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May 19, 1983

Nancy and I take great pleasure in sending our warmest greetings and best wishes to all those gathered for the National Right to Life Convention.

This special occasion provides a welcome opportunity for me to express continuing high regard for your dedicated and courageous efforts in opposition to abortion. Our nation was founded by men and women who shared a strong moral vision of the great value of each and every individual. The theme of your Convention, "Launch a World of Promise for Life," serves that ideal by underscoring America's commitment to the sanctity of all innocent human life.

As one who not only shares your anguish over the taking of an unborn child's life but is committed to protecting all innocent life, I applaud your humanitarian concern and welcome your support for our efforts to address this critically important problem. As you know, since I came to Washington I have been committed to signing all appropriate legislative action that restricts abortion.

As I wrote in a recent article for Human Life Review, "We cannot diminish the value of one category of human life - the unborn - without diminishing the value of all human life." Unfortunately, the "Bloomington Baby" case has provided tragic proof of that reality.

In working for the noble goal of protecting the lives of the most fragile and vulnerable among us, you have my prayers and hopes for your triumph in this struggle to preserve the most elemental of values -- the right to life itself.

RONALD REAGAN

SENT TO:

Dr. Jack Willke
President
National Right to Life
Committee, Inc.
Suite 402
419 Seventh Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

RR:Wells:- Living
cc: K.Osborne/D.Livingston/M.Blackwell/CF
EVENT: MAY 25



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

April 19, 1983

The Honorable Edwin Meese III
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Meese:

The National Right to Life Committee, composed of the 50 state right-to-life organizations, has long regarded legalized abortion as the most urgent civil rights/human rights issue of our time. I know that you are well aware of the central role which the federal judiciary played in removing legal protection from unborn children, culminating in the 1973 Roe v. Wade decision which effectively legalized abortion on demand throughout pregnancy.

The judicial branch so far shows little inclination to draw back from that tragic and unconstitutional decision. Indeed, some federal judges seem eager to extend the principle of "private choice" even further. Just last week, D.C. District Judge Gerhard Gesell, in striking down the Administration's anti-infanticide regulation, stated that if the regulation eliminated the role of a handicapped newborn's parents in deciding on "an appropriate course of medical treatment," then the regulation might conflict with the principle of Roe v. Wade (p. 9 of Gesell's memorandum). In the case of Bloomington's "Baby Doe," of course, the court-sanctioned "course of medical treatment" was starvation.

In 1980 the Republican National Convention adopted a platform which pledged "to work for the appointment of judges at all levels of the judiciary who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life." Some organs of the press were critical of this plank, suggesting that the Republican Party was establishing a "single-issue litmus test" for judicial appointments. But the plank was and is properly viewed as a recognition that the abortion issue is fundamentally a civil rights issue, and that those who lack respect for innocent human life should be regarded as unqualified for appointment to the federal bench.

Unfortunately in our view, it is generally acknowledged that prospective appointees' views on respect for human life have been of little concern to most of those within the Administration who are responsible for "screening" candidates for judgeships. According to press reports, prospective appointees have not even been asked about their views on the constitutional aspects of the abortion issue.

The Honorable Edwin Meese III / page two

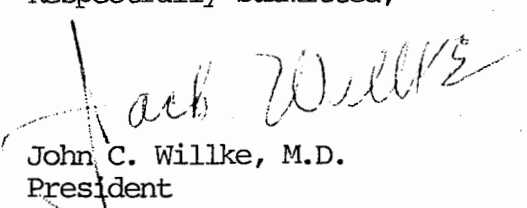
It is equally unfortunate that in seeking judicial candidates, the Administration has too seldom looked to the nationwide community of highly credentialed lawyers and law professors who are critical both of the substance of Roe v. Wade and of the type of judicial activism of which that decision is a prime example. In its search for competent jurists who will interpret, rather than amend, the Constitution, we would advise the Administration to give more serious consideration to some of the men and women in this group.

For example, we are aware of a superbly qualified candidate for the current opening on the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. He is Basile Joseph Uddo, who for the past nine years has been a professor at the Loyola University School of Law in New Orleans. He is a graduate of the Tulane University School of Law and of the Harvard Law School; he served as editor of the Tulane Law Review. He has served on committees to elect Governor Treen and President Reagan. (Professor Uddo's complete vita is enclosed.)

I would be most grateful if NRLC's Legislative Director, Douglas Johnson, and I could meet with you to discuss how NRLC might, on a more regular basis, bring highly qualified legal conservatives such as Prof. Uddo to the attention of those within the Administration who are involved in the selection of federal judges.

Thank you for your consideration to this matter.

Respectfully submitted,


John C. Willke, M.D.
President

JCW/dj

MEMORANDUM

file Right
To Life

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dr. Abdelah

Koop →

It is known that if you look
+ pinch

moves away + grimaces
monkeys blood pressure + pulse

Middle of pregnancy
at Nat Inst of Health

Dr. ~~Harry~~ Hodgson - 496-5541

trouble earlier than 20 weeks
after middle of

Fetal
Therapy
lat. practitioners
over the
normal Am. Med.
Assn.
Vol 246 PP. 1079-1083
1981.

Compelling evidence
Nervous system being put
together gradual
10 weeks clearly ill + operation
20 weeks evidence indicates
clearly
lab. primary - do not occur when patients
measure heart rate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

George Will Column
11-5-81 Washington Post

HUMAN LIFE REVIEW
FALL, 1981
Prof. John T. Noonan, Jr.
University of California
Berkeley

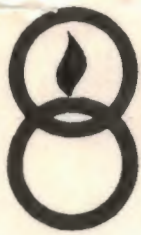
Dr. Henry Hodgson
NPH expert
use
246

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dr. Mildred Jefferson
General Surgeon
Boston University Medical Center
Director, Massachusetts Right to Life
617-437-1960

Dr. John C. (Jack) Wilke
General Physician, Family Practice
President, National Right to Life Committee
513-541-~~3178~~



National RIGHT TO LIFE

committee, inc.

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

January 11, 1983

The Honorable Richard S. Schweiker
Secretary
Department of Health and Human Services
200 Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, DC 20045

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am writing to applaud the recent announcement that the Office of Family Planning will be placed under the authority of the deputy assistant secretary for population affairs. The National Right to Life Committee has no position on government dissemination of contraceptives, since our charter deals only with the protection of innocent human life from abortion and various other forms of social killing. But we have many concerns regarding the actual operation of the federal "family planning" programs, which in our view still promote abortion in a variety of ways. We feel that the reorganization which you have approved will help to break the grip of certain special interest groups over these programs, and bring them more into line with Administration policies.

We also support your action in approving new regulations to require notification of the parents of minors who receive hazardous contraceptive drugs and devices through federally funded clinics. Again, our concern is not contraception per se, but the right of parents to be informed and involved in such matters.

Respectfully submitted,

J.C. Willke, M.D.
President

JCW:sb



Suite 402, 419 7th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004 — (202) 838-4396

January 11, 1983

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

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Respectfully submitted,

J.C. Willke MD
J.C. Willke, M.D.
President

JCW:sb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

January 4, 1983

TO: WILLIAM K. SADLEIR, DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE

REQUEST: Remarks at "Rose Dinner" for the March for Life
Education and Defense Fund

PURPOSE: To reaffirm the President's commitment to the prolife
cause during the observation of the tenth anniversary
of the Roe vs. Wade Supreme Court Decision.

BACKGROUND: Since this is the 10th anniversary of the Supreme
Court Decision, special observances are planned.
The President has often expressed his support for the
prolife movement and has greeted different groups at
their annual conventions either by video tape or letter.
This dinner and the annual March for Life which precedes
it will involve the leaders of virtually every significant
prolife group in the country. Failure to schedule any
presidential event with prolife leaders during this
period would undo much good will the President has built
with these organizations.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: The President in 1981 and 1982 met with the leaders
of the March for Life which is held annually on this day.

DATE: Saturday, January 22, 1983.

LOCATION: Hyatt Regency, Washington, D. C.

PARTICIPANTS: All the prolife groups as well as many prolife Senators
and Representatives and other distinguished guests,
about 1000 altogether.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: President arrives after meal is completed.
President makes 15 minute address.
President departs.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Major address

MEDIA COVERAGE: Full media coverage

RECOMMENDED BY: Elizabeth H. Dole

PROJECT OFFICER: Morton C. Blackwell



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

December 9, 1982

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to
the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

A very significant date is approaching which we feel bears attention. January 22, 1983, will be the tenth anniversary of U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. There will be, as in past years, a major demonstration and march of tens of thousands of people here in Washington.

On each of the past two years, President Reagan has been kind enough to invite top leaders of the movement to the White House to speak with him. I would like to respectfully request that such a meeting be held again.

