

the HUMAN LIFE REVIEW



FALL 1987

Featured in this issue:

Joseph Sobran on AIDS & Social Progress

James Hitchcock on Inventing the Future

Richard A. Kruse on The Strange Case
of 'Baby M'

John F. Matthews on . . . Are Bystanders Innocent?

Thomas Griffith on Marching for Life

Frank Zepezauer on The Manpower Crisis

Ben J. Wattenberg on The Birth Dearth

E. von Kuehnelt-Leddihn on Having Children

Also in this issue:

Wm. F. Buckley Jr. • Nat Hentoff • Dr. Allen Jay
Don Feder • Colonel Robert de Marcellus

Clipped

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. . . FROM THE PUBLISHER

With this our 52nd issue we complete 13 years of publication. No mean feat when you consider the accomplishment of bringing to these pages the finest young writers (many previously unpublished) found anywhere. Little did we realize, when we started this venture, the wealth of talent that would become available to us and the forum we would be able to provide. We hope to continue as long as we have the wherewithal to do so.

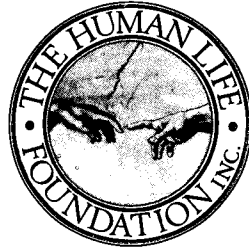
Ben Wattenberg's article is adapted from his new book *The Birth Dearth: What Happens When People in Free Countries Don't Have Enough Babies?* We regret that we could not publish more of it—we recommend the book itself to anyone concerned with the “population problem”—and hope that we'll have more from Mr. Wattenberg in due course. (If you don't find *The Birth Dearth* in your bookstore, you can order it from the publisher, Pharos Books, 200 Park Avenue., NYC 10016; \$16.95 a copy.)

Of course you may already have heard about *The Birth Dearth* yourself. Not only has it angered the De-populators, but many Feminists as well, who are annoyed by Mr. Wattenberg's “tendency,” as Columnist Ellen Goodman put it, “to slip easily back into a traditional vernacular—woman as exclusive child raiser.” And *Time* magazine (Aug. 24) gave it an unusual full page, under the even more unusual heading “Ethics”! Having children has become an *ethical* problem? (You can see why we recommend the book.)

Full information about previous issues, bound volumes, microfilm copies, books available, etc., is printed on the inside back cover.

EDWARD A. CAPANO
Publisher

THE HUMAN LIFE REVIEW



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INTRODUCTION

OUR FRIEND JOSEPH SOBRAN has been absent from these pages recently, and we welcome him back. We think our readers will too: who but Joe can be counted on for lines such as “If termites could talk, they’d no doubt use the word ‘progress’ to describe the condition of the house right up to the moment it collapsed”? Or: “This new burst of faith in the condom must rank as one of the great moments of spiritual revitalization in the chronicles of modern liberalism. It surely rests in the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen, rather than in any recent material improvement in the quality of latex.”

Sobran writes about the AIDS plague, so a few laughs come as welcome relief from the depressing reality of that grim subject. Probably never before has a death-sentence disease been treated as “progressive” opinion has treated AIDS, and Sobran is, we’d say, right on target in explaining *why*: the entire “sexual revolution” is at stake, and its desperate defenders will promote any fantasy rather than admit that the Old Morality might be the *only* answer. The liberal mind, he says, “won’t admit that casual sex is a vice at all,” but “If monogamy and fidelity needed empirical support, AIDS is it.”

Sad to say, we will probably have much more on AIDS in future issues, not only because the moral questions it raises intersect those of many other issues that concern us, but also because the plague seems certain to get much worse, with no “solution” in sight. Still, a little truth can’t hurt, and Sobran provides quite a dose of it here.

So does another friend and regular contributor, Professor James Hitchcock, who, as it happens, also describes some “progressive” fantasies, this time about “the family.” Hitchcock’s cool, dry treatment may also give you some hearty laughs. Not so long ago, most of us thought we *knew* what a family was, how teenagers got with child—even how they might *avoid* such a plight—but, it seems, we failed to *define* the problems involved. Nowadays, Hitchcock tells us, problem-defining is not merely the necessary first step, but big business as well. Millions are evidently available for projects that can invent any future we want, provided we all agree to abandon both experience

and common sense. The funniest part of all is the participation in all this by people who know better—or *ought* to, given the positions they hold.

Next, Professor Richard Kruse reports on the much ballyhooed case of “Baby M,” whose natural mother agreed to become a “surrogate” for another woman, but changed her mind when it came to giving up the baby. Too late, said a New Jersey judge, who gave Baby M to her “natural” father. As we write, the state’s Supreme Court is hearing an appeal by the mother to regain the child. But, as Professor Kruse shows, there is a great deal more involved, and the court’s eventual ruling may well become a landmark decision in the still-unfolding drama of “surrogate motherhood” (a misnomer, surely?).

You will have no difficulty deciding which side Professor Kruse is on (indeed, he decided to eliminate some parts of his original piece which would have displeased the judge even more than what you read here). As anyone who has seen the TV coverage knows, the Baby M case stirs the emotions. What stirs *us* is the utterly cold-blooded content of the “contract” the judge ruled was legally valid. Kruse describes some of the terms (Mr. Murray Kempton provided more details—see *Appendix F* in our Spring issue); we regret that it is too lengthy to reprint here. But our favorite is the proviso that the natural mother must “assume all risks, including the risk of death.” This too is a story that is just beginning.

We now return to our “old” story, abortion, to hear again from another steady contributor, Professor John Matthews (now retired from Brandeis, and laboring over a novel). Mr. Matthews pulls no punches, e.g., he is quite willing to compare the abortion holocaust to the Nazi one—a comparison that draws angry—even outraged—responses from some Americans. He is also careful to remind us (as he has before in these pages) that the medical profession is a chief *financial* beneficiary of the abortion “industry,” and that we have “somehow managed in the name of what is called ‘progress’ to arrive at a situation in which the death penalty is reserved by law only for the innocent”—that the unborn “are executed without trial and without mercy.” As we say, strong stuff.

Matthews’ ultimate question is: “Are we freed from guilt simply because we are not doing the killing ourselves?” But along the way he asks a kind of broadly-ecumenical religious question: do abortionists ask themselves if there is “a Deity they could imagine as *approving* what they do?”

All this seems just the right introduction for Mr. Thomas Griffith’s article, which is one of the most unusual we’ve ever run. Indeed, our first thought was, *should* we run it? This journal is not a religious one, nor do we hold that belief in God is the sole basis for opposition to abortion (as you will see in the

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following articles, mere *patriotism* might well suffice). But the more we read of Mr. Griffith's tale, the more we thought that our readers would want to read it too. And just as he wrote it (our editing was minimal), for it is *his* story.

It is also a first-hand account of one of the marvels of the anti-abortion movement, the annual March on Washington. Every year since 1973, Miss Nellie Gray has staged a spectacular demonstration on the January 22 anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*. And every year, the media give wildly different estimates of the throng she leads from the White House to Capitol Hill—"pro-lifers" have counted as many as 100,000, some reporters a mere 30,000, and so on—but what has made it truly spectacular is that *every* year, in the dead of winter, the large crowds poured into town to find good (if sometimes bitter-cold) weather. Until *last* year, when a furious blizzard struck. We were there, and can assure you that Valley Forge could not have been worse—yet thousands (nobody could *see* to count them!) sloshed and stumbled through the entire course. We think you will find Mr. Griffith's account fascinating.

Some time back another regular contributor, Mr. Frank Zepezauer, sent us a piece we also thought unusual—not so much for what he says, but because we have long wondered why many *more* people haven't been writing about what Zepezauer calls our "desperate manpower crisis." To be sure, everybody now knows that we face the prospect of a declining population here at home—but we still hear much *more* about the alleged "over-population crisis" elsewhere.

As it happens, we had published what we thought was a most important article on the subject by Colonel Robert de Marcellus seven years ago (Winter, 1981). In fact, it did not receive the attention we expected it would—and should—attract. Now here was Zepezauer making many of the same points: that in addition to the social and political upheavals a shrinking population will surely produce, we will also lose the capacity to *defend* ourselves. And adding some striking additions, e.g., we are now aborting some 800,000 potential recruits *yearly*, and the "Feminist" craze is making the survivors less likely to be the soldiers their forebears were, if only because an ever-increasing number of "soldiers" will be female—it is currently *taboo* to mention such things, we know, which is why we're glad Zepezauer does so here.

Well, we decided we'd hold the article until we had space to re-run the Colonel's along with it. Imagine our surprise when Mr. Ben Wattenberg then published his new book, *The Birth Dearth*, which *has* made de-population a controversial national issue. We did the obvious, and arranged to reprint an excerpt from *The Birth Dearth* which you will find immediately following Zepezauer's article. We wish it were longer, but we believe that it certainly

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summarizes his thesis in vivid language. In any case, Colonel de Marcellus (see *Appendix E*) supplies much the same “hard facts” background elaborated by Wattenberg in his book.

So what you get here is a three-pronged treatment of a vital “new” issue that is alarming enough to make you (we hope) get Wattenberg’s book yourself (see our Publisher’s statement for information). As we write, the author is being sharply criticized by various media critics for everything from wild exaggerations to *racism*—Wattenberg thinks “Western” (i.e., white) women should *want* more children, another *taboo* subject—but what makes his book most interesting is that he does *not* oppose legalized abortion. Meaning, we would argue, that the crisis is far worse than Wattenberg himself realizes, because there is no *solution* so long as abortion remains the “choice” which guarantees that others will inherit what remains (if anything) of “Western civilization.”

Who will argue the case for the “outdated” notion that “Man” should naturally desire progeny—that what distinguishes him from all other animals is precisely that he *chooses* to increase and multiply? Why, our old friend Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn—who else? He provides here what he calls a “Theistic approach” to the problem: the urge or instinct that makes us cooperate in “handing the torch of earthly life from one generation to the next” issues from the Creator of life. As always, Herr Kuehnelt has his *own* approach, which, as our regular readers know, is unique. We trust you will find his unshakable, realistic optimism a refreshing antidote to the grim pessimism induced by our “modern” cult of sterility.

* * * * *

We return to our normal practice of providing you with several additional items which we think add to all that has come before—and make valuable additions to our “permanent record” of the issues that concern us.

Appendix A is a remarkable column by Wm. F. Buckley Jr.—a remarkable man, by any standard, but especially so in regard to our primary concern, abortion. President Ronald Reagan aside, no “public person” in America has spoken more consistently and elegantly against legalized abortion than Buckley has over many years. Perhaps more important (historically speaking), his *National Review* magazine is the *only* “serious” publication to adopt a strong anti-abortion editorial position (*we’re* serious, of course, but we can hardly claim Buckley’s impact). In short, Buckley has proclaimed the anti-abortion gospel to those no “pro-lifer” can speak to—yet he antagonizes those who should most value his support because he will not speak party-line ideology. Here, for instance—after a devastating blast at the abortion mentality—he

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adds that abortion is “here to stay” until that mentality is somehow excised from America’s perception of what is morally permissible—as the slave-owning mentality *was* excised—at great cost. Naturally we hope Buckley is wrong—we have no doubt *he* hopes so too—the mission of the anti-abortion movement is to make that hope a reality and, we repeat, Buckley has performed nobly in supporting that mission. Read him carefully, please.

By contrast, Nat Hentoff is a late-comer to “the cause”—he still has problems with the fundamental abortion questions—but he has transcended his trademark civil-libertarianism to stubbornly oppose the “Quality of Life” ethic that would countenance euthanasia and, worse, infanticide. In *Appendix B* we reprint his recent column on what might be called “experimental infanticide”—doctors undertaking (an apt word here) to set up “model norms” for deciding who shall live, and who is better off dead. It’s chilling stuff.

Hentoff wrestles with such questions as a critic of moral standards, asking what *ought* to be done. What if you yourself were a doctor who thought you knew what your duty was, but fell afoul of the recent enthusiasm of our judges to *enforce* quality-of-life *fiats*? In *Appendix C*, Dr. Allen Jay gives you his own story, which is all the more impressive because he is clearly no right-to-life fanatic, but rather just the kind of man most of us (until abortion repealed the Hippocratic Oath?) expected *all* doctors to be. He therefore resisted what, to him, was a court order to “execute a patient.” He won his battle, sort of: the judge “sidestepped—rather than resolved—the issue” letting the doctor “off the hook.” But the war has obviously just begun.

Appendix D bears not only on abortion but also on Mr. Wattenberg’s *The Birth Dearth*; its concluding chapter is titled “Spirit,” which speaks for itself—but his prime example of the right spirit is Israel, whose favorable 2.7 Total Fertility Rate he attributes to, in a word, patriotism. Yet, as Mr. Don Feder points out here, the Israeli abortion rate is *twice* ours—indeed, he calls it the “highest abortions-to-births ratio in the Free World,” while the fertility rate of Arabs in Israel is three *times* higher, meaning that Jews could become a minority in their own homeland in short order. We repeat, abortion is the *crucial* “choice”—sterility has no future.

Finally you have Colonel de Marcellus’s article (*Appendix E*), which you will surely want to read after Zepezauer and Wattenberg. We hope that our next issue (which will begin our *14th* year of publication) will be as interesting as we believe this one to be. We hope you enjoy it.

J. P. MCFADDEN
Editor

AIDS and Social Progress

Joseph Sobran

A FEW YEARS AGO, progressive or “liberal” opinion argued for legal abortion in part on grounds that other methods of birth prevention, the unbloody ones known collectively as contraception, were unreliable. The most unreliable of these was the simplest and most easily available: the condom.

By early 1987 progressive opinion had made a sharp reversal concerning the despised condom, and was urging people to bet their lives on its efficacy.

The occasion, of course, was the AIDS epidemic. Though the condom can’t make you safe from pregnancy—it works roughly 90 per cent of the time—it’s supposed to be the key to “safe sex.” This claim skates over two obvious facts. One is that a woman can only get pregnant one or two days a month, whereas an AIDS carrier can pass the deadly virus along at any time. The other is that while abortion may serve as a backup for the woman who gets pregnant in spite of the condom, there is no backup procedure for the man or woman who gets AIDS.

So the “safe sex” campaign is evidently a fraud. It amounts to improving the odds for those who play Russian roulette. The game may be less risky, but it’s still just as deadly.

Even a sharp reduction of the chances of getting AIDS in a given coupling can’t make the gamble rational, considering the stakes. In other areas, progressive opinion is ready to set stern safety standards: it opposes nuclear power plants, bans food additives, curbs smoking, mandates seat belts and shoulder harnesses. Moreover, and maybe more to the point, it does all these things moralistically. But when it comes to “sex,” meaning casual fornication and sodomy, progressive opinion develops a bad case of moral laryngitis.

Consider smoking. Progressive opinion opposes it, and rightly so. But even the most militant liberal admits it’s unrealistic to ban smoking

Joseph Sobran, our senior Contributing Editor, is a prolific writer, columnist, and commentator on political and social affairs.

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altogether. Nevertheless, this doesn't stop him from adopting an openly censorious attitude toward the habit. He is quite ready to treat the smoker as a social menace and to inflict discomfort on him in order to prevent tobacco fumes from having any impact on non-smokers. He will readily ban tobacco-industry propaganda in order to contain the vice.

But he won't admit that casual sex is a vice at all. If monogamy and fidelity needed empirical support, AIDS is it. Only marriage can guarantee "safe sex." It's true enough that casual sex "happens anyway," to use the most common and inane progressive argument against any law liberals oppose. But that's only to say that nearly every law is broken by someone. Laws against burglary haven't eliminated burglary; they merely reduce its frequency, which is all we can ask of any law. Equating anything less than complete success with complete futility is a rather cheap rhetorical trick.

The fact is that nobody argues this way against a law whose moral purpose he shares. Procedural objections usually mask a substantive agenda. The progressive doesn't want a legal presumption against casual sex, whether it would have the desired effect or not. He would probably oppose it all the more strongly if he believed it *would* achieve its end, because he approves of casual sex. Or rather, he disapproves of the Western moral tradition that condemns it.

This is a curious moral attitude: the disapproval of disapproval. The progressive typically accuses the traditionalist of being "judgmental"—a word with unmistakably judgmental import. Abstractly speaking, this is obvious nonsense. In practice, it's flagrantly inconsistent with the liberal's highly censorious attitude toward all sorts of personal behavior.

From a purely practical standpoint, it's probably harder to quit smoking than to stop engaging in casual sex. Smoking can be performed constantly, even while you are doing other things and while you are in polite company. Some people smoke during most of their waking hours. The smoker doesn't have to find a partner, wait until evening, or go to a private place to enjoy his vice. All these conditions are still, as we go to press, built into the sex act. Despite heroic progressive efforts, sex still requires a certain amount of delayed gratification, even positive effort, plus social and ritual deference to others. The most abandoned lecher has to practice a lot of self-control. The smoker

rarely does. Besides, the appetite for tobacco can be unlimited, whereas the libido's energy is finite.

Still, the liberal is reluctant to ask of the lecher and the sodomite what he readily demands of the smoker. He will coerce the smoker, but wants to coax the libertine. He regards the smoker as a threat to others, but continues to treat the sexual deviancy as a "victimless crime," even when its unrestrained practice has terrible impact on third parties—including increasing numbers of children.

"Civil liberties" and "privacy" (of sorts) are important components of the progressive outlook. Liberals have invoked these principles for decades to insist that casual sex and drug consumption be treated legally and socially as strictly isolated activities, in which no third party, especially the state, has any legitimate interest. At the same time, liberals were hailing the "sexual revolution"—a phrase that certainly suggests a social dimension to these allegedly individual acts.

It turns out that "revolution" was the *mot juste*. We have undergone a nearly total reversal of traditional practice and attitude. And the *social* result is that the character of these "individual" acts has changed.

When most people behave according to traditional norms, society can absorb a certain amount of discreet deviance. But when deviancy is normalized, everything changes. The "individual" deviation is no longer localized. It becomes part of a new system. AIDS is only one outward and visible sign that such a system now exists.

Sodomy, specifically anal intercourse, has been the vehicle by which AIDS has entered the American bloodstream. The average homosexual has dozens or hundreds of partners every year. Most of these are total strangers. Even the most conservative estimate of the number guarantees an exponential rate of transmission of any communicable disease, especially when we take into account how mobile modern man has become. The car and the jet plane (rigorously controlled for safety) ensure that no disease will stay in one place for long.

It should go without saying (and it has to, because progressive opinion doesn't want to talk about it) that anal intercourse is about as unsanitary a practice as can be imagined. (Though it is edged out by ingesting feces, another common homosexual practice.) Long before AIDS was detected, gonorrhea and hepatitis B had become epidemic

among homosexuals. In his book *The Homosexual Network*, Father Enrique Rueda lists a number of maladies of especially high incidence among homosexuals, including genital herpes, syphilis, pubic lice, and intestinal parasites. He notes that the rate of venereal disease in San Francisco is 22 times as high as in the rest of the country. He hadn't even heard of AIDS when the book was published—in 1982.

It stands to reason that the promiscuous practice of a filthy (and how this plain word jars our progressive sensibilities!) deed should spread diseases rapidly and intensively. At first progressive opinion treated AIDS as a “homosexual disease,” for the purpose of enlisting public sympathy for the perverse. It was suggested that AIDS was a sort of tragic fate peculiar to gays, one more item in the long list of sorrows they had received from this cruel world. *Newsweek* did one big story on the disease, with an AIDS victim and his male lover posing together on the cover in an pathetic, over-the-horizon gaze such as Pavarotti and Sutherland might adopt during a duet in the last act of a Verdi opera.

More recently, though, AIDS has become “everybody's disease.” Again *Newsweek* weighed in with the latest update in liberal attitudinizing: a cover story featuring tiny pictures, laid out in high school year-book style, of 300 AIDS victims who had died over the previous 12 months. The text was at pains to emphasize that these people had come from all walks of life: bankers, lawyers, doctors, teachers—a point that proved nothing except that not all homosexuals are hairdressers. For the great majority of the 300 evidently *were* homosexuals. Only 12 were women, only a couple were children (though women and children were over-represented in the photos on the cover). The rest were men, mostly young men, of whom 40 were from San Francisco: that is, more than one of every twelve of the AIDS victims shown came from a city where roughly one of every 350 Americans lives, and which happens to be, in a phrase Father Rueda quotes, “the gay capital of the United States.”

A few weeks later, *Newsweek* followed up with a cover story on “Kids with AIDS.” *People* also ran an AIDS story featuring a 15-year-old hemophiliac on the cover, though once more the text within failed to disguise the overwhelming fact that AIDS is largely concentrated in the homosexual population. The apparent purpose of both articles was

to stress the innocence of some AIDS victims, hoping to spread the aura of innocence to those who have both contracted and spread the disease through their voluntary behavior.

Progressive opinion places a taboo against blaming homosexuals for AIDS. Both phases of its propaganda, the “homosexual disease” and the “everybody’s disease” phases, have been designed to confirm the impression that homosexuals should be regarded as victims. It refuses to hold homosexuals responsible. In some places where homosexuals are politically powerful, including California and Washington, D.C., insurance companies have been forbidden by law to inquire whether applicants for insurance are carrying the AIDS virus—even though the insurance business is based on statistical differentials and probabilities. Here is a striking example of the way liberalism, while denouncing “prejudice” and “ignorance,” is always ready to impose prohibitions on empirical fact and to condemn purely rational behavior.

Of course no homosexual intends to get AIDS. But no homosexual intends to get hepatitis B, either. The fact is that when you do unsanitary things, you get sick. You don’t have to know which of the myriad possible illnesses you are most likely to come down with. You *can’t* know that. That’s precisely why such behavior is, intrinsic morality aside, reckless.

AIDS, though, is different. It’s something new under the sun. Homosexuals were getting and spreading it before they had ever heard of it. Is it fair to hold the homosexual who is normally promiscuous (so to speak) responsible for that?

Yes. There was never any guarantee that homosexuality would spread only the diseases Father Rueda lists in his book. To any rational mind, it should be clear that the sexual revolution, if it is for real, has created an enormous pool, what I call an international bodily fluids exchange network. Any disease that enters this pool at any point may reach any other point, or conceivably all other points.

There is nothing particularly “homosexual” about AIDS. The best guess is that the AIDS virus has existed for eons, maybe in an African swamp, without spreading widely among humans. It has the freakish character of lying dormant for years in one’s system before it mounts its fatal attack. And so, thanks to the combination of sexual revolution

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(the removal of moral sanctions against, among other things, promiscuous sodomy) and modern mobility, it has moved from darkest Africa to the heart of civilization. Homosexuality seems to have provided the transmission belt. We have no assurance that there aren't other devastating diseases making the most of the new opportunities we have given them.

