

chapter ten

PRIMARY EXPLOSION

By the time April 5th had rolled around, only eight weeks after our decision to run, the reality of actually getting ads on the air was sinking in. Our senior campaign staff, a fancy name for the six or seven men who gathered each Sunday night at our home to pray, threw a mini pizza party in celebration of what God was doing. All our bills were paid, and we now had over ten thousand dollars in the bank to run the television commercials. We could officially announce our intentions to the press now that we had the money to actually make the needed media buys.

On Monday, April 6th, I prepared the short, but to the point, press release that appeared at the beginning of this chapter. We mailed the release to all newspapers and television stations in and around Indiana's ninth district. To be honest, I fully expected a barrage of calls and media interviews the second they received that release. A week went by with total silence...**not one call.**

Late Monday, April 13, David Goetz from the *Louisville Courier Journal* called. The *Courier* was, by far, the largest newspaper reaching into our district. Mr. Goetz scheduled an interview with me for the next day. We decided to meet at the *Golden Corral* in New Albany. I am a big fan of their Philly Steak & Cheese Sandwiches.

The interview with Mr. Goetz was open, relaxed, and quite thorough. I can't remember the exact amount of time we spent there, but I'm sure it was nearly two and a half hours. I tried to fully explain the intent and purpose for why we were doing what we were doing in our Congressional race. Not being seasoned at such interviews, I just internally prayed that I would honor the Lord by what I said.

After the interview, I followed Mr. Goetz over to his office to show him the specific ads we had prepared for the primary. There was no doubt that he recognized the historical significance and power of what he was viewing, but as a true journalistic pro, he never said so.

The first major media interview was completed. It was my prayer that the story would travel far and wide. It was also my prayer that God would touch David Goetz and journalists like him all over the district. **No human being can see our ads without being profoundly affected in one way or another.**

Once I returned home, I authorized Mark Canada, our campaign media buyer, to spend one thousand dollars in Indianapolis and about five thousand dollars in the Louisville, Kentucky television markets. Perhaps we have never made this clear to the readers, but the ninth district in Indiana has no television stations. It takes over four hours to drive across this very rural district, the most beautiful land in Indiana, I might add.

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To reach all the voters of the 9th district, a campaign must buy four television markets. Though the largest percentage of voters in the district are part of the Louisville, Kentucky media market, a significant percentage watch Indianapolis (IN), Evansville (IN), and Cincinnati, Ohio television as well. Our plan was always to buy Indianapolis and Louisville two weeks before the primary and all the markets for the last week. By God's grace, we met this goal. The ads were set to start running on Monday, April 20, 1992.

The next day, Wednesday, April 15, the story of our intent to run the advertisements hit the front page of the *Louisville Courier Journal*. The headline read: "**Indiana candidate to show aborted fetuses in TV ads**". The story was well written and to the point. I can say with certainty that **life has never been the same** since that particular day. *The news was out and the media exploded.*

Because I was unaware that the story was front page news, I had not changed my schedule for Wednesday. In the morning I did a radio interview on a local Christian station. After that I drove to Scottsburg, a town forty miles from our home, for a meeting with a local pastor. Out of courtesy to Lori, who so faithfully held down the fort while I was traveling, I called for messages.

"Mike, you won't believe the calls!", she exclaimed. "Why, have you been getting a few calls about the *Courier* article?", I innocently asked. "Calls...the phone's been ringing off the hook!" she excitedly told me. Lori gave me the messages and assured me that she would be praying for me.

Within two hours I met with a reporter from WAVE 3 TV from Louisville. We had agreed to meet at a church in Scottsburg. This was my first real television interview about the campaign and about our planned ads. The campaign had fully expected the media uproar and had been praying faithfully for weeks that God would give me wisdom, compassion, and clarity of thought and mind when the interviews began. God granted that request.

From this first interview even until this very day, I have never been nervous in an interview. **It is much easier to defend the truth than it is a lie.** God can provide the wisdom any of His saints need to face a world that hates the truth. I not only believe this, I have lived this truth.

The WAVE 3 broadcast was just a taste of things to come. The obvious bias and unprofessional handling of the abortion subject by television media was projected in each and every well-crafted phrase. Terms like *anti-abortion* cause instead of *pro-life* cause were used to describe our campaign. The most blatant bias was expressed by the general manager of WAVE 3: "*If there is any way we can keep it off the air, we will keep it off the air.*"

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Another obvious bias in the WAVE 3 story was the fact that they blurred the images of the aborted babies in the newscast. I have seen thousands of dead bodies on newscasts over the years. **Not once in my lifetime have I seen graphic pictures blurred.** We were grateful that they actually aired much of what I said. The things they had me saying on camera were things I had never heard on television before. I knew there must have been hundreds of Christians out there dancing for joy that God was going to allow the truth of abortion on television!

The next day, Thursday morning, April 16, I personally delivered the broadcast-quality tapes of the commercials to all three network-affiliate television stations in Louisville, Kentucky. As you might guess, each and every news department extensively interviewed me at that time. I prayed quietly in my heart that God would grant me wisdom. I did not want the messenger to cloud the message.

As the word began to spread like wildfire, stations all over the country were beginning to air many of the stories originating out of Louisville. A new battle had begun. **Christians now had access to the airwaves, secular airwaves.**

This particular story was not being handled like other major headline stories. Stations were obsessed with it. Where a normal major story might receive two or three minutes of time per newscast, our story was generating five, ten, and as many as fifteen minutes per newscast!! The pattern went on like this for as many as fourteen days! Each and every story featured our two commercials, and, although the graphic images of aborted babies were still being blurred, the message was getting out. The focus was on the evidence. The evidence of abortion is a dead baby.

On Thursday evening, it became abundantly clear that television stations were doing everything legally possible to keep our ads from airing the next Monday, the first day we had scheduled a buy. Stations did not hesitate to tell their viewers that this was their plan. No less than three stations had already appealed to the FCC.

WHAS TV 11, of Louisville, made it clear that their attorneys were on the case. Their general manager stated, *"We are trying to find a way not to show the commercials."* The media bias against us was not just displayed off-camera, these statements were made in their nightly newscasts.

Television stories included **experts** explaining the law to the general audience. One *so-called expert* told the reporter that campaign commercials purchased by federal candidates could include outright **lies, profanity, or anything else the candidate wanted to air.** *"A station's hands are tied"*, he lamented. Obviously, these comments strongly were suggesting that our pro-life spots were misrepresentations and not the actual truth.

Other quotes from biased general managers included accusations of my *"pushing the envelope"*, *"running just to air the ads"*, and a classic quote from the local general manager of station WDRB, *"I think it's a revolting commercial"*. No bias here, is there?

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By Friday I had done more interviews than I could count. The campaign people were amazed at what the Lord was doing. The morning *Louisville Courier Journal* was headlined: "**Abortion foe entered race to get ads on TV**". Totally ignoring the fact that the Bailey for Life for Congress team had organized an extensive campaign organization, distributed over 250,000 fliers articulating our positions on many issues, and had raised over seven times the money my seasoned political opponent had raised, the media began to attack me as the **ONE ISSUE CANDIDATE**.

The most blatantly biased thing that happened to me, perhaps in the entire campaign, was a live interview that occurred on WHAS TV 11 in Louisville. The segment aired from 5:30 - 6:00 p.m. on Friday, April 17. I was late in arriving to the set due to an Indianapolis interview, but I managed to make it back to Louisville before the TV 11 news broadcast was over.

The first segment of the newscast, which I saw later on my home VCR, was hosted by Jean West, the regular WHAS anchor for that particular broadcast. In addition to myself, the station had invited a local philosophy instructor to be on the show that day.

Jean's statements and questions were filled with obvious sarcasm in her voice. Openly, on the air, she stated that she didn't want her children to see the ads. She smiled when the college ethics instructor critiqued my methods and nodded her head approvingly when interviewing station personnel. Jean clearly informed the television audience that "*a lot of people in the station were insulted and disgusted with the ads*".

When interviewing me, she clearly pointed out that I only ran for Congress to get the ads on the air. I interrupted her in the middle of that question to inform her that I was in the race to win. Hopefully, I told her, we would win many people over to the pro-life position. I made no secret of the need to bring Christian values back into government.

