THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2/5/82
Sent to
Pro-life
Leadership
(Computer list)

file: Hatch Amendment

In Opposition To The "Two Amendment" Strategy

Robert M. Byrn
Professor of Law
Fordham University
School of Law

In an article in the August 24 issue of the National Right to Life News, Jack Willke outlined the two amendment plan currently being urged by some as a new strategy for the pro-life movement. In essence, the plan envisions the proposal and ratification of a constitutional amendment giving Congress and the states concurrent power to regulate abortion (Amendment One), followed by a restrictive federal statute, which would lay the groundwork for a Human Life Amendment (Amendment Two).

I oppose the plan on both philosophic and pragmatic grounds. However, under no circumstances, is my opposition to the plan to be taken as a criticism of its proponents. Their pro-life credentials are impeccable.

Before proceeding further, I would like to emphasize three points:

First: This is a personal statement; I do not speak for any pro-life group or committee.

Second: I have directed the discussion principally toward Amendment One; I do not believe that under the two amendment strategy there will ever be an Amendment Two. (See II. D., infra.)

Third: I have not commented on any particular wording. I understand that the wording is tentative. It is the concept that concerns me.

I. The Philosophy.

Amendment One compels a drastic change in the philosophy of the right to life movement. Up to now we have advocated the right of unborn children to the law's protection of their lives, a right equal in law to that of any other person. Thus, we have commonly spoken of the "personhood" of the children and their "unalienable rights to live." Amendment One has a different thrust. It vests in legislatures an unalienable right to do with unborn lives what they will. It is not a Right to Life Amendment. It is a Right to Legislate Amendment. The unborn are not persons; they are things.

Proponents of Amendment One would, I assume, argue otherwise. Let us anticipate the arguments.

A. Amendment One recognizes a power to protect unborn lives, not a power to withhold protection. On the face of it, this is certainly true. But nothing in the Amendment requires that the power be exercised; nor is any particular degree of protection mandated. Both these matters are left entirely to legislative discretion. A

legislature might lawfully enact a criminal abortion statute with maternal health, fetal defect, and rape/incest exceptions. Equally lawful would be a legislative decision to do nothing - to maintain the status quo of unrestricted abortion. Were it otherwise, Amendment Two would not be required.

B. By reversing Roe v. Wade, Amendment One necessarily recognizes the personhood and right to life of the unborn. Wrong! There are two pivotal holdings in Wade:

1. A woman has a fundamental right to abort.
2. An unborn child is not a person possessed of a fundamental right to live.

Amendment One reverses the first holding but not the second. This is apparent when the Amendment is viewed in the light of the criticisms of Wade by legal scholars and the tenor of the Supreme Court dissents in Wade.

Critics of Wade fall into two groups. The first group condemns Wade for its denial of personhood to the unborn. This group rejects both of the pivotal holdings in Wade. The second group believes that lawmaking on "moral issues" such as abortion is a purely legislative function with which courts ought not interfere. Thus, the second group objects to the Supreme Court's creation of a fundamental right to abort (because the right restricts legislative discretion), but supports the Court's declaration that the unborn are nonpersons (because personhood signifies fundamental rights and fundamental

rights restrict legislative discretion).

In short, the second group is pro-legislature, not pro-life. These critics of Wade believe that legislatures ought to be able to enact any sort of abortion laws they want. Just as these scholars now condemn the Supreme Court for creating a right to abort as a means of striking down a restrictive abortion statute, so too would they oppose a Supreme Court decision recognizing the unborn's right to live as a basis for invalidating a permissive abortion law.

The dissents in Wade are also pro-legislature. They contain no reference to the rights of the unborn. They rely, instead, on the prerogatives of legislatures.

Against this dual background - the pro-legislature dissents in Wade and the pro-legislature criticisms of Wade by influential legal scholars - the pro-legislature thrust of Amendment One can hardly be said to acknowledge, even implicitly, the personhood and rights of the unborn. To the contrary, as a pro-legislature response to Wade, Amendment One can be said to ratify the non-personhood and the rightlessness of the unborn.

Admittedly, Amendment One would raise the post-Wade status of the unborn from things that a legislature may not protect to things that are legislatively protectable. But the unborn would remain things - like whales or landmark buildings (let's protect them!) or like a teeming, pesky species (let's not!), depending upon how a legislature chooses to treat them.

C. Amendment One assures the rights of the unborn by characterizing them as human. But the label helps not at all if the Amendment does not accord the unborn the protection of personhood.

In 1972, the New York Court of Appeals responded to a claim that New York's permissive abortion statute violated the Fourteenth Amendment rights of the unborn by holding that the statute was a valid exercise of legislative discretion, even though the Court also found that the unborn child is a "human" who is "unquestionably alive" and has "an autonomy of development and character," Byrn v. N.Y.C. Health & Hospitals Corp., 31 N.Y.2d 194, 199 (1972). The unborn were human beings - but they were not persons. Earlier a federal court in Wisconsin had gone even further to strike down Wisconsin's restrictive abortion statute because "the mother's interests are superior to that of an unquickened embryo, whether the embryo is mere protoplasm, as the plaintiff contends, or a human being, as the Wisconsin statute declares." Babbitz v. McCann, 310 F. Supp. 293, 301 (E.D. Wisc. 1970). Clearly the attribution of humanity, by itself, assured nothing.

Although they contain different conclusions on whether the woman possesses a constitutional right to abort, nevertheless, from the unborn's perspective, the New York and Wisconsin cases are philosophically indistinguishable. The New York court held that the legislature has the power equally to protect the unborn from abortion or withhold protection (i.e., Amendment One). The Wisconsin Federal

Court held that the legislature has no power to protect the unborn (anticipating Wade). Yet, as Professor John Noonan has pointed out, the underlying jurisprudence is the same: Human beings may be treated as rightless nonpersons [things] if the empowered lawmaker, whether court or legislature, so chooses. J. NOONAN, A PRIVATE CHOICE 13-19 (1979). I agree entirely with Professor Noonan's condemnation of this jurisprudence. (Id. at 18):

> But all rights in our constitutional jurisprudence are premised on humanity. Your rights flow from your human character. None of them have security if it rests with a group of nine men, or a majority of them, to define you out of the human race. No discrete and insular minority is safe if all its liberties can be removed by defining it as subhuman. If the legal order is a universe which can be developed without reference to the natural order, only the will of the makers of the legal order controls the recognition of legal existence.

