

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E N T

10-Apr-1996 05:39pm

TO: Phillip M. Caplan
FROM: Maureen F. Lewis
 Office of The President

SUBJECT: campolo's address

The Reverend Anthony Campolo
Eastern College
10 Fairview Drive
St. Davids, Pennsylvania 19087

Dear Tony!

*Same letter as to Rex House
on H.P. 1833*

April 10, 1996

Dr. Rex M. Horne, Jr.
[address]

Dear Rev. Horne:

I wanted to let you know my thoughts regarding H.R. 1833, the late-term abortion bill. I understand that you feel very strongly about this matter.

It is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. I am against late-term abortions and have long opposed them, except where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. As Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health, and I would sign such a bill now if it were presented to me.

Indeed, when I first heard the procedure referred to in H.R. 1833 described, I thought I would support the bill. But as I studied the matter and learned more about it, I came to understand that this is a rarely used procedure, justifiable as a last resort when doctors judge it necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious health consequences to her.

In the past months, I have learned of several cases of women who desperately wanted to have their babies, who were devastated to learn that their babies had fatal conditions and would not live, who wanted anything other than an abortion, but who were advised by their doctors that this procedure was their best chance to avert the risk of death or grave harm which, in some cases, would have included an inability to ever bear children again. For these women, this was not about choice. This was not about having a headache or fitting into a prom dress, as some have regrettably suggested. This was not about choosing against having a child. These babies were certain to perish before, during or shortly after birth. The only question was how much grave damage was going to be done to the woman.

In short, I do not support the use of this procedure on an elective basis where it is not necessary to save the life of the woman or prevent serious risks to her health.

IMMANUEL BAPTIST CHURCH

1000 Bishop Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202
Fax # (501) 396-3304

original
- ~~copy~~ sent
to NH

FAX COVER PAGE

DATE: April 2, 1996
FROM: Dr. Rex M. Home, Jr.
TO: Nancy Hernreich
FAX
NUMBER: 202-456-6703

IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE ALL OF THE PAGES
INDICATED, PLEASE CALL (501) 376-3071. THANK YOU.
FAX # (501) 396-3314

NUMBER OF PAGES: 3

- 4 Cardinals
- Fred Krueger
- Test on ² your part
- Rex Home
- Bilton

IMMANUEL
BAPTIST
CHURCH

4/3 ✓
cc Jmd
cc NB 4/3
g. to Joe Pres.
cc [unclear] [unclear]

April 2, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President,

I enjoyed visiting with you last night. I know you are glad to have Hillary and Chelsea home.

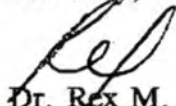
As you requested, I am sending you some names that you can send a detailed letter as to why you cannot sign the recently passed abortion bill. Rather than giving you a list of many pastors, I am sending you Jim Henry's address and the address of two Baptist press organizations. These reports will be picked up by religious groups all over the country.

Of course, you know, any report will become a lightening rod for a number of people. It is still my conviction that giving your reason is better than not giving an explanation.

I would appreciate a copy of what you send. If you would like for me to review it and send it back to you before you give it to the others, I would be glad to do so.

May the Lord bless you and always know of my prayers.

Sincerely,


Dr. Rex M. Horne, Jr.
RMH/mlw

Enclosure

Dr. Jim Henry
First Baptist Church
3701 L. B. McLeod Road
Orlando, Florida 32805-6691

Herb Hollinger
Baptist Press
901 Commerce Street #750
Nashville, Tennessee 37203-3699

Greg Warner
Associated Baptist Press
P.O. Box 23769
Jacksonville, Florida 32241

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

His Eminence Roger Cardinal Mahony
Archbishop of Los Angeles
1531 West Ninth Street
Los Angeles, California 90015-1194

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Bernardin
Archbishop of Chicago
Post Office Box 1979
Chicago, Illinois 60690

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

April 1, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House

Mr. President,

From both a policy and political point of view, I would urge you to support the recently passed House and Senate bill regarding late term "partial birth abortions." The legislation is an issue of significant concern to many people in the U.S., Catholics and non-Catholics alike.

As Pope John Paul II so appropriately stated in New York on October 6, 1995, "Is present day America becoming less sensitive, less caring toward the poor, the weak, the stranger, the needy? It must not! ... Both as Americans and as followers of Christ, American Catholics must be committed to the defense of life in all its stages and in every condition."

As someone who has the honor of representing you and our great country, I urge you to give careful consideration to this bill.

Respectfully,

Raymond L. Flynn
U.S. Ambassadorcc: Leon Panetta
Melanie Verveer
John Hart

The Rev

Dear Gordon

Gordon MacDonald
Grace Chapel
3 Militia Drive
Lexington, MA 02173

Willow Creek Community Church

A Fax From The Senior Pastor's Office

Sent To

Sent From

Name: NANCY HERNREICH

Bill Hybels by Jean Blount

Fax Number: 202/456-6703

Date: 4-10-96

Location: DC

Time: 11:50 AM

Number of Pages: 3

Comments:

NANCY -

BOTH OF THESE LETTERS WERE

ACCOMPANIED BY SOME MATERIAL

ON THE PARTIAL BIRTH ABORTION

BILL.

67 East Algonquin Road
South Barrington IL 60010
Phone: 708/765-5000
Fax: 708/765-9223



Willow Creek Community Church

January 3, 1996

President Clinton
c/o Nancy Hernreich
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20500-2000

Dear Bill:

Happy New Year! I trust that you and your family got some rest and "together time" over the holidays.

Enclosed are two items. The first is an approach to the end of the State of the Union Address. I'll do further work on it, if you request. The second is some reading for you on the partial birth abortion legislation. I can't stress enough what being on the wrong side of this issue will do to your support base in the Christian community. Although less than 600 of these procedures are done each year, the moral outrage over it has captured the hearts of tens of millions of Americans. In my opinion, signing the bill will cost you very little. Vetoing it will come to haunt you, not only in the near term, but all throughout the upcoming campaign. And if you ask me what I think Jesus would do if He were in your shoes. . . well, enough said.

You're a good man, Bill. And you are not only going to win re-election, but in your second term you are going to leave a legacy that will be honored for centuries! Really!

Here to help. . .

Your friend in Christ,

Bill Hybels

MEMORANDUM

96 APR 1 P 6:10

TO: PRESIDENT CLINTON

FROM: JOHN HART, Deputy Assistant to the President and
Deputy Director of Intergovernmental Affairs

DATE: APRIL 1, 1996

Cardinal Hickey asked me to personally convey the attached letter to you.

I also want to let you know that at six o'clock this evening members of the Catholic community will hold a vigil on the abortion legislation outside the White House. The vigil will be led by Cardinals Hickey, Law and Bernardin, as well as other prominent archbishops. The vigil reflects the depth of feeling within the Catholic community.



ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 EASTERN AVENUE
POST OFFICE BOX 29260
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

April 1, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

I make one last urgent appeal that you sign into law the Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act.

I beg you to do this because the late term procedure takes the life of the child in a particularly heinous fashion. This procedure is repugnant, even to many so-called "pro-choice" physicians, since it so clearly involves the slaying of a developed child already partially born.

Mr. President, for you to veto this legislation during a time so sacred to the Christian and Jewish traditions is a true slap in the face to all those who believe in the sanctity of life. Moreover, many other people not of these traditions grasp the wrongness of partial birth abortions. As President of all the people, please do not allow the strongly entrenched and well financed campaign of Planned Parenthood and other allied groups to negate, not only the will of Congress, but indeed the will of the clear majority of Americans.

Sincerely in Christ,

James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1996

The Reverend Gordon MacDonald
Grace Chapel
Three Militia Drive
Lexington, Massachusetts 02173

Dear Gordon:

I want to thank you for your letter on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and considered the strong moral convictions you expressed.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. I am against late-term abortions and have long opposed them, except where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. As Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health, and I would sign such a bill now if it were presented to me.

Indeed, when I first heard about the procedure referred to in H.R. 1833 described, I thought I would support the bill. But as I studied the matter and learned more about it, I came to understand that this is a rarely used procedure, justifiable as a last resort when doctors judge it necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious health consequences to her.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1996

The Reverend Rex M. Horne, Jr.
Immanuel Baptist Church
1000 Bishop Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202

Dear Rex:

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Dear Rex:

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In short, I do not support the use of this procedure on an elective basis where it is not necessary to save the life of the woman or prevent serious risks to her health.

That is why I implored Congress to add a limited exemption for the small number of compelling cases where use of the procedure is necessary to avoid serious health consequences. The life exception in the current bill fails to cover cases where the doctor believes not that the mother's death is probable, but rather that, without the procedure, serious physical harm, often including losing the ability to have more children, is very likely to occur. I want to say again that if Congress will amend the bill as I have suggested, remedying its constitutional and human defect, I will sign the bill.

Again, I thank you for your concern. These are painful and sobering issues. I understand your desire to eliminate the use of a procedure you see as inhumane. But to eliminate it without taking into consideration the rare and tragic circumstances in which its use may be necessary would be, in my judgment, even more inhumane.

Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help and your insight.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1996

The Reverend Anthony Campolo
Eastern College
10 Fairview Drive
St. Davids, Pennsylvania 19087

Dear Tony:

I wanted to let you know my thoughts regarding H.R. 1833, a bill banning a certain abortion procedure. I ~~understand~~ *know* that you feel very strongly about this matter.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. I am against late-term abortions and have long opposed them, except where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. As Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health, and I would sign such a bill now if it were presented to me.

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Sincerely,

Clinton Presidential Records

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the former location of a 3.5 floppy diskette.

NOTICE: The files from this diskette are not available because the disk is damaged, or the files are in an un-recognizable format.

Collection/FOIA: 2018-0662-S

Diskette Title: PARTIAL BIRTH LETTER

1st pages of ~~Q~~
9: per bir. fnl

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Cardinal Hickey of D.C.

Cardinal Mahony of CA

Cardinal Bernardin of IL

Cardinal Law of Boston

^{Fred C.}
Rev. Kammer, S.J.

Kate Britton

Pres. Charities USA
Suite 200
1731 King St
Alex VA 22314

* Dr. Jim Henry

* Herb Hollinger

* Greg Warner

Ambassador Flynn

* Gordon McDonald

* Bill Hybel

} from Rex Horne letter

* = don't do just yet

Sample

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 10, 1996

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

Dear Cardinal Hickey:

I want to thank you for your letters on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and considered the strong moral convictions you expressed.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. I am against late-term abortions and have long opposed them, except where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. As Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health, and I would sign such a bill now if it were presented to me.

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Kate Britton
8708 Brook Road
McLean, Virginia 22102
(703)442-8430 Telephone
(703)893-7354 Facsimile

4/8/96

X2

11:30 am

TO:

DATE:

OF PAGES:

COMMENTS:

Betty Henreich

Some words for The President
which I hope encourage.

Prayers for you today as well!
Blessings on you, dear Betty.
♥ Kara

This information contained in this facsimile message is privileged and/or confidential information intended only for the use of the individual or entity named above. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copy of this communication is unauthorized. If you have received this communication in error, please immediately notify us by telephone and return the original message to us at the above address via the U.S. Postal Office. Thank you.



Monday,
April 8, 1996

Dearest Bill,

I am praying for you constantly.
The LORD will show you how to defend
what is holy: LIFE.

"For I am the LORD, your God,
who holds your right hand:
It is I who say to you,
'Fear not, I will help you,
I will strengthen you.'
Is 41:10

Blessings to your holy family
in this extraordinary time.

With love & respect always,
in Jesus,
Bob Giaimo

Fortitude

Fortitude is the gift that gives to the will an impulse and an energy that enables it to act or endure lofty things, fearlessly and even joyfully, overcoming every obstacle. By its action the Holy Spirit takes possession of the soul from above and communicates mastery over oneself and over the external difficulties of life. While the virtue of fortitude does not remove a certain hesitancy and fear of difficulties and failure, the gift of fortitude gives one resolution, certainty, joy and certain hope of success. It therefore produces great results.

The gift of fortitude is displayed in two fundamental ways:

- in action, by undertaking without hesitation and fear the most arduous things in order to preserve and increase: goodness, faith, purity of conscience, chastity, hope, faith in divine providence, justice, reconciliation and above all sanctifying grace, which is supernatural life and love of the Lord;
- in patience, by enduring with courage and for love of Jesus Crucified: grave illnesses, tribulations of every kind, difficult trials and even martyrdom!

Since fortitude is a gift of the Holy Spirit, it does not come from us. So we must pray for it. We must ask for it, humbly recognizing our limits. The Holy Spirit fortifies those who are aware of their own weakness and who rely on the only One who can fortify them. This is the meaning of the words of St. Paul:

"God chose what is foolish in the world to shame the wise, God chose what is weak in the world to shame the strong, God chose what is low and despised in the world, even things that are not, to bring to nothing things that are, so that no human being might boast in the presence of God" - 1Cor 1, 27-29.



April 5, 1996
Good Friday

✓
Dearest Phil,

Prayers for you, dear friend, for consolation and wisdom, in this extraordinary time in your life and for our nation.

May you feel the LORD's loving presence and protection.

"Thou art my refuge in the day of evil."
Jer 17:17

"you are mine. I am your God.
I regard you as precious and I love you."

Is 43

With love,
Kad

WHATEVER did not fit in
with my plan did lie
within the plan of God.
I have an ever deeper
and firmer belief that
nothing is merely an
accident when seen in the
light of God, that my
whole life down to the
smallest details has been
marked out for me in the
plan of Divine Providence
and has a completely
coherent meaning in God's
all-seeing eyes. And so
I am beginning to rejoice
in the light of glory
wherein this meaning will
be unveiled to me.

*Words of Edith Stein, a convert from Judaism, and a Carmelite nun,
who died in 1942 in Auschwitz as Sister Teresa.
She was beatified on May 1, 1987.*

UNDOUBTEDLY, there will always and everywhere be this fearful truth:
*Our free will has the capacity to render useless
the best influence of the surrounding environment,
even that of Divine Grace.*

GOOD is whatever conforms itself to the will of God
and evil is all that is contrary to it.

*Words of Father Maximilian Kolbe, a native of Poland and a Franciscan priest,
who died in 1941 in Auschwitz (as #16670) by offering his life in place of a fellow prisoner.
He was canonized by Pope John Paul II on October 10, 1982 as,
"The patron saint of this difficult century."*

March 7, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3 28 96

MEMORANDUM

To: The President

From: Nancy Hernreich
Rebecca Cameron

Re: Kate Britton

Kate Britton wrote that she would like to come visit with you - for even 60 seconds - re: your intention to veto the partial-birth abortion bill. She asks this "in light of the significance of the issue and [her] deep concern for you."

Has she seen my
letter to Cong. on this - ? - Be

Easy Secy -
Can you get
me the letter?
fack info on it asap
Thanks -
MS

Attached is
the letter -
Do you want more
info to send her?

Let's see
(Kate Britton appeals to you to either sign Partial-Birth Abortion Bill or allow it to become law without your signature.

cc: Milki for
reply asap

pull all letters so Pres. can reply.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
February 28, 1996

The Honorable Henry J. Hyde
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I understand that the House is preparing to consider H.R. 1833, as amended by the Senate, which would prohibit doctors from performing a certain type of abortion. I want to make the Congress aware of my position on this extremely complex issue.

I have always believed that the decision to have an abortion should be between a woman, her conscience, her doctor, and her God. I strongly believe that legal abortions -- those abortions that the Supreme Court ruled in Roe v. Wade must be protected -- should be safe and rare. I have long opposed late-term abortions except, as the law requires, where they are necessary to protect the life of the mother or where there is a threat to her health. In fact, as Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions except where they were necessary to protect the life or health of the woman, consistent with the Supreme Court's rulings.

The procedure described in H.R. 1833 is very disturbing, and I cannot support its use on an elective basis, where the abortion is being performed for non-health related reasons and there are equally safe medical procedures available. As I understand it, however, there are rare and tragic situations that can occur in a woman's pregnancy in which, in a doctor's medical judgment, the use of this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to preserve her health. In those situations, the Constitution requires that a woman's ability to choose this procedure be protected.

I have studied and prayed about this issue, and about the families who must face this awful choice, for many months. I believe that we have a duty to try to find common ground: a resolution to this issue that respects the views of those -- including myself -- who object to this particular procedure, but also upholds the Supreme Court's requirement that laws regulating abortion protect both the life and the health of American women.

I have concluded that H.R. 1833 as drafted does not meet the constitutional requirements that the Supreme Court has imposed upon us, in Roe and the decisions that have followed it, to provide protections for both the life and the health of the mother in any laws regulating abortions.

I am prepared to support H.R. 1833, however, if it is amended to make clear that the prohibition of this procedure does not apply to situations in which the selection of the procedure, in the medical judgment of the attending physician, is necessary to preserve the life of the woman or avert serious adverse health consequences to the woman.

I urge the Congress to amend H.R. 1833 to ensure that it protects the life and the health of the woman, as the law we have been elected to uphold requires.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
February 28, 1996

The Honorable Joseph R. Biden, Jr.
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

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I have concluded that H.R. 1833 as drafted does not meet the constitutional requirements that the Supreme Court has imposed upon us, in Roe and the decisions that have followed it, to provide protections for both the life and the health of the mother in any laws regulating abortions.

I am prepared to support H.R. 1833, however, if it is amended to make clear that the prohibition of this procedure does not apply to situations in which the selection of the procedure, in the medical judgment of the attending physician, is necessary to preserve the life of the woman or avert serious adverse health consequences to the woman.

I urge the Congress to amend H.R. 1833 to ensure that it protects the life and the health of the woman, as the law we have been elected to uphold requires.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
February 28, 1996

The Honorable Orrin G. Hatch
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Hatch:

I understand that the House is preparing to consider H.R. 1833, as amended by the Senate, which would prohibit doctors from performing a certain type of abortion. I want to make the Congress aware of my position on this extremely complex issue.

