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Washington, D.C. 20004-2293 — (202) 626-8800 (FAX) 737-9189 or 347-5907

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

THE CHIEF of STAFF
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DATE:

11/19/91

TO:

NAME:

Governor Sununu

OF:

FAX NUMBER:

FROM: Douglas Johnson, Legislative Director: (202) 626-8820

Our telephone number for automatic facsimile reception is:

(202) 347-3668

We are transmitting 4 pages (including this cover page).

If you have any trouble receiving these materials, please call

(202) 626-8820.

Governor,

We are extremely grateful to the President, and to you, for everything you have done. We will express our thanks more formally when time allows. Please see the attached statement by Rep. Hoyer. It tallies with information from other sources, that the House Democratic leadership may try to fool around with the Porter Amendment a little, and then try again. Please see our attached press release. We hope that White House spokespersons also ~~please~~ adopt the theme, "Stop holding the critical DHHS bill hostage. Drop the Porter Amendment."

Gratefully,

Douglas Johnson



Suite 300, 419 7th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-2293 — (202) 626-8800 (FAX) 737-9189 or 347-5907

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
Tuesday, November 19, 1991

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:
Douglas Johnson, Legislative Director
(202) 626-8820, (301) 502-1170

HOUSE UPHOLDS REGULATIONS AGAINST FEDERAL ABORTION PROMOTION:
"HUMAN SERVICES BILL HELD HOSTAGE LONG ENOUGH," SAYS N.R.L.C.

WASHINGTON-- The National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) today called on House Speaker Tom Foley (D-Wa.) and the House Democratic leadership to stop "holding hostage" the Department of Health and Human Services appropriations bill in order to challenge President Bush on abortion.

President Bush today vetoed the bill because it contained a provision (the Porter Amendment) to allow non-physicians to routinely counsel and refer for abortion as a birth-control method in 4,000 clinics that receive funds under the federal Title 10 program. The House sustained the President's veto on a vote of 276-156, 12 short of a two-thirds majority.

In his veto message, the President made it clear that his veto was based solely on the abortion issue, not on the funding provisions of the \$205 billion bill. "I will sign a bill that does not include language that prohibits implementation of this [Title 10] rule," the President said in his veto message. "I urge the Congress to pass promptly an acceptable bill, one without objectionable language relating to Title X [the family planning program], to provide needed funding for the many important programs contained in this legislation."

NRLC Legislative Director Douglas Johnson commented: "Tom Foley pressured pro-life Democratic House members, claiming that if they voted with the President, it would imperil vital social programs. But in fact, the President says he will sign the bill with every dollar intact."

Johnson pointed out that the Senate passed a separate, "freestanding" bill (S. 323, the Chafee bill) to nullify the pro-life regulations four months ago, and a House committee approved a similar bill (H.R. 3090, the Waxman bill) over three months ago. However, "the House leadership sidetracked those bills in order to piggyback on the popular human services funding bill," Johnson said. "Now it's time for Speaker Foley and Planned Parenthood to stop holding this critical bill hostage. If the pro-abortion provision is dropped, the bill can be enacted within days, without removing one dollar."

Johnson called today's House vote "a victory for those Americans who oppose the use of abortion as a method of birth control."

Earlier in the day, DHHS Secretary Louis Sullivan sent a directive, instructing his subordinates to implement the regulations in a manner consistent with a Nov. 5 order by President Bush. The President's order made it clear that the regulations allow physicians to discuss abortion with patients in federally funded clinics, but prohibit abortion counseling and referral by non-physicians. "Patients and doctors can talk about absolutely anything they want," under the directive, the President explained his Nov. 8 press conference. However, pro-abortion groups continued to insist that federally funded clinic staff, other than physicians, also should be allowed to counsel for abortion as a "family planning option."

The National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) is the nation's major pro-life organization, made up of about 3,000 local chapters.

latest version of the banking bill in the House Banking Committee today.

Torres and Schumer had hoped to mark up a compromise bill Monday in the Banking Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs, which Torres chairs. But they decided to allow more time to work with the leadership and other members. In addition, Torres acknowledged today that there are still differences between himself and Schumer on the issue. Torres said he wants a bill that would direct the GAO and CBO to study the credit card interest situation and report back to Congress — where members would have the prerogative to place a cap on interest rates or take other action. He said Schumer wants appointment of an independent commission that would conduct an 18-month market study. President Bush would then be required to take appropriate action, such as setting a cap. Torres defended his approach as more timely, adding, "Two years to wait is not gonna resolve the issue."

BANKING

Banking Bill III Clears House Panel

In yet a third effort to enact banking legislation, the House Banking Committee today approved a watered down banking bill in a 44-7 vote — staving off efforts by various members to further narrow the bill or bog it down with provisions that many claim caused the failure of the first two bills. But the Rules Committee this afternoon postponed its consideration of the measure just before Rules was due to take it up. "I think they may pull it [from the floor] because they don't have enough votes right now," Rules Chairman Moakley said, adding that the leadership would continue this afternoon to seek support for the measure. Speaker Foley said he hopes to have the bill on the House floor by Thursday.

The bill — which would recapitalize the Bank Insurance Fund, toughen bank regulation, and allow for earlier intervention of failing banks — received strong bipartisan support at this morning's committee markup. Committee Republicans met before the markup to decide whether to proceed with a final attempt to insert provisions allowing interstate banking and several new powers for banks. In the end, there was a split among the Republicans, as Rep. Jim Leach, R-Iowa, offered an amendment to reinsert the controversial provisions into the bill. But even ranking member Chalmers Wylie, R-Ohio, stated his objections, and the committee rejected the amendment.

On the other side of the aisle, Rep. Frank Annunzio, D-Ill., offered an amendment — which failed — to further narrow the legislation. Reflecting the sentiment of a number of committee members, Annunzio complained that a package of what Chairman Gonzalez tagged "noncontroversial" amendments may be "well meaning, [but] there are also some provisions in there that can well end up seeing the banking bill go down for the third time." According to Annunzio, included are provisions that could trigger joint referral to the Energy and Commerce Committee, significantly complicating passage of the bill. On the other side of the Capitol, a Senate aide said today that Democrats were at odds with Republicans over consumer issues in the Senate version of the bill, and that Republicans were blocking further action over the issue.

APPROPRIATIONS

Bush Vetoes FY92 Labor-HHS Spending Bill

A showdown House vote was expected later today on President Bush's veto this afternoon of the \$205 billion FY92 Labor-HHS spending bill. In doing so, Bush ignored the pleas of House Democratic leaders, who urged that he not reject all the health and education spending in the bill.

CongressDaily

November 19, 1991 / pg. 3 of 5

over the provision barring HHS from spending money to enforce the so-called "gag rule" on abortion counseling. But Bush stood firm on his opposition to the gag rule language. "I will sign a bill that does not include language that prohibits implementation of the abortion counseling and referral rule," Bush said. "It is my intention to ensure that no federal funds are used to support abortion except in cases where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term." Bush also noted that the bill includes \$4.4 billion in spending that is delayed until FY93, and said such funding "would make it much more difficult to remain within the FY93 spending limits" next year. But he did not threaten another veto if that spending is retained.

House Democratic Caucus Chairman Steny Hoyer of Maryland, one of nine House Democratic leaders who held a news conference before the veto to urge Bush to sign the bill, said he was "confident" of the outcome in the override battle — but stopped short of predicting victory. "I think we're very close," Hoyer said when asked if Democrats had the needed votes. A House Democratic source today said "a handful of votes" will decide the outcome. The conference report on the Labor-HHS bill passed the House Nov. 6 on a 272-156 — 18 short of the two-thirds needed for an override if all 435 House members vote. Hoyer and others also said that they did not think it was inevitable that the House would merely pass that same bill without the gag rule language if a Bush veto is sustained.

APPROPRIATIONS

Emergency Spending Bill In Trouble In Senate

The \$7.6 billion emergency supplemental spending bill approved Friday by the Senate Appropriations Committee "isn't going anywhere in its current form," a Senate GOP source said today. "That bill is right now headed toward complete disaster as it now stands," said the source, who added that several senators — including **Minority Leader Dole** — are planning to offer amendments to the measure if it reaches the floor. The GOP source said the emergency spending bill was "on hold, probably until Wednesday," and added that "there's lot of problems with lots of people" eager to offer amendments to it. **Senate Agriculture Chairman Leahy** and **Sen. Robert Kasten, R-Wis.**, will probably offer a dairy bill as a substitute, the source said, while **Dole** and **Sen. Don Nickles, R-Okla.**, are planning agriculture amendments that are "hardly technical" in nature, the source said. A Senate GOP leadership aide said **Leahy**, **Kasten** and **Sen. Richard Lugar, R-Ind.**, had been meeting to discuss strategy on their possible dairy amendment, but had not yet made a decision.

The spending bill may not even get to a conference committee unless the Senate trims it down first, one GOP source said. "I don't see it happening," said the source, who added that many senators "don't think that [**House Appropriations Chairman**] **Whitten**'s willing to strip it down" once the bill gets to conference. The bill contains about \$4 billion for Operation Desert Storm expenses, \$1.75 billion for farm disaster aid, about \$1 billion for the Federal Emergency Management Agency to help pay for domestic disasters such as the recent Oakland fires and more than \$1 billion for children's programs such as Head Start. The House earlier passed a similar \$7.5 billion emergency spending measure.

ENERGY

Energy Bill Dead For The Year — Again

The possibility of a new deal on the Senate Energy Committee's "National Energy Strategy" legislation was laid to rest Monday night — at least for the remainder of this year — in



November 19, 1991

To: John Sununu, Roger porter, Phil Brady, Fred McClure

Al Simpson handed me the attached letter from John Chafee re: Labor-HHS Approp Bill (abortion part).

Roger: please prepare a short one pager for me on the Senator's letter- also prepare a one page or less reply-- thanking him, explaining the problem etc.

A handwritten signature, likely of the President, is located in the center of the page.

FROM THE PRESIDENT

JOHN H. CHAFEE
RHODE ISLAND

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

RANKING MEMBER, COMMITTEE ON
ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

THE SENATE ARMS CONTROL
OBSERVER GROUP

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November 18, 1991

The President
The White House
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

The Labor-HHS Appropriations bill sent to you last week contains a one-year moratorium on 1988 regulations barring federally funded family planning clinics from providing any information to pregnant women about pregnancy termination. I strongly believe that there is substitute language to which you can agree and I hope that you will so state this in your veto message to Congress. The attached document is an example of such substitute language,

The memorandum you sent to Secretary Sullivan on November 5 says that doctors may provide information to women. But you did not say that nurses and other trained personnel could do the same. This is unfortunate because it is nurses, physician assistants and trained clinicians who provide most of the care in Title X clinics. It is sad, but true, that there simply are not enough doctors to serve low-income women and their families. These women don't see doctors, but they do see nurses, other health care professionals and trained clinicians.

Mr. President, neither you nor I want to keep poor women from receiving the same information that wealthier women expect from their private health care providers. We are talking solely about information, not about providing money for abortion services.

I hope very much that you will consider these issues before you veto the Labor-HHS Appropriations bill. When you do veto the bill, I urge that you include in your veto message that you would accept substitute language along the lines of what I have enclosed to allow health care professionals and other trained clinicians to answer questions and to refer women to where they can get the services they seek, while strictly prohibiting directive counseling.

Warm personal regards,

Chafee
John H. Chafee
U.S. Senator

**POSSIBLE AGREEMENT ON POLICY WITH RESPECT TO PREGNANCY
RELATED SERVICES IN TITLE X FUNDED CLINICS
(NOVEMBER 14, 1991)**

A. Treatment of Title X projects which provide prenatal care, such as, but not limited to, community health centers, hospitals, or family planning clinics that offer such care:

When a woman comes in for family planning services and is determined in the course of the visit to be pregnant, she should be offered information regarding her pregnancy. The provider of services will furnish a list of community resources for medical care and social services. If the woman elects to remain in that project for services, she will be provided with the same pregnancy related services and information that all of the projects' patients receive. The project would be allowed to retain Title X funds as part of its general operating support.

B. Treatment of Title X projects which do not provide prenatal care:

(1) When a woman comes in for family planning services and is determined in the course of the visit to be pregnant, she should be offered information regarding her pregnancy. If a woman is found to have a significant medical problem, she should be referred to a provider of comprehensive medical care. The provider of services will furnish a list of community resources for medical care and social services. If requested, the project will make every effort to assist the pregnant woman in making an appointment with a prenatal care provider. In addition, the project will provide the woman with written information to be developed by the Secretary of Health and Human Services about appropriate prenatal care that includes a discussion of proper nutrition and exercise, the need to avoid alcohol, drug and tobacco use, and the importance of receiving medical care.

(2) Health care professionals, or trained clinicians under the supervision of a medical director, shall give factual answers to questions the woman has about her pregnancy and her legal and medical options. Questions about an individual's medical conditions that relate to her pregnancy should be referred to an appropriate practitioner, on or off premises. Identification of providers of adoption and pregnancy termination services will be made available upon a woman's request. Factual information may also be provided about the mix of services provided by each provider and the payment sources they accept. The project is not to provide directive counseling to the woman regarding her pregnancy. Should this process of answering questions be found to advocate pregnancy termination or adoption the Title X project would be subject to the procedures which apply to misuse of grant funds, including termination of the grant or portion of the grant which funds the project.

(3) Nothing in this statute is intended to preclude a health care professional or trained clinician under the supervision of a medical director, from fulfilling his or her generally-accepted professional duty.

C. Relationship to Non-Title X Services:

Nothing in this statute is intended to circumscribe the services offered separately by a Title X provider with other public or private funds.



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To: Governor Sununu

From: Douglas Johnson, (202) 626-8820, (301) 439-9087

Date: Nov. 22, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

I am enclosing several copies of the Nov. 20 edition of the *National Right to Life News*, which contains a prominent article on the veto fight, the text of the President's veto message, and a request for letters of thanks. This publication is sent to 216,000 active NRLC donors nationwide. Many state and local pro-life publications reproduce the articles and congressional roll calls, multiplying the readership manyfold.

Please see also my attached memo to leaders of our state affiliates and allied organizations, especially page 6.

A formal letter of thanks to President Bush, from the president of National Right to Life, is in the works. I hope to have it delivered on Monday.

Again, many thanks for your leadership and support.

See especially
page 6

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page



Suite 500, 419 7th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-2293 — (202) 626-8800 (FAX) 737-9189 or 347-5907

To: NRLC Board and State Offices
Federal Legislative Coordinators
Selected Pro-life Contacts

From: Douglas Johnson, NRLC Legislative Director
(202) 626-8820, fax (202) 347-3668

Re: Legislative Update

Date: Friday, November 22, 1991

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading 'Douglas Johnson', is written diagonally across the right side of the letterhead.

INTRODUCTION: This memo summarizes congressional developments since Nov. 8, the date of the last memo that you all received. (On Monday, Nov. 18, the day before the veto override vote, all NRLC State Offices that have automatic-reception fax machines received two additional "urgent alert" memos from us-- one in the morning, the second in the evening. I strongly encourage state offices and Legislative Coordinators that do not have automatic-reception fax machines to procure this capacity, so that you too can receive our "faxcasts" during periods of important congressional activity.)

As you are well aware, on Tuesday, Nov. 19, President Bush vetoed H.R. 2707, the \$205 billion appropriations bill for the Department of Health and Human Resources (DHHS), in order to prevent enactment of the Porter Amendment, which would have blocked implementation of the pro-life Title 10 regulations. Within hours, the House of Representatives sustained his veto by a 12-vote margin, on a vote of 276 to 156.

Despite the narrowness of the margin, we can collectively take pride in the successful outcome. The vote was the most intensely lobbied abortion vote ever to occur in Congress. The Title 10 war is not over, but we have won a pro-life victory of great significance, both substantively and politically. As explained in the enclosed Nov. 20 edition of *National Right to Life News*, court orders blocking implementation of the Title 10 regulations should soon be dissolved, and DHHS officials can at last begin to enforce the regulations. The Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA) has reiterated that its 176 affiliates will not accept funds under the conditions imposed by the regulations. PPFA affiliates receive \$37 million annually, out of the \$144 million program.

CURRENT SITUATION: Today, Nov. 22, the House will pass a second DHHS appropriations bill, H.R. 3839. It is identical to H.R. 2707 in every respect, except that it does not contain the Porter Amendment. Barring some last-minute maneuver by pro-abortion senators, this bill should go to President Bush before Thanksgiving, and the President has already promised to sign it. Barring unforeseen developments, Congress will adjourn for the year by Nov. 27.

[Two Department of Defense bills are close to receiving final congressional approval, after pro-abortion provisions were dropped in conference committees to avoid vetos. Pro-life Rep. John Murtha (D-Pa.) deserves a special commendation here. He received a strong assist from Pro-Life Caucus Co-Chairman Alan Mollohan (D-WV). In addition, both houses may act on a new version of the foreign aid authorization bill (H.R. 2508), which contains no pro-abortion provisions. An earlier version, containing two pro-abortion provisions, was killed in the House on Oct. 30. (See the Nov. 20 *NRL News*, page 10.) A more complete overview on the 1991 congressional session will appear in an upcoming edition of *NRL News*.]

WHAT NEXT? Again, this is not the end of the battle over the Title 10 regulations. When Congress returns in January, we can expect rapid action on the "freestanding" Waxman bill (H.R. 3090) that would overturn the regulations, which was approved by a House committee last August. The Senate already passed such a measure (S. 323, the Chafee bill) in July. And there may be other challenges as well. Considering how close our opponents came to success this year, we cannot be complacent. However, guarded optimism is warranted. As explained below, this week's vote occurred under circumstances very advantageous to our opposition. They took their best shot, and fell a bit short-- thanks to your work, and the excellent efforts of the President and his subordinates.

The basic narrative on recent events is found in the Nov. 20 *NRL News* article, and I will not repeat that material here. However, I do want to give you some additional context on the recent votes, and to underscore the critical importance of appropriate, sustained followup activities directed both at House members who voted with us, and those those with pro-life inclinations who nevertheless voted against us.

The countdown to the veto override vote began on Nov. 6, when the House passed the final version ("conference report") on H.R. 2707 by a vote of 272 to 156-- 14 votes short of a two-thirds majority. While I publicly estimated that we would pick up 10 other House members on a veto override (we got six), we also warned you not to assume that we would automatically hold the 156 House members who voted right on Nov. 6.

Our opposition, led by the Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA), brought several major advantages to this confrontation. First, they had achieved a great deal of success in "framing" the Title 10 regulations as an infringement on free speech rights, as crude government interference in private doctor-patient discussions, and as a threat to women's health. They achieved this partly through expensive paid advertising, but mostly by way of very unbalanced coverage of the Title 10 controversy by most organs of the print and electronic media, especially the four major television networks. The casual adoption by most media organs of the obviously pejorative term "gag rule" to describe the regulations typifies the press's mindset on the issue. Most public opinion polls soon came to reflect the relentless, tendentious press coverage, showing strong majorities against the "gag rule." (The Wirthlin polls, which accurately described the policy before questioning respondents, showed the public more evenly divided.)

Second, centrist medical organizations, such as the American Medical Association and its state affiliates, applied more pressure than I have ever seen on a federal abortion policy issue. These groups are particularly

influential with some Republican lawmakers who usually vote pro-life.

Third, after studying the public opinion polls, the top House Democratic leadership, led by pro-abortion Speaker Tom Foley (D-Wa.) and pro-abortion Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.), decided that "the gag rule" provided them with their best opportunity to break President Bush's unbroken string of 23 successful vetos, and at the same time, finally demonstrate to pro-abortion organizations that the congressional Democratic leadership can "deliver the goods" by overturning an important pro-life policy. They decided to make overturn of the regulations a top priority for the 1991 session.

Fourth, the pro-abortion leaders chose the best possible "vehicle" for the Porter Amendment-- the appropriations bill for the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS). This \$205 billion bill contains funding for most major health, education, social services, and labor programs, including Medicaid and Medicare. Most members of both parties are very reluctant to vote against a bill that provides funds for so many important programs, of importance to so many influential constituencies and advocacy groups.

Once the conference report passed the House on Nov. 6, the House Democratic leadership swung into high gear. Democratic congressmen and their staffs called leaders of many organizations that support programs funded in H.R. 2707, urging them to lobby Congress to override the anticipated veto. Unless the veto was overridden, the congressional leaders warned, funding for innumerable health, education, and social service programs would be in dire jeopardy.

The Washington offices of most of these social-service organizations needed little encouragement to jump into the fray. Soon, members of Congress were receiving letters from literally hundreds of significant organizations, strongly urging them to override the coming veto. Most of these letters indicated that a vote against the bill would be a vote against various social service programs.

For example, AFL-CIO Director of Legislation Robert M. McGlotten sent House members a letter urging them to override, stating, "The AFL-CIO believes in the most uncompromising terms that your vote for a veto override is crucial to reaffirm the right and obligation of government-funded physicians and other health care professionals to provide all relevant medical information to their patients." The Children's Defense Fund wrote that a vote to override the veto "will help assure that children do not lose further ground in 1992." (They apparently did not have in mind the unborn children who would lose their lives in PPFA's abortion mills.)

Now, the leaders of most of these organizations had to be fully aware that if the veto was not overridden, it was nearly certain that the Porter Amendment would be promptly dropped, the bill re-passed without any reduction in funding for any programs, and happily signed by President Bush (which is exactly what appears to be occurring as I write this). Indeed, only the Democratic leadership of the Congress would be in a position to prevent prompt passage of a "cleaned up," fully funded bill.

Most congressmen were also fully aware that the programs would be fully funded in the followup DHHS bill. Still, they had to reckon with the fact

that to vote with the President on the veto would be to incur a "bad vote" in the scorecards of many important special-interest groups.

Additional pressure came from Congressman William Natcher (D-Ky.), a well-respected House member who chairs the subcommittee that writes the massive DHHS appropriations bill. Mr. Natcher personally approached many House members, reminded them of programs important to their own districts that are funded through his bill, and said, "I need you on this."

In combination, these factors allowed our opposition to come dangerously close to a two-thirds margin when the conference report was approved on Nov. 6 by a 272 to 156 vote-- only 14 votes short. Only 43 out of 268 House Democrats voted pro-life on that vote (see *Vote #1* on pages 14-15 of the Nov. 20 edition of *National Right to Life News*).

The Democratic leaders then redoubled their efforts. Speaker Foley personally called most, if not all, of the 43 House Democrats who voted pro-life on Nov. 6 to urge them to switch. Rep. Dave Bonior (D-Mi.), who has a largely pro-life voting record but who was recently elected House Democratic Whip, also lobbied pro-life Democrats to vote to override.

KUDOS: These efforts were countered by the efforts of NRLC and its allies at the national, state, and local levels, and by lobbying by the White House and DHHS officials. I want to commend the fine work that Associate Legislative Director Susan A. Smith did throughout the year on the Title 10 issue, among others. Susan missed the crescendo because she had to exit in late October to prepare for her long-planned and now-imminent wedding!

NRLC's new lobbyists, Tami Hamilton and Nancy Lataif, became familiar figures to House members during this campaign, as they spent week after week roaming the Capitol hunting votes. Our brand new legislative secretary, Jennifer Luke, jumped into the Federal Legislative Office maelstrom and took over her diverse new responsibilities with aplomb, as if she'd been expected to do six things at once all her life. (With some trepidation, I have permitted a group photo of these young women to be published in the Nov. 20 *NRL News*. Be warned, however, that anyone submitting a proposal of marriage, whether on his own behalf or in the name of another, will be stricken from this mailing list.)