Majoritarianism - whether legislative or judicial - is always objectionable when the majority is empowered to dispense with fundamental rights. "A government . . . which held the lives . . . of its citizens subject at all times to the absolute disposition and unlimited control of even the most democratic depository of power, is, after all, but a despotism. It is true it is a despotism of the many, if you choose to call it so, but it is none the less a despotism." Loan Association v. Topekee, 87 U.S. (20 Wall) 655, 662 (1875). Accordingly, "One's right to life . . . and other fundamental rights may not be submitted to vote; they depend on the outcome of no election," West Virginia Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624, 638 (1943). Amendment One would make the right to life of the

unborn forever dependent on the outcome of elections. Calling them "human" doesn't help at all.

D. Section Three of Amendment One preserves to the Supreme Court the power to reverse the nonpersonhood aspect of Wade. This may not be true, no matter how the section is worded. Consider the background against which the Amendment would be proposed:

1. If Congress accepts Amendment One, of necessity Congress must also reject the pending Human Life Amendments. Personhood would be rejected in favor of nonpersonhood. Ratification of Amendment One would be an affirmation of the rejection of personhood for the unborn.
2. This conclusion is strengthened when the Amendment is put in the context of a response to Wade. Instead of being pro-life, it is pro-legislature. It embraces the pro-legislature rationale of certain critics of Wade and of the dissents in Wade. Both deny the personhood of the unborn. (See "B." above).
3. The conclusion is further strengthened by the commonality of the jurisprudence underlying Amendment One and Wade - that human beings may be treated by lawmakers as nonpersons. (See "C." above")

Against the background, it can be argued persuasively that the historical fallacy in Wade that "the unborn have never been recognized as persons in the whole sense" would become a constitutional truism

under Amendment One. As matters now stand, Wade is vulnerable to attack as an erroneous interpretation of the Constitution. Amendment One would be the Constitution.

No one can assert that Amendment One would certainly bar a future Supreme Court from overturning Wade. I do urge that the Amendment would create substantial, additional hurdles. How could lawyers argue that the unborn are persons under the Constitution when Amendment One has at least accepted, and probably ratified, their current status as nonpersons?

* * * *

In the final analysis, I cannot support Amendment One because it is wrong to make people into things. And it is especially wrong to do so in the Constitution. The great rights recognized and guaranteed by the Constitution represent the minimal code of morality deemed necessary to maintain the ideals of a just society. These rights are "implicit in the concept of ordered liberty . . . principles of justice so rooted in the traditions and conscience of our people as to be ranked as fundamental . . . fundamental principles of liberty and justice which lie at the base of all our civil and political institutions . . . [so that] neither liberty nor justice would exist if they were sacrificed." Palko v. Connecticut, 381 U.S. 479, 485 (1937). "The great fundamental guarantees of the Constitution are, after all, moral standards wrapped in legal commands." P. FREUND, ON

LAW & JUSTICE 35 (1968). It is true that not all moral principles must become legal commands. It is also true that neither liberty nor justice can exist if the great fundamental guarantee of the law's protection of life is meted out selectively, with entire classes of innocent persons excluded by the simple expedient of reducing them to something less than "persons in the whole sense."

In sum, Amendment One is philosophically, jurisprudentially and morally incompatible with the ethos of the pro-life movement.

II. The Practicalities

Anyone who takes lofty philosophical positions on controversial issues is vulnerable to accusations of impracticality and political naivete. Let us examine the practicalities of the two amendment proposal.

A. Will pro-life people work for the ratification of Amendment One? Perhaps they will. I suspect that some, especially the pre-Wade activists, will not. They will remember the old, bad days when legislatures were passing permissive abortion laws. A return to those days of raw legislative power is not what the pro-life movement means to them. But perhaps a new generation is willing to settle for less.

B. Will the Amendment be ratified? It will, of course, be opposed by the abortifacient/quality-of-life complex. The opposition will be well-financed, media-abetted, and cleverly-contrived. On the other side, the proponents will be under the handicap of urging

ratification of an Amendment which protects things (not people) at the expense of people (pregnant women). How does one argue the unalienable rights of the unborn, qua persons, as the rationale for a constitutional Amendment, when the Amendment itself leaves those rights to the disposition of legislative majorities?

The Supreme Court, too, might get the message. (The Court is, after all, as much political as judicial.) Following proposal of Amendment One and before ratification, the court could decide to "clarify" its holding in Wade. Relying on Doe v. Bolton, the Court might opine that Wade has been misinterpreted; that, per Bolton, a physician contemplating an abortion is required to exercise his best clinical judgment to determine whether the abortion is necessary; since the only judgment a doctor is uniquely competent to make is a medical one, Bolton means that a state may ban all abortions other than those deemed by the attending physician to be necessary to the "health" of the pregnant woman.

Of course, we know that health has been interpreted to mean happiness, and the end result of such a decision would be the status quo. But the decision would have broad public appeal and would severely diminish chances of ratification of an Amendment which, by its depersonalization of the unborn, itself admits of a "health" exception to a criminal abortion statute.

C. What kind of legislation might we expect if the Amendment were ratified? To put it another way: To what extent will Congress

protect nonpersons at the expense of the comfort and convenience of women? At the outset let us realize that anti abortion legislation is different from anti abortion-funding legislation. A fiscally conservative, states' rights congressman might well be opposed to federal funding and, at the same time, be in favor of a catalog exceptions to illegal abortion. Further, proponents of Amendment One tell us that only one quarter of the nation agrees with our position that abortion ought never be permitted except possibly to prevent the mother's death. Compromises may be anticipated. Indeed, in the legislative process, compromises are the rule rather than the exception. I take no position here on the Human Life Bill. However, I do note that it was necessary, as a compromise, to omit Equal Protection for the unborn in order to move the bill. Would a rape/incest exception be a compromise in a post-Amendment One statute? Would the woman's health? Would fetal defect? Remember that at the legislative hearings and in the subsequent congressional floor debates, pro-life people will be under the onus of arguing that the unborn are persons when Amendment One says they are not. The likely outcome is a bill with a catalog of exceptions accompanied by a plea that this is the best that can be done. And we will be under enormous pressure to accept the bill.

We will be told that if we oppose the bill, lives which could have been saved will be lost. As with the O'Connor nomination, we will be instructed to be less passionately dedicated to our moral position and more practically attuned to political realities. As with

the Human Life Bill (again, without commenting on its merits), it will be urged that leadership of the pro-life movement has passed from the pro-life groups to Washington, and we ought not be so presumptuous as to oppose Washington. Finally, we will be tempted with the bait that, under Amendment One, the states are free to enact more restrictive laws; that Congress is merely setting the floor on abortions. Either we accept what Congress has done or we get nothing at all.

