

April 1, 1996

RM

MEMORANDUM TO LEON PANETTA

cc. Evelyn Lieberman
Harold Ickes
Alexis Herman
George Stephanopoulos

FROM: BETSY MYERS
SUBJECT: H.R.1833 VETO MESSAGE

As per our conversation regarding the H.R. 1833 veto, I want to reiterate that I strongly recommend that President Clinton be pictured surrounded at the time that he vetos the legislation with women and their families for whom the banned procedure was medically critical. It is clear that the women's tragic stories are the most persuasive message about why H.R.1833 should not become law. I make this recommendation though I recognize that we are still evaluating whether or not this issue will continue to be politicized and acknowledge that we are still developing our strategy.

I believe the anti-choice community will not miss the opportunity to politicize this veto. Their message completely distorts the truth. Consider the recent statement of Congressman Coburn who said "this bill is about murdering infants who are otherwise viable outside the womb." This simply is not true. The anti-choice community's message talks about everyone except the real women affected by the legislation. The veto signing is an opportunity to put the truth forward by showing the real stories of women and families that for medical reasons needed to make use of a procedure that is rarely used. There are less than 500 of these abortions performed a year and they are used in cases of severe fetal anomalies when the baby will not live.

It is important that the American public understand that this legislation eliminates necessary medical options for women and thereby threatens their health and lives and in no way condones 3rd trimester abortions. These families stories make the necessity of the veto very real and personal and an act of compassion.

We have several tragic stories of women who desperately wanted to have children and found out late in their pregnancy that their life and health were in jeopardy. (See attached) In addition including Republican Congresswomen Nancy Johnson (who is married to a gynecologist) and Jan Meyers and Pat Schroeder (who gave up her floor time to the women who had the procedure because they would not let the women speak) in the veto signing could strengthen our message.

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has been
raising
(3000)

Mary-Dorothy Line
Marina del Rey, CA 90292

March 31, 1996

Ms. Betsy Myers
Womens' Outreach Office
Washington, D.C.

CC: Judy Gold

VIA FAX: 202-456-7311

Reference: HR 1833/S 939

Dear Betsy:

This correspondence serves a few purposes. First, I would like to thank you and your staff especially Judy Gold for all your help, compassion and understanding of the issues concerning HR 1833/S 939. Second I would like to help President Clinton. The Congressional speakers in opposition to this bill last Wednesday did not help him, as they presented few compelling arguments against the legislation. I believe we families who have come to Washington to oppose this bill can help.

My husband and I are very private people, but, we made our worst nightmare public to try to help the women and families who will come after us. It would have been impossible for us had it not been for people like you and Judy, and Vicki Saporta and her staff at the National Abortion Federation (NAF). You have all been so kind and have stood by us and the other families who have come forward. You really understand the issue: it is not abortion and not choice - it is women's health. This legislation would ban safe, compassionate medical procedures which save women's reproductive organs. Thank God for people like you and President Clinton.

As you know, this is not the Coreen Costello story. A dozen very brave families have gone to Washington during the past six months to make our tragedies public, and there are thousands more who have faced similar nightmares. Every testimony I read makes me cry more than the last. I thought our story was sad, but I thank God that my doctors spotted our son's hydrocephalus as early as they did. I did not have to go through several additional months of pregnancy just to lose him at seven or eight months like some of the other families.

My husband and I, the other families who have been to Washington and the women at NAF all want to help the President. He will receive complaints when he vetoes this horrible legislation from the anti-choice community. That is why we want to be there with him to give him support and strength. You don't know how much it means to all of us that he is on our side and willing to make a stand - to listen to us and to help the doctors and women and families who will face similar tragedies. One very influential Congressman from Tennessee told me that he did not believe in the legislation but that his constituents, who did not understand the issues, wanted him to vote for it. He then went on to say that the President was going to veto it, so he could keep his constituents happy and his conscience clear - all because the President is strong enough to face the real issue. Decisions about the type of medical procedure to use should be left to the medical community and the families they treat, not to elected officials.

We are Catholic, and are saddened that our church leaders have actively supported this legislation. We did not choose for our babies to have fetal anomalies which were incompatible with life - IT WAS GOD'S WILL. We would have done anything to save our children, but were told by medical experts there was nothing. Our doctors (some of whom are also Catholic) recommended the safest, most compassionate procedure to help us and our babies. We can't thank you, your staff, the women at NAF and the President enough - you are the people who have listened, studied the issues and have helped us, our doctors and the families who will follow us.

The following are a few arguments I believe were missed in the House debate that should help President Clinton when he vetoes this horrible legislation:

Proponents of this legislation have continued to portray it as prohibiting a "horrible" medical procedure. They have repeated gruesome details of the procedure they claim to be against.

Our doctor, the late James McMahon, developed the procedure which helped us. No one used scissors and no one sucked out our babies brains. Natural dilators were used to gently enlarge my cervix over the span of three days. Once I had dilated enough to allow the doctor to remove our son *without damage to either of us*, I was put under heavy anaesthesia - from which I awoke, but our son did not. A simple needle was used to remove excess fluid from his head, the same fluid that had killed him. Our baby was removed intact, without inducing labor, without a surgical incision. What could be more compassionate? But this is not what the public is hearing. This legislation affects *several* second and third trimester procedures.

Congressmen Bob Inglis, Tom Coburn, Charles Canady, Henry Hyde and Christopher Smith said this was "*birth control, viable babies were being murdered, abortionists lie to women, and handicapped people are not garbage.*"

✱ These statements couldn't be further from the truth. These procedures are the only help for families with babies who are not viable, families who want their babies - even with a disability. That is certainly not birth control.

- Claudia and Richard Ades' son had Trisomy 13, a hole in his heart and excessive fluid in his head.
- Phyllis and Randy Baker's daughter, B.B., had severe hydrocephalus, thus no brain.
- Coreen and Jim Costello's daughter, Katherine, had a neuro-muscular disease and could not move, not even to blink.
- Mary-Dorothy and Bill Line's son, Danny, had hydrocephalus, thus no brain; he also had no stomach.
- Vikki and Archer Stella's son, Anthony, had a cleft palate, but he also had no liver and no brain.
- Tammy and Mitchell Watts' daughter, Mackenzie, had Trisomy 13 - her bowel, bladder and intestines all developed outside her body and her kidneys did not function.
- Viki and Bill Wilson's daughter, Abigail, had encephalocoele - her brain grew on the outside of her skull.

Congresswoman Andrea Seastrand said "*anaesthesia does not affect the fetus*" so that it is aware and feels pain.

The levels and type of anaesthesia Dr. McMahon's procedure uses do affect the fetus. It is intentionally administered at high levels so that it will affect the fetus. Doctors who testified before the Ohio court which ruled that similar legislation passed in that state was unconstitutional, said that an unborn fetus does not feel pain and the part of the brain which would determine pain is one of the last things to develop in a fetus.

Congresswoman Seastrand also said "*we need to protect women from doctors.*"

All the women who have come to Washington to testify against this bill are college educated, several have advanced degrees and Viki Wilson's husband Bill is a doctor. We are not stupid, we do not need protection from our gynecologists, obstetricians and perinatologists; these are the people who have devoted their lives to helping women.

What we need is the best medical care available - care which is not influenced or restricted by over-zealous legislators.

Congressman Bob Goodlatte said "*the AMA supports the legislation.*"

This is just a lie. The AMA's board of trustees did not take a position on this legislation. The following is just a sampling of the medical associations which have officially condemned this legislation: American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, American Medical Women's Association, California Medical Association, Cedars-Sinai Medical Center/Los Angeles, University of North Carolina School of Medicine, Columbia School of Public Health/New York, University of California/San Francisco, Boston University Hospital and University of Florida College of Medicine.

Congressman Christopher Smith said "*Bill Clinton is giving a license to kill.*"

Again, there is nothing further from the truth. These babies were dying - it was Gods' will. Vetoing this legislation would maintain women's access to the best medical care available.

Congressman Smith also said "*Dr. Haskell himself says that 85% of these procedures are elective.*"

Elective is a medical term used to describe a procedure that is not medically required. Anyone who considers a second trimester abortion purely elective is wrong. Families who have a choice use this procedure after they have thought and prayed and studied and only then decided it is the best thing for their baby. A severely disabled child can be devastating for a family - emotionally, spiritually and financially. When parents decide it is best for their family to terminate such a pregnancy, they are only doing what parents do every day - making a decision to help their children. If this legislation is not vetoed, we may as well ban amniocentesis and ultrasound tests, as their only purpose is to help families whose babies have problems. This would be the first medical procedure which would be banned through legislation. We cannot let politicians make a medical procedure a political issue.

The **National Conference of Catholic Bishops** says these procedures are used because, the mother *"hates being fat, is angry at the child's father, can't fit into her prom dress, didn't finish college, is too young or never had a job..."*

My husband and I were deeply saddened by the Bishops' trivialization of this issue. Late term procedures are often used to help families faced with tragedies and no other options. The problem is that this legislation does not discriminate between good and bad reasons. The misuse - or even immoral use - of a medical procedure by some should not cause denial of access to everyone.

We have separation of church and state but, the church is strongly influencing our elected officials. Abortion is not permitted in the Catholic church, but neither is divorce nor birth control. Maybe there are a few women in the United States who would want a second or third trimester abortion for these reasons, but it is not our business. Should a legitimate medical procedure which has helped families for years be banned because a few people might abuse it? This is America, we are free, we are allowed to choose. Abortion is the number one surgery performed on women every year. It is the law of our land.

The anti-choice community WILL make an issue out of President Clinton's veto of this legislation. He will need help and support from the people who have fought this battle. In our view it will not be a time of celebration, it will be an empty victory. Maybe we should have a moment of silence for American women and families because our elected officials were trying to make our health and well being a political issue.

We shouldn't have had to make our private nightmares public. These medical procedures should never have become a political issue. I pray none of us will ever have to fight another political battle like this.

Please call me at 310-306-0335 if I can be of any assistance. We really would like to help the President. It would be our way of thanking your office and him for your support.

Sincerely,

Mary-Dorothy Line

The Issue is Not Abortion

by Mary-Dorothy Line

My husband and I are extremely offended by the ad sponsored by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops that appeared in the March 26, 1996 edition of the *Washington Post*. A bill pending before the House (H.R. 1833) would ban intact dilation and evacuation (intact D&E) procedures used in some late-term abortions; late term abortions which are provided to protect the mother's life or health when there is no hope for the baby. This legislation is wrong, and it would hurt a lot of American families. We know. We are one of those families.

I am a registered Republican and we are practicing Catholics. Last April, we found out I was pregnant with our first child and were extremely happy. 19 weeks into my pregnancy, an ultrasound indicated that there was something wrong with our baby. The doctor noticed that his head was too large and contained excessive fluid. This problem is called hydrocephalus. Every person's head contains fluid to protect and cushion the brain, but if there is too much fluid, the brain cannot develop.

As practicing Catholics, when we have problems and worries, we turn to prayer. So, our whole family prayed. We were scared, but we are strong people and believed that God would not give us a problem if we couldn't handle it. This was our baby; everything would be fine. We never thought about abortion.

A few weeks later we had two more ultrasounds. We consulted with five specialists, who all told us the same thing. Our little baby had an advanced, textbook case of hydrocephaly. We asked what we could do. They all told us there was no hope and recommended that we terminate the pregnancy. We asked about in utero operations and shunts to remove the fluid, but were again told there was nothing we could do. We were devastated. I can't express the pain we still feel — this was our precious little baby, and he was being taken from us before we even had him.

