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Folder Title:
Abortion

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BEVERLY HUBBLE TAUKE

Andy -

AC HAS SEEN

Here's the data we discussed.

What we desperately need is
Some Coordination among those who
share the President's view so no one
is the lone Ranger out there -

And so that diverse voices/
Sources can contribute to a climate
more focused on "peanut-butter-
and-jelly" concerns.

On that tally, we win. Please
Give me a call if you want to
pursue this.

Bew

484-7134

Key Domestic

and INTERNATIONAL

DATA: Abortion

"MAINSTREAMS"

**MAINSTREAM AMERICA ON ABORTION:
WHERE IS THE PEANUT-BUTTER-AND-JELLY MIDDLE?**

Harvard Law Professor Mary Ann Glendon, author of Abortion and Divorce in Western Law, notes that most Americans find themselves in the "peanut-butter-and-jelly" middle on the abortion issue, smushed between "two thin but very hard pieces of bread."

Just where is the "peanut-butter-and-jelly middle", and how do their views *contrast* with those of vocal activists at either extreme of the abortion debate?

Following are views of the American mainstream as defined by CBS/New York Times (September 28, 1989), Gallup (July 12, 1989), Los Angeles Times (March 19, 1989 & July 1989), Newsweek (July 17, 1989), TIME (July 17, 1989) and Boston Globe (March 31, 1989) polls.

#####

* WHAT TYPES OF ABORTION ARE APPROVED BY MAINSTREAM AMERICANS?

	<u>CBS/NY TIMES</u>	<u>LA TIMES</u>
1) LIFE OF THE MOTHER:	88% ("health danger")	88%
2) RAPE	82%	84%
3) INCEST		84%
4) SEVERE DEFECT/DEFORMITY	65%	74%

#####

* HOW DO THE "HARD CASE" ABORTIONS CITED ABOVE RANK AS "MOST IMPORTANT" REASONS CITED BY WOMEN SEEKING ABORTIONS? (Source: Allen Guttmacher Institute, affiliated with Planned Parenthood.)

Victim of rape or incest	1%
Woman cited "possible health problem" (including range of severity)	3%
Fetus has "possible health problem" (those confirmed by physician)	1%

#####

* WHAT DOES MAINSTREAM AMERICA FEEL ABOUT BIRTH-CONTROL ABORTION, (which minimally comprises 95% of abortions performed in America)?

<u>CBS/NY TIMES</u>	<u>LA TIMES</u>	3/89	<u>BOSTON GLOBE</u>
6% support	80% oppose		66% oppose

* WHAT DOES MAINSTREAM AMERICA FEEL ABOUT PARENTAL NOTIFICATION/CONSENT WHEN A MINOR DAUGHTER SEEKS AN ABORTION?

<u>CBS/NY TIMES</u>	<u>NEWSWEEK</u>	<u>TIME</u>	<u>BOSTON GLOBE</u>
83% approve notice	75% approve consent	72% approve consent	81% approve notice

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* WHAT DOES MAINSTREAM AMERICA FEEL ABOUT VIABILITY TESTS FOR LATE-TERM PREGNANCIES?

<u>CBS/NY TIMES</u>	<u>NEWSWEEK</u>	<u>LA TIMES</u> 7/89	<u>TIME</u>
2-to-1 favor tests	54% favor	57% favor	48%-to-38% favor

#####

* WHAT DOES MAINSTREAM AMERICA FEEL ABOUT LAWS TO PROVIDE COUNSELING FOR WOMEN TO ASSURE ACCESS TO DATA ON ALTERNATIVES AND DANGERS RELATED TO ABORTION?

<u>NEWSWEEK</u>	<u>TIME</u>
88% favor	81% favor

#####

* THE ECONOMICS OF ABORTION: Scrutinizing both mainstream American attitudes and abortion clients economically, the following picture emerges (LA TIMES poll, March 1989):

<u>WHICH AMERICAN INCOME</u>	<u>>\$40,000 INCOME:</u>	42% approve
<u>GROUPS FAVOR ABORTION?</u>	<u><\$20,000 INCOME:</u>	24% approve

RELIGIOUS INTENSITY: Stronger among low income strata, a key attitude determinant. Those who describe religion as "very important" in their lives:

OPPOSE ABORTION
BY 2-to-1 RATIO

ACTUAL ABORTION CLIENTS BY INCOME: "Contrasted with the widespread perception that abortion clients come from the low end of the socioeconomic ladder...(they) tend to be better educated, working full time, earning good salaries... single, a baby boomer and living in a metropolitan area."
(LA TIMES, March 19, 1989)

35% ACTUAL ABORTION
CLIENTS EARN INCOMES
EXCEEDING \$40,000

**HOW DOES AMERICA'S PEANUT-BUTTER-AND-JELLY MIDDLE
COMPARE TO THE GLOBAL MAINSTREAM?**

- * ON THE GLOBAL SCENE, WHICH NATIONS IN THE WESTERN WORLD ALLOW AMERICAN-STYLE EARLY-THROUGH-LATE-TERM BIRTH CONTROL ABORTION? (Source for following section is Abortion and Divorce in Western Law, Harvard University Press.)

- None in the Western World. Not England, France, West Germany, Italy, Greece, Canada or 13 other Western nations.
- None in the Soviet Bloc. Not East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, or the USSR, etc.

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- * WHAT WESTERN NATIONS HAVE ABORTION LAWS COMPARABLE TO AMERICAN-STYLE BIRTH-CONTROL ABORTION BUT LIMITED TO EARLY PREGNANCY? (p.14)

**"ELECTIVE" BIRTH CONTROL
ABORTION IN EARLY PREGNANCY
ONLY:**

**ELECTIVE BIRTH CONTROL ABORTION
THROUGHOUT PREGNANCY:**

Austria
Denmark
Greece
Norway
Sweden

U.S.A.

#####

- * WHAT WESTERN NATIONS BY LAW REJECT ROUTINE BIRTH-CONTROL ABORTION? (p.14)

**ABORTION ILLEGAL -
must strictly defend
medical necessity:**

**"HARD GROUNDS"
ABORTION ONLY -
serious health
risk, disease,
defect, or rape/
incest grounds:**

**"SOFT GROUNDS"
ABORTION IN EARLY
PREGNANCY ONLY -
Exceptional
hardship
demonstrated:**

Belgium
Ireland

Canada
Portugal
Spain
Switzerland

England
Finland
France
West Germany
Iceland
Italy
Luxembourg
Netherlands

#####

* WHAT TYPES OF ABORTION RESTRICTIONS ARE MOST COMMON IN OTHER WESTERN NATIONS?

Western nations other than the U.S. typically require pre-abortion procedures to protect the mother's full range of rights, and to seek balance between competing interests of the mother and the unborn child. France, for example, offers 70%-to-100% public financing of abortion, depending on compelling grounds for abortion. Even with public financing, however, France requires three pre-requisites (p.17):

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FRANCE: 3 ABORTION PRE-REQUISITES,
EVEN WITH PUBLIC FINANCING OF ABORTION

- 1) READING OF RIGHTS: All women seeking abortions must be presented a government brochure outlining all government benefits and programs available to mothers and children, adoption options and organizations offering assistance.
- 2) COUNSELING from a government approved service which cannot be located in an abortion facility, thus diluting possible bias or conflict of interest.
- 3) BRIEF ABORTION DELAY of one week required between an elective abortion request and the actual procedure, except for emergencies. (24-hours in some Western countries).

