

The original documents are located in Box 1, folder “Abortion (1)” of the Philip Buchen Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201
October 24, 1975

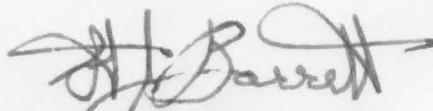
Copy sent to Dudley

OFFICE OF THE
GENERAL COUNSEL

MEMORANDUM FOR HONORABLE PHILIP W. BUCHEN

Re: Proposed PHS Policy on Abortions

We understand from Sarah Massengale that you requested an opportunity to see the draft PHS policy on abortion services before it went to the Secretary. The draft is enclosed. I would appreciate any comment or suggestions you may have.


St. John Barrett
Acting General Counsel

Enclosure



POLICY ON ABORTION SERVICES PROVIDED BY PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
DIRECT MEDICAL CARE PROGRAMS

The policy of the Public Health Service is to offer patients a broad range of comprehensive medical services consistent with legal and ethical requirements of medical practice.

While it continues to be the policy of the Public Health Service to comply with applicable state laws, where state law has been struck down by the Courts or clearly is inconsistent with principles enunciated by Courts of competent jurisdiction, there need not be such compliance.

The case of Roe v. Wade, 410 U.S. 113 (1973), decided by the United States Supreme Court, outlined the rights of states to regulate abortions as follows:

"(a) For the stage prior to approximately the end of the first trimester, the abortion decision and its effectuation must be left to the medical judgment of the pregnant woman's attending physician.

"(b) For the stage subsequent to approximately the end of the first trimester, the State, in promoting its interest in the Health of the mother, may, if it chooses, regulate the abortion procedure in ways that are reasonably related to maternal health.

"(c) For the stage subsequent to viability, the State, in promoting its interest in the potentiality of human life may, if it chooses, regulate, and even proscribe, abortion except where it is necessary, in appropriate medical judgment, for the preservation of the life or health of the mother."



State laws inconsistent with these principles need not be complied with whether or not they have been specifically set aside in litigation.

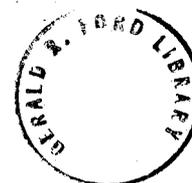
In addition, the following principles are applicable to health services offered at Public Health Service facilities:

1. There shall be freedom from coercion of mind and conscience and freedom to choose from among the methods of family planning services available, including abortion services in accordance with the principles enunciated in Roe v. Wade, so that individuals can choose in accordance with the dictates of their conscience.

2. No physician or other professional personnel shall be compelled to perform any act which violates his or her good medical judgment. Neither physician, hospital, nor hospital personnel shall be required to perform any act which violates personally-held moral principles.

3. Abortion is a medical procedure and should only be performed by a duly licensed physician and surgeon in an accredited hospital.

Competency of physicians shall be determined by the hospital's director and medical staff.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PHIL BUCHEN *P.*

SUBJECT: Abortion Policy

It has been suggested that you should change your policy from following the Supreme Court decision to the position of following state law as stated in President Nixon's order to the Defense Department in 1971.

Such a change would not be legally supportable. The Supreme Court ruling established a Constitutional right which necessarily supersedes any contrary rule under state law or executive order.

I do not know how strongly this suggestion has been pressed, but would like an opportunity to discuss it with you if it is to be seriously considered.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: DUDLEY CHAPMAN *DC*

Jim Cavanaugh called this to my attention and recommended that you send the President a memorandum.

Attachment



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Abortion

November 21, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM CANNON
SARA MASSENGALE

THROUGH: PHIL BUCHEN *P.*

FROM: BOBBIE GREENE KILBERG *Bobbie*

SUBJECT: President's Position on Abortion

In response to your November 17 memorandum I think that the President should be presented with the question of whether or not he wants to reaffirm the support, which he gave as House Minority Leader, to a constitutional amendment to allow each state to make its own laws regulating abortion. It is my feeling that both from a legal standpoint and a political standpoint, the amendment is unwise and I would prefer a Presidential position that was limited to the second Q & A on your background sheet. In that answer, two points are made:

1. The President supports the Supreme Court decision; and
2. The President's major concern is that a safe abortion procedure be available to women in cases of serious illness or rape.

Thus, I would eliminate your first and third Q's & A's. I would, however, continue to include your fourth and fifth Q's & A's. Accordingly, I have made some suggested substantive and editorial changes on both the Administration Position page and on the Q's & A's.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 21, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM CANNON
SARA MASSENGALE

THROUGH: PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: BOBBIE GREENE KILBERG *Bobbie*

SUBJECT: President's Position on Abortion

In response to your November 17 memorandum I think that the President should be presented with the question of whether or not he wants to reaffirm the support, which he gave as House Minority Leader, to a constitutional amendment to allow each state to make its own laws regulating abortion. It is my feeling that both from a legal standpoint and a political standpoint, the amendment is unwise and I would prefer a Presidential position that was limited to the second Q & A on your background sheet. In that answer, two points are made:

1. The President supports the Supreme Court decision; and
2. The President's major concern is that a safe abortion procedure be available to women in cases of serious illness or rape.

Thus, I would eliminate your first and third Q's & A's. I would, however, continue to include your fourth and fifth Q's & A's. Accordingly, I have made some suggested substantive and editorial changes on both the Administration Position page and on the Q's & A's.



R. L. Deeg

(2) Q: Is the President pro or anti abortion?

The President supports the Supreme Court decision. The President's major concern, however, is that safe abortion procedures be available to women in cases of serious illness or rape.



791/

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

✓ PHIL BUCHEN
MAX FRIEDERSDORF
BOB GOLDWIN
ROBERT HARTMANN
JIM LYNN
JACK MARSH
RON NESSEN
PAUL THEIS

FROM:

JIM CANNON *J Cannon*

Attached for your comments and recommendations is a memorandum to the President, for his approval, on his position on abortion.

I would appreciate it if you would send your comments to Sarah Massengale, Ext. 6776, Room 220, by close of business Thursday, November 20.

Thank you.

Attachment



THE WHITE HOUSE

DECISION

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: JIM CANNON
SUBJECT: POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT ON ABORTION

This memo is to seek your approval of the attached papers which were prepared in response to a request by Knight newspapers for a statement on your position on abortion. Knight newspapers intends to run a story on the Presidential contenders' positions on abortion.

The "Administration position" is for release to the newspaper. The "Questions and Answers" are for background use by our press office if direct questions on these subjects are posed.

These have been approved by Phil Buchen's staff.

I recommend that you approve the position statement and questions and answers.

_____ APPROVE

_____ DISAPPROVE



ADMINISTRATION POSITION ON ABORTION

The President's position is that the law of the land must be upheld as interpreted by the Supreme Court in their 1973 decisions on the Roe v. Wade and Doe v. Bolton.