But sodomy isn't the only culprit. Liberalism is its unindicted co-conspirator. Its upbeat propaganda for the sexual revolution ignored many things. It despised the moral tradition of the West as of no account. But even on its own principles, it might have paid some attention to hygiene. In all its glossy celebration of the joy of sex, meaning irresponsible sexual self-indulgence, it has constantly and willfully ignored the most obvious dangers, the life-maiming possibilities of intimacy stripped of all its traditional moral, cultural, religious, and simply medical preconditions. Its obsessive emphasis on personal freedom has been a systematic denial of any "environmental impact" of a total change—a revolution, by its own boast—in our moral environment.

Now, with colossal impudence, it demands that "society" bear the cost of the revolution. This is true at every level, from insurance rates and subsidized medical care all the way to the very throne of Western morality. As AIDS has vindicated our traditional contempt for perversion, liberalism doggedly insists that AIDS requires us to adopt "new attitudes" toward it. The media abound with stories about homosexual priests, often with AIDS, who are the victims of Catholicism's antiquated attitudes toward homosexuals. The mind reels: common sense points out unavailingly that priests who observe the morals they are committed to would never get AIDS. Progressive opinion has seized the occasion to make the condom a subject of public discussion and official advocacy.

This new burst of faith in the condom must rank as one of the great moments of spiritual revitalization in the chronicles of modern liberalism. It surely rests in the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen, rather than in any recent material improvement in the quality of latex.

Santayana defined a fanatic as one who redoubles his efforts when he has forgotten his reasons, and this aptly describes our sexual revolution-

aries. As usual, the failures of the revolution are to be corrected by further revolutionary measures. (You can't turn back the clock!) And so the formerly unmentionable condom is waggled for our edification on our television screens—by the President's son, among others. "This is a condom," he announced on a recent documentary, chipping away at our ignorance. For progressive opinion, ignorance—which is of a piece with "the attitudes of the past"—is ever the problem, education the solution. Let's not be judgmental.

Tom Bethell has noted that the condom campaign is designed not to save our health, but to save the sexual revolution itself. You can go further, and say that liberalism, with its usual inventiveness, is using the AIDS epidemic not just to save the revolution but, *mirabile dictu*, to advance it. And as it knocks down the taboo against the condom, it enforces its own novel taboos against counterrevolutionary facts and views. Explicit discussion of sodomy would certainly arouse widespread disgust, but that's not done. Liberalism has the privilege of deciding just what we're going to be explicit about. It withdraws as well as advances the boundaries of candor, so that the subject is finally left looking like a gerrymandered congressional district.

Anyone who was as ignorant as young Ron Reagan presumes most of us are would have no idea what sodomy is. He would get the impression, from watching TV, that homosexuals are just a harmless, indeed benevolent class of people—see how these gays love one another!—to whom bad things happen, thanks to the prejudice and neglect of society. The Catholic Church takes a harsh view of them (the Church being the *fons et origo* of all reactionary attitudes) and the current Pope obdurately refuses to change things the way, say, a Democratic administration might. It behooves us all to feel nothing but compassion for them.

One watches in fascination to see just how far unrealism can go. Homosexual activists have even demanded the legal right to marry. Sometimes they have even held their own personal wedding ceremonies, as one familiar TV and movie actor is said to have done. Next they will hold fertility rites.

Actually, they may stop short of that one, because the misnamed "sexual revolution" has always been in essence a war on fertility, on the connubial participation in the great drama of creation that has made

marriage a moment to be delayed, prepared for, solemnly ritualized, and joyously celebrated. It's the resonance of marriage that has always made sodomy seem especially dirty, disgusting, revolting, and ridiculous. The idea that homosexuality is parallel to "normal sex" depends on severing the idea of normal sex from marriage and fertility. The clamor for "gay rights" has been part and parcel of the whole campaign for sexual freedom, legal pornography, new contraceptives, state population control, abortion on demand, feminism, and children's rights (highlighting minors' access to contraceptives and abortion—without their parents' knowledge or consent, of course). Parents have been rightly suspicious that ostensibly neutral "sex education" would be tailored to fit this progressive agenda.

Homosexuality is parallel to "normal sex" only if fornication is parallel to marriage. Western man has never thought this, for the simple reason that, in our traditional frame of reference, it's unthinkable. It doesn't compute. There are many possible forms of sexual activity—in the crude sense of pleasurable genital friction—but most of them fall outside marriage, because they either don't or aren't intended to produce progeny. We marry to maintain an ancestral line, an idea repugnant to liberalism but which is the organizing principle of our sexual morality. Sodomy isn't *the* parallel to this, because it isn't even *a* parallel. There are no parallels.

Our children inherit their father's surname. Other cultures have used the patronym: Simon bar-Jonah, Odysseus Laertides. (Even a famous Communist was widely known as Nikita Sergeivich.) Such traditions are hard to uproot, even in a resolutely egalitarian age that aspires to make people, genders, and sexual preferences interchangeable. The best progressivism has been able to offer is the hyphenated surname (remember Fawcett-Major?), but even that would get pretty unwieldy after a few generations.

Progressivism is no longer very sure what it's progressing toward. The days when you could come back from the Soviet Union saying you'd seen the future and it works are over. But progressivism we always have with us, and what defines it is not what it approaches but what it recoils from: "the past" is a dirty word. The progressive may praise socialism, but the cognate term "society" is a dirty word too; he wants to "build a new society" in its stead.

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This attitude is pervasive even in liberal cusswords. The liberal who wants to condemn something is less likely to call it *evil* or *wrong* than to accuse it of being *medieval*, *antiquated*, *reactionary*, *backward*, *antediluvian*, *obsolete*, *feudal*, *outmoded*, *fourteenth-century*, *prehistoric*, *timeworn*, *outdated*, *Neanderthal*, *archaic*, *fossilized*, *troglyditic*, *anachronistic*, *to the right of Louis XIV*, and so forth. That all these invidious terms are temporal is odd but not accidental. The progressive's ultimate categories are not good and evil or heaven and hell but Future and Past. Every imaginary ideal he imputes to the future (which is nothing but fantasy), while everything he dislikes is automatically associated with the past. He divides the world into those who are on the side of the future (progressives) and those who cling to the past (reactionaries).

In this mental universe, which we are all more or less forced to inhabit, there are no moral standards that transcend time. Anything permanent is ipso facto "old," part of that hated past. And it's a *particular* past, a *particular* society, the progressive hates: the West. His nouns no less than his adjectives condemn it: *superstition*, *prejudice*, *racism*, *capitalism*, *colonialism*, *sexism*, and *homophobia* sum up its history. "Progress" means whatever tends to destroy its inherited order. "Equality" and "sexual freedom" mean cutting its traditional and ancestral lines.

The homosexual has a special place in the progressive's revolutionary order, both as a victim of the past and as an incarnate antonym of marriage. He may be a victim of traditional prejudice, but he is also the beneficiary of the great progressive prejudice against the West. Of course the irony is that this isn't recognized as a prejudice at all. To hold the proper progressive attitudes is to be certified as "open-minded," no matter how osmotically you've acquired them from your immediate cultural environment, no matter how reflexively you adopt and update them. By the same token, to maintain the traditional attitudes, no matter how reflectively, no matter with what resistance to the current, is to be "narrow-minded." The liberal can always spot the open mind: it's the one that agrees with himself.

Because the liberal has never had to face his own prejudices *as* prejudices, he is convinced that he is a pragmatist, a rational problem

solver, who takes the issues as they come. He thinks he is just being sensible when he proposes the condom as the solution to AIDS. He can't see that he holds an ideology that has in effect predestined him to offer a bogus solution rather than define the real problem, because defining it accurately might require him to return to the past, admit that tradition has a point, and commit that cardinal sin, turning back the clock. Legitimizing homosexuality is merely part of the progressive Gestalt. It has little to do with the facts of the matter.

The liberal is likewise sure that his education has forever inoculated him against prejudice. He never suspects that what he calls his "education" has been largely a process of initiation and habituation to the progressive outlook, an outlook that has been subsequently reinforced by almost all his contact—in conversation, reading, and viewing—with those who have been similarly educated. His mind has been formed less by what he's been told than by what, in his circles, has gone without saying; a tradition, of sorts. The racist, in our time, at least can't help knowing he is prejudiced. The progressive is never burdened with such inescapable self-knowledge.

That's why he can assume, even when he's trying to write an impartial news story for the *New York Times*, that the virtues of compassion, vision, openness, hope, and idealism naturally belong to liberals, while greed, selfishness, prejudice, ignorance, hate, fear, and callousness can be implicitly assigned to the reactionaries. The traditionalist may feel that his side is being unfairly attacked, in a catty, *ad hominem* fashion. But this isn't how the progressive thinks of it at all. To him, this clean division and distribution of good and bad traits doesn't just *describe* the two sides: it actually *constitutes* them. The side of progress *is* this admirable ensemble of future-oriented qualities, just as the side of reaction *is* this pack of beastly atavisms that have survived from an earlier stage of evolution. He doesn't even feel a need to argue the point. Any attempt to disguise the reactionary attitudes as a matter of philosophical principle can only be rationalization, "ideology."

So the cause of homosexuality takes its place within the struggle for sexual freedom, which in turn belongs to the larger temporal story-line that the historian Herbert Butterfield summed up, without caricature, as "the conflict of the future against the past, of what might be called progressive versus reactionary." That's the narrative framework within

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which the liberal subconsciously sees every issue, and it's also a myth that's subconsciously accepted (and this is its real power) by many people who don't really like it. For every enthusiastic progressive, there are a dozen resigned and fatalistic progressives—passive, unwilling, but unresisting progressives who have been taught to feel guilty about their heritage, that unspeakable past.

Liberals used to deplore “guilt feelings,” but it turns out, as so often happens, that they didn't really mean it. Anti-guilt rhetoric was only an ad hoc device for undermining traditional sexual morality. It's now clear that sex is the only thing they *don't* want us to feel guilty about.

The critic Hugh Kenner tells an instructive story. He once asked a curator how the Etruscan horse at the Metropolitan Museum of Art was discovered to be a fake. The curator explained that the forger had endowed the horse with every Etruscan mannerism he could see, and every nineteenth-century mannerism he couldn't see. But the latter also escaped his contemporaries, and only gradually, as Kenner puts it, “worked its way up to visibility,” until at last an expert twentieth-century eye spotted the marks of its actual date of origin. Kenner draws the moral: “The style of your own time is always invisible.”

Unless, that is, you can manage to stay behind the times. Only the man who resists the current feels its full force; driftwood feels nothing. The great satirists—Aristophanes, Pope, Swift, Waugh—have always been men with firm anchorage in the traditional, independent of the headlong prejudices of their own times because they'd maintained contact with other times. The sense of the absurd depends completely on a sense of the objective. The progressive era, denying the existence of the objective, guarantees its own absurdity.

“The old tyrants invoked the past,” Chesterton wrote; “the new tyrants will invoke the future. . . . We often read nowadays of the valour or audacity with which some rebel attacks a hoary tyranny or an antiquated superstition. There is not really any courage at all in attacking hoary or antiquated things, any more than in offering to fight one's grandmother. The really courageous man is he who defies tyrannies young as the morning and superstitions fresh as the first flowers. The only true free-thinker is he whose intellect is as much free from the future as from the past. He cares as little for what will be as for what has been; he cares only for what ought to be.”

JOSEPH SOBRAN

But the progressive mind hopelessly confuses what will be with what ought to be. By giving its fantasy-future the status of fact, it can interpret each of its own anarchic moves as a practical step toward a new order, and condemn any attempt to correct its destructive blunders as a silly bid to turn back the clock. The worse damage it does, the more insistent liberalism is on defining the ruins it leaves as “social progress.”

It’s an ill wind that blows no man good, of course, and in the short run plenty of people do benefit by these successive repeals of longstanding tradition. Chesterton also spoke of “the modern and morbid habit of always sacrificing the normal to the abnormal”; and the abnormal are thriving, in some ways.

But people with longer memories sense that the world has reached a stage of moral decay that was predicted only by the ranting preachers, never by the urbane experts. The progressive-minded not only failed to foresee that it would happen but still can’t see that it *has* happened; they calumniate our past, and congratulate us on our degeneration. If termites could talk, they’d no doubt use the word “progress” to describe the condition of the house right up to the moment it collapsed.

Inventing the Future

James Hitchcock

SOcial change in America to a great extent proceeds in well-worn but seldom recognized grooves.

First comes the identification of a problem, which is usually real enough, although possibly also exaggerated. Usually the problem has in fact been recognized for some time, but is treated as a new development, or at least a new discovery.

The problem quickly generates maximum publicity, with those who have emerged as “experts” on the subject gaining almost unlimited access to the media, where their message is presented almost unedited. Not only expressions of opinion but also straightforward news accounts are soon routinely presented from the standpoint of these experts.

Almost simultaneously foundations, government agencies, and other institutions announce their “concern” over the problem. Substantial amounts of money are committed for “study,” preliminary to what it is hoped will be a “massive,” governmentally-sponsored “attack” on the problem in question.

“Studying the problem” in turns provides an opportunity for a variety of groups and individuals, each with its own agenda for social change, to achieve public notice and, often, a new respectability. It scarcely matters whether such groups can show that their favored approach to social change will have any effect in solving the problem in question; it is sufficient merely to indicate good will and an “imaginative” set of proposals.

The above scenario has been repeated endlessly since the mid-1960s, in conjunction with a variety of problems ranging through race relations, the status of women, public health, environmental pollution, education, and other matters literally too numerous to list. The process has been retarded somewhat during the Reagan administration, as government agencies have been less willing to participate (at least openly) than they once were. (During liberal administrations their enthusiastic

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participation can almost be taken for granted.)

Even when publicly funded, such processes are almost never submitted to the citizens for their approval—money comes from sections of the budgets of public agencies which rarely attract public notice.

Indispensable to this scenario also is the cooperation of the mass media. Investigative journalism usually goes on holiday where such activities are concerned, and citizens or groups who object to the programs are usually themselves treated negatively in the media, as trouble-makers who want to “censor ideas” or “impose their own moral views on other people.” Thus even the ordinary principle of the financial accountability of public agencies to legislatures and taxpayers is effectively circumvented.

In March of 1985 a conference entitled “Inventing the Future: Alternatives to Adolescent Pregnancy” was held in Fort Worth, Texas, co-sponsored by the National Organization on Adolescent Pregnancy and Parenting (NOAPP), the Sid Richardson Foundation, the Joseph P. Kennedy Jr. Foundation, and two different units of the March of Dimes, one national, one local.

The subject of the conference obviously fit the criteria listed above—it is a real issue of considerable importance. It is also scarcely new, but in the past few years has been elevated to the status of a national emergency, suggesting the need for drastic solutions.

The conference report does not indicate the direct use of public money. However, a substantial minority of participants represented public agencies, including (merely as a sample) the Iowa State Department of Health (Carolyn S. Adams), the Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services (Barbara Barnard), and the Mississippi State Department of Health (Doris Barnette).

The title “Inventing the Future” derived from a particular approach to the subject which the sponsors decided to employ. A key speaker was Warren Ziegler, head of “The Futures-Invention Associates” of Denver. NOAPP’s president, Toni Brown, said that conference organizers had heard about Ziegler’s methods, and decided to use them to obtain maximum results.

In this approach, participants do not merely address problems as they exist—in society as it now exists—but are encouraged to give free rein

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to their imaginations in deciding what the future, not just of the United States but of the entire world, ought to be like. Adolescent pregnancy was thus treated merely as a particularly unfortunate symptom of deeper social and cultural pathologies, which can only be erased by the most sweeping kinds of revolutions.

Some of the less venturesome of the small groups let their imaginations get no farther than envisioning the general availability of birth-control information or better relations between adolescents and their parents.

Others, however, seem to have caught the spirit nicely.

Team I (numbers are assigned for purposes of this analysis only and are not in the conference report) thought school should be eliminated and a new kind of family—"not necessarily blood relatives"—substituted for the present one.

Team II envisioned a society so public-spirited and informed that, when the President's 14-year-old daughter became pregnant by the Senate Majority Leader's 16-year-old son, the ensuing "uproar on Capital [sic] Hill" led to a "national commitment to the prevention of teenage pregnancy and other social problems that impact [sic] our youth."

Team V presumably spoke for many participants in hoping that the mass media would show a more responsible approach to sex, not selling it like a commercial product but at the same time propagandizing for the use of contraceptives. (They hoped that eventually "J.R." of *Dallas* would be shown as a contraceptive-user.)

Whether because the admonition to stretch their imaginations made them disdainful of ordinary reality, or because mundane reality was simply taken for granted, participants—most of whom were professionals of one kind or another—showed remarkably little interest in the basic facts of their subject. The conference report included no study simply setting forth, in a factual manner, the statistical and medical realities of adolescent pregnancy. Nor was there any summary of what social scientists and medical professionals have already concluded about it.

The idea that adolescent pregnancy is the result of broken homes, poverty, a negative self-image, and other sociological commonplaces was sometimes put forth by conference participants as a new discovery, as though these findings have been the victims of a conspiracy of silence by the nation as a whole. Although "unwanted" pregnancies

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were taken as a self-evidently bad thing, the conference offered no criteria by which this judgment could be made. The morality of out-of-wedlock pregnancy was never examined. Indeed, for the most part the human moral sense itself was treated by participants as a kind of atavism which is part of the problem. Thus *Team I* hoped that divorce would gain full acceptance. *Team II* expressed a general hope in envisioning a coming age of “perfect sex” without guilt.

The treasurer of NOAPP is a Catholic nun, Sister Maureen Joyce of Albany, New York, and its advisory board includes Sister Maureen’s bishop, the Most Rev. Howard J. Hubbard. Despite what might be assumed to be a leading role for religion in the matter of sexual behavior, especially perhaps among poor blacks, only four of 112 conference participants in any way represented organized religion—Rev. Gus Guthrie of the Wesley Foundation of Fort Worth; Mary Fran Flood of Boys’ Town, Neb.; Nancy Marchant of the Fort Worth Y.W.C.A.; and Velma Tate of Catholic Charities of Jackson, Miss.

Participants, despite their positions in all kinds of private and public social agencies, seemed to have a curiously unrealistic image of contemporary religion; they seemed unaware of the moral permissiveness justified by many clergy, and mentioned religion mainly to indicate ways in which it must change.

Team I wanted “less religious labeling,” apparently on the assumption that merely to indicate one’s religious beliefs is already to show intolerance. (No effort was made to demonstrate what religious labeling has to do with adolescent pregnancy.) *Team V* demanded that the churches change to become “more responsive” to their members’ needs, including their sexual needs. *Team VI* foresaw a future in which church groups would be “really responding and answering questions—no guilt,” while also acknowledging that “some religious beliefs change more slowly.” *Team VII* saw as a negative sign the fact that some religious groups “frown on pre-marital sex and birth-control use.” (It might be supposed that refraining from “pre-marital” sex would be a highly effective way for adolescents to avoid getting pregnant?) It also fantasized about a time when the Moral Majority would have its way, but “it didn’t work.” The words “chastity” and “abstinence” were apparently never uttered at the conference.

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Also largely absent, despite the presence at the conference of several representatives of Planned Parenthood, was the word "abortion." Possibly this was in deference to the bishop and the nun on the NOAPP board. The tenor of the discussions hardly suggests that participants had serious scruples about the practice, however.

But, in a certain sense, they probably did "oppose" abortion, in that they envisioned a future in which such a thing would never be necessary. Insofar as participants could be said to have any "solution" to the problem of adolescent pregnancy, it was their hope of creating a perfect society in which young people simply want to do the right thing, "right" defined partly by pragmatic criteria—adolescent pregnancy is a burden—and partly by vague notions of emotional wholeness. An unquestioned assumption seemed to be that adolescent girls never get pregnant except from ignorance or psychological inadequacy.

Thus the apparent contradiction between an environment of total freedom—in which young people have full information about sex, a wholly "positive" sexual attitude, and complete freedom of behavior—and one in which pregnancy is *discouraged* was resolved through the belief that it is possible to create (the means to do so remained vague in the extreme) a social environment in which no one ever wants to do what they ought not to do.

Such an environment is, of course, usually called Utopia and, although that word also did not appear in the conference report, it was the ultimate name of the participants' desire.

At least some of the more astute participants also understood that Utopias are not achieved without a measure of coercion.

Thus *Team II*, in calling for a world devoid of war, divorce, drugs, crime, poverty, and incest, as well as unwanted pregnancies, admitted that "protest regarding regulations" and "some creativity/independence stifled" would be among its costs. *Team IV* foresaw that political leaders would have to be "forced" to change their ideas and that the churches would also have to be coerced into changing, especially by financial pressure. (The same group wanted "expert parents" only; like several others, they insisted that parenthood should be viewed as a privilege, not a right.)

Team II offered a forecast of history over the next 35 years, beginning in 1985 with "people" beginning to cry out "down with isms

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because of its [*sic*] impact on . . . pregnancies, suicides, drug abuse, etc.” (In context it did not seem as though the team members were thinking of feminism or socialism, however.) Civil disorders occurred in 1986, involving “book burnings” and “updating of dictionaries and references to be free of restrictive labels” (the former presumably bad, the latter presumably good). Nations then mandated the outlawing of “isms” within five years. By 1990 all labels had been eradicated, because “they no longer had any meaning.” By the year 2020 all “isms” were gone, and “people chose with whom they wished to identify.”

Perhaps the most intriguing notion of the entire conference, and almost the only one which seemed to approximate a practical approach to the problem at hand, was *Team V*'s proposal that adolescents be “immunized” against pregnancy (by sterilization, as was finally made clear), a process which could be reversed later. The team admitted that this might be achieved “at possible expense of individual freedom.”

Team V also offered the most elaborate scenario for the future. In 1988 the “conservatives” won a total victory in the United States, even as China was demonstrating the effectiveness of the “five-year immunization against conception.” (One of the few mentions of abortion at the conference was in this scenario—a right-to-life amendment was passed in 1988, by “extremists.”)

The “Righteous Right” went on even to attack birth control. Not surprisingly, adolescent pregnancy “soared out of sight.” Illegal, and dangerous, abortions flourished. By the mid-1990s wealthy Americans began taking their children to Europe for immunizations, immunization reversals, embryo transplants, etc. By the turn of the century the United States was crippled by the costs of adolescent pregnancies. Fortunately the Guttmacher Report (published by Planned Parenthood) informed citizens of the availability of other options. Parents then demanded access to the same services available elsewhere.

