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**Collection:** Blackwell, Morton: Files

**Folder Title:** Pro-Life II (2 of 6)

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** BLACKWELL, MORTON: FILES

**Withdrawer**

KDB 11/17/2009

**File Folder** PRO-LIFE II (2)

**FOIA**

F08-0052/01

**Box Number** 9081

WILLIAMS, DANIEL

4

DOC NO	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
1	FORM	REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENTS (FORM SSFF 2037) (PARTIAL)	1	1/21/1982	B6

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

## Liberals & the class war over abortion

New York, N.Y.

*To the Editors:* As *Commonweal* recently argued with considerable passion and thoughtfulness, of all the issues in the political arena, abortion has been dealt with in the most inflexible way. Never mind that the vast majority of Americans have decidedly ambivalent views on abortion. Such ambivalence rarely gets expressed directly by politicians. If it gets expressed at all, it is by liberal Catholic politicians who say piously that they are "personally" opposed to abortion, but assert with equal piety that they feel bound to uphold "the law of the land" as expressed in the 1973 Supreme Court decision.

In fact, the polls do show that ambivalence can be popular. Consider the most frequently asked abortion questions. Majorities are consistently against an outright ban on abortion, and strongly oppose a constitutional amendment to do that. Yet powerful majorities are also recorded *against* Medicaid-funding for abortions for poor women. There is, it would seem, a consistent libertarian consensus on the issue: the government should neither prohibit nor encourage abortion.

Yet the polls show even more complexity than that. Truly overwhelming majorities believe that abortion should be allowed in the cases of rape or incest. Yet the closer one moves to questions such as whether abortion should be allowed for unmarried adults who do not want children, or for married mothers who desire no more children, the thinner the majorities get until they actually disappear.

Perhaps the most powerful piece of evidence on the ambivalence of popular opinion on abortion came in an August, 1980, survey for the *New York Times* and

CBS News. That survey asked a sample 1,769 Americans what they thought of a constitutional amendment to ban abortions. Predictably, they opposed such an amendment, by 62 percent to 29 percent. But the *very same* sample was asked whether it favored an amendment to "protect the life of the unborn child." Such an amendment was favored by 50 to 39 percent. Only 62 percent of the public took what the "pro-choice" and "pro-life" lobbies would regard as a "consistent" view. In all, 26 percent of Americans were consistently "pro-life," while 36 percent were consistently "pro-choice." The plurality, 38 percent, were less than consistent, at least by the conventional views of consistency.

**A**LL OF THIS might be seen as evidence that *Commonweal's* "middle ground" approach would have considerable popularity, especially among politicians.

There is, however, another complication, and that has to do with the difference between *public* issues and *voting* issues. Abortion is quite clearly a matter of broad public concern; but only a small percentage of the public actually votes for candidates primarily on the basis of that one issue. And the same *New York Times*/CBS poll indicated why President Reagan's stand on abortion in the 1980 election, which represented only a minority view, actually helped him at the polls.

The poll offered respondents a list of issues and asked them to pick those that would help them decide how to vote. Among the consistent pro-lifers — those who favored both a constitutional amendment to ban abortions *and* an amendment protecting unborn life — 34 percent declared abortion a decisive vot-

ing issue. Among consistent pro-choicers, only 18 percent assigned abortion such an essential electoral role. Among those who answered inconsistently on the two amendment questions, 15 percent said abortion was an important voting issue.

Reduced to their essentials, these numbers show that consistent pro-lifers who vote on the abortion issue make up about 9 percent of the electorate; consistent pro-choicers who vote on the issue make up about 6.5 percent of the electorate.

Different analysts have come to different conclusions as to the precise measurement of the electoral strength of the two constituencies. Richard Wirthlin, Mr. Reagan's pollster, concluded that the pro-life position was worth about four points to Mr. Reagan. But whatever the precise numbers, it is clear that (1) as far as direct electoral impact is concerned, the abortion issues is decisive with only a small minority, and (2) that minority is closely divided in its views — and just possibly more pro-life than pro-choice.

Such findings have important implications for those seeking a middle ground on abortion, but it is worth seeing just who these two minorities are.

**I**N *Commonweal's* abortion issue, Peter Steinfels cited a variety of survey findings suggesting that the fight over abortion is a conflict between two groups of *liberals*. Such a finding is exciting, if only because it flies in the face of so much conventional wisdom.

The most important facts about these two constituencies, however, have to do with the way they differ. The fight over abortion is very much a class struggle, as Peter Skerry has pointed out. The pro-life constituency is poorer and less educated than the pro-choice constituency. The August 1980 *Times/CBS* poll, for example, found that 63 percent of college graduates were consistently pro-choice; only 12 percent of college graduates were consistently pro-life. Among those with less than high school education, on the other hand, 32 percent were consistently pro-life, 18 percent consistently pro-choice. Income patterns were much the same: the higher income groups were

much more pro-choice. Blacks were more pro-life than whites, the very religious Christians (Catholic and Protestant) were more pro-life, as were older Americans.

None of these findings is surprising, but they lead to an interesting corollary: pro-lifers tended to be more liberal on economic issues than pro-choicers, and just slightly more liberal on such questions than the population as a whole. These issues included such matters as whether the government should create jobs for the unemployed and whether the government should control the price of gas and oil.

These findings are not really surprising, either. Low-income people are almost always more left on economics than higher income people. Pro-lifers are, as a group, low-income people.

Yet on such "social" questions as the Equal Rights Amendment, pro-lifers were far more conservative than either pro-choicers or the general public. And pro-lifers were more likely to label themselves "conservative."

Perhaps the most interesting side-effect of all this came when those surveyed were asked their opinions of the leaders of two very different kinds of liberalism: John Anderson and Edward

M. Kennedy. The consistent pro-choice constituency loved Anderson: 36 percent had a favorable view of him, 27 percent had an unfavorable view. Pro-choicers who said they voted on the basis of the abortion issue were even more ardent: 44 percent had a favorable view of Anderson; only 29 percent had an unfavorable view.

*But the pro-choice constituency loathed Ted Kennedy:* among consistent pro-choicers, 27 percent had a favorable view of Kennedy, 59 percent an unfavorable view; pro-choicers who voted on the basis of abortion were even more anti-Kennedy, with 23 percent having a favorable view, 60 percent an unfavorable.

Consistent pro-lifers did not much like either man, but they liked Kennedy more. Only 21 percent of consistent pro-lifers had a favorable view of Anderson, 29 percent had an unfavorable view. Pro-lifers who cast ballots on the abortion issue held similar views of Anderson: 21 percent favorable, 26 percent unfavorable. As for Kennedy, 30 percent of consistent pro-lifers had favorable views, 44 percent unfavorable views; pro-lifers who voted on the issue liked Kennedy a bit more; 34 percent had favorable views of him, 42 percent unfavorable views.

