

Correspondence – Abortion

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ATLANTA PRESBYTERY

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

341 Peachtree Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30308

September 22, 1976

Governor Jimmy Carter
Suite 2400
100 Colony Square
Atlanta, Georgia 30361

Governor Carter:

As members of the Task Force on Women of Atlanta Presbytery, of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, we are deeply concerned about reports of your recent dialogue regarding the abortion issue with the Roman Catholic bishops and indications that you may consider changes in your present position.

We support the position of the General Assembly of our own Presbyterian Church, U.S., that the wilful termination of pregnancy by medical means on the considered decision of a pregnant woman may on occasion be morally justifiable. Possible justifying circumstances would include medical indications of physical or mental deformity, conception as a result of rape or incest, conditions under which the physical or mental health of the mother or child would be gravely threatened, or the socio-economic condition of the family.

Because we believe in religious freedom, we urge you not to take any position on abortion that will infringe on the personal moral choice of citizens. We do not believe any legislation should reflect a particular religious doctrine but rather should protect the free exercise of the religious views of all. We urge you not to support a constitutional amendment repealing the Supreme Court decision and to oppose the efforts of others to do so.

We would like the opportunity to discuss this with you.

Sylvia Kelley

Sylvia Kelley, Chairperson
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SK/hc

A Social Pronouncement of
the Presbyterian Church in the United States

Adopted by the 1970 General Assembly

ABORTION

I. Introduction

There is widespread uncertainty among Christians today about the complex moral issues involved in abortion and the laws regulating abortion. Debate concerning proposed revision of existing abortion laws in twenty-five state legislatures has raised serious questions about states which forbid qualified physicians from terminating unwanted pregnancies and turn thousands of women into felons because they have had illegal abortions. Publicity about disabilities or deaths resulting from illegal abortions, the increasing number of persons seeking "therapeutic abortions," and the realization that many well-to-do American women receive legal abortions overseas, have focused public attention on this problem. Pastors and friends have experienced frustration in their attempts to counsel persons involved in "problem pregnancies." The changing role of women has produced a desire on their part for greater self-determination in accepting their role as mothers and/or wage earners. In these and other ways, the moral questions surrounding abortion have been thrust upon us.

II. Changing Perspectives Through History

Throughout the thirty centuries of recorded history, the interruption of pregnancy, whether intentional or accidental, has been widely, though not universally, regarded as a serious

offense. Although many of the early Greek philosophers commended abortion when the age or economic circumstances of the parents necessitated it, the Hippocratic Oath quite early affirmed the medical professions's pledge "not to give to a woman an abortive remedy."

The early church condemned abortion on the grounds that it constituted murder. This raised for subsequent generations of theologians the question of the stage of development at which the fetus becomes a person. Augustine's distinction between a "non-animated" and "animated" fetus was formalized in Roman Catholic Canon Law and later carried into English Common Law. Thomas Aquinas further refined this distinction by teaching that life is evidenced by "knowledge and movement," thus providing the test of "quickening" or movement within the womb as the determination of when a fetus should be regarded as a person. Interruption of pregnancy before "quickening" was thus permissible under English Common Law. Yet by maintaining that "the soul is infused immediately at the moment of conception," most Roman Catholics regarded willful abortion as a sin, regardless of the stage of fetal development.

The unqualified condemnation of abortion has been questioned in recent decades by many Christians, Protestant and Roman Catholic alike, who are less certain that a clear answer can

be given to the question as to when human life begins, and hence are unwilling to assert categorically that the fertilized egg is a human being in the fullest sense. Concerned not only about the morality of requiring women to bear children conceived as the result of criminal acts, but also the potentialities for full personhood for an unwanted or gravely deformed child, these Christians see the problem in the larger context of responsible parenthood and the wholeness of family life. Subsequent medical advances have made it possible to predict physical deformity and mental retardation and to terminate an unwanted pregnancy without endangering the life of the mother. Thus abortion has become a genuine alternative to many unwed mothers and married women desiring to limit the size of their families or to avoid the anguish of bearing seriously defective children.

III. The Current Situation

Recent efforts at legislation reform have led ten states to revise their laws in order to permit therapeutic abortions to protect the mental and physical health of women to prevent the birth of deformed children, and in cases of rape or incest. Yet such "reforms" have not substantially reduced the number of illegal abortions. There is growing evidence that such laws discriminate in favor of the rich and are of little help to women who

lack the money or power to persuade the required number of doctors that they qualify for a legal abortion.

Another approach to reform can be found in the courts where it has been held recently that antiabortion laws represent an unconstitutional infringement on individual women's rights to medical care. Those responsible for such litigation insist that abortion should be available to all women who desire it, to the poor and single as well as to the affluent and married. Hence they propose that the regulation of abortion should be removed from the criminal code and treated like other standard medical procedures, with the decision solely in the hands of the patient and her licensed doctor.

However reform comes — whether through legislation or litigation — it is clear that attitudes toward abortion laws are shifting, and Christians are being asked to clarify where they stand and what light their Biblical faith sheds upon decision making in this area.

IV. Biblical and Theological Insights

Because this is a matter of life and death, and involves questions about the quality of life and the conditions which make life genuinely human, few moral decisions are more difficult and complex than the ones surrounding abortion. The following Biblical and theological insights seem particularly helpful as we struggle with these issues:

1) Biblical faith points to a God who is the giver of life and creator of man, and who charged man to "be fruitful and multiply." Faith in this God demands profound respect for human life. All who share this faith are thus called to preserve and protect human life and to show special concern for infants, the weak, the innocent, and the defenseless.

2) At the same time, Biblical faith depicts man as a steward of life, the heir who is responsible for the proper care of his Father's world. A sense of responsibility for the care of God's world leads men of faith not only to an exploration of all of creation but also to endeavors to maintain order, secure justice, and improve the quality of human life. Because human life, in the Biblical sense, is much more than the perpetuation of physical existence, men of faith should commit themselves to improving its quality spiritually, educationally, and culturally as well as medically. This commitment will often necessitate difficult moral choice in the midst of conflicting values.

3) Biblical faith emphasizes the need for personal moral choice, and holds that persons stand ultimately accountable to God for their moral choices. If persons are to exercise their freedom responsibly, acceptable alternatives must be available to them. The church has a responsibility to help make acceptable alternatives available. Moreover, the church has a responsibility to aid persons as they exercise their moral freedom, which it can fulfill through such means as proclaiming the Biblical faith, clarifying alternatives and their probable consequences, and offering support in love to persons struggling with difficult choices. Christians should make their personal decisions in the context of the community of faith.

4) There is no consensus in the Christian community about when human life begins. Because of this uncertainty, and because the fetus, if left to termination of its normal gestation period would become a person capable of life on its own resources, the unborn fetus must be respected for its own worth regardless of the period of gestation. However, the needs of the mother may at time

take precedence over the needs of an embryonic and unformed child, and the rights of the individual woman, her family, and society, as well as the rights of the fetus should be considered in each individual case.

V. Summary

1) Induced abortion is the willful destruction of the fetus. Therefore, the decision to terminate a pregnancy should never be made lightly or in haste.

2) The willful termination of pregnancy by medical means on the considered decision of a pregnant woman may on occasion be morally justifiable. Possible justifying circumstances would include medical indications of physical or mental deformity, conception as a result of rape or incest, conditions under which the physical or mental health of either mother or child would be gravely threatened, or the socio-economic condition of the family. The procedure should be performed only by licensed physicians under optimal conditions and with appropriate medical consultation and ministerial counseling, preferably by her own minister.

3) Laws concerning abortion should reflect principles set forth in this paper.

4) Medical intervention should be made available to all who desire and qualify for it, not just to those who can afford preferential treatment.

5) The church should develop a greater pastoral concern and sensitivity to the needs of persons involved in "problem pregnancies." Such persons should be aided in securing professional counseling about the various alternatives open to them in order that they act responsibly in the light of their moral commitments, their understanding of the meaning of life, and their capacities as parents.

HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT
to the
U.S. CONSTITUTION

Some of the sponsors of the following proposal, which has been introduced in both the House of Representatives and Senate are:

Senate	House of Representatives
-Hon. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore)	-Hon. Matthew Rinaldo (R-NJ)
-Hon. James L. Buckley (R-NY)	-Hon. Henry Hyde (R-Ill)
-Hon. Jake Garn (R-Utah)	-Hon. Robert Logomarsino (R-Calif)
-Hon. Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb)	-Hon. Thomas Hagedorn (R-Minn)
-Hon. Milton R. Young (R-ND)	-Hon. James Oberstar (D-Minn)
-Hon. James O. Eastland (D-Miss)	-Hon. Larry McDonald (D-Ga)
-Hon. Dewey Bartlett (R-Okla)	-Hon. Richard Nolan (D-Minn)
-Hon. Jesse Helms (R-NC)	-Hon. John Y. McCollister (R-Neb)
-Hon. William Proxmire (D-Wisc)	-Hon. Robert Bergland (D-Minn)
	-Hon. Donald C. Clancy (R-Ohio)

Section 1. With respect to the right to life, the word 'person' as used in this article and in the fifth and fourteenth articles of amendment to the Constitution of the United States, applies to all human beings, irrespective of age, health, function, or condition of dependency, including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development.

Section 2. No unborn person shall be deprived of life by any person: Provided, however, that nothing in this article shall prohibit a law permitting only those medical procedures required to prevent the death of the mother.

"The care of human life and happiness
and not its destruction is the first
and only legitimate object of good
government."

-Thomas Jefferson



MY TURN: Nick Thimmesch

The Abortion Culture

A journalist often gets caught up in events flaring into instant print and broadcast—a Watergate, feverish inflation, a fretful fuel crisis. We grab at these, try to make some sense out of it all and soon turn to what's next. Occasionally we come on to something that strikes the core and won't go away. For me, it has been the question of the value of human life—a question embracing abortion, letting the newborn die, euthanasia and the creeping utilitarian ethic in medicine that impinges on human dignity. It's all reminiscent of the "what is useful is good" philosophy of German medicine in the '30s—a utilitarianism that sent 275,000 "unworthy" Germans to death and helped bring on the Hitler slaughter of millions of human beings a few years later.

Now super-abortionists and others who relish monkeying around with human life cry that this is scare stuff inspired by hysterical Catholics waving picket signs. Not so. There is growing concern among Protestant and Jewish thinkers about "right to life" and the abortion-binge mentality.

Fetal life has become cheap. There were an estimated 1,340,000 legal and illegal abortions in the U.S. last year. There were a whopping 540,245 abortions in New York City in a 30-month period under the liberalized state abortion law. The abortion culture is upon us. In one operating room, surgeons labor to save a 21-week-old baby; in the next, surgeons destroy, by abortion, another child, who can also be reckoned to be 21 weeks old. Where is the healing?

PLASTIC BAGS

Look beyond the political arguments and see the fetus and what doctors do to it. An unborn baby's heartbeat begins between the 18th and 25th day; brain waves can be detected at seven weeks; at nine to ten weeks, the unborn squint, swallow and make a fist. Look at the marvelous photographs and see human life. Should these little human beings be killed unless it is to save the mother's life?

Other photos show this human life aborted, dropped onto surgical gauze or into plastic-bagged garbage pails. Take that human life by suction abortion and the body is torn apart, becoming a jumble of tiny arms and legs. In a D and C abortion, an instrument slices the body to pieces. Salt poisoning at nineteen weeks? The saline solution burns away the outer

layer of the baby's skin. The ultimate is the hysterotomy (Caesarean section) abortion. As an operation, it can save mother and child; as an abortion it kills the child. Often, this baby fights for its life, breathes, moves and even cries. To see this, or the pictures of a plastic-bagged garbage can full of dead babies, well, it makes believers in right-to-life.

It's unfair to write this way, cry the super-abortionists, or to show the horrible photos. But Buchenwald and Dachau looked terrible, too. Abortions are always grisly tragedies. This truth must be restated at a time when medical administrators chatter about "cost-benefit analysis" factors in deciding who lives and who dies.

THE 'GOOD DEATH'

The utilitarian ethic is also common in the arguments of euthanasia advocates at work in six state legislatures. Their euphemisms drip like honey (should I say, cyanide?) just as they did in Germany—"death with dignity," the "good death." Their legal arguments fog the mind. Their mentality shakes me. One doctor, discussing the suicide-prone, wrote: "In such instances, positive euthanasia—a nice, smooth anesthetic to terminate life—appears preferable to suicide." Dr. Russell Sackett, author of the "Death With Dignity" bill in Florida, said: "Florida has 1,500 mentally retarded and mentally ill patients, 90 per cent of whom should be allowed to die." The German utilitarians had concluded the same when they led the first group of mental patients to the gas chamber at the Sonnenstein Psychiatric Hospital in 1939. It bothers me that eugenicists in Germany organized the mass destruction of mental patients, and in the United States pro-abortionists now also serve in pro-euthanasia organizations. Sorry, but I see a pattern.

Utilitarianism isn't all abortion or euthanasia. Utilitarians ran the experiment in which syphilitic black men died through lack of penicillin. There are also experiments on free-clinic patients, students, the institutionalized. Senate hearings revealed that two experimental birth-control drugs were used on the "vulnerable" for purposes other than those approved by the Food and Drug Administration.

This monkeying around with people is relentless. Some medics would like to sterilize institutionalized people from here to breakfast. Psychosurgery is per-

formed on hundreds of Americans annually, not to correct organic brain damage, but to alter their behavior. This chancy procedure, a first cousin of the now discredited prefrontal lobotomy that turned 50,000 Americans into human vegetables, is performed on unruly children and violence-prone prisoners.

Experimenters produce life outside the womb—combining sperm and ovum—and dispose of the human zygotes by pouring the solution down the sink drain. Recently scientists debated guidelines for experimenting with the live human fetus. To those considering the fetus as an organ, like, say, a kidney, Dr. Andre Hellegers of Georgetown University pointed out that fetuses have their own organs and cannot be considered organs themselves. How does one get consent from a live fetus? he asked. Or even from its donors—the parents who authorized the abortion?

Once fetal experimentation is sanctioned, are children to be next? Fartfetched? No. In the New England Journal of Medicine, Dr. Franz Ingelfinger recently advocated removing the World Medical Association's absolute ban on experimenting with children and mental incompetents.

We can brake the tendencies of technocratic-minded doctors and administrators coldly concerned with "cost-benefit analysis." There was no such brake in Germany. After the first killings at Sonnenstein, respected German doctors, not Nazi officials, killed 275,000 patients in the name of euthanasia. Many were curable. Eventually the doomed "undesirables" included epileptics, mental defectives, World War I amputees, children with "badly modeled ears" and "bed wetters."

UTILITARIAN ETHIC

The worst barbarisms often have small beginnings. The logical extension of this utilitarian ethic was the mass exterminations in slave-labor camps. In "A Sign for Cain," Dr. Frederic Wertham tells how death-dealing technicians from German state hospitals (and their equipment) were moved to the camps in 1942 to begin the big job.

Could the "what is useful is good" mentality lead to such horror in the U.S.? Not so long as I am allowed to write like this—which German journalists couldn't. Not so long as right-to-life Americans can dispute—which Germans couldn't. The extremes of the utilitarian mentality rampaging today through medicine, the drug industry and government will be checked by our press, lawmakers and doctors, lawyers and clergymen holding to the traditional ethic. The Germans weren't blessed that way.

Nick Thimmesch is a syndicated columnist for the New York newspaper Newsday. He is based in Washington.

What I saw at the ABORTION

by Richard Selzer

The doctor observed, the man saw

I am a surgeon. Particularities of sick flesh is everyday news. Escaping blood, all the outpourings of disease—phlegm, pus, vomitus, even those occult meaty tumors that terrify—I see as blood, disease, phlegm, and so on. I touch them to destroy them. But I do not make symbols of them.

What I am saying is that I have seen and I am used to seeing. We are talking about a man who has a trade, who has practiced it long enough to see no news in any of it. Picture this man, then. A professional. In his forties. Three children. Lives in a university town—so, necessarily, well—enlightened? Enough, anyhow. Successful in his work, yes. No overriding religious posture. Nothing special, then, your routine fellow, trying to do his work and doing it well enough. Picture him, this professional, a sort of scientist, if you please, in possession of the standard admirable opinions, positions, convictions, and so on—on this and that matter—on *abortion*, for example.

All right.

Now listen.

It is the western wing of the fourth floor of a great university hospital. I am present because I asked to be present. I wanted to see what I had never seen. An abortion.

The patient is Jamaican. She lies on the table in that state of notable submissiveness I have always seen in patients. Now and then she smiles at one of the nurses as though acknowledging a secret.

A nurse draws down the sheet, lays bare the abdomen. The belly mounds gently in the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy. The chief surgeon paints it with a sponge soaked in red antiseptic. He does this three times, each time a fresh sponge. He covers the area with a sterile sheet, an aperture in its center. He is a kindly man who teaches as he works, who pauses to reassure the woman.

