

the HUMAN LIFE REVIEW



FALL 1982

Featured in this issue:

Joseph Sobran on 'Secular Humanism'
Michael Novak on The Family
Dr. Herbert Ratner on The Natural Institution
Prof. Donald DeMarco on The Family at Bay
Susan Austin on The Aborting Community
Dr. Anne Bannon on The Bloomington Baby
Frances Frech on Comparing the Figures
E. von Kuehnelt-Leddihn on Feminism

Also in this issue:

Wm. F. Buckley Jr. • Lincoln C. Oliphant

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. . . FROM THE PUBLISHER

With this our fourth and final issue of 1982 we complete eight full years of publishing. No mean feat when you consider that the review is, as it has been from the start, compiled and put together without benefit of paid employees. When we began eight long years ago, we felt that there was a need for such a publication to fill a void in the abortion debate, and to put on record the best arguments available in defense of the unborn. We are proud to say that we feel we have been proved right, and equally proud of what we have accomplished. To date, nothing comparable is being produced by those who support abortion on demand.

The article by Mr. Michael Novak is taken from his new book *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism*, published earlier this year as an American Enterprise Institute/Simon & Schuster publication, and is available from Simon & Schuster (1230 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10020; \$17.50).

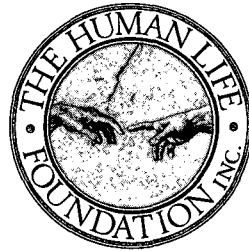
Dr. Herbert Ratner's article is adapted from an address to The American Family Institute; the original text was printed in *The Family in the Modern World*, edited by Carl A. Anderson and William J. Gribbin. It is one of a series of excellent publications published by the Institute, and about which readers of this review may well want to know more. Information is available direct from the Institute (114 Fifth Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003). Also, Dr. Ratner is the editor of *Child and Family*, a distinguished quarterly survey of family matters which publishes a great many important articles. (For more information address Dr. Herbert Ratner, Box 508, Oak Park, Illinois 60603.)

The Human Life Foundation still has available (in limited quantity) copies of Ellen Wilson's *An Even Dozen*, at \$10 per copy. Bound Volumes of the review are also available. Please see inside back cover for details. *The Human Life Review* may be obtained in microform from both University Microfilm International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 and Bell & Howell, Micro-Photo Division, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Finally, with this issue we would like to welcome Miss Kathleen Anderson as our Managing Editor. Miss Anderson is a recent graduate of Colgate University and did volunteer work for the Foundation and the review as part of a school service program in 1981.

EDWARD A. CAPANO
Publisher

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INTRODUCTION

WE BEGIN this issue with an article by the redoubtable Mr. Joseph Sobran, which means that the reader will be stimulated to pursue all that follows: it's the way he *puts* things that makes those who swear by or at him read him straight through. Here, for instance, he discusses the peculiar public position of those (such as Senator Edward Kennedy or the Reverend Robert Drinan) who claim to be "personally opposed" to abortion, but unwilling to "impose" that view on others. Sobran writes: "How can a merely *legal* right to do an admittedly evil thing (for that is what 'personally opposed' must mean) impose such a *moral* imperative to tolerate, and subsidize, the evil thing itself? One might passionately favor states' rights, under the federal system, to the extent of opposing a federal anti-lynch law; but surely, in that case, one would feel obliged, as vehemently as possible, to make clear one's moral abhorrence of lynching. The people in Congress and elsewhere who 'personally oppose' abortion do nothing of the kind. It is fair to infer—actually it is silly to doubt—that their expressed opposition to abortion is formalistic only." It would be hard to improve on that description.

Our second lead article is a chapter from the new book by Mr. Michael Novak, *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism*. We have chosen that part which is most germane, because of course the family is central to all other concerns about human life. And few can write more eloquently on family matters than Mr. Novak, as you will see. We are pleased to note that he too begins by quoting Mr. Sobran, to set just the right tone for the discussion, which then proceeds to some very solid conclusions, such as this one: "The family is the human race's natural defense against utopianism." Quite true: it is only in Utopia that "mistakes" don't count, where "unwanted" burdens can be laid aside without harm to anyone, and so on. Not so in the real world, where mistakes

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must be paid for, unless redeemed by the kind of love that also finds its natural *locus* in the family. We hope you will give Mr. Novak's arguments close attention.

Next we have Dr. Herbert Ratner, who has a great deal more to say about the family as *the* natural institution, which "has a habit of burying its undertakers." Refreshing stuff, especially after several decades of anti-family "life-styles" that do indeed seem now to be going the way of all flash-in-the-pan nostrums, into the dustbin of history.

Professor Donald DeMarco is a prolific writer, not least on family matters. He too gives us some home truths: the kind of thing we know, but need to be reminded of. His primary concern here is the disastrous effect that abortion must have on society's basic unit.

Miss Susan Austin picks up the abortion argument, beginning with a somber *new* truth: "Today a woman has not conceived a child until she has decided not to abort it." That indeed is the fundamental reality of a woman's "freedom" to abort at will, which makes her a type of modern goddess, whose "word of yea or nay is certainly hers alone, and if not divine, at least divinely powerful." Miss Austin is gifted with powerful style; this is only her second article here; we hope to have many more.

Dr. Anne Bannon returns us to the main subject of our previous issue: the late little Baby Doe of Bloomington, Indiana, where Dr. Bannon went to do some on-the-spot investigating. It is grim stuff, as awful to contemplate as the end of Doe himself, whose "shrunk, thin little body" expired on "fresh hospital linens."

Then Frances Frech, whose expertise is the statistics of "risk" in child-birth, about which we hear a great deal, much of it bewildering to the layman. For instance, we are told that abortion is "safer" than giving birth—that nature is more dangerous than assaults against nature. The truth is, naturally, that the statistics are based on a false premise.

It has been some time since we have had a piece from our old friend Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, our resident expert on knowledge itself. Here he views "Feminism" from his (Christian) viewpoint. As usual, Herr Kuehnelt-Leddihn will both delight and infuriate.

We conclude with an unusual group of appendices. Appendix A is more from Dr. Ratner: the text of a speech he gave way back in 1967. It makes much better reading today. Appendix B is a recent newspaper column by Mr. William Buckley, who has written more on abortion than any other public figure we can think of, but perhaps never more cogently than here, in describing the Know-nothing bigotry of that well-known charitable organization, Planned Parenthood. Appendix C is another

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newspaper feature by our friend Lincoln Oliphant, about how things are much different now from what they once were, and why these "trends" portend a very different future for our society, unless of course we choose to reverse them.

* * * * *

In the introduction to our last (Summer) issue, we printed a letter from Mrs. Valerie Protopapas. She has sent us a letter which she received *in re* hers. It reads as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 12, 1982

Dear Mrs. Protopapas:

Your recent letter published in the summer issue of the *Human Life Review* came to my attention. I want you to know that I was deeply impressed by what you wrote and by the obvious commitment you and your family have made to respond to the affliction of a handicapped child with affection and courage.

I strongly believe that protection of these children is a natural and fundamental part of the duty government has to protect the innocent and to guarantee that the civil rights of all are respected. This duty is of a special order when the rights involved are the right to life itself and to medical treatment that can make a handicap manageable or even curable. The tragic irony of our day is that the movement not to treat such infants should gather support at the very time when our capacity to help and to heal has reached its highest point.

Parents like you, who have worked to raise public awareness of these issues and to encourage other families who face the difficulties posed by the birth of a handicapped child, play an irreplaceable role in prompting our consciences and our convictions. In our century, a multitude of diseases and disorders have yielded to the determined efforts of committed scientists and caring families. We must strengthen our resolve to accelerate the march of scientific advances and discoveries, even as we insist that the benefits of medicine and therapy be withheld from no one on the basis of a quality of life ethic.

These ideas flow from the certain knowledge that we are all "less-than-perfect." So long as we live, we possess an obligation to the less-than-perfect children with which we are entrusted by our Creator. May they always find us conscious of their need, capable of their caring, and worthy of their company.

God bless you and your family.

Sincerely,
(RONALD REAGAN)

Always good to know that we are being read, especially by those who so obviously understand the issues that concern us.

J. P. McFADDEN
Editor

Deciphering the Debate:

“Secular Humanism” or “The American Way”

Joseph Sobran

WE HEAR ENDLESSLY of the importance of “compassion” and “understanding,” and it is not at all to dispute the importance of these things to observe that they are far more difficult to achieve than their frequent and facile invocation would lead us to think. Compassion is easy to work up for a moment, when one reads, for instance, a news story about a little boy battered to death by his mother and her lover; it is harder to sustain for a constantly complaining relative.

As for understanding, people can live together and yet talk at cross-purposes for years on end. Deciphering language whose meaning seems clear, especially when it comes from people who seem innocent of all subtlety, can be hard. It can be especially hard when you already despise them and judge them to be far below yourself in intellectual caliber. All the more reason to make the effort, beginning with the self-reminder that an effort may in fact be necessary.

These ruminations began one day when, my children being out of the house for a few days, I pondered Jean-Paul Sartre’s remark that “hell is other people.” Sartre was, in my judgment, a profound fool, and I began to wonder, nonetheless, what he could have meant by that. He chose to regard other people as hellish; he chose not to have children, his paramour, Simone de Beauvoir, having made a point of saying publicly that she had had an abortion. What a pair. They had ruled out the great experiences celebrated by Shakespeare, the real risks of living in others; they had chosen, on doctrinaire principle, to be like Lear in Act I, aborting their progeny instead of investing themselves in a new life, imposing raw

Joseph Sobran, a peripatetic author, journalist, and commentator, is a contributing editor to this review.

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will on others and insisting that this infernal choice epitomized the human condition. The Lear of Act V was presumably guilty, in their eyes, of bad faith.

But were they so odd? I had just taken my children to the latest James Bond movie, the only film in town that didn't seem to feature Bo Derek in a bubble bath, and it struck me that Bond's world was much like theirs, for all its *haut bourgeois* sheen: a world of mayhem, where lust was "liberated" from lasting union and the encumbrance of children. We had had to sit through not only the helicopter and submarine and ski-slope adventures, which was after all what we'd come for, but the inevitable, PG-level lechery; parental guidance now casually includes allowing children to be shown that "sex," as we call it, need not be cursed with issue.

At what point did it suddenly go without saying that this is life? When did the dirty joke cease being a joke, and become a lifestyle? It is one thing to take a controversial position, but another to pretend it's not even controversial. This is the new hypocrisy: the suppression of any admission that there can be two points of view, even as we pretend we are somewhat daring in taking one of them. Suddenly we find a new constitution in effect, when we can't even recall having taken a vote, much less held a debate.

The press has been full of scornful articles on fundamentalists who attack what they call "secular humanism." The articles put the phrase between quotation marks, deriding the very idea that there is such a *thing* as secular humanism; they contrive to make the idea sound like a lunatic fantasy, akin to delusions that fluoridated water is a Communist conspiracy.

Well, we need not call the phenomenon "secular humanism" (though men like Leo Pfeffer, not the Jerry Falwells, coined the phrase, applying it to themselves). But it is disingenuous to deny that there is such a phenomenon at all.

One very subtle and effective technique of evading debate is to pretend that there can really be nothing to argue about. Part of this technique is the refusal to accept any opponent's label for one's own position. The moment one admits having a special position, that position becomes vulnerable. Much more adroit to represent the attribution of any definable position to an opponent's *gaucherie*.

And it is true that a label like “secular humanism” can become a catch-all for whatever we disapprove of. Still, it is unlikely that even the coarsest Bible-thumper is expressing a disapproval only of something whose existence is confined to his imagination. If his perception is crude or distorted, we ought to acknowledge, in all fairness, that he nonetheless perceives *something*; and we ought to take the trouble to define it accurately.

The people the fundamentalists call secular humanists like to say that they “avoid labels,” and ordinarily they are no doubt eager to do so; as if to suggest that they are nothing but a random collection of individualists whose essence is so very refined that the words have not yet been coined that can capture it. But this may be too self-flattering, and too self-serving. When it suits their purposes they *can* find labels for themselves. One of the targets of Moral Majority wrath, TV producer Norman Lear, has formed an organization called People for the American Way.

As a rule, liberals (to use a label not quite out of use) scorn the arrogance of anyone who posits a single “American Way.” If conservatives do so, liberals are quick to speak of McCarthyism and intolerance. Likewise the liberal priest Robert Drinan, in his inaugural speech as president of the Americans for Democratic Action, called the Moral Majority and its ilk “enemies of this country” — a piece of invective not permitted to those enemies. As so often happens, those who demand tolerance for themselves turn out less willing, once they find a safe perch, to extend tolerance to others.

This is only natural, and natural in a sense that need not suggest the baseness of fallen nature. The Anglican Richard Baxter once laid down the rule, “Tolerate the tolerable,” implying, as Samuel Johnson observed, that there must also be a category of things not tolerable. The question becomes, What view of life is the liberal side upholding under which the Moral Majority must be deemed intolerable?

The question is complicated by the fact that Drinan, like Falwell, is a clergyman, and therefore presumably not a “secular humanist.” Or is it that simple? While he was in Congress, Drinan fought extraordinarily hard, even vituperatively, for legal abortion and even for federal funding for abortions, subordinating the doctrines of his religion to the imperatives of “a woman’s choice.” Can

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it be that a Catholic priest would willingly pave the way for the killing of unborn human beings, each of whom has not only a moral right to live, but an immortal soul?

Perhaps. Drinan can always take the familiar line (I expect he did take it) that he is “personally opposed” to abortion even as he fought for the *civil* right of a woman to “control her own body.” We may even lay aside, though not fail to note, the amazing disparity of passion between his political commitment to abortion and his moral opposition to the actual performance of the act.

Even so, the question nags: How can a merely *legal* right to do an admittedly evil thing (for this is what “personally opposed” must mean) impose such a *moral* imperative to tolerate, and subsidize, the evil thing itself? One might passionately favor states’ rights, under the federal system, to the extent of opposing a federal anti-lynch law; but surely, in that case, one would feel obliged, as vehemently as possible, to make clear one’s moral abhorrence of lynching. The people in Congress and elsewhere who “personally oppose” abortion do nothing of the kind. It is fair to infer — actually it is silly to doubt — that their expressed opposition to abortion is formalistic only.

Put otherwise, it is nearly impossible to imagine any of them trying to discourage a woman, on moral grounds, from making the choice they have struggled to legalize. None of them has audibly laid down moral criteria for abortion. None of them has confronted the simple physical agony suffered by the child in late abortions. None of them expressed revulsion at the acts, perhaps homicidal even under the loose guidelines of the Supreme Court, committed by Doctors Kenneth Edelin and William Waddill.

We can hardly believe, in the face of such evidence, that the term “pro-abortion” is less apt than the term “pro-choice.” They may pretend merely to be engaged in sharply distinguishing the moral and legal realms; but if that were true, they would make the distinction in practice, not just in verbal *formulae* which have no practical consequences.

Put in broader terms, it is clear that for at least many of them, there is no effective distinction between these realms. They identify the moral and legal realms as thoroughly, at least in their practical conduct and emotional experience, as any Prohibitionist who ever

thought that what is intrinsically immoral must be made illegal, and that whatever is legally tolerated must be considered as having a moral sanction.

In sociological terms, the modernizing process is thought to consist largely in “differentiating” categories of human action. One of the basic modern differentiations has been the separation of church and state; and pro-abortionists claim the sanction of the modernizing principle by asserting that legalizing abortion is only a way of extending the church-state distinction. In the words of the American Civil Liberties Union, which has fought against the Hyde Amendment on constitutional grounds, limitations on abortion serve “no secular purpose” — a phrase and a principle earlier laid down by the Supreme Court.

But the modernizing principle, perhaps perfectly valid in itself, is fraudulently invoked if it is used to mean an illicit secularization of all of life, including what ought to belong to the sacred. In a sense the modernizing principle can be said to derive from the words of Christ: “Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s.” St. Augustine himself elaborated the distinction, differentiating the earthly and heavenly cities.

But no Christian has ever admitted, and until recently few American liberals have ever held, that this distinction requires us, *qua* citizens of the earthly city, to act as if the heavenly city were less real than the one we presently inhabit. This has changed. In Europe it began to change with the French Revolution, in which social anticlericalism was widely mixed with hatred of religion — with, ultimately, the hatred of God explicitly avowed by Sartre in recent times. The Russian Revolution, among others, set out to abolish religion altogether, with no pretense of merely separating the secular and sacred realms: for Communism, to this day, the state comprehends all of human existence.

But in the American tradition such claims by the secular have never been officially adopted. Nor are they today: but they have been furtively advanced, under color of separationism. And now we find them being ever more boldly, if confusedly, advanced, still under the aegis of keeping church and state separate.

Pursuant to its suit against the Hyde Amendment, the ACLU

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inspected Congressman Henry Hyde's mail and offered its heavy component of religious expressions as evidence that the Hyde Amendment, limiting federal funding of abortions, was illicitly motivated by non-secular purposes. An ACLU agent even testified that he had followed Hyde to mass and observed him receiving Communion — a further taint on the Amendment. This could only be considered evidence that the Amendment was unconstitutional if specifically religious motives are somehow forbidden by the Constitution to influence public policy. This is a historically novel doctrine: Sunday "blue laws" are only one sign that the American people have never understood their polity and its theoretical basis as the ACLU understands them. (The ACLU has also sued to force Catholic hospitals to make their facilities available for the performance of abortions.)

Another sign of the new understanding appeared in the election of 1980, when liberal columnists like Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times* accused clergymen like Falwell and Cardinal Medeiros of Boston of *violating the Constitution* in taking political positions. Several conservatives quickly replied that this charge had never been thrown at the many clergymen who had taken liberal positions on war, civil rights, and nuclear energy. But the more fundamental point was that the liberals were implicitly interpreting the constitutional command that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion" as, in effect, an actual abridgment of the clergy's own "free exercise" of religion. Lewis, to his credit, admitted that this was true, and retracted the charge. The remarkable thing was that he had made it at all: a fact that bespoke the impulse toward total secularization we are concerned with here.

Again, when it appeared that a Mormon federal appeals judge, Marion Callister, might be called on to rule on the constitutionality of the deadline extension for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, liberals like the columnist Ellen Goodman demanded that Callister be disqualified — because the Mormon Church officially opposes ERA. This was too much for Leo Pfeffer, the nation's foremost avowed secular humanist: in a splendidly impartial display of principle, he wrote a letter to the *New York Times* in defense of Callister, pointing out that his disqualification would

amount to an unconstitutional “religious test” for public office.

These are only a few examples of the steadily-growing claims of all-out secularizers for the exclusion of all religious influence from American public life. We may also mention the growing boldness of purely secular agencies, like the *Times*, in demanding the reform of churches along secular lines: they think nothing of campaigning for the ordination of women or denouncing ecclesiastical disciplines by churches against their own members or calling on the churches to alter doctrinal positions on moral issues like birth control. As long as they can find (and publicize) one dissident member of a faith, they see nothing amiss in their leaping into the fray on his (or her) side. The affair of Sonia Johnson, the excommunicated Mormon feminist, is a case in point: Mrs. Johnson enjoyed highly sympathetic media coverage, it meaning nothing to the media, apparently, that this was the internal affair of an institution with doctrines and organization of its own. Again and again we encounter the implicit demand that the churches reform themselves on lines stipulated by secularist forces.

At this point the Moral Majoritarian may innocently feel that the case is pretty well closed: the secular humanists consistently show their tremendous arrogance. But putting it this way may be, for our purposes, premature. What is it that these secular humanists, to call them that, feel, deep in their hearts, that they are doing?

Making all allowances for hypocrisy, we must still remember that the most destructive people may be quite sincere. In any case, the people we are discussing don't call themselves secular humanists, and don't even think of themselves as such. They are not conscious of dishonestly promoting a special creed; they are not conscious of holding such a creed at all. I know of no evidence whatever that they talk among themselves in a dialect very different from the one they use in public. That must tell us something. How do they see themselves?

I venture to say that they think of themselves not as scheming atheists, but, precisely, as upholders of the American Way. When they cite the First Amendment, they mean it — at least as they grasp the import of the First Amendment. The simplest explana-

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tion is that they think of it as containing the radiant essence of the Constitution, and of our basic political premises.

They think of religion as an irrational force, capable, when it interferes in secular life (and they assume that its influence is properly described, on the whole, as interference), of producing great harm. At the very least, they feel that it consists in claiming a special “pipeline to God” and a “monopoly on Truth” that renders rational social discourse next to impossible. We can only converse fruitfully with each other, they feel, if we confine our public discourse to premises we can all accept — which means that anything purporting to be divine revelation has no place in that discourse. They do feel that the Judeo-Christian tradition contains many excellent things, which can, of course, be held without subscribing to that tradition as a whole, or on its own terms.

This is the key, I think. They feel that there is a moral consensus about matters like murder, theft, charity, and the like, and that we can all peaceably agree on these regardless of how we regard the tradition as a whole. They therefore welcome the political utterances of the clergy — so long as, and only so long as, these are confined to areas of consensus between Christians and non-Christians.

But of course there is a catch here, and they don’t notice it. Their notion of “consensus” is reductive, in a way particularly convenient to them. It means that the area of agreement is defined almost exclusively by themselves. If they reject a certain part of the Judeo-Christian tradition, then religious people are forbidden to bring that part into public discourse. In fact religious people must behave, within the secular arena, as if that part didn’t exist. To behave otherwise is to impose the views of a minority on everyone. The views of the majority, by definition, are those views acceptable to liberals, “secular humanists,” or whatever we are to call them: they are a recognizable body, almost a sect, even if we hardly know what to call them.

Religious people, in other words, are required to play the political game by rules laid down by their adversaries. And this, the most fundamental rule of all, is supposed to have been the first and original principle of the Republic. That is the meaning of the constant appeal to the First Amendment. But — a critically important

fact — this Amendment is not itself subject to amending. It is supposed to have exactly the kind of dogmatic status which Christians claim for divine revelation. Its origin is never fully explained; it (in its liberal interpretation) is simply posited as the condition of all possible political existence — and, as the claims of politics expand to include all human life, of all human existence on earth. (If there is any other dimension of human existence, it is not to be considered.)

In this way, the liberal/secular humanist ground rules seem to those who accept them unquestioningly to supply the basis for all manner of further claims on other institutions. Discussion of the sacred and *its* claims are, ironically, foreclosed *by the First Amendment itself*. That is why liberals, as Basile Uddo has remarked in a splendid essay on the American Civil Liberties Union, can unblushingly ban religious expression from public institutions, establishing new forms of virtual censorship — in addition to the proscriptions against religion in politics I mentioned earlier.

The repercussions are enormous. They affect all institutions, public as well as private. I have already mentioned the casual demand that religious bodies abide by secular standards: if this can be required, it should be an easy matter to require as much of institutions that straddle the secular and the sacred. If human life itself must not be regarded as sacred, if the family must not be understood as of divine institution, then there is nothing to stop the political order from washing over its banks to reform these too, redefining them at its convenience. Property and wealth, of course, are politically up for grabs. Public education need observe no restraints except against prayer and Christmas carols; there is no reason to regard sex education as beyond its province, since neither religious nor parental authority in these matters need be regarded as inviolable.

Politics, in short, loses all its old limitations, and, subject only to the taboo on religion, becomes the arena within which all human destiny is worked out. The state becomes a *de facto* god. No other human relations — certainly not those of the family — can claim priority over those of state and citizen. What with newly posited children's and women's rights, the state may even assume the

power of interfering in family relations, ostensibly to protect one citizen against the arbitrary action of another.