The President also has indicated that he personally feels that abortion is an issue better decided at the State level rather than in Washington.

ADD about
DoD
HEW

The Supreme Court ANNOUNCED
two abortion decisions in 1973: Roe v.
Wade and Doe v. Bolton. As the chief
executive, the President believes that the law
of the land must be upheld. The President's
major concern, however, is that ~~a~~
safe abortion procedures be available
to women in cases of SERIOUSNESS
illness or rape.



BACKGROUND QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(1) Q: The President has said he would support a Constitutional amendment that would allow each state to make its own laws concerning abortion. Does he still feel this way?

A: The President feels that this is a matter better decided at the state level. As you know, while in Congress, House Minority Leader Ford cosponsored an amendment to allow each state to make its own laws regulating abortion.

(See attachment)

(2) Q: Is the President pro or anti abortion?

The President supports the Supreme Court decision.

The President's major concern ^{however,} is that a ~~remedy be~~ ^{safe} available for persons where abortion becomes necessary ^{PROCEDURE} because of serious illness or a case of criminal attack of some kind. ^{rape.}

be available to women in cases of

(3) Q: Does the President support abortion-on-demand?

A: In 1972 the President opposed a Michigan State referendum for abortion-on-demand.

(4) Q: The Defense Department has announced a change in its abortion practice. What is that?

A: The Department of Defense has ordered all military facilities to comply with the Supreme Court decision on abortion in those instances where the law of the state in which the facility is located is inconsistent with the Supreme Court decision.

DOD will provide abortions as a normal medical service in its hospitals but will not reimburse individuals for abortions performed outside of military hospitals.

(5) Q: Will HEW also change its practice?

A: In light of DOD's action, HEW will review its present Public Health Service and Indian Health Service policy.



Rilberg

(2) Q: Is the President pro or anti abortion?

The President supports the Supreme Court decision. The President's major concern, however, is that safe abortion procedures be available to women in cases of serious illness or rape.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 19, 1975

TO: PHIL BUCHEN
FROM: BOBBIE KILBERG

Bobbie

Attached is an informational memorandum from you and Jim Cannon to the President on the non-therapeutic abortion and family planning cases which the Supreme Court invited the Solicitor General to express an opinion on.

I substantially revised the draft prepared by Sarah Massengale of the Domestic Council, and it is the revised memo which is attached for your approval.

I gave Sarah the original, and she will have Jim Cannon sign it. The original will then be brought to you for signature.

Let me know if you have any problems.

Fiddle called [unclear] to add the name to [unclear] also [unclear] said



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

December 18, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JIM CANNON
PHIL BUCHEN

SUBJECT: Supreme Court Request for Government's
Views in Non-therapeutic Abortion and
Family Planning Cases

On December 15, the Supreme Court invited the Solicitor General to express the views of the United States on a case involving Medicaid reimbursement for non-therapeutic abortions and a case involving family planning for minors under the AFDC and Medicaid programs, prior to determining whether to grant certiorari in the abortion case and prior to noting probable jurisdiction in the family planning case.

ISSUE

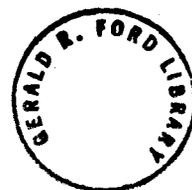
The question in Beal v. Doe (Pa.) is whether the Social Security Act requires a state participating in Medicaid to reimburse the costs of non-therapeutic abortions for Medicaid patients. There have been conflicting Court of Appeals decisions in four Circuits. This case does not involve a re-examination of the 1973 Supreme Court abortion decisions. The question in Jones v. T.H. (Utah) is whether the Social Security Act and the Fourteenth Amendment require a state participating in the Medicaid and AFDC programs to provide family planning information and assistance to minors in the absence of parental consent. If the Supreme Court grants certiorari, it is unlikely that the cases would be heard this term, although the briefs would be filed this term.

The Solicitor General has requested HEW's views on the two cases by January 9 and, if he decides to file amicus briefs, they will be submitted by early February. In the Beal v. Doe case, HEW has not yet determined whether it will recommend to the Solicitor



General that he accept the Supreme Court's invitation to express the views of the U.S. Government or what the Government's approach would be. However, in a 1975 Second Circuit Court of Appeals case, Roe v. Norton, which raised the same issues as Beal, Justice filed an amicus brief in which it argued that the Medicaid statute required only that necessary medical services be covered. Since non-therapeutic abortions do not come within the definition of necessary medical services, states would have the option to determine for themselves whether or not to include those abortions in their Medicaid programs.

In addition, Knight Newspapers has asked for a position statement from you on abortion to be used as part of an article presenting the abortion views of Presidential candidates. Jim Cannon will be sending a position statement for your approval shortly.



Bucher
[Jan. 1976?]

ABORTION Q's & A's

Question: Within the context of a states' rights amendment, do you believe a state should be allowed to pass a law which would require the saving of the life of the unborn child over the life of the mother?

Answer: I would not approve of such a state statute, and I made it clear in my statement to Mr. Cronkite that I feel that abortion should be available in cases of the mother's serious illness, incest or rape.

Question: Then, in regard to the mother's illness, it would not have to be a matter of life and death?

Answer: That is right, but it would ^{have to} be serious.

Question: Who decides on the seriousness?

Answer: [Jim, call me.]

Question: What about the mother's mental illness?

Answer: [Jim, call me.]

Question: Would you draw a distinction between statutory and forcible rape?

Answer: I think that is a decision that should be thought through and decided by the state.

Question: Within the context of your support for a states' rights amendment, what is your position on abortion when there is medical evidence that the child will be born with a serious deformity or when it is certain that the child will die either shortly after birth or within a few years (e. g., Tay-Sachs is an example of a disease which means certain death to the child by about age 2 years)?

Answer: [Jim, Call me.]



Abortion

Friday 1/9/76

3:50 Sarah Massengale dropped by to ask if you would take a look at this.

If you and Cannon agree, the memo can be prepared jointly to go to the President. If you differ, then separate memos will have to go.

Looks OK
to me
T.

5:40 notified
Sarah's office



THE WHITE HOUSE

DECISION

WASHINGTON

January 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: JIM CANNON
PHIL BUCHEN
SUBJECT: ABORTION

This memorandum is to request your decision on a statement on your policy on abortion.

BACKGROUND

You have not made any public statements on abortion in public since becoming President. However, Anne Armstrong informed the Press in September, 1974, that in a meeting with representatives of major women's groups you indicated your belief that abortion should be a matter left to the States.

Jerry terHorst on September 5, 1974, attributed the following position to you:

- (1) you favored an amendment that would let each State enact its own laws on the subject; and
- (2) personally, you and Mrs. Ford believed in abortions for limited situation such as rape, or illness but not on demand.