If and when such does occur I would like to point out, while I am the president of NRLC, that Mrs. Geline Williams, as chairman of the board, represents the 50 state right-to-life groups in a direct fashion and should again be properly included.

One unfortunate omission last year was that of Mrs. Jean Doyle, who was the sole appointed representative of the movement in the Arlington campaign office. May I respectfully request that she be on the list this time.

Finally, I have been contacted by certain officials in Japan. It appears that an attempt will be made in the Diet this spring to change the Japanese abortion law. A delegation including one or more senators will be coming for the January 22 pro-life march. Would it be possible to obtain an invitation for the senior member of the Japanese group to attend the meeting with the President? I'll have more details for you on this in the near future.

With thanks for your continuing hard work, I remain

Yours truly,


J.C. Willke, M.D.
President

JCW/ir

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

January 4, 1983

TO: WILLIAM K. SADLEIR, DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE

REQUEST: President to meet in the White House Cabinet Room with leadership of major prolife organizations and to discuss his support of their position.

PURPOSE: To demonstrate the President's continued support for prolife cause.

BACKGROUND: The March for Life takes place annually and draws about one hundred thousand grassroots supporters of the President to Washington. Since this is the tenth anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision on Roe vs. Wade, an even larger number is expected for the march the following day, January 22. The groups, who support different legislative remedies to achieve their goal, are unified in support of this demonstration. Failure to schedule any presidential event with prolife leaders during this period would undo much good will the President has built with these organizations.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: In 1981, the day after inauguration, the President met with selected leaders of the prolife movement in the Oval Office. In 1982, the President met with the leaders in the Cabinet Room of the White House on the day of the March for Life.

DATE: Friday, January 21, 1983, before the President's departure for Camp David.

LOCATION: Cabinet Room

PARTICIPANTS: See Attached List.

OUTLINE OF EVENT: President will enter Cabinet Room where leaders are gathered. President will make brief remarks. President will shake hands with the leaders for photographs. President will depart.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Brief remarks.

MEDIA COVERAGE: White House photographers plus press corps photo opportunity.

RECOMMENDED BY: Elizabeth H. Dole

PROJECT OFFICER: Morton C. Blackwell

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS FOR PROLIFE LEADERSHIP MEETING
CABINET ROOM - January 21, 1983

John D. Beckett	President, Intercessors for America
Judie Brown	American Life Lobby, Inc
Paul A. Brown	Life Amendment PAC
Dr. Jerry Falwell	The Moral Majority
Mrs. Sandra Faucher	Director, National Right to Life PAC
Rev. Charles Fiore, O.P.	President, Catholics for a Moral America
Jean Garton	Lutherans for Life
Miss Nellie Gray	President, March for Life Committee
Denis Horan	Chairman, Americans United for Life
Dr. Mildred Jefferson	President, Right to Life Crusade
John Mackey	Special Counsel, Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life
Ed McAteer	President, The Religious Roundtable
Ernest Ohlhoff	Executive Director, National Committee for a Human Life Amendment
Prof. Victor Rosenblum	Americans United for Life
Dr. Jack Wilke	President, National Right to Life Committee
Mrs. Geline Williams	Chairman, National Right to Life
Rev. Curtis Young	Executive Director, Christian Action Committee
Mr. David O'Steen	Citizens Concerned for Life
Mrs. Randi Engel	U. S. Coalition for Life
Dr. Pat Robertson	Christian Broadcast Network
Gordon Jones	United Families of America
Mrs. Denise Cocciolone	Birthright
Dr. William Pierce	President, National Association on Adoption

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

January 4, 1983

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PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

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President makes 15 minute address.
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REMARKS REQUIRED: Major address

MEDIA COVERAGE: Full media coverage

RECOMMENDED BY: Elizabeth H. Dole

PROJECT OFFICER: Morton C. Blackwell

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 12, 1983

*file
Right to Life
Mark -
This should
probably be moved
into your strategy
please look to
see.*

MEMORANDUM TO ELIZABETH H. DOLE

THRU: RED CAVANEY

FROM: DEE JEPSEN *df*

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL STANCE ON ABORTION

The issue of abortion is one which must be addressed by the Administration between now and 1984. The pro-life and conservative groups will be pushing for Presidential leadership -- feeling that efforts were too little and too late in the 97th Congress.

Given the President's strong personal convictions in opposition to abortion and the need for mobilization the 1980 coalition for 1984, a plan of action is needed. One school of political thought sees the political liability if the President takes any action on the abortion issue -- thus inflaming the pro-choice forces, especially feminist groups. The argument is made that everyone knows where the President stands on abortion and he can therefore avoid it. However, the public knew where he stood on the abortion issue and elected him in 1980.

The pro-life and conservative groups will not be satisfied, much less inspired to full mobilization, by Presidential inaction. An awareness of a past position will not be accepted as a substitute for moral leadership.

A strategy is needed where moral leadership can be given, conservative discontent avoided, and the opposition incited as little as possible.

In a positive manner the President could publically acknowledge his opposition to abortion by actively supporting and encouraging alternatives to abortion -- such as the establishment of homes for unwed mothers and increased adoptions of infants and children needing homes.

There is a growing awareness in the religious community (esp. the more conservative Christians) that there is a practical need for facilities for unwed pregnant women and a moral responsibility to provide for them. A meeting of national Christian leaders will be held in D. C. within the coming weeks to discuss plans for developing a network of facilities across the country. The President could meet with this leadership group and voice his support.

The President could also visit an exemplary home for unwed mothers. The House of His Creation in Coates, Pennsylvania would perhaps be a good choice. Having visited it last year, I was very impressed with all aspects of this Christian home. Dr. Koop, the Surgeon

*maybe
this
should
be in
his report
value
speech
Red*

MEMORANDUM

Page 2

January 12, 1983

General, is visiting it sometime in the near future and his views and the success of his visit would be valuable in assessing its suitability for a Presidential visit. It is located near Lancaster, Pennsylvania where the local community gives it considerable support -- tangible as well as moral. The local press is also sympathetic.

A decision about this approach to the abortion issue should be made soon and subsequent action initiated -- thus avoiding criticism that it is merely an electioneering tactic for 1984.



National RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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

November 24, 1982

The Honorable Edwin Meese, III
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

*also sent to
Baker + DeBorstein*

Dear Mr. Meese:

It appears very likely that a Senate floor fight will occur during the lame-duck session over the "Ashbrook Amendment," which prohibits funding of nonlifesaving abortions under the Federal Employees Health Benefits (FEHB) program. These plans paid for about 17,000 elective abortions during 1981, according to the Office of Personnel Management (OPM).

The Ashbrook Amendment passed the House twice in 1981, by margins of 242-155 and 253-167. On both occasions it was subsequently jettisoned by Senator Mark Hatfield (the first time in conference committee, the second time in the Appropriations Committee).

The Ashbrook Amendment was again approved in September by both the House and Senate appropriations committees, and it was thus incorporated into the continuing resolution which was passed on October 1. However, Sen. Hatfield's staff has subsequently stated that Sen. Hatfield was unaware that the Ashbrook language was in the committee-passed bill (S. 2916). They have not yet given us a straight answer regarding Sen. Hatfield's intentions, but there are strong signs that Sen. Hatfield intends to attempt to delete the Ashbrook language during the lame-duck session (either from the committee-passed bill or from the new continuing resolution, one of which must be enacted by December 17).

There is strong evidence that the pro-life position again proved to be politically advantageous in a number of key congressional races on November 2. Every incumbent pro-life senator was re-elected. In their post-election analyses, newspapers such as the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the Minneapolis Star-Tribune recognized the abortion issue as decisive in those Senate races.

The pro-life movement experienced a net gain of two Senate seats, both through Republican victories. Virginia senatorial candidate Richard Davis attributed his defeat to "single issue people" concerned about abortion and gun control. And openly pro-life Chic Hecht narrowly defeated legal abortion advocate Howard Cannon.

On the other hand, Montana pro-lifers vigorously canvassed for Senator Melcher, although he is less than 100% pro-life, because his Republican opponent Larry Williams

The Honorable Edwin Meese, III
November 24, 1982
Page Two

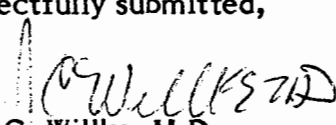
was openly pro-abortion.

We expect that strong support from grassroots pro-life organizations will again be crucial to defending the seats of a number of Republican pro-life incumbents who face tough fights in 1984. But it is crucial that pro-life activists see progress towards our goals in the meantime.

