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1998-0004-F[1]

FOIA Number:
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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Issues Files

OA/ID Number: 29142
Folder ID Number: 29142-004

Folder Title:
Cardinal Law (1989)

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	15	24	7	1

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

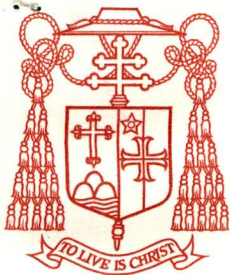
Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Memo	From David A. Pacelli to Brent Scowcroft Re: Answers to Cardinal Law's Questions on Cuba to be Passed to Governor Sununu (2 pp.)	10/13/89	(b)(1)	C
02. Note	From Linda Casey to John Sununu Re: Message from Cardinal Law and Alliance Against Pornography (1 pp.)	10/11/89	P-5	
03. Paper	By Cardinal Law on Bush inauguration (2 pp.)	n.d.	P-5	
04. Note	From Linda Casey to Governor Sununu Re: Message from Cardinal Law (1 pp.)	4/4/89	P-5	

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Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Cardinal Law (1989)

Pinksheet Number: KO0527
OA/ID Number: 29142-004
Date Closed: 12/1/2004
FOIA/Sys Case #: 1998-0004-F[1]
Re-review Case #: 2005-0426-S
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:



CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

✓
file

November 29, 1989

Dear Governor,

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

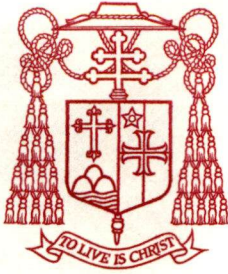
Thanks for seeing my associates.

Please listen to them.

You are in my prayers. I do not
believe the purpose of their visit is unrelated
to the significant trip you are about to take.

In Xto,

Ben Cardinal Law



CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
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MEMORANDUM

✓
file

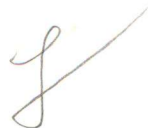
To: Chief of Staff
From: Bernard Cardinal Law
Re: Church in Cuba
Date: November 29, 1989

for NCL/TJM

1. The United States has for thirty years maintained a severe policy of opposition to the government of Cuba. This includes the present policy of economic sanctions.. The U.S. has indicated its satisfaction with this policy, believing that it has brought suitable pressure against the Cuban regime. The U.S. has indicated its intention to continue this policy for the foreseeable future.
2. The Church in Cuba has suffered much under the present Cuban government in the last thirty years. The Church can ill afford another thirty years of the same.
3. In recent times, there has been a new opening of the Cuban Government in the Church's regard. While the Cuban government has begun this dialogue for its own interests, the Church must take advantage of the new possibilities to obtain some greater degree of freedom for her pastoral mission. To do this, she must be able to respond to some degree to meet some of the expectations of the Cuban government, while asking and receiving greater concessions in her own interest. The goal must not be a list of concessions, but the recognition of the rights of the Church.
4. Cardinal Law wishes to be of assistance to the Church in Cuba at this critical time. While the situation for the Church remains very difficult, it is necessary to do everything possible to strengthen her and to establish her presence more fully in the public realm of Cuban society.
5. The negative policy of the U.S. has achieved some results, even though it has not succeeded in changing or containing the activities of the Cuban government at home or in Central America. The U.S. policy has not contributed in a positive way

towards the building up within Cuban society of public institutions such as the Church which can prepare for the changes which are hoped for in Cuba. At the same time, such public institutions will need to be in place when any change eventually can be realized. The Church is presently the only institution which could fulfill such a role in Cuba.

- 6 The recent changes in Eastern Europe underscore the importance of the role of public insitutions for social change.
7. The Cardinal requests from the Administration an attentive and generous consideration of his occasional requests for exception and/or permissions so that he might be of assistance to the Cuban Bishops in their current attempt to promote the public presence and role of the Church in Cuban society. He asks direction and guidance as to how such requests can be reviewed and decided.

*file*
Cardinal Law

PILOT COLUMN, NOVEMBER 22, 1989

Last night at St. Mary of the Annunciation parish in Cambridge, I prayed for peace in El Salvador and for eternal rest for all victims of the ten years' war that has claimed 70,000 lives in that country. The congregation for the Mass was, for the most part, Salvadoran. Some of those assembled have been in Boston for years, while one young man had just arrived, having left El Salvador only fifteen days ago.

The focus of our gathering, like that of so many around the United States, was the barbarous killing of the Jesuit priests and their associates. Absolutely nothing can justify such inhuman acts. The indications are that an effective investigation is underway by the government of El Salvador. While the redress of similar wrongs during an earlier presidency have left much to be desired, that is no reason to prejudge the outcome in the present case. Our government must do all within its power to press the Administration of President Cristiani to pursue effectively and terminate quickly its investigation, and to follow this up with appropriate legal action.

At the same time, both the FMLN and the Salvadoran government must be pressed to enter into an effective cease fire with a commitment to get negotiations on track for a final end of the war. The recent round of fighting in the nation's capital

-2-

invites blame on both sides. The FMLN bears responsibility for initiating this offensive for the self-avowed purpose of strengthening its hand in negotiations. It is impossible to justify this action. As regards the Salvadoran government, there is legitimate concern as to whether the military response has been proportionate. The U.S. government must insist that national security not be used as a pretext by the government of El Salvador for a military response that is indiscriminate.

There are those voices in the United States who would call for support of the FMLN. Others might have wished there had been an electoral victory by the Christian Democrats. There has been an election, however, and the turnout was extraordinary given the efforts to dissuade persons from voting. It appears appropriate, therefore, that the United States should use its influence to move the elected government of El Salvador along the way of cease-fire, and negotiations aimed at ending the war.

Our influence must also be exerted to encourage the government in moving further in land reform as well as social and economic development. To secure the peace and to encourage development, -- these goals must be aggressively and creatively pursued by our government.

The recent study of the World Bank on Sub-Saharan Africa is instructive with regards to development. What the World Bank has discovered for Africa, what is gaining ground elsewhere, as in

-3-

India, for example, is that "small is beautiful." Economic development need not be translated into the same high-tech language for all parts of the world. The Salvadoran small farmers should be helped on their own terms to enhance a quality of life which in many ways can teach much to a highly industrialized society like our own.

The Church's social teaching, so eloquently expressed by the Holy Father, sees the human person as pivotal for any political system or economic plan. What is essential is that human dignity be secure, that human rights be recognized, that justice be pursued. There are ample examples of failures by the right and the left. A just social order remains the quest before us all.

As we pray for peace in El Salvador, it is good to remember, in the words of Pope Paul VI, that "development is the new name for peace."

Bernard Cardinal Law
Archbishop of Boston

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

GOVERNOR SUNUNU

YOU WILL, I KNOW, BE AS HEARTENED BY THESE WORDS OF ARCHBISHOP MAY
AS WERE ALL OF US WHO HEARD THEM. PLEASE PASS THIS ON TO THE PRESIDENT.

BERNARD CARDINAL LAW

NOVEMBER 6, 1989

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
Archbishop John May
General Meeting--NCCB
Baltimore

Your Eminence, Cardinal Casaroli, Archbishop Laghi and my brother bishops,

We stand in a place of history, at a moment of history. On this very date two centuries ago, the successor of St. Peter recognized that the Church in our country had come of age. Agreeing with the priests of this land that the city of Baltimore was the heart of Catholicism in these young colonies, Pope Pius VI on that day named John Carroll as the first bishop of Baltimore and the first bishop in these United States.

Quite likely, neither the Holy Father nor John Carroll imagined the marvelous and nearly miraculous growth that would occur in the fledgling Catholic community on these shores.

The history of the Church in this nation since that day--while lacking neither its joys nor its struggles--has been a proud one. In contrast to the handful of parishes and several thousand Catholics in these states in 1789, we look out now at a Catholic mural painted wide across America--55 million Catholics, 19,000 parishes, 232 Catholic colleges and universities, 9633 elementary and secondary schools, 640 hospitals, 206 clinics and dispensaries, 667 nursing homes, and 239 child welfare

page two

centers. In rural settings and on city corners, in villages and in suburbs, Catholic churches and the institutions they have spawned serve as centers of prayer and worship, of education and of Christian service.

I recognize, keenly and humbly, that three years is but a small slice of that large history. But as I near the end of my term as your elected president, I beg your indulgence for just a few moments; I would like to share with you some observations which have occurred to me as I have viewed the scene from the president's chair.

What has struck me especially, and pleased me greatly, is the way we bishops have worked in concert with one another. The story of episcopal collegiality in our country is nothing new. It began in November of 1810, when John Carroll met for two weeks in Baltimore with the bishops of the newly created dioceses of Boston, Philadelphia and Bardstown, Kentucky to discuss joint concerns and policies. From that day until this, our cooperation has been genuine and productive.

That we bishops share the same faith and the same moral principles is obvious; that we would differ, from time to time, on policy and strategy is not surprising. A friend of mine once said to me, "You know, if you and I agree on everything, then one

page three

of us is superfluous."

Where the issue is policy, not doctrine, we are committed to working things out by discussion and consensus. The genius of the American way is that everyone's voice is heard-- and, where possible, accommodated.

So it is in this fashion-- by listening to one another, and to other people as well-- that we craft documents and hammer out decisions which will speak to our Church and to our country. In operating this way, we remain faithful to our traditions. John Carroll, for example, while never waffling on matters of faith, felt that the manner of presenting Catholicism in the United States had to be adapted to a land which had been founded on the principles of religious liberty and democracy.

The Middle East document, which will be presented today and discussed on Thursday, serves as a convenient example. A year in preparation, it has been developed by broad consultation-- including a lengthy discussion at last month's Administrative Board meeting, the opportunity for each of you to send in amendments based on your own reflections and conversations in your own dioceses, and finally the deliberations which will take place this week. Here we are fashioning a statement not on theology but on public policy and progress towards peace. And

page four

while certain moral principles are central to our thinking, strategies can differ.

