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Rile - abortion  
Abortion

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1976

Your Excellency:

I want to thank you and other leaders of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops for visiting with me today to discuss issues of mutual concern and interest. Because many of these issues are highly sensitive, I thought it might be helpful to set forth my views on paper so that others who could not be with us might have a more precise understanding of my convictions on these issues.

One of the most controversial issues of our time and one in which we share a keen interest is the question of abortion. I have grave concern over the serious moral questions raised by this issue. Each new life is a miracle of creation. To interfere with that creative process is a most serious act.

In my view, the Government has a very special role in this regard. Specifically, the Government has a responsibility to protect life -- and indeed to provide legal guarantees for the weak and unprotected.

It is within this context that I have consistently opposed the 1973 decision of the Supreme Court. As President, I am sworn to uphold the laws of the land and I intend to carry out this responsibility. In my personal view, however, this court decision was unwise. I said then and I repeat today -- abortion on demand is wrong.



Since 1973 I have viewed as the most practical means of rectifying the situation created by the Court's action a Constitutional amendment that would restore to each State the authority to enact abortion statutes which fit the concerns and views of its own citizens. This approach is entirely in keeping with the system of Federalism devised by the founders of our Nation. As Minority Leader of the House of Representatives, I co-sponsored an amendment which would restore this authority to the States, and I have consistently supported that position since that time.

My position has been based on three fundamental convictions:

- I am against abortion on demand.
- The people of every State should have the Constitutional right to control abortion.
- There is a need to recognize and provide for exceptional cases.

I should also point out that the Republican Platform which I support is fully consistent with these views.

I recognize that this abortion question is a matter of deep personal and moral conviction. Honorable people may disagree, but all of us must be concerned about an increased irreverence for life within advanced societies.

Americans have benefited greatly by our rich spiritual heritage. The sound, sensible lessons of goodness imparted by religious teachers and devoted parents have done more than anything else to prepare our children for life.



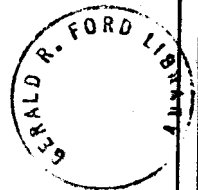
A second issue of mutual concern is the future of non-public schools. Traditionally, those schools have made a vital contribution to our society, richly adding to the fiber of the American experience. We are a Nation that values competition and diversity. I believe that diversity is as important in education as it is in politics, business, the professions, in our personal lives and in our cultural traditions.

I know that these last few years have not been easy ones for non-public schools. This has been a period of self-examination. I want you to know that as President, I am totally committed to support your efforts to provide the best possible education for the approximately four million children enrolled in Catholic institutions.

Earlier this year, I proposed to the Congress a block grant program to combine 24 existing programs for Federal assistance to elementary and secondary education. This legislation, which would make \$3.3 billion available to State and local governments during fiscal year 1977, provides that non-public school children will continue to be served equitably.

In all that I do as President, I will continue my dedication to freedom of educational opportunity in order to guarantee the continued high quality of the educational tradition in non-public schools -- a tradition for which you deserve great credit.

A third issue of mutual concern is the policy of the United States toward relieving hunger and malnutrition in the world. The United States, I am proud to say, has a strong record of responding positively to this matter, in keeping with both the tradition of humanitarian concern of the American people and the sense of responsibility which we who are more fortunate feel toward those with less.





We have tried to address the two main aspects of the world food problem in the most constructive way possible:

-- First, to alleviate an immediate need for food assistance, the U.S. will be able to furnish this year about six million tons of food assistance, 6 million of the 10 million ton annual food aid target set for all countries at the World Food Conference in Rome. Through our PL-480 program, we are able to use the enormous productivity of the American farmer to meet human needs with grain which the poorer nations could not otherwise afford to import.

-- Second, through our foreign assistance program, we are seeking to curb some of the underlying causes of the food problem by working to improve agricultural production in the developing countries, particularly those which suffer major shortfalls in food. This is of critical importance to the prospects for economic growth.

Private voluntary agencies also play an important role in the overall U.S. assistance effort, and have made a major contribution in alleviating world hunger, providing inputs of both food and economic assistance -- an inspiring demonstration of the humanitarian zeal of the American people.

Last year this country proposed the creation of an international system of nationally held food reserves which would provide against the human and economic disaster which could result from a global shortfall in grain production. We are continuing to push for conclusion of an agreement on this proposal in the International Wheat Council.



Let me add one final note. When I visited the International Eucharistic Congress in Philadelphia last month, I commented that "for millions of men and women, the church has been the hospital for the soul, the schoolroom for the mind, and the safe depository for moral ideals. It has given unity and purpose to the affairs of man. It has been a vital institution for protecting and proclaiming the ultimate values of life itself." That is a view I have long held. It is one that I reaffirm now.

I greatly appreciate the opportunity to meet with you today. I look forward to future discussions with you and with others of every faith.

Sincerely,

*Gerald R. Ford*

The Most Reverend Joseph L. Bernardin  
29 East 8th Street  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202



MEETING WITH CATHOLIC CONF.

Wed, Sept 8, 1976

~~9:45 - 10:15~~ 8:45 6 p.m.

Roosevelt Room



MEETING WITH EMMETT J. HUGHES

EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION  
Wednesday, June 1976

Monday, August 30, 1976

5:00 p.m.

*Belmont*

MEETING WITH CAHOLIC BISHIOPS

Thurs, 9/9/76  
6:00 p.m.

Situation Room



*Allen* *Abner*

*file*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 14, 1976 SEP 15 PM 5 26

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM CANNON

FROM: BILL BAROODY *(B)*



SUBJECT: Bishops Meeting with the President

In the Bishops meeting with the President on Friday, Bishop James Rausch, the General Secretary of the National Council of Catholic Bishops, raised with the President the question of alternatives to abortion. He indicated that although they were and would remain opposed to abortion per se, that we should be exploring so called alternatives to abortion and by that I'm sure he meant such things as adequate adoption procedures, etc.

The President indicated that he agreed with the Bishop and that we would follow-up and explore alternatives to abortion.

He asked me in the meeting to see that follow-up action was instituted.

After the meeting, Bishop Rausch indicated to me that there was legislation on the Hill providing for this and he had testified in favor of such legislation. The Legislative office was not able to come up with a Bill citation "alternatives to abortion." If your staff is also unaware of such legislation then I would be happy to call Bishop Rausch and track it down.

*Phoned Baroody,  
he'll respond. 9/16*



Non - Public Schools  
Milwaukee  
8/25/75

Now, there are alternative ways in which it can be done. One that I think has great appeal is that, if the police or the firemen have a dispute with the city or county officials, that both sides could make their best offer -- management its best offer, labor its best offer -- and have a group of three as arbitrators, not to narrow the differences, but to pick which of the two offers by labor or management is the one in the public interest.

That has been tried in one or more industries that I am familiar with. I think it has considerable merit and, therefore, if we move down the road in that direction, that approach seems to me to be a preferable one.

I think in the case of the Postal Service, the negotiation has not required the utilization of the arbitration procedures. I would hope that in those areas where the Federal Government has no jurisdiction, such as local units of Government, or even States, that either at the State level or at the local level, they will take a look at what the Postal Service has done or the suggestion that I have made.

I think it is the way to settle it and protect the public interest.

QUESTION: Thank you very much.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Father John Raynor, President of the Marquette University here in Milwaukee.