In short, abortion — and the related social issues — have badly split the already reeling liberal coalition. Anderson, the champion of social liberalism, plays badly among many economic liberals. Kennedy the hero of old-time economic liberalism, doesn't make it with the social liberals.

The data suggest that a middle ground on abortion might indeed have some popularity, and that liberals above all others should want to underplay the issue by way of ending the erosion of their working-class base.

But for politicians, the data point to a very different lesson: the vast majority of voters, with ambivalent views on abortion, pray that they will never have to deal with the issue in their own lives, and generally prefer to avoid the issue in making political choices. What do politicians gain when they take a compromise stand that appeases a group on an issue that the group is not likely to care about at the polls anyway? After all, that same compromise is likely to offend greatly *both* minorities that feel strongly enough about abortion to use it as a litmus test for politicians. For the calculating politician, the mathematics will vary from constituency to constituency, but it is usually likely to point clearly in one direction or the other.

The fight over abortion is a battle between classes and worldviews; between a primarily working-class group that sees its values under attack, and a middle- and upper-class group that sees itself fighting for freedom and enlightenment.

For liberals, abortion has the potential of steadily chipping away at the working-class group that has traditionally been the fountainhead for progressive economic initiatives. Many liberals have cut their losses by picking up new support from the well-to-do who see themselves defending the values of their class, if not its economic interests.

But this turn of events is full of dangers for those progressives who see the primary purpose of politicians as involving the defense and expansion of the economic opportunities of the less well-off. Over time, a liberal alliance that leans more and more on the wealthy will necessarily become more timid in its

economic policies. Already, the "neoliberals" are trimming their sails on economic and redistributive matters. Such a development may be inevitable.

But it must be disturbing to traditional economic liberals, no matter which side they take in the war between choice and life.

E.J. DIONNE

# Reagan & Bush

## Reagan Bush Committee

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

### - ABORTION -

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

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

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

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

*Reagan / Bush  
on the Issues*

KC

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

For my meeting  
w/ Shapiro, please  
get me a ~~copy~~  
spare set of the  
papers from our  
pre-life meeting  
in the Cabinet  
Room

A stylized handwritten signature, possibly reading "MS", written in dark ink.

PRESERVATION COPY

MEMORANDUM  
OF CALL

TO:

*Marsell*

☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY—

☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY—

*Kathryn O'Connor*

OF (Organization)

*770-7764*

☐ PLEASE CALL → PHONE NO.  
CODE/EXT.

☐ FTS

☐ WILL CALL AGAIN

☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL

☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT.

MESSAGE

*White Graves Building  
room 301 B*

RECEIVED BY

DATE

TIME

63-109

☆ GPO : 1981 O - 341-529 (116)

STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-76)  
Prescribed by GSA  
FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6



JAN 7, 1982

Mazelle Shortley  
The White House - Rm 191  
Wash DC 20500

Re: Morton Blackwell Speech  
Feb 6, 1982 - Saturday

Md. Right-to-Life Meeting  
Saturday - 6 Feb 1982 9<sup>30</sup> - 12<sup>30</sup>  
am pm  
4201 Knowles Ave.

Kensington Md.

Kensington Park Public Library  
(2 or 3 blks off Conn Ave)  
Speech he gave Nov 5, 1981 at Sheraton  
Arl. Va. - would be fine or  
anything else - he'd like to talk  
about

Contact: Catherine O'Connor (Pres)  
11822 Rocking Horse Rd.  
Rockville Md 20852  
770-7764

or: Joan Vago  
671-5829 home

(over)

Anytime between 9<sup>30</sup> - 12<sup>30</sup> Sat. & Feb  
That Morton can speak would be  
fine

I'll be glad to drive him  
to & from meeting (we don't expect  
him to stay entire time)

Mr. Right to Life is so  
excited that Morton will be able  
to speak to them.

Thank you Maecelle for  
arranging everything. Just let  
me or Catherine know what time  
Morton would like to be picked  
up.

Thank you

Sincerely

Joan Vdy.

(Sorry this is late - every time I  
thought of writing - Catherine's  
was at home)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

PRO-LIFE CAUCUS - CONGRESS Feb. 1982

Ashbrook	De Concini
Dannemeyer	Hatch
Dornan	Helms
Dougherty	Eagleton
Hyde	Grassley
Luken	Jepsen
Lungren	East
Weber	
Chris Smith	
Volkmer	
Tauke	
Mazzoli	
Siljander	

2 file  
NATIONAL PRO-LIFE PAC  
101 PARK WASHINGTON CT  
FALLS CHURCH VA 22046

western union

Mailgram®



1-024095S016 01/16/82 ICS IPMBNGZ CSP WHSA  
7035367650 MGM TDBN FALLS CHURCH VA 200 01-16 0419P EST

MORTON BLACKWELL  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE BLDG  
WASHINGTON DC 20500

COPY OF ORIGINAL MAILGRAM SENT TO:

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN  
WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON DC 20500

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,  
JANUARY 22 MARKS NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF SUPREME COURT'S INFAMOUS  
ABORTION DECISIONS.  
EACH YEAR OUR NATION WITNESSES 1,500,000 SACRIFICES OF INNOCENT,  
DEFENSELESS HUMANS (SEE NEWS WEEK, JANUARY 11) TO GODS OF "PRIVACY".  
YOU CAMPAIGNED ON PLATFORM PROMISING, AS YOU ALSO PERSONALLY PROMISED, S  
UPPORT FOR THE "RIGHT TO LIFE."

THUS FAR, YOUR ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE NOTHING SUBSTANTIVE TO FURTHER  
THAT RIGHT.

AS CRITICAL 1982 ELECTIONS APPROACH, KEY PRO-LIFE AND PRO-FAMILY  
ELEMENTS OF YOUR WINNING COALITION GROW DISTRUSTFUL OF YOUR  
UNFULFILLED PROMISES TO THEM. SOME NOW SAY THAT THEIR FIRST VOTES FOR  
A CONSERVATIVE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESSMAN WAS THEIR LAST.

NATIONAL PRO-LIFE PAC REQUESTS THAT YOU:

1. ENDORSE THE HATCH-ASHBROOK FEDERALIST AMENDMENT (SJR110) AS YOU  
DID THE HUMAN LIFE BILL, AND URGE ITS PASSAGE IN SENATE AND HOUSE  
THIS YEAR. HATCH AMENDMENT HAS SUPPORT OF 90 PERCENT OF PRO-LIFE  
MOVEMENT.

2. ISSUE EXECUTIVE ORDER BANNING GOVERNMENT-PAID ABORTIONS FOR  
MILITARY AND IN GOVERNMENT INSURANCE PROGRAMS.  
THESE ACTIONS WILL SUBSTANTIALLY FORWARD YOUR CAMPAIGN PLEDGES,  
RE-ASSURE FIRST-TIME CONSERVATIVE VOTERS AND SPEED PROTECTION OF  
INNOCENT LIVES.