It would greatly distress the pro-life troops -- many of whom are still recovering their wind after their all-out election efforts -- to see a victory already won, the Ashbrook Amendment, snatched away during the lame-duck session. It would also be an embarrassment to OPM Director Donald Devine, who has done his best to curb abortion funding administratively but has been undercut by U.S. District Court Judge Gerhard Gesell. And it would be a black eye for the Administration, which has been publicly on record in favor of the Ashbrook Amendment for a year and one-half.

We ask, therefore, for the direct and vigorous assistance of the White House in preserving the Ashbrook Amendment during the lame-duck session.

Respectfully submitted,


John C. Willke, M.D.
President

JCW/dj



National RIGHT TO LIFE

committee, inc.

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

November 24, 1982

Prof. Robert A. Destro
Prof. Basile Uddo
Prof. John Noonan

Dear Friends:

This is a reply to your letter of November 17, plus additional details, updating, and opinions regarding the meeting on December 3, 4.

First, let me compliment in the most sincere fashion the efforts, the obvious good faith, and the expertise in helping to set this meeting up. As noted earlier, a number of us were walking the same path and have been pleased to cooperate with you in setting this up. My last contact with you was by phone two weeks ago before I left on a long overdue post election vacation.

Upon returning this weekend, my mail contained your letter of the 17th which I feel needs some specific comments. Much of it does go along with our earlier discussions. Some of it, however, seems to have ignored a few realities and I would like to comment on these in turn.

Our goals are obvious. We must fashion a mutually agreed upon legislative strategy for the upcoming Congress. The election results just passed have not strengthened our position appreciably in the Senate and we are worse off in the House. This reality is one that we all now face. Tragically, two years ago, the stage was set for an internal disagreement that was created by facing two measures against one another and posing a choice between. After substantial discussion, and some blood and tears, this was resolved by the movement coming together, near unanimously, behind the Helms personhood measure which unfortunately as such never reached the floor. That is now past history.

It is now our hope that the movement will now also unite behind the second of these two measures and support it with equal unanimity if and when it comes to a vote this spring. Assuming this, the sharp edges should be gone and our movement can again move forward in a unified effort. It is our hope that this meeting to a large degree will aid in achieving this new unity.

One of the tragedies of our recent past was that certain initiatives were taken by portions of the pro-life movement without the thorough knowledge of, discussion by, and approval of the major constituency membership groups of our nation. That was a mistake and it would be foolish to make it again. We all understand now that no one portion of this movement can assume leadership and move in the direction of a major legislative effort without "the troops" out there being aware of it and being behind it. It is therefore, incumbent upon us to have broad representation at the beginning and to not make the mistake of having a relatively narrow group make these

decisions. In line with this then, I would like to comment about the groups attending this meeting.

First, we have a group of legal experts. We see these as valuable resource people. We appreciate their interest and their attendance. I am sure we all thank them in advance for their concern and for their presence.

Incidentally, you inadvertently omitted Jim Bopp's name from this list in your letter. As you know he chaired the HLA revision committee and has been part of the planning of this meeting from the start.

Two of the three major pro-life constituency groups in the United States at this point are those represented by the activist groups in the Catholic and in the Protestant fields. Your letter includes the names of two Catholic groups and that is as it should be. I would like to point out to you, in case our signals have been crossed, that formal invitations were also extended to major representatives of Protestant activist groups. An invitation has been extended to and accepted by Dr. Ronald Godwin from the Moral Majority who will be bringing an additional person with him. We see them as representing the broad base of fundamentalist Christian groups. An invitation has been extended and accepted by Mr. Robert Dugan, head of the National Association of Evangelicals which represents 86,000 churches in the United States. I am pleased to see that the Christian Action Council has also been invited. The above should offer adequate representation from the religious activist groups.

As previously planned, there have been invitations extended to the pro-life Washington lobbying groups who mail newsletters nationally. This is as it should be. There is a viewpoint and a voice that must be listened to.

It was my full understanding (and apparently another oversight between us in communication), that the national pro-life PACs must be in attendance. To have this meeting without them would be like trying to run an automobile on three wheels. Their presence is crucial, their input to us invaluable in this post-election period. In any case, as I thought you knew, invitations have been extended to the National Right to Life PAC in the person of Sandy Faucher, to the National Pro-Life PAC in the persons of Fr. Fiore and Peter Gemma, to the Committee for a Pro-Life Congress in the persons of Dr. David O'Steen and Darla St. Martin and to LAPAC in the person of Mr. Paul Brown. It is my understanding that all are planning to attend. I was unaware of your change of thinking to exclude them, and feel strongly that we should continue as per original plan and have them present for their unique contribution.

In our discussions, we had mentioned the names of a group of elected legislators who would be invited to this meeting. All of their names have not been mentioned. It is my hope, and I am sure yours, that a representative cross-section of pro-life senators and congressmen, or their representatives, will also be present at this meeting.

There is also the question of representation of those who, far and away, are the most important people in the entire equation. I might note that none of the important people represented above except for the PACs had, in essence, much organizationally to do with the retention of Sen. Durenberger, of Sen. Danforth, of Sen. Melcher, or of the victories of Sen. Tribble and Hecht. The list of course could be lengthened and many other names mentioned. It is the state and local RTL groups to whom the senators and representatives are beholden. It is these folks who must come to, not merely an agreement with, but an enthusiasm for the legislative agenda that we will be discussing. To even consider excluding an adequate representation of the leaders of the state groups

would be to do such violence to the purpose of this meeting that we would have to reconsider our support of it.

That mistake was made once. We cannot in conscience allow it to happen again. In any case, as you know, invitations have been extended and accepted by leaders from the states of Massachusetts, Michigan, Kentucky, North Carolina and Arizona, along with the President, Vice-President and Chairman of the Board of NRLC who, while representing it as an organization, will also be representing the states of Ohio, Florida and Virginia.

Finally, we appreciate the fact that Mr. Steven Galebach and Mr. Carl Anderson have agreed to come to provide a channel to the White House and to H.H.S.

Enclosed is an addendum sheet detailing those individuals who, at this time, to our knowledge, have received formal invitations to this meeting. This meeting's title is the "Pro-Life Leadership Conference" and this list far more realistically fulfills that title. I am convinced and I hope that you agree that nothing negative will come from inviting a few "extra" leaders whereas considerable harm could come from excluding them. I vote for a welcome mat.

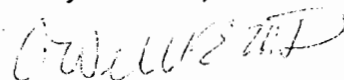
It is our opinion, and we cannot emphasize too strongly, that there should be no hierarchical order of importance among those attending this meeting. We believe that all of us should come as equals. Considering the fact that this will not be an adversarial happening, that the press will be excluded, that no motions will be made and no votes taken and no one quoted by name, we could have an excellent meeting.

We find your suggestion for a VIP with three advisors to be completely contrary to the spirit in which we, at least, helped to organize this meeting. We all should be equal. Each should be able to have his/her say. I feel that this can be quite adequately accomplished through the simple limitation of time for individual comments. There is no reason why we could not adopt a rule, if everyone were to agree, that comments should be limited to three minutes each, unless two-thirds of the body agrees that said person should have their time extended. We find that this works very well in our own national board meetings which consistently have approximately 50 people in attendance. All one needs is a chairman with a gavel, a time keeper and a previous agreement to such a time limit. I fully assume that one of you three gentlemen will act as chairman.

Again, it was and remains our intent to suggest that those attending set up a rectangle of tables so that every participant can face every other participant.

Again, let me compliment you gentlemen for doing an excellent job to date. I hope you can all agree to accept these suggestions in the constructive manner in which they have been offered. Our attempt has been to prevent in any way, shape or form, one or another individual, group or grouping from dominating this meeting. I am sorry to say that your letter of the 17th would unfortunately have possibly resulted in exactly that. We hope that all to whom this letter goes agree that we are all equal under the sun in this fight and that none of us at this meeting should outrank any other one. Every single person on the list that I have enclosed is as important as every other one, and we strongly feel each should have the opportunity to speak and give their input to the group.

Sincerely for Life,



J.C. Willke, M.D.
President, NLRC

cc: List
NRLC Board

LEGAL EXPERTS

Destro, Uddo, Noonan, Rees, Rosenblum, Wardle, Witherspoon,
Rice, Bopp, Valentine

RELIGIOUS EXPERTS

Bryce, Doerflinger, Ohlhoff, Gallagher, Godwin, Covert,
Dugan, H.O.J. Brown, Young

LOBBYING EXPERTS

McFadden, Mackey, Gray, J. Brown, Johnson, Badger

PAC EXPERTS

Faucher, Gemma, Fiori, D. O'Steen, St. Martin, P. Brown

LEGISLATORS

Hyde, Hatch, Helms, etc.

STATE EXPERTS

Moran, Montgomery, Muldoon, E. O'Steen

NRLC REPS

Williams, Doyle, Willke

ADMINISTRATION REPS

Anderson, Galebach. M. Blackwell will attend Saturday afternoon

the basic bill that it may be considered properly indexed?