This produced a political reversal. Led by NOAPP (here, despite Bishop Hubbard's presence on the board, willing to allow itself to be seen as pro-abortion and pro-contraception), “community” groups began to elect politicians who strengthened programs of sex-education and put “health clinics” in all schools. Churches, including the Catholic Church, began to support rather than oppose such measures.

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The year 2008 saw the election of a female president who was herself the offspring of a teenage mother and who had been raised in an “excellent” day-care center later closed by the “Righteous Right.” In her State of the Union address, the new president threw the full weight of her office behind “conception immunization of all preteen boys and girls within the United States.” (Interestingly, the president’s name was Bogdanich, presumably to suggest that she was of Eastern European, and hence of Catholic, background.)

Shortly thereafter adolescent pregnancy virtually disappeared. Reminiscing a few years later, a self-described beneficiary of the new programs could not understand why anyone had ever opposed mandatory immunizations. She gave major credit to the Women’s Movement. (At the Fort Worth conference, 99 out of 112 participants were women.)

Team V offered a vision of a perfect society (for example, people marrying only those whom they truly love and with whom they are “best friends”), omitting the details of how it could be achieved except to predict that it would be done by a female president with a homosexual male vice-president.

The overall conference report did not so clearly sound the coercive notes found in some team reports. But it made explicit things which were often merely implicit at the team level—that parenting is a “privilege” rather than a right and hence to be controlled, that there must be an official commitment to “zero population growth,” that sex education must be mandatory, that sterilization is a highly favored form of pregnancy prevention, the “values clarification” must be employed in the schools, and that there must be “socialized medicine.”

The conference also identified the anti-pregnancy movement with the anti-nuclear movement, called for the abolition of “national government,” and suggested that important gains would be achieved if “new leaders—Women, Youth” were “especially dressed in all colors, costumes (no grey-flannel suits).”

In the light of what went before, the suggested “action plans” for the various states seemed relatively tame. Here, as elsewhere, eccentric hobby-horses were ridden hard—in Louisiana, for example, hospital delivery rooms were to be abolished and midwives rehabilitated. Each state indicated a particular agency charged with implementation of the plan. Mississippi’s was Catholic Charities.

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On one level a conference of this kind can scarcely be taken seriously, evidently nothing more than a hodge-podge of pet ideas put forth by people who had been encouraged by the organizers to forego even their common sense.

But the conference obviously wanted to be taken seriously. Every participant was a certified professional in a responsible position in one of the “helping professions.” It was partially funded by money given by a generous public to the March of Dimes. Besides Bishop Hubbard, NOAPP’s board includes other people of impeccable respectability—Margaret Buvinger of the National School Boards Association and the National Board of Church Women United, W. Stanley Kruger of the U.S. Department of Education, Ed Pitt of the National Urban League, Dr. Brooks Ranney of the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, Congressman Edward R. Roybal of California, Julia Scott of the Children’s Defense Fund, and Robert H. Sweeney of the National Association of Children’s Hospitals.

The “Righteous Right” is often accused of hysteria, finding moral threats where none exist, and interfering with competent professionals merely trying to do their duty. But, whatever the NOAPP conference was intended to prove, what it in fact revealed is that, honeycombed throughout the vast and largely invisible social-welfare bureaucracy of the United States, is an ample supply of people whose visions of the good society are scarcely less than bizarre, and concerning whose intentions no amount of suspicion would be unreasonable.

The Strange Case of Baby M

Richard A. Kruse

WHOSE BABY IS “Baby M”? The legal battle in New Jersey gained nationwide attention, yet most Americans remain uninformed about all that was involved in this first famous “surrogate mother” case. The media—as usual—concentrated on the most sensational aspects, and how the contending parties and their supporters viewed the judge’s decision.

It certainly was quite a decision. Last March 31, New Jersey Superior Court Judge Harvey R. Sorkow issued an astounding 121-page-long opinion that stripped Baby M’s natural mother, Mary Beth Whitehead, of all parental rights, gave full custody of the child to Mr. William Stern, and declared the surrogate-mother contract legal.

This sweeping decision was greeted with cries of victory by Noel P. Keane, a Michigan lawyer and head of the Infertility Center of New York (who arranged Mr. Stern’s contract), and by Harilyn Quill, a spokeswoman for the newly formed 61-member National Association of Surrogate Mothers. William Handel, lawyer-director of the Center for Surrogate Parenting of Beverly Hills, California, proclaimed that “Surrogate parenting is here to stay.”

In fact, that statement is premature: Judge Sorkow’s verdict is not legal precedent, even in New Jersey, until it is affirmed by the New Jersey Supreme Court. As Judge Zoran Popovich of the Superior Court of Pennsylvania has pointed out, “A verdict and judgment by a trial court is binding on no one except the litigants of the case. It may be ‘unprecedented’ in the historical sense, it is not precedential in the legal sense.”

The judicial part of this saga began on May 5, 1986, when William Stern petitioned the Bergen County (N.J.) Superior Court for a Summary Judgment to grant him custody of an infant he named “Melissa Stern.” Judge Harvey R. Sorkow presided. Summary Judgments are not ordinary in American law: they are based on the presumption that

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the facts of the case are, in effect, uncontestable. Mary Beth and her husband were given no chance to contest them—they were never notified of this legal action—nor were they legally represented in any way. Thus, on the unsubstantiated word of Stern, Sorkow issued an *ex parte* (i.e., no need for the other party to be present) order granting a change of custody. No regard was given to the Whiteheads' due process rights.

Armed with Sorkow's arbitrary order, William Stern and *five* local policemen entered the Whitehead home in Brick Township to—what is the proper word, abduct?—Baby M. The Whiteheads, who had been raising the baby for some four months by then, knew nothing of the judge's May 5 order. At that moment, Mary Beth was breast-feeding her baby in the kitchen. She just had time to pass the baby out the back window to her husband before she was *seized and handcuffed*—the police evidently treated her like a common criminal even though her only "crime" was to be the unknowing respondent in Judge Sorkow's *civil* case, and despite the fact that the order was for "Melissa Stern," not her mother.

Even *that* was another example of Sorkow's presumptions of fact: Baby M's birth certificate (*and* her Roman Catholic Baptism record) listed her name as Sara Elizabeth Whitehead. (Legally speaking, was there a "Melissa Stern" to abduct?)

Of course Mary Beth had to be released. She and her husband then fled with the baby to her parents' home in Florida. But William Stern hired private detectives to seize the baby there and bring her back to New Jersey.

Judge Sorkow then appointed his long-time associate and friend, Lorraine A. Abraham, as temporary legal guardian of Baby M. Abraham worked tirelessly throughout the case against Mary Beth Whitehead. The expert witnesses she recruited were uniformly in opposition to the natural mother and in favor of the Sterns. One such witness, Dr. Marshall D. Schechter, portrayed Mrs. Whitehead as unfit because of the "incorrect" way she played "pat-a-cake" (or "patty-cake"? Nobody can agree on how to *spell* it, much less how you *must* play it!) with the child, and because she gave her a stuffed panda as a toy—he held that *pots and pans* are more appropriate (for a four-months-old infant!) than stuffed animals. Thus the natural mother was faced with two sets of hostile lawyers and "experts."

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Sorkow proceeded upon the assumption that his order of May 5 was valid. He assigned the trial to himself, although fairness dictated that he excuse himself, especially since his previous orders gave the appearance of prejudice. During the trial, appearance turned into reality.

The following are some of the judge's ruling which may indicate a pattern of behavior illustrating judicial bias:

- Judge Sorkow declared irrelevant any testimony concerning the effects on a child's development when treated as property in a contract.
- He refused to let an expert witness, Dr. Steven Nickman, testify on the typical reaction of a child separated from its mother by the state.
- He declared as inadmissible testimony on the effect upon siblings of the forced removal of a child. Therefore, Mrs. Whitehead's other children, Tuesday and Ryan, were not allowed to testify.
- He refused to allow testimony on changes in the mother's body during pregnancy which might lead her to change her mind.
- He refused to allow any testimony on whether Mrs. Whitehead could give "informed consent." Such consent is a necessary ingredient of a valid contract. He called this a "non-issue," incorrectly arguing that informed consent is a practice that applied only to medical malpractice cases, being part of negligence law.
- He refused to hear evidence on mother-infant bonding.
- He refused to allow testimony concerning the general practice in adoption cases regarding the relinquishment of a child by its mother before birth. It is generally known, and certainly should be known by a family court judge, that the basic standard for relinquishment, as published by the Child Welfare League, is that "A relinquishment should not be taken, however, until the child is born"

One question supposedly *not* at issue was whether either the Whiteheads or the Sterns were "unfit" to be parents. Judge Sorkow himself said it was not an issue. Nevertheless, he allowed irrelevant, detailed testimony on the background, marriage, and lives of the Whiteheads. No such testimony was presented about the Sterns. The Whiteheads were thus cast in a glaringly bad light when the media paraded details of their private lives before the public.

Conversely, one might argue that the Sterns had not even tried to conceive naturally, and had never *considered* adoption. The character of

William Stern might also have been brought into question. He emphasized his Jewish heritage and sought public sympathy for his desire to “father” a child because his family had been wiped out in the Nazi Holocaust. Yet he married a Methodist, impregnated a Catholic, and vowed to raise the child as a Unitarian.

Immediately after reading his decision, Judge Sorkow called the Sterns and their attorneys into his chambers and performed an unprecedented seven-minute adoption procedure that—if upheld—makes Elizabeth Stern the legal mother. This process usually takes weeks or months. The New Jersey Supreme Court would now have to consider overturning the decision *and* the adoption.

Judge Sorkow’s reasoning in “legalizing” the contract is based upon several theories aimed at overturning the common-law dictum that a human being is not the proper subject of a contract.

Sorkow asserts that if a man is free to sell his sperm, then a woman has a similar right to rent her uterus. The comparison is clearly faulty: biologically, the sperm equivalent is not the womb but the ova. This “uterus rental” deprives the woman, Sorkow’s legal tenant, of the right given in all fifty states—and all Western countries—to reconsider giving up the child after birth. This right is based upon recognition of the obvious: most mothers become attached to the baby, and many *do* decide against giving it up. Moreover, the contention that the collection and implantation of sperm is the equivalent of a nine-month pregnancy and labor is ludicrous.

A second Sorkow theory, that the surrogate contract is not the trading in human life that is prohibited by the 13th Amendment, is refuted by the terms of the agreement. The contract provides that Mary Beth Whitehead is to be given \$10,000, deposited with the Infertility Center of New York to await delivery of the child. For this she is to “assume all risks, including the risk of death.” In exchange William Stern can demand 1) cessation of the contract with no payment to Mary Beth if there is a miscarriage within the first five months of pregnancy, and 2) medical tests of the fetus between the sixteenth and twentieth week week of pregnancy and, if “physiological abnormalities” are detected, abortion “upon demand of William Stern.” If the Stern-demanded abortion, or a miscarriage, takes place after the fourth month, Mary Beth Whitehead is to receive \$1,000(!). But the Infertility Center of

New York is to be paid a “nonrefundable” fee of \$7,500 in advance and is exempt from all liabilities if Mary Beth does not abide by her “contract” to “surrender custody.”

These clauses belie Sorkow’s claim that this is a contract for services and not for the sale of a delivered baby. Sorkow argues that a man “cannot purchase what is already his.” Sorkow is once again wrong. William Stern contracted to pay not for services but for a baby without “physiological abnormalities.” He did not have to accept the child. If such “abnormalities” were detected before the 20th week of pregnancy, he could then demand an abortion. Can a contract that demands that a woman be forced to have an abortion be legal?

Sorkow also seems to tacitly approve insurance fraud. The contract states that William Stern is to pay all medical expenses not covered by Mary Beth Whitehead’s medical insurance. The insurance in question was a “family” policy attained through Richard Whitehead’s employment. Sorkow’s theory makes William Stern a beneficiary of this contract. Surely no rationalization, no matter how flagrant, could make Stern a part of the Whitehead family?

Judge Sorkow sweeps aside laws against the sale of children. These laws exist in all 50 states—and in every civilized society—to protect the exploitation of the needy by the affluent. Economic or emotional distress often causes people to make rash judgments or poor decisions. Laws against the sale of children recognize this human frailty. Mary Beth Whitehead claims she made such a mistake. Sorkow answers that such ideas are “insensitive and offensive to the intense drive to procreate naturally and, when that is impossible, to use such lawful means as are possible to gain a child.” This statement simply *assumes* that “surrogate contracts” are “lawful means.”

But had the Sterns exhausted every means of conceiving naturally? The contract reads: “The sole purpose of this Agreement is to enable William Stern and his infertile wife to have a child which is biologically related to William Stern.” But Elizabeth Stern is *not* infertile. Her “extremely mild” case of Multiple Sclerosis was originally self-diagnosed. Such a condition has not deterred many other women, including some who were both older and who had more severe cases of MS, from conceiving and successfully bearing healthy children. In fact, there was medical testimony that Mrs. Stern’s MS might even improve

during pregnancy. The Sterns never tried to conceive or adopt. (Should not one of the tests of “parental fitness” be the willingness to adopt?)

Sorkow grounds his decision on the novel legal theory expounded by John R. Robertson of the University of Texas. Robertson argues that married couples have a “right to procreate.” He bases this perceived right upon the “substantive due process clause” of the 14th Amendment, as used by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 decision legalizing abortion. Sorkow’s decision states: “This right of procreation is bottomed [*sic*] in an individual’s constitutional right of privacy, secured by the 14th Amendment.”

He further argues “if one has the right to procreate coitally, then one has the right to procreate non-coitally.” Sorkow extends *Roe* even further when he concludes that to prohibit payments to the surrogate—since it would prevent some women from volunteering to rent their wombs!—would be “unconstitutional interference” in the right of childless couples to have families. Such is the logic of Judge Sorkow.

Legal scholars, religious and political leaders, and others differ over whether physical custody of the child should go to the Sterns or the Whiteheads. But there was virtual unanimity in condemning Judge Sorkow’s decision to declare the contract legal. Prior to the decision, Robert E. Gould, a psychiatrist who specializes in child therapy, stated that “‘Surrogate mothering’ should be outlawed. If profiteering middlemen—lawyers and agents—were eliminated, this inherently evil practice would virtually grind to a halt.” Following the decision, Larry I. Palmer, professor of family law at the Cornell University Law School, called the contract “fundamentally flawed.” He compared commercial surrogacy to donating bodily organs. “We want people to give kidneys, not sell them.” He continues: “The federal statute that created the computerized listing of donors and patients actually forbids the sale of organs. It has a lot to do with the way we view ourselves as a society. There are no contracts; no money changes hands. I think having children, too, falls outside the scope of a market decision.”

Many would hold that the question of whether we should allow commercial surrogate contracts is one our legislatures must decide—it should not be left to judge-made law. Indeed we often elect and depose our representatives over issues of this sort. And surely we would expect that legislatures, when considering such important matters, would con-

sider the experience of other countries?

In fact, as Daniel Lazare points out in *The Record* (Bergen, New Jersey, April 8):

Commercial surrogacy is banned in Sweden and France, while legislation outlawing such practices is expected to be introduced shortly in the Netherlands. A British court ruled just last month that a woman who bore twins for a childless couple had a right to change her mind about giving them up. In Strasbourg, France, Frits Hondius, deputy director of the 21-nation Council of Europe, told the Christian Science Monitor that the consensus was already strong against surrogate motherhood on a commercial basis.

Israel has also banned surrogacy as unethical.

Great Britain is years ahead of us in this area. The first successful *in vitro* fertilization, Louise Joy Brown, took place there in 1978. In July, 1984, the Warnock Committee Report concluded:

We recommend that legislation be introduced to render criminal the creation or the operation in the United Kingdom of agencies whose purposes include the recruitment of women for surrogate pregnancies or making arrangements for individuals or couples who wish to utilize the services of a carrying mother; such legislation should be wide enough to include both profit and non-profit making organizations. We further recommend that the legislation be sufficiently wide to render criminally liable the actions of professionals and others who knowingly assist in the establishment of a surrogate pregnancy.

Subsequently Parliament passed overwhelmingly the Surrogacy Arrangements Act of 1985. The Act, while not totally implementing the Warnock recommendation, forbids under penalty of fine and imprisonment: 1) advertisements designed to bring together would-be commissioning couples and surrogates, and 2) negotiating or making of surrogacy arrangements on a commercial basis. On May 7, 1987, the Board of Science of the 76,000 member British Medical Association urged doctors to avoid recommending surrogate motherhood to infertile couples for legal, social, and ethical reasons. The panel concluded that while infertility may cause great distress, "a child is an individual whose interests the law protects, where necessary, to the exclusion of those involved in its creation."

Such disparate voices as columnists A. M. Rosenthal and George Will (plus many others) have called Judge Sorkow's decision poor judgment and bad law. The Roman Catholic Church's "Instruction on Respect for Human Life in Its Origin and On the Dignity of Procreation," issued this year, opposes surrogate motherhood. The New Jersey

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Catholic bishops have filed an *amicus* brief with the state Supreme Court calling for a ban on surrogacy as morally wrong and a form of prostitution. Rabbi Joseph Friedman, speaking for the Board of Directors of Jews for Morality, an Orthodox Jewish group, denounced Judge Sorkow's decision as "unethical, an affront to traditional family life, and a violation of the dignity and human rights of the surrogate mother." Rabbi Friedman added: "The main victim of this baby-selling is often the baby itself."

Judge Sorkow's decision omitted any consideration of the ethical, philosophical, or public-policy aspects of the problem. Yet legislatures, in response to Judge Sorkow's legally-indefensible and aberrant judgment, need not rush to pass hasty laws in this area. Existing law, which holds that a woman who bears a child is the legal mother until she knowingly gives up her legal rights, should prevail until lawmakers give careful consideration to any changes. On this question, Alexander Morgon Capron, who holds the Topping Chair of Law, Medicine and Public Policy at the University of Southern California has stated:

The only clarification needed in the law is that for-profit brokering of surrogate contracts should be seen for the illegal and undesirable activity that it is: illegal because of the baby-selling laws, and undesirable because the financial motive will lead to inadequate screening of surrogates. Not only is it unseemly to profit in this way from such a desperately felt human need, but also lining up a group of potential surrogates for inspection by infertile couples resembles nothing so much as the role of a madam displaying her wares in a bordello.

But the real issue, in this writer's opinion, lies beyond all legal theories and legislative considerations: it is the commercialization of our basic humanity. The decision to have and raise a child is a costly and uneconomic undertaking that violates the self-centered notions of today's narcissistic society. Such a decision should be entered into in the spirit of loving and caring, values which can never be quantified. The altruism of the urge to love and care for a child reflects one of the greatest "natural" human qualities: it is a declaration of hope in the future of humankind. The fundamental issue in the Baby M case is, therefore, the nature of our humanity, our essence as human beings. Contracts and commercialism should never enter into this area. To allow that would diminish the humanity of us all.

Are Bystanders Innocent?

John F. Matthews

THE ACCEPTED “estimate” is now well over 50 *million* abortions annually worldwide. The numbers are so huge that we find ourselves talking in terms of “give or take a few millions,” as we might about some budget deficit, even though we are in fact talking about what everybody knows is human life. It *is* difficult to imagine such vast numbers of lives being “terminated” and still think of them as individuals, dying, as we all must, one at a time.

We *know* that in the United States alone there are more than one and a half million abortions yearly at the “current rate.” And we also know that, if these unborn children were let alone—to be born naturally, fed, cared for, educated—virtually every single one of them would grow up to *be* somebody, vital parts of that grand, baffling mystery we call the Future.

But that is not to be. Their “unwilling” mothers, supported by current law and “serviced” by well-paid medical exterminators, will the death of these children. Yet how many of us actively protest this slaughter of innocents?

One might have expected, in a “mostly Christian nation,” a great outpouring of fury—and guilt—in *opposition* to this enormous continuing massacre, just as many Jewish people, nowadays, feel that there should have been an outcry and an intervention, half a century ago, to prevent the slaughter in the Nazi death camps. But analogies drawn between mass abortions and the “Holocaust,” unfortunately, are said to be neither accurate nor appropriate.

According to Simone Veil, former president of the European Parliament and before that the “Health Minister” who introduced legalized abortion into France, the only 20th century horrors which can correctly be considered “Holocaustal” are those of the Jews under Hitler. To her and her French supporters, the recent trial of the unrepentant Nazi Klaus Barbie posed “the danger that the Holocaust would be relativ-

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ized, trivialized . . . by removing its ‘specificity’ toward the Jews” and confusing it with “other wartime atrocities” (see the *New York Times*, May 11, 1987).

It is interesting to see how selective we can become in these matters. For modern political purposes, all the tens and tens of millions who died in the 30s and 40s for no other crime than being Kulaks, Hindus, Muslims, or Chinese—or for being British, Japanese, Slavic or American or even, if you will, for being German—simply do not count, in Mme. Veil’s definitions, any more than the 50 million unborn babies annually killed world-wide by abortionists are of any particular concern to her fellow “feminists.”

What counts for the “Women’s Movement,” after all, is simply the right to enjoy unlimited, unrestricted and totally uninhibited “sex” without any of the traditional “fear of consequences.” And if there *are* any “consequences” (i.e., babies), all one has to do is kill them off quickly enough (before they have time enough to get themselves actually “delivered”) and the whole thing becomes marvelously “trivialized” and totally undeserving of either compassion or outrage. The idea of public prohibition and *prevention* of this sort of organized infanticide is dismissed as what is smirkingly described as an “invasion of the right to privacy.”

Quite an odd sort of right, this. It is not to be found anywhere in the Constitution, and it is restricted to females only. Even more peculiarly, its “privacy” is modified by the fact that it actually takes not *one* but at least three people to begin and then to “terminate” a pregnancy. There’s not only a “father” involved in every conception, there’s also an abortionist, afterwards, to help clean out the *results* of that fatherhood. In the old, bad, unliberated days, three was not privacy, three was a crowd. (The baby, of course, doesn’t count anymore, since the baby is “privately” dead.)

More to the point, perhaps, is the curious notion that the community has no right to intervene in these matters. What we are so often and *collectively* reproached for *not* having done in the case of European Jewry under the Nazis is now considered by much of the press and nearly all the “feminist leadership” in America to be completely reprehensible if attempted on behalf of unborn infants.