Admittedly, I have not been optimistic. The congressional scenario could be painted in more rosy hues. The first post-Amendment One federal statute could possibly be restrictive enough to be acceptable to the pro-life movement. Except that then we would be no better off (and probably worse off) than we were in the mid 1960's when the abortion movement started up in earnest. A media-enhanced campaign of horror stories (rape, suicide, "backstreet abortions") would engulf the country in aid of the "movement to liberalize our restrictive abortion laws."* Will Congress withstand the pressure? I think not. Consider:

1. If it is true that three quarters of the country opposes us, why should Congress stand with us?
2. By that time, our pro-life army will be dispersed. Some will have left in dispair because they regard Amendment One as a betrayal of principle. Others will have drifted away because the federal statute seemed to solve the abortion problem, leaving them free to get their lives back in order (the very argument that some proponents of Amendment One are making

---

* It will also be urged that the flagrant violations and lack of enforcement of the statute are "making a mockery of the law." (I cannot envision the F.B.I. and local U.S. Attorneys prosecuting abortionists. Indeed, the foreseeable difficulties in Federal enforcement might persuade Congress to drop the provision for federal legistlation in Amendment One and turn it into a pure States' Right Amendment.)

against the Human Life Bill).

3. The pro-life movement will have lost its momentum. The educational effort (a large part of many local pro-life programs) will have been hampered by the constitutionalizing of the unborns' status as things - at our urging. Sophisticated students - an audience we must convince if we are to make in-roads on the other three quarters of the nation - will appreciate the contradiction. Further, with the idealism removed from the movement, the right to life groups will become nothing more than splinter political parties attempting to influence votes by threats of opposition or promises of support - not exactly the mushrooming grass roots movement that we have known up to now.
4. If legislatures gave in to the pressure in the 1960's - when we could argue the rights of the unborn as constitutional persons - why should they resist in the 1980's or 1990's after we have given the argument away? As one who testified before state legislative committees (and served on a gubernatorial abortion commission) and debated the issue frequently during the 1960's, I suggest that we would have less ammunition after the ratification of Amendment One than we had then.

Even if the first post-Amendment One federal statute were acceptable to us, I foresee, after its enactment, a repetition of the

1960's: the recurrence of an era of deteriorating respect for life.

D. But what about Amendment Two (the Human Life Amendment)?

While I can at least understand the premises for other arguments made in favor of Amendment One, I can find nothing but naivete in the assumption that Amendment One will lead, at some future time, to a Human Life Amendment. The result, I suggest, would be just the opposite. Amendment One will kill an HLA at least during the lifetime of the youngest of the pro-lifers amongst us. Consider:

1. If the congressional legislation is acceptable to us and we get everything we want, there will be no Amendment Two movement (or at least not an effective one). If the legislation is unacceptable, then it is unreasonable to assume that a Congress which passed an unacceptable statute will propose a Human Life Amendment. Rather we would have to start all over again, burdened by all the disadvantages that I mentioned in "C" above.
2. Add to those disadvantages the overwhelming burden of pleading to Congress, "We made a mistake with Amendment One; please give us Amendment Two." It is just plain silly to believe that anyone will listen to us. Congress will have had enough of us by that time. Amendments are not proposed willy-nilly. We will get only one bite at the cherry. If we take Amendment One, there won't be an Amendment Two. [As an aside, I would note that the situation is hardly comparable to the post-Civil War era when the 13th, 14th and 15th

Amendments were ratified seriatim. We have not won a war, we are still fighting one. But if the situation were comparable, we would be required to reject Amendment One. The 13th Amendment banned slavery; it did not make slavery a congressional/state option. The abolitionists did not fight to win rights for legislatures, and they would have counted the war lost had that been the only result.]

* * * *

In order to accept Amendment One, it must be assumed that the Amendment will be ratified; that a pro-life majority will exist in the Congress in perpetuity, and that this majority will initially give us the statute we want and forever after resist pressure to dilute it. I don't accept it. We can't advocate that people are things; we can't barter our ideals; we can't sabotage our educational efforts; we can't make political deals on human life; we can't lose our dedicated activists and expect to remain effective.

CONCLUSION

The Two Amendment proposal is philosophically flawed and pragmatically inadvisable. I oppose it. I urge the pro-life movement to reject it.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 4, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR ELIZABETH H. DOLE

THRU: DIANA LOZANO

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL

SUBJECT: Proposed Justice Department Report on S.J. Res. 19 (The Helms-Dornan Human Life Amendment)

This draft is a clear example of the difficulty this Administration has in implementing the philosophy and promises of the President.

I do not propose to make a point by point refutation of the "parade of horribles" set forth in the McConnell draft. Anyone interested in these old criticisms should read the back issues of "Human Life Review." For us, this is not an open question. The President decided his position on the Helms-Dornan Human Life Amendment during the critical days of the early 1980 presidential primaries.

In February, 1980, the President wrote to none other than Nellie Gray specifically supporting the Helms-Dornan Amendment. For the President's Justice Department so closely to parrot the National Abortion Rights Action League's arguments against this amendment would set the pro-life community aflame.

The President held a highly successful meeting on January 22 with 20 top pro-life leaders in the Cabinet room. Issuance of this McConnell draft would make most of them feel they were taken for fools. Many of the twelve percent of the voting public found by Dick Wirthlin to be militantly, single-issue, anti-abortion would never again agree when the President is described as a man of his word.

In short, we need a shakeup at Justice Department to make sure that drafts floating up from there are written by attorneys who are familiar with and committed to the President's philosophy and promises. Otherwise, we will constantly be shaken by public relations disasters which

could and should have been avoided.

There is no shortage of pro-life attorneys and legal scholars, except, it seems, at Justice.

Before any position paper on this issue is released, it should go through the Cabinet Council process and be personally approved by the President.

Copies to EHD
Red
Morton Blackwell
Diana Lozano

Document No. 044262CS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/2/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: c.o.b. February 4

SUBJECT: LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL RE RIGHT TO LIFE

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☐	GERGEN	☑	☐
MEESE	☐	☐	HARPER	☐	☐
BAKER	☐	☑	JAMES	☐	☐
DEAVER	☐	☑	JENKINS	☐	☐
STOCKMAN	☐	☐	MURPHY	☑	☐
ANDERSON	☑	☐	ROLLINS	☑	☐
CANZERI	☐	☐	WILLIAMSON	☑	☐
CLARK	☐	☐	WEIDENBAUM	☐	☐
DARMAN	☐P	☑SS	BRADY/SPEAKES	☐	☐
DOLE →	☑	☐	ROGERS	☐	☐
DUBERSTEIN	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐
FIELDING	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐
FULLER	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

Remarks: ~ Gary Bauer ~

Reagan Administration hatchet job on Senator Helms

May we have your comments by c.o.b. Thursday, February 4. Thank you.

