month and a half to do so: Senators Graham and Joseph Biden, and the Rev. Sharpton.¹⁹

The report provides brief profiles of the candidates, usually based on their campaign websites. We have tried to be objective and fair, describing the public offices held or the occupations of those with less or no government experience, as well as their edu-

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18. This estimate derives from the following data: openly gay, lesbian and bisexual voters are 4-5 percent of all voters, and the overwhelming majority vote Democratic. Assuming the 4-5 percent figure represents an undercount, as some gay people may not want to “out” themselves on an exit poll, and given that two thirds to three quarters of GLB people vote Democratic, the percentage of Democratic primary voters who are gay, lesbian or bisexual is likely close to 10 percent.

19. In fairness, Senator Biden has not yet declared, and his office told us he would not fill out any surveys until after he makes a decision in the fall.

cational background. While we acknowledge that some of the candidates have taken positions or made statements on a variety of issues to which many would take exception, we have limited our analysis here to their voting records and statements on specifically GLBT and HIV/AIDS-related issues. We encourage readers to seek out information on the candidates' positions on other issues of concern by visiting the websites of organizations working on racial and economic justice, civil liberties, reproductive choice, the environment, gun control, fair trade, foreign policy, and other issues.

This is the first of a series of reports on the presidential candidates NGLTF will produce during the 2004 election cycle. Future reports will examine President George W. Bush's record and the positions of any significant third party candidates who arise. This report aims at informing voters who support equality for GLBT people to understand the differences among the candidates on issues of concern to our community. We also hope the media will use it to accurately depict the differences among the candidates on these issues. Most importantly, we hope this public education campaign motivates fair-minded people to vote in the primaries and in November 2004. A great deal is at stake for our country, on GLBT issues and many others.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Sean Cahill". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Sean" written in a larger, more prominent script than the last name "Cahill".

Sean Cahill, Ph.D.
Director, NGLTF Policy Institute
May 2003

The Democratic Candidates' Positions on GLBT Issues

Candidate	Sexual Orientation Nondiscrimination	Gender Identity Nondiscrimination	People with HIV/AIDS, Prevention/Treatment	Lifting Military Ban	Inclusive Hate Crimes Laws	Social Security		Civil Unions	Marriage	Adoption	GLBT-Supportive Education Policy
						Survivor and Spousal Benefits	Domestic Partnership				
Howard Dean	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
John Edwards	+	?	+	+	+	?	?	? ¹	-	+	?
Richard Gephardt	+	?	+ ²	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	(-)
Bob Graham	+	?	+ ³	(-)	+	?	+ ⁴	?	-	?	(-)
John Kerry	+	?	+ ⁵	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	(-)
Dennis Kucinich	+	?	+ ⁶	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?
Joseph Lieberman	+ ⁷	?	+ ⁸	+	+	?	+	? ⁹	-	+	(-)
Carol Moseley Braun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rev. Al Sharpton	+	?	+	?	+	?	+	+	+	?	?
Joseph Biden (has not declared)	+	?	+ ¹⁰	+	+	?	? ¹¹	?	-	?	(-)

Key: + = Supports/Appears to Support (-) = Has Opposed (in a single 1993 or 1994 vote)
 - = Opposes/Does Not Support ? = Unclear/Undecided/Has Not Had the Opportunity to Vote on the Issue

1. Edwards has stated that he supports individual states' freedom to create civil unions.
 2. AIDS activists described Gephardt as one of Congress's top leaders on AIDS policy issues.
 3. Graham cast two anti-gay votes in 1988 and 1993 (see text) and did not complete a survey asking if he supports sex education to prevent HIV/AIDS. However, he recently opposed abstinence-only language in the Global AIDS bill.
 4. Graham has stated that he supports "the general principle of recognizing the legal rights of gays and lesbians short of marriage." *Boston Globe*. (2003, April 26)
 5. Kerry's otherwise supportive record on this issue includes a 1993 vote to prevent people with AIDS from immigrating to the U.S. AIDS activists described Kerry as one of Congress's top leaders on AIDS policy issues.
 6. AIDS activists described Kucinich as a strong advocate for HIV funding and prevention efforts.

7. Lieberman's support for the faith-based initiative without nondiscrimination language, despite significant lobbying from GLBT groups, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and others, raises significant fears that GLBT people could be discriminated against in employment and service provision.
 8. Lieberman's otherwise supportive record on this issue includes a 1993 vote to prevent people with AIDS from immigrating to the U.S.
 9. Lieberman has stated that he supports individual states' freedom to create civil unions.
 10. Biden's otherwise supportive record on this issue includes a 1993 vote to prevent people with AIDS from immigrating to the U.S.
 11. Biden's only vote on this issue indicates that he does not oppose domestic partnerships. He voted to kill an amendment to the DC appropriations bill aimed at preventing the implementation of the DC domestic partner registry (1992).

Howard Dean

Howard Dean is the former Governor of Vermont. He graduated from Yale in 1971 and received a medical degree from New York City's Albert Einstein College of Medicine in 1978. After opening a private medical practice and volunteering for Jimmy Carter's 1980 presidential campaign, Dean served in the Vermont House of Representatives from 1983 to 1987. He was Democratic Assistant Minority Leader from 1985 to 1986. In 1986, Dean was elected Lieutenant Governor, with subsequent reelections in 1988 and 1990. During his tenure as Lieutenant Governor, Dean helped to found the Vermont Youth Conservation Corps and the Conference on Affordable Housing. In 1991, unexpectedly, Dean became Governor of Vermont after the sudden death of Governor Richard Snelling. A year later, Dean was elected to his first full term as governor and served as governor until January 2003. In 2002, Dean opted not to run for reelection in order to concentrate on his presidential run. As Governor of Vermont, Dean chaired the National Governors' Association from 1994 to 1995, cochaired the National Governors' Association Task Force on Health Care, and chaired the Democratic Governors' Association in 1997. Dean has also served on the National Education Goals Panel.



SEXUAL ORIENTATION NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: SUPPORTS

- In 1992, Governor Dean signed Vermont's sexual orientation nondiscrimination law, among the earliest state gay rights laws passed in the United States.²⁰

Under Dean's leadership, Vermont was the first state to offer domestic partner benefits to state employees in 1994.

GENDER IDENTITY NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Supports a nondiscrimination law that covers gender identity.²¹

PEOPLE WITH HIV/AIDS, PREVENTION/TREATMENT: SUPPORTS

- Supports comprehensive sex education and prevention efforts aimed at stemming the spread of sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancy.²²

20. Cahill, Sean, Ellen, Mitra, and Tobias, Sarah (2002). *Family Policy: Issues Affecting Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Families*. New York: Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. p. 167.

21. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

22. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

- With regard to HIV prevention/treatment, Dean said, “The first thing I would do [as president] is fund non-governmental organizations, which do a much better job than governments. I would enhance public outreach efforts...Prevention is clearly the area where we should be putting our money.”²³
- In reference to the specific effects of HIV/AIDS on gay men, Dean said, “We need to reach gay men through groups like Gay Men’s Health Crisis, stressing condom use, stressing the danger of HIV and AIDS. We need to start over again with young gay men...We need to send people who are on the therapies into the community and tell these young men what it’s really like.”²⁴
- Dean recently expressed his views on safe sex:

Interviewer: Let’s say you were still a practicing physician. A gay man reveals to you that he’s not always practicing safe sex. What would you tell him?

Dean: I would tell him he’s endangering many people’s lives and what he’s doing is immoral.

Interviewer: You would put it in moral rather than medical terms?

Dean: Yes. It is immoral. If you refuse to practice safe sex and you are HIV-positive, you’re basically sentencing other people to a lifetime of hell. That’s not right. Of course, I’d also put it in health terms, which comes first, and then talk about people’s responsibility to each other.²⁵

LIFTING THE MILITARY BAN: SUPPORTS

- Supports an end to the ban on openly gay, lesbian, and bisexual service members.²⁶
- With regard to the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell”²⁷ policy, Dean said, “People who serve their country should be proud of who they are. . . . [The policy is] exceptionally foolish, and it hurts our ability to defend our country. I would have to negotiate with Congress to get rid of the policy.” Dean also said, “I’d make the argument that there are many gay people in the military and they are doing a great job and the military in many cases knows they are there. If you are willing to get shot for your country, you ought to be able to say who you are.”²⁸

SEXUAL ORIENTATION-INCLUSIVE HATE CRIMES LAWS: SUPPORTS

- As governor of Vermont, Dean toughened penalties for hate crimes.²⁹ Vermont’s hate crimes law covers sexual orientation and gender identity.

23. Bull, Chris. (2003, April 1). “Pro-Peace, Pro-Health Care, Pro-Gay.” *The Advocate*. p. 32.

24. Bull. (2003, April 1). p. 32.

25. Bull. (2003, April 1). p. 32.

26. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

27. NGLTF believes that the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy, though an improvement on the previous discriminatory military policy, is a flawed policy that has resulted in increased discharges of servicemen and women. Since the passage of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” in 1993, military discharges for homosexuality have risen almost every year from 617 in 1994 to 1273 in 2001. (Department of Defense, United States Army, United States Airforce, United States Navy, United States Marine Corps, and United States Coast Guard. “Total Gay Discharges 1994-2002.”) The number dropped to 906 in 2002, but “during any time of war or conflict for America, gay discharges have dropped.” (Service Members Legal Defense Network. (2003). Ninth Annual Report.)

28. Bull. (2003, April 1). p. 31.

29. Thomma, Steven. (2003, February 2). “Howard Dean is Fighting for Soul of Democratic Party.” Knight Ridder Washington Bureau.

SOCIAL SECURITY SURVIVOR AND SPOUSAL BENEFITS³⁰: SUPPORTS

- Supports equal treatment of same-sex couples under Social Security survivor and spousal benefits.³¹

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP: SUPPORTS

- Supports domestic partner benefits, which offer concrete benefits for same-sex partners of employees, such as health insurance coverage and hospital visitation rights.³²
- Under Dean's leadership, Vermont was the first state to offer domestic partner benefits to state employees in 1994.³³ Today 11 states and the District of Columbia offer some kind of domestic partner benefit.³⁴

CIVIL UNIONS: SUPPORTS

- Dean supports civil unions for same-sex couples and both state and federal recognition of these unions.
- Dean is the only U.S. Governor and presidential candidate to sign a bill creating civil unions for same-sex couples. In response to an April 2003 NGLTF survey, Dean's campaign wrote, "In December of 1999, the Vermont Supreme Court ruled that Vermont's marriage laws were unconstitutional.... In response to that ruling, Howard Dean worked with leaders from both parties in the legislature to create civil unions, a legal relationship that same-gender couples could enter into that would guarantee them the same rights as married heterosexual couples. In some ways, this was a defining moment in his political career. As Governor Dean has said, you can always compromise when you are fighting over money, but there can never be a compromise when it comes to basic human rights."
- As governor of Vermont he signed the Civil Unions bill making civil unions a reality for same-sex couples in Vermont in 2000.³⁵ Dean has publicly stated that the passage of Vermont's Civil Unions Law "...was in many ways the most important event in my political life... There aren't many people who get to do what I did."³⁶
- Dean has said, "As president, I would recognize civil unions federally, because equal rights under the law doesn't just mean equal rights under state law. It means equal rights under federal law."³⁷

Dean is the only U.S. Governor and presidential candidate to sign a bill creating civil unions for same-sex couples.