After the camera lights were turned off, Mrs. West stood up behind her desk and shouted, "*Mr. Bailey, I want you to know that I hate those ads. You should not have the right to air them. This is disgusting!*". A little surprised at her open bias, I simply posed this question to her, "*Is this what you call unbiased journalism?*" She walked off the set angrily, and I followed her shortly after into the news department, or shall I say the **lions' den**.

No less than seven regular news personalities and reporters approached me as I entered the newsroom. These people literally surrounded me and asked me to reconsider my decision to air the ads. Many told me I was doing the wrong thing and that this could only hurt my chances for election. Wisely so, one of their producers rescued me from the unhappy crowd and escorted me outside to my car. The producer begged me to forgive the station and not to mention this event. I told her I appreciated her kindness, but that I would make no promises.

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I am not pointing out this incident now to bring harm or vengeance upon WHAS TV 11. I am telling the story of this incident because it is simply a small example of the open hostility that television media has towards Christians and pro-lifers.

In their obsession to hurt me, the media was being used of God to help me. What was once an obscure Congressional primary, had turned into a regional and national spectacle.

Millions were seeing our ads before the first ad had ever aired. Also on display was the horrid example of media bias. Both print publications and television stations displayed a revealing sinister, leftist, pro-abortion bent. Some of this could be seen in the Friday, April 17 edition of the Louisville *Courier Journal*. The story contained numerous biased quotes from local television station managers:

"What's to keep someone from qualifying for federal office strictly to get a point of view across?"

Raybun Matthews
General Manager WLKY

What's wrong with that, Mr. Matthews?! I thought that is what free speech and the American political system were all about. (Please excuse my editorial here.)

"The Federal Communications Commission needs desperately to grab hold of this and control it"

Joe Goleniowski
General Manager WHAS

Control what, Mr. Goleniowski? Free speech rights? The right of conservative Christians to actually have their point of view shown in prime time? What are you saying?

In addition to these comments, this is what some of these station managers said when asked by reporters **what they thought** about the Bailey for Life for Congress ads:

"awful, in terrible taste"

Raybun Matthews
General Manager WLKY

"I think they are in incredibly poor taste"

Guy Hempel
General Manager WAVE

"Disgusting"

Hal Stopfel
General Manager WDRB

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Are these guys describing their own television nightly line-up or what? Unless I am mistaken, television stations and news departments are supposed to be unbiased in their reporting. Did these guys skip school the day they taught that? It didn't seem all that long ago that stations prided themselves in their fair and unbiased reporting. Now, the overwhelming evidence proves otherwise.

The calls from the media continued and other kinds of calls began. Literally hundreds of supporters and irate callers began to contact our office. Lori and I had to get help! We received numerous death threats, even some in the mail, but mostly people were calling to cuss us out and get their anger off their chests. This too we anticipated, but you are still never totally ready for it. Some calls were funny, some down-right mean, and some were desperately calling out for help.

You can always tell the people who are calling out for help. Their voices quiver and rarely do they ever sound totally rational. Once we could get these callers to simmer down a bit, we shared with them that our message was one of hope. *"There is no sin so big that God cannot forgive it"*, we told caller after caller. *"Jesus Christ will take your anger and bitterness and bring healing into your life, if you let Him."*

You see, thousands of area women have killed their unborn children. These poor women have been suppressing the guilt of their sin. Every day these women suffer because they made the *wrong choice* to kill their babies. In some, many years of denial had calloused their hearts. Their pain was real.

Our commercials were causing agonizing guilt to hundreds of area women who have had abortions. There was nothing personally rewarding in causing such pain and outrage in the community, but there was no other alternative. The ads, by convincing women that abortion is wrong, could save thousands of women from a life of mental torment that many women bear because they have killed their own flesh and blood.

Hundreds of Christians were praying for these hurting women and for us at the office. We needed wisdom and perseverance to carry on the next two grinding weeks. Our political opponent, Charlie Loos, was staying quiet. I think he believed our political tactics would cause our self-destruction.

By Monday, April 20, the day the ads began hitting the airwaves uncensored by the media, thousands of calls had been registered at television stations in both Indianapolis and Louisville, Kentucky. WISH TV 8 reported nearly 20,000 calls to their **tele-vote** line in just five hours. **60% of those callers approved of our right to air the ads!** The media frenzy continued and, with that, the incredible opportunity to share our message. Media coverage was not limited to regional coverage. Stations from all over the nation were calling, including national networks **ABC & CBS**.

Abortion was the "hot" story that particular week on the national scene. Operation Rescue was trying to shut down abortion clinics in Buffalo, New York. The Supreme

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Court was hearing a case from Pennsylvania that could possibly overturn Roe vs Wade. A young woman in Texas got booted out of her grade school for showing pictures of aborted babies. To top all of this, some religious, pro-life Congressional candidate in southern Indiana was putting pictures of aborted babies in his television advertising.

Both ABC & CBS aired their interviews with me with accompanying editorializing that Monday night. Lori and I and hundreds of the campaign workers knew by now that only God could have coordinated it all. It was not euphoria from national attention that we were experiencing. It was gratitude to our God for exposing the true plight of America's unborn to so many millions. What was going on was not natural, it was **supernatural**.

On Tuesday, April 22, we were again featured on the front page of the *Louisville Courier Journal*. The headline: "**Calls swamp TV station airing ads on dead fetuses**". Later on, that same week, a Louisville woman decided to sue us because we had (*get this*) violated her Constitutional rights. All week long newspaper and television stations were praying (not literally) that perhaps some type of restraining order would be issued, thereby, effectively removing our ads from the airwaves. It never happened.

Federal courts have no jurisdiction over the free speech rights issued under FCC guidelines. Anyway, if a restraining order would have been granted on the basis of this lady being offended, Christians could have effectively closed down the entire television industry. Christians are offended every time they turn on the television set. *Solution to those offended*: HIT THE OFF BUTTON.

Another blessing that came from the publicity was money to air more ads. Literally, money from all over the country was pouring in. We had originally projected to purchase 120 ads for about \$15,000. By the end of the first week, God had sent in enough finances to purchase 230 ads for about \$25,000. Again, everyone involved in the campaign was being humbled by the work of the Lord. He had turned our small gifts totalling nearly \$50,000 into a multi-million dollar national advertising campaign for America's unborn!

The truth is that the ads were reaching far beyond America's shores. International networks were contacting us and requesting tapes of the ads. As far as we can know, the **ads have been seen in Japan, Australia, France, England, Ireland, and Switzerland!**

The additional money confirmed our plans to buy air time in Cincinnati starting the following Monday. *The Cincinnati Post* featured a front cover spread on Wednesday, and we announced a press conference for downtown Cincy to be held on Friday. Though we didn't tell anyone, this was my first press conference. You could say we had to guess on how to do it right. I had our media advisor, Mark Canada, hire a firm to install a great outdoor sound system in the famous downtown *Cincinnati Fountain Square*. At noon, I showed up to speak to about 150 people. Fifty were from the press.

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I don't remember exactly what I preached about for fifteen minutes, but after I finished, the television media, represented from all over the region, asked question after question for about thirty minutes. It was during this time of answering questions that I truly realized the incredible value of having Christians run for office. I was giving Christian solutions and biblical answers to the press.

That very night, through the mediums of newspaper, radio, and television stations, millions of people were hearing my comments. **I realized then that the campaign had already succeeded in its mission.** Little did I realize, the opportunities to present the truth were just beginning.

During the remaining days of the primary we were privileged to do over twenty hours of talk radio, complete forty or more national magazine and newspaper interviews, and continue our relentless campaign to get the truth on television. I knew in my heart that minds were being changed, and we prayed that babies were being saved. We found out later that both were true.

The only thing that remained was the primary election vote. In this vote we would discover whether or not the Lord would permit us to run for five more months. It was our prayer that He would.

ELECTION '92

Campaigning Crusaders Air Graphic Anti-Abortion Ads

The candidates respond to complaints by saying their moral standards are above good taste

Indiana Republican Michael Bailey had more than a political career in mind when he decided to run for Congress in 1992. He had a mission: to expose what he has called "the holocaust of abortion."

Central to Bailey's mission was a federal law requiring any TV station that accepts political advertising to run candidates' ads uncensored.

Convinced that he had the law on his side, Bailey purchased graphic video footage of fetuses that allegedly were deliberately aborted and used the footage as the centerpiece of his ad campaign for Indiana's May 5 Republican primary.