I have already spoken in the *NRL News* article the great leadership roles played by Reps. Chris Smith, Vin Weber, Henry Hyde, Harold Volkmer, and Buddy Tauzin. I want to also recognize the outstanding role played in the entire lobbying campaign by Mark Gallagher, Deputy Director of the Office of Government Liaison of the U.S. Catholic Conference.

THE VETO VOTE: In the end, the Nov. 19 roll call looked pretty much like the Nov. 6 roll call. The veto vote was 276 to 156-- 12 votes short of two-thirds. (See *Vote #2* on pages 14-15 of the Nov. 20 *NRL News*, and the related article.) That looks close-- but in reality, it was even closer. House Democratic staffers told William Welch of the Associated Press that they had commitments from more than six additional members to join the override side if the votes would make the difference. But the leadership could not quite muster the votes to get within "striking distance" and thereby trigger these contingent commitments.

FOLLOW-UP ACTIONS NEEDED

For Members Who Voted Pro-life

As explained above, the 156 House members who voted to sustain the veto on H.R. 2707 voted contrary to the strong urgings not only of PPFA and the medical groups, but also innumerable health, education, social services, and labor organizations. Many of them-- especially the 43 Democrats who supported the President on the veto-- are already getting plenty of heat from these groups. Many are also being savaged by their local press. Pro-life organizations must make extraordinary efforts to insure that these House members receive commensurate outpourings of appreciation from pro-life constituencies over the weeks and months just ahead.

Your individual organizations should have already sent official letters of thanks, but more is required. The members who voted pro-life should receive prominent mention in pro-life newsletters, in church-affiliated newspapers, in letters-to-the-editor campaigns, on Christian radio and TV programs, etc. After Congress adjourns, make sure that pro-life people also express their thanks directly to these congressmen at "town meetings," personal meetings, political events, etc. This effort should continue into the new congressional session that convenes in January.

For Members Who Voted Wrong

House Members who voted to override the President certainly need to receive expressions of disappointment. However, don't burn your bridges to representatives who usually or sometimes vote pro-life, but who defected on this bill. A bad vote on this bill must to be viewed in the context of the circumstances explained above, as well as the House member's past votes and likely future votes. For example, some of the pro-life House members who voted for the DHHS bill, did so after affirming that they support the Title 10 regulations and will oppose the Waxman bill (H.R. 3090) and other attempts to overturn the regulations that are not linked to the DHHS bill. You should seek such commitments wherever possible.

Some other pro-life House member may have voted to override the President only because of unusual circumstances-- say, because Chairman Natcher had earlier accommodated his request to include in H.R. 2707 funding for one or another program of special importance to the Member's district. You should encourage these members to convey to Mr. Natcher, and to the House leadership, that the next time the pro-abortion forces attempt to "piggyback" on the DHHS bill, or "hold hostage" some other popular measure, the Member will not be supportive of the legislation.

For the President

Once again, President Bush has saved a major pro-life policy. He did so despite overwhelmingly hostile commentary from the press, despite pressure from numerous special-interest groups and some of his own advisors, and despite warnings from some Republican congressional leaders that he would suffer a damaging blow to his overall power by losing a veto fight for the first time.

As previously reported, the President's Nov. 5 memo clarifying the parameters of the Title 10 regulations was tactically necessary-- without

it, we would have lost-- and perfectly timed. As a staffperson to pro-abortion Rep. Ron Wyden (D-Or.) expressed it, the memo "threw a bowling ball through the middle of Congress" and drew a number of undecided House members to the pro-life side of the issue.

PPFA, NARAL, and the rest of the pro-abortion movement will not give up on this issue. They will be back for another round early next year. It is important to them to legitimize abortion as a method of family planning by overturning the Title 10 regulations, but it is even more important to them to inflict as much political pain as possible on President Bush. He has dealt the abortion industry an enormous blow. President Bush has earned the gratitude-- and, I believe, the political loyalty-- of anyone who believes that abortion is a paramount issue.

It is important that we, as a pro-life movement, show that we recognize and appreciate the magnitude of what the President has done and is doing for our movement. All of your organizations should immediately send official letters of thanks to the President. But that is not enough. Grassroots pro-life citizens should also be encouraged to write to thank the President, both directly and via "letters-to-the-editor" columns.

In addition, all pro-life groups should ask for personal letters of thanks to the President from members or supporters who are important persons in the political, religious, academic, and professional communities. Remember, President Bush will be getting plenty of flak from VIPs who strongly disapprove of his veto, including some governors, mayors, and major medical groups.

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Thank you, and have a blessed Thanksgiving.



national RIGHT TO LIFE

committee, inc.

Suite 500 419 7th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-2293 — 202: 626-8800 FAX 202: 626-8800

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
Tuesday, November 19, 1991

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:
Douglas Johnson, Legislative Director
(202) 626-8820, (301) 502-1170

**HOUSE UPHOLDS REGULATIONS AGAINST FEDERAL ABORTION PROMOTION;
"HUMAN SERVICES BILL HELD HOSTAGE LONG ENOUGH," SAYS N.R.L.C.**

WASHINGTON-- The National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) today called on House Speaker Tom Foley (D-Wa.) and the House Democratic leadership to stop "holding hostage" the Department of Health and Human Services appropriations bill in order to challenge President Bush on abortion.

President Bush today vetoed the bill because it contained a provision (the Porter Amendment) to allow non-physicians to routinely counsel and refer for abortion as a birth-control method in 4,000 clinics that receive funds under the federal Title 10 program. The House sustained the President's veto on a vote of 276-156, 12 short of a two-thirds majority.

In his veto message, the President made it clear that his veto was based solely on the abortion issue, not on the funding provisions of the \$205 billion bill. "I will sign a bill that does not include language that prohibits implementation of this [Title 10] rule," the President said in his veto message. "I urge the Congress to pass promptly an acceptable bill, one without objectionable language relating to Title X [the family planning program], to provide needed funding for the many important programs contained in this legislation."

NRLC Legislative Director Douglas Johnson commented: "Tom Foley pressured pro-life Democratic House members, claiming that if they voted with the President, it would imperil vital social programs. But in fact, the President says he will sign the bill with every dollar intact."

Johnson pointed out that the Senate passed a separate, "freestanding" bill (S. 323, the Chafee bill) to nullify the pro-life regulations four months ago, and a House committee approved a similar bill (H.R. 3090, the Waxman bill) over three months ago. However, "the House leadership sidetracked those bills in order to piggyback on the popular human services funding bill," Johnson said. "Now it's time for Speaker Foley and Planned Parenthood to stop holding this critical bill hostage. If the pro-abortion provision is dropped, the bill can be enacted within days, without removing one dollar."

Johnson called today's House vote "a victory for those Americans who oppose the use of abortion as a method of birth control."

Earlier in the day, DHHS Secretary Louis Sullivan sent a directive, instructing his subordinates to implement the regulations in a manner consistent with a Nov. 5 order by President Bush. The President's order made it clear that the regulations allow physicians to discuss abortion with patients in federally funded clinics, but prohibit abortion counseling and referral by non-physicians. "Patients and doctors can talk about absolutely anything they want," under the directive, the President explained his Nov. 8 press conference. However, pro-abortion groups continued to insist that federally funded clinic staff, other than physicians, also should be allowed to counsel for abortion as a "family planning option."

The National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) is the nation's major pro-life organization, made up of about 3,000 local chapters.

Senate Panel Is Asked to Lift Ban on Fetal Tissue Research

Opponents See Possible Rise in Number of Abortions

By David Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

In an emotional exchange of opinion yesterday, advocates of fetal tissue research pleaded with a Senate committee to help make a "dream come true," while opponents raised the specter of a gruesome harvest of fetal tissue for therapeutic purposes.

The discussion, which included tantalizing hints at a successful outcome of the first fetus-to-fetus tissue transplant in the United States, was held in a hearing for a bill that would end the three-year moratorium on fetal tissue transplantation.

"We don't have time for a 'timeout.' We don't have a future unless medical science comes to our rescue," Joan I. Samuelson, an attorney from Santa Rosa, Calif., told the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

Samuelson, who limped to the witness table, has Parkinson's disease. She told the committee of the illness's subtle first symptoms and painted a picture of its end stage, when sufferers are immobile, mute, and often demented.

"In the face of this immense suffering, the promise of fetal tissue transplantation is truly a dream that is coming true for us. . . . What I ask is that you keep us in mind when you make your decision," Samuelson said.

Fetal tissue transplantation is a promising treatment for diseases in which a person lacks essential cellular chemicals, such as insulin in the case of diabetes or dopamine in Parkinson's disease. In Parkinson's, the loss of dopamine in adult life leads to widespread neurological degeneration.

Transplanted fetal cells, in some cases, are able to grow and produce the missing chemicals without stimulating the "host" body to identify the cells as foreign and kill them.

Later in the hearing, Curt R. Freed, a physician at the University of Colorado School of Medicine, showed a short videotape of a Parkinson's patient who received a transplant of fetal brain tissue. Before the operation, the woman fell down twice while vacuuming a rug. After the operation, she performed the same task with ease.

The secretary of health and human services in 1988 forbade the use of federal funds in research involving fetal tissue transplantation into human beings. Research involving test-tube culture of fetal tissue, and even transplantation into animals, was permitted, as were privately funded fetal tissue transplants into humans.

Since then there have been only a few such transplants in the United States,

though larger research projects are underway in Britain and Sweden. An advisory panel at the National Institutes of Health has recommended that federally sponsored transplant research be allowed.

A bill sponsored by Sens. Brock Adams (D-Wash.) and Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) would lift the moratorium. It also would forbid a woman from donating fetal tissue to a particular person, forbid the sale of fetal tissue, and establish elaborate consent requirements for all parties.

In the hearing's most dramatic moment, Guy Walden, a Baptist minister from Houston, told the committee that a fetal tissue transplantation operation may be successfully treating his 1-year-old child, Nathan.

The child has Hurler's syndrome, a rare enzyme deficiency that killed two of the couple's other children. In May 1990, tissue from an aborted, tubal pregnancy was injected into the 15-week-old fetus his wife was carrying. The child was born in October 1990. Tests done this summer indicated he is producing the essential enzyme, presumably from the transplanted cells.

Walden told the senators that he and his wife, who is pregnant again, are staunch opponents of abortion, and never considered getting one. As long as the procedure is legal, however, "saving the ones [fetuses with inherited diseases] we can is the most pro-life thing we can do," he said.

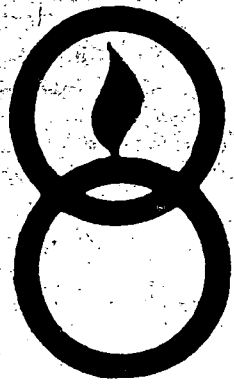
A representative of the National Right to Life Committee, however, warned the committee that if transplantation research is successful, it will drive doctors to look for more efficient ways to obtain fetal tissue, altering the nature, and possibly the number, of abortions.

At the moment, researchers must get tissue from fetuses that have been fragmented by being sucked through a tube, a process that kills the fetus as it removes it from the womb. In less than 10 percent of the time are the specimens usable for transplantation, James Bopp Jr. said.

He then described a more successful technique used by some researchers in Europe, in which brain tissue is obtained by altering the procedure so as to suck out the head first.

"This is the real world. Techniques have been developed to harvest tissue from live fetuses, thereby killing the fetuses. NIH regulations would not prohibit this," Bopp said.

Apart from this, the notion that fetal tissue may be used for curative purposes "can only tip the balance in one direction"—that is, in favor of abortion—as a woman with an unwanted pregnancy weighs the options in her mind, he said.



**Politics 1991 and
What's Ahead**
See Pages 2-3, 5-7, Back Cover

**House Kills Pro-Abortion
Foreign Aid Bill**
See Page 10

**Senate, House Votes,
Plus Action Box**
See Pages 12-17

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RIGHT TO LIFE**

NEWS

November 20, 1991 Volume 18 Number 20

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE

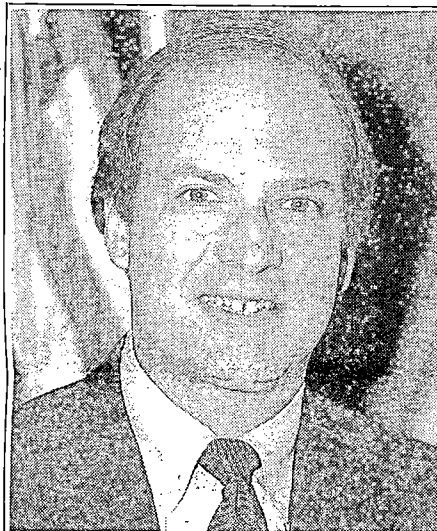
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Stunning Setback for Planned Parenthood **Bush Veto Saves Pro-Life Rules**

Photo Copy Preservation

WASHINGTON (Nov. 20) - President Bush used his veto power to block a congressional repeal of regulations prohibiting abortion counseling and referral in 4,000 birth-control clinics that receive funds from the federal Title 10 program - giving the pro-life movement a major policy victory, and dealing a stunning defeat to the Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA), the nation's major abortion provider.

The President on Nov. 19 vetoed the entire \$205 billion appropriations bill (H.R. 2707) for the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) because it contained a provision (the Porter Amendment) to prohibit DHHS from



Rep. Vin Weber (R-Mn.) led pro-life debate in House.



Rep. Harold Volkmer (D-Mo.) rallied pro-life Democrats.

enforcing the pro-life regulations, which pro-abortion groups and their allies in the press call "the gag rule."

Within hours, the House of Representatives fell 12 votes short of the two-thirds majority necessary to override a veto. The vote was 276 to 156. (See *Vote #2* roll call, pages 14 and 15.)

A day earlier, pro-abortion House Speaker Thomas Foley (D-Wa.) had flatly predicted that the House would override the veto. If that had occurred, both sides agreed that the Senate would have also overridden.

During the weeks leading up to the vote, Foley, Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.), and Democratic Whip Dave Bonior

► See **TITLE X**, Page 8

MISSISSIPPI VOTERS VETO GOV. RAY MABUS

By Scott Fischbach

For the second time in less than Right to Life PAC, the pro-life



Title X

FROM PAGE 1

(D-Mi.) led a pressure campaign directed at pro-life Democrats. Foley personally called many Democrats, and he gave the concluding speech in the floor debate. In an unusual move, Foley also voted. By tradition, the Speaker usually does not vote, except in a tie.

"In my 10 years here, I never saw the House leadership apply this much pressure on pro-life Democrats on an abortion vote," commented NRLC Legislative Director Douglas Johnson.

A House Appropriations Committee source was quoted by *Congress Daily* as saying, "They are working this veto override harder than I have seen them work any of the previous 23 [Bush vetoes on various issues]."

Of the 276 House members who voted to override the veto, 222 were Democrats, 53 Republicans, and one an Independent. Of the 156 members who voted to sustain, 43 were Democrats and 113 Republicans.

After the vote, pro-abortion House leaders blamed their defeat on strong lobbying by the White House. However, pro-life Rep. Bob Walker

(R-Pa.) said on the Nov. 19 *MacNeil-Lehrer Report* that he believed that most congressmen were more influenced by contacts from pro-life constituents.

Pro-abortion Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.) conceded, "It's clear many members... don't want to be on the list characterized as pro-abortion."

PRESIDENT GETS CREDIT

"President Bush used his veto power to defend unborn children, despite opposition by many members of his own party, full-page attack ads by Planned Parenthood, and overwhelmingly hostile press coverage."

► See VOTE, Page 9

PRESIDENT'S VETO MESSAGE

[This is a partial text of the President's veto message on H.R. 2707, the Department of Health and Human Services appropriations bill. For more details, see the article that begins on page 1.]

THE WHITE HOUSE

November 19, 1991

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 2707, the "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992."

H.R. 2707 contains a provision that would prohibit implementation of rules related to the Title X family planning program and abortion. I am therefore compelled to disapprove H.R. 2707. I will sign a bill that does not include language that prohibits implementation of the abortion counseling and referral rule.

I have informed the Congress on numerous occasions that, consistent with the intent of the statute originally establishing Title X, I would veto any legislation that would entangle Title X with abortion. Accordingly, it is my intention to ensure that no Federal funds are used to support abortion except in cases where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term.

Under the regulations upheld by the Supreme Court, pregnant women who seek services from projects funded by Title X are appropriately referred to qualified providers for prenatal care and other social services, including counseling. The Administration seeks to ensure the integrity of Title X as a pre-pregnancy family planning program and to ensure that women who are pregnant, or have a medical problem, are referred to providers who can ensure continuity of care. We do not seek to limit in any way the counseling pregnant women receive when they seek services from those providers.

In a memorandum to Secretary Sullivan on November 5, 1991, I reiterated my commitment to preserving the confidentiality of the doctor/patient relationship and seeing that the operation of the Title X family planning program is compatible with free speech and the highest standards of medical care. My memorandum makes clear that there is no "gag rule" to interfere with the doctor/patient relationship. I have directed that in implementing these regulations, nothing prevent a woman from receiving complete medical information about her condition from a physician. There can be no doubt that my Administration is committed to the protection of free speech. The United States Supreme Court specifically found that the regulations in no way violate free speech rights. []

I urge the Congress to pass promptly an acceptable bill, one without objectionable language relating to Title X, to provide needed funding for the many important programs contained in this legislation.

GEORGE BUSH

ACTION BOX

Please write to Thank President Bush and the Members of Congress Who Saved the Pro-life Title 10 Regulations!

As explained in the article that begins on page 1, on Nov. 19 President Bush used his veto power to prevent Congress from repealing pro-life regulations that prohibit counseling and referral for abortion in 4,000 birth control clinics that receive federal Title 10 funds.

A strong majority in the House of Representatives -- 276 to 156 -- voted to override the President's veto, but that was 12 votes short of the two-thirds majority required to override a veto.

The President, and the 156 House members who supported him, are being attacked by Planned Parenthood and other pro-abortion organizations, and by many organs of the press, for defending this critical pro-life policy. It is important that they also receive thanks from pro-life citizens for their courageous actions.

● Please write a letter to President Bush. Thank him for using his veto power to defend unborn children again and again. Thank him especially for defending the pro-life Title 10 regulations. Please use pro-life newsletters, church bulletins, and other such resources to urge other pro-life citizens to do the same.

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

● Please study the House roll call chart on pages 14 and 15. If your House member voted pro-life, write to commend him or her for defending the pro-life position.

Tell your representative that you will remember his defense of unborn children when you cast your vote on Election Day.

If your House member voted against President Bush, politely but firmly express your distress that the representative voted to require 4,000 federally funded birth-control clinics to promote abortion as a method of birth control. Urge the representative to oppose pro-abortion legislation in the future, and to support future pro-life vetos by President Bush.

The Honorable _____
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

● Study the roll call by which the Senate passed H.R. 2707, on Nov. 7. Write to your two U.S. senators, commending them or criticizing them, as appropriate, on the basis of their Nov. 7 votes.

Senator _____
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

● Please send a copy of any response received from a Member of Congress to:

Douglas Johnson
Legislative Director
National Right to Life Committee
419 Seventh Street, N.W.,
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20004

● Keep posted on further congressional developments by monitoring the NRLC Federal Legislative Hotline, (202) 393-5433 (393-LIFE).

Vote FROM PAGE 8

NRLC's Johnson commented, "Pro-life citizens nationwide should express their gratitude to the President for defending this crucial pro-life policy." (See Action Box, page 8.)

Johnson also said that special thanks were due to a group of House members who worked hard for months to defeat the Porter Amendment, especially Rep. Vin Weber (R-Mn.), who led the pro-life side of the floor debate; Pro-Life Caucus Co-Chair Chris Smith (R-NJ) and Rep. Henry Hyde (R-Ill.), who privately educated and encouraged many of their colleagues on the issue; and Reps. Harold Volkmer (D-Mo.) and Bill Tauzin (D-La.), who fearlessly rallied a bloc of 43 Democrats to sustain the veto despite the strong pressure from Speaker Foley and other top Democratic leaders.

In addition to the press' criticism of President Bush for his courageous veto, White House Chief of Staff John Sununu was also criticized for his role in supporting the President's policy. "Gov. Sununu also deserves much credit for the victory because of his role in defending the policy from back-room attacks by pro-abortion Republican members of Congress, and for directing the White House lobbying effort," Johnson said.

WHAT NEXT?

Congressional leaders plan to adjourn for the year by Nov. 27. Further legislation challenges to the pro-life regulations are expected during the 1992 congressional session. In July, the Senate passed separate bill to require abortion counseling and referral (S. 323, the Chafee bill), and a House committee approved a similar measure in August (H.R. 3090, the Waxman bill). But the House leadership made a tactical decision to sidetrack these bills and instead attempted to "piggyback" the issue on the popular DHHS funding bill.

Even though the Supreme Court upheld the pro-life Title 10 regulations on May 23, DHHS has been blocked from enforcing the rules by four federal court orders. The federal district courts involved refused to lift these orders until the outcome of the congressional battle was clear. Since congressional leaders intend to adjourn for the year by Nov. 27, it appears that the defeat of the Porter Amendment will pave the way for



Pro-Life Congressman
Chris Smith (R-NJ)

DHHS to begin to enforce the regulations within the next two months.

About \$37 million of the \$144 million in annual Title 10 funding goes to affiliates of PPFA, the nation's largest abortion provider. PPFA affiliates have stated that they will refuse to accept Title 10 funds rather than comply with the regulations.

NOV. 6 VOTE SET STAGE

The stage was set for the Nov. 19 veto battle two weeks earlier, when both houses approved the final version of H.R. 2707 (called the "conference report") by lopsided margins. However, the Nov. 6 House vote approving the measure, 272 to 156, was 14 votes less than the two-thirds majority necessary to override a veto. (See *Vote #1* on the roll call chart, pages 14 & 15.) On November 7, the Senate approved the bill 73 to 24, well above a two-thirds margin. (See roll call, page 16.)

During the two weeks that followed, leading up to the veto, House members received strong pressure from hundreds of organizations that support various health, education, labor, and social service programs funded through the \$205 billion DHHS appropriations bill.

For example, the AFL-CIO and the Children's Defense Fund, both of which claim to have "no position" on abortion, sent letters to House members urging that the veto be overridden. Similar letters were sent by many educational organizations.

However, in his Nov. 19 veto message, the President made it clear that he was vetoing the bill solely

because of the Porter Amendment. He urged Congress to promptly send him a new DHHS bill, without the pro-abortion provision, which he promised to sign. "I will sign a bill that does not include language that prohibits implementation of this [Title 10] rule," the President said. "I urge the Congress to pass promptly an acceptable bill, one without objectionable language relating to Title X, to provide needed funding for the many important programs contained in this legislation. (See excerpts from veto message, in box.)

Nevertheless, during House floor debate, many critics of the veto argued that a vote to sustain the President was a vote "against" the social and health programs in the bill. Pro-life leaders responded that this was a phony issue, since Con-

gress could simply drop the Porter Amendment and pass the bill again.

"Now is the time for Speaker Foley and Planned Parenthood to stop holding this critical bill hostage," Johnson told reporters after the vote. "If the pro-abortion provision is dropped, the bill can be enacted within days, without removing one dollar."