I have always believed that the decision to have an abortion should be between a woman, her conscience, her doctor, and her God. I strongly believe that legal abortions -- those abortions that the Supreme Court ruled in Roe v. Wade must be protected -- should be safe and rare. I have long opposed late-term abortions except, as the law requires, where they are necessary to protect the life of the mother or where there is a threat to her health. In fact, as Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions except where they were necessary to protect the life or health of the woman, consistent with the Supreme Court's rulings.

The procedure described in H.R. 1833 is very disturbing, and I cannot support its use on an elective basis, where the abortion is being performed for non-health related reasons and there are equally safe medical procedures available. As I understand it, however, there are rare and tragic situations that can occur in a woman's pregnancy in which, in a doctor's medical judgment, the use of this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to preserve her health. In those situations, the Constitution requires that a woman's ability to choose this procedure be protected.

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Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
February 28, 1996

The Honorable John Conyers, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear John:

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No one can tell this story better than one of the women who has lived through it. At this time I would like to introduce Mary-Dorothy Line.

[MARY-DOROTHY LINE TELLS HER STORY]

Thank you, Ms. Line. Unfortunately, Mary-Dorothy Line is not alone.

Tammy and Mitchell Watts were elated when they found out she was going to have a baby. But, that joy was shattered when they found out in her seventh month that the fetus would not live and her health was in serious danger.

She and her husband, in consultation with their doctor and pastor, tearfully made the decision to terminate the suffering of the fetus and protect her own health and life. It was the toughest decision they ever had to make -- but it was right for them and gave them hope that someday they would have a healthy baby.

Thirty-two weeks into her pregnancy, Vicki Stella learned that her son had nine major abnormalities that added up to certain death. As a diabetic, Vicki's doctors advised her that she faced grave health risks if she were to go through with a delivery that her baby could not survive.

Vicki has two other children and she told me that she made the painful decision to terminate the pregnancy because those children needed her alive.

Seven months into her third pregnancy, Coreen Costello's doctors broke the devastating news that her fetus had a severe and fatal disorder. They told her that going through with the pregnancy would be dangerous and even life-threatening for her. After much agonizing soul-searching, she and her husband finally decided that the safest option for Coreen's health was to terminate the pregnancy.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue -- one that I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I have concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that, as in the cases of these families here today, there are rare and tragic situations where, in a doctor's judgement, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health. My concern is for the health of the mother. I am surprised that Congress would explicitly rule out consideration of the mother's health in this legislation.

I have always believed that abortion should be safe, legal and rare. And that the decision to have an abortion generally should be between a woman, her doctor, her conscience and her God -- not the Congress.

I have always opposed late-term abortions except where necessary to protect the life or health of the woman.

I am opposed to H.R. 1833 because it contains a fatal flaw. It does not allow women to protect themselves from serious threats to their health, as required by the Constitution. I cannot, in good conscience, sanction this injustice.

Few people are faced with the tragic choices that the families here today have had to make. And we should be careful to judge them if we have not walked in their shoes. Were it not for access to the safest procedure for these women, they might not be here today with us or their families. It is for them, their children and their families that I am compelled to veto H.R. 1833.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Terry Edmonds

Fax Number: 65709

Phone Number: 62777

FROM: Todd Stern

SUBJECT: Partial Birth Abortion

DATE: April 10, 1996

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

MESSAGE: 9 11

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

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DRAFT

STATEMENT BY

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

VETO OF H.R. 1833

THE WHITE HOUSE

APRIL 10, 1996

96 APR 9 PG:20

[illegible]

Good afternoon. I have just met with four courageous women who have had to make a potentially life-saving, although tragic decision to have the kind of abortion that would be banned by H.R. 1833. They represent a small, but extremely vulnerable group of women in this country. They may have different faiths...different political views...and come from different parts of the country. But, they have one thing in common: they all wanted their children; they didn't want to have abortions; and they made the agonizing choice only when it became clear that their babies would not survive and their own lives and health were in grave danger.

No one can tell this story better than one of the women who has lived through it. At this time I would like to introduce Mary-Dorothy Line.

[MARY-DOROTHY LINE TELLS HER STORY]

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She and her husband, in consultation with their doctor and pastor, tearfully made the decision to terminate the suffering of the fetus and protect her own health and life. It was the toughest decision they ever had to make -- but it was right for them and gave them hope that someday they would have a healthy baby.

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Vicki has two other children and she told me that she made the painful decision to terminate the pregnancy because those children needed her alive.

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This is a difficult and disturbing issue -- one that I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I have concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that, as in the cases of these families here today, there are rare and tragic situations where, in a doctor's judgement, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health. My concern is for the health of the mother. I am surprised that Congress would explicitly rule out consideration of the mother's health in this legislation.

I have always believed that abortion should be safe, legal and rare. And that the decision to have an abortion generally should be between a woman, her doctor, her conscience and her God -- not the Congress.

I have always opposed late-term abortions except where necessary to protect the life or health of the woman.

I am opposed to H.R. 1833 because it contains a fatal flaw. It does not allow women to protect themselves from serious threats to their health, as required by the Constitution. I cannot, in good conscience, sanction this injustice.

Few people are faced with the tragic choices that the families here today have had to make. And we should be careful to judge them if we have not walked in their shoes. Were it not for access to the safest procedure for these women, they might not be here today with us or their families. It is for them, their children and their families that I am compelled to veto H.R. 1833.

Thank you.

April 10, 1996

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

Dear Cardinal Hickey:

I want to thank you for your letters on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and considered the strong moral convictions you expressed.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. I am against late-term abortions and have long opposed them, except where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. As Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health, and I would sign such a bill now if it were presented to me.

Indeed, when I first heard the procedure referred to in H.R. 1833 described, I thought I would support the bill. But as I studied the matter and learned more about it, I came to understand that this is a rarely used procedure, justifiable as a last resort when doctors judge it necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious health consequences to her.

In the past months, I have learned of several cases of women who desperately wanted to have their babies, who were devastated to learn that their babies had fatal conditions and would not live, who wanted anything other than an abortion, but who were advised by their doctors that this procedure was their best chance to avert the risk of death or grave harm which, in some cases, would have included an inability to ever bear children again. For these women, this was not about choice. This was not about having a headache or fitting into a prom dress, as some have regrettably suggested. This was not about choosing against having a child. These babies were certain to perish before, during or shortly after birth. The only question was how much grave damage was going to be done to the woman.

Therefore, it is simply not accurate to say that I support a broad exception that would allow the widespread use of this procedure. I do not support the use of this procedure on an elective basis where it is not necessary to save the life of the woman or prevent serious risks to her health.

And that is why I implored Congress to add a limited exemption for the small number of compelling cases where use of the

procedure is necessary to avoid serious health consequences. The life exception in the current bill is not adequate. The cases I have in mind are not those where a doctor is convinced that a woman risks death, but where the doctor knows that the woman risks grave harm. I made clear then and I make clear now that if Congress amended the bill as I have suggested, remedying its constitutional and human defect, I would sign the bill.

Again, I thank you for your letters. These are painful and sobering issues. I understand your desire to eliminate the use of a procedure you see as inhumane. But to eliminate it without taking into consideration the rare and tragic circumstances in which its use may be necessary is, in my judgment, even more inhumane.

Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help and your insight.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Melanne Verveer

Fax Number: 66244

Phone Number: 66266

FROM: Todd Stern

SUBJECT: Partial Birth Abortion

DATE: April 10, 1996

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 911

MESSAGE:

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

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DRAFT

STATEMENT BY

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

VETO OF H.R. 1833

THE WHITE HOUSE

APRIL 10, 1996

96 APR 9 19:20

9:20

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Good afternoon. I have just met with four courageous women who have had to make a potentially life-saving, although tragic decision to have the kind of abortion that would be banned by H.R. 1833. They represent a small, but extremely vulnerable group of women in this country. They may have different faiths...different political views...and come from different parts of the country. But, they have one thing in common: they all wanted their children; they didn't want to have abortions; and they made the agonizing choice only when it became clear that their babies would not survive and their own lives and health were in grave danger.

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[MARY-DOROTHY LINE TELLS HER STORY]

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This is a difficult and disturbing issue -- one that I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I have concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that, as in the cases of these families here today, there are rare and tragic situations where, in a doctor's judgement, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health. My concern is for the health of the mother. I am surprised that Congress would explicitly rule out consideration of the mother's health in this legislation.

I have always believed that abortion should be safe, legal and rare. And that the decision to have an abortion generally should be between a woman, her doctor, her conscience and her God -- not the Congress.

I have always opposed late-term abortions except where necessary to protect the life or health of the woman.

I am opposed to H.R. 1833 because it contains a fatal flaw. It does not allow women to protect themselves from serious threats to their health, as required by the Constitution. I cannot, in good conscience, sanction this injustice.

Few people are faced with the tragic choices that the families here today have had to make. And we should be careful to judge them if we have not walked in their shoes. Were it not for access to the safest procedure for these women, they might not be here today with us or their families. It is for them, their children and their families that I am compelled to veto H.R. 1833.

Thank you.

HOUSE
IRON

April 8. _____

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

Dear Cardinal Hickey:

I want to thank you for your letters on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and have considered your strong moral convictions.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

I have been moved, for example, by the stories of a number of young women who, although very opposed to abortion, ended up relying on the intact dilation and evacuation procedure upon the advice of their doctors in order to avoid the grave health consequences they otherwise faced.

My hope is that a common ground can be found on this issue that respects the views of those, including myself, who find this procedure enormously troubling, while at the same time upholding the Constitutional requirement that laws regulating abortion protect the life and health of American women and allowing doctors to exercise their best medical judgment in the rare cases where this procedure may be necessary to save a woman from serious adverse health consequences.

I cannot sign H.R. 1833 as drafted because in permitting an exception solely to preserve a woman's life, it does not meet the legal requirements of the Constitution or protect American women against the risk of serious harm.

Again, I thank you for your letters. These are painful and sobering issues. Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help, your insight, and, at times, even your criticism.

Sincerely,



ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 EASTERN AVENUE
POST OFFICE BOX 20260
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

April 1, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

I make one last urgent appeal that you sign into law the Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act.

I beg you to do this because the late term procedure takes the life of the child in a particularly heinous fashion. This procedure is repugnant, even to many so-called "pro-choice" physicians, since it so clearly involves the slaying of a developed child already partially born.

Mr. President, for you to veto this legislation during a time so sacred to the Christian and Jewish traditions is a true slap in the face to all those who believe in the sanctity of life. Moreover, many other people not of these traditions grasp the wrongness of partial birth abortions. As President of all the people, please do not allow the strongly entrenched and well financed campaign of Planned Parenthood and other allied groups to negate, not only the will of Congress, but indeed the will of the clear majority of Americans.

Sincerely in Christ,

James Cardinal Sheen
Archbishop of Washington

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.



OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

7001 EASTERN AVENUE
POST OFFICE BOX 29260
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

February 29, 1996

154161
COPY
from ORM

Dear Mr. President,

I appreciate the call I received a few days ago from Mr. Leon Panetta concerning H.R. 1833, the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act. I also received a copy of your letter to Senator Orrin Hatch for which I am grateful.

But, Mr. President, I must protest your position on this bill with urgency and candor. The "health exception" subverts the entire intent of the bill. It permits abortion on demand of the most heinous type. In my weekly column to the Catholics of the Archdiocese, I explained that the "health exception" is a camouflage; it refers not only to the physical health of the mother but also to her presumed psychological and social well being.

In fact, there is no true medical reason for partial birth abortions. Medical experts do not maintain that this procedure saves the life of the mother nor does she derive any other medical benefit. What we do know is that partial birth abortion takes the life of a fully formed infant about to take a first breath.

Mr. President, if we deny the humanity of children as they are being born, whose humanity will next be denied?

I urge you to exercise moral leadership by signing H.R. 1833 into law without the so-called "health exception."

Sincerely,

James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.



ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 EASTERN AVENUE
POST OFFICE BOX 29260
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

December 14, 1995

Dear Mr. President,

I find myself writing to you once again about a matter of some urgency concerning abortion. In the spirit of our past conversations, I appreciate your willingness to seriously consider my correspondence.

It is my understanding that you will soon be asked to sign the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act, which has been passed in both the House and the Senate (with a few minor differences between the bills which will likely be settled in favor of the Senate version). As both of us are aware at this point, the partial-birth procedure is a particularly awful form of abortion. A live child in the very process of being delivered with her body mostly outside of the mother, is brutally stabbed, and her head crushed before being completely delivered.

Supporters of abortion have attempted to deflect attention away from the partial-birth abortion itself. They have repeatedly made false claims about the nature of the procedure, the reasons doctors perform them, the actual cause of death of the child, and many other matters. Their claims are just as frequently contradicted by the very doctors who perform these and other late term abortions, and by other medical experts.

It is not possible in the case of this abortion, however, to avoid the thing in itself. Anyone reading about or seeing pictures of this procedure is confronted with the terrible reality of what is happening. The partial-birth abortion is one-fifth abortion and four-fifths infanticide. There is not moral justification for continuing to allow partly-born children to be killed in this brutal manner.

I urge you, Mr. President, to sign this bill into law. If there is anything further I can do to assist you in your consideration of this matter, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely in Christ,

James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC

158538
WE003

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 26, 1996

C O P Y
from ORM

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

Dear Cardinal Hickey:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter.
I understand how you feel about the difficult
issue of the so-called "partial birth abortion."

As you know, I have long believed the decision to
have an abortion should be between a woman, her
conscience, her doctor, and her faith. Abortions
should be safe, legal, and rare -- and I'm working
hard toward those goals. I have opposed late-
term abortions, except where they are necessary
to protect the life or health of the woman. Since
currently proposed legislation fails to provide
for consideration of the woman's health or, in the
case of the House bill, even her life, I cannot
support it.

This issue demands careful reflection and prayer,
and I am fortunate to have your insights.

Sincerely,



ITE HOUSE

INGTON

April 8, 1996

His Eminence Roger Cardinal Mahony
Archbishop of Los Angeles
1531 West Ninth Street
Los Angeles, California 90015-1194

Dear Cardinal Mahony:

I want to thank you for your letter on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and have considered your strong moral convictions.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

I have been moved, for example, by the stories of a number of young women who, although very opposed to abortion, ended up relying on the intact dilation and evacuation procedure upon the advice of their doctors in order to avoid the grave health consequences they otherwise faced.

My hope is that a common ground can be found on this issue that respects the views of those, including myself, who find this procedure enormously troubling, while at the same time upholding the Constitutional requirement that laws regulating abortion protect the life and health of American women and allowing doctors to exercise their best medical judgment in the rare cases where this procedure may be necessary to save a woman from serious adverse health consequences.

I cannot sign H.R. 1833 as drafted because in permitting an exception solely to preserve a woman's life, it does not meet the legal requirements of the Constitution or protect American women against the risk of serious harm.

Again, I thank you for your letter. These are painful and sobering issues. Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help, your insight, and, at times, even your criticism.

Sincerely,

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MAR-31-96 SUN 8:52

202 541 3054

NCCB/PRO-LIFE

004

Cardinal's Residence

FAX NO. 0000000

P. 02



Archdiocese of Los Angeles

Office of
the Archbishop
(213) 251-3288

1531
West Ninth
Street

Los Angeles
California
90015-1194

Palm Sunday
March 31, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Just one year ago, Palm Sunday of 1995 [April 9], you and Mrs. Clinton graced our St. Vibiana's Cathedral for our 10:00 a.m. Palm Sunday Liturgy.

We were very pleased to have you with us for the beginning of Holy Week, and we were grateful that you chose to join us for prayer on this most solemn day.

At the conclusion of our Palm Sunday Mass I gave you a copy of Pope John Paul II's newest Encyclical Letter, *The Gospel of Life*, and given your love for the Scriptures and God's Word, I urged you to read this important Letter emphasizing our call to pursue the "culture of life," not the "culture of death."

This very Holy Week there is grave concern in my heart that a very small minority of people in our country may be urging you to veto the Late Term Abortion Ban legislation recently sent to you. Congress has placed in the legislation ample protection for the life of the mother, should that very rare situation occur. While we as Catholics do not permit abortion for any reason, you should be amply assured that the only imaginable exception has been provided for.

I cannot imagine anything more contrary to this Holiest of Weeks than for our President to veto such important legislation. This ban is supported heavily across our nation--even by those normally favoring abortion rights. Vast majorities of doctors--including those performing abortions--testify that there is simply no need to perform late term abortions, and that the practice of such abortions flies in the face of sound medical practice--not to mention the resulting, horrible death of a baby just moments from life.

The vast Catholic Community across our land is following very closely your Presidential action on this vital legislation. Our assessment of whether your application of general moral principles and courageous leadership harmonizes with

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202 541 3054
Cardinal's Residence

NCCB/PRO-LIFE

FAX NO. 0000000

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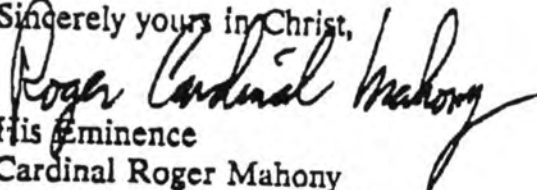
the basic beliefs of the vast majority of Americans will hinge upon your action on this crucial legislation.

I cannot envision any step more repugnant than to have our President veto such essential legislation, and do it during Holy Week or Easter Week. Nothing could be more contradictory.

Once again I implore you to SIGN the Late Term Abortion Ban that is before you, and to allow the value and dignity of God's great gift of human life prevail. Let this truly be a most "Holy" Week and joyous Easter Season by signing into law a necessary protection for each human life.

Thanking you for your thoughtful consideration of my concerns and my urgent plea, and with kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,

+ 
His Eminence
Cardinal Roger Mahony
Archbishop of Los Angeles

j



ITE HOUSE

INGTON

April 3, 1983

His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Bernardin
Archbishop of Chicago
Post Office Box 1979
Chicago, Illinois 60690

Dear Cardinal Bernardin:

I want to thank you for your letter on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and have considered your strong moral convictions.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

I have been moved, for example, by the stories of a number of young women who, although very opposed to abortion, ended up relying on the intact dilation and evacuation procedure upon the advice of their doctors in order to avoid the grave health consequences they otherwise faced.