The Supreme Court’s discovery that women have a hitherto

unknown “private right” to dispose of their own unborn children has been taken to be so utterly sacrosanct a pronouncement by many “liberals” that nobody who is thought to disagree with it in any way has the remotest claim (argues, e.g., the National Organization for Women) even to be considered for American public office. “We aren’t going to stand for having someone . . . who wants to reverse *Roe v. Wade*,” says Molly Yard, the newly elected president of NOW. That kind of person “is a Neanderthal. I don’t know why he’s still around” (*Boston Globe*, July 20, 1987).

Such people are “still around” for a very simple reason. Concern about the relationship between morality and law is not nearly so extinct as Gloria Steinem, Eleanor Smeal and Molly Yard would like to imagine. There are some *problems* with this fashionable new dogma of “non-interference” in matters of sexuality and life and death. If a woman were mugged, or tried to cut her own arm off, we would be expected to intervene to prevent it. Suicide is generally understood to require our attempts to keep it from happening; so is torture or assault or rape or any *number* of horrible things that happen daily in the world. There is a neighborhood in New York City which is still notorious (20 years later) because a screaming girl was slowly and agonizingly killed in the street outside houses full of people who heard her cries for help: nobody dared come out to try to stop it—or even call the police—because they didn’t want to get “involved.” They were supposed to, but they didn’t *dare* to, and the whole idea of law and mutual protection came tumbling shamefully down in a morass of cowardice and insecurity that dreadful night.

There are things the public has *always* been obliged to do, and things the *law* has been obliged to do—and if they are not done, we are left with a world of lunacy, brutality and barbarism. Consider, for instance, some of the paradoxes we are presented with in these legalistically-permissive late-20th-century United States.

If a man beats (or bites) his dog, here in America, it is not only news, it is a crime; he can be arrested and punished for it. So too, and equally rightly, if he beats his wife, however privately. And if he should try to *kill* her—by burning her to death, for instance—who on earth (outside of India, where it is still a popular custom to do this if the girl’s dowry

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has turned out not to be big enough) would suggest that he shouldn't be prevented or, failing that, prosecuted and condemned?

On the other hand, if an abortionist kills an unborn child (not just for fun, of course, but for *money*, and at its mother's personal request, since the father has no rights in the matter), far from being arrested or punished, he is currently hailed by the "Women's Movement" as belonging to one of the most useful professions in modern society. The difference, it appears, is a matter of both age and definition: according to the law, corporations are persons, but a human being not yet born simply is not.

Why a few ticks of the clock should make such a catastrophic change in whether one is "protected" or not does indeed baffle "Neanderthals" like me. If I can be killed without penalty in the uterus, why can I not with equal legality be killed *out* of it? At two, say—or twenty-two—or whenever I am privately desired to be disposed of? Granted that according to the rather mysterious provisions of *Roe v. Wade* the "choice" of licensed killing of another person belongs only to women, and more specifically only to "mothers." But if my mother were alive and free to condemn me at 23, why should she be deprived of that right at 36 or 54 or even 80? If I am still around, am I not still capable of invading her "privacy"? When do I cease to be a matter of her private choice?

Theoretically, one gathers, at the moment of birth; from then on I am safe from everything but "natural" dangers. All of a woman's awesome rights to choose death for me cease, somehow, with the magical act of "delivery." Not that I am any more "alive" than I was a moment previously, it's just that I have now officially become a creature in whom the State is entitled to take "a compelling interest." But what if I happen to be born prematurely, at seven months instead of nine? Has she not still at least two more months to exercise her rights upon me? Why should she be denied any of her peculiar female privileges just because I have somehow managed to escape untimely from the nowadays horrifyingly unsafe environment of her "privacy"?

Street-corner Freudians, one recalls, used to maintain that many neurotics were simply people who wanted to "crawl back into the warmth and security of the womb." Some security! That's the "killing field" these days; that's where the medical profession is legalized to get *at* the

baby. One in three American pregnancies end there now, we are told.

The pagan Romans, oddly enough, were a little more sporting about this sort of thing. Under Septimus Severus and his relatives (all of whom were great persecutors of Christians) infants could be disposed of *after* birth, but not prior to it. Abortion was strictly forbidden, but the ancient Mediterranean custom of “exposing” an unwanted baby was considered perfectly legitimate. After all, people might already have enough offspring; it was understandable, in brutal, hard-headed Roman society, that they might not want to subdivide the inheritance too much. So instead of keeping the “excess” child, it was left outside in the streets for anybody to pick up who might happen to *want* the poor thing.

Plenty of people did, actually—sometimes out of sympathy, more often, perhaps, simply to raise for use as a slave. Either way it made survival possible; slavery was by no means fatal in Rome. Sometimes it could lead to wealth, power, marriage and a family; quite often, even, to freedom. “Exposure” was considerably kinder than killing; unlike abortion, it left the infant at least a *chance* for life if somebody chose to redeem it.

If not, well, that was merely the baby’s bad luck. In modern America it would, of course, be murder. Not because of the death, but because of the *timing* of it. To be killed in the womb by chemistry, suction, or surgery, or to be dragged out of that once-secure biological sanctuary to die of *another* sort of exposure—is all perfectly legal in our benevolent and “sophisticated” society. What is *illegal* is to give the child even the slightest opportunity for life if its mother wills its destruction. There is no place here for Good Samaritans; we are all supposed to walk by on the other side of the road and let these “mothers” have their own private, personal way with their offspring—no interference permitted.

We are meant, like Pontius Pilate, to wash our hands of the whole business, averting our eyes and saying “it’s a purely private choice,” while over 4,000 unborn infants are deliberately and intentionally killed every *day* in America. Even though our “rate” of at least 1.5 million annual abortions (and this has been going on for almost 15 years!) means that in any *four* of those years we have allowed some six *million* humans to die, as many as died in the entire infamous Nazi Holocaust.

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And let us not be dissuaded by anyone on grounds of “specificity”; this is another, newer Holocaust, even by Simone Veil’s own personal definition. Millions are being exterminated “in a systematic and scientific fashion, not because of what they did but because of what they were” or are. In the European death camps it was for being Jews; now, in America and elsewhere, it is for being unborn babies. If they were anything else, it couldn’t be done to them. If they were *criminals*, in most states, it couldn’t be done to them. One has an astronomically greater chance of being let to live, in America, if one is a convicted murderer, rapist, or military traitor, than if one is an unwanted baby.

In 1985 (the latest year for which figures are available in the 1987 World Almanac) there were 18,980 known cases of murder, 87,340 known cases of forcible rape, and 723,250 known cases of aggravated or atrocious assault—and a total of 21 actual executions. During that same year *more* than the “average” million and a half unborn infants were executed, not for anything they had done, but merely because of their mothers’ fear, anger, despair, concern about money, or possibly just pique at the thought of being expected to have to *raise* the wretched little things.

America, like England and most of Europe, has somehow managed in the name of what is called “progress” to arrive at a situation in which the death penalty is reserved by law only for the innocent. Babies not yet emergent from the supposedly-protective sheath of their mother’s womb—who could not yet commit a crime even if they were capable of wanting to—are executed without trial, and without mercy. Meanwhile nobody else is *permitted* to be slain except by criminals and members of the medical profession. Of the two, doctors are much more deadly: it is sometimes possible to escape even the most savage attacker, but no unborn baby can run away from the “medical man” who has been paid to kill it.

We are assured that a “good” abortionist is able to dispose of a great many “products of conception” in a single day’s work. There is obviously a certain skill involved. And nobody asks about *what* is being destroyed, what total potential for service and joy and the enhancement of life is being utterly lost among this myriad of tiny corpses. All that matters, evidently, is that there is money to be made by doing it.

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But it is hard not to wonder to whom or to *what* would abortionists *pray* at the end of a long hard day of infanticide? God's mercy is said to be infinite, of course . . . but is there really a Deity they could imagine as *approving* what they do?

What is most likely, one supposes, is that they have simply abandoned any notion of judgment being passed on their lives. Like the "customers" who employ them, they appear to assume that there is nothing in the universe capable of making them in any way responsible for what they know they do, either here or hereafter. Which is to suggest that the whole notion of immortality (the oldest and most verifiably-persistent of all our known human beliefs) simply never seems to occur to these people. Even the most ancient known burial customs indicate a belief in *something* still to come after death; it is one of the peculiarities which sets humans off from every other so-far discovered creature in our universe. But it is evidently not shared (or thought about?) by those involved in the business of abortion.

What they live in is the present, just as we are all perpetually told to do by the *Zeitgeist*. But the ancient questions still remain, whether we like it or not. Are we not responsible? And if so, can we let others go on killing off a large part of the future of our (sometimes) human world, and do nothing about it? What (heaven help us) if something *does* come afterwards?

We are brought back, not surprisingly, to the monstrous problem of the Holocaust. Consider, for instance, Prof. Francis L. Lowenheim of Rice University, who recently published an article in the Boston *Globe* asserting that Richard von Weizsaecker, current President of the Federal Republic of Germany, "has no business gracing—or disgracing—Harvard University's 1987 Commencement as its principal speaker" because he has been quoted as saying of his father (a longtime German diplomat and former Ambassador to the Vatican) that "I really believe that he did not know about the existence of the gas-chambers and systematic mass-killing . . . I don't think his imagination and all our imaginations were enough to think out what really happened."

President von Weizsaecker was only repeating, of course, what his father had written in his memoirs, namely that "We knew the concentration camps existed, but we did not know what went on in them. We could have no inkling that human life was being systematically annihi-

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lated. We could not imagine that even the Gestapo were capable of such things.”

One can understand, perhaps, the fury and resentment of people like Prof. Lowenheim, or ex-concentration camp inmates like Simone Veil, at the thought that anybody in Germany should ever consider himself “absolved” from responsibility for Nazi atrocities merely by claiming (as so many did) not to have known anything about them at the time.

But what then are we to do about the question of our own responsibility for what goes on in America’s abortion clinics? There is no secrecy about it. *Nobody* can claim not to know. People who could not imagine that even the loathsome Gestapo were capable of “systematically annihilating human life” can have no such difficulty with the U.S. medical profession. Many “doctors” perform abortions every day for a living, and they are roundly applauded for it. Not by everyone, true, but certainly by the voluble, self-assertive “Feminists” who claim to be the moral and intellectual leaders of American womanhood. A million and a half dead “fetuses” a year is what they boast of as their accomplishment—if this is not a new Holocaust, what on earth is?

And if to have “stood silent” and thus not to have intervened and prevented the horrors of places like Auschwitz is to be considered an unforgivable sin of omission, what is to be said (and by what survivors, since unlike Auschwitz, after abortion there *aren’t* any) about that vast, passive, complacent, “sexually tolerant” multitude in our country which considers “concern” about abortion to be embarrassing, “trivial,” and uncomfortably eccentric?

What it comes down to in the end is whether or not “innocent bystanders” are innocent. Are we freed from guilt simply because we are not doing the killing ourselves? Is there no guilt in condoning it?

Marching for Our Lives

Thomas Griffith

THE MORNING OF January 22, 1987, dawned cold and drear in Washington. It almost didn't dawn at all as the first big snowstorm of the year hit town, coinciding with the arrival of busloads of groggy Marchers for Life. Ours from New Hampshire got by easy, a mere eleven-hour overnight run, while Missourians and Kansans had logged twenty-four hours by the time all converged on the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception.

The Shrine served as staging area for the fourteenth annual March for Life, commemorating the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion. The previous year's march drew much attention and larger numbers—forty to eighty thousand marchers, depending on who you believe. Could that be topped this year? My friend Phil and I discuss it through the night, between musings on religion stimulated by chants of the Rosary from the back of the bus. We are the only Protestants there, members of a tiny fundamentalist church, temporarily allied with Rome since its minions chartered the bus. It isn't often that American Protestants feel in the minority, but so it will be with us for the next two days, an experience by no means uncomfortable and often quite pleasant.

We partake, for example, in a lavish ministering to the senses, so long suppressed for us spawn of the Reformation. The Shrine itself ravishes the eye with beauties architectural, sculptural, and pintorial, tucked here and there with the random accreted splendor of the medieval cathedrals. Of more direct blessing at that hour, though, is the free breakfast provided in the basement cafeteria—all the French toast, bacon and coffee you want. Later comes a free box lunch, then a magnificent banquet subsidized by the Knights of Columbus, each occasion marked by a gaiety and *élan* which feeds the glum Protestant suspicion that Catholics, right or wrong, seem to get through this life having a better time of it.

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With several hours still to go before the noon rally on the Ellipse behind the White House, many in our group want to attend Mass in the sanctuary. Phil and I stroll around, pausing to hear one burly young priest in an alcove inveighing against abortion. He builds to a pitch of wrath, suggestive of the warrior-bishop at Hastings whose mace cracked heads as his lips tendered prayers. Then he shifts gears, speaks softly of mother love as exemplified by the Virgin Mary, and we start noticing the extraordinary number of Madonna figures in the place. But of course—it's the Immaculate Conception!

Ambling along, we discuss this preoccupation with Mary so engrained in Catholicism and so baffling to the Separated Brethren. The scriptural case for it seems weak, yet there's no denying that the devotion to Mary fuels the devotion to life of many of the marchers. It sparks the deepest maternal feelings and extends them to embrace the doomed unborn millions. Its expressions, in prayer or picture, give the faces of devotees a palpable glow, a look both ardent and serene that lingers on through the rest of the day. But what of the danger? How do you keep the eye fixed singly on Christ with so much focus on His mother? Ennobling as her influence may be, why seek an intermediary at all?

No sooner have we passed the altar than the mystery begins to lift. We look up, and my heart stops as I behold an image of Christ so huge, so dark, and so terrifying that having an intermediary suddenly seems like a very good idea. It is a mosaic portrait running up the side of a dome, scarcely visible from the pews. Its eyes are tight and narrow, Giottoesque, yet glowering, piercing, beacons of wrath. The treatment is Byzantine, essaying an effect of power that is absolute and not to be mocked, that will rule justly but punish readily, in whom all authority resides and to whom all allegiance is due. So it starts to make sense—down below, amidst fragrance and light and song, the tender feminine aspect of God as seen in Mary; but up above, veiled in shadows but overarching, the stern strong masculine power, poised for judgment.

Protestant depictions of Jesus tend toward the insipid, but that's all right as long as the real Christ of the Gospels gets preached—He who came not to bring peace but a sword, whose ax is laid at the root, who divides brother from brother; the fighting Christ of steel and smoke so often obscured by the soft-focus sweetness stressed in modern teaching.

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Christ is both, rose and thorn combined, yet above all He is Lord, and lords are to be feared.

Hence the mosaic strikes me as high religious art (in every sense) and somehow fitting to the day's purpose. Marchers do well to pause and absorb that gaze, to be reminded of heaven's view of things, and sense that we march not just for abstract justice but from fear, lest the fury gathered in that brow break upon us. We are marching not for legislation but for our lives.

The buses now whisk us downtown to a different sort of splendor, the Capital Hyatt Regency, where by some miracle we are to be lodged. The whole round-trip package costs \$90, and even for that the organizers apologize. It used to be \$36, for bussing down one night, marching all day and bussing back into the following dawn. That left everyone a wreck, so a night's lodging was added; but how did ninety bucks get us in here? Stepping in from the blizzard it is like entering the pleasure dome of Kubla Khan, multiple levels of palms, fountains, balconies, swank restaurants and glass elevators that float up like bubbles in a tank. It's dazzling, but I can't help expecting security to approach us with the news that it's all a mistake. Frankly, we don't fit. The lobby teams with sleek men and women whom I take to be lobbyists, poised and elegant merchants of influence, whereas we look like what we are, a bunch of bleary-eyed small-townners just off the bus.

But the ruse succeeds and we are shown to our rooms. We rest awhile, then regroup for the ride to the Ellipse. An Ohioan who has lost his party joins us, after stowing a colossal placard in the luggage bay; it is three-dimensional, featuring a crucified Christ beneath which is attached a twisted baby doll daubed with red. The message: "Planned Parenthood—Wherefore persecutest thou me?"

The normal ten-minute ride takes half an hour, for as usual, a few inches of snow and Washington grinds to a halt. Granted the flakes are flying a bit heavy; in fact, as we step off the bus to walk the last two hundred yards to the rally, we can't even see it. Only the amplified cheering draws us on. It's that kind of malevolent storm that comes from every direction at once, so no matter where you turn it goes right up your nostrils. Hunched and grim, we pick our way in single file, trying not to think that three hours exposure to this stuff lies ahead.

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Upon reaching the crowd we catch the last bit of phoned-in encouragement from President Reagan. But it ends strangely, with the march leader, Miss Nellie Gray, taking him to task for not vetoing a District of Columbia appropriations bill that funded abortions. She is a regal-looking matron, of such obvious firmness of purpose that you're glad she's on your side; but I don't like this scolding the President. I say, don't kick a man when he's down, and what on earth does she think we'll get out of a President Hart? (At that moment, Gary Hart was still the "leading" Democrat.)

Next come politicians, mercifully brief. They too are freezing and want to get out of here. Jack Kemp raises a great huzzah, then laughter when he thanks us for a standing ovation. He jokes, "I've played football in a snowstorm but never made a speech in one." His rhetoric is earnest but rough-edged and his final shouts into the mike hurt my ears. Next Jesse Helms, much less abrasive-seeming than on TV. Genial drawled greetings, funny anecdote, wry exhortation, then off. Oh thank you, national leaders! thank you for succinctness, and please keep the line moving. Now some lesser-known congressmen, familiar only to pro-lifers and their constituents, bearing good words, earnest sentiments, assurances of ultimate victory. Next, please. Interlude for a song, a soloist from Jerry Falwell's Liberty Singers who belts out "God Bless America." Good, good, our joining in with her gets some blood moving; but let's get marching. I've put my sign down in order to jam both hands under my jacket and into my armpits. Phil is stamping his feet and looking sick. The organizers apologize for scheduled speakers who got snowed out. No problem—it's the thought that counts. Let's go.

A sigh of relief issues from the crowd as Miss Gray announces the closing prayer. Up steps a Greek Orthodox hierarch from Pennsylvania and all of us are warmed to behold evidence of ecumenical unity. Catholic issue indeed! He begins slowly, but his phrases soon settle into a rounded rhythm, each one peaking a bit higher till it slides back into his throat: ". . . and with steadfast resolve, with unquenchable courage, we must oppose to the uttermost . . ." The language is elegant, the delivery impassioned, yet the whole thing is *wrong*: it's freezing—we don't want an oration! Politicians are attuned to what people want, divines to what they need. Maybe we need this, but as he declares, "Let us now march . . ." a throaty cry erupts from the rear: "Yeah!". Then

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comes laughter, and whatever feeling he has roused collapses. Not waiting for the dismissal, the crowd begins moving.

Because of the blizzard, the police change our parade permit to limit us to the sidewalks. There is some grumbling at "harassment" but I am just as glad to keep space between me and the panicked D.C. drivers. Besides, it will stretch out the ranks and make our numbers, now plainly rather meager, look more impressive.

As my blood resumes circulation, I take the opportunity to look more closely at my fellow dissidents. There are some Cause people, a type I recognize from anti-war days and in later incarnations as feminists, environmentalists, etc., those whose private frustrations are assuaged by total identification with a public ideal. Cause people tend to lead the chanting and take the hardest lines; even when you agree with them, they make you feel wishy-washy. I suppose democracy owes a lot to their efforts, but their stridency makes me nervous. Then there are some out-and-out nuts, characters who fix you with a monomaniac stare and start blaming it all on the Trilateral Commission. The nuts are balanced by saints, or at least saintly folk from whose clear-skinned, kindly faces there radiates a peace of spirit that transcends the racket—priests, nuns, older ladies who've suffered their tragedies and betrayals and come up smiling.

And in between the extremes are a majority that I can best describe as a K-Mart crowd. Smalltown, middle-class, heavily midwestern (Ohio managed to bus in 900 marchers, New Hampshire a total of 39), grouped in families, unstylishly dressed, humorous and sociable, folks who might have been somehow diverted from taking the kids to the Smithsonian. They are overwhelmingly white and Catholic, but with that homogeneity of the heartland that blurs such distinctions. In short, not your average mob of Bastille-stormers.

I look at them with affection, plodding through ankle-deep snow with such jaunty good humor, and cannot help but think back to the last time I took part in agitating in the nation's capital. It was July 4, 1970. A footloose undergraduate, I was hitching around and thought it would be appropriate to spend Independence Day in Washington, especially since a great anti-war demonstration was scheduled. I forget if it was a sit-in or teach-in or smoke-in, but it was definitely *in*, and timed to coincide with a "Support America" rally on the other side of

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the Mall. By dint of superior numbers we would show how things really stood. In those days of frequent Moratoria, you could summon up a few thousand kids with ease, especially with bait of some hit rock groups and the promise of sunshine. Good tunes, good vibes, good inebriates, chance of a tan, all sweetened with the knowledge that we were doing our bit for peace. As to what was said—who knows? Did the Vietnam war inspire a single memorable bit of oratory on either side? The only highlight came toward the end, when some characters on the outskirts got rowdy and were pushed back by mounted police. Never having seen mounted police I was transfixed—the drama of it, horsemen riding down citizens! No one was hurt or even arrested, but great was our indignation and we fanned back out across the country with tales of American Cossacks, of fascism unmasked in the very shadow of the Capitol. Ah, youth! Now, seventeen years later, the Capitol casts no shadow; its outlines are scarcely visible through the storm until we reach the National Gallery. Most of us have been out for almost three hours now, the snow flies unabated, and a chill has sunk into everybody's bones. The chanting, never widespread, has grown half-hearted, and the once-gay chatter has subsided. People's minds are on their wet feet, and on the promise of reaching the well-heated corridors of Congress to do some lobbying. It's a venerable tradition of protest in the great capital—first fill the streets, then the offices: public clamor, then private wheedle. Though a vital part of the flow of democracy, it's almost enough to make you feel sorry for Congress. They must spend a lot of time placating demonstrators, whose whole object in coming to town is to get worked up over their cause.

The route now passes over the lawns of Capitol Hill, and up it we sweep, kicking paths through the uncleared snow. The rally at the Supreme Court steps is distinctly anticlimactic. As we come in sight of the stately facade, tragically become for many an object of loathing, the chanting picks up both in volume and intensity. The police have staked out a line halfway up the steps, and there is an understanding, by now well-established, that any who cross will be arrested. Every year a couple dozen do so, slipping through to drop quickly onto their knees in prayer, and the press of the hardliners against the cordon provides the closest thing to drama of the whole day.