Bailey's ads became national news when he first aired them two weeks before the primary. Complaints poured into TV stations that showed the 30-second spots.

A first-time candidate, Bailey was an underdog in the matchup against former state Auditor Charles D. Loos, whom state GOP officials had endorsed. But Bailey won the 9th District primary with a surprising 60 percent of the vote.

A new — and some say disturbing — trend has developed out of Bailey's unique anti-abortion advertising campaign. Encouraged by Bailey's success, a number of other candidates across the country who oppose abortion have adopted his tactics.

Bailey is pleased with the mimicry. "It was our hope and prayer that people would copy this," he says.

But not everyone is pleased with the latest addition to the heated abortion debate. Some viewers do not want to see the ads; broadcasters typically are reluctant to air them; and abortion rights advocates argue that the ads sensationalize an extremely personal is-



THE CINCINNATI POST

Indiana Republican Michael Bailey, a former advertising man, was first to run explicit anti-abortion commercials.

sue that should not become fodder for "negative" campaign advertising.

"They go in for the most ghastly part . . . and never take into account the condition of the mother," Rep. Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., says of the ads.

But the graphic anti-abortion ads seem unlikely to go away. Courts have upheld the right of candidates to air the ads, and Congress appears unwilling to change the law to make them illegal. Bailey and others have begun to flood the airwaves with new ads for the fall campaign.

Ads Drawn from 'Hard Truth'

The footage featured in the anti-abortion ads comes from "Hard Truth," an explicit 9½-minute documentary created in 1991 by American Portrait Films of Cleveland. The company produces and distributes films on abortion and other religious issues.

Most of the candidates' anti-abortion ads have shown footage of intact fetuses, allegedly the result of third-trimester abortions.

(Some medical experts and abortion rights advocates have argued that

the fetuses shown in the ads may have been the result of stillbirths rather than abortions, but John Hocevar, president of American Portrait Films, says the fetuses were obtained from trash bins outside abortion clinics in Houston and the Washington area.)

At least 12 candidates have aired anti-abortion ads so far; they played most prominently in Georgia, where three Republicans used the ads during the primary season.

Most of the candidates using the ads are Republicans or independents. The two Democrats to air graphic anti-abortion ads, Bob Kelleher of Montana and Don Schneller of Tennessee, lost in primaries.

Two candidates who did not gather enough signatures to get their names on the ballot aired anti-abortion ads before they were disqualified from running: Terry Spears, who had planned an independent Illinois Senate bid on the "For God, Family and Country" ticket, and Joe Baker, who did not gather enough petitions to compete in Wisconsin's GOP primary in the 5th District.

Independent presidential candidate Howard Phillips of Vienna, Va., has aired anti-abortion ads in Iowa, where he will appear on the ballot as the candidate of the Taxpayers Party.

Impact of Tactic Disputed

When responding to critics' complaints about the tactic, abortion foes who have used the ads say a moral impulse, not political strategy, motivates them.

Idaho Republican Rod Beck, who was defeated in the May 26 GOP Senate primary, said he did not run the ads merely to get elected. "People are driven by more than personal ambition in these cases," he says. "My motivation was to save babies' lives."

By Keith Glover

Bailey is convinced that the ads have done just that. "Young women cannot abort babies when they are confronted with the truth," he says. "There are hundreds of babies alive because of these efforts."

Candidates who have used the ads acknowledge that the footage is "repulsive" but say the graphic photos are a necessary evil.

Responding to those who say the ads are in bad taste, Beck said, "I find abortion in general to be repulsive and in bad taste. If there is something so horrifying that we can't stand to look at it, then why are we tolerating it?"

Abortion rights advocates, however, argue that the ads distort rather than expose the reality of abortion and inflame debate over an issue that has become increasingly prominent in campaigns at the federal and state levels.

Democratic Rep. Lee H. Hamilton, Bailey's November opponent, says the graphic ads only make it more difficult to address the abortion issue with an open mind. "I don't think this type of ad helps advance us toward a solution. I think it does exactly the opposite," he says.

Keeping a Distance

Among well-known activists in the anti-abortion movement, there is a certain ambivalence toward the graphic ads. Although abortion foes say they show a side of abortion the media have ignored, some are reluctant to endorse them.

Rep. Christopher H. Smith, R-N.J., co-chairman of the Congressional Pro-Life Caucus, has refused to comment on the ads, although he praised "Hard Truth" as "America's wake-up call to the violence of abortion," according to promotional literature for the film.

Some abortion opponents have criticized the ads. Bailey's most recent ad, which began airing Sept. 14, prompted former GOP presidential candidate Patrick J. Buchanan to cancel plans to attend a fundraiser for Bailey.

Bailey's new ad compares abortion with the mass murder of Jews in Nazi Germany. It includes footage of both aborted fetuses and victims of the Jewish Holocaust, with the U.S. flag and Nazi swastika superimposed on the screen. German dictator Adolf Hitler's voice can be heard in the background.

Jewish leaders denounced the ad when its contents were disclosed in

Bailey's Bailiwick

Michael Bailey, creator of the graphic anti-abortion TV ads that have been used by candidates across the country, is no stranger to the advertising business. In fact, it was the Indiana Republican's background in advertising that led him to the political arena.

Bailey, 35, has owned two advertising businesses since 1982: Bailey's Promotions from 1982 to 1986 and J. Michael & Associates from 1988 to 1990. (In 1987, he was involved in direct mail sales for ADVO-Systems.) During that time, Bailey did promotions for McDonald's, Domino's Pizza and Coca-Cola, among others.

Bailey, founder of Christian Media Ministries, also has been active in the religious community. In his campaign literature, he describes himself as a "born-again conservative evangelical Christian."

Bailey decided in 1990 to use his religious zeal and advertising acumen to launch an anti-abortion TV ad campaign sure to attract attention. The ads, as he envisioned them, would include explicit photos of aborted fetuses.

Bailey, however, never intended to become a candidate. Instead, he wanted to become an advertising consultant to anti-abortion candidates.

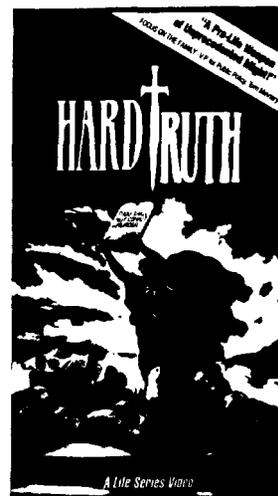
But Bailey could find no candidates willing to associate their names with his pioneering ads, so he joined the GOP race in the 9th District. He won about 60 percent of the vote in the May 5 primary.

Bailey's controversial ads — he began airing a new one Sept. 14 that compares abortion with the mass murder of Jews in Germany — have brought him plenty of publicity, but Bailey says he is not a one-issue candidate. Recently, Bailey has aired ads criticizing his opponent, Democratic Rep. Lee H. Hamilton, for not doing more to control the federal deficit during his 14 terms in Congress.

Bailey is confident that all of his ads combined will help him defeat Hamilton.

"In 28 years, he has never had one opponent run a single television ad against him," Bailey claims. "He has literally cakewalked into Congress. But he is vulnerable this year, and he is vulnerable on the abortion issue as well as the deficit."

—Keith Glover



The explicit anti-abortion ads come from the documentary "Hard Truth."

mid-August.

Indiana GOP Chairman Rex Early asked Bailey not to air the ads because he felt they would confuse the abortion issue. But Bailey refused.

He planned to showcase the ad at the fundraiser with Buchanan. Buchanan backed out of the Sept. 10 event one day before it was scheduled after top campaign officials viewed the TV spot.

"[Buchanan] is as pro-life as they come," said his spokesman, Greg Mueller, "but we felt that this was going too far. We couldn't help raise money to air such offensive ads. This was not in the best interests of the pro-life movement."

Law Gives Candidates Leeway

The flood of anti-abortion ads has spawned lawsuits and numerous complaints, both formal and informal, to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which regulates the broadcasting industry.

In Colorado, two families sued to halt ads being aired by independent Senate candidate Matthew Noah. The suit was filed on behalf of the families' children.

