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MORTON, FYI *Gary*

GARY L. CURRAN
CONSULTANT

328 F STREET, N. E.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20002

546-5550
(202) 543-7988

Parental Notification

Birth Control Is Not The Main Issue

By WALTER E. WILLIAMS

New York's U.S. District Court Judge Henry F. Werker has barred the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) from putting into effect a procedure requiring federally funded birth control clinics to notify parents when their dependent (under 17) teen-age daughters receive contraceptives. No doubt Judge Werker's decision is not the final word, for the controversy rages on. The lines are drawn.

Opponents of the HHS ruling requiring parental notification, which Judge Werker ruled against, contend the ruling will discourage teen-age children from going to Planned Parenthood clinics to order contraceptives. According to Planned Parenthood spokesmen, there would be an epidemic of pregnancies. It would lead to (they forgot to mention) a reduced demand for Planned Parenthood's federally funded operation.

Supporters of the HHS ruling point out that parents should be notified when their children



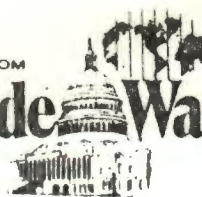
WILLIAMS

receive prescribed drugs, diaphragms and intrauterine devices. They further argue that these things are not totally safe and the child may have some contraindications known only to the family's personal physician and not the Planned Parenthood clinic. Furthermore, supporters argue that Judge Werker's ruling constitutes an intrusion into matters strictly a family concern.

That's precisely where the battle should be fought. Federal funding and delivery of birth control devices is an illegitimate function of

THIS WEEK'S NEWS FROM

Inside Washington



government. Furthermore, it's another step in the government trend of undermining the family and its control and authority.

Besides, it's a big step, because currently there are state and local laws which require parental notification *and* permission for children to have their ears pierced; to go on school trips; to participate in school sports and many other activities. In fact, my daughter's school requires parental permission for *any* medication to be administered at school. Thus, parental notification is required and accepted for these relatively trivial episodes in a child's life.

Yet the New York judge, in his wisdom, deems it unnecessary for a relatively major episode like being fitted for birth control devices. In fact, some judges have even gone further, as in Utah, saying that parents don't even have to be notified when their children receive an abortion.

But note: The issue being discussed over federal birth control is notification. What happened to parental *permission*? It's this writer's contention that if you are going to give my daughter a controlled substance or device, you'd better get my *permission*!

This is a most offensive intrusion. It's even more offensive, when you consider that parents are being forced, through taxes, to pay for people to give things to their children which these same parents may find offensive. Elitists are using the coercive powers of government to subvert family authority.

Americans should recognize this recent event for what it is: an attempt to nationalize the family. Parental notification, or lack of such notification is not the issue. Whether politicians and government officials can intrude on private family matters *is*.

Maybe I'm too old-fashioned, but if the day comes when I tell my daughter that she cannot have birth control devices, and she tells me, "That's okay, Dad; I'll just go down to the corner Planned Parenthood clinic," I'll probably get my gun and pay them a visit myself. I wonder if the ACLU will get me off on an insanity plea.

Heritage Features Syndicate

WASA TIMES 3/8/83

Parenting, squealing and government *in loco parentis*

As I read, and applauded, Anne Crutcher's reasoned and gentle comments on parents, kids, truth and consequences (Feb. 14, page 2C), I realized what has been bothering me about this national debate over notifying parents when their 17-year-old and younger daughters are provided with publicly funded birth control services:

We do not know if a parent notification requirement would have any effect at all on the teenage pregnancy rate.

We do know that writing parents out of the program is counter to the national trend to write parents *in* to programs for teenagers.

Informal reports are that the average client at the birth control clinics in question has already had one pregnancy, so the issue of surprising her parents that they have a sexually active daughter is likely to be moot. We have been told little else about the client population. Seventeen or younger. What else? Do most of them live with their parents? Are many runaways? Have they been abandoned? Are the parents who are on the scene likely to care, or is parental default one of the reasons why they are at the clinic?

In the words of an unidentified (to me) federal judge, "the passionate and persistent assertion of a claim will not atone for its lack of a factual foundation." Passion and persistence we have, but few facts to prove that the threat of parent notification would cause teenagers to abandon birth control but not give up sex.

However there are facts to support the claim that parental involvement is the rule rather than the exception in social programs for teenagers. No matter how poorly or minimally they perform, parents are not written off *per se*. Parenting is more than a biological function. It is the responsibility for another human being, more responsibility

than anyone else has for that human being.

There are incompetent parents, dropout parents, mean parents, irresponsible parents, but still they figure as an integral part of public and private systems for delivering services to minor (17 or under) teenagers.

Schools, health centers, athletic programs, Girl and Boy Scouts, school bands — all recognize parents' responsibilities and their right to be informed about their children's activities. The goal, the standard, is to involve the parents, not to discard them as a negative complication.

Even the television invades the privacy of our homes with a stern reminder: "Do you know where your child is tonight?" and bumper stickers admonish us to "hug your kid."

Social agencies recognize that 17-year-old teenagers, and younger, are not adults. They rarely provide services directly to a teenager without regard to the parents. A few random telephone calls to Atlanta based federal and state agencies revealed the following:

Social Security payments for minors (under 18) are routinely paid to the parent or guardian, and only in rare and individually arranged circumstances are they paid directly to the teenager.

Aid to dependent children is not paid directly to the child, not even a teenage dependent child. If a dependent teenager is herself a mother, the benefits for *her* dependent child are not paid directly to her but are likely to be added to her mother's payments. In other words, the mother of the teenage mother is likely to receive payment for her dependent teenager and her grandchild. The teenage mother is not expected to take responsibility for her child.

A minor teenager may make an appointment for one mental health counseling session without parental notification but after that, parents must be involved.

Food stamps are not routinely issued to a teenager. Food stamps

are figured on the basis of the number of people in the household and an eligible teenager would normally be added to the stamps issued to the head of that household.

In Georgia, a minor teenager may not buy a beer or vote.

In Georgia, a 17-year-old (male or female) may not marry without parental consent, and under 16 may not marry at all, even with parental consent. *Society has made a judgment that a 15-year-old is not ready for the responsibilities of marriage, chief among which is the possibility of parenthood. Society has made a judgment that the parents of the teenager must be part of the decision of a 17-year-old to marry.*

In Georgia, quaint and archaic though it may seem to some, sex outside of marriage is against the law. Parental consent to marriage becomes parental consent to sexual activity.

It is proposed that the same society which says the minor teenager may not enter into the only relationship in which sexual activity is permitted is to aid and abet that same teenager in that same activity, which is potentially dangerous to her health, has potential lifetime after-effects costly to herself and to society, as well as being unlawful. All without her parent's knowledge, much less their consent.

Is that what Congress intended? Is that what Congress has mandated? Why the sudden shift to put government "in loco parentis"? Why the sudden alliance of the government and teenagers against parents? The very term "squeal rule" implies a betrayal of a trust between the government and the teenager of which the parents are no part.

Can this be a trial balloon? If it floats, will there be others? Will the trend be reversed, to exclude parents? Will sending home a report card become squealing?

Will the government become trustee for minor children? Will it happen so gradually that we will never know quite when it happened that parenting became obsolete?

Eliza Paschall is a writer living in Atlanta.

2/14/83

ANNE CRUTCHER

Parents, kids, truth and consequences

There are a lot of people who don't think government-financed dispensers of birth control devices should have to tell anybody when they distribute their wares to girls under 18. To be specific about it, they don't like the rule that says parents must be informed.

The justifying pieties abound.

We don't want any more teen pregnancies, do we? Dread shades of even higher abortion rates are flashed before the benighted who think parents ought to know when their minor children are sexually active. And what about child abuse, the fate of so many teen offspring who are not aborted? Besides, think of the cost of additional tots on the welfare rolls! Think of the further expense to society of prisons for the ones who, growing up with inadequate "parenting," yield to malign circumstance and turn to crime!

It's a horror show, all right. Certainly to those who don't think about the premises underlying the projections.

One assumption is that parents will be upset when they find out that their high school and junior high school kids are on the pill. Another is that the prospect of a hassle with Mom and Dad will keep these particular customers from going to Planned Parenthood for contraceptive supplies. But — and this is the interesting one — there will be no deterrent effect on their behavior. No fear of pregnancy will keep them out of the sack. Neither will it send them to the drugstore for the contraceptives occupying so much shelf space next to the toothpaste.

Several questions arise. To begin with, is it good for young people, physically and emotionally, to begin

sexual activity in the early or mid-teens? At least one study on such matters has indicated that high achievers, academically and in subsequent careers, tend to be on the late side of the continuum.

Amusingly enough, so forward-looking a youth expert as Dr. Benjamin Spock was saying only a couple of years ago that sound personality development was fostered by deferring sexual initiation until around 18. While this may not be the doctor's last word on the subject, it should be noted that he said it after he got religion and begun calling all the hypothetical babies mentioned in his books "she."

Another set of questions comes up in relation to parents and behavior modification. Are today's girls really that scared of the old folks and really that unscared of getting pregnant? A generation or two ago, a probable majority of young women kept their young men at a certain distance because they were afraid of getting pregnant.

Getting pregnant, as an unmarried teen, isn't as big a deal as it was in those days, to be sure. Many of the social constraints that used to worry girls into prudence have been lifted. But, with or without an abortion to look forward to, an unintentional pregnancy is no picnic for a high school girl even today. It seems within the bounds of possibility that a girl too afraid of what her parents might say to patronize Planned Parenthood might wait a little before committing herself sexually. And that it might be a good thing.

In a way, it's a pleasant surprise to learn that opponents of the so-called "squeal rule" take parents' influence that seriously. If fathers and mothers have enough authority left to matter to their teen-agers, it

seems like a good idea to give them a chance to exercise it in an area that has to be of primary importance in their children's lives.

It is they, after all, rather than any professional counsellor, who are most likely to be called upon to pick up the pieces if anything goes seriously wrong. They, after all, are the ones who care most what happens to the kid.

Not that caring makes it easy to solve the problems of adolescent sexuality, or, indeed, any other kind. We're stuck with the discrepancy between youthful drives and youthful unreadiness to handle the practical and emotional consequences of following through on them.

Society used to try to control the frightening power of sex by imprisoning it in rules and penalties. Between the chaperones and the inhibitions and the marriage and divorce laws and the concept of sin., there was a lot of misery and a lot of absurd behavior connected with sex.

Our era thinks to tame the terrifying force by letting it have its way. If it feels good, do it. Except that these days too there's a lot of misery and a lot of absurd behavior connected with sex. Are palimony suits, surrogate mothers and the surfacing of the Man-Boy Love Association any less grotesque than 19th Century prudery?

The squeal rule won't reverse contemporary trends. But if it has a slightly deterrent effect, it's probably a good thing. At any rate, in taking a position on it, it's wise to ask whether what's at stake is really the welfare of the young or the power of a few embattled organizations such as Planned Parenthood to hold onto their federal subsidies and set the moral tone for young people in areas where their parents once did.



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

April 14, 1983

Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Morton,

The Senate Judiciary Committee is scheduled to vote next Tuesday, April 19, on the Hatch-Eagleton constitutional amendment (S.J.R. 3). This proposal would wipe out the infamous 1973 Supreme Court decision which, in practical terms, legalized abortion on demand throughout pregnancy, and would permit legislative bodies to once again restrict or prohibit abortion.

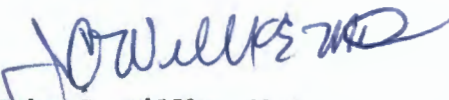
The National Right to Life Committee is strongly in support of the Hatch-Eagleton Amendment.

Majority Leader Baker has promised early floor consideration of the Hatch-Eagleton Amendment, if it is approved by the Judiciary Committee. This would be the first full-fledged debate ever, in either house of Congress, on a constitutional amendment to nullify the Supreme Court decision.

A close vote is expected in the Judiciary Committee. Senator Simpson may hold the deciding vote. Senator Simpson last year reluctantly voted for the original Hatch Amendment in the committee. But in recent days he has indicated that he will now oppose the Hatch-Eagleton Amendment, taking the position that there should be no government involvement with respect to abortion.