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- * LEGAL STATUS OF THE UNBORN CHILD has met with singular debate in West Germany, and is thus worth special notice. While German legislators approved abortion-on-demand, the West German Constitutional Court overturned those laws. The Court ruled that "life developing within the womb" is constitutionally protected by language stipulating that "everyone shall have the right to life and inviolability of his person." The court ruled that a woman's right to self-determination and privacy is subordinate to human life rights of the unborn child.

Given West Germany's "spiritual-moral confrontation" with the political system of the Third Reich, the Court emphasized every human being's "inherent worth...which uncompromisingly demands unconditional respect for life...and which therefore excludes destruction of such life without legally justifiable grounds....Even a general change of the viewpoints dominant in the populace on this subject--if such a change could be established at all--would change nothing," (page 30).

ABORTION:
INTERNATIONAL
COMPARISONS

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

AMERICA'S ABORTION POLICY ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE:

ABORTION AND DIVORCE IN WESTERN LAW

By Harvard Law School Professor Mary Ann Glendon
(Harvard University Press, 1987, [617] 495-2480)

How does America's abortion law stack up when compared to 20 Western nations as well as key communist societies?

That's the issue explored by Harvard Law School Professor Mary Ann Glendon, initially through a series of Julius Rosenthal Foundation Lectures at Northwestern University Law School. Glendon, who champions extreme positions of neither the pro-life nor pro-choice movements, makes the following observations:

* AMERICA OCCUPIES A GLOBAL EXTREME ON ABORTION POLICY:

America's abortion-on-demand policies are more extreme than those of Western Europe as well as the Soviet Bloc nations. Of these nations, only America has allowed abortion-on-demand throughout pregnancy, permitting but not requiring protective measures for the fetus at the point of viability.

* ABORTION AS ROUTINE BIRTH CONTROL IS REJECTED BY LAW in England, Switzerland, Greece, West Germany, Portugal and Spain, which require certification by doctors of grounds for abortion (page 21).

* MID-TO-LATE-TERM ABORTIONS: "Austria, Denmark, Greece and Norway all forbid abortion after the first trimester except for serious reasons, while Sweden places the cut-off point for elective abortions....at 18 weeks," (page 22).

* ABORTION MILLS: "Only in America has a vast profit-making industry grown up around abortion," (page 20) with so-called "abortion mills" being a uniquely American phenomenon. France, for example, publically finances abortions at a 70%-to-100% rate, depending on circumstances (page 17). But such procedures must take place in government-approved facilities where by law abortions "cannot exceed 25% of all surgical and obstetrical operations."

* TO CITE A NATION WHERE ABORTION LAWS ARE "AS INDIFFERENT TO UNBORN LIFE" as in the United States, one must look beyond the West, beyond Europe, even beyond the Soviet bloc, to nations where economic and population concerns "override(s) both women's liberty and fetal life...In China, for example..." (page 24).

* WARSAW PACT NATIONS: "The Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and East Germany all forbid abortion after the first trimester except for serious reasons, while Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania in recent years have made their abortion laws *more* restrictive," (page 24).

* LATE-TERM FETUS CONSIDERATION: Women's choice/elective abortion is allowed during some phases of pregnancy in only five Western nations other than the United States (Austria, Denmark,

Greece, Norway and Sweden). However, of those six Western "elective" nations, only America "does not require regulation to protect the fetus" at the point of viability (page 22).

* PRE-ABORTION REQUIREMENTS: Demonstrating greater legal protection of both the mother and the unborn child, Western nations other than the U.S. characteristically require pre-abortion procedures. Even with its 70%-to-100% public financing of abortion, France has carved out a middle way requiring (page 17):

1) READING OF RIGHTS: All women seeking abortions must be presented a government brochure outlining all government benefits and programs available to mothers and children, adoption options and organizations offering assistance;

2) COUNSELING from a government-approved service which cannot be located in an abortion facility, thus diluting possible bias or conflict of interest;

3) BRIEF ABORTION DELAY of one week required between an elective abortion request and the actual procedure, except for emergencies.

* CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF A FETUS: In a reverse of the U.S. experience, it was the West German Court which banned abortion-on-demand previously approved by legislators. The West German Constitutional Court ruled that "life developing within the womb" is constitutionally protected by language stipulating that "everyone shall have the right to life and inviolability of his person." The court ruled that a woman's right to self-determination and privacy is subordinate to human life rights of the unborn child.

Given West Germany's "spiritual-moral confrontation" with the political system of the Third Reich, the Court emphasized every human being's "inherent worth...which uncompromisingly demands unconditional respect for life...and which therefore excludes destruction of such life without legally justifiable grounds...Even a general change of the viewpoints dominant in the populace on this subject--if such a change could be established at all--would change nothing," (page 30).

RESPONSES TO "ABORTION AND DIVORCE IN WESTERN LAW"

"...Dynamite...blows to bits the often-heard contention that compromise on abortion policy is impossible in a divided society. The experience of other nations equally sundered along religious and moral lines shows that it is possible to craft an abortion policy marked by compassion for pregnant women and respect for unborn life."

-- DONALD P. KOMMERS, NOTRE DAME LAW SCHOOL

"...law is a 'culture system,' a 'story' by which society interprets itself... The 'story' Professor Glendon tells is a chilling one: society stumbles unintentionally towards atomization and nihilism." -- ANDREW M. GREELEY

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MEMORANDUM

TO: National Right-To-Life Committee

FROM: V. Lance Tarrance
Ed Gooss
Brian Tringali
Michael Basellios

DATE: November 8, 1989

RE: Virginia Statewide Post Election Survey

The National Right-To-Life Committee commissioned a survey of 500 people who said they voted in general election for Governor of Virginia. Responses to the survey were gathered November 7, 1989. All respondents interviewed were part of a fully representative sample based on the latest voter registration figures within the state of Virginia.

The confidence interval associated with a sample of this type is such that in 95 out of 100 cases results will be within $\pm 4.5\%$ of the "true values" where "true values" refer to the results obtained if it were possible to interview every voter in the state.

The issue of abortion was not the major factor as voters went to the polls on election day. Only twelve percent (12%) of the respondents said they voted for the candidate of their choice based solely on that candidate's position on abortion. Of this group, 42% said they voted for Marshall Coleman, and 39% said they voted for Douglas Wilder. Eighty-five percent (85%) said they did not vote for the candidate of their choice based solely on the abortion issue.

Additionally, the intensity of the abortion issue was overstated during this election. Only 12% of the respondents said they preferred a pro-life candidate and felt a candidate's position on this issue was very important in determining how to vote. There were even fewer voters (10%) who preferred a pro-choice candidate and felt a candidate's position on abortion was very important in deciding how to vote.

CBS NEWS POLL

The New York Times

FOR RELEASE: 9/28/89
6:30 p.m. EDT

SEPTEMBER, 1989 -- PART II
ABORTION -- NATION AND STATE
September 17-20, 1989

Two-thirds of Americans say they are concerned that women may lose the right to an abortion. The same percentage think their state is likely to enact abortion restrictions in the next year and are uneasy about the role of government in this area. But while Americans continue to think that abortion should be left to a woman and her doctor, there are clearly limitations that a majority would favor.