In the end, most House members voted the same way on both the Nov. 6 and Nov. 20 votes (see roll call charts, pages 12, 13, 14, and 15). Six congressmen who voted correctly on Nov. 6 switched and voted to override the President. They were Reps. Gaydos (D-Pa.), Gradison (R-Oh.), Kolbe (R-Az.), Moakley (D-Mass.), Rahall (D-WV), and Riggs (R-Ca.).

Four congressmen who voted for

► See **PRESIDENT**, Page 18

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President FROM PAGE 9

the bill on Nov. 6, switched and voted to uphold the President's veto. They were Reps. Dickinson (R-Al.), Kildee (D-Mi.), Oberstar (D-Mn.), and Weldon (R-Pa.).

The pro-life side benefited significantly when Democratic Congressmen Oberstar and Kildee, who had previously voted for the bill, voted to support the President's veto.

PRESIDENT'S MEMO

If enacted, the Porter Amendment would have required Title 10 clinics to counsel every pregnant female (including minors) regarding abortion as a "pregnancy management option," and to refer for abortions upon request.

Almost all of the abortion coun-

seling and referral is done by non-physician "reproductive health counselors," including nurse-practitioners, physicians' assistants and, often, persons with no medical training whatever - including unpaid volunteers.

Nevertheless, beginning with the Supreme Court decision in May, Planned Parenthood's advertising, and much of the coverage by the media, focused primarily on the argument that the regulations would "gag physicians" and interfere with "the sanctity of the doctor-patient relationship." The American Medical Association and other physicians' organizations throw their considerable weight into the campaign to persuade Congress to repeal the pro-life regulations.

The pro-abortion side made considerable headway with this

argument. It became evident that a significant number of pro-life House members were unwilling to tell physicians that they could not discuss abortion in direct conversations with their patients, although they would support the ban as it applied to abortion counseling by non-physicians.

On Nov. 5, the day before the House vote, President Bush moved deftly to defuse the "physician-patient" argument. The President sent a memorandum to Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan, making it clear that under the Title 10 regulations, *physicians only* will be allowed to discuss abortion in direct communications with patients regarding medical problems.

The President wrote, "In order to clarify the intent and purpose of

these regulations, I am directing that in implementing these regulations, you ensure that nothing in these regulations is to prevent a woman from receiving complete medical information about her condition from a physician."

Pro-life strategists applauded the President's action, stating that the memorandum was exactly what was needed to gain the votes necessary to sustain a veto. A significant number of pro-life House members agreed to oppose the bill after reading the President's memo.

"Under the circumstances, the President's action was appropriate and helpful," said Johnson. "If the President had not clearly established that *physicians* may bring up abortion in direct medical dis-

►See PRO-LIFE WIN, Page 19

CELEBRATE A PRO-LIFE CHRISTMAS!



Inside Top: 91-1
May the celebration of the birth of the Infant Christ remind us of the dignity and value of each human life.

Bottom: To you, and to your loved ones, a Blessed Christmas.
Madonna and Child in soft blue printed on ivory textured paper with matching envelope.



Inside Left: 91-2
Jesus was born the Lord of Life, yet mankind sought to destroy Him even at His birth. Trying to kill the King of Kings, Herod murdered all the baby boys in Bethlehem. But God warned Joseph in a dream, saying "Escape! Save the Child's life!" And Christ was spared.

Like Joseph, we are also called to "Save the child's life!" May the love we share for each precious and irreplaceable life God creates, help us to truly celebrate His life this Christmas and throughout the New Year.

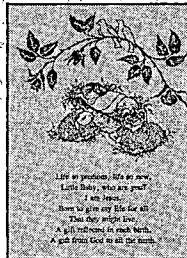
Right: Have a Blessed Christmas
Holy Family presented in deep green ink on ivory textured paper with matching envelope.



Inside Left: 91-3
The gentle sounds of animals, the pungent smell of hay, the cozy warmth of swaddling clothes in the manger where He lay. *The tenderness of Mary's touch, the lullabys she'd sing, gave poverty an elegance for Christ the newborn King. *But wretchedness surrounded him, injustice, sin and greed; this fleeting hour of safety would be lost in the world's great need. *Avoiding pain and anguish was never in God's plan, because He sent His Infant Son to live and die for man.

Right: May the celebration of Christmas remind us that the circumstances of birth cannot reduce the value of each precious life. To you and to your loved ones, a Blessed Christmas!

Brown and peach ink on ivory textured paper with matching envelope.



91-3 Outside:
Life so precious, life so new, Little Baby, who are you? I am Jesus, born to give my life for all that they might live. A gift reflected in each birth, a gift from God to all the earth.

Inside: May the celebration of the birth of the Infant Jesus remind us of the dignity and value of each human life. Christmas Blessings!

Deep green ink with red highlights on ivory textured paper with matching envelope.



Inside Top: 91-5
May the celebration of the birth of the Infant Christ remind us of the dignity and value of each human life.

Bottom: To you and to your loved ones, a Blessed Christmas.

Baby presented in soft brown ink on textured ivory paper and highlighted in red Scripture verse. Matching ivory envelope.

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Arkansas Focus on Initiative

By Jacki Ragan

Pro-lifers from all across the state attended the Arkansas Right to Life Convention held Saturday, October 26, in Little Rock. "The Heart of Arkansas Beats for Life" was this year's convention theme.

Barbara Noakes, National Trainer for Alternatives to Abortion Ministry of the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, addressed the directors and volunteers of Arkansas Crisis Pregnancy Centers in a special session. Mrs. Noakes is the current Director of the Crisis Pregnancy Center of Oklahoma City.

The primary focus of the convention was defeating the proposed initiative "The Reproductive Choice Act" that is being promoted by the pro-abortion group "Committee for Reproductive Choice." The pro-abortion group must obtain about 70,000 signatures from registered voters by July 3, 1992 in order for the pro-abortion amendment to be placed on the

November 3, 1992 ballot.

Arkansas Right to Life launched the *Tell The Truth Campaign* in September 1990 when word of the proposed pro-abortion amendment first surfaced. Not long after the petition gathering process began by the pro-abortion group, we learned that they were promoting the amendment as a "pro-life" amendment. The *Tell The Truth Campaign* will work to ensure that the facts on what the amendment would mean for Arkansas reach the general public in the state.

The amendment would place in the Arkansas State Constitution abortion-on-demand, throughout the nine months of pregnancy, for any reason. It would prohibit state intervention for any reason through the sixth month of pregnancy and for the life or "health" of the mother throughout the nine months of pregnancy. It would also negate the "Unborn Child Amendment" which became part of the state constitution in 1988, and would render the

► See ARKANSAS, Page 17

Pro-Life Win

FROM PAGE 18

cussions with their patients, the entire body of pro-life regulations would have been in jeopardy. The memo does not make the Title 10 regulations any more acceptable to Planned Parenthood, which has vowed to refuse Title 10 funds rather than comply.

Pro-abortion leaders denounced the memo as virtually no concession at all. After months of ceaselessly talking about "the physician-patient relationship," they were forced to acknowledge that "since clients at federally funded family planning clinics were usually seen by counselors or nurses, allowing doctors to discuss abortion had little practical consequence," in the words of pro-abortion leader Rep. Ron Wyden (D-Or.).

Pro-abortion Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Or.) objected that the President's memo "would leave the gag rule in place, and in no way represents any sort of compromise."

Pro-abortion leaders acknowledged, however, that the President's action had peeled off critical votes from their side.



President George Bush

The President's memo "sent a bowling ball through the middle of Congress," a Wyden aide said.

"Sad Day" for Pro-Aborts

Lobbyists for both sides surrounded the House chamber during both the Nov. 6 and the Nov. 19 votes. Pro-abortion leader Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Co.) complained to a reporter that "the White House is working it very hard. They're grabbing everybody by the lapels as they walk off the [House] floor."

The *Baltimore Sun* reported that some House members decided to oppose the bill "after the [NRLC] made the vote a key to its rating of members of Congress."

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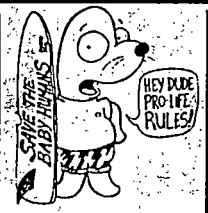
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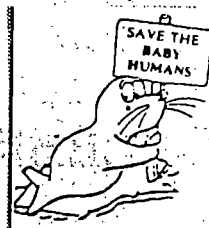
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PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

To: Governor Sununu

From: Douglas Johnson, NRLC
(202) 626-8820, (301) 439-9087, fax (202) 347-3668

Date: Wednesday, November 13, 1991, 1 p.m.

Re: Veto of DHHS appropriations bill (H.R. 2707)

We can't thank you enough for everything you've done on this matter. We were also very impressed with the efforts of Gary Andres and his staff leading up to the Nov. 6 House vote.

My purpose here is to share some recent intelligence and to convey to you two tactical recommendations:

- (1) The veto message should speak ONLY of the Title 10 issue. The "forward funding" issue should be addressed in separate personal letters from the President to those Republicans who desire presidential validation of their votes against "forward funding."
- (2) The veto should be delayed until the last possible day (Nov. 20).

The House Democratic leadership is attempting to execute a trap on the "forward funding" issue. We must sidestep this trap.

The following information was conveyed today, through an intermediary, by a lobbyist for one of the biggest "child-welfare" lobbies. (This source happens to be pro-life.) Right now the House Democratic leadership is systematically calling various health, education, and welfare advocacy organizations and telling them that unless the veto is overridden, the \$4.3 billion in "forward funding" will be dropped from the bill. Naturally, that prospect is alarming to many organizations committed to the affected programs, which include education, child care, NIH, low-income energy assistance, refugee assistance, and the like. This pro-life staffer suggested that if the veto message itself objects only to the Porter Amendment, that would pretty much pull the rug out from under the Democratic leadership strategy.

[As explained below, Rep. Natcher's staff believes that the \$4 billion may indeed be dropped, despite Natcher's own preference for simply dropping the Porter Amendment. Senate Chairman Harkin and ranking Republican Specter have already publicly urged that at least part of the money should be dropped, rather than the Porter Amendment (see *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, Nov. 9, page 3280.)]

An "abortion only" veto message is further dictated by feedback we are getting from a growing number of more-or-less pro-life Democrats, who are suggesting that they will/may vote to sustain the veto if the Title 10 issue is the ONLY issue on which the bill is vetoed, but will NOT vote to sustain

CONFIDENTIAL MEMO ON THE D.H.H.S. VETO, PAGE 2

if the veto message also objects to "forward funding." Rep. Oberstar has explicitly stated this position in the *Congressional Record* of November 8 (attached). Kildee is telling us the same. In addition, the following pro-life Members are among those who are saying things like "my vote may depend on what the veto message says"-- Hertel, Byron, Perkins, and Traxler. An abortion-only veto message would also give us a better shot at Murtha, Russo, and perhaps Rostenkowski, among others.

It would be a shame to give these Members any pretext for voting to override-- to say nothing of Democrats who voted with us on Nov. 6 but who may be shaky.

It is my understanding that the "forward funding" provisions, while objectionable to the President, would not provoke a veto taken alone. Therefore, I surmise that there is no absolute necessity for referring to the "forward funding" issue in the formal veto message.

Yet, I understand that some of the Republicans who voted against the conference report would like the President to "validate" their basis for voting against the bill. We certainly do not want to lose any of these votes. In order to meet their needs, without playing into the Democratic leadership's hands, how about sending personalized letters from the President to those individual Republican Members, reiterating what a terrible budgetary practice "forward funding" is, commending them for objecting to the practice and voting against the bill on that basis, etc.-- and then keeping the formal veto message confined to Title 10?

As to timing, a pro-life lobbyist spoke yesterday to a pro-life senior staffer to Chairman Natcher's DHHS subcommittee. The staffer said that if the House sustains the veto, it would be Natcher's preference to immediately drop the Porter Amendment and re-pass the bill as quickly as possible. However, the staffer fears that the pro-abortion Democrats may use their majorities in the Democratic Caucus and the Rules Committee (and the Senate) to instead enact a second bill that will drop the forward funding provisions but again include the Porter Amendment. This staffer argued that delaying the veto as long as possible, thereby pushing the override vote as close to Thanksgiving as possible, will strengthen Natcher's hand in seeking to jettison the Porter Amendment.

Thank you for your consideration of these recommendations. I will continue to convey to Gary Andres information on individual House members as we obtain it.

P.S.-- Prior to the 1990 election, you told us that Mr. Zeliff had committed to you that he would vote to sustain vetos on abortion issues. This will be his first opportunity to honor that commitment. Please note that in the Nov. 9 *Portsmouth Herald* (attached), Mr. Zeliff stated that he opposes Title 10 rule "and would vote against it if the issue ever came before him and was not tied to any spending bill," but he did not say explicitly what he intends to do on the veto override vote.

E 3780

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- Extensions of Remarks

November 8, 1991

CONSIDERATION OF THE CONFERENCE REPORT TO H.R. 2707, LABOR-HHS-EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS

SPEECH OF

HON. JAMES L. OBERSTAR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 8, 1991

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, the conference report that the House considers today is the single most important piece of legislation affecting the well-being of all Americans. There is funding in this \$205 billion bill for health maintenance and health research; there is funding for quality of life programs such as LIHEAP energy assistance, child care, job training, and safety, and there is funding through Head Start and chapter 1 to educate America's young people to help create a better future.

This legislation is the yardstick by which we measure our degree of care for our fellow citizens. There are a number of programs in this bill that I have vigorously supported throughout my service in the Congress. I fought for funding for library services when the Reagan administration proposed the elimination of this program. I led the fight against reductions in the LIHEAP energy assistance program, as I have done since the inception of LIHEAP, and I have continuously supported increased funding for cancer research, especially breast cancer research. All of these programs receive important levels of funding in this bill.

Most of my colleagues know my personal and intense reason for supporting increased funding for breast cancer research: The loss of my wife, Jo, to the relentless advance of this disease. I remain deeply distressed and offended by Secretary Louis Sullivan concerning breast cancer research. Earlier this year, Secretary Sullivan wrote: "The \$50 million earmark for breast cancer research and the development of a test for early detection of ovarian cancer is unnecessary." I will not be deterred from my mission to assure increased funds for breast cancer research, to provide women and scientists with the resources they need to fight this disease which has reached epidemic proportions, a disease which robs children of motherly love, guidance, and support.

There is, however, one offending provision concerning the prohibition of funds to be used to enforce the title X regulations, promulgated by the Department of Health and Human Services in 1988; the constitutionality of which was sustained by the Supreme Court this past May. The title X program was created to provide family planning services; not abortion services. President Bush has stated that he will veto the bill because of this provision. If he does so, I am confident that the Congress will sustain the veto and that the Subcommittee on Labor, HHS, Education will bring back to the floor this bill with the necessary corrective language. I will support the veto if the President expressly states that he finds only the Porter language concerning the title X regulations objectionable and that the President does not ask Congress for reductions in funding contained in this conference report. I will not support a veto if the President is critical of funding levels for programs under the jurisdiction of this appropriations bill. The White

House congressional liaison staff have said that the President needs encouragement to veto this bill because of the offending title X provisions, and today I am offering that encouragement, but only on the title X issue and no other.

DAIRY LEGISLATION (H.R. 2837)

HON. E de la GARZA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 8, 1991

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, I rise to advise the Members of the House regarding anticipated floor action on H.R. 2837.

The bill may be considered on the floor of the House during the week of November 11.

It is my intention, on behalf of members of the Committee on Agriculture, to ask that an amendment in the nature of a substitute be made in order as original text during the bill's consideration. As Members of the House have not had an opportunity to see this amendment, I am having it printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Rules Committee has announced that it intends to meet during the week of November 11 to consider granting a rule to provide for the consideration of H.R. 2837, and that it may be inclined to grant a modified rule. Consequently, the Rules Committee has also announced that any Member who wishes to offer an amendment to the substitute amendment must submit 55 copies of his or her amendment, together with a brief explanation, to the Rules Committee not later than 5 p.m. on Tuesday, November 12, 1991.

Copies of the substitute amendment will be made available in the office of the Committee on Agriculture in room 1301 of the Longworth House Office Building.

Mr. Speaker, as many of my colleagues are aware, the Committee on Agriculture reported H.R. 2837 in July of this year with an amendment in the nature of a substitute. Since the administration threatened to veto that legislation, many of the members of our committee have involved themselves in a sincere effort to develop a compromise that would meet the concerns expressed by the administration. The substitute printed in today's RECORD represents the product of our efforts.

The substitute amendment would establish the minimum support price at \$11.10 per hundredweight and would require the Secretary of Agriculture to implement a voluntary milk diversion program when surplus production is expected to exceed certain levels.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleagues for their cooperation in this procedure.

The amendment in the nature of a substitute for H.R. 2837—that may be made in order as original text for the purpose of amendment during the bill's consideration—follows:

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H.R. 2837, AS REPORTED—OFFERED BY MR. DE LA GARZA

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS

(a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This Act may be cited as the "Dairy Production Stabilization Act of 1991".

(b) **TABLE OF CONTENTS.**—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title and table of contents.
- Sec. 2. Findings.
- Sec. 3. Policy and purpose.
- Sec. 4. Price support rate and program operations.
- Sec. 5. Manufacturing allowance.
- Sec. 6. Surplus reduction program.
- Sec. 7. Advisory board of milk producers, processors, and marketers.
- Sec. 8. Disposal of excess purchases of milk and milk products.
- Sec. 9. Livestock sector enhancement.
- Sec. 10. Amendment to milk marketing orders.
- Sec. 11. Dairy cattle export program.
- Sec. 12. Protection for women, infants, and children participating in WIC.
- Sec. 13. Modification of dairy termination program.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress finds the following:

(1) Milk and milk products are basic foods and a valuable part of the human diet as a primary source of required nutrients, such as calcium.

(2) The production of milk and milk products plays a significant role in the economy of the United States, in that—

(A) milk and milk products are consumed by millions of people in the United States every day; and

(B) the production of milk and milk products involves tens of thousands of milk producers and employs hundreds of thousands of persons in the handling, processing, and marketing of milk and milk products.

(3) Milk producers have a relatively limited ability to protect themselves from price risk because milk is a highly perishable commodity.

(4) In the absence of an effective price support program for milk, producer prices for milk in future years may become too unstable to maintain an economically healthy dairy sector.

(5) Milk and milk products move in interstate and foreign commerce, and milk and milk products that do not move in interstate or foreign commerce directly burden or affect interstate commerce.

(6) The problems currently facing milk producers disrupt the orderly exchange of milk and milk products in interstate commerce and, because they affect the national public interest, burden and obstruct the normal channels of interstate commerce.

(7) The measures initiated by the amendments made by this Act, including the surplus reduction program, are needed to—

(A) ensure consumers of a reliable and adequate supply of pure and wholesome milk and milk products at reasonable prices;

(B) respond adequately to current and anticipated future supply and demand imbalances regarding milk and milk products; and

(C) ensure a level of farm income for milk producers adequate to maintain productive capacity sufficient to meet anticipated consumer needs.

(8) The establishment of an advisory board of milk producers, processors, and marketers is vital to the success of the price support and surplus reduction programs in that the board will provide milk producers, processors, and marketers a role in determining how the problems affecting the dairy industry will be addressed.

(9) A viable national strategy for improving profitability for milk producers should include a program to assist producers to reduce their production costs through the adoption of improved and sustainable dairy production practices, such as rotational

Zeliff labels benefits bill political ball Congressman visits coast

By Christopher Comfort
Herald Staff Writer

NEW CASTLE — U.S. Rep. Bill Zeliff, R-N.H., said he expects the U.S. House and Senate will vote on a bill to extend unemployment benefits sometime before the end of the month.

On a visit to the Seacoast that included an appearance at the town's Recreation Center Friday, Rep. Zeliff said a bill affecting thousands of out-of-work New Hampshire residents whose unemployment checks ran out last month may be completed and ready for a legislative action before the recess for the Thanksgiving holiday.

"The American people want us to solve this," he said. There are three alternative proposals being explored to determine how to fund a bill that would create a 10 to 15 week extension of unemployment benefits, Rep. Zeliff said.

President Bush, opposed to the \$6 billion price tag of an unemployment benefits extension package that passed the House and Senate earlier this fall, vetoed the bill.

Rep. Zeliff said he would support a proposal to make cuts in U.S. foreign aid to fund an unemployment benefits extension. He defended his opposition to the \$6 billion bailout, saying he voted against it because there was no funding.

"In Congress we're telling people we're going to vote for an increase in unemployment protection but there was no funding," Rep. Zeliff said. He referred to the issue as a "political football and an embarrassment" and



Rep. Bill Zeliff
Speaks in New Castle

blamed both parties for the delay in solving the matter.

Rep. Zeliff said helping the unemployed whose benefits have expired "will take care of the effect but not the cause." He said the government needs to address the country's unemployment crisis by creating "a job growth agenda."

He said the passage of a highway bill would help spark jobs through projects like the widening of Route 101 and other state roads. He pointed to the development of Pease Air Force Base, the expansion of the port of Portsmouth, and job security for the employees of the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard as ways to insure the economic survival of the region.

Zeliff to Page A8

ger takes new position

992 — one day after his
with Ogunquit.

majority vote from selectmen, which in return
prompted a group of citizens to launch a recall

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of pages 2

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Fax #: 202-737-9189	Fax #: 427-0550

*Portsmouth
Herald*

11/9

gists about the accident but said nothing he could have done would have
ZELIFF

Rep. Zeliff said he favors the expansion of the port of Portsmouth, which is currently being considered by state legislators for a \$16.5-million project to add a pier at the one-pier facility.

"I think the expansion of the port is one of the plums, one of the nuggets of opportunity (for economic growth)," he said.

In response to a question regarding his vote Wednesday for the prohibition of the so-called "gag rule" prohi-

OGUNQUIT

"There're no hard feelings and never have there been about the board's decision," he said.

Like Ogunquit, the town of Bridgton, which has a year-round population of 4,400 and a summer population of more than 25,000, is a resort community.

"Here in Ogunquit we have the ocean, there they have lakes and mountains," said Mr. McMahon, who added it was coincidental that he was hired to manage a tourist attraction

would have done the same thing," he said, noting that he relies on the judg-

biling counselors from discussing abortions at federally-funded family planning clinics, Rep. Zeliff said it's wrong that legislators have to vote on issues that are tied in with funding packages.

Rep. Zeliff voted in favor of a bill calling for \$204 billion in funds for health education and labor programs. The bill also contained the prohibition of the gag rule. Rep. Zeliff, a pro-choice Republican, had previously voted against a bill containing the gag

Ogunquit in "tip top shape."

In the next six weeks, Mr. McMahon will be working to obtain federal disaster funds for the storm that hit the town two weeks ago, as well as continuing preparation of next year's municipal budget.

Last year, Mr. McMahon, the Board of Selectmen and the Budget Committee, administered a budget that reflected a significant decrease in municipal spending.

the center of the counterweight as it passed by, the steel girders.

rule prohibition because he disagreed with a funding proposal contained in that bill.

"Last time I voted against it and the reason was the financial aspect," he said. That bill had contained funding programs that "cut the heck out of low income fuel assistance", he said.

He said he is opposed to the gag rule and would vote against it if the issue ever came before him and was not tied to any spending bill.

Chicago PD charged with using torture

CHICAGO (AP) — A district police commander and two detectives were suspended after they were charged Friday with using excessive force following allegations they tortured suspects.

If the charges are sustained following a police board hearing, Cmdr. Jon

disappearance

BARRINGTON, R.I. (AP) — The suspect in the killing of a missing Barrington family already is being held in prison on charges related to the family's disappearance, authorities said.

