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RICHARD K. THOMPSON
STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE
333 RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Morton,

Regarding your proposed position paper on abortion: let me begin by reiterating the suggestion that, instead of discussing the issue -- or the issues -- you might best simply compile RR's statements on the subject over the years. I should explain the reason for that advice.

The more you say about this subject, the more specific you must be concerning such matters as exceptions for life of the mother; exceptions for rape and incest; fetal deformity, etc.; criminal penalties; state/federal enforcement mechanisms; difference between conception (fertilization) and implantation and, consequently, difference between contraceptives (properly defined) and IUDs and morning after pills; the effect of anti-abo legislation on marketing and usage of abortifacient devices or chemicals (prostaglandins, etc.).

Morton, it is all scary. There are superb answers to every one of these issues/dilemmas. But to present them, you would have to so refine RR's position that no one down there would tolerate it.

That is why we have tried, and sometimes succeeded, to get from RR, both as candidate and as president, commitments that would (1) lock him into supporting the movement's major initiatives and (2) enable him to sidestep the specific questions I have mentioned above.

Let me give you just one example. During the campaign of 81, about in May, Mrs. R. at a party here in D.C. was asked by the press about abo. She affirmed her agreement with RR. Then, pressed by a reported on the hypothetical situation of unmarried girl who is pregnant -- the old "hard questions" ploy -- she made an exception

Now, the same thing can happen if you try to get too detailed with RR's position. Can you imagine the movement's reaction if the senior staff qualifies this or that commitment, putting in an exception here or watering down this or that pledge? All of us, from Wilke to Helms, would go through the roof.

On the other hand, if you stick to RR's past statements, no one in the West Wing Trailer Camp has any excuse to alter his words. You are just reprinting what has already been agreed to. For examples,

A *a paragraph or two from Helene's marvelous book, Sincerely, Ronald Reagan. Her pages on abortion -- which are RR's words on the subject as governor -- are terrific. In addition, Helene would be flattered that MORTON BLACKWELL has used her book as authoritative. She is a good ally for you to have.

B *RR's letter to Nellie Gray in Feb. 1980, at the start of the primaries. This was written by Tom McMurray, and it was the most important single pledge to the Movement in activating troops for 1981. It has almost legendary status.

*I would NOT use -- though I am enclosing a copy -- RR's telegram to Fr. Fiore of Feb. 15, 1981. The problem is the reference to RR's vice president. You don't want to reopen that old wound, and this telegraph would be interpreted, I am sure, as your assault on Bush's standing.

C *RR's off-the-cuff remarks at a press conference early in 1981, when he made his famous reference to what you would do if you found a body in the road and didn't know if it was dead or alive. Bauer should have that on

- D * Of course, that marvelous statement of last week, which was just superb.
- E * Why not put in, as well, his order to Schweiker/Smith on the Bloomington baby!
- * And of course, his letter of last spring, March or F April, to Helms/Hatch/Hatfield and pro-life leaders, calling for unity and action.
- G * Last January, on March Day, Schweiker read to the marchers a message from RR. That too should go in.
- M-1
 M-10 * You might check with Tony Dolan or Ben Elliott as to casual abortion references in RR's speeches. The one that comes to mind -- which I believe was pulled off by Ben -- was the condemnation of abortion in his speech to either the religious broadcasters or, more likely, the congressional prayer breakfast.
- I * Charlie Ponticelli of Duberstein's shop should be able to provide you with RR's response to Hyde and others concerning the Bloomington baby. I'm not sure if that is worthwhile, or if it went out under RR's name. But it might be worthwhile.

I forgot to mention before that this approach -- using RR's previous stuff verbatim -- was the only way Bauer and others could successfully get West Wing approval of things last year (but that was when Marty, with his hang-up, was there). Gary and Ann Higgins did finally get approval for a RR letter to answer the flood of Right to Life mail. Perhaps that letter would be an appropriate addition to your position paper.

That about does it. There ARE more RR statements on this subject, but, as far as I know, they are all in his private correspondence. To George Will, for example. And you probably could not use those for public distribution.

You will notice that I have not mentioned the platform. Proud as I am of it, its inclusion would be sure to give you trouble.

Morton, please may I say candidly how important I think it is, now, for you to circulate as many of these statements as possible. They are the only thing this Administration has to offer on the issue. Almost all its actions have been diametrically opposed: AID population control funding increases,

appointments like Wyngaarden,

lobbying, even through the Vice President, for an abortion zealot from the Ford Foundation to be vice president of the UN Fund for Pop. Activities,

packing AID with pro-abortion activists, including the "conservative" John Bolton,

senior staff public repudiations, in press interviews, of RR's abortion position (Meese and Gergen, 1981),

May, 1981, opposition to any restrictions on abortion funding in Senate vote (Hatfield vs. Helms),

continuation of abortion-related programs/research/grants at National Institute of Child Development,

fostering of abortion by military commanders and the military academies, among female soldiers and cadets,

thus-far-suppressed Justice Dept. memos -- stopped early this year by some of my most vicious threats -- utilizing NARAL propaganda to raise questions about any Human Life Amendment,

the continuation of tax exemption for abortion clinics, even during the assault on religious schools.

Now, I know you don't approve of any of that. But it does make an interesting litany, and it makes your project all the more urgent. Perhaps it can be used to convince West Wingers to approve your project.

Perhaps it may be used in other ways, too. But that will be my doing.

Take care,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned below the typed text "Take care,".

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 26, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR MORTON C. BLACKWELL

FROM:

DOUGLAS F. MARTIN *D & M*

SUBJECT:

Information that you have requested on the subject of Right to Life

The materials which you have asked me for have been located, and copies of the material are provided for you. The only material included herein which must be returned is the book which must be returned to the OEOB Library.

ENCLOSURE A SINCERELY, RONALD REAGAN

ENCLOSURE B Letter to Nellie Gray

ENCLOSURE C Portions from President Reagan's press conference on March 6, 1981

ENCLOSURE D Transcript which President Reagan read from to tape message for the Right to Life Convention on July 12, 1982

ENCLOSURE E Memorandum for the Attorney General and Secretary Schweiker of April 30, 1982

ENCLOSURE F Letter to Senator Helms of April 5, 1982

ENCLOSURE G Message from President Reagan read by Secretary Schweiker for the 1982 Washington March for Life

ENCLOSURE H-1 Statement by then Governor Reagan on abortion

ENCLOSURE H-2 Policy Statement by then Governor Reagan and George Bush on abortion after the Republican Convention

ENCLOSURE H-3 Portions from President Reagan's press conference on January 19, 1982

ENCLOSURE H-4 Letter to Mr. Beckett of the Intercessors of America

ENCLOSURE H-5 Letter to Mr. Moran thanking him for a copy of the book New Perspectives on Human Abortion

ENCLOSURE H-6 Portions from Presidential Document
Series as of February 26, 1982

ENCLOSURE H-7 Letter to Mr. Sheehan of the Massa-
chusetts Citizens for Life, Inc.

ENCLOSURE H-8 Letter to Mr. Packard thanking him for
a copy of Life Lines

ENCLOSURE H-9 A Quote for Publication

ENCLOSURE H-10 Letter to Dr. Driesbach of the Cali-
fornia Pro-Life Medical Association

ENCLOSURE I Letter from President Reagan to Rep-
resentative Hyde concerning the
Bloomington baby

liceman in the course of a robbery. Yet there was strong outcry from those opposed to capital punishment. The night before the execution the governor met with his minister, and the two men prayed together.

The next morning the governor heard from his legal affairs secretary that there were just no extenuating circumstances, and he ordered the execution to proceed.

At that time there were nearly a hundred men in San Quentin's death row because the governor's predecessor had continually granted stays of execution. A legitimate fear of the governor's was that he would be forced to proceed with the executions of many of them. The Supreme Court ruling against the death penalty, however, took this worry from him. His first execution was also his last. But he remained, and still remains, a strong proponent of the death penalty on the grounds that it is a deterrent to premeditated murder.

Another issue involving life and death with which the governor struggled was abortion. In a letter to Charles Schulz, the creator of Peanuts, Governor Reagan explained his stand. He wrote, he said, because "of one of your strips a few weeks ago which continues to haunt me in a very nice way."

He went on: "Charlie was asking Lucy about what happens to a very nice baby waiting in heaven to be born when the mother and father decide they don't want it, Lucy of course put him down severely. Charlie finished simply remarking he still thought it was a good question.

"Perhaps my feeling for Charlie's question stems from the soul-searching I had to do a few years ago with regard to the liberalizing of our abortion laws. The author of the legislation wanted to go all the way and simply make it a matter of personal choice and wide open. I probably did more studying on that subject at that time than on anything else before or since and finally had to tell him I would veto such a bill. I could only reconcile abortion with the right of self-defense, namely the right of the mother to protect herself and her health against even her own unborn child if the birth of that child threatened her. It has been my feeling that our religion does justify the taking of life in

self-defense. I cannot accept that simply on whim even a mother has the right to take the life of her unborn child simply because she thinks that child will be born less than perfect or because she just doesn't want to be bothered. Well, the bill was amended to meet my demands and I signed it into law. Now, however, I have discovered some of our psychiatrists are particularly willing to declare an unwed mother-to-be to have suicidal tendencies, and they do this on a five-minute diagnosis. The result is that our medical program will finance more than fifty thousand abortions of unwed mothers in the coming year on such flimsy diagnosis.

"Well, I didn't mean to let you in on all my problems but just to give the background of why you touched a nerve with your strip the other day. Thanks very much."