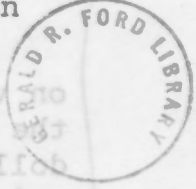
Recent events have substantiated comments that you made at the 1974 commencement of the Ohio University when you said, "Our goal of quality education is on a collision course with the escalating demands for the public dollar."

Your recent veto of the educational bill was accompanied by a statement that you supported educational funding but that national economic and budget conditions precluded your acceptance of the size of the appropriations being recommended by the Congress.

My question is, in light of your directive to Federal agencies to solve the problem between educational needs and adequate funding -- this question is two-fold -- has your Administration examined new funding policies that would be possible?

Secondly, is it likely that the Federal Government once again will study broader entitlement programs such as voucher systems in an attempt to expand equality of access to education at all levels?

MORE



THE PRESIDENT: Let me say, Father Raynor, that if I recall precisely the budget that I submitted for education, primary as well as secondary, and higher education, for fiscal 1976, it was a higher figure overall, in each case above the corresponding figure for the preceding year, is that correct?

I am almost certain that is correct. Now, that may not be enough in the minds of the prospective beneficiaries, but I think it does show a recognition that we know you have had higher costs, at either the higher education level or the primary and secondary level.

The Congress--I know how they operate, I was there for a few years (Laughter)--they have been under pressure to increase beyond what I proposed. It seems to me that what they have appropriated is far more than can be justified under our Federal budgetary restraint we have at the present time.

I might add, in a postscript way, our experience on vetoes in the past, this past few months, has been that the Congress sends down a piece of legislation that in dollars is either too much or in other ways does not coincide with some views we have.

By vetoing it and getting those vetoes sustained, it means that the Congress has another opportunity to look at whether they did the right thing or the wrong thing when they sent the bill down in the first place.

The veto is a constitutional authority given to a President. It is not a negative, it is an affirmative authority. In every instance where there has been a veto sustained, we have had further negotiation with the Congress, and the net result has been a reasonable compromise.

I think we can do the same thing in the field of education.

On the other question, I am a firm believer that the public educational system educates children better if they have competition from nonpublic schools, whether they are Catholic, whether they are Lutheran, whether they are Jewish, whether they are Christian Reform in the Dutch background that I had in Michigan, competition in education makes better education for all children.

Unfortunately, under the Constitution, as recently interpreted by the Supreme Court, some of the plans, like the one in Minnesota or the one in Pennsylvania, were thrown out.

MORE



I hope we can find in a Constitutional way a proper and legal way to help those nonpublic schools so that they can compete adequately and effectively with the public school system because the public school system is better off when they have somebody challenging them to see which system can best educate the American children.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Jim Jesinski, representing Wisconsin Teamsters Joint Council No. 39.

This morning Secretary Butz, in his presentation, alluded to one of the problems facing the trucking industry; namely, deregulation.

If you are successful in making changes that will increase competition, then in theory, at least, the public would benefit from reduced rates with the industry realizing reduced profits.

Considering that this is an industry of high capital investment, our concern is what steps will you take to insure that the profit structure will be sufficient to continue to encourage investment in this industry?

THE PRESIDENT: I looked over, and tentatively approved, a working paper that will provide for some changes in the ICC's control and jurisdiction over the trucking industry. When I get back to Washington, I intend to have some further meetings with people in my Administration, and prior to the submission of any proposals to the Congress, I intend to meet with representatives of the trucking industry and representatives of the Teamster's organization.

I am convinced that we can stimulate competition in the trucking industry without ruining the capability of that industry to survive and compete in the transportation area overall.

It will probably be another two or three weeks before we finalize our recommendation, but it will be done only after we have had consultation with not only management on the one side, but labor on the other.

I believe there are some areas, big areas, where competition can be improved, but I don't want to prejudge it until I have had those consultations.

MORE



QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Lois Quinn representing the Wisconsin Women's Political Caucus. We are extremely concerned about the availability of child care for mothers, for the children of mothers who work, often because they are the single heads of the household or because two family incomes are required to meet daily expenses.

There are presently about 900,000 spaces in licensed day care centers for children to serve more than 6 million pre-school children whose mothers are in the work force. The Mondale-Brademas bill presently in Congress would provide services for these children.

Will you sign this bill when passed by the Congress and, if not, what alternatives do you propose for families needing child care for their children?

THE PRESIDENT: I presume the bill that you refer to is similar to the one that was very ardently proposed by an old friend of mine, Ogden Reid. And if that is the same bill, in all honesty, the cost is so unbelievable it just cannot be included in a budget in the atmosphere in which we are living.

Now, as you have indicated, under legislation passed about six or seven years ago, we do provide for day care centers up to around 800,000 working mothers. This is a program tailored specifically to the working mother who goes out, gets a job, provides for the income, and her children are taken care of in these day care centers.

What I am fearful of in the Reid-Brademas-Mondale bill, if they are the same, and I suspect they are, you will find that in many, many cases -- at least under the Ogden Reid bill -- it was not just for working mothers. It provided day care help and assistance for a good many people who could afford to pay for day care center care for their own. And I do not think Uncle Sam ought to pay for or subsidize that kind of a situation.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Robert Brown, and I am here as President of the Inland Daily Press Association, which represents 500 daily newspapers located in the Midwestern part of the country.

First of all, I want to congratulate you and Mr. Baroody on this splendid conference. Anything which improves communication between your Administration and the people is bound to have beneficial results.

However, to give you one example, as recently as this month, we have noted that your Administration has kept from the public an important negative study about international atomic safeguards. Today Secretary Kissinger engaged in delicate negotiations in the Middle East which will involve certain commitments on the part of the United States. These commitments and, in fact, others made elsewhere in the world can have profound implications on our citizens. My question is, Mr. President, will you, as President of the United States, assure us that any commitments made here or elsewhere in our negotiations with foreign governments be reported truthfully and in full detail to our citizens?

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Sarah Macevally*

January 16, 1976

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHIL BUCHEN  
JIM CANNON

FROM:

JIM CONNOR *CC*

SUBJECT:

Abortion

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

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

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

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

Please follow-up with appropriate action.

cc: Dick Cheney





THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 28, 1975

Memo to: Elishka

From: Marba

Re: Abortion Votes by Congressman Gerald R. Ford

x Bill Waugh in the Research Division at the Republican Congressional Committee kindly furnished the following information. x

On June 21, 1973 Congressman Ford voted "Yea" on a substituted Amendment to an Amendment of the Legal Services Corporation Bill (H. R. 78-24, Roll Call #261). His vote was to prohibit the Legal Services Corporation from providing legal assistance in proceedings or litigation seeking to procure a non-therapeutic abortion or to compel an individual or institution to perform an abortion or to provide facilities for an abortion contrary to religious or moral convictions of such an individual or institution.

This may be interpreted as not being a clear-cut vote for or against abortion. His position is in-between the Bella Absugs and the Angelo Roncallos (sponsor of anti-abortion Amendment).

In 1974 when additional abortion votes were taken, Vice President Ford was not a Member of the House.



RECORDS OFFICE  
1975 FEB 21 AM 10 20

[Issues]

"Population"

(VELTHOUSE, Sandy)

VS legalizing abortion

October 11, 1972

Miss Sandy Velthouse  
3151 Birchwood, S. W.  
Wyoming, Michigan 49508

Dear Sandy,

Many thanks for your letter of October 6 concerning abortion, one of the very important issues in our country today.