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would suggest that the amendment could be construed to be a new section at the end of either bill.

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROYHILL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Chairman, if I might be heard on the unanimous consent request of the gentleman from California, I think we ought to get to the debate on the merits of the amendment. I will not object to the unanimous-consent request that the amendment be considered en bloc so he could try to amend both the substitute and the original bill. I want to extend that courtesy to my colleague from California so we can have a real discussion on the merits of this amendment, and I hope to express my hope our colleagues would not adopt it.

Mr. BROYHILL. With the understanding that it is a section at the end of both bills, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

The Chair hears none, and the request is so ordered.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DANNEMEYER to H.R. 6457: Page 115, after line 14, insert the following new section:

"FETAL AND INFANT RESEARCH

"Sec. 12. The National Institutes of Health, with respect to the programs conducted by or through the Institutes or the National Research Institutes, shall not conduct or support research of experimentation in the United States or abroad on a living human fetus or infant, whether before or after induced abortion, unless such research or experimentation is done for the purpose of insuring the survival of that fetus or infant."

Redesignate the following section accordingly.

Mr. DANNEMEYER: I thank my colleagues.

Mr. Chairman, I am presenting this amendment to the Committee for its consideration for basically one very simple reason: Back in 1973, a similar amendment, almost identical in form, was presented to the House and it was adopted by a vote of 354 to 9.

□ 1240

In the same year, in 1973, the Senate temporarily halted the funding for activities of this nature pending the adoption of regulations by HEW relating to this particular activity. When the regulations came out, the regulations limited the use of Federal funds for experimenting on fetuses in the womb or after they are born and prior to the time the fetuses die—that very limited period of time. The regulations, I will repeat, limited Federal funds for that kind of experimentation.

The amendment now before the Committee would prohibit the use of Federal funds for experimentation on aborted fetuses, in the womb or after they are born, while they still have life. Now, I am not suggesting that we would stop experimentation on a fetus after it has expired. This amendment relates only to while the fetus has life, in that brief period of time before birth or after birth, that very narrow stricture of time.

The basis for it is very simple. Any society, I think, has to stand for something, and I think one of the things that our society should stand for is a respect for human life. When anyone is involved in an automobile accident of a very serious nature and is laying in a hospital bed, and the prognosis is that he probably has a day or two to live, ethically do we not permit experimentation on such a person lying in a hospital on the theory that, "Well, they are going to die anyway, so why don't we start experimenting for the sake of helping those who may come in the future?"

We all want to have research for the purpose of improving the knowledge of medical science so that we can assist caring for the sick and the ill when any of those misfortunes strike any of us, but we have in our culture a limitation which says that there is a limit beyond which we will not tolerate experimentations on humans when there is life in a person. I think our society should stand for this.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. DANNEMEYER was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. DANNEMEYER. Other cultures in the past have justified actions of this type by saying: "Well, we need this in order to advance medical science."

There was a gentleman who wrote a book, a very famous book, Mr. Shirer, called "The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, History of Nazi Germany," in which he said in that book, written in 1960:

The Nazi medical experiments are an example of this sadism. For in the use of concentration inmates and prisoners of war as guinea pigs, very little, if any, benefit to science was achieved. It is a tale of horror of which the German medical profession cannot be proud. Although the "experiments" were conducted by fewer than 200 murderous quacks, albeit that some held eminent posts in the medical world, their criminal work was known to thousands of leading physicians of the Reich, not a single one of whom, so far as the record shows, ever uttered the slightest public protest.

We are here today, as elected representatives; we have the ability to speak for the unborn, the living fetus, and I think the least we can do, in terms of satisfying the conscience, or respecting the dignity of life, is to state that in this narrow stricture of time that we want medical experimentation, but in this instance our respect

for life overcomes our desire for medical experimentation, and therefore we say we will not permit it.

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DANNEMEYER. I will be happy to yield.

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Chairman, does the gentleman really try to infer that the work of the National Institutes of Health and the medical profession in the United States is comparable to what was going on in Hitler's Germany?

Mr. DANNEMEYER. I am glad the gentleman from New York asked that question, because I have a list of examples here of experimentation on fetuses which has been taking place in the United States of America in the 1970's.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has again expired.

(At the request of Mr. PEYSER and by unanimous consent, Mr. DANNEMEYER was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. DANNEMEYER. I will reclaim my time. The gentleman asked me to read it, and I will be happy to read it.

(2) The chief of pediatrics at the New York State Institute for Basic Research in Mental Retardation, Jerald Gaull, M.D., "injects radioactive chemicals into fragile umbilical cords of fetuses freshly removed from their mother's womb in abortions. While the heart is still beating, he removes their brains, lungs, livers, and kidneys for study". (Washington Post, 3/15/73)

Mr. PEYSER. If the gentleman will yield for a question, does the gentleman infer that that is the type of thing that Nazi Germany was involved with? I have read the statements of what went on in the medical profession in Germany during the war. I do not find anything, and I am sort of amazed to see the gentleman's belief that our National Institutes of Health and medical profession are to be compared to what doctors did in Germany during the war.

Mr. DANNEMEYER. Let me respond to the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has again expired.

(At the request of Mr. JOHNSTON and by unanimous consent, Mr. DANNEMEYER was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. DANNEMEYER. This was a psychiatrist who was an adviser to the War Department at the Nuremberg trials:

Whoever brought the early change in medical attitudes, whatever proportions these crimes finally assumed, it became evident to all who investigated them that they started from small beginnings. It started with the acceptance of the attitude that there is such a thing as a life not worthy to be lived.

This proposed amendment is a narrow stricture prohibiting Federal dollars for research funds on a living aborted fetus, and I think we should

File
H. 8081
to
Life

Existing law prevents research on fetuses unless the risk to the fetus is minimal, and the purpose of the activity is the development of important biomedical knowledge which cannot be obtained by other means. A fetus may not be used as a subject for research unless the risk to the fetus is minimal.

The present law says that no fetus ex utero may be involved in a Federally funded research activity unless the fetus has been determined not to be viable. We do not need this amendment. We should fear the results of this amendment because of its potentially damaging impact on very important, worthwhile research.

Do not let your emotions sway you. Look at the proposal. It is poorly drafted. It is not worthy of your support, and it will do a great deal of harm.

Mr. Chairman, I urge a no vote on the Dannemeyer amendment and a no vote on the Broyhill substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired.

The question is on the amendments offered en bloc by the gentleman from California (Mr. DANNEMEYER) to the text of the bill, H.R. 6457, and to the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BROYHILL).

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the noes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. DANNEMEYER. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 260, noes 140, not voting 32, as follows:

[Roll No. 382]

AYES—260

Alcala	Corcoran	Fields
Anderson	Coughlin	Fish
Andrews	Courter	Fithian
Annuzio	Coyne, James	Flippo
Applegate	Coyne, William	Foglietta
Archer	Craig	Foley
Ashbrook	Crane, Daniel	Fountain
Atkinson	Crane, Philip	Frost
Badham	D'Amours	Fuqua
Bailey (MO)	Daniel, R. W.	Gaydos
Bailey (PA)	Dannemeyer	Gephardt
Barnard	Daub	Gingrich
Benedict	Davis	Goldwater
Bennett	de la Garza	Goodling
Bereuter	Deckard	Gore
Bethune	Derrick	Gradison
Bevill	Derwinski	Gramm
Biaggi	Dickinson	Gregg
Bliley	Dingell	Grisham
Boggs	Donnelly	Gunderson
Boland	Dorgan	Hagedorn
Boner	Dornan	Hall, Ralph
Bonior	Dougherty	Hall, Sam
Bonker	Dowdy	Hammerschmidt
Bouquard	Dreier	Hance
Breaux	Duncan	Hansen (ID)
Broomfield	Dyson	Hansen (UT)
Brown (CO)	Eckart	Hartnett
Broyhill	Edwards (AL)	Heckler
Burgener	Emerson	Hefner
Byron	Emery	Hendon
Campbell	English	Hertel
Carrey	Erdahl	Hightower
Chappie	Erlenborn	Hiler
Cheney	Evans (DE)	Hillis
Clausen	Evans (GA)	Holt
Coats	Evans (IN)	Hopkins
Coleman	Fary	Horton
Conte	Fiedler	Hubbard

Huckaby
Hunter
Hutto
Hyde
Ireland
Jeffries
Jenkins
Johnston
Kazen
Kemp
Kildee
Kindness
Kramer
Lagomarsino
Latta
Leach
Leath
LeBoutillier
Lee
Lent
Lewis
Livingston
Loeffler
Lott
Lowery (CA)
Lujan
Luken
Lungren
Madigan
Markey
Marienec
Marriott
Martin (NC)
Martin (NY)
Mavroules
Mazzoli
McClory
McCollum
McCurdy
McDade
McDonald
McEwen
McGrath
Michel
Miller (OH)
Minish
Mitchell (NY)
Moakley