My hope is that a common ground can be found on this issue that respects the views of those, including myself, who find this procedure enormously troubling, while at the same time upholding the Constitutional requirement that laws regulating abortion protect the life and health of American women and allowing doctors to exercise their best medical judgment in the rare cases where this procedure may be necessary to save a woman from serious adverse health consequences.

I cannot sign H.R. 1833 as drafted because in permitting an exception solely to preserve a woman's life, it does not meet the legal requirements of the Constitution or protect American women against the risk of serious harm.

Again, I thank you for your letter. These are painful and sobering issues. Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help, your insight, and, at times, even your criticism.

Sincerely,

3123376379 CARDINAL BERNARDIN

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ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO

Office of the Archbishop

Post Office Box 1979
Chicago, Illinois 60690

April 1, 1996

Dear President Clinton:

This letter will come as no surprise because of our previous correspondence. I am profoundly saddened by your intention to veto the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act.

In fact, Mr. President, I find it incomprehensible that you would choose to ignore such an unusual consensus on abortion-related legislation. The bill enjoyed majority support among the American people and among our elected representatives in the House and Senate.

Likewise, I do not find the reasons you have given for your veto to be convincing. There is no justification -- medically, legally or morally -- for allowing such an abhorrent procedure as partial-birth abortion to be performed on any member of our human family.

Mr. President, as you have so often noted, we already live in a society plagued by brutality, particularly, brutality against children. By your veto, however, I fear that you will send a very disturbing message to the people of this nation, one to which persons of good will must give serious consideration as they cast their ballots in November.

Please reconsider your position. Now is a time for reasoned debate and consensus building. The politics of extremism must be left behind. Let us work together to protect the lives of the vulnerable -- most especially the unborn.

With cordial good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Card. Bernardin
Archbishop of Chicago

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1970

His Eminence Bernard Cardinal Law
Archbishop of Boston
Cardinal's Residence
2101 Commonwealth Avenue
Brighton, Massachusetts 02135

Dear Cardinal Law:

I want to thank you for your letter on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and have considered your strong moral convictions.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

I have been moved, for example, by the stories of a number of young women who, although very opposed to abortion, ended up relying on the intact dilation and evacuation procedure upon the advice of their doctors in order to avoid the grave health consequences they otherwise faced.

My hope is that a common ground can be found on this issue that respects the views of those, including myself, who find this procedure enormously troubling, while at the same time upholding the Constitutional requirement that laws regulating abortion protect the life and health of American women and allowing doctors to exercise their best medical judgment in the rare cases where this procedure may be necessary to save a woman from serious adverse health consequences.

I cannot sign H.R. 1833 as drafted because in permitting an exception solely to preserve a woman's life, it does not meet the legal requirements of the Constitution or protect American women against the risk of serious harm.

Again, I thank you for your letter. These are painful and sobering issues. Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help, your insight, and, at times, even your criticism.

Sincerely,



CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

February 22, 1996

The Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20050

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter explaining that you feel compelled to veto H.R. 1833, the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 1995, because it does not contain a "health exception," which leads you to believe that is not in conformity with Roe v. Wade.

Mr. President, Roe v. Wade did not address the legality of killing a child in the process of birth as described in the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act. In fact, it was a crime in Texas in 1973 to kill a child in such a manner, and it is a crime in Texas today because the plaintiffs in Roe specifically did not challenge it.

Adding a "health exception" to the bill would render the bill meaningless. As you know, Mr. President, in Doe v. Bolton, the Supreme Court defined "health" as related to abortion, to include all manner of physical, emotional, and social factors that add or detract from one's overall "well being." Adding language to the bill that would allow partial-birth abortions to be performed, for example, in cases of "serious adverse health consequences" (as offered by Senator Barbara Boxer, and defeated in the Senate) would continue to allow this horrible procedure because of a mother's "serious" financial concerns, or because the mother was "much too young" or simply was very unhappy about having a child--all under the guise of "health."

The National Abortion Rights Action League says that "medically necessary" is a "term which generally includes the broadest range of situations for which a state will fund abortion." Regarding the meaning of this same term, former Senator Robert Packwood, a leading advocate of abortion, asked: "Is there any abortion that couldn't fit within this definition?" The answer to Mr. Packwood's question is no. There is no abortion that couldn't fit within a definition of "medically necessary."

The Honorable William Clinton
February 22, 1996
Page 2

Nor would the partial-birth procedure be used in a true medical emergency. It is a procedure that requires three days so that the cervix can be dilated sufficiently to allow partial delivery before the child can be killed. Asked why the abortion practitioner does not dilate the cervix for another day and deliver a live child, Dr. Martin Haskell, who performs such abortions, explains that a live child is not the desired outcome: "The point here," says Haskell, "is you're attempting to do an abortion" (Senate Report No. J-104-54, p. 23).

Nor does this procedure serve women's health; in fact, it actually poses new risks for women. It requires the abortion practitioner to turn the child in utero from the normal "head first" position into a breech position. The abortion practitioner who virtually wrote the how-to book on late-term abortions, Dr. Warren Hern, calls the partial-birth abortion procedure "potentially dangerous." He says, "You can't really defend it...I would dispute any statement that this is the safest procedure to use" (American Medical News, November 20, 1995).

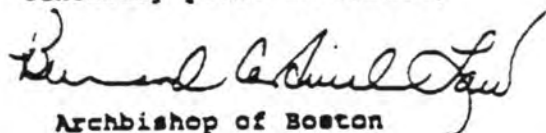
Several women testified before Congress about their experiences with "partial-birth abortions." But none had had a partial-birth abortion as defined in the bill. In fact, one woman testified that she would never have allowed her live child to be mostly delivered and then brutally killed. But that is the only procedure that the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act would prohibit.

There is no reason, constitutional or otherwise, to allow children, in the very process of birth, to be killed, and killed in a manner unworthy of a civilized people.

Mr. President, I urge you once again to sign H.R. 1833 into law.

Asking God to bless you, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,


Archbishop of Boston

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1996

The Reverend Fred C. Kammer, S.J.
President
Catholic Charities USA
Suite 200
1731 King Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your note on the "partial birth" bill. I understand how strongly you feel about it.

I have found this to be a terribly difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. It was only after a great deal of reflection, and after pondering the consequences, however unintended, that I believe this legislation could have on the lives of certain women, that I reached my decision.

I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available; however, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

In reaching my decision, I have been moved by the stories of a number of young women -- some of them staunchly pro-life -- who ended up relying on this procedure upon the advice of their doctors in order to avoid grave health consequences. I cannot, in good conscience, sign a bill that would make it impossible for doctors, in their best medical judgment, to use this procedure in such circumstances.

These are painful and sobering issues. Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, it is important to me that we continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. Thank you for your insight, your support and your heartfelt criticism.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1996

MR. PRESIDENT:

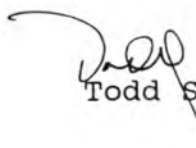
As you may recall, Cardinal Hickey sent you a letter on the partial birth abortion issue in December. A draft response was prepared and sent up to you, but you didn't sign it. Hickey then sent a letter in February (which I did not see until last week) and another on April 1.

Melanne has now heard from Father Donovan at Georgetown that Cardinal Hickey is unhappy about not having received a response.

We obviously can't make Hickey happy on the substance, but we don't want to compound the problem by giving him cause to say he didn't get a response from you. Consequently, I have tried my hand at preparing a new letter.

In addition, John Hart has received letters from Cardinals Bernardin, Law and Mahoney, which I have just seen. I have had the same letter prepared to them.

Finally, you also recently received letters from Amb. Flynn and Rev. Fred Kammer on this issue. I have prepared a draft answer to the Kammer letter as well, and will prepare one for Flynn if you wish.


Todd Stern



OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 EASTERN AVENUE
POST OFFICE BOX 29260
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

April 1, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

I make one last urgent appeal that you sign into law the Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act.

I beg you to do this because the late term procedure takes the life of the child in a particularly heinous fashion. This procedure is repugnant, even to many so-called "pro-choice" physicians, since it so clearly involves the slaying of a developed child already partially born.

Mr. President, for you to veto this legislation during a time so sacred to the Christian and Jewish traditions is a true slap in the face to all those who believe in the sanctity of life. Moreover, many other people not of these traditions grasp the wrongness of partial birth abortions. As President of all the people, please do not allow the strongly entrenched and well financed campaign of Planned Parenthood and other allied groups to negate, not only the will of Congress, but indeed the will of the clear majority of Americans.

Sincerely in Christ,

James Cardinal Sheen
Archbishop of Washington

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.



ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 EASTERN AVENUE
POST OFFICE BOX 29260
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

154161

COPY
from ORM

OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

February 29, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

I appreciate the call I received a few days ago from Mr. Leon Panetta concerning H.R. 1833, the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act. I also received a copy of your letter to Senator Orrin Hatch for which I am grateful.

But, Mr. President, I must protest your position on this bill with urgency and candor. The "health exception" subverts the entire intent of the bill. It permits abortion on demand of the most heinous type. In my weekly column to the Catholics of the Archdiocese, I explained that the "health exception" is a camouflage; it refers not only to the physical health of the mother but also to her presumed psychological and social well being.

In fact, there is no true medical reason for partial birth abortions. Medical experts do not maintain that this procedure saves the life of the mother nor does she derive any other medical benefit. What we do know is that partial birth abortion takes the life of a fully formed infant about to take a first breath.

Mr. President, if we deny the humanity of children as they are being born, whose humanity will next be denied?

I urge you to exercise moral leadership by signing H.R. 1833 into law without the so-called "health exception."

Sincerely,

James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.



ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 EASTERN AVENUE
POST OFFICE BOX 29260
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

December 14, 1995

Dear Mr. President,

I find myself writing to you once again about a matter of some urgency concerning abortion. In the spirit of our past conversations, I appreciate your willingness to seriously consider my correspondence.

It is my understanding that you will soon be asked to sign the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act, which has been passed in both the House and the Senate (with a few minor differences between the bills which will likely be settled in favor of the Senate version). As both of us are aware at this point, the partial-birth procedure is a particularly awful form of abortion. A live child in the very process of being delivered with her body mostly outside of the mother, is brutally stabbed, and her head crushed before being completely delivered.

Supporters of abortion have attempted to deflect attention away from the partial-birth abortion itself. They have repeatedly made false claims about the nature of the procedure, the reasons doctors perform them, the actual cause of death of the child, and many other matters. Their claims are just as frequently contradicted by the very doctors who perform these and other late term abortions, and by other medical experts.

It is not possible in the case of this abortion, however, to avoid the thing in itself. Anyone reading about or seeing pictures of this procedure is confronted with the terrible reality of what is happening. The partial-birth abortion is one-fifth abortion and four-fifths infanticide. There is not moral justification for continuing to allow partly-born children to be killed in this brutal manner.

I urge you, Mr. President, to sign this bill into law. If there is anything further I can do to assist you in your consideration of this matter, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely in Christ,

+ James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 26, 1996

COPY
from ORM

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

Dear Cardinal Hickey:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter. I understand how you feel about the difficult issue of the so-called "partial birth abortion."

As you know, I have long believed the decision to have an abortion should be between a woman, her conscience, her doctor, and her faith. Abortions should be safe, legal, and rare -- and I'm working hard toward those goals. I have opposed late-term abortions, except where they are necessary to protect the life or health of the woman. Since currently proposed legislation fails to provide for consideration of the woman's health or, in the case of the House bill, even her life, I cannot support it.

This issue demands careful reflection and prayer, and I am fortunate to have your insights.

Sincerely,

MAR-31-96 SUN 8:52

Cardinal's Residence

FAX NO. 0000000

P. 02



Archdiocese of Los Angeles

Office of
the Archbishop
(213) 251-32881531
West Ninth
StreetLos Angeles
California
90015-1194

Palm Sunday
March 31, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Just one year ago, Palm Sunday of 1995 [April 9], you and Mrs. Clinton graced our St. Vibiana's Cathedral for our 10:00 a.m. Palm Sunday Liturgy.

We were very pleased to have you with us for the beginning of Holy Week, and we were grateful that you chose to join us for prayer on this most solemn day.

At the conclusion of our Palm Sunday Mass I gave you a copy of Pope John Paul II's newest Encyclical Letter, *The Gospel of Life*, and given your love for the Scriptures and God's Word, I urged you to read this important Letter emphasizing our call to pursue the "culture of life," not the "culture of death."

This very Holy Week there is grave concern in my heart that a very small minority of people in our country may be urging you to veto the Late Term Abortion Ban legislation recently sent to you. Congress has placed in the legislation ample protection for the life of the mother, should that very rare situation occur. While we as Catholics do not permit abortion for any reason, you should be amply assured that the only imaginable exception has been provided for.

I cannot imagine anything more contrary to this Holiest of Weeks than for our President to veto such important legislation. This ban is supported heavily across our nation--even by those normally favoring abortion rights. Vast majorities of doctors--including those performing abortions--testify that there is simply no need to perform late term abortions, and that the practice of such abortions flies in the face of sound medical practice--not to mention the resulting, horrible death of a baby just moments from life.

The vast Catholic Community across our land is following very closely your Presidential action on this vital legislation. Our assessment of whether your application of general moral principles and courageous leadership harmonizes with

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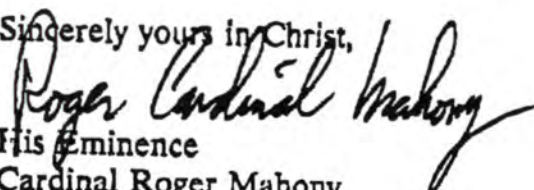
the basic beliefs of the vast majority of Americans will hinge upon your action on this crucial legislation.

I cannot envision any step more repugnant than to have our President veto such essential legislation, and do it during Holy Week or Easter Week. Nothing could be more contradictory.

Once again I implore you to SIGN the Late Term Abortion Ban that is before you, and to allow the value and dignity of God's great gift of human life prevail. Let this truly be a most "Holy" Week and joyous Easter Season by signing into law a necessary protection for each human life.

Thanking you for your thoughtful consideration of my concerns and my urgent plea, and with kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,

+ 
His Eminence
Cardinal Roger Mahony
Archbishop of Los Angeles

j



CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE

2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

February 22, 1996

The Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20050

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter explaining that you feel compelled to veto H.R. 1833, the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 1995, because it does not contain a "health exception," which leads you to believe that is not in conformity with Roe v. Wade.

Mr. President, Roe v. Wade did not address the legality of killing a child in the process of birth as described in the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act. In fact, it was a crime in Texas in 1973 to kill a child in such a manner, and it is a crime in Texas today because the plaintiffs in Roe specifically did not challenge it.

Adding a "health exception" to the bill would render the bill meaningless. As you know, Mr. President, in Doe v. Bolton, the Supreme Court defined "health" as related to abortion, to include all manner of physical, emotional, and social factors that add or detract from one's overall "well being." Adding language to the bill that would allow partial-birth abortions to be performed, for example, in cases of "serious adverse health consequences" (as offered by Senator Barbara Boxer, and defeated in the Senate) would continue to allow this horrible procedure because of a mother's "serious" financial concerns, or because the mother was "much too young" or simply was very unhappy about having a child--all under the guise of "health."

The National Abortion Rights Action League says that "medically necessary" is a "term which generally includes the broadest range of situations for which a state will fund abortion." Regarding the meaning of this same term, former Senator Robert Packwood, a leading advocate of abortion, asked: "Is there any abortion that couldn't fit within this definition?" The answer to Mr. Packwood's question is no. There is no abortion that couldn't fit within a definition of "medically necessary."

The Honorable William Clinton
February 22, 1996
Page 2

Nor would the partial-birth procedure be used in a true medical emergency. It is a procedure that requires three days so that the cervix can be dilated sufficiently to allow partial delivery before the child can be killed. Asked why the abortion practitioner does not dilate the cervix for another day and deliver a live child, Dr. Martin Haskell, who performs such abortions, explains that a live child is not the desired outcome: "The point here," says Haskell, "is you're attempting to do an abortion" (Senate Report No. J-104-54, p. 23).

Nor does this procedure serve women's health; in fact, it actually poses new risks for women. It requires the abortion practitioner to turn the child in utero from the normal "head first" position into a breech position. The abortion practitioner who virtually wrote the how-to book on late-term abortions, Dr. Warren Hern, calls the partial-birth abortion procedure "potentially dangerous." He says, "You can't really defend it...I would dispute any statement that this is the safest procedure to use" (American Medical News, November 20, 1995).

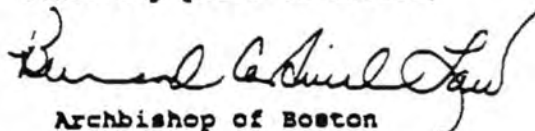
Several women testified before Congress about their experiences with "partial-birth abortions." But none had had a partial-birth abortion as defined in the bill. In fact, one woman testified that she would never have allowed her live child to be mostly delivered and then brutally killed. But that is the only procedure that the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act would prohibit.

There is no reason, constitutional or otherwise, to allow children, in the very process of birth, to be killed, and killed in a manner unworthy of a civilized people.

Mr. President, I urge you once again to sign H.R. 1833 into law.

Asking God to bless you, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bernard Cardinal Law". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, stylized initial 'B'.

Archbishop of Boston

ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO

Office of the Archbishop



Post Office Box 1979
Chicago, Illinois 60690

April 1, 1996

Dear President Clinton:

This letter will come as no surprise because of our previous correspondence. I am profoundly saddened by your intention to veto the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act.

In fact, Mr. President, I find it incomprehensible that you would choose to ignore such an unusual consensus on abortion-related legislation. The bill enjoyed majority support among the American people and among our elected representatives in the House and Senate.

Likewise, I do not find the reasons you have given for your veto to be convincing. There is no justification -- medically, legally or morally -- for allowing such an abhorrent procedure as partial-birth abortion to be performed on any member of our human family.