We in the Congress have no jurisdiction over the matter of legal abortions in the State of Michigan. This is something which must be decided by the State Legislature and/or by the people of the state. As you indicated, the people of the State of Michigan will have an opportunity in the November election to pass judgment on the liberalization of the abortion law in the State of Michigan.

The federal government has jurisdiction concerning abortions only in the District of Columbia and in certain federal installations such as military posts. President Nixon has ordered these installations to obey the law of the state in which the installation is located as far as abortion policy is concerned. I endorse this position of the President.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford, M.C.

GRF:rn



March 28, 1973

93D CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. J. RES. 468

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 28, 1973

Mr. WHITEHURST (for himself, Mr. ARCHER, Mr. BEVILL, Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia, Mr. BUTLER, Mr. DERWINSKI, Mr. GERALD R. FORD, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. HUBER, Mr. HUNT, Mr. KETCHUM, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. PARRIS, Mr. SIKES, Mr. STEIGER of Arizona, Mr. WON PAT, and Mr. ZION) introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## JOINT RESOLUTION



Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

- 1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of*
- 2 *the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-*
- 3 *thirds of each House concurring therein), That the follow-*
- 4 *ing article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution*
- 5 *of the United States, to be valid only if ratified by the*
- 6 *legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within*
- 7 *seven years after the date of final passage of this joint res-*
- 8 *olution:*

## "ARTICLE—

1  
2 "SECTION 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall bar  
3 any State or territory or the District of Columbia, with  
4 regard to any area over which it has jurisdiction, from  
5 allowing, regulating, or prohibiting the practice of abortion."

93<sup>d</sup> CONGRESS  
1<sup>st</sup> SESSION

**H. J. RES. 468**

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**JOINT RESOLUTION**

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of  
the United States.

---

By Mr. WHITEHURST, Mr. ARCHER, Mr. BEVILL,  
Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia, Mr. BUTLER, Mr.  
DERWINSKI, Mr. GERALD R. FORD, Mr. HAST-  
INGS, Mr. HUBER, Mr. HUNT, Mr. KETCHUM,  
Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. PARRIS, Mr. SIKES, Mr.  
STEIGER of Arizona, Mr. WON PAT, and Mr.  
ZION

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MARCH 28, 1973

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary



Congress of the United States  
Office of the Minority Leader  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

AB-2

ABORTION - VS

Revised 3/30/73

Margin 15

Dear :

Your of recent date concerning the Supreme Court decision on abortion has been received.

I agree with you and in the election in Michigan last fall I voted against the referendum calling for legalization of abortion. Several states had asked the U.S. Supreme Court to reconsider its decision, but unfortunately the Court denied the motion to reconsider its earlier ruling.

Therefore, I am cosponsoring a constitutional amendment which would allow each state to determine its own rules regarding the practice of abortion. This resolution, H.J.Res. 468, provides that "Nothing in this Constitution shall bar any State or territory or the District of Columbia, with regard to any area over which it has jurisdiction, from allowing, regulating, or prohibiting the practice of abortion."

I want to thank you for your views and comments, and hope with you that a wise and responsible revision in the current Court ruling will come about.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford, M.C.

GRF:DM





[Sept. 1976]

Question: Do you favor Federal aid to non-public schools.

Answer: It is my belief that our private-non-profit schools have provided, and must continue to provide, two essential ingredients to our education system; diversity and competition.

Over the last several years, many attempts have been made to find a constitutionally sound approach to provide aid to non-public schools. None have been successful.

I am committed to the ideas of diversity and competition in our education system and I will review with interest any new ideas that are developed that meet the test of constitutionality



[Sept. 1976]

ABORTION

Q: Mr. President, has your thinking changed any on the abortion question in the light of the Republican Party's platform deliberations and Senator Dole's anti-abortion stand in 1974?

A: Personal beliefs and religious beliefs run very deeply on the question of abortion. I believe my views are consistent with the Republican Party's Platform. I am opposed to abortion on demand -- except in special circumstances (illness of the mother, rape, etc.) -- and I think the Supreme Court decision of 1973 went too far toward encouraging abortions.

*S. J. [unclear] Support a C*  
In my judgment, it would be in the public interest to allow each state to enact abortion laws suitable to its own citizens. A Constitutional amendment could turn this authority back to the individual states and allow greater flexibility within our society on an issue that sharply divides many people in the country.

*How supported*

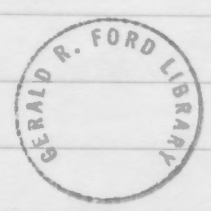


[Sept. 1976]

As to Private Schools

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Right of Parents  
to choose the  
School for  
their  
children



As requested

ISSUE: Aid to Nonpublic Schools

Administration Position

The President has said, "I hope we can find . . . a constitutional way . . . to help nonpublic schools so that they can compete adequately with the public school system."

Presidential Documents  
Vol. II, No. 35, P. 899

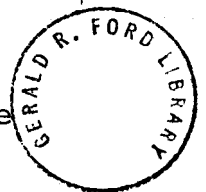
Administration Actions

On March 1, 1976, the President sent to Congress the Financial Assistance for Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This proposal would consolidate 24 separate categorical programs into one. As regards children in nonpublic schools, the President's proposal would essentially require they be given an equitable opportunity to participate in programs assisted by the proposal to the extent that they reside in areas served by the programs, and have the needs addressed by those programs.

If the State is legally unable, or fails to provide for participation of children as required by the legislation, the Commissioner of Education would arrange for services to such children by contract or otherwise, and deduct the cost thereof from the State's allocation.

BACKGROUND

There are presently 30 programs administered by the Office of Education in which nonpublic schools can participate.



WMD  
9/3/76

DRAFT - September 8, 1976

Dick Brannon

Archbishop Joseph Bernardine:

As you are aware, I have taken what I called a moderate position on abortion. I stated my opposition to abortion on demand as well as my disagreement with the Supreme Court's decision in 1973 on this issue.

In addition, I have had a long-standing belief that dealing with the problem by means of a Constitutional Amendment which would preclude any Federal activity in abortion cases went too far.

I have held that there are clearly cases where legal abortions are necessary and morally proper. These are cases where pregnancy is the result of rape or incest, or where the mother's health and well-being are at stake.

It has been my view that the best amendment was one which would allow the States to take action on the question, for they are better suited to administer and enforce the procedures they enact.

I have grave concern over the serious moral questions this entire issue raises. I have been taught, and indeed I believe to this day, that each new life is a miracle of creation. To deliberately interfere with that creative process is a most serious act.

It therefore disturbs me to discover that some engage in abortions for trivial, even frivolous reasons. It is evidence of a growing irreverence for life in segments of our society.

Careful  
look

Trace to  
JMC/pmm



Government should not look to itself for answers to problems which rightfully fall within the purview of ~~church and family~~ *religion and human life.*

Government can never adequately substitute for America's essential and basic institutions of church and family.

Fostering or promoting any religion or theology is outside the proper role of your government, a view I trust you share with me; but the protection of life, and indeed the legal guarantees for the weak and unprotected are pre-eminently within the jurisdiction of government.

It is for this reason, that I fully embrace the sentiments expressed in the abortion section of the Republican platform which was approved by our convention this year in Kansas City.

The issue is complex and often difficult, but together as a people of good will we can more precisely define the proper role of government on this issue.

Sincerely,



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# АМЕР

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ФЛЯД

### Archbishop Bernardine Praises Republican Anti-Abortion Plank

A  
M

WASHINGTON (NC) — The president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) has praised the anti-abortion language in the Republican party platform, saying it is

ed hope that Americans, "regardless of political affiliation" will urge candidates to support such an amendment.