Likewise important in the Middle East discussion have been consultations with other groups--leaders of Jewish and Arab communities and of Eastern Christians, as well as extensive travel and meetings by our drafting committee in the nations affected. In meeting with leaders of other religions, the drafters have followed a pattern of activity set for us long ago by our Committee on Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs. That Committee, which this year marks its 25th anniversary, not only promotes religious unity through dialogue but also helps to insure that the views and sensibilities of other faiths will be respected in all that we say and do.

By such a process as this--a process which blends our role as moral teachers and our respect for our country's democratic traditions--we are able to present the teaching of the Church as applied to the present day.

The people of our nation need to hear our voice--on the Middle East, as on many issues. They need to hear the voice of advocates for the poor, the vulnerable, the war-torn and the defenseless of our society. Let me mention another issue--an issue where strategy and tactics are

page five

important but secondary, where clear-cut moral principle stands tall above all else. That is the issue of abortion. In the womb of a pregnant woman is a tiny child. That the child is tiny doesn't matter; that he or she is a child matters a lot. Every pregnant woman knows that there is a child growing within her. She doesn't say "I'm carrying a lump of tissue." She says, "I'm carrying my baby."

If someone were to propose that any six-month old baby who seemed to be a burden to the family --an economic burden, or a psychological one, or simply an inconvenience--could be carried down to the Baltimore Harbor and dropped in the water, people would stand aghast at that notion and reject it out of hand. Then, I ask, what is the difference between a child a few months after birth and a child a few months before? The only real difference, I would say, is that you can see the one and not the other. And sonograms are making that difference disappear.

"Don't forget the baby." That's all the Catholic Church is saying to America. To say that abortion is an issue of "choice" distorts it--though the media insist on calling abortion advocates "pro-choice" while refusing to call us "pro-life".

When people say abortion is a matter of choice, they're

page six

forgetting someone. "Pro-choice" is a phrase that is incomplete; it lacks an object. One must ask the natural follow-up: the choice to do what? If it were the choice to poison an elderly person, or to smuggle drugs, or to embezzle from a bank, no one would defend that choice. In this case, it's the choice to take a child's life. Who defends the child's choice, the child's inalienable right to life?

The Church, therefore, has no option: it must speak out to protect that child. And while it is doing that, it must reach out, too, to help the woman -- who often must face agonizing situations alone, sometimes with the father of the child having long since fled the scene. And so we will continue to provide more than 150 centers for pregnant women and to spend many millions of dollars each year on social services, so that no woman need ever feel forced into a tragic act. Every woman in America should know that the Catholic Church is willing to care both for her and for the baby she is carrying.

I believe that the Catholic Church is a strong force, in our country, in the struggle for human dignity. Whether the Church is resettling refugees to our shores (as it did with 26,000 last year) or testifying before Congress to protect farm workers from pesticides or helping to organize for homeless housing or protecting the rights of a terminally ill hospital patient, we are standing in the forefront of America's move toward progress. It

page seven

gratifies me greatly that the Bishops Conference has been such an integral part of these efforts.

As I look back over these last three years, something else pleases me, too. I sense not only the perennial unity in faith, but a close personal bond--perhaps closer than ever before--between the Church in our nation and the Church in Rome, between the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II, and Catholics of our land. Twice each year, representatives of this Conference have gone to Rome to discuss, with the Holy See, concerns of the Church in the United States. In 1987, the Holy Father came and traveled throughout our country as he had done before in 1979. (As I remarked following the 1987 visit, the Pope was greatly impressed by the quality of Catholic life in this country and can be said to be "bullish on America.") And in March of this year the 36 archbishops in our country went to Rome for four days of open and wide-ranging discussion on a host of issues relating to the Church and Catholic life.

Such collaboration has made its mark, has grafted the Church in the U.S. even more strongly onto the life-giving vine which is the world-wide community of faith.

Two hundred years ago Catholics in this land made substantial sacrifices to maintain their union with Rome. Early

page eight

colonists referred to Catholicism snidely as the "Romish religion". It was a time when the colonies had just shaken off foreign domination, and anyone with external links was viewed with suspicion. John Carroll, in fact, was appointed to assuage just such fears--he was a man whose patriotic credentials were impeccable, whose loyalty to the revolution was unquestioned, but who also was fearless in defense of Catholic values and rights.

The Church, under Carroll's leadership, grew up, then, with twin loyalties--one to a tradition of democracy and liberty, the other to a faith and moral teaching which transcended the borders of our nation. That link to Rome, that channel of spiritual vitality, was central to Catholic life in Carroll's day--and it is, indeed, in our own. That is why we are honored and pleased to have with us during these days a visible symbol of that link, in the person of Cardinal Casaroli, the Vatican Secretary of State and the special representative of the Holy Father to our proceedings. His presence here reminds us that we belong to a community that embraces not only the 55 million Catholics of these United States, but the 864 million Catholics around the world, and we welcome him warmly.

Now let me not detain you any further, for the volume of work before us seems truly monumental. May I simply tell you

page nine

of a scene which struck me very forcibly? It was in September of 1987, during the visit of the Holy Father to our country. The city was Detroit, on the final day of the trip. The Pope stood on a platform in Hart Plaza, in a vast open space in the center of downtown Detroit. The theme of his talk was social justice--the dignity of every human being, the poverty in the world, the discrimination which exists, the loss of respect for human life. America is a country blessed with unmatched riches, said the Pope, and Americans are faced with a fundamental choice: you can choose to forget the rest of humanity, or you can choose to serve. And the "worthy national vocation" of America, the Pope said, is to serve people who are vulnerable. It was a stirring, ringing talk. But in his final words, the Pope became very quiet. All of these are nice ideas, he said, but none of this will happen unless you remember to pray.

And that advice speaks to each one of us, I think, and to each one of our people, as the Church goes about the work of Jesus. If we don't take the time to pray, we won't have the wisdom to know what to do, and we surely won't have the energy to get it done.

Thank you for your attention today and for your kindness to me, and your considerable help, over these last three years.

Answers to Questions from Cardinal Law

file

Permission for a Boston-Cuba-Boston Flight

Flights to Cuba normally clear customs in Miami. A waiver may be sought from U.S. Customs by contacting the regional office, but Customs has not been favorably inclined to granting waivers except in extraordinary circumstances. An example of such a circumstance was the flight of Cuban officials to the UN to discuss the Angola agreement.

Policy on Souvenirs

The policy on souvenirs depends on whether or not the traveller goes to Cuba on a fully-hosted basis or under license. Those who travel on a fully-hosted basis are not permitted to bring back souvenirs which they have bought (since all expenses are being paid by their Cuban hosts). Those who are licensed for travel to Cuba may be granted an exemption of \$100 per person.

Designating a Travel Agent in Boston

A Boston-based travel agent may be used provided that it has a license from the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), Department of the Treasury. We do not know if a Boston travel agency has been licensed. (Most travel agents that have licenses are in Miami.) A list of licensed travel agents may be obtained by contacting Clara David of OFAC at 202-376-0922.

U.S. Government Obstacles and Travel to Cuba

The Administration does not pose artificial impediments on travel to Cuba, but there are a number of legal requirements. U.S. visitors may travel to Cuba without a license when it is on a fully-hosted basis, since such travel would not violate our economic sanctions. Fully-hosted travel means that all expenses in Cuba--including transport, food, and lodging--are borne by identified Cuban hosts. A licensed travel agent will ask the traveller to fill out a form indicating that travel is on a fully-hosted basis, and the traveller is asked to furnish a letter from the host confirming that all expenses will be paid.

Travel on other than a fully-hosted basis must be licensed by the Office of Foreign Assets Control, Department of the Treasury. Licenses are generally not granted for purposes of tourism.

Governor Limerick:

- In February, 1990, I plan to lead a pilgrimage to Cuba to The Shrine of Nuestra Señora de Colón at Santiago.
- We would hope for between 50 and 150 pilgrims.
- We plan five days in Cuba.
 - Santiago
 - Havana
 - possibly another city
- Basically Spiritual - visits Church related
- Some Cultural / historical interaction.
- A visit to beach.
- A visit to Expo Cuba (really pathetic).
- If the government tenders a reception, we would attend. This is not, however, anticipated.

Questions

- Can we get permission for Boston-Cuba-Boston flight?
- Will we have ~~customs~~ U.S. Customs' problem if souvenirs are purchased in Cuba?
- Is there a problem in our designating a Boston Travel Agent who would New York through the Cuban Travel Bureau?

- How can I get absolute assurance that on the part of the U.S. Gov't. There will be no obstacles as these plans are made?

- I plan to designate someone from the Archdiocese to be the detail person answerable to Monsignor Timothy Moran, my secretary. Bp. Gonzalez will be the contact between Mons. Moran (and me) and the Bishops of Cuba. The key player in our planning will be Monsignor Moran.

~~Wanted~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8201

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

October 13, 1989

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: WILLIAM T. PRYCE *WTP*

FROM: DAVID A. PACELLI *DAP*

SUBJECT: Answers to Cardinal Law's Questions on Cuba to be
Passed to Governor Sununu

Attached at Tab I are unclassified answers to the questions which Cardinal Law posed to Governor Sununu about a proposed trip to Cuba in February 1990. They are based upon conversations with State Department and Treasury officials.

Understandably, State and Treasury do not want to give definitive answers to some of the questions in advance of written requests. There are gut reactions which are not listed on the attached sheet, based on the general thrust of our policy to strictly enforce our sanctions against Cuba:

- U.S. Customs is likely to turn down the request for a waiver for a direct flight from Boston since it fears that it would otherwise unleash a flood of similar requests.
- There is no problem with a fully-hosted trip, but it is judged unlikely that the Cubans would pay for a group as large as the Cardinal describes--50 to 150 people.
- Treasury and State are likely to turn down a request for a license for a trip combining pilgrimage and tourism. This is not a unique request. Other religious groups have made similar requests and have been turned down. Moreover, there is some fear that we would encourage thinly disguised tourism if we granted a license.