Inevitably this means that there is no authority above man himself. Practically, it means the divinization of political man, man acting through the state. All authority, all social order, all human relations claiming divine sanction must be treated as fictions, and probably mischievous fictions at that — else we violate the separation of church and state.

Man, Sartre tells us, is himself “the desire to be God.” Under the liberal regime this is never openly admitted, and can’t be. But it comes to the same thing. We are getting the ideology of the French Revolution under the guise and forms of the American tradition.

I repeat, there is no reason to suppose this is all a diabolically conscious process, cunningly disguised by its avatars. There is every reason to accept their protestations that they believe they merely represent “the American Way.” Norman Lear can use his TV sit-coms to propagandize for sexual liberation, abortion, and democratic socialism without feeling that he is doing anything any reasonable person would deem controversial. But his “reasonable person” is Jerry Falwell’s “secular humanist.” They are talking about the same thing, and merely disagreeing over labels — though “merely” is hardly the word for a disagreement that issues from radically different philosophic frameworks.

Lear might well contend that his framework enjoys more intellectual respectability than Falwell’s — and so, in a sense, it would. The very word “intellectual” has taken on a special coloration: it refers almost exclusively to the “secular humanists” themselves, those who make it a principle never to advert to divine authority in their public life. For them, man achieved his independence with the Enlightenment, and Harold Rosenberg’s ironic phrase “the herd of independent minds” has an enormous resonance. To be an intellectual, in the current sense, is not necessarily to have any *personal* intellectual distinction at all: it is merely to belong to the party, or “herd,” that rejects traditional religion and seeks humanistic authority.

And how are such intellectuals to deal with non-intellectuals — i.e., the religious? By force. It may be disguised; it usually is, for purposes of liberal decorum. But since there is no reasoning with

people who reject the “First Amendment” premises of rational discourse, the political prescriptions of the enlightened — abortion, say, or racial busing — may have to be imposed by fiat, with whatever compulsion is feasible and necessary. The judiciary, custodian of the secular humanist ground rules, has served as a theocratic priesthood which, in the name of the American Constitution, has successfully circumvented popular politics to realize much of the liberal agenda. By such devices has the party of the New American Way managed to read its opponents out of the American polity.

But this is changing. Conservative forces are becoming far more sophisticated about the real motives and *modus operandi* of their adversaries. The very outcry over “secular humanism,” on both sides, shows that the conservatives have caught the scent.

Religious, philosophic, and metaphysical questions are all important, but the real battleground is the family — the level at which most people are directly touched. The family’s weakened status could never have been simply imposed from above. To a great extent, alas, it springs from popular demand. Fornication, adultery, and abortion are nothing new, nor was their popularity ever confined to judges.

But these old sins are now being institutionalized as “rights,” and more and more people sense that what once appeared as attractive options are now forming part of a new and malign political order in which the reality of the family must crumble before the reality of sheer state power. What was once the sanctuary of private affection now falls under the domain of raw force. The French secularist tradition that begot Sartre has been more lucid about this than the gentler Anglo-Saxon tradition under which the abolition of man (to use C. S. Lewis’s phrase) took on the aspect of liberal modernization.

Sartre said boldly that every man is alone, and that society is agglutinated by terror. Our society is a long way from the totalitarian systems Sartre delighted in, but it has its own uneasiness. We are beginning to realize that the humanitarian claims of “compassion,” under which the state claims more and more of our substance, mask an order based on compulsion, and therefore fear — if only the fear of agencies like the Internal Revenue Service and those acronymic organs of state “social welfare.”

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At the moment it is awkward to dispute the universalist claims of “compassion” in the name of the more concrete and humble loves of the family. The conservative forever finds himself in the position of King Lear’s daughter Cordelia — condemned for hard-heartedness for refusing to enter a competition of extravagant professions. In an age that denies man’s nature (because it suppresses the mention of God), we are expected to join the new political creation that will improve the handiwork of the Creator by subjecting it to larger and larger organization, driven by what Robert Frost called “that tenderer-than-thou collectivistic regimenting love with which the modern world is being swept.”

In the last analysis we must have a footing on which to stand as we say No to the all-swallowing state. Such a footing requires us simply to speak in the language of the Divine, in spite of all the taboos imposed by a false secularization. The word “godless” has been deliberately made to sound quaint and out of place in political discourse, for the very reason that it is most apposite. Terms like “secular humanism” are similarly forbidden (if only by ridicule) for the very good reason that they effectively identify, if only approximately, the specific outlook we are up against.

We must insist that we are all mere men, not gods; we are not even God collectively, or in our political representatives. We are *under* God. We are his creatures, his frail, sinful creatures, made to love each other in simple though difficult ways; as husbands and wives, parents and children, neighbors among neighbors, friends among friends, and, yes, citizens among citizens, in all relations recognizing that we stand under judgment. If we try to be more than mere men, we will only become less, the order of love and justice giving way to the order of sheer arbitrary power. Whoever tries to change the social fabric in which we are knitted together by God will only lead us into chaos. Within the social order God made us for, we can have contentment and occasional joy. Outside it, only lust, greed, fear, and despair.

Those to whom this view of things sounds impossibly backward are what are meant by the phrase “secular humanists.” It is worth noticing that they have their own kind of fear: they describe their adversaries not only demeaningly, as “reactionaries,” but as actually “dangerous.” As they should: for those who still belong to the

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order of love actually pose a fatal menace to the New American Way. The secular humanists deplore any talk of a “Communist menace,” because they look on Communism as an essentially rational (though no doubt occasionally brutal) social principle, akin somehow to their own, and therefore eligible for “dialogue” and “negotiation.” After all, Communism never adverts to the supernatural. It is only a variant of secular humanism, which is why secular humanists remain far more scandalized by religious wars and persecutions than by the continuing oppressions (including the persecution of religion) of the Communist regimes.

This is why the secular humanists have resisted distinguishing between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes: even to recognize the difference — including the unique totalitarian feature of armed borders, at which people are shot for trying to escape — is automatically to admit the special monstrosity, to ordinary people, of states that assume the status of divinities. The furtive sympathy of many “liberals” for Communism is alternately hotly denied and openly expressed, according to the change of seasons. Stalin, Mao, and Castro have all had their vogues, with American professors and senators returning from brief visits to exult that “they have much to teach us.” What they ultimately have to teach us is what depths godless man can sink to. That those are exalted as heights tells us all we really need to know about the godless men of our own society.

This, at any rate, is how I decipher the current debates over “secular humanism,” “creationism,” “the separation of church and state,” and so forth. The precise words have no final importance. But in the field of God and man, society and the world, they serve to alert us to certain decisive alignments, whose membership on both sides I hope I have described and analyzed accurately enough, without concealing my own partiality to the side I think is finally in the right, even if it sometimes seems to be losing the immediate arguments or simply swinging at the air. In fact the very deficit of obvious intellectual firepower on the “Moral Majority” side seems to me to testify to its valor; when men like the Reverend Falwell risk ridicule and disgrace, along with bitter vilification, I am reminded principally of the wisdom of the God he and I adore, Who has revealed that the last shall be first, and that He has chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise.

The Family

Michael Novak

It is no accident, as the Socialists say, that Socialism and Sex (or "free love") came in together as "advanced" ideas. They supplement each other. Russian dissident Igor Shafarevich, in his profound book The Socialist Phenomenon, explains that the Socialist project of homogenizing society demands that the family be vitiated or destroyed. This can be accomplished in good measure by profaning conjugal love and breaking monogamy's link between Sex and loyalty. Hence, in their missionary phases Socialist movements often stress sexual "liberation," and members of radical organizations may impose mandatory promiscuity within the group, everyone sharing a bed with each of the others, each equally related to each. It is the ultimate in leveling. . .

Few Americans will buy a bottle labeled Socialism. The cunning of the Socialist hive has consisted largely in its skill in piggybacking on more attractive things. Like Sex.

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TO THIS POINT, I have argued that democratic capitalism presupposes and nourishes certain values, perceptions, and virtues. In this chapter, I stress some virtues necessary for its effective functioning. From one point of view, the institutions of democratic capitalism are designed to function with minimal dependence upon virtuous motives. From another, they cannot function at all without certain moral strengths, rooted in institutions like the family. The moral-cultural institutions of the system, including churches and neighborhoods, are vital to the threefold system. The system is far from heartless; the family is far more than a haven. The family is a dynamic, progressive force. If it is ignored or penalized, its weakening weakens the whole.

Population specialists speculate that 4 percent of all the human beings who have ever lived upon this earth are living now. We may conclude, alas, that barely 1 percent of all human beings in history have enjoyed the fruits of liberal self-government.² The enemies of

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that form of political economy are virtually unanimous in their hostility toward the “bourgeois family.” Such enmity provokes a question. Perhaps the family is indispensable to republican government, democratic institutions, and the liberal tradition. Perhaps the actual texture of life under democratic capitalism is not quite centered on the individual but on the family. This is the thesis we now explore.

Conveniently, in 1980, the White House Conference on Families focused national attention on the subject. Its history is instructive. In 1975, Jimmy Carter, virtually unknown outside Georgia, listened to an idea for a White House Conference to honor the traditional family. Some months later, the nominee of his party, he designated Joseph Califano to begin planning a program on the family for the new administration, and still later, in September 1976, he opened his campaign with a Labor Day speech on the family. Almost at once the infighting started. Professionals in the social science establishment insisted that the name of the conference be changed to the White House Conference on Families—plural, not singular, any hint of a normative idea carefully excised.

Sensing the political passion aroused by this normative ideal—85 percent of all Americans, according to Gallup, count the family “the most” or “one of the most” important elements in their lives³—President Carter pushed the White House Conference away from the White House out into the states. Local constituencies began to elect delegates who believe in the family. Alarmed, the planning staff began to “balance” the delegations with hand-picked appointees so that at least 40 percent were professionals “in family-related fields”—and of approved politics.

Members of the planning staff of the White House Conference spoke openly of the “nostalgic family,” by which they meant the heterosexual couple united in matrimony and bringing up children. They included as “families” any household somehow involved in “nurture” or “fulfilling one another’s basic needs”—homosexual liaisons, childless and unmarried couples living together, communes, and similar affinity groups. They did not seem anxious to exclude any arrangement. This bias was startling to those who considered the demographics.

Figures from the U. S. Department of Commerce for 1978 indi-

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cate that there were then 101,000,000 husbands and wives in the United States. (By contrast, there were 2,274,000 men and women living as unmarried couples.) There were 49,700,000 single, widowed, or divorced adults; 49,132,000 children were living with two parents, and 11,710,000 were living with one parent.⁴ What the staff members of the White House Conference on Families were pleased to call the “nostalgic family” actually included, then, a solid two-thirds of the nation’s population. In addition, single parents with children constitute families in the quite traditional sense according to which, in the past, disease or accident often brought early death to one or both spouses. Of those adults in childless households, most were over forty-five. Though their children had left home, few may be assumed to have regarded the traditional family with contempt. Finally, millions of widows and widowers living alone invest emotion in the families of their children. The “nostalgic family” seems to include as a living reality all but a vocal minority of Americans.

No doubt high divorce rates and other statistics of family “breakup” indicate that not all is well with the family in America. It never was.⁵ A free society encourages such great mobility that grandparents today poignantly boast to all who will listen that their children are scattered across the world, not a one “close to home.” Such mobility (not only geographic but in the regions of the heart) is partly a source of pride. But it also places strains upon families comparable to those of the great migrations, wars, and dispersals of the past.

So the ideal lives. No wonder, since nature must of necessity constantly reinvent it. Human offspring require some twenty years of nurture. Three thousand years of civilization must be passed on to children during those years; without that, progress would halt. An elementary stability is essential for this process; more than nature, culture demands it. The original intention of the White House Conference was to give some small honor and moral support to those who accomplish this noble work. Why were the professionals so hostile to this idea? What were the anti-family professionals up to?

Although there is much vocal contempt for the “nostalgic family,” few such critics seem really to propose that having one parent

is superior to having two; that prodigal separation, divorce, and infidelity have only good effects; that coupling without marriage and marriage without children best serve the common good; or that the best of all societies would encourage an impermanent, childless, sexual free-for-all. The hostile critics of the family are shockingly vague about what they plan to put in its place, beyond “liberation” and “openness.”

Attacks on the family take three forms: derogating its economic, its political, and its moral-cultural accomplishments. The family is called “bourgeois,” “repressive,” and “narrow.” In it are discerned the roots of this nation’s political economy, such that radicals who would destroy the latter believe that they must extirpate the former. In a way they don’t intend, they appear to be correct. It seems impossible to imagine the democratic government, a free economy, and a liberal culture apart from the much disdained bourgeois family.

To be sure, classic theoreticians of “the new order of the world” did not write at length, profoundly, or with unmitigated admiration of the family. Some later scholars think they took it for granted as a given of nature and good sense. But the truth is that the great intellectual breakthroughs of the modern era occurred, rather, around the polar concepts of the *individual* and the *state*. Rousseau wrote eloquently, if with a certain detached romanticism, about the family and about childhood, and nearly all the scholars of the Anglo-Scottish Enlightenment, from John Locke through Adam Smith to John Stuart Mill, wrote at least briefly of the family. Yet one must recall the order they wrote *against*.

The feudal world was fixated on inherited status. No newborn child chose the family he was born into, yet birth fixed class, station, religion, and occupation forevermore. In the feudal order, concepts of family were half submerged in less than rational materials like blood, habit, custom, tradition, ethnicity, and religion. Original minds concerned with a central role for intellect, for liberty, and for the flowering of talent wherever it is found were obliged to look beyond the family for the dynamism of a new order. Thus the discoverers of “the natural system of liberty” stressed the distinctive, aspiring *individual* and the self-limiting *state* that would liberate his energies. For generations, political

theory, economic theory, and moral theory—preoccupied with the individual and the state—have systematically neglected the social vitality of the family.

In our day, when such genuine freedoms are available that anything may be tried, we are driven to face directly what our forebears neglected or took for granted. It is useful to reflect on our own common experiences in the three areas in which the traditional family is under relentless attack—in the economic order, the political order, and the moral-cultural order.

1. The Economic Order

Even today libertarian scholars, like David Friedman in *The Machinery of Freedom*,⁶ place at the center of their analysis the rational will of the free individual, and so do most textbooks in economics. But is the analytic assumption fair to our actual experience? David Friedman dedicates his book to his father, Milton Friedman, and pays prefatory homage to his wife and children; one suspects that whole regions of ordinary experience lie, unanalyzed, behind these brief hints of familial reality.

According to libertarian theory, the economic motivation of individuals arises from rational self-interest. Yet according to the same theory, individual self-interest includes far more than a merely self-absorbed, self-regarding solipsism. As we have seen, it is entirely consistent with the tenor of Adam Smith's thought to recognize that most butchers and bakers endure the blood and the heat of their labors not for themselves alone but for the benefit of their families. The "self-love" Smith writes of is to be taken in a large rather than in a narrow sense, so as to include forms of natural benevolence, duty, and other-centered ambition. Above all, economic self-interest includes the family. But this is an important qualification. Too much economic analysis seems to ignore it.

For in ordinary experience, our own economic starting place in life is given us by our families. Nearly all have multiple reasons to be grateful to the families that gave us birth, nourished us, instructed us, prepared us, and made an endless series of self-denying sacrifices in our behalf, long before we were capable of economic or educational choices of our own. We did not suddenly invent ourselves out of wholecloth. When at last we began to attain

to self-consciousness and self-direction, we had already been *thrown*, we were already in motion. Impulses which did not originate with us moved us forward with a kind of imparted gravity. Thus, it is analytically improper to take the individual alone as the sufficient unit of economic analysis. Individual human beings are social animals. More exactly than that, each of us is a familial animal. Our families enter into our very constitution, not only genetically but also psychologically, educationally, and morally.

In many of our family traditions, high priority was attached to education. As Thomas Sowell demonstrates in *Race and Economics* and in *Essays and Data on American Ethnic Groups*,⁷ family culture is a critical variable in economic performance. It is through no choice of their own, or at least only in a diminished sense, that some 70 percent of all Jewish youngsters in America find themselves between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two in colleges or universities, and in so many diverse ways directed toward a high use of intelligence. The family is the major carrier of culture, transmitting ancient values and lessons in ways that escape completely rational articulation, carrying forward motivations and standards of judgment and shaping the distribution of energy and emotion, preferences and inclinations.

In many families in America these last many generations, the economic welfare of each individual depended in very large part not only upon the immediate family (father, mother, and siblings) but also upon an extended network of others (grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, and in-laws). To some extent, various family members supplied economic role models. On occasion, especially during hard times, one family took another in. Older generations sometimes provided at least some little capital, so that one generation might begin at a higher financial level than the preceding.

But the family network also provided countless exchanges of goods and services, which otherwise individual families could not have afforded. One brother in one business helped out another in another; and each received benefits outside normal markets. A successful family member was a source of jobs, information, or assistance to others; perhaps even the discreet use of his or her name might open doors. Finally, family networks have been sources of

invaluable economic lore about techniques for advancement, mistakes to avoid, opportunities to seize. Economic skills rarely develop in a vacuum. Every family, particularly through its brightest and most intelligent members, transmits economic advantages to its entire network, without which individuals would begin life far more ignorant and helpless than they do.

It follows, then, that families defy simple and abstract schemes of equality. Families with an intelligent and effective economic tradition are not equal to families of less developed traditions. Their individual members, unless they choose to neglect the acquired family wisdom, do not begin at the same “starting line” as other individuals of less highly developed family traditions. It is in the interests of a healthy and dynamic society, of course, to upgrade the economic traditions of every family for the sake of every individual. But every single family network that becomes a center of intelligent economic activity and a repository of hard-won economic habits is an immeasurable resource for the nation of which it is a part.

Furthermore, it seems obvious that, each individual life being short, the most profound of economic motives is almost always—and must necessarily be—family-oriented. Economic laborers seldom work only for themselves. It is no doubt true that those who do not have families of their own do work rather more for themselves; but even in such cases one often observes the help generously given by such persons to the elderly, sick, or very young members of their extended families of birth. For those men and women who have chosen to establish families of their own, there can be no doubt whatever that much of their economic conduct makes no sense apart from the benefits they are trying to accrue for their children. The fundamental motive of all economic activity seems clearly to be, far more than economists commonly suggest, family-regarding.

It is for the family’s welfare that so much gratification is deferred; that so many excruciating medical, educational, and emotional struggles are engaged in; that so much saving is attempted; and that investments which regard the future so much more than the present are undertaken. One does, indeed, meet parents who say, “You only live once and I intend to enjoy it, leaving my

children to fend, as I did, for themselves.” This is not, other things being equal, an immoral or even a necessarily harmful choice so far as the children are concerned. But it does not appear to be the common sentiment—or perhaps ever intended to the hilt.

Insofar as democratic capitalism depends for its economic vitality upon deferred gratification, savings, and long-term investment, no motive for such behavior is the equivalent of regard for the future welfare of one’s own progeny. Self-interest is not a felicitous name for this regard for the welfare of one’s children and one’s children’s children. Yet it is just this extended motivation which cuts to the quick. This is the motivation that adequately explains herculean economic activities. This is the only rational motivation for long-range economic decisions. For, in the long run, the individual economic agent is dead. Only his progeny survive to enjoy the fruits of his labors, intelligence, and concern.

Through this regard for family, the isolated individual escapes mere self-interest or self-regard. Through it, “charity begins at home.” Through it, human sociality achieves its normal full development, in the very territory closest to the knowledge and wise concern of the individual agent. Indeed, until the collectivist state began to take over more and more of its economic functions, it was through familial socialism that most highly developed cultures cared for the poor, the sick, the retarded, the needy, and the very young and very old in their midst. Their religious traditions, meanwhile, taught them as well to care for those most unfortunate of all, the widows and orphans and those who were “homeless.”

But if the family is a form of socialism which corrects the exaggerated individualism of capitalist economists, it is also a form of liberty which corrects the exaggerated collectivism of statist. These reflections lead us to politics.

2. The Political Order

As in the economic order, so in the political order of republican governance and democratic institutions it appears that the family is rather less dispensable than political scientists commonly emphasize. First and foremost the right to relative economic independence on the part of the family, the right of the freehold, sets an effective barrier upon the state. A state which controls all the

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means of production, all the terms of employment, and every aspect of exchange controls the daily reality of its citizens in every sphere. Political revolt under such circumstances is virtually impossible. So many citizens are in the direct employ of the state that spying upon every small beginning of dissent serves the self-interest of the forces of control. State ownership of the printing presses and other media might be thought to be sufficient for total political control. Yet total public control over every economic activity extends political control still further—into every material activity from food to housing, from production to consumption, and from savings and credit to every act of exchange. One can observe such control in China. It is apparent in Cuba. A very large proportion of the earth's population presently lives under such controls. The subject lies open to empirical observation, beyond purely theoretical argument.

The right of a family to own and to transmit property to its progeny is not the sole contribution of the bourgeois family to political liberty. If republican government is preeminently self-government, it is in the family that the habits of mind and will indispensable to the conception and practice of self-government are best taught—only there can be taught. If individuals have no space protecting them from the state, they have no “self” for self-government. The family provides such space. The family is the seat of the primary right in education. The state may require certain areas and levels of competency in the education of its citizens; but it may not usurp the right of parents to direct the education of their own children. As the limited state may not infringe upon personal conscience, so it may not infringe upon the intellectual and moral traditions of the family. Human children differ from the young of all other animals in requiring a very long period of physical, emotional, intellectual, and moral nurture before they attain adulthood. The primary agency of such nurture is the family. The family, in that sphere, has inalienable rights. Between the omnipotent state and the naked individual looms the first line of resistance against totalitarianism: the economically and politically independent family, protecting the space within which free and independent individuals may receive the necessary years of nurture.

No self-government can stand where individuals choose to live

as slaves and wards. Just as tyrannies may on occasion be benevolent, the powerful modern state may also be paternalistic, providing for the material welfare of its citizens in exchange for the surrender of self-government. Thus nearly every utopian vision of a paternalistic paradise on earth begins by undermining the sanctity of the family. The more the state invades the family, the less likely the prospect of self-government.

It was not by accident that the apparently mad Jim Jones of Jonestown, in launching his explicitly socialist utopian experiment, concentrated first on breaking down the family rights of every family in his community.⁸ When each person of each sex was reduced to dependence upon the community alone (it is relatively insignificant that Jones sought their total dependence upon himself), the effective resistance of individuals was also broken. For it is an obscure but important truth of political economy that the self is primarily familial, and only secondarily independent as an individual. When the primary familial self is effectively destroyed, the independence of the individual also disintegrates and nothing is left of self but the will of the community. The practice of totalitarian societies supplies universal verification of this principle. For those who seek totalitarian state control, it is always evident that the independent bourgeois family must be destroyed.

This is so because the individual bound by responsibilities and loyalties to spouse and children is bound, as well, to traditions welling up from the past and extending into the future. In real human life, the family is the ordinary institution of self-transcendence. Through it, the sociality of the self is realized in flesh and blood, gains perspective on past and future, and is made to belong not to the self alone, not to the present alone, and not to the regime of the moment alone, but to a culture thousands of years old. In this light, the pretensions of the totalitarian state wither.