Mostly, though, the scene is one of confusion, of trying to locate your

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group and deciding what to do next. Here's where we need trained provocateurs to spark an incident, but alas, the mob instincts of the K of C druggists from the Ohio Valley are just not up to the demands of political theater. The moment passes and we are left fumbling with maps like tourists, trying to figure out in which office buildings our representatives are hiding.

I now confront a dilemma. Though traveling with the New Hampshire contingent, I am from Massachusetts, having joined them briefly to keep my friend Phil company. Thus we have different congressmen. Those from New Hampshire are far friendlier to the cause—Rep. Bob Smith offers donuts and coffee to the frozen supplicants, while Sen. Gordon Humphrey actually joined the march a good bit of the way. My guys, on the other hand, make up the most liberal delegation in the country, and so are more in need of a visit. Hence we compromise—we will thaw out on Smith's refreshments, then move on to the Bay State representatives.

At the Rayburn Building, rules require us to deposit our picket signs outside the door, lest, I suppose, they become the weapon of choice for attacking Congressmen. There I bump into some friends, a young couple who as undergraduates at Brown waged virtually a single-handed pro-life campaign amidst that school's zany student politics. Their story is interesting: she a vivacious Italian beauty from Long Island, he a gentle mathematician with a stutter who got her pregnant in their freshman year. She arranged for an abortion, then at the last minute succumbed to religious scruples, had the baby, married the father, dropped out of school to devote herself to a career of—egad!—motherhood, and followed her husband on to a computer career back in New York. Our first target is Nick Mavroules of the North Shore near Boston, ultraliberal on everything but abortion. His pro-life stance is puzzling—though of Greek background he makes no claim to Orthodox piety—yet enough to make me vote for him in wicked single-issue fashion, especially when his last opponent was a libertarian. Haven't Massachusetts Republicans sunk low enough without being pro-choice? The Congressman is in but unavailable, conferring with the press over his loss that day of the chairmanship of the Armed Services Committee. His office bustles with an excitement completely unrelated

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to the March for Life. This is disconcerting, the first hint that our colossal effort to commemorate *Roe v. Wade* has not dinted every consciousness, that in fact the world is not watching. Still, his aides are cordial and attentive, directing us to the guest register where we may record our views. We note that several marchers have preceded us, exhorting Mavroules to persist, expressing thanks and prayers. Most are brief, but someone fills half a page with a ramble about abortion, AIDS, moral decline, and chastity, the writer herself attesting to the latter's benefits.

Now we advance up the ladder of power, to the offices of the U.S. Senate. These unfortunately are in another building, so we retrieve our signs, brave the storm, leave our signs again, pass through security and rejoin the roving bands of marchers. The blizzard has transformed Capitol Hill into a fairyland but otherwise denuded it of employees, who have mostly stayed home across the Potomac. While that leaves fewer lawmakers to visit, it makes our presence seem greater as we trudge from echoing building to building, office to office, indomitable snowmen.

Phil and I at last locate the office of Senator John Kerry. The prospects for dialogue on abortion are slight, for Kerry does not even straddle the fence with a claim of "personal opposition" *a la* Kennedy or Cuomo. On this and other issues he presents a Teflon sheen—smooth, suavely argued and unmired in moral traditions to which older liberals at least make deferential noises. No lightweight, yet his success in mirroring the culture of modern Massachusetts—highly educated, high-tech, future-oriented and utterly secularized—gives me a slight chill.

In any case, his aides inform us that he is "in a meeting," but we are welcome to write our names in his register. We do so, and my impulse to scold is checked by reading the same humble comments of those others whose path we seem to be following: "Please respect life!"; "Give the unborn a chance"; "We are praying for you." I can do no less.

Now on to our last and boldest foray, the office of Senator Edward Kennedy. After hearing about the planned lobbying portion of the march, I had joked with friends that I would be "meeting with Teddy to straighten him out." That's one of our American rights, to speak lightly of our rulers. Now that I stand in his office, however, now that I

make my practiced request to please speak with the distinguished senator, now that our separate persons are within twenty feet of one another, filling the same space, breathing the same air, I succumb to something like panic. Please, please, let him be out! Don't let him emerge from that office, don't let him scan us with that regal gaze lest we melt right into the rug! Those other pols, though among the most powerful men on earth, they at least were mortal; but here sits a veritable legend, a world figure, heir to Camelot, avatar of virtue, Supreme Keeper of the Myth—here, I realize with knotted stomach, is a living, breathing Kennedy. In the blinding sun of his presence who can stand?

His office decor is superbly calculated to induce humility, not by its opulence—no hint of wealth, please—but by its far more seductive use of imagery. For on every wall hang photographs chronicling the Kennedy epic, which we are coaxed into believing is the American epic of our time. Here is gangly Jack in his first years in Congress, then married to elegant Jackie; here they are sailing off the Cape, so beautiful, so in love! Here is Bobby with farmworkers, conveying that mystic affinity with the wretched of the earth, that wonderful union of privilege and conscience. Here is Teddy himself, pumping hands of ghetto blacks, beaming at seam-faced old workingmen, carrying on, bearing the torch, dreaming the dream. There are no labels, no explanations. It is like stepping inside a family's album, enjoying the illusion of watching them grow up; you witness their joys and griefs, partake of a specious intimacy that entices as it utterly disarms.

Give them credit—these Kennedys know the power of appearances. Yet properly used, imagery has an ambiguous effect, raising its subject higher as it brings it closer. Standing in this office, your heart may soften to review the Time of Our Life as seen through the experience of one great family; yet that one family's greatness is subtly underscored, their deeds and opinions exalted above the common standards of judgment. So then, if good, compassionate Irish Catholic Kennedys can accept abortion, who are we to object?

The trouble is, it works. Even before summoning up nerve to speak, a few glances around have left me feeling diminished and slightly foolish. Do I presume to challenge a Kennedy? Don't I know how wrong my beliefs are, how outmoded, uninformed, and worst of all, judgmental? Look about you—*here* is reality, my friend, here are relics and

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images of a newer faith, the solid, logical, feet-on-the-ground *modern* view. This way is scientifically verified by polls and studies, espoused by the finest minds, rooted in human nature as it *is*, not as we would wish it. If I find comfort in ancient fantasies, if they meet my needs, very well; but please keep it to myself, and don't *dare* try to impose it on others!

My resolve erodes further as I look at the Senator's aides. All Congressional aides seem stamped from the same cookie-cutter: youthful, attractive, stylish, well-spoken, suave and gracious, good with the public. I knew them from my own days in Washington, when I toiled in the lower reaches of the Peace Corps bureaucracy after returning from Africa. I never liked them. Peace Corps types can be snobs in their own way, but by and large a spell in the jungles leaves you less vulnerable to the siren call of power. These aides struck us as sold out, as Yuppies before the epithet was coined. It was partly envy, for their position is a well-worn step on the American ladder of success. But it was more, for try as they might, they could never quite conceal their satisfaction at holding in their hands, however remotely, the threads of national destiny.

That consciousness of high place is multiplied a hundredfold in the Kennedy office, despite the efforts at congeniality. Behind those winsome Kennedyesque grins there twinkles a look of amusement at our presumption, as well as a glint of challenge. We, after all, are *them*—envoys of that retrograde horde dwelling somewhere back of the Appalachians, who obstinately resist the tutelage of the brainier East. We are moreover traitors to the Myth, renegades whose slow ascent from ethnic proledom owed much to the government whose glad hand we now bite. By rights we ought to be His people, and instead we defect to Reagan, use "liberal" as an epithet, and come in here complaining and dripping snow on the Kennedy carpet! Ingrates. No class.

Sensing all this stiffens my courage, and I finally speak: "We're from the March for Life and we'd like to talk with the Senator."

"I'm sorry, he's in a meeting now. Would you like to sign the register?" Praise the Lord, we are saved. I relax, chat awhile and turn once more to the books in whose gilded and never-to-be-read pages our ghostly passage is marked. So far, we're 0-for-four, since even the New Hampshire congressman had stayed home in the storm. Exhaustion has

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mellowed me and I'm not even tempted to harangue, just hinting to the Senator that abortion and human rights may somehow be linked. I wince slightly to see that another half page is filled with the AIDS-chastity ramble. On second thought I hope someone reads it; this ungrammatical soul is one of the few voices in the country speaking the truth.

Deciding that Congress has heard enough, Phil and I reclaim our signs for the last time and trek to our hotel. To pull off soggy boots and clothes, to plunge frozen flesh into a hot bath and then sprawl on the immense firm beds—rapture! A banquet is scheduled for 7 PM, and until then only one thing can distract us. That, I'm ashamed to say, is a throwback to undergraduate vanity, an obsessive hunt through the channels to see whether or not we got on TV. No day of anti-war tumult was ever complete without gathering round the tube in the dorm lounge. After all, the point of a march is to get some attention, some "media play," right? You've got to play the game if you want to compete. Besides, the nature of reality has changed in our time; if there's no recorded image of an event, you can't be sure it happened.

The reports start at six and all they can talk about is snow, snow, snow. Shots of snow falling and snow piling up, snow on streets, snow at the Capitol, snow at the airport, snow in the suburbs, breathless reporters on location reporting more snow, weathermen explaining it, citizens reacting to it, drivers denouncing it. The newspeople gape and chatter about about it like excited old women, as if nothing else on earth happened this day. Only one network manages to show—a quaint sidelight to the weather news—a bedraggled file of marchers passing in front of the White House.

Did it happen? Was it an illusion? Once more, as in Kennedy's office, the horizons of reality seem to blur and contract. Pro-life—what's that? You want to ban abortion? Absurd, it's a well-established right! Everybody agrees—just see how much notice you get on TV. Perhaps the greatest sin of television is not its ideological bias so much as its capacity to clot the channels of the human spirit. It functions as a gigantic mirror angling our vision steadily toward earth, never toward heaven. In magnifying and exalting the insignificant, its dim grey light enwraps the soul in darkness. We have spent the day with perhaps ten

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thousand people of like vision. The sense of unity has been thrilling, akin to what men seek in collective worship, for we have affirmed the reality of values invisible to others. Yet running through it like a dissonant counterpoint has been this voice, intruding on the vision with doubts and questions, crowding its edges with competing images. Like Satan tempting Christ, the very lay-out of Washington poses a challenge, its structures trumpeting the kingdoms of this world in all their fleshy substantiality. Every office block, every grand hotel, every opulent restaurant, right on up to the marbled splendor of the Hill, everything we pass whispers its scorn of our numbers and our faith, flaunting its might, despising the notion that in the final balance it will all be outweighed by the soul of a single slaughtered innocent.

Exposure to this takes a toll, especially after it is confirmed by the blind guide of television. Coming together in Washington has revealed our strength, but also our weakness vis-a-vis other claimants on the polity, and we need now to have the vision refreshed. We need the cleansing, freshening balm of words, and these we receive from the banquet-speaker, John Cardinal O'Connor of New York.

About six hundred of us make it to this affair in the basement of the Hyatt Regency. It starts inauspiciously with more music from the Falwell group of Liberty Singers, blasting at high volume from a corner stage. I don't like music that pre-empts conversation, especially religious stuff reminiscent of Las Vegas. This group isn't all that bad, a far remove from the odium of "Christian rock," but still too loud. They are twelve handsome, engaging and talented youths (a bit like a chorus line of congressional aides), who not only sing but move about in a synchronized fashion, conveying an emotional peak both with raised volume and raised arms. Their repertoire is a bit heavy on civic-religious patriotism, lots of swelling choruses that end "*A-me-ri-cahhh!*" with key changes going higher and higher till listeners are nearly spun out of their seats. But effective: they are hired to stir excitement, and they deliver.

There are other features on the program, refreshingly homey ones like salutes to the sole delegate from Washington State, or to the bespectacled eighth grader from Cincinnati who has won the March for Life poetry contest, lower division. She steps right up and with utter aplomb exhorts us to carry on the fight. Miss Gray presides and does it very

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well, staggering the introductions so that no one is kept long from the cooling roast beef. When she welcomes the guest speaker, one hears in her voice a tremor of genuine humble respect.

The Cardinal stands before us large and lantern-jawed. All I know about him is that he clashed with Geraldine Ferraro and Mario Cuomo in 1984—enough to recommend anybody—and that he's supposed to be the Pope's man, the other half of "Cardinals Law and Order" who are attempting to hold American Catholics to orthodoxy. Before he says a word I sense a man of spiritual stature, and his talk bears this out. His voice is deep and smooth. He apologizes for missing the march, having been kept from landing in Washington by the storm, returning to New York, and finally making it down on Amtrak. He displays the knack of eminent men to make his drama into his audience's drama, and we sigh feelingly at every twist in the story. He jokes a little about Miss Gray's characterization of him as a "high-visibility" figure, rueing some of the consequences. Yet it leads him into his theme. "I've been accused of being a single-issue clergyman. It's an accusation I welcome. The sanctity of life isn't a single issue, it's the only issue." The *only* issue—of course! That's the key, that's the reply to all this worldly clamor belittling our cause and pressing its own banal definition of humanity. The sanctity of life—a phrase used so often its meaning gets dimmed, yet a cornerstone not only of pro-life but of the entire edifice of Judeo-Christian thought. Human life is not just valuable, it is sacred! It partakes of the inviolate nature of the Ark, to touch which is to risk fire from heaven. Human life in all its forms must be consciously cherished, revered, exalted, marvelled at, not to appease pride but to honor in each individual the imperishable image of Almighty God! That's what gives it value and meaning, that's why it must be defended at its embryonic root, when that defense seems to some a costly misapplication of moral energy. For if the root is severed, as it is being severed by the millions year after year, then the tree itself must soon shake and topple. When that desacralization of human life—the great evil of our century—is complete, when life's value is set purely by the polls and platforms and commissars, who then will be safe?

Yet conversely, if the sacredness is grasped, then, and only then, are the springs of true compassion released. To illustrate, the Cardinal cites the career of Mother Teresa. As long as she kept to tending lepers in

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India, she was universally popular. Then she toured the West and called abortion the greatest threat to peace, and fashionable opinion was irked. She stirred more controversy by founding hospices for AIDS patients, to let them die in an atmosphere of love. Amidst all the media furor she smiled her serene smile, quite indifferent, for in every case she was simply being true to the Christian ethic of life. Human beings need care, and those least able to help themselves, in the womb or in the gutter, need it most. All are equal heirs to the image of God.

The sanctity of life. It's so much broader than abortion, for out of it grows respect for every facet of the human miracle; not only unborn life, but poor life, black life, homeless life, enslaved and starving life. Meliorative efforts based on anything but that root reverence, that are unfounded in love, quickly grow stale and bureaucratic, or degenerate into the horrors committed in the name of lofty social ideals.

That is why abortion, far from being the crank hobbyhorse of religious zealots, is the moral issue of our time. Apart from the pure pain and suffering it has caused, legalized abortion is the cutting edge of the clash of faiths underlying most of the strife and upheaval of this century. The tide of Christian civilization, rising and spreading for nearly two millenia, is now affronted by furious countercurrents. They assail under many names, from within and without, but uniting them all is a haughty rejection of the idea that anything is transcendently sacred.

The religious essence of the controversy is something pro-life tacticians try to downplay, in hopes of shaping a broader consensus. And sure enough, one finds agnostics of conscience who oppose abortion, and many religious practitioners who defend it. Yet a "religious coalition for abortion rights" misses the point of any religion, and wickedly confirms those with no pretensions to faith. Religion is not a component of "lifestyle" or a social contract for good works; it is the absolute heart of human existence, the underlying, sustaining reality, as vital as oxygen though just as invisible and easy to ignore. Religion gives the matrix of meaning, orders and explains all the random bits of experience, reveals not only their connectedness but their beauty. Religion opens the eye to the sacred dimension of all creation, and stimulates the only proper response to it—wonder.

Hence the cleavage on abortion is starkly religious. Those who have known wonder and acknowledged the sacred easily see the point of

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defending the unborn. Those who haven't *don't*, and reasoning is not likely to change their minds. If you grasp that a glorious creation presumes a Creator, you bow humbly before His revealed judgment; but if you see in the world only swirling, pointless phenomena, it makes perfect sense to lean on human reason in making, and altering, standards of value.

It comes down to the same old question that blighted Eden, and which Whittaker Chambers perceived as the root challenge of Communism: who is sovereign, God or man? If God, let us bow and exalt His Word as our guide to life. If man, let us raise our heads and fists and exalt ourselves as sole seat of wisdom.

This is the polarity revealed by the abortion debate. Of course most people fit neither extreme; they would claim to occupy some middle ground, acknowledging a kind of divine authority but recoiling from all its implications. Their muddle is probably sincere, and their ambivalence is certainly encouraged by the most authoritative voices of our culture. But they're wrong. Polls, surveys, referenda notwithstanding, they're wrong. Some issues are just not subject to democratic adjudication. And it remains for life's defenders to do what the Cardinal does throughout the evening—to assert the truth, gently, charitably yet firmly: *human beings are created in the image of God, and their lives, from the moment of conception, are sacred.* To restore this perspective is the Cardinal's achievement, in my case at least, and I suspect for many others. I had come to Washington frankly discouraged, convinced that abortion is a monstrous evil but despairing at how few Americans felt the same way. Even "conservatives" tend to discount its significance. The Republican National Committee, in a fundraising "survey," failed even to mention it as a topic of concern; you had to write it in under "other." Just as the violence done to a fetus, the ripping, piercing, scalding of human flesh, is performed in quiet obscurity, so the very mention of abortion is avoided as too divisive and potentially offensive.

Yet truth is truth. This is what the Cardinal ministers. Others, even a majority, may not see it, but their myopia is irrelevant. We are called to bear witness to the truth. The tide may not shift for years, perhaps not for decades. In the interim we must do all we can to influence it, pull

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all the levers available in the democratic system. But above all, stand on the truth, believe, and pray. He singles out prayer as the most potent yet least used weapon in the arsenal. And he closes with a reminder of that somberest truth of the faith—the measure of our progress will be shown in the suffering it brings us. To speak truth is always perilous, for it is always a minority preference; its bold utterance brought Christ to the cross, and it will be similar for all who follow truly in His steps.

In raising our sights and hopes, in rebuking the clouds of doubt that had pressed in all day, the Cardinal has performed the highest priestly function. His words, like Nehemiah's spade, have built back up the walls of our faith, firmed the foundation and sharpened the boundaries. And, charmingly, his labor to lift our spirits to transcendent realms has itself transcended one earthly dimension—he has run way overtime in his inspired ramble, for which he now apologizes. Every other feature of the day has unrolled with military precision, as it must; yet in this wise man's obliviousness to the clock is reflected an attunement to the Spirit that bloweth where it listeth, a child-like absorption in the things of eternity.

The dinner closes on a note of wry comedy. As the Cardinal sits, we all rise in a heartfelt ovation, followed by an even higher tribute, a moment of thoughtful silence. Finally, the conductor of the Liberty Singers stands, to say a word before commencing the last scheduled musical wallop, a pull-out-the-stops sing-along rendering of "God Bless America" which I suddenly wish could be transposed to America Bless God.

"I guess it's pretty clear that us Baptists are in the minority here"—self-conscious laughter, embarrassed recollection of those old divisions that the Cardinal's words had seemed to bridge; and they are so piddling in light of the real conflict—"but I just want to say that as the Cardinal was speaking, I could just close my eyes and imagine I was sitting in the pews of Thomas Road Baptist Church listening to my own pastor, the Reverend Jerry Falwell."

Dead silence. Then realization that the man is paying a compliment, the highest one he knows; he is likening their champion to the paramount Southern Fundie, a cultural icon that to their Roman bones, alliances notwithstanding, still seems faintly menacing. Yet it is meant as a fraternal gesture, and finally received as such. Clap. Clap. Clap-

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clap-clap-clap. Prelate and song-leader bow and wave amicably, and then on with the show.

When it's all over, we push back from the table with full bellies and brimming spirits. Phil is half-dead with fatigue and an incipient cold, so he goes right up to bed. But I have a final chore, one that will yield a last jolt to the system in this long tumultuous day.

I hunt up a payphone away from the crowd to call old friends. The Peace Corps, like various branches of the War Corps, breeds an intense camaraderie in its troops that can survive years of separation. While my life has taken a very different turn, I try to keep up with old pals, especially those of us who settled in Washington to stretch out our connection by working at headquarters. Ex-PCV's make up an exotic subculture of the capital, defiantly individualistic, still going around in dashikis and sandals, scrabbling for government work but unwilling to bow fully to the bureaucratic yoke. They put themselves forward as advocates of Third World interests, and having acquired in their time in the tropics a certain taste for squalor, they often settle in down-at-heel but "multi-cultural" neighborhoods such as Adams-Morgan. And their lifestyles, shall we say, reflect the same scorn for convention as their wardrobes.

I learned that an old friend was dying of AIDS. Not a close friend, but a man I had known and liked. Suddenly the scourge about which I had read so many words, heard debated in such lofty abstractions, turned real and had a human face. To be personally touched by AIDS may by now be a common experience in the big cities, but not in Essex, Massachusetts. "How's he taking it?" I asked. Indeed, how does a thirty-six year old take a death sentence, the sad fruit of a "lifestyle" that has yielded much loneliness, little joy, and no peace? "Better now. At first he had problems with denial." "Denial"—the unwillingness to accept the truth. The coinage of psycho-speak for the old ingrained penchant for self-deception. How sad, yet would I act differently? "And the light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness apprehendeth it not." An individual can draw over his eyes the cloak of delusion; so can a nation. It may bring comfort in the short-term, but ultimately truth, and consequences, will out.

This is not to condemn my friend. In our one extended talk he

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recounted his struggle, and I knew the demon that drove him was deep-rooted. Could he have overcome it? Could he have been saved? By spiritual means, I must say yes. But whatever human resistance he might muster had been undercut by a bankrupt culture, one whose muddle and irresolution on moral questions vitiates every individual struggle with temptation. AIDS and abortion, flung together for a moment. The two scarlet streams that roar angrily through modern consciousness, provoking so much passion, panic, and untimely death. Taken together they blight that aspect of human life, sexuality, that ought to be its sweetest. And both, in their epidemic proportions, spring purely from the sexual revolution, that stupid, disastrous act of mass "denial" about the truths of human nature. Now its harvest unfolds, now the corpses are piling up, small and large. What Joyce accused Ireland of being toward its artists, America through negligence has become literally—an old sow devouring her farrow.