Americans support parental notification and consent for minors, viability testing of the fetus and upgrading of abortion clinics, even if that makes doing abortions more difficult. They disapprove of abortion as a means of birth control or as when done because a pregnancy would interfere with a professional woman's career. And they clearly have mixed feelings about abortions done for reasons other than rape, incest, saving a mother life or health, and the chance of a child with a birth defect.

Some of this comes from the belief held by nearly half the country that abortion is murder. Still, Americans oppose prohibiting public employees from performing abortions, and, by a wide margin, even those who favor outlawing all abortions disapprove of some pro-life group tactics like abortion clinic sit-ins.

Along with this national poll, CBS News conducted state-wide surveys in California, Illinois, Ohio and Texas and, in conjunction with The New York Times, in Florida. Ohioans express views very similar to the nation as a whole, while Texans are slightly less pro-choice, Illinois slightly more so, and Californians significantly more pro-choice. In Florida, where the state legislature is about to meet on abortion, and whose Governor is strongly anti-abortion, pro-choice opinions dominate.

The national poll was conducted among a random sample of 1,347 adults interviewed by telephone September 17-20, 1989. The error due to sampling could be plus or minus three percentage points for results based on the entire sample. State surveys were conducted September 13-24, 1989. The margin of error on each state could be plus or minus four percentage points.

ABORTION AND ELECTIONS

Nationally, 9% describe themselves as single issue abortion voters. As a group, they are less likely than the country as a whole to favor abortion in all circumstances. For example, only 45% of single issue abortion voters would say a woman should be allowed to have an abortion if her doctor agrees to it. Nationally, 58% say this.

In Florida, however, the single-issue group, unlike the state's Governor, is clearly more pro-choice than the state as a whole. 60% of single-issue abortion voters in Florida say abortion should be available to those who want it. 46% say this state-wide, and only 40% think this nationally. As a political force, the pro-choice voters may have been mobilized by the Governor Martinez's actions immediately after the Supreme Court ruling in Webster v. Reproductive Health Services.

(In all other states surveyed, single-issue abortion voters were dominated by those who are opposed to most abortions.

ABORTION AND THE COURTS

There are three cases up before the Supreme Court this fall involving abortion restrictions.

Parents
The subject of Ohio v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health is parental notification for minors. Americans favor this 83% to 13% (so do Ohioans, by similar margins). The Minnesota case, Hodgson v. Minnesota, concerns a state law requiring parental consent. Americans would also favor that, 75% to 25%.

(One of the most serious cases before the Court this session is Ragsdale v. Turnock, the Illinois case that would put stringent regulations on the licensing of private abortion clinics, requiring that they be effectively as well equipped as hospital emergency rooms. 72% favor this, even though it would make it more difficult for clinics to perform abortions. There is also majority support in Illinois for this.

As for the Webster case, most Americans are unwilling to express an opinion on this, saying they haven't heard enough about it. Among those who do, disapproval outweighs approval by more than two to one. However, the public does have opinions on two parts of that decision.

Americans favor viability tests for fetuses of 20 weeks or more by more than two to one. However, they oppose legislation (like that in the Missouri law) that would prohibit public employees and public hospitals from performing abortions.

SOURCES OF ABORTION OPINIONS

The ambivalence that exists in opinions about abortion comes from a variety of sources. But there are clearly conflicts about what and who is right, and what the role of government should be.

Nearly half the public thinks abortion is the same thing as murdering a child. But many of those people (and 21% of the total sample) say that while abortion is murder, it is sometimes the best thing in a bad situation. Consequently, many of these Americans will support legal abortion under certain, "serious," conditions.

69% of the public thinks that, no matter what their own opinion is, the government has no business preventing a woman from having an abortion. Nearly half of those who think abortion is murder believe the same thing, obviously creating a situation where personal opinion about abortion and about the role of government differ greatly.

Even among those who say they favor abortion generally, many will oppose abortion under certain conditions. Consequently, support for the availability of legal abortion varies drastically depending on the perceived "seriousness" of the reason for the abortion and the implications of bearing the child.

FAVOR LEGAL ABORTION ...

When mother's health endangered	88%
In case of rape	82%
If chance of serious defect	70%
When doctor agrees	65%
For low income family	49%
When woman is unmarried	48%
If teenager would have to drop out	47%
If professional would interrupt career	34%
As prime means of birth control	6%

What matters most in determining abortion opinion is not sex or religious preference. Women and men express generally similar views. Where they differ, women are slightly less pro-choice (for example, 88% of men supported legal abortion in cases of rape, while only 77% of women did). Catholics in general have opinions like those of other denominations.

Religious participation and the importance of religion have more of an impact on what people think about this issue. Those who say religion is extremely important in their own lives, and those who attend religious services regularly, regardless of their religious preference, are most likely to express anti-abortion opinions. They overwhelmingly describe abortion as murder. And while most Americans think the government should stay out of the abortion area, less than half of serious churchgoers do.

THE ACTIVISTS

Americans view pro-choice activists favorably, but have generally mixed opinions about their anti-abortion counterparts. 59% say pro-choice activists are reasonable people, but only 44% describe pro-life activists that way. Nearly as many say the pro-life activists are extremists.

Part of this may be due to the way Americans view certain anti-abortion activities. Three-quarters of the public say that abortion clinic sit-ins, blocking entrances, and approaching women entering clinics to try and keep them from having abortions are unacceptable forms of political protests. This is not seen as a civil liberties issue, even by self-described liberals. 81% of them say those tactics are unacceptable.

The Boston Globe

Vol. 235, No. 20

FRIDAY, MARCH 31, 1989

100 Pages • 25 cents

Most in US favor ban on majority of abortions, poll finds

This headline from the *Boston Globe* of March 31, 1989 is indicative of the findings of a number of newspaper polls conducted during the first few months of 1989. The vast majority of the American public does not believe abortion should be legal except under a few - - exceptionally rare - - circumstances. (See graph below.) The results of the *Globe* and other polls take on even more significance in light of the results of a Planned Parenthood-affiliated poll which asked women to give the main reason why they had chosen to have an abortion. (See graph below.) When the results of the *Globe* and Planned Parenthood polls are compared, it is clear that the reasons almost all abortions are done today are for precisely those reasons which the vast majority of the American public do not believe abortion should be legally available. In other words, the overwhelming majority of Americans oppose almost all abortions done today. Conversely, only a tiny fraction of the abortions being performed are done for reasons for which the American public would allow legal abortion (when the mother's life is threatened, when the pregnancy results from rape or incest, or when the child may be handicapped).