YOU ARE IN MY PRAYERS,

FATHER CHARLES FIORE, O.P./CHAIRMAN NATIONAL PRO-LIFE PAC  
101 PARK WASHINGTON CT  
FALLS CHURCH VA 22046

16120 EST

MGMCOMP

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM PHONE WESTERN UNION ANY TIME DAY OR NIGHT  
FOR YOUR LOCAL NUMBER, SEE THE WHITE PAGES

OF YOUR TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

OR

DIAL (TOLL FREE) 800-257-2241

(EXCEPT IN NEW JERSEY 800-632-2271)

OR DIAL WESTERN UNION'S INFOMASTER SYSTEM DIRECTLY:

FROM TELEX

6161

FROM TWX

910 420 1212



**REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS  
For a Political Committee Other Than an Authorized Committee**

(Summary Page)

1. Name of Committee (in Full)  
**Life Amendment Political Action  
Committee**

Address (Number and Street)  
**6 Library Court SE**

City, State and ZIP Code  
**Washington, D.C. 20003**

☐ Check if address is different than previously reported.

2. FEC Identification Number

**C00052297**

3. ☐ This committee qualified as a multicandidate com-  
mittee during this Reporting Period on \_\_\_\_\_  
(date)

4. TYPE OF REPORT (check appropriate boxes)

- (a) ☐ April 15 Quarterly Report  
☐ July 15 Quarterly Report  
☐ October 15 Quarterly Report  
☐ January 31 Year End Report  
☒ July 31 Mid Year Report (Non-election Year Only)  
☐ Monthly Report for \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Twelfth day report preceding \_\_\_\_\_ (Type of Election)  
election on \_\_\_\_\_ in the State of \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Thirtieth day report following the General Election  
on \_\_\_\_\_ in the State of \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Termination Report

(b) Is this Report an Amendment?  
☐ YES ☐ NO

**SUMMARY**

5. Covering Period **1-1-81** Through **6-30-81**

6. (a) Cash on Hand January 1, 19**81** .....

(b) Cash on Hand at Beginning of Reporting Period .....

(c) Total Receipts (from Line 18) .....

(d) Subtotal (add lines 6(b) and 6(c) for Column A and  
lines 6(a) and 6(c) for Column B) .....

7. Total Disbursements (from Line 28) .....

8. Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (subtract line 7 from 6(d)) ...

9. Debts and Obligations Owed TO the Committee  
(Itemize all on Schedule C or Schedule D) .....

10. Debts and Obligations Owed BY the Committee  
(Itemize all on Schedule C or Schedule D) .....

Column A  
This Period

Column B  
Calendar Year-to-Date

		\$ <b>4,360.79</b>
\$ <b>2566.80</b>		
\$ <b>11561.50</b>	\$ <b>11561.50</b>	
\$ <b>114128.30</b>	\$ <b>115942.29</b>	
\$ <b>118472.89</b>	\$ <b>118472.89</b>	
\$	\$	
\$ <b>0</b>		
\$ <b>72,807.31</b>		

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief  
it is true, correct and complete.

For further information, contact:

Federal Election Commission  
Toll Free 800-424-9530  
Local 202-523-4068

**Paul A. Brown**  
Type or Print Name of Treasurer

**Paul A. Brown**  
SIGNATURE OF TREASURER

**8-3-81**  
Date

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. §437g.

All previous versions of FEC FORM 3 and FEC FORM 3a are obsolete and should no longer be used.

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FEC FORM 3X (3/80)

Name of Committee (in Full)

Life Insurance R.A.C.

Report Showing the Period

From 1/1/64 to 12/31/64

I. RECEIPTS

11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:

- (a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees  
(Memo Entry Unitemized \$ 106689.64)
- (b) Political Party Committees
- (c) Other Political Committees
- (d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (add 11a, 11b and 11c)
- 12. TRANSFERS FROM AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES
- 13. ALL LOANS RECEIVED
- 14. LOAN REPAYMENTS RECEIVED
- 15. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)
- 16. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES
- 17. OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends, Interest, etc.)
- 18. TOTAL RECEIPTS (Add 11d, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17).

COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-to-Date
111,304.64	111,304.64
0	0
0	0
111,304.64	111,304.64
0	0
0	0
0	0
256.86	256.86
0	0
0	0
111,561.50	111,561.50

II. DISBURSEMENTS

- 19. OPERATING EXPENDITURES
- 20. TRANSFERS TO AFFILIATED/OTHER PARTY COMMITTEES
- 21. CONTRIBUTIONS TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES
- 22. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES (Use Schedule E)
- 23. COORDINATED EXPENDITURES MADE BY PARTY COMMITTEES (2 U.S.C. §441e(d)) (Use Schedule F)
- 24. LOAN REPAYMENTS MADE
- 25. LOANS MADE
- 26. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO:
  - (a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees (38,501.58)
  - (b) Political Party Committees
  - (c) Other Political Committees
  - (d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (add 26a, 26b and 26c)
- 27. OTHER DISBURSEMENTS
- 28. TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS (Add Lines 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26d and 27).

34,585.01	34,585.01
0	0
0	0
78,658.38	78,658.38
0	0
3,000.00	3,000.00
0	0
2,229.50	2,229.50
0	0
0	0
2,229.50	2,229.50
0	0
118,472.89	118,472.89

III. NET CONTRIBUTIONS AND NET OPERATING EXPENDITURES

- 29. TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) from Line 11d
- 30. TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS from Line 26d
- 31. NET CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (subtract Line 30 from Line 29)
- 32. TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES from Line 19
- 33. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES from Line 15
- 34. NET OPERATING EXPENDITURES (subtract Line 33 from Line 32)

111,304.64	111,304.64
2,229.50	2,229.50
109,075.14	109,075.14
34,585.01	34,585.01
256.86	256.86
34,328.15	34,328.15

# The Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life

810 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20045, Telephone (202) 347-8686

March 8, 1982

## Chairman

J. P. McFADDEN  
New York, New York

## Sponsoring Committee

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New York, New York

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Miami, Florida

## Special Counsel

JOHN P. MACKEY, ESQ.  
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Morton,

Thanks for the January 22, 1982, photos, I greatly appreciate them.

The enclosed memo from Jim McFadden mentions your February 11, memo and I thought you should see same.

Please give me a call before you do anything with it, as it is in house stuff as you can see.

Sincerely,

  
JOHN P. MACKEY, ESQ.  
SPECIAL COUNSEL

P.S. This memo is even more critical in light of the New York Times story today on loss of the blue collar vote.



March 5 '82

John:

Attached is the intro (re Hyde), a funny letter from a priest -- look at the Napoleon thing (marvellous) -- plus other current stuff. Going through the backlog, I only this week saw Morton Blackwell's Feb 11 memo. Wish I had seen it earlier.