Mr. President, as you have so often noted, we already live in a society plagued by brutality, particularly, brutality against children. By your veto, however, I fear that you will send a very disturbing message to the people of this nation, one to which persons of good will must give serious consideration as they cast their ballots in November.

Please reconsider your position. Now is a time for reasoned debate and consensus building. The politics of extremism must be left behind. Let us work together to protect the lives of the vulnerable -- most especially the unborn.

With cordial good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Carl Bernardin
Archbishop of Chicago

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

April 8, 1996

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

Dear Cardinal Hickey:

I want to thank you for your letters on the bill to ban so-called "partial birth abortion." I appreciate your strong convictions.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

I was moved, for example, by the story of a young Catholic woman who became pregnant last year with her first child. More than 20 weeks into her pregnancy, after concluding that her baby had hydrocephalus and that there was no hope, her doctors recommended the intact dilation and evacuation procedure in order to minimize the trauma to her body and to best preserve her ability to become pregnant again. Although the loss of their baby was devastating, she and her husband are now, thankfully, expecting a child in the fall.

My hope is that a common ground can be found on this issue that respects the views of those, including myself, who find this procedure enormously troubling, while at the same time upholding the Constitutional requirement that laws regulating abortion protect the life and health of American women and allowing doctors to exercise their best medical judgment in the rare cases where this procedure may be necessary to save a woman from serious adverse health consequences.

I cannot sign H.R. 1833 as drafted because in permitting an exception solely to preserve a woman's life, it does not meet the legal requirements of the Constitution or protect American women against the risk of serious harm.

Again, I thank you for your letters. These are painful and sobering issues. I remain hopeful that we can all find an appropriate common ground.

Sincerely,
BC/TS/ckb (4PRES) (hickey.ltr)
Xeroxed copy of signed original to NH thru Todd Stern
CLEAR THRU JOHN PODESTA
PRESIDENT TO SIGN

April 9, 1996

The Reverend Fred C. Kammer, S.J.
President
Catholic Charities USA
Suite 200
1731 King Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your note on the "partial birth" bill. I understand how strongly you feel about it.

I have found this to be a terribly difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. It was only after a great deal of reflection, and after pondering the consequences, however unintended, that I believe this legislation could have on the lives of certain women, that I reached my decision.

I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available; however, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

In reaching my decision, I have been moved by the stories of a number of young women -- some of them Catholic and staunchly pro-life -- who ended up relying on this procedure upon the advice of their doctors in order to avoid grave health consequences. I cannot, in good conscience, sign a bill that would make it impossible for doctors, in their best medical judgment, to use this procedure in such circumstances.

These are painful and sobering issues. Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, it is important to me that we continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. Thank you for your insight, your support and your heartfelt criticism.

Sincerely,

April 9, 1996

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

Dear Cardinal Hickey:

I want to thank you for your letters on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and considered the strong moral convictions you expressed.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

I have been moved, for example, by the stories of a number of young women who, although very opposed to abortion, ended up relying on the intact dilation and evacuation procedure upon the advice of their doctors in order to avoid the grave health consequences they otherwise faced.

My hope is that a common ground can be found on this issue that respects the views of those, including myself, who find this procedure enormously troubling, while at the same time both upholding the Constitutional requirement that laws regulating abortion protect the life and health of American women and allowing doctors to exercise their best medical judgment in the rare cases where this procedure may be necessary to save a woman from serious adverse health consequences.

I cannot sign H.R. 1833 as drafted because in permitting an exception solely to preserve a woman's life, it does not meet the legal requirements of the Constitution or protect American women against the risk of serious harm.

Again, I thank you for your letters. These are painful and sobering issues. Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help, your insight and, at times, even your criticism.

April 8, 1996

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

Dear Cardinal Hickey:

I want to thank you for your letters on the bill to ban so-called "partial birth abortion." I appreciate your strong convictions.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

I was moved, for example, by the story of a young Catholic woman who became pregnant last year with her first child. More than 20 weeks into her pregnancy, after concluding that her baby had hydrocephalus and that there was no hope, her doctors recommended the intact dilation and evacuation procedure in order to minimize the trauma to her body and to best preserve her ability to become pregnant again. Although the loss of their baby was devastating, she and her husband are now, thankfully, expecting a child in the fall.

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Again, I thank you for your letters. These are painful and sobering issues. I remain hopeful that we can all find an appropriate common ground.

Sincerely,
BC/TS/ckb (4PRES) (hickey.ltr)
Xeroxed copy of signed original to NH thru Todd Stern
CLEAR THRU JOHN PODESTA
PRESIDENT TO SIGN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1996

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Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

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into her
pregnancy

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1996

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Again, I thank you for your letters. These are painful and sobering issues. I remain hopeful that we can all find an appropriate common ground.

Sincerely,

and have considered

H.R. 1833.

Insert A

Insert B

Inserts

April 9, 1996

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

Dear Cardinal Hickey:

I want to thank you for your letters on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and considered the strong moral convictions you expressed.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

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Insert B

4.11.96

Argue

Margen

letters

signed

4/11/96

6:40 pm

—

—John

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 10, 1996

~~The Reverend Rex M. Horne, Jr.~~
~~Immanuel Baptist Church~~
~~1000 Bishop Street~~
~~Little Rock, Arkansas 72202~~

Dear Rex:

Don thank for your
I wanted to ~~let you know my~~ thoughts regarding H.R. 1833, a bill banning a certain abortion procedure. ~~I know that you feel very strongly about this matter.~~

as you know
This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. I am against late-term abortions and have long opposed them, except where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. As Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health, and I would sign such a bill now if it were presented to me.

Indeed, when I first heard the procedure referred to in H.R. 1833 described, I thought I would support the bill. But as I studied the matter and learned more about it, I came to understand that this is a rarely used procedure, justifiable as a last resort when doctors judge it necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious health consequences to her.

In the past months, I have learned of several cases of women who desperately wanted to have their babies, who were devastated to learn that their babies had fatal conditions and would not live, who wanted anything other than an abortion, but who were advised by their doctors that this procedure was their best chance to avert the risk of death or grave harm which, in some cases, would have included an inability to ever bear children again. For these women, this was not about choice. This was not about having a headache or fitting into a prom dress, as some have regrettably suggested. This was not about choosing against having a child. These babies were certain to perish before, during or shortly after birth. The only question was how much grave damage was going to be done to the woman.

In short, I do not support the use of this procedure on an elective basis where it is not necessary to save the life of the woman or prevent serious risks to her health.

Mr. Don Argue
President
National Association
of Evangelicals
450 Gunderson Drive
Carol Stream, IL
60188

That is why I implored Congress to add a limited exemption for the small number of compelling cases where use of the procedure is necessary to avoid serious health consequences. The life exception in the current bill fails to cover cases where the doctor believes not that the mother's death is probable, but rather that, without the procedure, serious physical harm, often including losing the ability to have more children, is very likely to occur. I want to say again that if Congress will amend the bill as I have suggested, remedying its constitutional and human defect, I will sign the bill.

Again, I thank you for your concern. These are painful and sobering issues. I understand your desire to eliminate the use of a procedure you see as inhumane. But to eliminate it without taking into consideration the rare and tragic circumstances in which its use may be necessary would be, in my judgment, even more inhumane.

Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help and your insight.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1996

~~The Reverend Jim Henry~~
~~First Baptist Church~~
~~3701 L. B. McLeod Road~~
~~Orlando, Florida 32805-6691~~

Anthony Mangum
~~The Reverend~~
3411 Bayou Rapides Road
Alexandria, LA 71303

Dear ~~Jim~~: Anthony

I wanted to let you know my thoughts regarding H.R. 1833, a bill banning a certain abortion procedure. ~~I understand that you feel very strongly about this matter.~~

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. I am against late-term abortions and have long opposed them, except where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. As Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health, and I would sign such a bill now if it were presented to me.

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Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help and your insight.

Sincerely,

Ben Cline

April 10, 1996

MEMORANDUM

To: The President

From: Nancy Hernreich
Amy Greenspun

Re: Rev. Mangun's message

Rev. Mangun called and said, "I'm sorry you're hurting, but I knew you would hurt deeply because to take the hurt out of dying you have to take the love out of living. You loved Ron deeply which we're glad of, so the only choice you have is to hurt. Love, Anthony."

cc Phil Caplan
Ever thought
this is not
about Ron Brown
Peter wants info
on fatline
Anthony

4/11
Send same
exact letter
to Mangun
to be done
JHA

Should we
send partial
letter
to Anthony

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1996

The Reverend Gordon MacDonald
Grace Chapel
Three Militia Drive
Lexington, Massachusetts 02173

Dear Gordon:

I want to thank you for your letter on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and considered the strong moral convictions you expressed.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. I am against late-term abortions and have long opposed them, except where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. As Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health, and I would sign such a bill now if it were presented to me.

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Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help and your insight.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1996

Kate Britton
8708 Brook Road
McLean, Virginia 22102

Dear Kate:

I want to thank you for your letter on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and considered the strong moral convictions you expressed.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. I am against late-term abortions and have long opposed them, except where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. As Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health, and I would sign such a bill now if it were presented to me.

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Again, I thank you for your concern. These are painful and sobering issues. I understand your desire to eliminate the use of a procedure you see as inhumane. But to eliminate it without taking into consideration the rare and tragic circumstances in which its use may be necessary would be, in my judgment, even more inhumane.

Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help and your insight.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

1st pages of ~~Q.~~
9: per bir. fnl

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RC 2260 217

FAX 301 - 853-5359

✓ Cardinal Hickey of D.C. 301 853-3800

↳ 301-853-5359 FAX

✓ Cardinal Mahony of CA

↳ 213-251-3510

✓ Cardinal Bernardin of IL 312/337-6379

st 254 0100 ✓ Cardinal Law of Boston

↳ 617 782-8358

✓ Rev Kammer → 703 549-1656

Kate Britton

Fred

* ✓ Dr. Jim Henry

* ✓ Herb Hollinger

* ✓ Greg Warner

} from Rex Horne letter

✓ Ambassador Flynn

* ✓ Gordon MacDonald

Gordon MacDonald

19 ~~2nd~~ ~~place~~

~~Lexington, MA~~

02173

~~Grace Chapel~~

617/862
6499

* ✓ Bill Hybels - Coral Gables

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

617196

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 6, 1996

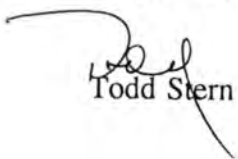
✓
MR. PRESIDENT:

Alexis and Flo McAfee received a letter today from Jim Henry and 10 former Presidents of the Southern Baptist Convention sharply criticizing your veto of the partial birth abortion bill. (A few past Presidents of the SBC, including Dr. Wayne Dehoney, declined to sign the letter. Dr. Dehoney fully supports your position.)

Alexis and Flo understand that the letter will be released at the Annual Conference, which begins Tuesday, June 11. (The SBC's Board Meeting will be held June 6-9 and a Preacher's Meeting will be held June 10.) In addition, Flo has learned that Henry's office released the letter to the press this afternoon.

I have prepared a response for you, slightly modifying the letters I originally drafted for Rev. Browning and David Matthews' friend Robert Brothers. A copy of the SBC letter and my draft response is attached.

If you approve the letter, we will send it to Henry and then release it early tomorrow. Moderates in the SBC are also prepared to distribute it at the Annual Conference. Alexis and Flo concur in this approach, as do Leon and George.

✓

Todd Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dr. James Henry
President
The Southern Baptist Convention
First Baptist Church
3701 L.B. McLeod Road
Orlando, Florida 32805-6691

Dear Dr. Henry:

I have received the June 5 letter that you and a number of past Presidents of the Southern Baptist Convention sent me concerning H.R. 1833, legislation banning a certain abortion procedure, commonly referred to as partial birth abortion. I understand that you are distressed about my veto of that bill. Indeed, I realize that a great many people of good faith -- and of all faiths -- are sincerely perplexed.

Regrettably, my views on this legislation have been widely misrepresented and misunderstood. Therefore, I want to take this opportunity to set forth my position as clearly and directly as I can.

Let me say first that I am against late-term abortions and have long opposed them, except, as the Supreme Court requires, where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. As Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health, and I would sign a bill to do the same thing at the federal level if it were presented to me.

The particular procedure aimed at in H.R. 1833 poses a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I studied and prayed about for many months. Indeed, when I first heard a description of this procedure, I anticipated that I would support the bill. But after I studied the matter and learned more about it, I came to believe that this rarely used procedure is justifiable as a last resort when doctors judge it necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious consequences to her health.

In April, I was joined in the White House by five women who desperately wanted to have their babies and were devastated to learn that their babies had fatal conditions and would not live.

These women wanted anything other than an abortion, but were advised by their doctors that this procedure was their best chance to avert the risk of death or grave harm which, in some cases, would have included an inability to bear children. These women gave moving, powerful testimony. For them, this was not about choice. It was not about choosing against having a child. Their babies were certain to perish before, during or shortly after birth. The only question was how much grave damage they were going to suffer. One of them described the serious risks to her health that she faced, including the possibility of hemorrhaging, a ruptured cervix and loss of her ability to bear children in the future. She talked of her predicament:

"Our little boy had...hydrocephaly. All the doctors told us there was no hope. We asked about in utero surgery, about shunts to remove the fluid, but there was absolutely nothing we could do. I cannot express the pain we still feel. This was our precious little baby, and he was being taken from us before we even had him. This was not our choice, for not only was our son going to die, but the complications of the pregnancy put my health in danger, as well."

Some have raised the question whether this procedure is ever most appropriate as a matter of medical practice. The best answer comes from the medical community, which broadly supports the continued availability of this procedure in cases where a woman's serious health interests are at stake. In those rare cases, I believe a woman's doctors should have the option to determine, in the best exercise of their medical judgment, that the procedure is indeed necessary.

The problem with H.R. 1833 is that it provides an exception to the ban on this procedure only when a doctor is convinced that a woman's life is at risk, but not when the doctor is sure that she faces real, grave risks to her health.

Let me be clear. I do not contend that this procedure, today, is always used in circumstances that meet my standard. The procedure may well be used in situations where a woman's serious health interests are not at risk. But I do not support such uses, I do not defend them, and I would sign appropriate legislation banning them.

At the same time, I cannot and will not countenance a ban on this procedure in those cases where it represents the best hope for a woman to avoid serious risks to her health. Some may believe it morally superior to compel a woman to endure serious risks to her health -- including the possible loss of her ability to bear children -- in order to deliver a baby who is already dead or about to die. But I am not among them.

I also understand that many who support this bill believe that any health exception is, as you suggest, a "loophole...to include any reason the mother so desires," such as youth, emotional stress, financial hardship or inconvenience.

That is not the kind of exception I support. I support an exception that takes effect only where a woman faces real, serious adverse health consequences. Some have cited cases where fraudulent health reasons are relied upon as an excuse -- excuses I could never condone. But people of good faith must recognize that there are also cases where the health risks facing a woman are deadly serious and real. It is in those cases that I believe an exception to the general ban on the procedure should be allowed.

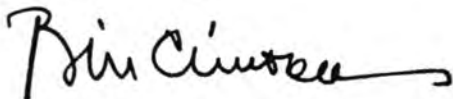
Further, I reject the view of those who suggest that it is impossible to draft a bill imposing real, stringent limits on the use of this procedure -- a bill making crystal clear that the procedure may be used only in cases where a woman risks death or serious damage to her health, and in no other case. I know that it is not beyond the ingenuity of Congress, working together in a bipartisan manner, to fashion such a bill.

That is why I implored Congress, by letter dated February 28 and in my veto message, to add a limited exemption for the small number of compelling cases where use of the procedure is necessary to avoid serious health consequences. Congress ignored my proposal and did so, I am afraid, because too many there prefer creating a political issue to solving a human problem. But I repeat my offer: if Congress will produce a bill that meets the concerns outlined in this letter, I will sign it promptly.

In short, I do not support the use of this procedure on demand or on the strength of mild or fraudulent health complaints. But I do believe that it is wrong to abandon women, like the women I spoke with, whose doctors advise them that they need the procedure to avoid serious injury. That, in my judgment, would be the true inhumanity.

I continue to hope that a solution can be reached on this painful issue. I hope as well that the deep dialogue between my Administration and people of faith can continue with regard to the broad array of issues on which we have worked and are working together. Thank you again for your letter. I hope that you now have a better understanding of my position.

Sincerely,



THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Jim Henry, President

June 5, 1996

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

It is with heavy hearts and profound disappointment that we express our united and unambiguous opposition to your veto of the Partial-birth Abortion Ban Act. This grisly procedure cannot be morally justified.

We appeal to you not only as religious leaders, but as many of the former presidents of the Christian denomination you claim as your own, the Southern Baptist Convention. You should know that our concern is felt very deeply, as evidenced by the fact that this is the only time in the 150-year history of our denomination that such a letter has been sent to a United States President.

Partial-birth abortion is, by any civilized moral measurement, inhumane and unconscionable. With ultrasound for guidance, a doctor uses forceps and hands to deliver an intact baby feet first until only the head remains in the birth canal. The doctor pierces the base of the baby's skull with surgical scissors. He or she then inserts a canula into the incision and suctions out the brain of the baby so the head can be collapsed. That you could countenance this procedure, and with one stroke of your pen, veto a ban on partial-birth abortions is unimaginable to us.

Your often-repeated rationale for an exception "for the mother's health" is a discredited, catch-all loophole which has been demonstrated to include any reason the mother so desires.

You stated that you had prayed about this issue before deciding to veto the Partial-birth Abortion Ban. It is difficult for us to understand that God somehow would condone this procedure in the light of what the Bible says about unborn human life, or perhaps, you were gravely misinformed about the barbaric nature of the procedure.

The Old Testament scriptures demonstrate that every human being is made in the image of God (Genesis 1:27). Furthermore, God told the prophet Jeremiah that he was known intimately from even before he was formed in the womb (Jeremiah 1:4-5). Every human life is sacred and possesses unique dignity. Jesus our Lord showed special love and regard for children during His earthly ministry and cursed those who would despise His little ones (Mark 10:14-16). Partial-birth abortion is not defensible in light of God's revelation. As our friends, the American Roman Catholic Cardinals, said in their April 16, 1996 letter to you, partial-birth abortion is "more akin to infanticide than abortion."