In July, a Washington law firm representing dozens of "unnamed" television stations requested an FCC declaratory ruling on anti-abortion ads in general; another petition, filed by the licensee of an Atlanta television

Anti-Abortion Advertisers

Below is a list of candidates who have aired or plan to air TV ads that feature graphic footage of aborted fetuses. If a candidate competed in a primary, his vote percentage is listed; other candidates will not appear on the ballot until the general election.

Name	Party, State	Office	Percentage of Primary Vote
William B. Allen	R-Calif.	Senate, 2-year term	9.0
Pro-Life Andy Anderson	R-Nev.	Senate	8.2
Michael Bailey *	R-Ind.	House (9th)	59.9
Joe Baker #	R-Wis.	House (5th)	N/A
Rodney W. Beck	R-Idaho	Senate	22.7
Daniel Becker *	R-Ga.	House (9th)	37.2; 53.3 (runoff)
Vincent J. Bruno †	R-La.	House (1st)	N/A
Jimmy Fisher	R-Ga.	House (4th)	11.4
Bob Kelleher	D-Mont.	Governor	3.2
Chad Koppie	I-Ill.	Senate	N/A
Ken Lowndes	I-N.J.	House (1st)	N/A
John Mangopoulos	R-Mich.	House (8th)	4.7
Hugh V. Murray	R-Mo.	House (2nd)	3.1
Mark Myers	R-Ga.	House (10th)	16.5
Matthew Noah	I-Colo.	Senate	N/A
Howard Phillips ††	I-Va.	President	N/A
Bryant L. Richardson	R-Del.	House (At-large)	13.2
Don Schneller	D-Tenn.	House (6th)	8.0
Terry Spears #	I-Ill.	Senate	N/A

* Primary winner

Did not submit enough petition signatures to get on ballot

† Open primary is Oct. 3.

†† Phillips has aired his ads in Iowa, where he will appear on the ballot as the Taxpayers Party candidate.

station, requested a ruling on ads being aired by Daniel Becker, the Republican nominee in Georgia's 9th District.

Both petitions sought a ban on the ads or, at the least, the authority to restrict the ads to hours when children would be less likely to see them.

But the courts and the FCC have refused to stop the ads or to allow stations to slot them in specific viewing times, arguing that they fall within standards set forth in the Federal Communications Act.

The FCC did authorize television stations to introduce the ads with a warning to parents, although most candidates included such warnings with their ads.

(The Mass Media Bureau of the FCC made the initial ruling; it is now on appeal to the full commission.)

The law governing political advertising is designed to prevent censorship of candidates' ads, whatever their content. Ads must be aired as submitted even if they are libelous, racially explosive, "vulgar" or "in

bad taste."

"Do I think the ad is disgusting? Sure I do," said Colorado state District Judge Richard McLean, who refused to ban Noah's ad. "Do I think it's patently misleading and hyped with a lot of ominous music to raise the tension of viewers? Sure it is. Do I think it attracts attention to an otherwise obscure candidate? Sure.

"But that does not permit me to intervene and say it can't be done," McLean concluded.

Congressional Action Unlikely

Even some of the most vocal abortion rights advocates grant that the ads are legal. "These ads are obnoxious and distort reality," says Rep. Ron Wyden, D-Ore., "but the law says that [the broadcasters] have to run the filth, no matter how disgusting it may be."

Congress could change the law, and that thought has crossed the mind of at least one member who was the focus of some of the most graphic abortion-related ads to hit the airwaves.

Republican John Mangopoulos, who was defeated in Michigan's 8th District, targeted Democratic Rep. Bob Carr in ads that began running two weeks before the Aug. 4 primary, although Mangopoulos and Carr were not competing directly.

The ads, which included sexually explicit photos in addition to footage of aborted fetuses, attacked Carr for his support for abortion rights and for unconditional funding of the National Endowment of the Arts.

"It is the people who produce and run ads such as these who are the truly perverted individuals," Carr said in a July news release.

"This is where we need campaign reform: to keep ads like this off the air and out of our elections," he added.

Wyden and others, however, say changing the law to restrict specific political advertising would be too difficult because it would require subjective definitions of what is acceptable.

And even if Congress were to adopt new standards, Wyden says, those standards very likely would run afoul of the First Amendment's protection of free speech and be overturned in court.

The Voters' Verdict

The political process may do more to discourage the use of anti-abortion ads in future elections than could any change in the law.

Some abortion rights advocates have argued that those who resort to using the ads are fringe candidates seeking publicity to boost their long-shot bids.

Election tallies lend credence to that argument: Voters have soundly rejected most candidates who have used the ads.

Only Bailey and Becker managed to win the GOP nominations in their districts.

Bailey will be a heavy underdog in November against Hamilton. In Georgia's 9th, Becker won 53 percent of the vote in an Aug. 11 runoff against real estate developer Ben N. Whitaker. But in the general election, Becker faces an uphill battle against state Sen. Nathan Deal; the 9th is solidly Democratic.

Although the ads have brought victory to few candidates, Bailey maintains that they are having a broad positive impact.

"If we don't expose our children to the holocaust of abortion," he says, "then perhaps they will kill 28 million of their generation or the next generation." ■

members are common. If a man dies, he is dumped overboard. Rats run over men while they sleep. Boats sink.

But a rising number of Chinese are willing to risk it. Most come to earn money to bring families over.

"We expect it to continue and get more commonplace," says Jim Hayes, Los Angeles assistant director for anti-smuggling for the Immigration and Naturalization Service. "They aren't willing to go anywhere but the U.S."

Fares for passage come

money lenders. Most arrive in California and move on to the eastern half of the country, although some boats go around the Horn of Africa and land in North Carolina.

The INS is concerned that criminal organizations will capitalize on the trend by helping bring in the refugees.

"We are more and more concerned about them being used by Asian organized crime," says Hayes.

Chinese authorities blame U.S. officials for the problem. Lan Lijun, China's political

ages illegal immigration.

Reason: Most immigrants will be allowed to stay, largely because they would be jailed back in China, although Lijun denies that. Rather than deport them, the United States concentrates on prosecuting smugglers.

But the market is there. "There is no hope for us in China," says Yuang Fe, 28, who left southern China July 28th with 15 other men.

When he had a second child, a daughter, Fe was

to escape it. After his wife underwent a forced abortion, Liv-Guei Hua took to the seas and nearly drowned when his boat went down. But he'd do it again, and he's ready for a new life.

"I'll take any low paying job here," says Liv-Guei Hua, who lost everything — including pictures of his family — when the boat went down. "And I will get my family here. There will be no more forced abortions."

ing to vote the same reasons, that other people vote. Will this change that? I can't imagine that it would make a significant shift," Hanson said.

A former Illinois congressman, Derwinski, 66, was appointed to the newly created Cabinet position of Veterans Affairs secretary in 1989.

Deputy Secretary Anthony Principi will lead the VA until a replacement is chosen.

► Election index, 7A

Abortion opponents' new weapon: Shock ads

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

Millions of television viewers in at least a dozen states will see graphic new anti-abortion ads this fall sponsored by congressional candidates.

While abortion is not a major issue in most political races, the issue is the centerpiece in the campaigns of these congressional candidates — many of whom are running just so they can get the ads on the air.

"The pro-life movement has discovered the most lethal weapon it has ever had — access to television" says House candidate Michael Bailey, a Republican abortion foe from Indiana.

Bailey, who has run ads showing bloody fetuses, today airs his most graphic ad: pictures of fetus parts — severed arms and legs and a head — in a petri dish.

The ads "are not pretty to look at and not fun to make," he says. "But they're the truth."

But some TV viewers say the ads — one juxtaposes images of Nazi concentration camp victims with aborted fetuses — are so distasteful that they ought not to be allowed.

"I was appalled. This is for a political game. ... I don't think he has the right," says Kathryn Copeland of Jeffersonville, Ind., who filed a lawsuit to get Bailey's ads off the air even though she opposes abortion.

Bailey, an advertising executive, decided to run for Congress last spring after learning federal law prohibits TV stations from censoring candidates' ads.



BID FOR CONGRESS: Indiana Republican is airing graphic TV ad in his campaign for a House seat.

Bailey's ads gained national attention, and abortion opponents from Georgia to Colorado followed his lead. Now, at least 17 congressional candidates — most of whom avoided primaries by running as independents — plan to air abortion ads before Election Day.

"They're very disturbing, very distressful ads to look at," says Joseph Goleniowski, president of WHAS-TV in Louisville, Ky., which aired Bailey's ads in last summer's primary. Goleniowski asked lawyers if

there was a way to avoid running the ads.