My doctors, some of the best in the country, recommended the intact D&E procedure. No scissors were used and no one sucked out our baby's brains as is depicted in the inflammatory ads supporting H.R. 1833. A simple needle was used to remove the fluid - the same fluid that killed our son - to allow his head to pass through the birth canal undamaged. **THIS WAS NOT OUR CHOICE - THIS WAS GOD'S WILL.**

My doctors knew that we would want to have children in the future, even though it was the furthest thing from my mind at the time. They recommended the best procedure for me and our baby. Because the trauma to my body was minimized by this procedure, I was able to become pregnant again. We are expecting another baby in September.

I pray every day that this will never happen to anyone again, but it will, and those of us unfortunate enough to have to live this nightmare need a procedure which will give us hope for the future.

Congress needs to hear the truth. The truth does make a difference -- when people listen. Last week, I testified at a hearing held in the Maryland legislature. A committee there was considering a bill similar to the one Congress is prepared to pass this week. In Maryland, they listened. And in Maryland, several conservative legislators joined in the 15-6 committee vote to reject this bill.

After seeing the callous way our tragedies are regarded by the proponents of H.R. 1833, I know the only hope to protect families lies with the President of the United States. I am told he is a good man. I am told he listens to people. I hope he listens to us, to the truth, and not to the political propaganda. I pray he shows love and compassion for women like me and families like mine. I pray he vetoes this bill.

Many people do not understand the real issue - it is women's health; not abortion and certainly not choice. We must leave decisions about the type of medical procedure to employ with the experts in the medical community and with the families they affect. It is not the place for government.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1996

Rm

MR. PRESIDENT:

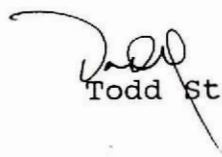
As you may recall, Cardinal Hickey sent you a letter on the partial birth abortion issue in December. A draft response was prepared and sent up to you, but you didn't sign it. Hickey then sent a letter in February (which I did not see until last week) and another on April 1.

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

4/10/96

Copy given to Panetta.

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,



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.

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Sincerely,



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.

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Sincerely,

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,

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,



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,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Ray Flynn".

Raymond L. Flynn
U.S. Ambassador

cc: Leon Panetta
Melanie Verveer
John Hart

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON HOUSE RESOLUTION 1833

The Roosevelt Room

April 10, 1996

THE PRESIDENT: Good afternoon. I have just met with five courageous women and their families, and I want to thank the Lines, the Stellas, the Watts, the Costellos, and the Ades all for meeting with me. They had to make a potentially life-saving, certainly health-saving, but still tragic decision to have the kind of abortion procedure that would be banned by H.R. 1833. ✓

They represent a small, but extremely vulnerable group of women and families in this country, just a few hundred a year. Believe it or not, they represent different religious faiths, different political parties, different views on the question of abortion. They just have one thing in common: They all desperately wanted their children. They didn't want abortions. They made agonizing decisions only when it became clear that their babies would not survive. Their own lives, their health, and in some cases, their capacity to have children in the future were in danger. ✓

No one can tell the story better than them, and I want to call on one of them. But before I do, I want to say that this country is deeply indebted to them for being willing to speak out and to talk about the real facts, not the emotional arguments that, unfortunately, carried the day on this case.

✓ So I'd like to ask Mary-Dorothy Line to come up here and introduce herself and say whatever she'd like to say about why we're all here today.

✓ MRS. LINE: My name is Mary-Dorothy Line. My husband, Bill, and I are honored to be here today to speak for the many women and families who have also come forward to tell their stories in opposition to this terrible legislation.

Last April we were overjoyed to find out that I was pregnant with our first child. Nineteen weeks into my pregnancy, an ultrasound indicated that there was something wrong with our baby. The doctor diagnosed a condition called hydrocephalus. Every person's head contains fluid to protect and cushion the brain. But if there is too much fluid, the brain cannot develop.

As practicing Catholics, when we have problems and worries, we turn to prayer. As we waited to find our more from the doctors, our whole family prayed together. My husband and I were very scared, but we are strong people and believe that God would not give us a problem if we couldn't handle it. This was our baby. Everything would be fine. We never thought about abortion.

But the diagnosis was as bad as it could be. Our little boy had a very advanced textbook case of 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. If I carried to term, he might die in utero, and the resulting toxins could cause a hemorrhage and possibly a hysterectomy. The hydrocephaly also meant that a natural labor risked rupturing my cervix and my uterus.

Several specialists recommended that we terminate the pregnancy. I thank God every day that I had this safe medical option available to me, especially now that I am pregnant again and expecting a baby in September.

I pray every day, I really do, that this will never happen to anyone else. But it will. Those of us unfortunate enough to have to live this nightmare need a procedure that will give us hope for the future.

And I thank God for President Clinton; we all do here. The people who promoted this bill do not understand the real issues, but he does. It is about women's health, it's not about abortion, and certainly not choice. These decisions belong to families and their doctors, not the government. President Clinton listened to us and protected families like ours by vetoing legislation that would hurt so many people.

Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

I'd like to ask Coreen Costello to come up and speak a little bit about her experience.

MRS. COSTELLO: My name is Coreen Costello, as you heard. I found out when I was seven months pregnant that my daughter was dying. She was dying inside my womb. The complications that she had posed severe health risks to me. One of the conditions she had was polyhydramnia, where the amniotic fluid puddles into the uterus.

I had over nine pounds of excess amniotic fluid. My daughter's body was rigid and it was stuck in a position that was as if she was doing a swan dive inside my womb. Her head and -- the back of her feet were touching the back of her head at the top my uterus. There was no way to deliver her.

My husband and I have always been extremely opposed to abortion. We consider ourselves very, very much pro-life, conservative Republicans. For us, terminating this pregnancy was not an option. For three weeks we attempted to turn my daughter so that I could deliver her vaginally and naturally. We had one hope, and that was that we would be able to hold our daughter alive for possibly an hour, maybe two.

Over the three weeks that we carried her we realized that that was not a possibility. She was dying and she would likely not survive any labor and there was no way I could deliver her. We had her baptized in utero. We named her Katherine Grace. We then realized that our only safe option was the procedure that is being outlawed -- is being attempted to be outlawed.

I am so grateful because today I am standing here before you pregnant again with a healthy child. I have two children. I have my health. I don't know how to tell you how important that is. This was such a tragedy, such a personal family tragedy. Our daughter will always be a part of our lives. There will always be someone missing in our family, and that's Katherine Grace. But I am so grateful for the ability to be able to go on and enjoy the two children that I do have, to be with my husband, to be with my family, and to be here today.

And that's what this is about. This is not about choice. We made a very different choice than what we ended up having to have. This is not about abortion, and it's not about choice. It's a medical issue. And I am so grateful for President Clinton and his ability to hear our stories, because we have been telling them for a long time and a lot of people haven't listened. But this is the truth, and this is what happened to us. And as painful as it is, we are all here to share that with you.

Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

I would also like to thank Jim and their children, and William.

Would you tell them what you told me in the office? Can you do it? This is Tammy Watts.

MRS. WATTS: Hi, my name is Tammy Watts. I live in Tempe, Arizona. I simply told our dear President that my story is not so different from everyone else's. I have the heartache, I have the same tragic story. I have the loss in my heart, as does my husband and the rest of my family and friends.

The fact is this: I would have given my life and traded places with my daughter, Mackenzie. And in fact, with my pastor, that is exactly what I prayed for for the three days we tried desperately to find something that could cure her. You simply look for a magic wand and it's not there.

I am so thankful to our doctors, who were able to perform this very safe medical procedure, save our health, save our families. And I am particularly thankful to our President, without whom we would not be here. And he is a true blessing in all of our lives.

Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mitchell -- and those are the prints of your baby, right?

MS. WATTS: Yes, this is my daughter Mackenzie's handprints and footprints. This is something that is very special to us, and is something that we would not have if we did not have this very safe procedure.

THE PRESIDENT: Vikki, do you want to say anything?

MRS. STELLA: My name is Vikki Stella, and I'm from Chicago, Illinois. My story is basically the same thing. We're like a family now. And at 32 weeks I found out that my son wasn't growing properly, and when everything was all done and said and the ultrasounds were in and I had the answer, I found out my son had nine major anomalies, one including no brain. It did not show up on the amnio because it was a closed neural tube defect, so those things don't show up. That's for genetic research.

And I miss my son. But the one part I want to stress is I needed this for health reasons. I'm a diabetic. Other procedures would not have been what I needed. I don't heal as well as other people, so other procedures just were not the answer. I could have gone on and maybe tried to give birth to a child that would not live.

I didn't make the decision for my child to die; God made the decision for my child to die. I had to make the decision to take him off life support.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. And you have a baby here.

MRS. STELLA: Yes, I have a little boy here.

THE PRESIDENT: You have a three-month-old little boy here.

MRS. STELLA: Nicholas.

THE PRESIDENT: Claudia, would you like to talk?

MRS. ADES: Much like everyone else -- we've all had similar circumstances -- I was six months pregnant, 26 weeks into my pregnancy and happier than I had ever been in my entire life when, in a routine ultrasound, we found out that there was something terribly wrong with our son. He had fluid in his brain that was keeping his brain from developing. He had a hole in his heart, a hole between the chambers of his heart so that there was no normal blood flow.

He had -- I won't go on with the details, but horrible, horrible anomalies, and he stood no chance of survival. It was something -- it was a chromosomal abnormality, called Trisomy-13. It was actually the same condition that Tammy Watts's baby had. ✓

Again, like everyone else, we begged for a cardiologist or a neurosurgeon or someone that could fix my baby's brain or the hole in his heart. And when we got the news -- I say this for the people that say that we don't care and for the people who say we don't want our children, and for the people that say we have no spirit or no soul or no religion.

My husband and I are Jewish and we got the news on Rosh Hashana. And when we finally had the procedure, the third day of this grueling procedure, it was Yom Kippur, the holiest day of the Jewish year. And Yom Kippur is the day that you mourn those that have passed, and it's the day that you pray that God will inscribe them in the Book of Life.

We'll forever, and for the past four years and forever we will mourn our son. We are very -- since that pregnancy, unfortunately lost five more, but we are very blessed that in July we're going to adopt a baby and we're going to be parents, and we're going to have the child we so desperately wanted.

And we are all here, my husband, myself and all of the other people standing behind me, we are all here as we have been for months, fighting in Congress. I just actually came back with Mary Dorothy from Sacramento, where we were testifying, where it is now in the State of California. And we are all here for the women that follow us, because all women deserve the finest medical care that exists. And we are the blessed ones and we want that for them.

And like everyone else, I just want to thank the President, because it's an enormous, enormous responsibility that he's taken. And we're all here to back him up -- it's so, so important what he's doing.

Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much.

Thank you. Thank you, Richard. Thank you, Mitchell.

Ladies and gentlemen, I asked these families to come here today to make a point that I think every American needs to understand about this bill. This is not about the pro-choice/pro-life debate. This is not a bill that ever should have been injected into that.

This terrible problem affects a few hundred Americans every year who desperately want their children, are trying to build families, and are trying to strengthen their families. And they should not become pawns in a larger debate, even though it is a serious and legitimate debate of profound significance.