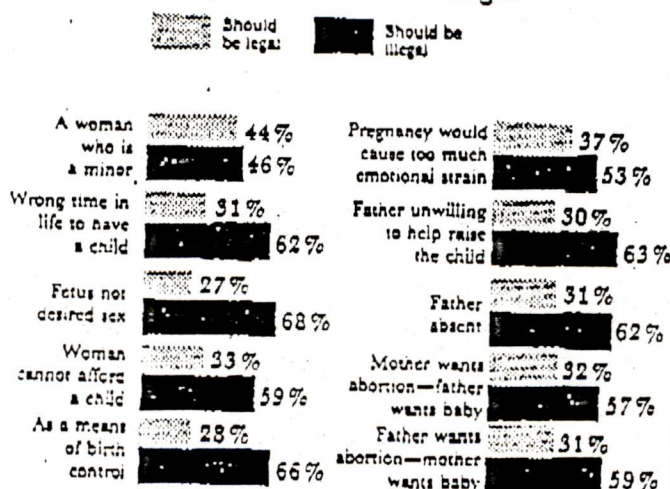
For the most part, polls also showed that only broad general statements about abortion - - such as if one "supports" the Supreme Court decision (which very few people understand and very few newspapers report correctly) - - are able to garner majority support. But when pollsters ask about specific circumstances, in almost all cases the American public overwhelmingly opposes abortion.

"Most Americans would ban the vast majority of abortions performed in this country. . . ."

*Boston Globe
March 31, 1989*

Polls Apart

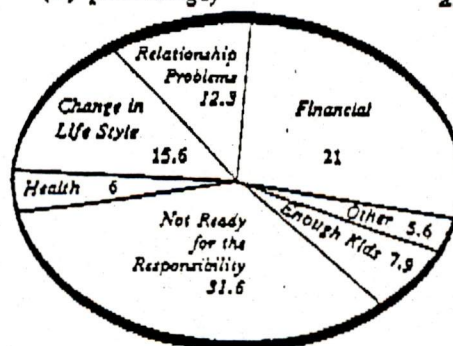
Majority wants it to be illegal



Most Important Reasons for Having an Abortion

(By percentage)

Survey of 1900 abortion patients



Aida Torres, Senior Research Assoc. Alan Guttmacher Institute, co-author J.D. Forrest Dir. of Research, AGI chart 1 with speech 5/7/88, session on "abortion services"; Assn. of Reproductive Health Professional Annual Meeting.

Aida Torres, senior research assoc., Alan Guttmacher Institute; co-author — J.D. Forrest, director of research, May 7, 1988.

This graph differs from the one published in the *Globe*, which showed the responses of only the 53% of respondents who support abortion in "certain circumstances." This more accurate graph reflects as well the 25% who support abortion in "all circumstances" and the 19% who support abortion in "no circumstances." Poll surveyed 1,002 registered voters nationwide.

GALLUP JULY 1989

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

This survey was conducted by telephone July 6-9, 1989, among a nationally representative sample of 1,253 adults, 18 and older. For results based on a sample of this size, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Results based on subsamples of the 1,253 interviews may be subject to larger sampling error. In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

1. In 1973 the Supreme Court ruled that states cannot place restrictions on a woman's right to an abortion during the first three months of pregnancy. Would you like to see this ruling overturned or not?

	<u>Current</u>	<u>4/89</u> <u>Newsweek</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>12/88</u> <u>10/88</u>
Overturn	34	39	37
Not overturn.....	58	51	58
DON'T KNOW.....	8	10	5
.....	100	100	100
.....		(750)	(1213)

2. Do you approve or disapprove of this week's Supreme Court decision allowing states to pass laws that restrict abortions?

3. Do you feel strongly about this or not?

Approve.....	37
Strongly.....	28
Not strongly.....	9
Disapprove.....	55
Strongly.....	44
Not strongly.....	11
DON'T KNOW.....	8
	100

4. As I read some restrictions on abortions that are being considered in some states tell me if you would favor or oppose such a restriction in your state?

Favor Oppose OK

Not allowing abortions to be performed in public hospitals unless the abortion is required to save a woman's life

54 43 3 = 100

In cases where the mother is five months pregnant, requiring a test to see if the fetus might survive outside of the womb before allowing the abortion?

52 41 7 = 100

Requiring that women under the 18 years of age get parental consent before they are allowed to have an abortion?

67 29 4 = 100

Passing laws and regulations that would make it very difficult for women's clinics that performs abortions to continue to operate

36 59 5 = 100

5. Do you feel that it is likely or unlikely that laws will be passed in your state that will make it difficult for a woman to get an abortion?

Likely.....54

Unlikely.....36

DON'T KNOW.....10
100

6. Which political party better reflects your views on abortion--the Republicans or the Democrats?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Indep.</u>
Republicans.....	34	66	13	24
Democrats.....	37	16	63	31
Neither (VOLUNTEERED).....	8	4	3	16
Both (VOLUNTEERED).....	1	1	2	2
DON'T KNOW.....	20	13	19	27
.....	100	100	100	100

7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush has handled the abortion issue?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Indep.</u>
Approve.....	43	59	33	38
Disapprove.....	35	25	44	37
DON'T KNOW.....	22	16	23	25
.....	100	100	100	100

8. As a result of the Courts ruling, are you more likely to do any of the following?

Take a political candidates position on abortion more into account when deciding which candidate to support

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Yes.....	61	58	64
No.....	31	39	29
Don't Know.....	5	3	7
.....	100	100	100

Contribute money or time to an organization supporting your position on abortion

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Yes.....	41	39	48
No.....	53	59	48
Don't Know.....	3	2	4
.....	100	100	100

Call or write an elected official to register your opinion on abortion

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Yes.....	54	48	59
No.....	44	50	39
Don't Know.....	2	2	2
.....	100	100	100

Take part in a public demonstration in support of your position on abortion

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Yes.....	25	21	29
No.....	72	78	67
Don't Know.....	3	1	4
.....	100	100	100

Now on another topic

9. As you may have heard, Oliver North was sentenced for his involvement in Iran-Contra case. Do you think the sentence was fair, the sentence was too harsh or North got off too easy?

Fair.....	49
Too harsh.....	20
North got off too easy....	26
Hadn't heard.....	1
DON'T KNOW.....	4
.....	100

GALLUP POLL NEWS SERVICE

FOR RELEASE: Wednesday, July 12, 1989

MAJORITY CRITICAL OF ABORTION DECISION; BUT MOST AMERICANS FAVOR SOME NEW RESTRICTIONS

BY ANDREW KOHUT AND LARRY HUGICK

PRINCETON, N.J. -- Last week's Supreme Court decision allowing states to put sharp new restrictions on abortion receives a strong and mostly negative reaction from the public. In the latest Gallup Poll, 55% disapprove of the decision while 37% approve. Seven in ten (71%) Americans say they have strong opinions one way or the other about the decision.

Americans remains deeply divided and conflicted in their attitudes toward the abortion issue. Neither side of the abortion debate can claim to have a majority of the public firmly in its camp. While most Americans oppose a complete reversal of the Roe v. Wade decision that gave women unrestricted access to abortion in the first three months of pregnancy, most would favor some new restrictions on abortion at the state level.

With an issue as controversial as abortion, virtually any decision is likely to fail to win the support of a majority. For example, although disapproval of last week's decision comes mostly from Americans who are "pro-choice", the poll finds that nearly one in three (29%) of those who favor the overturn of Roe v. Wade disapprove of the decision in the Missouri case.