But the lawyers said the station could not reject them. Candidates for federal office can air any ads as long as they don't "depict sexual or excretory activities," says Milton Gross of the Federal Communications Commission. The FCC does allow stations to air warnings that viewer discretion is advised with ads.

But Copeland, one of WHAS's 600,000 viewers, sued Bailey and the FCC, charging the ads cause pain and suffering to her children, a daughter, 7, and a son, 8.

Copeland's lawyer, Larry Wilder, says ads should be taken off the air because, even though they aren't sexually explicit, they "constitute obscenity ... in that they are vile, loathsome, disgusting and atrocious."

Bailey, who won his May primary with 60% of the vote, says his goal is to shock. If people can see dead fetuses, he argues, they will oppose abortion.

"Most Americans in a nominal sense are for a woman's right to choose," agrees GOP House candidate Daniel Becker of Georgia, who ran the ads and won his four-way July primary with 37% of the vote. "When they see (the ads), they immediately change their minds."

The opposite tack has been taken by another organization that opposes abortion in a series of ads that urge viewers to "choose life" and consider adoption.

The ads, paid for by the DeMoss Foundation, run on CNN and show happy families, pregnant women and smiling children. One has a teen, Gianna Jessen, who says she survived an attempted late-term abortion.



The Cincinnati Post

Final

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22, 1992

35 Cents

Abortion's toughest test

Anti-abortion ads testing TV limits

By Sharon Moloney
Post staff reporter

Indiana anti-abortion activist and Republican candidate for Congress Michael E. Bailey is bringing his controversial TV ads showing dead human fetuses to Cincinnati.

Bailey, 35, a born-again Christian evangelical who is a first-time candidate for Congress, says he intends to buy time on Cincinnati TV stations next week.

Bailey's graphic ads, which have prompted thousands of phone calls to stations in Indianapolis and in Louisville, are testing the limits of federal regulations which bar stations from denying access or censoring a federal candidate's ad "even if it is libelous, vulgar or in bad taste."

And there is concern that attention drawn by Bailey's ads may prompt others who also want to air controversial messages on TV.

Bailey is unapologetic about his campaign. He says people should be shocked and horrified at the sight of the dead fetuses, which he says were taken from a film documentary on abortion.

"Abortion is legal and that is why people should be horrified. If something is so horrifying we can't stand to look at it, why are we tolerating it?"

"I believe the cause is more important than the candidate."

Please see ADS, 3A



Abortion foe Michael E. Bailey, a Republican candidate for Congress from Indiana, has made abortion the centerpiece of his campaign. Bailey Tuesday was at a Louisville TV station, where still shots from his controversial ads appear on monitors.

Colleges win ally in Aronoff

Students demonstrate against budget cuts

By Randy Ludlow
Post Ohio Bureau

COLUMBUS — Presidents of state colleges were pleased this morning after Ohio Senate President Stanley Aronoff said he would recommend a smaller initial cut in the higher education budget to help deal with the state deficit.

At a meeting with 40 college presidents and officials in the Statehouse, Aronoff endorsed a proposal by four-year colleges that they receive a smaller budget cut than the 15 percent envisioned by Gov. George Voinovich.

Aronoff said he would recommend a one-time cut of \$150 million among all state budget items, excluding elementary education, for the fiscal year beginning July 1 and phase in any further cuts later as needed. Aronoff hopes state revenues will increase and make additional cuts unnecessary.

Voinovich's proposed 15 percent cut in the higher education budget would strip state-supported colleges of \$194 million in their basic subsidies to help deal with a projected \$576 million deficit.

"We believe higher education must be a protected species in order to make Ohio strong," Aronoff told the college presidents, who also are seeking state authority to increase tuition to a maximum of 9.5 percent.

University of Cincinnati President Joseph Steger said after the meeting, "We've learned we have some friends in the Senate. We are willing to share (the cuts)."

Steger said delaying further cuts in hopes tax revenues increase would give UC a "chance to breathe."

The presidents met with Aronoff, R-Cincinnati, while college students gathered

A relatively new device — called the Automatic Fingerprint Identification System — directed police to Stone.

It was while detectives combed one of the crime scenes that they lifted the fingerprint

Many police departments in this area Please see SUSPECT, 7A

Hamilton County Sheriff's Deputy Selma West uses the department's new Automatic Fingerprint Identification System.

New abortion battleground

Graphic ads draw spotlight

By Sharon Moloney
Post staff reporter

Friday was a glorious, sunny spring day. On Fountain Square, the wind blew bright sparkles of water over lunchers.

On the stage, the talk was of abortion.

Michael Bailey, the controversial abortion opponent and Republican congressional candidate, had brought his campaign and his ads featuring dead fetuses to Cincinnati on this bright spring day.

He explained to the small crowd that Cincinnatians can't vote for him, but the city's TV stations reach about 25 percent of his nearby Indiana 9th District constituents.

And so he wants his ads on

Cincinnati television.

"I'm not grandstanding here," he said. "I want to reach people in my district with my message."

His message is to outlaw abortion.

"It's evil," he says simply.

As Bailey talked, a handful of abortion-rights supporters stood quietly by, holding signs: "Keep Abortion Safe; Keep Abortion Legal."

Later, Connie Pillich, vice president of the Cincinnati Chapter, National Organization for Women, said "a politician such as Bailey, who is serious about abolishing abortion rights,

Please see ABORTION, 7A

7A / Abortion foes arrested in Buffalo.



PATRICK REDDY/The Cincinnati Post

Indiana congressional candidate Michael Bailey stood firm in his anti-abortion message Friday on Fountain Square, despite protests of his views and his graphic TV ads.

House bank records demanded

Justice Department wants every check

Congressional Quarterly
Scripps Howard News Service

WASHINGTON — Armed with a sweeping subpoena, the Justice Department's special counsel on the House bank scandal has demanded all the bank's microfilm records.

The action puts House leaders into a political box and possibly sets the stage for a constitutional showdown.

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley alerted members on Friday. Now they face a new round of publicity and potential confrontation on the volatile check-overdraft scandal when they return Tuesday from their spring recess.

Citizens have been angry for months over revelations that hundreds of current and former House members wrote penalty-free overdrafts on House bank accounts. The bank has since been closed.

House leaders of both parties plan to decide within days of reconvening how to respond to Special Counsel Malcolm R. Wilkey's April 21 subpoena.

"The records include all banking transactions over a 39-month period," Foley said — "every single check (whether it caused an overdraft or not), deposit slips and monthly statements — of each member or former member of the House, whether he or she had overdrafts or not. The subpoenas also seek every check of every person who used the former bank during that period: employees, member of the press, members' spouses and even some members of the public."

The subpoena could pose a major constitutional challenge over the separation-of-powers doctrine. And Wilkey, a former federal judge, signaled that he wanted even more records from the ethics committee's deliberations in the matter and from the General Accounting Office, an investigative arm of Congress.

In a letter to House members, Foley said Wilkey's subpoena had shortcircuited discussions seeking a compromise.

What the ads show

Cincinnatians will get their first look at Michael Bailey's controversial anti-abortion ads starting Monday on all three local network affiliate stations — WCPO-Channel 9; WLWT-Channel 5 and WKRC-Channel 12.

After a warning about its graphic nature, the first commercial starts with a happy, smiling baby. The voice-over says: "This is Choice A." Then it gets graphic. "This is Choice B," says the voice. It shows a photo of a dead human fetus, far enough devel-

oped to possess bird-like limbs and head. Next is a close-up of a fetus that appears to be blackened. A third is covered with blood.

"If something is so horrifying we can't look at it, why do we tolerate it?" a voice asks.

The second of the two commercials shows a series of dead human fetuses, curled in various positions. The final seconds are devoted to a close-up of a fetal face, bringing enormous shots of its

Please see ADS, 7A

Inside The Post

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Living	Lottery	5A
Ann Landers	Marketplace	1C
Business	Puzzles	3B
Special	Books	2D

Crumbling building is symbol of bureaucracy

KHARKIV, Ukraine — The Kharkiv Opera Theatre was supposed to be the pride of the city.

Instead, it has become a mausoleum of mishaps and a



DATELINE:

A gym in Ukraine

By [Name]

Vasily calls it a paradoxical monster: In the Communists' quest to build the biggest and the best, they built the worst.