Mollinari
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Morrison
Mottl
Murphy
Murtha
Myers
Napier
Natcher
Neal
Nelligan
Nelson
Nichols
O'Brien
Oskar
Oberstar
Oxley
Parris
Pashayan
Patman
Paul
Perkins
Petri
Porter
Price
Quillen
Regula
Rhodes
Rinaldo
Ritter
Roberts (KS)
Roberts (SD)
Robinson
Roe
Roemer
Rogers
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roussiot
Rudd
Rusao
Santini
Sawyer
Schulze
Sensenbrenner
Sharp

Shaw
Shelby
Shumway
Shuster
Siljander
Skeen
Skeltion
Smith (AL)
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (OR)
Smith (PA)
Snyder
Solomon
Spence
St Germain
Stangeland
Stanton
Staton
Stenholm
Stratton
Stump
Tauke
Tausin
Taylor
Thomas
Traxler
Trible
Vento
Volkmer
Walgren
Walker
Watkins
Weber (MN)
White
Whitley
Whitten
Williams (OH)
Winn
Wolf
Wortley
Wylie
Yatron
Young (AK)
Young (MO)
Zablocki
Zeferetti

NOT VOTING—32

Aspin	Coelho	Moffett
Bafalis	Collins (TX)	Obey
Beard	Daniel, Dan	Raisback
Blanchard	Edwards (OK)	Savage
Bolling	Ertel	Vander Jagt
Brodhead	Fascell	Wampler
Brown (OH)	Forsythe	Weiss
Burton, John	Garcia	Whitehurst
Carman	Hall (OH)	Wright
Chappell	Mattox	Young (FL)
Chisholm	McCloskey	

Messrs. YOUNG of Alaska, SHARP, FITHIAN, BOLAND, BONKER, ROSENKOWSKI, and WALGREN changed their votes from "no" to "aye."

NOES—140

Addabbo
Akaka
Alexander
Anthony
AuCoin
Barnes
Bedell
Bellenson
Bingham
Bowen
Brinkley
Brooks
Brown (CA)
Burton, Phillip
Butler
Clay
Clinger
Collins (IL)
Conable
Conyers
Crockett
Daschle
DeLums
DeNardis
Dicks
Dixon
Downey
Dunn
Dwyer
Dymally
Early
Edgar
Edwards (CA)
Evans (IA)
Fazio
Fenwick
Ferraro
Findley
Florio
Ford (MI)
Ford (TN)
Fowler
Frank
Frenzel
Geddeson
Gibbons
Gilman

Ginn
Glickman
Gonzales
Gray
Green
Guarini
Hamilton
Harkin
Hatcher
Hawkins
Heftel
Holland
Hollenbeck
Howard
Hoyer
Hughes
Jacobs
Jeffords
Jones (NC)
Jones (OK)
Jones (TN)
Kastenmeier
Kennelly
Kogovsek
LaFalce
Lantos
Lehman
Leland
Levitae
Long (LA)
Long (MD)
Lowry (WA)
Lundine
Marks
Martin (IL)
Martinez
Matsui
McHugh
McKinney
Mica
Mikulski
Miller (CA)
Mineta
Mitchell (MD)
Molohan
Nowak
Ottinger

Panetta
Patterson
Pease
Pepper
Peyser
Pickle
Pritchard
Purseil
Rahall
Rangel
Ratchford
Reuss
Rodino
Rose
Rosenthal
Roukema
Roybal
Sabo
Scheuer
Schneider
Schroeder
Schumer
Selberling
Shamansky
Shannon
Simon
Smith (IA)
Snowe
Solarz
Stark
Stokes
Studds
Swift
Synar
Udall
Washington
Waxman
Weaver
Weber (OH)
Whittaker
Williams (MT)
Wilson
Wirth
Wolpe
Wyden
Yates

AMERICAN LIFE LOBBY INC.

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ALERT.....ALERT.....ALERT.....ALERT.....

HOUSE VOTES TO STOP FETAL RESEARCH SENATE TO ACT NEXT

H.R. 6457 a bill to revise and extend the authorization for the National Institutes of Health (NIH) passed the House of Representatives on September 30, 1982 it included a Dannemeyer/Siljander amendment to prohibit use of NIH funds for fetal experimentation (see pgs. 6-10 of the September A.L.L. About Issues). The amendment passed by a vote of 260-140 (see enclosed Roll Call to see how your Congressman voted). A "yea" vote was in favor of prohibiting fetal research with your tax dollars.

NIH spends almost \$4 billion for medical research of all kinds each year.

The pro-abortion lobby, the big drug companies, segments of organized medicine and many universities will now begin working overtime to stop this prohibition in the Senate. This prohibition is vital because the Director of the National Institutes of Health was reported by the Washington Post to be "...in favor of considering Federal funding of test tube baby research in humans."

The Senate will take up a similar bill S2311 possibly during the lame duck (i.e. after the election) session of Congress. This bill does not have a prohibition on fetal experimentation.

You must write, wire and telephone both your Senators now and ask them to vote to add an amendment to S2311 to prohibit fetal research. Many Senators will be back in their home states from approximately October 8 until election day - make an appointment and go see them and ask them to vote for such a prohibition. Take the A.L.L. About Issues article with you to give to your Senators.

Call the A.L.L. Washington Office (202) 546-5550 for the address and phone number of your Senators' nearest state office.

Your Senators' address in Washington is:

Honorable _____
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

The U.S. Capitol Switchboard telephone number is (202) 224-3121 then ask for your Senators by name.



A.L.L. "...for God for Life, for the Family, for the Nation"



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

July 10, 1982

The Honorable Howard H. Baker, Jr.
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Baker:

Thank you for your letter of July 2, responding to my letter of July 1 to President Reagan.

The National Right to Life Committee strongly supports the Human Life Bill (S. 2148), which Senator Helms intends to offer as an amendment to the bill to raise the federal debt limit (H.J. Res. 520). I understand that H.J. Res. 520 will be taken up soon after the Senate reconvenes on July 12, and I certainly hope that this occurs.

In your letter you state, "It is premature, at this time, to speculate as to the possible parameters of that debate (on S. 2148)." But whatever the "parameters" of that debate, a constitutional amendment cannot be attached to H.J. Res. 520 or any other unrelated bill. So, how could Senator Hatch's proposal be voted upon in the context of H.J. Res. 520?

It seems that the only practical way for the Senate to vote upon S. J. Res. 110 is for you to schedule freestanding debate on this measure.

We ask that you schedule S.J. Res. 110 for consideration by the Senate before the end of July.

Respectfully submitted,



J.C. Willke, M.D.
President

cc: President Ronald Reagan

(R) = Republican
 (D) = Democrat
 I = Incumbent
 C = Challenger
 RO = Runoff election
 * = Primary wins election

*file
 Nat. Right
 to Life
 PAC*

NRL PAC 1982 CONTRIBUTIONS

<u>State</u>	<u>Senate or C.D.</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Type of Contribution</u>	<u>Primary or General</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Won or Lost</u>	<u>State Total</u>
AL	CD #6	Smith (R) I	Direct In-Kind/project	G G	\$ 500.00 1,060.00	L	\$ 1,560.00
AK	-	Alaska Right to Life PAC Referendum on abortion funding	Direct		5,000.00		5,000.00
AR		NO ACTIVITY					
AZ	-	Arizonans for Life	Direct	-	1,000.00	-	1,000.00
CA	CD #34	Torres (D) C	Direct	P	1,500.00	W *	29,900.00
	CD #36	Stark (R) C	Direct	P	1,000.00	W	
	CD #38	Dohr (R) C	Direct	P	5,000.00	W	
	CD #42	Lungren (R) I	Direct	P	1,500.00	W *	
	CD #1	Clausen (R) I	Direct	G	2,500.00	L	
	CD #9	Kennedy (R) C	Direct/project	G	2,900.00	L	
	CD #10	Herriott (R) C	Direct/project	G	5,000.00	L	
	CD #11	Royer (R) C	Direct/project	G	2,500.00	L	
	CD #14	Shumway (R) I	Direct	G	500.00	W	
	CD #32	Lungren (R) C	Direct	G	500.00	L	
			In-kind/project	G	2,000.00		
	CD #36	Stark (R) C	Direct/project	G	2,500.00	L	
	CD #38	Dohr (R) C	Direct/project	G	2,500.00	L	
CO	CD #1	Decker (R) C	Indep. Exp./project	G	1,917.00	L	1,917.00
CT	-	Connecticut Right to Life PAC	Direct	-	500.00	-	500.00