In letters to a number of senators last fall, and in his stirring filmed address to the 1982 National Right to Life Committee Convention, President Reagan expressed strong support for the Hatch Amendment. At this crucial juncture, we hope that the President will urge Senator Simpson to reconsider his position and to vote against abortion on demand next Tuesday.

Cordially,



John C. Willke, M.D.
President

RR:HODGES:-
cc: K.Osborne/J.Hyde/D.Livingston/C.Sundseth/A.Higgins (FYI)/CF
EVENT: MARCH 25-27
NEEDED: ASAP

March 9, 1983

Dear Friends:

You are gathered for a solemn and urgent purpose and my heart and prayers are with you.

The theme of this Midwestern Right to Life Convention, "Color Us Human in Chicago '83," is especially appropriate, and I applaud your selection of Congressman Henry J. Hyde as the honoree of Convention '83. His has been an unfailing commitment to our mutual goals of protection of the unborn.

I have long admired your courage, determination, and dedicated championship of this vital cause. As you know, 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.

I share your hope that someday soon our laws will reaffirm this principle. We've worked together for a long time, and, like you, I am hopeful that we will soon see a solution to this difficult problem.

Nancy joins me in extending our best wishes and warmest regards.

RONALD REAGAN

SENT TO:

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Miss Marcy Cavanagh Sneed
Executive Director
Midwestern United States
Right to Life Convention '83
Illinois Right to Life Committee, Inc.
Suite 832
53 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60604

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 28, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

FROM

MORTON C. BLACKWELL *MCB/MDS*

SUBJECT:

Proposed Presidential Article on Human Life

I think this is an excellent article. I suggest the following changes:

1. On page 1, second paragraph, second sentence, strike the words "including one" and replace with "whether or not". This makes clear the sense of the sentence.
2. On page 8, fourth paragraph, I suggest omitting the fourth sentence " It is not for us to decide who is worthy to live and who is not". What is at issue here is innocent human life. We do not want these words thrown back at the President in an argument over the death penalty.
3. On page 9, next to last paragraph. My understanding is that salt solution abortions have been outlawed in certain areas. To be safe I suggest we omit the words " in all fifty states".
4. On page 10, first paragraph, third full sentence, I suggest we add the word valid so that the sentence begins "Is there any valid question...".
5. On page 11, next to last paragraph, change the last sentence to read as follows "If the Supreme Court took another look at Roe v. Wade, and considered the real issue between the sanctity of life ethic and the quality of life ethic, it could and should change its mind once again."

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/24/83 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 FRIDAY 3/25/83

SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Article on Human Life

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HARPER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WILLIAMSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VON DAMM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRADY/SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Remarks:

Please forward comments/edits on this proposed article to my office by 3:00 tomorrow, Friday, March 25.

Thank you.

Richard G. Darman
Assistant to the President
(x2702)

Response:

1

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 23, 1983

FOR: EDWIN L. HARPER
FROM: MICHAEL M. UHLMANN
SUBJECT: Article for the President to Publish in Human Life Review

We have a good draft article for the President, which was prepared with help from Speechwriting.

~~Human Life Review has been holding the presses in hopes of getting the articles for their Spring 1983 issue.~~

Quick publication would be a big plus for the President. The Catholic Bishops will issue their pastoral letter the 1st of May, and they will try to make pro-life and nuclear freeze a package. HLR promises to have the article out before the pastoral letter, to frame the pro-life issue in our terms rather than the political opposition's.

I have included footnotes for reference purposes, but I suggest they be deleted for publication.

Article on Abortion

The 10th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision in Roe v. Wade is a good time for us to pause and reflect. Our nationwide policy of abortion-on-demand through all nine months of pregnancy was neither voted for by our people nor enacted by our legislators -- not a single state had such unrestricted abortion before the Supreme Court decreed it to be national policy in 1973. But the consequences of this judicial decision are now obvious: since 1973, more than 15 million unborn children have had their lives snuffed out by legalized abortions. That is over ten times the number of Americans lost in all our nation's wars.

Make no mistake, abortion-on-demand is not a right granted by the Constitution. No serious scholar, ^{whether or not} including one disposed to agree with the Court's result, has argued that the framers of the Constitution intended to create such a right. Shortly after the Roe v. Wade decision, Professor John Hart Ely of Harvard Law School wrote that the opinion "is not constitutional law and gives almost no sense of an obligation to try to be." 1 Nowhere do the plain words of the Constitution even hint at a "right" so sweeping as to permit abortion up to the time the child is ready to be born. Yet that is what the Court ruled.

As an act of "raw judicial power" (to use Justice White's biting phrase), the decision by the seven-man majority in Roe v. Wade has so far been made to stick. But the Court's decision has by no means settled the debate. Instead, Roe v. Wade has become a continuing prod to the conscience of the nation.

Abortion concerns not just the unborn child, it concerns every one of us. The English poet, John Donne wrote: "Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind, and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

We cannot diminish the value of one category of human life -- the unborn -- without diminishing the value of all human life. We saw tragic proof of this truism last year when the Indiana courts allowed the starvation death of "Baby Doe" in Bloomington because the child had Down's Syndrome.

Many of our fellow citizens grieve over the loss of life that has followed Roe v. Wade. Margaret Heckler, soon after being nominated to head the largest department of our government, Health and Human Services, told an audience that she believed abortion to be the greatest moral crisis facing our country today. And the revered Mother Teresa, who works in the streets of Calcutta ministering to dying people in her world-famous mission of mercy, has said that "the greatest misery of our time is the generalized abortion of children."

Over the first two years of my Administration I have closely followed and assisted efforts in Congress to reverse the tide of abortion -- efforts of Congressmen, Senators and citizens responding to an urgent moral crisis. Regrettably, I have also seen the massive efforts of those who, under the banner of "freedom of choice," have so far blocked every effort to reverse nationwide abortion-on-demand.

Despite the formidable obstacles before us, we must not lose heart. This is not the first time our country has been divided by a Supreme Court decision that denied the value of certain human lives. The Dred Scott decision of 1857 was not overturned in a day, or a year, or even a decade. At first, only a minority of Americans recognized and deplored the moral crisis brought about by denying the full humanity of our black brothers and sisters; but that minority persisted in their vision and finally prevailed. They did it by appealing to the hearts and minds of their countrymen, to the truth of human dignity under God. From their example, we know that respect for the sacred value of human life is too deeply engrained in the hearts of our people to remain forever suppressed. But the great majority of the American people have not yet made their voices heard, and we cannot expect them to -- any more than the public voice arose against slavery -- until the issue is clearly framed and presented.

What, then, is the real issue? I have often said that when we talk about abortion, we are talking about two lives -- the life of the mother and the life of the unborn child. Why else do we call a pregnant woman a mother? I have also said that anyone who doesn't feel sure whether we are talking about a second human life should clearly give life the benefit of the doubt. If you don't know whether a body is alive or dead, you would never bury it. I think this consideration itself should be enough for all of us to insist on protecting the unborn.

The case against abortion does not rest here, however, for medical practice confirms at every step the correctness of these moral sensibilities. Modern medicine treats the unborn child as a patient. Medical pioneers have made great breakthroughs in treating the unborn -- for genetic problems, vitamin deficiencies, irregular heart rhythms, and other medical conditions. Who can forget George Will's moving account of the little boy who underwent brain surgery six times during the nine weeks before he was born? Who is the patient if not that tiny unborn human being who can feel pain when he or she is approached by doctors who come to kill rather than to cure?

The real question today is not when human life begins, but, What is the value of human life? The abortionist who reassembles the arms and legs of a tiny baby to make sure all its parts have been torn from its mother's body can hardly doubt whether it is a human being. The real question for him and for all of us is whether that tiny human life has a God-given right to be protected by the law -- the same right we have.

What more dramatic confirmation could we have of the real issue than the Baby Doe case in Bloomington, Indiana? The death of that tiny infant tore at the hearts of all Americans because the child was undeniably a live human being -- one lying helpless before the eyes of the doctors and the eyes of the nation. The real issue for the courts was not whether Baby Doe was a human being. The real issue was whether to protect the life of a human being who had Down's Syndrome, who would probably be mentally handicapped, but who needed a routine surgical procedure to unblock his esophagus and allow him to eat. A doctor testified

to the presiding judge that, even with his physical problem corrected, Baby Doe would have a "non-existent" possibility for "a minimally adequate quality of life" -- in other words, that retardation was the equivalent of a crime deserving the death penalty. The judge let Baby Doe starve and die, and the Indiana Supreme Court sanctioned his decision.

Federal law does not allow federally-assisted hospitals to decide that Down's Syndrome infants are not worth treating, much less to decide to starve them to death. Accordingly, I have directed the departments of Justice and HHS to apply civil rights regulations to protect handicapped newborns. All hospitals receiving federal funds must post notices which will clearly state that failure to feed handicapped babies is prohibited by federal law. The basic issue is whether to value and protect the lives of the handicapped, whether to recognize the sanctity of human life. This is the same basic issue that underlies the question of abortion.

The 1981 Senate hearings on the beginning of human life brought out the basic issue more clearly than ever before. The many medical and scientific witnesses who testified disagreed on many things, but not on the scientific evidence that the unborn child is alive, is a distinct individual, or is a member of the human species. They did disagree over the value question, whether to give value to a human life at its early and most vulnerable stages of existence.

Regrettably, we live at a time when some persons do not value all human life. They want to pick and choose which individuals have value. Some have said that only those individuals

with "consciousness of self" are human beings. One such writer has followed this deadly logic and concluded that "shocking as it may seem, a newly born infant is not a human being." 2

A Nobel Prize winning scientist has suggested that if a handicapped child "were not declared fully human until three days after birth, then all parents could be allowed the choice."3 In other words, "quality control" to see if newly born human beings are up to snuff.

Obviously, some influential people want to deny that every human life has intrinsic, sacred worth. They insist that a member of the human race must have certain qualities before they accord him or her status as a "human being."

Events have borne out the editorial in a California medical journal which explained three years before Roe v. Wade that the social acceptance of abortion is a "defiance of the long-held Western ethic of intrinsic and equal value for every human life regardless of its stage, condition, or status."4

Every legislator, every doctor, and every citizen needs to recognize that the real issue is whether to affirm and protect the sanctity of all human life, or to embrace a social ethic where some human lives are valued and others are not. As a nation, we must choose between the sanctity of life ethic and the quality of life ethic.

I have no trouble identifying the answer our nation has always given to this basic question, and the answer that I hope and pray it will give in the future. America was founded by men and women who shared a vision of the value of each and every individual. They stated this vision clearly from the very

start in the Declaration of Independence, using words that every schoolboy and schoolgirl can recite:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We fought a terrible war to guarantee that one category of mankind -- black people in America -- could not be denied the inalienable rights with which their Creator endowed them. The great champion of the sanctity of all human life in that day, Abraham Lincoln, gave us his assessment of the Declaration's purpose. Speaking of the framers of that noble document, he said:

"This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the Universe. This was their lofty, and wise, and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to His creatures. Yes, gentlemen, to all His creatures, to the whole great family of man. In their enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on . . . They grasped not only the whole race of man then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the farthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages."5

He warned also of the danger we would face if we closed our eyes to the value of life in any category of human beings:

I should like to know if taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle and making exceptions to it where will it stop. If one man says it does not mean a Negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man? 6

When Congressman John A. Bingham of Ohio drafted the Fourteenth Amendment to guarantee the rights of life, liberty, and property to all human beings, he explained that all are

"entitled to the protection of American law, because its divine spirit of equality declares that all men are created equal." 7 He said the rights guaranteed by the amendment would therefore apply to "any human being." 8 Justice William Brennan, writing in another case decided only the year before Roe v. Wade, referred to our society as one that "strongly affirms the sanctity of life." 9

Another William Brennan -- not the Justice -- has reminded us of the terrible consequences that can follow when a nation rejects the sanctity of life ethic:

The cultural environment for a human holocaust is present whenever any society can be misled into defining individuals as less than human and therefore devoid of value and respect. 10

As a nation today, we have not rejected the sanctity of human life. The American people have not had an opportunity to express their view on the sanctity of human life in the unborn. ~~I am convinced that Americans do not want to play God with the value of human life. It is not for us to decide who is worthy to live and who is not.~~ Even the Supreme Court's opinion in Roe v. Wade did not explicitly reject the traditional American idea of intrinsic worth and value in all human life; it simply dodged this issue.