The Honorable Bill Clinton

June 5, 1996

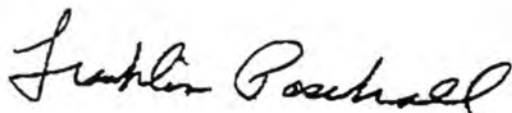
Page 2

The Apostle Paul enjoined Christians to restore with gentleness those who are caught in "any trespass" (Galatians 6:1). We appeal to you in that spirit to repent of your veto of the Partial-birth Abortion Ban Act and to express publicly your personal regret at having made such a decision in the first place.

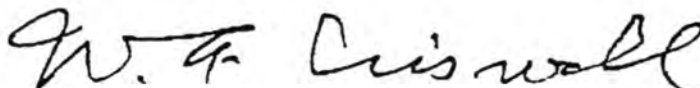
Mr. President, should you, under the leadership of the Holy Spirit, reverse your thinking on this matter and sign the Partial-birth Abortion Ban Act into law, we will defend you and your decision in the face of the enemies of the sanctity of every human life.

We further pledge that we, and the overwhelming majority of Southern Baptists, will do everything we are able to encourage Congress to override this shameful veto. As you know, Southern Baptists are on record for their decade-and-a-half-long, adamant opposition to abortion. We can assure you that Southern Baptists are even more vigorously opposed to the partial-birth abortion procedure.

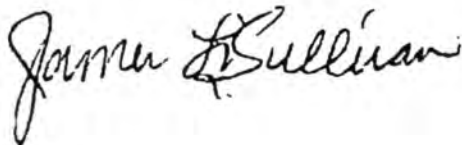
We pray for you and for the awesome responsibilities of the high office which God has allowed you to hold. We know these duties can only be fulfilled responsibly by God's grace and wisdom. God bless you, Mr. President, and God bless America.



Dr. Franklin Paschall, Pres 1967 & 1968



Dr. W. A. Criswell, Pres. 1969 & 1970

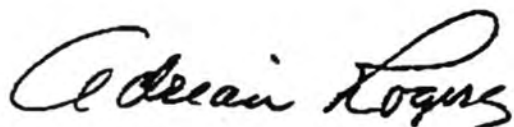


Dr. James Sullivan, Pres. 1977

The Honorable Bill Clinton

June 5, 1996

Page 3



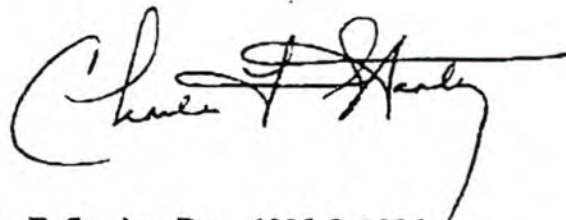
Dr. Adrian Rogers, Pres. 1980, 1987, 1988



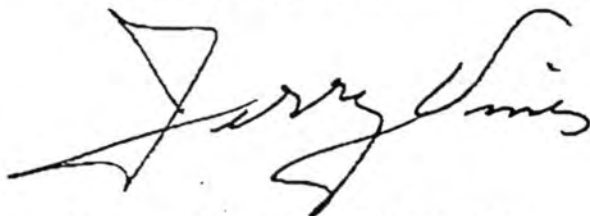
Dr. Bailey Smith, Pres. 1981 & 1982



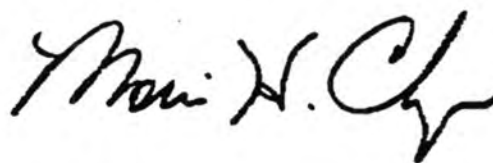
Dr. James T. Draper, Jr., Pres. 1983 & 1984



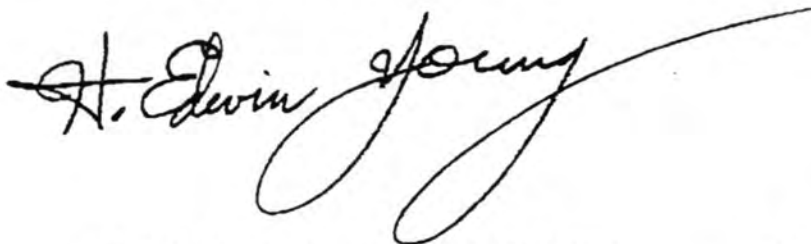
Dr. Charles F. Stanley, Pres. 1985 & 1986



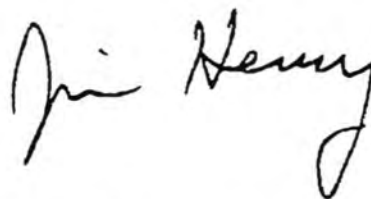
Dr. Jerry Vines, Pres. 1989 & 1990



Dr. Morris Chapman, Pres. 1991 & 1992



Dr. H. Edwin Young, Pres. 1993 & 1994



Dr. James Henry, Pres. 1995 and 1996

COPY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

rec'd 4-11-96
8:08 am

April 11, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALEXIS HERMAN

SUBJECT: RELIGIOUS OUTREACH ON H.R. 1833

COPY

Per our conversation, I wanted to outline our outreach efforts to religious outlets on H.R. 1833. As you are aware, personalized letters were sent to several prominent leaders outlining your position on the bill. In addition, we are taking the following steps to ensure the religious community understands the reasons why you vetoed H.R. 1833.

I. Catholic Leaders

We are working with Catholics who are influential on the national level and in targeted states in order to convey your position and rationale adequately to the Catholic lay community. We are talking and sending materials that include: the transcript of the veto event, your veto message, and the letter to Cardinal Bernardin.

III. Specialty Press

The following list of Religious press organizations have been sent copies of the transcript, letter and remarks: Religious News Service, Associated Baptist Service, Catholic News Service, Catholic Health World, and Religious News Service.

At this point, we know that Religious News Service is writing a story; the special press office has been in close touch with the reporter to make sure she had the transcript and letter.

IV. Other Religious Leaders

We will send a personalized letter from you (the original letter staff secretary sent) and a copy of the transcript to approximately 400 friends in the religious community including leaders from Jewish and Hispanic communities.

If this issue continues to play out and you are interested in continuing the dialogue with religious groups, we could consider the following:

- 1) bring in religious organizations for a briefing by senior administration officials on your position;
- 2) accept the invitation for you to speak to the Catholic Press Association's convention in May.

cc: Leon Panetta
Harold Ickes
Evelyn Lieberman

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1996

MR. PRESIDENT:

As you may recall, Cardinal Hickey sent you a letter on the partial birth abortion issue in December. A draft response was prepared and sent up to you, but you didn't sign it. Hickey then sent a letter in February (which I did not see until last week) and another on April 1.

Melanne has now heard from Father Donovan at Georgetown that Cardinal Hickey is unhappy about not having received a response.

We obviously can't make Hickey happy on the substance, but we don't want to compound the problem by giving him cause to say he didn't get a response from you. Consequently, I have tried my hand at preparing a new letter.

In addition, John Hart has received letters from Cardinals Bernardin, Law and Mahoney, which I have just seen. I have had the same letter prepared to them.

Finally, you also recently received letters from Amb. Flynn and Rev. Fred Kammer on this issue. I have prepared a draft answer to the Kammer letter as well, and will prepare one for Flynn if you wish.


Todd Stern

HOUSE
TON

April 8, _____

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

Dear Cardinal Hickey:

I want to thank you for your letters on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and have considered your strong moral convictions.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

I have been moved, for example, by the stories of a number of young women who, although very opposed to abortion, ended up relying on the intact dilation and evacuation procedure upon the advice of their doctors in order to avoid the grave health consequences they otherwise faced.

My hope is that a common ground can be found on this issue that respects the views of those, including myself, who find this procedure enormously troubling, while at the same time upholding the Constitutional requirement that laws regulating abortion protect the life and health of American women and allowing doctors to exercise their best medical judgment in the rare cases where this procedure may be necessary to save a woman from serious adverse health consequences.

I cannot sign H.R. 1833 as drafted because in permitting an exception solely to preserve a woman's life, it does not meet the legal requirements of the Constitution or protect American women against the risk of serious harm.

Again, I thank you for your letters. These are painful and sobering issues. Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help, your insight, and, at times, even your criticism.

Sincerely,



OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

500 EASTERN AVENUE
POST OFFICE BOX 20260
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

April 1, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

I make one last urgent appeal that you sign into law the Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act.

I beg you to do this because the late term procedure takes the life of the child in a particularly heinous fashion. This procedure is repugnant, even to many so-called "pro-choice" physicians, since it so clearly involves the slaying of a developed child already partially born.

Mr. President, for you to veto this legislation during a time so sacred to the Christian and Jewish traditions is a true slap in the face to all those who believe in the sanctity of life. Moreover, many other people not of these traditions grasp the wrongness of partial birth abortions. As President of all the people, please do not allow the strongly entrenched and well financed campaign of Planned Parenthood and other allied groups to negate, not only the will of Congress, but indeed the will of the clear majority of Americans.

Sincerely in Christ,

James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.



ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 EASTERN AVENUE
POST OFFICE BOX 29260
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

154161

February 29, 1996

COPY
from ORM

OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

Dear Mr. President,

I appreciate the call I received a few days ago from Mr. Leon Panetta concerning H.R. 1833, the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act. I also received a copy of your letter to Senator Orrin Hatch for which I am grateful.

But, Mr. President, I must protest your position on this bill with urgency and candor. The "health exception" subverts the entire intent of the bill. It permits abortion on demand of the most heinous type. In my weekly column to the Catholics of the Archdiocese, I explained that the "health exception" is a camouflage; it refers not only to the physical health of the mother but also to her presumed psychological and social well being.

In fact, there is no true medical reason for partial birth abortions. Medical experts do not maintain that this procedure saves the life of the mother nor does she derive any other medical benefit. What we do know is that partial birth abortion takes the life of a fully formed infant about to take a first breath.

Mr. President, if we deny the humanity of children as they are being born, whose humanity will next be denied?

I urge you to exercise moral leadership by signing H.R. 1833 into law without the so-called "health exception."

Sincerely,

James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.



ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 EASTERN AVENUE
POST OFFICE BOX 29260
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

December 14, 1995

Dear Mr. President,

I find myself writing to you once again about a matter of some urgency concerning abortion. In the spirit of our past conversations, I appreciate your willingness to seriously consider my correspondence.

It is my understanding that you will soon be asked to sign the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act, which has been passed in both the House and the Senate (with a few minor differences between the bills which will likely be settled in favor of the Senate version). As both of us are aware at this point, the partial-birth procedure is a particularly awful form of abortion. A live child in the very process of being delivered with her body mostly outside of the mother, is brutally stabbed, and her head crushed before being completely delivered.

Supporters of abortion have attempted to deflect attention away from the partial-birth abortion itself. They have repeatedly made false claims about the nature of the procedure, the reasons doctors perform them, the actual cause of death of the child, and many other matters. Their claims are just as frequently contradicted by the very doctors who perform these and other late term abortions, and by other medical experts.

It is not possible in the case of this abortion, however, to avoid the thing in itself. Anyone reading about or seeing pictures of this procedure is confronted with the terrible reality of what is happening. The partial-birth abortion is one-fifth abortion and four-fifths infanticide. There is not moral justification for continuing to allow partly-born children to be killed in this brutal manner.

I urge you, Mr. President, to sign this bill into law. If there is anything further I can do to assist you in your consideration of this matter, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely in Christ,

+ James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC

158538
WED03

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 26, 1996

C O P Y
from ORM

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

Dear Cardinal Hickey:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter. I understand how you feel about the difficult issue of the so-called "partial birth abortion."

As you know, I have long believed the decision to have an abortion should be between a woman, her conscience, her doctor, and her faith. Abortions should be safe, legal, and rare -- and I'm working hard toward those goals. I have opposed late-term abortions, except where they are necessary to protect the life or health of the woman. Since currently proposed legislation fails to provide for consideration of the woman's health or, in the case of the House bill, even her life, I cannot support it.

This issue demands careful reflection and prayer, and I am fortunate to have your insights.

Sincerely,



ITE HOUSE

INGTON

April 8, 1996

His Eminence Roger Cardinal Mahony
Archbishop of Los Angeles
1531 West Ninth Street
Los Angeles, California 90015-1194

Dear Cardinal Mahony:

I want to thank you for your letter on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and have considered your strong moral convictions.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

I have been moved, for example, by the stories of a number of young women who, although very opposed to abortion, ended up relying on the intact dilation and evacuation procedure upon the advice of their doctors in order to avoid the grave health consequences they otherwise faced.

My hope is that a common ground can be found on this issue that respects the views of those, including myself, who find this procedure enormously troubling, while at the same time upholding the Constitutional requirement that laws regulating abortion protect the life and health of American women and allowing doctors to exercise their best medical judgment in the rare cases where this procedure may be necessary to save a woman from serious adverse health consequences.

I cannot sign H.R. 1833 as drafted because in permitting an exception solely to preserve a woman's life, it does not meet the legal requirements of the Constitution or protect American women against the risk of serious harm.

Again, I thank you for your letter. These are painful and sobering issues. Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help, your insight, and, at times, even your criticism.

Sincerely,

04/04/96 11:48
MAR-31-96 SUN 8:52

202 541 3054

NCCB/PRO-LIFE

004

Cardinal's Residence

FAX NO. 0000000

P. 02



Archdiocese of Los Angeles

Office of
the Archbishop
(213) 251-3288

1531
West Ninth
Street

Los Angeles
California
90015-1194

Palm Sunday
March 31, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Just one year ago, Palm Sunday of 1995 [April 9], you and Mrs. Clinton graced our St. Vibiana's Cathedral for our 10:00 a.m. Palm Sunday Liturgy.

We were very pleased to have you with us for the beginning of Holy Week, and we were grateful that you chose to join us for prayer on this most solemn day.

At the conclusion of our Palm Sunday Mass I gave you a copy of Pope John Paul II's newest Encyclical Letter, *The Gospel of Life*, and given your love for the Scriptures and God's Word, I urged you to read this important Letter emphasizing our call to pursue the "culture of life," not the "culture of death."

This very Holy Week there is grave concern in my heart that a very small minority of people in our country may be urging you to veto the Late Term Abortion Ban legislation recently sent to you. Congress has placed in the legislation ample protection for the life of the mother, should that very rare situation occur. While we as Catholics do not permit abortion for any reason, you should be amply assured that the only imaginable exception has been provided for.

I cannot imagine anything more contrary to this Holiest of Weeks than for our President to veto such important legislation. This ban is supported heavily across our nation--even by those normally favoring abortion rights. Vast majorities of doctors--including those performing abortions--testify that there is simply no need to perform late term abortions, and that the practice of such abortions flies in the face of sound medical practice--not to mention the resulting, horrible death of a baby just moments from life.

The vast Catholic Community across our land is following very closely your Presidential action on this vital legislation. Our assessment of whether your application of general moral principles and courageous leadership harmonizes with

04/04/96 11:48
MAR-31-96 SUN 8:53

202 541 3054

NCCB/PRO-LIFE

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Cardinal's Residence

FAX NO. 0000000

P.03

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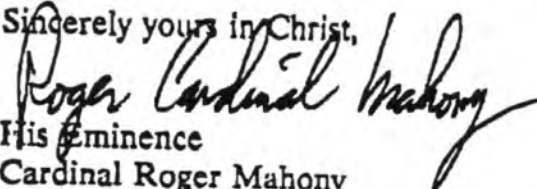
the basic beliefs of the vast majority of Americans will hinge upon your action on this crucial legislation.

I cannot envision any step more repugnant than to have our President veto such essential legislation, and do it during Holy Week or Easter Week. Nothing could be more contradictory.

Once again I implore you to SIGN the Late Term Abortion Ban that is before you, and to allow the value and dignity of God's great gift of human life prevail. Let this truly be a most "Holy" Week and joyous Easter Season by signing into law a necessary protection for each human life.

Thanking you for your thoughtful consideration of my concerns and my urgent plea, and with kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,

+ 
His Eminence
Cardinal Roger Mahony
Archbishop of Los Angeles

j



ITE HOUSE

INGTON

April 3, 1980

His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Bernardin
Archbishop of Chicago
Post Office Box 1979
Chicago, Illinois 60690

Dear Cardinal Bernardin:

I want to thank you for your letter on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and have considered your strong moral convictions.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

I have been moved, for example, by the stories of a number of young women who, although very opposed to abortion, ended up relying on the intact dilation and evacuation procedure upon the advice of their doctors in order to avoid the grave health consequences they otherwise faced.

My hope is that a common ground can be found on this issue that respects the views of those, including myself, who find this procedure enormously troubling, while at the same time upholding the Constitutional requirement that laws regulating abortion protect the life and health of American women and allowing doctors to exercise their best medical judgment in the rare cases where this procedure may be necessary to save a woman from serious adverse health consequences.

I cannot sign H.R. 1833 as drafted because in permitting an exception solely to preserve a woman's life, it does not meet the legal requirements of the Constitution or protect American women against the risk of serious harm.

Again, I thank you for your letter. These are painful and sobering issues. Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help, your insight, and, at times, even your criticism.

Sincerely,

3123376379 CARDINAL BERNARDIN

437 P.02 APR 01 '96 11:05

ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO

Office of the Archbishop

Post Office Box 1979
Chicago, Illinois 60690

April 1, 1996

Dear President Clinton:

This letter will come as no surprise because of our previous correspondence. I am profoundly saddened by your intention to veto the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act.

In fact, Mr. President, I find it incomprehensible that you would choose to ignore such an unusual consensus on abortion-related legislation. The bill enjoyed majority support among the American people and among our elected representatives in the House and Senate.

Likewise, I do not find the reasons you have given for your veto to be convincing. There is no justification -- medically, legally or morally -- for allowing such an abhorrent procedure as partial-birth abortion to be performed on any member of our human family.