Women Divided on a Women's Issue

Women are reacting more strongly than men to the recent decision. Now that the states have greater authority to restrict abortion, six in ten (63%) women say they will give greater weight to a candidate's position on the issue when they vote; a similar proportion (58%) say they are now more likely to call or write an elected official to register an opinion on the abortion issue. About one-half (48%) of women say they are more likely to contribute time or money to an organization supporting their own point of view on abortion; three in ten (29%) women are more likely to participate in a public demonstration on abortion.

Men are consistently less likely to express these attitudes. A majority (59%) of men, however, do say the abortion issue is now likely to be a more important consideration in the voting booth.

the fifth month of pregnancy (52%), another component of Missouri law governing abortion.

Looking ahead to a case the Supreme Court will consider next fall, a majority (59%) of Americans oppose the general idea of passing laws to make it more difficult for abortion clinics to operate.

Two Parties Even on Abortion Issue

Both parties have divisions within their rank-and-file on the abortion issue. The abortion issue clearly helps the GOP with Southerners and Evangelical Protestants, two groups who tend to oppose legal abortions. The degree to which Evangelicals have increasingly favored the Republican Party helps to explain why self-described Republicans are more likely than Democrats to favor the overturn of Roe v. Wade (43% vs. 33%). Yet a sizable proportion of Republicans (36%) oppose any change in the legal status of abortion, including the Supreme Court's recent ruling allowing new state restrictions. Upper-income people, college graduates, and the young -- groups that generally have Republican leanings -- all tend to be "pro-choice" on abortion.

Among Democrats, opinion leans toward the "pro-choice" position over a "right to life" stance (46% vs. 33%). Some of the groups most likely to identify with the Democratic Party, however -- older people, minorities and the less well educated -- are less likely to share the views of their fellow Democrats on abortion.

Overall, the two political parties rate about evenly when Americans are asked which one better reflects their views on abortion -- 37% name the Democrats, while 34% name the Republicans. The issue may give the Democrats a slight advantage among political Independents, who generally have less restrictive attitudes toward abortion. Independents favor the Democratic Party by a margin of 31% to 24% on the abortion issue.

President Bush gets a mixed rating from the public on how he has handled this controversial issue -- 43% approve while 35% disapprove. More than one in five (22%) expresses no opinion of Bush's handling of the issue. Opponents of legal abortion tend to approve (50% vs. 26% disapprove) while a majority (58%) of people with "pro-choice" attitudes disapprove. Those most pleased with Bush on the abortion issue tend to be male, Republican, and of the Catholic or an Evangelical Protestant faith. Those most likely to criticize Bush on the abortion issue tend to be female, college-educated, more affluent, non-Catholic, non-Evangelical and Democratic or Independent politically.

Most Americans Think Abortion Is Immoral

By GEORGESKELTON, Times Staff Writer

Most Americans personally consider abortion to be immoral, in fact, "murder." But they also believe deeply that each woman should be allowed to decide for herself whether to have an abortion, a nationwide survey by the Times Poll has found.

Abortion clearly is an issue that gnaws at the conscience and stirs up conflicting feelings about right and wrong and the practicalities of living in a complex society, the poll showed.

On the one hand, Americans adamantly object to abortion if its purpose is birth control. Nor do they support it as a way to avoid marriage. And they oppose it "on demand," as a mere convenience.

See Justification

On the other hand, practically everybody agrees that abortion is justified when the mother's life is in danger or if the pregnancy was caused by rape or incest. To a lesser extent, but still overwhelmingly, people also support abortion if the fetus is likely to have a serious physical defect.

Americans tend to support the Supreme Court's landmark decision in *Roe vs. Wade* that legalized abortion—a decision that has been under attack all through the 1980s by the Ronald Reagan Administration and now the Bush Administration. The high court plans to hear a new case challenging *Roe vs. Wade* on April 26 and to rule by summer, and there has been speculation that it could substantially alter or even overturn that decision.

Public support for the 16-year-

old court decision is only lukewarm, but people overwhelmingly oppose amending the Constitution to outlaw abortions, as advocated aggressively by "pro-life" groups.

In fact, the survey provides evidence that the years-long, constant agitation by factions on both sides of the issue—anti-abortion or "pro-life" and pro-abortion or "pro-choice" groups—has had little impact on public opinion. It indicates that American opinions

Please see ABORTION, Page 28

Continued from Page 1

on abortion today are about the same as they were a decade ago, according to Times Poll Director L.A. Lewis.

Politically, most people do not vote for a candidate simply because of a position on abortion, the survey showed. But a significant number—a third of those interviewed—admitted that they indeed would switch their vote away from a politician who took "the wrong stand." Most of these people generally oppose abortion, an indication that opponents feel more strongly about the subject than do supporters.

The Times poll, in one of the largest and most substantive surveys ever conducted on the emotional issue of abortion, interviewed 3,583 American adults by telephone March 3-10. The margin of error for a survey of this size is 3 percentage points in either direction.

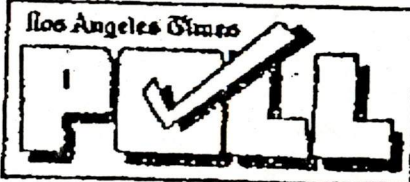
The survey included a national cross section sample of 2,406 people, plus an additional 1,177 women. The "oversample" of women was added because of abortion's special significance to them and in order to provide greater statistical precision to their opinions. But their answers were "weighted" so that, overall, they properly fit into a normal percentage mix of men and women.

Eight percent of the women interviewed acknowledged having had an abortion themselves—some of them more than once.

"Nobody really knows what pro-

portion of women in the United States actually have had an abortion," pollster Lewis said. "We have to assume that 8% is a minimum figure. A fifth of the women we interviewed who admitted they have had an abortion said they had never before told anyone about it. There must be many more who are still unwilling to discuss the subject."

Contrasted with the widespread perception that abortion clients come from the low end of the socioeconomic ladder, women who told the Times poll that they had aborted a fetus tended to be better educated, working full time, earn-



ing good salaries and generally representative of every racial and ethnic group. They also tended to be either childless or the parent of just one child, single, a baby boomer and living in metropolitan areas. Religion is not very important in their lives.

Americans generally find abortion to be morally repugnant, the poll showed. But they also see it often as a necessary evil, a last resort for desperate people.

Among those interviewed, 61% said they believe abortion to be "morally wrong." Just 22% said it is "morally right." Even women who have had an abortion are

divided on the moral question, with 57% considering it to be "wrong," 30% "right" and 24% not sure.

Indeed, a large majority—57%—think "abortion is murder," the poll found. Only 35% disagree. It even is considered "murder" by a third of the women who have had an abortion and a fourth of the people who generally favor it.

But the key to understanding the overriding attitude of Americans toward abortion can be found in their answers to this question: "Do you agree or disagree with this statement? 'I personally feel that abortion is morally wrong, but I also feel that whether or not to have an abortion is a decision that has to be made by every woman for herself.'" Seventy-four percent agreed and only 21% disagreed, with 5% not sure.

Even two-thirds of the people who said they generally oppose abortion agreed that each woman should be allowed to choose for herself whether to have one.

Unlike most of the "pro-choice" and "pro-life" activists who attract media attention, relatively few Americans approve—or disapprove—of abortion carte blanche under any circumstances. They have a range of standards.

In order of priority, for example, people favor abortion "when a woman's health is seriously endangered" (88%-6%), "if a woman became pregnant as the result of rape or incest" (84%-10%) and "if there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby" (74%-17%).