Following is the text of Archbishop Bernardin's statement:

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DRAFT - September 8, 1976



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*Careful  
look*

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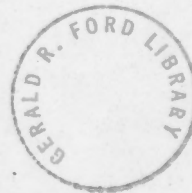
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Sincerely,



CATHOLIC CONFERENCE  
Wednesday, September 8, 1976  
Roosevelt Room

9:45 to 10:15

Attendees: Bill Gorog  
Paul O'Neill  
Henry Cashen  
Terry O'Donnell



September 9, 1976

FOR NESSEN BRIEFING

The President's position on abortion has been, and remains, consistent.

- He is concerned about an apparent increased irreverence for life.
- He thinks the Supreme Court went too far in its 1973 decision invalidating States' laws on abortion.
- He disagrees with the recent Supreme Court decision undermining parental authority and family values concerning abortion for minors.
- He does not believe in abortion on demand.
- He does not believe in a Constitutional Amendment banning all abortions since there are instances, for instance, involving rape and the health of the mother, where he feels abortion should be permitted.
- He does favor a Constitutional Amendment restoring the right of the individual States to decide the issue and is on record as a Member of Congress supporting this position.
- Even though he disagrees with the 1973 Court decision, he has stressed that as President he will, of course, uphold the law as interpreted by the Court.
- The plank of the Republican platform dealing with abortion is consistent with the President's position. The platform states:

"The question of abortion is one of the most difficult and controversial of our time. It is undoubtedly a moral and personal issue, but it also involves complex questions relating to medical science and criminal justice. There are those in our party who favor complete support of



of the Supreme Court decision, which supports abortion on demand. There are others who share sincere convictions that the Supreme Court decision must be changed by a constitutional amendment prohibiting all abortions. Others have yet to take a position; or they have assumed a stance somewhere in between the polar positions. We protest the Supreme Court's intrusion into the family structure through its denial of the parents' obligation and right to guide their minor children. The Republican Party favors the continuance of the public dialogue on abortion and supports the efforts of those who seek enactment of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life of the unborn child."

Note that the platform first takes recognition of the complexity of the problem and the diversity of sincerely held points of view.

The key sentence is the last which emphasizes the following points:

- The Party favors the continuance of the public dialogue on abortion.
- The Party supports the efforts of those who seek a Constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life of the unborn child.

The platform purposefully leaves open the question of precisely defining and spelling out the terms and language of a Constitutional Amendment. It does not say the party favors an amendment banning all abortions. It does use the word "restore" which means to refer back to a situation existing previously - and, the situation that existed previously was a situation permitting individual states to decide the issue.



DRAFT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Meeting with the Executive Committee  
National Conference of Catholic Bishops

Friday - September 10, 1976  
The Oval Office  
10:00 P.M. (45 mins.)

I. PURPOSE

To discuss with the United States leaders of the Roman Catholic Church topics of mutual concern and interest.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background: General: The six-member Executive Committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops are the elected leaders of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. The membership of the Church numbers approximately 49 million Americans, or 23% of the U.S. Population. There are approximately 27 million registered Catholic voters. TAB A sets forth a breakdown by State of the Catholic population in the United States.

This will be your second formal meeting at the White House with the leaders of the Church. The first meeting occurred on June 18, 1975, and focused on the world food crisis, illegal aliens, and the question of Southeast Asia refugees. Agencies of the Church were deeply involved in the resettlement effort of Vietnam refugees in the United States and are most appreciative of your leadership in this area. As indicated in the Participants section of this paper, several of the participants in that meeting will be on hand for Friday's meeting.

The Executive Committee will be conducting additional business while in Washington, including a Thursday Board meeting of the Catholic Relief Services.



Your meeting with the Bishops follows three important statements issued by Archbishop Bernardin on the abortion issue as addressed in the 1976 Democratic Party platform, the Republican Party platform, and the recent meeting with Governor Carter at the Mayflower Hotel. Archbishop Bernardin plans to make another statement, the fourth in this series, following the Executive Committee's meeting with you.

The Democratic Platform and Abortion: <sup>THE</sup> Bishops' Conference

Response: The 1976 Democratic Party platform states: "We fully recognize the religious and ethical nature of the concerns which many Americans have on the subject of abortion. We feel, however, that it is undesirable to attempt to amend the United States Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court decision in this area."

On June 24, Archbishop Bernardin, speaking on behalf of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, sharply assailed the Democratic plank, calling it "irresponsible" and "morally offensive". In another release, the Bishops Conference stated that the Democratic platform's language on abortion "was drafted by Governor Carter's representatives and supported by the Governor." (Carter subsequently repudiated much of the language of the abortion plank of the Democratic Party platform.)

The Republican Platform and Abortion/The Bishops' Conference

Response: The abortion plank of the 1976 GOP platform reads as follows: ["The question of abortion is one of the most difficult and controversial of our time. It is undoubtedly a moral and personal issue, but it also involves complex questions relating to medical science and criminal justice. There are those in our party who favor complete support of the Supreme Court decision, which supports abortion on demand. There are others who share sincere convictions that the Supreme Court decision must be changed by a constitutional amendment prohibiting all abortions. Others have yet to take a position; or they have assumed a stance somewhere in between the polar positions. We protest the Supreme Court's intrusion into the family structure through its

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SET OFF



denial of the parents' obligation and right to guide their minor children. The Republican Party favors the continuance of the public dialogue on abortion and supports the efforts of those who seek enactment of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life of the unborn child. " ]

On August 18, Archbishop Bernardin released a statement commenting that the GOP platform's "recognition of the value of life" and its "protest of the Supreme Court intrusion into family matters are "timely and important." He also noted approvingly the "encouragement" the GOP platform gives to "a continuation of the public dialogue on abortion."

On August 16, after the Democratic Convention and prior to the Republican Convention, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a statement defining the role of the Church in the political process. The statement strongly reaffirmed that the Church does not involve itself in partisan politics but will, as part of its educational role, "maintain its freedom to speak out clearly on any issue, and plans to do so during the coming Presidential campaign as the occasion demands. :

Bishops Conference Meeting with Governor Carter: Governor Carter met with the National Conference of Catholic Bishops on August 31, 1976. At this meeting, Carter repeated his personal opposition to abortion and his opposition to government funding for abortion. He also indicated he would not oppose an effort to obtain a constitutional amendment. He intimated that he may be willing to support some future unspecified "partial amendment."

In response, Archbishop Bernardin said that personal opposition to abortion is not enough -- the Conference continues to be "disappointed" with the Governor's position.

Agenda: The agenda for the meeting is open. Bishop Malone's testimony (TAB B) to GOP Platform Committee provides a good summary of the Church's position on most of the issues that might arise.

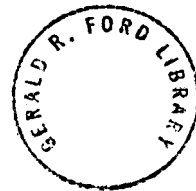




4.

Additional background and talking points on several key issues are included as follows:

TAB C	Abortion
TAB D	Aide to Education
TAB E	International food policy
TAB F	Relations with Developing Countries
TAG G	U.S. Policy toward Eastern Europe
TAB H	U.S. Policy toward Africa
TAB I	U.S. Policy toward Italy



B. Participants:

\*The Most Reverend Joseph L. Bernardin

Archbishop of Cincinnati

President of the National Conference of Catholic

Bishops and the United States Catholic Conference

(Archbishop Bernardin was on hand at the airport in

Philadelphia and accompanied Cardinal Krol and Mayor

Rizzo in your limousine en route the Eucharistic Congress.)