He begins.

A little pinprick, he says to the woman.

He inserts the point of a tiny needle at the midline of the lower portion of her abdomen, on the down-

slope. He infiltrates local anesthetic into the skin, where it forms a small white bubble.

The woman grimaces.

That is all you will feel, the doctor says. Except for a little pressure. But no more pain.

She smiles again. She seems to relax. She settles comfortably on the table. The worst is over.

The doctor selects a three-and-one-half-inch needle bearing a central stylet. He places the point at the site of the previous injection. He aims it straight up and down, perpendicular. Next he takes hold of her abdomen with his left hand, palming the womb, steadying it. He thrusts with his right hand. The needle sinks into the abdominal wall.

Oh, says the woman quietly.

But I guess it is not pain that she feels. It is more a recognition that the deed is being done.

Another thrust and he has speared the uterus.

We are in, he says.

He has felt the muscular wall of the organ gripping the shaft of his needle. A further slight pressure on the needle advances it a bit more. He takes his left hand from the woman's abdomen. He retracts the filament of the stylet from the barrel of the needle. A small geyser of pale yellow fluid erupts.

We are in the right place, says the doctor. Are you feeling any pain? he says.

She smiles, shakes her head. She gazes at the ceiling.

In the room we are six: two physicians, two nurses, the patient, and me.

The participants are busy, very attentive. I am not at all busy—but I am no less attentive. I want to see.

I see something!

It is unexpected, utterly unexpected, like a disturbance in the earth, a tumultuous jarring. I see something other than what I expected here. I see a movement—a small one. But I have seen it.

And then I see it again. And now I see that it is the hub of the needle in the woman's belly that has jerked. First to one side. Then to the other side. Once more it wobbles, is *tugged*, like a fishing line nibbled by a sunfish.

Again! And I know!

It is the *fetus* that worries thus. It is the fetus struggling against the needle. Struggling? How can that be? I think: *that cannot be*. I think: the fetus

Richard Selzer, a surgeon attached to Yale University, is a contributing editor. His Esquire series of essays on the body was honored last year by the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.

feels no pain, cannot feel fear, has no *motivation*. It is merely reflex.

I point to the needle.

It is a reflex, says the doctor.

By the end of the fifth month, the fetus weighs about one pound, is about twelve inches long. Hair is on the head. There are eyebrows, eyelashes. Pale pink nipples show on the chest. Nails are present, at the fingertips, at the toes.

At the beginning of the sixth month, the fetus can cry, can suck, can make a fist. He kicks, he punches. The mother can feel this, can *see* this. His eyelids, until now closed, can open. He may look up, down, sideways. His grip is very strong. He could support his weight by holding with one hand.

A reflex, the doctor says.

I hear him. But I saw something. I saw *something* in that mass of cells *understand* that it must bob and butt. And I see it again! I have an impulse to shove to the table—it is just a step—seize that needle, pull it out.

We are not six, I think. I think we are *seven*.

Something strangles *there*. An effort, its effort, binds me to it.

I do not shove to the table. I take no little step. It would be . . . well, madness. Everyone here wants the needle where it is. Six do. No, *five* do.

I close my eyes. I see the inside of the uterus. It is bathed in ruby gloom. I see the creature curled upon itself. Its knees are flexed. Its head is bent upon its chest. It is in fluid and gently rocks to the rhythm of the distant heartbeat.

It resembles . . . a sleeping infant.

Its place is entered by something. It is sudden. A point coming. A needle!

A spike of *daylight* pierces the chamber. Now the light is extinguished. The needle comes closer in the pool. The point grazes the thigh, and I stir. Perhaps I wake from dozing. The light is there again. I twist and straighten. My arms and legs *push*. My hand finds the shaft—grabs! I *grab*. I bend the needle this way and that. The point probes, touches on my belly. My mouth opens. Could I cry out? All is a commotion and a churning. There is a presence in the pool. An activity! The pool colors, reddens, darkens.

I open my eyes to see the doctor feeding a small plastic tube through the barrel of the needle into the uterus. Drops of pink fluid overrun the rim and spill onto the sheet. He withdraws the needle from around the plastic tubing. Now only the little tube protrudes from the woman's body. A nurse hands the physician a syringe loaded with a colorless liquid. He attaches it to the end of the tubing and injects it.

Prostaglandin, he says.

Ah, well, prostaglandin—a substance found normally in the body. When given in concentrated dosage, it throws the uterus into vigorous contraction. In eight to twelve hours, the woman will expel the fetus.

The doctor detaches the syringe but does not remove the tubing.

In case we must do it over, he says.

He takes away the sheet. He places gauze pads over the tubing. Over all this he applies adhesive tape.

I know. We cannot feed the great numbers. There is no more room. I know, I know. It is woman's right to re-

fuse the risk, to decline the pain of childbirth. And an unwanted child is a very great burden. An unwanted child is a burden to himself. I know.

And yet . . . there is the flick of that needle. I *saw* it. I saw . . . I *felt*—in that room, a pace away, life prodded, life fending off. I saw life avulsed—swept by flood, blackening—then *out*.

There, says the doctor. It's all over. It wasn't too bad, was it? he says to the woman.

She smiles. It is all over. Oh, yes.

And who would care to imagine that from a moist and dark commencement six months before there would ripen the cluster and globule, the sprout and pouch of man?

And who would care to imagine that trapped within the laked pearl and a dowry of yolk would lie the earliest stuff of dream and memory?

It is a persona carried here as well as person, I think. I think it is a signed piece, engraved with a hieroglyph of human genes.

I did not think this until I saw. The flick. The fending off.

We leave the room, the three of us, the doctors.

"Routine procedure," the chief surgeon says.

"All right," I say.

"Scrub nurse says first time you've seen one, Dick. First look at a purge," the surgeon says.

"That's right," I say. "First look."

"Oh, well," he says, "I guess you've seen everything else."

"Pretty much," I say.

"I'm not prying, Doctor," he says, "but was there something on your mind? I'd be delighted to field any questions. . . ."

... There is the flick
of that needle. I saw it...
in that room, a pace away,
life prodded,
life fending off.

"No," I say. "No, thanks. Just simple curiosity."

"Okay," he says, and we all shake hands, scrub, change, and go to our calls.

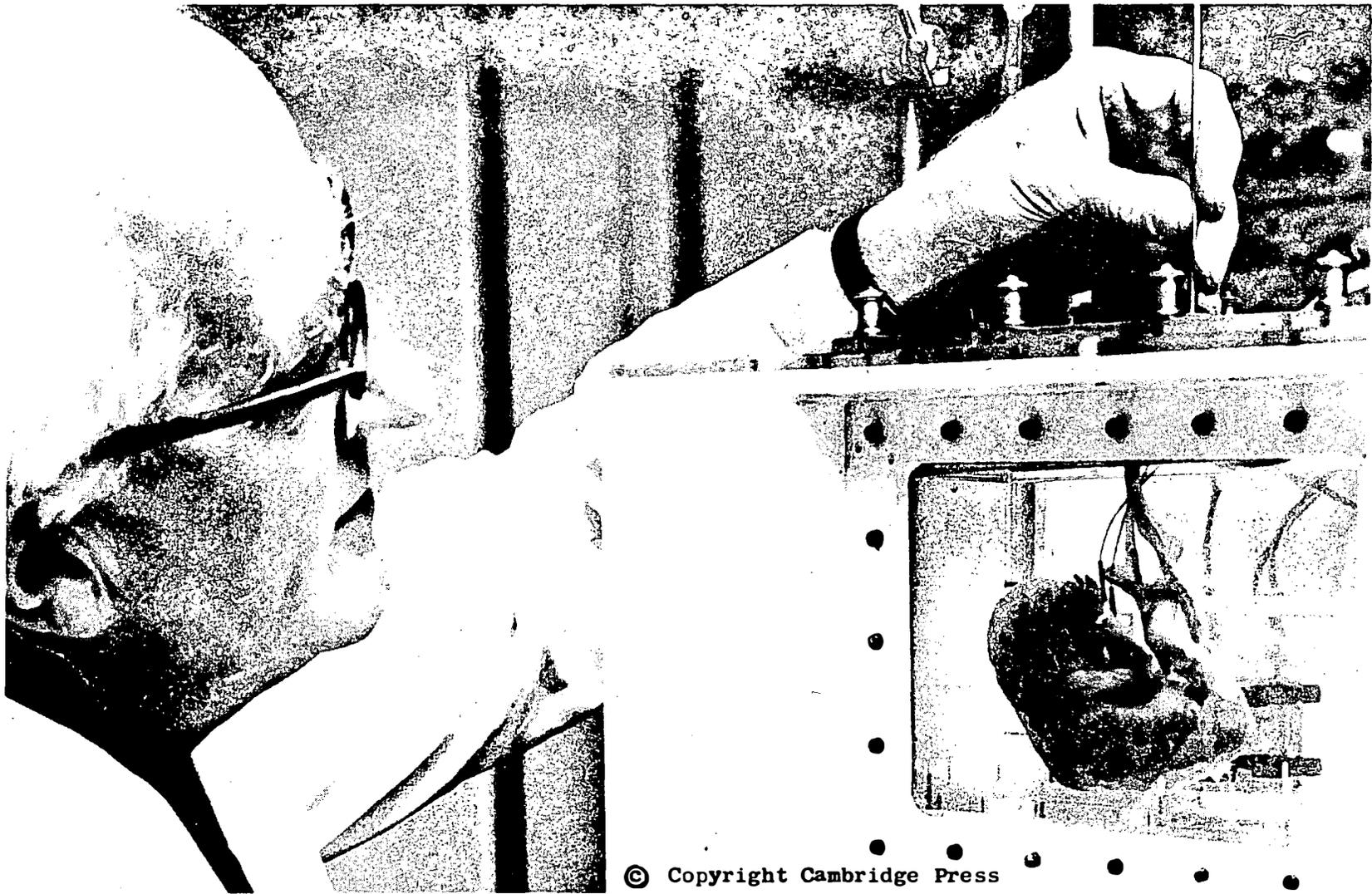
I know, I know. The thing is normally done at sixteen weeks. Well, I've since seen it performed at that stage, too. And seen . . . the flick. But I also know that in the sovereign state of my residence it is hospital policy to warrant the procedure at twenty-four weeks. And that in the great state that is adjacent, policy is enlarged to twenty-eight weeks.