Another letter, this to William A. Barker, professor of physics at the University of California, attested to his strong feelings in this area: "I am deeply committed to a belief in the sacredness of human life. I share your revulsion for the view expressed by your dinner companion that the human fetus is no more than an appendage to be removed as you would an appendix.

"Right now a group of distinguished jurists in the Midwest are seeking a court decision to establish the rights of the unborn child. Their brief cites recent medical research to the effect that an individual, distinct life begins at the moment of conception at which time the genetic components that determine the characteristics of a person are established. Dr. H. M. I. Lilley is quoted as saying, 'The fetus is neither an acquiescent vegetable nor a witless tadpole as some have conceived it to be in the past, but rather is a tiny human being as independent as though lying in a crib with a blanket wrapped around him.'

"I realize there is a body of thought on the other side, but it should follow that where there is doubt as to the question of life or death, the benefit of the doubt should be given to life.

"The California abortion law is based on the Judeo-Christian tradition of self-defense—the right of a woman to take a life in defense of her own. It does not permit the taking

of that unborn life simply on the whim of a mother unwilling to carry and bear that child or for fear the child might be born less than perfect.

"Unfortunately, there are those professionals in California, particularly in the field of psychiatry, who are abdicating their responsibility. They are permitting abortions by falsifying as to the mother's risk—claiming self-defense when, in fact, there is no danger. This is as false as claiming self-defense in the murder of a victim who was unarmed and who posed no threat to his killer. You are right to equate this with Hitlerism. How far are we from killing for convenience the unwanted among us if we accept killing them in the womb?"

The governor was dismayed at how the California abortion law was distorted and finally all but rendered void by a ruling of the state supreme court. A letter to Mrs. Win Robinson of Los Angeles displayed his feelings: "California's abortion law was based on the rule of self-defense—the right of a woman to protect herself from harm even at the hand of her own unborn child. Provisions for medical review were included in the act to make certain the abortion was necessary to the mother's safety. There is no question but that many, particularly in the field of psychiatry, failed in this responsibility.

"Now the Supreme Court of California has ruled such protective measures need not be applied. I personally think the decision was a license to murder and that we are committing murder on a wholesale scale."

Finally he wrote to Dr. Mildred F. Jefferson of Boston, Massachusetts, a strong opponent of abortion who had appeared on a television show, "The Advocates." "I am disturbed, as you may be, by public-opinion polls showing an almost equal division in the country on this subject. I find it hard to believe that the essentially moral people of this country could in such numbers support abortion on demand unless it is that they are tragically uninformed on the subject.

"I have been meeting with groups of young people in question-and-answer sessions hoping that by such a free exchange they could get a better understanding of government and many of the issues of our time. Invariably, this

subject comes up; and here, too, I find that overwhelmingly these young people never give consideration to the human-life aspect but are convinced that abortion is a necessary aid in controlling the birth rate and preventing the birth of unwanted children who will then, according to their belief, live tragic lives.

"I had a touching experience in one such meeting with students from five high schools who had come here to the capitol. One young lady spoke quite eloquently about the fate of the unwanted child after it had been born. I pointed out to them that there were literally millions of people in this country who could not have children and who were lined up waiting, many times for years, to adopt babies that are just not being born now.

"As the session ended, a very pretty, wholesome-looking, fresh-faced young lady sort of tentatively raised her hand; and I took her question as the last that we had time for—I'm glad I did. She said, 'I am adopted. I care very much for my folks; I'm sure they care for me.' And then she added this line. She said, 'I'm glad someone didn't kill me.' I wish we could have that particular little scene on television."

The subject of abortion brings up the subject of birth control and the controversial issue of whether teen-age girls should be prescribed birth control pills or contraceptive devices without parental consent. Here are excerpts of one letter Governor Reagan wrote on the subject to a woman who had told him, "when it comes to an issue such as illegitimacy and avoidance of abortions you make unfortunate decisions and veto legislation designed to lessen illegitimacy and abortions."

"... what we are really at odds about," the governor responded, "is not finding the solution to the individual's personal tragedy after the mistake has been made and what is the proper course to reduce or hopefully eliminate this cause of the tragedy to begin with.

"I could not have worked in the motion picture industry for most of my adult life and been a 'blue-nose' or prude. Still I have to believe that all law is based on natural law.

The enclosed letter from President Reagan to Nellie Gray, dated February 7, 1980, was hand-carried to Nellie at her home.

This letter prompted a news release by Nellie asking for prolife support for Mr. Reagan's candidacy. The important part of the President's letter was his support for the Helms/Dornan "Paramount HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT."

The February 7, 1980 letter also prompted the active participation of Nellie and prolife supporters from the N.H., N.Y., R.I., area for the Presidential primary in New Hampshire, as shown by a newspaper clipping from the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader.

Support of the "Paramount HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT" precludes support for the HATCH so-called "federalism" amendment, because the provisions of these two amendments are antithetical.

ENCLOSURE B

Nellie J. Gray

February 9, 1980

515 SIXTH STREET, S.E.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20003

(202) 547-6721

Miss Nellie J. Gray of Washington, D. C. sees an opportunity for our Country to be led by a prolife Chief Executive, and is, therefore, supporting the candidacy of Honorable RONALD REAGAN for President.

The announcement came this week when Nellie received a personal letter from Governor Reagan, which clarified the candidate's statement read to the MARCH FOR LIFE on January 22, 1980. In that statement, Mr. Reagan reiterated his support for the prolife cause, saying that he would support a human life amendment.

But, will it be the Helms/Dornan "Paramount" HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT, Nellie asked. "Yes, indeed," came the reply from Governor Reagan.

Now, Nellie saw a clear choice between a prolife frontrunner, Mr. Reagan, and several non-pro-life Republican and Democratic frontrunners. The decision was easy. "I must do what I can to try to elect a prolife President, she said, and sent this message:

Dear Governor Reagan,

Thank you very much for your February 7 letter and the good words for the MARCH FOR LIFE, Inc.

I shall do what I can personally to assist your candidacy for President of the United States, and, hopefully, we can secure the Helms/Dornan "Paramount" HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT for our beloved America very soon.

Sincerely in Life,

/s/ Nellie

Miss Nellie J. Gray

In giving her personal support to Governor Reagan's candidacy, Nellie acknowledged the excellent prolife voting record of other candidates, especially Representative Philip M. Crane (R-Ill), who has consistently voted against public funding of abortions, and has also co-sponsored the Helms/Dornan amendment.

Nellie explained that her choice now is not among the excellent prolife candidates, but between the frontrunning prolife and proabortion candidates. The choice is for the prolife frontrunning Presidential candidate, Mr. Reagan.

RONALD REAGAN

February 7, 1980

Miss Nellie J. Gray
President,
March for Life
515 - 6th Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Nellie:

I was pleased to hear from Senator Schweiker and Congressman Dornan of the inspiring pro-life presence at this year's March for Life.

As always, you are to be commended for your outstanding efforts to mobilize America's traditional respect for all innocent human life.

The support of the more than 100,000 marchers for the paramount Human Life Amendment clearly demonstrates that the American people share our mutual concern for the sacredness of every innocent life.

I hope that future Marches for Life will be addressed by a President of the United States who shares the historic respect for life embodied in the Hippocratic oath.

More importantly, I hope that enactment of the Helms/Dornan Human Life Amendment will obviate the need for such tragic anniversaries.

May God speed that day.

Sincerely,



RONALD REAGAN

Nellie J. Gray
Attorney at Law

515 SIXTH STREET, S.E.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20003

(202) 547-6721

February 8, 1980

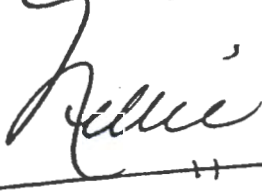
Honorable Ronald Reagan
9481 Airport Blvd., Suite 1430
Los Angeles, California 90045

Dear Governor Reagan,

Thank you very much for your February 7 letter and the
good words for the MARCH FOR LIFE, Inc.

I shall do what I can personally to assist your candidacy
for President of the United States, and, hopefully, we can secure
the Helms/Dornan "Paramount" HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT for our beloved
America very soon.

Sincerely in Life,



A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Nellie". The signature is written over a horizontal line that extends across the page. There are two small vertical marks below the signature.

Miss Nellie J. Gray



March for Life

P. O. BOX 2950
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20013
PHONE 202/LIFE-377

February 9, 1980

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PROLIFE LEGISLATORS AND CANDIDATES ENDORSE HELMS/DORNAN "Paramount" HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT (S.J.Res. 12 & H.J.Res. 300)

"The Helms/Dornan "Paramount" HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT is picking up support, as grass roots proliferers request legislators to co-sponsor this important legislation," reported Nellie Gray, President, MARCH FOR LIFE, Inc.

Among the co-sponsors in the House of Representatives is Honorable Philip M. Crane (R-Ill), who has a long-standing prolife voting record against public funds for abortion. He is a Presidential candidate, and has made his sponsorship of the amendment known to the voters in New Hampshire through media appearances. New Hampshire is the first state to have both Senators co-sponsor the Helms/Dornan amendment, through the work of the very active proliferers.

Other states which have secured sponsors include Rhode Island with both Congressmen, Illinois with three Congressmen, including Honorable Henry Hyde, plus Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and Texas. Nellie Gray credits this success to the work of proliferers who understand fully that they do not want to enact abortion into the Constitution, and who have done a good job of educating their elected representatives to the importance of the "Paramount" HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT. MARCH FOR LIFE, Inc. sends a "thank you" to the new co-sponsors.