The Most Reverend John Carberry

Archbishop of St. Louis

Vice President of the National Conference of

Catholic Bishops

Archbishop John J. McGuire

Treasurer, National Conference of Catholic Bishops

\*Bishop James S. Rausch

General Secretary, National Conference of Catholic Bishops

\*His Eminence Terence Cardinal Cooke

Archbishop of New York

Member, Executive Committee, National Conference

of Catholic Bishops. (Cardinal Cooke met you upon

arrival at the Eucharistic Congress.) He is considered

the National leader of the Church's pro-life activities.

\*Bishop James W. Malone

Bishop of Youngstown, Ohio

Member, Executive Committee, National Conference

of Catholic Bishops

\* Denotes those who attended your June 1975 Cabinet Room Meeting with the Catholic Bishops.

C. Press Plan: There will be no press photo of the meeting per the Bishops Conference request. Archbishop Bernardin will make a brief statement to the Press in front of the West Lobby following the meeting.



## ABORTION

Abortion is clearly the most volatile and emotional issue to be discussed during the meeting. Along with aide to private education, which runs a fairly distant second, abortion is really the issue of prime importance to the Church this year and clearly, it is the most politically explosive issue among most Catholics.

The Catholic Church has decided to take a more aggressive position on abortion this year than ever before. The Conference has instructed each Bishop to insure that each parish educates its membership on the abortion question. The first Sunday in October will be known as "Life Sunday" and every sermon in every Catholic Church across the country will deal with this subject. Catholics will be asked to vote "responsibly" on this issue.

As it stands now, the Church generally supports your position and the Republican Platform because of the stand on behalf of a Constitutional amendment. The Bishops have made it clear that a Constitutional amendment is the only way to correct the Supreme Court's "intrusion" into this area. The precise version of the amendment is not as important at the present time as is the fact that you are for "an amendment." So, even though Carter states that he personally opposes abortion and opposes the federal funding of abortions, his refusal to support a Constitutional amendment has resulted in the response from the Bishops that they are deeply disappointed with his position.

Carter's present problems with the Catholic Church also stem from several other factors including his attempt to use the Church for political purpose, his efforts to go around the hierarchy to the members of the Church, his failure to follow certain customary courtesies toward the Church, his perception as a "flip flopper" on abortion, and the simple fact that he is a Southern Baptist and traditionally there has been some friction between the two churches.

## TALKING POINTS

- As a general principle, I am strongly against the Government's intrusion into the dignity and sanctity of family life. The Federal government should not look to itself for answers to problems which rightly fall within the purview of religion and home life.

- I am extremely concerned about the apparent increased irreverence for life. (For instance, I was shocked to see recent publicity concerning selective abortion because a woman conceives a male when a female is desired or vice versa. )
- I consistently stated that the Supreme Court went too far in its 1973 decision which served to invalidate state's authority to limit abortion.
- I am strongly against the recent Supreme Court decision undermining parental authority and inter-spousal relationship by permitting minors to have an abortion without parental approval, ~~only by permitting a woman to have an abortion without her husband's consent.~~ Again, I think this decision is an unwarranted intrusion into family relations.
- I favor a Constitutional amendment to remedy the situation. The Republican platform embraces my long held-beliefs in this area.
- If the discussion proceeds to specifics: I do not favor a Constitutional amendment banning all abortions since there are instances involving rape, health of the mother, etc. where abortion is probably warranted.
- I do favor an amendment that would restore the traditional state authority to limit abortion and decide the issue. I feel strongly that this issue is best handled not at the federal level but at the state level.

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According to  
the writer

## INTERNATIONAL FOOD POLICY

I am proud to say that the United States has a strong record at responding positively to the world food problem, in keeping with both the long tradition of humanitarian concern of the American people in improving the lot of the world's poor and alleviating human suffering and the sense of responsibility which this, the richest nation in the world, feels toward those less fortunate.

We have addressed constructively the two main aspects to the world food problem:

--First, there is the immediate need for food assistance to hungry people. The U.S. will be able to furnish this year about six million tons of food assistance, 6 million of the 10 million ton annual food aid target set at the World Food Conference in Rome. (Our obligation was only 1.8 million tons.) Through our PL-480 program we are able to use the enormous productivity of the American farmer to meet human needs with grain which the poorer nations could not otherwise afford to import.

--Second, our foreign assistance is addressing the fundamental causes of the food problem. We are working to improve agricultural production in the developing countries, particularly those which suffer major shortfalls in food. This is of critical importance to the prospects for economic growth.

Private voluntary agencies also play an important role in the

overall U.S. assistance effort, and have made a major contribution in alleviating world hunger, providing inputs of both food and economic assistance. -- as inspiring demonstration of the humanitarian zeal of the American people.

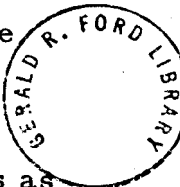
Last year, this country proposed the creation of an international system of nationally held food reserves which would provide against the human and economic disaster which could result from a global shortfall in grain production. We are continuing to push for conclusion of an agreement on this proposal in the International Wheat Council.

## RELATIONS WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The search for better ways of dealing with the issues between the developed and developing nations and a major effort to play a constructive role in the international development effort are high priorities in my Administration's foreign policy, and must be a high priority for the U.S. in the coming decade:

--It is in the best moral and historical tradition of the U.S. to assist the poorer nations in their efforts to achieve economic development and meet the human needs of their people. By far the largest portion of our development assistance goes to the poorest people in the poorest countries -- over 75% of bilateral development assistance goes to nations with per capita GNP of less than \$300 per year, and 83% of all bilateral development aid goes to programs such as food production, rural development, and nutrition which focus on the central needs of the very poor. And we have strongly supported multilateral aid -- especially IDA, the World Bank's soft loan window.

--Also the developing nations are economically important to us as they account for over one-fourth of our exports (\$39 billion out of \$107 billion last year), provide us with vital imports and wield increasingly important financial and commercial influence. It is important that they realize that the best prospects for continued economic growth lie with an orderly and prosperous world economy. Thus, they must be able to see the benefits of economic cooperation. As we insist that they be responsive to our concerns, so must we find ways of responding to theirs.



-- It is in our political and security interest to resolve the issues between us constructively. Economic confrontation is in the interest of no country, but cooperation will help to build the more peaceful and prosperous world of shared responsibility which we all seek.

We have played the leadership role in the search for mutually constructive solutions to potentially divisive issues, as our record shows.

-- Last September Secretary Kissinger's UN's Seventh Special Session launched an important US effort to find specific ways of dealing with the major issues in a realistic and constructive manner.

-- The meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Jamaica reached agreement on expansion of the compensatory finance facility of the IMF, which has provided well over \$16 billion to reduce the financial impact of export short-falls of developing nations.

-- In the Multilateral Trade Negotiations in Geneva we have joined other industrialized countries in improving access to our markets through a system of generalized tariff preferences.

-- At the meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) held in Nairobi in May, Secretary Kissinger again emphasized our determination to pursue realistic and constructive solutions to specific problems, but also pointed out that certain blanket solutions which have been proposed are not acceptable to us.