The Congress has before it several measures that would enable our people to reaffirm the sanctity of human life, even the smallest and the youngest and the most defenseless. The Human Life Bill expressly recognizes the unborn as human beings and accordingly protects them as persons under our Constitution. This bill, first introduced by Senator Jesse Helms, provided the vehicle for the Senate

hearings in 1981 which contributed so much to our understanding of the real issue of abortion.

The Respect for Human Life Bill, just introduced in the 98th Congress, states in its first section that the policy of the United States is "to protect innocent life, both before and after birth." This bill, sponsored by Congressman Henry Hyde and Senator Roger Jepsen, prohibits the federal government from performing abortions or assisting those who do so, except to save the life of the mother. It also addresses the pressing issue of infanticide which, as we have seen, flows inevitably from permissive abortion as another step in the denial of the inviolability of innocent human life.

I have endorsed each of these measures, as well as the more difficult route of constitutional amendment, and I will give these initiatives my full support. Each of them, in different ways, attempts to reverse the tragic policy of abortion-on-demand imposed by the Supreme Court ten years ago. Each of them is a decisive way to affirm the sanctity of human life.

We must all educate ourselves to the reality of the horrors taking place. Doctors today know that unborn children can feel a touch within the womb and that they respond to pain. But how many Americans are aware that abortion techniques are allowed today, in all 50 states, that burn the skin of a baby with a salt solution, in an agonizing death that can last for hours?

Another example: Two years ago, the Philadelphia Inquirer ran a Sunday special supplement on "The Dreaded Complication." The "dreaded complication" referred to in the article -- the

complication feared by doctors who perform abortions -- is the survival of the child despite all the painful attacks during the abortion procedure. Some unborn children do survive the late-term abortions the Supreme Court has made legal. Is there any question that these victims of abortion deserve our attention and protection? Is there any ^{valid} question that those who don't survive were living human beings before they were killed?

Late-term abortions, especially when the baby survives, but is then killed by starvation, neglect, or suffocation, show once again the link between abortion and infanticide. The time to stop both is now. As my Administration acts to stop infanticide, we will be fully aware of the real issue that underlies the death of babies before and soon after birth.

Our society has, fortunately, become sensitive to the rights and special needs of the handicapped, but I am shocked that physical or mental handicaps of newborns are still used to justify their extinction. This Administration has a Surgeon General, Dr. C. Everett Koop, who has done perhaps more than any other American for handicapped children, by pioneering surgical techniques to help them, by speaking out on the value of their lives, and by working with them in the context of loving families. You will not find his former patients advocating the so-called "quality-of-life" ethic.

I know that when the true issue of infanticide is placed before the American people, with all the facts openly aired, we will have no trouble deciding that a mentally or physically handicapped baby has the same intrinsic worth and right to life as the rest of us. As the New Jersey Supreme Court said two decades ago,

in a decision upholding the sanctity of human life, "a child need not be perfect to have a worthwhile life." 11

Whether we are talking about pain suffered by unborn children, or about late-term abortions, or about infanticide, we inevitably focus on the humanity of the unborn child. Each of these issues is a potential rallying point for the sanctity of life ethic. Once we as a nation rally around any one of these issues to affirm the sanctity of life, we will see the importance of affirming this principle across the board.

Malcolm Muggeridge, the English writer, goes right to the heart of the matter: "Either life is always and in all circumstances sacred, or intrinsically of no account; it is inconceivable that it should be in some cases the one, and in some the other." 12 The sanctity of innocent human life is a principle that Congress should proclaim at every opportunity.

There are two ways to overrule a wrong Supreme Court decision. One is to pass a constitutional amendment. The other is to persuade the Supreme Court to reverse its own decision. We need only recall that in Brown v. Board of Education the court reversed its own earlier "separate-but-equal" decision. ~~I believe~~ if the Supreme Court took another look at Roe v. Wade, and considered the real issue between the sanctity of life ethic and the quality of life ethic, it would ^{could and should} change its mind once again.

As we continue to work to overturn Roe v. Wade, we must also continue to lay the groundwork for a society in which abortion is not the accepted answer to unwanted pregnancy. Pro-life

people have already taken heroic steps, often at great personal sacrifice, to provide for unwed mothers. I recently spoke about a young pregnant woman named Victoria, who said, "In this society we save whales, we save timber wolves and bald eagles and Coke bottles. Yet, everyone wanted me to throw away my baby." She has been helped by Sav-a-life, a group in Dallas, which provides a way for unwed mothers to preserve the human life within them when they might otherwise be tempted to resort to abortion. I think also of House of His Creation in Coatesville, Pennsylvania, where a loving couple has taken in almost 200 young women in the past ten years. They have seen, as a fact of life, that the girls are not better off having abortions than saving their babies. I am also reminded of the remarkable Rossow family of Ellington, Connecticut, who have opened their hearts and their home to nine handicapped adopted and foster children.

The Adolescent Family Life Program, adopted by Congress at the request of Senator Jeremiah Denton, has opened new opportunities for unwed mothers to give their children life. We should not rest until our entire society echoes the tone of John Powell in the dedication of his book, Abortion: The Silent Holocaust, a dedication to every woman carrying an unwanted child: "Please believe that you are not alone. There are many of us that truly love you, who want to stand at your side, and help in any way we can." And we can echo the always-practical woman of faith, Mother Teresa, when she says, "If you don't want the little child, that unborn child, give him to me." We have so many families in America

seeking to adopt children that the slogan "every child a wanted child" is now the emptiest of all reasons to tolerate abortion.

I have often said we need to join in prayer to bring protection to the unborn. Prayer and action are needed to uphold the sanctity of human life. I believe it will not be possible to accomplish our work, the work of saving lives, "without being a soul of prayer." The famous British Member of Parliament, William Wilberforce, prayed with his small group of influential friends, the "Clapham Sect," for decades to see an end to slavery in the British empire. Wilberforce led that struggle in Parliament, unflaggingly, because he believed in the sanctity of human life. He saw the fulfillment of his impossible dream when Parliament outlawed slavery just before his death.

Let his faith and perseverance be our guide. We will never recognize the true value of our own lives until we affirm the value in the life of others, a value of which Malcolm Muggeridge says: "...however low it flickers or fiercely burns, it is still a Divine flame which no man dare presume to put out, be his motives ever so humane and enlightened." 12

Abraham Lincoln recognized that we could not survive as a free land when some men could decide that others were not fit to be free and should therefore be slaves. Likewise, we cannot survive as a free nation when some men decide that others are not fit to live and should be abandoned to abortion or infanticide. My Administration is dedicated to the preservation of America as a free land, and there is no cause more important for preserving that freedom than affirming the transcendent right to life of all human beings, the right without which no other rights have any meaning.

NOTES

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2 G. Ball, What Happens at Conception? Christianity in Crisis, 274 (October 19, 1981).

3 AMA Prism (1973), pp. 12-13.

4 A New Ethic for Medicine in Society," 113 California Medicine, Vol. 113 (1970), pp. 67-68.

5 Speech during the Lincoln-Douglas Senatorial campaign (August 17, 1858), reprinted in II. The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, 546, 500-01 (1953).

6 Speech during the Lincoln-Douglas Senatorial campaign (July 10, 1858), reprinted in II. The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, 484, 500-01 (1953).

7 Congressional Globe, 40th Congress, 1st Session (1867), p. 542.

8 Congressional Globe, 39th Congress, 1st Session (1866), p. 1089.

9 Furman v. Georgia, 408 U.S. 238, 286 (1972) Brennan, J., concurring).

10 William Brennan, Medical Holocaust (Nordland, 1980)

11 Gleitman v. Cosgrove, 49 N.J. 22, 30; 220 A.2d 689, 693 (1967).

11 Muggsridge, Something Beautiful for God, page 23.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS
BISHOPS' COMMITTEE FOR PRO-LIFE ACTIVITIES
1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • 202/659-6673

February 25, 1983

TO: Respect Life/Pro-Life Directors
State Catholic Conference Directors

FROM: Reverend Edward M. Bryce

RE: Annual Meeting

In a 1982 mailing I asked your preference for date and location for the national meeting. The return mail did not provide a mandate for either D.C. in March or Orlando in July. Thus, we will go with an alternate date:

Date: May 3-5, 1983

Location: Conrad Hilton Hotel

[This meeting dovetails with the Bishops' special meeting on the War and Peace pastoral, which will take place in the Palmer House in Chicago, May 2-3.] ←

The Palmer House is enable to meet our meeting needs, but we have been able to secure meeting space and accommodations with the Conrad Hilton Hotel. Hotel reservation forms are being printed and will be sent to you within the next two weeks. The cut-off date for room reservations is April 18. For those who prefer to phone in their reservations, we have been given group rates of \$52/single; \$68/double or twin. In order to receive these rates you must identify yourself as part of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops meeting.

Conrad Hilton
720 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605
Tel: 312/922-4400

A tentative agenda follows for your convenience when securing travel reservations and accommodations.

These annual meetings, I believe, have been mutually beneficial. For certain they have helped in the on-going implementation of the Pastoral Plan for Pro-Life Activities. I encourage you to attend this year's meeting. If there are special circumstances that are presently an obstacle for your attending and you want to discuss the matter with me privately and confidentially, please call at your convenience.

As in the past, the meeting is a closed meeting, i.e., not open to the press. Also the primary participants are the Diocesan Pro-Life and Respect Life Directors as well as the State Catholic Conference Directors and their associates. I fully respect your decision to include your associates in your diocesan delegation. Other people interested in the meeting who are not identified as diocesan associates will not be admitted to the work sessions.

Richard Doerflinger, our Legislative Assistant, reports that Senator Hatch's Subcommittee on the Constitution will hold hearings on the Hatch amendment (now S.J. Res. 3) on February 28 and March 7. A more complete report on this and other legislative developments will be sent to you in a few days.

I look forward to our gathering in Chicago. Best wishes.

Anti-abortion PAC gives aid where

By Robert Timberg
Washington Bureau of The Sun

7-17-82
Washington—"What would you do if your best friend was in trouble? Wouldn't you offer him the shirt off your back? Lend him needed money or give whatever assistance you could?"

"Well, one of the pro-life movement's very best friends is in serious trouble—Congressman Henry Hyde of Illinois."

Thus began a direct-mail fund-raising letter earlier this year from Paul A. Brown, director of the Washington-based Life Amendment Political Action Committee, the nation's wealthiest anti-abortion PAC.

The Brown letter caused a stir in Washington anti-abortion circles when Mr. Hyde, a Republican and perhaps the chief congressional spokesman for the pro-life movement, flatly repudiated it and demanded Mr. Brown stop using his name.

In addition, Representative Hyde—in an interview with *The Sun*—explained that Mr. Brown's fund-raising solicitation misrepresented the political realities in his home state.

The Brown letter described "the political situation inaccurately and promised to provide campaign help for me that I did not want," Mr. Hyde said.

Mr. Hyde contended he was not in trouble in his new district, although the boundaries now are substantially different from those that existed in the 1980 election.

Mr. Brown denied any impropriety, said he had agreed not to use Mr. Hyde's name in future letters, but maintained that he was not legally obligated to make such an agreement.

"As a PAC, the law says we can get involved in any race we want," he said. "We are an independent PAC. We can do anything we want to."

The incident illustrates a little-known but important fact about the PAC business—that

PAC operators like Mr. Brown legally can raise funds for their organizations by playing on a candidate's supposed political problems whether the candidate likes it or not.

Confusing the issue still further are provisions of federal election law which, in an effort to enforce the integrity of campaign-contribution limits, inhibits PAC operators from seeking permission to use the candidate's name.

Mr. Brown, in fact, said he might have been in violation of the law had he approached Mr. Hyde, since LAPAC's intention, before the congressman objected, was to make so-called independent expenditures on his behalf.

An independent expenditure, in law, is money spent to help elect or defeat a clearly identified candidate for federal office and must

be made without cooperation from or consultation with any candidate or political committee.