"The plans started out great — long, long ago. It's just that they didn't come together very well. There was problem after problem, setback

won't open. Walls throughout are cracked, plaster falling in chunks.

Rooms are off square.

Marble-like tiles, sliced almost paper thin and glued on the cement walls of the building's interior and exterior walls and floors, are coming

Trade negotiators for the United States, Mexico and Canada appear ready to wrap up a deal on a historic North American Free Trade Agreement. It'll mean more trouble for President Bush. **Page A-6.**

Democrat Bill Clinton maintains a huge lead in polls over President Bush, but has only a tenuous hold on the allegiance of his new supporters. **Page A-7.**

SPORTS



Quarterback Jeff George of the Colts says he wants "to show everybody that this team is a lot better than 1-15. I want to be the guy to take this team to the playoffs . . . this year." **Page D-1.**

Dave Jenkins and Indy Runners are extending hands of friendship through pairs of shoes for kids who would like to compete in a track meet — but haven't, perhaps because they didn't have the right kind of shoes. **Page D-14.**



QUIPS

Bill Clinton and Al Gore: An entire nation wonders if they are traveling statesmen or just boys on the bus.

Clinton and Gore are the first candidates in years to take Babbbleton on the road.

The Democratic candidates were in Mark Twain country, where some voters paraphrased an old line: "Reports of George Bush's death are greatly exaggerated."

Clinton and Gore do have some compassion. They haven't blamed U.S. losses in the Olympics on the Bush administration.

The campaign definitely is getting dirty. The candidates are calling each other by their real names.

George Bush's ratings have reached a new low. And the poor man hasn't been there.

RUN FOR LIFE

The founding fathers never intended to keep religion out of government, candidate Michael Bailey argues.



Jim Young/The Indianapolis News

Candidate Mike Bailey and his family ride on their 1965 Chevrolet flatbed truck in the Charlestown 4-H parade.

Tactics stir controversy

'I don't believe in the separation of church and state as it's currently understood.'

— Michael Bailey



By ABE AAMIDOR
The Indianapolis News

They came to see the anti-abortion candidate for Congress who showed graphic pictures of aborted fetuses in his TV commercials.

What they got was the self-described "most dangerous candidate in American politics today."

Dangerous, said Michael Bailey, not because he means to harm anyone.

But because he said he is not afraid to tell the truth, even if it might cause him to lose an election.

Bailey, the controversial Republican congressional candidate from Southern Indiana's 9th District, was speaking at the last of five fund-raising rallies in Indianapolis late last month.

He greeted the guests as they arrived at Castleton Church of the Nazarene, then stepped to the podium with his wife, Lori, and five children, ages 2 to 10.

2nd Bailey candidate

State Rep. Bill Bailey, a Seymour Democrat, says an alarming number of voters have mistaken him for Michael Bailey, the Republican running in the 9th District for the U.S. House seat. **Page A-2.**

But soon Bailey weighed into his campaign message, and the heart of the controversy surrounding his candidacy.

"I don't believe in the separation of church and state as it's currently understood," he said.

Bailey disputed the notion of a "high wall" separating church and state. The founding fathers meant only to prohibit establishing any one Christian denomination as the official state church, he argued, but never intended to keep religion out of government. That position drew loud applause.

He expressed other strong views as well, most of which he

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the plan — which to guide the county's garbage disposal through the year 2011 — calls for mandatory curbside recycling as one way to re-

duce the amount of trash going to landfills. State law requires counties reduce trash flow 35 percent by 1996 and an

Household hazardous waste disposal programs beginning in 1993. Creation of a county compost facility in 1994.

Not enough people will participate if recycling is voluntary, Ray said. Last year the county generated more than 116,000 tons of trash and only

recyclables. The draft plan recommends the county be divided into four sections with different companies collecting

hauler and taken to a countywide composting facility. But Ray said (SEE WASTE, BACK PAGE)

MORNING JOURNAL

Bailey runs unrelenting campaign

By BRYAN CORBIN
DAILY JOURNAL STAFF WRITER

Michael Bailey is used to taking a controversial stand.

Like many Republican congressional candidates, Bailey opposes abortion.

But to get his anti-abortion message across, Bailey has broadcast campaign commercials unlike any ever seen in Indiana politics.

Bailey's commercials show aborted fetuses. The gruesome, bloody images have drawn the anger of abortion-rights groups and some television viewers, who consider Bailey an extremist and a demagogue.

"He is using a very difficult situation to gain notoriety," said Sandra Andersen, executive director of Planned Parenthood of Southern Indiana. "He's misleading the public and I don't think that's very honorable."

But Bailey sees his long-shot campaign to unseat longtime U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton as part of a crusade to ban abortions and bring religion back to the forefront of American society — no matter who is offended by the commercials.

"This campaign is more than a race between Mike Bailey and Lee Hamilton," Bailey said. "It is a reflection of a major problem facing our country: the battle between those who believe there is no absolute truth and those who believe there is absolute truth." Bailey, 35, doesn't believe in

(SEE BAILEY, PAGE A2)

Latest ads liken abortion in U.S. to Holocaust

By BRYAN CORBIN
DAILY JOURNAL STAFF WRITER

Republican congressional candidate Michael Bailey plans to run a campaign TV commercial this fall that compares abortion in America to Adolf Hitler's Nazi Holocaust.

Like the two anti-abortion ads Bailey ran in the May primary campaign, the new commercial shows graphic pictures of aborted fetuses. But it also intermingles those images with gruesome pictures of dead Jews in Nazi concentration camps.

In an interview, Bailey said the ad refers to the abortion position of his opponent, U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton. However, the Democrat from Nashville has said he is personally pro-life and has voted against federal funding for abortions, but does not want to ban abortions.

A campaign spokesman for Hamilton said Bailey's attempt to compare Hamilton's views to Hitler's actions is ironic. "(Bailey's) approach there is more in line with many of the extremists in the world," Robert Winningham said.

Winningham said the commercial is in poor taste.

"In our 9th District, if there were

(SEE ADS, PAGE A2)



STAFF PHOTO BY STEVE HEALY

Controversial congressional candidate Michael Bailey, a Republican running against Lee Hamilton, has drawn national attention with his graphic anti-abortion ads.

Snag delays U.N. action on Bosnia

By PETER JAMES SPIELMANN
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

UNITED NATIONS — A U.S. proposal threatening military force to protect relief shipments in Bosnia has bogged down in the Security Council because of disputes over how much power U.N. troops should have, diplomats said Friday.

The 15-nation council probably will not be able to pass a resolution allowing use of force before the middle of next week. French diplomats felt the U.S. resolution did not provide U.N. troops with the right to use sufficient force.

However, the council did approve Friday a \$31 million expansion of its mission in Croatia to include monitoring borders — thereby stopping further Serbian encroachment. With the added help, the 14,000-strong peacekeeping force will assist in border control, customs and immigration duties to keep Serbians from pouring into newly independent Croatia.

The United Nations came under criticism this week when it was revealed that U.N. peacekeepers were being told about the torture and execution of Muslims by Serbs as far back as May, but that nothing was done to inform the Security Council, the only U.N. agency capable of doing something about the reports.

Copies of the U.N. peacekeepers' memo were distributed Friday by Bosnian Ambassador Mohamed Sacirby. It said the executions occurred as Serbs pursued their ethnic "cleansing" policy.

"I feel betrayed," Sacirby said, venting his frustration at U.N. inability to protect his country and the slow pace of efforts to open detention camps for inspection.

New reports of atrocities by Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the intense fighting around Sarajevo airport, led President Bush this week to call for a new Security Council resolution stating that force might be used to assure that relief got into the country.

But council diplomats disagreed Friday over what kind of force should

(SEE BOSNIA, BACK PAGE)



STAFF PHOTO BY MARY BUSAM

Ninth District Congressional candidate Michael Bailey introduces his family at a rally at Franklin School Friday

night. From left are Jordan, Josiah, Bailey, Jamin, Linnea, Danae and his wife, Lori.

Candidate Bailey calls for return to Judeo-Christian principles

By MARY BUSAM
News Staff Writer

TELL CITY—It was more like a church meeting than a political rally when Michael Bailey, Republican candidate for U.S. Ninth District representative, spoke at a fundraiser Friday night at Franklin School.