He's got us dead to rights, of course. Much of the division is personalities/trivia etc. -- a la his French example, the right-to-lifers would agree to use half of each flag, then fall out again over whether it would be called the Fleurcolor or the Tri-de-lis.

How do we get RR's people to look at it from his viewpoint -- what's good for him, politically? Maybe they do -- maybe Mr. B is doing exactly what is obvious, i.e., telling anti-aborts they must get their act together before they can expect -- reasonably -- any direct RR support on a given measure. Leaving aside whether or not we actually need direct WH "intervention" (with Jesse leading the cavalry, we may not need more than benign neutrality), what does RR need?

A fundamental fact of the Split is the bishops' apparat which, after nine years of doing nothing (except constantly obstructing us) has now tried to take over the movement. This coup-attempt began immediately after RR's '80 victory. It represents, I say, an open attempt by these ultra-liberal RC's (who now evidently do boss the bishops) to reverse "their" '80 defeats, to win back from RR's winning coalition those "ethnic, blue-color" voters Wirthlin said -- then -- won it for him. They know just as we do that abortion was the key -- certainly symbolic -- issue in that vote-shift. I don't think they care a damn about abortion, except to get rid of it, to get back to grapes, lettuce, El Salvador -- you ought to send B Father Schall's column, and while you're at it Father Baker's on the USCC? The great irony is that RR himself does care; he just couldn't be saying all he says, over and over and at every opportunity, for mere political reasons. Anybody who's seen him saying it (as you have, and me on TV) knows that the abortion issue has got him too, just like the rest of us.

Sadest of all, it is good politics for him I say. You and I know two things: a) that virtually the entire "activist" element of the anti-abortion movement is pro-RR and anti-Hatch while at the same time b) Dems, or very recent ex-Dems, in the majority. Gawd, imagine Anne O'Donnell giving the WH people an earful! These are the people who make Henry Hyde the only congressman who can draw a full house anywhere in the country; who can make Jesse a household name in Iowa or New Hampshire (no other Southerner can make that claim?) and who will whoop it up for RR anytime, anywhere, on anything, so long as he stays with 'em on abortion. He may need that kind of thing again. He won't get it if he doesn't pick the activists' side in this, if only because Hatch would kill the whole bloody movement -- I don't think we can survive that kind of crushing defeat, whereas we can lose on any legislation and come right back. In defeat, everybody, not least RR & Co., will lose plenty. Conversely, even a ~~guy~~ glorious try on Helms' "Unity" pitch will fire up everybody, etc and etc -- why am I telling you all this, the frustration is, How do you tell them? We can't bring all that RC crap out into the open -- if we could have, we'd have knocked the bejabbers out of Hatch & Co long since. But it's there, and it's true, nothing with the RC imprimatur will pass, it's already split us on RC-Prot lines (there too, you know, the Evangelicals are mad as hell at RR about schools, etc., but they'd stick with him if they got something on abortion). I do believe that we've forged one helluva political force on our "one issue," and it's principal political beneficiary to date has been RR himself. He can keep it that way, or toss it away. Sure, he's got problems with other parts of the coalition, but once again the premier symbolic issue is abortion: if he's perceived as still right on that one, he'll be perceived as still leading on all of it, sticking to his principles, still keeping his promises, the lot. I believe all this, just as I believe in the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

I quit -- just started to write the covering note to the mess attached, and, sitting here before anyone else is here and looking at yesterday's EXTRA Lifeline -- goddammit the Helms thing is exactly what we needed -- had to blow off steam. But serious, how can we get this kind of thing across to "them"? Maybe you should get O'Donnell in?



Ed. James  
Schall, S.J.

3/82



# Human Life March

Each year on 22 January, the anniversary of the Supreme Court decision to deny equal protection of our laws to the unborn, an action undermining the whole fabric of our society, Nellie Grey has organized a solemn March for Life here in Washington.

This year, as I stood on Pennsylvania Avenue to watch the largely Catholic groups walk by, I could not help but think that the cold, the Washington air and subway accidents, were not the sole explanation of its relative smallness, even though perhaps 25,000 did participate.

In a year with a pro-life Senate and a pro-life President, the pro-life movement was disheartened partly because of the success of pro-abortion groups in keeping the issues clouded, partly because of the political decision by the Catholic bishops to promote the Hatch Amendment.

This was, I think, a political mistake of monumental proportions which jeopardizes the whole moral stature not of the life movement — this has now passed to the fundamentalists, to lay Catholics who have clearly seen the dimensions of this mis-judgment — but of the bishops themselves.

To sort all of this out requires more patience than I usually have, no doubt. But the general outlines seem clear. The pro-life movement is sidetracked or at least considerably off-balance and ineffective.

Because of a decision coming from the USCC and approved by the bishops in their November Conference, to the effect that we could not get a single, principled human life amendment, with a human life bill in the meantime to give adequate congressional definition to the fact that human life, as the test-tube baby if nothing else shows, begins at conception and

what is conceived is legally a person to be protected by our laws.

The bishops' position, of course, does not technically violate this ambition, but it does state it so negatively and make any resulting law so dubious, so likely to enact at the state level what they are trying to prevent, that it is no real solution to the problem at hand.

It is bad tactics, bad law, and bad politics, even though I am the first to say that sometimes you have to get less than you want. But the bishops should have stuck to principles and left the politics to the professionals and the amateurs who vote. Thus, the initial mistake was a reversal in role.

The bishops are religious teachers, a role now confused by their willingness to compromise on a political tactic, which will not work anyhow.

The pro-life movement contains some of the best political tacticians in the country, who have been cut off by this move coming not from the movement but from the USCC. So the Hatch Amendment will lose the day, or else it will win with the help of those who want the weakest thing on the books, if it looks like something must pass.

Everyone will be confused about what to hold, about what will be compromised next. I cannot think of anything that could have been done to confuse the issue more than this move which is both a sign of lack of confidence and a failure to understand roles.

There are, I suspect, further hidden agendas. A lot of people, it is no secret, even in the Church, do not like the life issue. It is "conservative" and prevents us from getting to the important like more government aid, forms of government in not so distant lands, pacifism, and most of the outlines of the liberal agenda.

If the Hatch Amendment is defeated, the weakest possible case, then it will be easy to say that nothing is possible so we must

accept defeat and "get on" to other things.

Having tried and lost, the issue can be quietly dropped, and the most embarrassing thing about Catholics, their strange idea that life begins at conception and ought to be protected by law if necessary, and it is necessary, can disappear.

When I think about all of this, I recall the Pope on the Mall, bravely, intelligently spelling out the issues. He taught. What must he think about what politically has happened to his visions. He seems to be something of a political strategist himself.

Why is it that our strategy has been so inept, I wonder? Many think this will, in retrospect, represent a turning point in American Catholicism, when more and more laity see clearly that the political leadership provided by the hierarchy on major issues does not work, largely because the voting, grass-roots people and their organizations are ignored, or co-opted from above.