Meanwhile, the state medical examiner said one victim, lawyer Ernest Brendel, died from wounds inflicted by an arrow.

Attorney General James E. O'Neil offered no timetable on when additional charges might be filed against the man police call their only suspect: 42-year-old investment adviser Christopher J. Hightower.

"We're going to proceed very methodically. We're completing the investigation," he said Friday.

Brendel, 53, his wife, Alice, 46, and daughter Emily, 8, disappeared Sept. 20. Their bodies were found Thursday in shallow graves in a field near their house in this affluent Providence suburb.

Alice and Emily Brendel were buried together, while Ernest Brendel occupied a separate grave, police

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ABORTION IS NOT FAMILY PLANNING COALITION

November 4, 1991

Dear Member of Congress:

We, the undersigned national grassroots organizations, want you to know that we consider the upcoming vote on the Labor/HHS Appropriations bill (HR 2707) to be the most important pro-life vote of this session. Our voting records and our grassroots activities will reflect the importance we assign to this issue.

As you may be aware, language was inserted into this bill which would block enforcement of the regulations maintaining the Title X (federal family planning) program's statutory separation of abortion and family planning methods. From its inception, this family planning program was intended to promote preventive family planning options. This was made crystal clear in its 1970 statute and conference report. These common sense regulations were necessary only when it became clear that taxpayer funding was being used to funnel tens of thousands of women and young girls to abortion clinics each year.

Planned Parenthood, the Nation's leading abortion provider and leading recipient of these funds, has spent millions of dollars to convince you that this is not an abortion issue -- this, from an organization whose abortion to prenatal care ratio is 32:1 (according to 1988 statistics). While it has marketed the "free speech" argument quite aggressively -- and misleadingly -- it has not disclosed the fact that it stands to lose \$37 million dollars a year, should abortion promotion be excluded from the Title X program. As Planned Parenthood pushes the "free speech" button publicly, it quietly demands that our members pay millions and millions of dollars to subsidize its abortion promotion through abortion referrals, counseling for abortion, scheduling clients for abortion, arranging transportation to abortion clinics, and abortion follow-up.

We ask you to oppose this conference report until the offensive abortion language is removed from it. We will consider every vote for it a vote for abortion promotion in family planning clinics funded with our members' tax dollars.

Sincerely,

Wanda Franz, Ph.D.

WANDA FRANZ, Ph.D.
PRESIDENT
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMTE.

Gary P. Bauer

GARY BAUER
PRESIDENT
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Information

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 25, 1991

31 OCT 25 P2: 01

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*
SUBJECT: Abortion Statistics

In light of the attention on abortion counseling in recent weeks, I thought you might find interesting some data on abortion, recently released by the Centers for Disease Control.

In 1988, the most recent year with reliable statistics, there were 1,371,285 legal abortions reported, compared to 3,909,510 births, or 352 abortions for every 1,000 live births. This ratio has varied by less than three percent for every year since 1980.

Not all states report data on age, education, and marital status of women obtaining abortions, but the available data suggests:

- Women between age 20 and 24 accounted for one-third of all abortions, the greatest share of any age cohort. The ratio of abortions to live births is highest among women under the age of 15 (949 abortions for every 1,000 live births), however this group accounts for less than one percent of all abortions. The next highest rate is among women age 15-19 (624 abortions for every 1,000 births).
- Twenty percent of women who obtained abortions were married; 80 percent were not.
- A majority (56 percent) reported it was their first abortion; 26 percent reported one previous abortion; 10 percent two previous abortions and 5 percent reported three or more previous abortions.
- Black women were more likely to obtain an abortion than white women; there were 259 abortions for every 1,000 white births and 489 abortions for every 1,000 black births.
- Abortion rates were highest in the District of Columbia (more abortions than births), California (628 abortions per 1,000 births), and Rhode Island (537 abortions per 1,000 births.) Rates were lowest in Wyoming (49 abortions per 1,000 births), South Dakota (80 abortions per 1,000 births), and Idaho (105 abortions per 1,000 births).

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MEMORANDUMTHE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

TO: LEIGH ANN METZGER
FROM: MIKE PAULEY *[Signature]*
DATE: OCT. 10, 1991
RE: GEORGETOWN SITUATION

(worked with LAM at NRCC)

As per your request, I have summarized below the current controversy surrounding the formation of a "pro-choice" student group on the campus of Georgetown University.

Background

On February 22, 1991, Georgetown University's Dean of Student Affairs, Jack DeGioia, issued a statement announcing his decision to grant "University benefits" to a student group called "G.U. Choice" that advocates legal abortion.

This decision essentially puts "G.U. Choice" on the same level as other major student groups like the College Republicans, the International Club, or the Debating Society. It means the group can receive funding, office space on campus, access to University vans for transportation, and many other services and facilities at Georgetown.

"G.U. Choice" had previously existed for several months on campus under the different name "Hoyas for Choice." It did not receive University benefits as described above.

Church and Public Reaction

Dean DeGioia's decision was supported by University President Rev. Leo O'Donovan, S.J., but it sparked a firestorm of protest both within and outside the University community.

The Catholic Archbishop of Washington, James Cardinal Hickey, issued a statement calling Georgetown's decision "regrettable" and labeled it "inconsistent with the aims of an institution of higher learning that has a Catholic identity."

In addition to heavy coverage in the campus press, the "G.U. Choice" controversy was reported in the Washington Post, Washington Times, New York Times, and nearly every major Catholic paper in the country.

President O'Donovan and Dean DeGioia defended their decision, claiming "G.U. Choice" was not a pro-abortion group, but rather a "discussion group" that would provide a forum for students to exchange different viewpoints on abortion.

Memo to Leigh Ann Metzger
October 10, 1991
Page 2

This argument did not hold water. At the first meeting of "G.U. Choice," they featured a lobbyist from NARAL who encouraged students to lobby for the pro-abortion "Freedom of Choice Act" on Capitol Hill.

This action and others inspired the nation's largest national Catholic newspaper, Our Sunday Visitor, to write an editorial entitled "Hoya Shame," which stated, in part: "Let us be blunt: G.U. Choice is not a debating society. It is an advocacy group. Georgetown's eagerness to accept the term "choice" to mean discussion... suggests a naivete unbecoming of an institution of higher learning." (March 24, 1991).

One of Georgetown's most famous graduates, Patrick Buchanan, wrote in the Washington Times, "On Feb. 22, America's oldest Roman Catholic university... declared its moral neutrality toward the killing of the unborn." (April 8, 1991).

Organized Opposition

Subsequent to the Feb. 22 decision, three major groups have formed that have launched an organized effort to pressure Georgetown to reverse its decision.

(1) Georgetown Life Advocates -- this group consists primarily of younger alumni and current students. It has printed up "protest postcards" that have flooded President O'Donovan's office. The group has also sponsored protests and is coordinating letter-writing and telephone calling campaigns.

(2) Committee for Georgetown Values -- organized by prominent alumni who are now lawyers, doctors, professors, clergy, and public officeholders. The Co-Chair of the group is Congressman Henry Hyde. It also includes Oscar-award winner William Peter Blatty (author of The Exorcist); columnist Patrick Buchanan; former Georgetown University President Rev. William A. Ryan, S.J.; theologian Rev. Thomas King, S.J.; and former President of St. Louis University Rev. Daniel C. O'Connell, S.J.

The Committee has conducted letter-writing campaigns specifically targetted towards the G.U. Board of Directors, the Board of Governors, high donors, and over 3,000 of the most prominent alumni of the University.

(3) Georgetown Ignatian Society -- formed by several young lawyers and pro-life members of the Georgetown faculty, the Ignatian Society has established a trust fund called the "Georgetown Ignatian Fund." They are advocating that foundations and high-dollar donors to Georgetown refrain from contributing to the University and instead send their donations to the Ignatian Fund. The money will then be held in escrow until Georgetown reverses its decision on "G.U. Choice."

Memo to Leigh Ann Metzger
October 10, 1991
Page 3

Upon reversal, the money will be donated to the University. If the school does not reverse the decision, the money will be given to the campus Right to Life group and other religious groups at the school.

The most prominent action by the Ignatian Society has been the filing on Oct. 1, 1991 of a canonical lawsuit against the University. The suit was filed by over 1,000 Georgetown students, alumni, and faculty members with the Cardinal Archbishop of Washington, James Hickey. The suit calls for the Catholic Church to "remove the Catholic status of Georgetown University," with the result being that Cardinal Hickey would take over direct control of campus ministry and the numerous campus chapels.

Cardinal Hickey has 90 days to make a ruling on the canonical lawsuit. Whichever way he rules, the case will probably be appealed to the Vatican Congregation for Catholic Education and then to Pope John Paul II.

The Georgetown Ignatian Society

"To further the vision of John Carroll"

FOR RELEASE OCTOBER 1, 1991

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GEORGETOWN'S CATHOLIC STATUS THREATENED

Over 1,000 Catholics, alumni and students today petitioned the Catholic Church to remove the Catholic status of Georgetown University. One consequence of this action is that the Cardinal Archbishop of Washington could take over direct control of campus ministries and chapels.

The unprecedented petition was submitted, pursuant to Canon Law, after exhaustive attempts to persuade Georgetown's Jesuit president, Leo O'Donovan, to reverse his 2/22/91 decision to fund, support and provide office space to "GU Choice", a pro-abortion advocacy group which participates in the defense of abortion clinics.

Escalating the Georgetown controversy to national significance for higher education and America's Catholic colleges, the petition is based on the Pope's new "Apostolic Constitution". The Constitution, which went into effect this year, intends to govern all colleges and universities that call themselves "Catholic"; affirming that the Catholic hierarchy has authority to direct these schools with respect to their Catholic identity.

The petition was submitted with elaborate supporting statements by prominent theologians, including the president of another Catholic college, who expressed his concern that the unchecked erosion of Georgetown's Catholic identity could harm the credibility of all Catholic educational institutions. Marquette and Catholic University have refused to fund pro-abortion groups, citing their allegiance to the Catholic Church.

In February, Archbishop James Cardinal Hickey of Washington, to whom the petition was formally submitted, declared that Georgetown's 'regrettable' decision was "inconsistent with the aims of an institution of higher learning that has a Catholic identity."

The "GU Choice" decision has provoked rare public division within the Jesuit community. In June, Georgetown's annual alumni reunion weekend was marred by controversy as President O'Donovan was forced to defend his decision at every event. Within the past week, over fifty prominent alumni, including author/director William Peter Blatty and former Jesuit presidents of St. Louis and Georgetown universities, mailed a letter to 3,200 alumni, asking that they protest the "GU Choice" funding decision and consider suspending or redirecting their donations.

If Hickey rules unfavorably on the petition, or fails to obtain a reversal of "GU Choice" funding within 90 days, the petition will be appealed to the Vatican's Congregation for Catholic Education or directly to John Paul II.

Georgetown is the oldest Catholic university in the United States, the flagship of the Jesuit educational system and one of only three Pontifical Universities in North America.

CONTACTS

Background:	Prof. Richard Alan Gordon	(202) 966-7501
	Ann Sheridan	(202) 723-2001
Legal:	Manuel Miranda, Esq.	(202) 887-0353(W) 625-0823(H)
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: October 15, 1991

FOR: ROGER PORTER

FROM: GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

- ☐ Action
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 (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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 2, 1991

AC HAS SEEN

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDY CARD

FROM:

EDE HOLIDAY *of the for EX*

SUBJECT:

Correspondence from Cardinal O'Connor -- Oregon's
Medicaid Waiver Application

Cardinal O'Connor's letter to Governor Sununu was written in response to the State of Oregon's proposal to expand Medicaid to all state residents living below the poverty line while limiting the number of reimbursable medical services to a list of priority services. The state-wide "rationing" plan requires Medicaid waiver approval from the federal Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA).

O'Connor also attached a copy of a longer letter from Bishop James Malone to Secretary Sullivan that is highly critical of the Oregon plan. Secretary Sullivan has not yet responded to the letter, in part because HCFA is still reviewing the Oregon proposal, but also because Sullivan is reluctant to give the appearance of direct secretarial involvement at this early stage of a Medicaid waiver decision. Sullivan's office assures me, however, that a brief response to Malone acknowledging his letter is forthcoming, and they will share it with us.

HHS does not expect a final decision on the Oregon proposal until early next year. But Sullivan's office has not ruled out the possibility that a final decision could be delayed even further. In any case, the final decision is certain to attract national attention.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9-19-91

TO: *Ede I. Holiday*

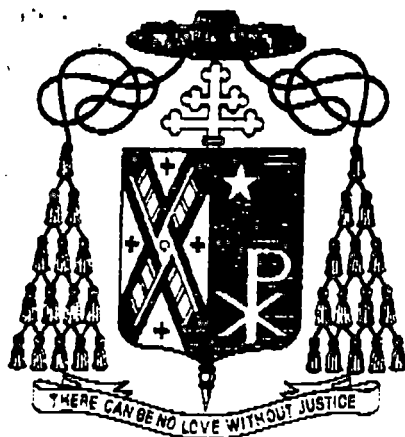
FROM: ANDY CARD

- ☐ Action
- ☒ Your Comment
- ☐ Let's Talk
- ☐ FYI

P.2
AC HAS SEEN

AC - INFO

CARDINAL'S OFFICE
1011 FIRST AVENUE
NEW YORK, NY 10022



September 16, 1991

BY FAX

Dear Governor Sununu,

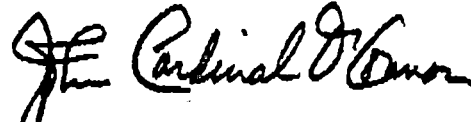
I am deeply concerned about the State of Oregon's intention to request a waiver from the federal government in order to implement a Medicaid rationing program. I strongly support the comprehensive letter addressed by Bishop James Malone to Secretary Louis Sullivan, August 6, 1991. Bishop Malone is Chairman of the Domestic Policy Committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. I will not attempt to report the details or the arguments Bishop Malone presents, but simply express my personal alarm over the Oregon effort, and single out a few examples of its potential impact.

The list of health services to be excluded is extremely worrisome. Even more frightening, however, is that the plan would deprive the poorest of the poor of necessary health care services. In addition to limiting critically necessary medical services for poor women and children, the Oregon plan proposes to increase subsidies for abortion.

I see the proposal as the beginning of a long-term effort to use the "quality of life" as a determinant of who receives care and who does not. It ultimately amounts to "the survival of the fittest". Further, I see it as the beginning of infanticide, and as a way of trying to rid Oregon of AIDS. Persons with AIDS, and especially babies with AIDS, would be frighteningly vulnerable. Finally, I consider it of a piece with Oregon's strong effort to pass euthanasia and assisted-suicide legislation. In my judgment, to permit this kind of program as a model for the states is to reverse radically everything this nation purports to believe.

I understand it is the ultimate goal of the State of Oregon to expand Medicaid coverage to all persons whose income falls below the poverty level. That is a laudable end, except that I understand that the very class that it proposes to cover will be covered in other ways, at least on a "phased-in" basis. Even if this is not the case, however, the proposed rationing program is, in my judgment, an unjust and inappropriate means to achieving that end. I strongly urge that the request for the waiver be denied.

Faithfully,


Archbishop of New York

The Honorable
John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500



Department of Social Development and World Peace

Office of Domestic Social Development

3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1184 (202)541-3185 FAX (202)541-3322 TELEX 7400424

August 6, 1991

Secretary Louis W. Sullivan
Department of Health and Human Services
200 Independence Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20410

Dear Secretary Sullivan:

The United States Catholic Conference, the public policy arm of the nation's Roman Catholic bishops, urges you to deny Oregon's request for a waiver to implement its Medicaid rationing proposal. The details of the plan are now clear and final action has been taken by the Oregon legislature; we understand that the waiver request is imminent.

As you know, the U.S. bishops called for a national health insurance program in 1981, and we continue to support universal access to health care as a basic human right. We can appreciate and even applaud Oregon's plan to expand Medicaid coverage to all persons with incomes below the poverty level.

Good intentions, however, cannot justify Oregon's proposed intentional rationing of health care for the poor. The proposal is inequitable in concept, arbitrary and capricious in effect, violative of the purposes of the Medicaid program, and cruelly life-threatening for the most vulnerable of the state's children.

The Proposal Is Fundamentally Inequitable in Concept

The Oregon proposal to fund only certain health services from a list developed by the state is a radically new rationing concept. Unlike the rationing familiar to us in moments of national crisis, this plan is to be applied, not to all citizens of Oregon, but only to its poor. While in future years the listings may be used to establish minimum coverage for those with private insurance, Oregon now plans to use them as the maximum coverage for the poor under the Medicaid program. It is only the poor and most vulnerable -- those eligible for Medicaid -- whose health care is to be rationed. For more than one hundred and sixty thousand poor women and children currently covered by Medicaid, the plan would take away medical coverage for over 120 medical conditions, almost one-fifth of the treatments in Oregon's medical listings.

This fundamental inequity is exacerbated by the proposed double standard within the Medicaid eligible population. The Oregon plan would initially exempt tens of thousands of Medicaid recipients who are aged, blind, and disabled from the rationing

scheme. Their medical care actually constitutes more than two-thirds of the state's total Medicaid bill and is the fastest growing part, while care for children on Medicaid comprises less than 15 percent of Oregon's Medicaid budget. While the Conference does not think Oregon's plan is appropriate for any of the state's poor, it would not be out of place to observe that these insulated groups are far more politically well-organized than are poor women and children.

The Effect of the Proposal is Arbitrary and Capricious

In its 1991 Report to the Governor and the Legislature, the Oregon Health Services Commission wrote:

Therefore, the Commission defined basic health care in terms of society as a whole: Basic health care is a minimum below which no person should fall. Given this definition, the Commission went further to describe basic in terms of essential and very important categories of health services. All of the "essential" services and most of the "very important" must be included in a basic health care package.

Despite its own Commission recommendation, the Oregon Legislature did not agree to provide this "basic health care." The Legislature approved only a partial listing of covered services and excluded eight "essential" health services -- including seven in the "acute fatal" and "chronic fatal" categories -- and more than fifty "very important" health services. Even within the conceptual structure of the Oregon plan, its failure to fund basic health care is arbitrary and capricious. It is a product of political and fiscal considerations, not good medicine, justice, or sound social policy.

Oregon's ability to fund even this level of medical care beyond next year remains in serious doubt. The actuarial section of the Commission report acknowledges that by the end of the first year (1992-93) of the plan only sixty percent of the expected participants will be enrolled. Fiscal estimates for the first year included that assumption. Only three years later is the program "expected to reach a steady-state of enrollment..." Thus, maintenance of the initial level of covered services in Oregon will require infusions of funding in the second, third, and subsequent years far above the already increasingly high levels of medical inflation. Yet, Oregon has adopted a new Ballot Measure 5 which will acutely limit state funding for human resources and will make increased Medicaid funding in coming years very difficult. In coming years, the Oregon Legislature may exclude more and more "essential" and "very important" health services and further erode "basic health care" for Medicaid participants, primarily women and children.

The Oregon proposal is an experiment, applying an untested series of hypotheses, the opinions of eleven Commission members, and the legislature's fiscal constraints to the health, well-being, and even life-and-death decisions for hundreds of thousands of poor Oregonians. There is no generally accepted scientific or medical method for achieving Oregon's purposes in the listings, and Oregon's chosen method has never been tested. To develop its scheme, the Commission compared benefits, treatments, and outcomes across widely differing kinds of medical conditions, and then quantified them in a highly novel -- but completely untested -- methodology. The state now proposes that its initial experiment be substantially funded with federal Medicaid dollars and applied, in lieu of the current standard of "all medically necessary care and services," to non-consenting poor women and children.

The risks of trading the current standard of "all medically necessary care and services" for the proposed rationing scheme was underscored in the Legislature's rejection of proposals to apply the same listings to the health insurance programs of state employees and members of the Legislature themselves.

Use of the listings also threatens traditional medicine's focus on the care and cure of individual patients. It would shift us from patient-centered to procedure-driven medical practice. It would take away individualized medical decisions about what is good or even life-saving for a particular patient and substitute in its place a generalized determination of what seems to be good for some averaged population.

The listings thus also threaten to change the traditional relationship between physicians and patients, at least for poor patients. Many doctors already refuse to participate in Medicaid because of underfunding of services. These radical and pervasive changes in medical practice could seriously aggravate the current shortage of doctors and other providers in Medicaid by substituting the political judgments underlying the listings for the medical judgments of individual physicians. The losers, again, would be poor women and children.

Finally, the arbitrariness of the state proposal is highlighted by the Legislature's decision to increase subsidies for abortion, funded only from state funds under this plan but expanded now to additional thousands of persons, in lieu of funding life-saving health care for the poor in Oregon.

The Proposal Violates the Purposes and Terms of the Medicaid Law

The purpose of the Medicaid law is to enable the states to furnish "medical assistance on behalf of families with dependent children and of aged, blind, or disabled individuals, whose income and resources are insufficient to meet the costs of necessary medical services..." The clear purpose was to provide

medical coverage to the two groups singled out since the Depression for special government care and protection: poor families with children and the aged, blind, and disabled. In the interim, Congress has adopted a number of mandates and options focused on expansion of coverage for both groups. These culminated in the 1990 law that will insure coverage of all poor children by the year 2001.

Oregon's proposal would now reverse that long-standing federal policy. On the one hand Oregon protects the politically more powerful group of elders and persons with disabilities from drastic benefit cuts while, on the other, it subjects the more vulnerable group of its poorest women and children to the state's untested and procrustean plan. The addition of other poor persons to the reduced benefits scheme cannot be justification for exposing the poorest women and children to the broad dangers inherent in this untried plan.

Secondly, not only does the proposed plan not provide the basic health care recommended by Oregon's own Commission, but it totally discards the provision of medically necessary care and services required under the Medicaid law and protected for years by both Congress and the courts.

Thirdly, Oregon's poor children have little to gain and much to lose under the proposal. The Medicaid amendments of 1989 and 1990 have entitled all poor children to all medically necessary care and services. All states, including Oregon, must extend coverage to all poor children under age 19 on a phased-in basis, covering all children up to age 9 by the first year of Oregon's proposed experiment and to age 12 by the time of its full implementation. It is these younger children who have the most costly health needs, the most to gain by congressional mandates, and the most to lose in Oregon's scheme. In fact, almost every pregnant woman and child under six with family incomes under 133% of the poverty line and every poor Oregon child under nine loses essential and very important, even life-saving, medical care under the plan.

Recently Congress expanded the provision of medical care to children in America by revising the Medicaid early and periodic screening, diagnostic, and treatment provisions. Congress required every state to provide coverage to eligible children under age 21 for virtually all Medicaid benefits recognized under federal law and needed to correct or ameliorate defects and physical and mental illnesses and conditions discovered in screening. Oregon proposes to eliminate these protections and services to its poor children.

Furthermore, while Oregon protests that its plan is intended to benefit poor women and children, it proposes to eliminate the medically needy program for pregnant women and children under age 18. This provision was designed by Congress specifically to assist women and children whose incomes exceed eligibility

standards but who have medical problems giving rise to excessive medical costs. Oregon would strip them of this medical coverage.

Finally, the radically experimental and untested nature of the Oregon proposal threatens the health, well-being, and lives of hundreds of thousands of poor Oregonians, its poorest women and children and thousands of others. Both ethics and public policy dictate that experimentation involving human subjects, such as research under the Medicaid program, be subject to strict controls. In each such case, the government must exercise extreme care to analyze whether the risks involved in the experiment are outweighed by the benefits to those involved. The government must also establish safeguards to protect the rights and welfare of the subjects of all such demonstrations.