He pointed out that you opposed a 1972 Michigan referendum that would have permitted abortion on demand.

These views and your support as House Minority Leader of a proposed Constitutional amendment are currently expressed in letters sent by the Correspondence unit in response to letters received on abortion.

During your Administration, the Secretaries of DOD and of HEW have taken action to ensure that departmental policy on abortion is consistent with the 1973 Supreme Court decisions on abortion. The White House has expressed no view about these actions.



While Vice President, you did not publicly express your position on abortion.

Two months after the 1973 Supreme Court decisions on abortion, as House Minority Leader you co-sponsored a proposed amendment to the Constitution which would have permitted the States to enact abortion legislation.

It should be noted that the First Lady has been quoted that she feels "very strongly that it was the best thing in the world when the Supreme Court voted to legalize abortion" (60 Minutes, August 10, 1975).

OPTIONS

Presented here for your decision are several statements which could be used as your position on abortion.

Statement #1

As President I am bound by my oath of office to uphold the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court in its 1973 decisions on abortion.

Statement #2

As President I am bound by my oath of office to uphold the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court in its 1973 decisions on abortion.

As a matter of personal philosophy, my belief is that a remedy should be available in cases of serious illness or rape.

Statement #3

As President I am bound by my oath of office to uphold the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court in its 1973 decisions on abortion.

As a matter of personal philosophy, however, my belief is that a remedy should be available in cases of serious illness or rape. I feel that it is a matter better decided at the State level. While House Minority Leader, I co-sponsored a proposed amendment to the Constitution which would have permitted the States to enact abortion legislation.



Statement #4

As President I am bound by my oath of office to uphold the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court in its 1973 decisions on abortion.

As a matter of personal philosophy, however, my belief is that a remedy should be available in cases of serious illness or rape. Personally I do not favor abortion on demand.

I feel that abortion is a matter better decided at the State level. While House Minority Leader, I co-sponsored a proposed amendment to the Constitution which would have permitted the States to enact abortion legislation.

RECOMMENDATION

Because this issue is particularly emotional and politically sensitive, I recommend that you limit the extent of your remarks. I do and approve statement #2.

DECISION

| | | |
|--------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Statement #1 | <input type="checkbox"/> APPROVE | <input type="checkbox"/> DISAPPROVE |
| Statement #2 | <input type="checkbox"/> APPROVE | <input type="checkbox"/> DISAPPROVE |
| Statement #3 | <input type="checkbox"/> APPROVE | <input type="checkbox"/> DISAPPROVE |
| Statement #4 | <input type="checkbox"/> APPROVE | <input type="checkbox"/> DISAPPROVE |



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 14, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHIL BUCHEN

FROM:

BOBBIE GREENE KILBERG

Bowie

The attached article indicates that the National Abortion Rights Action League, a pro-abortion group, will be meeting in Washington this weekend and will discuss the stands of the Presidential candidates on abortion. I also understand from Sarah that some anti-abortion groups will be picketing the White House on January 22.

Sarah will be mentioning both these items to Jim Cannon and Jim Cavanaugh this afternoon. I suggest that we sit down this week with Rogers Morton and discuss the politics of the abortion issue.

Attachment

cc: Art Quern
Sarah Massengale



Presidential candidates' stands on abortion will be highlighted this weekend when the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) meets here at the Mayflower some 300 to 400 strong.

Staunch Republican Mrs. Archibald Roosevelt Jr., who will be voted in as a new director of NARAL at the convention, says, "I think any candidate who doesn't say he will support the Supreme Court decision regardless of his personal convictions will lose a lot of women's votes."

As NARAL is a nonprofit lobbying organization, it cannot work as a body against any one candidate. But it can keep its members supplied with the facts, which it has been doing. Among NARAL's literature is a booklet containing 93 polls sent out by members of Congress; 73 members found their constituents in favor of abortion rights, many over 80 percent in favor. Only five of the polls showed a majority against abortion but in each case it was a very small majority.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 16, 1976

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHIL BUCHEN
JIM CANNON

FROM:

JIM CONNOR JEC

SUBJECT:

Abortion

The President reviewed your memorandum of January 15 on the above subject and approved Statement 1 as amended:

"As President I am bound by my oath of office to uphold the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court in its 1973 decisions on abortion. In those decisions the Court ruled 7-2 that States could not interfere with a woman's decision to have an abortion the first three months.

As a matter of personal philosophy, however, my belief is that a remedy should be available in cases of serious illness or rape. Personally I do not favor abortion on demand.

I feel that abortion is a matter better decided at the State level. While House Minority Leader, I co-sponsored a proposed amendment to the Constitution to permit the individual States to enact legislation governing abortion."

Please follow-up with appropriate action.

cc: Dick Cheney



Abortion mtg
1/22/76
10:30 am

Meeting with Mr. Buchen
1/22/76 -- 10:30 a.m.

Reverend Harold O. Brown
Christian Action Council

Miss Nellie Gray
March for Life Committee

Mrs. Randy Engles
Coalition for Life

Marjorie Lynch
Under Secretary of HEW

Judy Wolfe
Civil Rights Division
Justice

Sara Massengale

Bobbie Kilberg

Judy Hope

H. P. Goldfield



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Bobbie thinks
maybe they
should leave
the meeting at
her (and Sara's)
level since Cannon
won't be able to attend.

Wednesday 1/21/76

Meeting
1/22/76
10:30 a.m.

10:55 Bobbie said she talked with Bill Nicholson this morning and learned that there will be an abortion meeting in the Roosevelt Room tomorrow (Thursday 1/22) at 10:30 a.m.

She thinks it's a mistake; Bill Nicholson doesn't.

11:10 I checked with Bill Nicholson and he advises the meeting is scheduled for 10:30 a.m. tomorrow.

Those to attend:

Jim Cannon or Jim Cavanaugh
Marjorie Lynch
Sarah Massengale
Bobbie Kilberg
Stan Pottinger

11:20 Called Bobbie to let her know. She advises that Cannon isn't coming and she thinks we're being hoodwinked -- you will be the ranking man there. She thinks it's a political mistake and told Nicholson that -- and he said "Thank you but the decision has been made already."

Bobbie said she will have Jim Turner from Pottinger's office with her.



Wednesday 1/21/76

Meeting
1/22/76
10:30 a.m.

12:10 Bobbie said she doesn't think you should attend the abortion meeting tomorrow morning.

Attached is the material for the meeting.

Mr. Buchen

1/15/76

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bill Nicholson

FROM: Anne Higgins

Attached is the file on the March for Life. In order to avoid any hassle in meeting with this group, I would recommend that Administration representatives meet with the following individuals:

Dr. Mildred Jefferson
President
National Right to Life

*invited but did not accept
617-261-1960
617-267-8275*

Rev. Harold O.J. (Joe) Brown
Chairman
Christian Action Council
National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

638-5441

Miss Nellie Gray
March for Life Committee
Washington D. C.