30. Social Security survivor benefits are provided to the spouse and children of a person who has paid into Social Security but has passed away before being able to enjoy the retirement benefits. Social Security spousal benefits allow a husband or wife to receive an amount equal to 50 percent of their spouse's monthly Social Security check, if that amount is higher than the amount for which they would be eligible based on their own earnings.

31. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

32. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

33. Kohn, Sally (1999). *Domestic Partnership Organizing Manual for Employee Benefits*. New York: Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

34. Cahill et al. (2002). p. 41.

35. Rauber, Marilyn (2003, February 9). "Are Democratic Rookies Facing Trivial Pursuit?" *Richmond Times-Dispatch*.

36. "Gov. Dean Touts Civil Unions in Pennsylvania Address." (2002, January 28). Associated Press.

37. Marinucci, Carla. (2002, October 19). "Democrats Go West to Get to the White House." *San Francisco Chronicle*.

MARRIAGE: DOES NOT SUPPORT

- With regard to marriage equality for same-sex couples, Dean said, “Civil unions have the legal impact we need to achieve under the law. I don’t think same-sex marriage is necessary.”³⁸
- Dean believes the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), which prohibited federal recognition of the marriages of same-sex couples and declared that states were free to refuse recognition of such marriages performed in other states,³⁹ is “unconstitutional.”⁴⁰

“If you are willing to get shot for your country, you ought to be able to say who you are.”

–Howard Dean

ADOPTION: SUPPORTS

- Supports equal treatment of prospective adoptive parents regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity.⁴¹

GAY-SUPPORTIVE EDUCATION POLICY: SUPPORTS

- Governor Dean signed one of the nation’s first statutes banning harassment of students on the basis of sexual orientation in 1994.⁴²
- Under Governor Dean, Vermont was one of only half a dozen states to include questions on the Youth Risk Behavior Survey to gather data on gay, lesbian, and bisexual students and their experiences.⁴³

OTHER RELATED VIEWS

- Believes that sexual orientation conversion therapy has “no basis in science.” Dean says, “The idea that you can change sexual orientation is laughable.”⁴⁴

38. Bull. (2003, April 1). p. 31.

39. Lewis, Gregory B. and Edelson, Jonathan L. (2000). “DOMA and ENDA: Congress Votes on Gay Rights.” In Craig A. Rimmerman, Kenneth D. Wald and Clyde Wilcox, eds. (2000). *The Politics of Gay Rights*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. p. 201.

40. Bull. (2003, April 1). p. 31.

41. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

42. Bauer, Allison (2002). *State of the States 2002: GLSEN’s Policy Analysis of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Safer School Issues*. New York: Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network.

43. Reis, B. and Saewyc, E. (1999). *Eighty-Three Thousand Youth: Selected Findings of Eight Population-Based Studies as They Pertain to Anti-Gay Harassment and the Safety and Well-Being of Sexual Minority Students*. Seattle: Safe Schools Coalition of Washington.

44. Bull. (2003, April 1). p. 31.

John Edwards

John Edwards holds a B.S. from North Carolina State University and a law degree from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Edwards worked as a trial lawyer for 20 years, primarily on personal injury cases, including medical malpractice. In 1990 he was inducted into the Inner Circle of Advocates, which consists of the nation's top 100 trial attorneys. In 1997, he won a \$25 million settlement from Sta-Rite Industries in a case involving a faulty drain manufactured by the company that had caused serious injury to a 5 year-old girl and 12 other children. This was the largest verdict in North Carolina history and resulted in Edwards earning a national award for public service from the Association of Trial Lawyers of America. In 1998, Edwards was elected to the U.S. Senate. He serves on four committees: Health, Education, Labor and Pensions; Intelligence; Judiciary; and Small Business.



SEXUAL ORIENTATION NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: SUPPORTS

- “I support the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, including the protection against discrimination based on real or perceived sexual orientation.”⁴⁵
- Cosponsored the Equal Rights and Equal Dignity for Americans Act of 2003, which strengthens the enforcement of existing civil rights laws and prohibits employment discrimination based on sexual orientation.⁴⁶
- Cosponsored a resolution to prohibit employment discrimination in the Senate based on sexual orientation (2003).⁴⁷
- Adopted a nondiscrimination policy for his Congressional office indicating that sexual orientation is not a factor in employment decisions (2002).⁴⁸
- Cosponsored the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) that would ban sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace (2001).⁴⁹

Don't Ask, Don't Tell “does not serve our national security interests and needs to be changed. The military should review the current policy and change it so that it... treats people fairly and protects our security.”

—John Edwards

45. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

46. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, January 7) S 1.

47. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, March 5) S Res 74.

48. Human Rights Campaign. (2002, Nov. 5). “Congressional Scorecard: 107th Congress.” Available at <http://www.hrc.org/congress/107/scorecard.pdf>.

49. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, July 31) S 1284.

GENDER IDENTITY NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: UNCLEAR

- In response to the question, “Do you support the inclusion of gender identity as a category in nondiscrimination laws, and would you support an Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) that includes gender identity and therefore transgender people as well as lesbian, gay and bisexual people?”, Edwards responded, “I support the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, including the protection against discrimination based on real or perceived sexual orientation.”⁵⁰

PEOPLE WITH HIV/AIDS, PREVENTION/TREATMENT EFFORTS: SUPPORTS

- Edwards supports comprehensive sex education and prevention efforts aimed at stemming the spread of sexually transmitted disease like HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancy.⁵¹
- Voted against requiring that one third of prevention funds in the global AIDS bill be reserved for abstinence-only-until-marriage programs (2003).⁵²
- Cosponsored a bill to reauthorize the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act, which represents the largest discretionary federal investment in treating individuals with HIV and AIDS (2000).⁵³

LIFTING THE MILITARY BAN: SUPPORTS

- In response to a question on whether he supports lifting the ban on openly gay, lesbian and bisexual service members, Edwards said, “As the recent discharge of Arabic language specialists demonstrates, the current policy does not serve our national security interests and needs to be changed. The military should review the current policy and change it so that it...treats people fairly and protects our security.”⁵⁴

SEXUAL ORIENTATION-INCLUSIVE HATE CRIMES LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Cosponsored the Equal Rights and Equal Dignity for Americans Act of 2003, which authorizes the Attorney General, upon request, to provide assistance with the investigation and prosecution of hate crimes.⁵⁵
- Voted for the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 2001 to expand the definition of hate crimes to include actual or perceived gender, sexual orientation and disability (2000).⁵⁶

50. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

51. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

52. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, May 15) S AMDT 682 to HR 1298.

53. Congressional Record 106th Congress (2000, March 29) S 2311.

54. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

55. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, January 7) S 16.

56. Congressional Record 106th Congress (2000, June 20) S AMDT 3473 to S 2549.

SOCIAL SECURITY SURVIVOR AND SPOUSAL BENEFITS: UNCLEAR

Edwards responded as follows to a question regarding extending Social Security survivor and spousal benefits to same-sex partners, “I support the extension of partnership benefits to committed gay and lesbian couples.”⁵⁷

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP: SUPPORTS

“I support partnership benefits for committed gay and lesbian couples.”⁵⁸

CIVIL UNIONS: UNCLEAR, DEFERS TO STATES

“I believe gay and lesbian relationships should be treated with respect and should be extended benefits under law.”⁵⁹

The Boston Globe has reported that in response to a question on his views on civil unions, “Edwards... said the issue should be left to individual states.”⁶⁰

MARRIAGE: DOES NOT SUPPORT

In response to a question on whether he supports equal access for same-sex couples to the institution of civil marriage, Edwards said, “I support partnership benefits for committed gay and lesbian couples.”⁶¹

“I believe that adoption decisions should be made on a case-by-case basis in the best interests of the child, not based on discrimination.”

—John Edwards

ADOPTION: SUPPORTS

“I believe that adoption decisions should be made on a case-by-case basis in the best interests of the child, not based on discrimination.”⁶²

GAY-SUPPORTIVE EDUCATION POLICY: HAS NOT HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE ON THIS ISSUE

57. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

58. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

59. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

60. Milligan, Susan. (2003, April 26). “Gay Civil Unions Find Support in Democratic Field.” *Boston Globe*.

61. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

62. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

Richard Gephardt

A St. Louis Alderman from 1971-1976, Richard Gephardt was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1976, and has represented Missouri's 3rd Congressional district for 26 years. Gephardt will be up for Congressional reelection in 2004, and has additionally announced his presidential candidacy for the 2004 election. Gephardt was the Democratic House Minority leader for eight years until November 2002. Gephardt currently serves on the Energy Task Force, and is also the Democratic leader of the Special Committee on Election Reform. Gephardt holds a B.S. from Northwestern University and a J.D. from the University of Michigan Law School.



SEXUAL ORIENTATION NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Cosponsored the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) in 1996,⁶³ and in 2001-2,⁶⁴ which would ban sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace. He stated, “this is strong, badly-needed legislation for countless Americans who have suffered, or who are vulnerable to discrimination because they do not have protections similar to those afforded millions of their fellow citizens.”⁶⁵
- Voted to send HR 7—the social services faith-based initiative which would have exempted service providers from state and local nondiscrimination laws—back to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to add language stating that no provisions superseded state or local nondiscrimination laws (2002).⁶⁶
- Adopted a nondiscrimination policy for his Congressional office indicating that sexual orientation is not a factor in employment decisions (2002).⁶⁷

“The families of gay men and lesbians who contribute to Social Security throughout their working lives should be afforded the same benefits that the families of heterosexual Americans receive upon death of a spouse.”

—Richard Gephardt

63. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1996, September 10) S 2056.

64. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, July 31) HR 2692.

65. “Kennedy Introduces Employment Non-Discrimination Act of 2001.” (2001, July 31). White House Bulletin.

66. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, July 16) HR 7 Roll Call no. 253 (2001, July 19).

67. Human Rights Campaign. (2002, Nov. 5).

- Voted against an amendment to ban the use of funds in the bill to carry out a DC Commission on Human Rights order that the Boy Scouts of America reinstate two gay leaders and compensate them \$50,000 each (2001).⁶⁸
- Opposed an attempt to forbid the use of federal funds to enforce Executive Order 13087, which prohibits discrimination by federal agencies in hiring, firing and promotion of individuals based on sexual orientation (1998).⁶⁹

GENDER IDENTITY NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: UNCLEAR

- In response to the question, “Do you support the inclusion of gender identity as a category in nondiscrimination laws, and would you support an Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA that includes gender identity and therefore transgender people as well as lesbian, gay and bisexual people?”, Gephardt’s campaign office stated, “[Gephardt] believes that equal protection under the law should be extended to all Americans.”⁷⁰ While this clearly indicates Gephardt opposes discrimination against transgender people, it does not make clear whether he would support a nondiscrimination law that explicitly covers gender identity.

Gephardt voted to send the faith-based initiative back to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to add language stating that no provisions superseded state or local nondiscrimination laws.