As I leave the deserted basement and head for my room, my head buzzes and my heart aches. The hopefulness stirred by the Cardinal is once more assailed by gloom. Yet in sorting it out, I recall his words about Mother Teresa in whose work the two bloody scourges are also conjoined. Perhaps hers is the best way, perhaps the only way. To look hard at the nation's depth of moral rot is to despair; yet to see it with her eyes, blinkered to all but the divine image within every soul, brimming with tears of pity, smiling with promise of renewal of spirit—there is wisdom, and there is our hope.

The Manpower Shortage

Frank Zepezauer

REMEMBER THE “Manpower Board” of World War II? In the semantic innocence of the time, the term “manpower” applied to all units of human energy, male or female, who could be mobilized for the war effort. Today we need to re-activate the board and assign the term to gender-specific duty. We still face enemies, at home and abroad, and we still need men to serve as soldiers, workers and fathers. The new Manpower Board would mobilize the power in our numbers and re-animate the power in our spirit. On both counts we had better move fast. We’re sliding into a desperate manpower crisis.

Begin with a nose count, the power we get from the number of men we have and expect to have. Line up our nation with the West, oppose it to two population blocs in the Communist and Third World, and you find that we are already far behind. They are producing more babies than we are. We are not only producing fewer babies. We are also killing off enough male children each year to staff over 50 combat divisions. Putting it that way may sound callously militaristic. Yet think of the outcry if we reported each January that we had lost 800,000 men in the previous year. Think of it any way you want. Each of these male children lives his promise for only a moment. Then lethal human will and chemistry and hardware will wipe him out as inexorably as a shell from a howitzer. As many female children disappear too, during an age when we fret about “women’s rights.” But our focus here is the power from our men and the power in them. In that regard we maintain a careless and obsolete optimism.

Meanwhile, much of the rest of the world is having a baby boom. The Soviet block now promotes fertility. Poland maintains a population-expanding 2.4 Total Fertility Rate (TFR), compared to 1.3 in Holland and Sweden and 1.8 in America. Overall in the West, the TFR is 1.76, significantly below the 2.1 needed to *maintain* the population. And the West’s TFR keeps going down. During 1987 as many children

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will be born in the Moslem nations of Turkey and Egypt as in all 12 countries of the European Common Market combined. In 100 years there will be half as many western Europeans.¹ That dwindled population will face an African continent doubling every 21 years since the 1970's. West Germany alone is losing approximately 3,000 citizens *per week*, causing a recent 20% increase in the minimum required military service. In the United States, our cultural elite continues to encourage the Swedenization of our domestic affairs. In five generations, the anti-natalist West may perhaps achieve our passionately-desired egalitarian society. But in six generations we will have run out of citizens to enjoy it. Our ethic kills not only babies but whole societies.

Will it also kill the spirit in our men? On questions about morale we can only speculate. We have trouble defining it, but we seem to know when we've lost it. What we already know, however, gives us plenty to worry about. We can, for example, check out the situation in our military, which is still the school and the measure of manhood. In the armed services an unprecedented social experiment now transforms their makeup and character. Some 10% of our military is now female. By law, the same percentage applies to the service academies. In the past, armies sometimes used women to free men for combat. In extreme circumstances a few, such as the Russian and the Israeli, pressed women into combat duty. But no military force except ours has used so many women in so many combat-related roles, has integrated the sexes so extensively, or has submitted so conspicuously to a sexual-egalitarian ethic.

Nor was any American military force before the 70s infiltrated so widely by "progressivist" politics. James Webb, a combat veteran now serving in the Defense Department, wrote that "the military has become a politician's toy, a way to accomodate interest groups without losing political support for the home district."² Right now these politicians commission unisex ideologues, the American version of political commissars, to push women in more and more service units and to quash assertions of old-style masculine pride. Any expression of a masculine identity which might in some way exlude women now goes by the name of "sexism." Many male soldiers and sailors and airmen don't like what's happening, but if they protest too loudly, they soon find their careers going nowhere.

This ideological meddling exposes a broader concern. Few major powers have permitted such widespread assaults on the very concept of masculinity as are now commonplace in the United States. One school of thought, which is in fact preaching in our public schools, maintains that "masculinity" is a fiction, a role in a discarded scenario. Another school acknowledges the reality of a "masculinity" not as a form of sexual identity but as a species of psychopathology. That form of politicized diagnosis generates much of the "peace" rhetoric which reduces international conflict to nothing more than the clash of male egos. A Stanford co-ed expressed this sentiment: "We will not stand by and let a handful of overgrown little boys, be they American or Soviet, take charge and determine the course of our lives."³ Her message, however, gets through much more successfully to "little boys" in America than in Russia.

If American boys learn from grown-up pacifists that wars are only lethal nursery games, they at least get a clear message. But they sometimes hear a more damaging mixed message: that women are not only more peace-loving than men, but also, when necessary, more warlike. In combat, say the sexual egalitarians, women can hold their own with men without the crutch of a masculine mystique. One said that "the notion of the warrior is what the military has used as its appeal to manhood. Perhaps when women become warriors . . . men will no longer be able to define themselves."⁴ Another female soldier said this of her male partners in arms: "The army is an ego trip for men. They think they're rough and tough and better than average and better than women."⁵ This kind of womanly chest-thumping is standard stuff nowadays, encouraged by the notion that the best cure for the well-larded male ego is the well-larded female ego. We could laugh it off if such talk were nothing but talk. But it can penetrate the spirit of boys who very much want to grow up, but are told that the male commitment to duty and honor only serves to feed adolescent fantasies.

Has all this male-bashing really affected our future men? In the past a little chafing from the female tongue helped to shape up boys aspiring to manhood. They had to learn how to stand up to women in order to stand up to men. But the chafing was usually delivered by women who loved their boys and respected their need for assured masculinity. Not

today, or at least, not as often. Observers are picking up worrisome signs that in a growing number of men the intangibles which make up male pride are slipping away. Again the early warning signs come to us from the military. After a survey of the experimental unisex army, Michael Levin reported that morale problems threaten to abrade a sexually-integrated military.⁶ Levin cites all the rigged affirmative-action procedures that allow women to slip into near combat positions, all the boy/girl interplay that erodes discipline, all the pregnant and maternal female soldiers (10% of the female cohort at home and abroad), all the male resentment that is *felt* but is ordered silenced.

James Webb sees similar threats to the spirit of our sexually-integrated officer corps, e.g., the way the service academies now emphasize academic achievement at the expense of masculine leadership. Webb notes that General George Catlett Marshall ranked at the bottom of his class in academic performance but at the top in leadership. We're putting some very tough women into our officer corps but not enough, argues Webb, to compensate for the loss of tough men, perhaps future George Marshalls, who have been pushed out by the quotas. He says of his own academy at Annapolis that the attempt to "sexually sterilize" its environment "in the name of equality" has "sterilized the whole process of combat leadership training, and our military forces are doomed to suffer the consequences."⁷

That's how it's going in an institution we count on to keep the masculine ideal alive. But the military can only finish what the family begins. When we check into the family's health, we find even more reason to worry about a coming manpower shortage. Start your survey with young male blacks. You learn first that, for most of them, growing up to assured manhood is like running a gauntlet. Many get snuffed out by abortion or high infant mortality rates. Many of the survivors won't make it past their teens, casualties of street warfare as deadly as Iwo Jima. Or they get wiped out by suicide, the fast way with weapons or the slow way with drugs. Or they get lost to a bewildered vagrancy that isolates them from the larger life of the community, men without families and sons without fathers.

Even so, some make it all the way through school. And school teaches them that most of the time girls will beat them out in the race for jobs. For every hundred black females now finishing high school,

you'll find only eighty-five males. For every hundred black females finishing college, you'll find seventy one males. For every hundred black females entering the professions, you'll find only *half* that many males.⁸ Thus, the gauntlet that these young male blacks run through releases only a few big winners, some men as tough and virile as Othello and a few as fat-headed. One now hears of black men operating like sultans in a society where "man-sharing" has become a hot topic. In spite of these odds, we can still find many black men working with their wives to build strong families. But we can't find enough of them, and the manpower shortage grows. Today, most young black boys grow up seeing their fathers, if they see them at all, either as ominous predators or as wheedling dependents. For these boys, a home is a woman's place.

Among the many pathologies afflicting these young men is a condition that has now been given a name. But it has not yet become a cause that generates media reports, television documentaries, acronymed welfare bureaus or benefit rock concerts. It's "father absence," a problem that is both cause and effect in our growing manpower shortage. A self-defining term, "father absence" lacks the moral and political clout delivered by weapon words like "racism" and "sexism." Some fathers' rights groups have tried to publicize the problem, but a feminist-obsessed media that can push George Gilder's *Men and Marriage* out of New York can also keep the fathers' rights activists off the front pages. But the problem won't go away. Father absence has become endemic in the black community. Eighty percent—80%!—of all first births to black women under 22 are illegitimate. Fatherless families in the ghetto have now reached into a third generation, have developed their own folkways, have won institutional status, and now continue on their own course oblivious to both liberal and conservative handwringing. We've just recently figured out a way to get black mothers into the work force. We've yet to figure out a way to get black fathers back into the family.

The problem nevertheless seems remote, one of those muffled laments that occasionally surfaces from the underclass we've created. But, like AIDS, another sub-culture pathology spreading into the mainstream, father absence is moving out of the tenement into the split-level and the high-rise. Eighty percent of black births are illegitimate, but so

are sixty percent of Puerto Rican births, thirty-five percent of Mexican births, and thirty percent of white births.⁹ Today one out of *four* of all births in all classes and ethnic groups are illegitimate. Thus one out of four boys, each needing a father for a role model, will start life without one. The passively sanctioned illegitimacy that blocks family stability in black communities now works its way into the rest of society. On Bill Moyer's famous documentary of the black family, Glenn Loury impressed this fact on the audience. Asked about making the bi-parental family once again normative in the ghetto, he said that the restoration could not begin until it was favored by "downtown." He was referring to New York's white liberal community which has countenanced illegitimacy as a "woman's right" so inalienable that it should now bless lesbian parenting.

One of the bitter fruits of illegitimacy, father absence by choice or chance produces enough headaches on its own. But our liberated society has found other ways to separate sons from fathers. In the upwardly-mobile middle classes the preferred method is divorce. Half of all marriages now being formed will break up. In ninety percent of these separations the children will stay with the mother. From that point on a variety of circumstances will alienate many of the children from their fathers. Some of these children will find step-fathers or father surrogates. Some will make it alone with their mothers. But an increasing number of the male children will have to struggle their way toward manhood without having a man in the house to help them.

This creates hazards for growing boys. The whites might not tear up the neighborhood like their black counterparts, but they find their own ways to create problems. Some become playboys if they can manage it, bad boys or mama's boys if they can't—one way or another, they become boys for the rest of their lives, a riot of male energy in the middle of a manpower shortage.

Even though father absence has yet to make the top ten in crucial causes, it has already spewed out a flood of significant data, enough to tell us that the manpower shortage will continue to plague us. In 1981 the Navy studied the effects of father absence.¹² A psychiatric team studied a relatively high quality population, 400,000 navy men and their male children. For many of these men "father absence" meant prolonged duty at sea. Aboard ship or at home, they served their coun-

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try and their families, a paternal image alternately clear and fuzzy for their sons. But even under such circumstances, father absence took its toll. The researchers found that sons of absent fathers tended to have lower IQ's and school performance, generated more trouble at home, in the streets and in the schools, damaged themselves more often with drugs and obsessive behavior, and wound up killing themselves or each other more often than boys growing up with fathers. The chance alienation of boys from paternal guidance through prolonged duty or through illness or death—father absence, that is, under the “best” of circumstances—still hurt their chances of growing up into confident, stable manhood.

Other boys won't get even that much of a chance. They'll grow up without a father because some man didn't stick around after a night in the mother's bed or because the mother solved the man shortage by getting herself impregnated at a sperm bank or because the mother didn't want to live with the father anymore. The paternal image comes to these boys filtered through a maternal perspective often distorted by hurt or anger or ideological disdain. What will happen to them? To the report submitted by the Navy psychiatrists you can now add comprehensive wrap-up on the literature of father absence. It was delivered by George Rekers, Professor of Neuropsychiatry and Behavioral Science at the University of South Carolina School of Medicine.¹³ His audience: the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families of the U.S. House of Representatives in session February 25, 1986. Dr. Rekers told the Congressmen that fatherless boys more often have “lowered academic performance, more cognitive and intellectual deficiencies, increased adjustment problems and higher risks of psychosexual development problems”—more difficulties with “gender identification,” more chances to fall into “effeminacy, over-dependence and homosexuality” or into “hyperaggressive compensating behavior.” In short, he said that too little of the right kind of fathering will produce too much of the wrong kind of masculinity: too much *macho*, or too much wimphood.

There is much more supporting evidence. A 1983 study showed that boys from separated families are seen at child-guidance clinics three times more often than girls; that among 500 divorce-affected children treated for psychiatric disorders 380 were boys.¹⁴ A California study

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also showed that divorce hurts boys more severely than girls. They tended to be “explosive and intense,” generating problems for classmates and teachers. Another found that “on several measures, boys in divorced families were significantly different from boys in intact families, while there was no significant differences for girls.”¹⁵ A much larger study involving 14,493 students in grades 7-12 showed that “in all tests of scholastic achievement and behavior, the highest ranked group were girls with two parents and the lowest ranked were boys with one.”¹⁶

Thus, two institutions which traditionally supply our manpower needs, the military and the family, are themselves suffering from a manpower shortage. We seem caught in a self-reinforcing cycle. For example, one reason *why* the armed forces recruit women in such large numbers is the dwindling number of qualified men available. In 1985 *Newsweek* reported that women are needed “to boost the quality of personnel. In 1980 almost *half* the male recruits had abilities below average.”¹⁷ The declining birth rate can account for some of the problems, but, as we’ve seen, the causes go deeper. One reason why some women are now openly choosing single parenthood can be found in their inability to find suitable mates or to live with the ones they do find. No doubt their increasingly-high standards feed their frustration: the ambitious professional woman wants nothing less than a Byron White sharing her household, an All American on the football field, in the office, and presumably, in the bedroom.

But the problem appears to cut across all classes. When Bill Moyers asked a group of young black mothers if they wanted to marry the fathers of their children, they almost all dismissed the idea on the spot. In *Sexual Suicide*, George Gilder described a concept called “marital aptitude,” the complex of qualities that makes a man able and willing enough to take on his fair share of family work. Gilder saw marital aptitude already going down fast in the black community in 1973—almost 15 years ago. In 1986 he found the white community puzzling over the same decline. We still have a lot of males out there. We’re just running short of soldiers and husbands and fathers. And we also seem to be running short of the kind of spirit that makes men willing enough to shoulder tough responsibilities and able enough to assert the rights that go with them. Alan Bloom sums it up: men “have little to say”

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nowadays in their relations with women; they are “incapable of changing the direction of the juggernaut, they wait to hear what is wanted.”

Should we worry? After all, we’ve heard this before. The quality of men in our pre-World War II Army was a national joke, a rag-tag assortment of clowns and misfits who joined up for a square meal. We’ve always let our military go slack between wars, confident that an emergency summons would galvanize them into combat readiness. If not, we could always shape them up fast. The cliché scenario shows the tough sergeant bullying bums and mama’s boys into fighting men. If we were to face a genuine military crisis now, we could scrap the volunteer army and mobilize all the men we needed with a restored conscription, couldn’t we? And, presumably, the conscripts would have to serve in sexually-integrated armed forces whether they liked it or not. So why worry?

By the same token our troubled households seem worrisome to only a minority of us, sclerotic types who never adjusted to the sixties. The great sex and sex-role liberations flowered mostly during indifferent or preoccupied Republican administrations which presided over two decades of prosperity. Sweden seems to have given up on marriage altogether and still finds itself in the top ten of affluent societies. Swedes seem happy enough with this state of affairs even if there are fewer Swedes every generation to enjoy it. And in the long run, we’re all dead.

We seem therefore to have resigned ourselves to a manpower shortage that could leave us standing naked to our enemies. In our foolish confidence we sing that old World War II song: “We did it before and we can do it again.” All these boys and near-men idling along at loose ends? All they need is a sign that they’re needed and they’ll grow up as fast as their grandfathers did in the forties. But in those days the institutions that fostered male pride enjoyed universal support. Today they are under relentless attack. Will they snap back when we need them? Or will our beleaguered society, in a hundred, or perhaps only fifty years from now, be asking what happened to all the fathers and workers and soldiers who were once available for duty?

NOTES

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8. Andrew Hacker, "Women at Work," *This World*, Jan. 6, 1985.
9. *The Family in America, New Research*, May 1987 (The Rockford Institute Publications).
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The Birth Dearth: Dangers Ahead?

Ben J. Wattenberg

WHAT'S HAPPENING TODAY has never happened before. It will dramatically change the U.S. and the world in which we live. Over the years, I have heard businessmen, diplomats, government planners and parents all begging for the same thing: "No surprises, please." This book, a speculation about the future based on current trends, is an attempt to deal with that plaint. Forewarned is forearmed.

What is happening is this: For about a decade and a half, the peoples of the free, modern, industrial world—that includes the U.S.—*have not borne enough children to reproduce themselves over an extended period of time.*

We had a Baby Boom. Now there is Birth Dearth.

I believe the Birth Dearth will, in the near future, begin to cause turbulence at every level of our economy. I believe, too, the Birth Dearth will leave in its wake tens of millions of unhappy adults who will end up with no children at all, or fewer children than they really wanted—or no grandchildren or fewer grandchildren than they had hoped for. I believe the demographic and immigration patterns inherent in the Birth Dearth will yield an ever smaller proportion of Americans of white European "stock" (to use a census term), and this will likely cause more ethnic and racial tension and turmoil than would otherwise occur.

I believe further that the Birth Dearth may well turn out to be of great harm to the broadest value we treasure: It will make it difficult to promote and defend liberty in the Western nations and in the rest of a modernizing world.

I know full well that a projection isn't a prediction. But recall this: Fertility has been falling in most of the Western World for more than a century. It was presumed by many demographers that the fertility drop would stop when it reached about 2.1 births per woman over her

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childbearing years, because that is the level required to keep a population stable over an extended period of time. If the rate went below 2.1—and stayed below 2.1—the species would dwindle and, if kept dwindling, disappear.

But that's not what happened. The rate went lower. The way the numbers work out, we in the West have about one generation first to understand, then reverse, the fertility free-fall. Otherwise, we will pay for it dearly.

Rich country, poor country

The principle actors (and perhaps victims) are the people who live in that community of nations that are best described by these words: *Modern, industrial, free*. Although the most attention paid here is to the United States, such a grouping would also include Canada, all of Western Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Israel and Iceland.

Demographers have long understood the relationship between a modern society and lower birth rates. As people move from rural to urban settings, from farms to factories—facets of modernism—fertility falls. As incomes go up, as women move into the work force, as education increases—all facets of modernism—fertility falls. As technology yields better contraceptive techniques, as standards change to permit abortion—again facets of modernism—then fertility falls. The *direction* of the trend is long established. It is the *low level* and the recent *speed of descent* that is so startling.

Let us build our model of the future on the following simple assumptions:

- That the fertility rates in each of the modern nations will remain at the latest levels available in 1985, even though the rates still seem to be tending somewhat lower.
- That the new net admixture of legal and illegal immigration rates in the U.S., including an estimate regarding the effects of the new immigration law, yields a projection that is near the “middle level” estimate of 450,000 a year endorsed by the Census Bureau. (Projections here use a roughly similar 435,000 rate used in earlier World Bank studies.)
- That fertility rates in the Third World, still very high, will continue to decline, as projected by the United Nations.
- That longevity rates will keep rising, as the U.N. projects.

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Under such circumstances, what does the future look like? In the West, except for periods of war, plague or famine, population-growth rates are already at their lowest levels in history, and shrinking. Because of the echo effect of the Baby Boom—many more women bearing children, though at a low rate—and increasing longevity, the time of actual population loss is delayed until a decade or two into the next century. But sooner or later decline sets in, as is actually happening now in West Germany and a few other Western European nations. (In the U.S., due to a bigger Baby Boom and immigration, the process is moving at a somewhat slower pace, but clearly in the same direction.)

In contrast to the projected *shrinkage* in the modern democracies, *the Communist-bloc nations will be growing moderately*. Today, as a whole, they have a total fertility rate (TFR) of 2.3 births per woman. That is well above the replacement rate of 2.1. It is 28 percent higher than the 1.8 rate for the Western democracies.

What about the less developed world? Without much popular notice, the last 15 years have seen a tremendous and heartening decline in Third World fertility, from a U.N.-measured TFR level of 6.1 in 1970 to 4.1 in 1985. But today there are 1.1 billion women of childbearing age in the less developed world! Even if these women reduced their fertility as the U.N. projects, there will be a flood of Third World babies: Third World population, now 3.7 billion, is slated to rise to over 8 billion by the middle of the next century!

Primacy and prosperity

Is this three-way split harmful?

We live in a community of free and modern nations, banded together in a loose but real alliance. These nations like to argue. They argue about strategic defense, about who will buy cars from whom, about whose wine shall be subject to what countervailing duties.

But beneath the bickering, something remarkable has happened during the last four decades. This community of free, modern nations has shaped and molded the nature of the entire world—economically, technologically, culturally, geopolitically and in many ways militarily as well. In the course of this Western dominance, we—the moderns—have vastly improved our condition. We are more prosperous, healthier, more at peace and more free than ever before.

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Second, they—the aspiring nations—have also gained. Over the recent decades, life expectancy has soared, commerce has expanded, food per capita has increased, literacy and communication have exploded. What caused the advance of the poor nations? Modernism, Westernism, call it what you will. There was medical technology that improved sanitation. There were new seeds that improved agricultural yield. There were multinational corporations that brought jobs and access to markets. There were transistor radios, new roads, airplanes, and—in more places than you might think—at least the beginnings of a democratic process.

Even the Communist world has benefited. They have shared or stolen our technology; they have benefited from the geopolitical and military stability among the big powers.

By 1950, when this Western moment was in its early days, the population of the “free, modern world” comprised about 22 percent of the global population.

Today, we are 15 percent. By the year 2030, we will be 9 percent. A reasonable extrapolation to the end of the next century brings the Western proportion down to about 5 percent. A question arises: Will our values continue to dominate in a world where our population shrinks? Shrinks to 9 percent? Shrinks to 5 percent? Shrinks even lower?