In addition, Governor Ronald Reagan, a well-recognized prolife Presidential candidate, has also indicated his support of the "Paramount" HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT, as shown on the attached copy of his February 7, 1980 letter.

Nellie's comments included: "I am pleased with these endorsements of the Helms/Dornan amendment. We proliferers can be encouraged that there are legislators and candidates who will openly support legislation which will save both mother and child, and not provide for even a little bit of abortion."

(3)

from the past and from what we have been able to project now, indicates that will take place again under this plan. And that won't be inflationary; that will be helpful to the business cuts we're proposing in stimulating investment to increase productivity.

Bill Groody [Mutual Broadcasting System].

OIL PRICE DECONTROL

Q. Mr. President, this morning's wholesale price figures seem to indicate that the fuel prices are still one of the prime motivating forces behind spiraling inflation. In light of this, are you having any second thoughts about your decision to decontrol the price of domestic oil, especially in light of some estimates by economists that it has caused the price of gasoline to rise as much as 14 cents a gallon?

THE PRESIDENT. No, because we only advanced decontrol. It was supposed to take place in a few months anyway. And the increase in the price of gasoline today is only partly due to that decontrol. Part of it was due to the decontrol that had begun under the previous administration. The major part of it was the latest increase in OPEC prices, and our decontrolling now only amounts to three or four cents of the increase in the price of gasoline, and that would have taken place in October anyway, that same decontrol.

We do believe that as time goes on, though, we're going to see increased exploration and development of oil in this country, and that is the road toward lower prices when supply begins to match demand more. So, we don't see any reason, and I don't have any regrets about the change we made. I think the increase in drilling that has taken place, the wells that were unprofitable to pump—in 1976 we had some 400 wells in California that were closed down simply because at the

price that the Government would allow them to charge they could not bring the oil to the surface for that price and sell it. Well, wells like that now under decontrol go back into production.

Larry Barrett [Time, Inc.].

SOVIET GRAIN EMBARGO

Q. Mr. President, at your first press conference you were asked about the Soviet grain embargo, and you said there were really only two options, either to abandon it or to broaden it. Can you tell us which it's going to be, and if you haven't reached a decision yet, can you tell us what factors are still at play here?

THE PRESIDENT. We haven't reached a decision. I think all of us would like to lift the embargo. I still think that it has been as harmful to the American farmer as it has been to the Soviet Union. But the situation has changed from the time when it was first installed.

I was against it at the time. I didn't think it should have been used as it was, that if we were going to follow that road, we should have gone across-the-board and had a kind of quarantine. We didn't. But now we have to look at the international situation, the way it is, and see what would be the effect, not just on the use of grain but the whole effect and what would it say to the world now for us to just unilaterally move.

We're hopeful that we can arrive at a settlement and a decision on this and one that will benefit our farmers.

Lester Kinsolving [Globe Syndicate].



Q. Mr. President, since you've become a strong supporter of the right-to-life movement whose leaders in Congress have introduced an amendment that human life begins at conception rather than birth,

how can parents or election boards determine a person's date of conception for purposes of registration and eligibility for running for public office?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think with the matter that's before the legislature now, there is going to be testimony by medical authorities, theologians, possibly, legal authorities also, and I think what is necessary in this whole problem and has been the least talked of in the whole question about abortion is determining when and what is a human being.

Now, I happen to have believed and stated many times that I believe in an abortion we are taking a human life. But if this is once determined, then there isn't really any need for an amendment, because once you have determined this, the Constitution already protects the right of human life.

Q. You said during your campaign you noticed that all the advocates of abortion are already born. Since this also applies to all the advocates in contraception, are you opposed to contraception, which also denies the right to life?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I am not.

Ms. THOMAS. Thank you. Do you want to explain it? [Laughter]

THE PRESIDENT. Helen, you just got even.

No, as I say, I think the idea of human life, once it has been created, and establishing that fact—and maybe I should have just taken your “thank you” and left here on this—is the whole issue that we have to determine.

It seems strange to me that we have a law, for example, in California, a law that says that if someone abuses or mistreats a pregnant woman to the point of causing the death of her unborn child, that individual will be tried for murder. We know that the law of the land gives an unborn child the right to inherit property, and the

law protects property rights. Isn't it time we determined—if there was some question, if you found a body on the street and you didn't know whether it was dead or alive, wouldn't you opt on the basis that it was alive and not start shoveling dirt on it? This is what I feel about the other.

Until we determine and make to the best of our ability a determination of when life begins, we've been opting on the basis that, “Well, let's consider they're not alive.” I think that everything in our society calls for opting that they might be alive.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's second news conference began at 2 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. It was broadcast live on radio and television.

International Communication Agency

Nomination of Charles Z. Wick To Be Director. March 6, 1981

The President today announced his intention to nominate Charles Z. Wick to be Director of the International Communication Agency.

Mr. Wick has been an independent businessman involved in the financing and operation of motion picture, television, radio, music, health care, and mortgage industries in the United States and abroad. He is president and chief executive officer of Wick Financial Corp., and Mapleton Enterprises, which he founded in the early 1960's. He was cochairman of the 1981 Presidential Inaugural Committee.

Mr. Wick was graduated from the University of Michigan (B.M.) and Western Reserve University Law School (J.D.).

4

LAST YEAR THERE WERE MORE THAN ONE AND ONE-HALF MILLION ABORTIONS IN AMERICA. THIS IS AN ASSAULT ON THE SACREDNESS OF HUMAN LIFE.

NO ONE IN AMERICA IS MORE SENSITIVE TO THIS ENORMOUS TRAGEDY AND NO ONE IN AMERICA HAS DONE MORE TO PUT A STOP TO IT THAN THOSE OF YOU ATTENDING THIS RIGHT TO LIFE CONVENTION. IT IS YOU WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED TO PROTECT THE HELPLESS AND SPEAK FOR THE UNBORN; YOU HAVE CARRIED THE BURDEN AND FOUGHT THE GOOD FIGHT. FOR THIS, GOD WILL BLESS YOU; AND FOR THIS, MILLIONS OF AMERICANS, MYSELF INCLUDED, THANK YOU.

BUT NOW -- AS CONGRESS APPROACHES THE

THREE-QUARTER MARK IN ITS
CURRENT SESSION -- YOU
DESERVE MUCH MORE THAN
THANKS OR MERE VERBAL
SUPPORT, AND CERTAINLY
THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS,
AND PERHAPS MILLIONS, OF
UNBORN CHILDREN WHO FACE
EXTINCTION THIS YEAR
DESERVE MUCH MORE THAN
WORDS -- THEY DESERVE TO
HAVE THEIR RIGHT TO LIFE
FULLY PROTECTED BY LAW.
THE TIME HAS COME FOR
CONGRESS TO FACE THE
NATIONAL TRAGEDY OF
ABORTION -- TO FULLY
DISCUSS AND DEBATE ON THE
HOUSE AND SENATE FLOORS
THE HEARTBREAKING
DIMENSIONS OF THIS
TRAGEDY.

THOSE OF YOU WHO
SUPPORTED PRO-LIFE
CANDIDATES IN THE 1980
ELECTION -- AND THOSE OF
US WHO AS CANDIDATES

ACTIVELY SPOKE OUT
AGAINST ABORTION --
CANNOT BE ACCUSED OF
BEING IRRESPONSIBLE OR
OVERLY ZEALOUS IN OUR
PURSUIT OF HUMAN LIFE
LEGISLATION. WE HAVE
BEEN PATIENT AND
REALISTIC. LAST YEAR WE
UNDERSTOOD THAT PAST
NATIONAL POLICIES HAD
HEADED OUR COUNTRY WELL
DOWN THE ROAD TO ECONOMIC
DISASTER. WE KNEW WE HAD
TO DEAL WITH THIS
MOMENTOUS PROBLEM; WE DID
SO WITH URGENCY AND
EFFECTIVENESS. I KNOW
THAT MANY OF YOU
SUPPORTED AND WORKED HARD
FOR THIS ADMINISTRATION'S
PROGRAM FOR ECONOMIC
RECOVERY.

BUT AS I SAID A FEW
MONTHS AFTER TAKING
OFFICE -- AND IN THE
MIDST OF OUR ATTEMPTS TO

CHANGE OUR ECONOMIC
POLICY -- THIS
ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT
AND WILL NOT HAVE
SEPARATE AGENDAS -- ONE
FOR ECONOMIC MATTERS, ONE
FOR THE SO-CALLED
"SOCIAL" ISSUES. OUR
CONCERN IS TO MAKE
AMERICA-HEALTHY:
ECONOMICALLY, MORALLY, IN
EVERY WAY. ABORTION IS
AN INESCAPABLE NATIONAL
DILEMMA. IT IS A PROBLEM
THAT CANNOT WAIT; IT MUST
BE CONFRONTED.

THE ABORTION TRAGEDY
IS AFTER ALL ONE OF THE
GREATEST MORAL -- AND
POTENTIALLY ONE OF THE
MOST DIVISIVE -- ISSUES
TO EVER FACE THIS
COUNTRY. AS HISTORY
SHOWS IN THE CASE OF
OTHER SUCH GREAT ISSUES,
ATTEMPTING TO IGNORE THEM
ONLY CAUSES A DEEPER

DISARRAY IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE AND INCREASES THE POTENTIAL FOR DISUNITY AND DISRUPTION.