<u>State</u>	<u>Senate or C.D.</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Type of Contribution</u>	<u>Primary or General</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Won or Lost</u>	<u>State Total</u>
DE		NO ACTIVITY					
FL	-	Florida Right to Life PAC	Direct	-	\$ 1,000.00	-	\$25,184.29
	S	Poole (R) C	Direct/project	P	5,000.00	W	
	CD #4	Chappell (D) I	Direct/project	P	3,000.00	W *	
	S	Poole (R) C	Direct/project	RO	2,500.00	W	
	CD #9	Bilirakis (R) C	Direct	RO	2,000.00	W	
	CD #13	Ewing (R) C	Direct/project	RO	2,400.00	L	
	S	Poole (R) C	Indep. Exp./project	G	7,696.29	L	
	CD #2	McNeil (R) C	Indep. Exp./project	G	247.00	L	
	CD #5	McCollum (R) I	Direct	G	600.00	W	
		.	Indep. Exp./project	G	247.00		
	CD #9	Bilirakis (R) C	Indep. Exp./project	G	247.00	W	
	CD #19	Rinker (R) C	Indep. Exp./project	G	247.00	L	
GA	CD #2	Mathis (D) C	Direct	P	3,000.00	L	5,500.00
	CD #4	Winder (R) C	Direct	P	500.00	W	
	CD #8	Evans (D) I	Direct	RO	2,000.00	L	
HI		NO ACTIVITY					
ID		NO ACTIVITY					
IL	-	Illinois Federation for Right to Life PAC	Direct	-	5,000.00	-	5,000.00
IN	-	Indiana Right to Life PAC	Direct	-	500.00	-	4,500.00
	CD #6	Burton (R) C	Direct	P	2,000.00	W *	
	CD #10	Evans (D) I	Direct	P	2,000.00	L *	
IA	-	Pro-Life Action Council	Direct	-	5,000.00	-	5,000.00
KS		NO ACTIVITY					
KY	CD #3	Mazzoli (D) I	Direct/radio ads	G	2,000.00	W	2,000.00
LA		NO ACTIVITY					

State	Senate or C.D.	Candidate	Type of Contribution	Primary or General	Amount	Won or Lost	State Total
MA	-	Massachusetts Citizens Concerned for Life PAC	Direct	-	\$ 5,000.00	-	\$ 7,000.00
	CD #6	Mavroules (D) I	Direct	G	2,000.00	W	
ME	-	Maine Right to Life PAC	Direct	-	5,000.00	-	20,657.49
	S	Emery (R) C	Direct	P	5,000.00	W	
	CD #1	Kerry (D) C	Direct	P	1,500.00	W	
	S	Emery (R) C	Direct/project	G	5,000.00	L	
	CD #1	Kerry (D) C	Indep. Exp./project	G	4,157.49	L	
MD	S	Hogan (R) C	Direct/retire debt	P	5,000.00	W	5,514.97
	S	Hogan (R) C	In-kind/project	G	514.97	L	
MI	-	Michigan Right to Life PAC	Direct	-	5,000.00	-	12,600.00
	CD #4	Siljander (R) I	Direct	P	5,000.00	W *	
	CD #10	Albosta (D) I	Direct	P	600.00	W	
	CD #17	O'Hara (D) C	Direct/project	P	2,000.00	L *	
MN	S	Durenberger (R) I	Direct	P	5,000.00	W	
	S	Kramer (D) C	Direct	P	500.00	L	13,500.00
	CD #2	Weber (R) I	Direct	P	1,000.00	W	
	CD #6	Trueman (R) C	Direct	P	2,000.00	L	
	S	Durenberger (R) I	Direct/project	G	5,000.00	W	
MS	CD #2	Jackson (D) C	Direct/project	P	1,800.00	L	1,860.66
			In-kind/project	P	60.66		
MO	-	Missouri Citizens for Life PAC	Direct	-	5,000.00		25,796.75
	CD #1	Mueller (D) C	In-kind/ad	P	250.00	L	
	CD #4	Skelton (D) I	Direct	P	2,000.00	W	
	CD #5	Sharp (R) C	Direct/project	P	2,500.00	W	
	S	Danforth (R) I	Indep. Exp./project	G	14,927.86	W	
	CD #2	Young (D) I	Indep. Exp./ad	G	14.87	W	
	CD #3	Gephardt (D) I	Indep. Exp./ad	G	14.87	W	
	CD #4	Skelton (D) I	Indep. Exp./ad	G	14.87	W	
	CD #5	Sharp (R) C	Indep. Exp./ad	G	14.86	L	
	CD #6	Coleman (R) I	Indep. Exp./ad	G	14.86	W	
	CD #7	Taylor (R) I	Indep. Exp./ad	G	14.86	W	
	CD #8	Emerson (R) I	Indep. Exp./ad	G	14.85	W	
	CD #9	Volkmer (D) I	Direct	G	1,000.00	W	
			Indep. Exp./ad	G	14.85		

<u>State</u>	<u>Senate or C.D.</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Type Of Contribution</u>	<u>Primary or General</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Won or Lost</u>	<u>State Total</u>
MT	S	Melcher (D) I	Direct	P	\$ 2,500.00	W	
	CD #1	Morris (R) C	Direct	P	1,300.00	L	\$ 8,977.92
	S	Melcher (D) I	Indep. Exp./project	G	5,177.92	W	
NE		NO ACTIVITY					
NV	-	FAMPAC	Direct	-	5,000.00	-	7,000.00
	CD #2	Vucanovich (R) C	Direct	G	2,000.00	W	
NH	CD #1	D'Amours (D) I	Direct	P	1,000.00	W	1,000.00
NJ	-	New Jersey Pro-Life PAC	Direct	-	5,000.00	-	13,800.00
	CD #4	Smith (R) I	Direct	P	1,000.00	W	
	CD #4	Smith (R) I	Direct/project	G	5,000.00	W	
	CD #7	Rinaldo (R) I	Direct/project	G	2,800.00	W	
NM		NO ACTIVITY					
NY		New York Right to Life PAC	Direct	-	5,000.00	-	6,450.00
	CD #14	Zeferetti (D) I	Direct	P	1,000.00	W	
	CD #19	Biaggi (D) I	Direct	P	200.00	W	
	CD #21	Fish (R) I	Direct	P	250.00	W	
NC	-	North Carolina Right to Life PAC	Direct	-	5,000.00	-	5,000.00
ND	S	Knorr (R) C	Direct/project	G	5,000.00	L	5,000.00
OH	S	Ress (R) C	Direct/project	P	5,000.00	L	8,000.00
	CD #11	Coffey (D) C	Direct	P	3,000.00	L	
OK	CD #1	Freeman (R) C	Indep. Exp./ad	P	71.25	W	2,479.61
	CD #4	Rutledge (R) C	Indep. Exp./ad	P	71.25	W	
	CD #5	Edwards (R) I	Indep. Exp./ad	P	71.25	W	
	CD #6	Moore (R) C	Indep. Exp./ad	P	71.25	W	
	CD #1	Freeman (R) C	Indep. Exp./project	G	548.64	L	
	CD #4	Rutledge (R) C	Indep. Exp./project	G	548.65	L	
	CD #5	Edwards (R) I	Indep. Exp./project	G	548.65	W	
	CD #6	Moore (R) C	Indep. Exp./project	G	548.67	L	
OR		NO ACTIVITY					

<u>State</u>	<u>Senate or C.D.</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Type of Contribution</u>	<u>Primary or General</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Won or Lost</u>	<u>State Total</u>
PA	-	PALPAC	Direct	-	\$ 2,100.00	-	\$ 8,175.00
	CD #3	Dougherty (R) I	Direct	G	1,000.00	L	
	CD #8	Coyne (R) I	Indep. Exp./project	G	1,248.75	L	
	CD #11	Nelligan (R) I	Indep. Exp./project	G	2,497.50	L	
	CD #21	Andrezeski (D) C	Indep. Exp./project	G	1,248.75	L	
			Indep. Exp./ad	G	80.00		
RI	-	Rhode Island State Right to Life PAC	Direct	-	2,200.00	-	2,200.00
SC		NO ACTIVITY					
SD	At Large	Roberts (R) I	Direct	G	1,000.00	L	1,000.00
TN	CD #4	Frost (R) C	Direct/project	P	2,500.00	L	7,500.00
	S	Beard (R) C	Direct/project	G	5,000.00	L	
TX	-	Texas Right to Life PAC	Direct	-	2,000.00	-	11,000.00
	CD #25	Helms (R) C	Direct	P	1,000.00	W	
	CD #25	Harrison (D) C	Direct	RO	1,000.00	L	
	S	Collins (R) C	Direct/project	G	5,000.00	L	
	CD #25	Faubion (R) C	Direct/project	G	2,000.00	L	
UT	CD #2	Marriott (R) I	Direct	P	400.00	W	6,070.00
	S	Hatch (R) I	Direct/project	G	5,000.00	W	
	CD #1	Hansen (R) I	Indep. Exp./project	G	335.00	W	
	CD #2	Marriott (R) I	Indep. Exp./project	G	335.00	W	
VT	-	Vermont Pro-Life PAC	Direct	-	4,000.00	-	4,000.00
VA	S	Tribble (R) C	Direct/project	G	5,000.00	W	6,000.00
	CD #6	Miller (R) C	Direct/project	G	1,000.00	L	
WA	CD #1	Patten (R) C	Direct/project	P	5,000.00	L	5,000.00
WV	-	West Virginians for Life PAC, Federal Funds	Direct	-	1,500.00	-	14,982.75
	S	Benedict (R) C	Direct/project	P	4,742.75	W	
			In-kind/project	P	257.25		
	CD #1	Tonkovich (D) C	Direct	P	1,500.00	L	
			In-kind project	P	963.00		