Flo Ann Winchell, who sponsored the rally with her husband, John, opened the rally. She said they didn't know much about politics, but they did know about church.

After a prayer and several gospel songs, Bailey, 35, took the floor. He introduced his wife, Lori, and their five children.

Bailey said he wasn't a politician, but he got into the Ninth District race to put the truth about abortion on television.

His graphic commercials this spring angered people, he said. He has seven new ones for the fall campaign, which offer an even stronger anti-abortion message. Other commercials attack the record of his opponent, Congressman Lee Hamilton, who has held the Congressional seat for 14 terms, government spending and lack of Christian leadership.

He said Hamilton claims to be pro-life, but his voting record

Much of Bailey's talk centered on Judeo-Christian principles. He quoted passages from the Bible and called for a return to "absolute truth" as laid out in the Bible.

He said early leaders sought God's help. "This great nation was founded by men and women who believe that their wisdom came from the Bible, and their strength came on their knees in prayer," he said.

About 70 people, including several families with small children, answered Bailey's comments with, "Right!" instead of "Amen" as he alleged wrongs in the government.

He warned his audience that a nation that departs from God will depart from the face of the earth.

The country's leaders need to chose between right and wrong, he said. "I've heard so many times that it makes me sick, 'I personally believe this way, but I am not going to press my views on you through legislation.' Folks, that is garbage. There is right and there is wrong."

The crowd applauded.

He said homosexuality, abortion and premarital sex are wrong. "Use America's freedom the way

after law "with blinders over their eyes. This nation of leaders has nearly spent us into oblivion."

He charged the legislators with inept management and lack of responsibility in placing a \$4 trillion national debt on future generations.

He compared the nation's early leaders with those of today. Earlier, American's leaders said, "This is what I believe." Now, he said, our leaders are "wishy-washy" politicians who take a poll before saying what they believe.

"We are at the crossroads of America. What you see is America floundering in the wind, not knowing which way to turn without leadership in telling the people what is truth."

chapter eleven

PRAISE GOD...WE WON!!!

With only a few days to go before the May 5 primary vote, everyone in the campaign realized that we had done all we could do. Most of us felt like *we* hadn't really done anything but were simply spectators to a great work God was doing before our eyes. The Lord had proved Himself faithful in everything. In twelve short weeks an obscure campaign in southern Indiana was **ROCKING AMERICA!!!**

A number of people in the campaign were fasting the last three days before the vote. We did ask the Lord for victory, but each of us knew in our hearts that the victory had already been won. We prayed that God would allow us to run for five more months so that Christian principles would be heard.

I really had no idea how well we were going to do. The same doubts persisted. *"Were running our pro-life ads political suicide? Could you run a campaign and be openly Christian and have anyone, other than Christians and pro-lifers, vote for you?"* If calls to our office were any indication of the vote, we were *gonna get smeared*. Along with the doubts came the overwhelming peace from the Lord. It was obvious that none of us were in control of the campaign; He was. If God wanted us to win the primary, we would. It is that simple.

I took more than one long walk those last few days. You have to get away from the phones to get alone with God. My prayers were filled with praise to God. It was the Lord who had done this. It was the Lord to Whom we could trust our fate. If we lost the election, I could feel good about the way we had run. Never once did we get political. I answered all questions honestly. Principle was more important than political gain. I believed it. I still believe it.

Lori and I attended the last Republican dinner prior to the election. It was Sunday night, May 1, 1992. The dinner happened to be in *Jefferson County*, the home county of Charlie Loos. We found a few friendly Republicans there, just a few. For my three minute speech that night I shared that *the fall of a nation morally will result in the fall of a nation economically*. Though I had the feeling they were not very impressed, I knew my job in the primary was now complete. The last speech had been given.

Before we left that evening, Lori and I discovered that a number of people had ripped up our brochures and left them on the table. I asked myself, can we actually win this thing without Republican support? It didn't really matter. We entered the race with conviction, with a mission to affect the debate by entering the debate. No doubt, we were affecting people in powerful ways.

Praise God...We Won!!!

Election morning we decked the family out in our Sunday best and drove over to the Georgetown elementary school to vote. As you might expect, the media was out in force. The questions were predictable. *"How do you think you are going to do? Do you have any regrets?"* My answers were probably just as predictable to them. *"We have won already. Just by getting the truth out we have won a great victory". "Sure, we are curious about who will win the vote, but it is God Who puts men in power and Who takes them out of power"*, I stated boldly. I believe those things.

One aspect of politics that is exciting for the Christian, an aspect that I never could have fully anticipated, is finding out the will of God through a vote. Like most Christians, I want to live my life in the very center of God's will. Finding His will can often be difficult. You often wonder if you are making the right decision, the decision God would have you make. In the case of a Christian politician, the decision (the vote) will clearly decide your fate. The vote would tell me if the Lord wanted me to run another five months. From that aspect, both Lori and I were anxiously awaiting an answer from the Lord. A victory would mean "yes" and a loss would mean "no."

After voting, we went home, and I took the five children out on a hike. We enjoyed the fine spring day. Jamin, our oldest son, carried the back-pack with all the goodies. Down by the stream that runs near our neighborhood, we ate lunch together and reflected on the campaign. Of course, all the kids wanted me to win.

As best as I could, I tried to explain to the children that the victory or loss did not determine the race's success. Knowing that each of the children has helped the campaign in their own way, I wondered how the election night outcome would make its mark on their young lives. Jamin and Danae had helped actively campaign the most. They were the oldest. They knew we were trying to bring Christian views into the political arena and that God had blessed our efforts. The success of getting the message out, though, did not mean people were going to like us. That is a vitally important message to get through to Christian kids.

Blessed are those who have been persecuted for the sake of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are you when men cast insults at you, and persecute you, and say all kinds of evil against you falsely, on account of Me. Rejoice, and be glad, for your reward in heaven is great, for so they persecuted the prophets who were before you. You are the salt of the earth; but if the salt has become tasteless, how will it be made salty again? It is good for nothing anymore, except to be thrown out and trampled under foot by men. You are the light of the world. A city set on a hill cannot be hidden.

Matthew 5:10-14

These biblical teachings were not just words to our family now. We were living it. Down deep, I prayed the children would fully understand this, especially if we lost.

After a long nap and some mild preparation for the election night celebration, I was ready to face the public and media once again. I continued to pray all afternoon for

Praise God...We Won!!!

political victory. In my heart, I knew a political victory would bring tremendous encouragement and lift the spirits of pro-lifers and Christians throughout the district and the nation. I had to pray ultimately, **God's will be done.**

Once the family was ready, we loaded the station wagon and headed out for the evening celebration. Neither Lori nor I had listened to any news reports that day. I turned on a local radio station and immediately heard the news that we **were ahead two to one in the largest county in the district!** Lori began crying with joy.

Perhaps the Lord was giving us many more months to impact the political system for His name's sake. I must admit, the one thought that kept coming to my mind was, "**unbelievable**". Of course, that single report was not the final election results, just encouraging news. Though I knew I might have to deliver a concession speech if we lost, the good news made me grateful to God that I might not have to. The Lord was actually allowing us to win the primary!! In those moments I realized that this night might be a lot of fun. What an understatement that was!

As our family got out of the car, two or three television stations were recording every move, every kind command to the children. Once inside the church (we had rented the fellowship hall of Wesley United Methodist Church in New Albany) we were met with cheers and applause from a very enthusiastic bunch of supporters. One cheer that completely embarrassed me, and I don't get embarrassed easily, went something like, *Mike, Mike, he's our man, if he can't do it, nobody can...repeat...repeat...repeat...*

No less than six major television stations were present, along with five radio station reporters, and numerous newspaper reporters. We gave the job of media coordination to Matt Chalfant. Matt was big enough we knew no one would give him any trouble.

The fellowship hall was decorated with quotes from the Founding Fathers. Religious quotes that helped substantiate America's Godly heritage covered the walls. More than one television station that night showed these quotes to their viewers. The volunteers simply enjoyed the Christian music, testimony, and refreshments. Before the night was over, we probably went through forty Domino's Pizzas.

Words could never adequately describe my personal feelings of gratitude towards our campaign volunteers. The greatest feeling of joy was knowing that they weren't working for me, but for God. We came to the celebration that night already victors. Winning the primary would simply be icing on the cake!