DAP for
Concurrence: Eric Melby

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, 1500 2021-02
By SS NARA, Date 11/29/23

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECOMMENDATION

That you either discuss the answers at Tab I with Governor Sununu or pass them to him.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Answers to Questions on Cuba

Tab II Note from Cardinal Law to Sununu

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TAB I

Answers to Questions from Cardinal Law

Permission for a Boston-Cuba-Boston Flight

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TAB II

Governor Lunenburg:

- In February, 1990, I plan to lead a pilgrimage to Cuba to The Shrine of Nuestra Señora de Colón at Santiago.
- We would hope for between 50 and 150 pilgrims.
- We plan five days in Cuba.
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~~Wanted~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Note	From Linda Casey to John Sununu Re: Message from Cardinal Law and Alliance Against Pornography (1 pp.)	10/11/89	P5	

Collection:

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Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
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File Location: Cardinal Law (1989)

Open on Expiration of PRA
 (Document Follows)
 By JP (NLGB) on 5/12/05

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FOIA/SYS Case #:	1998-0004-F[1]	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0426-S	Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or
 financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President
 and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of
 personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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]
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial
 information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of
 personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement
 purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of
 financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Fily
Governor,

Cardinal Law called AGAIN this morning about this Alliance against Pornography meeting. He specifically wanted you to know that this is NOT a Catholic group -- rather, it is the most broad-based religious ecumenical group in the country and is made up of Jews & Christians.

His Eminence is still pushing for the President to attend their meeting, or at the very least to drop by their briefing here at the White House.

ALSO, Dr. Kirk, who is President of the National Coalition Against Pornography, called you again today about this.

1c
10/11

MEMORANDUM

TO: GOVERNOR JOHN SUNUNU

FROM: OFFICE OF CARDINAL LAW

RE: RELIGIOUS ALLIANCE AGAINST PORNOGRAPHY MEETING; WASHINGTON; OCTOBER 25, 26, 1989

1. As follow up to Cardinal Law's telephone conversation with Governor Sununu regarding the meeting of the Religious Alliance Against Pornography, permit me to send the following information.

The Religious Alliance Against Pornography represents a constituency of over 100 million Americans from all the major denominations and faiths. I am enclosing a copy of their stationery with the letterhead which indicates the breadth of support this organisation has. Therefore it is the most representative multi denominational group active in this field.

The Program for the October 25 and 26 meeting is enclosed. One can note the participation of the Attorney General, the videotape from Pope John Paul II and the Press Conference at the closing all of which underscore the importance of the meeting and the intent to give this as wide coverage as possible.

Third I am enclosing a "fact sheet" about the organisation which should give a brief sense of the group. More information is readily available from the Conference organisers.

2. Dr. Jerry Kirk, the Chairman, is a well known evangelical. Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, the Vice Chairman, is a well known Catholic leader. Cardinal Bernardin will be one of the recipients of their annual awards to be given at the banquet to be held Thursday, October 26 at 12:15 p.m. at the Omni Shoreham Hotel.

3. Given the importance of the Organisation and given the multidenominational composition of its membership and given the fact that persons like Cardinal Joseph Bernardin will be recipients of awards this year, Cardinal Law wanted to recommend the personal participation of the President in whatever way would be deemed most appropriate.

X-11-89

RELIGIOUS ALLIANCE AGAINST PORNOGRAPHY

800 COMPTON ROAD, SUITE 9224
CINCINNATI, OHIO 45231
(513) 521-6227

Dr. Jerry R. Kirk, Chairman
Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, Vice-Chairman

GREEK ORTHODOX

HIS EMINENCE ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS
Primate, Archdiocese of North and South America
BISHOP PHILIP OF DAPHNUSIA
Archdiocese of North and South America
REV. MILTON B. EFTHIMIOU
Archdiocese of North and South America

JEWISH

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
RABBI MORDECAI WAXMAN
RABBI WALTER S. WURZBURGER

PROTESTANT

REV. JAMES C. ANDREWS
Stated Clerk, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)
BISHOP GEORGE W. BASHORE
Bishop of Boston Area, United Methodist Church
DR. HAROLD C. BENNETT
President & Treasurer, Executive Committee
Southern Baptist Convention
DR. RALPH A. BOHLMANN
President, The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod
DR. G. RAYMOND CARLSON
General Superintendent, Assemblies of God
PASTOR DANIEL DAI FONG
Templo Calvary Church
DR. JAMES DOBSON
President, Focus on the Family
BISHOP PAUL A. DIFFEY
Secretary, Council of Bishops, United Methodist Church
BISHOP WILLIAM TROY
Episcopal Diocese of Colorado
DR. RAY H. HUGHES
First Assistant/General Overseer
Church of God (Cleveland, TN)
DR. B. EDGAR JOHNSON
General Secretary, Church of the Nazarenes
DR. WILLIAM A. JONES
President, National Conference of Black Pastors
REV. DEAN M. KELLEY
Director of Religious & Civil Liberties
National Council of Churches
DR. JERRY R. KIRK
President, National Coalition Against Pornography
DR. EILEEN W. LINDNER
Assoc. General Sec'y., National Council of Churches
BISHOP GEORGE DALLAS MCKINNEY
Bishop of Southern California
Church of God in Christ
REV. JOHN MARACLE
Chief, North American Native Christian Council

MS JUDITH MEAD

Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)

DR. BILLY A. MERVIN
Executive Director, Nat'l Association of Evangelicals

COMMISSIONER ANDREW S. MILLER

National Commander, Salvation Army

MS CANDACE MUELLER

The Lutheran Church Missouri Synod

MR. MATT PARKER

President, Institute for Black Family Development

DR. DAVID W. PREUS

Bishop Emeritus of the American Lutheran Church

DR. ADRIAN ROGERS

President, Southern Baptist Convention

DR. OSCAR ROMO

Director, Division of Language Missions

Southern Baptist Convention

DR. JACK STANTON

First Vice Pres., Southern Baptist Convention

DR. EVERETT STENHOUSE

Assistant General Superintendent, Assemblies of God

DR. PAUL TANNER

Executive Secretary, Church of God (Anderson, IN)

BISHOP CYRIL VAN VALIN

Free Methodist Church of North America

DR. JOHN H. WHITE

President, National Association of Evangelicals

MRS. FRAN WOLFLEY

Women's Fellowship Commission

National Association of Evangelicals

ROMAN CATHOLIC

HIS EMINENCE JOSEPH CARDINAL BERNARDIN

Archbishop of Chicago

HIS EMINENCE JOHN CARDINAL KROL

Archbishop of Philadelphia (retired)

HIS EMINENCE BERNARD CARDINAL LAW

Archbishop of Boston

HIS EMINENCE JOHN CARDINAL O'CONNOR

Archbishop of New York

MOST REV. JAMES W. MALONE

President, National Conference of Catholic Bishops

BISHOP ROBERT J. BANKS

Auxiliary Bishop of Boston

BISHOP FRANCIS J. MUGAVERO, D.D.

Bishop of Brooklyn and Queens

FATHER BRUCE RITTER

President, Covenant House

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST

OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

ELDER JOHN K. CARMACK

President of North America, N.E. Area

DR. RICHARD P. LINDSAY

Special Representative

October 6, 1989

Reverend Msgr. William F. Murphy
Archdiocese of Boston
2101 Commonwealth Avenue
Brighton, MA 02135

Dear Reverend Msgr. Murphy:

The 1989 Religious Alliance Against Pornography National Conference is now only a couple weeks away. I am writing to provide you with a range of information that will be helpful for your participation in the Conference.

There is a shuttle bus, the "Washington Flyer," from the airport to the Omni Shoreham. Registration will begin at 1 p.m. on the 25th outside the Regency Ballroom West Concourse at the Omni Shoreham Hotel. If possible, please register early as the Conference starts with a banquet at 6 p.m. promptly. When you register you will receive a name badge. This badge is your meal ticket so please be sure you wear it.

We are also excited about your attendance at our White House Briefing on Wednesday, October 25 at 1:30 p.m. The briefing will be held in the Old Executive Office Building, Room 450. Be sure to bring a picture I.D. with you for security purposes. Those of you who have yet to respond to our last request for your social security number, birth date and full name, need to do so immediately. In a few days we will no longer be able to guarantee the attendance of those who have not returned their security information. With leaders from the Justice Department, White House, F.B.I., Postal Inspection Service, and Customs, the briefing should prove quite informative.

If you have any questions or need any additional information, please call me or Linda Root at (513) 521-6227.

Sincerely yours,

Sarah Blanken

Sarah Blanken
Conference Coordinator

SR/lr

P.S. Also enclosed is helpful information from Nancy Clausen, Public Relations Manager, on how you can contact your local media for coverage of your trip to Washington, D.C.