Pieces must be picked up, of course. The issue is too important, too vital to let this very serious tactical and teaching mistake discourage us to drop the whole issue.

A young woman I know from Texas, very active in the life movement, heard a talk by the representative of the USCC explaining the reasons for their option for the Hatch Amendment, then she heard Senator Helms' statement of the basic issues.

She said the Catholic never once mentioned God or gave any religious context to the issue, only a description of political tactics. Helms' talk on the other hand, which I also heard, was touching and principled, recognizing also the religious dimensions of this issue.

Symbolically, I suspect, this is where we now are. Catholic leadership is perceived as playing politics, bad politics at that, since it cannot win, while fundamentalist Protestant leadership sticks to the basics about the principle involved. The issue has in fact become so muddled by a political judgment and tactic that the principle is in doubt. This, at least, is my estimate of the situation.

THE MONITOR

(ISSN 0026-9743)

Official newspaper of the Archdiocese of San Francisco,  
and the Diocese of San Jose

441 Church St., S.F. 94114

2/18/82

# Maria Regina R.C. Church


February 28, 1982

Mr. J.P. McFadden  
PO Box 574  
Murray Hill Station, N.Y. 10016

Dear Mr. McFadden,

Just read Buckley's column in the N.Y. Daily News of this date. I hadn't heard of Milwaukee's statement, but I am not surprised, just disappointed.

Buckley is right on target and I agree with him 100%, especially as regards the kudos for the Human Life Review. You know, what you had hoped to do with a periodical from the Committee of Catholic Laymen, you have accomplished, at least in this instance in the Human Life Review and in Lifeletter.  
Ironically, isn't it, that this should be so because the Bishops have boxed themselves so tightly in.

I don't know if you ever heard the story of Napoleon and the church in France. It seems that Napoleon got his advisors together to plot the final destruction of the Church in France after he had become emperor to attain complete sovereignty. When he explained this to his advisors one of them reportedly said, "But General, if the bishops and priests haven't destroyed it in 2000 years what makes you think you can do it?" 

I'm not against the bishops. Don't get me wrong on that. I just think that they, as anyone else, can make a mistake. And I think they are mistaken in their quixotic support of the Hatch Amendment and abandonment of the Human Life Bill.

I'm sure that there are many other priests who support you on this issue. I'd just like to add mine.

In Christ,

Rev. Joseph A. Mirro

# A journal just for the abortion controversy

I HAVE ALWAYS felt sorry for bishops, because their station makes it very difficult for them to speak in those polemical rhythms that are usually required in order to attract attention or to reply to criticism with psychic satisfaction. For this reason, I think that when non-bishops write about bishops, non-bishops, just to be fair, should try to abide by the rules to which bishops are bound.



**William F.  
Buckley Jr.**

Now, it is not as widely known that as *Lifeletter* 82's issue No. 2 reports, "the HLB-Hatch split has split the (anti-abortion) movement, and badly." That sentence is only one in four pages of tightly written journalism discussing the HLB-Hatch "split." This newsletter elicited from the chancery office of Su-

perior, Wis., a letter denouncing it in ecclesiastical language, the kind of thing that transforms "go jump in the lake," into, "we shall need prayerfully to accept the grave burden of doing without the support of our brother-in-Christ."

But this issue isn't going to go away. We have now (I don't know who snitched them, or gave them out) the minutes of the bishops' meeting in Washington last November, after which the National Council of Bishops publicly supported the Hatch amendment.

And so we learned that there was considerable anxiety expressed at that closed meeting about supporting a constitutional amendment that would do two things, 1) return to individual states their pre-1973 right to govern abortion laws, subject to, 2) the overriding power of Congress to set national abortion policy. Some bishops asked Cardinal Cooke of New York, who headed the committee that came out pro-Hatch, wouldn't this amendment, if passed, set up state shopping centers for abortion, much as everyone used to go to Nevada for quicky divorces? Not, said Cooke, if Congress acted more restrictively than Nevada, because then there would be a federal standard.

But if Congress is to be given the right to act, why not vote in favor of the "HLB"—the Human Life Bill—which would put Congress on record as declaring that, from conception, babies inherit the rights of the Fifth and 14th Amendments? Because, said Cooke, HLB is widely held to be unconstitutional. But isn't the Supreme Court's decision in *Roe vs. Wade* also widely held to be unconstitutional? Not quite, really, because HLB may be something scholars would argue about, but it is a here-and-now means of testing the authority of the Supreme Court to answer plausibly questions raised by their antic behavior in 1973. Besides, although constitutional quibbling will always be with us, HLB would do something to stop the fetal slaughter, and isn't this to be preferred over punctilio-acclamation by lawyers, which you're never going to get anyway?

It may embarrass my old friend and colleague (in an unrelated enterprise) James P. McFadden, but since he has been singled out by the bishops' national

committee (for Hatch) it should be said that no letters from the chancery of Milwaukee are likely to frown convincingly on the tone of the *Human Life Review*, founded by McFadden seven years ago, and the locus of civilized philosophical, legal and polemical discussion on the abortion issue. Is it a single-issue publication? Listen (current issue—it is a quarterly) to the incomparable Joseph Sobran on single issues:

"Abortion might be called the single issue about which you mustn't be a single-issue voter. Civil rights, Israel, foreign policy, nuclear energy, entitlement programs, whales—you can be downright obsessive about any of these, and nobody will say boo.

"The pro-abortion side hasn't been what I would call ingenuous. They specialize in footage of babies with spina bifida and other terrible birth defects, when in fact most women or couples who decide to abort don't wait around to find out whether the blessed non-event would have brought deformity into the family; they just want to get rid of the thing."

THAT IS POWERFUL STUFF, and its innate moral wit and analytical power keep alive the abortion controversy. The courts, Congress, the bishops, the moralists are going to continue to have a very hard time. They should begin by subscribing to the *Human Life Review* (150 E. 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016). The journal has the manners of a bishop and the tongue of H.L. Mencken, and if you didn't know the two could fuse, it's because you have deprived yourself of familiarity with this remarkable journal.



# The Tail Wagging The Dog

By FR. KENNETH BAKER, S.J.

The United States Catholic Conference (USCC) has lobbied for the Panama Canal Treaty, for SALT II, and recently against the Reagan budget. Bishop Thomas C. Kelly, general secretary of the USCC, wrote a letter to U.S. senators urging them to vote against the Reagan budget and for the alternative Democratic budget. I have been irritated by many of the actions of the USCC for a long time, but this is going too far.

In principle I think it is wrong for clerics to meddle in partisan politics — which is power politics. In April, 1979 on this page I complained about the increasing political involvement of Church leadership. It bodes ill for the future of the Church and what I said two years ago is even more true today than it was then.