Children: A Theistic Approach

Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn

MAN HAS BEEN DESCRIBED scientifically as *homo sapiens* (an intelligent animal) and as *homo faber* (an animal making and using tools), but he is also *homo creator*. Having been created by the Creator in His likeness, man too is a creator. He builds, paints, composes, writes prose and poetry. There is truly something divine about creativeness. It gives to man a deep satisfaction which, in a way, is of a religious nature. His creativeness distinguishes man from beast, last but not least because it presupposes intellectual and frequently also aesthetic qualities. “Dexterities” are important but, up to a point, they also exist in the animal kingdom, where they have an “instinctive” nature. Obviously, man has other distinguishing qualities as well: Nietzsche said man is the animal that promises (keeping his word), he is the animal that knows and recognizes (as such) his grandfather, but man is also a religious being. Bedbugs, crocodiles or chimpanzees recognize no deity and do not pray.¹

Man is, moreover, a biological creature, he can intentionally and knowingly beget children. He does it according to a divine plan, but he needs a partner for this purpose. In the right order of things (there are negative possibilities) he will *choose* an assenting partner, but the *exact* nature of their child (its sex being only one important aspect) is still beyond the parents’ control. And there is a third Partner, God, who gives the child its immortal soul.² However, the parents, having laid the biological foundations of their offspring, continue to form and fashion its intellectual, ethical and other powers. Compared with other animals, parental tutelage and guidance covers a very long and only gradually-fading period—two-thirds of a generation and sometimes more. Paternal or maternal advice still has its value for a “child” of forty.

In the animal world procreation is of a purely “mechanical” and instinctive nature. There is the sexual urge, mating takes place and the offspring appears, arousing almost automatically maternal love. Yet,

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after a short time the “psychological” ties between the mother and her brood will come to an end. There is not the slightest reason to believe that beasts *desire* progeny. Sex to them is a trap into which they walk, fly or swim. Human marriage, on the other hand, rests on a decision (a “plan”) of either the marriage partners, their families, or their clans.

In human beings there is, however, not only an erotic drive, the existential craving for a partner who is expected to be lover, soulmate and friend,³ there is the sexual drive that seeks not “union,” but gratification, and then there is the very natural desire to have progeny. In a patriarchal society the latter may be stronger in man than in woman, but once the child has appeared the maternal instinct of love and protection will, in most cases, be stronger.⁴ There are profound psychological reasons for this all-too-human longing. Hippolyte Taine called the family *le seul remède contre la mort*—the only remedy against death. In spite of the fact that the world is God’s, Man’s, and the Devil’s,⁵ even strongly religious persons feel an attachment to this world, even in its fallen condition. George Bernanos, the great Christian novelist, wrote to a friend: “When I will be dead, tell the sweet kingdom of this earth that I loved it more than I ever dared to admit.”⁶ In other words: having children means to survive not only in Heaven but also right here on earth.

This, however, is by no means the only reason why man desires progeny. The father-son relationship implies continuation of the name, the “dynastic” urge of the male, certainly of the Christian who, in the words of the Bible, is “King and Priest.”⁷ In addition there is the craving to create a truly live symbol of love. The marriage partners, who are one flesh, *together* create a new flesh. It is their common creation and, in a way, a miracle, because this utterly helpless little human being contains all the tremendous potentialities of man and possesses an immortal soul even before it sees the light of day.

To the ancient Jews childlessness was a great misfortune, a source of grief, like blindness, leprosy, or poverty. To beget a child meant and still means creating a son or a daughter of the Chosen people, descendant of Abraham who stood in a very special relationship to God. In the old days a marriage broker, the *Schadchen*, travelled around with an album of photos with dowry sums added (but not names). This Jewish custom might seem very materialistic, but we must not forget that in

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France, for instance, love marriages became the rule, rather than the exception, only at the turn of the century. An old Frenchman told me that he did marry the girl he loved but, prior to the wedding, the two young people and their four parents went to a solicitor to set up a marriage contract carefully defining the property arrangements, the dowry and *les espérances*, the sums hopefully expected after their parents' demise. A somewhat poisonous altercation arose—"Ah, Monsieur, you still look very healthy . . ."—and the young people were on the brink of tears. Their parents berated them for being sentimental. "*Les affaires sont les affaires*, you kids don't know about the hard facts of life!"

An atrocious attitude? By no means. One does not base one's life and the fate of something as important as a family on mere feelings.⁸ To put children into this world is a most serious matter and the French take their marriages far more seriously than is generally assumed.⁹ In the Old World, moreover, one did (and largely still does) marry not just one's partner, but his or her family as well.

In a famous short story Tolstoy tells of a young man, in love with a girl, who happens to see how his potential father-in-law, a highranking officer, maltreats a Tartar soldier. The young man thereupon decides that he cannot marry the girl. Eros and sexuality both *can* be subjected to the discipline of mind. There are men and women who simply cannot fall in love with an "unworthy" person; mental brakes prevent this, one of these brakes being the thought that the person in question could be the father or mother of one's children. Guitton speaks about *l'amour raisonnable* as a precondition for a stable marriage. Such a love is more likely in man, because of his tendency to rationalize. Hence Kierkegaard's somewhat hyperbolic remark that a woman's love is "Yes and Amen," a man's love "just talk." (Why? Because, once he has reached maturity, he discusses his feelings with himself.)¹⁰

A sincere love, involving one's whole personality, aims at marriage and since marriage implies progeny and thus a deepening of one's Royal Priesthood, it represents the most serious step one can take. To provide the material foundation for the family is then up to the fathers, whom Bernanos called *les aventuriers du monde moderne*—the adventurers of the modern world. And Péguy, another of the great Christian

writers, said of parents in general that on ne travaille que pour les enfants—one labors only for the children. They are God's vineyard in a wider sense.

It is obvious that the sexes, equally important in the "final" divine plan, do not play the same existential role in their mutual relationship. According to the Bible, woman was created for Adam as a companion in his solitude after his failure to communicate with the beasts to which he had given names, and over whom he ruled. However, woman was created not only as a companion, but also as helpmate. Biologically handicapped in comparison with man,¹¹ she faces a more difficult, more sorrowful and even physically more painful life. More than the male, she is haunted by unhappiness. Children are her main responsibility before and many years after their birth. The father's role in rearing the children evolves slowly. Eventually he sets patterns for the son and guiding principles for the daughter in her relationship with the male world, a very difficult and complicated procedure.

In this respect both parents are decisive, as is the entire family which, after all, is a small society of three (yes, three) generations: it is an introduction to life. This incontrovertible fact itself speaks against the one-child family as well as against the increasing phenomenon of single mothers.¹² The orphaned family is always a tragedy, not a norm.¹³ In the past it enjoyed the special protection of Church and State: to persecute widows and orphans was considered one of the four sins "crying to Heaven for vengeance."¹⁴

A number of authors have emphasized the verticality of the family and its affinity with the theistic faiths. There is God-Father in Heaven at one end, and the commandment from the Decalogue to honor father and mother at the other. The monotheistic world was "parental" and "vertical" and there is even a psycho-theological school which maintains that no love (erotic, "affective," or charitable) exists without a conscious or subconscious religious reference. (Purely sexual attraction is obviously possible, but it is not love.¹⁵) If you truly love a person, you are loving an image of God.

The family being a small, "pluralistic" society endowed with a "secret" mutual understanding and demanding a very special loyalty extending in various directions, is a sort of little kingdom. Therefore it is treated with more or less hostility by the dictatorial, totalitarian state

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which, historically speaking, is in its various manifestations the result of the French Revolution. The Marquis de Sade, actually far more important as a political philosopher than as a sexual pervert and pornographer, emphasized the supremacy of the state over the children. They belong to the Republic, he stated bluntly. Rousseau, the other decisive forerunner of the French Revolution and of modern democracy, "simplified matters" for himself: he put all his children into state orphanages. This hatred for the family, combined with plans to alienate children from their parents and to hand them over to the central political power, is ever-present in all leftist movements and intellectual schools from Morelly¹⁶ and Jeremy Bentham¹⁷ to the National and International Socialists.¹⁸

Therefore one also finds it in the "schooling" tendencies in America, beginning with Jeremy Belknap, who taught that the children belong to the State and that, consequently, there should be a uniform school system all over the United States. Robert Coram and, later, Frances Wright¹⁹ had similar ideas. The latter wanted all children between two and 16 to be housed, clad, fed and taught uniformly in boarding schools, but she was generously going to let the parents visit them occasionally. (Religion and foreign languages were not to be taught, and history only in so far as it was represented as an everlasting fight against tyranny, a concession made to some of these "educators."²⁰)

These are the fore-runners of a school system that gobbles up the children from morning to evening, leaving them to their parents only for the night and on weekends. (Unfortunately there are all too many parents who, both gainfully employed, are glad to be rid of their brood during the day.) The mentality of such school maniacs is clearly collectivistic and totalitarian. It is little known that, apart from the genetic heritage, intelligence rests upon another powerful factor which is biological and transcends mere "nurture." We are referring here to the scientifically-supported theory of Robert Maistriaux that a maximum of contact with the mother in the first two years, and with other adults up to the age of 7 or 8, is of crucial importance for a child's intellectual development.²¹ This is proved by the alarming statistics concerning the I.Q.s not only of primitives in darkest Africa where Maistriaux collected his experiences, but also of children from our orphanages, compared with the I.Q.s of children from the top layers in Europe who

could afford full-time governesses and tutors to educate and inspire their children. *Primarily*, however, it is the parents who are called upon to form the minds and characters of their children.

Evidently parents are indispensable in more ways than one generally assumes. Today both frequently have jobs or, worse yet, an unmarried woman has to earn a living for herself and her offspring. Yesterday mothers stayed home and two hundred years ago the father frequently had his workplace in the house or the flat that was the family's home. (Many Continental businessmen and professional men still combine their offices with their apartments, children come home for lunch, and thus the family is united.) Parental care starts, of course, with conception and, as we said, becomes after birth a moral obligation.

We should harbor no illusions: the dear little ones who look so charming are in every way selfish, egotistic, cruel barbarians with a morbid imagination. One of the parents' greatest assets certainly is their memory, their ability to remember what they themselves were like in childhood. Let us recall Genesis 8:21, which says that the mind of man, from childhood on, is directed toward evil. It is therefore the parents' great, God-given role to take care of their children not only physically but also intellectually, morally and religiously—to be kings, teachers and priests to them. They must *prescribe* their behavior, teach them the rudiments of religion, knowledge and ethics. For this task they have to be "authoritarian."

But what is authority? It is something within us relating to something outside. If we obey, we do so for one of three reasons: because we love, or because we respect, or because it seems sensible and in our own (as well as other people's) interest. In the past monarchs were (by and large) beloved because they were parents of sorts. We obey our parents because our obedience brings them joy or satisfaction. Affection and gratitude are blended in this "conformity." An alternative is, as we said, obedience out of respect. (This is why we say of a writer that he cites "authorities," i.e., sources generally considered to be leading in knowledge, experience and wisdom.) Finally, we obey because, facing a system of laws and regulations, obedience is a matter of common sense. To stop if a policeman raises his hand is common sense. Not to obey him is foolish and criminal. The alternative to authority (i.e., our readiness to obey) is force and fear: we then obey because the alternative is

punishment (whether we deserve it or not). Tyrannical political power relies almost purely on might and the fear it creates. It engenders neither love nor respect.

The ideal obedient child loves its parents, it recognizes their knowledge, experience and wisdom, and is convinced that parental leadership is commonsensical. (It may be wise to ask a rebellious teenager how, in not so many years, he or she would react to their own child's rebellion.) By educating a child we prepare it not only for society, but also specifically for parenthood. All this must be done in an atmosphere of the various forms of love between parents and children, brothers and sisters, and all other relatives—what C. S. Lewis called “the affections.” They are not easily explainable, or rational, yet they are the cement of the family.

Needless to say, the child must not only feel loved by its parents, it must also be aware that its parents love each other. (No, love is not just a feeling that “happens,” it is also an act of the will, a task.) No blow is more bitter for a child than the separation of its parents, with or without remarriage. Divorce can also mean a religious catastrophe for a child, especially if it loves both parents.²³ In a certain way love is “one.” To shake, impair, or destroy it affects all its variations.

Puberty and adolescence are a perilous cape that must be rounded. To the child the world now becomes three-dimensional and it also ceases to be black and white only, it becomes colored. Now the parents' help is of crucial importance. For this crucial period (which transcends biology) they have to prepare a long time ahead; they must teach their children to like and appreciate, if not admire, the other sex.

Misogyny and misandry are infantile tendencies which ought not to be carried over into maturity. At a later stage the youngsters must learn how to love in a “religious” way. To fall in love often means for them the first turning toward another being of their strongest, hitherto inexperienced emotions. They must learn to distinguish between charity, eros, and plain sex.²⁴

In adolescence, therefore, an intensification of the child's religious life is of the greatest importance. All too frequently adolescence is a time of religious crisis: the young person has to make a supreme effort to carry his or her childhood religion over into an adult stage.²⁴ For one adolescence may be a time of religious revival, for another a cause of

religious despair. It is rarely skepticism that brings destruction but, rather, it is sin and the feeling of helplessness in the face of temptation. One is reluctant to admit one's weakness and accuses religion of being "too demanding." Therefore it appears to be wrong—a logical non sequitur. The sinner indeed needs much love, comfort, and practical help which, for a child or an adolescent, must be provided primarily by the family.

How must the family impart religion to a child? By giving neither too little nor too much of it, hardly ever by preaching—rather by implication, little remarks, the right books, the firm but never venomous (perhaps even humorous or colorfully expressed) denunciation of the forces hostile and opposed to the Faith. But, above all, by the example of a lived religion. (Enforced religious practice? Only the required minimum.) Too many children, and especially adolescents, above all males, have been alienated from religion by coercive methods. Religion should be given to adolescents with an eye-dropper: not a drop too much, no overdose. One should not lose sight of the fact that some of the worst enemies of religion, from Voltaire to Stalin, had a concentrated, coercive religious education.

There is also, unfortunately in the young male rather than in the female adolescent, a perfectly normal revolt against his or her ambience, the parental home, the parents themselves, their views and their way of life, their class and their status habits and, last but not least, their religion. This has to be faced, if and when it happens, with a certain sense of humor. Neither should it be forgotten that the intellectual growth in this period of life is sudden and enormous. The capacity for learning, storing facts, and combining insights increases by leaps and bounds. One becomes superior to one's parents not only physically, but also in regard to intellectual energy: one tends to become drunk with the sudden increase of knowledge. But what is still missing is experience, and this takes time, a lot of time, in fact decades. And only from the combination of knowledge and experience comes, at long last, wisdom. Young people can look back only at a very short period. A young man cannot write a good novel about old people, whereas an old man, if he has a good memory, can very well describe the world of children. But it is up to the old person not to make his superiority painful for the young. There must always be love.

In a great culture and civilization children are not coddled and youth is not worshipped as it is in our decadent age. There is Somerset Maugham's curious saying that children smile about their parents, laugh about their grandparents, but venerate their great-grandparents. Still, in great civilizations (China, Greece, Rome and so forth) we find the tendency to declare a man fully grown only at the age of 50 or 60, because then, as if from a mountain top, he can overlook the landscape of life. He can, finally, guide his children not to repeat the errors he (or she) committed in their education. Unfortunately, modernity is hostile to the concept of the three-generation family; the only positive role left to the "senior citizens" of today is that of baby-sitters. They are mostly relegated to the "tombs of the living," which engenders in the young the belief that this is, indeed, where their parents belong when "their time has come." In Europe, however, one still finds people, especially among statesmen, who play important parts in their very old age: Adenauer became Chancellor at 78 and remained so until he was 87; Petain became head of France at 84 and went into exile at 88;²⁹ Churchill was 87 when he resigned as Prime Minister. All three died as nonagenarians.

Grandparents should not "dominate," but play the role of "elder statesmen" within the family. In our "democratized" age this causes certain problems.³⁰ The Old Testament puts the accent on strictness toward children; the New Testament warns, rather, against too much harshness.³¹ Of course, "unhealthy" relationships between parents and children exist: mothers whose affections turn from husband to a son who almost inevitably will be spoiled. As Jean Guitton says,³² such a "transfer" establishes a more "effortless" relationship because it can be very one-sided and is not based on reciprocity. As for the father-son relationship, Keyserling has pointed out that it rests on respect.³³ Fathers who "mother" their sons will lose them. Great men usually had severe fathers, or mothers who assumed a "paternal" role, by no means a rare case. Human love is, after all, not a seamless garment, a safe enclosure, but rather a bridge built over a gap (or even abyss) between human beings. (Mystical union with God is, naturally, quite a different matter.)

As we all know, children bring great joy as well as anxieties, if not sorrows.³⁴ A childless couple can easily fall prey to a "twosome ego-

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tism.” They ought to adopt children, as is done in most civilizations. Like marriage and the resolution to have children, this is a “decisive” step. Even mammals and birds accept “adopted” offspring. Needless to say, adoption too is, or should be, a religiously motivated act: foster or step-parents also become kings, priests and teachers.

Celibacy is based on a religious decision to devote one’s entire life to the service of God. (It is an act of renunciation not to be found in the Old Testament,³⁵ only in the New.³⁶) It implies not only the sacrifice of sexual activity, but also of erotic fulfillment, of close companionship and, of course, the hope for progeny. Marriage and baptism are feasts, but so is the ordination of a priest or monk, or the “veiling” of a nun. In marriage we are united with a child of God, to be ordained means (voluntary) total entry into the service of God. Both constitute a step toward union with God. Hence the death of a God-fearing person should be celebrated joyfully. To our knowledge this is done only by the Maronites, one of the 13 Catholic rites in Lebanon. With them a burial takes place in two stages: it begins with the funeral cortege proceeding toward the cemetery in a mournful manner. Then, after a halt, the atmosphere changes entirely: some people dance and joyful hymns are sung. There is a sadness because the deceased has left his or her relatives and friends, but then there is joy and celebration for the soul that has been freed from the body’s bondage in this vale of tears to join—immediately or eventually—its Creator. The prayers of those left behind will accompany it and among those who pray will be the deceased’s children and children’s children handing the torch of earthly life from one generation to the next. They are the heirs of the world as God planned and designed it.

NOTES

1. Carl Gustav Jung, Freud’s dissenting disciple, was convinced that a lack of religious conviction requires psychiatric treatment. See his *Die Beziehungen der Psychotherapie zur Seelsorge* (Zürich: Rascher, 1948), p. 16. In his *Psychologie und Alchemie* (Zürich: Rascher, 1952), p. 26, Jung spoke about the *anima naturaliter religiosa*. See also his *Über die Psychologie des Ungewussten* (Zürich: Rascher, 1943), p. 128, where Jung calls the godless superintellectuals thickheaded people with cold hearts. According to his assistant, Jolande Jacobi, the repression of religion, especially in the second half of life, causes grave damage. See her “Trouble et Lumière” in *Etudes Carmélitaines* (Paris, 1949).

2. God’s planting a soul into the body of a newly-created human being is part and parcel of “God’s Play” as described by Hugo Rahner, S.J., in his *Der spielende Mensch* (Einsiedeln: Johannes Verlag, 1952), whose first chapter is entitled “God at Play.”

3. And also a mother. We must not forget that God’s command to Adam and Eve to “multiply” is uttered prior to the fall.

4. Eduard von Hartmann in his *Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins* (Berlin: Dunker, 1879) is not

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the only one to insist that the maternal urge is very rare among girls. For men it is often very difficult to relinquish all hope for fatherhood.

5. See Jacques Maritain, in his *Le paysan de la Garonne* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1966), p. 59.

6. See Georges Bernanos, *Correspondence Inédite*, Béguin and Murray, ed. (Paris: Plon, 1971), Vol. II.

7. See I. Peter, 2,9, about the "royal priesthood" of believers. Thomas Aquinas in *De Regimine Principum* calls the Christians "Kings and Priests." The "general priesthood of all believers" is also Catholic doctrine: priests only have it in a more concrete way, while the full priesthood rests in the bishops.

8. The greater the emphasis of either erotic attraction or sex in the decision to marry a specific person, the greater chance of divorce. Loyalty belongs to friendship and not to infatuation or sexual craving. The skeptical Spaniards say: "Quien se casa por amores, ha de vivir con dolores."

9. According to a study made at Bielefeld University in 1986, the percentage of German males who commit adultery is now 70%, of the Americans 45%, of the British 25% and of the French 18%. (Adultery among males is most frequent between the ages of 35 and 45). This demonstrates the inaccuracy of commonly held views and the correctness of Mark Twain's statement: "The trouble with people is not their ignorance. It is the number of things they know that ain't so."

10. See Soren Kierkegaard, *Die Tagebücher* (Düsseldorf-Köln: Diederichs, 1961), p. 206 (II A 498).

11. Female longevity is used as an argument against this fact, yet in the more remote past women, on the average, died earlier than men. Only modern medicine, especially gynecology, changed this "natural order." In Europe medical insurance for women (married or unmarried) is more expensive than for men.

12. If all women able to bear a child had only two children, the survival of a nation would certainly not be assured.

13. In the Middle Ages it was considered to be a knight's most noble duty to "protect women and orphans."

14. The other three "sins crying to Heaven for vengeance" were murder, sodomy, and the refusal to pay the agreed wage.

15. On the other hand, the sexual act *can*—as the most extreme intimacy—become an expression of love and (to a Catholic) in matrimony also part and parcel of that *sacramentum continuum*.

16. See Morelly, *Code ôe la nature*, Introduction by V. P. Volgin, Member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1953), pp. 147-48. We know nothing about this 18th century author, not even his first name. For a long time this most influential book was attributed erroneously to Diderot.

17. In this connection it is interesting to study the poorhouse project of Jeremy Bentham, the materialistic utilitarian. If Bentham had had his way, nearly a million people, at the time one-eighth of the British population, would have been subjected to a real slavery. Children would have had to start working profitably at the age of four. They were to be separated from their parents and schooled, although in a "humane way"; i.e., they would have been spared "from intellectual exercise of the most painful kind, notably from the study of languages." Fathers (and mothers), however, could have only conversed with their children in the presence of "specified authorities." See Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Marriages and Morals among the Victorians* (London and Boston: Faber & Faber, 1987), p. 111-143.

18. Both National Socialists and International Socialists alienated children systematically from their parents through their practically obligatory organizations for children and adolescents, e.g., the *Hitlerjugend*, *BDM*, *Pioneers* and the *Komsomol*. With these they supplemented and complemented ideological education in the schools. The National Socialists had, moreover, boarding schools, the *Ordensburgen*. The Russian Communists toyed with the idea of boarding schools for all children after the age of five, but had to drop it for a variety of reasons.