<u>State</u>	<u>Senate or C.D.</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Type of Contribution</u>	<u>Primary or General</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Won or Lost</u>	<u>State Total</u>
WV	S	Benedict (R) C	Direct/project	G	\$ 4,415.60	L	
			In-kind/project	G	584.40		
	CD #1	Mollohan (D) C	In-kind/project	G	437.03	W	
	CD #3	Staton (R) I	In-kind/project	G	582.72	L	
WI	CD #4	Zablocki (D) I	Direct/project	P	2,500.00	W *	\$ 6,500.00
	CD #5	Braun (D) C	Direct/project	P	2,000.00	L	
	CD #5	Johnston (R) C	Direct	G	2,000.00	L	
WY		NO ACTIVITY					

TOTALS

Total Direct Contributions to Other PACs	\$ 69,800.00
Total Direct Contributions to Candidates	184,408.35
Total In-Kind Contributions to Candidates	6,710.03
Total Independent Expenditures on Behalf of Candidates	<u>43,208.06</u>
 Total All Contributions for 1982 Elections	 <u><u>\$304,126.44</u></u>
 Total Spent on Senate Races	 \$103,817.04
Total Spent on Congressional Races	130,509.40
 Total Spent in Primary and Run-Off Elections	 \$105,008.66
Total Spent in General Elections	129,317.78



Charles Ryan Associates, Inc.

Opinion Research

P.O. Box 2464

Charleston, West Virginia 25329

Phone - 304/342-0161

WSAZ Television 3
Associated Press

THE WEST VIRGINIA POLL

Conducted for

The Charleston Daily Mail

WSAZ Television 3

The Associated Press

By

Rex L. Repass,
Director of Opinion Research
Charles Ryan Associates, Inc.

February 10, 1981



Charles Ryan Associates, Inc.

Opinion Research

P.O. Box 2464
Charleston, West Virginia 25329
Phone - 304/342-0161

THE WEST VIRGINIA POLL:

HOW IT WAS CONDUCTED

For Release:

Tuesday, Feb. 10, 1981
6:00 p.m.

The West Virginia Poll is conducted on a regular basis by Charles Ryan Associates, Inc. for the Charleston Daily Mail, WSAZ-Television 3, and the Associated Press.

Telephone interviews for this issue of the poll were conducted between Feb. 4-9. A total of 508 interviews were completed.

Interviewers used a technique known as random-digit dialing to select respondents. Each interviewer was given a list of random telephone numbers throughout the state. The numbers were generated by computer, and a predetermined scheme was used to guarantee representation in all 55 counties in the state. This technique is designed to produce a sample of respondents representative of the entire state in such areas as age, sex, race, political party affiliation and family income. Both listed and unlisted telephone households had a chance of being selected in the sample.

No sample can guarantee an exact replica of the state's total population, but researchers can estimate how far off results might be. For this issue of the West Virginia Poll, it is 95 percent certain that any percentage won't be more than four percentage points - plus or minus - off the actual mark for the entire state's population.

In other words, any result reported could be either four percent higher or lower than pollsters would have obtained had they been able to contact each resident in the state.

WEST VIRGINIA POLL

DAY TWELVE CONT'D

ATTITUDES TOWARD ABORTION

AMENDMENT

Attitude	Percent
Favor	68.2
Oppose	26.7
Don't Know/Not Sure	5.1
TOTAL	100.0

QUESTION: "An amendment to the U.S. Constitution is being proposed that would make it illegal for any woman to have an abortion at any time during a pregnancy, unless the mother's life was in danger, or in the case of incest or rape. Would you favor or oppose such an amendment?"

WEST VIRGINIA POLL

DAY TWELVE CONT'D

JANUARY 1980 SURVEY RESULTS
ON ATTITUDES TOWARD THE E.R.A.
AND ABORTION

<u>Issue</u>	<u>For</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Against</u> <u>%</u>	<u>DK/NS</u> <u>%</u>
Making it illegal to obtain an abortion	41.8	42.6	15.6
Approval of the Equal Rights Amendment	61.8	27.7	10.5

QUESTION: "If you could vote today, would you vote
for or against....?"

NOTE: Results of this survey were based on interviews
with 364 West Virginia residents between Jan. 2 and 8,
1980. Margin of error = 4.5%+.

-more-

city/state

Townsend 6/18/82

Burdick (ND)

Knorr believes tax cuts should be reconsidered

By The Associated Press

Some of the tax cuts included in President Ronald Reagan's corporate tax policy may have to be reduced, according to Republican U.S. Senate candidate Gene Knorr.

The Accelerated Cost Recovery System and tax leasing provisions of Reagan's corporate tax cut program will mean a loss to the federal treasury of

\$143 billion by 1986, he told a Bismarck news conference Friday.

The increased business investment that was supposed to result has not occurred, Knorr said. He's not sure why business isn't making those investments, but because of the recession, Knorr said the economy isn't responding the way the administration thought it would.

Although he lobbied heavily for those corporate tax cuts while working in Washington, Knorr said they need to be reconsidered.

"The size of the dollar impact has got to be cut back. The question of whether you cut it back so there is no more ACRS or whether you cut it back by 50 percent — those kinds of different alternatives are now before the Congress and I think they're going to be taking a very hard look," he said.

"My thought is that part of the \$20-plus billion that we're going to have to come up with in tax increases — part of that is going to come from the ACRS."

The accelerated cost recovery system was designed to allow corporations to depreciate equipment purchases faster, providing a greater return on the investment during the first year.

ACRS also included a tax leasing provision, which enabled companies to trade their tax benefits.

Knorr said he was involved in the initial stages of developing the legislation, but he was not in Washington when Congress voted on it.

now than any other issue."

In summarizing his views, the Republican candidate said he opposes federal funding of abortion, abortion on demand and the state's rights idea. He supports the Hatch Amendment as "the most workable and acceptable solution that is presently available."

Knorr said he doesn't consider it abortion when a pregnancy is terminated to save the life of a mother, and that rape and incest "is a minor issue."

He said incidents of rape and incest don't usually result in pregnancy, and there are precautions that can be used other than abortion.

In response, Wilking said that Burdick does not dispute that rape and incest situations make up but a small number of the abortions performed. "But he feels victims of rape and incest should have access to therapeutic and safe abortions. Forcing a woman who has been raped to carry that child to term — the same with incest — is not acceptable."

The Hatch Amendment was approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee in March, and could come up for a vote on the Senate floor next month. Wilking said several senators are considering offering the state's rights modification at that time.

In 1975, while a member of Judiciary, Burdick himself sponsored a similar state's rights amendment, which died in committee on a 4-4 vote.



GENE KNORR

comment.

Knorr, during a Friday morning press conference at the Kirkwood Motor Inn, issued a prepared statement outlining how he sees his "pro-life" views as differing from those of Burdick.

"Quentin Burdick's support for modification of the Hatch Amendment to make it a state's rights document is a political tactic that is even older than he is, and it proves that he is no friend to the unborn," Knorr charged.

He contended that some states, under the provisions favored by Burdick, would approve abortion on demand. "I think, from what he is trying to do, that is what he favors," Knorr said.

Abortion, he noted, "is an issue I'm receiving more mail on right

By BOB JANSEN
Tribune Staff Writer

Abortion, as expected, has become an issue in the race for the U.S. Senate from North Dakota.

Republican candidate Gene Knorr charged Friday that the position taken on the proposed Hatch Amendment by Sen. Quentin Burdick, D-N.D., "is an out and out endorsement to abortion on demand."