THE SUPREME COURT'S RULING THAT LEGALIZED ABORTION WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE A PROFOUND AND PAINFUL IMPACT ON OUR NATION UNTIL IT IS PROPERLY ADDRESSED BY THE PEOPLE THROUGH THEIR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES. ONLY THE OTHER DAY, A FEDERAL JUDGE IN CONNECTICUT REOPENED THE WHOLE LEGAL DEBATE ON THIS MATTER WHEN HE RULED THAT A FETUS HAD CIVIL RIGHTS INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO SUE AN ALLEGED ATTACKER. RECENTLY, A REPORT BY THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE EMPHASIZED THE FAR-REACHING IMPACT OF THE ABORTION TRAGEDY BY

CONCLUDING THAT THE
EFFECT OF THE U.S.
SUPREME COURT DECISIONS
HAS BEEN TO LEGALIZE
ABORTION RIGHT UP UNTIL
THE MOMENT OF BIRTH.

A FEW MONTHS AGO, IN
MY OWN STATE OF
CALIFORNIA, A GARAGE WAS
DISCOVERED CONTAINING THE
BODIES OF 17,000 ABORTION
VICTIMS -- MANY OF THEM
LATE-TERM. THE PICTURES
I HAVE SEEN ARE
HEART-RENDING AND CLEARLY
SHOW ABORTION IS AN
ASSAULT ON HUMAN LIFE.

AND ONLY A FEW
MONTHS AGO . . . MANY OF
US READ OF A CHILD IN
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA,
PERMITTED BY THE COURTS
TO DIE ONLY BECAUSE HE
WAS HANDICAPPED.

AS GEORGE WILL WOULD
WRITE IN AN EMOTIONAL BUT
CAREFULLY REASONED -- AND

I MIGHT ADD
UNFORGETTABLE -- ESSAY,
THE FREEDOM TO DO AWAY
WITH INCONVENIENT LIFE IS
NOW BEING EXTENDED --
JUST AS THOSE OF US WHO
ARE PART OF THE RIGHT TO
LIFE MOVEMENT
PREDICTED -- BEYOND FETAL
LIFE TO ENTIRELY NEW
CATEGORIES OF LIFE.

THAT IS WHY THE
HOUSE AND SENATE MUST
DEAL WITH THE ABORTION
ISSUE. MAJOR HUMAN LIFE
MEASURES, SUCH AS SENATOR
HELM'S HUMAN LIFE BILL,
SENATOR HATCH'S HUMAN
LIFE FEDERALISM AMENDMENT
AND SENATOR HATFIELD'S
ABORTION FUNDING
RESTRICTION BILL, DESERVE
FULL CONSIDERATION BY THE
SENATE THIS SESSION.
BELIEVE ME, IN ALL OF
THIS, I SHARE YOUR SENSE
OF URGENCY.

YOU KNOW, IT HAS ALWAYS PUZZLED ME THAT THOSE WHO FAVOR ABORTION WILL ARGUE THAT BECAUSE A CHILD IS NOT OLD ENOUGH OR PERFECT ENOUGH OR WANTED ENOUGH THAT IT IS AN ACT OF KINDNESS TO DENY HIM OR HER THE CHANCE OF LIFE.

C. S. LEWIS ONCE WROTE THAT "LOVE IS SOMETHING MORE STERN AND SPLENDID THAN MERE KINDNESS." THIS IS A CRITICAL INSIGHT INTO THE PRESENT DEBATE OVER ABORTION AND IT IS SOMETHING OF WHAT I MEANT WHEN I WROTE TO GEORGE WILL ABOUT HIS COLUMN ON THAT CHILD IN BLOOMINGTON -- A COLUMN IN WHICH GEORGE MENTIONED HIS OWN HANDICAPPED SON, JONATHAN.

"JONATHAN IS INDEED FORTUNATE," I WROTE, "THAT GOD HAS CHOSEN THE WILLS FOR HIS PARENTS; AND, AS I SEE FROM YOUR COLUMN, THE WILLS ARE EVEN MORE FORTUNATE THAT GOD HAS GIVEN THEM JONATHAN."

THIS IS THE HEART OF THE MATTER. THE WORLD IS NOT OURS TO SUPERINTEND -- NOR IS INNOCENT LIFE OURS TO DISPENSE WITH OR TERMINATE. THOSE DECISIONS BELONG TO ANOTHER -- ANOTHER TO WHOM SUFFERING IN OUR WORLD IS FULLY COMPREHENSIBLE AND WHO COUNTS OUR RESIGNATION IN THESE MATTERS TO OUR CREDIT. IT IS HIS GUIDANCE WE SEEK NOW AND IN ALL OF OUR FUTURE EFFORTS.

OBVIOUSLY, THE DAYS
AHEAD WILL BE IMPORTANT
ONES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR
HUMAN LIFE LEGISLATION,
AND WHAT YOU DO DURING
THE NEXT FEW DAYS WILL BE
VITAL TO THE SUCCESS OF
OUR EFFORTS IN THIS GREAT
CAUSE. I WANT YOU TO
KNOW THAT YOU HAVE MY
WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT AND
MY FERVENT PRAYERS FOR
YOUR SUCCESS. HAVE A
GOOD CONVENTION AND GOD
BLESS YOU.

#

5

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 30, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

SUBJECT: Enforcement of Federal Laws Prohibiting
Discrimination Against the Handicapped

Following the recent death of a handicapped newborn child in Indiana, many have raised the question whether Federal laws protecting the rights of handicapped citizens are being adequately enforced.

Therefore, I am instructing Secretary Schweiker to notify health care providers of the applicability of section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 to the treatment of handicapped patients. That law forbids recipients of Federal funds from withholding from handicapped citizens, simply because they are handicapped, any benefit or service that would ordinarily be provided to persons without handicaps. Regulations under this law specifically prohibit hospitals and other providers of health services receiving Federal assistance from discriminating against the handicapped.

I am also instructing the Attorney General to report to me on the possible application of Federal constitutional and statutory remedies in appropriate circumstances to prevent the withholding from the handicapped of potentially life-saving treatment that would be given as a matter of course to those who are not handicapped.

Our Nation's commitment to equal protection of the law will have little meaning if we deny such protection to those who have not been blessed with the same physical or mental gifts we too often take for granted. I support Federal laws prohibiting discrimination against the handicapped, and remain determined that such laws will be vigorously enforced.

Ronald Reagan

ENCLOSURE E

6

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 5, 1982

Dear Jesse:

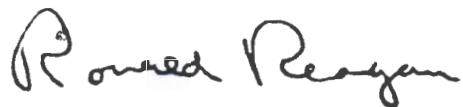
In recent years, sentiment has increased in the Congress to enact legislation that would restore protection of the law to children before birth. It may be possible for the 97th Congress to take that important step. I write simply to express my own hope that we will not miss this long delayed opportunity.

A few weeks back I said that, "We must, with calmness and resolve, help the vast majority of our fellow Americans understand that the more than one-and-one-half million abortions performed in America in 1980 amount to a great moral evil and assault on the sacredness of life." Whether or not our fellow citizens will understand the duty we owe to future citizens depends largely on what action the Congress takes.

I know that on this issue, sad to say, as on many others of great importance, there are sharp differences of opinions as to which action is the best one. Naturally, I hope that these differences will be resolved in favor of the common goal.

But most important, it seems to me, is that the Congress consider one or more of the proposals in the near future. And I want you to know that you have not only my best wishes but also my prayers for success.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Jesse A. Helms
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

ENCLOSURE F

STATEMENT BY RONALD REAGAN TO BE READ BY SECRETARY SCHWEIKER

(7)
I AM PLEASED TO WELCOME THE 1982 MARCH FOR LIFE TO WASHINGTON.

I KNOW YOU ARE AWARE OF MY FEELINGS, WHICH I HAVE OFTEN EXPRESSED, ON THE QUESTION OF ABORTION. I BELIEVE THAT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT ABORTION, WE ARE TALKING ABOUT TWO LIVES -- THAT OF THE MOTHER AND THAT OF THE UNBORN CHILD.

IT IS INSTRUCTIVE I THINK THAT IN RECENT HEARINGS ON THE HILL, THE QUESTION OF WHEN LIFE BEGINS COULD NOT BE RESOLVED. THAT IS A FINDING IN AND OF ITSELF. THE FACT THAT DOUBTS CONTINUE TO EXIST ON THIS ISSUE LEAD ME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT GOVERNMENT HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY TO OPT ON THE SIDE OF LIFE FOR THE UNBORN, EXCEPT IN THOSE RARE CASES WHERE THE MOTHER'S LIFE IS IN DANGER.

AS I SAID EARLIER THIS WEEK IN MY PRESS CONFERENCE, IF ONE WERE TO COME UPON AN IMMOBILE BODY, AND IT COULD NOT BE DETERMINED AS TO WHETHER IT WERE DEAD OR ALIVE, YOU WOULDN'T GET A SHOVEL AND START COVERING IT UP. IF WE DON'T KNOW, THEN SHOULDN'T WE MORALLY OPT ON THE SIDE OF LIFE. IN MY

ENCLOSURE G

OPINION, WE SHOULD DO THE SAME THING WITH REGARD TO ABORTION.

THE CONGRESS IS EXAMINING THE ENTIRE ABORTION QUESTION. THERE ARE SEVERAL PIECES OF LEGISLATION ON THE HILL RANGING FROM CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS TO A HUMAN LIFE STATUTE. THE FACT THAT THESE PROPOSALS TAKE DIFFERENT APPROACHES SHOULD NOT OBSCURE THE MORE IMPORTANT POINT THAT THEY HAVE THE SAME GOAL -- TO PROVIDE GREATER PROTECTION FOR THE MOST DEFENSELESS AND INNOCENT AMONG US -- THE UNBORN CHILD.