-- At the Conference on International Economic Cooperation (CIEC) begun in Paris last December, we have continued our leadership role in



improving the dialogue between the developed, developing and oil exporting nations, working through separate commissions on energy, raw materials, development and financial issues.

The CIEC has now completed the discussion phase of its work and is in the process of designing a work plan for the second "action-oriented" half of the Conference. We continue to look forward to progress in this important forum.

## U.S. Policy Toward Eastern Europe

The United States interest in Eastern Europe is due not only to considerations of foreign policy but also to the fact that millions of Americans' ancestral homelands, relatives and friends are there. Your policy has been guided by the belief that efforts to settle political conflicts and improve relations with the countries of Eastern Europe contributes to their peaceful evolution toward more openness and to their efforts to define their own roles as sovereign nations in the affairs of Europe.

Your policy toward Eastern Europe is fully, clearly, and formally documented. It is a policy of positive action and a policy embracing America's most important ideals. It is a policy you have repeated in messages to Americans of Estonian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian ancestry in recent months. The United States strongly supports the aspirations for freedom and national independence of peoples everywhere -- including the peoples of Eastern Europe. You have stated your total opposition to so-called spheres of influence by any power. You have manifested this policy in your visits to Eastern Europe and in your meetings with Eastern European leaders in the United States.

United States policy in no sense accepts Soviet "dominion" of Eastern Europe nor is it in any way designed to seek the consolidation of such "dominion." On the contrary, the United States seeks to be responsive to, and to encourage as responsibly as possible, the desires of East Europeans for greater autonomy, independence and more normal relations with the rest of the world.

### Talking Points

1. It is the policy of the United States and it has been my policy ever since I entered public life to support the aspirations for freedom and national independence of the peoples of Eastern Europe, with whom we have such close ties of culture as well as blood, by every proper and by every peaceful means.
2. My policy, America's policy, toward Eastern Europe is fully, clearly and formally documented. It is a creative and cooperative policy toward the nations of Eastern Europe. It is the policy that embraces our most important ideals as a nation -- including the ideal of freedom of religion.
3. I have followed this policy in my visits to Eastern Europe -- to Poland, Romania and elsewhere -- and in my meetings with Eastern European leaders here as well as overseas. Our policy in no sense -- and I emphasize this -- in no sense accepts Soviet dominion of Eastern Europe.... Nor is it in any way designed to permit the consolidation of such dominion.

On the contrary, the United States seeks to be responsive to and to encourage as responsibly as possible the desires of Eastern Europeans for greater autonomy, independence and more normal relations with the rest of the world.

4. This is the policy that I will continue to pursue with patience, with firmness and with persistence -- a policy from which the United States will not waiver.

## U. S. Policy Toward Africa

### Background

The United States seeks no African bloc of its own, no paramount influence in Africa. Africa's destiny is for Africans to determine.

In Southern Africa we are speaking to all sides in the current conflicts, offering help in negotiating resolutions to these conflicts. On my behalf, Secretary Kissinger has met twice with South African Prime Minister Vorster, most recently last weekend in Zurich, and he is prepared to make a second trip to Africa commencing next week to speak with Black African leaders.

### Talking Points

1. We are supporting majority rule in Rhodesia and have offered to assist a new Rhodesia -- Zimbabwe -- to overcome economic dislocations. We think it is essential as well that minority rights be guaranteed.
2. We have urged independence for Namibia at an early date, with negotiations to include all political groups, under UN supervision.
3. We are using all our influence to bring about peaceful change, equality of opportunity and basic human rights in South Africa itself. Such just internal arrangements must come about in a reasonable period of time.

In the rest of Africa we are prepared to join with other free, developed countries:

1. To undertake a long-term effort to reverse the economic and ecological decline of the Sahel.
2. To address crushing balance of payments and debt burdens faced by many poor African nations.
3. To participate in producer-consumer forums on key commodities.
4. To foster private investment, trade benefits and the flow of modern technology to Africa.



## U.S. Policy Toward Italy

### Background

As a result of the June elections in Italy, the non-Communist parties maintained a majority in both houses of the Italian Parliament. The Christian Democrats maintained their electoral strength at about 38 percent, but their smaller coalition partners generally lost votes to the Communists. These former coalition partners refused to join in a new coalition and made the Christian Democrats dependent on the Communists to form a new cabinet. In August, Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti was able to form a minority government of Christian Democrats after the Communists agreed to abstain in a Parliamentary vote of confidence. In exchange, the Communists increased their influence in Parliament. The Andreotti government will remain dependent on continued Communist abstentions in key Parliamentary votes as long as its former coalition partners refuse to support the government.

The Church played an important and positive role during the elections by reminding voters that government should be based on certain moral and spiritual values. In this connection, you discussed with Pope Paul the importance of moral and spiritual leadership in both national and international politics during your June 3, 1975 meeting with His Holiness at the Vatican.

The United States continues to oppose Communist participation in the Italian cabinet. Such participation would raise serious questions about Italy's role in NATO. Past actions and statements by European Communists demonstrate that their influence in allied governments would hamper Western defense efforts essential to Europe's freedom and independence.

### Talking Points

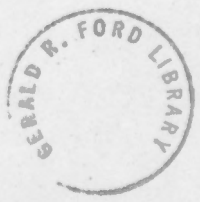
1. I have a deep personal interest in Italy and have met on several occasions with President Leone and the leaders of the Italian government. Italy is a most important ally.
2. We share with Italy important interests as members of NATO and as industrialized nations. Our close cooperation has been mutually beneficial and I will see to it that this cooperation continues.
3. The non-Communist parties won a majority of the vote in the June elections and Prime Minister Andreotti has been able to establish a government without Communist participation.

4. I continue to oppose Communist participation in the Italian government. Past actions and statements by European Communists demonstrate that their participation in the government of a major NATO ally would change the character of the Alliance and hamper Western defense efforts essential to Europe's freedom and international stability.
5. I am aware of the church's views and positive role on this issue. When I talked with Pope Paul at the Vatican in June of 1975, we agreed on the importance of moral and spiritual leadership in both national and international politics.
6. After the recent Italian earthquake, the United States immediately sent \$25 million in assistance to help rebuild schools and homes for the elderly in the earthquake area. On July 17, Pope Paul sent me a warm letter thanking the American people for this assistance.



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<u>CATHOLICS IN U.S.A.</u>	<u>% of Population</u>
<u>N.E.</u> 5,701,190	41.37%
Maine 264,538	26.62%
N.H. 261,737	3.38%
Vt. 150,624	32.44%
Mass. 3,037,454	40.50%
RI 605,041	64.57%
Conn. 1,381,796	44.54%
<u>Middle Atlantic</u> 12,909,533	33.53%
N.Y. 6,348,132	33.97%
N.J. 2,819,026	35.62%
Penn. 3,742,375	31.46%
<u>So. Atlantic</u> 2,533,726	7.94%
Del. 114,563	14.19%
Md. 451,812	19.09%
D.C. 350,733	17.06%
Va. 239,964	5.20%
W. Va. 95,880	5.50%
N.C. 78,282	1.50%
S.C. 50,838	1.86%
Ga. 98,666	2.76%
Fla. 1,052,988	11.98%
<u>East. No. Cent.</u> 10,404,616	25.59%
Ohio 2,326,919	21.58%
Ind. 718,183	13.84%
Ill. 3,556,169	31.66%
Mich. 2,289,924	25.62%
Wisc. 1,513,421	33.49%
<u>East So. Cent.</u> 617,468	4.83%
Ky. 344,189	10.12%
Tenn. 98,509	2.55%
Ala. 92,100	2.73%
Miss. 82,670	3.82%