RELIGIOUS ALLIANCE AGAINST PORNOGRAPHY

800 COMPTON ROAD, SUITE 9224
CINCINNATI, OHIO 45231
(513) 521-6227

CONTACT: Nancy Clausen
PHONE: (513) 521-6227

Dr. Jerry R. Kirk, Chairman
Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, Vice-Chairman

MEDIA ADVISORY

NATION'S RELIGIOUS LEADERS CONVENE TO DISCUSS
ILLEGAL PORNOGRAPHY IN THE UNITED STATES

INTERVIEW OPPORTUNITIES

- WHO:** The Religious Alliance Against Pornography (RAAP)
Chairman - Dr. Jerry Kirk, President of the National Coalition
Against Pornography
Vice Chairman - His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Bernardin,
Roman Catholic Archbishop of Chicago
- WHAT:** The 1989 Conference of the Religious Alliance Against Pornography
Guest speakers include:
* Richard L. Thornburgh, United States Attorney General
* Pope John Paul II will address conferees through a video-
taped message from the Vatican
* Dr. Charles W. Colson, Chairman of the Board of Prison
Fellowship Ministries
* Dr. E.V. Hill, Vice President of the National Baptist
Convention and acclaimed speaker
* Dr. James O. Mason, Secretary for Health of the U.S.
Department of Health and Human Services
- WHEN:** Wednesday, October 25, 1989
1:30 P.M. White House Briefing on illegal pornography in Old
Executive Office Building with representatives from Postal
Inspection Service, Justice Dept. (NOEU), FBI, Customs and
White House (Admittance only with prior notification to
Nancy Clausen by Monday, Oct. 23 Phone 513-521-6227)
6:00 P.M. Opening Banquet
Video message from Pope John Paul II (7:50)
Keynote Address by Dr. Charles Colson (8:50)
- Thursday, October 26, 1989
8:30 A.M. "The Harm of Pornography" - Keynote Address by Dr. James
O. Mason
10:00 A.M. Seminars on Leadership
11:00 A.M. Break- Media Interviews - Call for appointment
12:15 P.M. Awards Luncheon
1:20 P.M. "Pornography and the Law" - Keynote Address by United
States Attorney General Richard Thornburgh
2:00 P.M. PRESS CONFERENCE in Senate Room of the Omni Shoreham Hotel
with statements by Attorney General Thornburgh and the
Religious Alliance Against Pornography
2:35 P.M. Closing address by Dr. E.V. Hill
- All sessions and meals open to the media. Meals require pre-registration.
- WHERE:** The Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.

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(513) 521-6227

Dr. Jerry R. Kirk, Chairman
Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, Vice-Chairman

RELIGIOUS ALLIANCE AGAINST PORNOGRAPHY INFORMATION SHEET

THE ISSUE:

Illegal obscenity and child pornography destroy. The explicit materials, which are not protected by the Constitution, have a devastating effect on the men, women, children and families of the United States. Illegal pornography is an industry that grosses \$8 billion a year at the expense of our communities.

THE ORGANIZATION:

Representing a constituency of over 100 million persons through their combined denominational and religious leadership roles, the steering committee of the Religious Alliance Against Pornography (RAAP) consists of the highest-level leaders of nearly 50 religious bodies and denominations across the nation. RAAP was initiated in July of 1986 by Dr. Jerry Kirk, President of the National Coalition Against Pornography, His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, Archbishop of Chicago and His Eminence John Cardinal O'Connor, Archbishop of New York.

THE PURPOSE:

The purpose of RAAP is to bring into clear focus a major factor in the assault on human dignity and the consequent dehumanization that it promotes: hard core and child pornography. RAAP brings together entities that can't agree on even the basics of religious faith, yet they are working closely together in a firm stance on this one disturbing issue.

THE ACTION:

RAAP acts through teaching and motivating, helping people in the community and government to understand the moral and social dimensions of the problem of illegal pornography and what their responsibility is in this regard. RAAP is strongly supportive of federal, state, and local efforts to strengthen obscenity and child protection laws. RAAP was instrumental in helping secure passage of the Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act of 1988. Efforts have included meetings with the President, the U.S. Attorney General and testimony before the House of Representatives and the Senate.

THE GOAL:

While continuing to support and respect the freedoms of speech and expression as guaranteed by the First Amendment, RAAP members are in unanimous agreement that "hard core and child pornography, which are not protected by the Constitution, are evils which must be eliminated."

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

FAX NUMBER: 617-782-8358

TO:

Gov. JOHN SUNDU, CHIEF OF STAFF
ATTN JACKIE KENNEDY

FROM:

Msgr. William Murphy

DATE:

October 11, 1989

TIME SENT:

11:00

COMMENTS:

Jackie,

Enclosed is information
for the Governor that Cardinal Law
asked me to send you.

Cardinal Law cannot
attend the meeting. I will
participate to represent him.

Best Always

Bill Murphy

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

FAX NUMBER: 617-782-8358

per JHS

to D. Demarest
w/cc to JHS file.Andy
9/6/89

TO:

Governor John Sununu, Chief of Staff
The White House

FROM:

Msgr. William Murphy

DATE SENT:

August 29, 1989

TIME SENT:

16:30

COMMENTS:

Governor, Cardinal Law promised to send you
some material that might be considered for use
by the President when he addresses the Catholic
Catholic Lawyers Guild here in Boston on
September 23. I am happy to send the enclosed
with the hope it might be useful.

William Murphy

PAGES (INCLUDING COVER): 9

SKETCH FOR ADDRESS TO CATHOLIC LAWYERS GUILDTHE CRISIS:

One of my predecessors, a man trained and accomplished in the same profession as yourselves, found himself in unusually tough circumstances. He was face to face with a crisis of conviction, for many of his fellow citizens had come to doubt the very foundations upon which the American nation was laid. It was widely suggested that the early success of these United States was based not on sound government and good citizenship, but on accidents of natural wealth; many of the pundits maintained that freedom of commerce and states' rights may have been practicable strategies in the nation's youth, but that more sophisticated problems required a rethinking of the form of democratic institutions. He saw himself saddled with the troubling question: "Do the founders of our nation have anything to say to the present day, or is it necessary to start over on a different basis?" The man was Thomas Jefferson, and the occasion his inaugural address. And the response which he made to the crisis is as forceful today as it was in his own age. For he understood with particular clarity that the essence of America lies not in shared real estate, but shared values, not in common ancestors but in a common vision of the rights and responsibilities of a citizen. "Every difference of opinion", he warned, "is not a difference of principle." Yet it is precisely a principle -- "equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political" -- upon which our continued life as a nation is based.

THE CREDO:

This axiom of justice, and the truths of civic morality in which it is realized, formed, for Jefferson, the unshakeable core of our national life, that common belief without which we cease to exist as a society. These principles, he said, "should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which we try the services of those we trust." And, he urged, "should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

THE CHALLENGE:

Peace, liberty and safety -- for every human being. The challenge which Thomas Jefferson delivered to his fellow citizens, I put before you this afternoon. I challenge you, as Catholic lawyers, not to give in to the dismay of those who today, in error or alarm, have wandered from the convictions to which our nation is pledged. I challenge you to recover and rekindle that love of justice which knows no boundaries of

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race, or income, or age. I challenge you to re-articulate those principles of justice which are deeper than our differences, those principles which are the heart and soul of our life together.

You are eminently well suited to this task. By virtue of your citizenship you are heirs of the oldest and most extensive democratic enterprise the world has known. By virtue of your profession you are not only contributors to the debate about abstract justice, but you are prime participants in the system through which this justice touches American men and women in their daily lives. By virtue of your faith you are alive to the fact that, if we are indeed "one nation, under God", then our responsibilities do not end with simply obeying the law, but we must actively work to extend peace, liberty and safety to all of our fellow citizens. As Saint Augustine said, "While Law makes us obedient to justice ... (I speak without prejudice to Your Eminence) ... While Law makes us obedient to justice, God's grace makes us agents of justice, doers of justice, creators of justice." I challenge you, as men and women of faith, to give voice to this justice -- proudly and with the courage of conviction -- so that, by God's grace, we may carry it to all of our citizens, especially to those who know of it least.

DIVERSITY OR DESPAIR:

"Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle." But, of course, some are. At every moment in our nation's history there have been those who have set out, prematurely, to write her obituary. Confronted with the vision of "equal and exact justice for all", they have been daunted or dismayed by the task of putting it into action. Some have maintained that this notion of justice applies only to a favored few. Some have believed that a truly democratic government is too weak to implement this justice. Some have claimed that there is no conception of justice which can embrace every member of a truly pluralist society, and therefore that it is futile to work for unity-in-diversity. For such people all diversity points to division, and there is no difficulty which is not a cause for despair.

THE EXPERIMENT IN ORDERED LIBERTY:

Most Americans, I believe, are not quite so intimidated by the challenge of democracy. Of course, the difficulties are real, the struggle has seldom been easy. This necessary, life-giving tension of our political enterprise, was well expressed by the Catholic theologian, John Courtney Murray. He spoke of our country as "the American experiment in ordered liberty."

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Our society is engaged in a continuing experiment to determine whether, as Hamilton put it in Federalist No. 1, "men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force." The experiment requires a virtuous people, vigorous participation by the citizenry, and a vital tradition of civil discourse grounded in reason. The American Experiment has always been a precarious one.

But civil discourse does not just happen. It is here that lawyers, whose calling is constituted by reasoned discourse, can play a special role. Because Americans increasingly regard law, especially constitutional law, as an expression and source of common values, an enormous responsibility falls on the shoulders of the men and women in the legal profession. Catholic lawyers, in particular, with your tradition of openness to learning, of searching for principles held in common by men and women of good will, and your commitment to the construction of the "kingdom of peace and justice", have much to bring to the civil conversation.

When order and liberty -- the chief values to which our justice is directed -- are viewed as antagonistic, one must inevitably be sacrificed to the other, and the life of the nation itself will be the victim. So, too, as long as these United States exist, the temptation to divorce order from liberty will be with us. Perhaps I should say "two temptations", because, in Jefferson's words, we can "wander in error or alarm" in two quite different directions. We can be so frightened by the potential of diversity as to strangle freedom, or we can be so fearful of the responsible demands of unity as to let the social order slide into chaos. We have already fought a civil war to test the strength of unity with liberty. The nation prevailed, and the experiment continues.

By diligent and thoughtful use of the resources of your professional experience and your shared faith, you can do much to advance this experiment in ordered liberty. I'd like to point to three areas in which your attention is especially urgent.