Mr. Hyde's district, the Brown letter continued, has been "radically gerrymandered." Prospective contributors also were told that "96 percent of his new district is NEW TERRITORY! Only 4 percent remains of his old district where he could count on his constituents to support him for reelection."

This means, the letter said, that "one of the preborn child's greatest allies in the U.S. Congress is being restricted out of a job!"

Mr. Brown further warned that pro-abortionists were building a large financial war chest and were "ready to pounce" on Representative Hyde and other friends of the pro-life movement.

"That's why I must turn to you for help again—not for LAPAC—but for the most valiant of our pro-life friends in Congress: Henry Hyde!! We can and must win... if we fail, there will be no future for countless thousands more of God's most defenseless children... PLEASE, send your check at once!! Congressman Hyde needs our help immediately!!"

THE PAC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE BUSINESS

Last of a series

In fact, Mr. Hyde said he neither needed nor wanted LAPAC's help, and when he got wind of the letter he called Mr. Brown to protest, then fired off a curt, two-paragraph note demanding the anti-abortion group "cease and desist" using his name in its fund-raising letters.

"Confirming our conversation of this afternoon, I want you to know that the letter, copy enclosed, with my name used therein, was prepared without my personal knowledge," he said in the note to Mr. Brown.

"I hereby ask that you cease and desist sending any more letters of this type without my express permission," he said.

Sources said Mr. Hyde's note, brusque as it was, did not begin to convey the depth of the congressman's outrage when he learned of the Brown letter.

"The story is, Henry Hyde went directly through the roof—no ifs, ands or buts about it," said one source in Washington anti-abortion circles. "He went bananas."

"He went off the wall on it," said another source. "Hyde is basically a competent moderate Republican and he doesn't want to be geared up into this one-issue [process] all the time."

Representative Hyde, reflecting the pro-life movement's reluctance to air internal conflicts, at first refused to discuss the matter. He finally consented to a brief telephone interview in which he maintained that the primary factor prompting his strong note to Mr. Brown was the unauthorized use of his name.

"I think it's highly improper for anyone to use your name to raise money without at least asking your permission to do so," he said.

In arguing that Mr. Brown had misrepresented the difficulties the redistricting process had created for him, Mr. Hyde said his new bailiwick was "a staunch, strong Republican district" even though he agreed it was 96 percent new to him.

The district, he said, is "very winnable... not one where I'm in trouble." He added, "Every night before I go to bed, I thank God for my district."

"I don't like being taken for granted and I don't like letters going out that are not so," he continued. "I'm not fighting for my life... They painted me as a victim they were going to save from the jaws of death."

Mr. Brown, for his part, said there was no intention to mislead. "All I knew was that he was going to be redistricted and simply made the assumption it would be a tough fight," he said.

He did not claim to have done extensive research for the fund-raising letter, saying he learned from *Congressional Quarterly*, a publication that reports on the federal government and national politics, that Mr. Hyde's post-reapportionment district would be more than 90 percent new.

"We just made the assumption that would not bode well for Henry Hyde," Mr. Brown said.

LAPAC was the first of many conservative groups to target Maryland Democratic Senator Paul S. Sarbanes for defeat in 1982. Almost immediately after the 1980 elections it labeled him one of the Senate's "deadly dozen."

LAPAC also is part of the conservative, largely Republican New Right coalition, an affiliation neither enjoyed nor sought by all anti-abortion groups, many of whom count Democrats and liberals among their members.

Within the pro-life movement, which by no means is free of parochial rivalries and petty jealousies, Mr. Brown is viewed by some elements as given to inordinate self-promotion.

LAPAC, which Mr. Brown founded several years ago, raised \$625,748 during the 1979-80 election cycle, more than any other anti-abortion political action committee, according to Federal Election Commission records.

Through March of the current election cycle, which began January 1, 1981, LAPAC has raised \$233,797, FEC records show. But FEC records further reveal that LAPAC's political activities may lag well behind its pace-setting fund-raising efforts.

During the 1979-80 cycle, the most recent for which complete records are available, for example, LAPAC reported that \$536,091 of the \$625,748 it raised had been eaten up by operating costs.

Even with more money than any other pro-life PAC, LAPAC reported giving only \$20,121 in direct or in-kind contributions to candidates; \$4,000 to other pro-life PACs; \$59,901 in independent expenditures on behalf of candidates it supported, and \$5,635 in independent expenditures against candidates it opposed.

In all, exclusive of operating costs, LAPAC reported spending only \$89,657 for the 1980 political races.

By contrast, the National Right to

Henry Hyde's letter to Paul Brown

Life PAC, the newest of the pro-life PACs, raised considerably less—\$126,676—but pumped \$109,120 into campaigns, FEC records show.

NRLPAC was only established in January, 1980, but its fund-raising benefited by its association with the well-established National Right-to-Life Committee. In addition, the parent organization picked up its operating costs, which a spokesman, Warren Sweeney, estimated at \$40,000.

Mr. Brown, seeking to explain his high operating costs, said there is "a very gray line between actual independent expenditures and ... operating costs."

He said he could have legitimately pro-rated some of his staff salaries in 1979-80 and reported them as independent expenditures, saying that such bookkeeping would have resulted in a lower figure for operating costs.

The LAPAC director further suggested that such questions were prompted by his rivals in the anti-abortion movement.

"I called them operating expenses," he said, "because then [in 1979-80] we were not fighting anybody but the abortionists. Now I see we have to be more concerned with our friends."

The Hyde-Brown affair highlights a growing problem regarding political action committees, especially the free-standing types referred to by the FEC as "non-connected" PACs.

Just as the First Amendment covering freedom of speech protects anyone trying to defeat a candidate, it also sanctions individuals or groups who say they want to assist a candidate whether that assistance is desired or not.

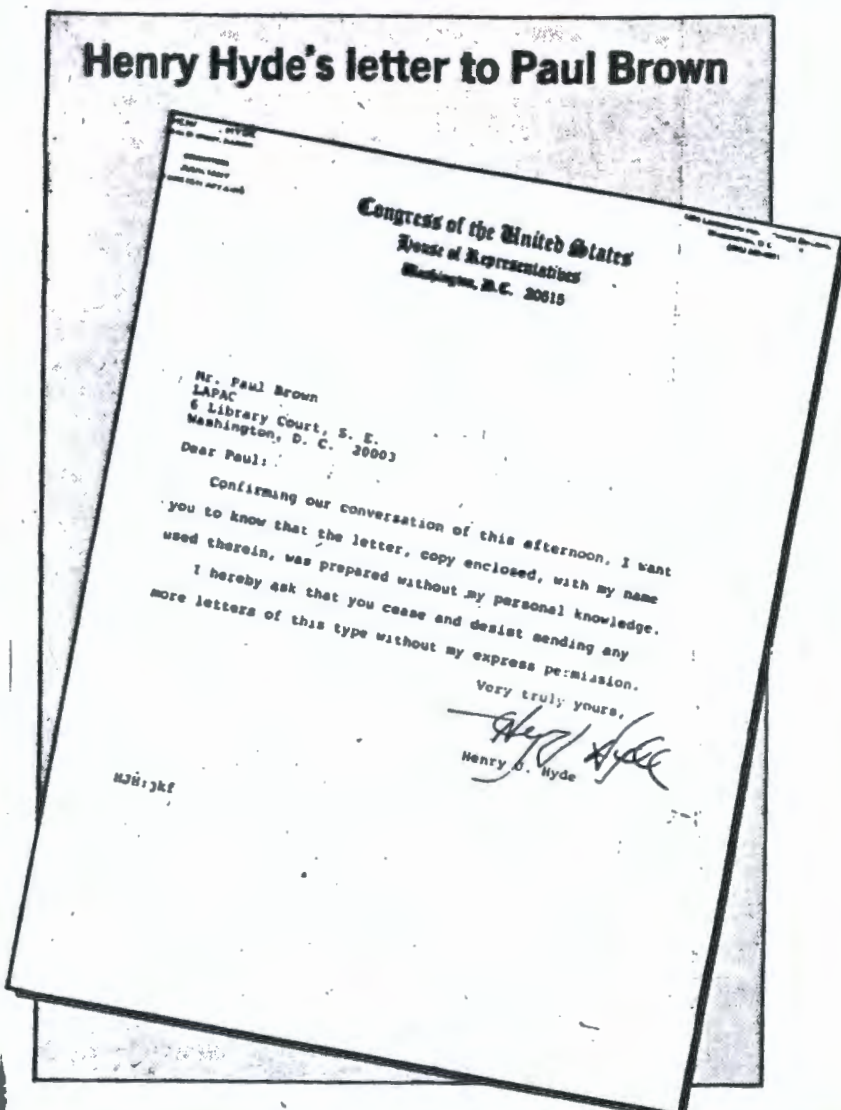
As a result, Mr. Brown has the same right to raise money by saying he wants to help Mr. Hyde as he does by saying he wants to defeat Senator Sarbanes or the Progressive Political Action Committee has by targeting conservative Senator Jesse A. Helms (R, N.C.).

"Suppose Jack the Ripper says he wants to support you," said FEC spokeswoman Sharon Snyder. "You might not want his support but he has a right to make independent expenditures on your behalf. It's freedom of speech."

Ironically, Mr. Brown might have violated federal election law governing so-called independent expenditures had he sought Mr. Hyde's permission to use his name.

"If I'm doing independent expenditures, I can't be in contact with the candidate," he said.

The FEC's Ms. Snyder, without expressing an opinion as to whether the Brown letter qualified as a bona fide



Mr. Hyde's letter asks head of PAC "that you cease and desist sending any more letters of this type without my express permission."

independent expenditure, said Mr. Brown could well be correct.

"This is campaign finance," she said, "it's not necessarily fair political practices."

The FEC some weeks ago asked Congress to prohibit persons from soliciting contributions by "fraudulently misrepresenting" themselves as acting in the name of a candidate or political party.

"The commission has received a number of complaints charging that substantial amounts of money were raised fraudulently by persons or committees purporting to act on behalf of candidates," an FEC legislative task force reported to the commissioners.

Mr. Brown never purported in his letter to be acting as a representative of Mr. Hyde, but the FEC recommendation reflects a growing awareness of the problems created by seemingly friendly solicitations that use a candidate's name.

The problem is not a new one. Back in 1976, supporters of California senatorial candidate S. I. Hayakawa reacted angrily when anti-tax advocate Howard Jarvis established an in-

dependent expenditure committee called "Friends for Hayakawa."

Since Mr. Hayakawa, now Republican Senator Hayakawa, had used the name "Friends of Hayakawa" for the exploratory committee to advance his senatorial ambitions as far back as 1974, his attorneys demanded that Mr. Jarvis change the name of his group.

Hayakawa attorney Vigo G. Nielsen, Jr., in a September 2, 1976, letter to Mr. Jarvis on file with the FEC, said the Jarvis committee had adopted a "confusingly similar name" and promised legal proceedings to "stop your unfair solicitations and the use of our client's trademark."

Currently, the FEC is investigating a complaint against a group called the 1980 Republican Presidential Campaign Committee, which used a Washington mail drop to collect \$400,000 in 1980 supposedly to promote Ronald Reagan's candidacy.

The committee was not affiliated with either the Republican Party or the official Reagan campaign, and earlier press reports said much of the money raised was funneled to businesses formed by the committee's organizers.

Anti-abortion PAC sticks to fund-raising

7-15-82

By Robert Timberg
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—A political action committee headed by an Ohio state senator and boasting an Idaho congressman as honorary chairman has papered the nation in recent years with letters seeking money to defeat public officials it calls "baby killers."

But the ambitious political program laid out in the letters—including campaign contributions, political seminars for anti-abortion activists and "on-the-spot, up-to-the-minute" campaign aid for pro-life candidates—has never materialized.

Instead, most of the money has been recycled to pay for more fund-raising letters, which is virtually all the group has done during its three-year existence besides give its honorary chairman a \$200 contribution a few months ago.

In fact, of the \$189,215 raised by the group during the last three years, \$145,623 (77 percent) went to pay three northern Virginia firms with direct ties to the organization itself.

The firms—Martin Advertising Agency, Inc., of Vienna; Metro Print-

ing and Mailing Services, Inc., of Sterling, and Caging Corporation of Virginia, also of Sterling—handled separate elements of the direct-mail operation.