PEOPLE WITH HIV/AIDS, PREVENTION/TREATMENT: SUPPORTS

- Gephardt’s presidential campaign office stated, “Gephardt has been champion of increased funding for HIV/AIDS treatment, prevention, research and housing. He supports comprehensive sex-education programs and prevention efforts that are vital to ending the spread of sexually-transmitted diseases”(2003).⁷¹ AIDS activists agreed Gephardt has a strong record on HIV/AIDS.
- Did not vote on an amendment to the global AIDS bill that specified that “of the amount set aside for HIV/AIDS prevention in bilateral assistance, 33% should go to abstinence-until-marriage programs.”⁷²
- Cosponsored the Early Treatment of HIV Act, which would expand Medicaid to people living with HIV and provide states with the option to cover low-income HIV-infected individuals as “categorically needy” (2002).⁷³
- Voted for the Nadler/Crowley/Shays Amendment to HR 2684, that would restore \$10 million that had been cut from the Housing Opportunities for People With AIDS Program (1999).⁷⁴
- Opposed an amendment to the DC appropriations bill that would prohibit the use of funds to operate a needle exchange program in Washington, DC (1999).⁷⁵

68. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, September 25) H AMDT 311 to HR 2944.

69. Congressional Record 105th Congress (1998, August 5) H AMDT 855 to HR 4276.

70. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

71. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

72. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, May 1) H AMDT 111 to HR 1298. Legislative aide Gary Gibson said Gephardt was travelling, but that he would have voted against the abstinence-only provision had he been in Washington.

73. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, June 18) H AMDT 433 to HR 2063.

74. Congressional Record 106th Congress (1999, September 8) HR 2684.

75. Congressional Record 106th Congress (2000, September 14) H AMDT 1038 to HR 4942.

LIFTING THE MILITARY BAN: SUPPORTS

- Gephardt's presidential campaign office stated, "Sexual orientation should not be a bar to military service. Dick Gephardt believes the 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' policy has been a failure, and he supports its elimination. Gays and lesbians have served with valor in our armed services, and they will continue to do so under a Gephardt administration."⁷⁶
- Voted for "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy in 1993.⁷⁷

SEXUAL ORIENTATION-INCLUSIVE HATE CRIMES LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Cosponsored the Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act which would authorize the Attorney General to assist in the criminal investigation or prosecution of a hate crime (2001).⁷⁸
- Cosponsored the Hate Crimes Prevention Act, which covers actual or perceived sexual orientation, gender, and disability (1999).⁷⁹
- Voted against an amendment to the Juvenile Justice bill that would have prohibited the Department of Justice from producing literature, curriculum, etc., that would "discriminate against, denigrate or otherwise undermine the religious or moral beliefs" of any juvenile or adult in programs authorized by the bill (1999).⁸⁰ This amendment was believed to undermine the effectiveness of hate-crimes prevention programs, especially with regard to anti-GLBT hate crimes.⁸¹

SOCIAL SECURITY SURVIVOR AND SPOUSAL BENEFITS FOR SAME-SEX COUPLES: SUPPORTS

- "The families of gay men and lesbians who contribute to Social Security throughout their working lives should be afforded the same benefits that the families of heterosexual Americans receive upon death of a spouse."⁸²

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP: SUPPORTS

- Gephardt's presidential campaign office stated, "Gephardt supports domestic partner benefits. He has supported legislation to extend domestic partner benefits to federal employees—The Domestic Partnership and Obligations Act—...which would make the federal government a model for equality."⁸³

76. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

77. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1993, November 17) H ADMT 318 to HR 2401.

78. Zilber, Ariel. (2001, March 29). "Congress Aims to Enforce Hate Crimes Laws." Daily Free Press; Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, April 3) HR 1343.

79. Congressional Record 106th Congress (1999, March 11) HR 1082.

80. Congressional Record 106th Congress (1999, June 17) H AMDT 202 to HR 1501.

81. Human Rights Campaign. (2000, Jan. 6). "GLBT Issues in the 106th Congress 1st Session." Available at <http://www.hrc.org/newsreleases/2000/000106a.asp>.

82. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

83. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

- Cosponsored the Domestic Partnership and Obligations Act that would extend domestic partnership benefits to federal employees (2001).⁸⁴
- Opposed an attempt to prohibit the expenditure of funds to implement the District of Columbia domestic partnership act (2001).⁸⁵
- Voted against an amendment to prohibit the use of funds to implement San Francisco's ordinance requiring organizations contracting with the city to provide benefits to domestic partners (1998).⁸⁶
- Voted against an amendment to revoke the District of Columbia's Health Care Benefits Expansion Act, an Act that permitted unmarried cohabiting adults to register with the District and receive certain health and other legal benefits (1995).⁸⁷

CIVIL UNIONS: SUPPORTS

- Gephardt's presidential campaign office stated, "Gephardt supports civil unions for same-sex couples. He believes civil unions are the best way to provide legal recognition to the relationships of same-sex couple[s] and guarantee their rights."⁸⁸

MARRIAGE: OPPOSES

- "Gephardt opposes civil marriage for same-sex couples."⁸⁹
- "I think we can make progress on all the legal questions facing same-sex couples. You have private companies moving aggressively in this direction. You have state laws like Vermont coming to this conclusion. Down the road, who knows? Maybe we will make progress [on marriage too]. But right now, same-sex couples should have legal rights that everyone else has."⁹⁰
- Voted to pass the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) in 1996,⁹¹ which prohibited federal recognition of the marriages of same-sex couples and declared that states were free to refuse recognition of such marriages performed in other states.⁹²

ADOPTION: SUPPORTS

- "Dick Gephardt supports equal adoption rights. The focus must always be on giving the children who are waiting to be adopted the opportunity of stability in a permanent and loving family. To achieve this goal it is important to widen the pool of potential adopters to find suitable parents for children who are waiting."⁹³

84. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, February 14) HR 638.

85. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, Sept. 25) H AMDT 310 to HR 2944.

86. Congressional Record 105th Congress (1998, July 29) H AMDT 789 to HR 4194.

87. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1995, November 1) H AMDT 890 to HR 2546.

88. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

89. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

90. Bull. (2000, August 29).

91. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1996, September 10) HR 3396 H AMDT 318.

92. Lewis and Edelson. (2000). p. 201.

93. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

- Voted against an amendment banning adoptions in the District of Columbia by individuals who are not related by blood or marriage (1999).⁹⁴
- Voted against an amendment that would prohibit the use of any funds to carry out joint adoptions between individuals who are not related by blood or marriage in the District of Columbia (1998).⁹⁵

GAY-SUPPORTIVE EDUCATION POLICY: OPPOSED

- Gephardt's one vote on this issue, cast nine years ago, was an anti-gay one. Congressman Gephardt voted to pass an amendment to "prohibit any local educational agency that received funds under the bill [HR6] from implementing or carrying out any program or activity which has either the purpose or effect of promoting homosexuality as a positive lifestyle alternative... language was added prohibiting the use of funds to distribute obscene materials to minors on school grounds; and clarified that nothing in the amendment is intended to be construed as asserting Federal control over a school's curriculum" (1994).⁹⁶

94. Congressional Record 106th Congress (1999, July 29) H AMDT 356 to HR 2587.

95. Congressional Record 105th Congress (1998, August 7) H AMDT 871 to HR 4380.

96. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1994, March 24) HR 6, H AMDT 490.

Bob Graham

Bob Graham began his political career as a Florida state representative from 1967 to 1971, as a state senator from 1971 to 1979, and served as governor of Florida from 1979 to 1986. He was elected U.S. Senator in 1986 and is currently serving his third term. A self-proclaimed political centrist, Graham has served as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Intelligence in the 107th Congress. Graham holds a B.S. from University of Florida, Gainesville and an L.L.B. from Harvard Law School. *Senator Graham was sent a survey from the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force regarding his positions on issues affecting the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender community. Despite many telephone inquiries by NGLTF staff and being given more than a month to respond, he failed to do so.*



Graham “would support ‘the general principle of recognizing the legal rights of gays and lesbians short of marriage.’”

—*Boston Globe*,
April 26, 2003

SEXUAL ORIENTATION NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Cosponsored the Equal Rights and Equal Dignity for Americans Act of 2003, which strengthens the enforcement of existing civil rights laws and prohibits employment discrimination based on sexual orientation.⁹⁷
- Cosponsored a resolution to prohibit employment discrimination in the Senate based on sexual orientation (2003).⁹⁸
- Voted for Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) in 1996, which would ban sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace.⁹⁹

GENDER IDENTITY NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: UNCLEAR

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position regarding this issue.

PEOPLE WITH HIV/AIDS, PREVENTION/TREATMENT: SUPPORTS

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position regarding this issue.

97. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, January 7) S 1.

98. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, March 5) S Res 74.

99. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1996, September 10) S 2056.

- Voted against requiring that one third of prevention funds in the global AIDS bill be reserved for abstinence-only-until-marriage programs (2003).¹⁰⁰
- Cosponsored a resolution to call on the U.S. to invest heavily in AIDS treatment, prevention, and research and to support the formation of a Global AIDS and Health Fund. (2001).¹⁰¹
- Cosponsored the reauthorization of the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency (CARE) Act—which represents the largest discretionary federal investment in treating individuals with HIV and AIDS—in 2000¹⁰² and 1995¹⁰³ and cosponsored the original bill in 1990.¹⁰⁴
- Voted to prevent people with the AIDS virus from permanently immigrating to the United States in 1993.¹⁰⁵
- Voted against a motion to table, or kill, an amendment that would ban the use of funds for any activities that would promote or encourage homosexual activity as part of federally funded AIDS information and education programs (1988).¹⁰⁶

LIFTING THE MILITARY BAN: OPPOSED; VOTED FOR ‘DON’T ASK, DON’T TELL’

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey which asked his position regarding this issue.
- Supported “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy (1993).¹⁰⁷

SEXUAL ORIENTATION-INCLUSIVE HATE CRIMES LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Cosponsored the Equal Rights and Equal Dignity for Americans Act of 2003, which authorizes the Attorney General, upon request, to provide assistance with the investigation and prosecution of hate crimes.¹⁰⁸
- Cosponsored and voted for the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 2001 to expand the definition of hate crimes to include actual or perceived gender, sexual orientation and disability (2000).¹⁰⁹

SOCIAL SECURITY SURVIVOR AND SPOUSAL BENEFITS: UNCLEAR

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position regarding this issue.

100. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, May 15) S AMDT 682 to HR 1298.

101. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, June 29) S Res 119.

102. Congressional Record 106th Congress (2000, March 29) S 2311.

103. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1995, March 28) S 641.

104. Congressional Record 101st Congress (1990, March 16) S 2240.

105. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1993, February 18) S AMDT 39 to S 1.

106. Congressional Record 100th Congress (1988, April 28) S AMDT 1992 to S 1220; Project Vote Smart. “Key Vote: AIDS Research and Education--Promoting Homosexuality.” Available at <http://www.vote-smart.org>.

107. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1993, October 6) HR 2401. See S AMDT 783 to S 1298.

108. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, January 7) S 16.