Does this sound like argument? I hope not. I am not trying to argue. I am only saying I've *seen*. The flick. Whatever else may be said in abortion's defense, the vision of that other defense will not vanish from my eyes.

What I saw I saw as that: a *defense*, a motion *from*, an effort *away*. And it has happened that you cannot reason with me now. For what can language do against the truth of what I saw? ‡



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THE LAST HOURS OF AN ABORTED BABY. Dr. Lawrence Lawn, of Cambridge University's Department of Experimental Medicine at work experimenting on a living, legally aborted, human fetus. Some British doctors have been vigorously defending their experiments on live aborted babies after a storm of protest blew up in England when a Member of Parliament told the press that private abortion clinics had been selling live aborted babies for research. Dr. Lawn was quoted in the Cambridge Evening News as saying "We are simply using something which is destined for the incinerator to benefit mankind. . . Of course we would not dream of experimenting with a viable child. We would not consider that to be right". The Langham Street (abortion) Clinic, admitted sending aborted fetuses to the Middlesex Hospital (The People, May 17, 1970) A spokesman for the clinic said that the fetuses 'were aged between eighteen and twenty-two weeks. . . Our doctor had to give some special attention to the operation. He did this at his own expense and dispatched the fetuses to his colleague at the Middlesex Hospital. It had to be done pretty promptly, but the hospital is only a couple of minutes away.' In the News of the World, for the same date, this same man, Mr Philip Stanley, is also quoted as saying "The position is quite clear. A fetus has to be 28 weeks to become legally viable. Earlier than that it is so much garbage".

New Jersey Right to Life Committee

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PLEASE CONTACT:

September 20, 1976

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Honorable Jimmy Carter
"On the Campaign Trail"
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Dear Governor Carter,

In the midst of the constant focus and furor on the abortion issue, perhaps the time has arrived to pause and reflect objectively and calmly on exactly what Pro-Life Americans are attempting to achieve. We are concerned, if not alarmed, citizens who see America's principles being mutilated and warped through illogical court interpretations and misrepresented concepts of our Constitution.

We in the Pro-Life movement are not demanding the world, but rather are requesting a sane return to what America is all about -- a unique country with a respect for the dignity of all humanity, not just the planned, the privileged and the perfect. This can only be achieved through a Human Life Amendment which would simply reaffirm our founding tenet for the right to life. I am afraid those courageous men who created those tenets never fathomed that their words would someday be twisted so as to exclude certain segments of the human family. We are not offering new arguments to justify our demand and -- none are needed-- the argument is as basic as life itself, as basic as our Judeo-Christian heritage. And while our cause continues to be assailed, is it not slightly discomfoting to realize that many State legislatures are actively promoting death bills which can encompass situations ranging from legalized assisted suicide to direct destruction of imperfect newborns, or even the encouragement of pneumonia as the ultimate solution for institutionalized mentally retarded citizens?

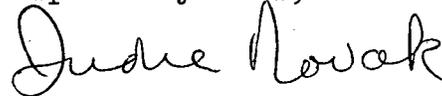
The Pro-Life concerns are much more far-reaching than the media will allow us to convey. Abortion is silent slaughter-- no one hears the cries. We would like to know what is required

(cont.)

before our national leaders recognize the overwhelming gravity of our country's present meaning. If we seem overzealous and unrelenting, it is because we fear that this present course will be the ruination of our heritage and indeed of our democracy.

A famous Santayana quote (used in The Rise And Fall Of The Third Reich) states: "Those who do not learn from the past are condemned to relive it." These words remind us of the reality of today's callousness toward certain human beings, and as a citizen and mother of little ones, I fear for my children's future if we do not reaffirm our protection for all -- please reconsider your position in the light of posterity, not just political expediency.

Respectfully Yours,



Judie Novak

Chairman, New Jersey Right-To-Life
Committee

(201) 454-4058

BOB HAVELY
BOWEN

1732 Marques St.
Honolulu, Hi 96822
Sept. 10, 1976

Dear Governor Carter,

Enclosed is a letter which I am sending to various newspapers around the country. I am a medical student here in Hawaii, and I have been greatly impressed by your interest in preventive medicine measures at all levels. I am not religious, but have a great deal of respect for life, doing alternate service for two years in a psychiatric hospital rather than serving in the military and being strongly opposed to capital punishment and abortion. When I was in Philadelphia working at Friends Hospital doing my alternate service three years ago, I became involved with the Right to Life movement. I feel you are right in what you say. I do favor a Constitutional Amendment banning abortion after a level of consciousness can be recorded through brain waves for unborn children, a measure of sensitivity occurring as early as six weeks post conception. This criterion is used to determine the end of life, and I feel it should also be used to determine, therefore, the beginning of meaningful life.

However, as most pro and anti-abortionists agree, we need to deal with measures to prevent the desire for abortions from occurring, basically through research into better contraceptive measures (such as male reversible vasectomies, etc.) and better sex education, as well as freer access to contraceptive measures for all. Ford has done nothing for this at all.

I felt maybe some of my ideas might be useful to you--- realizing that the compassionate man that you are and the wise and knowledgeable person that you are probably has already considered these points. I am devoted to your election and, hopefully, re-election

My warmest aloha throughout the campaign.

Aloha,

Guy Moulton Yates
Guy Moulton Yates

1732 Marques St.
Honolulu, Hi 96822
Sept. 10, 1976

Dear Editor,

For those of us (Catholic or, like me, non-Catholic) strongly opposed to abortion, we should keep in mind that on this issue, President Ford has not stressed human rights but only States Rights, ignoring both sympathy and empathy for women who have to deal with the problem and sympathy for the unborn. The callousness of Ford's stand is emphasized in that he has done nothing as an elected U.S. Representative or as an unelected President to seek better preventive measures against abortion, such as increased monies for education and research into contraception and contraceptive distribution. His States Rights stand reminds me of the position just over 100 years ago of those who felt the slavery issue should be left to the separate states--- At least Jimmy Carter recognizes the dignity of people involved in this sensitive issue and has pledged to improve preventive measures so as to decrease the problem of abortion. Human Rights of Carter versus States Rights of Ford. Take your pick.

Aloha,

Guy Moulton Yates
Guy Moulton Yates

Dear Mr Yates:

Thank you very much
for your letter to Governor
Carter of September 10. I
appreciate your expression of
support and your help regarding the
Government's position on
~~the~~ the sensitive question of
abortion.

Any further comments or
ideas you have would be greatly
appreciated. Thanks again for
your concern and support.