I hope that we can continue to reduce the number of abortions in America. When I was governor I signed a bill to restrict late-term abortions, consistent with the Supreme Court decision of Roe v. Wade, ~~only~~^{to} cases where the life or health of the mother is at risk. When I asked the supporters of the bill here to try to take account of this, they said, well, if we have a health exception you know you could -- the doctor and the mother could say anything -- they can't fit in their prom dress, that's a health exception -- some terrible things like that.

although

7

And I said, no, no, no, I will accept language that says serious, adverse health consequences to the mother. Those three words. Everyone in the world will know what we're talking about. We're talking about these families. I implored them. I said, if you want to pass something on this procedure, let's make an exception for life and serious adverse health consequences so that we don't put these women in a position and these families in a position where they will lose all possibility of future child-bearing, or ~~where~~ the doctor can't say that they might die, ^{but} they could clearly be substantially injured forever. ^{where}

And my pleas fell on deaf ears. The emotional power of the description of the procedure -- which I might add did not cover the procedure these women had and did not cover all the procedures banned by the law -- but the emotional power was so great that my plea just to take a decent account of these hundreds of families every year that are in this position fell on deaf ears. And, therefore, I had no choice but to veto the bill. I vetoed it just a few minutes ago before I met with these families.

I will say again, if the Congress really wants to act out of a sincere concern that some of these things are done, which are wrong, in casual ways, then if they will meet my standards to protect these families, they could pass a bill that I would sign tomorrow. But these people have no business being made into political pawns.

As I said, and as they said, they never had a choice. This affects staunchly pro-life families as well as people that are pro-choice. They never had a choice. And I cannot in good conscience see their lives damaged and their potential to build good, strong families damaged.

We need more families in America like these folks. We need more parents in America like these folks. They are what America needs more of. And just because they happen to be in a tiny minority to bear a unique burden that God imposes on just a few people every year, we can't forget our obligation to protect their lives, their children, and their families' future.

That is what this veto is all about. And let me say again how profoundly grateful I am to them for coming here today and having the courage to tell their stories to the American people.

Thank you. Thank you all very much.

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

Please enclose
letter to Rep.
Hyde.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 3, 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 of March 25. After praying long and hard about this issue, I decided that I could not in good conscience sign H.R. 1833 into law. have

basis While the procedure that would be outlawed is very disturbing and should not be used on an elective base, I understand there are tragic and rare situations in which the use of the procedure may be necessary to save a woman's life. In those cases, we must protect the woman's ability to choose this procedure.

I have enclosed the letter I sent to Representative Hyde and other members of Congress on this subject. I hope it will explain my position more thoroughly.

I ask for your prayers in the days ahead.

Sincerely,

Apr 01 '96

10:07 No.003 P.02



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 Sheen
Archbishop of Washington

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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~~ *I appreciate 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.

Elmule
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. *I invite you to continue our dialogue. I need you* These are painful and sobering issues. I remain hopeful that we can all find an appropriate common ground.

Sincerely,

I need your help, your insight and where necessary, your criticism. Although we may not fully agree on this issue, I look forward to fighting together on the vast number of issues on which we share values.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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.
and have considered *HR 1833.*

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.

Insert A
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Insert B
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Sincerely,

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
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Again, I thank you for your letters. These are painful and sobering issues. But I hope that we can continue our dialogue. 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.

Insert B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1996

MR. PRESIDENT:

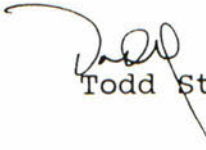
As you may recall, Cardinal Hickey sent you a letter on the partial birth abortion issue in December. A draft response was prepared and sent up to you, but you didn't sign it. Hickey then sent a letter in February (which I did not see until last week) and another on April 1.

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
IRON

April 8, _____

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

Dear Cardinal Hickey:

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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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Sincerely,



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.



OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 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.

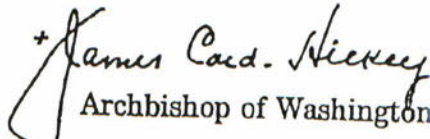
It is my understanding that you will soon be asked to sign the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act, which has been passed in both the House and the Senate (with a few minor differences between the bills which will likely be settled in favor of the Senate version). As both of us are aware at this point, the 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,


Archbishop of Washington

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

158538
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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

04/04/96 11:48
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202 541 3054
Cardinal's Residence

NCCB/PRO-LIFE

FAX NO. 0000000

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P. 03

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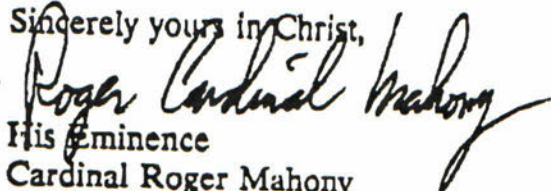
the basic beliefs of the vast majority of Americans will hinge upon your action on this crucial legislation.

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.

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Sincerely,

3123376379 CARDINAL BERNARDIN

437 P.02 APR 01 '96 11:0

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, 1990

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).

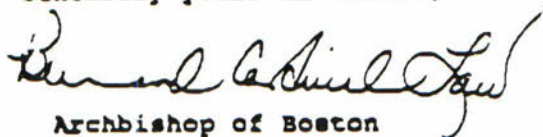
Several women testified before Congress about their experiences with "partial-birth abortions." But none had had a partial-birth abortion as defined in the bill. In fact, one woman testified that she would never have allowed her live child to be mostly delivered and then brutally killed. But that is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



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

April 1, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House

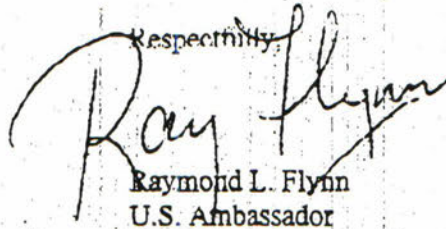
Mr. President,

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

*in reliance on
policy on their doctors' best medical judgment, and*

Veto Message for H.R. 1833

*13 consistent neither
with the Constitution
nor
sound
public
policy.*

I am returning without my approval H.R. 1833, which would prohibit doctors from performing a certain kind of abortion. I do so because the bill does not allow women to protect themselves from serious threats to their health. *By* refusing to permit women to avail themselves of this procedure when their lives are threatened or when their health is put in serious jeopardy, the Congress has fashioned a bill that ~~is surely unconstitutional,~~ just as it is surely contrary to sound public policy. *Does too far*

I have always believed that the decision to have an abortion generally should be between a woman, her doctor, her conscience, and her God. I support the decision in Roe v. Wade protecting a woman's right to choose, and I believe that the abortions protected by that decision should be safe and rare. Consistent with that decision, I have long opposed late-term abortions except where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. In fact, as Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health.

The procedure described in H.R. 1833 has troubled me deeply, as it has many people. I cannot support use of that procedure on an elective basis, where the abortion is being performed for non-health related reasons and there are equally safe medical procedures available.

There are, however, 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 protect her against serious injury to her health. Medical conditions can develop at a stage in the pregnancy such that the use of this procedure becomes the best or the only feasible way of preserving the life or the serious health interests of the woman, including her ability to have children in the future. In these situations, in which a woman and her family must make an awful choice, the Constitution requires, as it should, that the ability to choose this procedure be protected.

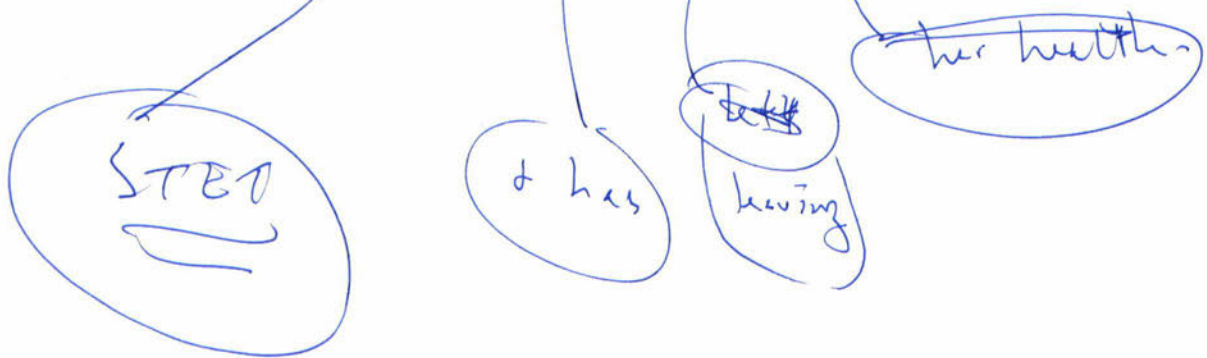
I cannot sign H.R. 1833, as drafted, because it fails to protect women in such dire circumstances -- because by treating doctors who use the procedure in these tragic cases as criminals, the bill poses a danger of serious harm to women. This bill, in curtailing the ability of women and their doctors to choose the procedure for sound medical reasons, violates the constitutional command that any law regulating abortion protect both the life and the health of the woman. The bill's overbroad criminal prohibition risks that women will suffer serious injury.

I earlier proposed to Congress that it pass appropriate legislation regarding this procedure. I told Congress that I would support H.R. 1833 if it were amended to make clear that the

T. STERN

prohibition did not apply to situations in which the selection of the procedure, in the medical judgment of the attending physician, was necessary to preserve the life of the woman or avert serious adverse ~~health~~ consequences to ~~the~~ woman. A bill amended in this way would have struck a proper balance, reserving this troubling procedure for those rare circumstances where it is necessary.

Congress chose not to take this sensible and constitutionally appropriate path, ^{unprotected} ^{against} instead either ignoring or trivializing concerns about protecting women from serious health risks. As a result, of this Congressional indifference to women's health and safety, I cannot, in good conscience and consistent with my responsibility to uphold the law, sign this legislation.



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.

4/9/96

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

96 APR 8 78:51

April 8, 1996

Handwritten:
Must
discuss HSCA

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*

SUBJECT: Veto of H.R. 1833 -- "Partial Birth" Abortion bill

Your advisors (Melanne, George, Counsel's Office, DPC and others) seek your guidance on how you want to handle the veto of this bill, which will probably be scheduled for Thursday (last day for action is April 17). All agree that the veto event should be relatively low-key, but three different options have been discussed:

Option 1: You sign privately. No press. (There could be a White House photo.) This has the advantage of keeping the veto, which is highly unpopular with pro-life and religious groups, as low key as possible. The disadvantages are that (i) it may look as though you are trying to hide the veto -- something that won't work anyway and won't look forthright; and (ii) by not speaking orally to the press, you will give your opponents an advantage in defining the issue rather than getting your own message out.

Option 2: You first meet privately with a woman or, if possible, a couple who have a powerful story to tell. White House photo only. You then sign the veto message in the Oval alone, before the pool. In your brief remarks, you would reference your conversation with them. Public Liaison has been in touch with a number of women who have moving stories to tell -- women, for example, who were staunchly pro-life but came to see, through their own painful experience, that, on rare and painful occasions, this procedure is necessary to save a women's life or spare her truly serious adverse consequences to her health.

Option 3: You meet with the couple privately, then bring them into the Oval Office, where they witness you sign the veto message before the pool, but do not speak. This option goes the furthest in putting a human face on why you are vetoing the bill.

Most of your advisors, including George and Melanne, favor Option 3.