Shit
let him do it + destroy himself

Distributed yesterday - some Feb 7 1980 to Nellie Gray

Emily Rock - Ed Harper's rec
Darman proposed guidance at senior staff today -

Richard G. Darman
Assistant to the President
and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff
(x-2702)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CABINET AFFAIRS STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: February 2, 1982 NUMBER: 044262CA DUE BY: February 4, 1982

SUBJECT: Legislative Referral Re: Right to Life

	ACTION	FYI
ALL CABINET MEMBERS	☐	☐
Vice President	☐	☐
State	☐	☐
Treasury	☐	☐
Defense	☐	☐
Attorney General	☐	☐
Interior	☐	☐
Agriculture	☐	☐
Commerce	☐	☐
Labor	☐	☐
HHS	☐	☐
HUD	☐	☐
Transportation	☐	☐
Energy	☐	☐
Education	☐	☐
Counsellor	☐	☑
OMB	☐	☐
CIA	☐	☐
UN	☐	☐
USTR	☐	☐
CEA	☐	☐
CEQ	☐	☐
OSTP	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐

	ACTION	FYI
Baker	☐	☐
Deaver	☐	☐
Anderson	☐	☑
Clark	☐	☐
Darman *(For WH Staffing)*	☑	☐
Jenkins	☐	☐
Gray	☐	☐
Beal	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
CCNRE/Boggs	☐	☐
CCHR/Carleson	☑	☐
CCCT/Kass	☐	☐
CCFA/McClaughry	☐	☐
CCEA/Porter	☐	☐

REMARKS: Please advise us of any policy considerations ASAP.

RETURN TO: Craig L. Fuller
Assistant to the President
for Cabinet Affairs
456-2823

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

Jan 22, 1982

LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL MEMORANDUM

TO: Legislative Liaison Officer

Department of Health and Human Services

SUBJECT: Department of Justice proposed report on S. J. Res. 19, a proposed amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing the right to life.

Please also provide your views on Justice's proposed reports on:
S.J. Res. 17 (see LR Referral Memo of 10-30-81).
S.J. Res. 18 (see LR Referral Memo of 10-30-81).
S.J. Res. 110 (see LR Referral Memo of 11-16-81).

Welfare these where are they

The Office of Management and Budget requests the views of your agency on the above subject before advising on its relationship to the program of the President, in accordance with OMB Circular A-19.

A response to this request for your views is needed no later than Friday, February 5, 1982.

Questions should be referred to Bob Pellicci (395-4702) ~~or to~~ ( ), the legislative analyst in this office.

(Signed) Naomi R. Sweeney
Naomi R. Sweeney for
Assistant Director for
Legislative Reference

Enclosures
cc: ✓Craig Fuller
Mike Uhlmann
Mike Horowitz
Don Moran
Emily Rock – hand delivered
Lynn Etheredge Lee Atwater's

U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Legislative Affairs

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

Honorable Strom Thurmond
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This is in response to your request for the views of the Department of Justice on S. J. Res. 19, proposing an amendment to the Constitution "guaranteeing the right to life". The resolution reads in full:

> The paramount right to life is vested in each human being from the moment of fertilization without regard to age, health, or condition of dependency.

The resolution appears primarily designed to ban abortions. On the wisdom of Congressional adoption of a constitutional amendment to prohibit abortions, we defer to other agencies. However, we believe that S. J. Res. 19 is overly broad and a more narrowly drawn resolution could accomplish the stated purpose without the potentially significant consequences which might ensue from adoption of the language at issue. Comments concerning the probable legal effect of the resolution, and suggestions for clarification in the legislative history of certain ambiguities in the event the resolution is adopted by the Congress, follow.

(a) As noted, the resolution is apparently intended to preclude abortions. In stating that the right to life is vested in each human being from fertilization, the resolution implies that the fetus is a "human being," and therefore vested with the right to life, from the moment of conception. In providing that the right to life is "paramount," the resolution further implies that the unborn child's right to life should prevail against any countervailing interest of the mother. The only case involving abortion in which the resolution does not seem to provide a rule of decision is that in which an abortion is required to save the life of the mother. Since the mother also enjoys a "paramount right to life" under the resolution, the unborn child's interest would not necessarily prevail in this situation. The legislative history might well establish what procedures, if any, are to be permitted to save the mother's life.

(b) The resolution establishes a right, but does not state what parties bear the obligation. In this respect, the resolution is similar in concept to the Thirteenth Amendment, which outlaws slavery. The Thirteenth Amendment has been held to impose obligations on private parties as well as governmental entities; similarly, we assume that S. J. Res. 19, if proposed and ratified, would impose duties on governments and private parties alike. The resolution therefore prohibits not only state involvement with abortions, but also the private conduct of abortions. Abortions would become illegal throughout the nation in all situations except possibly those in which the mother's life is threatened.

(c) While it clearly outlaws abortion, the language of this particular resolution might impose certain other duties to protect the life of an unborn child. It could, for example, bar the use of birth control techniques such as the morning-after pill or the intrauterine device which kill the fertilized ovum after the technical moment of conception. It could prohibit the use of medical procedures designed to improve the mother's health (but not necessary to save her life) which create a foreseeable risk of death to the unborn child. It could create a federal remedy for medical malpractice or other wrongful conduct which kills the unborn child. And it could outlaw a variety of additional actions other than directly performing abortions which are a relatively direct cause of an abortion.

More generally, the rights created by the resolution are not limited to those enjoyed by the unborn child. The paramount right to life is vested in "each human being." Depending on the guidance provided by the legislative history, the resolution could have a relatively profound effect on the existing structure of state and federal law. For example, the resolution would probably prohibit murder and other varieties of homicide. While because of due process constraints it would not be read as imposing criminal penalties, it would probably create a civil cause of action for damages. Moreover, the resolution might be held to authorize the federal government to create a uniform federal homicide law by enacting implementing legislation. Arguably, such a law could preempt the homicide statutes now existing in the various states.

(d) The resolution could be held to prohibit merely negligent conduct causing the death of another human being. If so, it could authorize the creation of a federal common law of wrongful death. It is not inconceivable that a fatality arising out of an ordinary traffic accident could, upon the ratification of this proposed amendment, amount to a violation of the victim's constitutional rights giving rise to a cause of action in federal court for money damages.