The totalitarian spirit, nourished by abstractions, is inevitably utopian. It impresses the majority through effective, although perhaps disguised, terror. Its appeal to idealists (at least to idealists outside its effective grip) consists in an abstract vision of a society that never yet has been, is not now, and never will be. Family ties lead individuals to count concrete costs. Watching their children,

taking thought about their daily family circumstances, husband and wife have concrete evidence of the reality of their brief lifetime. The family is the human race's natural defense against utopianism.

The Moral-Cultural Order

Our reflections about morality are still disproportionately colored by the values of the ancient, aristocratic order. When, in a famous essay intended to put everyone in his place Matthew Arnold distinguished the "barbarians" (the nobility) from the "philistines" (the commercial class), he celebrated the moral imperative of high culture to draw all citizens, from every walk of life, into a higher order of sensibility.⁹ Yet there are overtones in that essay of far greater sympathy for "barbarians" than for "philistines" (not to mention "populace"). Many of our terms of approbation, moral and aesthetic—like grace, princely, regal, and the like—are colored by lenses of class and romantic memory. We somehow assume that the aristocracy sets the highest standard of excellence. But is that true? Aristocrats may have paid for excellence and been its patrons; less frequently, it appears, did they achieve it in their persons.

As in the economic order and the political order, so also in the moral order the primary institution of realism is the bourgeois family. The schemes of utopians customarily exclude the family, as they must, for the family is a most un-utopian institution. What it teaches spouses with each other and parents with their children is humble acceptance of human frailty. Those who seek moral perfection, full self-fulfillment, high happiness, and other manifestations of the utopian imagination can scarcely abide the constraints of matrimony and childrearing. For no man is god, no woman a goddess. Each has feet of clay. Moreover, the prolonged exposure of each to each, day after day, year after year, is bound to instruct them in ways they did not expect, both in the manifold faults of the other and—still more dispiriting—in their own faults.

Honesty and sincerity are said to be the most highly praised ideals of sophisticated, sensitive Americans. Yet matrimony induces realism precisely where the immaturity of each of us least desires it: in the destruction of our illusions about our own goodness, virtue, and attractiveness. The other cannot afford to be

deceived by our self-illusions. If, in a word, you do not admire unrelenting honesty, avoid matrimony.

From the Declaration of Independence through *The Federalist* and in every wise document of our realist revolutionary tradition, it is confidently asserted that the possibility of self-government rests upon the virtue of its citizens. Nature's own school for virtue—and, hence, that of any political economy based upon self-government—is primarily the family. In the family, one encounters the limitations of one's own sex, vocation, and station in life.

The project of living daily with a person of the opposite sex teaches one a great deal about the unknown mysteries of one's own sex, as well as about those of the other. These mysteries are not easily brought into consciousness, let alone into words, but they are marvelously instructive. They are also laden with requirements of self-discipline. Anyone who would wish to live with another, for better or for worse, until death does them part, had better begin acquiring ancient and constantly required virtues. Marriage teaches a realist rather than a utopian discipline.

Childrearing is also instructive in a kind of ordinary heroism. A typical mother or father, without thinking twice about it, would willingly die—in fire or accident, say—in order to save one of his or her children. While in most circumstances this human act would be regarded as heroic, for parents it is only ordinary. Thus nature, and perhaps the Creator, has shaped family life to teach as a matter of course the role of virtue. This admittedly extreme example suggests that family life is not so mundane and empty of transcendence as some of its cultural despisers would suggest. There are many acts of self-denial short of death which parents, hardly thinking about it, willingly perform for their children.

Finally, childrearing teaches one lessons about self-governance. The lessons one learns as a child about independence, the rule of law, liberty, and obedience, supply only half the requirements which a self-governing republic imposes upon its citizens. On the other side of the generational divide, for parents, problems of liberty and authority wear a different aspect. A parent cannot avoid the exercise of authority, although our civilization is particularly fertile in suggesting innumerable systems for such avoidance. If one cares at all, one must simply learn to say no. One must also

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learn to accept the consequences of saying yes and no at precisely the wrong times. The application of discipline to a young child—let alone a teenager—is an enormously demanding act. It cannot be faked by permissiveness. I have seen men and women unafraid of the hosts of hell tremble in the face of their surly children.

Self-government is not possible without self-discipline. It is not possible, either, men and women being what they are, without the whip of the law. The childrearing practices of the citizenry of our republic either strengthen or undermine in its some sixty million families the habits of mind and soul, the moral skills, so to speak, of the republic itself.

Above everything else, the bourgeois family is built on critical judgment. Critical judgment is more than a calculation, or logic, or analytic reason, or positivism. For the bourgeois family is quite well known for its practicality, for being religious, and even at times for being sentimental and romantic. Under the sway of “middle-class Christianity,” for example, great international religious communities went out to the far corners of the earth, to the slums of the cities, to islands where lepers needed care, to the sick and the insane and the homeless. These religious communities, like the bourgeoisie generally, are known for their practicality more than for their mysticism. Practical wisdom characterizes their charity. Thus in attributing to the bourgeois family a special regard for critical judgment, I intend to attribute no narrow rationalism, but rather the capacity to reflect clearly upon the world of experience, to make practical judgments about it, and to act.

The bourgeois family is to be distinguished from the sorts of family that have preceded it and have recently begun to follow after it. It is different from the aristocratic family because its sense of self-worth comes not from noble birth but from self-directed accomplishment; not from attributed status but from status earned through excellence.

The children of the successful middle class begin life with inherited advantages, but it does follow that, like the aristocracy, they can maintain title to these till death; from riches to rags is the story of many of the downwardly mobile. The bourgeois family is different, as well, from the peasant family, chiefly by reason of its affinity for the values of an urban rather than a rural civilization, with

its consequent emphasis upon those habits of mind and soul suited to a pluralistic, rapidly changing environment. Again, the bourgeois family is different from the traditional ethnic family (of many different cultures) not only through the experience of transcultural migration but also, and especially, through its emphasis upon the nuclear family and the individual rather than upon the entire family network, the clan, and the ethnic group. Many of us who have experienced in our own lives the tension between the traditional ethnic family and the bourgeois family recognize full well the contrasting values of each, even as we make our own choice.

Finally, in the startling and historically untypical explosion of affluence which followed upon World War II, an entire generation of families in the United States experienced a wave of what at first appeared as liberation, but lately has come to seem like moral confusion and even decadence. Children born in the meanness of the Depression were not prepared, as parents, to bring up children under heretofore never experienced conditions of affluence. Wanting to spare their children their own remembered deprivations, they indulged them rather more than they had ever been indulged. Learning a new cosmopolitanism and experiencing, perhaps, a form of culture shock, they abandoned the forms of authority under which they had been reared. Much influenced by new psychological theories linking discipline to repression and repression to fascism, the parents who fought a war against Hitler—and even more their children—tried desperately not to appear to be authoritarian. One aspect of this immense cultural repression of the natural instinct of parental authority was the sustained effort not to be “judgmental.”

Thus a best-selling writer of books of loose sex for children tells a radio talk-show host, who pretends to be admiring, that she “tries very hard not to be judgmental, not to make my readers feel bad about things they might do, like the characters in my book.” This flight from critical judgment runs precisely against the grain of the bourgeois family. The bourgeois family does make judgments. It does so not only in codes of ethical conduct and in schemes of self-improvement, but also in terms of practical achievement. The code of the bourgeois family is *to measure*—to measure in order to compete against oneself, to inspire self-

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improvement, to “better oneself.” By contrast, the family of the new class (the post-bourgeois elite family) fears measurement, disdains competition with the self, and prefers to “find” rather than to “better” the self. The heart of the difference lies in the respect of the bourgeois family for critical judgment, and of the family of the new class for being nonjudgmental.

There are two quite different approaches to the ancient contest between reasoned judgment and the passions. There can scarcely be any doubt that the family of the new class gives greater play to the passions and esteems reasoned judgment less than does the bourgeois family. Indeed, the family of the new class is praised by its champions for its moral superiority—for being “liberated”—in precisely these respects.

In personal life, rule by one’s passions and liberation from the disciplines of reasoned judgment are the opposite of what is meant by self-government. While the self may freely choose to follow its passions where they list—to let it all hang out—it would be claiming too much to describe that process as government. Rebellion, dissidence, dissonance, and “letting go” are closer to the mark. Government itself is a bourgeois word, self-government even more so.

Where self-government is not possible in personal life, it remains to be seen whether it is possible in the republic. Every prognosis based upon history would suggest that lack of self-government in the individual citizenry will lead to lack of restraint in the government of the republic. (It does not follow that habits of self-government nourished in families necessarily produces self-restraint in government, as the case of Britain shows.) Personal prodigality will be paralleled by public prodigality. As individuals live beyond their means, so will the state. As individuals liberate themselves from costs, responsibilities, and a prudent concern for the future, so will their political leaders. When self-government is no longer an ideal for individuals, it cannot be credible for the republic.

NOTES

1. Joseph Sobran, “What Is This Thing Called Sex?” *National Review*, December 31, 1980, pp. 1604-05.
2. See Nathan Kefitz, *Applied Mathematical Demography* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977), chap. 1. Rough estimates for total world population from 8000 B.C. to A.D. 2000 are in the neighbor-

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hood of 110 billion. Current world population is approximately 4.4 billion. Of the latter, 37 percent live in countries classified as "free," 21 percent "partly free," and 42 percent "not free." Raymond D. Gastil, ed., *Freedom in the World* (New York: Freedom House, 1980), p. 5. A more recent survey estimates that 9 percent of all humans who have ever lived are alive now. See *The New York Times*, October 6, 1981, p. C-1, reporting on the calculation of Dr. Arthur H. Westing published in the July-August issue of *Bio-Science*.

3. In a recent survey, 96 percent of Americans polled rated "having a good family life" as "very important" (3 percent said "only somewhat important" and only 1 percent said "not very important"). *The Harris Survey*, No. 1 (January 1, 1981), pp. 1-2.

4. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of The United States: 1979*, 100th ed. (Washington, D.C., 1979), table 48; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1978* (Washington, D.C., 1979), tables D, H.

5. See Mary Jo Bane, *Here to Stay: American Families in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), chap. 1. John Lukacs writes:

The idea of the family in the Middle Ages was much weaker than we are accustomed to think. In any event, it was much different from ours. In the Middle Ages the lives of children were separated from those of their parents; this practice endured for a long time, especially among the aristocracy and among the poor. The idea that children were full-fledged human beings, that they were entitled to a kind of protected equality within the family, this, too, was the result of the bourgeois spirit. By the seventeenth century it ceased to be customary to entrust children to strangers. As Ariès puts it: "This return of the children to the home was a great event: it gave the seventeenth-century family its principal characteristic, which distinguished it from the medieval family. The child became an indispensable element of everyday life, and his parents worried about his education, his career, his future. He was not yet the pivot of the whole system, but he had become a much more important character.

The Passing of the Modern Age (New York: Harper & Row, 1970) pp. 200-01; the quotation is from Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood* (London: 1961).

6. See David Friedman, *The Machinery of Freedom* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1973), esp. the introduction.

7. See Thomas Sowell, *Race and Economics* (New York: David McKay Co., 1975), pp. 128-38; and Thomas Sowell, ed., *Essays and Data on American Ethnic Groups* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 1978).

8. See Michael Novak, *Jonestown* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1979).

9. See Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, ed. J. Dover Wilson (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), chap. 3.

The Natural Institution

Herbert Ratner, M.D.

IN NATURE, man is a unique animal because he is a free agent. He is not bound by tropisms, as are the plants, nor by instincts, as are the lower animals. Rather, man is a choice-making animal, whose choices can turn out to be good or bad, as any horse bettor or stock broker can tell you.

Though man's instincts do not govern him, he does have inclinations implanted by nature which point in the right direction and which, when combined with reason (though sometimes without), can lead him to what is good for him.

Concerning this freedom of man, it is not good for freedom to be unrestrained, as when man lives on junk food instead of wholesome foods. To put it more positively, freedom should be used to make wise choices that are good for the person and that fulfill the person's needs. Here freedom is aided by norms, and, because we are part of nature, we turn to nature as a primary source of these norms.

Anyone who believes in evolution, a process which through trial and error produces the fit, should recognize that wisdom is to be found through a proper reading of the book of nature, the book from which scientists and others extract truths.

For those who believe that God created heaven and earth, the same holds true. Nature is a revelation of God the Father, Creator of heaven and earth. It is a book available to everyone to read whether they believe in the Father or not. For those believers Etienne Gilson, a famous French Thomist and historian of philosophy, said it best in his famous 1935 essay on Thomas Aquinas: "The central institution which governs the whole philosophical and theological undertaking of Saint Thomas is, therefore, that it is impossible to do justice to God without doing justice to nature,

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and that doing justice to nature is, at the same time, the surest way of doing justice to God.”¹

Nature gives us norms in the practical order that can guide us well. These norms bridge the gap between what we know today and what we have yet to learn tomorrow. Extensive ongoing research in the natural sciences is the measurement of our ignorance, an ignorance which nature’s norms are capable of transcending for us.

To follow the norms of nature is a form of preventive and perfective medicine. It is preventive insofar as it prevents future ills—bodily, psychological, or social—we are social animals! It is perfective insofar as it optimizes health, including social health.

Breastfeeding, for example, is one of those norms which results in the optimum development of the infant, physically and psychologically. Breast milk is the product that manufacturers of formulas are always trying to catch up to but never do.

Oliver Wendell Holmes said it wittily and well when he said: “A pair of mammary glands is more advantageous in the art of compounding a nutritive fluid for infants than the two hemispheres of the most learned professor’s brain.”² Benjamin Franklin extends this thought in his famous witticism: “There is a great deal of difference between a good physician and a bad physician but very little difference between a good physician and no physician at all.”

So we witness today a return to nature, a counter current against the technological mentality, which we are beginning to realize hasn’t served us too well. We see this return in a variety of counter movements: natural foods, natural delivery, even in a book entitled *Natural Sex*, which deals with fertility awareness—the basis of natural family planning.

So as “grass roots” movements, we have natural food, natural delivery, natural sex, and even naturopathy, which, whatever its deficiencies, appreciates that nature, not the doctor, is the prime healer, and that it is better for one’s health to support and cooperate with nature than it is to replace or displace her with powerful synthetic drugs

It should not be forgotten here that all of us in the healing arts are fundamentally quacks, for we take credit for what nature does in the cure even when she has to overcome the handicap of our

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treatment. And, of course, we collect the fee.

Having said all of this, I can now turn to the family and the norms for family life that can be found in nature when the right questions are asked.

But before moving on to a consideration of the family as a natural institution, let me make a major point—and I talk here from a long experience in community public health. Today, because we are ignoring the norms of nature, we are creating more problems at a faster rate than we have the resources—money and manpower—to solve, or even the ability to solve. Problems, for example, of drug abuse, psychiatric illnesses, suicide. Yesterday a news story predicted a sharp rise in suicide in younger people; it's already the second, if not the first, cause of death for the young in particular age groups.

These problems are not amenable to the “quick fix” by blue ribbon committees or by the expenditures of huge sums of money. As a cynic once said, and the thought has wide application, more people live off cancer than die of cancer. There are no shortcuts in a sick society, and we will never get anywhere moving from one crisis or emergency to another. To undo what we have created will take at least one or more generations to get us back on the right track. Short-range solutions are not sufficient.

So first we must recognize that all living species are geared to perpetuate themselves by turning out adults to carry on the work of the species. Here we must ask ourselves: Is there a characteristic mode of reproduction in man, as there is in other species? I hold the answer to that to be yes.

The traditional family, a man and a woman pairing in a lifelong bond for the purpose of raising children to adulthood, is one of the most enduring and resilient realities of human history. Aberrations and deviations, innovations of one sort or another, come and go, but they never thrive or last. The traditional family has a habit of burying its undertakers. For example, the decade of the 1960's saw the rise of communes and communal family life—the sharing of sex partners and children—but this was short-lived. By the late 70's, monogamy and traditional family life were making a comeback in those very same communes.

The traditional family is a mode of reproduction as characteris-

tic of the species *Homo sapiens* as other modes of reproduction are characteristic of other species. It is the microcosm which readies children for the macrocosm of society. It is the cradle best suited for rearing emotionally stable adults.

To lend some authority to this position, let me quote from the February, 1982, issue of *Playboy*, from a several-part series on man and woman by Joe Durham Smith and Diane De Simone. Part Two is entitled "The Sexual Ideal: A Stirring of Civilization." I would use the more appropriate term *norm* instead of *ideal*.

The article simply concludes: "We are basically monogamous, as most birds are, and it is from this that most of the sexual attitudes in humans derive." It goes on to say—and if anybody would be embarrassed buying the magazine, I have the text here with the pictures cut out—"Men and women are specialists, and in their differences lie the roots of their cooperation. In their cooperation lie the roots of our civilization."

Now, I'm sure if Pope John Paul II said that (in this liberated age when sex differences are viewed as culturally determined), he would be derided, but since it comes from *Playboy*, which helped get us into our current mess, it brings with it its own special kind of authority.

Fortunately, many feminists, after bitter personal experience, are discovering that sex differences are not a matter primarily of nurture and culture, but are rooted in our biological make-up.

Here I just want to read a few passages from *Child and Family*, of which I am the editor. Alice Rossi is an astute sociologist and feminist, who after about eight or ten years reconsidered her feminist position and returned to a more traditional one. You will be interested in noting that I'm quoting her against the famous Doctor Kinsey, and the Rev. Anthony Kosnik, who co-authored an *avant garde* book entitled *Human Sexuality*. We hope the passage from Alice Rossi would help him out. She writes referring to the last 60 or more years:

There are intimate connections between sexuality and maternalism in the female of the species that Western society has not reckoned with. Indeed, it could be argued that the full weight of Western history has inserted a wedge between sex and maternalism so successfully that women themselves and scientists who have studied their bodies and social roles have seldom seen the intimate connections between them. Yet the evidence is there in

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female reproductive physiology, thinly covered by a masculine lens that projects male fantasy onto female functions.³

I think we see this reflected in a recent feature story in *Time* magazine, "The Baby Boom." Suddenly all of the geriatric women—to use the latest obstetrical-gynecological jargon for women over 30—are rushing to have a baby. Believe it or not, over 30 is geriatric obstetrics according to the obstetricians! As Ellen Goodman pointed out, the baby boom among older women is a completely irrational movement: They plan and plan not to have babies and then suddenly, boom, they irrationally desire babies. Ursula Andress, the well-known movie actress, suddenly has this mad desire at age 44 and gets herself a baby—her first.

I hope you don't get the wrong impression concerning my scholarly reading as I now turn to *Rolling Stone* (I always keep up to date with the latest literature). The cover highlights an article entitled "Herpes, VD, The Pill: Sex Isn't Fun Any More."⁴ The authors seem to opt for a return to sex with a steady companion—which is what marriage is about—because sex has been robbed of its fun by transient one-night stands. It's revealing how nature is relaying a message to people who, with an anything-goes attitude, misuse her as if she were a passive bystander.

Another question I think I have to ask is whether there is an optimum family size for the rearing of children? This is a most important question, and I think in China we're going to see one of those grand-scale family experiments that occurs in history from time to time.

One such experiment followed the Russian Revolution of 1917. Communist Russia decided that sex morals were just bourgeois mores, and accordingly eliminated most laws supporting the family. Divorce, for example, was made so easy that it could be accomplished by sending a postcard to a central registry. It took only 20 years for Russia to realize that under such "liberation" the country was going to ruin, and she reinstated laws to support the family. Today the allegiance of Russians to the family has returned, and is much greater than in the United States despite our Judeo-Christian heritage.

Now China has embarked on another fantastic experiment with nature. She is restricting couples to one child. This means, since

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the richness of man is in diversity and one's place in the family constellation is a diversifying factor, that China is going to end up with an only-child monochromatic society, which is bound to have serious and disquieting repercussions (*if* it happens).

The difficulty in raising an only child is generally recognized. Parents find themselves without previous experience at child rearing and without the benefit of the salutary effect of siblings on the lone child. Naturally we'd be much better off if all parents could start off with a second child, but no one as yet has figured out how to manage that.

In the face of the preoccupation with the alleged population explosion, when social engineers in their ignorance are urging the limitation of all families to one or two children, by *fiat* if necessary, some prominent scientists, René Dubos (who just recently died) and Erik Erikson, the famous psychoanalyst, have warned of the dangers of accepting the small family as the norm for man. Erikson states:

Just as sexual repression characterized the Victorian era, so repression of the urge to have children may characterize the future. . . Psychiatrists can easily overlook how much some modern persons who are practicing systematic birth control may need enlightenment in regard to what they are doing.⁵

There is no question that elimination of larger families will diminish the rich diversity of the human race. The primary diversity of man is at the genetic level and is due to the intermingling of chromosomes of the two sexes. The secondary diversity occurs through birth order and sex variations in the family constellation. These are multitudinous. E.g., the girl with four older brothers or four younger brothers or the boy raised with sisters. Other examples are eldest, middle, and youngest children. They develop different personalities due in considerable part to their position within the family.⁶

It is an intriguing subject matter. I'm the youngest of several brothers. I always expect every man to be a big brother to me. It wasn't until I was in my late fifties and my brothers and I were out to dinner together that the thought flashed through my mind that maybe one of these days I should pick up the check. That's the mentality and habituation of the youngest child.

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One internationally recognized pediatrician, Sir James Spence, a Protestant who believed in birth control, argued for five children as the minimum family size necessary for the optimum rearing of children.⁷

My own belief is that the minimum optimum is three children. The third child sharply increases the probability that the children will not all be of one sex, thus better preparing siblings for a two-sexed adult society. The third child also protects against polarization along the lines of age, sex, and dominance. Again, the third child multiplies the interpersonal relationships of family life. Anybody who has been a parent and has had a third child can testify to the dramatic transformation that occurs. So if China had consulted me on its population problem—which it failed to do—I would have said, “Better one family with three children than three families with one child each.” Sir James Spence would have made it five.

Samuel Blumenfeld, a Boston author, wrote a profound book several years ago, called *The Retreat From Motherhood*. We’re reprinting an exceptional chapter from it in *Child and Family*. It is entitled “What Do You Tell Your Daughter?” Blumenfeld advises parents to tell daughters: “Don’t fool around with premarital sex. If you want pleasure in sex, save it for marriage and for your one partner.” He also warns against The Pill because of what it does to the body and psyche; and against abortion because defenseless human beings need protection. The line I like the most is the one wherein he advises young women to have more than one child because everyone should “know what it is like to have a brother or a sister.”

We often talk of the family as the primary teaching unit. But society seems to do everything it can to supplant the primary teacher with substitutes. The approach to most problems seems to be parentectomy.⁸

Nature has selected the mother, or a full-time mother substitute, to be a private tutor. Accordingly, nature creates the mother with a connaturality to the young child—smooth skin, soprano voice, cradle arms and the intuitive and even telepathic ability to understand the natural language of infant facial expressions, variations in the infant’s cry, babbling and other vocal intonations.

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Parents are the primary teachers, and the profound formative influence of the first six years of life is universally recognized. During these preschool years, the primary teaching function of the family is a nurturing of emotional maturity. Its work is to establish a climate of trust, to temper emotions, to order the emotions to proper ends, and to lay the foundation for cultivating the cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude. Without emotional stability, the best of human intentions are thwarted, and the way is opened to widespread juvenile delinquency, drugs, alcoholism, sexual license, divorce, and other indices of a sick society, all of which are symptoms of emotional insecurity.