Option 1 ☐Option 2 ☐Option 3 ☒Discuss ☒

Handwritten notes:
At least 2
Forces must be
confronted
law
BC
Bischoff

April 1, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO LEON PANETTA

96 APR 3 P 1:32

cc. Evelyn Lieberman
Harold Ickes
Alexis Herman
George Stephanopoulos

FROM: BETSY MYERS
SUBJECT: H.R.1833 VETO MESSAGE

As per our conversation regarding the H.R. 1833 veto, I want to reiterate that I strongly recommend that President Clinton be pictured surrounded at the time that he vetos the legislation with women and their families for whom the banned procedure was medically critical. It is clear that the women's tragic stories are the most persuasive message about why H.R.1833 should not become law. I make this recommendation though I recognize that we are still evaluating whether or not this issue will continue to be politicized and acknowledge that we are still developing our strategy.

I believe the anti-choice community will not miss the opportunity to politicize this veto. Their message completely distorts the truth. Consider the recent statement of Congressman Coburn who said "this bill is about murdering infants who are otherwise viable outside the womb." This simply is not true. The anti-choice community's message talks about everyone except the real women affected by the legislation. The veto signing is an opportunity to put the truth forward by showing the real stories of women and families that for medical reasons needed to make use of a procedure that is rarely used. There are less than 500 of these abortions performed a year and they are used in cases of severe fetal anomalies when the baby will not live.

It is important that the American public understand that this legislation eliminates necessary medical options for women and thereby threatens their health and lives and in no way condones 3rd trimester abortions. These families stories make the necessity of the veto very real and personal and an act of compassion.

We have several tragic stories of women who desperately wanted to have children and found out late in their pregnancy that their life and health were in jeopardy. (See attached) In addition including Republican Congresswomen Nancy Johnson (who is married to a gynecologist) and Jan Meyers and Pat Schroeder (who gave up her floor time to the women who had the procedure because they would not let the women speak) in the veto signing could strengthen our message.

The Issue is Not Abortion

by Mary-Dorothy Line

My husband and I are extremely offended by the ad sponsored by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops that appeared in the March 26, 1996 edition of the *Washington Post*. A bill pending before the House (H.R. 1833) would ban intact dilation and evacuation (intact D&E) procedures used in some late-term abortions; late term abortions which are provided to protect the mother's life or health when there is no hope for the baby. This legislation is wrong, and it would hurt a lot of American families. We know. We are one of those families.

I am a registered Republican and we are practicing Catholics. Last April, we found out I was pregnant with our first child and were extremely happy. 19 weeks into my pregnancy, an ultrasound indicated that there was something wrong with our baby. The doctor noticed that his head was too large and contained excessive fluid. This problem is called hydrocephalus. Every person's head contains fluid to protect and cushion the brain, but if there is too much fluid, the brain cannot develop.

As practicing Catholics, when we have problems and worries, we turn to prayer. So, our whole family prayed. We were scared, but we are strong people and believed that God would not give us a problem if we couldn't handle it. This was our baby; everything would be fine. We never thought about abortion.

A few weeks later we had two more ultrasounds. We consulted with five specialists, who all told us the same thing. Our little baby had an advanced, textbook case of hydrocephaly. We asked what we could do. They all told us there was no hope and recommended that we terminate the pregnancy. We asked about in utero operations and shunts to remove the fluid, but were again told there was nothing we could do. We were devastated. I can't express the pain we still feel — this was our precious little baby, and he was being taken from us before we even had him.

My doctors, some of the best in the country, recommended the intact D&E procedure. No scissors were used and no one sucked out our baby's brains as is depicted in the inflammatory ads supporting H.R. 1833. A simple needle was used to remove the fluid - the same fluid that killed our son - to allow his head to pass through the birth canal undamaged. **THIS WAS NOT OUR CHOICE - THIS WAS GOD'S WILL.**

My doctors knew that we would want to have children in the future, even though it was the furthest thing from my mind at the time. They recommended the best procedure for me and our baby. Because the trauma to my body was minimized by this procedure, I was able to become pregnant again. We are expecting another baby in September.

I pray every day that this will never happen to anyone again, but it will, and those of us unfortunate enough to have to live this nightmare need a procedure which will give us hope for the future.

Congress needs to hear the truth. The truth does make a difference -- when people listen. Last week, I testified at a hearing held in the Maryland legislature. A committee there was considering a bill similar to the one Congress is prepared to pass this week. In Maryland, they listened. And in Maryland, several conservative legislators joined in the 15-6 committee vote to reject this bill.

After seeing the callous way our tragedies are regarded by the proponents of H.R. 1833, I know the only hope to protect families lies with the President of the United States. I am told he is a good man. I am told he listens to people. I hope he listens to us, to the truth, and not to the political propaganda. I pray he shows love and compassion for women like me and families like mine. I pray he vetoes this bill.

Many people do not understand the real issue - it is women's health; not abortion and certainly not choice. We must leave decisions about the type of medical procedure to employ with the experts in the medical community and with the families they affect. It is not the place for government.

**Mary-Dorothy Line
Marina del Rey, CA 90292**

March 31, 1996

Ms. Betsy Myers
Womens' Outreach Office
Washington, D.C.

CC: Judy Gold

VIA FAX: 202-456-7311

Reference: HR 1833/S 939

Dear Betsy:

This correspondence serves a few purposes. First, I would like to thank you and your staff especially Judy Gold for all your help, compassion and understanding of the issues concerning HR 1833/S 939. Second I would like to help President Clinton. The Congressional speakers in opposition to this bill last Wednesday did not help him, as they presented few compelling arguments against the legislation. I believe we families who have come to Washington to oppose this bill can help.

My husband and I are very private people, but, we made our worst nightmare public to try to help the women and families who will come after us. It would have been impossible for us had it not been for people like you and Judy, and Vicki Saporta and her staff at the National Abortion Federation (NAF). You have all been so kind and have stood by us and the other families who have come forward. You really understand the issue: it is not abortion and not choice - it is women's health. This legislation would ban safe, compassionate medical procedures which save women's reproductive organs. Thank God for people like you and President Clinton.

As you know, this is not the Coreen Costello story. A dozen very brave families have gone to Washington during the past six months to make our tragedies public, and there are thousands more who have faced similar nightmares. Every testimony I read makes me cry more than the last. I thought our story was sad, but I thank God that my doctors spotted our son's hydrocephalus as early as they did. I did not have to go through several additional months of pregnancy just to lose him at seven or eight months like some of the other families.

My husband and I, the other families who have been to Washington and the women at NAF all want to help the President. He will receive complaints when he vetoes this horrible legislation from the anti-choice community. That is why we want to be there with him to give him support and strength. You don't know how much it means to all of us that he is on our side and willing to make a stand - to listen to us and to help the doctors and women and families who will face similar tragedies. One very influential Congressman from Tennessee told me that he did not believe in the legislation but that his constituents, who did not understand the issues, wanted him to vote for it. He then went on to say that the President was going to veto it, so he could keep his constituents happy and his conscience clear - all because the President is strong enough to face the real issue. Decisions about the type of medical procedure to use should be left to the medical community and the families they treat, not to elected officials.

We are Catholic, and are saddened that our church leaders have actively supported this legislation. We did not choose for our babies to have fetal anomalies which were incompatible with life - IT WAS GOD'S WILL. We would have done anything to save our children, but were told by medical experts there was nothing. Our doctors (some of whom are also Catholic) recommended the safest, most compassionate procedure to help us and our babies. We can't thank you, your staff, the women at NAF and the President enough - you are the people who have listened, studied the issues and have helped us, our doctors and the families who will follow us.

The following are a few arguments I believe were missed in the House debate that should help President Clinton when he vetoes this horrible legislation:

Proponents of this legislation have continued to portray it as prohibiting a "horrible" medical procedure. They have repeated gruesome details of the procedure they claim to be against.

Our doctor, the late James McMahon, developed the procedure which helped us. No one used scissors and no one sucked out our babies brains. Natural dilators were used to gently enlarge my cervix over the span of three days. Once I had dilated enough to allow the doctor to remove our son *without damage to either of us*, I was put under heavy anaesthesia - from which I awoke, but our son did not. A simple needle was used to remove excess fluid from his head, the same fluid that had killed him. Our baby was removed intact, without inducing labor, without a surgical incision. What could be more compassionate? But this is not what the public is hearing. This legislation affects *several* second and third trimester procedures.

Congressmen Bob Inglis, Tom Coburn, Charles Canady, Henry Hyde and Christopher Smith said this was "*birth control, viable babies were being murdered, abortionists lie to women, and handicapped people are not garbage.*"

These statements couldn't be further from the truth. These procedures are the only help for families with babies who are not viable, families who want their babies - even with a disability. That is certainly not birth control.

- Claudia and Richard Ades' son had Trisomy 13, a hole in his heart and excessive fluid in his head.
- Phyllis and Randy Baker's daughter, B.B., had severe hydrocephalus, thus no brain.
- Coreen and Jim Costello's daughter, Katherine, had a neuro-muscular disease and could not move, not even to blink.
- Mary-Dorothy and Bill Line's son, Danny, had hydrocephalus, thus no brain; he also had no stomach.
- Vikki and Archer Stella's son, Anthony, had a cleft palate, but he also had no liver and no brain.
- Tammy and Mitchell Watts' daughter, Mackenzie, had Trisomy 13 - her bowel, bladder and intestines all developed outside her body and her kidneys did not function.
- Viki and Bill Wilson's daughter, Abigail, had encephalocele - her brain grew on the outside of her skull.

Congresswoman Andrea Seastrand said "*anaesthesia does not affect the fetus*" so that it is aware and feels pain.

The levels and type of anaesthesia Dr. McMahon's procedure uses do affect the fetus. It is intentionally administered at high levels so that it will affect the fetus. Doctors who testified before the Ohio court which ruled that similar legislation passed in that state was unconstitutional, said that an unborn fetus does not feel pain and the part of the brain which would determine pain is one of the last things to develop in a fetus.

Congresswoman Seastrand also said "*we need to protect women from doctors.*"

All the women who have come to Washington to testify against this bill are college educated, several have advanced degrees and Viki Wilson's husband Bill is a doctor. We are not stupid, we do not need protection from our gynecologists, obstetricians and perinatologists; these are the people who have devoted their lives to helping women.

What we need is the best medical care available - care which is not influenced or restricted by over-zealous legislators.

Congressman Bob Goodlatte said "*the AMA supports the legislation.*:"

This is just a lie. The AMA's board of trustees did not take a position on this legislation. The following is just a sampling of the medical associations which have officially condemned this legislation: American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, American Medical Women's Association, California Medical Association, Cedars-Sinai Medical Center/Los Angeles, University of North Carolina School of Medicine, Columbia School of Public Health/New York, University of California/San Francisco, Boston University Hospital and University of Florida College of Medicine.

Congressman Christopher Smith said "*Bill Clinton is giving a license to kill.*"

Again, there is nothing further from the truth. These babies were dying - it was Gods' will. Vetoing this legislation would maintain women's access to the best medical care available.

Congressman Smith also said "*Dr. Haskell himself says that 85% of these procedures are elective.*"

Elective is a medical term used to describe a procedure that is not medically required. Anyone who considers a second trimester abortion purely elective is wrong. Families who have a choice use this procedure after they have thought and prayed and studied and only then decided it is the best thing for their baby. A severely disabled child can be devastating for a family - emotionally, spiritually and financially. When parents decide it is best for their family to terminate such a pregnancy, they are only doing what parents do every day - making a decision to help their children. If this legislation is not vetoed, we may as well ban amniocentesis and ultrasound tests, as their only purpose is to help families whose babies have problems. This would be the first medical procedure which would be banned through legislation. We cannot let politicians make a medical procedure a political issue.