<u>West No. Cent.</u>	3,231,097	19.81%
Minn.	995,012	26.43%
Iowa	527,844	18.98%
Missouri	763,563	16.21%
No.Dak.	171,185	27.71%
So.Dak.	135,798	20.58%
Neb.	317,786	20.99%
Kansas	319,909	14.13%

<u>West So. Cent.</u>	3,570,560	17.63%
Ark.	55,150	2.87%
La.	1,293,690	34.36%
Okla.	106,266	4.11%
Tex..	2,124,454	17.65%

<u>Mountain</u>	1,559,330	17.75%
Montana	133,206	19.18%
Idaho	63,596	8.26%
Wyoming	45,000	13.24%
Colo.	405,701	17.66%
New Mex.	356,832	37.56%
Ariz.	403,250	19.55%
Utah	51,745	4.4%
Nevada	100,000	20.00%

<u>Pacific</u>	5,601,968	20.15%
Washington	466,654	13.64%
Oregon	283,893	12.28%
Calif.	4,604,296	22.00%
Alaska	42,125	14.12%
Hawaii	205,000	24.64%

<u>Eastern Rites</u>	613,347	
Military Ordinariate	1,950,000	
Total 1976	48,701,835	22.88%



Testimony of the United States Catholic Conference

Before the Republican Platform Committee

Most Rev. James W. Malone

I am Bishop James W. Malone of Youngstown, Ohio. I am pleased to appear today to present the views of the United States Catholic Conference, which is the national-level action agency of the Catholic Bishops and represents the concerns of the Church on a broad range of public policy questions. Because of the limits imposed by time, my testimony today will only highlight our views on a variety of issues which have been dealt with in detailed public statements of the Catholic Bishops. (A number of these more extended statements are in the packet we have provided.)

We believe that the Church is required by the Gospel and its long tradition to promote and defend human rights and human dignity. This view of the Church's ministry and mission requires it to relate positively to the political order, since social injustice and the denial of human rights can often be remedied only through governmental action.

The Church's participation in public affairs is an affirmation of the importance of the political process and genuine pluralism. The Church recognizes the legitimate autonomy of government and the

the Court has rejected longstanding precedents supportive of strong family life. These decisions pose a grave peril to the family as a continuing basic social institution.

The mounting threats to the life of the unborn are based on a lack of hope and the denial of the value of unborn human life. The continued erosion by the High Court of the traditional commitment to protect the unalienable right to life and to strengthen the family as a basic unit of our society undermine the foundations of American life. They make a constitutional amendment more imperative than ever.

The decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court on abortion must be reversed. We urge as the only feasible means available to correct the Court's tragic and enormous error, the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution and we specifically request the Republican Platform Committee to support this endeavor.

B. The Right to Eat

Our nation has been blessed with an abundance of land and natural resources vital to the production of our food and fibre. Yet, problems of hunger and malnutrition continue to affect millions in our

country. In addition, we are witnessing an increased concentration of ownership and control of our land, resources and the food production, processing and distribution system.

National food policy should work towards full production, equitable distribution and price stability. We support: (1) protection of a dispersed pattern of ownership of land and resources coupled with national land use planning; (2) agricultural policies and programs to promote full production and an adequate return for farmers; and (3) domestic food programs to meet the needs of hungry and malnourished people in the United States.

Consistent with our views in regard to employment policy, we strongly urge the Republican Party to support a public policy of basic reform of the welfare system which will provide an adequate income base for all Americans and which will replace the present system of fragment programs of nutrition and health assistance.

#### C. The Right to Health Care

We support a national health policy rooted in the fundamental belief that every person has the right to life, to bodily integrity and to the means which are necessary and suitable for the development of life. In spite of the enormous national commitment to health, the present health care system has serious inadequacies. Consequently, we strongly support comprehensive national health insurance. We support a program which is universal, mandatory and includes provisions for preventive care, a voluntary health care system, consumer participation and reforms in health care delivery.

D. The Right to Employment and A Decent Income

Our national economic life does not reflect broad values of social justice and human rights. The current levels of unemployment and their massive human and economic costs are unacceptable. They take their severest toll on those weakest in economic terms: young people, blacks, Hispanics, women and blue collar workers. Fundamentally, our nation must provide jobs for those who can work and a decent income for those who cannot. Current policy falls far short of these goals.

We call for an effective national commitment to genuine full employment through comprehensive economic planning, structural reforms and job creation programs, including public service employment. Public policy ought to guarantee that no one seeking work will be denied the opportunity to earn a livelihood. Full employment is the foundation of a just economic policy; it should not be sacrificed for other political or economic goals. We also call for a guarantee of a decent income for those who cannot work and adequate assistance to those in need through reform of the welfare system.

We fear that in times of economic distress, persons may seek scapegoats for our economic problems. One example of this is the attempt to focus on the illegal alien as a cause of unemployment among our citizens. While we support effective enforcement of immigration laws, we believe attempts to make it unlawful to employ illegal aliens, without effective safeguards to prevent job discrimination, are moving in a dangerous direction. This could lead to widespread discrimination against minority group U.S. Citizens and legal aliens, especially Hispan

whose legal status may be called into question. We are also concerned that this proposal may force families who have become integrated into our society to endure separation or deportation of family members.

We wish, further, to reaffirm our support for the rights of workers to join together to bargain collectively with their employers, and ask that protection of these rights be extended to those whose rights are currently unprotected, especially farm laborers.

Renewed efforts are required to reform our economic life. We ask government, business, labor and the public to join together to plan and provide for our future, to promote fairness in taxation, to halt the destructive impact of inflation and to distribute more evenly the burdens and opportunities of our society.

E. The Right to Decent Housing

Twenty-five years ago Congress established as national policy its commitment to the right of all Americans to decent housing. We are far from achieving that goal. Housing costs have increased to the point that millions of families cannot obtain decent housing unless they deprive themselves of other essentials of life. National housing policy should: (1) provide sufficient resources and programs to meet the housing needs of low-and moderate-income families; (2) seek to preserve existing housing stock and support neighborhoods by opposing "redlining" and encouraging rehabilitation and reinvestment in central cities; (3) encourage a monetary policy and credit allocation

systems that provide a sustained supply of affordable credit for housing production; (4) focus effort on the special needs of low-income families, blacks, Hispanics, rural people, the elderly, and the handicapped; (5) support the integral participation of housing consumers and tenants in decisions regarding housing at neighborhood, community and national levels; and (6) promote equal housing opportunity within a framework of cultural pluralism, through voluntary compliance and, where necessary, legal remedies.

F. The Right to Education

We call upon the Republican Party to support a public policy which will insure the rights of all persons to an adequate education regardless of race, national origin, economic status, or physical handicap. In particular, we advocate policies to improve the educational opportunities available to economically disadvantaged persons and minorities, including bilingual and bicultural education, as well as compliance with legal requirements for racially integrated schools.

We advocate continued support of a constitutionally acceptable method of providing tax aid for the education of pupils in nonpublic schools in order to insure parental freedom in choosing the best education for their children. In particular, we urge the support of Federal education legislation which provides for the equitable participation in Federal programs of children attending the nation's nonpublic schools. We further recommend that this principle be incorporated in all existing and future legislation.