(e) The resolution could also cast doubt on decisions in some states permitting the families of comatose patients to petition the court for an order terminating the use of life support systems. See Matter of Quinlan, 70 N.J. 10, 355 A.2d 642 (1976). Under ordinary principles of interpretation, constitutional rights may be waived by a knowing, conscious, and deliberate act. Since a comatose patient is unable to waive his right to life, it is uncertain whether the right could be waived by another in this circumstance.

(f) The resolution could generate serious constitutional questions as to the validity of capital punishment laws. It vests the right to life in "each human being," including, presumably, persons who have committed capital offenses, and states that the right to life shall be "paramount." If the right is paramount, it could be construed to prevail over any interests, such as deterrence or retribution, which the government might seek to vindicate through imposition of capital punishment.

(g) Finally, it is possible--although we believe unlikely--that the right to life recognized by the resolution could be held to include more than a right not to be killed by another. Read most broadly, the right to "life" might arguably encompass a certain minimum "quality" of life. If so, S. J. Res. 19, if proposed and ratified, could arguably impose a responsibility of uncertain scope on governments to assure that persons within their jurisdictions enjoy at least the minimum of material benefits necessary to live a relatively comfortable existence. While we believe that this argument would be weak, we would anticipate that it would be asserted. The legislative history should help to establish whether any protection of the quality of life is intended by S. J. Res. 19.

The foregoing discussion has suggested that the amendment proposed by S. J. Res. 19 could be read quite broadly. Our uncertainty as to the resolution's scope stems from its sweeping and open-ended terms. Congress could attempt to limit the meaning of these terms through legislative history, but this attempt would not necessarily be successful. Although arguments from history can be treacherous, it is worth noting the expansive meaning given to the open-ended terms of the Fourteenth Amendment despite historical evidence indicating that the Amendment was designed primarily or wholly to deal with problems of slavery and race relations. If, as seems likely, the purpose of S. J. Res. 19 is only to prohibit abortions, we suggest that a more narrowly drawn amendment might have the desired effect without potentially granting substantive new rights to persons who have already been born.

The Office of Management and Budget has advised that there is no objection to the submission of this report from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely,

Robert A. McConnell
Assistant Attorney General

"ARTICLE XXVII

"The paramount right to life is vested in each human being from the moment of fertilization without regard to age, health, or condition of dependency.".

O

97TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 19

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States guaranteeing the right of life.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 22 (legislative day, JANUARY 5), 1981

Mr. HELMS introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

---

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States guaranteeing the right of life.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution only if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

DEC 16 REC'D

EHD	
RC	NC 11/71
JB	
DL	
MB	
Charlotte	

IN REPLY REFER TO:

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION
1100 OHIO DRIVE, S. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20242

PUBLIC GATHERING PERMIT

82-41

Date: December 11, 1981

In accordance with Park Regulations as contained in C.F.R., Title 36, Chapter 1, Section 50.19, permission is granted to conduct a public gathering to the following:

March for Life, Inc.
(Person(s) and/or Organization(s))

Date(s) January 22, 1981 (set up January 21, begining 9 a.m.)

Time: Starting: 9:00 a.m. Ending: 5:00 p.m.

Location(s) Ellipse

Purpose(s) To support the right-to-life movement for a Mandatory Human Life Amendment to the Constitution of the U.S..

Anticipated Number of Participants 70,000 to 100,000

Person(s) in Charge Miss Nellie Gray

Address(es) 515 Sixth St. S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

Telephone Nos. Day ~~457-6721~~ 547 Evening 457-6721

This permit is granted subject to the following conditions:

1. Permittee and all participants authorized herein must comply with all of the conditions of this permit and with all reasonable directions of the United States Park Police.

2. All sidewalks, walkways, and roadways must remain unobstructed to allow for the reasonable use of these areas by pedestrians, vehicles, and other park visitors.

If Mrs. Pres been invited will Nellie come to him
Would it serve RR purpose who cares
" ; " " monuments probably
W.H.
anti-demonstration

DEC 16 REC'D

EHD	
RC	
JB Charlotte	
DL	
WB	

RECEIVED
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION
DEC 9 1981
APPLICATION FOR A PERMIT TO CONDUCT A DEMONSTRATION OR
SPECIAL EVENT IN PARK AREAS AND APPLICATION FOR A WAIVER
OF NUMERICAL LIMITATIONS ON DEMONSTRATIONS FOR
WHITE HOUSE SIDEWALK AND/OR LAFAYETTE PARK
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

November 24, 1981
Date of this application

1. Individual and/or organization sponsor(s) CONGRESSIONAL UNION

Address(es) Route 2, Box 233, Sterling, Va. 22170

Telephone Nos. (include area code) Day 430-8286 Evening same

2. This is an application for a permit to conduct a DEMONSTRATION x
SPECIAL EVENT _____ (For definitions, see instructions.)

3. This is an application for a WAIVER OF THE NUMERICAL LIMITATIONS on certain demonstrations. Yes x No ___. (A waiver is required if it is expected that a demonstration on the White House Sidewalk */will include more than 750 participants or that a demonstration in Lafayette Park will include more than 3000 participants.)

4. Date(s) of proposed activity: From 2/15/82 To same
Month Day Year Month Day Year

Time: Begin 12 Noon (a.m.) (p.m.) Terminate: 5:00 (a.m.) (p.m.)

5. Location(s) of proposed activity. (Include assembly and dispersal areas.)
Elipse, streets, and sidewalks surrounding White House

6. Purpose of proposed activity. Commemorate birthday of Susan B. Anthony; demonstration for the ERA.

7. Estimated maximum number of participants. (If more than one park area is to be used, list numbers separately for each area.) 1,000

8. Will cleanup people be provided for the area? x yes ____ no
How will they be identified? Each of us will be responsible.

9. Person(s) in charge of activity. (One person must be listed as in charge of the activity. If different individuals are to be in charge of various activities at different locations, each must be listed.)

*/(The "White House Sidewalk" is the sidewalk between East and West Executive Avenues, on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.)

Pro Life

Document No. 044262CS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/2/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: c.o.b. February 4

SUBJECT: LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL RE RIGHT TO LIFE

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☐	GERGEN	☑	☐
MEESE	☐	☐	HARPER	☐	☐
BAKER	☐	☑	JAMES	☐	☐
DEAVER	☐	☑	JENKINS	☐	☐
STOCKMAN	☐	☐	MURPHY	☑	☐
ANDERSON	☑	☐	ROLLINS	☑	☐
CANZERI	☐	☐	WILLIAMSON	☑	☐
CLARK	☐	☐	WEIDENBAUM	☐	☐
DARMAN	☐P	☑SS	BRADY/SPEAKES	☐	☐
DOLE	☑	☐	ROGERS	☐	☐
DUBERSTEIN	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐
FIELDING	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐
FULLER	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

Remarks:

May we have your comments by c.o.b. Thursday, February 4. Thank you.