109. Congressional Record 106th Congress (2000, June 20) S AMDT 3473 to S 2549.

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP: APPEARS TO SUPPORT

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position regarding this issue.
- *The Boston Globe* reported that Graham “said... he would support ‘the general principle of recognizing the legal rights of gays and lesbians short of marriage’” (2003).¹¹⁰
- Voted to table, or kill, an amendment to the District of Columbia appropriations bill that was aimed at preventing the District of Columbia from implementing a domestic partner registration system (1992).¹¹¹

CIVIL UNIONS: UNDECIDED

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position regarding this issue.
- *The Boston Globe* reported that Graham “said he would need to study the Vermont law further before making a decision on civil unions, but added that he would support ‘the general principle of recognizing the legal rights of gays and lesbians short of marriage.’”¹¹²

MARRIAGE: OPPOSES

- “I personally believe marriage... is between a man and a woman.”¹¹³
- Voted for the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA)¹¹⁴ that prohibited federal recognition of the marriages of same-sex couples and declared that states were free to refuse recognition of such marriages performed in other states.¹¹⁵

“I personally believe marriage... is between a man and a woman.”
—Bob Graham, April 2003

ADOPTION: UNCLEAR

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position regarding this issue.

GAY-SUPPORTIVE EDUCATION POLICY: OPPOSED

- Senator Graham’s one vote on this issue, cast nine years ago, was an anti-gay one. Graham supported an amendment to the Improving America’s Schools Act prohibiting federal funds “for instructional materials, instruction, counseling, or other services on school grounds, from being used for the promotion of homosexuality as a positive lifestyle alternative” (1994).¹¹⁶

110. Milligan. (2003, April 26).

111. Congressional Record 102nd Congress (1992, July 30) S AMDT 2799 to HR 5517.

112. Milligan. (2003, April 26).

113. Milligan. (2003, April 26).

114. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1996, September 10) HR 3396.

115. Lewis and Edelson. (2000). p. 201.

116. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1994, August 2) S AMDT 2433 to S 1513.

John Kerry

A graduate of Yale University and Boston College Law School, John Kerry is a decorated Vietnam veteran and is known for his later opposition to the war as a spokesperson for Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Kerry worked as a District Attorney in Massachusetts until he was elected U.S. Senator in 1984. One of Kerry's first acts in the Senate was to sponsor sexual orientation nondiscrimination legislation in 1985. He currently serves as the Democratic Ranking Member on the Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee, as a member of the Finance Committee, Foreign Relations Committee, and the Committee of Commerce, Science, and Transportation. Kerry is also the Democratic Ranking Member of the Senate's Hispanic Task Force.



“I will vote against this bill [DOMA], though I am not for same-sex marriage, because I believe that this debate is fundamentally ugly and flawed.”

—John Kerry, 1996

SEXUAL ORIENTATION NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Cosponsored a resolution to prohibit employment discrimination in the Senate based on sexual orientation (2003).¹¹⁷
- Adopted a nondiscrimination policy for his Congressional offices indicating that sexual orientation is not a factor in their employment decisions (2002).¹¹⁸
- Cosponsored the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) which would ban sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace (2001).¹¹⁹
- Voted for Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) in 1996, which would ban sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace.¹²⁰
- Sponsored the Civil Rights Protection Act of 1985, which would have amended the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.¹²¹

GENDER IDENTITY NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: UNCLEAR

- In response to the question, “Do you support the inclusion of gender identity as a category in nondiscrimination laws, and would you support an Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) that includes gender identity and therefore transgender people as well as les-

117. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, March 5) S Res 74.

118. Human Rights Campaign. (2002, Nov. 5).

119. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, July 31) S 1284.

120. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1996, September 10) S 2056.

121. Congressional Record 99th Congress, S 1432.

bian, gay and bisexual people?”, Senator Kerry responded, “I strongly believe that discrimination cannot be tolerated in our workplaces. I have supported the Employment Non-Discrimination Act since it was first introduced during the 103rd Congress. My personal office policies include a prohibition against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity, and I have supported legislation to amend Senate rules to prohibit employment discrimination.”¹²² Senator Kerry signed a pledge not to discriminate in Congressional hiring on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.

PEOPLE WITH HIV/AIDS, PREVENTION/TREATMENT: SUPPORTS

- Introduced, along with Senator Bill Frist (R-TN), the U.S. Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, TB, and Malaria Act. The bill would amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to increase the U.S. government’s funding of international HIV/AIDS efforts from approximately \$1.7 billion in 2003 to \$1.9 billion in 2004 (2002). This was seen as starting the conversation in the Senate that led to the unanimous passage in May 2003 of HR 1298, the United States Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, TB, and Malaria Act of 2003. AIDS activists characterized Kerry as one of Congress’s top leaders on HIV/AIDS policy.¹²³
- Spoke on the Senate floor against requiring that one third of prevention funds in the global AIDS bill be reserved for abstinence-only-until-marriage programs (2003).¹²⁴
- Cosponsored the Early Treatment of HIV Act to expand medicaid coverage for low-income individuals infected with HIV (2002).¹²⁵
- Supports comprehensive sex education. Kerry circulated a letter among Senate Finance Committee Democrats and to Jim Jeffords (I-VT) and Olympia Snowe (R-ME) that supports giving states the option to implement their own comprehensive sexuality education programs (2002).¹²⁶
- Cosponsored a resolution calling on the U.S. to invest heavily in AIDS treatment, prevention, and research and to support the formation of a Global AIDS and Health Fund (2001).¹²⁷
- Cosponsored a bill to reauthorize the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act (CARE)—which represents the largest discretionary federal investment in treating individuals with HIV and AIDS—in 2000¹²⁸ and 1995¹²⁹ and cosponsored the original bill in 1990.¹³⁰
- Sponsored the Vaccines for the New Millennium Act to boost contributions to the International AIDS Vaccine Initiative, a non-profit group working to promote development of an HIV vaccine in 2000.¹³¹

122. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

123. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2002, May 15). S 2525.

124. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, May 15) S AMDT 682 to HR 1298. Kerry did not vote because he was traveling, but clearly opposed the abstinence-only provision.

125. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2002, June 5). S 987.

126. Kerry, John, Bingaman, Jeff, and Torricelli, Robert G. (2002, June 11). “Letter to Chairman Baucus and Ranking Member Grassley.” United States Senate.

127. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, June 29) S Res 119.

128. Congressional Record 106th Congress (2000, March 29) S 2311.

129. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1995, March 28) S 641.

130. Congressional Record 101st Congress (1990, March 16) S 2240.

131. Congressional Record 106th Congress (2000, March 1) S 2132.

- Voted to prevent people with the AIDS virus from permanently immigrating to the United States in 1993.¹³²
- Voted for a motion to table, or kill, an amendment that would ban the use of funds for any activities that would promote or encourage homosexual activity as part of federally funded AIDS information and education programs (1988).¹³³

LIFTING THE MILITARY BAN: SUPPORTS

- Kerry states, “I support an end to the ban on openly gay, lesbian, and bisexual service members. I testified to this point before the Committee on Armed Services and encourage President Clinton to take action to rescind the ban.”¹³⁴
- Opposed “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy (1993).¹³⁵

SEXUAL ORIENTATION-INCLUSIVE HATE CRIMES LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Voted for the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 2001 to expand the definition of hate crimes to include actual or perceived gender, sexual orientation and disability (2000).¹³⁶

SOCIAL SECURITY SURVIVOR AND SPOUSAL BENEFITS: SUPPORTS

- Supports granting same-sex couples access to Social Security survivor and spousal benefits.¹³⁷

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP: SUPPORTS

- “I believe that same-sex couples should be granted basic rights, including access to pensions, health insurance, family medical leave, bereavement leave, hospital visitation, survivor benefits, and other basic legal protections that families and children need. I have supported legislation to provide domestic partners of federal employees the benefits available to spouses of federal employees.”¹³⁸
- Cosponsor of the Domestic Partnership Benefits and Obligations Act of 2002, a bill to provide benefits to domestic partners of federal employees.¹³⁹
- Voted to table, or kill, an amendment to the District of Columbia appropriations bill that was aimed at preventing the District of Columbia from implementing a domestic partner registration system (1992).¹⁴⁰

132. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1993, February 18) S AMDT 39 to S 1.

133. Congressional Record 100th Congress (1988, April 28) S AMDT 1992 to S 1220; Project Vote Smart. “Key Vote: AIDS Research and Education--Promoting Homosexuality.” Available at <http://www.vote-smart.org>.

134. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

135. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1993, October 6) HR 2401. See S AMDT 783 to S 1298.

136. Congressional Record 106th Congress (2000, June 20) S AMDT 3473 to S 2549.

137. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April). Follow-up conversation with Kerry campaign to clarify the meaning of his response cited in footnote 103.

138. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

139. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2002, August 1) S 2874.

140. Congressional Record 102nd Congress (1992, July 30) S AMDT 2799 to HR 5517.

CIVIL UNIONS: SUPPORTS

- “I support civil unions, which afford same-sex couples equality at the level of state policy.”¹⁴¹

MARRIAGE: DOES NOT SUPPORT

- Voted against the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA)¹⁴² that prohibited federal recognition of the marriages of same-sex couples and declared that states were free to refuse recognition of such marriages performed in other states.¹⁴³ He was the only U.S. Senator up for reelection to vote against DOMA that year.¹⁴⁴
- At a 1996 candidates forum, Kerry told members of the Lesbian and Gay Political Alliance of Massachusetts that he opposed same-sex marriage due to his religious beliefs.¹⁴⁵ Kerry was also quoted in *Time* magazine as saying, “I will vote against this bill [DOMA], though I am not for same-sex marriage, because I believe that this debate is fundamentally ugly and flawed.”¹⁴⁶ He did not directly respond to a question on the NGLTF survey regarding his position on same-sex marriage. Since 1996 Kerry has not publicly stated opposition to same-sex marriage.

Kerry sponsored the Civil Rights Protection Act of 1985, which would have prohibited discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

ADOPTION: SUPPORTS*

- He states, “I support the right of qualified individuals and couples to adopt children regardless of sexual orientation. Children who are born to, or adopted by, one member of a gay or lesbian couple deserve the security of two legally recognized parents including health benefits, child support, and other financial security.”¹⁴⁷

**Although the survey asked Kerry’s position on equal treatment of prospective adoptive or foster parents regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity, Kerry’s statement does not indicate a position on discrimination based on gender identity.*

GAY-SUPPORTIVE EDUCATION POLICY: OPPOSED

- Supported an amendment to the Improving America’s Schools Act prohibiting federal funds “for instructional materials, instruction, counseling, or other services on school grounds, from being used for the promotion of homosexuality as a positive lifestyle alternative” (1994).¹⁴⁸

141. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

142. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1996, September 10)HR 3396.

143. Lewis and Edelson. (2000). p. 201.

144. National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. (1996, November 6) “Supporters Of Gay Marriage Reelected; Polls Stand Against DOMA And Hold On To Their Seats.” Available at <http://www.nglftf.org/news/release.cfm?releaseID=167>.

145. Sean Cahill, now director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute, was a board member of the Lesbian and Gay Political Alliance of Massachusetts and attended the 1996 candidates forum in Boston.

146. Faltermayer, Charlotte, Horowitz, Janice M., Luscombe, Belinda, Rubin, Jeffery C., Sanders, Alain L., Simons, Lewis M., and Urquhart, Sidney. (1996, September 23). “Campaign Notebook.” *Time Magazine*. p. 22.

147. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

148. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1994, August 2) S AMDT 2433 to S 1513.