But they begin to oppose abor-

tion as the reasons become less compelling, such as "if the family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children" (41% for, 49% against), "if an unmarried woman who is pregnant does not want to marry the man" (40%-51%), "if she is married and does not want any more children" (36%-54%) and "when it is used as a form of birth control" (13%-80%).

People reject the general notion that a woman "should be able to get an abortion no matter what the reason" (34%-57%).

In fact, the respondents said that "generally speaking" they do not favor abortion (34% for, 40% against, 26% not sure). And even people who do favor abortion overwhelmingly oppose its use for birth control.

Yet, by 46% to 35%, people tend to support the Supreme Court's Roe vs. Wade decision, which struck down all state laws making abortion a crime and declared that the Constitution guarantees women the right to end early pregnancies—those in the first trimester—free from government interference. "Every woman has the right to control her own body," a majority of those interviewed by The Times agreed (51%-44%).

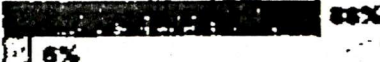
People are strongly opposed to any constitutional amendment that would outlaw abortions (28% for, 62% against). And they also oppose going back to the pre-1973 system of "permitting each state to decide whether abortions are legal" (34%

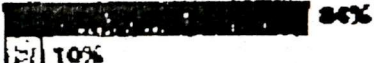
Please see ABORTION, Page 27

COMPLEX FEELINGS

☒ Favor ☐ Oppose

Do you favor or oppose?

Abortion when a woman's life is endangered  88%
6%

Abortion if a pregnancy results from rape or incest  84%
10%

Abortion if there is a serious birth defect  74%
17%

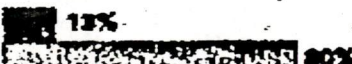
Abortion when the family has a low income and cannot afford any more children  41%
49%

Abortion when the unmarried woman does not want to marry the natural father  40%
51%

Using public funds for abortions  36%
52%

Abortion when a married woman does not want any more children  36%
54%

Abortion, no matter what reason  34%
57%

Abortion as a form of birth control  13%
80%

Abortion in general  34%
40%

ABORTION: Question Stirs Mix of Feelings

Continued from Page 26
(for 50% against).

The survey showed that people on the high end of the socioeconomic scale are dramatically more sympathetic toward abortion than those on the low end. For example, 45% of the people who went to college generally favor abortion, while only 25% of high school dropouts do. Likewise, 42% of people earning more than \$40,000 a year favor abortion, but just 24% of those who take in less than \$20,000 do.

For many, the practical, everyday burdens of giving birth and raising a child greatly influence their attitude toward abortion. For example, people who are self-employed, working full time or looking for a job are significantly more supportive of abortion than are homemakers or retired persons.

People in this survey were about evenly divided between those who think "motherhood must always be a woman's most important and satisfying role" and others who feel "motherhood can sometimes keep a woman from fulfilling her true potential in life."

The majority of people who support abortion think that raising children can hold back a woman in her career. But the majority of those who oppose abortion believe that motherhood should be the

THE POLITICS OF ABORTION

At present, it does not appear that the Bush Administration will suffer if the Supreme Court overrules *Roe vs. Wade*.

The Bush Administration has asked the Supreme Court to strike down its *Roe versus Wade* decision which essentially supports abortion. If the Court complies, will that make you more or less likely to support the Bush Administration?

More likely.....	15%
Less likely.....	19%
Have no effect.....	60%
Don't Know.....	6%

Part of the reason is that voters who favor abortion won't switch their vote on account of the abortion issue. But those who oppose abortion might.

Some people say they would vote against a political candidate if he or she took what they considered to be the wrong stand on abortion. How about you? Is the abortion issue so important to you that you would switch your vote from your original choice and vote for somebody else because you disagreed on abortion, or not?

	FAVOR ABORTION	OPPOSE ABORTION	NO OPINION	ALL RESPONDENTS
Switch	30%	45%	12%	32%
Not switch	65%	44%	77%	69%
Don't Know	5%	10%	11%	8%

Actually, abortion is not a partisan issue. Republicans and Democrats, for once, see eye to eye.

	Party Affiliation			ALL RESPONDENTS
	DEMOCRAT	INDEPENDENT	REPUBLICAN	
Favor	36%	31%	37%	34%
Oppose	39%	41%	41%	40%
No Opinion	25%	28%	22%	26%

most important, satisfying thing a woman does.

Only roughly one-fourth of blacks and Latinos favor abortion, but more than a third of Anglos do.

Surprisingly, however, there are no significant differences in abortion views between men and women, young and old and Republicans and Democrats, the poll found.

By religion, Jews solidly support abortion. But Christians—particularly Roman Catholics—do not. People who say religion is "very important" in their lives oppose abortion by more than 2 to 1.

Geographically, people along the Pacific Coast and in New England favor abortion more than others.

Please see A 2000 REPORT, Page 50

People Who Favor Abortion:

- Have generally liberal views on "family values." They favor changing woman's status in society and do not feel that a woman's place is in the home. They think motherhood can sometimes be a burden. They support homosexual rights.
- Tend to have fewer children; more often than not they are separated, remarried or have been divorced.
- Consider religion less important in their lives and tend to be Jewish or to attend religious services only occasionally.
- Politically identify themselves as more liberal and in party affiliation split evenly between Republicans and Democrats.
- Tend to earn more than \$30,000 per year, be middle-aged, live in a central city or suburb in New England, the Mid-Atlantic or the Pacific states. More likely than not a female wage earner contributes more than 40% of the family income.

People Who Oppose Abortion:

- Feel the country is in a state of moral decline and hold conservative views on "family values." To them, a woman's place is in the home and motherhood must always be a woman's most important and satisfying role.
- Have more children than average (four or more) and tend not to use contraception.
- Consider religion very important in their lives and regularly or frequently attend services. They are most often Latino and Roman Catholic or hold fundamentalist Pentecostal religious views.
- Are either conservative or tend to pay little attention to politics.
- Generally either own their own businesses or hold service-related positions, earning less than \$20,000 per year. They tend to live in smaller cities or in rural areas of the Midwest and Deep South.

ABORTION: Majority Support Women's Right to Make Choice

Continued from Page 27

Americans. People in the Deep South and Midwest are more opposed than others.

Divorced and separated people tend to support abortion. But single people who never have been married, and those who had split from their first spouse and remarried somebody else, are divided on the issue. People in their first marriages tend to oppose abortion.

Also, people who favor abortion tend to be much less certain of their views than those who oppose it.

The public does not want to use tax funds to pay for abortions of poor people, the survey showed (38% for, 52% against). There is a wide difference of opinion between people who favor abortion (64% for using tax dollars) and those who oppose it (15% for).

But roughly two-thirds of all people—abortion supporters and opponents alike—believe that the responsibility for financing the termination of a pregnancy should rest with one or both of the parents.

More than two-thirds of those interviewed said "the government should make contraceptives more widely available." Even 71% of

However, 56% of the people in this survey reported that they use no contraceptives. Actually, Catholics reported using them slightly more than Protestants or Jews.

There is a tendency to feel that "legal abortions have encouraged people to become sexually promiscuous" (48% agree, 43% disagree).