547-6721



These three would represent all spectrums of the Right to Life Movement.

I think that either the representative of the Administration should listen sympathetically and restate the P's position and his willingness and eagerness to get the views of all citizens, or, and I believe this would help him a great deal politically, give the group a statement from the President along the ~~lines~~ lines that as you know I do not favor the Supreme Court decision and I am in favor of reversing it. I have supported the States Rights amendment as the most likely way to do it quickly. I certainly understand your commitment to obtaining a Human Life Amendment. I share your belief in the sanctity of human life and I commend your efforts in defense of the unborn.

January 12, 1976

Dear Miss Gray:

On behalf of the President, I wish to acknowledge your letter of October 30 and January 5 about The March for Life committee members meeting with him on the morning of January 22.

We have beenied your request forward for consideration pending a final determination of the President's schedule for January 22. It now is certain, however, in view of his heavy official schedule demands at this time, that a meeting for you and the other committee members will not be possible.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

William W. Nicholson
Director
Scheduling Office

Miss Nellie J. Gray
Chairman
The March for Life
Post Office Box 2950
Washington, D.C. 20013

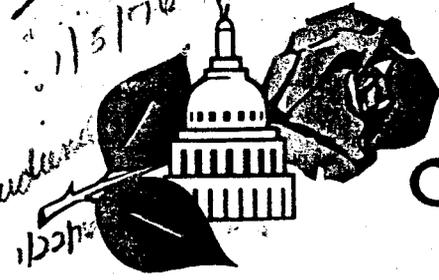
cc: 2 cys nancy gemmell

_WN:HHR:jem

Anne Higgins EXT 2109



20
11/5/76
12/2/76



The March for Life

January 22, 1976

P.O. BOX 2950
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20013

T/D _____
SCHEDULE NO. _____
DATE RECEIVED _____

January 5, 1976

JAN 7 1976

MESSAGE _____
SPEAKERS BUREAU _____
OTHER _____

APPOINTMENT OFF _____

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Chairman: NELLIE J. GRAY
Washington, D.C.
202-LIFE-377
202-547-6721

MIKE ECK
Washington, D.C.
202-544-0840

ROGER KERGARAVAT
Connecticut
203-268-6879

DEE BECKER
Delaware
302-475-9000

JEAN M. GUILFOYLE
Maryland
301-442-2790

VINCE MEYERS
New Jersey
201-327-4975

ROBERT SANKEY
New Jersey
609-546-8532

BILL DEVLIN
New York
516-785-0062

LEWGARDNER
New York
516-981-0323

LILLIAN KOEGLER
New York
914-946-6719

JOHN MAWN
New York
516-588-0168

JOHN SHORT
New York
516-249-5207

MICHAEL SCHWARTZ
Pennsylvania
215-722-5114

EILEEN VOGEL
Pennsylvania
412-795-4135

VAL STASIK
Virginia
703-451-7254

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

The MARCH FOR LIFE committee members request an appointment

to meet with you at the White House on the morning of January 22, 1976,
as detailed in our letter to you dated October 30, 1975, copy enclosed.

When I telephoned the White House on December 1, 1975, I
understood that we would be receiving a reply from you when you
returned from China.

We do not yet have a reply, and, thus, again request to meet
with you concerning a life-and-death matter facing the American people,
i.e., the right-to-life of all human beings, including the preborn.

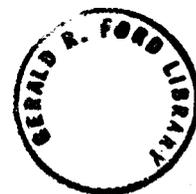
Mr. President, please meet with us on the morning of
January 22, 1976.

Sincerely in Life,



Miss Nellie J. Gray
Chairman

Encl:



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

M.R.
hold Regret
unt. 1 mid-Jan
Then Regret due to
Sch. Demands.

Date: November 4, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: SARAH MASSENGALE

FROM: WILLIAM W. NICHOLSON

SUBJECT: The March for Life, January 22nd, 1976

The attached is being sent to you for your advice and recommendation.

Would you advise as soon as possible.

Thank you.

COMMENTS:

I recommend "do nothing." A meeting with the President is not recommended. Nor do I think a meeting with Secretary Mathews or with White House staff would be productive or desirable.

SCM





The March for Life

January 22, 1976

ACTION _____
P.O. BOX 2950 _____
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20013 _____
DATE RECEIVED _____
October 30, 1975 1975
SPEAKERS BUREAU _____
OTHER _____
APPOINTMENT OFFICE _____

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Chairman: NELLIE J. GRAY
Washington, D.C.

202-LIFE-377
202-547-6721

MIKE ECK
Washington, D.C.
202-544-0840

ROGER KERGARAVAT
Connecticut
203-268-6879

DEE BECKER
Delaware
302-475-9000

JEAN M. GUILFOYLE
Maryland
301-442-2790

VINCE MEYERS
New Jersey
201-327-4975

ROBERT SANKEY
New Jersey
609-546-8532

BILL DEVLIN
New York
516-785-0062

LEW GARDNER
New York
516-981-0323

LILLIAN KOEGLER
New York
914-946-6719

JOHN MAWN
New York
516-588-0168

JOHN SHORT
New York
516-249-5207

MICHAEL SCHWARTZ
Pennsylvania
215-722-5114

EILEEN VOGEL
Pennsylvania
412-795-4135

VAL STASIK
Virginia
703-451-7254

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

The MARCH FOR LIFE committee members request an appointment to meet with you at the White House on the morning of January 22, 1976, when we will sponsor the third program to memorialize the Supreme Court's infamous decisions on abortion.

To let you know more about us, I am enclosing a copy of the Commemorative Album of the 1974 MARCH FOR LIFE, when some 20,000 proliferers assembled at the Capitol. On January 22, 1975, there were 50,000 people. Mr. President, the deep concern of the right-to-life people over the killing of preborn human beings is growing and spreading as the abomination continues.

We are now planning the 1976 MARCH FOR LIFE. As indicated on the enclosed program, we will MARCH FOR LIFE at the White House on the morning of January 22, 1976, and assemble in Lafayette Park, where right-to-life speakers will address the marchers. During that time, the MARCH FOR LIFE committee members want to meet with you to bring our concerns before you personally. We want to ask for your support and encouragement in our work to provide protection under the laws of our land for the value and dignity of each human being, including the preborn.

We would also like to present to you a basket of roses for the White House on this very important day. The red rose is our symbol for the preborn child, love, and the value and dignity of each human being.