The USCC is a "civil agency" of the Catholic Bishops of the U.S. (bylaws, art. II). Its purposes include to "carry on all Catholic activities" in the U.S., "to organize and conduct religious, charitable, and social work at home and abroad," and "to care for immigrants." The bylaws say nothing about lobbying Congress, or supporting political parties.

"Christ did not bequeath to the Church a mission in the political, economic, or social order; the purpose He assigned to it was a religious one" (Vatican II, *Church in the Modern World*, no. 42). Have the officials of the USCC already forgotten that? Would that the USCC would concentrate on the religious problems facing the Church, like the massive loss of faith among parents and children, and leave the social, economic, and political tasks to those responsible for them, namely, the laity.

According to its statutes, the USCC is a purely secular nonprofit corporation. As

such it is totally independent of the Holy See and is regulated solely by American law. A prominent theologian told me that it was set up to be independent of Rome, and that no other country has a similar organization. Since it is a "civil agency," it does not exist by canonical right. Therefore the USCC has no canonical jurisdiction over Catholics in the United States. Rome recognizes only the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB), the parent organization, which established the USCC as its social action agency.

It seems to me that the USCC is a classic example of bureaucracy run wild, of the tail wagging the dog. Its inept political meddling is a scandal to the faithful and invites ridicule from others. I know for a fact, from what I have heard with my own ears from officials both in Congress and in other departments of government, that the USCC does not command respect, to put the matter politely. It seems to me that the political scheming of our clerical bureaucrats in Washington renders the true witness of the Church to its faith in the Crucified and Resurrected Lord incredible.

Every Catholic in the U.S. is taxed 10 cents per year to support the USCC; that comes to about \$5 million annually. At present the USCC gives the impression of being the Catholic arm of the Democratic Party. This means that Catholic Republicans, through the subsidy their Bishops pay each year to support the lobbying activities of the USCC, are in fact subsidizing their political opposition. I suspect that most Catholics, both Democrats and Republicans, once alerted to what is going on, would object.

(Reprinted from the September 1981 *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*.)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

John D. Beckett	President, Intercessors for America
Judie Brown	American Life Lobby Inc.
Paul A. Brown	Life Amendment PAC
Mrs. Denise F. Cocciolone	Birthright
Irma Craven	At-Large Director, National Right to Life Committee, member, multiple boards of black social workers
Mrs. Randy Engel	U.S. Coalition for Life
Dr. Jerry Falwell	President, The Moral Majority
Mrs. Sandra Faucher	Director, National Right to Life PAC
Rev. Charles Fiore, O.P.	President, Catholics for a Moral America
Peter Gemma, Jr.	Executive Director, National Pro-Life Political Action Committee
Miss Nellie Gray, Esq.	President, March for Life Committee
Dennis Horan, Esq.	Chairman, Americans United for Life
Dr. Mildred Jefferson	President, Right to Life Crusade
John Mackey, Esq.	Special Counsel, Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life
Mr. Ed McAteer	President, The Religious Roundtable
Ernest Ohlhoff	Executive Director, National Committee for a Human Life Amendment
Rev. Pat Robertson	"700 Club" head of the largest Christian TV network
Prof. Victor Rosenblum	Americans United for Life
Dr. Jack Wilke	National Right to Life Committee President
Mrs. Geline Williams	Chairman of the Board, National Right to Life
Rev. Curtis Young	Executive Director, Christian Action

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

January 12, 1981

TO: GREGORY J. NEWELL, DIRECTOR  
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE

REQUEST: President to meet in the White House with leadership of major pro-life organizations and to address, by loudspeaker, the large March for Life rally in the Elipse.

PURPOSE: To show the President's continued support for the pro-life cause

BACKGROUND: This march takes place annually and draws about one hundred thousand grassroots supporters of the President to Washington on behalf of legislation in support of human life. All major pro-life organization leaders have requested some form of Presidential involvement on January 22, 1982. All groups support the March for Life, despite their division on legal remedies.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: In 1981, the day after inauguration, the President met with selected leaders of the pro-life movement in the Oval Office. Miss Nellie Gray organizer of the March for Life, did not accept the invitation to the 1981 meeting and will do likewise in 1982.

DATE: January 22, 1981 DURATION: 15 Minutes

PARTICIPANTS: See attached list

OUTLINE OF EVENT: The President will briefly discuss pro-life activity with these leaders, and then make remarks by loudspeaker to the crowd gathered in the Elipse for the annual March for Life. The remarks should be scheduled for 12:30 to coincide with the main rally of the group on the Elipse.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Talking points and Remarks -- attached

MEDIA COV. AGE: White House photographers

RECOMMENDED BY: Elizabeth H. Dole

OPPOSED BY:

PROJECT OFFICER: Morton C. Blackwell



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
January 12, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR ELIZABETH H. DOLE

TO: DIANA LOZANO  
FROM: MORTON BLACKWELL *MB*  
SUBJECT: PRO-LIFE STATUS REPORT

Contrary to the supposition that pro-life leaders would be upset if the President gave special recognition of the pro-life cause in connection with the January 22nd March for Life, I find that every element of the pro-life movement urges that the President have be involved on that day.

There is some disagreement as to what form the presidential involvement should take, but all agree he should do something special on that day.

All agree that it would be very appropriate for the President to make brief remarks from the White House, by loudspeaker, to the midday rally in the Ellipse. Everyone except March for Life organizer Nellie Gray would like the President to meet with pro-life leaders in the White House. Miss Gray will not attend any such White House meeting, but she does not strongly object to a White House meeting. Her only concern is to have the President recognize those thousands who come to participate in the march.

My very strong recommendation is that the President have a brief meeting with leaders in the Cabinet room, followed by brief remarks to the rally on the Ellipse to be carried by loudspeaker from the White House. I have prepared a schedule proposal, invitation list, talking points for the Cabinet Room meeting, and suggested remarks for the loudspeaker address.

Another important discovery is that all the major leaders are in agreement that the President should not take this occasion to express support for any one of the proposed remedies to the abortion problem. They are conscious of their disagreements and chagrined at the rise of personal attacks among themselves. Thus, a strong but general statement of support is what is needed.

Not surprisingly, several of the pro-life leaders specifically ask that the President call for greater unity in the pro-life movement. Since no one likes to think himself guilty of personally attacking others, all will applaud a call for unity.

By way of background, there are three main vehicles which command substantial support. They are:

1. The Helms-Dornan "Unity" Amendment. It would make abortion illegal and require, in a difficult pregnancy, an attempt to save the life of both the mother and the baby.
2. The Human Life Bill, sponsored by Senator Helms. It would declare an unborn child a person from the moment of conception and afford the unborn child the full rights of due process under the 14th amendment.
3. The Hatch Amendment. It would reestablish the situation prior to the Roe v. Wade U.S. Supreme-Court decision. It would give Congress and the states the right to restrict or prohibit abortions.