All night long the returns were in our favor. Before two hours went by, we all knew we had won. I hadn't formally prepared either an acceptance speech or consolation speech. When the time came, Lori and I walked forward to speak to the crowd of 150 supporters and to the media. I prayed silently, "*Lord give me the words to say*". The first words out of my mouth were something to this effect, "*While the cameras are lined up*

Praise God...We Won!!!

here, let's just say it: God created the world in six days. He has revealed His word to us in the Bible. Jesus Christ is the only way to be right with God. It is to Jesus alone that we are grateful for this incredible victory. Let's pray." We prayed.

Those first words out of my mouth for this acceptance speech never made the newscasts, but that didn't matter. We had given proper credit and praise to the One Who had given us favor and success in so many ways. What did make the nightly newscasts were other phrases out of my short speech: *"This campaign is going to **Rock America!**"* and *"The cities that aired our pro-life ads in this primary, and now in the general election, will **never be the same again!**"*

The cities were not the only thing never to be the same again. I had changed forever. The experience had shown me and reinforced my firm convictions that **Christians must invade the political system. It is time to be salt and light in the world.**

For the next week our victory was reported across the nation. As we had prayed, we found that Christians and pro-lifers everywhere around the country had been greatly encouraged by our victory. The national Christian radio and television networks were euphoric. Even the national secular media reported the size of our victory. **We had officially won 60% of the vote.** Calls poured in from across the district and from around the country. **"Praise God...We Won!!!"**

chapter twelve

MAKING MORE COMMERCIALS...MAKING MORE HISTORY

After one solid week of post-election media interviews and another well-deserved week of *R & R*, I came back to the business of the campaign refreshed and ready to work. How gracious our God had been to give us so many victories. The opportunity to run for five more months was such a privilege.

We wasted no time in beginning the process of writing our fall campaign ads. As in the primary, we still believed our supporters would have to see clearly what quality and content our commercials would have before they would donate a dime to this political campaign. We were in the big leagues now, so to speak. It was going to be a big job trying to expand the public's perception of our candidacy beyond the pro-life issue.

Lee Hamilton would be a formidable candidate for anyone to face, no matter how politically seasoned they were. But we all realized that Mr. Hamilton was not the enemy or the opponent. Our ads would not focus on him, they would focus on the issues and on the answers.

In all of the excitement during the beginning of the second phase of the campaign, the entire campaign team never lost sight of Who was leading us. Even in the process of writing new ads, we regularly asked for wisdom and grace from our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ.

Within hours of the primary victory, we began launching an attack on the evils of socialism in America. I was quoted often as saying, "*The national debt and the squandering away of our nation's future to fund that debt is nearly as immoral as abortion.*" A commercial on that theme seemed appropriate.

Within a few short weeks I had completed a script on the insanity of the **four trillion dollar national debt:**

REVOLUTION

"The national debt is destroying America! Congressional monetary policies are insane! Four trillion dollars in debt! Interest alone is 300 billion dollars per year. Who is going to pay for this financial chaos? Our children...our grandchildren?! We need more than change in Washington. We need a revolution!! In this revolution we won't be firing cannons, we'll be firing Congressmen!"

The whole idea of the "*Revolution*" commercial was to alert the people of the ninth Congressional district that America was facing bankruptcy. People tired of out-of-

Making More Commercials...Making More History

control government spending would naturally be attracted to such an ad. My opponent, Lee Hamilton, was already busy attacking my anti-socialism stands by calling me an extremist. I often answered that we need extreme measures to combat the wave of destruction that will hit this nation if we do nothing about socialism and the staggering debt.

Making the REVOLUTION ad would require a simple political backdrop. As it turned out, we were able to rent a huge fifty foot flag and a podium for the shooting. By adding our Bailey for Life for Congress banner to the set, we had the perfect look. We weren't simply trying to impress people. The set was trying to capture the feeling, the energy, that was typically present at all our rallies.

I'm embarrassed to admit it, but the truth is that it took numerous takes to finally get the commercial down pat. I kept forgetting a line here and there. It's one thing to memorize your lines. It is wholly different to get up in front of people and deliver those lines, especially when the camera lights are blinding you.

People either loved or hated the REVOLUTION ad. Many of the volunteers didn't like the preachy, doomsday tone. Others were excited that we were attacking the national debt problem head on.

I believe the national debt is simply a *symptom* of a greater sickness in America. The debt is a consequence of our lack of national and personal morality. People no longer feel responsible for their own errors or sins, so why should the government be accountable for its irresponsibility? Many times when American citizens fail, they blame someone or something other than themselves. Too many Americans think their problems are always the fault of someone else.

The famous quote of President Kennedy needs to be revived: *"Don't ask what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country."* We are living in an evil time, a time when people believe that the world owes them a living. In America, the people have come to believe that the government owes them a living. This is wrong.

We must start teaching our young people that they are personally responsible for their own actions. **I believe the government has no moral obligation to help its citizens**, especially if those same citizens willingly violate moral laws.

The next ad we wrote and produced for the fall campaign addressed the whole issue of people taking responsibility for their own problems:

BREAK THE RULES

***Announcer:** "Congressional candidate Bailey reveals plan to stop spread of AIDS. (newspaper spinning headlines) Bailey reveals shocking plan to eliminate teen pregnancies. (more spinning headlines) Candidate Bailey finds way to reduce single parent homes. (another spinning headline)*

***Bailey:** "It's time Americans became responsible for their own sins. Don't have sex before marriage. Break the rules, you pay...not the American taxpayer!"*

***Announcer:** The answers to America's social problems are not found in government spending. They are found in biblical moral leadership.*

Using the same set as the "REVOLUTION" ad, we were able to crank out this spot in record time. I could tell Lori was uncomfortable with the unforgiving tone of the ad, but how were we going to convince our young people that they must start becoming responsible for their own actions?

Schools are handing out condoms and spending big bucks trying to provide *so-called* sex education, but where is this getting us? Unless the government begins to send the message home that **kids must be responsible for themselves**, there will be no hope for future generations.

If God allows me to get elected someday, the schools will have to let me in the door. (More than one school refused to allow me to speak to their students during the campaign even though they let Lee Hamilton in to speak.) My message in that day will be...*"Don't have sex before marriage!"*

The "Don't have Sex" ad, which we named "BREAK THE RULES", elicited a tremendous response from our supporters. To many, it was their favorite ad. Others calmly begged us not to run it.

Because of limited funds, the BREAK THE RULES ad was rarely seen by the voters. The ad probably had more impact at our rallies than it did on television. Christians needed to hear the message that Uncle Sam is not responsible for all the needs and wants of citizens. The "*government will provide for you system*" is called socialism...it doesn't work.

Making More Commercials...Making More History

Provided we won the May 5th primary, we always had planned to run an ad featuring quotes from the Founding Fathers. Though such an ad would be "*politically incorrect*", I was anxious to let the ninth district know that I agreed with President John Adams, Abraham Lincoln, and George Washington on a few things. Public schools would do well to teach such history to our children. The final script for our BIBLE ad went as follows:

THE BIBLE

President John Adams: "Our constitution was made only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other."

Abraham Lincoln: "The only assurance of our nation's safety is to lay our foundation in morality and religion."

George Washington: "It is impossible to rightly govern without God and the Bible."

Michael E. Bailey: "My vision for America is found in her past. In our past, our leaders found their wisdom in the Bible...and their strength on their knees in prayer."

During the fall airing of this political ad, it was not uncommon to have someone call the office crying in joy and deeply moved. Finally they had seen a politician who would air strong biblical truth in their political ads, regardless of the political fallout. **It is interesting to me that the press rarely commented on this particular ad.** The ad ran in equal rotation with all the others.

Though it didn't receive the press and attention many of our other ads did, I personally believe that the BIBLE ad planted thousands of gospel seeds every time it aired. A few people called to complain about our marriage of politics and religion. Others called crying in joy. I believe the subtle message carried by this ad will remain imbedded on the hearts of the many thousands who saw it. Perhaps only in Heaven will we know the true fruits of its airing.

Soon after the primary win, Barry Wilding, one of our key staff members and a close personal friend, showed up at a meeting with a song he wrote. Based on the famous song sung by "*Tennessee*" Ernie Ford, *Sixteen Tons*, it went as follows:

14 TERMS

Lee's had fourteen terms and what do ya get?