Sincerely,

RSH

Health Assess Committee
Notical Issues & Policy

DATE _____ HOUR _____

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MESSAGE

SIGNED _____

September 27, 1976

Guy Moulton Yates
1732 Marques St.
Honolulu, Hi 96822

Dear Mr. Yates:

Thank you very much for your letter to Governor Carter of September 10. I appreciate your expression of support and your help regarding the Governor's position on the sensitive question of abortion.

Any further comments or ideas you have would be greatly appreciated. Thanks again for your concern and support.

Sincerely,

Robert S. Havelly
Health Issues Coordinator
National Issues and Policy



Jersey City, N. J.

Sept - 14, 1976

Dear Governor, Havelif

I would like to express my views, in regards to the President's remarks, over abortion, and the Supreme Courts ruling - and finding said law to be constitutional, and Governor when a man takes the oath of office, and solemnly declares before a Supreme Court Justice and Holy Bible, to uphold the Constitution, and its laws of the Land - and asserts himself later - before these Catholic leaders - that he personally is opposed to abortion, isn't he in violation of the law, and to my estimation Governor, if any one did a flip flop, it was Gerald Ford, and I do not believe this man to be worthy, of his office, for he was not elected by the people.

Continued Page 2

page -

but placed there, by ex-president Nixon, of which was proven to be unfit, and a disgrace to his country, of his lies, and deceit and crookedness toward the citizens, and his country, and to prevent this man to face the music, before his peers and the bar of justice, this so called Puppit President, had the nerve to pardon him, and for instance if you or I, didn't pay our fair share of Taxes, no doubt we would be prosecuted, and believe me - Governor Gerald Ford, wouldn't see fit to pardon, any of us - of any violation of the Law. - And he also, asserts that he is in favor of the States, in handling this issue, wasn't that being politically clever of him, - I suppose one of his advisers, and ghost writer, -

continues Page 3

page 3

of which, happens to be a Catholic
Priest, a loyal holdover of Nixon's
I don't believe, Senator Mondale
could let you know, if this
Priest is still an advisor to the
President? I believe religion has
no place in Politics, and if
it was to be a candidate for any
office, and after those flip flop
remarks made by Gerald Ford
I would go him one better -
in regards to abortion, and if any
change that has to be made, it would
not leave same up to the States -
But Congress and the Senate of
these United States, of whom are
solely the true Representatives, of
all its Citizens and only they will
I abide, by their vote, and decision.
That my friend, is a bit of wisdom -
of acknowledgement - Yours Very Sincerely,
me ^{Mr} Stanley Burke
16 Louncon Ave.
Hershey, Pa. 17033

P.S.

And an honest consultation
with the Chief Justice
of the Supreme Court, if Congress
has a constitutional right —
in bringing about an Amendment
to the Constitution, so as to
change certain sections of the
Abortion Law.

And if you pay close attention
to pictures shown on television of people
taken up arms, on account of the rising crime
wave

I don't see any more by this
President, in assisting the Cities,
that could not afford, in increasing
their Police force until they
are capable in handling this very
serious situation, and prevent its
Citizens, to endanger themselves —
and doing so, may be in violation of
the Law, and if I was Mr Carter,
I would declare myself on behalf
of its decent Citizens, and the lack of leadership
on the part of this Administration —

THE GREEN SHEET

News About the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Volume 27 No. 78

Tuesday, April 22, 1980

N.Y. Times; 4/22/80

Justice Dept. Gives Last Warning On Chicago Schools' Segregation

By ROBERT PEAR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 21 — The Justice Department notified the Chicago Board of Education today that it had concluded that the city's public schools were illegally segregated. But instead of filing suit immediately, the department invited city officials to enter negotiations to reach a settlement by "early summer."

Drew S. Days 3d, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the civil rights division, disclosed the decision in a letter to Angelina Caruso, the acting superintendent of schools. An aide to Dr. Caruso, noting that the schools and many school offices were closed for spring vacation, had no immediate comment.

Mr. Days' letter amounted, in effect, to a final warning before filing of a suit against the nation's third-largest school system.

In his letter, Mr. Days said that segregation of students by race throughout the Chicago school district had been "caused, in substantial part, by actions and omissions of the Board of Education." Furthermore, he said, these actions had been undertaken with "unlawful intent to segregate children."

Would Be Supervised

To avoid a lawsuit, he said, a negotiated settlement must take the form of a consent decree that could be supervised and enforced by the Federal District Court in Chicago. "Our goal is to arrive at a settlement by early summer," he said.

Patricia Roberts Harris, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, announced last October that negotiations to achieve a voluntary agreement with the school board had failed, and she urged the Justice Department to sue the city.

Justice Department officials said they hoped they could reach a settlement with the "new players" in Chicago, a reference to new school board members and the new acting superintendent named re-

cently in an effort to correct the system's serious financial problems.

There are nearly 500,000 students in Chicago's public schools. About 299,000 are black, 107,000 are white, 78,000 are Hispanic and more than 9,000 are members of other minority groups, including Orientals and American Indians.

Mr. Days took note of public reports indicating financial difficulties in the school system. While the school board and the Chicago School Finance Authority should be "as free as possible to deal with the financial crisis," he said, nothing must be done in the name of economy that would violate civil rights laws.

Charge 40-Year Segregation

Mrs. Harris and other H.E.W. officials contend that Chicago schools have been segregated for more than 40 years. Federal efforts to desegregate the system date back to the Johnson Administration.

As an element in any negotiated settlement, Mr. Days said today, the Justice Department wants Chicago to submit a written statement analyzing the effect of all school closings and program changes on civil rights. In particular, he said, changes must not contribute to student segregation or disproportionately harm black and other minority students.

He said that the remedies proposed by the board were too "limited in scope" to solve racial problems that pervaded the school system. "We believe that a systemwide remedy is required," Mr. Days said, citing recent Supreme Court rulings to desegregate schools in Columbus and Dayton, Ohio.

He said that Chicago had drawn and altered school boundaries and assigned teachers so as to increase segregation, had assigned teachers so as to match the race of the faculty with the race of students at a particular school, and had liberally allowed white students to transfer to avoid attending schools where blacks were in the majority.

described as charismatic, was associated with the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and later became a civil rights leader in his own right, founding the national PUSH movement. In the mid-1970s, the basic

See NIE, p. 2

Wash. Post; 4/22/80 p. 1

U.S. Study Faults Jesse Jackson's School Program

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

Despite \$2 million in federal appropriations voted so far and an additional \$1 million likely, the Rev. Jesse Jackson has failed to convert the high ideals and inspirational message of his PUSH-EXCEL movement into a systematic, workable public school program, according to a new government report.

Jackson, a powerful speaker often

Wash. Star; 4/22/80

Court May Try to Avoid Hill Battle on Abortions

By Lyle Denniston
Washington Star Staff Writer

The Supreme Court may try to avoid a constitutional battle with Congress even if the justices decide to strike down the "Hyde amendment" ban on free abortions.

That possibility emerged in the wake of yesterday's hearing at the court on the constitutionality of Congress' most determined effort so far to thwart abortions.

The Hyde amendment bars almost all financing of abortions for women on federal welfare. When a federal judge ruled against the amendment in January, he ordered the government to resume paying for all medically necessary abortions for poor women eligible under the Medicaid welfare program.

Women on welfare are asking the justices to take that same approach if it agrees that the amendment is invalid.

But such use of judicial power was questioned repeatedly by the justices throughout the 2½-hour hearing yesterday.

It was not clear yesterday whether there is, in fact, a majority on the court in favor of nullifying the Hyde amendment. There were a few hints that such a majority does exist, but they were only tentative.

But there clearly was even more uncertainty about what the next step would be for the court if it did void the anti-abortion spending law.

In the past, the court several times has indicated that, if a federal spending program is nullified because it left out some group unconstitutionally, the remedy would be simply to order added spending in the program to reach those excluded.

It did that most recently last June in a sex bias case involving Social Security benefits, but that approach split the court 5-4. That majority might not hold together when the much more controversial issue of spending for abortions was at issue.

As an alternative to that approach, some justices have said in the past, the court might simply strike down a spending law that did not go far enough, and then leave it to Congress to decide what to do in response.

In the case of the Hyde amendment, its nullification presumably would revive a general Medicaid law that had been used for years as the basis for covering the costs of abortions for women on welfare.

Without a valid Hyde amendment on the books, Congress could then

look for a way to reshape the entire Medicaid program to limit abortions without getting into new trouble with the court, or it might scrap the entire scheme of paying medical costs for the poor.