The statement prompted a strong reaction from the senator's Washington office. "He does not approve of abortion on demand, and Mr. Knorr should know better than that," said Leo Wilking, a Burdick staff aide.

The constitutional change proposed by Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah, if approved in the House and Senate and ratified by the states, would give Congress and the states joint authority to limit or prohibit abortion. If both levels of government enacted limitations, the more restrictive provisions would apply.

Burdick, according to his staff and statements contained in position papers, opposes the amendment because it would allow for a federal law that would prohibit all abortions. He favors a modification that would vest that ultimate authority with state legislatures.

"Allowing states to restrict abortion would enable them to provide for exceptions for rape, incest and to save the life of the mother, if they so choose," said Wilking. The senator himself is hospitalized in Fargo and was unavailable for

The letter-writers' forum

Hatch amendment for restricting abortion 'common sense reaction'

To the Editor:

Most Americans were horrified by the news that an infant with Down's Syndrome was allowed to starve to death in April in a Bloomington, Ind., hospital in a decision supported by the county court and the state Supreme Court. Horror is understandable. Surprise is not.

The incident in Bloomington represents a logical extension of the legal and moral reasoning commonly used to support abortion. The case, far from being unique, is another instance of a practice which many persons have warned was growing more common in this country.

Several years ago, Dr. C. Everett Koop, a prominent pro-life physician who is now surgeon general of the United States, spoke of "the extraordinary growth of infanticide and the change in attitude among those in a position to care." A 1978 article in the Stanford Law Review said treatment is withheld or withdrawn from newborn infants with defects "thousands" of times a year in U.S. hospitals. In most of these cases, the infants are sedated and allowed to die by starvation.

"Allowed to die" is of course a

verbal evasion. Many of these children would survive if given treatment and nourishment. In such circumstances the proper name for this practice is not "allowing to die" but "killing."

If the death of the Bloomington baby served any good purpose, it may have been to call public attention to this state of affairs. It is welcome news, for example, that President Reagan has instructed the secretary of health and human services and the attorney general to enforce federal anti-discrimination provisions in the case of handicapped infants.

Particularly since the Supreme Court decisions on abortion, many persons have expressed concern about the erosion of respect for life in the United States.

The U.S. Senate is expected soon to consider one or more proposals for dealing with the problem of abortion. A common sense reaction is that a problem of these dimensions calls for a constitutional remedy — the amendment sponsored by Sen. Orrin Hatch of Utah, which would restore to Congress and the states the power to restrict abortion.

It will be objected that the Bloomington baby did not die of abortion. That is true, but that is not the point. The infant died as a result of an attitude and a state of law traceable to the Supreme Court abortion decisions and all that has followed.

Russell Shaw
Secretary, Public Affairs
U.S. Catholic Conference
Washington

Knorr backs Hatch Amendment

BISMARCK, N.D. (AP) — Republican U.S. Senate candidate Gene Knorr has announced his support for the Hatch Amendment on abortion.

But Knorr, speaking to a press conference in Bismarck Friday, said he will not support any proposed changes in the Hatch Amendment that would give states the right to decide on abortion laws.

The Hatch Amendment declares no one has a right to an abortion, and would place federal guidelines and restrictions on who can and cannot receive abortions. It would also cut much of the federal funding for abortions.

Knorr's opponent, U.S. Sen. Quentin Burdick, a Democrat, has publicly said he supports changing the amendment to give the state the right to make their own decisions. Knorr called that "a political tactic."

"I think he knows very well that such modifications are going to cut the guts out of the Hatch Amendment," Knorr said.

Given the opportunity, some states would allow abortion on demand, Knorr said. Although he hopes it doesn't become a major issue in the campaign, Knorr said he has had several questions about his stand on abortion.

Williston Herald 6/19/82

Knorr Says He Won't Support Changing Hatch Amendment

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Large Forum 6/19/82

Knorr backs move to limit abortions

12-B THE Dickinson Press Saturday, June 19, 1982

North Dakota

Knorr supports abortion ban amendment

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The candidate added he does not support a proposed federal budget with a deficit of more than \$100 billion. But, he said, he still remains a strong supporter of President Reagan's economic policies.

"In the long run, they will put this country back on the right track," he said.

Knorr said one part of Reagan's tax cut package may have to be cut back.

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(cont.)

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bureau of governmental affairs

University of North Dakota

Grand Forks, N.D. 58202

Special Report No. 66

May 1982

A SURVEY OF NORTH DAKOTA LEGISLATOR ATTITUDES TOWARD LOBBYING AND LOBBYING GROUPS

The responses of legislators when asked which lobbying organization is best able to mobilize grass roots participation by its supporters are again familiar with the NDEA rated best in grass roots participation followed by the Right to Life Association and the North Dakota Farm Bureau. The Utility/Energy lobby received only three mentions, not surprising due to their lack of a true grass roots constituency. Table 7 shows these results.

TABLE 7

MOST GRASSROOTS SUPPORT

Lobbyists	n	Percent
NDEA	27	24.3%
Right to Life	22	19.8
ND Farm Bureau	15	13.5
ND Farmers Union	8	7.2
Senior Citizens	7	6.3
Utility/Energy	3	2.7
Government Agencies	1	0.9
Other/None	28	25.2
Total	111	99.9%

Dear Mr. Blackwell,

Thank you so much for being part of Convention '82. Your presence, and the film of President Reagan were certainly highlights of the Convention. We certainly appreciate your taking the time to be with us. It was an honor, and a pleasure, to have you here!

Sincerely,
Rita Martin

Thank You

de

✓

NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE CONVENTION COMMITTEE '82



A New Birth of Freedom

DID YOU KNOW?

- Abortions are now allowed at any time before birth.
- Those who believe abortion is wrong can be forced to participate by the use of their tax dollars to pay for abortions.
- Even the youngest minor girl can be given an abortion without her parents consent - or even their knowledge.

IT'S TIME FOR A CHANGE!

YOU CAN VOTE FOR A CANDIDATE DEDICATED TO PROTECTING THE LIVES AND RIGHTS OF ALL - FROM THE YOUNGEST UNBORN CHILD TO THE OLDEST SENIOR CITIZENS.

COMPARE THE U.S. SENATE CANDIDATES!



AL D'AMATO

- Al D'Amato supports a Human Life Amendment to end abortion and protect all human life.
- Al D'Amato opposes the use of tax dollars to pay for abortions.
- Al D'Amato opposes the use of tax dollars to support harmful experimentation on living babies either before or after abortions.
- Al D'Amato is endorsed by:
New York State Right To Life Committee P.A.C.
National Right To Life Committee P.A.C.
Right To Life Party

☐ ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN

- Holtzman supports the current abortion on demand policy, and opposes a Human Life Amendment.
- Holtzman has voted repeatedly to use tax dollars to pay for abortions.
- Holtzman voted against forbidding the use of tax dollars for experimental "research" that is harmful to living babies that survive abortion. In 1973, she was one of the only 9 Congressmen who opposed the prohibition (amendment to Biomedical Research H.R. 7724, P.L. 93-348, May 31, 1973).

☐ JACOB JAVITS

- Javits supports the current abortion on demand policy, and opposes a Human Life Amendment.
- Javits has voted repeatedly to use tax dollars to pay for abortions.
- Javits voted to weaken a ban forbidding use of tax dollars for harmful experimentation on living babies either before or after abortions.

HELP DEFEND THOSE WHO CANNOT DEFEND THEMSELVES

VOTE AL D'AMATO

U.S. SENATE - NOVEMBER 4, 1980

A letter from Al

Dear Friends,

I believe deeply in the American tradition of equality and human rights for all. As your Senator I will work to restore these rights to all our people - including helpless unborn children.

As the great humanitarian Mother Teresa accepted the Nobel Peace Prize for her global work among the poor, she strongly condemned abortion. "I feel the greatest destroyer of peace today is abortion, because it is a direct war, a direct killing ... To me the nations who have legalized abortion are the poorest nations."

Working together I know that we can restore the precious American heritage of respect for life and human dignity.



Al D'Amato and his family

Sincerely,
Al D'Amato
Al D'Amato

Your Pro-Life Vote Is **CRUCIAL!**

The legal protection of the right to life of innocent human beings is not just one issue. It is the basic issue upon which all other issues of human rights and justice depend. The right to life is the right to have rights! Unborn children cannot speak for themselves, but you can speak for them with your vote November 4th!

Paid for and authorized by Friends of Al D'Amato, 1697 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10019



**THIS LITTLE
GIRL WANTS
YOU
TO VOTE
PRO-LIFE
IN THE
NOV. 4th
ELECTION**

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is the end of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Blackwell, Morton: Files
Folder: National Right to Life Committee
(3)
Box: 14

To see more digitized collections visit:
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