I LOOK FORWARD TO ONE OF THESE PROPOSALS REACHING MY DESK FOR ACTION.

THE RIGHT-TO-LIFE MOVEMENT IS MADE UP OF COUNTLESS AMERICANS OF ALL BACKGROUNDS. YOUR ANNUAL MARCH FOR LIFE HERE IN WASHINGTON IS A SYMBOL OF A SHARED COMMITMENT. I WISH YOU WELL IN YOUR EFFORTS TO PROTECT THE LIFE OF THE UNBORN.

ABORTION

Policy Statement D.1
January 31, 1980

I personally believe that interrupting a pregnancy is the taking of a human life and can be justified only in self-defense -- that is, if the mother's own life is in danger.

The January 22, 1973 Supreme Court decision which overruled the historic role of the states in legislating in the areas concerning abortion took away virtually every protection previously accorded the unborn. Later decisions have intruded into the family structure through their denial of the parents' obligations and right to guide their minor children. I support enactment of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the unborn child's right to life.

In the meantime, I am opposed to using federal tax money to pay for abortions in cases where the life of the mother is in no danger.

#

ENCLOSURE H-1

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

- ABORTION -

Ronald Reagan believes that interrupting a pregnancy is the taking of a human life and can be justified only in self-defense-- that is, if the mother's own life is in danger.

The January 22, 1973 Supreme Court decision which overruled the historic role of the states in legislating in areas concerning abortion took away virtually every protection previously accorded the unborn. Later decisions have intruded into the family structure through their denial of parents' obligations and right to guide their minor children.

Ronald Reagan supports enactment of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the unborn child's right to life.

In the meantime, Ronald Reagan opposes using federal tax monies to pay for abortions in cases where the life of the mother is in no danger.

ENCLOSURE H-2

January 19, 1982
Pres Press Conf

1982

Administration of Ronald Reagan

the Secretary of Navy and staff, and that he would be there where he could make a great contribution.

Now, I don't know what his decision has been on that. I would hope that he would accept that, because he could be of service to his country, although I know this: If he doesn't want to serve, it would be difficult to impose on him, because that's been a long lifetime of sterling service to this Nation.

Q. But he has said no to you, though. Is that correct?

The President. What?

Q. He has turned down the White House job?

The President. Yes, he explained to me—and I could understand that—that that didn't sound very much like what he'd be interested in.

Yes, ma'am.

Abortion

Q. Mr. President, as you know, this Congress has attached the most restrictive anti-abortion language to the Health and Human Services money bill. It would ban all abortions for low-income women except if the mother's life would be endangered by completing the pregnancy, and it would make no exceptions for rape or incest. My question to you is—and I would like to have a followup—if one of your daughters were unfortunate enough to be raped and become pregnant as a result, would you agree with this law that she should be forced to carry that pregnancy to term?

The President. I have been one who believes that abortion is the taking of a human life. And I know the difficulty of the question that you ask. I also do know that—because I won't answer it in that personal term—but I do know that I once approved the law in California that allowed that as a justification in the line of self-defense, just as a mother has a right, in my view, to protect her own life at the expense of the life of the unborn child. I am very concerned, because I have found out since that that was used as a gigantic loophole in the law, and it was just—literally led to abortion on demand on the idea of rape.

Now, I wish I could have a solid answer for you. On that basis, I would be hesitant to approve abortion on that basis. So—

Q. May I ask you something on a related point, sir? There is pending in the Senate a constitutional amendment sponsored by Senator Hatch that would permit Congress and any State to ban abortions for all women, rich or poor. When Senator Hatch opened his hearings on that he said that his religion prompted him to support that amendment, and at the same time, as you know, there are many other religious faiths who consider it an invasion of privacy.

Also, in view of that divisiveness and in view of the fact that the public opinion polls show that most Americans favor freedom of choice on abortion, have you given this any second thought or rethought your position at all?

The President. I can't say that I have really looked at or studied this particular proposal. I can just say to you that following up on the hearings that were held on the Hill as to when life begins, I think that everyone has overlooked the real finding. The fact that they could not resolve the issue of when life begins was a finding in and of itself. If we don't know, then shouldn't we morally opt on the side that it is life?

If you came upon an immobile body and you yourself could not determine whether it was dead or alive, I think that you would decide to consider it alive until somebody could prove it was dead. You wouldn't get a shovel and start covering it up. And I think we should do the same thing with regard to abortion.

Richard V. Allen

Q. Mr. President, why was it necessary to dismiss Richard Allen and restructure the foreign policy operation at the White House when the Justice Department cleared Mr. Allen, and two press conferences ago you told us that the foreign policy apparatus here was operating just fine?

The President. The changes that have been made with regard to the operation method were already under consideration. We did not dismiss Richard Allen, and I think he himself knew that it would be difficult for him after all that had happened. But he's still a part of the administration.

He continues right now restoring PFIAB. I use the custom of putting the initials in the name, because it's difficult to remember that that means Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. I think was a very valuable thing.

Q. Right.

The President.—a very valuable thing that was discontinued. We're restoring that. We're restoring the Board and have a consultant serving as a consultant. It does not mean that that's going to do.

But he is a part of it. And I know that he was the whole thing that tool. Judy [Judy Woodruff, M

Federalism

Q. Mr. President, how do you control that any move you make that control to the States of such and education may result in a victory for the people who live in the States?

The President. I don't know, because I was a consultant. I know how well States might have been a time there were things in States to a great extent, but then for those States if they were a way government was won the great secrets of our country. We're a federation of sovereign States.

I am convinced that that was lacking in those States. It is where constitutional rights of even among us, wherever he rights are being denied, point of bayonet if necessary.

Q. Mr. President, to about the people who could move from one State to another, what do you say to

February 23, 1982

Dear Mr. Beckett:

It was a special pleasure to meet you and the other leaders of major pro-life organizations who came to the White House on the occasion of the "March for Life" on January 22. I am grateful for having had the opportunity to reiterate my firm stand against abortion and my deep belief in the inherent sanctity of all human life. Thank you so much for the handsome plaque which you presented to me from the Intercessors For America. I shall keep it as a meaningful expression of your group's friendship.

I am pleased to have this occasion to emphasize that my concern for the unborn is a major part of the agenda of my Administration. With the backing of concerned and committed citizens like the Intercessors For America, I look forward to the day when legislation on the right to life reaches my desk for signature.

With my best wishes to you and your colleagues,

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Mr. John D. Beckett
President
Intercessors For America
Post Office Box D
Elyria, Ohio 44036

cc: Morton Blackwell

RR:CMF:RH:AVH:vmf--

ENCLOSURE H-4

February 23, 1982

Dear Mr. Horan:

It was a special pleasure to meet you and the other leaders of major pro-life organizations who came to the White House on the occasion of the "March for Life" on January 22. I am grateful for having had the opportunity to reiterate my firm stand against abortion and my deep belief in the inherent sanctity of all human life. Thank you so much for the inscribed copy of New Perspectives on Human Abortion which you presented to me at the meeting. I look forward to reading your work.

I am pleased to have this occasion to restate that my concern for the unborn is a major part of the agenda of my Administration. With the backing of concerned and committed citizens like the Americans United for Life, I look forward to legislation reaching my desk for signature.

With my best wishes to you and your colleagues,

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Mr. Dennis Horan
Apartment 915
230 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60601

cc: Morton Blackwell

RR:CMF:RH:AVH:vml--

ENCLOSURE H-5

them will be our attempt to give government back to the people. One hundred and thirty-two Federal grants-in-aid in 1960 have grown to over 500 in 1981. Our federalism proposal, as Mickey Edwards told you, would return the bulk of these programs to State and local governments, where they can be made more responsive to the people.

We're deeply committed to this program, because it has its roots in deep conservative principles. We've talked a long time about revitalizing our system of federalism. Now, with a single, bold stroke, we can restore the vigor and health of our State and local governments. This proposal lies at the heart of our legislative agenda for the next year, and we'll need your active support in getting it passed.

There are other issues before us. This administration is unalterably opposed to the forced busing of schoolchildren, just as we also support constitutional protection for the right of prayer in our schools. And there is the matter of abortion. We must with calmness and resolve help the vast majority of our fellow Americans understand that the more than 1 1/2 million abortions performed in America in 1980 amount to a great moral evil, an assault on the sacredness of human life.

And, finally, there's the problem of crime, a problem whose gravity cannot be underestimated. This administration has moved in its appointments to the Federal bench and in its legislative proposals for bail and parole reform to assist in the battle against the lawless. But we must always remember that our legal system does not need reform so much as it needs transformation. And this cannot occur at just the Federal level. It can really occur only when society as a whole acknowledges principles that lie at the heart of modern conservatism. Right and wrong matters, individuals are responsible for their actions. Society has a right to be protected from those who prey on the innocent.

This then is the political agenda before us. Perhaps more than any group, your grassroots leadership, your candidate recruitment and training programs, your long years of hard work and dedication have brought us to this point and made this agenda possible.

We live today in a time of climactic struggle for the human spirit, a time that will tell whether the great civilized ideas of individual liberty, representative government, and the rule of law under God will perish or endure.

Whittaker Chambers, who sought idealism in communism and found only disillusionment, wrote very movingly of his moment of awakening. It was at breakfast, and he was looking at the delicate ear of his tiny baby daughter, and he said that, suddenly, looking at that, he knew that couldn't just be an accident of nature. He said, while he didn't realize it at the time, he knows now that in that moment God had touched his forehead with his finger.