CONFLICT AND CONSENSUS:

In the arena of public discourse, there is critical need for a recovery and re-articulation of our common American beliefs concerning the rights and duties of civil life. We cannot permit the factionalism, fecklessness and petty jealousies that infect much of our current polemic to transmute informed public debate into a brush war of ideologies, as if an eagle were turned into a jellyfish -- with neither spine nor

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sinew, neither vision nor clarity of direction, impotent in every respect but to give pain to the unwary. We are faced today with questions of extraordinary complexity for a pluralist society: problems of the distribution of social resources, of the pressures and limitations of health care, of renewed esteem for the role of the elderly, of the just and effective prosecution of the war on drugs, of our most fundamental responsibilities toward human life. The range and depth of disagreement about such issues is all too plain. Answers are seldom discovered with ease and even more rarely greeted with universal satisfaction. How easy it would be to knuckle under to the temptation of the simplistic solution, to despair of discussion and refuse to weigh and test competing judgments, to give up the search for common ground in order to wallow in a smug and cynical relativism!

The alternative, by contrast, is hard work. It takes study. It takes care. It takes a subtle mind, yet a decisive one. It takes imagination. It takes humility. It takes that instinct to understand when further examination is necessary, as well as the insight to know when an answer is found. It takes an esteem for tradition. It takes the vision to grasp the abstract problems and the practical know-how to frame a realistic proposal. Most of all, it takes courage --- courage to embark on honest inquiry in the first place, and still more, the courage to speak the truth even when to do so brings hardship or ridicule.

GIVING A VOICE TO THE VOICELESS:

As lawyers, as advocates, part of your task is to speak for those less able to speak for themselves. I invite you to give voice to Voiceless America. Specifically, to give a voice to the American Consensus: those principles of equal and exact justice, that vision of free and responsible citizenship in virtue of which we claim a common heritage. This Consensus has never vanished from our society, yet it has been effectively silenced by those people -- whether in the academy or the media or in political life -- who are entirely preoccupied with the most superficial aspect of the American Experiment; who lack either the ability or the will to discern that set of common values deeper than our diversity, more profound than our surface disagreements. I urge you to give voice to the moral principles which underlie this consensus: principles of equity, of honesty in public and private life, of active concern for the disadvantaged. I urge you to let these values speak so that they will be heard today -- not as the agenda of yet another special interest group, but as our American birthright, a shared possession which can inform public policy as well as guide individual decisions. I can assure you this job is not an easy one; I can promise you it is important.

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Thomas Jefferson addressed the crisis of cynicism at the outset of his presidency. In response to those who "wandered in error or alarm" from confidence in a workable consensus, he pointed to that core of common belief, that "creed of our political faith", in which this nation had its own birth, in which the American Experiment was begun. It is fair to say that he met and overcame this crisis because he knew that, in their hearts, his fellow citizens could recognize and acknowledge this same faith, that the prime duty of this nation is to extend "equal and exact justice" to every citizen, of whatever state or persuasion." And it is instructive for us to reflect that in the last months of Jefferson's administration, one of these citizens was turning and kicking in the womb. The citizen's mother was herself illegitimate and medically unsuited for pregnancy; she died, in fact, giving birth to a later child. The citizen was destined to be born into severe poverty, and every indication was present that the child would simply perpetuate the cycle of squalor and hardship into which it was born. The citizen had other ideas, however; his name was Abraham Lincoln.

CAN YOU SPARE A DIME:

The Jeffersonian vision of justice -- of peace, liberty and safety for all -- has permeated our American understanding of rights, of responsibilities, of life itself. This vision is evident not only in the language we use, but also in the symbols with which we reflect our common convictions, symbols which -- though mute themselves -- are sometimes more expressive than words. Prime among these symbols is our American flag, but this afternoon I want to look at something more common, more ordinary -- a single dime. It is more portable than a flag, although as members of your profession know particularly well, it is not as combustible.

There are three emblems on the back of a dime: an olive branch, a torch, and the limb of an oak. The olive branch symbolizes our longing for peace, our willingness to live not by conquest but by righteousness. I urge you, in the name and dignity of your profession of lawyer, to remember the claim of Augustine that, "If you love not justice, you will never have peace", and to increase the love of justice in all your fellow citizens. Next to the olive branch is a torch, the lamp of liberty. I urge you, in the name of your American citizenship, to continue to labor so that the light of this liberty touches every American, especially those who have been hidden from its beam: the poor, the sick, the alien, the unborn. Finally we seek the oak, the symbol of safety, of security and of the strength which guarantees them. I urge you, in the name of

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REMEMBERING THE UNREMEMBERED:

I further challenge you, in addition to giving a voice to the voiceless, to devote special attention to the problems of those on the margins of our political life -- that is, to remember the unremembered.

In the first place, there is need for concern about the place which elderly citizens will occupy in the years ahead. As a nation we are in the process of rethinking many of the policies which have guided our care for the elderly. Questions such as a mandatory age of retirement, the proper range of health care, the availability of housing and of insurance have no pat answers, but are open questions once more. To be considered in the light of such issues is the fact that the elderly part of population will grow proportionately larger for many years to come, while the conventional wage-earning portion will shrink correspondingly. As a result, there will be great pressure to reallocate the resources of society in a way which will cause disproportionate harm to those no longer in a position to provide for themselves. Some of the proposals advanced in regard to the elderly are imaginative and show enormous potential. Others can only be described as terrifying. In particular, any suggestion that the elderly might be cheated of the human prerogative to choose life-sustaining medical care must be met with unwavering opposition. It is imperative that you, as Catholic lawyers, devote especially close scrutiny to this area. "Equal and exact justice to all", Jefferson said, "of whatever state ...". This is our mandate, and this mandate must be jealously guarded. One doesn't "grow out" of one's citizenship; human dignity does not go pale with age. We must work together, now, to ensure that the day never comes when constraints of budget or convenience are sufficient reason to send the non-producers to the knacker's yard.

In the same way I want to urge you, as Christian professionals, to a comparable concern for new immigrants to our nation. Our God said to Moses, "You shall not pervert the justice due to the alien in your midst ... but you shall remember that you were a slave in Egypt and the Lord your God redeemed you from there." Your own Catholic tradition, which views the Church itself as a people on a pilgrimage, provides you with generous insight into the predicament of the sojourner, of "displaced persons" of any description. Because of their precarious economic and political status, the sense of bewilderment often caused by the circumstances of their displacement, and the almost inevitable ambiguity of their legal position, new immigrants are especially likely to be "unremembered", exploited by the unscrupulous, ignored by the complacent. Too often they "fall between the cracks" of the

- 6 -

community's ordinary system for the relief of those in desperate circumstances. It requires a special kind of ingenuity, and a special kind of good will, to tackle the problems and needs of these newest Americans. I am confident that I can rely on your generosity.

PROTECTING THE UNPROTECTED:

With special urgency, with particular concern, I challenge you to even greater efforts toward the protection of human life at its most fragile, life in the womb. Your contribution to this cause in recent years has been very great indeed. Progress has been made, but it is clear that there is much more work to be done. The decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Webster v. Reproductive Services indicates that greater discretion now belongs to individual state legislatures in the matter of abortion. The opportunity for change is upon us, the need for change is enormous. Even today, many states exhibit a bafflingly incoherent body of tort law, whereby an unborn child has, for example, certain rights of inheritance, but can be killed by abortion with impunity! What civilized society, what community of rational human beings, can extend with one hand subordinate rights of property to its citizens while it takes away the absolutely primary right to life with the other?

A DESPOTISM OF CONVENIENCE:

"Bad laws", Edmund Burke once said, "are the worst sort of tyranny." The 1973 decision in Roe v. Wade spawned a large and unseemly brood of bad laws, laws which can claim an especially chilling record of tyranny. Each day, every day, 8,000 American citizens enter abortion clinics, and, as a consequence of this legislation, only 4,000 come out alive! We, as a people that loves justice, we who as a country were "conceived in liberty", can no longer wash our hands of those innocent victims who, though themselves conceived in liberty, will never be born so as to see its face, who will never plant their feet in the soil of a free nation.

My fear is that the cynicism which scoffs at our American Experiment in Ordered Liberty will not itself prove barren. My fear is that this scorn for human life will breed a new despotism, a Despotism of Convenience, a despotism which will train its gaze on the ill, on the disabled, on the elderly, as it continues its tyranny over those weakest of all, the unborn. I urge you to use your talents, your energy and your professional resources to reaffirm the right to life as the most fundamental freedom, the first and ultimate liberty. I urge you to combat the Despotism of Convenience so that this right to life will be for every citizen a guarantee, not a concession.

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your Catholic belief, to stand firm in your tradition so that you may send your roots deep into the bedrock of your shared faith, for the endurance of your own convictions and for the enduring life of the nation.

E PLURIBUS UNUM:

Woven between the olive, the oak and the lamp, pulling them together as it were, is the motto E Pluribus Unum: From the many, one. We are many people, with many backgrounds, many tasks, many trials and hopes. I call upon you today, the Guild of Catholic Lawyers, to give voice to that consensus, that oneness of heart which lives beneath such a wealth of diversity. I call upon you, by being agents of justice, doers of justice, creators of justice, to help us bring it about that order and liberty, for each human being, will be not a dream but the shape of life itself. I pray that God will give you the gifts necessary for this undertaking. I pray for insight, for compassion, for guts.

REFERENCES

Page 1:

"Every difference of opinion..." Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, para. 2.

"Equal and exact justice ..." Jefferson, op. cit., para. 4.

"These principles should be the creed ... peace, liberty and safety." ibid.

Page 2:

"Law makes us obedient ..." (Lex auditores justitiae facit. gratia factores) St. Augustine of Hippo, Ltb. 3 ad Bonifacium, cap. 2.

Page 5:

"You shall not pervert..." Deuteronomy 24:17,18

Page 6:

"Bad laws are the worst sort of tyranny." Edmund Burke, "Speech at Bristol Previous to the Election", 1780.

Page 7:

"If you love not peace..." (Si non amaveris justitiam, pacem non habebis) St. Augustine, Commentary on Psalm 84.