Because love holds the fabric of human society together and is the basis of our relationship with neighbor and with God, the greatest need of the child is to experience love: to receive love which leads him to a healthy self-love and, in turn, to be able to give love, to love others as he has learned to love himself.

Since love is taught essentially through a one-to-one relationship, nature sees to it that the vast majority of babies come one at a time—we must remember in everything I say that nature only works for the most part—so that each child has his or her private tutor of love.

Furthermore, since woman is a mammal upon whom the newborn is dependent for nourishment and nurture, nature implants in her the basic maternal quality of fidelity. Without the fidelity of the mother, the newborn would starve to death. This maternal virtue of fidelity colors the woman's whole life and all her relations with others. All she has to be told is that she's needed, and off she goes marching for dimes (it would be better if she were marching for life). She's more faithful than the male to her church, to her spouse, to her family. She's more faithful because her fidelity, rooted in her mammalian being, is ordained to motherhood and caring.

As a result of studies of the past 15 years, many authorities are in near agreement that, for the optimum development of the child, the child needs the full-time attention of the mother during the first three years of life.

I think this latter point has direct applicability to public policy. When the teenager has a newborn baby, stop thinking about

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immediately getting her back to high school. There are other things more important than a high-school diploma. Anyway, in the inner city a high-school is a place where, for the most part, you learn how to use drugs and get pregnant again. It hardly teaches you how to read and write. To help that girl mature sexually, socially and emotionally, that girl for her own sake, and even more so for the baby—the hope of the future—would be better off if public policy helped her to take full-time care of her baby until it was at least three years old.

There is an old Yiddish proverb, “Little children disturb your sleep; big children, your life.” Parenthood is an inescapable life-long relationship. What is given at the beginning is given back at the end. The rewards to society of dedicated parenthood are great. It holds the hope for a new generation of stable individuals.

Young women must also appreciate that their life span in developed countries is now over 75 years. Not everything in life has to be accomplished in the first years of marriage. There is enough time for a career for a woman after children are grown. And dedication to children in their dependent years accelerates their independence which in the process liberates parents earlier.

It was very interesting that last year some of the prominent women speaking at college graduations, including at least one college president, advised those who were planning to have both a family and a career to concentrate on parenthood first, and then a career.

One other thing I would advise those setting public policy, and that is to resist the movement to make day-care centers available for all children. There are some cases, of course, where day-care centers are needed, but the current notion that society should make day-care centers available for all women so that they can dump their children at any age is most dangerous. The child needs a one-to-one relation to learn about love. If nature intended young children to be raised in litters, they would have come in litters. The fact is they come one at a time.

For those interested, *Child and Family* has published a definitive paper by a psychiatrist from the University of Michigan decrying day-care centers for the very young.⁹

In conclusion the one thing you can be certain of is that the

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countries which keep their families strong and traditional are the ones that are going to survive and thrive. Though we believe that the Western democracies have the advantage of greater access to the traditions of Western civilization, the fact remains that Communist and pagan countries have equal access to, and perhaps better appreciate, the book of nature. I speak from a Russian heritage. Russians love family life, and if we lose to the Russians it will be because Russia preserved the traditional family while we let the traditional family rot away.

So I close with a reminder from Kierkegaard: "The trouble with life is that we understand it backwards but have to live it forwards." Our problem is to understand life as we are living it forwards, and this is why we need all the help we can get from an adequate reading of the book of nature and from our Judeo-Christian tradition, which deepens our insight into the traditional family.

NOTES

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6. H. Ratner and H. Dietz, "The Face of Man: Tomorrow's Unborn, Yesterday's Dead?" in M. Sneed (Ed.), *Human Life: Our Legacy and Our Challenge* (New York: Webster Division, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1976). Reprinted in *Child and Family*, 12:161-3, 1973. See also W. E. O'Donnell, "My Own Population Explosion Is All Right with Me," *Medical Economics*, Oct. 15, 1973, pp. 165, 169, 173-4. Reprinted in *Child and Family*, 13:148-51, 1974.
7. J. Spence, "The Purpose of the Family," *The Purpose and Practice of Medicine* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960). Reprinted in *Child and Family*, 7:328-38, 1968; 8:26-34, 130-6, 1969.
8. R. S. Mendelsohn, "Parentectomy: Is It Ever Indicated?" *Child and Family*, 10:32-6, 1971.
9. H. Nagera, "Day-Care Centres: Red Light, Green Light or Amber Light," *International Review of Psycho-Analysts*, Vol. 2, Part I, 1975, pp. 121-37. Reprinted in *Child and Family*, 14:110-36, 1975.

The Family at Bay

Donald DeMarco

THE FAMILY IS THE fundamental unit of society. As such, it shapes or misshapes the pattern of social life. We all know this, though its common treatment as a textbook *cliché* has dulled the sharper edge of the truth that the family—and not the individual—is the basic unit, that plurality precedes singularity, that two, or three, or more, comes before one. The primacy of the family in society is more mysterious than the simple arithmetic could ever suggest.

We begin to understand something of this paradox when we reflect on the fundamental human importance of love. Love binds us to one another and perfects us on the level of our humanness. Where there is no relationship and no love, humanness is lacking. This is why the solitary individual, looked upon as a closed entity in himself, is not properly humanized and therefore, of himself, not capable of assisting in the process of humanizing society.

The family is the fundamental unit of society because it is the most elementary source of human and humanizing energy whose natural ordination is the good of society. An intimate love begins between husband and wife and is continuous as it extends from parents to children, children to parents, all family members to each other, and the family as a whole to society. The family is the micro-community that makes the macro-community of society a possibility. The individual as such is not a social unit. In fact, the more individuated one is, the more he is cut off from society. The more one turns in on himself, the more he turns away from society. Individualism is anti-social in its essence.

The family as fundamental unit is the reality. But legislators and judges, knowingly or unknowingly, can and do ignore this reality. A great deal of judicial thinking in recent years has been grounded in the premise that the individual is the fundamental social unit. A prime example is a woman's newly-created 'right' to individual pri-

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vacy in the matter of abortion. In giving a woman the nearly absolute right to abort her child, the courts have undermined the integrity of the family by separating the mother from her child, the father from his child, minor children from their parents, and the mother from the father.

Until quite recently, the Judaeo-Christian tradition still prevailed. A woman's duty to safeguard the life of her unborn child was considered paramount. Abortion was justified only when childbirth would be fatal to her. Yet, as social opinion took an increasingly sympathetic view of the woman in her individuality, it began to consider her freedom, her "liberation," even her career, as of more fundamental value. When the United States Supreme Court decreed virtual abortion on demand in 1973, it based its ruling on a "constitutional right" of the individual woman to her privacy. Thus, the life of an unborn child was no longer protected by law, either in the interest of his own life or of the familial values his relationship with his mother implied. His life was redefined as one which intrudes upon his mother's right to remain an individual. Legal abortion for convenience, therefore, demotes the family to the status of being a private option that is of secondary importance to society, while establishing individuality as the fundamental social right.

Some would argue that in many cases abortion can be in the best interest of the family, e.g., when another child would be a severe economic or emotional burden to the parents. Yet the "right" on which the Court based its thinking does not depend on any "right" not to be severely burdened economically or emotionally by one's children, but the "right" to privacy, which gives the individual a more sacred and fundamental place in society than the family.

The full extent to which abortion menaces the family structure has become increasingly apparent as courts and legislatures follow out, step by step, all the implications of placing individuality before family. Once the mother was legally relieved of the duty to care for her unborn child, and was given the liberty to destroy him, the stage was set for the severing of every other family relationship. In order to secure the mother's legal right to separate her child from herself, it became necessary to separate the father from his

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unborn child, the mother from the father, and, finally, a minor daughter seeking an abortion from her parents.

If such law does not follow the order of nature, it does follow the order of logic. For if individuality precedes family, then every relationship within the family can be shattered by the insistence that individuality comes first. As the well-known legal scholar John T. Noonan, Jr., puts it, the childbearing woman has come to be regarded as “a solo entity unrelated to husband or boyfriend, father or mother, deciding for herself what to do with her child. She was conceived atomistically, cut off from family structure.”¹ The rationale that justified abortion became the rationale that shattered the family into a collection of unrelated individuals—at least in the viewpoint of the law.

Separating Father from Child

When the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that it was unconstitutional to prevent a woman from seeking an abortion, it left open the question of what constitutional right the father might have to prevent the abortion. In Missouri, a statute required the written consent of the spouse of a woman seeking an abortion during the first twelve weeks of pregnancy unless the abortion was necessary “in order to preserve the life of the mother.”² Planned Parenthood of Missouri challenged the constitutionality of this statute and the case was eventually heard by the Supreme Court in 1976. John C. Danforth, then Attorney General of Missouri, rested his case on the state’s long-standing interest in “marriage as an institution, the nature of which places limitations on the absolute individualism of its members.” In support of the state’s legitimate interest in “marriage as an institution,” he cited a number of other “joint consent” requirements that were laws of Missouri and other states as well: joint consent to begin a family; joint consent to allow the adoption of a child born out of wedlock; joint consent for artificial insemination and as a condition of legitimacy for children so conceived; spousal consent for voluntary sterilization, and joint consent for disposing of an interest in real property. If joint consent is required by law in such instances in the interest of preserving the *bond* of marriage, Danforth argued, it should also be required, and in the same interest, for abortion.

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The Court, however, ruled that the state cannot “delegate to a spouse a veto power which the state itself is absolutely and totally prohibited from exercising during the first trimester of pregnancy.” It also argued that the state has “no constitutional authority to give the spouse unilaterally the ability to prohibit the wife from terminating her pregnancy when the State itself lacks that right.”

Of particular importance here is the assumption on the part of the Court that the father is not so much the father of the child as he is a “delegate” of the state, which cannot delegate to the father a power that it does not itself have. That the Court construed the father primarily as a “delegate” meant, in effect, that he had already been legally divested of his natural and real claim to fatherhood. It is important to note here that the Court not only ruled that the father could not veto his wife’s abortion decision, but he had no right even to be *informed* of her decision, and thereby given the opportunity for consultation in a matter of great importance to him and his marriage.

The Court’s ruling, therefore, refused to recognize that the father has any legitimate interest of his own in the life of his unborn child. A woman’s “right” to abort outweighed a father’s preference that his child live, even though, in a given case, it may very well be that a father’s interest in having a child—perhaps his only child—is unmatched by any other interest in his life.

In dissent, Justice Byron White stated: “It is truly surprising that the majority finds in the United States Constitution, as it must in order to justify the result it reaches, a rule that the State must assign a greater value to a mother’s decision to cut off a potential human life by abortion than to a father’s decision to let it mature into a live child.”³

Thus, in the eyes of the Court, the father has less right to protect his own unborn child from premature death than abortion referral agents have to arrange the abortion, or the aborting medical staff to abort the child, or the State to declare unconstitutional the father’s involvement in that child’s welfare. Moreover, the father’s relationship to the life of his unborn child was deemed to be much less important than his relationship with, say, a half-acre of real estate, or the family picnic table, which he co-owned with his wife. If fatherhood was left to have any meaning whatsoever here, the

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Court did not specify what that meaning might be.

The Court's decision favoring *Planned Parenthood* depended on a conception of marriage in which husband and wife are regarded not as forming a *union* with each other (much less the biblical "two in one flesh") but as retaining absolutely independent identities. The Court viewed the case not in terms of upholding a sound interest in respecting the marriage bond, but as a conflict of "rights" between two individuals wherein the woman has a right which her husband cannot veto.

The Court's insistence on viewing people primarily, even exclusively, as individuals has been noted by political scientist Francis Canavan, S.J., who writes:

Justice Blackmun and the majority erred because they asked the wrong question and thereby ignored the family as a natural community and the basic unit of society. And this they did, not because the Constitution made them do it, but because their minds are still dominated by the suppositions of an outmoded political theory.⁴

Professor Canavan, here, is referring to such philosophers as Rousseau, Hobbes, and Locke, who argued that the individual *is* the "natural" unit of society.

In Canada the situation is much the same. Given the laws relating to abortion and the way a number of court cases on the subject have been resolved, it is clear that therapeutic abortion committees at Canadian hospitals are not accountable to husbands of women seeking abortions. In fact, husbands who seek to save the life of their own child are regarded as "third parties" who are exerting "pressure" and "interfering" with the hospital's prerogative to allow and carry out the abortion.

Dr. Bernard M. Dickens, writing in the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, goes so far as to say that a man seeking to prevent a medically-indicated abortion for his wife could place himself at odds with the Criminal Code of Canada by refusing to provide "necessities of life" to his spouse—a term that might include medical treatment, and thus the "treatment" of abortion—in some instances a therapeutic abortion committee has judged that pregnancy itself is a condition that threatens a woman's health. When the Canadian Press wire service carried a summary of Dr. Dickens' article, it introduced it with these words in large, boldfaced type:

“Hubbie’s view in abortion irrelevant.” The term “hubbie,” needless to say, apart from being frivolous, does not in any way imply or suggest the notion of father. If the father of the child who is about to be aborted is not a “delegate” or an “interfering third party,” he is merely a “hubbie.”

Separating Children from Parents

In the above-mentioned *Planned Parenthood of Missouri v. Danforth* case, the plaintiffs also opposed a Missouri statute which required an unmarried woman under the age of 18 (and within the first twelve weeks of pregnancy) to obtain the written consent of a parent or person in *loco parentis* before obtaining an abortion, unless her life was in danger. The State, in defending its statute, argued that girls as young as ten and eleven had sought abortions, and that permitting such children to obtain an abortion without the consent of a parent or guardian “who has responsibility for the child would constitute an irresponsible abdication of the State’s duty to protect the welfare of minors.”⁵

The Court, nonetheless, ruled in favor of Planned Parenthood, arguing that, “the State does not have the Constitutional authority to give a third party an absolute, and possibly arbitrary, veto power over the decision of the physician and his patient to terminate the patient’s pregnancy, regardless of the reason for withholding consent.”⁶

In another case in 1979, *Bellotti v. Baird*, the Court found unconstitutional a Massachusetts statute which required an unmarried pregnant woman under 18 to obtain the consent of her parents before obtaining an abortion. The Court held that: “Under State regulation such as that undertaken by Massachusetts, every minor must have the opportunity—if she so desires—to go directly to a court without first consulting or notifying her parents. If she satisfies the court that she is mature and well-informed enough to make intelligently the abortion decision on her own, the Court must authorize her to act without parental consultation or consent.”⁷

The Court expressed its concern that the minor seeking an abortion receive help, but from a judge or bureaucrat rather than from either of her parents. Professor Noonan has argued that such a decision which separates the minor from her parents is not only an

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“invasion of parents’ rights” but also “an invasion of what most people have considered an absolutely essential element of due process of law” since the parent will not be notified of a judicial proceeding in which he or she has a legitimate interest.⁸

Expressing its distrust of parents, the Court stated: “We may suspect, in addition, that there are parents who would obstruct, and perhaps altogether prevent, the minor’s right to go to court. This would seem but a normal reaction of persons who hold strong anti-abortion convictions.”⁹

Such thinking by the Court creates a liberty for abortion which is greater than any liberty located within the family. Nonetheless, the logic holds: if the liberty of the individual is more basic to society than the unity of a good family, then minors should be free to obtain abortions without parents having even the right to consultation or notification.

In another case, *Women’s Community Health Center v. Cohen* (1979), a federal district judge found a Maine statute requiring parental notification unconstitutional. He based his decision, in part, on affidavits submitted to him by various doctors who testified that parental notification would “in some instances . . . be harmful to both the minor and the family relationship;” that “in some cases parents will pressure the minor, causing great emotional stress and otherwise disrupting the family relationship”; and finally, that “notifying some parents of a child’s pregnancy can create physical and psychological risks to the child.”

The State replied that laws regarding child abuse and neglect were sufficient to protect the child against enraged parents. To this, the federal judge replied that such laws fail to protect children from parents who coerce a child’s abortion decision in ways that are neither abusive nor neglectful!¹⁰

The practical outcome of “liberating” the minor to have an abortion by separating her from her parents and the support, counsel, or alternatives they could provide, is revealed in a most dramatic way by the testimony of two parents, Thomas and Catherine Yassu.¹¹

The Yassus presented their testimony to a Senate committee of the Oregon state legislature on May 8, 1979, in support of a bill to require that parents be informed before a minor daughter obtains

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an abortion (the bill was subsequently defeated). The Yassus told of how they tried to see their 15-year-old daughter before an abortion was performed on her at the grotesquely-named Lovejoy Specialty Clinic: they arrived at the clinic in time to speak with their daughter before the abortion, but were “lied to” and intimidated by staff members; the administrative director gave them her reasons why parents should not be informed or allowed to interfere in the decisions of their children—not the least of which was their “over-emotionalism.”

The Yassus stated: “It is our firm conviction that we were deliberately lied to, prevented from seeing or talking to our daughter. . . . The only possible motive they could have had for preventing us from seeing our daughter was the distinct possibility that she would not have had the abortion and that therefore they would have suffered the loss of \$158.” Their daughter informed them later that had she known her parents would have been willing to take care of her and her baby, she definitely would not have undergone the abortion.

In Canada at the present time, parental consent is required before a minor can be aborted. However, there have been attempts to change this, including one in 1980 by the Ontario Medical Association. It is impossible to foretell how the Supreme Court of Canada might rule on a lawsuit claiming that under the new Constitution a minor has the “right” to abort without parental consent or notification.

Contemporary abortion has its genesis in the notion of the unwanted child. But this notion subsumes a more fundamental one, namely, that a mother and her child may be separated from each other for reasons of convenience. If a mother can separate her unborn child from herself, a minor daughter can initiate a similar separation in reverse. The unwanted child inevitably produces its own shadow in the form of the unwanted parents. But this latter form of unwanting is particularly devastating since it proceeds from two directions at once. Not only does the child “unwant” her parents, but society stands most eager to replace them with any judicial, bureaucratic, medical, or mere mercenary stranger who happens to be available and/or willing. And what can we expect of these parental replacements? Will they be motivated by parental

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love, or by financial interests? Will their judgments be based on a life-long knowledge of the child, or on a brief and superficial interview? Will their interest in the child be part of a long-term personal commitment, or simply a small part of one day's work?

Separating the Mother from the Father

Whenever the father is legally powerless to prevent the abortion of his child and lacks even consultation in the matter, his relationship with the pregnant mother is obviously weakened. A marriage bond cannot mean very much when parents have so unequal a relationship with their unborn offspring that one party's decision is sovereign while the other's is simply irrelevant.

Author Suzanne Gordon reflects this weakened spousal relationship when she describes her own abortion:

I didn't even call my husband to tell him I was pregnant, nor did I ask his consent before making an appointment with the local abortionist. There was no question in my mind as to what we would do. We could not have a baby. I am a very liberated woman. My decision to have the abortion was made without the slightest trace of emotional conflict. I had no qualms that what I was about to do would make me feel any less a woman. Besides, I have a career. My husband has a career. We have our life-style, our spontaneity, our dog to protect.¹²

In the unbalanced relationship between the pregnant woman and her child's father, it seems grossly unfair that the woman need not be burdened by an unwanted child, but the father—at least financially—should. If the parents of an unborn child are to retain their separate individualities, the woman should owe no favors to the man concerning his child and, logic would dictate, the man should owe nothing to the woman either.

The Fractured Family

The family can remain strong and whole only when relationships within the family are strong. And, being organic, the family must be whole in order to do for its members, and for society, what it is meant to do.

Abortion fractures the family. It sets in motion a tendency whose logical end is the collapse of the family into a collection of alienated individuals. Author Eda LeShan tells of a four-year-old boy whose mother suffered a miscarriage. The mother did not explain the unfortunate occurrence to her child, and thus allowed,

though unintentionally, the abortion to have its impact on him. The boy became increasingly disturbed. He cried every morning and did not want to go to nursery school. He became fearful and could not sleep. He would not dress or feed himself and clung to his mother all day. In his own fearful way, he had decided that his mother had gotten rid of the baby because she was afraid the baby might be as bad as he sometimes felt he was. Fortunately, when the mother understood the situation, she could reassure her son that she did want her baby and had, in fact, grieved over losing it.¹³

But what does a mother who chooses abortion tell her other children?

Several years ago a group of doctors reported in the *Journal of Psychosomatic Medicine*¹⁴ the reactions of 87 children whose mothers had abortions. These reactions were identified as of an immediate type, characterized by anxiety attacks, nightmares, stuttering, running away, death phobias, increased separation anxiety, sudden outbursts of fear or hatred against the mother, and even suicide attempts, and a late type including a range of effects from isolated fantasies to crucial disabling illnesses.

Thus the "right" of abortion has become a primary cause of the decline of family values. The institutionalizing of such individualism is clearly antagonistic to the family. And yet, paradoxically, people who defend the isolated individual's right to remain an individual, form a kind of family of their own. For example, the abortion clinic that fought the Massachusetts statute requiring parental notification of a minor seeking an abortion, calls itself *Parents [sic] Aid*. In the end, our choice is between a real family, with its love, intimacy, acceptance, and lifelong commitments to each member, and the socialized, pseudo-family made up of judges, bureaucrats, and other (often self-interested) professionals.

So long as permissive abortion continues, its ill effects will continue to tear at the family and society, making it increasingly clear that there can be no adequate substitute for a good family. It should already be abundantly clear that the family is the only department of health, education, and welfare that really works. A realistic society, then, would make every effort to solidify the family, to strengthen spousal and parental love, and create an atmosphere that will produce loving children. The family itself will

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survive, because it has reality on its side. But at the present moment, that reality demands the support of society, for we have reason to fear that our present society itself, at least as we know it, may *not* survive today's anti-social assault on its fundamental unit.

NOTES

1. John Noonan, Jr., *A Private Choice* (New York: Free Press, 1979), p. 95.
2. 428 U.S. 67-68 (1976).
3. 428 U.S. 93 (1976).
4. Francis Canavan, S.J., "The Danforth Case," *The Human Life Review*, Fall 1976, p. 14.
5. 428 U.S. 72-73 (1976).
6. 428 U.S. 74.
7. *Bellotti v. Baird*, 428 U.S. 24 (1979).
8. John Noonan, Jr. "Is The Family Constitutional?" (Washington, D.C.: American Family Institute, 1979).
9. *Bellotti v. Baird*, 450 F. Supp. 997, 1001.
10. See Senator Jake Garn and Lincoln Oliphant, "Abortion and the American Family," *The Human Life Review*, Spring 1980, pp. 33-4.
11. Thomas and Catherine Yassu, "A Family Betrayed," *International Review of Natural Family Planning*, Spring 1980, pp. 35-39.
12. Suzanne Gordon, "A Not-So-Simple Operation," *The Human Life Review*, Winter 1976, pp. 11-12.
13. Eda LeShan, "What Every Child Should Know about Grownups," *Woman's Day*, Feb. 12, 1980, p. 28.
14. Cain et al. "Children's Disturbed Reactions to Their Mother's Miscarriages," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 26:58-66, 1964.

The Aborting Community

Susan Austin

"The lady's daughter died drinking milk."