The group's actions demonstrate the ease with which a free-standing "non-connected" political action committee can disregard statements it makes to contributors and spend money it collects from them in a distinctly different way if PAC leaders so choose.

And, even though the nonprofit group bragged in fund-raising letters about low overhead and supposedly all-volunteer leadership, its operation further illustrates the extent to which tax-free contributions flow to private, for-profit firms in the unregulated PAC business.

The PAC is called Americans for Life, but for a time it also called itself "Stop the Baby Killers." Representative George V. Hansen (R, Idaho) is honorary chairman. The chairman, Donald E. (Buz) Lukens, is an Ohio Republican state senator and former congressman long active in the conservative New Right movement.

Representative Hansen failed to return phone calls, but his executive assistant, L. Arlen Withers, said the congressman had merely "lent his name" to the group, something he has done for 15 to 20 organizations in recent years.

"To none of them does he lend any time," Mr. Withers said. Asked how much responsibility the congressman

THE
PAC POLITICAL
ACTION
COMMITTEE
BUSINESS

Fifth of a series

pursue and develop their projects in the hope that they will make a major contribution to society. So far, the program has resulted in awards to 60 individuals, 19 of whom were selected last week.

"The criteria for who gets fellowships is sort of hard to pin down," said Rachel Newton, assistant director of the MacArthur Prize Fellows Program, based in Chicago, "but it seems to be evolving into this: We are looking for someone who has an exceptional dedication to an endeavor in any field—the humanities, arts, sciences, for instance—and has achieved an outstanding accomplishment in that field. But even more important than the accomplishment of the individual is his future promise.

"The question we ask ourselves is 'Will it make a difference to this person if we give them five years of freedom from economic constraints?' Be-

"There is the feeling that he really is going to come up with something very important. He's made a large number of original theoretical proposals in the area of unified quantum field theory."

Rachel Newton,
MacArthur official

cause, essentially, that is what it is: five years of freedom. We make no demands on them to report to us during that five years. We tell them there are no strings attached and we mean it."

The amount of the award is based on the recipient's age, with a \$24,000 annual minimum for individuals 21 or under, and a maximum of \$60,000 for winners 60 and over. The awards increase by \$800 increments for every year over 21. Recipients also receive full health coverage, so the total value of Dr. Witten's award will be \$164,000. Checks are mailed monthly to the grantees.

At 30 Dr. Witten, who grew up in Baltimore county and Northwest Baltimore and attended Wellwood Elementary School, Sudbrook Junior High and Park School, is one of the youngest of this year's award winners.

Ms. Newton explained the selection of Dr. Witten: "There is the feeling that he really is going to come up with something very important. He's made a large number of original theoretical proposals in the area of unified quantum field theory. He is very, very productive and his consis-

tently and totally original concepts are really startling."

"Well, I was quite surprised and thrilled to get the award," Dr. Witten said when told the foundation had selected him for his "original" and "startling" work.

"One of the main developments in physics in the last 10 or 15 years has been to understand that protons and neutrons are made out of quarks—smaller particles, that is. And one thing I'm working on is to understand new aspects of quark interaction," he said. "But I never expected anything like this."

Others, however, who knew Edward Witten in his high school days are not at all surprised at the news that the young man who went on to receive a BA from Brandeis University and a doctorate in physics from Princeton University now is the recipient of a prestigious award.

Park School English teacher Kenneth Greif, who taught young Witten in the ninth and tenth grades and was singled out by his former student as an inspirational teacher, recalls that both teachers and peers regarded him as "brilliant."

Dr. Witten's aunt, Ethel Klavens, of Pikesville, recalls that her nephew always had a natural scientific bent and often was ahead of his teachers.

"The public schools didn't know what to do with him. They skipped him from the fifth to the seventh grade and then when he was at Park School, they had a professor from Hopkins teaching him math.

"But Edward always liked to write, too. When he was 12 years old, he was always writing letters to the editor... And they were printed. Usually they were about politics. He was very opposed to the war in Vietnam."

Dr. Witten's parents now live in Cincinnati, where his father teaches physics at the University of Cincinnati. (His parents were unavailable for comment yesterday.)

Dr. Witten, who lives in Princeton, N.J., with his wife and 2-year-old daughter, says he is not sure how he will use the money. "This just came out of the blue and I haven't had any time to make plans or think about it much."

The MacArthur Foundation was established in December, 1978, a month before the death of its founder, John D. MacArthur, who amassed a fortune in insurance and real estate. The stated assets of the foundation, according to Ms. Newton, are \$935 million but "could turn out to be quite a bit more once some large pockets of real estate are sold off, which is in the works right now."

Some estimates place the eventual assets figure around the \$2 billion mark, which would make it one of the country's wealthiest foundations.

The foundation, which is run by the founder's son, J. Roderick MacArthur, has an elaborate selection process.

In 1981 the foundation named 41 MacArthur Fellows.

took for the actions of such groups, he replied, "Hopefully none."

State Senator Lukens, a Washington public relations consultant, said Americans for Life was unable to follow through on the plans it set forth in its mailings to contributors because of recurring financial difficulties.

"We've been in money trouble since the day we started," he said. "We were slaughtered by the cost of stamps. . . . The postage just destroyed us."

But he also maintained, as did James L. Martin of Martin Advertising, that direct mail proved to be an ideal political weapon in the 1980 campaign, when all four of the group's senatorial targets were defeated.

"We banged them and hurt them," said Mr. Martin, arguing that the targeted senators never were able to shake the "baby killer" label once it had been applied to them in Americans for Life fund-raising letters.

A campaign aide to South Dakota's George McGovern, one of the targeted senators, seemed to support Mr. Martin's contention in a Sunpapers interview shortly after the 1980 election.

"We had cases when a Catholic priest would step down from the pulpit, lift up a baby and say, 'I ask you to vote for life. Vote against the baby killer,'" recalled George V. Cunningham, the aide.

Mr. Martin also cited heavy start-up costs to explain the PAC's failure to carry out the plans mentioned prominently in the fund-raising letters.

"Give us three or four more years and we'll be making those contributions," he said of the three-year-old PAC.

Regarding what he termed "almost an incestual relationship" between the PAC and the firms that serve it, Senator Lukens said, "You deal with people you trust the most."

"I do not think you can say fairly that these guys are rolling over a lot of money," he said.

He also maintained that a hard-hitting direct mail campaign was "the major thing" the group planned to do. "Direct mail is our newspaper," he said. "The educational value of direct mail is almost as important as the money."

Asked why contributors were never told that their money would go to underwrite a direct-mail campaign, he said, "It is not something that lends itself to selling the people you're talking to."

Asked if contributors had been misled, he said, "I sure hope not."

"I see what you're saying and it's a good point," said Mr. Martin, who wrote the letters. "It certainly wasn't meant to be misleading."

"We've never said it directly," he added. "I think we've implied it."

Americans for Life registered with the Federal Election Commission as a "non-connected" political action committee—one not connected to a fixed-membership organization like a corporation or labor union—in May, 1979. Not long after, it fired off its first fund-raising letter.

The letter was graphic. Prospective contributors were told that Americans for Life was devoted to defeating four senators and one congressman—"men who apparently think it's OK to slaughter unborn infants by abortion."

Hammering home its message, the letter continued: "Abortion means killing a living baby, a tiny human being with a beating heart and little fingers . . . killing a baby boy or baby girl with burning deadly chemicals or a powerful machine that sucks and tears the little infant from the mother's womb."

"And to my way of thinking, that's just plain murder," said the letter, signed by Senator Lukens.

The letter told contributors that their money was needed to implement a plan to defeat the 1980 reelection efforts of five Democrats—Senators McGovern, Frank Church (Idaho), Birch Bayh (Ind.), John C. Culver (Iowa) and Representative Robert F. Drinan (Mass.), a Catholic priest who subsequently bowed to a papal edict and did not seek reelection.

"Here's how we're going to defeat these 5 Political Baby Killers," the 1979 letter said, detailing its plans as follows:

"STOP THE BABY KILLERS will give direct campaign contributions to the anti-abortion opponents of these Political Baby Killers . . . up to the \$5,000 per candi-

date that's allowed by law. . . .

"Just imagine how much \$5,000 will do to help defeat George McGovern in a thinly populated state like South Dakota!"

But according to reports on file at the Federal Election Commission, Americans for Life did not make a single contribution to any candidate during the 1979-80 election cycle.

The sole contribution made by the group was in February, 1982, barely four months ago, FEC records show. The beneficiary was Representative Hansen, the group's honorary chairman, who received \$200.

Senator Lukens said he recalled authorizing "four or five \$100 contributions to key members of Congress" and was at a loss to explain their failure to show up in FEC documents. "I specifically authorized it," he said, seemingly nonplussed.

"I felt it was important that we at least stake a claim that we were making contributions," he said.

The letter continued: **"STOP THE BABY KILLERS will sponsor campaign seminars, free of charge, for anti-abortion political activists."**

"Our campaign experts will teach Pro-Life campaign staffers how to get out the vote, how to organize a political precinct, how to recruit volunteers, how to effectively use political advertising and other essentials of a winning, anti-abortion campaign."

But FEC reports show no expenditures for campaign seminars, and Senator Lukens said none was ever held.

"The question is whether you do that rather than just building the [mailing] list," he said.

"STOP THE BABY KILLERS will fly campaign experts into states where we've targeted Baby-killing incumbents for defeat. Our political experts will provide on-the-spot, up to the minute advice for the . . . problems that each Pro-Life campaign faces."

No such payments are shown on FEC reports, and Senator Lukens said none was ever made.

"STOP THE BABY KILLERS will help anti-abortion candidates hire the best political pollsters available. With our help, the Pro-Life candidates will have accurate political polls and know the political weaknesses of the Baby Killers we want to defeat."

No expenditure for this purpose is shown on FEC reports.

Americans for Life, in its fund-raising letters, also informed prospective contributors that it "keeps its overhead to a bare minimum so your gift of \$15, \$25, \$50, or whatever you can afford will be put to maximum use."

"In fact," the letter continued, **"STOP THE BABY KILLERS has no paid staff. The Officers and Advisors of STOP THE BABY KILLERS are all volunteers."**

Despite that claim, FEC records and interviews with those involved demonstrate that some of those close to the organization were in a position to benefit from business the PAC generated.

First there are the PAC's founders, whom Senator Lukens identified as himself, Mr. Martin and Jeffrey Coman.

There is no indication on FEC records that Senator Lukens profited personally from the operation of the PAC.

Mr. Martin, however, owns the Martin Advertising Agency, a direct-mail advertising firm. Mr. Coman works for him. In addition, Mr. Coman's father, Edward F. Coman, was the assistant treasurer of Americans for Life.

FEC records show payments totaling \$90,916 to Martin Advertising, the Vienna (Va.) firm which handled the

so-called "creative" end of the direct-mail operation.

Mr. Martin said he did not consider himself a founder of the PAC and saw nothing improper in his efforts on behalf of Americans for Life. Neither Edward Coman or Jeffrey Coman could be reached for comment.

The PAC's treasurer, Michael T. Patrick, is a Sterling (Va.) accountant who Senator Lukens said also helped start Americans for Life.

Mr. Patrick is identified on Virginia corporate records as secretary-treasurer of Metro Printing and Mailing Services, Inc., a Sterling firm owned by his brother, Larry A. Patrick, which printed and otherwise processed the fund-raising letters. Michael Patrick also is listed as a member of Metro's board of directors.

Americans for Life has made payments to Metro Printing and Mailing totaling \$49,693, FEC records show. According to the most recent FEC report, which covers the first three months of 1982, the PAC still owes the firm \$17,206.

Michael Patrick also owns the Caging Corporation of Virginia, essentially a counting house for direct mail contributions. The firm received payments totalling \$5,014 for counting the money contributed to Americans for Life.

Mr. Patrick said he does not receive any salary or benefits from his brother's printing firm.

He also said that even though he is the PAC's treasurer, he is not involved in the selection of contractors who service the organization, most of

Ba H. Sun
7-15-82

which he said was done by Mr. Martin.

"All I do is the accounting and bookkeeping work," he said. "We have a contract with Martin. He gets the printing, mailing [and] list rental wherever he can get the best price."