Mr. President, please meet with us on the morning of January 22, 1976

Sincerely in Life,

Miss Nellie J. Gray

Encl:





March for Life

January 22, 1976

P.O. BOX 2950
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20013

November 197

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Chairman: NELLIE J GRAY
Washington, D.C.
202-LIFE-377
202-547-6721

MIKE ECK
Washington, D.C.
202-544-0840

ROGER KERGARAVAT
Connecticut
203-268-6879

DEE BECKER
Delaware
302-475-9000

JEAN M. GUILFOYLE
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VINCE MEYERS
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ROBERT SANKEY
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JOHN MAWN
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JOHN SHORT
New York
516-249-5207

MICHAEL SCHWARTZ
Pennsylvania
215-722-5114

EILEEN VOGEL
Pennsylvania
412-795-4135

VAL STASIK
Virginia
703-451-7254

Dear Friend of Life,

On January 22, 1976, the MARCH FOR LIFE will sponsor the third program to correct the Supreme Court's infamous abortion decisions. Pro-life work became more difficult in 1975 due to Congressional acts of callous contempt for the value and dignity of each human being, including the preborn. These setbacks for right-to-life people are comparable to the colonial defeat at Brandywine and the suffering at Valley Forge. But, remember, we have not lost the fight FOR LIFE!

Thus, we will focus clearly on the uncompromising "Life Principles" shown on a panel of this flyer shore up our ranks, and redouble our efforts to protect the least of our brethren. We shall show the world that the American salt of the earth has not lost its strength. The abomination of abortion and other disparagement of human beings presses on us the duty to give even more public and visible witness to what we know right.

Therefore, we will MARCH FOR LIFE in multitudes to the seat of our government and enjoin our elected representatives to enact a truly Mandatory HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT. We will expose the state's right to proach for what it is: constitutional authority to destroy human beings, including the preborn.

To open the Bicentennial MARCH FOR LIFE program, the January 21-22 program has been expanded as follows:

March for Life Program

JANUARY 21, 1976

7:00 - 10:00 Coffee Hour and Vigil at Leows L'Enfant Plaza Hotel Ballroom, 480 L'Enfant Plaza East, S.W. —to assemble and prayerfully anticipate our political activities on Thursday, January 22, 1976.

JANUARY 22, 1976

9:00 a.m. - Noon MARCH FOR LIFE, at the White House. —to bring the pro-life message before the President and request support for a Mandatory HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT, and —in Lafayette Park (north of the White House) where pro-life speakers will proclaim the right-to-life message. Overflow crowd will assemble in the Ellipse (south of White House).

Lunch. Fast, or put a sandwich in your pocket. There will be some vending trucks.

Noon - 2:00 p.m. MARCH FOR LIFE, from the Ellipse (south of White House) up Pennsylvania Avenue to the U.S. Capitol, form Circle of Life around the Capitol, and return to West Terrace of Capitol for the program. (See ** under "Transportation" below.)

You are encouraged to carry signs, your state flag, etc. If you want to enter a float or a band in the MARCH FOR LIFE up Pennsylvania Avenue, let us know so it can be arranged in the line of March. Vehicles will be available for those who need to ride the mile from Ellipse to Capitol.

2:00 - 3:00 p.m. MARCH FOR LIFE Program, on West Terrace of the U.S. Capitol with Pro-life Senators and Representatives.

3:30 - 5:30 p.m. LOBBYING. Marchers meet with Representatives and Senators to seek support for a Mandatory HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT. Let your elected representative know that you will be in the Capitol Hill office during these hours.

Roses! Roses! Roses! Fill the Halls of congress with red roses to reinforce the massive physical pro-life presence and sentiment. A rose order form is provided on the reverse side, so you can send roses to your Representative and Senators. Order Now

Transportation

For assistance in arranging transportation, contact Mr. John Mawn, 71 W. 5th St., Ronkonkoma, N.Y. 11779, tel. 516-588-0168.

**You must be in the Ellipse before 12:30 p.m. in order to join the March for Life up Pennsylvania Avenue. In accordance with the police permit, all buses will discharge at the Ellipse until 12:30 p.m.; after that time they will be routed to the Capitol for discharge.

Housing

MARCH FOR LIFE downtown headquarters will be at Leows L'Enfant Plaza Hotel. Arrangements have been made for group rates for overnight accommodations for January 21, 1976. Write for information to March for Life, P. O. Box 2950, Washington, D.C. 20013.

Headlights On!

The MARCH FOR LIFE calls on all prolifer drivers throughout the United States on January 22, 1976 to put headlights on as a sign of mourning our dead preborn brethren.

The "Program Journal"

Until Dec. 15, you can still place your pro-life message in the "Program Journal." If you want a full, half, or quarter page message, call or write for information. For the "Defender" "Patron" message, use order form on reverse.

CONTENTS of the Journal will include details of 1975 and 1976 March programs and your pro-life messages.

DISTRIBUTION will include copies to Washington offices, domain and press and to each prolifer contributing a message. Some copies available at the MARCH for nominal charge.

USE ORDER FORM ON REVERSE SIDE.

PROLIFERS, IT IS CRITICAL THAT WE COME TOGETHER IN MULTITUDES TO TURN THE TIDE IN FAVOR OF PROTECTING THE RIGHT-TO-LIFE FROM FERTILIZATION THROUGHOUT THE NATURAL CONTINUUM OF LIFE!

Plan to March for Life in Washington, D.C. on January 22, 1976



The March for Life January 22, 1975

P.O. BOX 2950
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20013

September 1975

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Chairman: NELLIE J. GRAY
Washington, D.C.

DEE BECKER
Delaware

BILL DEVLIN
New York

MIKE ECK
Washington, D.C.

LEW GARDNER
New York

JEAN M. GUILFOYLE
Maryland

ROGER KERGARAVAT
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LILLIAN KOEGLER
New York

JOHN MAWN
New York

VINCE MEYERS
New Jersey

MARY ANN PIERCE
Virginia

ROBERT SANKEY
New Jersey

MICHAEL SCHWARTZ
Pennsylvania

JOHN SHORT
New York

EILEEN VOGEL
Pennsylvania

ADVANCE NOTICE OF THE PROGRAM

MARCH FOR LIFE 1976

January 21, 1976

7:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.

Coffee Hour & Vigil

-- to assemble Marchers who are in Washington, D.C. on Wednesday evening, and

-- to prayerfully anticipate our political activities on Thursday, January 22, 1976.

January 22, 1976

9:00 a.m. - Noon

March for Life

-- at the White House to bring the prolife message before the President and the Vice President and request support for the right-to-life movement, and

-- in Lafayette Park (across from the White House) where right-to-life speakers can proclaim the prolife message.

Noon - 2:00 p.m.

March for Life from the White House to the U.S. Capitol. Permits have been requested to March up Pennsylvania Avenue. The March will proceed to the West Terrace of the Capitol, form the Circle of Life around the Capitol, and return to the West Terrace.

2:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.