People believe overwhelmingly that "minors should have to get their parents' permission before having an abortion" (81%-14%). However, the survey offered a good illustration of why most pregnant minors do not seek their parents' permission. When asked if they had a pregnant daughter whether they would "help her get the abortion or oppose it," only a third replied "help" and half answered "oppose."

A majority of people think any woman seeking an abortion should be required "to get the consent of the natural father" (53%-37%). Women think this less than men, but they tend to agree.

Finally, people had poor impressions of leaders of both the pro-abortion and anti-abortion movements (only 26% and 24% favorable, respectively).

Conversion

Parental consent

Dad

↓ Leaders

Many in Survey Who Had Abortion Cite Guilt Feelings

By GEORGE SKELTON, Times Staff Writer

For a woman who has an abortion, the experience can be traumatic, leading often to feelings of guilt and sometimes even regret about her decision not to bear the child. The father of an aborted fetus typically is nagged even more by guilt and regret.

While the national debate over abortion usually is focused on the highly vocal activists who compete passionately on each side of the emotional issue, the public seldom hears from the women who actually have had abortions. But in a nationwide survey, the Times Poll caught a unique glimpse of their motivations, backgrounds, attitudes and anxieties—for instance, that more than half feel guilty about the abortion and one-fourth regret it.

Women who get abortions, according to this survey, tend not to be members of the underclass, as they often are portrayed. Compared to the average, they are better educated and have higher incomes—42% went to college and 35% earn more than \$40,000.

They also tend to be single, between the ages of 24 and 40 and live in metropolitan areas. They are not very religious. And a higher percentage of women in the West get abortions than do women in other regions.

One-fourth said that someone else in their immediate family also

has had an abortion—a sister, mother or a daughter.

Eight percent of the 2,533 women interviewed by telephone acknowledged having had at least one abortion. But Times Poll Director I.A. Lewis estimated that this 8% represents only a minimum figure for actual abortions, theorizing that many women are reluctant to admit having had one.

In fact, one-fifth of the women in this survey who admitted having had an abortion said that they never had told anybody about it before talking to the Times interviewer. But over half said they had informed their spouse or their parents, or both.

A "sense of guilt about having had an abortion" was felt by 56% of the women. And 26% said they now "mostly regret the abortion."

Among the 1,050 men interviewed in the survey, 7% acknowledged having been the father of an aborted child. Guilt was felt by almost two-thirds and regret by more than a third.

Only 39% of the women believed that abortion is "morally right." About as many, 37%, considered it to be "morally wrong" and 24% were not sure. Roughly a third agreed that "abortion is murder."

But, in answer to another question, roughly three-fourths declared that although "abortion is

morally wrong," the decision about whether to have one "has to be made by every woman for herself." A "woman has the right to control her own body," they said.

For most of these women who have had abortions, the issues came down to matters of "human rights" and "a realistic solution—a necessary evil for a personal dilemma."

Asked why they got an abortion, the principal reason cited was that "I was too young." Other major reasons given were that the pregnancy posed a threat to the mother's health, that she could not financially support the child or that there was a flawed relationship with the father.

Before reaching the agonizing decision to have an abortion, the person whom the woman most commonly talked it over with was the father. (43% of the time). Parents were consulted less than half as often (20%).

Nearly two-thirds of the women oppose the idea of requiring the natural father's consent before an abortion can be performed. But two-thirds agree that "minors should have to get their parents' permission before they can get an abortion."

More than two-thirds felt that even if abortions were outlawed, it would not reduce the number now being performed in the United

States. They apparently felt that women with unwanted pregnancies merely would turn to back-alley abortions.

Asked whether it would be harder for an unmarried woman to rear a child out of wedlock, or give up the baby for adoption, or have an abortion, a majority (52%) said the "hardest" thing would be to hand over the infant to adoption. The easiest was abortion (18%).

A majority indicated they considered motherhood a burden, with 53% agreeing it "can sometimes keep a woman from fulfilling her true potential in life." These women rejected the thesis that "motherhood must always be a woman's most important and satisfying role." Only 32% agreed with the latter statement.

Two-thirds said they would "help" their own daughter obtain an abortion, but more than a fifth declared they would "oppose it."

One-third said that "abortions have encouraged people to become sexually promiscuous."

About half said they were not using any contraceptive when they got pregnant. And in the majority of cases (57%), both sexual partners were single.

The survey was conducted March 3-10. The margin of error was 3 percentage points in either direction.

Actual Clients

\$

June 6, 1989

National Right to Life News

Reasons Women Obtain Abortions

Reason	Percentage Who Said This Reason Was "Most Important"	Percentage Who Said This Reason Influenced Decision In Any Way
Woman is concerned about how having a baby could change her life	16%	76%
Woman can't afford baby now	21%	68%
Woman has problems with relationship or wants to avoid single parenthood	12%	51%
Woman is unready for responsibility	21%	31%
Woman doesn't want others to know she has had sex or is pregnant	1%	31%
Woman is not mature enough, or is too young to have a child	11%	30%
Woman has all the children she wanted, or has all grown-up children	8%	26%
Husband or partner wants woman to have abortion	1%	23%
Fetus has possible health problem	3% - 19% Doctor confirmed	13%#
Woman has health problem (severity?)	3%	7%*
Woman's parents want her to have abortion	less than .5%	7%
Woman was victim of rape or incest	1%	1%
Other	3%	6%

The following footnotes to the table above explain how the percentages for "life of the mother" and "genetic abnormality" described in the text above were calculated.

*The actual number of abortions for "genetic abnormality," a situation that most members of the public would regard as a "hard case," is actually significantly smaller than the 13% listed here because of the broad category that AGI used in constructing this table.

Thirteen percent of all of the 1,900 women surveyed stated that a possible health problem of the fetus contributed to their decision to abort, and according to additional information provided in the text of the AGI article, of that thirteen percent, only eight percent said "that a physician had advised them that the fetus had a defect or was abnormal," a justification that most members of the public would consider as a "hard case" reason for their abortion.

Therefore, only 1% (computed as .08 times .13 = .01—or 1%) of the 1,900 women surveyed gave fetal abnormality as a reason for abortion. The percentage would be even lower if we used the figure for the "most important reason."

*The actual number of abortions sought for what most members of the public would regard as a "hard case" of "endangering the life or health of the mother" is actually significantly smaller than the 7% listed in the table because of the broad category that AGI used in constructing this table.

"In all, 53 percent of those having an abortion because of a health problem said that a doctor had told them that their condition would be made worse by being pregnant," stated the AGI article.

Therefore, less than 4% (computed as .53 times .07 = .037—or 3.7%) of the 1,900 women surveyed gave a personal health condition as a hard case reason for abortion. The percentage would be even lower if we used the figure for the "most important reason."