—OLD INDIAN PROVERB

TODAY A WOMAN HAS not conceived a child until she has decided not to abort it. True, she may carry within her a mass of protoplasm with a unique chromosomal structure, exhibiting independent sensations, reactions, movement, and will; but there can be no question of this being a human being until, with godly power, she makes it so by her solitary word. To the relief, no doubt, of Justice Blackmun, who wrestled so vexingly with the question of when life begins, the answer has proved amazingly simple: when, like Darius lifting his golden sceptre to Esther, the gravid woman has signified her royal pleasure that the worthless intruder be not destroyed, at that very moment the mole, the tumor, the sticky mass of tissue becomes a radiant soul worthy of honor, medical care, and protection from nuclear power plants. But if she fails to lift the sceptre . . .

Her word of yea or nay is certainly hers alone, and if not divine, at least divinely powerful. And because it is exactly her right to privacy that is deemed so deep, so all-conquering, so crucial to her humanity that it surrenders into her hand the power of life and death over her most helpless dependents, it is correct in a certain sense to call her *fiat* a private choice. Nevertheless it is absurd to say that she chooses privately. Behind her solitary will stands a community, the great Leviathan of which she is a member; and just as the result of her choice will filter through and influence the whole body, so the moods and reflections of the whole body will reach down and affect her choice. It is impossible that it should be otherwise: that she is in the position to make the choice at all is an affair of the whole community, including the Supreme Court. Furthermore, she has been reared by the community, has read its books and listened to its gossip; she knows what her friends think and what the woman's movement thinks; she has heard of doctors and seen children in the grocery store. We can be certain that she is

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not a Carthusian hermit, since unaided parthenogenesis is not characteristic of our species.

The advice, hints, and reflections of her community, then, make up the fabric of her choice. This is so in almost everything she does—the community is always ready to have its say—but never so quickly as in this gravest of all matters, the question of which of its members should live and which should die. No community is willing to allow murderers to stalk freely through it, but, curiously enough, every community seems to have certain killings on which it turns a blind eye. The one slayer puts himself outside the gates of the city; the other remains a respectable citizen. Our aborter belongs to this latter class; the choice to kill is less privately hers than the choice that motivated Cain. Of course it is hers in the end: we are equally children of Eve together, and the community does not require her to kill her offspring. But merely telling her that she may do so with impunity has an enormous and incalculable influence on her.

Consider this: Medea, to kill her children, needed a huge and passionate spirit, capable of deadly hatred for their father; she needed a wild and determined soul; she needed a great capacity for jealousy; she needed madness to spur her on. “One indeed, one of the women of old time I hear laid her hand upon her children, and the miserable woman flung herself into the sea because of the impious murder of her babes. What, then, what could be dreadful after this?”¹

But to expose a weakly child on the hills of neighboring Sparta took no Medea, no great and mad soul. Every woman was capable of this act because it was a matter of public policy.² In Carthage the sacrifice of perfect male babies was considered a worthy and acceptable appeasement of their god.³ In India the suffocation of girl-babies was deemed by certain Rajputs an economic necessity because of the crushing expense of the weddings given by custom for high-caste women. Though the Vedas condemned it, public opinion sanctioned it, not as right in principle but as expedient and necessary.⁴

These deeds were not done by Medeas—they were done by ordinary fathers and mothers given heart for the killing by the approval of the collective spirit around them. So with our prolicides⁵

today. They are not spectacularly wicked souls, filled with divine madness. On the whole, as we all admit, they are perfectly ordinary and trying to be if not good, at least acceptable. They kill because no one they know calls it killing. Hence the great souls in our community are the ones who confront their Down's Syndrome babies and hang on. The ones who give up and kill them without ever facing them are neither great nor rare.

The community has explained abortion to its members as a form of *triage*. Triage is a grading of evils, a choice between damnable things. Even Good Samaritans must exercise triage at an accident scene where, for example, a schoolbus has gone over a cliff. If there are twenty injured and dying children it is manifestly impossible for one person to help them all. Some may be safely left without help; some must be abandoned to die. Triage is the choice of whom to help, whom to leave, whom to abandon.

This is how abortion appears to its friends in our community. In an ideal world we wouldn't *need* abortion (when will they invent the perfect birth control?), but since nothing is perfect abortion is an indispensable back-up tool. Without it we are cursed with a Bridge of Sighs from which suffering pregnant women leap to their deaths. We have grinding poverty, with too many mouths to feed; we have horribly deformed children with unbearable needs and no compensations; we have the mental insanity of rape victims carrying around the burden of unspeakable crimes against their bodies; we have children barely pubescent, incapable of motherhood but about to become mothers anyway. Against the weight of these horrors we have only the value of a few cells, hardly anything at all. No one claims that abortion is wonderful, but isn't it better than the alternative?

Experience confirms that the reasons are often more trivial. "I don't feel ready for a child." "I don't want to fall behind in my career." "I already have two children." "I don't want this child." (Imagine complacently suffocating a newborn child for such a reason.) Yet even here the community treads gently. It is deemed a rudeness to question the intensity of someone's suffering. Truly indeed, as we ought to remember with humility, principles are easiest when they are not put to the test (and every day we pray not to be tried too hard). "O the mind, mind has mountains; cliffs of

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fall/Frightful, sheer, no-man-fathomed. Hold them cheap/May who ne'er hung there."⁶ Only the stony-hearted or self-righteous, with their feet solidly on the ground, will question the sincere sense of trial and necessity that impels someone to do something which, after all, costs money, hurts, and is fraught with the danger of nagging doubts and regrets.

Nonetheless we may question the collective spirit of the community which sets the threshold of unendurable suffering so low while offering no support to those who really suffer and want to hang on. Just as the Rajputs truly suffered economic hardship from rearing their girl-babies, and could not see any way out but by killing them, so members of our community suffer mental hardship from carrying their babies to term and are truly blind to any other choice but killing. All but the large and eccentric souls are willingly enslaved to custom and community opinion.

In our collective body, to bear and rear children is now often considered trivial and even degrading work; it has become our custom to find our satisfactions outside the home, and we talk of being "trapped" by our children. How incomprehensible this would be to communities which consider their children to be that for the sake of which all else is done! How incredible to the Hebrew who sang that children are like arrows in the hand of a warrior: "O the happiness of the man who has filled his quiver with these arrows!"⁷ To Hannah, to Mary, being a childless woman would be like a dry river or a cold sun. But *we* have turned their songs into empty babble.

Nowadays there is even a sense of shame about being pregnant, especially among women with more than one or two children. Young parents announce the good tidings of great joy with some bravado as if they are outfacing the world's tacit disapproval. There is a general feeling in the air that having babies is irresponsible, like pet owners refusing to have their dogs and cats neutered.

In this atmosphere abortion has become more than the acceptable, if hard, choice. It tends to become a positive duty with a good countenance. There is no shame in admitting to an abortion (imagine, however, saying at your next party: "I saw that my newborn baby was going to take up too much of my time, so I sliced her in pieces and swept her up with a vacuum cleaner"). Abortion

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bears a certain glow of strength, liberation, bravery about it. We speak about it as if it is best even for the children who die. It is a social necessity as well; otherwise the greater need for welfare payments, school lunch payments, medicare payments, and all those other payments would certainly crush the collective body. In fact we have gone the limit of piety and discovered that abortion is the most loving thing we can do for our children: better not to see the sun at all than see it through a curtain of tears, poor toads. Like the Indian mothers who wept as they smeared poison on their breasts for the child to suckle, we bravely grit our teeth as we offer up our own children to the knife or the bath of acid, convinced that we can do nothing else.

Can we do nothing else?

When anyone talks about changing the spirit of the community that makes abortion so feasible and so glorious, the first thing he usually means is to change the laws. And of course the first rebuttal eagerly advanced is a vivid picture of a nightmare of illegal abortions. To make this mode of killing against the law will not suppress it but only make it unsanitary, and the blood of thousands of hemorrhaging and infected women will be held to our account.

This rebuttal is partly true and partly not true. Not true because to make a thing illegal is always a step towards suppressing it. Even a law imposed from without can help to end an evil, just as, for instance, the law imposed by Britain on the Rajputs preserved the life of many girl babies in the north of India.⁸ And a law can also be a clear announcement of what is acceptable behavior and will have a significant influence over those who are more led by, than leaders of, the community.

But of course it is also true that abortions will not stop just because they are illegal, since law-breakers are always with us. Just as people continue to beat their born children, they will continue to kill their unborn. By the nature of things an unborn child is the most dependent of all creatures: he needs someone else to supply him with not only food and warmth, but breath itself—"My more than meat and drink, / My meal at every wink"⁹—the oxygen without which he is within minutes the mere mass of cells that his killers have named him. By the nature of things he is dead without

his mother and if she repudiates him, what is he to do? And what law can restrain a mother who is bent on repudiating her child? Only the most severe laws, the most vigilant eavesdropping and strict restraints could keep alive beings so frail and so unloved.

Thus a change in the law is not enough but must go along with a change in the spirit of the community, so that the members come to see that killing is not the best way of coping with infants, and so that they look back to the barbarian time of abortions with the same shudder with which we look back to the time of the burning babes in Carthage.

There was a concept in Roman Law called *boni mores*, which is defined as the restraint by public condemnation of the ruthless and unnecessary exercise of a legal right. Thus, for instance, the paterfamilias could legally kill any of his dependents who annoyed him but *boni mores* kept him from doing so.¹⁰ The same weapon can be used against abortion while laws are slowly being changed, declared unconstitutional, and changed again.

Thus the attitude of the community can be a buttress against sufferings caused trivially, and even against those caused by graver problems. We can usually bear what our collective body thinks we can bear. One example is the sufferings of women during labor and childbirth. Scarcely a generation ago our doctors worked so hard to relieve that suffering that they produced the Twilight Sleep; nowadays, a woman who has to be anesthetized for a forceps delivery feels that she has been cheated out of a tremendous experience. What has changed? Not the fierce sensation of uterine muscles tightening: only now we call them contractions and then they called them pains. In fact, with the whole support and approval of the community backing her up a woman in labor can sometimes not only endure but transcend pain, even to the stage of ecstasy.¹¹

If public opinion would no longer call children "the products of conception" but regard them as "living flames," how many would fall before the blade of a curette?

Even now, in fact, there are arbiters of *boni mores* at work restraining people from this ruthless and bloody legal right. The nation has a conscience; there are bystanders who are appalled and ashamed, and they leaven the whole lump. The proof is that women who have abortions weep, suffer depression in cycles, form

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groups to suppress their guilt feelings, have emotional traumas during subsequent childbirths, get angry with "society" for making abortion a harder experience than it need be, and write manifestos announcing that in a "society we can all live with" they (1) would not have to make hard decisions and (2) would feel no worse about abortion than about an operation to remove a mole.¹² These women suffer from the condemnation of those who find abortion wrong; there are also women who are helped by the encouragement of those who find childbirth right: who speak up, volunteering to adopt; who help buttress the building, making suffering not only bearable, but transcendent. Two groups come to mind: "The Farm" in Tennessee, which not only offers to raise unwanted babies but also promises to give them back when the mother finds her circumstances improved;¹³ and one of the most heart-stopping anti-abortion groups in America, a group of parents of spina bifida babies who implore the parents of unborn spina bifida babies not to kill them and promise if necessary to adopt the new children themselves.¹⁴

Amid this great cloud of witnesses is also the silent testimony of every person who finds it a good thing to be merciful to those in her power. Such private witness complements public action. To keep our conscience keen, to publicly condemn (and thereby restrain) this legal right, to turn the spirit of the community, Congress could enact and the President proclaim a national day of mourning for ten million children slain. On one day a year let us wear black armbands and announce for all to hear that killing babies does not advance the public good.

NOTES

1. M. A. Bayfield, ed., *The Medea of Euripides*, re-issue (London: Macmillan, 1902), p. 99, note to 11. 1282-1290.

2. "A Spartan's discipline began at birth: male babies were submitted to inspection by the authorities and, if fit to live, they were allowed to do so. If unfit, they were exposed to die on the wild slopes of Mt. Taygetus." Aubrey de Selincourt, *The World of Herodotus* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1962), p. 119.

3. "A striking discovery in Carthaginian archaeology has been that of a sacred enclosure . . . In it were found thousands of urns containing the burnt bones of children." B. H. Warmington, *Carthage* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 158. "The efficacy of the sacrifice is proportional to the value of the victim . . . The *mol'k*, a holocaust of children, was thus the perfect form of Punic sacrifice." Gilbert and Colette Charles-Picard, *Daily Life in Carthage*, tr. by A. E. Foster (New York: Macmillan, 1961), p. 66.

4. "A man must marry his daughter or incur an earthly and eternal penalty that few will face. He can rarely marry her without paying a dowry so large that it strains his resources; to which must be

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- added the costs of the wedding—costs so excessive that, as a rule, they plunge him deep into debt . . . A girl child in the Hindu scheme, is usually a heavy and unwelcome cash liability. Her birth elicits the formal condolences of family friends. But not always would one find so ingenuous a witness as that prosperous old Hindu landowner who said to me: 'I have had twelve children. Ten girls, which, naturally, did not live. Who, indeed, could have borne that burden! The two boys, of course, I preserved.'" Katherine Mayo, *Mother India* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1927), pp. 131, 69.
5. The act of prolicide is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as the killing of the offspring either before or soon after birth.
6. Gerard Manley Hopkins, sonnet ("No worst, there is none . . ."), *The Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 100, ll. 9-11.
7. Psalm 126:5, as translated in *The Psalms: A New Translation from the Hebrew* (New York: Paulist Press, 1968).
8. "In India, measures against the practise [of female infanticide by the Rajputs] were begun towards the end of the 18th century . . . The chiefs residing in the Punjab and the trans-Sutlej states signed an agreement engaging to expel from caste everyone who committed infanticide, to adopt fixed and moderate rates of marriage expenses, and to exclude from these ceremonies the minstrels and beggars who had so greatly swollen the expense. According to the present [1910] law, if the female children fall below a certain percentage in any tract or among any tribe in northern India where infanticide formerly prevailed, the suspected village is placed under police supervision, the cost being charged to the locality. By these measures, together with a strictly enforced system of reporting births and deaths, infanticide has been almost trampled out; although some of the Rajput clans keep their female offspring suspiciously close to the lowest average which secures them from surveillance." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "Infanticide."
9. Hopkins, "The Blessed Virgin compared to the Air we Breathe," *Poems*, p. 94, ll. 11-12.
10. For an excellent description of the power of custom and public opinion to restrain the legal right of the *paterfamilias*, see W. G. deBurgh, *The Legacy of the Ancient World*, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1947), especially ch. 7.
11. See the accounts of childbirth in Ina May Gaskin, *Spiritual Midwifery*, rev. ed. (Summertown, Tenn.: The Book Publishing Co., 1977).
12. These are reactions to abortion which have come to my own notice. Similar reactions are described in The Boston Women's Health Book Collective, *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, rev. ed. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976), especially in the personal accounts of ch. 11, "Abortion."
13. "The Farm" is a large commune outside Summertown, Tennessee. Its chief midwife (who is also the wife of the Farm's founder and spiritual leader) is Ina May Gaskin, whose book *Spiritual Midwifery* ends with this message: "Don't have an abortion. You can come to the Farm and we'll deliver your baby and take care of him, and if you ever decide you want him back, you can have him." (Gaskin, *Midwifery*, p. 448.) They send this statement to women's health clinics where it briefly competes with the pro-abortion propaganda posted on the walls.
14. For a description of the development of tests to detect spina bifida, the implications for an increase in abortions, and the efforts of the Spina Bifida Association to counteract this, see Gina Bari Kolata, "Prenatal Diagnosis of Neural Tube Defects," *Science* 209 (12 September 1980): 1218.

The Case of the Bloomington Baby

Anne Bannon, M. D.

The killing center is the *reductio ad absurdum* of all health planning based only on rational principles and economy and not on humane compassion and divine law. To be sure, American physicians are still far from the point of thinking of killing centers, but they have arrived at a danger point in thinking, at which likelihood of full rehabilitation is considered a factor that should determine the amount of time, effort and cost to be devoted to a particular type of patient on the part of the social body upon which this decision rests.*

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DO MEDICAL “KILLING CENTERS” now exist in the United States? Anyone who reads either the readily available medical journals or even the daily newspapers will conclude that, at least in every large city, physicians and hospital administrators are, increasingly, allowing selective killing within the hospitals of the dying and the “defective” as well.

The same situation evidently exists in some not-so-large cities too. Bloomington, Indiana is an average midwestern city, just an hour’s drive from Indianapolis. It seems an ordinary place, with ordinary people. The Bloomington hospital also seems to be an ordinary city hospital. Among the doctors who practice there is James Schaffer, a pediatrician. Last April 9, Good Friday, Dr. Schaffer was called to the hospital to examine a newborn baby boy. He soon found himself enmeshed in the now-famous—or infamous—case of the Bloomington Baby.

Baby Doe, as he was called, was born with one correctable congenital problem, a tracheoesophageal fistula, and, allegedly, with one other congenital problem which was not correctable, Down’s Syndrome. His death from starvation six days after birth brought instant notoriety to Bloomington, and memories both painful and persistent to those involved. Neither the city nor the physicians who worked to save the baby—or not to save him—will ever be the same.

Baby Doe died because he had Down’s Syndrome and for no

* From “Medical Science Under Dictatorship,” *The New England Journal of Medicine* 241:39-47 (July 14) 1949.

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other reason. He died slowly and painfully while many doctors and nurses stood by, watched, and did nothing. But there were some who tried.

The story of the Bloomington Baby's brief stay on this earth has been reported in all its ghastly details by the national media, but has not, I think, been told from the viewpoint of the physicians who tried to save his life. Dr. Schaffer is one of those. He is a close personal friend and medical-school classmate of a family physician, Dr. Paul Wenzler, among whose patients was the mother of Baby Doe. Dr. Wenzler did not deliver her baby. An obstetrician—a man especially trained to care for pregnant women and their babies during the 9 months of pregnancy—delivered the baby. After birth Baby Doe was no longer the obstetrician's patient. So when he realized there was a problem he called for Dr. Schaffer.

There is nothing in this world quite so beautiful as a newborn baby. There is nothing more heartbreaking than the sight and sound of a newborn baby with a problem—any problem. They are brand new, fresh in the world, and we expect them to be perfect. And that's just what we pediatricians often say to the baby's mother: "He is perfect!" If things are not exactly right we wait until we have all the facts before we approach the parents. And then we give them an honest appraisal of the baby's problems and chances for survival and what has to be done. It is the pediatrician upon whose shoulders this sad but necessary duty falls—usually. That did not happen in the case of the Bloomington Baby. The obstetrician, on his own, went to the parents and gave his version of the baby's condition and his "value judgment." This obstetrician also performs abortions in the Bloomington area.

After Dr. Schaffer examined Baby Doe and reviewed x-rays of the baby's chest and abdomen, he made known to the family doctor his diagnosis of Down's Syndrome and esophageal atresia with tracheoesophageal fistula; together they went to give their findings to the baby's parents. Much to their surprise and alarm, they found that the obstetrician had already spoken to the parents who had agreed that their baby should die.

Perhaps we should say a few words about Down's Syndrome here. Over a hundred years ago (in 1866) Langdon Down described

the clinical condition now referred to by his name. In the past, the term "Mongolism" was associated with the syndrome because the fold of skin at the inner corners of the child's eyes caused a slight upward slant, giving a quasi-Oriental look to the child's face. Since 1959, when Drs. LeJeune and Turpin demonstrated that a chromosomal anomaly was the cause of Down's Syndrome, the condition has been technically referred to as Trisomy 21.

Each so-called normal human being possesses 46 chromosomes in each of our ordinary body cells. The majority of Down's patients (95% of them) have 47 chromosomes. The extra chromosome seems to match the pair of chromosomes classified as 21 (the chromosomes are numbered, in pairs, from 1 through 22 for a total of 44 plus the two sex chromosomes which gives the normal human complement of 46). The other 5% have 46 chromosomes, but in 4% of the children their cells contain what is known as a "Translocation," which simply means that the material of the extra 21 chromosome is transferred to another location; where it is attached to and appears to be part of another chromosome. In the final 1%, some of their cells have 46 and some cells have 47 chromosomes. This type is referred to as *mosaicism* because of that cell mixture.

Clinically, all of these children look pretty much alike until you get to know them. The face is the most striking and most universal characteristic of the condition, and most babies with Down's will be identified at birth or shortly thereafter. In addition to the somewhat Oriental cast to the features, the baby's face may appear to be flat, with a flat-bridged and short nose. He or she may have a protruding tongue, red cheeks, a round and short head, decreased muscle tone, and several characteristic changes in both the hands and feet. It is not necessary for a baby to demonstrate all of these characteristics in order for a physician to make the diagnosis. In fact, the diagnosis is usually made on the basis of the facial characteristics alone. And it is usually correct. It is, also, usually corroborated by chromosome studies. In any event chromosome studies are usually done to determine what type of chromosomal change is present in order to inform the parents of the recurrence risk in future pregnancies. Finally, a rare reason for doing chromosome studies on a baby thought to have Down's Syndrome is the

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extremely rare possibility that the baby may be normal. There have been cases in which babies have facial characteristics which closely resemble those of Down's Syndrome but the chromosome studies reveal a normal karyotype and the baby is "normal" in every way. I emphasize that this is a very rare occurrence. But it does happen.

The Bloomington baby had the tell-tale facial appearance. But he did not exhibit any of the other characteristics, according to two physicians who saw him. Did he have Down's Syndrome? Probably. Was it possible that he was one of the extraordinarily small number who are phenotypically babies with Down's Syndrome but genotypically normal? No one will ever know. Chromosome studies—the only way to be absolutely sure of the diagnosis—were not done.

No one knows exactly what the obstetrician said to Baby Doe's parents. They, initially, refused to listen to either Dr. Schaffer or their own family doctor. Another pediatrician was called in; he confirmed the diagnosis and agreed with the necessity for immediate transfer to Riley Children's Hospital in Indianapolis for the surgical procedure which would allow the baby to be fed. Again, the family refused the medical advice of the pediatricians and the family physician. They were told of the further lab studies that were indicated. The reasons for obtaining chromosome studies were explained. The parents still refused to transfer the baby. At this point Dr. Schaffer went to the hospital administration and insisted that they get a court order for the surgery. Meanwhile, the obstetrician had taken over the care of the baby, and no fluids were started. The process of starving Baby Doe to death had begun—ordered by a physician, consented to by the parents, and accepted by the hospital administration.

The meeting between the administrators, the obstetrician who was starving the baby, the pediatricians, and Judge Baker took place in the hospital. According to Dr. Schaffer, the baby's problems were greatly exaggerated both as to severity and outcome. Results of that exaggeration were evident in newspaper articles and editorials in both local and national publications. For example, one editorial in a St. Louis paper stated that the Indiana Court gave the parents "permission to withhold food from their severely retarded child." No one knows if the baby would have been

“severely retarded” or not. Very few children with Down’s are severely retarded. *Most* are trainable. A fair number are educable. And, at least among that 1% who have the combination of 46 and 47 chromosome cells, there can be children who achieve an intelligence level close to normal. In what group would the Bloomington Baby have fallen? He might have been severely retarded. He might have developed near-normal intelligence. We’ll never know. Other examples of exaggeration in the St. Louis and the Bloomington papers were reports that the baby had “other” associated congenital defects. For instance, one article claimed that the baby also had duodenal atresia (a complete block in the first part of the intestinal tract beyond the stomach). Another reported that the child also had congenital heart disease. None of these reports were true. There was no way of assessing the degree of retardation, if any. There was no duodenal atresia, or known congenital heart disease. Proof of these last two points was at least presumptive from the x-rays taken shortly after the baby’s birth; they revealed clear lung fields and a normal-appearing chest; the abdominal fluid showed air throughout the intestinal tract. The absence of pneumonia and of major congenital anomalies made a marked difference in the baby’s chances to survive the necessary surgical procedure. Did the obstetrician know that? He should have.