Asked whether he saw a conflict of interest resulting from his position as treasurer of a PAC that does substantial business with his brother's firm, Mr. Patrick said, "I have nothing to do with who does the printing and mailing for Americans for Life."

Asked if there might be a conflict problem as a result of his company's handling the PAC's caging business, he replied, "None that I know of. . . I haven't been paid for a while. That's a problem." FEC records show a \$5,834 debt to Mr. Patrick for bookkeeping services.

Regarding the failure of Americans for Life to follow through on its plans, Mr. Patrick said, "We had a lot of big plans, but we never did get the big money. That changes your plans."

"It's not anything like you might think," he said of Americans for Life. "It's hard-core, legitimate."

Larry Patrick, of Metro Printing and Mailing, said he had nothing to do with the formation of the PAC. "It's just a business relationship," he said. "We do a lot of work for some of the fund-raisers, and this just happens to be one of them." Metro Printing and Mailing does in fact serve a number of political accounts, FEC records show.

Of Americans for Life, he said, "They didn't raise enough money to pay for half the printing costs and postage."

Ex-Senators McGovern, Church, Bayh and Culver were targeted for defeat by numerous organizations, not just Americans for Life. They included the Republican National Committee, National Republican Senatorial Committee, National Conservative Political Action Committee, with other elements of the New Right coalition, and several anti-abortion groups.

This year Americans for Life has targeted for defeat four Democratic senators, including Maryland's Paul S. Sarbanes.

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STOP THE BABY KILLERS

for LIFE

A Political Action Project of Americans for LIFE
418 C Street, N.E. • Suite 301 • Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Friend:

Please take a second right now to look at the outrageous pro-abortion political propaganda I've enclosed. And then help me STOP THE BABY KILLERS by signing and mailing the enclosed anti-abortion postcards to your U.S. Senators. (You'll find a list of all U.S. Senators on the back of that sickening baby killer propaganda.)

These anti-life Baby Killers are already organizing, working and raising money to re-elect pro-abortionists like Senator George McGovern, South Dakota...Congressman Robert Drinan, Massachusetts...Senators John Culver, Iowa...Frank Church, Idaho...Birch Bayh, Indiana...men who apparently think it's perfectly OK to slaughter unborn infants by abortion.

It's urgent that you sign and send the enclosed Pro-Life postcards to your U.S. senators...keep the pressure on them to vote against abortion.

Because "abortion" is just a fancy word for murder. Abortion means killing a living baby, a tiny human being with a beating heart and little fingers...killing a baby boy or baby girl with burning deadly chemicals or a powerful machine that sucks and tears the little infant from its mother's womb.

And to my way of thinking, that's just plain murder.

As I write you this letter, the Baby Killers are already working frantically for their 1980 political goal:

To pack the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives with men and women who are free abortionists.

So I am asking, pleading, for you to give a gift of at least \$15, even \$25, or \$50.

We need \$275,000 to STOP THE BABY KILLERS and I don't know who else to turn to.

STOP THE BABY KILLERS has no paid staff. The Officers and Advisors of STOP THE BABY KILLERS are all volunteers.

So please...help STOP THE BABY KILLERS...help us defeat our 5 targeted pro-abortion Senators and Congressman with your generous contribution of \$15, \$25, \$50, or more...and mail your postcards today!

Sincerely,
Donald E. Lukens
Donald E. Lukens
Senator, Fourth District
Ohio

Sun Graphics

'Americans for Life' PAC's payments to insiders

Name & Company	Relationship to PAC	Payment
James L. Martin Martin Advertising Agency	PAC founder	\$90,916
Larry A. Patrick Metro Printing & Mailing Service Inc. of Vienna Va.	Brother to PAC treasurer	\$49,693
Michael T. Patrick Caging Corporation of Virginia	PAC treasurer	\$5,014
Total payments (77% of funds collected)		\$145,623

'Americans for Life' raised \$189,215 in the last three years.

Sun Graphics

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Reporter

the independent Catholic newsweekly

JANUARY 1, 1982

Memo suggests Hatch aide expects abortion bill's defeat

By MARY MEEHAN
Special to the National Catholic Reporter
Washington, D.C.

A CONFIDENTIAL MEMO by a top aide to Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), apparently written last summer, seemed to concede that Hatch's constitutional amendment on abortion would be defeated in the House of Representatives or by state legislatures if it should pass the Senate.

The undated paper, by Stephen Markman, general counsel of the Senate Constitution Subcommittee, suggested that some senators might "cast a politically advantageous vote in support of the amendment with the knowledge that the measure will be defeated later by the House or by the states."

The Markman memo, written before the Hatch amendment was introduced, was titled "Political Assessment of Proposed Amendment." It outlined "a possible scenario" that included hearings and subcommittee approval of the proposal that had proceeded largely as Markman predicted. He also said that "prospects for full committee approval would appear to be excellent."

He remarked that prospects in the full Senate are "uncertain," but said "we think

that there is a realistic possibility of success on the Senate floor if everything comes together for the amendment." He added that "a showing of 55-60 votes will perpetuate the momentum of the pro-life effort" through the current Congress. (When all senators are present and voting, 67 votes are needed to pass a constitutional amendment.)

Markman suggested that the proposed Hatch amendment — which would permit, but not require, Congress and the states to restrict abortion — could appeal to "the most marginal members of a possible coalition." In discussing a possible outcome on the Senate floor, he said that moderate southern Democrats "may find appeal in the 'states' rights'-oriented appeal of the amendment."

Then he added: "There is also the advantage working for us that some senators may feel that they can cast a politically advantageous vote in support of the amendment with the knowledge that the measure will be defeated later by the House or by the states."

The Markman memo, made available to NCR just before Christmas, reportedly is circulating widely among pro-life activists.

When shown the NCR copy of the memo, Markman said, "I have no comments." He also remarked that "your stories have been somewhat unfair and inaccurate."

When told that no one had challenged the reporter's facts, Markman responded that "you've been talking to the wrong people" and added, "I'd just as soon not talk."

The Wanderer

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"Smoking Gun" Memorandum Sets "Hatch" Scenario

By PAULA FISHER

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A confidential memorandum bearing the name of a top aide to Sen. Orrin Hatch (R., Utah) recently has been leaked to the press, and provides an amazingly accurate analysis of how the amendment concerning abortion proposed by the Utah senator was shepherded through a Senate subcommittee.

The document also suggests that the so-called Hatch federalism amendment will not pass in this Congress.

A crucial element in the scenario was the recognized importance of getting "the support" of the National Right-to-Life Committee and "other mainstream pro-life organizations."

Additionally, the memorandum stated that it is not concerned about the "more extreme elements of the pro-life movement," who might oppose the Hatch proposal, and that, indeed, such pro-life elements "may help considerably in making the 'compromise' amendment argument."

The document brings out graphically the cynical realities of politics by noting: "There is also the advantage working for us that some senators may feel that they can cast a politically advantageous vote in support of the amendment with the knowledge that the measure will be defeated later by the House or by the states" (emphasis added).

The memo is titled: "Political Assessment of Proposed Amendment." Immediately under the title is the name and title of Sen.

Hatch's legislative aide, Stephen Markman, who is also general counsel of the Senate Judiciary's Constitution Subcommittee, of which the Utah legislator is chairman.

One pro-lifer who has read the memo called it a "smoking gun."

AUTHENTICITY

Prior to publishing the contents of the memorandum, *The Wanderer* established its authenticity. There was some concern that the document might have been written *ex post facto* and given to the press to embarrass the senator. However, this writer personally met with Steve Markman and showed the document to him after speaking with him on the telephone about it.

Several paragraphs of the five-page memo were read to Markman over the telephone, and he characterized those statements as "certain things that I probably did write one time or another. I just don't know the specific document."

When he was shown the specific document, he said he would never have put his name at the top, as it is shown on the "Political Assessment . . ." memorandum. At the same time, he skimmed through the undated memo and said he "might have" written it. At no time during the brief conversation did he deny or even suggest that he was not the author of the document.

Markman did express strong disagreement with *The Wanderer's* reporting on the Hatch Amendment generally, and said he was at a loss to understand this newspaper's opposition to the Hatch proposal. He volunteered that he is a close reader of this newspaper and agrees with much of its usual contents. However, on the Hatch Amendment he said he found considerable inaccuracies and distortions.

Asked for specific incidents of such reporting he said he did not want to get into that aspect. Nevertheless, he did refer to a *Wanderer* story in the Dec. 10th issue which reported on a secret meeting of diocesan pro-life coordinators in which the senator

(Continued from Page 3)

"Smoking Gun" Memorandum Sets "Hatch" Scenario

(Continued from Page 1)

was quoted as stating there were insufficient votes to pass a human life amendment. He denied the senator made the statement.

A statement in the same story in which the Utah legislator was quoted as saying it took four years to pass legislation which provided a charter for a ski patrol was considered "a joke," by Markman, which *The Wanderer* reporter took out of context.

The information was furnished to this reporter by a confidential source, and was confirmed by at least one other source. These sources did not consider the ski patrol remark a joke.

The *Wanderer* has confirmed through another very reliable source that the document, although undated, was circulating "around Labor Day (Sept. 7th), and was probably written in late August, 1981."

POLITICAL POTENTIAL

The memorandum opens by arguing for a "federal rights" or "legislative authorization" constitutional amendment that would have "substantially greater" political potential than the "more traditional human life amendments."

The proposed amendment (not yet bearing Sen. Hatch's name) could potentially unite senators and representatives who favor "an absolute prohibition on abortion" and those who believe that "some requirement of parental or spousal consent is required" prior to permitting an abortion, the document states.

"By its terms," the memorandum asserts, "the proposed

amendment is broad enough to contemplate any or all — or none of," the various "circumstances if any," which would "justify abortions," such as "life of the mother, medical necessity, rape, incest, etc."

The amendment is designed to "appeal to the most marginal members of a possible coalition," the document declares, and adds: "The primary objective of the proposed amendment, it can be argued, is to restore the status quo before *Roe v. Wade* (states rights) rather than a status quo that never existed (constitutional prohibition on abortion)."

SCENARIO ACTED OUT

If, as appears highly likely, this document was written in late August, the scenario outlined in the document was carried out with almost unnerving accuracy. The memorandum sets out the following "possible" scenario:

"— The proposed amendment is introduced in the third or fourth week of September by Senators Hatch and DeConcini, the chairman and ranking member of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution."

In reality, Sen. Hatch introduced his proposal on Sept. 21st, the beginning of the "fourth week of September." However, Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D., Ariz.) never joined in co-sponsoring the legislation.

"— Hearings begin in early October in the subcommittee with eight to ten days of hearings before the end of the first session of Congress."

In fact, hearings began Oct. 5th, and eight additional days of hearings were held, concluding on Dec. 16th, the last day of the first session of the 97th Congress.

Although the hearings were held to hear testimony on human life amendments introduced by Senators Jake Garn (R., Utah), Charles Grassley (R., Iowa), and Jesse Helms (R., N.C.), none of these senators testified in support of their proposals, nor was any substantial testimony offered by any witness on these amendments per se.

"— The proposed amendment is 'marked up' either at the end of the present session or at the outset of the next session. The likely subcommittee breakdown: (Aye) — Hatch, DeConcini, Thurmond, Grassley; (Nay) — Leahy. Approved 4-1 by the subcommittee."

Actually, the proposed amendment was "marked up" on Dec.

16th, the concluding day of the first session. The vote was the four senators as listed above in favor of the proposal. Sen. Patrick Leahy (D., Vt.) abstained from voting.

The scenario also expected the full Judiciary Committee to "mark up" the proposed amendment early next spring (1982). Of the 18 members of the full committee, the memorandum made the following estimate: support-8, leaning support-2; opposed-2, leaning opposed-4; uncertain-2.

Prospects on the Senate floor, the document states, "are uncertain," but favorable prospects "are also enhanced by the large number of uncertain senators up for re-election in 1982."

At that point the memorandum (apparently written in late August) notes that "it will be important" to get support by this time of the National Right-to-Life Committee (NRLC) and "other mainstream pro-life organizations."