I strenuously object to the Justice Department's proposed response to Senator Strom Thurmond. It is contrary to commitments made by the President during his presidential campaign.

I feel a close examination should be made on this proposal to make sure it does not conflict with this Administration's stated views on the Helms-Dornan amendment.

Ed Rollins
Office of Political Affairs

Richard G. Darman
Assistant to the President
and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

97TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1741

To provide that human life shall be deemed to exist from conception.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 15 (legislative day, OCTOBER 14), 1981

Mr. HELMS introduced the following bill; which was read the first time

---

A BILL

To provide that human life shall be deemed to exist from conception.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That title 42 of the United States Code shall be amended at the end thereof by adding the following new chapter:

"CHAPTER 101

"SECTION 1. (a) The Congress finds that the life of each human being begins at conception.

"(b) The Congress further finds that the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States protects all human beings.

"SEC. 2. Upon the basis of these findings, and in the exercise of the powers of Congress, including its power under section 5 of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the Congress hereby recognizes that for the purpose of enforcing the obligation of the States under the fourteenth amendment not to deprive persons of life without due process of law, each human life exists from conception, without regard to race, sex, age, health, defect, or condition of dependency, and for this purpose 'person' includes all human beings.

"SEC. 3. Congress further recognizes that each State has a compelling interest, independent of the status of unborn children under the fourteenth amendment, in protecting the lives of those within the State's jurisdiction whom the State rationally regards as human beings.

"SEC. 4. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no inferior Federal court ordained and established by Congress under article III of the Constitution of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order, temporary or permanent injunction, or declaratory judgment in any case involving or arising from any State law or municipal ordinance that (1) protects the rights of human persons between conception and birth, or (2) prohibits, limits, or regulates (a) the performance of abortions or (b) the provision at public expense of funds, facilities, personnel, or other assist-

ance for the performance of abortions: *Provided,* That nothing in this section shall deprive the Supreme Court of the United States of the authority to render appropriate relief in any case.

"SEC. 5. Any party may appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States from an interlocutory or final judgment, decree, or order of any court of the United States regarding the enforcement of this Act, or of any State law or municipal ordinance that protects the rights of human beings between conception and birth, or which adjudicates the constitutionality of this Act, or of any such law or ordinance. The Supreme Court shall advance on its docket and expedite the disposition of any such appeal.

"SEC. 6. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstance is judicially determined to be invalid, the validity of the remainder of the Act and the application of such provision to other persons and circumstances shall not be affected by such determination.".

○

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 15, 1981

To: Elizabeth H. Dole

From: Morton C. Blackwell

Re: Uproar Among Pro-Life Leaders Against Perceived RR Policy

We may be on the verge of a public repudiation of the Administration by national leaders of the pro-life movement.

The pending continuing appropriations bill will have, in its House version, strong prohibitions on Federal funding of abortions. The government is right now operating under continuing resolution appropriation language which contains such prohibitions.

For more than a week, I have been fending off irate pro-life activists, all of whom feel they are being betrayed by a President they slaved for in last year's primaries and general election. Their concern is that they hear that the Administration is supporting a Hatfield move in the Senate Appropriations Committee to produce what Hatfield calls a "clean" continuing resolution. That is, one without language prohibiting Federal funding of abortions.

Hatfield has spread the word on the Hill that Ed Meese is supporting him in this move, which gives the Administration's imprimatur to Hatfield's plan. Congressional Relations confirms that the Administration is in step with Hatfield on this. Ed Meese has met with Hatfield and Sen. Helms on the matter.

As it was explained to Sen. Helms, the plan is to take the "clean" Senate version and the prohibitory language of the House version to conference where, "of course, the confererence will adopt the House version."

Why put the Administration on line against our strongest allies in the Senate, then? The answer appears to be that this will prevent pro-abortion senators from having to vote on the issue again. Frequently mentioned in this connection is Sen. Packwood, whose very name is a red flag to pro-lifers.

Unfortunately for this strategy, Sen. Helms has given his word to the pro-life forces that he will offer ammendment to the continuing resolution on the Senate floor if it is not in the Appropriations committee language. So there will be a roll call vote on this issue any way you slice it. (For the pro-life forces, such repeated votes keep their people active at the grass roots.)

We may be alienating loyal friends and not helping sometime friends.

cc. Ed Meese

Planned Parenthood®
Federation of America, Inc.

Planned Parenthood-World Population

810 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10019
212/541-7800

The Moral Majority doesn't think you've been living a righteous enough life. So they've decided to use the U.S. Constitution to make you shape up by legislating your morality.

They've introduced their so-called Human Life Amendment which says the unborn fetus cannot be aborted from the moment of fertilization.

Sounds like yet another attempt to turn back the clock on abortions, right?

Wrong! It's much worse. The HLA would outlaw the IUD and some other safe birth control methods. It would turn back the clock on your right to plan your own family. And on your right to privacy, because it would require the government to police your bedroom.

What is so terrifying is that it stands a good chance of passage. If that prospect scares you too, maybe you'll support this all-out war against the Radical Religious Right.

Dear "Fellow Sinner":

You may not be aware of it, but you, your family and your friends are what's wrong with America these days. I am too.

Because all these years we've been under the impression that it was OK not to have children if we didn't want to, or to limit the size of our families. We thought that what we did in our bedrooms was nobody else's business -- <u>especially</u> not the government's.

Now come the self-appointed custodians of the Truth and their grand design for their image of nineteenth-century America. They are absolutely certain of what is right and what is wrong; now they're going to tell you. They're determined that you will listen and act accordingly, under penalty of law.

There have always been plenty of people who want to impose their values and religious beliefs on you and everyone else. Until recently, you were free to ignore them and decide for yourself what is right for you and your family. But now your rights are threatened. Now these guardians of other people's morals have political clout.

Don't get me wrong. There are people who hold deep religious beliefs which forbid abortion. <u>But</u> they conduct their own lives according to their beliefs and do not attempt to impose their beliefs on the rest of us. Those are not the people who pose a danger to individual rights.

(over, please)

But right now there is a zealous minority which is using whatever political power they can muster to make their point of view prevail.

We must oppose these zealots. If we remain passive, they will surely win.

They fervently believe they were put into office to "protect" our nation by cleaning up the American Sodom and Gomorrah. And if you don't see the light -- the light revealed to them -- they're determined to declare you a criminal.