Mr. President, as you have so often noted, we already live in a society plagued by brutality, particularly, brutality against children. By your veto, however, I fear that you will send a very disturbing message to the people of this nation, one to which persons of good will must give serious consideration as they cast their ballots in November.

Please reconsider your position. Now is a time for reasoned debate and consensus building. The politics of extremism must be left behind. Let us work together to protect the lives of the vulnerable -- most especially the unborn.

With cordial good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Carl Bernardin
Archbishop of Chicago

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1970

His Eminence Bernard Cardinal Law
Archbishop of Boston
Cardinal's Residence
2101 Commonwealth Avenue
Brighton, Massachusetts 02135

Dear Cardinal Law:

I want to thank you for your letter on H.R. 1833. I appreciate and have considered your strong moral convictions.

This is a difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. After much reflection, I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available. However, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

I have been moved, for example, by the stories of a number of young women who, although very opposed to abortion, ended up relying on the intact dilation and evacuation procedure upon the advice of their doctors in order to avoid the grave health consequences they otherwise faced.

My hope is that a common ground can be found on this issue that respects the views of those, including myself, who find this procedure enormously troubling, while at the same time upholding the Constitutional requirement that laws regulating abortion protect the life and health of American women and allowing doctors to exercise their best medical judgment in the rare cases where this procedure may be necessary to save a woman from serious adverse health consequences.

I cannot sign H.R. 1833 as drafted because in permitting an exception solely to preserve a woman's life, it does not meet the legal requirements of the Constitution or protect American women against the risk of serious harm.

Again, I thank you for your letter. These are painful and sobering issues. Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, I hope we can continue our dialogue and continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. I need your help, your insight, and, at times, even your criticism.

Sincerely,



CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE

2101 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
BRIGHTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02135

February 22, 1996

The Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20050

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter explaining that you feel compelled to veto H.R. 1833, the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 1995, because it does not contain a "health exception," which leads you to believe that is not in conformity with *Roe v. Wade*.

Mr. President, *Roe v. Wade* did not address the legality of killing a child in the process of birth as described in the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act. In fact, it was a crime in Texas in 1973 to kill a child in such a manner, and it is a crime in Texas today because the plaintiffs in *Roe* specifically did not challenge it.

Adding a "health exception" to the bill would render the bill meaningless. As you know, Mr. President, in *Doe v. Bolton*, the Supreme Court defined "health" as related to abortion, to include all manner of physical, emotional, and social factors that add or detract from one's overall "well being." Adding language to the bill that would allow partial-birth abortions to be performed, for example, in cases of "serious adverse health consequences" (as offered by Senator Barbara Boxer, and defeated in the Senate) would continue to allow this horrible procedure because of a mother's "serious" financial concerns, or because the mother was "much too young" or simply was very unhappy about having a child--all under the guise of "health."

The National Abortion Rights Action League says that "medically necessary" is a "term which generally includes the broadest range of situations for which a state will fund abortion." Regarding the meaning of this same term, former Senator Robert Packwood, a leading advocate of abortion, asked: "Is there any abortion that couldn't fit within this definition?" The answer to Mr. Packwood's question is no. There is no abortion that couldn't fit within a definition of "medically necessary."

The Honorable William Clinton
February 22, 1996
Page 2

Nor would the partial-birth procedure be used in a true medical emergency. It is a procedure that requires three days so that the cervix can be dilated sufficiently to allow partial delivery before the child can be killed. Asked why the abortion practitioner does not dilate the cervix for another day and deliver a live child, Dr. Martin Haskell, who performs such abortions, explains that a live child is not the desired outcome: "The point here," says Haskell, "is you're attempting to do an abortion" (Senate Report No. J-104-54, p. 23).

Nor does this procedure serve women's health; in fact, it actually poses new risks for women. It requires the abortion practitioner to turn the child in utero from the normal "head first" position into a breech position. The abortion practitioner who virtually wrote the how-to book on late-term abortions, Dr. Warren Hern, calls the partial-birth abortion procedure "potentially dangerous." He says, "You can't really defend it...I would dispute any statement that this is the safest procedure to use" (American Medical News, November 20, 1995).

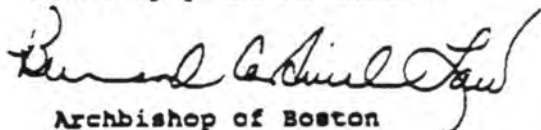
Several women testified before Congress about their experiences with "partial-birth abortions." But none had had a partial-birth abortion as defined in the bill. In fact, one woman testified that she would never have allowed her live child to be mostly delivered and then brutally killed. But that is the only procedure that the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act would prohibit.

There is no reason, constitutional or otherwise, to allow children, in the very process of birth, to be killed, and killed in a manner unworthy of a civilized people.

Mr. President, I urge you once again to sign H.R. 1833 into law.

Asking God to bless you, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,


Archbishop of Boston

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1996

The Reverend Fred C. Kammer, S.J.
President
Catholic Charities USA
Suite 200
1731 King Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your note on the "partial birth" bill. I understand how strongly you feel about it.

I have found this to be a terribly difficult and disturbing issue, one which I have studied and prayed about for many months. It was only after a great deal of reflection, and after pondering the consequences, however unintended, that I believe this legislation could have on the lives of certain women, that I reached my decision.

I concluded that I could not support use of this method of abortion on an elective basis, where there are other equally safe procedures available; however, I understand that there are rare and tragic situations where, in a physician's judgment, this procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life or to avert serious adverse consequences to her health.

In reaching my decision, I have been moved by the stories of a number of young women -- some of them staunchly pro-life -- who ended up relying on this procedure upon the advice of their doctors in order to avoid grave health consequences. I cannot, in good conscience, sign a bill that would make it impossible for doctors, in their best medical judgment, to use this procedure in such circumstances.

These are painful and sobering issues. Although I know you disagree with me on this matter, it is important to me that we continue to work together on the broad array of issues on which we do agree. Thank you for your insight, your support and your heartfelt criticism.

Sincerely,

March 25, 1996

Dear Bill,

I am writing to urge you not to veto pending partial-birth-abortion legislation. For even the abortion-moderate American middle, this is a radically offensive and graphically violent taking of human life.

For the mother's health, there are medical alternatives (e.g. Caesarian; induced labor) far more consistent with your pledge to make abortion "safe." Better ethics and wiser politics say to save your veto.

My best,
Fred A.

*I am sure
that you will
be a good
President
and a good
man.*
President William Jefferson Clinton

• MELANNE VERVEER •

From Fred

(Can man



1731 King Street • Suite 200 • Alexandria, Virginia 22314

mt record



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

April 1, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House

Mr. President,

From both a policy and political point of view, I would urge you to support the recently passed House and Senate bill regarding late term "partial birth abortions." The legislation is an issue of significant concern to many people in the U.S., Catholics and non-Catholics alike.

As Pope John Paul II so appropriately stated in New York on October 6, 1995, "Is present day America becoming less sensitive, less caring toward the poor, the weak, the stranger, the needy? It must not! ... Both as Americans and as followers of Christ, American Catholics must be committed to the defense of life in all its stages and in every condition."

As someone who has the honor of representing you and our great country, I urge you to give careful consideration to this bill.

Respectfully,

Raymond L. Flynn
U.S. Ambassador

cc: Leon Panetta
Melanie Verveer
John Hart

Gordon MacDonald
Grace Chapel
3 Militia Drive
Lexington, MA 02173

Willow Creek Community Church

A Fax From The Senior Pastor's Office

Sent To

Sent From

Name: NANCY HERNREICH

Bill Hybels by Jean Blount

Fax Number: 202/456-6703

Date: 4-10-96

Location: DC

Time: 11:50 AM

Number of Pages: 3

Comments:

Nancy -

BOTH OF THESE LETTERS WERE

ACCOMPANIED BY SOME MATERIAL

ON THE PARTIAL BIRTH ABORTION

BILL.

67 East Algonquin Road
South Barrington IL 60010
Phone: 708/765-5000
Fax: 708/765-9223



Willow Creek Community Church

January 25, 1996

President Clinton
c/o Nancy Hernreich
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20500-2000

Dear Bill:

I called yesterday just to tell you about Waveland Avenue. Every Chicagoan knows that Waveland Avenue is the street that borders the left field fence at Wrigley Field. Whenever a Cub batter hits a homerun, every Chicagoan waits for the announcer to clarify whether it was just a homerun or whether it was "over the fence and out on Waveland Avenue".

Your State of the Union Address was "out of the park and onto Waveland Avenue". It was clear, compelling, visionary, properly paced and balanced, and most importantly, it came out of your moral center. As I've told you so often, God is constantly at work in your heart, Bill. When you quiet yourself enough to become aware of the convictions He's building in your soul, and then when you speak from that center, you are believable, riveting, and unstoppable. Great job, friend, . . . great job.

Enclosed is my associate's response to the two difficult partial-birth abortion situations that you requested. Please, Bill, do the right thing on this legislation.

If I can help you further on this or anything else, feel free to call. . . . Until then, as always, I'll pray.

God's best,

Bill Hybels



Willow Creek Community Church

January 3, 1996

President Clinton
c/o Nancy Hernreich
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20500-2000

Dear Bill:

Happy New Year! I trust that you and your family got some rest and "together time" over the holidays.

Enclosed are two items. The first is an approach to the end of the State of the Union Address. I'll do further work on it, if you request. The second is some reading for you on the partial birth abortion legislation. I can't stress enough what being on the wrong side of this issue will do to your support base in the Christian community. Although less than 600 of these procedures are done each year, the moral outrage over it has captured the hearts of tens of millions of Americans. In my opinion, signing the bill will cost you very little. Vetoing it will come to haunt you, not only in the near term, but all throughout the upcoming campaign. And if you ask me what I think Jesus would do if He were in your shoes... well, enough said.

You're a good man, Bill. And you are not only going to win re-election, but in your second term you are going to leave a legacy that will be honored for centuries! Really!

Here to help...

Your friend in Christ,

Bill Hybels

Arguments from Theology and the Bible

8

How is a married woman able to plan schooling or commit herself to a career or vocation as long as her life is continually open to the disruption of unplanned pregnancies? Unless, of course, she can fall back on an abortion when all else has failed!

Virginia Ramey Mollenkott, Christian feminist (1988)

"Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me, weep instead for yourselves and your children, for indeed the days are coming when people will say, 'Blessed are the barren, the wombs that never bore and the breasts that never nursed.'"

Jesus Christ (Luke 23:28–29 NAB)

Recall that the young Mary was pregnant under circumstances that today routinely terminate in abortion. In the important theological context of Christmas, the killing of the unborn child is a symbolic killing of the Christchild.

Dr. Paul Vitz, New York University psychologist (1977)

Some people defend abortion rights by appealing to the Hebrew-Christian Scriptures. They argue either that the Bible does not specifically condemn abortion or that the Bible actually supports the abortion rights position. For those who do not consider the Bible authoritative, arguments for or against abortion based on its contents are obviously not compelling. But the material in the first seven chapters is sufficiently devoid of any theology that any reasonable non-believer could accept the pro-life position without sacrificing his unbelief. Many people, however, do consider the Bible authoritative and many others hold it in high respect. Thus the following critique will be important to these people.

Argument from the Claim That the Bible Does Not Specifically Forbid Abortion

Some people, such as Virginia Ramey Mollenkott, claim that "nowhere does the Bible prohibit abortion . . ."¹ This claim is untrue if one recognizes that the Bible's statements on some other matters can

be used to draw an inference that is consistent with a pro-life position. For instance, it is clearly taught in the Bible that murder—the unjustified killing of a human being—is wrong (Exod. 20:13). And it follows logically from this that if the Bible teaches that the unborn are fully human, then it would be morally wrong in most circumstances to kill the unborn. So the real question is whether the Bible teaches that the unborn are fully human, not whether the Bible mentions or directly prohibits abortion. I believe that the following categories of Scripture passages are sufficient to show that the Bible clearly teaches the full humanity of the unborn, although the list is not exhaustive.²

Personal Language Applied to the Conceptus

A number of passages in the Bible apply personal language to the unborn from conception. Genesis 4:1 reads: "Now the man had relations with his wife Eve, and she conceived and gave birth to Cain." Commenting on this passage, theologian John Jefferson Davis has observed that "the writer's interest in Cain extends back beyond his birth, to his conception. That is when his personal history begins. The individual conceived and the individual born are one and the same, namely, Cain." What follows from this is that Cain's "conception, birth, and postnatal life form a natural continuum, with the God of the covenant involved at every stage."³

In Job 3:3, the author writes: "Let the day perish on which I was to be born. And the night, which said, 'A boy [*geber*] is conceived.'" This passage connects the individual born with the individual conceived. "Job traces his personal history back beyond his birth to the night of conception. The process of conception is described by the biblical writer in personal terms. There is no abstract language of the 'products of conception,' but the concrete language of humanity."⁴ It is interesting to note that the Hebrew word *geber* is translated as "boy" and specifically applied to the unborn, although it is usually used to describe postnatal humans and translated

"male," "man," or "husband" (see Ps. 34:9; 52:9; 94:12; Prov. 6:34).⁵

Another passage, Psalm 51:5, states: "Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity, and in sin my mother conceived me." Again, we have evidence that one's beginning of existence can be traced back to conception.

The Unborn Are Called Children

The Bible refers to the unborn in the same way as it refers to infants and young children. In Luke 1:41, 44 the word *bephephos* is applied to the unborn: "And it came about that when Elizabeth heard Mary's greeting, the baby leaped in her womb; and Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit. 'For behold, when the sound of your greeting reached my ears, the baby leaped in my womb for joy.'" Compare this with Luke 2:12, 16 where the infant Jesus is called a baby (*bephephos*): "And this will be a sign for you; you will find a baby wrapped in clothes, and lying in a manger.' And they came in haste and found their way to Mary and Joseph, and the baby as he lay in the manger."

The Unborn Are Known by God in a Personal Way

A number of biblical passages are clear on this point:

For Thou didst form my inward parts; Thou didst weave me in my mother's womb. I will give thanks to Thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made; Wonderful are Thy works. And my soul knows it very well. My frame was not hidden from Thee, When I was made in secret, And skillfully wrought in the depths of the earth. Thine eyes have seen my unformed substance; And in Thy book they were all written, The days that were ordained for me, When as yet there was not one of them. [Ps. 139: 13–16]

Listen to Me, O islands, And pay attention, you peoples from afar. The LORD called Me from the womb; From the body of My mother He named Me. [Isa. 49:1]

"Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, And before you were born I consecrated

you; I have appointed nations." [Jer. 1:5]

Then the angel of the woman, and said, 'You are barren and have not conceived; you shall conceive. . . . Then the woman said, 'A husband, saying, 'A and his appearance of the angel of God he said to me 'Be and give birth to not drink wine or unclean thing, for to God from the wo [Judg. 13: 3, 5, 6,

Some authors, s have questioned th establish the full l Although he make cerning some pa should provoke pr egesis, Wennberg lifer's biblical ca hermeneutical slig ing those passage guage to describe writes that "such r viduals not only be ception . . . , and se point."⁷ One prob that it is not applic for some do speak e istence beginning 4:1; Job 3:3). Anot of these passages e question existed pr rather, that God kn them before concep sible for an eternal simultaneously (se 41:21–24; 46:10) a space (see Ps. 90: 57:15a), since he i space (see Acts 17:2 Rev. 4:11). That is know each and e were conceived. Th human persons pri

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Then the angel of the LORD appeared to the
woman, and said to her, "Behold now, you
are barren and have borne no children, but
you shall conceive and give birth to a son"
... Then the woman came and told her hus-
band, saying, "A man of God came to me
and his appearance was like the appearance
of the angel of God, very awesome. ... But
he said to me, 'Behold, you shall conceive
and give birth to a son, and now you shall
not drink wine or strong drink nor eat any
unclean thing, for the boy shall be a Nazirite
to God *from the womb to the day of his death.*'"
[Judg. 13: 3, 5, 6, 7, emphasis added]

Some authors, such as Robert Wennberg,⁶
have questioned the use of many passages to
establish the full humanity of the unborn.
Although he makes some valid points con-
cerning some passages, a criticism that
should provoke pro-lifers to clarify their ex-
egesis, Wennberg tries to rob the right-to-
lifer's biblical case of its strength by a
hermeneutical slight of hand. First, concern-
ing those passages that use personal lan-
guage to describe the unborn, Wennberg
writes that "such references designate indi-
viduals not only before birth but before con-
ception . . . , and so they are not really to the
point."⁷ One problem with this criticism is
that it is not applicable to all such passages,
for some do speak exclusively of personal ex-
istence beginning at conception (e.g., Gen.
4:1; Job 3:3). Another problem is that none
of these passages claim that the persons in
question existed prior to their conception, but
rather, that God knew them or had plans for
them before conception. This is certainly pos-
sible for an eternal God, who knows all things
simultaneously (see Ps. 147:5; Job 28:24; Isa.
41:21-24; 46:10) and is not bound by time or
space (see Ps. 90:2; Isa. 40:28; 43:12b,13;
57:15a), since he is the creator of time and
space (see Acts 17:25; Col. 1:16,17; Heb. 11:3;
Rev. 4:11). That is, it is possible for him to
know each and every one of us before we
were conceived. Thus such foreknowledge of
human persons prior to their conception can-

not be cited in order to explain away either
conception as the beginning of personal ex-
istence or that personal existence is attrib-
uted to prenatal life when a passage in ques-
tion specifically says, for example, that a
certain individual either has personally ex-
isted from conception (e.g., Gen. 4:1) or has
personally existed prior to birth (e.g., Jer. 1:5;
Ps. 139:13-16; Luke 1:41-44). Moreover, the
word *conception* or *to conceive* implies a gen-
esis or a beginning, such as when I say, "This
is the finest idea I have ever conceived."
Hence, when God speaks of a person prior to
conception, he is making an epistemological
claim (a knowledge claim) not an ontologi-
cal claim (a being claim). In light of these
clarifications, the burden of proof is on
Wennberg to show us why the more simple
and clearly natural interpretation of the pas-
sages should be given up.