One of the lawyers at yesterday's hearing, Rhonda Copelon of the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York City, told the court that it clearly has the power to remedy unconstitutional spending laws passed by Congress. If it did not do so, its only real alternative may be to order Congress to shut off the entire Medicaid program, she said.

"Are you saying," Chief Justice Warren Burger asked, "that a court may direct and control Congress in how it may exercise the taxing and spending power?"

She replied: "Every time this court reviews a funding program, it is doing exactly that."

But another attorney, Victor G. Rosenblum of Americans United for Life, Chicago, told the justices: "The court does not have funding power."

At first, he said only that it would be "inappropriate" for the justices to tell Congress to spend money against its will. But, when pressed by Justice William Brennan Jr. about whether that would also be an unconstitutional, Rosenblum said it would.

Rosenblum said, however, that it probably would not be unconstitutional — though it might be unwise — if the court ordered states to spend their own money to cover abortions, if federal aid were no longer available to share the cost.

That is an issue in one of the two cases the court is considering on the free abortion issue. A federal judge in Chicago has ordered Illinois to cover the costs of abortions for women on welfare, when they are medically necessary.

The court took up the abortion cases after issuing a series of orders on other pending cases.

In the most significant of the other actions, the court said it would rule on the constitutionality of televised coverage of criminal trials.

The justices will review a Florida rule that permits judges to open trials to TV cameras even if the person on trial objects.

Two former Miami Beach policemen convicted of burglary, in a trial that was televised, took the issue to the court after losing in state courts.

Their appeal said there has been a rush to "video justice," with nearly half the states now experimenting with some TV coverage of trials.

Wash. Star; 4/22/80

Federal Column

Answers to Questions By Workers, Retirees

By Joseph Young
Washington Star Staff Writer

Since this is the last Federal Column before a three-week vacation, it seems to be a good time to answer the questions most often asked by federal employees and retirees.

Q. Would federal employees be worse off with Ronald Reagan as president than they are now under Jimmy Carter?

A. It's hard to see how.

Q. Why is President Carter so down on federal employees?

A. Probably because his closest aides had a low opinion of the federal bureaucracy when the Carter administration took office and their views have influenced the president.

Q. Those supporting the proposal to change government retirees' twice-a-year cost-of-living annuity raises to once a year argue that this is the way it is done under Social Security. Why doesn't someone point out that civil service annuities are taxed, but social security pensions are not?

A. A very good point. Michael Nave, president of the National Association of Retired Employees, made this very point last week in testimony before a Senate committee.

Q. I'm just under 30 and have a junior executive job in government. I've been offered a similar kind of job in industry at just about the same salary. What should I do?

A. Grab it.

Q. Will we be denied a pay raise this year?

A. No way, except those making \$50,112 a year or more.

Q. Will the pay raise be more than 6.2 percent?

A. Possibly, but the 6.2 figure at this time seems pretty firm.

Q. Will President Carter get his federal pay reform plan through Congress this year?

A. Seems unlikely except for some dribbs and drabs.

Q. Will Congress merge or coordinate our civil service retirement system with Social Security?

A. It doesn't seem likely at this point. Congress quickly cooled on the idea when it found out that this wouldn't help the Social Security system's financial woes. However, the issue isn't dead. It could be revived by a future Congress.

Q. What about the Social Security benefits that those of us who worked on the outside are eligible for? Are they in danger of being reduced?

A. Yes, even if there is no coordination between Social Security and civil service retirement. But it wouldn't affect those already receiving such benefits.

Q. Whatever happened to the administration's proposal to liberalize federal employee life insurance benefits?

A. It died, victim of the budget-cutting epidemic sweeping Congress.

Q. What are the chances of legislation to decrease the amount of premiums we pay for our health insurance benefits?

A. See the answer to the previous question.

Q. Is the Civil Service Reform Act a success or failure?

A. It's too early to tell because some of the key provisions are still being implemented and have not yet gone into effect. It will be at least three to five years before the act's impact can accurately be assessed.

Is the Office of Personnel Management making any progress toward speeding up full retirement payments to government employees after they retire?

A. Yes. And the main credit belongs to Sen. John Warner, R-Va., the first one to call public attention to the inexcusable delay in these payments. Incidentally, Warner has emerged as one of the strongest champions government workers have in Congress.

NIE, from p. 1

PUSH-EXCEL movement was developed, with Jackson carrying his message to high school audiences, churches and community meetings.

The report is of special significance here because Washington is listed as one of several cities in which an expanded PUSH-EXCEL project may be tried.

An evaluation of the PUSH-EXCEL effort in six cities, made by the American Institutes for Research under contract to the government's National Institute of Education, said Jackson's theme of inspiring disadvantaged students to attend school, pay attention and strive for excellence, all backed by "support" mechanisms from parents and community, is powerful and meaningful.

But it said the national PUSH-EXCEL headquarters in Chicago has failed to get the program into a workable, tangible form.

Instead, said the report, "National has focused more on program promotion and expansion than on sustained efforts to make it work."

"Formal guidelines for implementing PUSH-EXCEL are yet to appear. The agenda and materials for training sessions reflect neither programmatic activities nor issues of what community liaisons, advisory councils or teachers-advisers should do or how," the report said.

Repeated efforts to reach Jackson and the director of the national PUSH-EXCEL program for comment were unsuccessful. Frank Watkins, an aide to Jackson, said Jackson was unavailable and he himself couldn't comment because he hadn't seen the report.

The goal of the PUSH-EXCEL movement is to create an orderly school environment, inspire students to learn, and get the full backing of the community for a special effort.

After Jackson and aides come into a community and explain the concept, the community may opt to go into the program, the report said, and at that point PUSH strives to create a structure that includes some of the following:

- Students, parents and teachers sign written pledges to perform certain acts—for example, parents pledge to monitor their children's study times, visit the school at report-card time, pick up test scores, restrict TV-watching.

- Students compete in academic games, organize PUSH-EXCEL clubs; community leaders choose "role models" to work with students and inspire them to better efforts; parents and teachers set up systematic contacts to keep track of children's progress and activities.

Although the initial decision to go into PUSH in a community often starts with considerable fanfare, Jackson's organization has been weak on follow-up, the report said. Specifically:

- It has failed to develop a complete "how-to-do-it" manual that tells parents and teachers what they must do day to day. There are no detailed, step-by-step descriptions of activities to attain the goals.

- Local staff and school districts cite delays in receiving funds from the national PUSH-EXCEL office in Chicago; personnel have frequently been switched, leading to loss of continuity; training and in-service workshops for staff at the locality "seldom go beyond presentation of the program philosophy and airings of the implementation problems."

- "Internal evaluation, at either the local or the national level, does not exist."

- There is virtually no monitoring by the national office of whether the program in a particular area is being carried out, virtually no spot checks and spot visits to give advice and leadership.

As a result, the program is sporadic and not fully implemented in the sites examined (Los Angeles, Memphis, Kansas City, Denver, Chicago and Chattanooga). In Memphis, most students signed a pledge, but only one school was checked later to see what the students actually did. In Chattanooga, 10 to 61 percent signed in various schools, but there wasn't any follow-up. Virtually everywhere, the signing of the pledge wasn't followed up.

Kathlyn Moses, project officer at the Office of Education, said a special-project team is working with Norman Johnson, PUSH-EXCEL director in the Chicago office, to try to remedy some of the problems.

THE GREEN SHEET

THE GREEN SHEET, a compilation of news about the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is published by the Office of Public Affairs Monday through Friday, except holidays. Articles selected do not represent the official position of this Department. Prior written permission to reproduce articles has been obtained from publications; permission for further reproduction must be obtained from original publication.

Address inquiries to:
618C, Hubert H. Humphrey
Bldg.
245-7470

MEMORANDUM

TO: Stu Eizenstat
Bob Havelly

FROM: Mary E. King *MEK*
Judith Ann Lipshutz

SUBJECT: Reduction of Abortion with Increased and
Improved Family Planning Services

DATE: September 8, 1976

Although public opinion polls have consistently shown the majority of Americans to favor abortion rights for women, the depth of feeling and emotional commitment of the minority are intense and have obscured some of the fundamental issues.