And later he wrote, "For in this century, within the next decades, will be decided for generations whether all mankind is to become Communist, whether the whole world is to become free, or whether in the struggle civilization as we know it is to be completely destroyed or completely changed. It is our fate to live upon that turning point in history."

We've already come a long way together. Thank you for all that you've done for me, for the common values we cherish. Join me in a new effort, a new crusade.

Nostalgia has its time and place. Coming here tonight has been a sentimental journey for me, as I'm sure it has been for many of you. But nostalgia isn't enough. The challenge is now. It's time we stopped looking backward at how we got here. We must ask ourselves tonight how we can forge and wield a popular majority from one end of this country to the other, a majority united on basic, positive goals with a platform broad enough and deep enough to endure long into the future, far beyond the lifespan of any single issue or personality.

We must reach out and appeal to the patriotic and fundamental ideals of average Americans who do not consider themselves "movement" people, but who respond to the same American ideals that we do. I'm not talking about some vague notion of an abstract, amorphous American mainstream. I'm talking about Main Street Americans in their millions. They come in all sizes, shapes and colors—blue-collar workers, blacks, Hispanics, shopkeepers, scholars,

March 10, 1982

Dear Mr. Sheehan:

I want to express my sincere thanks to you and the members of the North Shore Educational Committee for the copy of Life lines which Henry Luthin kindly presented on your behalf, on the occasion of my briefing with other pro-life leaders. It was indeed thoughtful of you to share your publication with me, and I am glad to have this opportunity to convey my personal appreciation for your own deep concern for the sanctity of all human life. With the support of citizens like you, I look forward to the day when legal protection shall have been restored to the God-given right to life of every American.

I also want to take this occasion to affirm my gratitude for the generous support you and your colleagues gave to me during the Presidential campaign. Our tremendous success in the 6th Congressional District can be attributed primarily to the loyalty and goodwill of hardworking folks like you. Please know that I shall do all that I can to continue to be worthy of your confidence.

With my best wishes to you and your associates for the continued success of your efforts,

Sincerely,

Mr. Francis J. Sheehan
c/o North Shore Educational Committee
Massachusetts Citizens for Life, Inc.
23 Kosciusko Street
Peabody, Massachusetts 01960

cc: Mr. Henry C. Luthin
Executive Director
Massachusetts Citizens for Life, Inc.
313 Washington Street
Newton, Massachusetts 02158

cc: Kathy Christiansen, Morton Blackwell's Office

RR:CMF:MP:AVH:img

ENCLOSURE H-7

March 10, 1982

Dear Mr. Pockard:

Thank you very much for the copy of Life Lines which Henry Luthin kindly presented as a gift from you and your fellow members of the North Shore Educational Committee, on the occasion of my briefing with other pro-life leaders. I appreciate your thoughtfulness in remembering me with your publication and am grateful for your own deep concern for the sanctity of all human life. With the support of citizens like you, I look forward to the day when legal protection shall have been restored to the God-given right to life of every American.

I also deeply appreciate the generous support you and your associates gave to me during the Presidential campaign. Your loyalty and hard work contributed greatly to our overriding victory in the 6th district. Again, many thanks for all your help.

With my best wishes to you and your colleagues,

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Mr. Edward A. Pockard
36 Walter Road
Danvers, Massachusetts 01923

cc: Kathy Christiansen, Morton Blackwell's Office

RR:CMF:MP:AVH:mlg

ENCLOSURE H-8

4/27/82

QUOTE - FOR PUBLICATION

"The President is on record in favor of each of the major proposed remedies. So far as I know there is no Administration plan to advance one in preference over another."

QUESTION:

If one comes up for a vote and is defeated despite support by ~~y~~ the Administration, will the Administration then support the other when it comes to a vote?

"Emphatically yes. The President is on record in support of both."

ENCLOSURE H-9

J

file
Nat.
Right
to Life
Committee

May 5, 1982

Dear Dr. Driesbach,

I have received your letter and I want you to know the great horror and sadness evoked by the incident you described. When all is said and done, being confronted with the reality of abortion and its consequences removes all traces of doubt and hesitation. The terrible irony about this sudden discovery is not that so many lives were legally aborted but that they are only a tiny proportion of the 1.5 million unborn children quietly destroyed in our nation each year. This is the truth many would rather not face.

Your decision to hold a memorial service for these children is most fitting and proper. On such an occasion we must strengthen our resolve to end this national tragedy. I am hopeful that evidence like that found in California will move those who have thus far preferred silence or inaction and encourage them to agree that something must be done. I have expressed my anticipation that Congress act expeditiously on this matter and approve a measure which will remove this evil and all its vestiges from our society. Thank you for writing and may God bless you in all your efforts.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

ENCLOSURE H-10

Phillip B. Driesbach, M.D.

Secretary, California Pro-Life Medical Association

P. O. Box 99, Palm Springs, CA 92263

May 26, 1982

9

Dear Henry:

Thank you for your letter of April 20 commenting on the tragic situation in Bloomington, Indiana, involving the death by starvation of a newborn handicapped child. I share your strong feelings on this matter.

On April 30, I sent a memorandum to the Attorney General and the Secretary of Health and Human Services. In it, I instructed Secretary Schweiker to notify health care providers of the applicability of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 to the treatment of handicapped patients. I also instructed the ~~Attorney General~~ to report to me on the possible application of Federal constitutional and statutory remedies in appropriate circumstances to prevent the withholding from the handicapped of potentially life-saving treatment that would be given as a matter of course to those who are not handicapped.

I am looking forward to working with you and others in Congress in order to ensure that all appropriate steps are taken to avoid a repeat of this tragic situation.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Henry J. Hyde
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

RWR:KMD:OPD:CMF:nap

cc: Pam Turner

ENCLOSURE I

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

April 20, 1982

074660

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Last week a tragedy, which many believe has quietly become commonplace in the United States, pushed its way into our national conscience via the front page of the WASHINGTON POST and other major media. A newborn child ~~afflicted~~ with Down's Syndrome and a digestive tract disorder (which could have been corrected by routine surgery) was, at the insistence of his own parents and with the approval of the Indiana Supreme Court, allowed to die of starvation in the very hospital in which he was born only a week earlier. This selective destruction of handicapped children is morally and ethically repugnant to our very way of life and cannot be tolerated in a society which cherishes the sanctity of human life and the intrinsic worth of each individual. The very idea that a court of law would sanction a parental demand to destroy a child which, for whatever reason, they did not want is an affront to the principles upon which our legal system was built and must be corrected immediately before this, too, becomes somehow acceptable.

This deliberate starvation of an infant is all the more abhorrent while there were other families eager to adopt and love this defenseless handicapped baby.

All of the academic controversies about when a human life begins and when that human life becomes a person pale into insignificance in the face of this act of eugenic infanticide. We believe the crucial factor here was that this baby was afflicted with Down's Syndrome, and hence his right to life -- his Constitutional right to equal protection of the laws -- was deemed forfeit. Such a doctrine is totally contrary to the traditional view that every human life has intrinsic worth. This example of the triumph of the Quality of Life Ethic at the expense of the Sanctity of Life Ethic has implications far beyond this case.

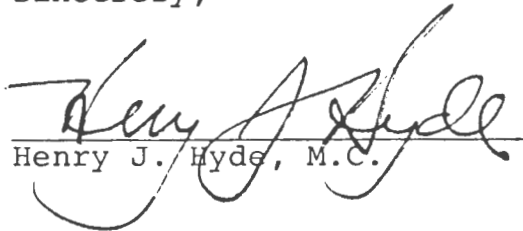
We implore you, Mr. President, to act now to insure the equal protection of our laws to handicapped children. The statutory basis for such action already exists under Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 which prohibits any discrimination against the handicapped

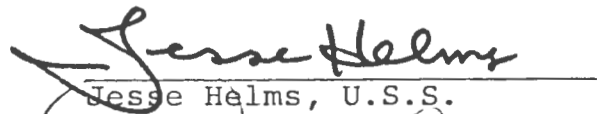
under programs or activities receiving federal financial assistance. You need only clarify existing regulations enforcing such a prohibition to expressly forbid the denial of any treatment which would be provided to normal babies in hospitals under similar circumstances. Certainly the refusal of nourishment and routine surgery to an infant because of his handicap is an unconscionable violation of the letter and spirit of the law and cannot be allowed to happen to other children like the Bloomington Baby.


In closing, Mr. President, we cannot too strongly stress the importance of prompt action in this matter. Every day can mean the difference of life or death for a newborn Down's Syndrome or other handicapped baby.

Thank you, Mr. President, for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,


Henry J. Hyde, M.C.


Jesse Helms, U.S.S.


Orrin G. Hatch, U.S.S.


Mark O. Hatfield, U.C.S.

4430

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

SUBJECT: Enforcement of Federal Laws Prohibiting
Discrimination Against the Handicapped

Following the recent death of a handicapped newborn child in Indiana, many have raised the question whether Federal laws protecting the rights of handicapped citizens are being adequately enforced._____

Therefore, I am instructing Secretary Schweiker to notify health care providers of the applicability of section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 to the treatment of handicapped patients. That law forbids recipients of Federal funds from withholding from handicapped citizens, simply because they are handicapped, any benefit or service that would ordinarily be provided to persons without handicaps. Regulations under this law specifically prohibit hospitals and other providers of health services receiving Federal assistance from discriminating against the handicapped.