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops says these procedures are used because, the mother *"hates being fat, is angry at the child's father, can't fit into her prom dress, didn't finish college, is too young or never had a job..."*

My husband and I were deeply saddened by the Bishops' trivialization of this issue. Late term procedures are often used to help families faced with tragedies and no other options. The problem is that this legislation does not discriminate between good and bad reasons. The misuse - or even immoral use - of a medical procedure by some should not cause denial of access to everyone.

We have separation of church and state but, the church is strongly influencing our elected officials. Abortion is not permitted in the Catholic church, but neither is divorce nor birth control. Maybe there are a few women in the United States who would want a second or third trimester abortion for these reasons, but it is not our business. Should a legitimate medical procedure which has helped families for years be banned because a few people might abuse it? This is America, we are free, we are allowed to choose. Abortion is the number one surgery performed on women every year. It is the law of our land.

The anti-choice community WILL make an issue out of President Clinton's veto of this legislation. He will need help and support from the people who have fought this battle. In our view it will not be a time of celebration, it will be an empty victory. Maybe we should have a moment of silence for American women and families because our elected officials were trying to make our health and well being a political issue.

We shouldn't have had to make our private nightmares public. These medical procedures should never have become a political issue. I pray none of us will ever have to fight another political battle like this.

Please call me at 310-306-0335 if I can be of any assistance. We really would like to help the President. It would be our way of thanking your office and him for your support.

Sincerely,

Mary-Dorothy Line

4/8/96

Veto Message for H.R. 1833

I am returning without my approval H.R. 1833, which would prohibit doctors from performing a certain kind of abortion. I do so because the bill does not allow women to protect themselves from serious threats to their health. In refusing to permit women to avail themselves of this procedure when their lives are threatened or when their health is put in serious jeopardy, the Congress has fashioned a bill that is surely unconstitutional, just as it is surely contrary to sound public policy.

I have always believed that the decision to have an abortion generally should be between a woman, her doctor, her conscience, and her God. I support the decision in Roe v. Wade protecting a woman's right to choose, and I believe that the abortions protected by that decision should be safe and rare. Consistent with that decision, I have long opposed late-term abortions except where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. In fact, as Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health.

The procedure described in H.R. 1833 has troubled me deeply, as it has many people. I cannot support use of that procedure on an elective basis, where the abortion is being performed for non-health related reasons and there are equally safe medical procedures available.

There are, however, 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 protect her against serious injury to her health. Medical conditions can develop at a stage in the pregnancy such that the use of this procedure becomes the best or the only feasible way of preserving the life or the serious health interests of the woman, including her ability to have children in the future. In these situations, in which a woman and her family must make an awful choice, the Constitution requires, as it should, that the ability to choose this procedure be protected.

I cannot sign H.R. 1833, as drafted, because it fails to protect women in such dire circumstances -- because by treating doctors who use the procedure in these tragic cases as criminals, the bill poses a danger of serious harm to women. This bill, in curtailing the ability of women and their doctors to choose the procedure for sound medical reasons, violates the constitutional command that any law regulating abortion protect both the life and the health of the woman. The bill's overbroad criminal prohibition risks that women will suffer serious injury.

I earlier proposed to Congress that it pass appropriate legislation regarding this procedure. I told Congress that I would support H.R. 1833 if it were amended to make clear that the

prohibition did not apply to situations in which the selection of the procedure, in the medical judgment of the attending physician, was necessary to preserve the life of the woman or avert serious adverse health consequences to the woman. A bill amended in this way would have struck a proper balance, reserving this troubling procedure for those rare circumstances where it is necessary.

Congress chose not to take this sensible and constitutionally appropriate path, instead either ignoring or trivializing concerns about protecting women from serious health risks. As a result of this Congressional indifference to women's health and safety, I cannot, in good conscience and consistent with my responsibility to uphold the law, sign this legislation.

PARTIAL-BIRTH ABORTION LEGISLATION

1. Our concern is for the health of the mother. We are surprised that Congress would explicitly rule out consideration of the mother's health in making such decisions.

2. Matters of the health and safety of women must be left to their doctors, not to Congress. This legislation would put the decision with government, not with doctors.



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 Sheehan
Archbishop of Washington

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

January 26, 1996

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,

BC/KMB/JFB/JRS/JAD/ckb-jfc-emu-efr-efr-pw
(Corres. #2625000)
(12.hickey.j)

cc: Flo McAfee

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH
through Todd Stern

CLEAR THRU TODD STERN

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

158538
WE003

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 26, 1996

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from ORM

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 1-25

TO: *George -*

FROM: Staff Secretary

look at ?

med



ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 EASTERN AVENUE
POST OFFICE BOX 29260
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20017

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.

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+ James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington

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



154161
ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

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

OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

February 29, 1996

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."

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The procedure described in H.R. 1833 has troubled me deeply, as it has many people. I cannot support use of that procedure on an elective basis, where the abortion is being performed for non-health related reasons and there are equally safe medical procedures available.

There are, however, 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 protect her against serious injury to her health. Medical conditions can develop at a stage in the pregnancy such that the use of this procedure becomes the best or the only feasible way of preserving the life or the serious health interests of the woman, including her ability to have children in the future. In these situations, in which a woman and her family must make an awful choice, the Constitution requires, as it should, that the ability to choose this procedure be protected.

I cannot sign H.R. 1833, as drafted, because it fails to protect women in such dire circumstances -- because by treating doctors who use the procedure in these tragic cases as criminals, the bill poses a danger of serious harm to women. This bill, in curtailing the ability of women and their doctors to choose the procedure for sound medical reasons, violates the constitutional command that any law regulating abortion protect both the life and the health of the woman. The bill's overbroad criminal prohibition risks that women will suffer serious injury.

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Congress chose not to take this sensible and constitutionally appropriate path, instead either ignoring or trivializing concerns about protecting women from serious health risks. As a result of this Congressional indifference to women's health and safety, I cannot, in good conscience and consistent with my responsibility to uphold the law, sign this legislation.

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

Dear Joe:

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WASHINGTON

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
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The Honorable John Conyers, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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APRIL 2, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO EVELYN LIEBERMAN
 ALEXIS HERMAN
 MELANNE VERVEER

FROM: Betsy Myers

SUBJECT: H.R.1833 Veto Message

Set forth below is my recommendation for how the H.R.1833 veto signing should look. As you know, I think that there should infact be a veto signing rather than a silent veto. You already have received a copy of the memo from me detailing why I recommend that the President be pictured surrounded at the time he vetos the H.R.1833 legislation with the women and families for whom the banned procedure was medically critical. These real stories offer the President the best cover from the untruths and political tactics of the opposition.

SUGGESTED PARTICIPANTS:

- o Mary-Dorothy Line and her husband Bill Line
(Mary, a devout Catholic and corporate CFO, has been doing extensive media outreach on this issue. She and her husband Bill are one of the dozen brave families who have sacrificed their privacy to tell their tragic story. Their unborn child had no brain and no stomach.)
- o Claudia and Richard Ades
(Their son had a hole in his heart and excessive fluid in his head. Claudia is as a result of her tragedy very active in Emily's List.)
- o Coreen and Jim Costello
(Coreen and Jim's daughter had a severe and fatal neuro-muscular disease and could not move at all-not even blink. This was diagnosed seven months into her third pregnancy. Coreen was a right-to life Republican who used to march in anti-choice rallies until she faced this tragedy. They would be happy to bring their childrens as well.)
- o Tammy and Mitchell Watts
(Tammy testified before the Judiciary Committee. Her child had a devastating and lethal anomaly known as Trisomy-13, whereby the fetus has nonfunctioning kidneys and whereby the bowel,intestine and bladder all develop outside the abdomen. Carrying this

pregnancy to term could have killed Tammy.)

- o Viki and Bill Wilson

(Vicki is a registered nurse who speaks with great knowledge on the tough medical questions. She too testified before the Judiciary Committee. Their child's brain grew on the outside of her skull.)

- o Vicki and Archer Stella

(Their child had a cleft palate, but he also had no liver and no brain. The opposition like to depict the Stella's decision as being based on the cleft palate rather than the fatal anomalies.)

- o In addition to the women and families, I recommend that we also invite

- Republican Congresswomen Nancy Johnson (married to an OB/GYN and Jan Myers

- Patricia Schroeder who was the staunchest advocate for these women during the floor debates and

- Vicki Saporta who has raised the money to send these women all around the country to speak on this issue, trained them to address the Congress, and has arranged for them to be available after the veto to support the President if needed.)

OUTLINE/SEQUENCE OF EVENT:

- o First the President meets privately with the women in the Oval.

- o Next the President and women join the families and Congresswomen in the Roosevelt Room for the actual signing.

On March 24, 1995, Coreen Castello was seven months into her third pregnancy when ultrasound revealed her fetus had a severe and fatal neurological disorder. The fetus had been unable to move for two months. The head was swollen with fluid and the body was stiff. A conservative Republican,

Coreen participated in "Walks for Life" and never thought she'd be faced with such a decision. The Castelllos decided, with their doctor, that an abortion was the safest option for Coreen's health and future fertility. The procedure Coreen needed would be banned by this bill.

"We are the families who love and want our babies. We are the families who will forever have a hole in our hearts...It deeply saddens me that you [Senators] are making a decision having never walked in our shoes."

—Coreen Castello



At 32 weeks into her much-wanted pregnancy, Vikki Stella learned that her fetus had nine severe abnormalities — including a fluid-filled cranium with no brain tissue at all. Vikki, a mother of two, and her husband consulted a series of specialists, who offered no hope. For Vikki, a diabetic, the safest procedure to protect her health and preserve her fertility was an abortion. Today, Vikki is again pregnant. She was outraged when the doctor who saved her "life, health and sanity," the doctor whose picture she still keeps on her refrigerator, called and told her the procedure that saved her life was in danger of being banned.

"[I]ve been told mothers like me all want perfect babies... [My son] wasn't imperfect—he was incompatible with life. The only thing keeping him alive was my body. He could never have survived outside my womb... We hope the Senate will listen to the voices of families and reject S. 939."

—Vikki Stella



Richard and Claudia Ades were devastated. Their first child, due in three months, was diagnosed with a fatal chromosomal disorder, which, among other problems, caused extensive brain damage and serious heart complications. The fetus was also severely deformed and given no chance of living. The Ades decided for the sake of their family and future children to end the pregnancy. The procedure Claudia needed would be banned by this bill.

"Although I never imagined I'd have to make a decision like this, I can honestly tell you that for many reasons we feel very blessed. First, we were able to find out when we did. Second, that

we had access to the finest medical care in the world. Third, we live in a place where our right to make that choice has not been compromised...yet."

—Claudia Ades



Eighteen months ago, Viki Wilson, a nurse, and her physician—husband Bill were expecting their third child. Early tests showed the pregnancy to be normal. But, in the eighth month, ultrasound showed the fetus had a fatal condition — two-thirds of the brain had formed outside the skull. Carrying the pregnancy to term would imperil Viki's life and health. In consultation with their doctor, Viki and Bill made the heartbreaking decision to have an abortion. The procedure Viki needed would be banned by this bill.

"I strongly believe that this decision should be left within the intimacy of the family unit. We are the ones who have to live with our decision."