March for Life Program on the West Terrace of U.S. Capitol with Prolife Senators and Representatives.

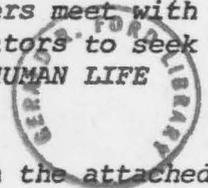
3:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.

Lobbying Marchers meet with Representatives and Senators to seek support for a Mandatory HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT

(More specific details will be available in late October 1975)

WHAT TO DO RIGHT NOW

First: Order space in the MARCH FOR LIFE "Program Journal," as provided in the attached announcement. Second: Arrange your transportation to the MARCH FOR LIFE in Washington, D.C. on January 22, 1976. For assistance, contact the Transportation Chairman, Mr. John Mawn, 71 W. 5th Street, Ronkonkoma, N.Y. 11779, or telephone 516 - 588 - 0168.



Life Principles

These Life Principles express the ideals motivating pro-life Americans and indicate the purpose of the MARCH FOR LIFE.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all human beings are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which is the right to life, and THEREFORE

The right to life of each human being shall be preserved and protected by every human being in the society and by the society as a whole, and

The life of each human being shall be preserved and protected from that human being's biological beginning when the Father's sperm fertilizes the Mother's ovum, and

The life of each human being shall be preserved and protected from the biological beginning throughout the natural continuum of that human being's life by all available ordinary means and reasonable efforts, and

The life of each human being shall be preserved and protected at each stage of the life continuum to the same extent as at each and every other stage regardless of state of health or condition of dependency, and

The life of each human being shall be preserved and protected to the same extent as the life of each and every other human being regardless of state of health or condition of dependency, and

When there is any doubt that there exists a human being's life to preserve and protect, such doubt shall be resolved in favor of the existence of a human being, and

When two or more human beings are in a situation in which their lives are mutually endangered, all available ordinary means and reasonable efforts shall be used to preserve and protect the life of each and every human being so endangered.

WHEREFORE, PURSUANT TO THESE PRINCIPLES, we recommend and urge the adoption of a Mandatory HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT to the Constitution of the United States of America.

| Name | Date |
|------------|---------|
| A. Higgins | 1-15-76 |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |



15
Audience
1/23/76

national
8 right to life
committee, inc.

January 14, 1976

Officers:

Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D., MA
President
Robert F. Greene, Esq., KY
Vice President
Ruth Karim, SD
Secretary
Jay Bowman, GA
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Prof. Joseph Witherspoon, TX
Jerrolyn Kimball, UT
Mrs. John Morrissey, VT
Geline B. Williams, VA
Kenneth Van Derhoef, Esq., WA
A. F. Exner, WV
Mary Carpenter Bruce, WI
Michael Burke, Esq., WY

At large:

Edward J. Golden, NY
Michael Taylor, DC
Tom Hilgers, MO

The President
The White House
Washington, District of Columbia

Mr. President:

The National Right To Life Committee, Inc. is a citizen participation organization with affiliates in all fifty states and the District of Columbia. We are dedicated to preserving the first of the inalienable rights affirmed in the Declaration of Independence, the Right to Life.

Many of our members, particularly from your home state of Michigan, feel that you have not been provided with the opportunity to know who we are. Our organization brings together people of many different backgrounds, religions, philosophies and approaches across political lines. In general, our membership represents the majority that wishes to preserve traditional ethical values and legal standards.

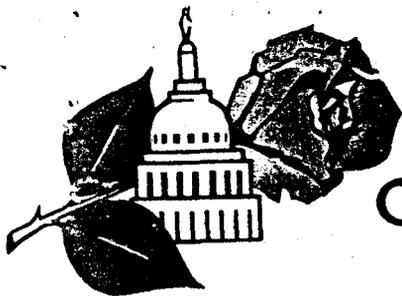
In the interest of fairness, President Ford, and knowing of your sponsorship of the Whitehurst Amendment (states rights on abortion as a member of Congress, I would like to convey to our organization a firsthand understanding of your position. I shall be in Washington for a meeting of our Board of Directors January 23-25, 1976 and would appreciate an appointment to speak with you. If your schedule should not permit it during that time, any mutually convenient time prior to the New Hampshire Primary Elections would be welcomed.

Respectfully,

Mildred F. Jefferson, M. D.
President
720 Harrison Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02118
(617)267-8275; (617) 261-8882

ACTION
T/D _____
SCHEDULE BD. _____
DATE RECEIVED
JAN 20 1976
MESSAGE
SPEAKERS BUREAU _____
OTHER _____
APPOINTMENT OFFICE





The March for Life

January 22, 1976

P.O. BOX 2950
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20013

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Chairman-NELLIE J GRAY
Washington, D.C.
202-LIFE-377
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MICHAEL SCHWARTZ
Pennsylvania
215-722-5114

EILEEN VOGEL
Pennsylvania
412-795-4135

VAL STASIK
Virginia
703-451-7254

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE TO THE PRESS

January 14, 1976

On January 22, 1976, the MARCH FOR LIFE will sponsor the third program to memorialize the Supreme Court's infamous decisions on abortion. Three years of slaughtering preborn human beings and driving the American social, political, and legal systems toward a death syndrome.

Concern of the right-to-life people heighten as this *Massacre Unlimited* persists in our midsts.

A few people generally associated with the right-to-life movement are showing a halting tendency to compromise toward a "state's rights" approach. This is unacceptable to the true right-to-life defenders. This approach is not a compromise, but is openly inviting that the killing go on under the guise of a limp State's Rights Amendment and no-teeth legislation.

The MARCH FOR LIFE presses for true protection for the preborn child and its Mother and its Father and its Brother and Sister and Grandparents and Handicapped Cousins, and all the rest of humanity.

Enclosed is a copy of the flyer announcing the MARCH FOR LIFE January 22, 1976.

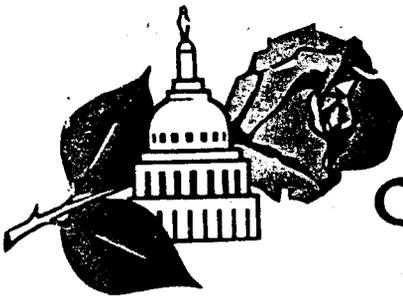
Many reporters ask: "Who Are the Stars!" Who are the stars on the program. The answer is simple:

THE STAR OF THE MARCH FOR LIFE is the preborn child and that child's Mother and Father. The child is being killed, and the parents traumatized. Right-to-life grass roots people are defending these human beings.

The "Stars" of the Program of the MARCH FOR LIFE are prolife defenders. Within our ranks we produce candidates for National office, musicians, lawyers, bus driver, doctors, students, philosophers, religious leaders, filling station attendants, and on and on.

The cry is: MARCH FOR LIFE on January 22, 1976 and throughout this Bicentennial Year to restore our inalienable rights, including the right to life.