I am also instructing the Attorney General to report to me on the possible application of Federal constitutional and statutory remedies in appropriate circumstances to prevent the withholding from the handicapped of potentially life-saving treatment that would be given as a matter of course to those who are not handicapped.

Our Nation's commitment to equal protection of the law will have little meaning if we deny such protection to those who have not been blessed with the same physical or mental gifts we too often take for granted. I support Federal laws prohibiting discrimination against the handicapped, and remain determined that such laws will be vigorously enforced.



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Suite 402, 419 7th Street, N.W.
Washington D.C. 20004 — (202) 638-4396

July 12, 1982

Robert J. Thompson
Legislative Affairs
Executive Office Building

Dear Mr. Thompson:

I have provided Morton Blackwell with a copy of the enclosed material. I am enclosing an extra copy for you to pass on to Ed Rollins if you feel it is appropriate. A recent New York Times story (July 6) said that Mr. Rollins is "worried about the drift away from the populist conservatism that enable Mr. Reagan to attract votes from traditional Democrats in 1980."

Sincerely,

Douglas Johnson
Legislative Director

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To: Robert J. Thompson

Re: Political ramifications for the Republican Party of Senate action (or inaction) on the abortion issue and on the Hatch Amendment in particular

Date: July 11, 1982

This memo was prepared in haste in accord with your request to TL. Further information on this subject is available upon request.

BACKGROUND: THE ABORTION ISSUE IN KEY 1980 SENATE RACES

There are four federal pro-life PACs which operate in more than one state: National Right to Life PAC (the internal PAC of the National Right to Life Committee) (Sandra Faucher, director), National Pro-Life PAC (Peter Gemma, director), the Committee for a Pro-Life Congress (David O'Steen, director), and Life Amendment PAC (LAPAC) (Paul Brown, director). Many NRLC state affiliates also have active federal PACs.

The first three national PACs named accounted for most of the effective pro-life political activity in 1980. LAPAC operates in a flamboyant manner and often gains headlines, but frequently does more harm than good in the view of many pro-life leaders. LAPAC opposes the Hatch Amendment, but has already endorsed Sen. Hatch for re-election. The other three national PACs vigorously support the Hatch Amendment.

We believe that pro-life campaign projects provided the winning increment in at least six 1980 Senate races in which pro-life Republicans faced pro-abortion Democrats.

The most important pro-life tools were the literature drop and the targeted mailing. The lit drops involved tasteful but compelling fliers (a few samples are enclosed), which were quietly distributed in great numbers in strongly pro-life neighborhoods and in suitable churches shortly before the election. In the South the main targets were conservative rural Democrats and members of conservative Protestant churches. In the North the Catholics were the major targeted group. In Idaho, it was Mormons and Catholics. The mailing pieces were similar. They were sent to a variety of suitable lists, including lists of pro-life "paramount issue" voters developed in some states through a sophisticated volunteer telephone survey of registered voters-- NRLC's "Voter Identification Project."

It is not possible to go into the considerable evidence which exists to substantiate the assertion that these activities made the difference for at least six Republican winners. But consider the following:

Denton: Denton was widely recognized as being pro-life. He received pro-life help in the primary. He won the general by 40,000 votes (3%) after 200,000 pro-life fliers were distributed.

Mattingly: A quiet 150,000-piece lit drop cut deeply into Talmadge's margins in targeted areas of north Georgia. Won by 28,000 (2%).

East: 180,000 pieces. Won by 10,000 (less than 1%).

D'Amato: 700,000 pieces. Won by 81,000 (about 1.3%). D'Amato received more than this (140,000) on the Right-to-Life Party line alone.

Kasten: Received pro-life help in primary. There was intensive pro-life activity in the general, including mailings to large lists developed by the Voter Identification Project. Kasten won by 41,000 (less than 1%). 290,000 pieces.

Symms: Won by 4,000 (less than 1%). 150,000 pieces.

In addition, a good case can be made that pro-life activity put Goldwater over the top. His much-publicized endorsement of a Human Life Amendment a few weeks before the election, and the subsequent pro-life activity this generated (including 70,000 pieces) probably made the difference. He won by 1%.

Beyond these races, there were other 1980 Senate races in which the abortion issue was prominent, and where there was extensive pro-life activity which certainly helped the pro-life Republican, but where the margins of victory were larger than could fairly be attributed to the abortion-issue increment alone. This group includes:

Grassley: Received pro-life help in primary. Intense activity in general by both pro-life and pro-abortion groups (the National Abortion Rights Action League made this race its #1 priority and pulled out all the stops for Culver). 225,000 pro-life pieces. Grassley won by 101,000 (8%). The Des Moines Register conducted an exit poll which indicated, I believe, that 10% voted for Grassley and 5% against him on the abortion issue.

Quayle: Bayh was the ^{bête} noire of the pro-life movement, while Quayle endorsed a Human Life Amendment. 300,000 pieces; large Voter ID lists. Quayle won by 166,000 (about 8%).

Hawkins: About 85,000 pieces. Won by 117,000 (4%).

Nickles: Received strong pro-life support in crowded primary and in general. 150,000-piece lit drop contributed to his 10-point victory.

Abdnor, Andrews, Murkowski, and Dole also received pro-life support.

To summarize: in many states there is a sizeable block of traditionally Democratic voters who will swing into the Republican column if it is brought to their attention that the Democratic candidate is pro-abortion and the Republican candidate pro-life. When a proper pro-life project is executed (including the lit drops), the net gain for the pro-life candidate (that is, after the 'single-issue' pro-abortion vote has been subtracted) will exceed 2% in nearly every state, and will exceed 5% in states with particularly high concentrations of the most receptive groups (Catholics, conservative Protestants, Mormons, etc.).

But this point cannot be overemphasized: these voters "swing" on the abortion issue precisely because they feel their vote is crucial. Many override their usual Democratic preferences, often reluctantly, because they believe that the abortion issue is of tremendous importance, and that by their vote they are doing something to end the killing of unborn babies.

Now, 1½ years after the election of a pro-life Republican president and a net gain of nine or ten pro-life Senate seats, very little has happened in Congress. In fact, it currently appears that the only pro-life legislation ever to win committee approval in either house of Congress, the Hatch Amendment (S.J. Res. 110), may be smothered by the Senate Republican leadership without a vote-- with the White House doing nothing to prevent this.

If this occurs-- if the Administration allows the abortion issue to remain "on the shelf," and makes no meaningful effort to curb the ongoing bloodbath-- there will be great disillusionment among many of the voters mentioned above, who were persuaded that the Republican candidates mentioned would actually do something about abortion on demand. In fact, the process of disillusionment is already well underway, and will accelerate rapidly in the months to come unless the Administration takes visible and meaningful action soon.

RAMIFICATIONS OF A SENATE VOTE ON THE HATCH AMENDMENT
ON INCUMBENT SENATORS UP FOR ELECTION IN 1982

The Hatch Amendment (S.J. Res. 110) does not directly outlaw abortion, but merely nullifies the constitutional "right to abortion" fabricated by the Supreme Court in 1973, and permits (but does not require) Congress and the states to restrict or prohibit abortion.

The Senate Judiciary Committee approved SJR 110 on a 10-7 vote in March. The recently published Judiciary Committee report on the amendment confirms what pro-life activists have been saying for years: the Supreme Court decisions in practical terms prevent any significant restrictions on abortion-on-demand at any point during pregnancy, even for minors.

A number of incumbent Democrats who oppose legal restrictions on abortion have been able to maintain more or less "pro-life" voting records and images (with the general public, not pro-life activists) by voting to restrict federal funding of abortion (the Hyde Amendment). A floor vote on the Hatch Amendment would finally force them to vote for or against permitting significant legal restrictions on abortion on demand.

Among the Democrats who voted pro-life on the only abortion vote to date in the current Senate, on the Hyde Amendment (see explanation on page 5), but who will probably vote against the Hatch Amendment, are Mitchell, Robert Byrd, Cannon, and Bentsen. All have sought to dispel the idea that they favor legal abortion except in "hard cases" such as rape and incest (which are not addressed by the Hatch Amendment).

In contrast, the three Republicans up for election who are thought certain to vote against the Hatch Amendment (Weicker, Stafford, Chafee) have openly proclaimed their opposition to legal restrictions on abortion. For the reasons noted below, the abortion issue is unlikely to play an important role in any of their races this year.

Wallop, Schmitt, and Heinz are undecided.

There has been only one significant abortion-related roll call in the Senate in the 97th Congress. On May 21, 1981, the Senate voted 52-43 in favor of the "pure" Hyde Amendment, prohibiting Medicaid funding of abortion except in cases of life endangerment to the mother. The situation was such that a nay vote was a vote for no restrictions on Medicaid abortions. (Three senators who have generally opposed federal funding of abortions, Hatfield, Stennis, and Cochran, said they voted nay because of opposition to the continuing practice of attaching controversial riders to appropriations bills.) (Roll call attached)

When the notation "sponsor of Human Life Amendment" appears below, it refers to the Garn Amendment (S.J.Res. 17), endorsed by the National Right to Life Committee, which would establish a constitutional right to life and prohibit abortion except to save the life of the mother. This amendment has 30 Senate co-sponsors. It should not be confused with the Hatch Amendment.

The following Democratic senators are very probably going to vote against the Hatch Amendment, and it will probably or certainly cost them support in November.