Wennberg puts forth a second argument:

Extending our examination, it would be a
mistake to argue that since it was David who
was being formed [or "brought forth" in
NASB] in his mother's womb (Ps. 51:5) it must
therefore have been David *the person* who
was in his mother's womb. That would be to
confuse "formation/creation" of a thing
with the "completion/existence" of that
thing. The fact is that an entity can be on
the way to becoming a particular thing
without it being that thing. It is quite nat-
ural for us to refer to what is in the process
of becoming (the zygote or fetus in a Semite
woman's womb) in terms of what it will
eventually become (a King David), but we
are not then speaking with technical accu-
racy. If a butterfly *is being formed* in a co-
coon, it does not follow that there *is* a but-
terfly there (rather than a caterpillar or
something betwixt or between).⁸

In essence, Wennberg is arguing that one
cannot cite passages such as Psalm 51:5 to
show that the unborn are fully human, since
such passages are only saying that the per-
son in question is "being formed," not that
the human being in the womb has become
that person. There are several problems with
this argument. First, even if Wennberg's in-
terpretation of passages such as Psalm 51:5

were correct, he would still have to deal with other passages that clearly state that individual personal existence begins at conception (e.g., Gen. 4:1). Second, Wennberg commits the hermeneutical fallacy that James Sire calls "worldview confusion."⁹ This fallacy "occurs whenever a reader of Scripture fails to interpret the Bible within the intellectual and broadly cultural framework of the Bible itself and uses instead a foreign frame of reference."¹⁰ Wennberg's distinction between person and human being is an invention of some contemporary philosophers who argue that a human being becomes a person at some stage in his or her development (see chap. 6). Since Wennberg has the burden to prove that the author of Psalms was assuming such a distinction, and since he provides no reason to believe he has satisfied this burden, it is reasonable to conclude that Wennberg is reading back into David's assertion a foreign worldview. Third, the passage does say that "in sin my mother conceived me." This clearly indicates that David's personal existence can be traced back to conception, since it was at conception that he asserts he was conceived. And if this is the case, then it seems natural to interpret the first half of Psalm 51:5 ("I was brought forth" or "I was being formed") as describing the subsequent physical development of David in the womb, development that continues after birth into infancy, childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Although Wennberg is correct in saying that "if a butterfly *is being formed* in a cocoon, it does not follow that there *is* a butterfly there (rather than a caterpillar or something betwixt or between)," the insect that is becoming the butterfly is still the same insect that was once a caterpillar and will be a butterfly. In the same way, the being at conception is the same person who will become the infant, the child, the adolescent, the adult, and maybe even a philosopher. In sum, it is clear that passages such as Psalm 51:5 are describing a *person* who is in the process of development, not a *thing* which is in the process of developing into a person.

The Evidence of Church History

It is sometimes forgotten in the debate over the Bible and abortion that there has been a long and rich tradition in Christian church history, extending back to the early church fathers, against the practice of abortion. Since the early church fathers were much closer to the writing of the New Testament than we are today, it is reasonable to say that there is a presumption in favor of their interpretation of Scripture and their application of what they believe are its ethical teachings. Of course, the church fathers could have been wrong, but the burden of proof is on those who would bring this accusation against them.

In an early church document (second century), the *Didache* or the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" as it has been called, the author writes, "You shall not kill a child in the womb or murder a new-born infant. . . . You shall not *slay the child* by abortions." The second-century Christian apologist Athenagoras states, "We say that those women who use drugs to bring on abortion commit murder and will have to give an account to God for abortion." Another early church father of the second century, Clement of Alexandria, writes: "But women who resort to some sort of deadly abortion drug kill not only the embryos but, along with it, all human kindness."¹¹ This ethic is echoed by other Christian theologians of the same historical period:

Minucius Felix: In fact, it is among you that I see newly-born sons at times exposed to wild beasts and birds, or dispatched by the violent death of strangulation; and there are women who, by use of medical potions, destroy the nascent life in their wombs, and murder the child before they bring it forth.

Tertullian: But with us murder is forbidden once and for all. We are not permitted to destroy even the foetus in the womb, as long as blood is still being drawn to form a human being. To prevent the birth of a child is to anticipate murder. It makes no difference whether one destroys a life already

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born or interferes with it coming to birth. One who will be a man is already one.¹²

Among the many authorities in church history who have written against abortion are Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine. Although some church authorities, such as Thomas Aquinas and Augustine, under the influence of the erroneous biology of the Greek philosopher Aristotle, disputed as to when the unborn entity receives its soul (Thomas claimed it was at forty days for a male and eighty days for a female),¹³ they nevertheless opposed abortion at any stage during prenatal development (though disputing if it was less serious prior to ensoulment), except when abortion is needed to save the life of the mother. Concerning the church's historical view of abortion, one study concludes:

For the whole of Christian history until appreciably after 1900, so far as we can trace it, there was virtual unanimity amongst Christians, evangelical, catholic, orthodox, that, unless at the direct command of God, it was in all cases wrong directly to take innocent human life. Abortion and infanticide were grouped together as early as the writing called the *Didache* which comes from the first century after the crucifixion. These deeds were grouped with murder in that those committing or co-operating in them were, when penitent, still excluded from Communion for ten years by early Councils. . . . The absolute war was against the deliberate taking of *innocent* life, not in the sense of sinless life, but in the sense of life which was *innocens* (not harming). . . . We may note that this strictness constituted one of the most dramatic identifiable differences between Christian morality and pagan, Greek or Roman, morality.¹⁴

In summary, the Christian Church from its very beginnings has held firmly to a pro-life ethic. Since the early church was directly spawned by the New Testament church, it is safe to say that the interpretation of the Bible through the eyes of the early church will give contemporary scholars a better idea of what the Bible teaches about prenatal life than the

contemporary philosophical inventions that are often read back into the biblical text.

Conclusion: The Bible and Abortion

We can conclude that just as the Bible does not forbid murdering people with submachine guns, the Bible does not forbid abortion. But since one can infer that murdering persons with submachine guns is wrong from the fact that the Bible forbids murdering in general, one can also infer that the Bible teaches that abortion is not justified from the fact that the Bible refers to unborn human beings as persons and forbids the murdering of persons in general. If one were to accept the hermeneutical principle that whatever the Bible does not specifically forbid is permissible, one would be in the position of sanctioning everything from slavery to nuclear warfare to computer vandalism. Hence, the question is not whether the Bible specifically forbids abortion, but rather, whether the unborn are treated as persons. If they are, then we can infer that abortion in almost all circumstances is morally wrong.

Argument from God's Granting of Free Moral Agency

This argument is defended by Mollenkott.¹⁵ She argues that because God created us as free moral agents, to use public policy to make abortion illegal would be to rob the pregnant woman of the opportunity to be a responsible moral agent. Mollenkott's argument can be put in the following form:

A

1. God created human persons as free moral agents.
2. Any public policy that limits free moral agency is against God's will.
3. Public policy forbidding abortion would limit the free moral agency of the pregnant woman.
4. Therefore, forbidding abortion is against God's will.

The problem with this argument lies with premise 2. It does not seem obvious that "any

public policy that limits free moral agency is against God's will." For example, laws against drunk driving, murder, smoking crack, robbery, and child molesting are all intended to limit free moral agency, yet it seems counterintuitive, not to mention unbiblical, to assert that God does not approve of these laws. Such laws are instituted because the acts they are intended to limit often obstruct the free agency of other human persons (e.g., a person killed by a drunk driver is prevented from exercising his free agency) and/or cause them serious harm or hurt. Hence, it would seem consistent with biblical faith to say that God probably approves of a public policy that seeks to maintain a just and orderly society by limiting some free moral agency (e.g., drunk driving or murder), thus increasing free moral agency for a greater number (e.g., fewer people will be killed by drunk drivers and murderers, and hence there will be a greater number who will be able to act as free moral agents), and is intended to protect human beings from serious harm and/or hurt.

In fact, Mollenkott herself advocates a public policy that limits the moral free agency of those who do not believe it is their moral obligation to use their tax dollars to help the poor pay for abortions. She believes that "if Christians truly care about justice for women . . .," we will "work to assure the availability of legal, medically safe abortion services for those who need them—including the public funding without which the impoverished women cannot exert their creative responsibility."¹⁶ In Mollenkott's world a tax-paying Christian woman has a greater moral obligation either to pay for the abortions of poor women or to support their children if they are carried to term than she does to carry her own unborn children to term. In Mollenkott's world no one who opposes abortion is forced to have an abortion, which is well and good; but the anti-abortionist is nevertheless forced to pay for the abortions of others even if she believes that the practice results in murder. For Mollenkott, the pro-lifer can believe what she wants to believe about the unborn, but she has no right to act on her

beliefs when it comes to public policy. When pro-life Christians are asked to subsidize what they believe is murder, and when such a total disrespect for their deeply held convictions is called justice, can anyone doubt that our religious freedoms are founded on a fragile political foundation? George Orwell's Big Brother (or should I say, Big Sibling) would be proud.

In sum, it seems clear that Mollenkott must assume that the unborn are not fully human in order for her argument from free agency to work. Thus she begs the question. Only if the act of abortion does not limit the free agency of another and/or does not harm and/or hurt another person would a law forbidding abortions unjustly limit the free moral agency of the pregnant woman. However, in chapters 3 and 6 we saw that there are good reasons to think of the unborn as persons. Hence, a public policy forbidding abortions would not be against the will of God as Mollenkott defines it.

Argument from Exodus 21:22-25

This is a theological argument popular among biblical scholars. It can be put in the following outline:

B

1. In Exodus 21: 22-25 a person who accidentally kills a pregnant woman is given the death penalty.
2. In Exodus 21: 22-25, a person who causes a miscarriage is only fined for the crime.
3. Therefore, Exodus 21: 22-25 teaches both that the pregnant woman is of greater value than the unborn human she carries and that the unborn human does not have the status of a person.
4. Therefore, abortion is justified.

This argument can be criticized on four counts. First, assuming that the abortion-rights interpretation of Exodus 21: 22-25 is correct, does it logically follow that abortion on demand is morally justified? After all, the passage says that the unborn are worth something. In stark contrast, contemporary defenders of abortion rights seem to be say-

ing that the unborn that their mothers passage does not sjectively groundedsumed by the abortthermore, even interpretation is cor tion is not teachi woman can willfully of her womb. It me a lesser penalty for born human than killing her mother. to the conclusion th is justified is a nons

Second, the sever penalty is not alwa humanness of a vic important article or abortion, Bruce K. W not necessarily follo did not apply the pri is 'person for perso aborted through fig fetus is less than a hu preceding case, the the principle of *lex ta* batable death of a se master. But it does r for life' was not exa the slave was less th

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that their mothers place on them. Hence, this
passage does not seem to support the sub-
jectively grounded value of the unborn as-
sumed by the abortion-rights movement. Fur-
thermore, even if the abortion-rights
interpretation is correct, the passage in ques-
tion is not teaching that the pregnant
woman can willfully kill the human contents
of her womb. It merely teaches that there is
a lesser penalty for accidentally killing an un-
born human than there is for accidentally
killing her mother. To move from this truth
to the conclusion that abortion on demand
is justified is a nonsequitur.

Second, the severity of an Old Testament
penalty is not always indicative of the full
humanness of a victim. For example, in his
important article on the Old Testament and
abortion, Bruce K. Waltke writes that "it does
not necessarily follow that because the law
did not apply the principle of *lex talionis*, that
is 'person for person,' when the fetus was
aborted through fighting that therefore the
fetus is less than a human being." For "in the
preceding case, the judgment did not apply
the principle of *lex talionis* in the case of a de-
batable death of a servant at the hands of his
master. But it does not follow that since 'life
for life' was not exacted here that therefore
the slave was less than a fully human life."¹⁷

Third, one can also raise the more general
hermeneutical question, as John Warwick
Montgomery has pointed out, "as to whether
a statement of penalty in the legislation God
gave to ancient Israel ought to establish the
context of interpretation for the total bibli-
cal attitude to the value of the unborn child
(including not only specific and nonphe-
nomenological Old Testament assertions
such as Psalm 51:5, but the general New Tes-
tament valuation of the [*brephos*], as illus-
trated especially in Luke 1:41, 44)." Mont-
gomery goes on to ask: "Should a passage
such as Exodus 21 properly outweigh the
analogy of the Incarnation itself, in which
God became man at the moment when 'con-
ception by the Holy Ghost' occurred—not at
a later time as the universally condemned
and heretical adoptionists alleged?"¹⁸ If the

abortion-rights supporter is indeed correct in
his interpretation of Exodus 21, he still has
to deal with the grander context of Scripture
itself, which does seem in other texts to treat
the unborn as persons.

Fourth, one can show at most that the
word *miscarriage* in premise 2 is incorrectly
interpreted to mean the "death of the fetus."
At least, there is no scholarly consensus on
this interpretation. Let us first look at Exodus
21:22-25 (RSV):

When men strive together, and hurt a
woman with child, so that there is a mis-
carriage, and yet no harm follows, the one
who hurt her shall be fined, according as the
woman's husband shall lay upon him; and
he shall pay as the judges determine. If any
harm follows, then you shall give life for life,
eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand,
foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for
wound, stripe for stripe.

The ambiguity of this passage is sufficient
to neatly divide commentators into two
camps. One camp holds that the passage is
teaching that the woman and the unborn are
valued differently.¹⁹ According to this group,
the passage is saying that if the unborn is ac-
cidentally killed, there is only a fine, but if
the pregnant woman is accidentally killed, it
is a much more serious offense. Therefore, the
death of the unborn is not considered the
same as the death of an adult. Some trans-
lations, such as the Jerusalem Bible, seem to
support that interpretation:

If, when men come to blows, they hurt a
woman who is pregnant and she suffers a
miscarriage, though she does not die of it,
the man responsible must pay the compen-
sation demanded of him by the woman's
master; he shall hand it over, after arbitra-
tion. But should she die, you shall give life
for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for
hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for
wound, strike for strike.

This interpretation, however, has been
called into question by many critics.²⁰ They
argue that the Jerusalem Bible and other
translations like it (e.g., TEV) are mistransla-

tions and that in the Hebrew the passage is really saying that the mother and the unborn are to receive equal judicial treatment; that is, the mother and the unborn are both covered by the *lex talionis*. One such critic is Umberto Cassuto, who offers the following interpretation:

The statute commences, *And when men strive together*, etc., in order to give an example of accidental injury to a pregnant woman, and . . . the law presents the case realistically. Details follow: *and they hurt unintentionally a woman with child*—the sense is, that one of the combatants, whichever of them it be (for this reason the verb translated ‘and they hurt’ is in the plural) is responsible—and *her children come forth* (i.e., there is a miscarriage) on account of the hurt she suffers (irrespective of the nature of the fetus, be it male or female, one or two; hence here, too, there is a generic plural as in the case of the verb ‘they hurt’), *but no mischief happens*—that is, the woman and the children do not die—the one who hurt her *shall surely be punished by a fine, according as the woman’s husband shall lay—impose—upon him*, having regard to the extent of the injuries and the special circumstances of the accident; *and he who caused the hurt shall pay the amount of the fine to the woman’s husband with judges*, in accordance with the decision of the court that will confirm the husband’s claim and compel the offender to pay compensation, for it is impossible to leave the determination of the amount of the fine to the husband, and, on the other hand, it is not within the husband’s power to compel the assailant to pay if he refuses. But if *any mischief happen*, that is, if the woman dies or the children die, *then you shall give life for life, eye for eye*, etc.: you, O judge (or you, O Israel, through the judge who represents you) shall adopt the principle of “life for life,” etc.²¹

Gleason Archer points out that Cassuto’s rendering is an appropriate interpretation because the portion of the Hebrew translated in the New American Standard Bible as “so that she has a miscarriage” (*wēyāšēū yēlādēyāh*) does not necessarily entail the

death of the unborn, but can also mean the expulsion of a premature infant from his mother’s womb, regardless of whether his expulsion results in death.²²

Dr. F. Michael Womack points out that “Exodus 21:22 uses a derivation of the root word *yāšā’*. This is not the normal word for miscarriage. In fact, when used of children, the word refers to offspring and live birth. In the context of Exodus 21 it refers to the premature live birth of a child or children (it is in the plural—even multiple births are in mind).” Womack adds that “this becomes quite significant when one realizes that the normal Hebrew term for miscarriage is used in Exodus 23:26. There the word is *shakal*. It means to make childless or miscarry.” Had the author of Exodus “intended to mean miscarry in Exodus 21, he would have used *shakal*. He did not! Exodus 21, therefore, based on simple lexical definitions, promotes life in the highest possible fashion.”²³

Hence, Exodus 21:22–25 is saying that if the incident in question results only in a premature birth, the perpetrator should be fined. However, if “harm follows” (that is, if either the mother or the child is injured or killed), the same should be inflicted upon the perpetrator.