This Conference repeatedly has insisted that research and experimentation on human subjects be allowed only when the experiment has the informed consent of the subjects; or, in the case of those unable to consent, when the experiment (1) may enhance the well being or meet the health needs of the subjects; or (2) will pose no added risk of suffering, injury or death to the subjects; and (3) can be expected to develop knowledge that cannot be obtained by other means.

The state of Oregon does not argue that the women and children who will receive less care under the proposed rationing plan will receive any benefit, yet one must presume that those same pregnant women and children will suffer from the denial of what Oregon itself says are "essential" and "very important" health care services. The potential danger to patients to be treated under the Oregon proposal becomes clearer when we realize that the Legislature found it necessary to exempt health care providers from malpractice suits based on denial of necessary care that is "below the cutoff line" applied to the listings.

In this case, the vast majority of the subjects of the Oregon plan will be children incapable of voluntary consent to the experiment. A humane medical ethic suggests that children should not be subjected to an experimental plan unless the research might benefit them as individuals. Before allowing states to subject children to such experimentation, the federal government then has a particularly heavy legal and ethical responsibility to protect their health and lives.

Furthermore, before allowing states to impose deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges on their Medicaid patients, federal law requires the Secretary to ensure that the new co-payments do not become a barrier to access to necessary care or result in injury to Medicaid patients. Even more rigorous protections must be applied to a waiver request that would exclude more than 120 health services from the Medicaid program - or require the poor to purchase them from their own funds, the most direct form of "cost sharing" imaginable!

The Proposal Threatens the Lives of Oregon's Most Vulnerable Children

While expanding abortion services, Oregon's proposal directly terminates access to care to 120 health services for a hundred and sixty thousand poor women and children currently covered by its Medicaid program. This is more than just an experiment in health care financing or an alteration in the funding structure of the state program. In fact, the plan could result in federally sanctioned medical neglect leading to the deaths of poor women and children. One such example occurs in the case of extremely premature and low birthweight newborns, whose survival has been given low priority in the state's listings. In the case of these young children, individualized medical and ethical decisions should be made by appropriate family members and professionals. Instead, Oregon proposes an automatic, cost-based, and formula-triggered denial of funding for treatment and thus sentences these children to almost certain death.

In view of the numerous moral, ethical, and policy imperatives against the kind of experimentation proposed for the poor of Oregon, the Roman Catholic Bishops of this nation must oppose the Oregon experiment. We urge you to deny the waiver requested by the state and to retain the protections and benefits of the current Medicaid statute.

Sincerely yours,

+ James W. Malone

Bishop James W. Malone
Chairman
Domestic Policy Committee

cc: Honorable Lloyd Bentsen
Honorable Henry A. Waxman
Dr. Gail Wilensky

10/9/91
AZ

Quayle Cites Need to Reassure GOP's Abortion-Rights Backers

Party's 'Big Tent' Stressed; Convention Fight Feared

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Vice President Quayle said yesterday the 1992 Republican Party platform may have to include language to send a message "with great clarity" that those who support abortion rights are welcome under the party's "big tent."

Quayle said he does not believe the party should change its position, which in the 1988 platform opposed abortion and called for a "human life" amendment to the Constitution.

But reflecting concern among Republican strategists, he sounded a conciliatory note to abortion-rights advocates within the party, who have argued that the GOP faces serious defections next year if it maintains its past position.

"It's necessary to restate the president's viewpoint, very clearly, and that is that we are a party that is diversified, we are a party that though we have a position on abortion, that those who disagree with us should not feel excluded because of that issue," Quayle said during a lunch with reporters in his office.

"We do, in former [Republican National Committee] chairman Lee Atwater's words, offer the party as a big tent," he added, "and therefore that message has to be clear."

Republicans on both sides of the abortion issue are angling toward a clash at next summer's convention in Houston, with abortion opponents vowing to resist any effort to dilute the platform language and supporters of abortion rights calling for language that reflects the diversity within the party.

Quayle said he did not have a final answer, but made clear he recognizes the political danger of standing pat. "How we do that [recognize the big tent philosophy] within the platform, the preamble to the platform or whatnot, that remains to be seen," he said. "But that message will have to be articulated with great clarity."

The vice president, who has acted as the administration's chief liaison to conservative groups, added, "How we go about communicating that beyond saying it, we'll have to resolve that."

Quayle's comments reflected the fear among party strategists that the abortion issue could result in Republican defections next year among suburban women, especially in such major battlegrounds as California. But GOP strategists also argue that President Bush risks the wrath of antiabortion activists within the party if he reverses his or the party's position on the issue.

Quayle said he believes the differences can be resolved. "I've talked to too many people on the other side of the issue," he said. "People in responsible positions said there's no

use having this fight, let's make sure the big tent concept issue is agreed to."

Quayle also said that in the wake of the furor over bounced checks and overdue restaurant bills in the House, he would step up the administration's effort to promote term limits for members of Congress, saying, "This is an idea whose time is long overdue."

The bounced-check issue, Quayle said, underscores the problem in Congress. "The heart of the system is that incumbents . . . feel they are above the law," he said. "They exempt themselves from the law."

Testing themes for Bush's reelection campaign, Quayle said that the field of Democratic candidates lacks foreign policy experience and that Democrats are moving toward "isolationism," which he said is dangerous in a changing world.

"The Democrats out there are only going to talk about domestic policy," he said. "And I'm telling you there's another part of that equation that's important to the American people, and that is how would a president conduct foreign policy."

Saying the administration would resist calls for sharp cuts in the defense budget now that tension between the United States and Soviet Union has been dramatically reduced, Quayle said of the Democrats, "If they didn't know what to do during the Cold War, I'm not sure they'd know what to do after the Cold War."

Quayle said any saving that results from changes in U.S. defense strategy should be used for deficit reduction or tax cuts, not for additional domestic spending.

But in response to Democratic charges that the middle class has suffered economically under more than a decade of Republican rule in Washington, Quayle offered only a tepid defense. Asked if he believes, as Democratic presidential candidates charge, that middle-class Americans are worse off now than they were four years ago, he replied, "I hope not."

He added that he believes the job market is better now than it was during the late 1970s, but said the administration is still concerned about the slow pace of the recovery.

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Space for All in Abortion Debate, Quayle Says

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 8 — Vice President Dan Quayle, a staunch opponent of legalized abortion, said today that the Republican Party needed to send a strong signal in 1992 that it is a "big tent" with room for differing views on abortion.

Such a signal could come in the party's platform, he suggested.

Mr. Quayle, in a luncheon with reporters, said he did not believe that the party needed to change the strict anti-abortion position that was in its 1988 platform. But he said that position needed to be balanced with some ges-

ture acknowledging that there was room for other points of view within the party.

The Vice President's remarks reflect a careful repositioning begun by Lee Atwater, the late Republican national chairman, after the 1989 Supreme Court decision in Webster v. Reproductive Health Services. That decision, which allowed states to enact further restrictions on abortion, galvanized supporters of abortion rights, many of them Republicans.

A 'Diversified' Party

The party platform now says "the unborn child has a fundamental in-

dividual right to life which cannot be infringed" and calls for an amendment to the Constitution to overturn Roe v. Wade, the 1973 Supreme Court decision recognizing a constitutional right to abortion.

"It's not necessary to change the position," Mr. Quayle said today when asked about the platform. "But it is necessary to restate the President's viewpoint very clearly, and that is that we are a party that is diversified. We are a party that, though we have a position on abortion, that those who disagree with us should not feel excluded because of that issue."

The Vice President added that the

"big tent" approach first articulated by Mr. Atwater "has to be clear."

"Now, how we do that within the platform, the preamble to the platform, or what not, remains to be seen," he said. "But that message will have to be articulated with great clearness."

Mr. Quayle later said he was not necessarily calling for "big tent" language within the platform. "How we go about communicating that beyond saying it, we'll have to resolve that," he said.

Mr. Quayle opposes abortion except in cases of rape, or incest or when the life of the woman is endangered.

Support for Term Limitations

In a wide-ranging interview, Mr. Quayle also said he intended to campaign for measures to limit Congressional terms, and believed that voters

were intensely interested in that issue.

"It's more than bouncing checks and free lunches," Mr. Quayle said, referring to two recent furors on Capitol Hill. "It goes to the heart of the system itself."

With re-election rates of 96 percent, House members "feel that they're above the law," Mr. Quayle asserted.

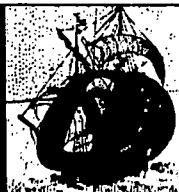
Democrats have controlled the House since 1954, and many of them complain that term-limitation proposals are an effort by Republicans to accomplish the kind of wholesale change they have been unable to gain at the ballot box. But Mr. Quayle said the movement had strong bipartisan support.

The Vice President also said the nation needed to proceed cautiously when it came to cuts in military spending. And he scoffed at the foreign policy

credentials of the five major Democratic Presidential candidates, arguing that Democrats "just have a lack of understanding and comprehension for the importance of national security, what it means, how to handle it, how to deal with it."

When asked if he believed the middle class was struggling and worse off than it was four years ago, which is a persistent charge from the Democrats, Mr. Quayle replied, "I hope not."

He added: "I believe that the middle class still is benefited by the tax cuts that have been implemented. I think that the job market is certainly better today than it was in the late 1970's, but there is some genuine concern out there and that's one of the areas we're going to have to continue to address."



**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

DATE: October 7, 1991

TO: LEIGH ANN METZGER

FROM: GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

Let's talk about the Georgetown decision.

Attachment



CARDINAL'S OFFICE
1011 FIRST AVENUE
NEW YORK, NY 10022

30 September 1991

Dear Mr. Dooley,

In 1989, by unanimous vote, the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States passed a resolution on abortion which stated, in part:

At this particular time, abortion has become the fundamental human rights issue for all men and women of good will. The duty to respect life in all its stages and especially in the womb is evident when one appreciates the unborn child's membership in our human family, and the grave consequences of denying moral or legal status to any class of human beings because of their age or condition of dependency.

Moreover, in a letter dated June 21, 1991, our Holy Father, Pope John Paul II, wrote a letter to the bishops of the world following the extraordinary consistory on threats to human life. In that letter, noting the "serious and disturbing phenomenon of the widespread destruction of so many human lives", the Pope stated:

[N]o less serious and disturbing is the blunting of the moral sensitivity of people's consciences. . . . In order to break this vicious circle, it seems more urgent than ever that we should forcefully reaffirm our common teaching, based on sacred Scripture and tradition, with regard to the inviolability of innocent human life.

Further, the Holy Father notes in his Apostolic Constitution, "Ex Corde Ecclesial" that "Catholic teaching and discipline are to influence all university activities" and that any official action or commitment of the university is to accord with such teaching and discipline. I find myself unable to reconcile the Georgetown administration decision with this statement.

-- Page Two --

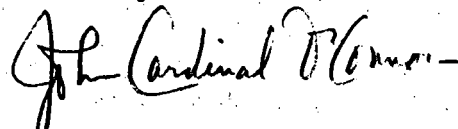
Finally, His Eminence, James Cardinal Hickey, has called it "inconsistent" with the aims of an institution of higher learning that has a Catholic identity to allow a group like "G.U. Choice" access to university facilities, office space and funding.

In my judgment, the decision of Georgetown University's Administration to grant university benefits to "G.U. Choice" is in serious and irreconcilable conflict with these and numerous other expressions of the Church's grave concern over the very issues which concern the Committee for Georgetown Values. As an alumnus of Georgetown, I share your severe disappointment over the administration's decision and profound anxiety over its implications for what we have always wanted to believe Georgetown represents. As a Churchman, I find it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to equate the administration's decision with the spirit of Church teaching.

I am therefore highly encouraged by the initiative of the Committee for Georgetown Values and join you and other alumni in urging reversal of the administration's decision.

Please continue to keep me informed of your efforts and of how you believe I can be of help. Be assured of my prayers. And may the Lord of Life bless us all.

Faithfully in Christ,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John Cardinal O'Connor". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Archbishop of New York

Mr. William T. Dooley, Jr.
Chairman, Committee for Georgetown Values
Post Office Box 23776
Washington, D.C. 20026-3776

cc. James Cardinal Hickey
Father Leo O'Donovan, SJ

Schroeder and Levine Amendments Are Extreme,

Seek To Enshrine A Right To Abortion

During House floor action on the Omnibus Crime Bill (H.R. 3371)-- expected during the week of October 14 -- it appears that at least one amendment will be offered to turn certain non-violent pro-life protest activities into new federal crimes. Such federal intervention is unwarranted and highly inappropriate.

The amendments in question have been filed with the Rules Committee by Reps. Schroeder and Levine (amendments no. 96 and 104 respectively). Both of these amendments would amend a federal civil rights law-- the so-called "K.K.K. Act" (Chapter 13 of title 18, United States Code)-- so that a person who "intentionally prevents an individual from entering or exiting" a "medical facility," by "detaining the individual" or by "obstructing, impeding, or hindering the individual's passage," is guilty of a federal crime. Under the Levine Amendment, a first offense would be a misdemeanor, while subsequent offenses would be felonies, punishable by imprisonment of up to three years and fines up to \$250,000. Under the Schroeder Amendment, even a first offense would be subject to these felony penalties.

In addition, under both amendments "any person aggrieved by a violation" would be granted a private cause of action, and would be able to collect damages and attorneys' fees.

Thus, under these amendments, sit-ins and similar forms of protest, currently handled under local and state trespass or disorderly conduct laws, would become federal crimes. The proponents of such legislation say that it is necessary to impose federal penalties on such protesters in order to protect a "fundamental" federal constitutional right, the "right" to abortion on demand.

It is clear, in fact, that winning a back-door congressional endorsement of *Roe v. Wade* is a major goal underlying these amendments. The Schroeder Amendment is identical to H.R. 1703, introduced by Mr. Levine on April 10, 1991. Mr. Levine's introductory remarks appeared in the *Congressional Record* under the headline, "ABORTION IS A CONSTITUTIONALLY PROTECTED RIGHT IN THIS COUNTRY." Mr. Levine stated:

...Traditionally, Federal criminal sanctions have been imposed, in addition to any State sanctions, where important federal rights are involved... The precedent for this remedy is clear. First, the issue involves rights protected by the Federal Constitution: the right to freedom of choice.

Opposition to extreme proposals, such as those advanced by Reps. Schroeder and Levine, does not in any way constitute an endorsement of illegal activities. State and local jurisdictions have historically enforced trespass statutes and other applicable ordinances.

Enactment of the Schroeder or Levine amendments would amount to a congressional endorsement of the discredited legal doctrine that abortion on demand is a "fundamental right" protected by the federal Constitution. If you believe that there is no such fundamental federal constitutional right to abortion on demand, if you believe that *Roe v. Wade* was wrongly decided, if you believe that states should be able to regulate matters pertaining to abortion, then you should oppose the Schroeder and Levine amendments.

Even Members who favor *Roe* should oppose these amendments, because they unfairly single out one type of non-violent political demonstration for draconian federal penalties. Persons who engage in non-violent "sit-ins" on issues such as AIDS, animal rights, or nuclear power will not be subject to federal penalties, these being reserved only for those who protest against abortion.

This disparity is further underscored in Mr. Levine's amendment, which explicitly exempts persons engaged "in any labor relations activity" from the prohibitions of the amendment. In other words, no federal offense whatever would occur if a nurse seeking a pay raise engaged in "physically obstructing, impeding, or hindering the ... passage" of a woman seeking an abortion-- but if a pro-life nurse engaged in precisely the same behavior while seeking to save the life of an unborn child, he or she could be sent to the federal penitentiary for three years.

Therefore, please allow state and local jurisdictions to enforce their own laws without unwarranted federal intervention. The Schroeder and Levine amendments are unnecessary and inappropriate, and should be opposed.

96

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 3371
OFFERED BY MRS. SCHROEDER OF COLORADO

Add at the end of subtitle A of title XVII the following:

1 SEC. ____ . TITLE 18 AMENDMENT.

2 (a) OFFENSE.--Chapter 13 of title 18, United States Code,
3 is amended by adding at the end the following:

4 ``§248. Interference with access to or egress from a medical
5 facility

6 `` (a) Whoever, other than an agent of a medical facility
7 or a law enforcement officer acting within the scope of such
8 officer's official authority, intentionally prevents an
9 individual from entering or exiting that medical facility by
10 physically--

11 `` (1) detaining the individual; or

12 `` (2) obstructing, impeding, or hindering the
13 individual's passage,

14 shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than 3
15 years, or both.

16 `` (b) Any person aggrieved by a violation of this section
17 may in a civil action under this title obtain appropriate
18 relief (including injunctive relief), and shall be awarded a
19 reasonable attorney's fee as a part of the costs.

20 `` (c) As used in this section--

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. LEVINE

Add at the appropriate place the following:

SEC. AMENDMENT

(a) OFFENSE -- Chapter 13 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end of the following:

"248. Preventing access to or egress from a medical facility

(a) Whoever, other than an agent or employee of a medical facility or a law enforcement officer acting within the scope of such officer's official authority, intentionally prevents or attempts to prevent an individual from entering or exiting that medical facility by physically--

(1) detaining the individual; or

(2) obstructing, impeding, or hindering the individual's passage, shall be fined or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both.

(b) Whoever has a previous conviction for a Section (a) offense, and who commits a second or subsequent such offense, shall be fined or imprisoned not more than 3 years, or both.

(c) Any person aggrieved by a violation of this section may in a civil action under this title obtain appropriate relief (including injunctive relief), and may be awarded a reasonable attorney's fees as part of the costs.

(d) This section shall not apply to any labor relations activity or any activity taken by individuals in support of a labor relations activity. This includes but is not limited to any activity which would be protected by 29 U.S.C. Section 157 et. seq., including actions taken by individuals in support of such activity, without regard to whether the medical facility is an employer as defined in 29 U.S.C. Section 152(2). If a state or local jurisdiction or other employer entity not covered by 29 U.S.C. Section 152(2) is subject to laws, regulations, or policies which protect labor relations activities other than those set forth in 29 U.S.C. Section 157 et. seq., this section shall not apply to activities protected by such laws, regulations, or policies.

(e) As used in this section--

(1) the term 'physically' does not include speech; and

(2) the term 'medical facility' includes a hospital, clinic, physician's office, or other facility which provides health or surgical services and engages in interstate commerce."

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT --The table of sections at the beginning of chapter 13 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item: "248 Preventing access to or egress from a medical facility."

cellence in the gymnasium. Gregg coached freshman basketball at Dominican for 23 years and this year, his second year as varsity coach, led that team to become the WISAA class A champions.

Former students, colleagues, and education administrators all testify to the professionalism and enthusiasm he has shown throughout his 25 years at Dominican. He has proven to be an exceptional role model not only for his students, but for his fellow educators as well.

As a former high school classmate of Gregg's, I am very glad he chose teaching as a career, so he could share his wisdom and knowledge with our Nation's youth.

Mr. Speaker, it is with my deep respect and thanks that I offer my congratulations to Gregg. I wish him all the best for the future, and hope he continues to inspire the students of Dominican High School for another 25 years.

A PRAYER FOR OUR TROOPS ON THE PERSIAN GULF

HON. LOUISE M. SLAUGHTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1991

Ms. SLAUGHTER of New York. Mr. Speaker, since the August 2, 1990, Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, we all have lived in the shadow of war. Throughout this difficult time of uncertainty, I have appreciated the many calls and letters from constituents expressing their personal views on the pressing questions of war and peace. One particularly thoughtful and moving letter from Joe Ventrice, a Vietnam veteran from Corfu, NY, included a prayer which I would like to share with my colleagues in Congress. Now that the war in the Persian Gulf has been concluded and we begin the task of building a lasting peace in the region, Mr. Ventrice's prayer for peace is particularly poignant.

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Oh almighty and eternal Lord, please bring a swift and peaceful settlement to this horrible war that is sacrificing so many lives for no justifiable reason. Please, in your infinite wisdom, bring this madman to his senses and make him realize that human life means so much to all people of this world. We lost so many boys in so many wars, please try to end this war before all our loved ones are lost in another bloody conflict.

Lord, please give our troops the wisdom to think before they do anything that would endanger themselves or anyone else. Lord, you helped me through the jungles of Vietnam and the horrible sights I had to face; please also help our troops in the Gulf, so they may know that you'll always be with them, no matter what the odds or circumstances. Give them a sign of your great and infinite power. Please show all the leaders of this world that peace is a much better way of life for everyone. I believe that you and only you can make this peaceful solution possible by instilling in Saddam Hussein the knowledge and wisdom that all this killing is not doing anything but destroying the lives of people throughout his country and the other countries who are trying to turn back his oppression.

Please Lord, help everyone who has anything to do with this war and let us know

how to end it. Thank you for listening to me.

A BILL TO MAINTAIN THE CURRENT FEDERAL-STATE FUNDING RATIO FOR CERTAIN FORMULA GRANTS

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

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Wednesday, April 10, 1991

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, today, I am introducing in the House of Representatives a bill to maintain the current funding ratio for Justice Assistance discretionary grants at a 75 percent Federal share and 25 percent State share. This funding ratio would be maintained for fiscal year 1992 only; after that, the grant program must be reauthorized. This is a companion measure to S. 623 which was introduced by Senator PAUL SIMON of Illinois on March 12, 1991.

As Senator SIMON stated when he introduced the bill, "the Department of Justice through the Bureau of Justice Assistance, distributes block grant funds to support many antidrug abuse efforts carried out by State and local law enforcement agencies."

Unless this legislation is enacted, the funding formula would be 50 percent Federal and 50 percent State. This would result in New York State having to come up with substantially more funds at a time when money is extremely limited and violent crime is on the rise. Of course, the effect would be similar on other States as well.

It is my hope that when funding for the Bureau of Justice Assistance is reauthorized next year, the funding formula can receive careful consideration by the Congress. In the meantime, I urge all of my colleagues to join in cosponsoring this corrective legislation.

ABORTION IS A CONSTITUTIONALLY PROTECTED RIGHT IN THIS COUNTRY

HON. MEL LEVINE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1991

Mr. LEVINE of California. Mr. Speaker, I can think of few issues which divide the American public as much as the issue of abortion. The debate over whether or not a woman should legally be able to terminate a pregnancy generates strong emotions from people on both sides of the issue, and the controversy will no doubt rage on for years.

But whether one supports a woman's right to choose, there is one fact that cannot be denied: abortion is a constitutionally protected right in this country. That means that any woman who decides to terminate a pregnancy can, with certain limitations, enter a medical facility to obtain an abortion.

However, every day opponents of abortion and family planning gather for the express purpose of intimidating and harassing women trying to see their doctor and to deny women their constitutionally guaranteed right to reproductive choice.

Such anti-abortion groups, such as Operation Rescue and Lambs of Christ seek to

confront, embarrass, ridicule, and threaten women at one of the most difficult times in their lives. These guardians of public morality oppose not only abortion, but all forms of birth control and sex education.

Abortion is a complex issue about which people have deeply felt views. In many cases those who oppose a woman's right to choose to have an abortion do so out of religious conviction. I respect their views and their right to them.

But in recent years a more dangerous and violent strain has developed in the so called right-to-life community. This group of extremists uses force and violence to deny all women their rights not only to abortion but to sex education and family planning in any form. They are vehemently opposed to allowing women access to the health care of their choice, just as segregationists in the 1950's were vehemently opposed to allowing African-Americans access to education and voting booths.