Burdick: Has publicly announced opposition to Hatch Amendment. Knorr has attacked his position (see attached clipping). The majority of the population opposes abortion-on-demand. In 1972 a proposition to legalize abortion to 20 weeks was rejected by 78% of the voters. Despite questions with a pro-abortion bias, a recent poll conducted by The Minot Daily News-Meyer TV News found 43% favoring legal abortion only to save the mother and in cases of rape and incest, and an additional 11% favoring a total prohibition. Burdick's in-state staff is reliably reported to fear that Burdick could be badly hurt on the abortion issue-- perhaps as much as 8%.

Riegle: Certain to vote against the Amendment. Of the two frontrunners in the GOP primary, Ruppe is pro-life and has already been endorsed by Right to Life of Michigan, which is a well-organized group with an active PAC. Ballenger is pro-abortion. For more information on this primary see the Free Congress Foundation's Political Report for July 2.

Moynihan: Certain to vote against the Amendment. It is not yet clear whether he will have a pro-life opponent.

Chiles: His record is more pro-abortion than not, but on the only roll call so far in the 97th Congress, he voted pro-life-- for the "pure" Hyde Amendment. He is thought to be leaning against the Hatch Amendment. The leading GOP hopeful, State Sen. Poole, is pro-life.

Mitchell: Has voted for the Hyde Amendment, and points to these votes as evidence of his pro-life sentiments. However, there is solid intelligence that if forced to vote on the Hatch Amendment he will vote against it. Republican nominee Emery is a co-sponsor of the Human Life Amendment.

A very knowledgeable political (and pro-life) activist in Maine says: "At this point Mitchell and Emery are really running neck-and-neck. Many Catholic voters find Mitchell's positions on many social issues more appealing than Emery's. However, they would vote for Emery (many holding their noses) if Mitchell voted for abortion. But so far, Mitchell is generally viewed as pro-life by the Catholic voters, due to his votes for the Hyde Amendment. He is hoping that the Hatch Amendment doesn't come to the floor, but if it does, we are advised that he will vote against it. And that's all we need. That will make the difference."

Maine Right to Life is well organized and has a very well developed voter identification program. Abortion became the major issue in the June 8 Democratic primary in Maine's marginal 1st Congressional district (see "Ethnic Politics in the State of Maine," Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, June 5, page 1383); the pro-lifer won. Multi-millionaire Sherry Huber, who vastly outspent her opponents in the Republican gubernatorial primary but loudly proclaimed her "pro-choice" stance, lost.

Sarbanes: Strongly pro-abortion. Both Republican contenders are pro-life, Hogan especially so.

Robert Byrd: A mixed record on abortion funding; he voted for the "pure" Hyde Amendment in the only abortion roll call of the 97th Congress to date. However, he voted against the Hatch Amendment in the Judiciary Committee. Benedict is a co-sponsor of a Human Life Amendment. A floor vote on the Hatch Amendment would help publicize Byrd's low-profile pro-abortion position. Polls in West Virginia show strong anti-abortion sentiment. A statewide poll in 1981 showed 68% support for a constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion except in cases of life endangerment, rape, or incest. The Hatch Amendment is, of course, a far more modest proposal. (Summary of poll attached.)

Cannon: Voted for Hyde Amendment in 1981, but thought unlikely to vote for Hatch Amendment. Primary challenger Rep. Santini is pro-life. The position of GOP frontrunner Fore has not yet been determined.

Bentsen: Has almost always voted pro-abortion, although he did support the Hyde Amendment in 1981. He has generally explained his pro-funding votes on the basis of concern regarding victims of rape and incest-- an excuse not applicable to the Hatch Amendment. His staff indicates that he is unlikely to vote for the Hatch Amendment. Collins has publicly endorsed the Amendment.

The following Democrats are likely to vote for the Hatch Amendment. These senators already have firmly established pro-life credentials.

Zorinsky: Co-sponsor of Human Life Amendment, Helms Human Life Bill, and Hatch Amendment.

Proxmire: Co-sponsor of Human Life Amendment; pledged to support Hatch Amendment.

Stennis: Good overall record with a few lapses. Undecided on Hatch Amendment, but thought likely to support.

DeConcini: Co-sponsor of Human Life Amendment. Has already voted for the Hatch Amendment twice, in the Constitution Subcommittee and in the Judiciary Committee. DeConcini's strong pro-life stance has made him more attractive to several groups of voters who disapprove of his positions on many other issues. Both leading Republican hopefuls are pro-life.

Melcher: 100% pro-life voting record. Co-sponsor of the Human Life Amendment. Publicly undecided on the Hatch Amendment, but considered a very likely vote.

The following Democrats are certain to vote against the Hatch Amendment. Each has long ago alienated pro-life constituents by consistent support of abortion funding.

Metzenbaum: 100% pro-abortion record. Voted against the Hatch Amendment in the Judiciary Committee. The strong Ohio Right to Life Society lost its champion when John Ashbrook died.

Kennedy: A very bad voting record. Voted against the Hatch Amendment in the Judiciary Committee. GOP frontrunner Shamie is not pro-life.

Jackson: Very bad record. State's population is unusually pro-abortion.

Matsunaga: 100% pro-abortion record. State's population is unusually pro-abortion.

The following Republicans are likely to vote for the Hatch Amendment, and are likely to benefit in November:

Roth: 100% record against funding of abortions, but lacks enthusiastic right-to-life support because he has never clearly supported legal restrictions on abortion. Still undecided on the Hatch Amendment but thought to be leaning in favor. The National Abortion Rights Action League PAC is supporting his opponent. A vote for the Hatch Amendment would firm up Roth's pro-life support considerably.

Hatch: The Utah media are saying that Wilson and Hatch have the same position on abortion, but Utah right-to-life activists regard Wilson as a closet pro-abortionist and adversary. Wilson is actually trying to sound more pro-life than Hatch, saying things like "Congress should have the nerve to vote to ban abortions itself or forget the issue..." (NY Times, May 2), a slap at the Hatch Amendment. All four national pro-life PACs support Hatch, even LAPAC, which doesn't like the Hatch Amendment.

The publicity surrounding a floor debate on the Hatch Amendment would without question enhance Hatch's pro-life profile in Utah. On the other hand, if Hatch is unable to even get his much-discussed amendment to the Senate floor for a vote, his effectiveness as a legislator may be questioned in the state.

Danforth: Has co-sponsored Human Life Amendment and is an enthusiastic supporter of the Hatch Amendment. Has strong pro-life support, but a floor fight on the amendment would make his pro-life stance more widely known in Missouri, one of the strongest pro-life states. The National Abortion Rights Action League PAC is supporting one of the Democratic hopefuls, Harriett Woods, a vocal feminist (former NARAL executive director Judith Widdicombe recently lauded Woods at NARAL's annual convention, referring to "an anti-choice, slippery eel named Jack Danforth").

Durenberger: Co-sponsor of Human Life Amendment and pledged to support Hatch Amendment. A vote for the Amendment would help Durenberger solidify the support he needs among conservative Democrats as he goes up against the very well-financed Mark Dayton, says David O'Steen, who is executive director of both the Committee for a Pro-Life Congress (PAC) and the muscular Minnesota pro-life group, Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life (MCCL).

Lugar: Co-sponsor of a Human Life Amendment, enjoys strong right to life support. The Indiana Right to Life organization does not support the Hatch Amendment because they believe it is too weak, but there has been extensive activity on behalf of the Amendment by the Catholic Church in the state, and Lugar is expected to vote for it.

The following Republicans will certainly vote against the Hatch Amendment and MAY pay some political price for it this year.

Weicker: With Packwood, the pro-abortion leader in the Senate. GOP challenger Bush is basically pro-abortion but reportedly undecided on the Hatch Amendment. Moffett is as pro-abortion as Weicker.

Stafford: 100% pro-abortion. Primary challenger John McLaughry supports the Hatch Amendment and opposes federal funding of abortion.

Chafee: The Catholic Church has been very active in support of the Hatch Amendment in RI. However, Chafee is firmly pro-abortion and is expected to vote against the Amendment. It appears that the Democrats will be unable to exploit this vote, however, since they have nominated a pro-abortionist.

The following senators-- all strongly favored for re-election-- are uncommitted and could go either way on the Hatch Amendment.

Sasser: Bad record, but voted pro-life (for the Hyde Amendment) in the only vote of the 97th Congress. A vote by Sasser against the Hatch Amendment could be exploited by Beard as a vote for abortion on demand. Beard has a 100% pro-life voting record, has endorsed the Hatch Amendment, and has said that he would vote for a Human Life Amendment.

Even if Sasser votes for the Hatch Amendment, Beard can criticize Sasser's many earlier votes for abortion funding.

There is strong pro-life sentiment in Tennessee. The pro-life movement there is becoming better organized, and will be more politically active this year than in the past.

Wallop: Personally pro-abortion; bad record on the issue; under intense grassroots pressure to vote for the Hatch Amendment.

Schmitt: Very pro-abortion record. Under considerable grassroots pressure to vote for the Hatch Amendment. However, his Democratic challenger is pro-abortion.

Heinz: Pledged to support a pro-life constitutional amendment in 1976, but angered pro-life supporters by subsequently voting to weaken the Hyde Amendment on a number of occasions. Redeemed himself somewhat in their eyes by voting for the Hyde Amendment in 1981 (thereby alienating whatever pro-abortion support he may have accrued). A vote by Heinz for the Hatch Amendment would do much to firm up his support in the state's right to life movement, one of the strongest in the nation. It would re-establish the credibility of his 1976 pledge. A vote against the Hatch Amendment, however, would brand Heinz as an advocate of abortion on demand.