For years, Planned Parenthood -- the oldest and most respected family planning organization in America -- has fought for a woman's right to conceive or not conceive, according to her personal preferences and the dictates of her conscience.

Being alarmist has never been our style. Instead, we have worked quietly and diligently to gather the facts and make accurate information on birth control freely available to everyone who wants it.

We've backed research for safer, more effective birth control methods. We offer family planning counseling services to two million people -- mostly poor -- who otherwise have no access to them.

But, today, the alarm must not only be sounded but shouted because, suddenly, self-moralizing forces are dangerously close to winning control. They've decided, by means of a so-called Human Life Amendment, to sweep away over sixty years of medical progress and a few centuries of enlightenment. And to severely limit every American's freedom of choice and right to privacy in this most personal matter.

Because this unholy alliance of religion and politics managed to defeat many of the legislators who would have opposed it, HLA could cruise smoothly through Congress, despite the two-thirds vote required to pass a Constitutional Amendment. Or a "Human Life Statute," drafted in an attempt to circumvent the constitutional amendment process, could pass Congress by a simple majority.

If the amendment passes Congress, then it will be up to the states, twenty-one of which have already passed pro-HLA resolutions. Once three-fourths (38) of the states vote to ratify, which could happen as soon as mid-1982, the Twenty-Sixth Amendment -- the Human Life Amendment -- will be law. And the New Right and their radical religious allies will have succeeded in forcing you to live your life and plan your family the way they think you should. They will have accomplished that which

(next page, please)

our Founding Fathers so greatly feared: they will have merged church and state and imposed their prejudices on the entire country thus eliminating religious freedom as we know it. All this despite the fact that 80% of Americans oppose prohibition of abortion.

What then? For starters, the HLA would substitute cold, impersonal law for the medical advice of a woman's personal physician. It would prevent the use of the IUD and some types of the pill because they prevent the implantation of the fertilized egg.

Which means that you and the rest of us will become criminals if we continue to use particular birth control methods. For you and countless others, this will be a source of enormous physical pain, frustration and anger. But for some, the consequences will be far more tragic. Because this is what will happen if the HLA becomes law:

** No abortions for women who have been exposed to X-rays or medication which have been proven to cause fetal deformities or brain damage.

** No abortion, for example, for a 14-year old girl impregnated by her father.

** No abortion for a woman who already has several children and whose husband's brutality has caused her severe physical and emotional problems.

** No abortion for a high-school student who has no prospect for a stable home and whose pregnancy would end her chance for an education.

** No medically safe abortions -- a situation which would create a climate for back-alley butchery, and dangerous self-induced procedures of desperate women.

** The HLA would force women to flee to foreign countries because their individual freedom for a medically advised abortion had been denied -- an ironic twist of history for a nation founded to protect the individual.

This is the vision of America that would be forced on us all. The self-appointed moralists believe that an unwanted pregnancy -- with all its implications and potential complications -- is the penalty that must be exacted from a woman in exchange for an act of love. Because after all, isn't punishment due -- aren't women to blame for stirring up sinful thoughts in the hearts of men? It is a vision of the Dark Ages, of the Inquisition, of a time no person -- man or woman -- should have to face.

The forces we must mobilize against are made up of people who are unwavering in their belief that they are holier than thee or me.

(over, please)

Perhaps now you understand why we're so alarmed. And why Planned Parenthood has concluded it must mobilize -- as it has never mobilized before -- for this war against ignorance and repression.

We're raising a $3.6 million emergency fund to finance a massive campaign to alert, inform and organize the public on this crucial issue. This unprecedented effort -- known as the Public Impact Program -- will employ a national television and newspaper advertising campaign as well as a highly organized grassroots lobbying effort in key states.

If the Public Impact Program is to succeed, it needs your generous support. Today.

The questions you must ask yourself are these: are you going to allow the "Moral Majority" to pervert the Constitution in order to take control of your life . . . take away your personal liberty, your freedom of choice, your right to plan your own family, your right to control your own destiny?

All in the name of their God? A God they assert has assured them that they are right. A God that has instructed them to wage war on personal rights, on the U.S. Constitution, on anyone else who refuses to accept their beliefs.

Are we going to let them cloak themselves in righteousness and nationalism while taking the first critical step toward imposing a religious dictatorship on America?

Your way of life is at stake. The very lives of countless unfortunate women are at stake -- women the Religious Right would offer up as sacrifices to their own religious beliefs.

We can't let it happen. They must be stopped. We need your help desperately -- and believe me, the word "desperate" doesn't overstate the case. Let me suggest a contribution of $20, but please don't feel limited by that. We need as much as you can give.

Sincerely,

Faye Wattleton

Faye Wattleton
President

P.S. Your contribution in support of Planned Parenthood's efforts to stop the Human Life Amendment is tax-deductible.

FW/rmc

PLANNED PARENTHOOD OF METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON, D.C., INC.
1108 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 202-347-8500

Dear Friend,

Thank you for taking the time to express your support for our ad in the Washington Post. As you know, the Senate Judiciary committee just passed the Hatch Amendment by a vote of 10 to 7. This Amendment (S.J. 110) reads:

> "A right to abortion is not secured by this Constitution. The Congress and several States shall have the concurrent power to restrict and prohibit abortion: provided, that a law of a State which is more restrictive than a law of Congress shall govern."

Now that it has passed the Judiciary Committee, this anti-choice legislation may reach the Senate floor in the very near future.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

First and foremost, you can express your views to our elected representatives.

Members of the Judiciary Committee who voted pro-choice should receive personal thank-you notes. The pro-choice votes on the Judiciary Committee were:

****

Mathias, MD	Kennedy, MA
Specter, PA	Leahy, VT
Baucus, MT	Metzenbaum, OH
Byrd, WV	

****

Write: Senator_____, United States Senate, Washington, DC 20510

Residents of Virginia and Maryland should also write their Senators and urge them to vote against the Hatch Amendment and all other anti-choice legislation.

****

Maryland Residents Write:	Virginia Residents Write:
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. 358 Russell Building Washington, D.C. 20510	Harry Byrd, Jr. 417 Russell Building Washington, D.C. 20510
Paul Sarbanes 2327 Dirksen Building Washington, D.C. 20510	John Warner 6239 Dirksen Building Washington, D.C. 20510

****

Finally, the Planned Parenthood Metropolitan Washington Public Affairs Program welcomes volunteers who want to work with us on this issue. If you can donate some time, please call us at 347-8500, or send in the attached coupon and we will contact you.

Thanks again for your support!