The Platform should also support policies which would provide

financial assistance based on need to allow students to attend the higher educational institution of their choice.

In addition, governmental action must enable public and private agencies to meet more effectively the tremendous need for early childhood learning, family services and day care.

I also wish to comment very briefly on three other important domestic issues.

### COMMUNICATIONS

We are concerned that the powerful force of commercial television be truly responsive to the public interest. We strongly oppose government control over television programming policy, but we deplore unilateral decision-making by the networks. We urge that broadcasters, government, private business, and representatives of the viewing public seek effective ways to ensure accountability in the formulation and implementation of broadcast policy.

We are alarmed by the incidence of violence and obscenity in television and the influence of the audience rating system on network decision-making. We call for a strong platform statement on this matter.

A portion of cable T.V. channel capacity must be dedicated for non-commercial use in the service of health, education and welfare, and the poor of the inner cities must not be bypassed by cable franchise holders.





CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Crime and violence are a major and legitimate concern for many Americans. We support strong and effective action to control handguns, leading to their eventual elimination from our society. We also urge reform of our criminal justice system, especially as it affects juveniles. We advocate greater utilization of community-based correctional facilities, effective programs of education, rehabilitation and job-training for the offender, and the compensation of victims of crime.

Also, in this context, we oppose the use of capital punishment.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, sex and age continue to haunt our land, not only in the hearts of many Americans but in the fabric of our nation's institutions as well. Despite many years of religious, civic and governmental action, millions of our fellow Americans continue to be deprived of their civil rights because of their race, sex or ethnic background. Renewed and effective action is required on the part of government, the private sector and individual citizens, while conscious of the values of pluralism, to eradicate discrimination in all its forms so that all Americans can exercise their basic human rights.

II. International Issues

I now propose to turn to international affairs and the role of U.S. foreign policy.

A just and peaceful world is the vision and goal of all the peoples



of the planet. But despite great advances in science and technology, nations have been unable, individually, to solve two basic societal problems: the peaceful resolution of conflict between nations and the equitable distribution of the earth's wealth.

A. The United Nations

While the United Nations Organization was established precisely to deal with these problems, it must be admitted that the organization is still waiting for its member-states to give it the authority to settle disputes and to live up to its high expectations. However, it must also be acknowledged that the UN proceedings from time-to-time are adversely affected by rhetoric and slogans rather than genuine dialogue in the interests of resolving differences in perceptions and goals.

Although the United States was a major supporter of the United Nations during its first quarter century, certain recent responses to U.N. needs do no credit to our nation's avowed commitment to the UN's viability. The continued policy of the United States to engage in big-power summitry when the interests of other nations are directly involved the Congress' squabbles about funding the United Nations generally and the International Labor Organization specifically, importation by the United States of Rhodesian ore which blatantly contradicts U.S. government endorsement of the UN embargo against Rhodesia, are several examples.

The United States should take positive steps to strengthen the United Nations and its agencies. This calls for acceleration of the process in which the United States and other nations experience a

limitation of the power to act unilaterally and an expansion of the obligation to share the responsibility of global peace and development.

In this regard, we make the following specific recommendations:

1. We encourage greater use by the United States of the long-established but practically dormant International Court of Justice for the settlement of disputes.

2. We also urge U.S. ratification of the Convention on Genocide and those Conventions which have already been submitted to Congress, e.g., on forced labor, racial discrimination and discrimination in education.

#### B. U.S. Initiatives

While the need exists, admittedly, for greater multi-lateral cooperation in world affairs, justice demands that certain immediate steps be taken by the United States, rather than waiting for the evolution of comprehensive international agreements.

The following are specific areas in which actions can and should be taken by the United States:

##### 1. Underdeveloped Nations

The "right to eat" is fundamental to human dignity. We urge that U.S. policy for overseas food aid: (1) make a clear separation of food aid from strategic considerations; (2) give priority to the poorest nations; (3) establish a guaranteed amount of food aid annually; (4) establish an international system of grain reserves; and (5) promote agricultural development at the level of the small farmer and the rural poor.

The aims of the UN Second Development Decade should be fostered. Specifically, a precise percentage of our nation's annual income should be transferred to the underindustrialized and less powerful nations.

Fairer prices for raw materials and preferential treatment for their exported manufactured goods must be given to growing nations. This is particularly compelling in the name of justice because the commercial relationships between our nation and the poor nations is so asymmetric that the so-called rule of "free" trade is obviously not capable of regulating world trade with justice.

We must regulate the overseas operations of powerful U.S. owned multinational corporations. Presently, these enterprises are largely independent of national political power and are not subject to control from the point of view of the common good.

## 2. Human Rights

The protection of human rights must be given greater weight in U.S. Foreign policy. When rights are violated with impunity anywhere they are implicitly threatened everywhere. Two situations where human rights are severely violated and U.S. involvement is intimate, are especially urgent:

We urge that the United States condition all military and financial assistance (with the exception of humanitarian aid) to Chile upon the demonstration that human and civil rights have been restored.

We urge the reduction of U.S. military assistance to the Republic of Korea and the gradual reduction of U.S. ground troops in the peninsula, because the present dictatorial regime is so oppressive.

### 3. Military Issues

We support a policy of arms limitation as a necessary step to general disarmament. We believe this objective is a prerequisite to international peace and justice. Therefore, the arms race must be stopped. It is especially destructive because it violates the rights of the world's poor who are thereby deprived of essential needs and it creates the illusion of protecting human life and fostering peace.

In the event that it becomes necessary to conscript persons into military service, the same protection under the law should be given the selective conscientious objector as the general conscientious objector, providing his objection is well-founded, constitutes a sincerely held moral conviction, and he agrees to alternative service.

### 4. Other Areas of Concern

The rehabilitation and reconstruction of the war-torn countries of Indochina require our humane attention and the reasonable expenditure of our resources.

We call for a comprehensive political solution to the conflict in the Middle East including recognition of the following factors: (1) Continuing reliance on the United Nations diplomatically and through its peacekeeping machinery; (2) Acceptance as the basis for negotiations by all parties to the conflict of the stipulations set forth in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 of 22 November 1967; (3) The Right of the Palestinian Arabs to inclusion as partners in any negotiations on their right to a state and compensation for past losses; (4) The right of Israel to exist as a sovereign state with secure boundaries.

It is a matter of elemental social justice that a new and more just treaty be negotiated by the United States and the Republic of Panama regarding the Panama Canal.

U.S. policy should deal with African nations primarily in terms of African objectives and African needs, not as appendages to the superpowers' struggle. Regarding Southern Africa, the United States should:

- 1) Give unequivocal assurance to the governments of Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa that they can expect no U.S. assistance until the black majorities have been brought into full participation in the respective governments; and 2) Repeal the law which allows the importation of Chrome ore from Rhodesia. Such importation puts the United States in violation of the economic sanctions against Rhodesia and, in the eyes of Africans, indicates insincerity in the statements our government may make about justice for black Rhodesians.

#### CONCLUSION

In closing these brief remarks, I wish to point out again that the protection and promotion of human rights must be the measure of public policy and political leadership. We hope your platform will reflect the positions we have articulated and a concern for social, economic and international justice.

We call on this party and its candidates to appeal to the sense of justice and the inherent idealism of the American people.

In that effort, we can recover the confidence, trust and energy of our people.

I thank you for this opportunity to share our views with you and I pray that this committee will act creatively and responsibly in fulfilling its important task.

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