Most of the pro-life leaders now support the Hatch Amendment. This includes the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Opponents of the Hatch Amendment, including Nellie Gray and John Mackey, argue that the proposal is a trap designed to take the heat off of pro-abortion legislators. They argue that the Hatch Amendment is so weak that vulnerable pro-abortion legislators, such as Senator Moynihan, will vote for it and get "absolution" thereafter on the issue.

Moreover, opponents of the Hatch Amendment argue, there is no hope that the required two thirds vote in both houses can be obtained. Thus, they say, we will to some extent get rid of the issue without getting rid of abortions. They point out that the Bishops Conference is still in shock over the loss of liberal Democrats who fell in 1980 and who were the liberal bishops' allies on virtually every issue except abortions.

In sum, opponents of the Utah senator's amendment say that it is an "escape hatch" from the abortion issue for liberal senators and congressmen.

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH  
PRO-LIFE LEADERSHIP PRIOR TO MARCH FOR LIFE, 1982

- - - I know that many politicians would like to get rid of the abortion issue. I believe that you leaders agree with me that our priority must be to get rid of the practice of millions of abortions in our country.
- - - Almost every one of you has advised me and my staff not to take sides now in the controversy over which pro-life vehicle should take precedence in the Congress. I agree with this advice you have given me.
- - - I strongly believe that pro-life leaders must end the discouraging practice of public criticism of each other. The "eleventh commandment" has served the Republican party well. This could serve as a model for the pro-life movement: "Thou shalt not speak ill of fellow pro-life activists." I urge you to confine differences to issues and avoid the practice of personal attacks.
- - - I urge you to work to achieve unity. You know I am committed to sign effective pro-life legislation if it comes to my desk. If you achieve reasonable unity behind a constitutional amendment, which of course does not require my signature, I will be happy to work with you to win the required vote in Congress to submit an amendment to the states for ratification.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 21, 1982

MEETING WITH PRO-LIFE LEADERSHIP

DATE: January 22, 1982  
LOCATION: Cabinet Room  
TIME: 10:45 A.M.  
  
FROM: Elizabeth H. Dole

I. PURPOSE

To show the President's continued support for the pro-life cause.

II. BACKGROUND -- MARCH FOR LIFE

This march takes place annually and draws about one hundred thousand grassroots supporters of the President to Washington on behalf of legislation in support of human life. All major pro-life organization leaders have requested some form of Presidential involvement on January 22nd. All groups support the March for Life, despite their division on legal remedies. Almost every national pro-life leadership has specifically suggested that the President not endorse any of the proposed Congressional initiatives against abortion. They all agree it would be appropriate for the President to counsel this gathering of pro-life leaders to work for greater harmony among themselves and to confine their differences to issues rather than personalities.

III. PARTICIPANTS

See attached list

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House press corps photo opportunity

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

10:45 A.M. President arrives in Cabinet Room and circles table greeting his guests.  
10:49 A.M. White House press corps photo opportunity.  
10:51 A.M. President makes brief remarks and responds to questions and comments.  
11:00 A.M. President departs.

REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENTS.

To: Officer-in-charge  
Appointments Center  
Room 060, OEOB

Please admit the following appointments on January 22, 19 82

for Morton C. Blackwell of Office of Public Liaison  
(NAME OF PERSON TO BE VISITED) (AGENCY)

BECKETT, John D. ✓  
BROWN, Judie ✓  
BROWN, Paul ✓  
COCCIOLOONE, Denise ✓  
FALWELL, Jerry ✓  
FAUCHER, Sandra ✓  
FIORE, Charles ✓  
GEMMA, Peter ✓  
GARTON, Viola ✓  
HORAN, Dennis ✓  
JEFFERSON, Mildred ✓  
MACKEY, John ✓  
MCATEER, Ed ✓  
OHLHOFF, Ernest ✓  
ROSENBLUM, Victor ✓  
WILKE, Jack ✓  
WILLIAMS, Geline ✓  
YOUNG, Curtis ✓  
GRAY, Nellie ✓



b(6)

DEVINE, Donald  
SCHWEICKER, RICHARD  
SWOAP, David

4/14/37  
SECRETARY, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES  
8/12/37

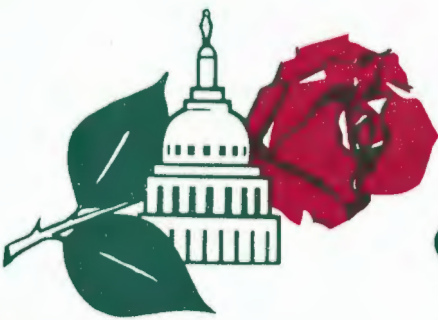
MEETING LOCATION

Building White House  
Room No. Cabinet Room  
Time of Meeting 10 A.M.

Requested by Morton C. Blackwell  
Room No. 191 Telephone 2657  
Date of request January 21, 1982

Additions and/or changes made by telephone should be limited to three (3) names or less.

APPOINTMENTS CENTER, S.O. OEOB - 395-6046 or WHITE HOUSE - 456-6742



# March for Life

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

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March 3, 1982

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Morton,

Thank you very much for arranging the prolife meeting with the President on January 22, 1982. It was good to have this opportunity to exchange comments, and I am looking forward to even more in-depth working meetings within the near future.

Thank you also for sending the photos of our meeting with the President. I am extremely delighted that you captured those moments on film, because they were of such short duration. You see, the very next day, I found myself alone, with all of the volunteers at meetings and working on other assignments. The phones were ringing, and I was trying to get to a meeting, myself. However, the snow blocked the walks and I couldn't get my car out of the drive.

After many shovels of heavy snow which stubbornly clung to the pavement, I began laughing through my huffing and puffing -- one day delivering roses to the President and chatting in the Cabinet room; the next day it's all-American back to the chores.

Thus, I thank you very much for the photos. They are a fine reminder of fleeting and good moments. I shall share them with our Board of Directors and other grass roots proliferers. Let's continue to work together as much as possible on this important prolife issue.

Many good wishes for your important work.

Sincerely in Life,


Miss Nellie J. Gray  
President

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 11, 1982

TO: Attendees, January 22, Cabinet Room Meeting

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell 

RE: Followup on March for Life Day

I thought you would like to have a copy, attached, of President Reagan's statement which Secretary Schweiker read to the March for Life rally in the Elipse.

Thank you for taking time on that busy day to attend our White House briefing. The President enjoyed the meeting and has repeatedly said so.

The entirely constructive tenor of the meeting demonstrated the unity of purpose of the pro-life movement.

Various news reports put too much emphasis on divisions in the movement. There are differences of opinion on pending remedies, and, occasionally, some leaders have expressed impatience with others. But I believe the movement has attained political maturity needed to act together at appropriate times.

You might find interesting the following, somewhat analogous situation in French history.