Dennis Kucinich

Dennis Kucinich began his political career at the age of 23 as a member of Cleveland's City Council (1969-75). At 31, he was elected mayor of Cleveland, becoming the youngest person ever elected mayor of a major U.S. city, but he lost his re-election bid for a second two-year term in 1979. Fifteen years later, Kucinich was elected to the Ohio Senate in 1995. In 1996, he was elected to Congress and is currently the Chair of the Progressive Caucus. He serves on the Committee on Education and the Workforce and the Committee on Government Reform. Kucinich holds bachelors and masters degrees from Case Western Reserve University.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Voted to send HR 7—the social services faith-based initiative which would have exempted service providers from state and local civil rights laws—back to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to add language stating that no provisions superseded state or local nondiscrimination laws (2002).¹⁴⁹
- Cosponsored the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) that would ban sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace (2001).¹⁵⁰
- Voted against an amendment to HR 2944 to ban the use of funds in the bill to carry out a DC Commission on Human Rights order that the Boy Scouts of America reinstate two gay leaders and compensate them \$50,000 each (2001).¹⁵¹
- Adopted a nondiscrimination policy for his Congressional office indicating that sexual orientation is not a factor in employment decisions.¹⁵²



“Ultimately, [Kucinich] believes gays should be allowed to marry as a matter of ‘equality and justice and fairness,’ as he told the *Boston Globe* (4/26/03).”

—Kucinich campaign

149. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, July 16) HR 7 Roll Call no. 253 (2001, July 19).

150. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, July 31) S 1284.

151. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, September 25) H AMDT 311 to HR 2944.

152. GenderPAC. (2003, May 1).

- Opposed an attempt to forbid the use of federal funds to enforce Executive Order 13087, which prohibits discrimination by federal agencies in hiring, firing, and promotion of individuals based on sexual orientation (1998).¹⁵³

GENDER IDENTITY NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: UNCLEAR

- Kucinich did not respond directly to a question regarding his position on inclusion of gender identity as a protected class in a federal nondiscrimination law.¹⁵⁴ In response to the question, his campaign office stated, “Kucinich, co-chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, has a comprehensive non-discrimination policy, including non-discrimination based on gender identity.”¹⁵⁵ Congressman Kucinich signed a pledge not to discriminate in Congressional hiring on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.¹⁵⁶

PEOPLE WITH HIV/AIDS, PREVENTION/TREATMENT: SUPPORTS

- “[S]upports comprehensive sex education and prevention efforts aimed at stemming the spread of sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancy.”¹⁵⁷ AIDS activists praised Kucinich’s “strong” record on HIV/AIDS.
- Voted against an amendment to the global AIDS bill that specified that “of the amount set aside for HIV/AIDS prevention in bilateral assistance, 33% should go to abstinence-until-marriage programs” (2003).¹⁵⁸
- Cosponsored the Early Treatment of HIV Act, which would expand Medicaid to people living with HIV and provide states with the option to cover low-income HIV-infected individuals as “categorically needy” (2001).¹⁵⁹
- Voted for the Nadler/Crowley/Shays Amendment to HR 2684, that would restore \$10 million that had been cut from the Housing Opportunities for People With AIDS Program (1999).¹⁶⁰
- Opposed an amendment to the DC appropriations bill that would prohibit the use of funds to operate a needle exchange program in Washington, DC (1999).¹⁶¹

LIFTING THE MILITARY BAN: SUPPORTS

- Kucinich’s campaign office stated, “As President, he would end the ban on openly gay, lesbian and bisexual individuals serving in the U.S. Armed forces.”¹⁶²

153. Congressional Record 105th Congress (1998, August 5) H AMDT 855 to HR 4276.

154. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

155. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

156. GenderPAC. (2003, May 1). “Congressional Signatories.” Available at www.gpac.org/workplace/congressionalsignatories.html. (Accessed May 12, 2003).

157. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

158. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, May 1) H AMDT 111 to HR 1298.

159. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, June 18) HR 2063.

160. Congressional Record of the 106th Congress (1999, September 8) HR 2684.

161. Congressional Record 106th Congress (2000, September 14) H AMDT 1038 to HR 4942.

162. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

SEXUAL ORIENTATION-INCLUSIVE HATE CRIMES LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Cosponsored the Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act which would authorize the Attorney General to assist in the criminal investigation or prosecution of a hate crime.¹⁶³
- Cosponsored the Hate Crimes Prevention Act, which covers actual or perceived sexual orientation, gender, and disability (1999).¹⁶⁴
- Voted against an amendment to the Juvenile Justice bill that would have prohibited the Department of Justice from producing literature, curriculum, etc., that would “discriminate against, denigrate or otherwise undermine the religious or moral beliefs” of any juvenile or adult in programs authorized by the bill (1999).¹⁶⁵ This amendment was believed to undermine the effectiveness of hate-crimes prevention programs.¹⁶⁶

SOCIAL SECURITY SURVIVOR AND SPOUSAL BENEFITS: SUPPORTS

- “[S]upports equal treatment of same-sex couples under Social Security survivor benefits and spousal benefits.”¹⁶⁷

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP: SUPPORTS

- “[S]upports domestic partner benefits to same-sex partners of employees, such as health insurance coverage and hospital visitation rights.”¹⁶⁸
- Cosponsored the Permanent Partners Immigration Act, an amendment to the Immigration and Nationality act that would offer same-sex partners of U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents the same immigration rights as legal spouses of U.S. residents (2003).¹⁶⁹
- Cosponsored the Domestic Partnership and Obligations Act (2001) that would extend domestic partnership benefits to federal employees.¹⁷⁰
- Opposed an attempt to prohibit the expenditure of funds to implement the District of Columbia domestic partnership act (2001).¹⁷¹
- Voted against an amendment to prohibit the use of funds to implement San Francisco’s ordinance requiring organizations contracting with the city to provide benefits to domestic partners (1998).¹⁷²

163. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, April 3) HR 1343.

164. Congressional Record 106th Congress (1999, March 11) HR 1082.

165. Congressional Record 106th Congress (1999, June 17) H AMDT 202 to HR 1501.

166. Human Rights Campaign. (2000, Jan. 6). “GLBT Issues in the 106th Congress 1st Session.” Available at <http://www.hrc.org/newsreleases/2000/000106a.asp>.

167. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

168. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

169. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, February 13) HR 832.

170. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, February 14) HR 638.

171. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, Sept. 25) H AMDT 310 to HR 2944.

172. Congressional Record 105th Congress (1998, July 29) H AMDT 789 to HR 4194.

CIVIL UNIONS: SUPPORTS

- Kucinich supports civil unions for same-sex couples and both state and federal recognition of these unions.
- Kucinich’s presidential campaign stated, “Congressman Kucinich goes further than supporting civil union for same-sex couples at the state level; he believes that, much like the Civil Rights legislation of the 1960s, federal law should protect civil unions, and that no state has a right to abridge basic rights to privacy. He would support the introduction of federal civil union legislation if the courts do not recognize this intrinsic right.”¹⁷³

MARRIAGE: SUPPORTS

- Kucinich’s campaign stated that, “Ultimately, he believes gays should be allowed to marry as a matter of ‘equality and justice and fairness,’ as he told the *Boston Globe* (4/26/03).”¹⁷⁴
- Also, “[h]is overriding philosophy is [that] same-sex couples and opposite sex couples should be equal in the eyes of the law. All benefits and legal entitlements available to heterosexual couples should be available to homosexual couples.”¹⁷⁵

Kucinich supports civil unions for same-sex couples and both state and federal recognition of these unions.

ADOPTION: SUPPORTS

- “[S]upports equal adoption rights regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity.”¹⁷⁶
- Voted against an amendment banning adoptions in the District of Columbia by individuals who are not related by blood or marriage (1999).¹⁷⁷
- Voted against an amendment that would prohibit the use of any funds to carry out joint adoptions between individuals who are not related by blood or marriage in the District of Columbia (1998).¹⁷⁸

GAY-SUPPORTIVE EDUCATION POLICY: HAS NOT HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE ON THIS ISSUE

173. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

174. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

175. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

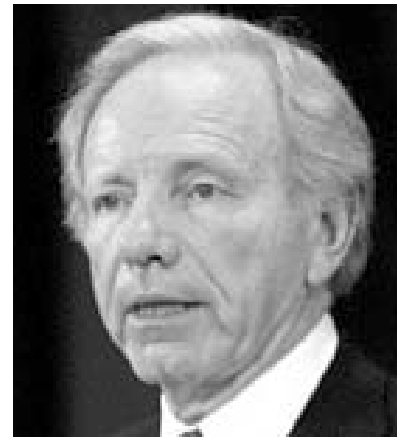
176. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

177. Congressional Record 106th Congress (1999, July 29) H AMDT 356 to HR 2587.

178. Congressional Record 105th Congress (1998, August 7) H AMDT 871 to HR 4380.

Joseph Lieberman

Joseph Lieberman served as Connecticut's Attorney General from 1983 to 1988 and has served in the U.S. Senate for the past 14 years. Lieberman sits on the Committee on Governmental Affairs and the Committee on Armed Services. He ran alongside Al Gore as the Democratic vice-presidential candidate in the 2000 presidential election. Lieberman holds bachelors and law degrees from Yale University.



"I have long opposed discrimination in employment based on sexual orientation, beginning in the Connecticut State Senate in 1975."

—Joseph Lieberman

SEXUAL ORIENTATION NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: SUPPORTIVE, BUT CONCERNS REMAIN REGARDING SENATOR LIEBERMAN'S SUPPORT FOR THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE

- "I am a long time co-sponsor and floor leader of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act. I have long opposed discrimination in employment based on sexual orientation, beginning in the Connecticut State Senate in 1975. That year I voted for a bill to end discrimination based on sexual orientation in employment, state contracting, public accommodations and housing. In 1979, I cast the tie-breaking vote on a similar bill that also banned discrimination including credit transactions. This bill passed the Senate but died in the House and discrimination in my state against gays and lesbians was not made illegal until 1991."¹⁷⁹
- Cosponsored the Equal Rights and Equal Dignity for Americans Act of 2003, which strengthens the enforcement of existing civil rights laws and prohibits employment discrimination based on sexual orientation.¹⁸⁰
- Sponsor of the Charity Aid, Recovery and Empowerment (CARE) Act (2003).¹⁸¹ Considered the Senate's version of President Bush's faith-based initiative,¹⁸² it would use taxpayer money to fund religious organizations to provide social services.

179. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

180. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, January 7) S 1.

181. Santorum, Rick. (2003, February 20). "Religious Charities Can Help." *USA Today*.

182. American Civil Liberties Union. (2002, Sept. 16). "Support Civil Rights: Oppose The Faith-Based Initiative!" Available at <http://archive.aclu.org/action/care107.html>.