In the South, in the early 1960's, people similarly opposed to individual freedoms burned crosses, bombed houses, destroyed churches, and killed those who sought to exercise their constitutional rights. I am deeply concerned that legacy of hate and violence may be alive and well among the followers of the anti-abortion movement.

At its core, however, the issue here is not one of choice, but is instead one of violence and protecting the rights of women. Since 1977, there have been at least 829 violent acts occurring at family planning clinics. These include bombing, arson, kidnapping, assault and battery, and death threats.

This is America in 1991. It is not Birmingham, AL in 1963. It is not Salem, MA in 1692, and we must not allow these hate crimes to continue.

Legislation I will introduce will provide Federal guarantees that these women are no longer victimized. It is known as the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1991.

My bill will establish criminal penalties for interfering with access to or egress from a medical facility. Violators will be subject to felony prosecution and a prison term of up to 3 years and a fine of up to \$250,000.

Traditionally, Federal criminal sanctions have been imposed, in addition to any State sanctions, where important Federal rights are involved, or where interstate criminal activity is involved. Congress took similar action during the civil rights era, when certain regions of the Nation were unwilling to protect the rights of black citizens.

The precedent for this remedy is clear. First, the issue involves rights protected by the Federal Constitution: the right to freedom of choice. Second, there is clearly interstate activity involved because much of the clinic violence is masterminded by national networks headquartered in the East. In one incident in Monterey, only 6 of the 104 individuals arrested were local residents.

Third, although many State and local officials have been courageous in protecting women and the staff of these health facilities, there have been too many instances when local officials have refused to enforce the law rigorously. Furthermore, this bill has been very carefully drawn to avoid penalizing activities which are protected by the first amendment.

Abortion protesters have every right to make their views known, to picket, leaflet, and speak out. They do not have the right to physically prevent other individuals from exercising their Constitutional rights. There they cross the line between legitimate protest and criminal behavior.

I want to stress that this is not a victimless crime. When patients are held in a clinic, as they were in Monterey, for 6 hours, the damage done is serious. In one case in Dale City, a woman who was suffering a miscarriage was barred from the clinic doors and had to be driven 15 miles to another facility for medical treatment. If a medical emergency occurred in a clinic being blockaded, serious injury or death could result if a patient could not be transferred to a hospital.

These incidents occur across the country. In Ohio, a volunteer at a family health clinic was knocked down, and kicked repeatedly by violent protesters as she attempted to enter the clinic during a blockade. In Minnesota, several policemen received emergency room treatment after being injured by anti-abortion demonstrators blocking a clinic. One officer was unable to return to work for 3 weeks due to a severe leg injury. In Maryland, a woman collapsed after clinic blockaders, occupying a multitenant facility, prevented her from entering the building to keep an appointment with her psychiatrist.

Passage of this legislation will send a clear message to anti-choice groups that violence against women will not be tolerated. I invite and encourage my colleagues to join me in cosponsoring this crucial measure.

HONORING THE CITY OF SANTA FE SPRINGS 1991 CITIZENS OF THE YEAR

HON. ESTEBAN EDWARD TORRES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1991

Mr. TORRES. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to rise today to recognize three special individuals from my congressional district. Mr. Richard Landis is the recipient of the Business/Professional Citizen of the Year Award. Whereas, Manuel and Maggie Hernandez are the recipients of the Residential Citizen of the Year Award. All three will be honored at a special luncheon hosted by the city of Santa Fe Springs on Tuesday, April 23, 1991.

CITY OF SANTA FE SPRINGS 1991 RESIDENTIAL CITIZEN OF THE YEAR: MANUEL AND MAGGIE HERNANDEZ

My good friends, Manuel and Maggie Hernandez have lived in the city of Santa Fe Springs for over 35 years. Manuel Hernandez was born in Chicago, IL and moved to California in 1944. After graduation from Garfield High School in 1948, he enlisted in the U.S. Army. Maggie Hernandez was born and raised in Los Angeles, CA. She attended Our Lady Queen of Angeles High School.

Manuel and Maggie Hernandez married on February 23, 1952 at Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church in the city of Los Angeles. They were married by Father Berry Brennan. The maid of honor was Ms. Francis Moreno, the best man was Mr. Joe Chavez. Together they have four children, Gail Lorraine Hernandez, Cathy Ann Hernandez, Manuel Joe Hernandez, Gerald Anthony Hernandez and

Denise Hernandez Vega. They have seven grandchildren.

Manuel and Maggie Hernandez have been extremely involved in their community. Both are active as Friends of the library, General Planning, The Sister City Committee, Community Playhouse, the Santa Fe Springs Beauty Pageant, Santa Claus Floats and at St. Pius X Church.

Manuel is a self-employed businessman in the city of Santa Fe Springs. He is currently the chairperson of the Traffic Commission, treasurer of the Lions Club, a member of plumbers local No. 78, and a member of the California Contractors Association. He is a member of the Knights of Columbus and is involved with the city's parks & recreation department.

Maggie is also quite active in the community. She currently serves as the chairperson of the Santa Fe Springs Sister City Committee, is a member of the Friends of the Library, member of the Women's Club and the Beautification Committee, and she is a member of the Congressional Award Council for the 34th Congressional District.

CITY OF SANTA FE SPRINGS 1991 BUSINESS/PROFESSIONAL CITIZEN OF THE YEAR: MR. RICHARD LANDIS

Richard Landis is a native of California. He has been employed as an area supervisor for the Santa Fe Springs drive-in theatre and swap meet operation for over 20 years. He supervises a management staff of 200 individuals. Additionally, Mr. Landis supervises the Santa Fe Springs Sweeping Service, a company that provides a service for construction clean-up. At the corporate level, he is involved in locating and researching acquisitions and new businesses.

He is currently the chamber/league network coordinator for the Business Emergency Preparedness Network and a member of the legislative committee. He is past chamber/league president, member of the board of directors, and vice president of special events. Other past chamber/league activities include: Sacramento Field Trip Committee chairman, Business and Industry Security & Safety Committee, and a member of both the Ambassador Committee, and President's Committees.

Mr. Landis is an extremely active force in the community. His present and past community involvements include numerous Santa Fe Springs Chamber of Commerce & Industrial League, Inc. committees. Further, he has also been active in numerous city committees, service clubs and community organizations. Landis is the current Rotary Club president and is past chairman of the Adopt-A-Class program.

To date, he serves on the board of directors for the California Swap Meet Owners Association and from 1987-89 he was a member of the Southern Advisory Committee—Theatre Association of California. Mr. Landis is also an active volunteer with the Shepherds Heart Ministries, a nonprofit Christian Corp.

He and his wife, Denise, and three children, Michael, Jennifer and David reside in the city of Arcadia.

Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, April 23, 1991, the city of Santa Fe Springs will honor these outstanding citizens for their unselfish dedication to their community. I ask my colleagues in the House of Representatives to join with me and the city of Santa Fe Springs in saluting Manuel & Maggie Hernandez, 1991 Residential Citizens of the Year and Richard Landis,

1991 Business and Professional Citizen of the Year.

DIRE EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL/DAIRY PROVISIONS

HON. COLLIN C. PETERSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1991

Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I rise to comment on the deletion of the dairy provisions offered by Mr. LEAHY in the Senate to the dire emergency supplemental appropriations bill. I am extremely disappointed these needed provisions were deleted. The dairy farmers in my district have been wracked by falling prices, which are currently one-third below the level they were receiving just 1 year ago. These operators are not marginal producers; they have weathered significant market changes over the past decade. These are solid family farmers. But with prices as low as they are currently, these farmers have difficulty even cash-flowing so they can continue in operation until prices rise.

The administration's threat to veto legislation providing temporary relief to dairy farmers, who form the backbone of American agriculture, is a clear indication of the priorities of the White House. Spending \$200 million for Turkey is an administration priority while provisions that cost nothing but enable a family farmer to make a meager living are not.

Sending \$55 million to Jordan, which did not support us in the Persian Gulf is a priority with the White House, while providing a fair shake for our own dairy farmers is not.

Spending \$283 million to rebuild the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant is a priority with this administration, while increasing prices for grade B milk producers by 50 cents per hundredweight is not.

Mr. Speaker, the administration, milk processors and marketers in the Southeast, and the Farm Bureau all opposed the Leahy provisions, modest though they were. I frankly do not understand the motives of these groups. Prices at the retail level for milk and other dairy products are the same as they were 2 years ago when farmers were getting \$13 to \$15 per hundredweight. Why haven't we seen prices drop at the retail level.

I also question the motives of the Washington Post and others in the eastern liberal establishment who have started a vendetta against this country's farmers. These powerful forces are taking on an issue that they obviously know nothing about. I can sympathize with efforts to keep large corporate farms from feeding at the Federal trough. But the Post, in its overzealous attempt to wade into agricultural policy, apparently can't tell a family farmer from a large agribusiness.

This dairy provision deals with the needs of the small producers in the Upper Midwest, New England, and other areas where family farmers are struggling to survive. This is only a temporary measure that is needed and should be passed. It will buy us some time so we can address a flawed system on a more long-term basis.

Mr. Speaker, the family farmer who cares for his cows and never sees the inside of a corporate boardroom is the loser here today.

Schroeder and Levine Amendments Are Extreme,

Seek To Enshrine A Right To Abortion

During House floor action on the Omnibus Crime Bill (H.R. 3371)-- expected during the week of October 14 -- it appears that at least one amendment will be offered to turn certain non-violent pro-life protest activities into new federal crimes. Such federal intervention is unwarranted and highly inappropriate.

The amendments in question have been filed with the Rules Committee by Reps. Schroeder and Levine (amendments no. 96 and 104 respectively). Both of these amendments would amend a federal civil rights law-- the so-called "K.K.K. Act" (Chapter 13 of title 18, United States Code)-- so that a person who "intentionally prevents an individual from entering or exiting" a "medical facility," by "detaining the individual" or by "obstructing, impeding, or hindering the individual's passage," is guilty of a federal crime. Under the Levine Amendment, a first offense would be a misdemeanor, while subsequent offenses would be felonies, punishable by imprisonment of up to three years and fines up to \$250,000. Under the Schroeder Amendment, even a first offense would be subject to these felony penalties.

In addition, under both amendments "any person aggrieved by a violation" would be granted a private cause of action, and would be able to collect damages and attorneys' fees.

Thus, under these amendments, sit-ins and similar forms of protest, currently handled under local and state trespass or disorderly conduct laws, would become federal crimes. The proponents of such legislation say that it is necessary to impose federal penalties on such protesters in order to protect a "fundamental" federal constitutional right, the "right" to abortion on demand.

It is clear, in fact, that winning a back-door congressional endorsement of *Roe v. Wade* is a major goal underlying these amendments. The Schroeder Amendment is identical to H.R. 1703, introduced by Mr. Levine on April 10, 1991. Mr. Levine's introductory remarks appeared in the *Congressional Record* under the headline, "ABORTION IS A CONSTITUTIONALLY PROTECTED RIGHT IN THIS COUNTRY." Mr. Levine stated:

...Traditionally, Federal criminal sanctions have been imposed, in addition to any State sanctions, where important federal rights are involved... The precedent for this remedy is clear. First, the issue involves rights protected by the Federal Constitution: the right to freedom of choice.

Opposition to extreme proposals, such as those advanced by Reps. Schroeder and Levine, does not in any way constitute an endorsement of illegal activities. State and local jurisdictions have historically enforced trespass statutes and other applicable ordinances.

Enactment of the Schroeder or Levine amendments would amount to a congressional endorsement of the discredited legal doctrine that abortion on demand is a "fundamental right" protected by the federal Constitution. If you believe that there is no such fundamental federal constitutional right to abortion on demand, if you believe that *Roe v. Wade* was wrongly decided, if you believe that states should be able to regulate matters pertaining to abortion, then you should oppose the Schroeder and Levine amendments.

Even Members who favor *Roe* should oppose these amendments, because they unfairly single out one type of non-violent political demonstration for draconian federal penalties. Persons who engage in non-violent "sit-ins" on issues such as AIDS, animal rights, or nuclear power will not be subject to federal penalties, these being reserved only for those who protest against abortion.

This disparity is further underscored in Mr. Levine's amendment, which explicitly exempts persons engaged "in any labor relations activity" from the prohibitions of the amendment. In other words, no federal offense whatever would occur if a nurse seeking a pay raise engaged in "physically obstructing, impeding, or hindering the ... passage" of a woman seeking an abortion-- but if a pro-life nurse engaged in precisely the same behavior while seeking to save the life of an unborn child, he or she could be sent to the federal penitentiary for three years.

Therefore, please allow state and local jurisdictions to enforce their own laws without unwarranted federal intervention. The Schroeder and Levine amendments are unnecessary and inappropriate, and should be opposed.

96

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 3371

OFFERED BY MRS. SCHROEDER OF COLORADO

Add at the end of subtitle A of title XVII the following:

1 SEC. ____ . TITLE 18 AMENDMENT.

2 (a) OFFENSE.--Chapter 13 of title 18, United States Code,
3 is amended by adding at the end the following:

4 ``§248. Interference with access to or egress from a medical
5 facility

6 `` (a) Whoever, other than an agent of a medical facility
7 or a law enforcement officer acting within the scope of such
8 officer's official authority, intentionally prevents an
9 individual from entering or exiting that medical facility by
10 physically--

11 `` (1) detaining the individual; or

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15 years, or both.

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17 may in a civil action under this title obtain appropriate
18 relief (including injunctive relief), and shall be awarded a
19 reasonable attorney's fee as a part of the costs.

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1 ``(1) the term 'physically' does not include speech;
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3 ``(2) the term 'medical facility' includes a
4 hospital, clinic, physician's office, or other facility
5 which provides health or surgical services.''.
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7 (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.--The table of sections at the
8 beginning of chapter 13 of title 18, United States Code, is
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Lord, please give our troops the wisdom to think before they do anything that would endanger themselves or anyone else. Lord, you helped me through the jungles of Vietnam and the horrible sights I had to face; please also help our troops in the Gulf, so they may know that you'll always be with them, no matter what the odds or circumstances. Give them a sign of your great and infinite power. Please show all the leaders of this world that peace is a much better way of life for everyone. I believe that you and only you can make this peaceful solution possible by instilling in Saddam Hussein the knowledge and wisdom that all this killing is not doing anything but destroying the lives of people throughout his country and the other countries who are trying to turn back his oppression.

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At its core, however, the issue here is not one of choice, but is instead one of violence and protecting the rights of women. Since 1977, there have been at least 829 violent acts occurring at family planning clinics. These include bombing, arson, kidnapping, assault and battery, and death threats.

This is America in 1991. It is not Birmingham, AL in 1963. It is not Salem, MA in 1692, and we must not allow these hate crimes to continue.

Legislation I will introduce will provide Federal guarantees that these women are no longer victimized. It is known as the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1991.

My bill will establish criminal penalties for interfering with access to or egress from a medical facility. Violators will be subject to felony prosecution and a prison term of up to 3 years and a fine of up to \$250,000.

Traditionally, Federal criminal sanctions have been imposed, in addition to any State sanctions, where important Federal rights are involved, or where interstate criminal activity is involved. Congress took similar action during the civil rights era, when certain regions of the Nation were unwilling to protect the rights of black citizens.

The precedent for this remedy is clear. First, the issue involves rights protected by the Federal Constitution: the right to freedom of choice. Second, there is clearly interstate activity involved because much of the clinic violence is masterminded by national networks headquartered in the East. In one incident in Monterey, only 6 of the 104 individuals arrested were local residents.

Third, although many State and local officials have been courageous in protecting women and the staff of these health facilities, there have been too many instances when local officials have refused to enforce the law rigorously. Furthermore, this bill has been very carefully drawn to avoid penalizing activities which are protected by the first amendment.

Abortion protesters have every right to make their views known, to picket, leaflet, and speak out. They do not have the right to physically prevent other individuals from exercising their Constitutional rights. There they cross the line between legitimate protest and criminal behavior.

I want to stress that this is not a victimless crime. When patients are held in a clinic, as they were in Monterey, for 6 hours, the damage done is serious. In one case in Dale City, a woman who was suffering a miscarriage was barred from the clinic doors and had to be driven 15 miles to another facility for medical treatment. If a medical emergency occurred in a clinic being blockaded, serious injury or death could result if a patient could not be transferred to a hospital.

These incidents occur across the country. In Ohio, a volunteer at a family health clinic was knocked down, and kicked repeatedly by violent protesters as she attempted to enter the clinic during a blockade. In Minnesota, several policemen received emergency room treatment after being injured by anti-abortion demonstrators blocking a clinic. One officer was unable to return to work for 3 weeks due to a severe leg injury. In Maryland, a woman collapsed after clinic blockaders, occupying a multitenant facility, prevented her from entering the building to keep an appointment with her psychiatrist.

Passage of this legislation will send a clear message to anti-choice groups that violence against women will not be tolerated. I invite and encourage my colleagues to join me in cosponsoring this crucial measure.

HONORING THE CITY OF SANTA FE SPRINGS 1991 CITIZENS OF THE YEAR

HON. ESTEBAN EDWARD TORRES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1991

Mr. TORRES. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to rise today to recognize three special individuals from my congressional district. Mr. Richard Landis is the recipient of the Business/Professional Citizen of the Year Award. Whereas, Manuel and Maggie Hernandez are the recipients of the Residential Citizen of the Year Award. All three will be honored at a special luncheon hosted by the city of Santa Fe Springs on Tuesday, April 23, 1991.

CITY OF SANTA FE SPRINGS 1991 RESIDENTIAL CITIZEN OF THE YEAR: MANUEL AND MAGGIE HERNANDEZ

My good friends, Manuel and Maggie Hernandez have lived in the city of Santa Fe Springs for over 35 years. Manuel Hernandez was born in Chicago, IL and moved to California in 1944. After graduation from Garfield High School in 1948, he enlisted in the U.S. Army. Maggie Hernandez was born and raised in Los Angeles, CA. She attended Our Lady Queen of Angels High School.

Manuel and Maggie Hernandez married on February 23, 1952 at Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church in the city of Los Angeles. They were married by Father Berry Brennan. The maid of honor was Ms. Francis Moreno, the best man was Mr. Joe Chavez. Together they have four children, Gail Lorraine Hernandez, Cathy Ann Hernandez, Manuel Joe Hernandez, Gerald Anthony Hernandez and

Denise Hernandez Vega. They have seven grandchildren.

Manuel and Maggie Hernandez have been extremely involved in their community. Both are active as Friends of the library, General Planning, The Sister City Committee, Community Playhouse, the Santa Fe Springs Beauty Pageant, Santa Claus Floats and at St. Pius X Church.

Manuel is a self-employed businessman in the city of Santa Fe Springs. He is currently the chairperson of the Traffic Commission, treasurer of the Lions Club, a member of plumbers local No. 78, and a member of the California Contractors Association. He is a member of the Knights of Columbus and is involved with the city's parks & recreation department.

Maggie is also quite active in the community. She currently serves as the chairperson of the Santa Fe Springs Sister City Committee, is a member of the Friends of the Library, member of the Women's Club and the Beautification Committee, and she is a member of the Congressional Award Council for the 34th Congressional District.

CITY OF SANTA FE SPRINGS 1991 BUSINESS/PROFESSIONAL CITIZEN OF THE YEAR: MR. RICHARD LANDIS

Richard Landis is a native of California. He has been employed as an area supervisor for the Santa Fe Springs drive-in theatre and swap meet operation for over 20 years. He supervises a management staff of 200 individuals. Additionally, Mr. Landis supervises the Santa Fe Springs Sweeping Service, a company that provides a service for construction clean-up. At the corporate level, he is involved in locating and researching acquisitions and new businesses.

He is currently the chamber/league network coordinator for the Business Emergency Preparedness Network and a member of the legislative committee. He is past chamber/league president, member of the board of directors, and vice president of special events. Other past chamber/league activities include: Sacramento Field Trip Committee chairman, Business and Industry Security & Safety Committee, and a member of both the Ambassador Committee, and President's Committees.

Mr. Landis is an extremely active force in the community. His present and past community involvements include numerous Santa Fe Springs Chamber of Commerce & Industrial League, Inc. committees. Further, he has also been active in numerous city committees, service clubs and community organizations. Landis is the current Rotary Club president and is past chairman of the Adopt-A-Class program.

To date, he serves on the board of directors for the California Swap Meet Owners Association and from 1987-89 he was a member of the Southern Advisory Committee—Theatre Association of California. Mr. Landis is also an active volunteer with the Shepherds Heart Ministries, a nonprofit Christian Corp.

He and his wife, Denise, and three children, Michael, Jennifer and David reside in the city of Arcadia.

Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, April 23, 1991, the city of Santa Fe Springs will honor these outstanding citizens for their unselfish dedication to their community. I ask my colleagues in the House of Representatives to join with me and the city of Santa Fe Springs in saluting Manuel & Maggie Hernandez, 1991 Residential Citizens of the Year and Richard Landis,

1991 Business and Professional Citizen of the Year.

DIRE EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL/DAIRY PROVISIONS

HON. COLLIN C. PETERSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 10, 1991

Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I rise to comment on the deletion of the dairy provisions offered by Mr. LEAHY in the Senate to the dire emergency supplemental appropriations bill. I am extremely disappointed these needed provisions were deleted. The dairy farmers in my district have been wracked by falling prices, which are currently one-third below the level they were receiving just 1 year ago. These operators are not marginal producers; they have weathered significant market changes over the past decade. These are solid family farmers. But with prices as low as they are currently, these farmers have difficulty even cash-flowing so they can continue in operation until prices rise.

The administration's threat to veto legislation providing temporary relief to dairy farmers, who form the backbone of American agriculture, is a clear indication of the priorities of the White House. Spending \$200 million for Turkey is an administration priority while provisions that cost nothing but enable a family farmer to make a meager living are not.

Sending \$55 million to Jordan, which did not support us in the Persian Gulf is a priority with the White House, while providing a fair shake for our own dairy farmers is not.

Spending \$283 million to rebuild the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant is a priority with this administration, while increasing prices for grade B milk producers by 50 cents per hundredweight is not.

Mr. Speaker, the administration, milk processors and marketers in the Southeast, and the Farm Bureau all opposed the Leahy provisions, modest though they were. I frankly do not understand the motives of these groups. Prices at the retail level for milk and other dairy products are the same as they were 2 years ago when farmers were getting \$13 to \$15 per hundredweight. Why haven't we seen prices drop at the retail level.

I also question the motives of the Washington Post and others in the eastern liberal establishment who have started a vendetta against this country's farmers. These powerful forces are taking on an issue that they obviously know nothing about. I can sympathize with efforts to keep large corporate farms from feeding at the Federal trough. But the Post, in its overzealous attempt to wade into agricultural policy, apparently can't tell a family farmer from a large agribusiness.

This dairy provision deals with the needs of the small producers in the Upper Midwest, New England, and other areas where family farmers are struggling to survive. This is only a temporary measure that is needed and should be passed. It will buy us some time so we can address a flawed system on a more long-term basis.

Mr. Speaker, the family farmer who cares for his cows and never sees the inside of a corporate boardroom is the loser here today.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COALITION

For Life

No. 1

September 1991

Press Release From the Chairman

The following press release was issued by Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly, chairman of the Republican National Coalition for Life, on August 27, 1991:

Ann Stone Chooses Democratic Allies

Ann Stone's appearance on national television at a pro-abortion rally in Wichita, Kansas on Saturday, August 24, suggests she is more comfortable with liberal Democratic Dukakis supporters.