We are told that one of the (parents’) lawyers quoted the baby’s chances of surviving surgery as only 50-50. That was certainly not true on Day One of Baby Doe’s life. Here again, some background is necessary.

Esophageal atresia with tracheoesophageal fistula was first described in 1697, but it was not until 1941 that surgical repair of the condition became a practical possibility. Until then, such babies died, even after attempts at surgical repair. Over the years the survival rate has gradually increased, and today the baby who is considered a good risk has well over a 90% chance of doing well. In fact, in one series reported by Dr. C. Everett Koop (now the U. S. Surgeon General), it states that “In full-term infants without pneumonia and without a major associated congenital anomaly, the survival rate was 100%.” Were Baby Doe’s chances for surviving the surgical procedure deliberately minimized to the court? Worse, were they minimized to the baby’s parents by the obstetrician in his

adversary role to the pediatricians and the family physician? We don't know. Dr. Richard Danis, a St. Louis physician and an expert in the field of Pediatric Surgery, did not have an opportunity to examine the child, but on the basis of the available medical information he would place Baby Doe in the group with the highest survival rate. The proposed surgery was serious, but the prognosis was quite good. At least it was quite good on Day One.

Why was an operation so necessary? Because the baby couldn't eat even if given food. He had a blind esophageal pouch with a tracheoesophageal fistula below it. Milk would enter his mouth, go down into the pouch, and come back up again, and out of the mouth and nose, or go down the trachea and into the baby's lungs. At the same time gastric juices could come up into the lower esophagus and through the narrow fistula into the lower trachea and into the lungs. Pneumonia could result from either of these problems. Thus the need for rapid surgical correction. There was no medical reason *not* to operate. Not doing this surgery was blatant medical neglect. Starving the baby to death was an unbelievably barbaric form of child abuse.

The final curtain of the medical drama fell during the Bloomington Baby's last day of life. Dr. Schaffer had talked with the parents. He had talked with the hospital administrator. He had presented his medical evidence and opinion to the court. He had tried desperately, to work within the system, but the system had failed him, as it was to fail Baby Doe. When Dr. Schaffer finally realized this, he (and two other pediatricians) went with intravenous fluids in hand to the private room on an "adult" floor (where the baby and his hired private-duty nurses were sent when the Nursery nurses refused to starve the baby). It was the first time in several days that Dr. Schaffer had seen the infant. It was also the last time.

He did not start the fluids. But he described for me what he saw in that adult room on that adult floor in a modern hospital in the richest country in the world. Baby Doe's shrunken, thin little body, with dry cyanotic skin, extremely dehydrated, breathing shallowly and irregularly, lay passively on fresh hospital linens. Blood was running from a mouth too dry to close. Death by starvation was near. Too late for fluids. Too late for surgery. Too late for justice.

On Comparing the Figures

Frances Frech

SHE WAS EIGHTEEN and dead of a legal abortion. The autopsy report stated that all of her organs were “grossly normal.” That’s medical terminology for perfectly normal, nothing wrong. The cause of her death was listed as “exsanguination,” massive hemorrhage, and the reason for her fatal blood loss was that parts of her baby’s body had been left inside her. Three years earlier, when only fifteen, she had safely given birth to her first child. Now she was dead after the legal abortion of her second.

Yet Dr. Willard Cates, of the Government’s Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, has sung this annual siren song: “Abortion is safer than childbirth.” He has offered as proof some statistics: 12.5 deaths per 100,000 in childbirth, 1.8 per 100,000 in abortion. It will come as a real shock to Dr. Cates, but abortion deaths are not *comparable* to childbirth fatalities; they are *additional*.

That teenage girl who died, the one who was physically “grossly normal,” in fine health, provides a graphic illustration of one of the reasons that abortion mortality should be added to, not compared with, that of childbirth. Abortion has created *new* causes of death that simply couldn’t happen in childbirth: hemorrhage or infection from retention of fetal parts; hemorrhage or infection resulting when the suction machine sucks up several feet of intestines or rips holes in the uterus; embolism from salt solution used in saline abortions; salt-burning of the uterine lining, necessitating hysterectomy, adding to the risk of dying; curettes that slip in the performance of “D and C” (dilation and curettage) abortion procedures. For these reasons alone, abortion deaths would be additional, not comparable. But there are more reasons.

A “childbirth” death is not, usually, a clear-cut event caused by the actual birth of a baby. It often results from pre-existing or underlying health conditions. But abortion mortality is almost always attributable to the procedure itself.

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Although neither death in childbirth nor in abortion represents a single-cause outcome, abortion comes closer to it since it's the result of the method rather than health problems. One cannot die of *all* causes but only of those which apply in individual cases. Maternal mortality exclusive of abortion can occur from a multitude of health-related reasons which would only affect women who are afflicted with those conditions. Death in abortion can happen to *anyone* undergoing the procedure. A young woman in the most glowing health, "grossly normal," can die when a curette cuts too deeply or a suction machine tears holes in her insides.

Admittedly, there are some childbirth deaths that could occur among healthy pregnant women—amniotic fluid embolus, chorionicarcoma, abnormal positioning of the baby which might make a dangerous Caesarian section necessary, hemorrhage from too abrupt removal of the placenta, and a few other tragic accidents—but the percentage of death risks that could happen to *any* pregnant woman, regardless of health, would be *higher* in abortion, certainly? (We challenge Dr. Cates *et al* to make studies along these lines.)

Induced delivery and Caesarian births are known to be more hazardous than non-induced, normal delivery. Indeed, it is medical logic that if a condition can be successfully treated without surgical intervention, it is usually better to avoid surgery. All forms of induced abortion, however, except saline or prostaglandin, involve surgery, and the latter two are accomplished by labor that's brought on artificially. If the figures show, in spite of these intrusions against medical logic, that abortion is safer than childbirth, one would have a right to suspect the statistics.

It should be pointed out, also, that it isn't the *rate* that causes the dying; it's the deaths themselves that determine the rate. With abortion mortality added (as it should be), pregnancy-related mortality rates would be increased. If abortion deaths, which occur from the procedure rather than from any underlying condition, can be separated from the total maternal mortality figures, so should loss of life from induced delivery or Caesarian births. As a matter of fact, it would make even greater sense to remove from the figures all deaths for which pregnancy was contributory rather than the sole cause, in order to illustrate the *true* inherent dangers of

childbirth. To sum it up, the flat division into “abortion” and “childbirth” categories is unreasonable and misleading.

If comparisons are to be valid at all, they should involve comparable situations. One would have to take into consideration a) correlation of methods, and b) equality of the physical conditions of the patients. For the suction abortion method, there would be no corresponding form of delivery. And a doctor would have to be a real butcher to inflict on a patient in childbirth the kind of damage a suction machine can do in a few unfortunate seconds.

Abortion by D and C (or “D and E”—dilatation and evacuation) would rarely find counterparts in full-term delivery. There is a procedure called *embryotomy*, the piecemeal removal of an unborn child who couldn’t be delivered any other way. But with the diagnostic tools of modern medicine to detect difficulties in advance, with specialized obstetric instruments, and the availability of Caesarian section, embryotomy is almost unknown today (except for its use in abortion).

For saline or prostaglandin abortions, the closest comparable delivery method would be induction of labor, but there are significant differences. In abortion, the solutions are injected directly into the uterus, after removing amniotic fluid, and the unborn child is killed. It is the death of the baby which triggers labor in such cases. In the commonly-used methods of induced labor in childbirth (such as pitocin) the solutions are introduced into the bloodstream intravenously, stimulating contractions to expel the (usually) living baby. Furthermore, a woman who has an induced-labor abortion most likely would not have had to undergo induction if she had carried the child to term.

Hysterotomy abortion, of course, would be nearly the same as Caesarian section. Here, too, the woman might not have had to have a comparable type of delivery at term (i.e., she might not have needed a Caesarian).

The other part of the comparison process—equality of physical conditions of the women—would be more difficult, if not impossible, to study adequately. Death certificates may not be specific enough in all cases. It would be harder to find out about the health problems, or more importantly, lack of them, of the abortion patient, for she would not have had the frequency of prenatal

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check-ups the childbirth patient would have had. (We refer to the lack of problems as being more important because the abortion death is more likely to have been caused by the procedure. The odds that a woman without health disabilities will survive childbirth are very high.)

Moreover, in assessing the relative safety of abortion versus childbirth, long-term increases in hazards should be considered. Which is more likely, induced abortion or normal childbirth, to produce complications in the *next* pregnancy? There have been studies indicating that abortion increases the incidence of life-endangering ectopic pregnancies. And doctors from Vanderbilt University have released a study which claims that women who have had abortions have as much as a *fifteen-fold* greater risk of having life-threatening *placenta previa*. (Naturally, if a woman with a condition triggered by a previous abortion dies in a later pregnancy, she'll go down as a *childbirth* death statistic.)

Finally, such a study of the "comparison of risks" would of course indicate that, for the unborn baby, there *is* no comparison between abortion and being born alive.

A Christian Looks at Feminism

Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn

HOW FAR CAN female emancipation go? Which are its limits? What are its global aspects? To what extent can it work in Western civilization and within the framework of a Free Society? There are so many determining factors—biological, psychological, cultural, religious, historical ones—that the answers are not easy. But let us say right in the beginning that the history of feminine freedom is by no means one of gradual “liberation” through the centuries. There can be no doubt, to quote only one instance, that (as far as we know) women in Egypt were much freer 3000 years ago than they are now in the Moslem sector. It is different among the Christian minority. Still, we should not forget that a person’s happiness cannot always be measured by his or her liberty. People have again and again sought unfreedom, witness the existence of convents and monasteries inside and outside of Christendom. To the average American it might be almost inconceivable, but male and female servants in the past have found happiness in their status. The life of the soldier is one of acute unfreedom, but many have chosen just this career. How free is a doctor who can be called upon day and night?

Now, the reader might ask whether women have not increasingly (and are not demanding increasingly) the chance for what is today called “self-realization.” This is possibly so, but does self-realization bring happiness? There is no proof for this. Self-realization is certainly not a Christian (and, not really, a Judaic) demand.¹ If there had not been the Fall and the ensuing human imperfections, self-realization might be a legitimate goal, but, as things are, Christians are called upon to shed the Old Adam, to become through *metanoia* (which means doing penance or to engage in a real change of mind) *somebody else*.

The Bible, to begin with, implies that woman has suffered more through the Fall than man.² Whereas Adam’s plight is essentially

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human,³ Eve's plight has a specifically feminine character: it is connected with procreation and her relation to man. Her dependence upon man has a profoundly psychological character: "Towards thy husband will be thy desire and he is going to rule over you."⁴ Male domination thus does not at all spring from the character or the quality of the male partner, but from a woman's own feelings, her love, which puts her in a serving position. Love is not slavery, but it is a form of servitude. A phrase like: "I have a weakness for her (for him)" betrays the situation. The lover becomes defenseless.

If we consider procreation, it is evident that reproduction dominates woman, primarily her body, but with her body her psyche, and this far more so than it does the male. "Anatomy is fate," as Freud said. Sex to the male is physically-psychologically an "annex"; it bothers and worries him, it might even be a thorn in his flesh; in him it has an explosive nature and it is deeply connected with his aggressive drive. In his case it can be likened to static electricity which might have a lightning effect, but cannot set a door-bell in motion. Female sexuality, on the other hand, continues to be effective long after her procreative capacity, whereas with the male sexuality and fertility are much better synchronized. Woman is more consciously a bodily creature: she is therefore also more aware of the externals of her body, her skin, her hair, her dress.⁵

This is one of the many reasons why men and women, in spite of their mutual attraction, are psychologically ill matched and physically-sexually even worse adapted to each other. A materialist who believes in "Dame Nature" should feel outraged by this,⁶ but the conscientious reader of the Bible will not be surprised. The Fall has resulted in countless imperfections of the natural order and thus we know that nature itself yearns for a final redemption.⁷ Not only our sexuality, but procreation too has been adversely affected. The frequency of conceptions causing pregnancies and births is one of the punishments meted out to Eve.⁸ It does not belong to the original "natural order."

The male is the more cerebral creature. Peter Wust, a famous German Christian philosopher (1884-1940) and great friend of Marianne, Max Weber's wife,⁹ told us in a book entitled *Incertitude and Daring*¹⁰ that while beasts are *animalia securo* who act

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upon reliable instincts, human beings live an existence of incertitude and risk. There can be no doubt that women have sounder instincts and intuitions and thus have more "Faith" than men who depend more upon thinking processes and reason. Women are nearer to nature, nearer to Earth and to the celestial bodies.

Men, however, are physically superior to women, they are stronger and "naturally" live longer.¹¹ Women in "advanced" civilization beat them in longevity because they enjoy the advantages of modern medicine while males frequently live unhealthier lives (factory and office-work instead of hunting) and, on top of it all, they are more actively engaged in wars and violent crimes.¹² Intellectually and artistically they are more creative. All of which does not mean that men, as a rule, are superior to women. It only means that they are bound to be socially more "prominent" (in the word's original meaning), but to be more prominent does not mean to be more important. Let us seek an analogy in the human body: the head (with face, sensory organs, mouth and brain) is more prominent than the trunk, but who is going to say that for the human life the brain is more important than the heart or the liver? All "vital" organs are important: the non-functioning of only one means death. (Of course, all analogies are problematic; so, regrettably, is this one.)

Dealing with male and female qualities, we must always bear in mind that we never can speak about male and female qualities in absolute terms, but only "statistically." If we say that wicked men tend to be brutal and bad women cruel (which is probably true) we can never exclude the existence of cruel males and brutal females. This statement is also true physically as it is intellectually-artistically. Men everywhere tend to be "naturally" stronger and taller, women smaller and feebler. Still, exceptions abound. In large parts of Africa women are physically stronger than males because they use their muscles all the time,¹³ while the men, shying away from physical work, dedicate themselves to hunting, sleeping, social intercourse and daydreaming. The black farmer in the heart of the Dark Continent might not spend more than 15 hours on work in a week.¹⁴ Let us state in all candor that the male is by nature lazy, impractical, untidy, maybe even dirty, alien to reality and prone to live in a world of ideas and abstractions.¹⁵ In this

respect women are just the opposite. Women live in a world of concreteness, of realities and details—no wonder, since child-rearing requires a sense of practicality and concentration. (May the reader forgive: in an essay like this we are *bound* to generalize in a rather male way, the exceptions notwithstanding.)

In an earlier article¹⁶ we have already spoken about women's ability to vie with men in the domains of the spoken as well as of the written word. There always have been great women writers and poets. But there are sectors in our civilization in which women, though certainly not prevented by male "sexist"¹⁷ taboos, have produced very little: philosophy, mathematics, musical composition (especially operas). Even in painting women seem to be limited. There are some outstanding female artists of the brush, but they still do not compare with the giants—Giotto, Botticelli, Leonardo, Michelangelo, El Greco, Velázquez, Goya, the Impressionists. Still, some have shown great quality in portrait painting (which is very "personal"), and they are highly skilled in painting babies and small children, whereas some of the great masters have often only produced wax dolls. The verbal quality, if not the superiority of women, seems to have a biological foundation: the left part of the female brain with the language center gets a greater supply of blood than its male counterpart.¹⁸ Women learn foreign languages more easily, they are better in conversation and are fond of verbal intercourse (which irritates some males). Another thing is certain: little girls in so many ways are superior to little boys.

Women are more personal (also in their sympathies and antipathies), they are also more given to the concrete and therefore also to details. (They can be very pedantic: pedantry does not characterize very male men!) This is one of the reasons I would not like to have a male secretary or a male nurse. The other reason being that a male-female relationship is easier than a male-male one: it is based on a natural interplay.

Yet women—and this has to be faced (courageously by women)—*are* handicapped in their vast majority as regards the society in which we live and, practically, all societies we know. *Matriarchy never existed*: this notion of J. J. Bachofen is now an exploded ethnological myth. It is obvious that in primitive societies not based on lofty psychological or spiritual values, the male will

most certainly arrogate a leading role. Given the very frequent pregnancies and their weakened as well as vulnerable condition after having given birth, it is evident that women could not easily exercise domination over men. On the other hand we know of *matrilineal* civilizations in which hereditary rule went from a governing male via his sister to her son. This corresponds to the Roman legal adage *mater semper certa est*, the mother always is certain—while the father is not. Fatherhood, indeed, is a matter of faith.¹⁹

Agriculture, so it seems, has been invented and developed by women: females being less mobile, tended the fields and gardens, but rarely were hunters and even the job of shepherds is originally male. Matrilineal, agrarian civilizations have, for obvious reasons, a special relation to the moon, nomadic breeders of a patriarchal civilization to the skies, patrilineal hunters to totems (usually animals).²⁰ Normally the migrating breeders conquered other civilizations and imposed themselves as a dominant class.²¹ This, in turn, led as a rule to even stronger male dominance.

A purely male civilization resting on the suppression of women might, for a certain length of time, develop a very high level of skill, sophistication and knowledge of all kinds—but not in the long run. Islamic culture and civilization, which had such a meteoric rise and until nearly the end of our Middle Ages was superior to ours, has produced hardly any outstanding artistic or intellectual values for the last centuries. One cannot with impunity “write off” half of mankind whose contributions are frequently not obvious, but hidden, implicit and still very important.

Women, though gifted with many qualities rare in males, qualities of a sensitive, practical or spiritual order, are biologically considerably disadvantaged, are born with handicaps. Certain civilizations have taken advantage of this and have aggravated their position, others have tried to alleviate it. Nowhere has the New Testament told us that women are spiritually inferior to men although Christianity always took it for granted that women generally have to play roles and face tasks different from those of men; women were, though fully recognized as “co-heirs of the Grace of Life,” still considered as the “weaker sex” and therefore also worthy of affection, consideration and help.²² And also, repeating

the message of the Old Testament, they were asked to subordinate themselves to the leadership not of men in general, but certainly of their husbands. These, in turn, had to love them, as Christ loved his Church.²³

Obviously, if two persons are living in a close community, "democracy" with equality and majority rule is out of the question. One of the two partners has to make vital decisions, but this does not give him "superiority," only the burden of responsibility. Clever women will make the most of it. Still, autocratic male rule in our society is rare among the lowest as well as the highest layers. It is rather a middle class phenomenon.

What really are the demands of modern feminism, and where is feminism particularly strong? Sociologically speaking in the middle class, geographically speaking in Northern Europe and in North America. The legal status of women has very little to do with it. The Grand Duchy of Finland under Nicholas II (of Russia) was the first country to grant women the national vote (in 1906). In Austria women started to vote in 1919, earlier than in England or in the United States. (The same thing can be said of the general male suffrage!) Constitutional privileges are hardly a genuine indicator as to the true status of women. France gave women the vote only at the very end of the last war, but French women always have been humanly and socially far more influential than their British or American sisters. Before 1917 women of the urban classes were decidedly more emancipated in Russia than in most western countries, as is evident to all those familiar with great Russian literature.²⁴ Swiss women were given the right to vote only in 1971, mainly because women do not serve in the army and the Swiss believe that only he who serves in the army is fully a citizen: Switzerland, after all, is a *military democracy*.²⁵ Zaire had given the women a vote 11 years before they got it in Switzerland which, however, really does not mean that women enjoy in Zaire (the former Belgian Congo) a higher status than in Switzerland! Still, while women have the vote in Switzerland on a federal level, they do not have it yet everywhere on a cantonal level.

Feminism as a dynamic movement only has a chance where women largely feel "out of the mainstream," where they do not feel integrated, wanted and generally liked or loved. This is by no

means a legal or constitutional problem. The vote is important if people really *feel* that the individual vote makes sense and has a decisive effect: hence the aggressive British suffragettes early in this century. This feeling, however, is rapidly diminishing in Europe. People increasingly realize that their vote plays only a microscopic role and that the big political and economic problems are no longer “transparent.”²⁶

A bit more important than constitutional is economic and civil equality, and here, surely, women had in the past many justified grievances since in view of their specifically feminine functions their contributions to society were generally not inferior to those of men. In all civil matters (inheritance, property rights, access to almost all occupations and forms of education) one truly should not discriminate against them. But there *are* professions which are unavoidably “sexist” oriented. In old Europe we had the institution of wet nurses, an occupation from which men, obviously, were excluded. Women ought not to be coal miners as in the USSR, nor hangmen, *nor combat soldiers*. We have seen a film on European television showing American women in combat training. With blackened faces in battle dress they screamingly were ramming bayonettes into sand sacks. A lady sitting in the cockpit of a plane declared most eloquently that she would not mind dropping incendiary bombs on thickly inhabited places. The immediate reaction of some of the viewers was that this film (actually produced by a U. S. government agency) had been made in the USSR and had been slipped into our television program by some crafty fellow traveler. The best anti-American propagandists, in fact, always have been Americans! (Do Americans realize that the total militarization of women would result in the next war becoming a sado-masochistic sex orgy of sub-human character?)

Here again, we can only speak “statistically”: there are a few female truck drivers and the Maid of Orléans fought battles. I myself took care every other day during ten months of my baby daughter, but I still would not promote the idea that men (not just fathers under certain circumstances) should become professional nannies for babies or small children.

Truly creative women ought to be given every opportunity. This is a demand of justice. Of course, women of real genius are very

rare, though in my life I have met a few.²⁷ It could also be that there really is a conflict between motherhood and genuine creativity: there are cases where maternity brutally broke off truly promising talent.²⁸ (The explanation that the care of the children prevented these women physically from engaging in arts or sciences is insufficient.) Let us state simply that in a healthy and free society—a healthy society is always free!—women with talent must be given every chance.

On the other hand, only in a totalitarian state can a total proportional parity between men and women be enforced. There is a mania to that effect in America (more so than in any other country) and this has to do with an utterly un-American ideology, an alien French importation: democracy.²⁹ The Founding Fathers, Charles Beard said rightly, hated democracy more than Original Sin.³⁰ Feminism is to a large extent the impact of egalitarianism on the relationship between the sexes. The notion that equality means justice and justice equality pervades increasingly all our thinking.³¹ To make matters worse: equality is the 'brother of sameness and the mania for sameness invokes the hatred for otherness.

In a healthy society the majority of women will be dedicated to family life which is just as important (if not more so) than anything else—spiritually, psychologically and even materially. In recent polls we find that even among men the biggest factor in personal happiness is *family life*, not profession, business or career. A German opinion poll showed that 72 percent of men considered family life to be the most crucial of all forms of happiness. And great classic French authors in the past have said the same thing.³² Of course, one might argue that, according to another statistic, men are normally happier in their marriages than women are, but would it not be a Christian task to make *others* happy? Is there no happiness in a task well fulfilled? Even if it involves "service"?

We all serve, and service is a Christian ideal. There is nothing debasing about it. Enlightened Absolutism of the 18th century described the King as the State's First Servant. The Pope himself has the beautiful title of *servus servorum Dei*, "servant of the servants of God."³³ Due to democracy, which reentered Western Civilization in the shadow of the guillotine, service is increasingly considered to be "humiliating," especially if it means service to a person.