Sincerely,

Amy Fine

Amy Fine
Public Affairs Director

Please contact me, I would like to volunteer with your Public Affairs Program.

Name_____ Phone: Day_____, Eve.-_____,

Address_____

4-018087S263 09/20/81 ICS IPMBNGZ CSP CINB
6127777777 MGM TDBN WOODBURY MN 165 09-20 1001P EST

DR JACK WILKE
7634 PINE GLEN DR
CINCINNATI OH 45224

THIS IS A COPY OF A MAILGRAM SENT TO PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC:

WE THE UNDERSIGNED DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE BELIEVE THAT A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ~~IS THE MOST FEASIBLE~~ WAY TO END ABORTION. WE URGE TO REFRAIN FROM COMMITTING YOUR ADMINISTRATION TO ANY PRO-LIFE STRATEGY UNTIL CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ALTERNATIVES HAVE BEEN THOROUGHLY EXAMINED IN THE SENATE CONSTITUTION SUB-COMMITTEE CHAIRED BY SENATOR HATCH.

WILLIAM MOFFATT, ALASKA
KEN HIEGEL, ARKANSAS
CHARLES ONOFRIO, COLORADO
JACK WILTRAKIS, CONNECTICUT
BETTY OMALLEY, DELAWARE
JEAN DOYLE, FLORIDA
KEL MACDONALD, GEORGIA
EDWARD BYBEE, HAWAII
LIANNE MCALLISTER, IDAHO
VELICIA GOEKEN, ILLINOIS
ROGER MALL, IOWA
SANDRA FAUCHER, MAINE
DARLA ST. MARTIN, MINNESOTA
PAUL ARTMAN, MISSISSIPPI
SUSANNE MORRIS, MONTANA
RUTH MCGROARTY, NEVADA
GUY GRANGER, NEW HAMPSHIRE
CHARLOTTE GOODWIN, NEW MEXICO
DAVID MOYNIHAN, NEW YORK
EMMA O'STEEN, NORTH CAROLINA
ALBERT FORTMAN, M.D., NORTH DAKOTA
JACK WILKE, M.D., OHIO
ANTHONY LAUINGER, OKLAHOMA
TOM FALLER, OREGON
DENISE NEARY, PENNSYLVANIA
ANNA SULLIVAN, RHODE ISLAND
JOHN WADDY, TENNESSEE
JANET CARROLL, UTAH
ELEANOR ELWERT, VERMONT
WANDA FRANZ, WEST VIRGINIA

DENNIS VLOMKE, WYOMING (ALTERNATE)

22:03 EST

NORTH CAROLINA RIGHT TO LIFE, INC.

P.O. Box 9363 Greensboro, North Carolina 27408

A non profit Educational Organization

July 26, 1982

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Special Aesistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to President Reagan requesting a note of some kind for the opening ceremonies of the North Carolina Right to Life Convention. I hope you will remember our brief conversation at the National Right to Life Convention, at which time you asked me to send a copy to you.

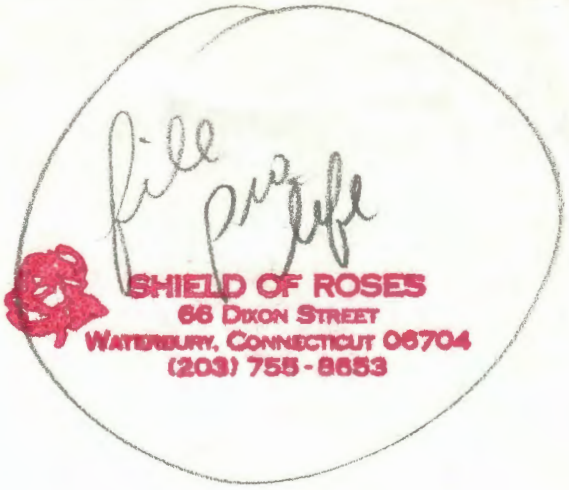
I would appreciate very much anything you can do in regard to my request.

Yours for Life,

NORTH CAROLINA RIGHT TO LIFE, INC.

David G. O'Steen
President

DGO:np



Ask Peter Gemma if I should see him

May 8th, 1981 Friday

Office of the Public Laison
Attn: Morton Blackwell
Old Executive Office Building
17th and Pennsylvania
Washington, D.C. 20500

Mr. Blackwell:

Let me take this opportunity to introduce myself. My name is James W. Beck and I represent a Roman Catholic Pro-Life/Anti-Abortion Group titled the " Shield of Roses. "

I will be visiting the Washington, D.C. area during the first week of June and I would like an opportunity to meet with someone on the White House staff who is dealing with the Pro-Life Issue. I would like to present you with signed petitions stressing the " right to life " and the need for a Pro-Life Amendment. It is our hope that our groups views will eventually reach the President.

I will be available for an appointment late Sunday afternoon or evening May 31st, all day Monday June 1st and Tuesday June 2nd untill 6;00 p.m. I will also be available later in the week on Saturday June 6th from 10;00 a.m. on, and on Sunday June 7 until 3:00 p.m.

Up until Sunday May 31st at 8:00 a.m. I can be reached at my home phone (203)-755-8653. It is my hope that we will soon have an opportunity to meet. Thank you !

Sincerely yours,

James W. Beck

James W. Beck
Executive Director

49-R.
Scheduling

to Morton

Forward to Red Cavaney for response — TR 4/20

SHIELD OF ROSES
66 DIXON STREET
WATERBURY, CONNECTICUT 06704
(203) 755-8653

4/24
Dear Morton

Monday April 6, 1981
Waterbury, Conn.

The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washinton, D.C. 20500

Dear Sirs:

Let me take this opportunity to introduce myself. My name is James W. Beck and I am the Executive Director of a Roman Catholic Rosary Group from Waterbury, titled the " Shield of Roses. "

I will be visiting the Washington area from Monday May 11th to Friday May 15th. On those dates I will be available at all times. I would like to make an appointment with a member of the White House Staff who deals with the Pro-Life Amendment question. I would like to express our groups feelings on the Pro-Life/Anti-Abortion issue. I would also like to present you with signed petitions stressing the right to life and the need for a Pro-Life Amendment. It is our hope that our view and petitions will eventually reach the President. Until May 8th I can be reached at my home phone number, (203) - 755-8653.

It is my hope that we will soon have an opportunity to meet. Thank you !

Sincerely yours,

James W. Beck

James W. Beck
Executive Director

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library
Digital Collections

This is not a presidential record. This marker is used as an administrative marker by the Ronald W. Reagan Presidential Library Staff. This marker identifies that there was an object in this folder that could not be scanned due to its size.