Reversing the worldwide trend toward liberalization of abortion laws is highly unlikely. Worldwatch Institute suggests that countries with representative forms of government make it difficult for a minority, though outspoken, to impose its will on the majority. In fact, they note, no Democracy has ever passed liberalized abortion laws without solid majority support. Upstaged opposition is often the reaction to liberalized laws, they conclude, but, "No democracy has ever reversed the liberalization of abortion."¹

Any analysis of this nature is speculative by definition. However, we have talked with Christopher Tietze, M.D., Senior Consultant to the Population Council and probably the leading international authority in the field of abortion and family planning. He has addressed the question of whether the need for abortion can be eliminated through improved family planning. Reasons are cited in the attached.

Not only is abortion probably the single most important--if not desirable--means of preventing unwanted births globally, but there are significant new data on the relative

¹L. Brown and K. Newland, "Abortion Liberalization: A Worldwide Trend," Worldwatch Institute (Washington, D.C.: February 1976), p. 7.

safety of abortion compared to other measures. Dr. Tietze concluded in 1969 and five years later reconfirmed that traditional contraception (condom or diaphragm) which is perfectly safe although not 100 percent effective when backed up by abortion is ". . . the most rational procedure for regulating fertility. . ."²

In a study³ based on computerized simulation of the reproductive lives of 100,000 women, Tietze found that, in terms of maternal mortality, first trimester induced abortions (presumably if not repeated more than once a year) are safer than oral contraception after 40 years of age. According to Tietze's study, while no legal method of fertility control is of high mortality risk, it is clear that to keep the death rate as low as possible, abortion will always be a necessary service. Coupled with other forms of contraception, it reduces the mortality rate considerably. When no method is used, the need for abortion services is even more essential. A table is attached to show Dr. Tietze's calculations on the mathematical probability of death from abortion alone,

²C. Tietze, "Mortality with Contraception and Induced Abortion," Studies in Family Planning 1 (1969), p. 6.

³C. Tietze, J. Bongaarts, and B. Schearer, "Mortality Associated with the Control of Fertility," Family Planning Perspectives 8 (January/February 1976), p.4.

from oral contraception, and from traditional methods backed up by abortion in varying age groups. As more American women have become concerned about the safety of hormonal contraception, the risks of abortion will become more attractive.

Abortion is first and foremost the medical treatment for failed contraception. There will always be failures with contraceptives, according to most experts in the field, whether from inadequate technology, patient error, or accidents.

All available evidence indicates that abortion will always be with us, and given current contraception technology, Dr. Tietze believes it is impossible that abortion will disappear.⁴ The key to any change in this situation probably lies in improved contraceptive technology.

Using a computerized simulation model, Dr. Tietze arrived at the following conclusions regarding abortion in today's world:⁵

- 1) Regardless of its legal status, abortion is used with similar frequency in all countries that have similar patterns of marriage, contraception, and fertility.
- 2.) It is unlikely that any population has ever attained a low level of fertility without the use of induced abortion, legal or illegal...

⁴ Meeting of Mary E. King with Dr. Tietze, Population Council, New York City, October 27, 1975.

⁵ C. Tietze and J. Bongaarts, "Fertility Rates and Abortion Rates: Simulations of Family Limitations," Studies in Family Planning 6 (May 1975), p. 119.

- 3) More ^widespread and more effective use of contraception reduces the need for abortion; however, abortion is not likely to disappear at the levels of contraceptive effectiveness currently attained and attainable.

If these three propositions are accepted, it follows that, barring a major breakthrough in contraceptive technology or major modifications in human sexual behavior, levels of fertility required for population stabilization cannot be easily obtained without induced abortion.

Governor Carter can fairly claim that the need for abortion services can be minimized or reduced through accessible, safe, effective and inexpensive family planning services. But he should not say "eliminated." Global experience belies that.

Christopher Tietze, John Bongaarts and Bruce Schearer,
 "Mortality Associated with the Control of Fertility,
 Family Planning Perspectives 8 (January/February 1976)

Table 5. Live births or induced abortions and deaths associated with control of fertility, expected until menopause, per 100,000 women⁻¹/ by regimen of control, at selected ages

Regimen of control and output variable	25 years	30 years	35 years	40 years
A. No control				
Live births	861,380	598,060	348,150	149,860
Associated deaths	214.4	197.2	158.9	86.5
B. Abortion only				
Induced abortions	1,903,460	1,311,560	761,070	305,360
Associated deaths.	100.5	92.2	72.0	30.8
C. Oral contraception				
Live births	25,740	17,060	8,990	3,040
Associated Deaths	5.9	5.0	3.6	1.8
Deaths due to method ^{-2/}	297.0	290.5	266.5	232.0
T. Total deaths	302.9	295.5	270.1	233.8
C'. OCs to age 40, followed by traditional contraception, no abortion				
Live births	43,570	35,670	28,930	na ^{-3/}
Associated deaths	16.2	16.0	15.4	na
Deaths due to method	69.1	65.0	41.1	na
Total deaths.	85.3	81.0	56.5	na
D. Traditional contraception, no abortion				
Live births	214,730	143,610	77,140	27,320
Associated deaths	50.0	45.0	34.5	15.8
E. Traditional contraception, plus abortion				
Induced abortions	287,660	195,890	106,900	39,200
Associated deaths	15.4	13.9	10.7	4.0
F. Deaths associated with tubal sterilization				
Low estimate	10.0	10.0	12.5	15.0
High estimate	20.0	20.0	25.0	30.0
G. Deaths associated with vasectomy				
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

1. Women not sterile at ages indicated in column headings.
2. Use of OCs assumed until age 45.
3. na=not applicable.

Dear Father Gathin:

Your letter of September 29
to the Editor of the Norman
Transcript has just come
to my attention.

I'd like to thank you for
your support of Governor
Carter on the difficult question
of the importance of
abortion and other issues of
social and economic justice
in this election.

Sincerely,
ROBT. S. HAUGLY
HEALTH ISSUES
COORDINATOR
NATIONAL
ISSUES &
POLICY

I hope the Governor's record &
positions continue to merit your
support. If I may be of assistance,
please call on me.

To _____

Date _____ Time _____

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M _____

of _____

Phone _____

Area Code

Number

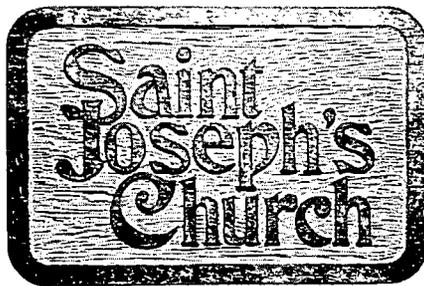
Extension

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message _____

Operator



September 9, 1976

The Norman Transcript
215 E. Comanche
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

To the Editor:

I am very disturbed by the implications of the Jimmy Carter-Catholic hierarchy debate over the abortion issue. Although the leadership of the U.S. Catholic Church must take a strong stand to defend the unborn child's right to life, I am concerned that the effect of our bishops' stand will be tantamount to endorsing President Ford and discouraging Catholic support for Jimmy Carter.

The Catholic Church is not a "one issue" church; we are also concerned about other issues that endanger human life such as the arms race and world hunger. Yet our American hierarchy is coming across in the news media as more interested in the abortion issue than in any other.

I believe that the record of the Democratic Party has been much more in line with the teaching of the church on social issues than the social stance of the Republicans. Both Democrats and Catholics are marked by a common concern for the welfare of minorities and the people of our society without social and economic power.

I believe that the current liberal pro-abortion line taken up by the Democratic Party is short sighted, but given the overall record of Democrats on social issues and the rising rate of unemployment fostered by the present administration's economic policies, Catholic voters would do well not to allow the abortion issue to become a stumbling block in the coming election.

Sincerely,

F. Larry Gartin
Father Larry Gartin, Pastor

LG:dc
cc: Jimmy Carter

*cc: The Severn Catholic,
Newspaper of the
Archdiocese of Oklahoma
City.*

Bob Havelly

PRESS RELEASE

CONTACT: Ruth Segal
546-7800



Handwritten note: 11/15/76
Ruth Segal

706 Seventh Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
202-546-7800

The following telegram was sent on 8 September 1976 to:

Governor Jimmy Carter
Jimmy Carter Campaign Headquarters
Box 1976
Atlanta, GA 30301

Dear Governor Carter:

The National Abortion Rights Action League applauds your resolve to oppose a constitutional amendment that would take away from the poor their right to choose a legal and safe abortion. We deplore the incidents reported in today's media concerning the jostling you received from anti-abortion forces in Pennsylvania.

We want you to know that the pro-choice groups across this nation -- although we do not push and shove -- are determined to keep the present law as it stands and not relapse to the "Dark Ages" thinking that led to the deaths of so many women through self-induced or back alley abortions.