The lack of servants in households, even in times of great unemployment, comes from an Un-Christian egalitarian mania.³⁴ And yet: the highest position of our civilization, short of the Head of State, is that of a “minister,” which means “servant,” a title applied in America also to vicars of the Reformation churches. Eve has been created *ezer*, as a helpmate of man. But he has to serve too. And we should help and serve each other.

Modern man and increasingly modern woman, unfortunately, ask themselves not how they stand in the eyes of God, but in the eyes of their fellow-men, of the “public.”³⁵ They want to get “ahead” in the eyes of the “World.”³⁶ They want to make spectacular careers and, possibly, even become “famous” and enjoy “status.” This might be a general human tendency, a human weakness: it was somehow subdued in a consciously Christian civilization, but became more marked in an age of materialism. Yet believing Christians and Jews disregard to a considerable extent public opinion and think primarily about their relationships with God: love, truth and justice should be their foremost concern, not money and popularity.³⁷ Women should be happy if they can avoid such temptations, especially the temptation of jealousy.

However, in the mainstream of public life, especially in business, women are bound to play another role than men because they are different from men, they react differently to their surroundings in the world of competition. Men, to begin with, are less dependent upon the opinion of others. They are by nature *vain*: the more masculine they are, the more *prone* to the vice of vanity. The extreme would be the male who, looking into a mirror, considers himself to be absolutely wonderful—regardless of what other people think about him. He will make no effort to gain confidence, applause or admiration. As a matter of fact, any such demonstration would embarrass him. (He still will be, let us hope, grateful for a sincere and personal love or affection, but he needs no corroboration, no endorsement from others.) All this is not true of women: just because to them all kinds of love are of a primary importance, they not only need affection, but also admiration and support. Women are not vain (like men), they are *eager to please*, and this is something entirely different. This, in turn, makes their integration in the various forms of “enterprise” rather difficult, as

they are more easily hurt, *more vulnerable* from many points of view.

The most natural form of career-integration would be a small number of women within a majority of men. This is the happiest solution. Larger artificial female collectives are always very problematic. The reason for this is that women are more man-oriented than men are women-centered. Even the male collectives have their great difficulties. St. John Berchmans, a Jesuit who died young, confessed that the heaviest cross for him was the communal life. It is an even heavier cross for women in purely female communities, all relationships between women being more ambiguous and delicate than those among men. Hence friendships and real trust between women are rare. Eve has been created to alleviate Adam's solitude,³⁸ and woman's terrestrial life thus faces in two directions: towards men (and "the man") and her children. She is man's glory,³⁹ but also the fulfillment of his "dreams," his joy as we can assume from Adam's words when he sees her after creation from his side. And therefore, as a rule (which always permits exceptions) she should vicariously-altruistically enjoy his feats, his work and those of her children. Let wives and mothers be proud! But let us also admit that there always will be situations when a woman has to take a man's place (because he "abdicated" or just is not there). There have been ruling queens, ruling empresses or, at the other end of the scale, women who had to toil for their children because they were unmarried, widowed, deserted, because the husband was in prison or because he was an alcoholic. This, however, is the exception, not the rule, yet in such situations women have often shown immense courage and *tenacity* which is again a typically female virtue.⁴⁰

Yet to build an order, to build a whole society on an exceptional situation would be an enormous mistake. It would mainly affect marriage and family, the number of children and also their psychological health. Yet, these tendencies are here in our midst, primarily in the Northern nations of the Free World. (The situation in the Red Empire is a different and even more tragic one: its analysis would necessitate too much space.) Aggressive feminism has also libertinistic, Lesbian and "misandric" implications.⁴¹ Here already we are faced not just with the excesses of an ideological democra-

tism but with something worse. The hook-up between a belligerent Lesbianism and Leftist political ideologies is obvious.⁴² Such tendencies are fostered by an increasing rejection of marriage: people, men as well as women, no longer want to serve, they do not even want to bind themselves in any way. It can, naturally, be argued that loyalty is a feudal, not a democratic, ideal and virtue. (After all, every election is a gigantic effort to make people abandon their previous loyalty.) The first step in that direction has been made by divorce: in spite of the very solemn vows of the marriage ceremony — “until death do us part” — divorce has not only become legally, but even socially accepted in many countries.⁴³ Since the solemn vows have actually become meaningless, having lost their binding power, the next logical step is to dispense altogether with the notion behind them. The number of common-law marriages is increasing and in addition there is something new: there are young women who reject any form of marriage outright but still possess maternal instincts and want to have one or maybe two children. These women often room together so that one of them is able to take care of the brood. Occasional homo- or heterosexual affairs serve to enliven this kind of communal life. The real victims are the fatherless children growing up under such circumstances: they become psychologically traumatized.⁴⁴ If this practice becomes more general (and the tendency is right here) not only individuals but entire nations will suffer from an attitude which is by no means a piece of “heroic pioneering,” but the expression of utter selfishness and self-centeredness. We can hear the outcry: “What!? You expect me to have a man in the house who wants to be pampered, messes up the rooms and pushes me around? Not for the life of me!” A sharply declining birthrate is another concomitant of this state of affairs. This might be a blessing on a global scale, but not for the West where in some countries the decrease is catastrophic and is becoming a national disaster.⁴⁵ Will this development contribute to “personal happiness?” Is it an effective modus in the “pursuit of happiness” (which is neither a Jewish nor a Christian ideal)? No, not even in an individual life and, above all, not in the long run.

Do people, especially women, realize what Christianity with its Judaic roots has brought to them? Let us think only for a moment

of primitive civilizations where (as in Central New Guinea) the mother has to bash out the brains of her first-born and then has to give the breast to a piglet whose mother had eaten the mangled body of her baby.⁴⁶ Or of a high civilization like the Indian one where widows were burnt at the stake — the *suttee* ceremony stopped only by the British. An institution of “alien, inferior races?” Think of the valiant blond Vikings who had roughly the same “Aryan” custom: Ibn Fadlan, an Arab traveler, visited them in the 10th century on the big Russian rivers. He watched the burial of a Chief. His corpse was on a river boat, his widow was raped by his friends on land, then on the boat where she was tied. A naked old woman, the “Angel of death,” strangled her and then the boat was set on fire.⁴⁷ Paganism is not amusing, something we also know from the misdeeds of the National and the International Socialists.

Are there, today, no just female grievances at all? They, for instance, do exist in the employment sector with different wage-scales for men and women, but the solution of this problem is not so easy. (Another question: in periods of unemployment should not fathers of families be given preference over mothers who would like to make extra money?) To *force* employers to take women is a totalitarian measure which in practice will merely produce hostile employers and unhealthy relationships between employers and employees. To enforce equal pay for equal work? Even this is a problem. An American employer told me recently that he prefers male to female help: the law provides for pregnancy and post-natal vacations with pay. Then there are jobs for which years of training are required and the mobility of women is greater than of men. They get married, follow their husbands to another city or become pregnant. They are more susceptible to illnesses.⁴⁸

Are then women truly handicapped? Let us admit in all candor that they are and that their handicaps are by no means merely cultural. To come into this world as a female one starts with several strikes against oneself. God (or “Dame Nature”) is not a democrat, not an egalitarian. Of course, everybody enters this world with one or several handicaps. Imagine a boy who is syphilitic, who is a blind hunchback, born as an untouchable in a particularly backward part of India. Women, on the other hand, have

again and again made a real success of their lives, more so than many a man. Let us remember Maria Theresa, a pious and brilliant, even generally beloved woman, who bore her husband 16 children and ran an empire. To a Christian all this is not really a problem: Sanctity and Salvation are attainable for either sex. The materialist, however, is in another boat. He or she revolts "ideologically" against nature. It is probable that women are more prone to unhappiness, that they cry more often than men, because they have more reason to cry. And they also might be less satisfied with the things they have.⁴⁹ Just because they are more "down to earth" than men, their sphere of conflict is a very considerable one.

In the area of love women are extremely vulnerable and plagued by truly "existential fears": a woman who chooses between two men who are real friends will not destroy their friendship if they are genuine men. But a man choosing one of two girls who are friends, will ruin their friendship without fail for all time. And what about the double standard in sexual matters? From a theological point of view men and women are under the same law, but "socially-sociologically" there will always be, at least, some difference and this, one must admit, with good reason. A one-sided decay of male virtue and fidelity is deplorable, but will not necessarily destroy the family — or society. Female infidelity and promiscuity, however, is a "matrilineal" attack against fatherhood. And with it the very essence of the family can be ruined. Polygyny is probably not against what our theologians rashly call the Natural Law;⁵⁰ polyandry, on the other hand, decidedly is.

Here it also should be remarked that the present crisis of morals with its concomitant sexual chaos is more fatal for women than for men, though it should be admitted that it affects personal and social life in every direction. A well-known Austrian psychiatrist wrote before World War I: "In times when sexual gratification encountered no difficulties, as we saw in the decaying world of antiquity, love became worthless and life empty: it needed a very strong reaction to restore the so necessary ties of affection. Here it is safe to say that the ascetic drives of Christianity provided psychological values for love which pagan antiquity could not possibly do. . . It is obvious that the psychological value of the craving for affectionate love immediately decreases when gratification is made

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too easy.” The name of our author, incidentally, is Sigmund Freud, whose authority is so frequently invoked by our immoralists.⁵¹ And let it be said in all candor right here that love is far more important to women (and also to men) than mere sex.

What can be done to combat an excessive feminism, which can develop into a very serious threat in our civilization, especially in countries where the feminine element is missing in the religious traditions? Women who want to be men might even be a greater menace than effeminate men — *vide* Northern Europe’s terror scene.⁵²

What is the answer? We have to create a better culture and civilization for women altogether. Men have to learn to like and to love women *in general*, not only in particular. They have to see in them not just “inferior males,”⁵³ but human beings *sui generis*. They have to learn to establish genuine friendships with women. Biological research in the last 30 years has uncovered an ever-increasing amount of facts which point to the far-reaching differences between the two sexes. Men have to cultivate the male virtues of generosity and humor⁵⁴ in order to like these female foibles, wiles and true qualities. Feminism has increased misogyny by leaps and bounds in all countries where it has become a dynamic force.⁵⁵ Affection, courtesy and even veneration for the “weaker sex” are on the wane and even respect is rapidly diminishing. Chivalry (“undemocratic”!) is giving way to rudeness: male responsibility towards women in their personal relations is nearly extinct. The commercial exploitation of the female body has reached an incredible height. In vain do radical feminists protest against it. If women compete against men, they will either be beaten and become ridiculous (which they can very ill afford),⁵⁶ or be really successful and speed up the misogynous drives in our society.⁵⁷ In either case they will be tragic losers. How then can women really win? Very simply:

By being women!

NOTES

1. Professor Page Smith in a brilliant book *Daughter of the Promised Land* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), p. 339 has written that American husbands and wives are frequently bored, desperately seeking for this false dream of “fulfillment.” “It is this restless passion for ‘personal fulfillment’ that disfigures our age.”

2. The Catholic formula (for both sexes) is: *Spoliatus gratuitis, vulneratus in naturalibus* — deprived

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of the extraordinary benefits, wounded in his (or her) nature." Reformation theology takes a much more pessimistic view.

3. Apart from death (to which Adam as well as Eve are exposed) it is in Adam's case hard work "in the sweat of thy nostrils" (*beezei appäka*).

4. Which also means that absolute equality between the sexes is an "Edenistic" notion.

5. Whereas a normal male will produce a sudden pupillary reaction at the sight of a nude female body only, a woman will show the pupillary reaction even more strongly at the sight of a naked woman — because she identifies herself with her "situation." Cf. Dr. Ekkehard Kloehe, *Typisch weiblich? Typisch männlich?* (Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe, 1979), p. 131.

6. Sexually this is true even if we speak of the mammals. Female orgasm is part of the human evolution. Cf. Lucius F. Cervantes S.J. *And God Made Man and Woman* (Chicago: Regnery, 1959) p. 63, 79.

7. Cf. Romans, 5, 19-23.

8. Cf. Genesis, 3, 16. There exists a translation which says "I will multiply the pains of thy conceptions (pregnancies)" interpreting the Hebrew *ue* with of. But the Septuagint makes it absolutely clear: "I will multiply thy pains *and* thy conceptions."

9. The very important work of this great Christian philosopher *Ungewißheit und Wagnis* (Salzburg: Pustet, 1937) does not seem to exist in English.

10. This is one of the great examples of an intellectual, affectionate friendship between a man and a woman. Max Weber's wife was a good deal older than Wust. Their letters were published under the title *Wege der Freundschaft*, ed. W. Th. Cleve (Heidelberg: Kerle, 1951).

11. Among beasts the females live, as a rule, longer than the males, but the upright position of human beings, created a grave birth hazard for women. It is "male" medicine which radically changed the situation since the 19th century.

12. Actually in many countries health insurance for girls and women costs more than for men.

13. I have seen women in Central Africa performing physical work and carrying loads which men *admittedly* would not be capable of.

14. Cf. René Dumont, *L'Afrique noire est mal partie* (Paris: Seuil, 1962), p. 188-190. Women work three times longer, on the average, than the men.

15. Which means that men are the artificial, women the natural creatures. Still, his nipples remind him of his female origin, from which the "y" in his chromosomes removed him. Castrated male toads automatically revert to fertile female patterns. Cf. *Brockhaus-Enzyklopädie* (1970), Vol. 9, p. 289.

16. Cf. *The Human Life Review*, Fall 1977, pp. 107-108.

17. We eschew the idiotic expression "male chauvinism," the result of modern illiteracy, though we have to admit that "sexism" is not very much better either.

18. Cf. Beatrice Flad-Schmorrenberg, "Ist das weibliche Gehirn anders?" *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Dec. 19, 1973, p. 25.

19. Karl Bednarik in his *Die Krise des Mannes* (Vienna: Molden, 1968), p. 137, considers a new matriarchy not a menace, but something worse: "symmetrism" between the sexes.

20. This statement is in keeping with the School of Cultural Circles which originated in Central Europe: it never made any headway in the United States. It was deemed to be 'clerical' as some of its thinkers were priests of the Society of the Divine Word: its founder was director of the Lateran Museum of Ethnology in Rome, Father Wilhelm Schmidt SVD.

21. In this connection read also Alexander Rüstow, *Ortsbestimmung der Gegenwart*, Vol. I. "Ursprung der Herrschaft" (Erlenbach-Zürich: E. Rentsch, 1950). Here we find also pertinent remarks on male domination. Rüstow, one of the most brilliant historic analysts of this century is practically unknown outside of the German-speaking countries as he has never been translated. His magistral *Ortsbestimmung*, richly documented, has three volumes.

22. Cf. I. Peter, 3, 7.

23. Cf. Ephesians 5, 25.

24. All the more marked is the downfall of womanhood under a Marxist régime, so severely censored by Alexander Solzhenitsyn. In traditionalist Britain we have a ruling Queen and a very conservative, equally Christian female Prime Minister. Could one imagine anything comparable in the officially godless USSR?

25. It is always the portrait of the acting Colonel or General of the Swiss army which hangs in public buildings. Men have to serve periodically in the army until they are 47 years old and have the *privilege* to continue until they are 52. Switzerland, after Israel, has also the highest military budget, sometimes up to 34 percent! Yet there is also another explanation for the delay in the female vote. William Rappard once said that Switzerland had no female suffrage because she was essentially a middle-class country.

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26. In March 1982 two Austrian institutes, Fessl and I.F.E.S., researching public opinion found out that 9 out of 10 Austrians are indifferent to politics and that practically everybody complained that politics and economics no longer are "transparent" (*durchschaubar*).
27. One of them, Ida Friederike Görres, *née* Countess Coudenhove-Kalergi, a half-Japanese was a noted Catholic author. (Some of her books were published in England and America.) Yet the great sorrow in her life was that she had no children.
28. We know several such cases. One of them concerns a young Tyrolean painter who at the age of 15 produced extraordinary pictures (many of them transformed into picture postcards), completely ceased to paint after having given birth to several children.
29. The well-known Europeans who came as volunteers to the United States to participate in the War of Independence all belonged to the nobility: Kościuszko, Steuben, Lafayette, Pulaski. The most interesting, colorful and courageous one (*therefore* unknown), Armand Tuffin, Marquis de la Rouërie, fought in America against the British, in France against the Revolution. (There was *no* "American Revolution," but merely a War of Independence!)
30. Cf. Charles and Mary Beard, *America in Mid-Passage* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), Vol. 3, pp. 922-923.
31. The mother with three children who fight over six apples will make peace by declaring that she will distribute them "justly" — but that means two apples to each one. Yet maybe that one child merited three apples and another one none. We are in reality all unequal — above all in the eyes of God. Judas Iscariot was not equal to St. John (nor am I). There is often only adverbial equality: I and Ted Kennedy equally have banking accounts but not equal accounts.
32. Cf. Choderlos de Laclos, *Les liaisons dangereuses*, ed. Yves le Hir (Paris: Garnier, 1961), p. viii (from the diary of the author) "There is no happiness outside of the family." Also: Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Paul et Virginie* (Paris: Garnier, n.D.), p. 249. "Happiness one only experiences with a good woman."
33. He has also the title of Supreme Pontiff. *Pontifex* originally means Bridge-builder, and this is what the Pope also should be.
34. I once wrote in a column published by a diocesan weekly that my sympathy for all those unemployed who could work in a household is nil as servants are very scarce in America (or now in Europe). I received a furious letter from a longshoreman who told me in so many words that free Americans consider it debasing to care for the bodily needs of others. I had to remind him not only that Christ washed the feet of the Apostles (including Judas), but also that the Catholic emperors and kings had to wash the feet of 12 paupers on every Maundy Thursday. (His wife then had to wait on them at the ensuing lunch.) And what Christ (and the monarchs) did he ought not to be ashamed of doing himself.
35. Rivarol exclaimed: "The public, the public! How many idiots are necessary to make up a public?"
36. The New Testament abounds in warnings against "falling into line with the *aion*," to "conform" (For instance, Romans 12, 2). The *aion* means both: the World and the Time.
37. Not many saints were popular, some of the world's greatest monsters were immensely popular. A democrat, unfortunately, has to believe that there is a real relationship between popularity and quality.
38. Originally Adam tried to make friends with the animals, whom he gave names, but as companions they proved inadequate. When God realized this he created Eve as a real partner. (Genesis 2, 20 sq.) Men often start their lives as boys by trying to associate with animals and remembering this period are prone to give to their beloved ones the names of animals. . .
39. Cf. I Cor. 11, 7.
40. In 1982 for the first time in history more young Austrian women than men received a bachelor's degree. All analysts agreed that the reason for this was in a larger number of male drop-outs. (Another reason is the earlier intellectual development among girls in the 10-18 age-group. High-school and College on the Continent are one school: Universities are graduate schools.)
41. Male homosexuals usually like women and often cultivate friendships with them: Lesbians, on the other hand, more often than not, truly hate men.
42. This is evident from lesbian and feminist literature. Very outspoken in this respect is Betsy Ettore *Lesbians, Women and Society* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980). Miss Ettore is an American-born ex-nun and an active member of the British Labour Party. She insists that lesbianism must be propagated and spread (which she thinks can be easily done) in order to win the battle for feminism. Leftism is egalitarian and hating otherness. Its vision is a country of one language, one race, one class, one type of education, one income, one party — it probably would also like to see "one sex."

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43. The insoluble marriage (or, rather, the veto against remarriage while the other partner lives) has created grave human problems. The question is, whether the present marriage-chaos has not created even greater problems for the partners and their children alike. One also has to ask the question whether divorce as an "easy way out" has taken away the incentive for many to "work" on their marriage.
44. The chance that they become homosexuals or lesbians is considerably increased. Some of these children are also fatherless to the extent that they are products of artificial insemination.
45. Thus the birthrate of the German Federal Republic is less than half of that of the "Democratic Republic." (Because life in the latter is much harder?!) The limitation of births happens in countries which need it least.
46. Cf. André Dupuyrat, *Savage Papua* (New York: Dutton, 1954), pp. 247-249.
47. Cf. Sigrid Undset, *Selvportretter og Landskapsbilleder* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1938), pp. 185-196.
48. Cf. Lucius Cervantes S.J. *Op. cit.* p. 54: "Even discounting female malaises, women are still sick 20% more often than men."
49. In the time between the wars the Socialist Party in Austria had a weekly for their female members, *Die Unzufriedene* ("The Dissatisfied One"). To nag is a female, not a typically male vice.
50. He who wants to see in the Natural Law anything more than the most ephemeral leanings should read a most interesting book about the Auca-Indians in East Ecuador, Rosemary Kingsland's *A Saint Among Savages* (London: Collins, 1980). He would learn that mothers there put crying babies into a hole in the earth and trample on it while young girls who fail sexually with their lovers might be spared.
51. Cf. Sigmund Freud, *Gesammelte Werke* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1969), Vol. 8, p. 91.
52. The "wanted"-posters of the German Federal Republic dealing with terrorism showed in 1979 four men and twelve women. On last year's issue, however, there were five men and "only" ten women — all with unloved faces. These criminals had good middle-class backgrounds and largely "north German" names.
53. Unfortunately Aristotle had such a theory and it was roughly repeated by Thomas Aquinas. Not even the human ovum was known in their times.
54. Women can very well enjoy humor passively, but in their very large literary production there are practically no humorous writings . . . or paintings. (In this respect the cartoons of the late Helen Hokinson were an exception, though they were nearly all directed against her own sex.)
55. We see this especially in the great revival of August Strindberg who besides Henri de Montherlant was probably this century's most outstanding misogynist. Significantly enough Strindberg died in the shadow of the Cross and Montherlant ended as a suicide.
56. Men beaten in competition with other men might be tempted to dislike or to hate them as persons; if licked by women their ire will also turn against their sex. The battle of the sexes would thereby receive a new impetus.
57. There have been puritanical and misogynous drives in early Christianity (some of them reaching into the Middle Ages), but these did not come from genuinely Christian, but from Gnostic and Manichean sources. St. Jerome was exposed to these influences, but already St. John Chrysostom warned us that we should not be ashamed of the undefiled marriage bed: only *heretics* do that and customers of harlots. Cf. See his homily on Colossians, 4, in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 62, col. 388-389.

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[The following address by Dr. Herbert Ratner (whose article "The Natural Institution" appears in this issue) was first given at a public symposium on abortion sponsored by the Illinois Medical Society on March 15, 1967 in Chicago. At that time Dr. Ratner was public health director in Oak Park, Illinois. It was originally printed in the Illinois State Medical Journal (May, 1967) and later in Child and Family (1968, #7). It is reprinted here with permission.]

A Public Health Physician Views Abortion

Herbert Ratner

Back in 1860, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes delivered an address before the Massachusetts Medical Society entitled "Currents and Counter-currents in Medical Science." This address was an endeavor to set up a counter-current to reverse the excessive therapeutic activity characteristic of the physician. Dr. Holmes attributed this excess, in great part, to the immense outside pressure from the public which was forcing the physician to active intervention of some kind; and, in smaller part, to the physician's tendency to self-delusion concerning his accomplishments. In the course of developing his thesis, Dr. Holmes gave us one of those profound, timeless insights that deserve our most sober consideration as we attempt to render a professional judgment concerning the wisdom of extending indications for induced abortions.

He called attention to the unsuspected, close "relation between the medical sciences and the conditions of society and the general thought of our time" with this statement: that although "theoretically medicine ought to go on its own straightforward inductive path without regard to changes of government or to fluctuations of public opinion . . . the truth is that medicine, professionally founded on observation, is as sensitive to outside influences, political, religious, philosophical, imaginative, as is the barometer to the changes of atmospheric density."¹

Dr. Holmes describes this susceptibility of medicine to nonmedical factors and urges the physician who has any respect for his profession to firmly adhere to the medical principles of his science and art.