2- Card Law

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

NOTE

1. The Importance of the Inauguration. Beyond the political pundits and the inevitable comparisons/contrasts that will be drawn between the new President and his predecessor(s), what must be kept in mind is the impact this event in content, in symbol and in vision will have on fellow citizens and on world leaders. The content must express confidence in the best resources of our nation, encourage a common sense of mutual responsibility for the nation, indicate how the new administration will be a catalyst and leader to steer the course of the nation, underline a few issues in the domestic sphere and in international relations which, as priorities, demonstrate the focus of the new administration. Some of the points that follow may serve to that end.

The event itself is rich in symbol. Mr. Bush's call for a "kinder, gentler nation" could well receive a strong impetus if the symbols of the inaugural are able to underline that commitment. Inclusivity would be key. Is there place for representatives of those recovering from drug addiction? From AIDS sufferers? From men and women of the arts? From a child with some physical incapacity but who is living and growing with his/her disability? From the great religious traditions that shape our ethos? From the new immigrants as well as our established peoples? They need not speak, but these and others on the podium would be seen by the public and the new President could make reference to them in terms that describe the best of America. Quiet strength and informed leadership can well be the hallmarks of a forceful presidency. The new President is more than chief executive. He represents the nation and thus is himself a symbol to and for the nation. His words, then, must set a tone that affirms the best values of the American people and confirms his commitment to a presidency that will encourage and further those values.

This leads to the matter of vision. Americans are pragmatic, and that is good in the sense that we have learned how to do many things and become productive, creative and prosperous. Americans also have been generous, especially to those who are victims and are in immediate need. The downside of pragmatism is that everything has to work immediately. The downside of our generosity is that it can become inward looking and seek our own immediate satisfaction in self-indulgence. The unfortunate reality is that a significant percentage of our population is involved in a drug culture, and is agnostic about basic values and experience community, including family, as places for self-satisfaction rather than mutual commitment and mutual upbuilding. For these and many others reasons, there needs to be articulated a vision of what the new President wants this nation to become. He should not hesitate to call for self-sacrifice. He should encourage the spirit of competition and creativity that

nourishes competition. But he must also articulate the need for mutual understanding, respect and care for those less fortunate. He must not hesitate to affirm the basic religious foundation that is part of our heritage. He must encourage all citizens to be proud of being American and, thus, eager to reach out to others, other nations and lands, other peoples, other cultures. He needs to articulate a vision of peace so that Americans and people in other nations will see this country as the first defender and the first initiator of activities that will work toward securing true peace. To these ends, perhaps a few concrete issues should be appended.

2. The Pressing Issue of Haiti. After several failed attempts, the current situation is somewhat more calm. General Avril is genuinely open to and needs outside help. He is open to having American aid and to having Americans come to administer that aid. There is perhaps need for "peace corps" type activity. There is need that the aid be for development: aid for roads, schools, hospitals, rebuilding, thus showing the people that there is social improvement. While the Communist Party has made some inroads, the greater danger comes from independent groups that are disruptive and engage in urban guerrilla type activities that destabilize. The danger in a country which has had this history is that the government will not be seen as active enough to control. Therefore the government needs to be helped so that it can continue to assert its authority and show that it controls the nation in ways that will lead to the betterment of the people. The Church is making a renewed effort in this area and in the next months you will see a concerted effort by international Catholic agencies and the Holy See. The Church leadership in Haiti has been hurt these past six months by internal problems, notably the former Salesian priest, Aristide, the need of the bishops to restructure Mission Alpha, attacks on bishops. But by the end of January, the bishops, all of whom remain united, will be in a position to make a renewed effort. This calls for collaboration between all the sectors: government, Church, and those offering outside aid for development, to achieve a sense of security within the country, of economic and social development among the people and, out of that, a slow but gradual increase in political awareness. The alternative will be chaos and the emergence of a new dictatorship. If there is to be a change in the USA Embassy, then it would be important to have someone who speaks French, is sympathetic to the religious values and culture of the people and could work with the institutions of the country. Someone like Peter Murphy could bring much to this ambassadorship.

3. On the domestic front, the centrality of the family as the basis for a healthy society needs to be concretized. Perhaps the most important way to do this is through a clear

commitment to be pro-life. While the public must be educated to the reality of the fetus as a human being, that is not the only aspect of the issue. People need to hear that abortion is not "surgical intervention" or "removal of unwanted tissue;" it is direct taking of life. That truth needs to be placed in a context of care and concern for all involved, the child, the mother, society. If we move toward a reversal of Roe v. Wade, then the administration must be one of the leaders in preparing our society for this change and in showing the people that real care and concern for the woman include her overall good and that real care for society demands that we be that "kinder, gentler nation" that protects the unborn as the first proof that it seeks to protect everyone, especially the weakest among us.

4. The reports of the AIDS Commission brought out a number of issues that all need to be addressed to one extent or another. The truth is that the spread of AIDS in urban centers among our poorer citizens is growing. Economically this means the destruction of a whole section of service work force. It means a shrinking labor pool. Humanly it means the letting die of a whole section of our society composed of men and women equal in dignity to everyone of us. Add to this the worldwide problem, especially in Africa, and it becomes clear that the administration must face this. Is there the possibility of greater collaboration between U.S. officials, e.g., Atlanta Disease Control, the NIH, etc., and officials of international bodies such as WHO and national agencies in other countries? Is there the possibility of point-by-point response to the AIDS Commission report, translating it into some concrete actions that will try to respond effectively to those parts of our population most at risk?

5. Those at risk are the poor before any others. An administration that wishes to set a tone and give a vision to be shared will not hesitate to express its consciousness of the poor in our society. There simply are too many poor, too many homeless, too many at the margins of society. No one is arguing for a return to government-controlled massive interventions. Respect for the persons, for local control, for local decision-making is part of the Catholic principle of subsidiarity. However the administration needs to find a way to express its awareness of the reality and its commitment to use its means to move society to take up its various responsibilities. Could the administration set up incentives like scholarship help to high schoolers who defer college for two years to work on inner city projects as a way to get the local communities involved in helping their neighbors? The same could be done in helping college graduates retire their student loans. Instead of putting all our emphasis on "social scheme" day care that is monolithic, could we find ways to subsidize women who could take a few children into their homes

and care for their own and their neighbors in a home atmosphere? Could we be more creative in developing job opportunities that will make the unemployed productive members of the work force and thus productive contributors and consumers in our society? What matters, above all, is to recognize the reality and find the ways to be the catalyst for a cooperative effort that focuses on local initiatives.

6. No local problem is so frightening than the spectre of drugs. Without having statistics, I would be willing to guess that it is a major element in the breakdown of families. Too much of our culture - mainstream and demimonde - is influenced by drugs and a drug mentality. We will never stop the importation of drugs in a definitive way so long as we have a society where people on all economic levels want drugs and use drugs. It is no good to target the poor when the middle class and wealthy are weekend or "recreational" drug users. The response needs to be many-leveled but it must be placed within the context of restabilizing family life and re-establishing the family as the normative unit where one finds life, love and the context for growth and achievement. The new President is uniquely able to offer the nation the example of a good family life and of members of a family which support one another. Perhaps someone could be appointed within the White House staff who would be a liaison to encourage a family outlook in all those departments and agencies where such an outlook would be beneficial for administration and legislation. Can we begin to replace the drug culture with a family culture? Can we show our own people that drugs are a dead end and that there is an alternative that is more satisfying, more fulfilling and ultimately life-giving.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Paper	By Cardinal Law on Bush inauguration (2 pp.)	n.d.	P/5	

Collection:

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Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Issues Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Cardinal Law (1989)

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 By sf (NLGB) on 12/12/07

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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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File

cc: John Sununu

THE WHITE HOUSE

Cardinal O'Connor

personal



THE WHITE HOUSE

Jan 24, 1989

Your Eminence -

John Sununu told me
you were very helpful to me
with one Ms. Nellie Gray-
indeed I saw it on T.V. So
many thanks. Bob sends his

very best to you, too

Respectfully —

Cuz/

APPENDIX B

[The following address was delivered by Cardinal Law to the Rally for Life at Faneuil Hall in Boston on Jan. 22, 1989, and is reprinted here with the Cardinal's permission.]

'Grant Us the Grace Never to Forget'

Bernard Cardinal Law

Slavery scarred the soul of this nation. The justification of that evil system dehumanized thousands of Africans torn from their families and continent to be brought in shackles to become the engine of other people's wealth and ease. Long after Emancipation, the lie continued that blacks were something a little less than human, and so a system of legal racial segregation found justification in a denial of the obvious fact that all human beings of whatever race or culture are inherently equal.

Within this past week I had a depressing conversation with a prominent Massachusetts' politician whose remarks evoked the memory of the segregationist politicians of the old south. This leader of the Commonwealth indicated to me that he did not believe that abortion is the taking of innocent human life.

It is important to underscore his remark, for it places starkly before us the enormous challenge to the pro-life movement. Again: *He did not believe that abortion is the taking of innocent human life*—he did not believe that that which is destroyed by abortion is human life.

Analyze with me this remark. Notice how the statement is framed as a matter of *belief*. He did not *believe* that abortion is the taking of innocent human life. So often in the past the pro-life position has been characterized solely as a position of religious belief. More often than not, it has been characterized as a *Catholic* position. For those who support abortion, it is most convenient to isolate the pro-life stance as a matter of religious judgment. Once this is done, then the position can be safely dismissed as a question of personal belief which is quite separate from the realm of the state and its laws.

Politicians find in this tactic a ready means to evade responsibility for the protection of human life in the womb. If the pro-life position is a question of belief, then each citizen should be free to follow his or her own belief. The state, after all, is not to canonize a particular system of belief.

Our task is to say and say again that it is not a matter of belief that the expectant mother carries human life within her womb—it is a matter of fact. We are dealing in abortion not with one life, but two—the life of the mother, and the life of the child within her womb. It is not faith which reveals that human life begins at conception, it is the inescapable conclusion manifest in

APPENDIX B

the empirical biological evidence.