Ms. Stone, who chairs Republicans for Choice, spoke at a gathering in Wichita with numerous pro-abortion leaders such as radical feminist Eleanor Smeal, former president of the National Organization for Women, and Kate Michelman, spokesman for the National Abortion Rights Action League.

Commenting on Stone's appearance with people prominent in the

liberal feminist pro-abortion minority has taken over the Democrat Party."

Republicans for Choice is trying to strip the Republican Party of its pro-life platform plank, and Ann Stone is a fundraiser for the attempt to do that.

"The Republican National Coalition for Life represents the majority of real Republicans who want

a clear difference between them and the party of the Michelmans and Smeals."

"Ann Stone seems to have made her 'choice' to spend her time with pro-abortion Dukakis Democrats. We are working to re-elect our pro-life President, George Bush, on the same platform that proved so successful in 1988," Mrs. Schlafly said.

Republican Party Will Stick to Its Principles

Marilyn Shannon, National Committeewoman for Oregon and member of RNC/Life's Board of Directors, recalls a conversation she had with the late Lee Atwater, former chairman of the Republican National Committee, which sheds new light on the so-called "big tent" theory that has been so ballyhooed in the press.

Atwater spoke with pro-abortion supporters who were demonstrating in front of RNC headquarters in Washington on January 22, 1990, but he did not encourage their position. According to Marilyn, Atwater said he told the demonstrators: "The heart and soul of the Republican Party is pro-life. Our last three platforms make this statement."

Marilyn relates what Lee further told her in a telephone conversation the

next day: "Yesterday, I was returning from the Y and saw a crowd in front of the building. Frankly, at first I thought they were pro-lifers since they were in town for their annual march. When I realized it was pro-choicers I decided to greet them anyway. When I said that the Republican tent was big enough for them, I meant they could come in and participate with us. I did not mean they would become the ring leaders."

Marilyn asked him, "Do you think there are any plans to change the pro-life plank in the 1992 platform?" Atwater answered, "No, Marilyn, there are no plans to change the pro-life plank. You have to help me on this." Indeed, the Republican Party needs our help in its efforts to remain true to its pro-life position. Lee Atwater would want it that way.

"We are working to re-elect our pro-life President, George Bush, on the same platform that proved so successful in 1988."

— Phyllis Schlafly

liberal wing of the Democratic Party, Phyllis Schlafly, chairman of the Republican National Coalition for Life said, "That was a very un-Republican thing for her to do. After all, the Republican Party has grown by leaps and bounds precisely because millions of former Democrats believe that a

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Around the Nation

California -- In a special election on May 14th, pro-lifer Dean Andal was elected to the California State Legislature from the 26th Assembly District, winning a 56% margin in a district that has 57% registered Democrats.

Mary Ellen McCaffrey, president of the California Pro-Life Political Action Committee, said: "In a startling victory for pro-life forces, Dean Andal's decisive win shifts California legislative power in our favor." The election of the pro-life candidate killed the California Democratic Party's hopes for a two-thirds majority in the Assembly and for a reapportionment gerrymander that would have increased pro-abortion strength.

Also significant was the election of pro-lifer John R. Lewis in the 35th District, by a three to one margin, and pro-lifer Tim Leslie in the 1st District, with 54.7% of the votes, to the California State Senate. Lewis will fill the seat left vacant by Governor Pete Wilson's appointment of John Seymour to the U.S. Senate after Wilson was elected Governor last November. The two senatorial candidates were opposed by pro-abortion candidates backed by Republicans for Choice.

Georgia -- In June, a federal appeals court upheld a 1987 Georgia law that requires a minor to notify a parent or guardian before having an abortion. In 1988, the law was amended to require that an adult accompany the minor to the clinic. Planned Parenthood argued in the suit that the Georgia law placed an undue burden on minor girls. The court

disagreed and lifted a preliminary injunction against the law.

Maryland -- *The Washington Times*, July 23, 1991, reports that Maryland state officials "confirmed yesterday that abortion opponents had gathered more than enough signatures to force a 1992 referendum on Maryland's new abortion law."

In February of this year, the Maryland General Assembly passed a liberal abortion law that allows a woman to seek an abortion in most instances. The law also calls for a minor's parents to be notified if she seeks an abortion. The *Times* reports that pro-lifers have called the notification clause "a sham, noting that the doctor who performs the abortion could get around it simply by deciding that the girl is mature enough to decide for herself."

The law, which was to go into effect in July, will now be put on hold until after the referendum is held on November 3, 1992. Both sides of the issue predict that the 16-month referendum campaign could cost at least \$1 million to as much as \$6 million.

Michigan -- Pro-Life Republican businessman John Jamian defeated his pro-abortion Republican opponent in a special election on Tuesday, August 27. Jamian won a resounding victory over his female opponent, Kelly Allen, with 3,301 votes to her 2,575.

Abortion was a key issue in the campaign and Allen played up her pro-choice position as she worked to win the open seat.

The election of Jamian, 37, of Bloomfield Hills to the Michigan House of Representatives gives Michigan's pro-life Governor John Engler another strong supporter in the Legislature.

Michigan -- In June the Michigan House of Representatives overwhelmingly voted to remove a stipulation in the Michigan parental consent law that requires public schools to tell students, without the consent or knowledge of their parents, how to get an abortion.

The bill had been previously approved by the Michigan Senate and pro-life Governor John Engler (R) is expected to soon sign the bill into law.

Wisconsin -- Republican pro-lifer Reny Liebner reports that the delegates to the Wisconsin Republican convention in June passed a strongly worded anti-abortion resolution. The *Milwaukee Journal* stated that the resolution "defined abortion as the taking of human life and called on the U.S. Supreme Court and elected officials to 'recognize the rights of unborn children, beginning with the right to life.'"

In contrast, *last year's* convention had approved a resolution that merely supported "strong restrictions on abortion" and pro-abortionists were able to push through a platform plank that stated that the Republican Party "encompasses a great diversity of views" on abortion. The *Journal* commented, "Because platforms -- unlike resolutions -- are only voted on in election years, that plank remains in

effect.” However, the 1991 pro-life resolution is a sign of changes to come and demonstrates that pro-lifers are effectively advancing our cause.

As Reny Liebner relays, the pro-abortion delegates “tried to table the pro-life resolution and failed. They also tried to change the rules so that the table would not require a two-thirds majority but only a simple majority. That failed also. We are happy for our victory.” The 1991 convention also passed a resolution supporting parental consent on abortions.

“In virtually every race in which Democrats and Republicans have fielded candidates of equal strength, the pro-life position has been found helpful, not harmful, to the candidate who embraced it and refused to compromise. Newspaper and other public opinion polls consistently show the pro-life position helps a candidate either moderately or dramatically.” — Cal Thomas, “Is Pro-Life Position Proving Harmful to Republicans?” *The Washington Times*, July 29, 1991.

Coalition Building

Democrats Switch Parties

Executive Director Colleen Parro shares the following messages as examples of the mail she receives from former Democrats in support of RNC/Life:

“I switched parties a few years ago precisely for that reason [pro-life]. I think being pro-life has given the Republican Party an edge, and made them a winner. I will not vote if I have to vote pro-abortion whether it’s for a party or a man or woman. Life is precious to me. . . .” --Mrs. Delores Thoele, Teutopolis, Illinois

“To whom it may concern. Let it be known that we former Democrats are now members of the Republican Party. We do not wish the pro-life plank in the Republican Party to be watered down or dropped. We are fed up with the liberal, misguided politicians. That is the reason we support conservative Republicans. Do not desert us or else we will not bother to vote.” --C.M. Santos and Family, Oakland, California

Florida State Representative Joins RNC/Life

RNC/Life chairman Phyllis Schlafly recently received a note from Representative Chance Irvine of Orange Park, Florida. In it she says, “In 1990 I had a primary with a pro-choice opponent who was attractive, well

educated and a member of the school board. I won with 57% of the vote. This issue [pro-life] did not hurt my campaign; in fact, it probably helped. Please add my name to the list of Republican office holders who support the pro-life movement.”

We are delighted to add Representative Irvine to the list of more than 2,000 public and party office holders who have signed the RNC/Life Pledge supporting the pro-life plank in the Republican National Platform.

Texas Coup

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS -- RNC/Lifers scored a brilliant coup at a Bexar County fundraiser here on Saturday, August 10, 1991.

The Republican Party in San Antonio and Bexar County has a dedicated hard-core pro-abortion group that sponsored a Republicans for Choice booth at the annual Party fundraiser, a “County Fair” held in a park.

Pro-Life Republicans, with only 10 days notice, organized a fabulous Republican National Coalition for Life booth, complete with overhead RNC/Life banner and Domino’s Pizza for sale. Over 100 supporters turned out wearing white polo shirts emblazoned with the RNC/Life logo and white skimmer hats also bearing our name. Attendees battled the Texas heat with red, white, and blue fans sporting the slogan “I am a fan of the Republican National Coalition for Life.”

Republican pro-life leader John Harris pulled it all together and distributed lots of Statements of Intent in the process. He reports that our booth had receipts that day that out did the pro-abortion choicers five to one!

John has shown us all how to make RNC/Life the most effective grassroots force the Republican Party has ever seen. Our chapters around the country will certainly want to duplicate his efforts.

Let us know how you are putting RNC/Life on the map in your area!



Young Republicans Vote Overwhelmingly for '88 Platform

Contrary to initial press reports, the Young Republicans overwhelmingly reaffirmed their support for the 1988 Republican National Platform, **including** its pro-life plank.

Biased reports in the press gave the impression that the YR's had abandoned their pro-life stance. Subsequent public statements by Ann Stone and her cohort in Republicans for Choice, Congresswoman Susan Molinari (R-NY), that the YR's had "defeated" a pro-life plank caused many Americans to believe it actually happened.

The **real** story is that the YR's resoundingly **defeated** a pro-abortion-choice minority report on the floor and overwhelmingly **passed** re-adoption of their former platform--a duplicate of the 1988 Republican National Platform which, among other things, says that the "unborn child has a fundamental, individual right to life which cannot be infringed."

Phyllis Schlafly, chairman of Republican National Coalition for Life, has written to Ms. Molinari asking her to correct the erroneous statement she made in a story published in *Roll Call*, a publication popular on Capitol Hill. *Roll Call* quoted Congresswoman Molinari as making the following statement on "Off the Record," a Fox

Network television program, on July 21: "The Young Republicans in this country . . . passed an anti-pro-life plank . . . And now it's time to sit back and see what the old Republicans do."

In her letter, Mrs. Schlafly said,

" 'Old Republicans' have vivid memories of Republican candidates who tried to appease or ape the Democrats. We believe that the way to victory is to stand firmly for principle and for a clear difference between us and the Democrats."

College Republicans Overwhelmingly Pro-Life

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The College Republicans voted almost unanimously to re-adopt their pro-life platform plank at the CR national convention in June in Dallas, Texas.

Tony Zagotta, national chairman of the College Republican National Committee, recently issued a press statement in which he said that membership in College Republicans is at an all time high. He accused pro-abortion Republicans who do not support the national platform of spreading misleading information about abortion, young people and the Republican Party.

In the July 18, 1991, press release, Chairman Zagotta refuted claims by Republican pro-abortion activists such as Ann Stone and Congresswoman Susan Molinari (R-NY) that the GOP's anti-abortion position is hurting the Party among young people.

"Don't buy the lie," Zagotta said. He pointed out that the "largest voting block for George Bush was made up of young people between the ages of 18 and 24."

"We have over 100,000 members on more than 1100 campuses across the country, and we are attracting new members at a record pace. Our recent 49th biennial convention in Dallas was the largest in our history. At our convention . . . the assembled delegates overwhelmingly reaffirmed the CRNC's traditional pro-life stance. A resolution stating our opposition to abortion and support for pro-life legislation was adopted by a nearly unanimous vote." -- Report on the College Republican National Convention, June 15, 1991, Dallas, Texas.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COALITION
For Life

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To: Governor Sununu
From: Douglas Johnson, NRLC
Date: October 2, 1991
Re: House vote on foreign aid authorization bill (HR 2508)

For your information, I am faxing a copy of a background paper that we disseminated yesterday to the press, in anticipation of today's House vote on the foreign aid authorization bill (HR 2508). As you know, the bill contains language that would nullify the Mexico City Policy and eviscerate the Kemp-Kasten anti-coercion law.

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national RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

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PRESS BACKGROUNDER: Tuesday, October 1, 1991

ABORTION ISSUES ON THE FOREIGN AID AUTHORIZATION BILL (HR 2508)

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Douglas Johnson, NRLC Legislative Director
(202) 626-8820, (301) 502-1170

SUMMARY: The House of Representatives will take up the conference report on the foreign aid authorization bill (HR 2508) on Wednesday, October 2, with Senate action likely to follow soon thereafter. The National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) is opposed to HR 2508 because it contains provisions that would nullify the two major pro-life policies that govern overseas "population assistance" programs administered by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID): (1) the "Mexico City Policy," which prohibits funding of private organizations that "perform or actively promote abortion as a method of family planning in other nations," and (2) the Kemp-Kasten anti-coercion law, which denies funding to organizations that support coercive population-control programs, such as the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).

THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION: President Bush has sent several personal letters to Congress explaining his reasons for supporting these two pro-life policies. The President's position was reiterated in the Office of Management and Budget's June 6 *Statement of Administration Policy* on HR 2508, which said, "The President has indicated he would veto any legislation presented to him containing such provisions." There is no doubt that the President's veto will be sustained. On June 12, 1991, 200 House members voted in favor of the Mexico City Policy, and 188 members voted against a pro-UNFPA provision.

In a letter to Congress dated June 26, 1990, the President said, "Weakening of the Mexico City Policy would result in renewed U.S. funding of organizations which promote abortion, or which campaign to legalize abortion as a method of family planning in less-developed nations... I strongly support population assistance, so long as U.S. funds are directed to those organizations which promote contraception, rather than those which condone or encourage abortion or coercive measures."

FUNDING FOR FAMILY PLANNING: Critics of the current policies will seek to frame the votes on these provisions as pro or con "family planning." In fact, however, the amount of money appropriated for family planning is not the disputed issue. As USAID has confirmed on many occasions, neither the Mexico City Policy nor the Kemp-Kasten Amendment has reduced funding for family planning by even one dollar. These policies have resulted in removal of funds from a few organizations that are committed to promoting abortion as a method (or "backup method") of birth control, but these funds have been re-programmed to about 400 other family planning agencies that stick to contraception.

NRLC takes no position on contraception. For years, NRLC has annually informed Congress of its neutrality regarding increases in population assistance funding, since the funds are currently covered by the pro-life policies.

ABORTION ISSUES ON THE FOREIGN AID AUTHORIZATION BILL, PAGE 2

THE MEXICO CITY POLICY

The Mexico City Policy-- so called because it was announced at a 1984 conference on population control in Mexico City-- is one of the most important anti-abortion policies ever adopted by the federal government. The policy provides that U.S. "population assistance" funds may go only to those private organizations that do not "perform or actively promote abortion as a method of family planning in other nations."

Opponents of the Mexico City Policy have characterized the policy as "prohibiting funding to organizations that counsel for abortion." Some journalists have adopted this formulation, but it is both misleading and inaccurate, because: (1) the organizations that have been denied funding under the Mexico City Policy do much more than "counsel for" abortion-- they actively promote the legalization and utilization of abortion as a birth-control method; and (2) the USAID contract that enforces the policy explicitly permits "passive" counseling and referral for abortion in those few Third World nations in which elective abortion is legal.

USAID enforces the policy through a contract that spells out in detail what activities are prohibited. Moreover, the exact parameters of the policy have been carefully delineated in extensive litigation (see below). Activities clearly prohibited include performing abortions, lobbying to legalize elective abortion, or propagandizing for abortion as a method of family planning, except that abortions and abortion referrals to save the life of the mother, or in cases of rape or incest, are explicitly permitted under the AID contract. Also, USAID has also clearly stated that grantees are completely free to treat women who suffer complications from abortions performed by other agents, contrary to suggestions by some pro-abortion polemicists.

Prior to the adoption of the policy, certain organizations that received large portions of their budgets from USAID openly campaigned for the legalization of abortion, and the utilization of abortion as a birth-control method, in many Third World nations in which abortion is currently illegal. Two such organizations, the Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA) and the London-based International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), lost their USAID funding because their commitment to such abortion-promoting activities was incompatible with the Mexico City Policy. But, as USAID has repeatedly informed Congress, every dollar denied to these organizations has been re-programmed to other organizations that have agreed to stick to contraception. The vast majority of foreign family planning agencies (about 400), including half of all IPPF affiliates, complied with the policy and are receiving funds.

LEGAL STATUS: The U.S. courts of appeals for the District of Columbia and for the Second Circuit upheld the Mexico City Policy as consistent with the Foreign Assistance Act and the Constitution. On June 3, 1991, the U.S. Supreme Court let stand the Second Circuit ruling.

The U.S. Solicitor General's brief to the Supreme Court is a succinct, authoritative statement of what the Mexico City Policy does and does not require; it is available upon request from NRLC.

H.R. 2508 PROVISION ON THE MEXICO CITY POLICY: HR 2508 [Sec. 105] would create a new Section 104(b)(5) of the Foreign Assistance Act that would prohibit the President from subjecting private or multilateral organizations to requirements pertaining to population assistance that are more restrictive than those applied

ABORTION ISSUES ON THE FOREIGN AID AUTHORIZATION BILL, PAGE 3

to sovereign governments. The sponsors of this language have acknowledged that it has a single intended effect: to overturn the Mexico City Policy.

This language is functionally identical to the 1990 Mrazek Amendment, which President Bush discussed in a June 26, 1990 letter to House members. The President observed that "there are numerous reasons why such a distinction [between private organizations and sovereign governments] is appropriate. For example... some private organizations are actively engaged in undermining the anti-abortion laws of less-developed nations, and the U.S. should not support organizations that engage in such activities."

THE KEMP-KASTEN ANTI-COERCION LAW AND UNFPA

The Kemp-Kasten anti-coercion provision has been carried on foreign aid appropriations measures since 1985. The Kemp-Kasten law denies U.S. "population assistance" funds to "any organization or program which, as determined by the President of the United States, supports or participates in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization."

The Kemp-Kasten Amendment does not merely prohibit the use of U.S. funds in coercive programs. Rather, it states that any organization that supports a coercive program is ineligible for U.S. funds. There is a big difference.

In effect, the Kemp-Kasten Amendment requires the President (or his delegate, USAID) to make two distinct determinations each year: (1) Is China's program "a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization"? And, if so, (2) does the UNFPA support, or participate in the management of, that program?

Beginning in 1985, AID has each year formally determined that coercive abortion and involuntary sterilization are pervasive in China's program, and that UNFPA's role in that program makes U.S. funding to UNFPA impermissible under the Kemp-Kasten Amendment. USAID's determination was challenged by the Washington-based Population Institute, an organization that receives substantial funding from UNFPA. In 1986, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, in an opinion written by liberal Judge Abner Mikva, ruled that the USAID administrator's sworn explanation "of how UNFPA's activities in China aid the aspects of China's program that Congress condemned amply supports his conclusion that funding UNFPA is prohibited by the [Kemp/Kasten] amendment." [*Population Institute v. McPherson*, Civil Action No. 85-6042, August 12, 1986, p. 23. The complete decision is available on request.]

For 12 years, top UNFPA's officials have praised and defended China's population program, and held it up as a model for other less-developed countries. For example: in 1983 China's family planning minister received the U.N.'s top award for population control. On May 24, 1989, UNFPA Executive Director Nafis Sadik said at a Capitol Hill forum: "The UNFPA firmly believes, and so does the government of the People's Republic of China, that their program is a totally voluntary program." On November 21, 1989, in an interview on CBS Nightwatch, Sadik said: "The implementation of the policy [in China] and the acceptance of the policy is purely voluntary. There is no such thing as, you know, a license to have a birth and so on."

[A factsheet documenting UNFPA's extensive participation in China's program is available upon request. See also the attached letter from USAID to Congressman Chris Smith (R-NJ), dated June 19, 1991.]

ABORTION ISSUES ON THE FOREIGN AID AUTHORIZATION BILL, PAGE 4

[UNFPA officials also sometimes say that the agency "does not support abortion programs." This is doubletalk. China's program is an "abortion program" on a massive scale. Moreover, the UNFPA has for years been funding numerous studies in which Third World women are given the French drug RU-486 to induce abortions, which is certainly an "abortion program."]

It is important to note that all funds withdrawn from UNFPA since 1985 have been re-programmed to other family planning agencies. USAID has provided specific listings of where the money has gone, and these are available upon request.

H.R. 2508 PROVISION ON THE U.N.F.P.A. Under HR 2508, the UNFPA would receive up to \$20 million, to be held in an account co-administered by the U.S. representative to the United Nations. The representative would have to sign off on the specific projects on which the U.S. funds could be spent, which could not be in China.

This language would gut the Kemp-Kasten anti-coercion law, which requires every organization to *choose* between supporting coercive programs and receiving U.S. funding. The bill would allow the UNFPA to "have it both ways." The UNFPA would regain U.S. funding, while continuing to participate in China's brutal program. Indeed, the UNFPA could directly participate in any degree of coercion in China or any other nation, so long as the U.S. funds were used only for the enumerated permissible purposes in nations other than China.

On November 19, 1989, the President vetoed the original FY 1990 foreign operations appropriations bill because it contained the Mikulski Amendment, a provision to restore funding to the UNFPA under "money-tracking" requirements similar to those contained in HR 2508. In his veto message, President Bush pointed out that the purpose of the Kemp-Kasten law was never merely to keep U.S. funds pristine by somehow technically segregating U.S. dollars from coercive programs. Rather, the law was written, as the President said, to "tell all family planning organizations that they must refrain from supporting coercive programs, or the United States will direct its resources to alternative organizations which respect the fundamental principle of voluntariness."

The President also said that "the so-called Mikulski Amendment... would fatally weaken the integrity of the Kemp-Kasten anti-coercion provision by earmarking funds for the United Nations Fund, the only organization that has ever been determined to violate that provision... The Mikulski Amendment is rendered no more acceptable by a clause which requires the Fund to keep its books in a manner so as to prevent the direct flow of United States assistance to the particular foreign government." These objections logically apply to the language of HR 2508 as well.

The conference committee added a provision making the UNFPA's dispersal of the U.S. funds for specific projects contingent upon prior approval by the U.S. representative to the United Nations. But by the time this provision would come into play, the U.S. would have already consigned millions of dollars to an account co-administered by an organization that participates in a program of coercive abortion and involuntary sterilization.

HR 2508 also would require the UNFPA to refund the U.S. money if it exceeded a five-year \$57 million "cap" on participation in China's program. But the UNFPA program in China was extended for five years, and pegged at \$57 million, in 1989-- *over the objections of the U.S. delegate.* HR 2508 would retroactively bless this five-year extension, and reward the UNFPA for ignoring the U.S. objections.

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

To: Governor Sununu

From: Darla St. Martin, Associate Executive Director, (202) 626-8814
Douglas Johnson, Legislative Director, (202) 626-8820

Date: September 12, 1991

Re: Kassebaum Amendment to Labor/HHS appropriations bill

Some of the press accounts of yesterday's Senate action on parental notification are misleading. The Kassebaum Amendment, which was approved 92-8, is not a "classic compromise," nor a slightly imperfect version of parental notification. Rather, it is a pro-abortion decoy that succeeded beyond its sponsor's hopes, due mainly to a serious misjudgment by Sen. Nickles. (The Kassebaum Amendment surfaced late-- the actual language was not made available until she offered it on the floor, less than an hour before the vote.)