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the NRLC Board of Directors voted on Oct. 4th — the day before the hearings began — to support unanimously a mandatory human life amendment after what was described to *The Wanderer* by one NRLC board member as "a massive effort to get a vote for the Hatch Amendment."

Moreover, on Sept. 22nd, Bishop Thomas Kelly, O.P., general secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) and the United States Catholic Conference (USCC), sent a letter to all Bishops in the U.S. strongly supporting the Hatch Amendment.

In early November, Terence Cardinal Cooke of New York, chairman of the NCCB's committee on Pro-Life Activities, and Archbishop John Roach, president of the NCCB-USCC, testified in support of the Hatch Amendment. A few days later, the U.S. Bishops at their annual conference in Washington, D.C., gave overwhelming endorsement to the Hatch proposal.

On Dec. 12th, the NRLC, at a special board meeting, voted to support the Hatch Amendment by a vote of 30-24, with 1 abstention. This reversed the board's position two months earlier. It is generally agreed that there was tremendous pressure exerted to have the board favor the Hatch proposal. The memo tells why.

"These endorsements appear to satisfy the scenario's directions that the NRLC and "other mainstream pro-life organizations" give their support to this particular amendment.

At the same time, the memorandum strongly indicates that there are not sufficient votes to pass the Hatch Amendment in the 97th Congress. The document makes this clear in its concluding paragraph:

"While we think that there is a realistic possibility of success on the Senate floor if everything comes together for the amendment (including presidential support), we also believe that a showing of 55-60 votes will perpetuate the momentum of the pro-life effort through the 97th Congress."

Sixty-seven votes are needed in the Senate if all senators are present and voting. Research indicates that 95 of 100 senators are present on a roll call vote for a con-

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the NEW!
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Liberal Abortion is Negative

It does not stop illegal abortion. It merely condones and creates an abortion culture. It is, therefore, no surprise that official hospital returns show an increase in discharges for incomplete illegal abortions (the only way in which one can properly assess back-street abortion) in Britain as in other countries with abortion on request. It is no solution to bad housing. It merely condones bad social conditions.

WE ARE POSITIVE

We stand for social reforms including:

- Single-parent families to receive, as of right, an adequate one-parent family allowance.
- Maternity grant increases to match inflation, and to be paid irrespective of the mother's national insurance contributions.
- Educational grants to parents undertaking full-time education or training should include age-related allowances for children.
- A civilised and compassionate society should aim at a more, not a less, responsible attitude towards sex, childbearing and family life.
- This attitude must be reflected in our personal compassion for the problems of distressed mothers. Help for the less fortunate should not be regarded as simply a matter for the State.

**YOU HAVE A VOICE
YOU HAVE A VOTE
Value them and use them**

Through our silence we condone the present situation - whereas we can change it through making the right to life an election issue, ensuring a pro-life Parliament.

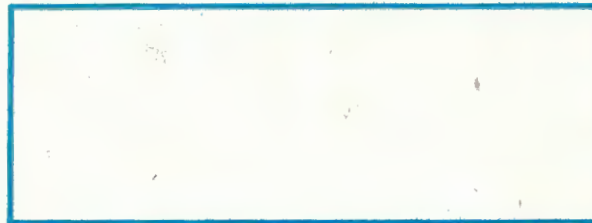
Use your voice

Find out exactly where your M.P. and other local candidates stand on the abortion issue. Let them know that failure to answer will lose them votes.
Do not accept anything but a firm answer.

Use your vote

Make certain that candidates are fully aware that their attitudes on the abortion issue will be a key factor in deciding how you vote.

**VALUE YOUR VOTE
Make it count for those
with no voice and no vote.**



Society for the Protection of Unborn Children,
7 Tulton Street, Westminster, London, SW1P 3QN.
Telephone: 01-222 5845

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**A BABY -
6½ weeks after conception**

IGNORANCE

Pro-abortionists disguise reality by calling the unborn child "a blob of jelly", "the product of conception", or "a fetus". But, look at the baby of only six weeks on the front cover! We know from modern science that it is an individual human, with organs, a heart pumping blood, a brain of unmistakable human dimension, and with a distinct personality of its own. It is sheer ignorance to describe it as part of its mother's own body.

BAD LAW

Ignorance and apathy led to the Abortion Act 1967 which was passed without M.P.s realising it was so open to abuse. Thus in about ten years, rising 1¼ million unborn babies were destroyed, the vast majority for social convenience and with no medical justification at all. The figures continue to mount.

BAD MEDICINE

Doctors and nurses, once regarded as the protectors of life, are often coerced to work on NHS abortion programmes: failure to do so jeopardises promotion. Even worse, some doctors have made large sums of money from abortion, much of it in collaboration with so-called charitable pregnancy advisory bodies. In the private sector, including charities, financial income runs to millions of pounds each year.



"The products of conception?" "Fetal jelly?" In fact, the recognisable remains of an 11-week baby aborted by the suction technique, the most common form of abortion.

**Every Abortion
Destroys
a Human Life**

"A fetus?" In fact, a recognisable baby girl, alive and crying, aborted by the hysterotomy technique (a type of caesarian section operation), used in the later stages of pregnancy.



**Undermine
any part of Human Life—
and you undermine All
Human Life**

Undermining Women's Health

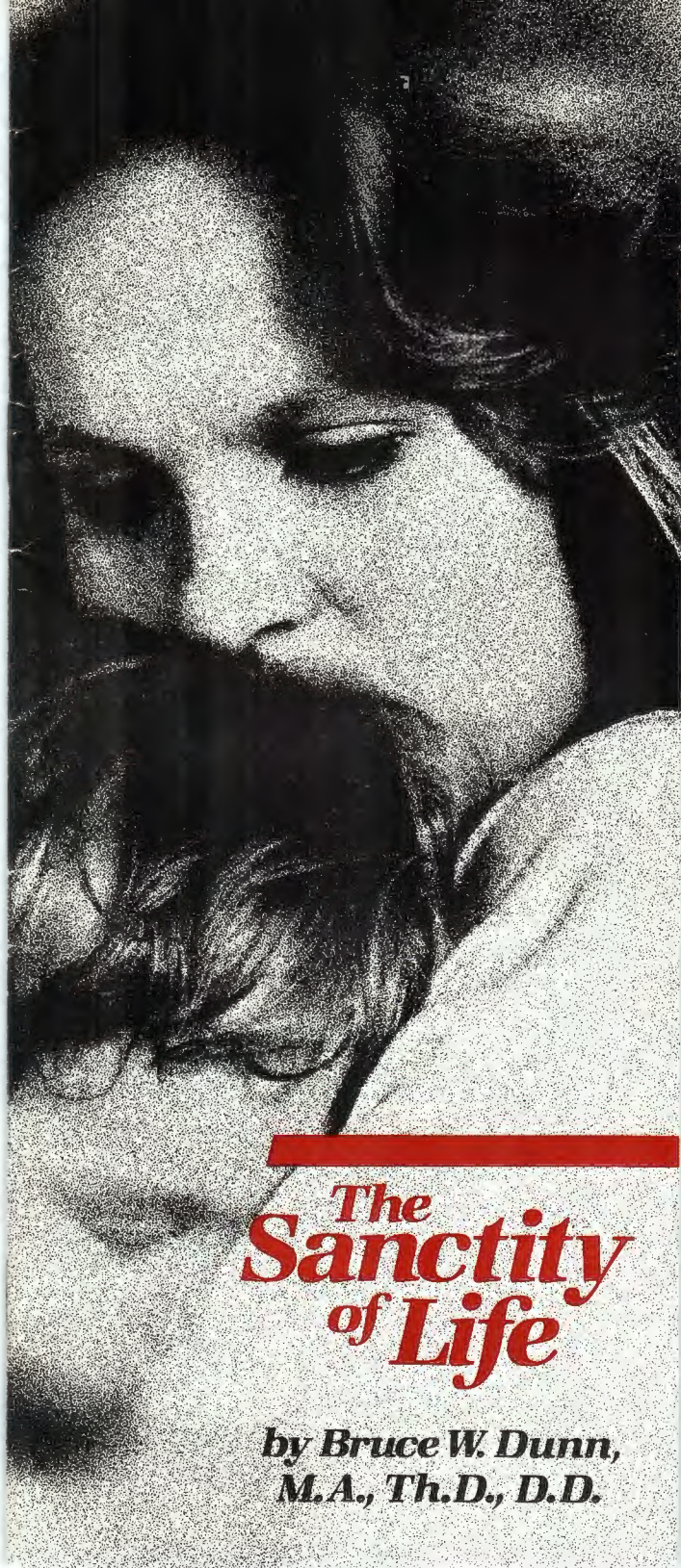
While doctors reap financial rewards or gain promotion, patients may well reap a bitter harvest. The World Health Organisation, among others, warns of serious risks connected with abortion. Documented evidence shows that between 20 - 30 per cent of women may suffer from permanent damage resulting in sterility, subsequent miscarriage, and other abnormalities which could kill or handicap subsequent children.

Undermining Women's Rights

The great liberator, the "right to choose", has become the great dictator with women pressured into abortion against their own inclinations. Easy abortion means the easy way out for the "male chauvinist" and for society. But, for women, abortion violates their bodies and the undoubted psychological upsets which follow have yet to be fully assessed.

Undermining Children's Rights

"Every child a wanted child" they chant. Yet countries with abortion on request, including Britain, have had a telling increase in reported cases of battered children and abandoned babies. Figures before the present abortion law were significantly lower. Reputable medical journals and newspapers have also disclosed that, developing from the abortion mentality, some doctors have now started to practice euthanasia on newborn handicapped children.



*The
Sanctity
of Life*

*by Bruce W. Dunn,
M.A., Th.D., D.D.*

The Sanctity of Life

by Dr. Bruce Dunn

Each time we read the New Testament account of the events surrounding Christ's birth, we are horrified anew at the cruel murder of babies on Herod's command. In an attempt to kill the One who was prophesied to come as the King of the Jews, he ordered that all children under two years of age be put to death.

But the number of babies killed in Bethlehem on that terrible day was *nothing* compared to what is being done in our own country today.

I recall a professor in graduate school asking our class how many children we thought had been put to death in Bethlehem at that time. Most of us came up with a figure in the hundreds of thousands. Yet a study of the population

and age bracket involved brings the conclusion that the actual number was probably around 21.

So though we look upon Herod with scorn and disdain, he could be considered a *piker* in the matter of putting babies out of business when compared to what is happening in America's hospitals and abortion clinics.

THE SANCTITY OF LIFE

When we start the practice of getting rid of *unwanted children*, it is easy to end up talking about *unwanted lives*, whatever the age.

The abortion movement in Germany is said to have gotten under way around the turn of the century. Then after World War I, with Germany defeated, there was a terrible breakdown and decline in moral values, and abortion was rampant.

Then Hitler came to power and exterminated 270,000 people before he even started on the Jews. Two hundred and seventy thousand and more were put to death because they were frail or infirm or retarded, and they were of no value and no use to this super race that Hitler envisioned.

I heard a Roman Catholic priest tell of an experience he had while stationed in Germany during a part of his training. He worked there with a rather elderly little nun who was always so sad and disconsolate-looking that one day he spoke to her.

"Sister, is there something sorrowful inside you? Something wrong? What's the problem?"

She burst out in tears. "Yes," she said, "there is. During the reign of Hitler, I was stationed on these very grounds. But at that time, this was a haven for the retarded children—several hundred of them were here. I came to love them dearly, and it

was part of my responsibility to take care of them.

"One day the German vans from the army came through those gates and they took all those children, grabbed them by their arms and legs and threw them in the trucks like sacks of potatoes. They took them and put them all to death. I have never gotten over that."

You see, it starts with unwanted babies, and it leads to the place where people start wondering if there are some lives that might just as well be ended.

I saw an example of this thinking in the hospital when my mother-in-law was dying, and another 94-year-old lady was also dying. A younger woman in better health commented to me, "Why don't the doctors give them a pill and put them out of their misery?"

I answered, "Lady, we can't play God!"

This is particularly true for those who are not certain they are Christians. A person is entitled to every possible moment to the very end to turn to Christ. If people are not Christians, they must be given every opportunity.

Those who place little value on human life base their views on the fact that there is no heaven to be gained and certainly no hell to be shunned—even if there is a God.