ORIGINAL SOURCE:
Allen Guttmacher
INSTITUTE -
Affiliated with
Planned Parenthood
*

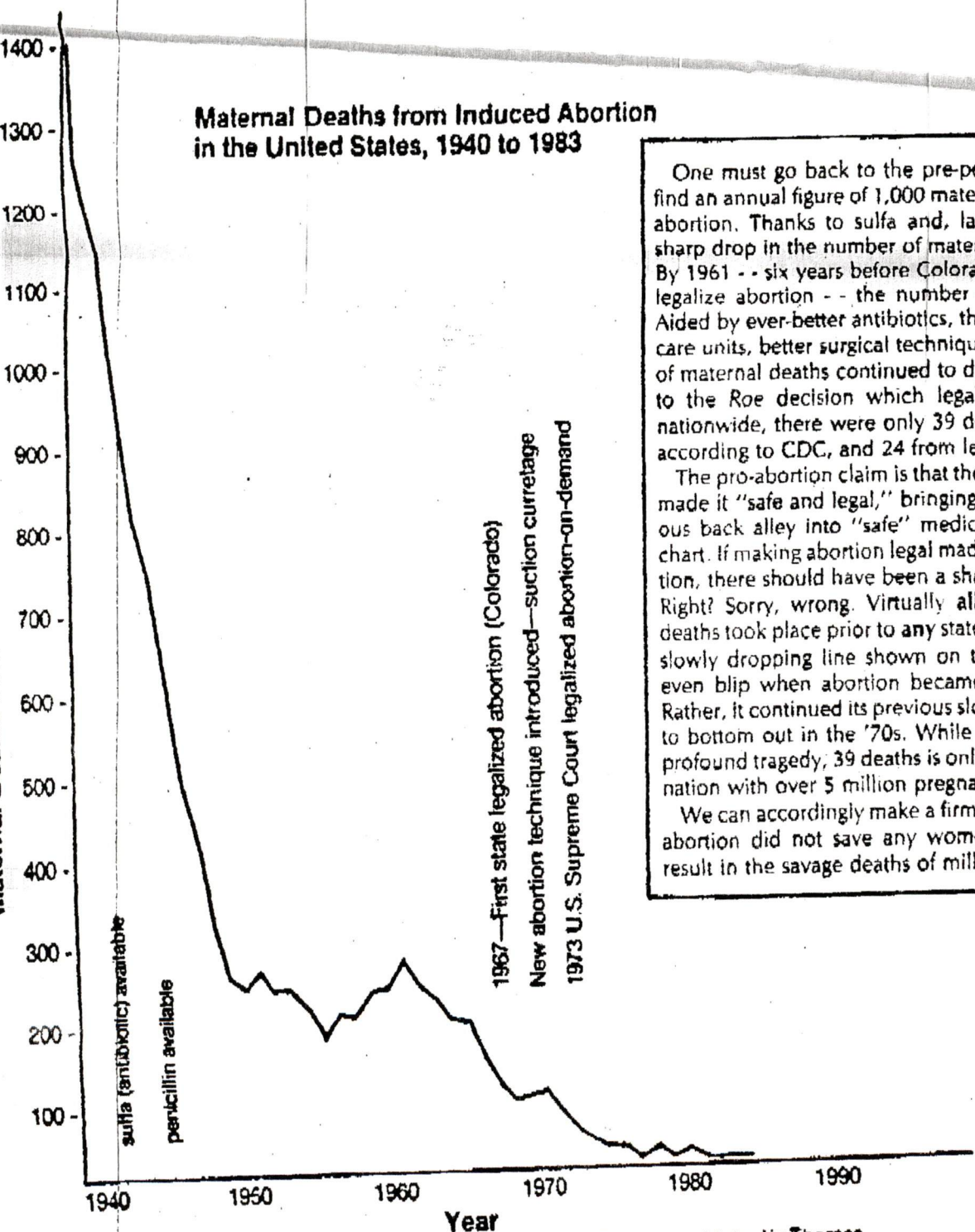
Public Opinion Regarding Post-Webster Protective Legislation (In Percent).

Poll Source:	Newsweek	Gallup	L.A. Times	Media General	Time
Respondent N:	751	1,253	756	1,163	504
Sampling Error:	4%	3%	4%	3%	4.5%

Law Provides For	Newsweek		Gallup		L.A. Times		Media General		Time	
	Favor	Oppose	Favor	Oppose	Favor	Oppose	Favor	Oppose	Favor	Oppose
Counseling re: dangers/ alternatives	88	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	81	16
Parental Consent	75	22	67	29	—	—	—	—	72	25
Viability Testing	54	33	52	41	57	32	62	21	48	38
Exemptions For:										
Public hospitals	54	41	54	43	56	40	38	53	—	—
Public funds	61	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	37	57
Public employees	—	—	—	—	56	40	47	40	—	—

Sources: Newsweek (July 17, 1989) 15, 20; Gallup Poll News Service (July 12, 1989); Los Angeles Times Poll #190 (July, 1989); Media General/Associated Press Poll (July, 1989); Time (July 17, 1989) 63.

Advances in Medicine—Not Legalization of Abortion— Caused Drop in Abortion-Related Maternal Deaths



One must go back to the pre-penicillin era of the 1940s to find an annual figure of 1,000 maternal deaths from all induced abortion. Thanks to sulfa and, later, penicillin, there was a sharp drop in the number of maternal deaths due to abortion. By 1961 - - six years before Colorado became the first state to legalize abortion - - the number was already down to 275. Aided by ever-better antibiotics, the establishment of intensive care units, better surgical techniques and the like, the number of maternal deaths continued to drop. By 1972, the year prior to the Roe decision which legalized abortion on demand nationwide, there were only 39 deaths from illegal abortions, according to CDC, and 24 from legal abortions.

The pro-abortion claim is that the legalization of abortion has made it "safe and legal," bringing abortion out of the dangerous back alley into "safe" medical facilities. But look at the chart. If making abortion legal made it safer, then, with legalization, there should have been a sharp drop in maternal deaths. Right? Sorry, wrong. Virtually all the reduction in maternal deaths took place prior to any state legalizing abortion, and the slowly dropping line shown on the chart on page 20 didn't even blip when abortion became legal nationwide in 1973. Rather, it continued its previous slow steady downward course, to bottom out in the '70s. While every maternal death was a profound tragedy, 39 deaths is only a miniscule percentage in a nation with over 5 million pregnancies a year.

We can accordingly make a firm factual statement. Legalizing abortion did not save any women's lives. (It did, however, result in the savage deaths of millions of unborn children.)

SOURCES: 1940-1972: Data from U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, published in Thomas W. Hilgers, M.D. and Dennis O'Hare, "Abortion Related Maternal Mortality: An In-Depth Analysis," *New Perspectives in Human Abortion*, ed. Hilgers, Horan and Mall (Frederick, MD: University Publications, 1981), p. 82.
1973-1983: U.S. Centers for Disease Control, "Abortion Surveillance, 1982-1983" (February 1987). *MMWR* 1987, 36 (No. 1SS), page 41SS.

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TO:

MR. ANDREW CARD
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December 7, 1989

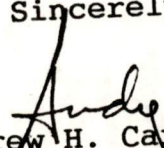
Dear Bev,

Thanks for the information on the abortion issue. I found it very interesting and will share it with others.

I have enjoyed the opportunities we have had to talk, both at the Corazon Aquino State Dinner and at the Kennedy Center Honors. I expect I will be seeing you tomorrow in Des Moines.

Keep in touch.

Sincerely,


Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

Mrs. Beverly Hubble Tauke
400 "O" Street, S.W., #203
Washington, D.C. 20024