—Viki Wilson, R.N.



Last fall, Tammy Watts and her husband were elated by the news of her pregnancy. But after a routine ultrasound in the seventh month, the Watts learned their fetus was suffering from a devastating chromosomal disorder and would not live. Knowing the fetus was going to die, the Watts made the most difficult decision of their lives and had an abortion. The procedure Tammy needed would be banned by this bill.

"Until you've walked a mile in my shoes don't pretend to know what this is like for me.

Everybody has got a reason for what they have to do. Nobody should be forced into having to make the wrong decision. That's what would happen if this legislation is passed."

—Tammy Watts



Erica Fox was 22 weeks pregnant on October, 19, 1995, when doctors discovered her fetus had stopped growing, had suffered severe heart damage and was going to die in terrible pain. Erica and her husband took their doctor's advice and decided an abortion would be the option that would best protect Erica's ability to have children in the future.

"Did I just decide in my fifth month that I was tired of being pregnant? No! No! No! ... [This was] the most traumatic incident of my life...So, imagine my horror, when during my recuperation, I turn on C-SPAN and see the House of Representatives vote to make this very same procedure illegal."

—Erica Fox



Politics always at issue on abortion

If it didn't land them on the front page, politicians would neither care about nor legislate on abortion.

AMES, Iowa — Politics, politics, politics.

That's what the front-page abortion news is all about. It isn't about abortion. For the news about abortion — the news buried in the back pages — is news that should encourage you, whether you're pro-life or pro-choice or pro any other loaded word.

First, the pseudo news: The House last week passed a Senate-approved bill banning late-term abortions unless the procedure is the only way to save the life of a woman. This led the newspapers on Thursday, even though: First, this procedure is rare and almost always performed to protect the health of a mother carrying a fatally ill baby. Second, this bill will never become law because President Clinton has said he will veto it and, if a veto were overridden, the Supreme Court would rule the law unconstitutional.

The bill is emotionally labeled the "Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 1995," though doctors have never heard of a "partial-birth abortion." In medical terms, the procedure is an "intact dilation and evacuation." It is considered safe and simple.

No doctor would perform such an operation unless a woman's health was in danger or her baby was going to die. And no woman would request it except for those reasons. It takes place about 500 times a year.

And yet it is front-page news. It is front-page news because the anti-abortion crowd wants to get its one issue back out front. So they mislabeled the bill and misstated the facts and misappropriated family heart-break and anguish for political gain.

What they are doing is unconscionable.

"Fortunately, most of you will never have to walk the valley we have walked," Coreen Costello told senators in November. Coreen Costello — married mother, registered Republican, very conservative, deeply religious and anti-abortion — had an abortion when she was seven months pregnant because otherwise "my daughter would have died an agonizing death."



Counterpoints
By Michael Gartner

She went on: "When families like ours are given this kind of tragic news, the last people we want to seek advice from are politicians. We talk to our doctors — lots of doctors. We talk to our families and other loved ones. And we ponder, long and hard into the night, with God."

Indeed, "This isn't a bill about life," Rep. Sam Farr, D-Calif., was quoted last week in USA TODAY. "This is a bill about politics."

If politicians were really interested in the issue, they would be hailing new figures from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. It reported the number of abortions continues to decline.

That's real news.

In 1993, there were 1,330,414 legal abortions in the United States, down 2.1% from the 1,359,145 of 1992. The abortion rate — the number of abortions per 1,000 women ages 15 to 44 — has held steady for nearly 20 years. But the abortion ratio — the number of legal abortions per 1,000 live births — in 1993 was the lowest since 1977.

Abortions fall

The number of abortions performed in the USA has been dropping steadily. Number per 1,000 births:

1980	359
1985	354
1988	352
1990	345
1991	339
1992	335
1993	334

Source: Centers for Disease Control & Prevention

This could mean that sex education is working better and there are fewer unwanted pregnancies, that attitudes about abortion are changing, or that abortions are more difficult to obtain in some states. Reasons 1 and 2 are most likely.

No one thinks abortion is a great thing. It's simply the best option, at times, for a woman who doesn't want to be pregnant. It's neither a form of birth control nor a form of murder. And the declining number of abortions and the declining ratio should be good news to everyone on all sides of the issue.

But good news for everyone means there's no issue.

No issue means no politics.

No politics means no front page.

And to some politicians, the front page is more important than life itself. Especially if it's your life.

COUNTERPOINTS' four columnists provide views from diverse perspectives on today's issues. Wednesday: Linda Chavez on why values matter more than money. Thursday: Susan Estrich. Monday: Tony Snow. Tuesday: Michael Gartner.

MONDAY, APRIL 1, 1996

Congress Plays Doctor

By Allan Rosenfield

When the House took the unprecedented step last week of passing a bill that would outlaw a specific and safe surgical procedure, the so-called partial birth abortion, it set a dangerous precedent by inappropriately intruding into the clinical practice of medicine.

Medical decisions should be based on scientific evidence gleaned from laboratory and clinical evaluation. Procedures should be judged on safety, effectiveness, availability and affordability. Such decisions should not fall within the purview of ideology and politics.

In considering abortion, doctors examine the best data available, consider the patient's specific medical circumstances and, in consultation with the fully informed patient, decide on the best procedure. In declaring illegal the so-called partial birth abortion procedure, the House and Senate trampled on these criteria.

Indeed, the bill demonstrates why Congress should never supersede professional medical judgment. As the

Allan Rosenfield is dean of the Columbia School of Public Health and a professor of public health and obstetrics and gynecology there. He is former chairman of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, which fought this bill, points out, partial birth abortion is not found in any medical dictionary; foes of abortion coined the term.

The procedure, known medically as dilatation and extraction, is a variant of dilatation and evacuation, the most common abortion method in the second trimester. Dilatation and extraction, rarely performed, is generally limited to pregnancies that are in the 20th to 24th weeks; very few are performed afterward. Dilatation and

Women who need late-term abortions could suffer.

evacuation is the preferred method because medical data indicate that it has the lowest complication rate of any method usable in the second trimester. In any case, fewer than 1.5 percent of all abortions take place after 20 weeks; most are done within 12 weeks.

The anguished decision to use dilatation and extraction is usually reached when a woman's life or health would be jeopardized if the pregnancy is continued or if there is a fetal abnormality incompatible with life. These abnormalities can be horrific — for example, a fetus with no brain or with the brain outside the skull.

Although proponents of the legislation described the procedure in luridly graphic terms, the bill is vague in defining a partial birth abortion. The language is so imprecise that many D and E's, as doctors call them, could arguably meet the definition. This could force the small pool of physicians who perform second-trimester abortions to use techniques that are less safe for fear of prosecution.

It is unconscionable for Congress to force a physician to potentially jeopardize a patient's health and ignore his or her best medical judgment. A woman in tragic circumstances should have the right to make her own decision, in consultation with her physician — not her legislator.

What legislatures and courts can decide is whether a class of practices should be lawful. Thus, in *Roe v. Wade* and later decisions the Supreme Court established the legality of abortion. To protect Americans from unethical research, Congress has required the establishment of review boards and informed consent. And while Congress requires consent before sterilization for Medicaid patients, it does not ban or mandate a specific procedure.

No issue is more controversial than abortion. But since abortion is legal, perhaps we can at least agree that members of Congress are simply not equipped to make pronouncements about surgical procedures. Wisely, President Clinton has promised to veto the bill. □

Coreen Costello
Testimony Before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution
Against H.R. 1833

March 21, 1996

My name is Coreen Costello. I live in Agoura, California, with my husband Jim and our son Chad and daughter Carlyn. Jim is a chiropractor and I love being a full-time, stay-at-home wife and mom. I am a registered Republican, and very conservative. I don't believe in abortion. Because of my deeply held Christian beliefs, I knew that I would never have an abortion. In fact, I remember a few years ago when I was nursing my son Chad, I watched a speech Congressman Hyde gave on C-SPAN against abortion. It was so eloquent, it moved me to tears. I even participated in the "Walk for Life" sponsored by our local Christian radio station.

Even now, I am amazed at the fact that I am here. I never would have believed that I would be testifying in Congress, supporting an abortion procedure.

In March of last year, we were joyfully expecting the arrival of our third child. Then on March 24, almost a year ago to the day, when I was seven months pregnant, I began having premature contractions and my husband and I rushed to the hospital.

During an ultrasound, the physician became very silent. Soon more physicians came in. Jim told me everything would be fine but I knew there was something very wrong. I went into the bathroom and sobbed. I begged God to let my baby be okay. I prayed like I've never prayed before in my life.

My husband reassured me that we could deal with whatever was wrong. We had talked about raising a child with disabilities and there was never a question that we would take whatever God gave us.

My doctor arrived at two in the morning. He held my hand, and informed me that they did not expect our baby to live. She was unable to absorb the amniotic fluid and it was puddling into my uterus. This poor precious child had a lethal neurological disorder and had been unable to move for almost two months. The movements I had been feeling over the last few months had been nothing more than bubbles and fluid. Her chest cavity was unable to rise and fall to stretch her lungs to prepare them for air. It was as if she had no lungs at all. Her vital organs were atrophying. Our darling little girl was going to die.

A perinatologist recommended terminating the pregnancy. For my husband and me, this was not an option. We chose to wait to go into labor naturally. We knew that it would not be long. Due to the excess amniotic fluid, a condition called polyhydramnios, premature labor was imminent. I wanted her to come on God's time -- I didn't want to interfere.

It was so difficult to go home and be pregnant and go on with life, knowing my baby was dying. I wanted to stay in bed. My husband looked at me and said, "Coreen, this baby is still with us. Let's be proud of her. Let's make these last days of her life as special as possible." I got out of bed and put on my best maternity clothes, and went out with my daughter Carlyn to get ready for her fifth birthday party. I could feel my baby's life inside of me, and somehow I still glowed.

At this time we chose her name -- Katherine Grace. "Katherine" meaning pure, and "Grace" representing God's mercy.

We went to many more experts over the next two weeks. It was discovered that Katherine's body was rigid and she was wedged in a transverse position. Most babies are in the fetal position, but Katherine's position was exactly the opposite. It was as if she were doing a swan dive -- the soles of her feet were touching the back of her head. Her body was in a U-shape. Due to swelling, her head was already larger than that of a full-term baby. I did exercises every day, trying to change Katherine's position so that she could be delivered naturally. The amniotic fluid continued to puddle into my uterus.

No one expected her to survive labor, but if she had survived a natural birth or a C-section, we knew she would have suffocated immediately after the umbilical cord was cut. She had no lungs. She couldn't take even one breath. More and more ultrasounds made that terrible truth clearer and clearer, that if she were born, her passing would not be peaceful or painless. But we kept praying for a miracle, hoping that she would be able to pass away with our arms wrapped tightly around her, hearing us telling her how much we loved her.

We went back to the hospital again and again, thinking I was in labor. We were completely prepared to bring her into the world, with the hope of having her with us even just for a moment. This was my mission. But it was not to be. We decided to baptize her in utero, while we knew she was still alive.

By this time, I'd seen my own obstetrician, two resident obstetricians at Cedars-Sinai, and four perinatologists. Each of these doctors had consulted with other experts. The doctors all agreed that our safest option was an intact D&E, but Jim and I couldn't face the horrible thought of having an abortion.