"We're just a bunch of animals," they say, "so if we don't need those people any more—just put them out of business!"

That's what you are moving toward when you start talking about unwanted babies. You're very likely to get to the place where you start thinking in terms of *unwanted lives*.

MORAL DECAY

There are those who would say, "What right do you anti-abortionists have to impose your position and your views on all

the rest of us?"

In part at least, I would reply, "I resent the word *impose*. We're not trying to impose a view or position. We are trying to *retain* a position that's been held for over 4,000 years that to kill a baby in the womb is *murder* and *killing*."

There have been 21 civilizations known to man, according to Arnold Toynbee the great historian. Of those 21, *nineteen* of them went on the "trash heap" through internal, moral degradation and deterioration. Only two of them were felled by the military victories of conquering armies. *Nineteen* of them went down the tubes because their moral values rotted away.

For more than 2,000 years, western civilization has been influenced by the reign of Christ and the Word of God. So don't talk about imposing a view on anyone. *We just want to retain and hold to the foundations that have given us the great nation that we have had up until this moment.*

The primitive societies before the Greeks and the Romans practiced infanticide. The Greeks said, "Get rid of the frail, and the deformed, and the aged." But even back then, all of them were honest enough to admit that *abortion was killing*.

A Christian lawyer, *Minutius Felix*, wrote an apologetic for Christianity way back in the second century. He attacked paganism for its ruthless exposing of children to wild beasts and strangulation and other cruelties. Then he said these words, way back in the second century, "There are also women among you who, by taking certain drugs, destroy the beginnings of the future human being while it is still in the womb and are *guilty of infanticide* before they are mothers."

As Dr. Everett Koop, U.S. Surgeon General, has said, "It's only within the last five to seven years that they've tried the

idea that abortion is not killing. It requires some semantic gymnastics to rationalize abortion as anything but taking a human life. If such a view did not come from socially acceptable and impeccable auspices, it wouldn't be held at all."

INCONVENIENT PREGNANCY

We have come to a time when people are only interested in pursuing a life of convenience and pleasure, of permissiveness and undisciplined morality.

The extent of this attitude is exemplified by a young couple who had planned a ski trip to Colorado—only the young wife found she was pregnant. Well, no pregnancy was going to keep her from her ski trip, so she had an abortion.

One of the renowned tennis stars was about to enter a tournament where the first prize was \$20,000. She discovered that she was pregnant, and rather than miss the possibility of the first-prize money, she aborted the baby.

Friend, that's the kind of a world we're in. As the man said, "It takes some gymnastics in semantics to say that abortion is not killing."

SEPARATE INDIVIDUAL

Dr. Landrum Shettles of Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons has stated that a new composite individual is started at the moment of fertilization. To survive, this individual needs a very specialized environment for nine months, and then extended care for an indefinite period of time. *But from the moment of fertilization, a new hereditary composite is formed*, which under appropriate conditions will grow into a recognizable personality.

Dr. Bernard Nathanson was the head of an abortion clinic in New York City, a city

where more babies are aborted than are born. After he resigned, he was disturbed inside about what he had witnessed and participated in. He made this statement in New England's Journal of Medicine: "I presided over 60,000 deaths. There is no serious doubt in my mind that human life exists from the very onset of pregnancy. Life is a continuous spectrum that begins in the womb and ends at death." Quite a thought from the doctor.

OUR FINAL AUTHORITY

The Bible gives us evidence in addition to what the doctors and scientists have said, and for the Christian, the Scriptures are the final word. In Psalm 139, especially verses 13 through 15, we find one of the clearest expressions of God's concern for an individual human being *long before* birth. I would encourage you to read and study this chapter and meditate on its truth. The psalmist writes with authority, "My substance was not hidden from Thee when I was made in secret."

In Isaiah chapter 44, God says, "Oh, Jacob my servant, thus saith the Lord that made thee and formed thee from the womb, who will help thee? Fear not. I am the Lord that made thee and *formed thee from the womb*, who will help thee."

In the first chapter of Jeremiah, verse 4 we read, "Then the word of the Lord came unto me saying, *Before* I formed thee in the womb, I knew thee, and before thou comest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations." And God sent him forth on that mission.

The book of Exodus, chapter four, provides a very interesting insight into God's involvement in this matter, as we read about Moses being called to deliver the people of Israel from the hands of Pharaoh.

Moses objects and professes his own inability to handle the assignment. In Exodus 4:10 he excuses himself saying, "Oh, my Lord, I am not eloquent. I am slow of speech and of a slow tongue."

Then we find this remarkable verse: "And the Lord said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth, or who maketh the dumb or deaf or the seeing or the blind—have not I the Lord? Now therefore go and I will be with thy mouth and teach thee what thou shalt say." That is a fantastic statement. God in His Word is saying, "I personally will take upon myself the responsibility for all human sorrow." That boggles the mind and I can't grasp it. It gives no support for abortion because of a defective child being possible at birth.

OUR OMNIPOTENT GOD

They tell us that technology is now so far advanced that the medical profession can identify a defect that a baby will have when he is born. And of course, to many a person unversed in the Christian point of view, that information is enough reason to have an abortion. In the light of God's Word to Moses, I wouldn't be too sure about the rightness of that conclusion.

Here is a sovereign God saying, "Who made man's mouth? Who made the dumb? Who made the deaf? Who made the blind? Who made the lame? Who made the seeing?"

I cannot fathom all the design and the purpose of God in it all, but I can say with my limited knowledge that there are many people in this world who would be living for the world and the flesh and the devil if sorrow had not brought them to God.

How many people when Jesus walked this earth would have never given Him more than a passing thought if they had not had the broken hearts that were stirred to

hope by what they heard about Him. "Maybe He can help me," they thought, and they came to Him, and their lives were changed by the words that the Lord Jesus spoke.

We're not God. There are people in my own family and congregation who can say, "It was grievous, it was a heartbreaker, it brought sorrow, *but it brought me closer to God*. It taught me things about God I never would have known. It did something for me in my prayers. It helped me, and I have lived to the hour when I actually could thank God, believe it or not, for the tragedy that came into my life and home."

The Lord says, "I'll take responsibility." That's a strange truth, and I can't quite grasp the depths of it, but here it is. A sovereign God has involved himself in the affairs of men.

I remember when a man in my church finally had his little girl taken from him after 19 years of feeding her every bit of food by a spoon. She was totally helpless for 19 years. He told me about a man who visited him, and in a reprimanding and rebuking way, suggested to him that there could have been divine healing.

The father told me of his response: "I told that fellow that it was in the hands of the Lord, and perhaps if my girl would have had a more normal life and normal abilities, she'd be out living for the devil and would go to hell. But as it is, *I've got an angel*." Those were his words.

The Lord says, "I'll take the responsibility. Draw near to Me, and trust Me, and someday you'll get the answer."

Can we play God and take an unborn baby's life because we're afraid of a defect? Is that our right?

WHOSE RIGHTS?

The pro-abortionists speak of the right

that a mother has over her own body. But her body is simply the environment—a *temporary* environment—for the production and the development of a *life that God put there*.

Exodus 21:22 sheds further light on how God feels about this subject. It describes a situation where two men are arguing, and a pregnant woman tries to intervene. It tells us that when men fight with each other, and they unintentionally hurt a woman with child, and her children come forth, but no mischief happens (no death occurs), a fine should be imposed. But *if there's a death*, then we revert to the old law—a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

Two lives are involved in this situation, and the child has rights. There is an appropriate penalty affixed to the one who brings injury or death to the woman or *her child*.

GOD OPENS THE WOMB

God's involvement in the actual conception of a child is pointed out in the story of Hannah (1 Samuel 1-2). Hannah came into the temple and prayed and asked God for a baby. The Lord had made her barren to that point. God has something to do with the closing or the opening of the womb to give birth, and He has something to do with who will have babies and who will not.

Hannah stood in the temple with lips moving in prayer but saying nothing audibly, and Eli the priest accused her of being drunk. Hannah bared her heart to Eli and said, "I want a child, and God has kept me from one."

The Lord spoke through him and said, "You'll have your boy." And Samuel came into the world to give the nation of Israel fifty years of leadership, integrity and strength, and kept the nation for God.

Samuel also anointed Israel's first two kings, Saul and David. God was involved in the whole picture of Samuel's life, long before his birth.

God came to Abraham and his wife one day and said, "You're going to have a son." They laughed, and they said, "Oh, Lord, you're joshing us. Don't you know how old we are?"

The Lord said, "No, he's going to be a son through whom Jesus Christ will come into the world."

I wonder sometimes if we'd better leave some of the choices with the Lord. If you are longing for a child, commit it to God. He opens the womb. He closes the womb. He answers prayer as He did for Hannah.

My mother had *seven* babies that died, either miscarriages or born and died, before she had three live ones. The last three of us lived, and I was the last one. When she found she was pregnant with me, all she could say was, "Oh, dear, not again! Forty-one years old—oh, dear!"

She could have gone on and said, "I'm going to get the doctor to get rid of him." But she didn't. Instead, she prayed that at least one of her three boys would be a minister of the gospel.

We just better leave some things with the Almighty. I don't understand all of life. I don't understand suffering. I don't understand why some people are put in the meat grinder the way they are, but I know it's all going to level off on the other side.

The Bible says, "Our light affliction which is but for a moment works for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory" (II Cor. 4:17). If we respond to it with a resigned heart and don't turn bitter against God, He's going to make our trouble work for us. And when we get on the other side, what a delightful welcome and reward we're going to receive from Him.

WHY SUFFERING AND MISERY?

God is creator and the origin of life is with Him. He nourishes it, He brings it on. Now, I must confess to you I cannot always understand the ways of God.

I see the pictures on television of children all over the world who are starving, and I say, "Dear God, You are sovereign, You are omnipotent—why are these people allowed to come out into the world like this?"

I cannot answer these questions. But I do know that a Judge of all the earth *shall do right*. There are some things I'm going to leave to Him, and get the answer farther down the road when I see Him. Then I shall know even as also I am known.

I don't believe the answer to any of this world's problems is to be found in the killing of unborn children—individuals who are already known to God as they are being formed in their mother's womb.

GOD FORGIVES

There may be someone reading these words who would say, "I never knew these things, and I've done this." My friend, do not be disheartened. Tell the Lord about it. There is forgiveness. God loves you. He will yet unfold a beautiful plan for your life. Do not be in despair.

Just come to the Lord honestly and frankly and say, "Dear God, I'm sorry I got involved in this kind of thing. It's wrong, it was a sin, and I'm sorry."

But I plead with you, *turn to Jesus Christ*. He'll receive you. David committed adultery with Bathsheba and murdered her husband so he could have her. Even David found God's forgiveness. And later on God said about David, "I've found him a man after my own heart."

Our mistakes need not keep us down. Don't be discouraged. The Lord is able.

But friends, this is a serious matter. Our nation will be judged for how we treat the little ones that God loves, and the very future of America hinges on what we believe about the sanctity of human life.



"... the good hand of his God was upon him. For (he) had set his heart to study the law of the Lord, and to practice it, and to teach His statutes and ordinances . . ."

(Ezra 7:9b, 10)

The predominant emphasis of the ministry of Dr. Bruce Dunn has been the forthright presentation of the Bible as God's Word. And like Ezra of old, his life is built around the study, practice and teaching of Scripture. As a busy pastor, conference speaker and radio and television minister, he conveys the quality of steadfastness that emanates from one whose life is anchored in the authority of God's truth.

Dr. Dunn received his Doctorate in Theology from the Northern Baptist Seminary after graduating from Wheaton College and McCormick Seminary. He has served as senior pastor of the Grace Presbyterian Church of Peoria, Illinois since 1951. He is best known for his weekly half-hour radio broadcast, **THE GRACE WORSHIP HOUR**, heard on a large network of stations across North America and overseas.

For further spiritual help or free Christian
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No. 76

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 9, 1982

Sent to
pro-life list

For the past couple of weeks I have had as a house guest an activist with a British pro-life organization, The Society for the Protection of Unborn Children.

Enclosed for your information is a copy of material about pro-life activity in Britain.

I hope this information will be of use to you.

Cordially,



Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

Enclosure