Under the Lieberman/Santorum proposal, there is no explicit prohibition against discrimination. Without this protection, religious organizations could be allowed to discriminate against applicants for jobs on the basis of religion, marital status, sexual orientation, gender or gender identity, HIV status or any other characteristic that a religious organization finds objectionable.¹⁸³ Lieberman did attempt to remove the clause that exempted faith-based organizations from nondiscrimination laws, but when unsuccessful, he continued to back the CARE Act anyway.¹⁸⁴ He said, “If we agree on a role for faith-based groups in carrying out government social service programs, we ought not hesitate just because President Bush supports it.”¹⁸⁵ Opposition to the faith-based initiative stems not from President Bush’s support, but from the likelihood that people will be discriminated against in service provision and employment, that some groups may use public funds to proselytize, and that regulatory oversight and professional training standards are greatly diminished.¹⁸⁶

- Cosponsored a resolution to prohibit employment discrimination in the Senate based on sexual orientation (2003).¹⁸⁷
- Adopted a nondiscrimination policy for his Congressional office indicating that sexual orientation is not a factor in employment decisions (2002).¹⁸⁸
- Cosponsored the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) that would ban sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace (2001).¹⁸⁹
- Voted for Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) in 1996, that would ban sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace.¹⁹⁰

GENDER IDENTITY NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: UNCLEAR

- In response to the question, “Do you support the inclusion of gender identity as a category in nondiscrimination laws, and would you support an Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) that includes gender identity and therefore transgender people as well as lesbian, gay and bisexual people?” Lieberman responded, “As for gender identity, I do not believe that gay men or lesbians should be discriminated against simply because they do not precisely meet society’s traditional stereotypes of how men or women should behave or appear. I would support a law mak-

183. Senator Lieberman disputes the claim that the faith-based initiative’s silence on discrimination opens the door to more widespread discrimination on the basis of religion. Lieberman claims that the 1972 amendments to Title VII—which contain an exemption for religious institutions from Title VII’s prohibition on religious discrimination—already allow religious organizations to discriminate in employment, even for positions funded by the federal government. However, civil rights and civil liberties groups ranging from the NAACP to Americans United for Separation of Church and State, the American Civil Liberties Union, and People for the American Way believe that the Title VII exemption cannot constitutionally apply to jobs in religious institutions that are funded by the federal government. According to these groups, the Title VII exemption is constitutionally limited to privately funded positions. Indeed, although the Supreme Court has not definitively ruled on this issue, at least one federal court has held that it would be unconstitutional for a religious institution to invoke the Title VII exemption for a federally funded job with that group. See *Dodge v. Salvation Army*, 1989 WL 53857 (S.D. Miss. Jan. 9, 1989).

184. Americans United for Separation of Church and State Press Release. (2001, February 7). “White House Endorses ‘Compromise’ On Faith-Based Initiative With Sens. Lieberman, Santorum.” Available at <http://www.au.org/press/pr020702.htm>.

185. Benedetto, Richard. (2001, September 3) “Lieberman May be Bush’s Faith Initiatives Best Hope” *USA Today*.

186. For more information see <http://www.nglft.org/downloads/familypolicy/familypolicy-chap08.pdf>, pp. 172-173.

187. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, March 5) S Res 74.

188. Human Rights Campaign. (2002, Nov. 5).

189. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, July 31) S 1284.

190. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1996, September 10) S 2056.

ing clear that the ban on sexual orientation-based discrimination cannot be evaded by claiming that, for example, a man was fired not for being gay but for being effeminate. As an employer myself, I have taken a pledge not to discriminate in this way.”¹⁹¹ Senator Lieberman signed a pledge not to discriminate in Congressional hiring on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.¹⁹²

PEOPLE WITH HIV/AIDS, PREVENTION/TREATMENT: SUPPORTS

- “I do support comprehensive sex education and prevention efforts aimed at stemming the spread of sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancy.”¹⁹³
- Voted against requiring that one third of prevention funds in the global AIDS bill be reserved for abstinence-only-until-marriage programs (2003).¹⁹⁴
- Cosponsored a resolution to call on the U.S. to invest heavily in AIDS treatment, prevention, and research and to support the formation of a Global AIDS and Health Fund. (2001).¹⁹⁵
- Cosponsored a bill to reauthorize the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act (CARE)—which represents the largest discretionary federal investment in treating individuals with HIV and AIDS—in 2000¹⁹⁶ and 1995¹⁹⁷ and cosponsored the original bill in 1990.¹⁹⁸
- Voted to prevent people with the AIDS virus from permanently immigrating to the United States in 1993.¹⁹⁹

“I have asked my staff to review the matter of Social Security survivor and spousal benefits.”

—Joseph Lieberman

LIFTING THE MILITARY BAN: SUPPORTS

- “I oppose a ban that would prohibit openly gay, lesbian and bisexual Americans from serving in the military.”²⁰⁰
- Opposed “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy in 1993.²⁰¹

191. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

192. GenderPAC. (2003, May 1).

193. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

194. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, May 15) S AMDT 682 to HR 1298.

195. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, June 29) S Res 119.

196. Congressional Record 106th Congress (2000, March 29) S 2311.

197. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1995, March 28) S 641.

198. Congressional Record 101st Congress (1990, March 16) S 2240.

199. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1993, February 18) S AMDT 39 to S 1.

200. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

201. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1993, October 6) HR 2401. See S AMDT 783 to S 1298.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION-INCLUSIVE HATE CRIMES LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Cosponsored the Equal Rights and Equal Dignity for Americans Act of 2003, which authorizes the Attorney General, upon request, to provide assistance with the investigation and prosecution of hate crimes.²⁰²
- Cosponsored the Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act of 2001 (formerly the Hate Crimes Statistics Act) to expand federal jurisdiction to reach violent hate crimes because of real or perceived sexual orientation, gender and disability (2001).²⁰³
- Voted for the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 2001 to expand the definition of hate crimes to include actual or perceived gender, sexual orientation and disability (2000).²⁰⁴

SOCIAL SECURITY SURVIVOR AND SPOUSAL BENEFITS: UNDECIDED

- Senator Lieberman responded as follows to a question regarding extending Social Security survivor and spousal benefits to same-sex partners, “I support Sen. Dayton’s bill extending benefits to federal employees, and I have asked my staff to review the matter of Social Security survivor and spousal benefits.”²⁰⁵ This bill however would not extend Social Security benefits to domestic partners and would only cover federal employees.

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP: SUPPORTS

- “I think it is wrong that couples that have been together for decades can be forbidden from visiting one another in a hospital. I think it is patently unfair that people cannot get health insurance for their partner while someone doing the same work can. That is why I support Senator Dayton’s bill that would provide domestic partner benefits to federal employees.”²⁰⁶
- “I believe that the basic American ideals of fairness and equality demand that we end discrimination against gay and lesbian Americans. We need to take concrete steps to recognize legal rights of gay domestic partnerships, which is a reason why I support the provision of domestic partner benefits to federal employees.”²⁰⁷
- In March 2003, Lieberman supported legislation that would give domestic partners the same benefits available to married spouses of federal employees. These benefits would include life and health insurance, retirement pay and compensation for on-the-job injuries. “If it doesn’t get done in the next two years, I intend to introduce and sign it as president of the United States.”²⁰⁸

202. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, January 7) S 16.

203. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2001, March 1) S 625.

204. Congressional Record 106th Congress (2000, June 20) S AMDT 3473 to S 2549.

205. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

206. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

207. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

208. Pickler, Nedra. (2003, March 31) “Lieberman Pressing Domestic Partner Bill.” Associated Press.

- Has said, “When gay and lesbian Americans choose a partner, their relationship entails rights and responsibilities that should be protected by law.”²⁰⁹
- Voted to table, or kill, an amendment to the District of Columbia appropriations bill that was aimed to prevent the District of Columbia from implementing a domestic partner registration system (1992).²¹⁰

CIVIL UNIONS: UNCLEAR, DEFERS TO STATES

- “I am running for President, not governor of a state, and it has long been my position that a state may adopt for itself any civil union law that it wishes.”²¹¹
- The *Boston Globe* has reported that in response to a question on his views on civil unions, “Lieberman said the issue should be left to individual states.”²¹²

MARRIAGE: OPPOSES

- “I do not support gay marriage.”²¹³
- Voted for the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA)²¹⁴ that prohibited federal recognition of the marriages of same-sex couples and declared that states were free to refuse recognition of such marriages performed in other states.²¹⁵

ADOPTION: SUPPORTS

- “I believe that adoption decisions should be made in the best interest of the child. I do not believe that sexual orientation or gender identity should disqualify a potential parent.”²¹⁶

GAY-SUPPORTIVE EDUCATION POLICY: OPPOSED

- Senator Lieberman’s one vote on this topic, cast nine years ago, was an anti-gay one. Lieberman supported an amendment to the Improving America’s Schools Act prohibiting federal funds “for instructional materials, instruction, counseling, or other services on school grounds, from being used for the promotion of homosexuality as a positive lifestyle alternative” (1994).²¹⁷

209. Milligan. (2003, April 26).

210. Congressional Record 102nd Congress (1992, July 30) S AMDT 2799 to HR 5517.

211. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

212. Milligan. (2003, April 26).

213. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

214. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1996, September 10) HR 3396.

215. Lewis and Edelson. (2000). p. 201.

216. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, May).

217. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1994, August 2) S AMDT 2433 to S 1513.

Carol Moseley Braun

Carol Moseley Braun has a bachelors degree from the University of Illinois and a law degree from the University of Chicago. Moseley Braun was an assistant U.S. Attorney from 1972-77. In 1978 she was elected to the General Assembly of the Illinois Legislature and served as Assistant Majority Leader until 1987. She then served as Cook County Recorder of Deeds (1988-92). In 1992, she became the first female African American Senator in U.S. history. As a U.S. Senator from Illinois, she served on the Finance, Banking and Judiciary Committees. In 1998, President Clinton named her special consultant to the Department of Education and, in 1999, she became U.S. Ambassador to New Zealand. Moseley Braun announced her presidential candidacy on February 12, 2003.



SEXUAL ORIENTATION NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Voted for Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) in 1996, which would ban sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace.²¹⁸
- In 1982 said, “Civil liberties ought not to be denied because of sexual orientation. I support gay rights in housing, employment, education, and public accommodation.”²¹⁹

GENDER IDENTITY NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Supports the inclusion of gender identity as a category in nondiscrimination laws.²²⁰

“The military has no more of a rational basis for banning gays and lesbians in 1993 than it did for segregating African Americans in 1943.”

—Carol Moseley Braun

218. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1996, September 10) S 2056.

219. Independent Voters of Illinois-Independent Precinct Organization Questionnaire. (1982, February 1).

220. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

PEOPLE WITH HIV/AIDS, PREVENTION/TREATMENT: SUPPORTS

- Supports comprehensive sex education and prevention efforts aimed at stemming the spread of sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancy.²²¹
- Cosponsored a bill to reauthorize the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act, which represents the largest discretionary federal investment in treating individuals with HIV and AIDS (1995).²²²
- Voted against an amendment to prevent people with the AIDS virus from permanently immigrating to the United States in 1993.²²³

LIFTING THE MILITARY BAN: SUPPORTS

- Supports ending the ban on openly gay, lesbian, and bisexual service members.²²⁴
- Opposed “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy (1993).²²⁵
- She stated, “We no longer have a ban but we do have a muzzle. ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ will allow non-heterosexual individuals to serve in the military, but it does not allow them the freedom to do so and be accepted without regard to their sexual orientation. They are called upon to deny themselves. I hope that we will some day as a nation be able to welcome the full diversity of our people in all walks of life.”²²⁶
- “While the discrimination faced by African Americans often takes different forms from that faced by gay and lesbian Americans, this much we can say with absolute certainty: the military has no more of a rational basis for banning gays and lesbians in 1993 than it did for segregating African Americans in 1943.”²²⁷

SEXUAL ORIENTATION-INCLUSIVE HATE CRIMES LAWS: SUPPORTS

- “Fully supports inclusion of real and perceived sexual orientation, gender, and gender identity in hate crimes legislation. Her long-standing awareness and concern with the issue of hate crimes dates back to her time in the Illinois state legislature, where she sponsored Illinois’ first hate crimes law.”²²⁸

SOCIAL SECURITY SURVIVOR AND SPOUSAL BENEFITS: SUPPORTS

- Supports equal treatment of same-sex couples under Social Security survivor benefits and spousal benefits.²²⁹

221. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

222. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1995, March 28) S 641.

223. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1993, February 18) S AMDT 39 to S 1.

224. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

225. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1993, October 6) HR 2401. See S AMDT 783 to S 1298.

226. Wright, James. (1993, July 24). “Black Leaders Support Lifting Ban on Gays.” *Washington Afro-American*. p. 8.

227. Grenier, Richard. (1993, Feb. 28). “Sending His Case to the Showers.” *Washington Times*. p. B3.

228. Correspondence with Siddhartha Mitter, Issues Director, Carol Moseley Braun for President (2003, May 16).

229. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP: SUPPORTS

- Supports domestic partner benefits, which can offer concrete benefits to same-sex partners of employees, such as health insurance coverage and hospital visitation rights.²³⁰

CIVIL UNIONS: SUPPORTS

- Supports civil unions, which afford same-sex couples equality at the level of state policy.²³¹

MARRIAGE: SUPPORTS

- Supports equal access for same-sex couples to civil marriage.²³²
- Voted against the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA)²³³ that prohibited federal recognition of the marriages of same-sex couples and declared that states were free to refuse recognition of such marriages performed in other states.²³⁴
- “People that want to get married should do that. I don’t see any reason why it has to be gender specific. Whatever gender decides to hitch up, that should be their business” (1996).²³⁵

“People that want to get married should do that. I don’t see any reason why it has to be gender specific. Whatever gender decides to hitch up, that should be their business.”

—Carol Moseley Braun

ADOPTION: SUPPORTS

- Supports equal consideration of prospective adoptive or foster parents regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity.²³⁶
- “I support legislation for all these purposes [to allow equal consideration for adoption or foster parenting] because I believe the federal government has no business interfering in these highly personal matters.”²³⁷

GAY-SUPPORTIVE EDUCATION POLICY: SUPPORTS

- Voted against an amendment to the Improving America’s Schools Act prohibiting federal funds “for instructional materials, instruction, counseling, or other services on school grounds, from being used for the promotion of homosexuality as a positive lifestyle alternative” (1994).²³⁸

230. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

231. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

232. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

233. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1996, September 10) HR 3396 H AMDT 318.

234. Lewis and Edelson. (2000). p. 201.

235. Talbott, Basil. (1996, May 20) “Senator: Gay Marriages none of U.S. Business.” *Chicago Sun-Times*. p. 14.

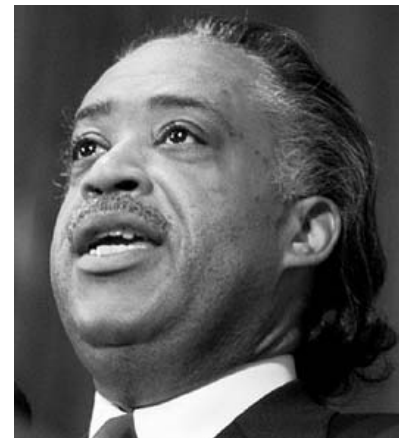
236. Response to NGLTF survey. (2003, April).

237. IMPACT Questionnaire. (1992, January 18).

238. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1994, August 2) S AMDT 2433 to S 1513.

Al Sharpton

Ordained a Pentecostal minister at age 10, political and civil rights activist Rev. Al Sharpton was the first African American candidate for the New York State Senate in 1978. He was the director of the National Youth Movement and, in 1991, founded the National Action Network, a civil rights organization working for economic justice and political empowerment of the disenfranchised. In 1992 and 1994 he ran unsuccessfully for U.S. Senate and in 1997 for mayor of New York City. Sharpton led large demonstrations in New York City in response to the 1997 police assault on Haitian immigrant Abner Louima, and the 1999 fatal shooting by police officers of unarmed Ghanaian immigrant Amadou Diallo. *Rev. Sharpton was sent a survey from the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force regarding his positions on issues affecting the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender community. Despite many telephone inquiries by NGLTF staff and being given more than a month to respond, he failed to do so.*



“I’m the only candidate that, whether I win or lose, I can perform a gay marriage, and I will do that.”

—Rev. Al Sharpton

SEXUAL ORIENTATION NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: SUPPORTS

- During his 1992 run in the Democratic Senate primary in New York, he said he supported a federal ban on discrimination based on sexual orientation.²³⁹
- Has repeatedly protested the exclusion of lesbians and gays from the New York St. Patrick’s Day Parade.²⁴⁰
- Demanded that the Justice Department investigate the firing of Morgan Stanley employee Christian Curry in 1999, and “to look at homophobia and racism on Wall Street.” Curry, who is black and heterosexual, contended that he was fired after a gay magazine ran nude pictures for which he posed.²⁴¹

GENDER IDENTITY NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: UNCLEAR

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position regarding this issue.

239. Abrams, Robert. (1992, Sept. 6). “The New York Democratic Senate Candidates on the Issues.” *New York Times*. p. 53.

240. Schindler, Paul. “Is Rudy Ready for his Close-Up?” *The Advocate.com*. Available at http://www.advocate.com/html/bigapple/0499_bigapple_poll.asp.

241. “Call for Federal Investigation in Morgan Stanley Case.” (1999, July 20). *The Advocate*.

PEOPLE WITH HIV/AIDS, PREVENTION/TREATMENT: SUPPORTS

- Has spoken at various events, including a Prayer Breakfast for the Healing of HIV/AIDS, organized by Balm in Gilead, a New York-based nonprofit working to mobilize African American clergy in response to HIV/AIDS (2002).²⁴²
- Supported New York City shelter for women and children with HIV after it came under fire from city officials for alleged financial irregularities.²⁴³

LIFTING THE MILITARY BAN: UNCLEAR

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position on this issue.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION-INCLUSIVE HATE CRIMES LAWS: SUPPORTS

- During his 1992 run in the Democratic Senate primary in New York, he supported passage of a federal hate crimes bill inclusive of sexual orientation.²⁴⁴

SOCIAL SECURITY SURVIVOR AND SPOUSAL BENEFITS: UNCLEAR

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position regarding this issue.

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP: SUPPORTS

- Has said, “I want... to continue to support gay and lesbian rights, including domestic partnership.”²⁴⁵
- During his 1992 run in the Democratic Senate primary in New York, he came out in favor of domestic partnership rights for same-sex couples.²⁴⁶

CIVIL UNIONS: SUPPORTS

- Supports civil unions for same-sex couples.²⁴⁷

242. Jenkins, Colette. (2002, March 1). “Some Area Pastors Address It, But Prayer Breakfast with Sharpton Struggles.” *Akron Beacon Journal*.

243. Kershaw, Sarah. (2001, April 23). “In Harlem, Deep Concern Over Accusations Against a Source of Local Pride.” *New York Times*.

244. Abrams, Robert. (1992, Sept. 6). “The New York Democratic Senate Candidates on the Issues.” *New York Times*. p. 53.

245. Chibbaro, Lou. (2003, January 28). “Presidential Hopefuls Court Gays.” *Washington Blade*.

246. Abrams, Robert. (1992, Sept. 6). “The New York Democratic Senate Candidates on the Issues.” *New York Times*. p. 53.

247. Milligan. (2003, April 26).

MARRIAGE: SUPPORTS

- Supports marriage equality for same-sex couples. When interviewed by Tim Russert of NBC's Meet the Press on the issue, he stated, "I feel that people have the right to choose and I would support that no matter what the lifestyle.... Whatever the lifestyle, people should have the right to choose their own life."²⁴⁸
- Has said, "I'm the only candidate that, whether I win or lose, I can perform a gay marriage, and I will do that."²⁴⁹

Sharpton has repeatedly protested the exclusion of lesbians and gays from the New York St. Patrick's Day Parade.

ADOPTION: UNCLEAR

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position regarding this issue.

**GAY-SUPPORTIVE EDUCATION POLICY:
HAS NOT HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE ON THIS ISSUE**

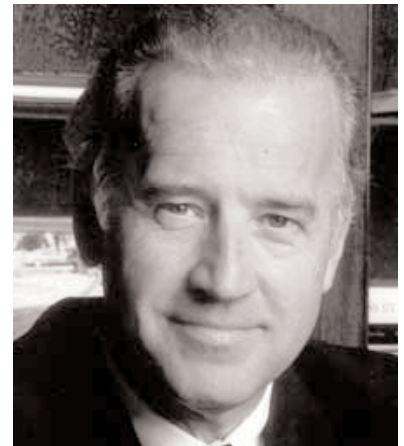
248. Russert, Tim. (2002, August 25). "Meet the Press" (Interview). NBC.

249. Chibbaro. (2003, January 28).

possible candidate

Joseph R. Biden Jr.

Joseph R. Biden earned a law degree from Syracuse University School of Law and a bachelors degree from the University of Delaware. Biden was first elected U.S. Senator in 1972. In 1988 he ran a brief presidential campaign. Currently he is the ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and is a member of the Judiciary Committee and the Senate Democratic Steering and Coordination Committee. *Senator Biden was sent a survey from the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force regarding his positions on issues affecting the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender community. Biden's office said he was not yet filling out any surveys, as he had not made a decision yet on whether or not to run.*



SEXUAL ORIENTATION NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Cosponsored the Equal Rights and Equal Dignity for Americans Act of 2003, which strengthens the enforcement of existing civil rights laws and prohibits employment discrimination based on sexual orientation.²⁵⁰
- Cosponsored a resolution to prohibit employment discrimination in the Senate based on sexual orientation (2003).²⁵¹
- Cosponsored the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) which would ban sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace (2001).²⁵²
- Voted for Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) in 1996, which would ban sexual orientation discrimination in the workplace.²⁵³

Biden voted to expand the definition of hate crimes to include actual or perceived gender, sexual orientation and disability.

250. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, January 7) S 1.

251. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, March 5) S Res 74.

252. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, July 31) S 1284.

253. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1996, September 10) S 2056.

GENDER IDENTITY NONDISCRIMINATION LAWS: UNCLEAR

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey which asked his position regarding this issue.
- Has not signed a pledge to not discriminate on the basis of gender identity, as have eight other U.S. Senators and 68 U.S. Representatives, according to the Gender Public Advocacy Coalition.²⁵⁴

PEOPLE WITH HIV/AIDS, PREVENTION/TREATMENT: SUPPORTS

- Voted against requiring that one third of prevention funds in the global AIDS bill be reserved for abstinence-only-until-marriage programs (2003).²⁵⁵
- Cosponsored the U.S. Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, TB, and Malaria Act. The bill would amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to increase the U.S. government's funding of international HIV/AIDS efforts from approximately \$1.7 billion in 2003 to \$1.9 billion in 2004 (2002).²⁵⁶
- Cosponsored a resolution to call on the U.S. to invest heavily in AIDS treatment, prevention, and research and to support the formation of a Global AIDS and Health Fund (2001).²⁵⁷
- Cosponsored a bill to reauthorize the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act—which represents the largest discretionary federal investment in treating individuals with HIV and AIDS—in 2000²⁵⁸ and 1995²⁵⁹ and cosponsored the original bill in 1990.²⁶⁰
- Voted to prevent people with the AIDS virus from permanently immigrating to the United States in 1993.²⁶¹

Biden voted for the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) that prohibited federal recognition of the marriages of same-sex couples and declared that states were free to refuse recognition of such marriages performed in other states.