In July, NRLC strongly supported the Coats Amendment to the Chafee bill (S. 323). At NRLC's request, Sen. Nickles agreed to offer a nearly identical amendment to the DHHS appropriations bill. Both the Coats and Nickles amendments would require organizations that receive Title 10 funds to notify one parent or guardian before performing an abortion on an unemancipated minor, EXCEPT in cases in which (1) the physician certifies a life-endangering emergency, or (2) when the minor says she would be at risk of physical or sexual abuse-- but in these cases the agency must notify state child abuse authorities. Under Coats-Nickles, federally funded agencies would be exempt only in 16 states that have laws in effect that require parental notification or consent, or authorization by a state judge, for an abortion.

The Kassebaum Amendment exempts not only these 16 states, but also 25 other states that have only invalidated parental notification laws on the books, or that have laws that actually authorize doctors to routinely abort minors in secret. Thus, the Kassebaum Amendment would have no application whatever in 41 states, and in most of these states, organizations receiving Title 10 funds routinely abort minors in secret.

In the other 9 states, the amendment would have little if any practical effect because of its expansive loopholes. It empowers "counselors" to waive parental notification if they believe the minor might suffer "emotional harm," and such judgments are subject to review by no one. Sen. Kassebaum explained that those so empowered would include "a school guidance counselor, social worker, and counseling-certified member of the clergy."

The Kassebaum Amendment also explicitly authorizes an aunt, uncle, or grandparent to authorize an abortion without notification of a parent, in any case whatsoever, whether or not they have any supervisory relationship with the child. (Sen. Kassebaum did not explain why an aunt or uncle should

PARENTAL NOTIFICATION, PAGE 2

have the power to waive the rights of a parent.) And there are other loopholes as well.

Yesterday evening, the Senate first rejected the NRLC-backed amendment offered by Sen. Nickles, 55-45. That was regrettable but not catastrophic. Sen. Coats then began to point out the loopholes in the Kassebaum Amendment, but Sen. Nickles interrupted to say that he intended to support the Kassebaum Amendment as "better than nothing" and "I hope that the Senate will agree to it by an overwhelming vote." The 92-8 vote followed immediately.

We believe that it is very unfortunate that Sen. Nickles fell into Sen. Kassebaum's trap. He thereby legitimated her amendment and inadvertently provided political cover for many pro-abortion senators who had voted against the Coats and Nickles Amendments (e.g., Sen. Wofford).

Some pro-abortion lobbyists are feigning opposition to the Kassebaum Amendment, but in fact they recognize it as a useful ploy. All but 8 pro-abortion senators voted for Kassebaum, and that would not have occurred if the pro-abortion lobbyists had not spread the word that they would not score a vote for Kassebaum as an "anti-choice" vote.

We believe strongly that enactment of a federal law that places aunts, uncles, grandparents, and "counselors" on the same footing as parents would be worse than no law at all. It would be a step backwards. It would undercut ongoing efforts in the state legislatures to enact legislation that insures some involvement by at least one parent in a daughter's abortion decision, with only carefully defined exceptions.

When Rep. Waxman's Title 10 bill comes before the House in a few weeks, Congressman Bliley will offer a bona fide parental notification amendment, essentially the same as Coats-Nickles. We expect that Waxman or his surrogate will propose a phony alternative along Kassebaum's lines.

We ask that the President explicitly endorse the Bliley Amendment, and that the White House make it clear that proposals such as Sen. Kassebaum's undercut, rather than advance, parental rights.

Thank you for your consideration of these points.

THE PRINCE GEORGES

Journal

WEEKLY

Wednesday/Thursday, MAY 30-31, 1990

Teen's death after abortion brings suit

By LARRY PERL
Journal staff writer

A doctor has been accused in a lawsuit of letting a Cheltenham teen-ager bleed to death after "negligently and recklessly" puncturing her uterus during an abortion when she was nearly five months pregnant.

The malpractice suit claims that on the evening of March 1, 1989, Dr. Gene Crawford punctured 16-year-old Erica Kae Richardson's uterus and cervix — then left her "bleeding to death" on an operating table in his Laurel office for four hours, without monitoring vital signs.

At 10:45 p.m., Crawford carried Richardson to her aunt's car and told the aunt to "take [her] home and put her to bed," the suit states. It says that "at the very minimum," Crawford should have told the aunt to hospitalize the youth. The aunt, deciding that her niece needed "emergency treatment," drove to Bowie Health Center, where Richardson was rushed into the emergency room at 11 p.m., in respiratory arrest, and died shortly after midnight, the suit states. The suit claims that Crawford "knew or should have known that an abortion at [19 weeks of] pregnancy posed medically, well-known severe, life-threatening risks . . ." Crawford wouldn't comment.

County police investigated the incident, but didn't file criminal charges and referred the case to a county grand jury, which took no action, said Maj. James Ross. Dr. Ann Dixon, deputy chief state medical examiner, said the death was "quite unusual," but accidental. It was caused by a perforated uterus that led to an air embolism — bubble — that traveled to the heart, she said. Dixon also cited internal bleeding as a factor, but said she didn't think the bleeding was enough to cause death.

David Simpson, a former assistant state's attorney who filed the suit last week on behalf of Richardson's mother, said he will try to prove that Crawford was grossly negligent, the same criterion for manslaughter. The suit is filed with the Health Claims Arbitration Board in Baltimore — the required first stop for all medical malpractice claims — and seeks "in excess of \$10,000."

Richardson's mother, Ryvette Richardson-Smith, referred questions to the attorneys. Simpson's colleague, Donald McLaughlin, said Richardson's aunt, Denise Crarey, helped Richardson get the abortion without telling Richardson's mother. McLaughlin added that though Crarey and Richardson's mother are sisters, they have "a very strained relationship." Crarey, a registered nurse, took Richardson first to Washington Hospital Center, which wouldn't perform the abortion because Richard-

Re:
"aunt's
consent"

Legislation: State - parental Consent

LANTANA, FL
WEEKLY WORLD NEWS
WEEKLY 600,000

APR 8 1986

BURRELLES

School sued by mom over teen's abortion

3053 By GLORIA MILLER

An outraged mom sued a school system for \$6.2 million claiming a teacher helped her daughter get an abortion — without her knowledge.

Virginia Preston said she wasn't aware her 14-year-old daughter had an abortion until the youngster began bleeding three days later and had to be taken to a hospital in Thermalito, Calif.

The teenager (identified as "E.L.G.") became pregnant last spring and went to her homeroom teacher, Marilyn Forhan, 41, for help, said the lawsuit.

"Marilyn Forhan counseled E.L.G. to have an abortion," according to court documents.

"Marilyn Forhan, further, counseled E.L.G. not to disclose her pregnancy to her mother."

The suit said the teacher made arrangements for the abortion at the nearby Chico Feminist Women's Health Center and drove the teen to and from the clinic.

The teacher lied to Mrs. Preston about where the teen was on that day, saying she would be home late because she was going to baby-sit for a friend, the suit claims.

By counseling her daughter to have an abortion, Mrs. Pres-

ton said, the teacher violated her "strongly held personal beliefs . . . that a parent, not a teacher or school district, has the primary responsibility to instill values and personal philosophical views in her child."

State law in California allows minors to have abortions without consent of their parents.

And it is legal for a school to excuse a student from class to have an abortion.



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The Lack Of Parental Involvement: Real Consequences

The personal experiences of Dawn Ravenell, Rachel Ely, Myoshi Callahan, Holly Trimble, and Teresa Wibblesman Fangman are testaments to the very real tragedy that a decision made without the benefit of parental involvement can become for a teenager who is confronted with the frightening and stressful fact of an unexpected pregnancy. Their experiences illustrate all too well some of the physical, emotional, and psychological dangers to the adolescent who makes the abortion decision without any parental involvement.

Dawn Ravenell, a 13-year-old girl from Queens, New York, died tragically in 1985 after undergoing a legal abortion. According to the abortion clinic records, Dawn awoke from the anesthesia during the middle of the abortion and began gagging and choking before going into cardiac arrest. A plastic airway was inserted in her throat and she was again sedated. In the recovery room after the abortion, she awoke, began gagging on the unremoved airway, and went into cardiac collapse. She was rushed to a New York hospital where she later died. In 1990, a jury awarded \$1.225 million dollars to her family. The Ravenell's said they pursued the suit not for the money but for justice. "I wanted to be sure that another child would not suffer the way Dawn did," Mrs. Ravenell said.¹

New York has no parental involvement law so Dawn's parents were never told about their daughter's pregnancy or abortion. "It was a horrible situation," said the family attorney, Thomas Principe. "Here you have a frightened kid in what was really an abortion factory. She was treated like a piece on an assembly line."²

Rachel Ely was a 17 year-old, unmarried high school student who was afraid to tell her parents that she was pregnant. Rachel had an abortion on the advice of a high school counselor without her parents' knowledge. Several days after the abortion, Rachel became quite ill and went to another doctor. Thinking the symptoms were not related, she did not tell the doctor about the abortion. Rachel was left permanently paraplegic, forced to use a wheelchair, from a condition later found directly attributable to a post abortion surgical infection. Rachel had not been told that there are alternatives to abortion. Had her parents known their daughter was pregnant, they would have provided her with the alternatives of keeping her child, or placing the child for adoption. Had Rachel's parents known of the abortion, they would have raised the possible relationship between the abortion and Rachel's symptoms so that she could get proper treatment quickly.¹

Myoshi Callahan was 15 when she had an abortion without her parents' knowledge or consent. At the clinic, she received no counseling whatsoever and felt her only choice was to have an abortion. As a result of the side effects resulting from the abortion procedure, Myoshi had to have a hysterectomy. Myoshi has since told both parents. They have grieved with her for the loss of life and for the ordeal that their daughter went through alone. Myoshi now has no doubt that, if parental involvement in her decision had

¹ Herrmann, "\$1.225M awarded in girl's abort death," New York Daily News, Tuesday, December 11, 1990, p. 13. See also, Carillo, "\$1.2M won't bring her back," New York Post, Tuesday, December 11, 1990, p. 1.

² Id.

¹ Brief Amici Curiae of Focus On The Family, Hodgson v. State of Minnesota, No. 88-1125 and 88-1309 (1989), at App. 1a.

been mandatory, she would never have had an abortion.² She deeply regrets that her parents were not involved.

Holly Trimble was 16 when she became pregnant and decided to have an abortion. Holly's main purpose for the abortion was so that she would not have to tell her parents about her pregnancy. She did not want to hurt them. Because she did not want to hurt them, Holly also could not talk to them about the turmoil of her abortion. Today, Holly deeply regrets her decision. She is certain that, had she been exposed to information about the development of the unborn child at the time of her decision, she would have chosen to carry her baby to term.³

Teresa Wibblesman Fangman was 16 when she learned she was pregnant. Teresa received no alternatives counselling and decided to abort her baby, primarily because she was afraid to tell her parents of her pregnancy. She did not want them to know she had disappointed them. The abortion exacted an extreme emotional toll. Five years later, Teresa's 15 year-old sister, impregnated on a date rape, went to her parents for help. With their support, she decided to carry her baby to term and then place the child for adoption. Teresa is convinced that, if she had known at the time of her abortion decision how supportive her parents would be to an unexpected pregnancy, she would not have had an abortion.⁴

Parental involvement in an adolescent's decision-making process helps ensure that the girl is fully aware of the attendant physical, emotional, and psychological risks of an abortion and that these risks are minimized or avoided. Minimizing and avoiding such risks can only be beneficial to the adolescent, her family, and to society as a whole.

National Right to Life Committee
State Legislation Department
January 1991

² Id. at App. 2a.

³ Id. at App. 5a.

⁴ Id. at App. 3a.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COALITION

For Life

NEWS

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PRO-LIFE REPUBLICANS ANNOUNCE SUPPORT

Phyllis Schlafly, chairman of the Republican National Coalition For Life, today released an impressive list of hundreds of Republican public and party officeholders who have signed a Pledge "to work to reaffirm at the 1992 Republican National Convention the Party's principled commitment 'that the unborn child has a fundamental, individual right to life which cannot be infringed.'"

The Republican National Convention will open in Houston on August 17, 1992. With George Bush the presumed nominee, Republican fundraiser Ann Stone and ex-Republican Mary Crisp (who chaired John Anderson's independent candidacy in 1980) have threatened a battle to remove the pro-life plank from the Platform.

The Republican National Coalition for Life was formed to defeat this effort.

"Millions of Americans crossed over to the Republican Party in 1980, 1984 and 1988," Mrs. Schlafly said, "to separate themselves from the liberal policies of the Democratic Party.

(more)

The voters of all ages responded to principled leadership in the Republican Party. The Republican Platform was ratified by the big majorities that elected Ronald Reagan and George Bush."

"Support for George Bush is highest among young people between the ages of 18 and 24," Mrs. Schlafly said. In national conventions this summer, both the College Republicans and the Young Republicans overwhelmingly endorsed the 1988 Republican National Platform, including its pro-life plank.

Mrs. Schlafly said, "The post-Webster elections show that the worst position a political candidate can take about abortion is to change or water down his or her pro-life stand. The Republican Party Platform has proved beyond a doubt that it is a big national winner. If it ain't broke, don't fix it!"

Citing a Gallup poll released in February, Mrs. Schlafly pointed out that the vast majority of Americans oppose at least 95% of the abortions that take place in the U.S. each year, and that 77% of Americans believe that abortion takes a human life.

In the most comprehensive survey ever done on abortion-related issues, the Gallup poll showed that 6.8% of Republicans and 5.4% of Democrats who identify themselves as "strongly pro-life" also say they would withhold their vote from a candidate who disagrees with them on abortion. In contrast, only 2% of Republicans and 4.3% of Democrats who identify themselves as "strongly pro-abortion" say they would withhold their vote from a candidate who disagrees on abortion.

The Gallup survey shows that, regardless of a Democratic candidate's position on abortion, he is more likely to be defeated by a pro-life Republican than by one who is pro-abortion/choice.

(end)

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For Life

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Sen. George Ray Hudson, IL
State Senate
Doris C. Karpel, IL
State Senate
Sen. Roger A. Keats, IL
State Senate
Sen. William F. Mahar Jr., IL
State Senate
Rep. Thomas J. McCracken, Jr., IL
State House of Representatives
Rep. N. Duane Noland, IL
State House of Representatives
Rep. Bernard E. Pederson, IL
State House of Representatives
Rep. Edward Petka, IL
State House of Representatives
Sen. James "Pate" Philip, IL
State Senate
Rep. Penny Pullen, IL
State House of Representatives
Sen. Robert M. Raica, IL
State Senate

Rep. Robert P. Regan, IL
State House of Representatives
Sen. Harlan Rigney, IL
State Senate
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Secretary of State
Sen. Jack Schaffer, IL
State Senate
Rep. James R. Stange, IL
State House of Representatives
Larry Wennlund, IL
State House of Representatives
Sen. Frank C. Watson, IL
State Senate
Dorothy Winston, IL
East Peoria RWC
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State House of Representatives
Rep. Lawrence L. Buell, IN
State House of Representatives
Richard Clark, IN
City/County Council-Indpls.
Rep. Jack L. Cottey, IN
State House of Representatives
Beulah Coughenour, IN
City/County Council-Indpls.
William Dowden, IN
City/County Council-Indpls.
Kenneth Giffin, IN
City/County Council-Indpls.
Holley Holmes, IN
City/County Council-Indpls.
Sandra Houlihan, IN
President Allen County Council
Rep. Dennis Kruse, IN
State House of Representatives
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President, Lawrence YR's
David McGrath, IN
City/County Council-Indpls.
Sen. James Merritt, IN
State Senate
Beverly Mukes-Gaither, IN
City/County Council-Indpls.
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City/County Council-Indpls.
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Mayor of Lawrence
William Schneider, IN
City/County Council-Indpls.
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State Senate
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State Committee
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National Committee
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State Senate
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State Assembly

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State Assembly
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State House of Representatives

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State House of Representatives
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Lourdes Ramos, Puerto Rico
Puerto Rico YRs
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State Senate
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State House of Representatives
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State House of Representatives
Rep. Charles Mateer, SD
State House of Representatives
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Governor
Hon. Walter D. Miller, SD
Lieutenant Governor
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State House of Representatives
Rep. Lola Schreiber, SD
State House of Representatives
Rep. Mike Shaw, SD
State House of Representatives
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State House of Representatives
Rep. Della M. Wishard, SD
State House of Representatives
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State House of Representatives
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State Senate
Rep. Bobby Wood, TN
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Steve Bartlett, TX
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Bill Borden, Jr., TX
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Glenn Box, TX
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Dallas County Clerk
Penny Butler, TX
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State Committee
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State House of Representatives
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David Childs, TX
Dallas County Tax Assessor

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 Dallas County Commissioner
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 State Committee
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 State House of Representatives
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 State House of Representatives
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 State House of Representatives
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 State Senate
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 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Stephen Bodily, UT
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 State House of Representatives
 Rep. R. Lee Ellertson, UT
 State House of Representatives
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 State House of Representatives
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 State Committee
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 State Committee
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 Sen. Richard Kreul, WI
 State Senate
 Rep. Rudy Silbaugh, WI
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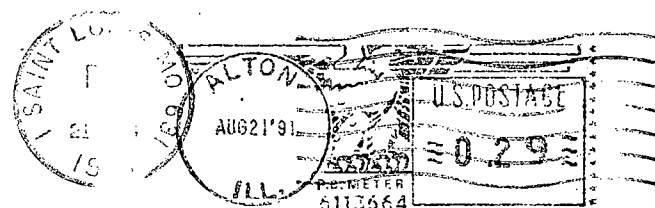
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STATE SENATE
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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN
The Honorable Janet Rzewnicki, DE
TREASURER, STATE OF DELAWARE

continued on back

"This Republicans For Choice committee is a political action group and is not a part of, or affiliated with, Planned Parenthood."

February 28, 1991

MAR 5 1991
Yeutter
Resp: Comm
fyi: Yeutter

Mr. Clayton Yeutter
Chairman
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003

Dear Clayton:

Now that you've had an opportunity to settle into to your new position as Chairman of the Republican National Committee, I wanted to send you a note of congratulations.

Republicans For Choice is the nation's largest pro-choice Republican political organization. We have more than 300 Republican Party and elected officials on our Advisory Board and are working hard to change the Republican Party platform on the issue of abortion at the 1992 convention.

In keeping with basic Party principles, we oppose government interference in our private lives. We believe the decision to choose an abortion must be made by the individual, not the State.

I hope that we can count on you to follow the lead of the former chairman, Lee Atwater, who recognized that the Republican Party is a "big tent" that must accommodate the pro-choice majority.

I look forward to working with you in the future and wish you the best of luck in your new position.

Again, congratulations!

Sincerely,

Ann E. W. Stone
Ann E. W. Stone
Chairman

P.S. When you were chosen as the new Chairman, we sent out the enclosed press release -- thought you might like to see it.

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Ann Young, IA
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STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Rep. Ruby R. Stone, ID
STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Rep. Gayle Wilde, ID
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(partial listing)



national RIGHT TO LIFE

committee, inc.

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Washington, D.C. 20004-2293 — (202) 626-8800 (FAX) 737-9189 or 347-5907

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
Thursday, July 25, 1991

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:
Douglas Johnson, Legislative Director
(202) 626-8820

HOUSE-PASSED N.I.H. BILL WOULD REQUIRE FEDERAL FUNDING OF TRANSPLANTS FROM ABORTIONS-- MARGIN INSUFFICIENT TO OVERRIDE VETO

WASHINGTON -- The House of Representatives today approved an omnibus authorization bill for the National Institutes of Health (NIH) (HR 2507) that contains language to overturn the Bush Administration's policy against federal funding of transplantation of tissue taken from aborted fetuses.

The Bush Administration has threatened to veto the bill, based on the fetal-tissue section and other provisions. The bill passed by a margin of 274-144, which was five votes short of the two-thirds majority that would be necessary to override a presidential veto. (To override a veto requires a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting-- which on this occasion would have been 279.)

"It is unworthy of us, as a nation, to kill our unborn children and then cannibalize them for spare parts," said NRLC Legislative Director Douglas Johnson. "Instead, NIH should increase its research on perfecting alternative sources of fetal tissue, such as cell cultures begun from spontaneous abortions and tubal pregnancies."

Press accounts sometimes state that the Administration policy denies funding of all "fetal tissue research," but this is inaccurate. The current policy prohibits NIH from utilizing tissue from induced abortions for transplantation into human subjects. NRLC supports this policy. The current policy also allows transplantation of tissue taken from spontaneous abortions and from ectopic pregnancies, or from cell cultures begun from such sources. NIH continues to fund such non-abortion-dependent research, and NRLC supports such research.

Much recent press coverage of the Administration's fetal-tissue policy has been heavily unbalanced, typified by a lengthy and entirely one-sided article that appeared on the Federal Page of today's *Washington Post*. In addition, the bill benefited from prominent and very favorable coverage of its "women's health" provisions on all four major television networks the night before the vote. These provisions are unrelated to the fetal-tissue controversy.

Another section of the bill would remove the authority of the Secretary of Health and Human Services, or the President, to block federal funding of any type of human experimentation on ethical grounds, if such experimentation is approved by ad hoc "ethics boards." The Justice Department stated that this provision is unconstitutional.

The National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) is the nation's major pro-life organization, representing some 3,000 local pro-life organizations.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
Monday, June 3, 1991

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:
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**SUPREME COURT LETS STAND PRO-LIFE "MEXICO CITY POLICY,"
CUTTING OFF FUNDS TO ORGANIZATIONS THAT PROMOTE ABORTION OVERSEAS**

WASHINGTON-- The \$330 million "population assistance" program will continue to support only organizations that promote contraception, rather than those that promote abortion, under an action today by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Court refused a request by the Planned Parenthood Federation of America to review lower court decisions upholding the Reagan-Bush "Mexico City Policy," which denies U.S. population assistance funds to organizations that campaign to legalize abortion in Third World nations, or that otherwise "perform or actively promote abortion as a method of family planning" overseas. Abortions to save a mother's life, or in cases of rape or incest, do not violate the policy. In most Third World nations, abortion is illegal, with narrow exceptions.

Today's Supreme Court action was applauded by National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) Legislative Director Douglas Johnson, who said, "Abortion stops a beating heart, and our tax dollars should not go to organizations that promote abortion as a method of birth control."

Pro-abortion members of Congress have repeatedly attempted to overturn the policy, but President Bush has personally promised to use his veto power to defend it. According to the U.S. Agency for International Development, which administers the program, the Mexico City Policy "has not reduced our total family planning assistance by even one dollar. The withheld funds were reprogrammed to other family planning programs [which agree to promote contraception but not abortion]." About 400 family planning agencies worldwide are receiving family planning funds under the Mexico City Policy, including the Planned Parenthood federation for Latin America, according to AID.

The National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) is the nation's major pro-life organization, representing about 3,000 local chapters. NRLC takes no position on contraception, and has not opposed increases in "population assistance" funding so long as current pro-life policies govern the funds.

Factsheets on the history and effects of the Mexico City Policy, including statements by President Bush, are available upon request from the NRLC Federal Legislative Office, (202) 626-8820, fax (202) 347-3668.