Ours is a pluralistic society that will not have imposed upon it the demands of a minority. We are rallying our forces throughout the land to speak out loudly and clearly at the ballot box in November. Political candidates who hold firm in the belief that people should have freedom of choice will see the results of our support on November 2nd.

Karen Mulhauser
Karen Mulhauser
Executive Director

September 25, 1976

Mrs. Joseph A. Foley
1812 N. 49th Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53208

Dear Mrs. Foley:

A copy of your letter to Archbishop Joseph Bernardin was sent to me by Bill Dixon. I want to thank you for the time and effort you have devoted to this important issue.

Any further ideas or information you might wish to send would be most helpful.

Sincerely,

Robert S. Havelly
Health Issues Coordinator
National Issues and Policy

RSH:j

Stu - I have been asked
to pass this on to you.

Would you have someone draft
a 3 sentence letter to Mrs Foley
saying I have passed this on to
you & thanking her for her time
on this important issue. Please!

Bill Dixon

September 7, 1976

~~AT~~
Bab H.

Archbishop Joseph Bernardin
Chancery Office
29 E. 5th Street
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

Dear Archbishop Bernardin,

In the light of the Democratic Party-NCCB dialogue on the abortion issue, I feel compelled to share with you the following:

I drafted the "Total Pro-Life" statement for the Milwaukee Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women (copy enclosed) and it was well received by the laity and Archbishop William Cousins who stated that it is indeed one of the finest proposals emanating from the MACCW in its 56 year existence. I also have contacted the Milwaukee District Attorney, who helped with the drafting of the Human Life Amendment in Washington. He is presently looking at the possibility of a "Total Life Amendment" which encompasses all phases of life from conception to natural death.

If you notice, all the life issues on the enclosed proposal deal with "liberal", if you will, causes. Fetal Life is the only one that the "right to Choice" group would have a problem with.

In contacting the Wisconsin co-ordinator of the Carter-Mondale campaign, I have shared with him the possibility of prevailing upon the Democratic candidate to look into the possibility of accepting a "total life" amendment. Both the Catholic Church and the political leaders may then be able to come to a closer resolution of the problem. Democratic Catholics are entitled to a "Right to Choice" too!

Hoping that you and the other bishops will look into this as a possible solution to the ever-present abortion issue, I am

Respectively,

Patricia V. Foley

(Mrs. Joseph A. Foley
1812 N. 49th St.
Milwaukee, Wis., 53208)

cc. Mr. William Dixon
Wis. Chairman, Carter-Mondale Campaign

Sept. 1, 1976

Mr. William Dixon
Carter-Mondale Headquarters
106 W. Wells
Milwaukee, Wis., 53203

Dear Bill,

In accordance with our telephone conversation of this date, I am enclosing herewith the "Total Pro-Life" position which I drafted this spring and which was unanimously accepted by the Milwaukee Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women. As I mentioned, Archbishop Wm. Cousins told their annual convention that this, indeed, was the finest stand ever taken by that group in its 56 year existence if they, in fact, live up to it and promote the total concept.

The Wisconsin leaders of the Right to Life Movement took it to their annual convention and passed it with the exception of the points I have checked off. Considering the philosophical make-up of the NRL Board, it's a step in the direction of caring about all life as opposed to merely fetal life.

Again, I cannot over-emphasize the diligence and the "coming of political age" of some of the Wisconsin leaders in the Right to Life movement. They are finally working on campaigns, something they deemed practically impossible four years ago when we were going door-to-door for McGovern.

Hoping this will help you in some decisions dealing with the tricky abortion problem, I remain

Sincerely,

Pat Foley

(Mrs. Patricia V. Foley
1812 N. 49th St.
Milwaukee, Wis., 53208
Phone: 476-5712)

P.S. If Mr. Carter would like to meet with a few local Catholic lay leaders when and if he comes to town, I'll set it up for you. Let me know if I can be of any further help.

cc. Mr. Jimmy Carter, Plains, Ga.

Pat Foley
St. Sebastian's 2

Milwaukee Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women

DECLARATION OF TOTAL PRO-LIFE POSITION May 13, 1976

For fifty-six years MACCW has channeled its efforts toward the involvement of lay women in Christian growth and leadership. Thousands of members, working through parish and inter-parish affiliates, have directed their energies to nurturing the young, the ill, the uneducated, the deprived and destitute, drawing upon inspiration of Scripture and Sacrament.

Many other organizations and federations are also deeply committed to preserving and improving human life in its various developmental stages from (conception) to natural death. At this point in our federation and national history, challenged by the American Bishops to continue with renewed determination toward the goal of "liberty and justice for all," we believe it imperative to commend all organizations and persons who have volunteered their efforts on behalf of improving the quality of human life at each stage of its development, and in particular, with regard to the following:

✓ they
sue
"fertilization"

They
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it
out →

- the lives of the unborn,
- the retarded,
- the mentally ill and emotionally disturbed,
- abused children,
- drug dependent persons including alcoholics,
- the (culturally) and educationally deprived,
- the poor,
- prisoners in jails, reformatories and prisons, ✓
- the aged,
- the unemployed, ✓
- victims of racism and sexism, ✓
- unmarried parents,
- minority groups,
- welfare recipients,
- migrant workers, ✓
- the incurably ill,
- the hungry, anywhere in the world.

The "course of human events" demands we pledges ourselves again to emphasize programs and projects in this archdiocese and the universal Church which speak to and for persons unable to speak effectively for themselves.

To that end we urge affiliates and members of MACCW to support all efforts of groups seeking and working toward alternatives to abortion, (capital punishment), military solutions to international differences, and to Christ-negating patterns of racial, sexual and religious injustice.

Acknowledging our sins of omission as well as commission in selective justice, this federation of Catholic women's organizations seeks forgiveness and reconciliation. We affirm our conviction that human life and dignity are unnegotiable gifts of a loving Creator. In "choosing life: we reaffirm our total commitment of energy, talent and resources. So help us God!

Grass-Roots suggestions to aid the 1976 Dem. Presidential Nominee

1. Pre-announced cabinet officers
2. Cabinet accountability with every federal agency directly under the appropriate Secretary. (Pyramid chart)
CIA AND FBI directly responsible to Congress
3. Government and private industry hire the unskilled 18-25 yr. old urban unemployed at minimum wage with NO income tax.
4. Put the nation on "hold". No more federal hiring (or firing) No salary increases or increased pension benefits.
5. For every unemployed unskilled citizen, offer free six-hours per week PRACTICAL vocational training and a four day minimum wage job.
6. Citizen "sensor" participation with direct liasance with the White House. (Regionally appointed at NO SALARY.)
7. Slow up on speeches.
- 8.* Study the possibility of a Total Human Life Amendment
Meet with Milw. County lay leadership:
Mike McCann (Dist. Attorney who worked on HL Amendment)
Warren Braum (alderman) 453-7011 Home)
Margaret Flanagan (President, Archdiocesan Council of Cath. Women)
332-7774 (home)
Mary Dietrick -Wisconsin Chairman of Ellen McCormack campaign)
461-3726
Barbara Lyons - President of Milw. Citizens Concerned for Life
476-8507 (Home)
Betty Voss Alderman (10th District) 933-0311 (home)

*Gerald Schaefer - "Office of the Party" 774-5375
1400 1st St. (Home)*

* The people listed have been contacted (by phone) and are willing to meet with Mr. Dixon.

Pat Foley
476-5712

JAMES L. NEWLAND
109 FORTSON CIRCLE
ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

September 14, 1976

Carter-Mondale Campaign
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Att: Issues Section - Abortion

Gentlemen:

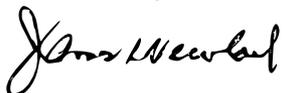
I am enclosing two books which were passed onto me by a good friend who is concerned with Governor Carter's campaign and with the impression that prevails that the stand taken by the Council of Bishops of the Catholic Church represents all rank and file members of the Catholic faith. My friend, Dr. David M. Foley, is a member of the History Department faculty of The University of Georgia and has been a Catholic all his life.

He asked that I forward these books to you for scrutiny and perhaps resource material for the remainder of the campaign. Both books are scholarly presentations. Norman StJohn Stevas, author of THE RIGHT TO LIFE is now a member of Parliament in England. By the way, StJohn is pronounced as "Sinjun" like in "Honest Injun". Noonan has been a professor of law at Berkley.

It is our joint hope that these books may be of some benefit.

Let's win!

Sincerely,



James L. Newland

Thanks books