A similar thought expressed more recently by two leading social scientists in a book entitled *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings*² provides a contemporary counterpart which also deserves our sober consideration.

This is *Time's* version of the book's conclusion:

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Today's behavioral man is "a depressing creature with a vast talent for distorting reality because of psychological needs. (He) thinks what fits his wishes, says what pleases his peers, avoids conflict and protects his neuroses. He votes with his friends, wants what he has to work for, and thinks his group or organization ranks higher than it does. If threatened with disillusionment, he simply slides into fantasy, and reality pays the price."³

Fictitious Statistics

The following are some illustrations of this tendency in scientists (and the mass communicators who follow them) "to distort reality to fit their wishes."

1. The misstatement that there are ten thousand deaths a year from illegal abortion.⁴

But the fact, as established at a three day Planned Parenthood Conference of 43 experts and as reported by Dr. Mary Calderone, its medical director at this time, is:

"I can tell you that in 1957 there were only 260 deaths in the whole country attributed to abortion of any kind. Abortion is no longer a dangerous procedure, and this applies not just to therapeutic abortions as done in hospitals, but also to so-called illegal abortions . . ." ⁵

That was the figure for 1957. In 1963, for the U.S. as a whole, there were 275 deaths attributed to abortion of any kind. Of these deaths only 144 were due to abortions that were criminal, self-induced, or without legal indications. Total maternal deaths for the U.S. in 1963—and this includes all other maternal deaths as well as abortion deaths—only numbered 1400.⁶

What makes the statistic of 10,000 deaths yearly somewhat outlandish is that the total number of deaths of women in the reproductive age period is only, mind you, only 50,000 yearly. If the 10,000 figure were correct, it would mean that one out of five women between the ages of 15 and 45 who die dies of an abortion. This hardly leaves room for deaths from other causes. Deaths from cancer, cardiovascular and kidney disease number by themselves about half of the 50,000 deaths of women between the ages of 15 and 45. Deaths from automobile and other accidents number another 7,000. Additionally there are lesser numbers of deaths from influenza and pneumonia, cirrhosis of the liver, diabetes, tuberculosis and all of the numerous other causes.⁷ It is a preposterous figure and should not be used, least of all by the medical profession which has a responsibility to speak accurately. The figure, incidentally, is extrapolated from some highly unrepresentative data collected from

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patients attending a New York City birth control clinic in the pre-antibiotic years of 1925-1929.⁸

2. The misstatement that there are a million or a million and a half illegal abortions a year.⁹

But this is what a special committee on abortion, chaired by Dr. Christopher Tietze and including Dr. Alan Guttmacher, says: "A plausible estimate of the frequency of induced abortion in the U.S. could be as low as 200,000 and as high as 1,200,000, depending upon the assumptions made . . . and the assessment of bias. *There is no objective basis for the selection of a particular figure between those two estimates as an approximation of the actual frequency.*" (italics added)¹⁰

Since there were only 3,500,000 live births in the U.S. in 1966,¹¹ and since contraception has long been available to 5/6ths of all women at reproductive age, the figure of one million abortions yearly, which gives a ratio of abortions to live births of 1 to 3.5, seems highly improbable. In Sweden where abortion is legalized and where abortion has become a cultural pattern, the rate of abortion to live births in 1963 was only 1 to 31, or ninefold less.¹²

Fanciful embryology

The same distortion of reality occurs when we move from statistics to the science of embryology. Abortion protagonists refer to the unborn offspring as a part of the mother not significantly different from sperm or egg,¹³ a piece of tissue, an inchoate being, a small mass of cells, a blob, a parasite, a tumor.

When *Life* editorializes in favor of abortion, it states, "A fetus is a living body—but not a human being until birth."¹⁴ However, in their earlier unique pictorial story, "The Drama of Life Before Birth, *Life*" states, "The birth of a human *really* occurs at the moment the mother's egg cell is fertilized by one of the father's sperm cells." (italics added)¹⁵

We find a similar situation with the *New York Times*. A recent article, "The New Medical Specialty, Fetology—The World of the Unborn" states, "Scientists generally agree (that at) the coming together of egg and sperm . . . conception takes place (and) a new life . . . a new human being . . . begins."¹⁶ It refers to it as a "small miracle." This scientific fact, however, is not reflected in its editorial pages.

Another example of the scientist's capacity to distort reality is Dr. Alan Guttmacher's recent testimony before the New York State Assembly Committees on Code and Health that legal abortions are "magnificently safe."¹⁷ (When we can no longer say this about an aspirin tablet, one wonders what miracle of science permits us to say it about an abor-

tion.) Contrarily, however, Dr. Christopher Tietze, director of research for the National Committee on Maternal Health, and a close working colleague of Dr. Guttmacher, is reported as saying something quite different at Johns Hopkins University. He urged that "an international research effort be undertaken to find safe and simple methods of terminating pregnancy."¹⁸

Finally, I would like to call attention to a particularly grievous error which appeared in the *Chicago Daily News* in its recent series on abortion.¹⁹ It inferred that Hippocrates was a hypocrite; that at the high level of pious declaration he said one thing, but in the daily expediencies of practice he did another. The *News* contrasted a case history (in which Hippocrates helped a young lady to abort) to his great oath (in which he clearly and unequivocally speaks against abortion). But there is no such case history written by Hippocrates,²⁰ and the medical profession has a right to resent the slandering of this great pagan physician who gave medicine its moral imprint and eternal dedication to the preservation of life and who first distinguished medicine as a profession from that of a technology or trade. The error originated with Dr. Frederick Taussig in his book, *The Medical and Social Aspects of Abortion*, published in 1936,²¹ and has been repeated with great avidity and regularity by proponents of abortion who fail to distinguish fiction from fact.

These are just a few examples of how we get carried away today by our desires and enthusiasms. The problem continues as we make claims for future benefits to be derived from a relaxation of the abortion laws. Last fall, at the annual meeting of the American Public Health Association in San Francisco, Dr. Christopher Tietze admonished us, before embarking on any changes of abortion laws, to study the experiences of other countries, from which we have much to learn.²²

These are some of the utilitarian and pragmatic things we can learn.

Case histories from abroad

1. That where abortion laws are relaxed, contraception is discarded or ignored. This seems to be a universal phenomenon. Actually, abortion now is the most widely used single method of birth control throughout the world, according to Prof. Ronald Freedman.²³ Rather than take a powerful, disruptive, dangerous hormone pill, or carry a permanent foreign body inside, or use diaphragms or jellies, women prefer to accept nature as it is. In Japan women who are active sexually and don't want babies find it simpler to have abortions approximately every eight months until sterility sets in.²⁴

Dr. Franc Novak of Yugoslavia devoted an entire talk to this subject

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at the Singapore Conference of International Planned Parenthood. Under the title, "Why Does Contraception Meet So Many Difficulties in Superseding Abortions?" Dr. Novak said the following:

"In spite of great needs, contraception is very slow in spreading while abortions are on a steady increase, threatening to become a real epidemic. Why do women not prefer contraception, which is simpler and less unpleasant, to abortion? In our country, there are no visible obstacles to modern contraception; on the contrary, it is even supported, encouraged and stimulated. In a socialist society prophylaxis stands in the foreground of medical thinking and acting. It is included in our health service whose duty is to put it into practice . . . Our propaganda meets with no obstacles. Lectures, pamphlets, films, radio and television are at our disposal—and yet our progress is slow. Religion represents no obstacles in our country . . . It seems that the greatest obstacle to the spread of contraception lies in liberal permission of artificial abortions. Through widespread abortions a state of mind is created with women that abortion represents the chief means for planned parenthood."²⁵

At the same meeting Dr. Hans Harmsen of Western Germany stated that legalization of abortion increased the pregnancy rate, and Dr. Tietze added that with abortion legislation contraceptives were practiced in a more slipshod manner.²⁶

The conclusion is clear. Relaxation of the abortion laws will stimulate the need for more abortions and will increase rather than decrease the abortion problem.

2. Contrary to general belief and propaganda, liberalized indications for abortion along the lines envisaged for the United States in imitation of Sweden will *not* reduce the incidence of criminal abortions as alleged. Dr. Tietze in his San Francisco paper entitled "*Abortion in Europe*," states that although "one of the major goals of the liberalization of abortion laws in Scandinavia was to reduce the incidence of illegal abortion," this was not accomplished. Rather, as we know from a variety of sources, both criminal and total abortions increased.²⁷

Even were we to permit abortion on demand as in the Eastern European countries, which would result in "spectacular increases in the incidence of legal abortions" as compared to Sweden, even then criminal abortion would still persist.²⁸

Let me illustrate this with Hungary which has the highest rate of legal abortions and where abortion is available on request. Whereas for each 1000 live births in Sweden there are only 32 legal abortions, in Hungary for each 1000 live births there are 1400 legal abortions, more abortions

than births, and 44 times the Swedish number. For the U.S. this would be close to five million legal abortions annually as against three and a half million live births. Despite this massive blood bath, which Dr. Hartman²⁸ tells me is resulting in increased depressive reactions and breakdowns among guilt ridden Hungarian physicians,²⁹ illegal abortion remains. Dr. Tietze thinks illegal abortion survives because of the "relative lack of privacy of the official procedure."³⁰ It seems apparent then that anyone knowing these figures would be less than honest, and to some extent cruel, if he continued to urge a change in abortion laws along the lines of the so-called model code of the American Law Institute, for the purpose of rescuing women from criminal abortions.

3. To be most pragmatic, let us not forget that the liberty to abort makes the physician more like a god than is good for him. Abortions are also lucrative. We've experienced the prevalence of unnecessary operations and the invasiveness of the attitude that justifies them. We know that in the effort to please patients some of the profession have a great talent for descending to the lowest common denominator. If today some licensed physicians practicing in approved hospitals disregard both the letter and the spirit of the legal therapeutic abortion by performing abortions that are in no way "necessary for the preservation of the woman's life,"³¹ what reason is there to think that tomorrow were the law made more permissive and the indications more tenuous, physicians would be more respectful of the law? We will again hear the old refrain by an even larger chorus, "If I don't do it somebody else will." But this time we will be dealing with delicate decisions of life and death.

4. Increased numbers of abortions universally result in increased impairment of both physical and mental health. That is why none of the countries where abortions have been extended are happy about their high and increasing abortion rates.

Dr. Novak from Yugoslavia in the article referred to above simply refers to "The evil consequences of liberally permitted abortions . . ." ³² Dr. Klinger of the Hungarian Central Office of Statistics commenting on the Eastern European experience states, ". . . induced abortion is . . . one of the chief means of birth control. Its deleterious effect on health is sufficient reason to change the present-day situation."³³

"The great Soviet experiment of free abortion, which continued for eight years after the revolution, still affords us the best evidence of physical injury following the operation," according to Dr. Muller.³⁴ Dr. DeLee reports the morbidity of that experience as follows: "Russia, which has legalized abortion has completely reversed its position under the accumu-

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lated bad experience with 140,000 such operations a year. The authorities call the practice a serious psychic, moral and social evil and inherently dangerous even when performed *lege artis*. They found trauma—uterine perforation, cervical laceration and stenosis, parametritis, etc.—ectopic pregnancy and biological trauma—amenorrhea, sterility, endocrinopathies. Subsequent labor was more often pathologic: placenta praevia, atonia uteri, adherent placenta, postpartum hemorrhage and postpartum fever (32%).³⁵

At the Singapore meeting of International Planned Parenthood, Dr. Nobuo Shinozaki, of the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare, made these revealing remarks about abortion and the quality of living in Japan.

“To be honest, in spite of the increasing economic development, our national life is not by comparison so much happier . . . Certainly the technical advance since the war has been remarkable, but it does not follow that parallel improvements have been made in the actual people . . . In short, modern civilization or culture has caused human beings to modify human nature to part of a machine, which is toward an ‘alienation’ of the human being. As a result, we find in Japan that death by accident or suicide is highest in the under 24 year age group. To be added to this is the damage to the nervous system and sexual problems, especially sexual apathy and impotence. The practice of family planning is inevitable and it has a very important role in every era, but where it combines with other factors to ignore the quality of human life it must be reassessed. In conclusion I recall the saying, ‘The longest way round is often the shortest way home.’”³⁶

The responsible physician

I will close with some observations as a public health officer who shares with other physicians the obligation of his profession to serve all human beings not only equally, but equally *well*. I add *well* to *equally*, because it has long been known that private patients are the recipients of more meddlesome midwifery than ward patients—to use the famous phrase of a famous Chicago obstetrician, Dr. Rudolph Holmes. If affluent patients have a greater incidence of induced labors or induced abortions, it does not follow that true democracy demands that the poor also reap this overabundance. In medicine, we want human beings to share the beneficial, not the detrimental. And when we talk about human beings we mean all human beings; not simply the rich and not simply the adult.

It took a long time to get the child into the obstetrical picture. In the

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early fifties we enlarged the concept of the American Association for Maternal Welfare to include Child Welfare. Today the good obstetrician no longer doubts that in pregnancy he serves two patients. If he has doubts, the good pediatrician will remind him. And if we do have a defective fetus, it is not his annihilation but his care, cure and rehabilitation which is the mark of the good physician and the road to medical progress.

Let us not be misled by the Latin term *fetus*. When translated into English all it means is *the young one, the young in the womb, the unborn offspring*. If we attend to the etymology of *infant*, which means *not to speak*, we can see that the fetus is even more of an infant than the infant; for it can't even cry, or if it could it couldn't be heard. Who is there to speak in defense of this unborn infant but the physician?

If we have joined legislative forces *against* parents to combat the evil of the battered child syndrome, can we support a movement which makes permissive a medical partnership *with* parents which does the opposite—which extends to an earlier age what we forbid at a later age? Can we not see that what is advocated as therapeutic for the mother is hardly therapeutic for the child? After taking up the cudgel against the battered child syndrome are we now going to pick up the curette and replace the extrauterine with the intrauterine battered child syndrome?

Mrs. Sherri Finkbine, of thalidomide fame, frantically raced to get her abortion for she knew that once she felt life, that once quickening took place, she would never be able to go through with it. Aristotle also held the position that abortion before quickening, but not after, was permissible because of the absence of animation and therefore the animated soul. But surely the modern doctor has traveled a long distance from the third century B.C. and the embryology of Aristotle, and beyond the lay person's understanding of when life is present. The word doctor means teacher and a grave teaching job confronts us.

For this we first of all need honesty—the honesty of Planned Parenthood's pamphlet entitled, *Plan Your Children for Health and Happiness*, which in answer to the question, "Is birth control an abortion?" answers, "Definitely not. An abortion kills the life of a baby after it has begun. It is dangerous to your life and health. It may make you sterile so that when you want a child you cannot have it."³⁷

And we need the honesty of Dr. Mary Calderone when she said in 1959, "Believe me, I am not for it (indiscriminate abortion) for, aside from the fact that abortion is the taking of life, I am mindful of what was brought out by our psychiatrists, that in almost every case abortion,

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whether legal or illegal, is a traumatic experience that may have severe kickbacks later on.”³⁸

And secondly, we must profoundly grasp the import of the proposed provision permitting the abortion of an unborn offspring by virtue of a defect. This represents a radical departure from the entire tradition of medicine. It permits a physician to decide, on the basis of his estimate of a defect, who is to live and who is to die. It initiates the beginning of a brand new end of medicine. To the perfective, preventive and curative ends we can now add Exterminative Medicine. Where it will stop no one knows. The lessons of the Nazi era and the Nuremberg trials have obviously not been learned.

Perhaps Dr. Joseph DeLee, the former and great University of Chicago Lying-In medical director, the obstetrician whose pioneering work as guardian of maternal life and health catapulted Chicago obstetrics into world leadership, says it best.

He said it in a long editorial note in 1940. His remark is best appreciated in the light of an earlier editorial note that appeared in 1927.

In 1927 he stated bluntly, “The only thing I have to say about therapeutic abortions is that there are not enough done.”³⁹

But appreciation of life becomes sweet with experience and age. I close with his statement of 1940:

“All doctors (except abortionists) feel that the principles of the sanctity of human life, held since the time of the ancient Jews and Hippocrates and stubbornly defended by the Catholic Church are correct. And we are pained when placed before the necessity of sacrificing it. At the present time, when rivers of blood and tears of innocent men, women and children are flowing in most parts of the world, it seems silly to be contending over the right to live of an unknowable atom of human flesh in the uterus of a woman. No, it is not silly. On the contrary, it is of transcendent importance that there be in this chaotic world one high spot, however small, which is against the deluge of immorality that is sweeping over us. That we the medical profession hold to the principle of the sacredness of human life and the right of the individual even though unborn is proof that humanity is not yet lost and that we may ultimately obtain salvation.”⁴⁰

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[The following newspaper column, written by Mr. Buckley last August, appeared nationwide after the Planned Parenthood ads he refers to had run in such newspapers as the New York Times and the Washington Post. It is reprinted here with permission (©1982 by the Universal Press Syndicate).]

Extremism Abounding

William F. Buckley, Jr.

The Planned Parenthood people are featuring a full-page ad of a bed, with three people under the covers sitting upright, unsmiling. On the left the young woman, in her nightie. On the right, the young man in his pajamas. Between them, dressed in a business suit, a grim-faced middle-aged man. The headline: "The Decision to Have a Baby Could Soon Be Between You, Your Husband and Your Senator."

The brief textual message warns that the U. S. Senate will soon vote on a bill which "could deprive you of your most fundamental personal rights: the right to have the number of children you want. When you want them. Or to have none at all." And it continues: "Sponsoring the bills are Jesse Helms, Orrin Hatch and other right-wing U. S. Senators who will stop at nothing to impose their particular religious and personal beliefs on you."

Now, we live in an age when people will publicly swear to it that to be refreshed you need only a glass of Coca-Cola, or to be nourished a cup full of Wheaties, or to live vigorously a tablespoonful of Geritol; and we smile at our own commercial exuberance. But along the way a lobby in America crystallized that began to insist on certain restrictions. They tend to crowd under the generic heading of truth-in-selling. What galls is that the very same people who are mobilizing to resist outrageous hyperbole by corn-flakes vendors sponsor, and tolerate, the kind of disingenuous, hypocritical blather for which the Planned Parenthood association should be driven out of business.

The Hatch Bill seeks to return to the states the powers they exercised up until 1973. It is that simple. The bill in question is indeed sponsored by those who disapprove of abortion. To reason from the disapproval of abortion an aggressive desire to regulate the size of a family is as responsible as to charge that any senator who opposes infanticide aggresses against the sovereign right of the parents to decide on how large a family

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to have. One would not think it necessary to lecture to Planned Parenthood on alternative ways of regulating the size of a family than by abortion.

And then the sly business about senators who “will stop at nothing to impose their particular religious and personal beliefs on you.” What is that supposed to mean? What beliefs is a legislator supposed to act upon? Elvis Presley’s? If a legislator believes that it is religiously wrong, let us say, to kill one’s aged grandparent, is he exercising sectarian aggression in acting on that belief by voting against euthanasia? Senator Helms is a Baptist, Hatch a Mormon. Are we supposed to ask what is the religion of the Planned Parenthood people, and are they “acting” on that religion in insisting that the newly discovered (1973) right to terminate the life of an unborn child be guaranteed by the federal government?

What gets you about the pro-abortion people, when all is said and done, is their persistent refusal to face up to the only serious question involved in this heated controversy. It is as if, 150 years ago, slave-owners had taken out full-page ads asking whether you wanted the Congress of the United States to decide whether you could own property. No, no, no, the abolitionists said. It isn’t a question of whether people should be permitted to own property. It is a question of whether black people can qualify as property. Well, the right-to-life people are saying no, no, no, the question isn’t how large a family the parents desire, the question is whether the implementation of that right should include the right to kill a substance which is more accurately described as human life than as animal life.

It could be that the Achilles’ heel of the pro-abortionists is marvelously revealed in such an ad as this one. Their argument, you see, is reduced to a level so ridiculous, it would be hard to find an African witch doctor who wouldn’t be embarrassed by the use of it. There simply aren’t that many Americans who really believe that what threatens in Washington is a senatorial presence in the bedchamber. If they can believe that, they can believe anything, including the proposition, manifestly preposterous, that the Planned Parenthood people are responsible citizens. A crude way to put it is that those who devised that particular ad could justifiably accuse their parents of permissiveness.

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[*The following article first appeared in the Washington Times, June 21, 1982, and is reprinted here with permission (the only deletion from the original is the boxed chart used to illustrate the monetary figures used in this text). Mr. Oliphant is a lawyer currently working in Washington; several of his articles have appeared previously in our review. (©1982 by The Washington Times).*]

On the Devaluation of Having Children

Lincoln Oliphant

In 1948, the year I was born, the birth of a dependent qualified parents for a \$600 tax exemption. Since the median money income of all American families was then \$3,187, each exemption was equal to nearly 19 percent of median family income.

That year, a taxpayer with a net income of \$3,000 and four exemptions (e.g. a wage earner with a spouse and two children) paid \$100 in federal taxes, for an effective tax rate of 3.3 percent.

In 1980, my wife gave birth to our second child. The tax situation facing families in the 1980's is significantly different, however, from the situation of the 1940's.

In 1980, median family income was \$21,023. A family of four with an adjusted gross income of \$20,000 paid \$2,260 in federal taxes, for an effective rate of 11.3 percent. Each dependent qualified for a \$1,000 exemption, which is equal to just 4.8 percent of median family income.

As far the federal tax code is concerned, the social value of children has depreciated by nearly 75 percent over the past three decades. (For tax purposes, it takes four 1980 children to equal one 1948 child.) I have seen the babies of the class of 1948 and the babies of 1980 so I can say with some authority that it does not take four of *them* to equal one of *us*. Except, of course, in the Internal Revenue Code where many things which are otherwise self-evident become contorted.

Babies have not changed all that much. What has changed perhaps is the public perception of a baby's social utility. There now appears to be a baby resurgence, but the events of the decades since 1948 have rocked the institutions which formerly rocked America's cradles.

The social devaluation of babies which occurred primarily during the '60's and '70's partially explains the stagnation in tax policy, and in part the fiscal devaluation of babies is traceable to the voraciousness of a

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national government that spent about 14 percent of gross national product in 1950 and more than 22 percent in 1980. Such a fiscal environment does not favor tax exemptions, even for apple pie or motherhood—oil and gas shelters are something else, of course.

After three decades, then, two of our major socioeconomic indicators show that big government is up 50 percent, little kids are down 75 percent, and the trend is continuing. Eugene Steuerle, a Washington economist, has calculated that single persons and married couples with no dependents will face essentially the same average tax rates in 1984 as in 1960. A couple with two dependents will have their average tax rate increase 43 percent during the same period. A couple with four dependents will experience an increase of 223 percent.

One wonders about the wisdom of a tax system that is ineluctably shifting the tax burden to families with children. I hold to the conviction that a country has no greater responsibility than the development of its successor generations, and the term successor generations implies babies.

If the country's investment in bearing and nurturing children is as important as I think it is, then we ought to include babies and their taxpaying parents in the next tax bill.

Tax policy will never be the same if America's fathers and mothers learn how their children have been devalued, and take this lesson with them into the voting booth. And the year that this knowledge is conveyed to politicians will be downright progressive. Just like 1948.

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