The depressing truth is that the evidence is either unknown or ignored, and that many people, like that politician, justify their position by placing the issue in the realm of belief. We cannot assume, as the public discussion of abortion accelerates in the coming months as it will, that the reality of abortion is understood. It is not. I know it and you know it as a fact that chills our bones that each year in this country one and one half million human lives are put to death through abortion. There are many people, however, who do *not know* this. Just as in the past there were those whose consciences were anesthetized to the evil of slavery by the fiction that blacks were less than human, so today there are those who, like my politician friend, have their consciences anesthetized by the fiction that abortion is not the taking of human life.

The task of the pro-life movement is to present the facts of abortion. The facts are not pleasant. The facts are not tasteful. The willful taking of human life by means often violent cannot be presented in an inoffensive way. Indeed, what could be more offensive to the human conscience than abortion? It is imperative that the curtain of ignorance, real or feigned, which hides the reality of abortion from popular consciousness be pulled down, and that we begin to deal with the fact that abortion is the taking of innocent human life.

A second objective of the pro-life movement is to make it unmistakably clear that our opposition is not simply to *legal* abortions—it is an opposition to all abortions. A recent editorial cartoon on the announcement that the Supreme Court would consider a decision of the Missouri Supreme Court portrayed Lady Justice peeking over her blindfold, with one of the scales in her hand weighted down by a hanger. How often has the albatross of back alley abortions been hung around the neck of the pro-life movement! I resent that caricature, and I am certain you do. It is abortion which we oppose. It is the taking of innocent human life, which is a crime sapping the moral fiber of this nation. Whether the abortion mill has the dubious sanction of *Roe v. Wade*, or the abortion mill is in a back alley—in both instances it is dealing out death—and those responsible should be held accountable by the law for their crime.

If the legality of abortions were to end, the work of the pro-life movement would not be over. As long as innocent human life within the womb is threatened by abortion, legal or otherwise, so long will the pro-life movement continue.

Some would criticize the pro-life movement as too singular in its focus. While it is certainly necessary to situate our concern for the right to life of the unborn in that continuum of life which ends with natural death, and while it is essential to recognize our concerns as one with concern for the poor, the

disabled, the homeless, the sick, the elderly, new peoples, and whomever it is who suffers assaults against human dignity, and while it is essential to be actively concerned for the mother—and the father, we need not apologize if our efforts are particularly directed to protect the unborn, for they are those whose life is most vulnerable.

While the pro-life cause is an eminently righteous one, it is imperative that we not be self-righteous. More than anything else we must be armed with compassion and love. We are about the business of affirming the right to life of the unborn because we are convinced of the dignity and worth of every human person. Every abortion is a tragic drama, and never more so than when those involved—the mother and father, the medical agents of the abortion—are impervious to what it is they are doing. Our effort must be to speak the truth in love to all those who have fallen victims to an abortion culture—for this is what we have developed—an abortion culture. Having envisioned the procuring of an abortion as a right, we have created a new culture, a culture which is built on the right to kill the unborn. The elites of our society have transformed what once was universally considered a crime into the lawful exercise of a right to choose—to choose one's convenience over another's right to life.

It might well be argued that the saddest victims of this culture are the mothers and fathers of the aborted, the medical agents of abortion, and our society as a whole. To speak the truth in love means to show the face of compassion to *all* who are victimized.

It is clear that the pro-life movement is here to stay. There is no way in which the human spirit will long endure a moral evil like abortion. Those of us who recognize abortion as the taking of innocent human life do not find that with the passage of time and millions of more deaths we are less committed. Far from it. I find myself today more convinced than ever that the killing must stop.

Operation Rescue expresses in one way, a way not suited to all, the frustration in the hearts of thousands of us as we realize that with each passing day more human lives are being destroyed through abortion. It is imperative that all forms of physical violence be avoided. Ours is not a movement of violence, and it must never be that. Ours is a movement of justice, of compassion, of love, of life. Those who engage in prophetic action—such as Operation Rescue—need special discipline to ensure that our message of love and life is in no way distorted. Having said this, I must also add that those whom I know personally who have been involved in Operation Rescue are women and men outstanding in their desire to act non-violently in compassion and love. They have my admiration and prayerful support. They do not sanction

APPENDIX B

physical violence, nor do they sanction the destruction of property. Any who might be involved in such negative acts are a discredit to the pro-life movement. We who gather here deplore all forms of physical violence and destruction, but must be relentless in championing the right to life of the unborn.

Today our President has asked that we pray for the nation. We do so gladly. We pray that we may become a kinder, gentler nation by living out the promise expressed in our Declaration of Independence when it speaks of life as an inalienable right with which each person has been endowed by God.

I began by stating that the pro-life position is a matter of fact, not a belief. This is certainly so. I began by pointing out that abortion, like slavery, rests on a denial of fact about the inherent dignity of every human being. For many of us, however, the facts revealed by empirical, biological evidence are illumined by faith. Faith, as it were, carries us beyond reason, and reinforces the facts revealed by the empirical evidence. How poignantly is this so in this passage from Isaiah in which the inspired prophet attempts to express in human categories the love which God has for every man, woman, and child—the love which we are to strive for in our relationships with one another. Isaiah writes:

Can a mother forget her infant, be without tenderness for the child of the womb? Even should she forget, I will never forget you.

May God grant us the grace never to forget.

the HUMAN LIFE REVIEW



SPRING 1989

Featured in this issue:

Joseph Sobran on Surprising Friend & Foe
Sean Donovan on The Pain Goes On
David Alton on A Woman & Her Doctor
Kenneth Craycraft Jr. on 'Gender' Abortions
Faith Abbott on The Soft Shrew Routine
John Wauck on The Feminist Rationale
Paul Johnson asks Is Totalitarianism Dead?

Special Supplement: The Webster Case

Robert Destro, Joseph E. Schmitz and Robert J. Crnkovich

Also in this issue:

Mike Perry • Cardinals Bernard Law & John O'Connor • Rev. Paul
Stallsworth • Nat Hentoff • Michael Novak • Laurence Lynn Jr. • Ruthe
Stein • Jo McGowan • Tamihiko Tonomura • Francis Canavan S.J. •

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Note	From Linda Casey to Governor Sununu Re: Message from Cardinal Law (1 pp.)	4/4/89	P 5	

Collection:

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 By JP (NLGB) on 5/12/05

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April 4, 1989

Governor,

Cardinal Law called today and asked that you please call him TODAY or TONIGHT. (He said the hour of night does not matter. In fact, he'll bless you before you sleep if you call him tonight!)

He may be calling about a couple of things.

1. See his memo to you (ATTACHED) re Lebanon (sent Saturday; receiving yesterday)

2. Doug Wead stopped by the office earlier and said he has received MANY calls, including a couple from Cardinal Law and one from Cardinal Hickey, regarding the tuition tax credit.

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Sununu, Chief of Staff
FROM: Bernard Cardinal Law *BL*
RE: ceasefire in Lebanon
DATE: March 31, 1989

The Patriarch of the Maronites, His Beatitude, Most Reverend Nasrallah Peter Sfeir, has recently issued an appeal for help in bringing about a ceasefire in Lebanon. For humanitarian reasons, he has called on all world leaders and all interested parties to collaborate in this effort.

Because I share his concern about the plight of innocent civilians and am convinced that a ceasefire is a necessary prelude to serious negotiations among the parties involved, I am taking this opportunity of sending you a copy of the Patriarch's appeal with my request that it be given serious consideration by the United States Government.

SAVING THE HUMAN BEING IN LEBANON IS AN EMERGENCY CASE.

**APPEAL LAUNCHED BY HIS BEATITUDE PATRIARCH SFEIR
IN FAVOR OF CONSOLIDATING THE CEASE-FIRE IN LEBANON.**

For more than 15 days now the lebanese people have been tortured by a shower of bombs and a severe blockade preventing them from getting necessary supplies.

It is a fearsome situation which should not last, out of mercy's sake for the innocent citizens, children, old people, women and the sick. Shaken by fear, a whole population exposed day and night to shells of all calibers, is spending time in the shelters or cornered in house recesses. These missiles of death are being launched by sophisticated weapons, the use of which against residential areas is forbidden.

The closing of passage ways between the Lebanese regions prevents the members of the same family from meeting each other and people from earning their daily bread. The destruction of enterprises, factories and other production installations is paralyzing the economic and social life, thus causing starvation. All these measures bear a vicious and odious character offending the most basic principles of humanity.

What is happening on Lebanese soil has no justifications. An end must be put to it without delay.

Feeling it our duty to help the Lebanese out of the hell where they struggle, we launch a most solemn appeal requiring all those bearing responsibilities, be they Lebanese or non-Lebanese, to silence for good their cannons and stop the destruction of houses over the heads of their inhabitants. We adjure them to respect the cease-fire and consolidate it in the name of God before Whom they will have to appear, in the name of all human values in which they believe, and in the name of the respect they bear in their hearts towards the sacredness of human life. For goodness sake, may the reply favorably to this appeal.

We address this appeal to all those who abide by the human rights: States, international and regional organizations and moral authorities.

We address it specially to the Arab league and to the committee issued from it. We thank them for the relentless efforts they employ to consolidate the cease-fire and open the passage ways between the Lebanese regions. We hope this will be guaranteed by the presence of observers. May they save Lebanon more death, Torture and destruction.

SAVING THE HUMAN BEING IN LEBANON IS AN EMERGENCY CASE.

NASRALLAH PETER SFEIR
PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH AND ALL THE ORIENT
BKERKE, LEBANON, MARCH 30, 1989

*JHS spoke to him
4/5/89*

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RE: ceasefire in Lebanon
DATE: March 31, 1989

The Patriarch of the Maronites, His Beatitude, Most Reverend Nasrallah Peter Sfeir, has recently issued an appeal for help in bringing about a ceasefire in Lebanon. For humanitarian reasons, he has called on all world leaders and all interested parties to collaborate in this effort.