Finally, after two and a half weeks, I went to my own doctor again for another ultrasound. The polyhydramnios had grown even worse and my husband and our whole family were afraid for my health. I could not sit or lie down for more than ten minutes because the pressure on my lungs was so great. But I wasn't worried about myself -- I only thought of Katherine.

When Dr. Crane performed the ultrasound, Katherine's heart was barely beating. My doctor turned to my husband and said, "I can't deliver this baby. I could try, but I'm convinced we would end up doing a caesarean and under the circumstances, that is just too dangerous." He said, "I have to send you to Dr. McMahon."

I gasped out loud. Dr. Crane said to Jim, "This is about Coreen now." I began to cry. Again I said, "What about a caesarean?" Dr. Crane said, "I can't justify that risk to you. There is a safer way." When I saw the anguish on my doctor's face, I knew that we had no other choice. Dr. Crane supported us so much in our decision to have Katherine naturally, and he knew that we would have to live with our decision for the rest of our lives. When I saw the pain on his face, I knew I had to go. This wasn't a choice anymore. It wasn't up to us. There was no reason to risk leaving my children motherless if there was no hope of saving Katherine.

We drove to Los Angeles. I cried the whole way, patting my tummy and promising Katherine we would never let anyone hurt or devalue her. On the way, Jim was adamant that if we weren't comfortable, we would turn around and leave no matter what. There was no way he would let his little girl's life end in a way that didn't give her respect and dignity. I'd never felt so scared and sick to my stomach in my life. I kept asking God, "Why are you making this so difficult for us?"

We expected a cold gray building. . . we expected an abortion mill. We expected people who cared about me, but not about Katherine. When we arrived, the place was beautiful and peaceful. But when we walked in, I was still very defensive. I didn't trust these people.

The staff greeted us with such warmth and kindness. I was immediately taken in to see Gale McMahon, the clinic's head nurse. We started to talk, and Gale asked if we had named our baby. "Her name is Katherine Grace," I said and began to cry. When I looked up, she too had tears in her eyes. At that moment a little bit of my wall broke down.

Gale explained the procedure in detail. My husband asked a lot of questions. I was numb -- I just kept thinking about Katherine. We then went in to see Dr. McMahon. As he met with us, he performed another ultrasound. I can't tell you the compassion he had for us. He knew how much discomfort I was in from the polyhydramnios and the size of my uterus, and how much we were both suffering at losing our little girl. He was so gentle and kind.

Dr. McMahon immediately asked me the same question Gale had: "Have you named her?" He never referred to her as fetal tissue, or a fetus, or even just a baby. She was always Katherine.

He told us that my condition meant that we had to do this procedure right away. My uterus was far too full of fluid to wait. We asked if there was any way that Katherine could be born alive. He looked carefully at the ultrasound, measured her head and explained sadly how large it was, and said that there was no way it could fit through my cervix without draining some of the fluid. He also explained that due to the difficulty of the position she was in, they would have to go inside my womb and for that, I would be put under heavy anesthesia. With her heartbeat as irregular and slow as it was already, he did not think she would survive the anesthesia.

It was so hard to accept, but we began to understand that it was what we had to do. After Dr. McMahon explained the procedure to us again, I felt comforted. He and his staff understood the pain and anguish we were feeling. I realized I was in the right place. This was the safest way for me to deliver. This left open the possibility of more children. It greatly lowered the health risk to me. Most important, it offered a peaceful, painless passing for Katherine Grace.

For many women, this procedure takes longer, but I went into labor very quickly after Dr. McMahon put in the first set of dilators. When I came back the next morning, my cervix was already dilated sufficiently, and it was time to begin the surgery. I was put under anesthesia.

When I awoke a few hours later, Katherine was brought in to us. Gale gave her to me and said, "She's beautiful." Gale helped me to bond with her. She really was beautiful. She was not missing part of her brain. She had not been stabbed in the head with scissors. She looked peaceful. My husband and I held her tight and sobbed.

One of the things I noticed when I was holding Katherine was that the socks we bought for her were too big. Someone had taken tiny, soft pink ribbons, and tied them gently at the ankles so that her socks would fit. I can't tell you the peace that brought me. I knew they were taking care of her just as we would. We stayed with her for hours, praying and singing lullabies. Giving her back was the hardest moment of my life.

Dr. McMahon and his staff helped us get through the dark days to come. They counseled us and gave us information on help for dealing with our grief -- not just for Jim and me, but for our children, so they could get through the grief of losing their sister, and for our parents, so they could cope with their grief at losing their granddaughter.

When I went back for my checkup, Dr. McMahon was so pleased that I was recovering well physically. But he was worried about how I was doing emotionally, and we talked a lot about how I felt. My arms were physically aching, and he told me I wasn't alone, that so many women feel that way. Your arms ache to hold your baby. And then he told me something I've never forgotten. He said, "People don't want to know that this happens. They don't want to know that there are babies born with their brains outside their skulls, that there are babies for whom life is

not a gift but only cruelty and pain and death. They don't want to know what families like yours have to suffer." I didn't realize just how true that was until I came here.

I know how many of you feel about abortion, because that's how I felt. I still am against abortion. Before this happened to me, I had a friend who had something terrible like this happen in a pregnancy she'd wanted very much. I tried to be empathetic and I never said anything to her that was not kind, but in my heart there was a part of me that judged her. I knew that I would never make that decision. I don't judge anymore.

When I lost Katherine, I was devastated. For some reason God chose not to give her the gift of life. But losing her taught me how precious that gift of life is. I have my health, I have the ability to walk, to run, to enjoy life with my husband and my wonderful children. That is the gift that Dr. McMahon's procedure gave me and I am grateful for that every day of my life.

Because of the safety of this procedure, I am now pregnant again and will have another baby in June. Thanks to the grace of God and the skill and compassion of Dr. McMahon, I can have another healthy baby. If you outlaw this surgical procedure, other women like me will be denied that gift, that joy. They may lose their ability to have more children; they may lose their health; they may lose their lives. The child that I carry today is by no means a replacement for Katherine. There will always be a hole in our hearts where she should be, but this baby is a sign that life goes on and that God is good.

Someday, we'll tell our little boy or girl this story. We'll talk about Katherine, and how she changed our lives -- and how, in a way, she went to Washington. We'll talk about how, even though her life ended before it could really begin, the way she left this world allowed us to have this new miracle. We pray that this story has a happy ending. We pray to be able to tell Chad, Carlyn and their little brother or sister that when Congress heard, *really heard*, the truth about the surgery that helped their Mom, the members of Congress realized that they had no business doing what they were trying to do. They knew that they could never understand. We didn't understand before. Now we do. I pray that you will understand as well and put a stop to this terrible bill. When you vote on this bill again, please remember me. Remember my face, remember my name, remember my family and the child I am carrying.

Testimony of Mary-Dorothy Line
Before the House Subcommittee on the Constitution
March 21, 1996

My name is Mary-Dorothy Line. I am here today to oppose H.R. 1833. This legislation would outlaw a compassionate medical procedure that helped me and my family through the most difficult situation in our lives. I have come to Washington to oppose this legislation to ensure that it is available to other women and families in the future.

I am a registered Republican and a practicing Catholic. My husband, Bill, is a consulting engineer. We live in Los Angeles, California. Bill and I got married while in college. We had been married almost 14 years before we decided to start our family. Since having children was not a decision we took lightly, we waited until we were financially, emotionally, and spiritually prepared. In April of 1995 when we found out I was pregnant, we were thrilled. We waited to tell my father and our other family members until Father's Day -- an extra special Father's Day present.

The first four months proceeded normally. Dr. Pamela Lui, an OB/GYN at Northwestern University Hospital in Chicago was my doctor and I followed her instructions exactly. I read everything I could about pregnancy and parenting. We debated having an amniocentesis, but Dr. Lui said that it was not necessary due to my age (under 35) and no family history of genetic disorders. But she did recommend an alpha-fetoprotein (AFP) test which is routinely performed in most pregnancies to screen for neurological anomalies such as spina bifida. The nurse who drew my blood for the AFP said she would call me with the results in about two weeks, but if there was a problem, the doctor would call.

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When Dr. Lui called I was not thinking and started chatting away to her until I remembered what the nurse said; my heart started pounding. Dr. Lui told me that the AFP showed an elevated level of something which might indicate that there was a problem with our baby. She advised us to have an amniocentesis even though the chances were still great that everything was fine.

My husband and I talked about what we would do if there was something "abnormal." We quickly decided that we are strong people and very much in love and, that while having a mentally or physically disabled child would be hard, that it would not be too hard. But we also decided that we needed to know what we were dealing with, so I made an appointment with a perinatologist at Northwestern Hospital to have an amniocentesis. During the ultrasound for the amniocentesis, the doctor noticed that the baby's head was too large and that there was a lot of fluid in his head. He told me to have another ultrasound in two weeks to check the progression.

I had no idea what all this meant so I rushed to Dr. Lui's office and asked her to explain. She drew some pictures and explained that the condition was called hydrocephalus; that in every person's head there is fluid to protect and cushion the brain, but if there is too much fluid, the brain cannot develop. I called my husband at work and had him taken out of a meeting to ask him to meet me right away. I explained everything to him. He said that everything would work out and not to worry. We actually believed everything would be OK in two weeks.

I told my father that we might have a problem, but he also said that everything would be fine since there are no genetic problems in either Bill's family or mine. When we told my mother-in-

page 3

law, she said she would pray for us. We are all Catholic and go to church every week. When we have problems and worries, we turn to prayer. So, we prayed, as did our parents and grandparents.

To complicate matters even more, while these problems were occurring Bill and I were in the process of moving from Chicago to Los Angeles for my husband's job. As we were driving across the country, we had a week to talk and think and pray.

We arrived at our new apartment in Los Angeles on Sunday afternoon to a letter from Northwestern Hospital in Chicago saying that the amniocentesis results were perfect. We were so relieved. I knew that there was still a chance that the excess fluid on the brain was a problem, but we had been praying so hard and wanted this baby so much that we truly believed that everything was going to be fine. Since it was Sunday, we went to church and thanked God. We went to bed happy that night; our worries were over.

Monday was my husband's first day of work at his new job. I had an appointment scheduled with a perinatologist from Santa Monica Hospital and Cedar Sinai Hospital for another ultrasound. Bill insisted on coming to the ultrasound, even though I told him that he did not need to be there -- after all, it was his first day of work. But I did think it would be exciting for him to see our baby on the ultrasound. I was 21 weeks pregnant.

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The doctor, Dr. Connie Agnew, asked why we were there. We explained what the doctors in Chicago had told us and she said she would make her own diagnosis. After about a minute, she told us that she did not have good news; it was a very advanced textbook case of hydrocephaly. My husband almost passed out. We asked what we could do and she said there was nothing we could do. A hydrocephalyo baby that advanced has no hope. The baby would most likely be stillborn. She recommended that we terminate the pregnancy.

Our ob/gyn in Los Angeles, Dr. William Frumovitz, recommended a second opinion. Dr. Frumovitz sent us to a wonderful, compassionate doctor at Cedar Sinai Hospital, Dr. Dru Carlson. She stayed late to see us and confirmed our worst fears. She asked us to bear with her as she looked at our baby to see if there were any other problems besides the hydrocephaly. We sat there and watched as she examined our baby, the baby we knew we would never have. She worked very hard for 45 minutes and then told us that in addition to the brain fluid problem, the baby's stomach had not developed and he could not swallow. We asked about in-utero operations and drains to remove the fluid, but Dr. Carlson said there was absolutely nothing we could do. The hydrocephaly was too advanced. Our precious little baby was destined to be taken from us. Dr. Carlson also recommended that we terminate the pregnancy.