In 1870, following his defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, Emperor Napoleon III was overturned. In 1871 a new French National Assembly was elected. A major question to be decided was what form of government the country would have. There was strong sentiment to restore the Bourbon monarchy. The monarchists elected more than 400 to the new National Assembly, the republicans only 200 and the Bonapartists only a handful.

It seemed inevitable that the monarchy would be restored.

There was, however, one big problem. The monarchists were split. One faction were "legitimists" who wanted to crown as king the Bourbon pretender, the comte de Chambord, who was old and childless. The other faction were "Orleanist" monarchists, who supported their pretender, comte de Paris, of the younger Bourbon line. A

deadlock ensued.

By 1873, a compromise was strongly advanced. Under this proposal, the legitimist comte de Chambord would be crowned king, and his heir would be the Orleanist comte de Paris. Thus the purposes of both factions would be accomplished. Combined, they had the votes to win.

Old Chambord was willing to accept this arrangement, but he set a condition which outraged the Orleanists. He absolutely insisted on restoring the old Bourbon flag, a white field with gold fleur-de-lis.

Napoleon III had used the revolutionary French red-white-and-blue tricolor as the official flag of France. The Orleanists themselves had adopted the tricolor when they took over the French monarchy from the older Bourbon line (1830-1848). The comte de Paris and his Orleanists adamantly refused to accept the flag with fleur-de-lis in the 1870's.

The two monarchist factions hacked away at each other and failed to resolve this impasse. Bit by bit they lost National Assembly elections to republicans. A new constitution was drafted, and the label "republic" was approved by a single-vote margin. The chance of restoring their monarchy was lost, probably for all time.

Although the issues which sometimes separate pro-life leaders are more substantial than the design of a flag, the lesson is clear. Let us be sure our pro-life movement acts more wisely than did the French monarchists.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 21, 1982

List of Participants For Pro-Life Leadership Meeting  
Cabinet Room 1/22/82

10 A.M.

John D. Beckett	President, Intercessors for America
Judie Brown	American Life Lobby, Inc.
Paul A. Brown	Life Amendment PAC
Mrs. Denise Cocciolone	Birthright
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
Peter Gemma, Jr.	Executive Director, National Pro-life PAC
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

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH  
PRO-LIFE LEADERSHIP

- - I want to commend you for the progress that has been made in 1981 to protect the most defenseless in our society -- the unborn child. I have read the many reports of the differences in opinion on how to best end abortion on demand in America. In spite of this division, however, you should not lose sight of the fact that through your efforts there has been, for the first time, comprehensive hearings in Congress on the question of abortion. This in itself is a major victory.
- - I do not intend to take sides in the current controversy over which alternative the right-to-life community should embrace. I would hope, however, that people as dedicated to the same cause as yourselves will not give comfort to your opponents by failing to unite on a proposal or a compromise proposal so that we can stop the present national tragedy.
- - It is imperative that in addition to your legislative activities, you do everything you can to educate the American people on the abortion question. I am convinced the great majority of our citizens will support your cause if they are aware of the facts. I am sure you saw the recent Newsweek issue that devoted its cover story to new research on the unborn. We now know that a fetal heartbeat begins at three or four weeks, that the unborn child moves at six weeks and that the fetus will suck his thumb at eight weeks. I challenge anyone to look at that cover of Newsweek which shows an eight-week-old fetus and tell me that we are not dealing with human life. I have stated many times, including at my press conference this week, that if there is any doubt about whether we are dealing with human life, government must opt on the side of assuming that we are.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

SECRETARY RICHARD SCHWEIKER      —      HHS

B.A. Penn State    Phi Beta Kappa

1944-46 -    served in Navy

1950 - 60    - business experience  
              served as President of nation's largest ceramic tile  
              manufacturer

1961-69    -    13th PA      served as Congressman

1969 - 81    U.S. Senator from PA

Thus, 20 years Congressional experience in federal health and welfare  
policy background

Other primary legislative concerns in the health field    -  
halting federal support for abortions

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DR. DON DEVINE - Director, Office of Personnel Management

He has combined a distinguished academic career with active public service.

During transition time, he was the transition team leader for OPM and related federal personnel agencies.

Prior to this, he was associate professor of government and politics at the University of Maryland.

He also worked on the Hill with Congressmen Ashbrook and Phil Crane

He ran for Comptroller in Maryland.

He is the author of books on politics -  
most famous one Does Freedom Work?

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DAVE SWOAP - Under Secretary of HHS

He was sworn in as Under Secretary of HHS on March 23, 1981

He is a 16 year veteran of state and federal government service

He served as Legislative Director with Senator Armstrong

He was a professional staff on the Senate Committee on Finance  
Prior to that he was Senior Research Associate with the Republican  
Study Committee, House of Representatives.

Before coming to Washington he was Director of the California  
State Department of Benefit Payments and Director of the California  
State Department of Social Welfare under Governor Reagan.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH PRO-LIFE LEADERSHIP      January 22, 1982  
CABINET ROOM      10 A.M. - 11 A.M.

Morton Blackwell, Special Assistant to the President,  
Office of Public Liaison  
will chair the meeting.

10:05 A.M. - Don Devine, Director, Office of Personnel Management  
10:20 A.M. - Secretary Richard Schweiker, HHS  
10:30 A.M. - David Swoap, Under Secretary HHS  
10:45 A.M. - President Reagan

The following staff people have been invited to attend:

Ann Higgins  
Mary Gall  
Bill Gribben  
Rich Williamson  
Paul Russo  
Gary Bauer  
Ken Cribb

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

STATEMENT 1982 MARCH FOR LIFE

I am honored to welcome the 1982 March for Life to Washington.

I want to commend you for your efforts to see the fundamental right to life and dignity restored to the most defenseless member of our human family - the unborn child. Your steadfast dedication to this solemn and urgent cause has been an example of courage and a strength to our nation.

It is vitally important that you maintain bonds of peace among yourselves and promote unity within your movement. Now is the time to close ranks, to rally, and to bring protective human life action through the Congress.

It has been estimated that abortion currently destroys at least one out of every three American lives conceived. The collective national genius which will determine our future greatness is being seriously eroded and depleted. I urge all Americans to reflect seriously this year upon the intrinsic beauty, worth, and sanctity of human life.

Wonderful discoveries and advances continue to be made in the fields of human development and pre-natal medicine. During the past year successful surgery was performed on a developing unborn child. We now know more about our unique human beginnings than ever before.

I believe that as we all begin to study and to celebrate the unborn child, we will release healing to our nation, now bitterly divided and agonized over the issue of abortion.

Human life is a gift, most sacred when it is most defenseless.  
Let us prayerfully cherish and nurture it in an attitude of  
thanksgiving.

May God continue to strengthen, protect, and guide you in your  
selfless labors as protectors of the unborn.

Corrected speech by Aram Bakshian 1/21/82

Not cleared by OPD