Because I share his concern about the plight of innocent civilians and am convinced that a ceasefire is a necessary prelude to serious negotiations among the parties involved, I am taking this opportunity of sending you a copy of the Patriarch's appeal with my request that it be given serious consideration by the United States Government.

SAVING THE HUMAN BEING IN LEBANON IS AN EMERGENCY CASE.

**APPEAL LAUNCHED BY HIS BEATITUDE PATRIARCH SPEIR
IN FAVOR OF CONSOLIDATING THE CEASE-FIRE IN LEBANON.**

For more than 15 days now the lebanese people have been tortured by a shower of bombs and a severe blockade preventing them from getting necessary supplies.

It is a fearsome situation which should not last, out of mercy's sake for the innocent citizens, children, old people, women and the sick. Shaken by fear, a whole population exposed day and night to shells of all calibers, is spending time in the shelters or cornered in house recesses. These missiles of death are being launched by sophisticated weapons, the use of which against residential areas is forbidden.

The closing of passage ways between the Lebanese regions prevents the members of the same family from meeting each other and people from earning their daily bread. The destruction of enterprises, factories and other production installations is paralyzing the economic and social life, thus causing starvation. All these measures bear a vicious and odious character offending the most basic principles of humanity.

What is happening on Lebanese soil has no justifications. An end must be put to it without delay.

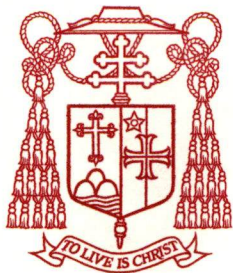
Feeling it our duty to help the Lebanese out of the hell where they struggle, we launch a most solemn appeal requiring all those bearing responsibilities, be they Lebanese or non-Lebanese, to silence for good their cannons and stop the destruction of houses over the heads of their inhabitants. We adjure them to respect the cease-fire and consolidate it in the name of God before Whom they will have to appear, in the name of all human values in which they believe, and in the name of the respect they bear in their hearts towards the sacredness of human life. For goodness sake, may the reply favorably to this appeal.

We address this appeal to all those who abide by the human rights: States, international and regional organizations and moral authorities.

We address it specially to the Arab league and to the committee issued from it. We thank them for the relentless efforts they employ to consolidate the cease-fire and open the passage ways between the Lebanese regions. We hope this will be guaranteed by the presence of observers. May they save Lebanon more death, Torture and destruction.

SAVING THE HUMAN BEING IN LEBANON IS AN EMERGENCY CASE.

NASRALLAH PETER SPEIR
PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH AND ALL THE ORIENT
BKERKE, LEBANON, MARCH 30, 1989



CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE

2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

April 11, 1989

Governor John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Governor Sununu:

These words are being recorded at St. Joseph Abbey at Spencer, Massachusetts. I have come to this Trappist monastery for a quiet day. My thoughts and prayers at this moment are with you and the President. Please let him know that.

My outburst to you earlier today, inquiring whether all of you knew what you are doing, was uncalled for and I apologize. It does, however, reflect a deep concern for the nation, obviously, and for you personally.

On the question of Cuba, I understand the awkward nature of the request, since the original request had been responded to positively by the Commerce Department. My discomfort is first with the embargo. I do not believe that medicines and food, except in the rarest of circumstances which do not now obtain, should ever be restricted. In this instance, a one time exception was requested, there has been significant positive movement concerning freedom of religion since 1985, and this concession by the U.S. government would have been about as small a gesture as can be imagined.

I hope it is sufficiently recognized that the Catholic Church is the only institution with an infra-structure that is non-governmental in Cuba. A positive response to this request would, obviously, have enhanced the role of the Church in Cuba. The negative response could weaken somewhat the Church's role.

The U. S. government, it seems to me, has everything to gain and nothing to lose by being somewhat anticipatory in ameliorating relations with Cuba. We should take the offensive in moving towards normalization, thus forcing Cuba to be more forthcoming, especially in Central America. If she is not, then we can move back to our present iron stance.

The long view of U. S. policy vis a vis Cuba and Central America is dismal. I refer to the pre Communist regimes. There is some historic precedence for paranoia with regards to the U. S. presence. Not to give this earlier history its place in assessing present policy options would, I believe, be wrong. It is this which makes me think that some show of magnanimity would help establish trust. After all, we are not two little boys playing King of the Mountain. The U. S. is the King of the Mountain, and everyone knows it. It is precisely because we are that we can afford to be more flexible.

Unless military force is seen as an option to overthrow the Cuban government, an option which would be absolutely unconscionable in terms of the threat to innocent human life, then some movement must begin towards normalization. We have nothing to lose by moving in that direction. There have been positive steps taken by the U.S. and Cuba, and there have been negative steps taken, e.g. the type of prisoners released by Cuba into U.S., and Radio Marti on our side. (I am not passing judgement on the decision to begin Radio Marti, I simply make the point that in terms of U.S./Cuban relations it is a negative action by our government.)

What one would hope to see is an evident desire on the part of the U.S. government towards normalization of relations with Cuba. This, it seems to me, is the only viable route towards normalization in Central America.

Obviously, there is a strong and well organized Cuban American presence in the U.S. whose public posture would eschew the type of policy initiatives I am suggesting. What must be borne in mind, however, is that these are Cuban Americans who make their home here. The Cubans who must also be listened to are those Cubans who are still in Cuba. The Bishops of Cuba, for example, who understand well the difficulties of the present government but whose choice has been to remain with their people, are of the opinion that for the good of the Cuban people the embargo should be lifted. I wonder if voices like these are sufficiently taken into account?

On another matter, namely tuition tax credits. Given the President's remarks in that unfortunate but recorded impromptu exchange with a high school student, the White House press officer's words do not deal with what has now been raised: a question about the President's understanding of the problem. I understand you may be sending a letter to assure interested persons of the President's position. I am afraid, Governor, that nothing short of the President expressing himself with

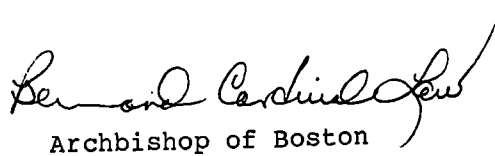
understanding on the economic hardships of poor and near poor parents who choose non-public schools to ensure quality and values-laden education for their children will allay the mistrust that has arisen. What I would suggest is some forum where the President could speak to this issue, without any reference to that earlier interview.

And finally, I wrote on December 7, 1988 to invite the President to address the Catholic Lawyers Guild of Boston on September 23, 1989. On December 20th you indicated a tentative maybe. Could I have an upgrade on that, or could I perhaps have as firm a commitment as you can tentatively make, with the assurance that if the President cannot come you will help bail me out?

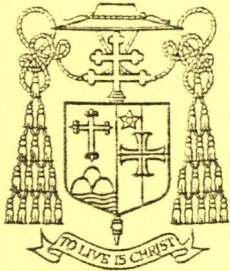
Aren't you glad you have a friend like me?

May God bless you, your wife and children. Thank you for what you are doing.

Sincerely yours in Christ,


Archbishop of Boston

BCL/ac



CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE

2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

February 15, 1989

Governor John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Governor Sununu:

I was certainly encouraged when you indicated to me that the then President-elect would, in all likelihood, be "most interested in speaking at a luncheon following the Red Mass in September if time permits."

I write now in the hopes that this possibility might be actively pursued. My purpose in writing to you now is to put in motion some follow-up.

John, there is not a day but I pray for the President and for you. I hope that you have found a home, and that things are going well.

I spoke to the President while he was in Kennebunkport, and told him that I would be going to Cuba at the end of the month. If there is any information that it would be helpful for me to receive, I would be happy to hear from you or someone on your staff. I have asked the President if I might see him on my return, and he has assured me that he would be happy for that. Perhaps you can tell me how best to arrange this.

With warm personal regards and asking God to bless you, your wife and family, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Archbishop of Boston

BCL/ac

copy to W. J. Rogers

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

December 10, 1938

Dear Cardinal Law:

Thank you for your kind invitation to the President-elect. I am sure he would be most interested in speaking at a luncheon following the Red Mass in September if time permits.

I am holding this invitation until after we had a chance to put the system in place to handle the President-elect's scheduling requests. I will make sure they contact you following the inaugural with a more definite response.

Thank you, as always, for your support. I hope you have a joyous holiday season.

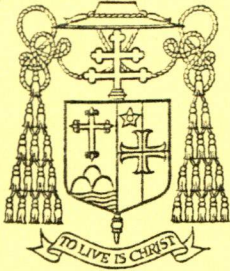
Sincerely,



John H. Sununu

Bernard Cardinal Law
Archbishop of Boston
210 Commonwealth Avenue
Brighton, Massachusetts 02109

RECEIVED
DEC 11 1938



CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE

2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

December 7, 1988

Governor John Sununu
24 Samoset Drive
Salem, NH 03079

Dear Governor:

Allow me to stand in the line of the many people who are writing to you for favors.

Quite specifically, I would like to sound out the possibility of having Present-elect George Bush speak at the luncheon following the Red Mass, which will be held on Saturday, September 23, 1989. Last year we had Justice Scalia as our speaker. We began again the tradition of the Red Mass last year, and we had approximately 600 lawyers and judges present for it. The Mass is scheduled for 10:00 a.m. at Holy Cross Cathedral, and the lunch is scheduled for 12:00 noon at the Park Plaza Hotel.

I realize that any invitation is an imposition on an impossible schedule. Nonetheless, I thought that this particular forum could provide an opportunity for the president to say some things that he may wish to say. It goes without saying that his presence would be such a distinct honor for all of us.

In the event that you think this is totally out of the question, I will fully understand and will appreciate a quick negative response. If you believe that there is any possibility that this might be a workable invitation, then I would appreciate that word.

With warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Archbishop of Boston

BCL/ac