In summary, since the interpretation of Exodus 21:22–25 is at best divided,²⁴ and since the Bible’s larger context teaches that the unborn are persons, it seems rather foolish for the abortion-rights advocate to put all his ideological eggs into one dubious biblical basket.²⁵

Argument from Numbers 5:11–31

This passage is quoted in a tract published by Episcopalians for Religious Freedom, “A Pro-Choice Bible Study.”²⁶ It is from the New English Bible:

When a married woman . . . is unfaithful to her husband, and has sexual intercourse with another man . . . and the crime is undetected . . . but when . . . a fit of jealousy comes over a husband which causes him to suspect his wife, . . . the husband shall bring his wife to the priest. . . . He [the priest] shall

take clean water and shall take the Tabernacle and set the woman before it, and shall . . . and say to her, ‘Example of you miscarriage and u this water that enter your body, riage and untim respond, ‘Amen shall make the she has been u [and] when the water that bring suffer a miscarri if the woman ha filed and is pure [emphasis added]

The author of claims that this planned abortion i law given to Mos sage to mean th “comes from a h agree to drink a p priest. If the wom initiates an abort the direct intenti plus a holy man abortion.”²⁷

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take clean water in an earthenware vessel,
and shall take dust from the floor of the
Tabernacle and add it to the water. He shall
set the woman before the Lord, uncover her
head, . . . shall . . . put the woman on oath
and say to her, ' . . . may the Lord make an
example of you . . . by bringing upon you
miscarriage and untimely birth [abortion]; and
this water that brings out the truth shall
enter your body, bringing upon you *miscar-
riage and untimely birth*.' The woman shall
respond, 'Amen, Amen.' . . . After this he
shall make the woman drink the water. If
she has been unfaithful to her husband,
[and] when the priest makes her drink the
water that brings out the truth . . . she will
suffer a *miscarriage or untimely birth* . . . But
if the woman has not let herself become de-
filed and is pure, . . . she will bear her child.
[emphasis added]

The author of "A Pro-Choice Bible Study"
claims that this passage proves that "a
planned abortion is in the Bible as part of God's
law given to Moses." He interprets the pas-
sage to mean that the request for abortion
"comes from a husband, and his wife must
agree to drink a potion prepared by a Hebrew
priest. If the woman has been unfaithful, God
initiates an abortion. This passage illustrates
the direct intention of both potential parents
plus a holy man to cause a miscarriage, an
abortion."²⁷

There are several problems with this in-
terpretation. First, even if the passage were
saying that abortion is justified in circum-
stances of infidelity, the passage is also say-
ing that it is "the Lord" who brings upon her
"miscarriage and untimely birth," not the
priest, the husband, or the wife. Therefore,
the passage does not support abortion on
demand by a human being. Second, nothing
in the passage is saying that the unborn
human is not fully human. If execution by
God makes one a nonperson, then everyone
who died in the flood, including babies and
small children, were not persons.

Third, it is peculiar that someone defend-
ing women's rights would cite a passage in
which a husband who suspects his wife of
having committed adultery is granted the
right to take her to a male priest who ad-

ministers a drug and then prays that God
cause an abortion if the pregnancy was the
result of adultery. This is certainly not pro-
choice. I doubt that this approach to a
woman's infidelity would be welcomed by
contemporary feminists.

Fourth, there is good reason to suppose
that the translation from which this passage
is quoted (NEB) is not accurate. The Jerusalem
Bible translates "miscarriage and untimely
birth" as "making your thigh shrivel and
your body swell." The New American Stan-
dard Bible says "making your thigh waste
away and your abdomen swell." Other trans-
lations are similar: "make thy thigh to rot,
and thy belly to swell" (KJV); "make thy thigh
to fall away, and thy body to swell" (ASB);
"May he cause your genital organs to shrink
and your stomach to swell up" (TEV); "he
causes your thigh to waste away and your
abdomen to swell" (NIV). An alternative read-
ing in the New International Version states:
"causes you to have a miscarrying womb and
barrenness."

All these translations seem to be saying
that if the wife had committed adultery, her
sexual organs will become useless, thus re-
sulting in a miscarrying womb and barren-
ness. But if she did not commit adultery, she
"will be able to have children" (Num. 5:28b
NIV).²⁸ This seems to be the most natural in-
terpretation of this passage, since Numbers
5:11-31 is a test for a woman if her husband
is unsure of her fidelity. It is not a test for a
pregnancy that may or may not result from
adultery. Since a vast majority of adulterous
unions do not result in pregnancy, a test for
adultery that procured an abortion would
not be a very good test. What good would
such an adultery test be if the wife had com-
mitted adultery and yet did not get pregnant?
Thus it makes sense to reject the New English
Bible translation.

Argument from "Breath"

Some people argue that since Adam be-
came a living soul when God "breathed into
his nostrils the breath of life" (Gen. 2:7), birth
is the time at which a child becomes a living

being. At birth it begins to breathe oxygen through the lungs. There are at least two problems with this argument.²⁹

First, it is false to so say that the unborn from conception do not breathe in a true biological sense. As Davis points out, "while breathing in the usual sense does not begin until birth, the process of *respiration* in the more technical biological sense of the transfer of oxygen from the environment of the living organism occurs from the time of conception." Thus it is "the *mode* but not the *fact* of this oxygen transfer which changes at birth."³⁰ Therefore, the "breath of life" exists from the moment of conception.

Second, there is no analogy between the creation of the first man, Adam, which was a unique historical event, and the ordinary birth of a child. As theologian Harold O. J. Brown points out, "If God took inanimate matter and made a man from it, as Genesis 2:7 seems to be saying, then obviously what he created was not a human being until it was given life. But the fetus is not 'inanimate matter.' It is already alive. And it is already human." Therefore, "to apply Genesis 2:7 to human beings who were carried for nine months in a mother's womb before birth is clearly ridiculous. This argument is seldom used by people who take Scripture seriously."³¹

Miscellaneous Passages and Arguments

Since the following passages and arguments are weak biblical defenses of the abortion-rights position, my critique of them will be brief. Almost all of them come from "A Pro-Choice Bible Study." Since many people may come across this work, I believe it is necessary to address some of its arguments.

Argument from Psalm 51:5

In this passage David writes, "Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity, and in sin my mother conceived me." Strangely enough, as we have already noted, this passage is also used to defend the *pro-life* position. In any event, the abortion-rights defender argues that since David could not have been an ac-

tual sinner because he had yet to actually sin, David was only a potential sinner. But this is because he was only a potential person.

There are several problems with this argument. First, it does not address the fact that Psalm 51:5 does clearly state that it was David who came into existence at conception. Second, even if this passage were claiming that the unborn are potential sinners, this would still imply that the unborn are actual persons, since only actual persons can be potential sinners, just as only actual persons can be potential violinists, philosophers, basketball players, or deli managers. And third, the passage is not saying that David, as a zygote, performed a sin, but rather, that he was conceived a sinner by virtue of being Adam's descendant. That is to say, Adam's sin nature is passed on to all who share his human nature. But this supports the *pro-life* position. As Norman Geisler points out, "the very fact that humans are declared sinners from conception reveals that they are human, that is, part of the fallen human race. It is only by virtue of being part of the Adamic human race that we are conceived in sin" (see Rom. 5:12).³²

Argument from Psalm 139:13, 16a

This passage is also used to defend the *pro-life* position. The passage reads: "For Thou didst form my inward parts; Thou didst weave me in my mother's womb . . . Thine eyes have seen my unformed substance." The abortion-rights advocate argues that since this passage is saying that the unborn is still being "weaved" and is "unformed," therefore it is not fully human.

There are at least two problems with this interpretation. First, "'un-formed' (v. 16) does not mean unhuman any more than deformed does."³³ Far from casting aspersion upon the unborn's full humanness, Psalm 139 eloquently describes God's creative activity in prenatal human development, thus implying the full humanness of the unborn from the moment of conception. For in human development, "unformed" is a relational term that implies a lack a person may have in relation to a more advanced state of

his development. T is "unformed" in r embryo is "unform a fetus is "unforme an infant is "unfo adolescent, and a in relation to an d that since one is "u not fully human.

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Argument from

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a person prior to birth or that killing him by abortion was morally justified.

Argument from Job 10:18-19

This passage reads: "Why then hast Thou brought me out of the womb? Would that I had died and no eye had seen me! I should have been as though I had not been, carried from womb to tomb." The author of "A Pro-Choice Bible Study" interprets this passage to mean that "Job did not consider the prenatal period as an existence."³⁴

This interpretation is unjustified. First, the passage says just the opposite: one does exist prenatally. Job is saying that if he were not born it would be "*as though*" he "had not been" (emphasis added). He is not saying that if he were not born he would have never existed, only that it would be as though he had never existed. People speak like this all the time. For example, a disenchanted husband may say that his wife treats him as though they were not married, but he is still married to her. In the same way, when Job claims that if he were stillborn it would be as though he had never existed, he still existed. One cannot use "*as though*" unless one "*is*."

Second, Job 3:3 affirms the personhood of the conceptus: "Let the day perish on which I was to be born, and the night which said, 'A boy is conceived.'" Therefore, the passage in question, and the Book of Job in particular, supports the pro-life position.

Argument from Ecclesiastes 11:5

This verse reads: "Just as you do not know the path of the wind and how bones are formed in the womb of the pregnant woman [or, 'how the spirit comes to the bones of a woman with child,' RSV], so you do not know the activity of God who makes all things." The author of the "Pro-Choice Bible Study" claims that "the writer of Ecclesiastes admonishes the Bible reader not to speculate about *how* or *when* the spirit of the child arrives. It could be *presumptuous* to claim that life begins at conception, which the Bible refuses to do."³⁵

his development. That is to say, a pre-embryo is "unformed" in relation to an embryo; an embryo is "unformed" in relation to a fetus; a fetus is "unformed" in relation to an infant; an infant is "unformed" in relation to an adolescent, and an adolescent is "unformed" in relation to an adult. So it does not follow that since one is "unformed" one is therefore not fully human.

Second, it is bad hermeneutics (i.e., the art of interpretation) to quote this passage in isolation from other statements about the unborn found in both the Book of Psalms (e.g., Ps. 51:5) and the rest of the Bible, passages that speak of personal human existence beginning from conception (e.g., Gen. 4:1; Ps. 51:5), refer to the unborn by personal pronouns (e.g., Jer. 1:5), and apply terms to the unborn that are used of postnatal children (e.g., Luke 1:41, 44 cf. 2:12, 16).

Argument from Psalm 139:16b

The second part of Psalm 139:16 is sometimes used to deny the unborn's full humanness: "And in Thy book they were all written, The days that were ordained for me, When as yet there was not one of them." The abortion-rights advocate is arguing that this passage is saying that while in the womb the days of David's life had not yet begun ("When as yet there was not one of them"). The problem, however, with this interpretation is that the text does not say that the days of David's life exclude his prenatal existence. The passage is simply saying that all of David's days were ordained and written in God's book. And since God has known everything from all eternity, it follows that God knew of David's days "when as yet there was not one of them," a phrase that may refer to the time *prior to his conception*. Psalm 51:5 states that David's beginning can be traced back to his conception and the rest of Psalm 139 gives a detailed account of God's personal interaction with the development of the prenatal David.

Or one can argue that the passage is referring exclusively to David's postnatal days. But this would not mean that David was not

yet to actually sin, sinner. But this is essential person. seems with this address the fact that state that it was existence at conception were claim- ential sinners, this unborn are actual persons can be po- y actual persons philosophers, bas- lagers. And third, at David, as a zy- rather, that he was e of being Adam's Adam's sin nature re his human na- pro-life position. ut, "the very fact sinners from con- e human, that is, ace. It is only by Adamic human in sin" (see Rom.

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There are several problems with the abortion-rights interpretation of this verse. First, the verse is not commanding that "the Bible reader not speculate about how and when the spirit of the child arrives." There is no mention of *when* in the verse but only that one does not know *how* the "bones are formed in the womb of the pregnant woman." But it does not follow from my ignorance of the mechanism by which the soul or spirit is given by God that I don't know when this occurs. For example, just because a person may not know how his mind works does not mean he cannot know when his mind is working. Although we may not know how God brings human persons into existence, we do know when one's personhood begins, since so many other biblical passages clearly indicate that full humanness begins at conception.

Second, even if the abortion-rights interpretation were correct, the verse does not support abortion on demand. Certainly abortion could still be a serious moral wrong even if the unborn entity is not fully human during the entire nine months of pregnancy. Furthermore, the abortion-rights advocate is admitting that the verse is teaching that the spirit of the child arrives some time *before* birth (after all, the woman is said to be "with child," RSV). Hence, the abortion-rights view of this verse does not support the abortion-rights position.

Third, if this verse were really claiming that one does not know when the unborn becomes fully human, then it would be just as presumptuous to deny that personhood begins sometime before birth (i.e., the abortion-rights position) as it would be to affirm that personhood begins at conception. Therefore, even with an abortion-rights interpretation, this verse could still be used as a pro-life proof-text: since one does not know when life begins, therefore one should not kill the unborn entity, for it is a real possibility that if one performs an abortion one is committing a homicide. It is legal negligence to perform an act in which one does not know whether one is harming another (e.g., demolishing a

building when one has not checked if anyone is inside).

Argument from 1 Corinthians 15:46

This verse reads: "However, the spiritual is not first, but the natural; then the spiritual." The abortion-rights advocate who uses this verse is arguing that the physical reality of the unborn precedes its spiritual endowment. So prior to a certain point in gestation, the unborn does not possess a spirit, and hence, it is not a person. The problem with this use of 1 Corinthians 15:46 is that the verse has nothing even remotely to do with embryology or human development. The context is clearly human salvation. As the verses before and after verse 46 reveal, the author, Paul the apostle, is contrasting the first Adam with the second Adam, Jesus: "So also it is written, 'The first *man*, Adam, became a living soul.' The last Adam became a life-giving spirit. However, the spiritual is not first, but the natural; then the spiritual. The first man is from the earth, earthy; the second man is from heaven. As is the earthy, so also are those who are earthy; and as is the heavenly, so also are those who are heavenly. And just as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly" (1 Cor. 15:45-49, emphasis added).

Argument from the Fact That God Calls Us by Name

Since the Bible teaches that "God calls us by name" (Isa. 43:1, 7; Rev. 3:5; Luke 10:20), and "a child is ready to be named at birth because the sex is only then normally known (Gen. 29:31-35; Eccles. 6:4),"³⁶ the abortion-rights advocate concludes that one is only fully human at birth.

This argument is factually and logically absurd. First, none of the verses cited establish the abortion-rights position. There is no logical problem with one accepting the "pro-choice" interpretation of these verses and still remaining pro-life. That is to say, it does not follow from not being named that one is not fully human. It would still be wrong for a parent to murder her one-year-old even if she

had not given persons that are not become persons named. Consequently that because so son. Even abortion admit this, since their miscarried rights advocate ity of such beings fully human s named? If I nam does that make

Second, since genetically deter that it is now in the gender of or ception, is it now of parents who n birth?

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Argument from Person Lives until Time of Birth

Since both the Isaiah teach (Ps 49:5) that "every care from the tin ception,"³⁷ theref vocate argues, full until birth.

To be frank, th None of the passio tion-rights positio all lend support to 22:10 says that "fr have been my G asserts that "wicl error since birth" these men had n all, if the passage the beginning o

had not given the child a name. For it is persons that are named; named things do not become persons simply because they are named. Consequently, it also does not follow that because something is named it is a person. Even abortion-rights advocates must admit this, since some parents have named their miscarried children. Will the abortion-rights advocate who denies the full humanity of such beings now concede that they were fully human simply because they were named? If I name my pet gerbil Richard G., does that make the gerbil fully human?

Second, since we now know that gender is genetically determined from conception, and that it is now in principle possible to know the gender of one's unborn child after conception, is it now wrong to abort the offspring of parents who name them long before their birth?

And third, although it is true that God "calls us by name," it does not follow that one who is not named by another human being, such as a parent, does not have a name known only to God (see Isa. 49:1). For if this were the case, then unnamed newborns, infants, and adults would not be fully human or capable of being called by God.

Argument from the Fact That Every Person Lives under God's Care from the Time of Birth

Since both the psalmist and the prophet Isaiah teach (Ps. 22:9, 10; 58:3; 71:6; Isa. 49:5) that "every person lives under God's care from the time of birth, instead of conception,"³⁷ therefore, the abortion-rights advocate argues, full humanness does not begin until birth.

To be frank, this is a strange argument. None of the passages cited support the abortion-rights position on abortion. In fact, they all lend support to the pro-life position. Psalm 22:10 says that "from my mother's womb you have been my God" (JB). Psalm 58:3 merely asserts that "wicked men . . . have been in error since birth" (JB). This hardly proves that these men had no prenatal existence. After all, if the passage was asserting that birth was the beginning of personal existence one

could reasonably argue that it would most likely not say "in error since birth," but rather, "always in error." For it is certainly possible, and quite likely, for an author to use the word *since* in reference to when a thing acquires a certain attribute, such as "being in error," while at the same time not denying that the thing in question existed before acquiring that attribute. For example, if I say that I have weighed 180 pounds since 1988, it is implied that I existed at another weight prior to 1988.

Psalm 71:6a ("I have relied on you since I was born," JB) can be understood along the same lines as Psalm 58:3, for verse 5 says, "Yahweh, I have trusted you since my youth" (JB), and the second part of verse 6 states, "you have been my portion from my mother's womb" (JB). If the Psalmist is claiming in the first part of Psalm 71:6 that there was no prenatal existence, then in verse 5 he is claiming that there is no pre-adolescent existence. But the second part of verse 6 is affirming prenatal existence. Therefore, Psalm 71:6 not only does not support the abortion-rights position, but in fact supports the pro-life view.

Isaiah 49:5a reads: "And now Yawheh has spoken, he who formed me in the womb to be his servant, to bring Jacob back to him, to gather Israel to him" (JB). Since being "formed in the womb" is consistent with, and lends support to, personhood beginning from conception, it is a mystery why this passage is cited in defense of the abortion-rights position.

Argument from the Fact That Life Begins When Blood Cells Come into Existence

Since certain biblical passages teach that "life is in the blood" (Lev. 17:11, 14; Gen. 9:4; Deut. 12:23), and since "embryologists have determined that blood cells do not develop until 20 days after fertilization," therefore, the abortion-rights advocate argues, "life" does not arrive "until three weeks after conception."³⁸

Aside from the fact that these passages do not support the abortion-rights position that

abortion on demand should be legal for the entire nine months of pregnancy, there is a fundamental interpretative problem with the use of these biblical passages to establish the conclusion that personhood begins three weeks after conception: not one passage refers to unborn humans, but they all refer to mammals at a stage in their development when blood is a necessary condition for their

mortal existence. The pre-twenty-day-old human embryo, however, is a mammal, and a living human being in particular, who does not need blood as a necessary condition for his existence. Therefore, it does not follow from the fact that blood is a necessary condition for the existence of post-twenty-day-old humans that pre-twenty-day-old humans are not fully human.