LIFTING THE MILITARY BAN: SUPPORTS

- Opposed “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy (1993).²⁶²

SEXUAL ORIENTATION-INCLUSIVE HATE CRIMES LAWS: SUPPORTS

- Cosponsored the Equal Rights and Equal Dignity for Americans Act of 2003, which authorizes the Attorney General, upon request, to provide assistance with the investigation and prosecution of hate crimes.²⁶³

254. GenderPAC. (2003, May 1).

255. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, May 15) S AMDT 682 to HR 1298.

256. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2002, May 15) S 2525.

257. Congressional Record 107th Congress (2001, June 29) S Res 119.

258. Congressional Record 106th Congress (2000, March 29) S 2311.

259. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1995, March 28) S 641.

260. Congressional Record 101st Congress (1990, March 16) S 2240.

261. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1993, February 18) S AMDT 39 to S 1.

262. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1993, October 6) HR 2401. See S AMDT 783 to S 1298.

263. Congressional Record 108th Congress (2003, January 7) S 16.

- Voted for the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 2001 to expand the definition of hate crimes to include actual or perceived gender, sexual orientation and disability (2000).²⁶⁴

SOCIAL SECURITY SURVIVOR AND SPOUSAL BENEFITS: UNCLEAR

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position regarding this issue.

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP: DOES NOT OPPOSE

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position regarding this issue.

Voted to table, or kill, an amendment to the District of Columbia appropriations bill that was aimed at preventing the District of Columbia from implementing a domestic partner registration system (1992).²⁶⁵

CIVIL UNIONS: UNCLEAR

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position regarding this issue.

MARRIAGE: OPPOSES

- Voted for the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA)²⁶⁶ that prohibited federal recognition of the marriages of same-sex couples and declared that states were free to refuse recognition of such marriages performed in other states.²⁶⁷

ADOPTION: UNCLEAR

- Did not respond to NGLTF survey that asked his position regarding this issue.

GAY-SUPPORTIVE EDUCATION POLICY: OPPOSED

- Senator Biden's one vote on this issue, cast nine years ago, was an anti-gay one. Biden supported an amendment to the Improving America's Schools Act prohibiting federal funds "for instructional materials, instruction, counseling, or other services on school grounds, from being used for the promotion of homosexuality as a positive lifestyle alternative" (1994).²⁶⁸

264. Congressional Record 106th Congress (2000, June 20) S AMDT 3473 to S 2549.

265. Congressional Record 102nd Congress (1992, July 30) S AMDT 2799 to HR 5517.

266. Congressional Record 104th Congress (1996, September 10) HR 3396 H AMDT 318.

267. Lewis and Edelson. (2000). p. 201.

268. Congressional Record 103rd Congress (1994, August 2) S AMDT 2433 to S 1513.

2004 Democratic Primaries and Caucuses

Date	Jurisdiction	Primary/ Caucus
January 13, 2004	DC	P
January 19, 2004	Iowa	C
January 27, 2004	New Hampshire	P
February 3, 2004	Arizona	P
February 3, 2004	Delaware	P
February 3, 2004	Missouri	P
February 3, 2004	New Mexico	C
February 7, 2004	South Carolina	P
February 7, 2004	Michigan	C
February 8, 2004	Maine	C
February 10, 2004	Virginia	P
February 17, 2004	Wisconsin	P
February 24, 2004	Idaho	C
February 27, 2004	Utah	C
March 2, 2004	California	P
March 2, 2004	Connecticut	P
March 2, 2004	Georgia	P
March 2, 2004	Maryland	P
March 2, 2004	Massachusetts	P
March 2, 2004	New York	P
March 2, 2004	Ohio	P
March 2, 2004	Rhode Island	P
March 2, 2004	Vermont	P
March 9, 2004	Florida	P
March 9, 2004	Louisiana	P
March 9, 2004	Oklahoma	P

Date	Jurisdiction	Primary/ Caucus
March 9, 2004	Tennessee	P
March 9, 2004	Texas	P
March 16, 2004	Illinois	P
March 20, 2004	Wyoming	C
April 27, 2004	Pennsylvania	P
May 4, 2004	Indiana	P
May 4, 2004	North Carolina	P
May 11, 2004	Nebraska	P
May 11, 2004	West Virginia	P
May 18, 2004	Kentucky	P
May 18, 2004	Oregon	P
May 25, 2004	Arkansas	P
May 25, 2004	Washington	P
June 1, 2004	Alabama	P
June 1, 2004	Mississippi	P
June 1, 2004	South Dakota	P
June 8, 2004	Montana	P
June 8, 2004	New Jersey	P
	no primary	Alaska
	no primary	Colorado
	no primary	Hawaii
	not determined	Kansas
	no primary	Minnesota
	no primary	Nevada
	not determined	North Dakota

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NOTES

NOTES

NOTES

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

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bestsellers

Campus Climate

FOR GAY, LESBIAN, BISEXUAL,
AND TRANSGENDER PEOPLE:
A NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

This report, by Susan R. Rankin, details the experiences of GLBT people at 14 colleges and universities across the country. Based on a survey of nearly 1700 students, faculty, and staff, *Campus Climate* documents anti-GLBT bias and harassment, along with levels of institutional support for GLBT people. It highlights differences in experiences between various identity groups and concludes with recommendations for creating an inclusive and supportive environment for GLBT people. (May 2003; 70 pp.; \$10.00; www.nglhf.org/library/)

Family Policy

ISSUES AFFECTING GAY, LESBIAN,
BISEXUAL AND TRANSGENDER FAMILIES

By Sean Cahill, Mitra Ellen and Sarah Tobias. Groundbreaking in its breadth and depth, this report examines family policy as it relates to GLBT people and their loved ones. It provides information useful to those advancing supportive legislation and policy, particularly at the state and local levels. Covers partner recognition; anti-gay adoption and foster policies; youth and elder issues; health care and end-of-life concerns; and the impact of welfare reform and the faith-based initiative. (December 2002; 216 pp.; \$20.00; www.nglhf.org/library/)

The 2000 Census and Same-Sex Households

A USER'S GUIDE

By Judith Bradford, Kirsten Barrett and Julie A. Honnold. In 2000, the U.S. Census allowed same-sex couples living together to identify themselves as "unmarried partners." This national data set offers a rich trove of information on members of our community, easily accessible on-line. Maps show concentrations of same-sex households in all 50 states and a dozen major cities. (October 2002; 162 pp.; \$20.00; www.nglhf.org/library/)

Say it Loud and I'm Black and I'm Proud

BLACK PRIDE SURVEY 2000

This largest-ever study of Black GLBT people is the result of a two-year collaboration between nine Black GLBT Pride organizations, the NGLTF Policy Institute, and five African-American researchers: Juan Battle, Cathy J. Cohen, Dorian Warren, Gerard Ferguson, and Suzette Audam. The survey of nearly 2,700 respondents documents significant and often surprising demographics, experiences, and policy priorities of Black GLBT people. (March 2002; 86 pp.; \$10.00; www.nglhf.org/library/)

Leaving Our Children Behind

WELFARE REFORM AND THE GAY, LESBIAN,
BISEXUAL, AND TRANSGENDER COMMUNITY

This report, by Sean Cahill and Kenneth T. Jones, describes the reactionary agenda of senior policymakers in the Bush administration to change social service provision in the United States. Examines welfare reform and the impact of marriage and fatherhood initiatives, abstinence-only-until-marriage education, and the faith-based initiative on the GLBT community. (December 2001; 112 pp.; \$10.00; www.nglhf.org/library/)

Transgender Equality

A HANDBOOK FOR ACTIVISTS
AND POLICYMAKERS

A handbook providing activists and policymakers with the tools they need to pass transgender-inclusive nondiscrimination and anti-violence legislation. Written by Paisley Currah and Shannon Minter, with an introduction by Jamison Green. This handbook is an invaluable resource guide providing model legislative language, talking points, responses to frequently asked questions, and a comprehensive resource listing. (June 2000; 96 pp.; \$10.00; www.nglhf.org/library/)

Other NGLTF Publications

Social Discrimination and Health

THE CASE OF LATINO GAY MEN AND HIV RISK

This report, by renowned AIDS researchers Rafael Diaz and George Ayala, documents the correlations among homophobia, racism, poverty, and HIV risk, and has significant implications for prevention strategies. Although Latinos were the subject of this case study, the findings are relevant to other communities of color and marginalized groups. Available in English and Spanish. (July 2001; SOLD OUT; download at www.nglhf.org/library/)

Outing Age

PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES AFFECTING GAY, LESBIAN, BISEXUAL AND TRANSGENDER ELDERS

This groundbreaking report reviews social science literature and explains what we do and do not know about the demographics of GLBT elders. *Outing Age* outlines major public policy issues facing GLBT seniors—including federal aging programs, disability, long-term care and caregiving, nursing homes, and Social Security—and presents recommendations for advocacy to move public policy toward equal treatment of this population. (Nov. 2000; SOLD OUT; download at www.nglhf.org/library/)

The 2000 National Election Study and Gay and Lesbian Rights

SUPPORT FOR EQUALITY GROWS

For the first time in 2000, a solid majority of Republican voters expressed support for sexual orientation nondiscrimination laws. Columbia University Political Scientist Alan Yang documents increased support for gay adoption and strong majority support for military service. (June 2001; 10 pp.; www.nglhf.org/library/)

Out and Voting II

THE GAY, LESBIAN AND BISEXUAL VOTE IN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS, 1990-1998

An in-depth profile of the gay, lesbian, and bisexual voting bloc and the first-ever analysis of the impact of this emerging constituency in national congressional elections. By Dr. Robert Bailey of the Rutgers University School of Public Policy and Administration. Among the report's findings: out GLB voters comprise roughly 5% of the national electorate, and 8.8% of voters in cities of 500,000 or more. (January 2000; 54 pp.; \$10.00; www.nglhf.org/library/)

From Wrongs to Rights

PUBLIC OPINION ON GAY AND LESBIAN AMERICANS MOVES TOWARDS EQUALITY

This groundbreaking report, written by Alan Yang of the Department of Political Science at Columbia University, tracks public opinion trends over the last 26 years on various gay and lesbian rights issues including: employment and housing nondiscrimination, family issues, marriage, adoption, and the military. (December 1999; 32 pp.; \$10.00; www.nglhf.org/library/)

Domestic Partnership Organizing Manual

This manual, by Policy Institute Research Fellow Sally Kohn, provides comprehensive information on what domestic partnership benefits are, why employers should adopt these benefits, and how employees and citizens organize effectively for policy change. Sample policies and lists of who offers domestic partnership benefits are included. (May 1999; 140 pp.; \$10.00; www.nglhf.org/library/)

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