My poor husband called our parents and grandparents and told them the awful news. My father started crying; we were all crying. This couldn't be happening to us. But it did happen to us.

page 5

Doctors Frumovitz, Agnew and Carlson referred us to Dr. James McMahon. They all said that the procedure that he performs, the intact dilation and evacuation (Intact D&E), was the best and safest procedure for me to have. The multiple days of dilation would not be traumatic to my cervix. This was important to preserve my body and protect my future fertility. They knew that that was very important to my husband and I since we really wanted to have children in the future. Dr. Carlson said that with this procedure they would be able to perform an autopsy to determine if we were likely to face similar problems in future pregnancies. With no hope for this baby, our doctors were recommending the best option, with hope for the future.

Dr. McMahon and his staff were the kindest people you could ever meet. They explained the intact D&E procedure to us. Dr. McMahon used ultrasound to examine the baby, in case the three other specialists were wrong. They were not.

The dilation took three days and two trips a day to his office. These were the worst days of our lives. We had lost our son before we even had him. After the dilation was complete, I was put under heavy anesthesia. A simple needle was used to remove the fluid from the baby's head, the same fluid that killed our son. This enabled his head to fit through my cervix.

My husband and I are disturbed by the way this compassionate medical procedure has been portrayed by members of Congress. We thoroughly investigated this procedure before we had it. Every specialist told us that it is a safe and compassionate procedure. We were very informed and educated before making this decision. What they were saying in Congress bothered us so

MEMORANDUM

96 APR 1 16:10

Todd

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.



Planned Parenthood®
Federation of America, Inc.

March 29, 1996

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Yesterday's passage of the House bill banning the dilation and extraction (D&X) abortion procedure (the inappropriately named "Partial Birth Abortion Act") may well be the first step in a long-term strategy to eliminate women's right to choose by banning abortion procedures one by one. The congressmen who most strongly supported this bill made it very clear that they are opposed to all abortions, regardless of the procedure used. On behalf of the more than five million Americans who receive medical care and educational services from Planned Parenthood each year, I am writing to thank you for your February 28, 1996, letter to Rep. Henry Hyde, in which you indicated your decision to veto this bill if it did not include exceptions to preserve the health and life of the woman involved. We appreciate being able to count on you to veto this legislation, which is completely indifferent to the health and future fertility of women.

We understand your concerns about this procedure, particularly in light of the often inaccurate and inflammatory statements that have been made by its supporters. I hope you will have the opportunity to also hear the stories of several of the women who have had the procedure and testified about its importance in their lives. For example, Coreen Costello and Mary-Dorothy Line, two women who describe themselves as adamantly opposed to abortions, testified last week that they very reluctantly decided to undergo the D&X procedure only after they learned that their desperately wanted babies could not survive. Both praised their physician for his caring and humanity. Both women became pregnant again within a few months and are today looking forward to the births of healthy babies.

We appreciate your leadership on this controversial issue, and would be happy to provide any information that might be helpful, including the names of women who can describe personally the importance of keeping this procedure available when needed. If your staff have any questions, please have them call Dr. Diana Zuckerman, our national policy director, at 202/785-3351.

Sincerely,

Jane Johnson
Interim Co-President

cc: Ms. Debbie Fine, Domestic Policy Council

96 MAR 1 11:21

March 29, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: Debbie Fine

SUBJECT: Attached Letter From Planned Parenthood on HR 1833

Attached is a letter to the President from Planned Parenthood thanking him for his letter to Members of Congress last month on HR 1833, and for his leadership on this issue. Their letter also raises their hope that he can meet with women who have had the procedure. National Planned Parenthood expects that their local affiliates will be sending similar letters over the next couple of days.

DISTRIBUTION:

Carol Rasco
Jeremy Ben-Ami
George Stephanopoulos
Jack Quinn
Elena Kagan
Jennifer Klein
Alexis Herman
Betsy Myers
Judy Gold
Todd Stern ✓
Nancy Ann Min
Martha Foley

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1996

MR. PRESIDENT:

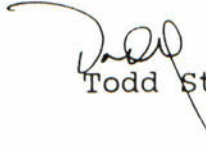
As you may recall, Cardinal Hickey sent you a letter on the partial birth abortion issue in December. A draft response was prepared and sent up to you, but you didn't sign it. Hickey then sent a letter in February (which I did not see until last week) and another on April 1.

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 26, 1996

Ms. Eleanor Smeal
The Feminist Majority Foundation
Suite 801
1600 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia 22209

Dear Ellie:

Thank you for your recent letter.

As you know, I have always maintained that the decision to have an abortion should be between a woman, her conscience, her doctor, and her faith. I also believe that abortions should be safe, legal, and rare. I have consistently opposed late-term abortions except to protect the life or health of the woman. Since H.R. 1833 -- contrary to Roe v. Wade -- 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.~~ *it is unacceptable.*

I appreciate your counsel on this difficult issue as well as your continuing commitment to help ensure the health and safety of women across the country.

Sincerely,

Todd

Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3-28 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Asap

SUBJECT: Draft veto message on "partial birth" abortion bill

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	McCURRY	☐	☒
PANETTA	☒	☐	McGINTY	☐	☐
McLARTY	☐	☐	NASH	☐	☐
ICKES	☒	☐	QUINN	☐	☐
LIEBERMAN	☒	☐	RASCO	☒	☐
RIVLIN	☒	☐	REED	☒	☐
BAER	☒	☐	SOSNIK	☐	☐
CURRY	☐	☐	STEPHANOPOULOS	☒	☐
EMANUEL	☐	☐	STIGLITZ	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
HALE	☐	☐	TYSON	☐	☐
HERMAN	☒	☐	WALLEY	☐	☐
HIGGINS	☐	☐	WILLIAMS	☐	☐
HILLEY	☒	☐	<u>J. KLEIN</u>	☒	☐
KLAIN	☒	☐	<u>Todd</u>	☒	☐
LAKE	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

RESPONSE:

JLK - "moderately" relig.
suggests only if min.
as best in
subject of doctor

Veto Message for H.R. 1833

I am returning without my approval H.R. 1833, which would prohibit doctors from performing a certain kind of abortion. I do so because the bill fails to protect women from serious health threats, as the Constitution and sound public policy require.

I have always believed that the decision to have an abortion generally should be between a woman, her doctor, her conscience, and her God. I support the decision in Roe v. Wade protecting a woman's right to choose, and I believe that the abortions protected by that decision should be safe and rare. Consistent with that decision, I have long opposed late-term abortions except where necessary to protect the life or health of the mother. In fact, as Governor of Arkansas, I signed into law a bill that barred third trimester abortions, with an appropriate exception for life or health.

The procedure described in H.R. 1833 has troubled me deeply, as it has many people. I cannot support use of that procedure on an elective basis, where the abortion is being performed for non-health related reasons and there are equally safe medical procedures available.

There are, however, 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 protect her against serious injury to her health. Medical conditions can develop at a stage in the pregnancy such that the use of this procedure becomes the only feasible way of preserving the life or the serious health interests of the woman, including her ability to have children in the future. In these situations, in which a woman and her family must make an awful choice, the Constitution requires, as it should, that the ability to choose this procedure be protected.

I cannot sign H.R. 1833, as drafted, because it fails to protect women in such dire circumstances -- because by treating doctors who use the procedure in these tragic cases as criminals, the bill poses a danger of serious harm to women. This bill, in curtailing the ability of women and their doctors to choose a medically necessary procedure, violates the constitutional command that any law regulating abortion protect both the life and the health of the woman. The bill's overbroad criminal prohibition risks that women will suffer serious injury.

I earlier proposed to Congress that it pass appropriate legislation regarding this procedure. I told Congress that I would support H.R. 1833 if it were amended to make clear that the prohibition did not apply to situations in which the selection of the procedure, in the medical judgment of the attending physician, was necessary to preserve the life of the woman or avert serious adverse health consequences to the woman. A bill amended in this way would have struck a proper balance, reserving

h.r.

this troubling procedure for those rare circumstances where it is medically necessary.

Congress chose not to take this sensible and constitutionally appropriate path, instead either ignoring or trivializing concerns about protecting women from serious health risks. As a result of this Congressional indifference to women's health and safety, I cannot, in good conscience and consistent with my responsibility to uphold the law, sign this legislation.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1996

RM

MR. PRESIDENT:

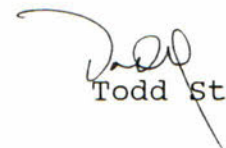
As you may recall, Cardinal Hickey sent you a letter on the partial birth abortion issue in December. A draft response was prepared and sent up to you, but you didn't sign it. Hickey then sent a letter in February (which I did not see until last week) and another on April 1.

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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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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 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 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 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.

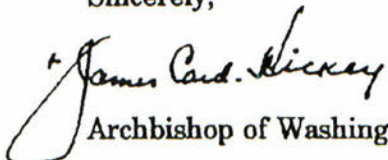
But, Mr. President, I must protest your position on this bill with urgency and candor. The "health exception" subverts the entire intent of the bill. It permits abortion on demand of the most heinous type. In my weekly column to the Catholics of the Archdiocese, I explained that the "health exception" 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,


Archbishop of Washington

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

158538

WE003

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

C O P Y

from ORM

January 26, 1996

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,



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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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
Cardinal's Residence

NCCB/PRO-LIFE

FAX NO. 0000000

☐ 004

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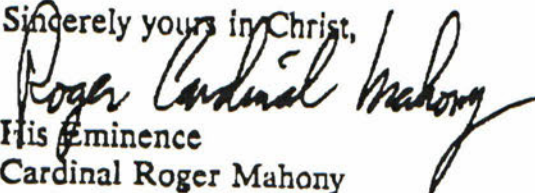
the basic beliefs of the vast majority of Americans will hinge upon your action on this crucial legislation.

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1996

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1996

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.

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Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jen Klein 62599

Melanne

P of Georgetown

Archbishop Hickey

↓

no answer to take - Ken abortion

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jen Klein 62599

Melanne

Pot Georgetown

Archbishop Hickey
↓

no answer to take - Ken abortion

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 1-25

TO: George -

FROM: Staff Secretary

look ok?

Ted

This is all there
is in files on these
2 (notes from
Todd to George S.)
Hold per JAP in ^{Pending} 3/8/96

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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



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).

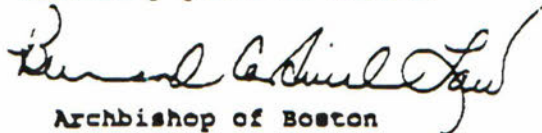
Several women testified before Congress about their experiences with "partial-birth abortions." But none had had a partial-birth abortion as defined in the bill. In fact, one woman testified that she would never have allowed her live child to be mostly delivered and then brutally killed. But that is 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 "rare." Better ethics and wiser politics say to save your veto.

My best,

— Fred S.

Catholic Charities USA is a national network
of agencies, institutions, and individuals
who aim to reduce poverty, support families,
and strengthen communities

President William Jefferson Clinton





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President William Jefferson Clinton

• MELANNE VERVEER •

From Fred
Kammer

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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,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Ray Flynn".
Raymond L. Flynn
U.S. Ambassador

cc: Leon Panetta
Melanie Verveer
John Hart

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