The March for Life January 22, 1976

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20013

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE TO THE PRESS

January 14, 1976

MARCH FOR LIFE Meets with the LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

**THEME: Vote Pro-life in 1976: Legislators vote pro-life on issues!
Pro-life Marchers vote for Pro-life Legislators!**

2:00 p.m. Opening remarks: Miss Nellie J. Gray, Chairman MARCH FOR LIFE.

National Anthem: Mr. Alton W. Morris, Takoma Park, Maryland

Opening Prayer: Rabbi David Novak, Baltimore, Maryland

Music by Ms. Kathleen Lawrie, Hillcrest Heights, Maryland

Introduction of Pro-life Members of Congress for remarks, including:

Senator James L. Buckley, New York

Senator Jesse Helms, North Carolina

Senator Richard Stone, Florida

Representative Henry J. Hyde, Illinois

Representative Robert E. Bauman, Maryland

Representative Virginia Smith, Nebraska

Representative John B. Conlan, Arizona

Representative Clement J. Zablocki, Wisconsin

Representative Corrine (Lindy) Boggs, Louisiana

*Other pro-life members
of the Congress have
also been invited, and
may appear and provide
words of encouragement
to the assembled
Marchers.*

The right-to-life people, deeply concerned by the continued failure of some incumbents to vote pro-life or otherwise support the right-to-life, have produced their own candidates. Some of these candidates who will appear on the program January 22, 1976, include:

ADDRESS: Ellen McCormack, a Pro-life Democratic Candidate for PRESIDENT

**-- Stephen J. Foley, Esq., a Democratic Candidate for the U.S. SENATE
from New Jersey**

**-- John R. Mawn, a Democratic Candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives
from New York's Second District**

**-- Thomas J. Mooney, a Democratic Candidate for the U. S. House of
Representatives from Maryland's Fifth District**

Music by Mrs. Gail Brown Johnson, Washington, D.C.

**3:30 p.m. Closing Prayer by Most. Rev. Thomas J. Welsh
Bishop of Arlington**

3:30 - 5:30 P.M. -- LOBBYING IN HALLS OF CONGRESS



The March for Life January 22, 1976

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE TO THE PRESS

January 14, 1976

PROLIFE PROGRAM IN LAFAYETTE PARK

9:00 a.m. - NOON

MASTERS OF CEREMONIES: William Devlin, MARCH FOR LIFE, New York
Roger Kergaravat, MARCH FOR LIFE, Connecticut

Opening Prayer by Rabbi David Novak, Baltimore, Maryland

PROLIFE SPEAKERS

Randy Engle, U.S.COALITION FOR LIFE, Export, Pa & Washington, D.C.
Mary Rita Urbish, COLORADO RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, Denver, Colorado
Mark Strand, NATIONAL YOUTH PROLIFE COALITION, Washington, D.C.
Ann O'Donnell, MISSOURI CITIZENS FOR LIFE, St. Louis, Missouri
Mary Winter, PEOPLE CONCERNED FOR THE UNBORN, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Charles Williamson, LONG ISLAND COALITION FOR LIFE, New York
Felicia Goeken, ILLINOIS RIGHT TO LIFE, Alton, Illinois
Jean E. Doyle, FLORIDA RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, Inc., Orlando, Florida
Dr. & Mrs. John C. Wilke, OHIO RIGHT TO LIFE SOCIETY, Inc., Cincinnati, Oh
Also representing NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, Inc. Washington, D
FEMINISTS FOR LIFE group, singing : "I Am Human."
Dr. T.I.Ballinger, TEXAS RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE, Inc., Fort Worth, Texas
Rick Hinshaw, LONG ISLAND YOUTH FOR LIFE & JUSTICE, East Meadow, N.Y.
Audree Ryberg, VIRGINIA STATE NURSES CONCERNED FOR LIFE, Inc., Fairfax, Va.

Other prolife speakers from various States and organiza-
tions have been invited and may join the assembly in
the LAFAYETTE PARK.

MUSIC BY: Prolife Singers: George Dahir, Omaha, Nebraska
"Sparrows," a singing group from Pittsburgh,
Folk Group, St. Frances de Chantel Parish,
Wantaugh, N.Y.

CLOSING PRAYER by Most Reverend Thomas W. Lyons, Auxiliary Bishop
of Washington, D.C.

NOON: Adjourn via 15th Street to ELLIPSE (south of White House) to
begin MARCH FOR LIFE up Pennsylvania Avenue to U.S. Capitol



The March for Life

January 22, 1976

P.O. BOX 2950
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20013

PRESS RELEASE

January 14, 1976

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

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President Ford's administration is synomous with *MASSACRE UNLIMITED!*

The administration which President Ford heads approves of the killing of preborn children and using tax dollars for the barbaric deeds. It isn't that he doesn't know that babies are killed within sight of the White House and that his Department of Health, Education and Welfare is paying for abortion and other disparagement of human beings.

President Ford refuses to be concerned!

On October 30, 1975, the MARCH FOR LIFE Chairman wrote to President Ford by registered mail, requesting a meeting to discuss right-to-life issue on January 22, 1976. On December 1, 1975, Miss Gray telephoned the White House to request a reply, and was informed that it would be forthcoming when the President returned from the China trip. No reply. On January 5, 1976, the MARCH FOR LIFE sent a follow-up request by registered mail. On January 12, 1976, noone was available at 4:30 in the afternoon to give Miss Gray a reply by telephone. Miss Gray informed the White House that this information -- clearly showing that the President does not want to meet with right-to-life defenders -- would be given to the grass roots right-to-life people. Miss Gray has now received a letter dated January 12, 1976, signed by Mr. William W. Nicholson, Director, Scheduling Office, The White House, stating:

We have carried your request forward for consideration pending a final determination of the President's schedule for January 22. It now is certain, however, in view of his heavy official schedule demands at this time, that a meeting with you and the other committee members will not be possible.

On January 22, 1976, the MARCH FOR LIFE committee members will present roses to the White House -- or, at least, we will leave them with the Guard at the Gate, because we, as defenders of life, will not be admitted to see the President or even an aide.

It is distressing to have to point out the numerous frivolous things for which the President does have time.

It is a puzzlement to remember that, with high press visibility and cameras rolling, the President recently placed a wreath to memorialize the fallen victims of Auschwitz, but will not stop the same type of destruction of human beings done under his administration with his blessing!

WHY, Mr. President? HOW LONG WILL THIS GO ON?



The March for Life

January 22, 1976

P.O. BOX 2950
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20013
January 14, 1976

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703-451-7254

OPEN LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE 94th CONGRESS

On January 22, 1976, the MARCH FOR LIFE will sponsor the third program to memorialize the Supreme Court's infamous abortion decisions and to petition the Congress for A Mandatory HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT consonant with the "Life Principles," shown on the reverse side of this letter. A copy of a flyer giving more information about the MARCH FOR LIFE program is enclosed.

A *Massacre Unlimited* is going on before your eyes. You have the unique opportunity and the power to stop it.

✓ Some members of Congress have courageously taken advantage of this unique opportunity. They have introduced legislation and have argued on the floor of the House and of the Senate for the right to life.

✓ Other members have shown their prolife support by at least voting for corrective measures.

✓ Some Representatives and Senators say that they are *personally* against abortion, but that, in this particular instance, they do not want to impose their morality on others. Thus, they approve killing preborn children without the benefit of counsel, indictment, judge or jury.

✓ Some legislators want to throw the issue back to the States and permit killing preborn children on a State-by-State basis, suggesting, perhaps for political expediency, that *just a little bit of killing* will pacify both the right-to-life people and the abortionists.

✓ Some legislators personally approve of abortion, but will not, perhaps as a matter of political expediency and for appearances sake, be so callous as to publicly favor killing preborn children. They turn to euphemisms, and indicate that they want to preserve the right of a woman to choose -- (*whether or not to kill her own son or daughter*).

✓ Legislators assume many other variations on the issue-straddling theme.

You, as members of the 94th Congress, must reexamine your right-to-life position with the full knowledge that preborn Americans are being slaughtered by the millions. You have properly voted protection for the beagle, owl, wild horses, baby seals, and many other animals.

Yet, you have voted down protection for the preborn human beings and voted up the tax dollars to fund this abomination.

Until you assume your responsibilities to stop the sickening slaughter in our land, the crisis situation created by the Supreme Court's abortion decisions will escalate. This issue will not simply fade away, because right-to-life people, in conscience, cannot live in a community which kills babies any more than we could live with slavery or where one Nation fed human beings to the gas ovens.

Your responsibility is clear. You must:

- (1) Support a Mandatory HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT consonant with the "Life Principles;"
- (2) Cut off tax funds for abortion and other disparagement of human beings.

The MARCH FOR LIFE will continue to bring the issues to your attention for your vote. Your constituents will be visiting with you in January 22, 1976 here in Washington and throughout this Bicentennial Year, which commemorates the sacrifice of the Colonials in securing our inalienable rights, including the right to life.

MARCH FOR LIFE, Miss Nellie J. Gray, Chairman

THE PURPOSES OF THE MARCH FOR LIFE ARE EMBODIED IN THE "LIFE PRINCIPLES," SHOWN ON THE REVERSE SIDE



Friday 1/30/76

2:05 Bobbie had asked me to call Fred Slight of the PFC and get what they might have on Reagan's position on abortion.

Received -- see attached.



January 30, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHIL BUCHEN

FROM:

FRED SLIGHT *FWS*

Attached as per the request of your office this afternoon is a summation of the former Governor's opinion on the issue of abortion.

As you will note, his current position is a reversal of that which he took in signing the abortion legislation in California.

Attachment



Abortion Hit By Reagan

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — In a copyrighted interview in the latest issue of the *National Right to Life News*, official newspaper of the National Right to Life Committee Inc., presidential contender Ronald Reagan explains his opposition to abortion and euthanasia.

In the interview with News editor Alice Hartle, Reagan expresses support for a Human Life Amendment to the U.S. Constitution to overturn the U.S. Supreme Court's Jan. 22, 1973 ruling that abortion is a basic constitutional right throughout pregnancy — not merely in the "first three months," as is still often reported.

Reagan becomes the second presidential hopeful thus far to support the idea of an amendment. Experienced pro-life activist Ellen McCormack, Bellmore, N.Y., has announced she is entering Democratic presidential primaries because none of the other Democratic aspirants is supporting a Human Life Amendment.

Pro-lifers recall that, in last year's New York race for the U.S. Senate, Barbara Keating, an unknown third-party candidate with a pro-life stand, picked up more than 16 per cent

of the vote after only three weeks of pro-life television commercials. Reagan, who signed permissive abortion legislation when he was governor of California, says in the interview that experience with that law convinced him that "I would have vetoed that bill, in the light of what I know now . . ."

He says that if he "had it to do over again" in signing abortion legislation he would sign a strict law allowing abortion to prevent the death of the mother. This was the traditional allowance for abortion in American law.

Asked his opinion of euthanasia — "mercy killing" — Reagan replied, "It is one thing to talk about the truly doubtful case, the moral case of the individual whose bodily functions are being kept alive, when death has really occurred to all intents and purposes.

"But euthanasia, of course, followed right on abortion. If you can decide that it is morally all right to kill someone at one end of the life span, you can figure out a reason why it must be morally right to do it at the other, and both are morally wrong."

"There is still only one who determines whether life or death shall occur, and that is God Himself."

Editor Hartle said she hopes this will be only the first of various interviews with the presidential candidates giving their views on pro-life issues.

Citing such people as Cesar Chavez, Garry Wills, Jesse Jackson and Ken Kesey for their opposition to abortion, she said some presidential candidates mistakenly have assumed that liberal politics means one must hold a pro-abortion position.

Mrs. Hartle continued, "We reject the idea that merely because a politician is a Catholic, he deserves the pro-life vote. Nor do we believe that people who aren't Catholic will reject pro-life politics."

"Ronald Reagan is an obvious example of someone who's not a Catholic who takes this view. And this is especially refreshing when the Republican Party's titular leader, President Ford, avows all pro-life commitment and his wife enthusiastically endorses the killing of innocent unborn children."

"We have heard enough evasion from people like Sens. Edward Kennedy and Birch Bayh who claim they 'personally' don't favor abortion but won't try to give moral guidance to restore the rights of the unborn by supporting a strong Human Life Amendment."

"No less a pro-abortionist than Nelson Rockefeller recently said here in Minnesota that to reverse the Supreme Court's ruling, you'd have to amend the Constitution. We'll give our support to candidates, regardless of party or other views, as long as they demonstrate a sincere commitment to protecting all innocent human life by endorsing a strong Human Life Amendment."



EXCERPT FROM TRANSCRIPT
HINSDALE, NEW HAMPSHIRE
January, 1976

questio n- your personal opinion about abortion

I have never given that subject much thought until I became Governor. As Gov. I found myself faced with legislation- bitterly contested- state divided between the pros and the cons and the Senator who was proposing almost abortion on demand sent word down that he would amend his bill to anything that I felt like I could sign. and that set me on a course of study and more soul searching than I have ever done in my life. And I have come to the belief that the interrupting of a pregnancy can only be justified is on the same basis that it was justified in our prevailing Christian tradition. but yes a mother does have a right to defend her own life against ..unborn child.