19. On Frances Wright, see Theodore Maynard, *Orestes Brownson: Yankee, Radical, Catholic* (New York, Macmillan, 1943), pp. 36-37.

20. Beginning with Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. See Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1944), p. 304. This notion also (very much alive in the American way of teaching history) is highly responsible for the misunderstanding of foreign history.

21. See "Thoughts about the Family," *The Human Life Review*, Winter 1980 (Vol. VI, No. 1), p. 80.

22. On the intellectual drawbacks in a lacking mother-child relationship, see E. Roth, D. W. Oswald and K. Daumenlang, *Intelligenz* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1972), p. 102. The paternal presence, however, is most important for the formation of character. See Hans Hirschmann, S.J., "Der Mann—das Haupt der Frau" in *Geist und Leben*, Vol. 26 (1953), p. 43.

23. Children of divorced parents need psychotherapeutic treatment five times more frequently than those coming from unbroken marriages. See H. Giese, ed., *Psychopathologie der Sexualität* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1962), p. 147.

24. In a body containing feelings and emotions, the hard skeleton of reason and intellect has to be "built in." (The reverse process is the easier one, i.e., to become "emotional" about a purely cerebral conviction.)

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25. What sort of students in Europe's universities are most exposed to atheism and agnosticism? Where is religious practice least developed? In the technological institutes and in the academies of fine art—and this for very opposite reasons.
26. Remember the intrinsic connection of art and religion: This is even true of orthodox Judaism with its religiously set limits on artistic representation.
27. Already Hesiod in his *Theogony* speaks of the unceasing grief caused by wicked children in the spirit and the heart of parents. (Lines 607-612.) And yet, Werner Bergengrün tells us that the love for the children is the strongest love because it has no expectations. See his autobiographic *Dichtergehäuse* (Zürich-Munich: 1966), p. 40. We find a somewhat different view in the writings of Lacordaire who said that we were just as ungrateful towards our parents as our children are towards us, but God, after all, has for us also an “unconditional” love.
28. According to Jean Guitton, in his *Essai sur l'amour humain* (Paris: Aubier, 1948), pp. 118-119, it is the birth of the grandchild which truly makes the family whole. We leave father and mother to become one flesh with somebody else. The wedding thus becomes a break. But at the cradle of the grandchild the whole family is again reunited. He adds that the family then is like an inverted pyramid.
29. Pétain had all the time a secret agreement with the Allies, an agreement which he kept. He appealed to it at his trial. The British denied the existence of this pact, but Professor Louis Rougier, the intermediary, published the text in facsimile, whereupon the British declared it to be a forgery, though Pétain's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. He died in jail. Thirty years later the British admitted the truth. DeGaulle's dislike for the British was due to the fact that they had made deals with Vichy behind his back. (And Pétain was undoubtedly a patriot.)
30. In our post-French Revolution mentality we equate justice with equality. Yet children have different qualities, different merits, different records, different claims to parental love.
31. We also have to bear in mind that childhood is by no means a happy time. In their inexperience and defenselessness children can be extremely unhappy. This was also the view of Aristotle in his *Nicomachian Ethics*, I, ix, 4. “Having fun” is not real happiness. We often have to dry their tears.
32. Guitton, *op. cit.*, p. 129. Yet in very old age, he continues, the relationship of the marriage partners becomes more intimate, because then they need each other more than ever.
33. See Count Herman Keyserling, “Zum Verhältnis von Eltern und Kindern” in *Das Erbe der Schule der Weisheit* (Vienna: Die Palme: 1981), p. 430. In a French investigation about the feelings of young people in the 16-22 age group, 53 percent revealed real trust in their brothers and sisters, 58% in their friends, and 84% in their parents. See Henri Amorous in *Le Figaro*, April 28, 1984. This data was collected by Sofren, Inc.
34. H. F. Amiel told us that “to be happy is a family virtue: happy people are those who seem to be spreading happiness. In surrendering cowardly to melancholia one makes those around him even more unhappy than himself.” See his *Journal intime de l'année 1866* (Paris: Gallimard-NRF, 1959), p. 503. Choderlos de Laclos, the famous 18th century French author wrote to his wife how wonderfully their love was preserved under all sorts of forms during 17 years and mentioned their children: “It was not shared by them: it spread itself over them.” See his letter in the introduction to *Les liaisons dangereuses*, Yves Le Hir, ed. (Paris: Garnier frères, 1961), p. viii.
35. As we all know, abortions have stopped the natural flow of “adoptable children.” No wonder, because we have become real savages. We know that the Mbaya, Brazilian Indians, widely practiced abortion and infanticide, yet robbed children successfully from other tribes. To nurture their own children was just not “in.” See Claude Levi-Strauss, *Traurige Tropen* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1960), p. 121.
36. On the Judaic attitude towards marriage and celibacy, see Georges Vajda, “Contenance, Mariage et Vie mystique selon la doctrine du Judaïsme,” in *Mystique et Contenance* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1952), pp. 18-96. From the Christian point of view the physical-biological existence and survival of the Chosen People was “providentially essential.”
37. Yet, according to Catholic doctrine, he or she who decides to remain unmarried for purely *natural* reasons chooses an inferior status. See M. Prümmer, O.P., *Manuale Theologiae Moralis*, (Freiburg: Herder, 1928), Vol. 2, p. 524.

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[The following syndicated newspaper column was issued on July 31, and is reprinted here with permission (©1987 by the Universal Press Syndicate).]

Talking to One Another

William F. Buckley Jr.

It is a pity of the most time-wasting proportions that most people who believe that abortion is OK cannot speak to people who do not think so, and vice versa. The president's recent proposed regulations (he would bar family planning units from listing abortion as an option) are a case in point. His critics accuse him of violating regulations, the law and the Constitution.

It is apparently impossible for many pro-choice advocates to understand that there are sane and reasonable people in America who believe that abortion is a homicidal act.

And it is apparently impossible for many pro-life advocates to understand that there are sane and reasonable people in America who believe abortion is the equivalent of preferring Pepsi-Cola to Coca-Cola.

Now, if a person in authority believes that abortion is homicide, one should reasonably expect that he would do everything within his constitutional power to discourage acts of homicide. It is relevant to quote Mr. Douglas Gould, who is a vice president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. He tells us how his clinics operate. The story, by Clifford May, is from the July 31 *New York Times*:

“At whatever type of clinic, Mr. Gould said, ‘the normal practice is a woman comes in and says she thinks she’s pregnant. She’s then tested to make sure. If it’s determined that she is pregnant, we ask her how she feels about it. If she says “great” we say “congratulations” and tell her about three places she can go to for prenatal care.’

“However, Mr. Gould said, if the client is unhappy about being pregnant or unsure how she feels, ‘We say, “Here are your options.”’ The options, he went on, are a full-term pregnancy, after which the woman keeps the baby or surrenders it for adoption, or an end to the pregnancy, ‘and if that’s her decision we tell her about three places she can go to have the abortion.’”

Now one can imagine Mr. Gould going further, in dealing with a pregnant woman.

“And there is a third possibility. You can bear the child and decide, after the birth, whether you are happy or unhappy to have that child. If you are

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happy, then congratulations. If not, here are three clinics that will take the child and exterminate it.”

Ah (you can hear the screeches)—but infanticide is against the law, and abortion is not. That is true, the right-to-life people acknowledge, but the legality of abortion came in by judicial ukase, and its pedigree is therefore not democratically tested. And even if it were, we would simply be facing one more example of a bad law, such as the law that condoned slavery. You cannot blame those presidents opposed to slavery who took every opportunity—for instance, in backing the Missouri Compromise and other legislation—to discourage the spread of slavery. Nor would you condemn a president in the 1850s who proclaimed that no federal subsidies would be made available to slave owners to guarantee a minimum value for their slaves, nor against a law forbidding non-slaves from selling themselves into slavery. Such persons (sane and rational) believe that federal funds ought not to be available for the purpose of introducing pregnant women to abortion in order to oblige their wish that they hadn’t got pregnant to begin with.

The other view is that the termination of a pregnancy is a woman’s option to be compared with her option to free speech, to worship at her own temple or not to worship at all, and to go where she likes. Now, pro-life folk need to understand that just as it can be said that some highly civilized folk believed that slavery was a normal human institution (St. Paul, John C. Calhoun), so some people feel that way about abortion. And as long as people feel that way, they are perplexed, indignant and outraged at condemnations of their behavior, let alone efforts to restrict it. It is for this reason that one should be no more tempted to scorn a woman who terminates a pregnancy by abortion than one would have been to associate with Thomas Jefferson, slave owner. The theological term for it is invincible ignorance. The vernacular is: They have a different view of things. The Christian expression is: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.

Abortion is here to stay for the foreseeable future. At this point, there can only be fundamental change as fundamental change evolves in human perceptions of what is and what isn’t an exercisable option in the event of an unwanted pregnancy. Meanwhile, both parties should expect opposite parties to do what they can to advance their positions.

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[The following Sweet Land of Liberty column appeared in the *Washington Post* (Aug. 27) and is reprinted here with the author's permission (all rights reserved).]

Death Row for Infants

Nat Hentoff

Wayne Allen, a federal district judge in Oklahoma, has made a historic ruling in sending to trial a case in which a team of physicians decided, over a five-year period, which handicapped infants were to live and which were to die. The team's criteria included the economic circumstances of the children's parents.

The trial of the physicians and administrators at the state-run Oklahoma Children's Memorial Hospital in Oklahoma City will be the first in a federal court to explore the constitutional issues that arise when decisions on medical treatment are based on a child's degree of mental or physical handicap together with his social and economic status.

Among the plaintiffs are the parents of one of the infants who died for lack of sufficient treatment; the Spina Bifida Association of America; and the Association of Persons with Severe Handicaps. Representing them are the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Legal Center for the Medically Dependent and Disabled.

The medical team involved in this five-year life-or-death study was not in the least furtive. In fact, the case has become known in medical circles because the team, for the edification of peers around the country, published in the October 1983 issue of *Pediatrics* an article on what it had been doing.

The team focused on infants born with spina bifida—an imperfect closure of part of the spinal column. Each child was evaluated by the team. Some were recommended for "active vigorous treatment," including an operation to close the spinal lesion as well as the implantation of a shunt to drain spinal fluid from the brain.

The parents of the other infants were told they were not obligated to have their children vigorously treated. Instead, they could choose "supportive care" only. That meant no surgery and no antibiotics to treat or prevent infection.

The criteria by which the medical team decided who was to survive included a formula intended to predict the quality of life of the handicapped child if he were allowed to grow up. One of the factors was the infant's physical and intellectual endowment. Another was society's likely contribu-

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tion to the costs of raising the child. A third was the economic status of the infant's family.

As the leader of the team, Dr. Richard Gross, said on "MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour": "We felt that if the struggle for the family would be a considerable one . . . the family was not under an obligation to treat this child, and we left them that option."

Some of the families whose children died claim that they were never told of this quality-of-life and quality-of-the-family formula. They insist the doctors said only that they were giving a medical judgment.

John Smith—whose son, Stonewall, did not qualify for vigorous treatment and died two months after birth—was sick and living on welfare when his boy was born. On hearing afterward about the selection process, Smith told Kathleen Kerr of *Newsday*: "Whether I made \$10 a month or \$10,000 shouldn't enter into it. If it were their own, personal child, would it get the same care [as my son got]? If they can tell me yes, I'll be happy with what they did to my son."

Out of the 69 spina bifida infants in the Oklahoma study, 24 received only "supportive treatment." All these children died. Of those selected for full treatment, all but one lived, and he was killed in a car crash.

An expert in spina bifida, Dr. John M. Freeman of the Birth Defects Treatment Center at Johns Hopkins Hospital, wrote to *Pediatrics* that the study surely did prove how to get infants to die quickly. (The Oklahoma team had said in its report that "the 'untreated survivor' has not been a significant problem in our experience.")

Dr. Freeman added that the 24 who died "might also have done well and might have . . . walked with assistive devices, gone to regular school, been of normal intelligence and achieved bowel and bladder control."

One of the constitutional questions at the trial will be whether those 24 infants were accorded "equal protection of the law."

Ending life because its "quality" doesn't meet someone's criteria is hardly confined to the nursery. The courts, led by the New Jersey supreme court, are legalizing euthanasia for people of all ages. Some are patients who are not in intractable pain, are not near death and are in no condition to ask for death—or for life.

But like the infants in Oklahoma, they are being evaluated according to various formulas. And more and more of those who do not measure up are being denied even "supportive treatment," for it is now "ethical" for doctors to remove feeding tubes from people whose lives are judged not worth living.

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[The following article first appeared in Medical Economics (Aug. 10, 1987) and is reprinted here with permission of the author, and the publisher (© 1987 and published by Medical Economics Company, Inc., at Oradell, New Jersey 07649).]

The Judge Ordered Me to Kill My Patient

Allen Jay, M.D.

I never expected to find myself at the center of a statewide furor, but last March, there I was. As a sort of conscientious objector, I'd refused to comply with a court order directing me to terminate the life of a patient. That brought my heated debate with the patient's family into public view, leading to front-page headlines and local demonstrations.

The right-to-die issue, of course, has long been with us. The AMA and various medical societies have set guidelines to help doctors deal with the question. A number of court rulings have established the right of a patient—or a patient's family—to stop life-sustaining treatment. And in 38 states and the District of Columbia, "living wills" are legal pronouncements of individuals' wishes.

While I may not agree with the law, I accept the patient's right to refuse any treatment recommended to him. What disturbed me in this case was being ordered by the court to, in a sense, execute a patient. It went against all my medical and moral principles. I was trained to cure, not to kill, and I wouldn't do so even if it meant going to jail for contempt of court. And I wasn't absolutely sure the condition of the patient was irreversible.

Eventually the case clarified at least one important point in this complex issue—to the benefit of all doctors. Here's the part I played.

A Valiant Lady

In 1979 Julius and Aaron Hirth asked me to take over the care of their 84-year-old widowed mother. Anna Hirth had several medical problems but she was feisty nonetheless, still playing the strong-willed Jewish matriarch to her children, all in their 50s and 60s at the time.

I'm Jewish, too, but that didn't gain me any points with Anna. She put me through the same trial-by-combat she applied to all authority figures. I finally convinced her to go along with my medical advice, but she still greeted me with a pinch on the cheek everyday, as much as to say, "You may be the doctor, but you're just a kid to me." She was a tough, valiant lady.

Eventually, Alzheimer's disease caught up with her, and—combined with the deaths of three of her four children in a five-year span—it made her

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withdraw into herself. Just before Julius died in 1985, he named his attorney as conservator for his mother, with a stipulation that I continue to take care of her medical needs.

In January 1986, Anna—by then 91—choked on some food and suffered respiratory arrest. It left her incapacitated and semicomatose. After a month in a hospital, she was sent to a nursing home. She was nourished mostly by a nasogastric tube.

Twice in 1986, in the spring and the fall, I spoke by phone with her only surviving child, Helen Gary, whom I'd never met. She suggested that I remove the feeding tube from her mother and simply let her "die with dignity." I declined, pointing out that (1) starving to death was hardly dignified, and (2) in all the years I'd been Anna's doctor, she never indicated to me any wish to die if life became too burdensome. Nor had she made a living will.

I can understand and respect the feelings of a child, speaking in what he or she thinks are the best interests of a parent. But even though Anna was semicomatose, I felt she still had the will to live, and I cited instances in which I thought she'd responded to stimuli. For example, if I spoke to her in Yiddish, she'd turn her head toward me, as though in understanding. This indicated to me that she had at least some brain activity.

The judge later visited Anna and got no response from her, even to Yiddish greetings. And the court neurologist testified that there was no brain activity. Even so, I felt she could probably still feel pain. Removing her feeding tube, I figured, would lead to an excruciating death.

Anna's conservator, Julius' attorney, agreed that I should continue with the ongoing medical treatment. But Gary wasn't convinced. She went to court with what was now a demand that Anna be allowed to die.

The Law Steps In

On March 23, 1987, Superior Court Judge Milton Milkes issued an order supporting Gary's wish that her mother's artificial means of feeding be discontinued. The ruling ordered me to remove Anna's nasogastric tube, or to find another doctor who would. Failing that, the order authorized the nursing-home staff to remove the tube.

I was stunned. Disagreeing with Gary was one thing. Standing up to a court was quite another. Was I prepared to take on the cost and emotional involvement of fighting the order?

After some soul-searching, I decided that I had no choice. To obey the court would be to betray the trust placed in me by Anna, Julius, and my other patients. I feared that if we doctors allowed ourselves to be passive executioners—that is, to stand by and permit patients to die from lack of

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nourishment and medical care—the next step would be active execution, injecting a lethal dose into people the authorities decide should no longer live. The possibilities were frightening.

Gary's attorney, Richard S. Scott, argued that my concerns were irrelevant. Scott has won nationally publicized cases that helped establish the right of a patient or family to call off feedings and life-sustaining medical care, regardless of the doctor's advice. Those cases, he argued, proved that a doctor's ethics should not prevail over his patient's right to die.

The Media Debate

The right-to-die issue had been simmering for quite some time around San Diego, and this case brought it to a boil. Emotional remarks were made on both sides. Headlines sparked even hotter debate. Demonstrations were held, and students in a local law school argued the issue.

When reporters and broadcasters started calling, I didn't know how to respond at first, or whether to respond at all. But when I saw how effective attorney Scott was at dealing with the press, I too made myself available to the media. Soon I was getting my points across to the public quite well.

For example, advocates of the right-to-die movement accused me of being insensitive to the pain and suffering of terminal patients, and of obstructing their choice of a "peaceful" end. I pointed out, over and over, that what I objected to was being *ordered* to end a patient's life by withholding treatment when I felt the patient was not terminal and there was doubt about her wish to die.

I received gratifying support from right-to-life groups and prominent professionals. Jacquelin Trestrail, president of the San Diego County Medical Society, went public, declaring: "You go along with the tenets to which I believe all organized medicine prescribes—you believe the patient has a right to life or a right to death, if they so choose. But we also believe a doctor should not be forced to do what he morally objects to."

What's more, Trestrail added, she had been in touch with the California Medical Association, which was prepared to file a friend-of-the-court brief on my behalf. And David Knetzer, the executive director of the San Diego County Medical Society, accompanied me to court hearings.

After my refusal, not one doctor in the San Diego area came forth offering to pull the feeding tube from Anna. The staff at the nursing home also refused. I considered their reluctance to be tacit support.

Additional support, surprisingly, came from my malpractice insurance carrier. Since my legal involvement was practice-related, the company paid my attorney fees.

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But my greatest support came from my family. My wife's assurance was simple: "We're with you. Do what you think you have to do."

The Verdict

Last April, Judge Milkes held a hearing to consider further pleadings in the case. The courtroom was packed. I attended with my family and my attorney, James A. McIntyre. The jury box had been taken over by the media, complete with TV cameras and microphones. We expected a fairly routine session, with the judge listening to the pleadings, then retiring to make a decision at a later date.

The two attorneys, McIntyre and Scott, argued their cases aggressively. Then the judge announced a surprise: He would make his final ruling after lunch.

I was so tense I hardly touched my meal. Back in the courtroom, Judge Milkes took his place behind the bench and began to read his decision.

"Families bring right-to-die cases so that a loved one may die with dignity," he stated. "When the dying process becomes a public spectacle, that purpose is no longer possible."

That gave me pause. Was I to be penalized for taking part in that "public spectacle"?

The judge then cited a recent Massachusetts case, which held that in certain circumstances health-care professionals were not obligated to remove a patient's feeding tube if such action violated their ethical principles. In view of that, he was amending his original order so I would no longer be compelled to pull the feeding tube from Anna Hirth.

The next thing I knew, my wife was kissing me, my son and my father were hugging me, and David Knetzer and Jim McIntyre were pumping my hands. I felt tremendous relief.

But Judge Milkes' decision left the way open for Helen Gary to move her mother from the nursing home to some other area where a doctor might be found to carry out the family's wishes. And on May 12 Anna was taken by ambulance from the nursing home to an undisclosed location in Southern California. Nine days later, she "died peacefully," according to a statement from Scott. There was no indication as to whether the feeding tube had been removed.

In effect, Judge Milkes' decision sidestepped—rather than resolved—the issue of whether health-care professionals can be forced to violate their ethical principles and terminate the life of a patient. The judge simply softened his original ruling to let me and the nursing-home staff off the hook.

Scott has appealed the ruling. Although the point has become moot—I've

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stopped being Anna Hirth's physician, and Anna is dead—he apparently wants a higher court to rule, for the record, that I had a responsibility to remove the feeding tube and stop all treatment if the patient's family and the court ordered me to (or find someone else to do it), and the hospital had a responsibility to follow the order even if I refused. As far as I know, the court has not yet said whether or not it will hear Scott's writ.

Even if a higher court overturns Judge Milkes' ruling, the Anna Hirth case did make clear one important point: There is support out there for those of us who'd rather fight than go against our moral and ethical convictions.

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[The following nationally-syndicated newspaper column was released in April (e.g., see the Washington Times, Apr. 23) and is reprinted here with permission (©1987, Heritage Features Syndicate).]

Abortion and Survival of the Jewish People

Don Feder

The recently concluded Passover season occasions speculation about Jewish survival. Pharaoh, you may recall, was history's first despot to decree the extinction of the Hebrews (the killing of the first-born).

Before the holiday, two communications arrived which illustrate how some Jewish leaders are contributing to the destruction of their own people, while others labor to avert the catastrophe.

One was an appeal from the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, a group which numbers among its members B'nai B'rith Women and the Union of American Hebrew (Reform) Congregations.

The other was an announcement that Young Israel, a coalition of Orthodox synagogues, is sponsoring a conference in the Holy Land to explore ways of reducing Israel's terrifying abortion rate.

Terrifying, indeed. The Israeli publication "Counterpoint," which recently ran a cover story titled: "Israel's Unborn: The Jews You'll Never See," declares "Demographers see abortion as the greatest threat to the maintenance of a Jewish majority in Israel."

An estimated 40,000 abortions are performed there annually, giving the nation the highest abortions-to-births ratio in the Free World. The fertility rate of Arabs in Israel is three times that of the Jews. While the latter currently outnumber the former 3-1, time may reverse the proportion.

Certainly such a situation was not foreseen when abortion was legalized in 1977. Today, women can obtain an abortion, at state expense, for any of a number of specified reasons, including pregnancy out of wedlock and risk of physical/mental damage to the fetus.

Overseeing the process are abortion committees, charged with determining whether an applicant qualifies. Israeli right-to-lifers maintain the boards are rubber stamps, "arbitrarily fitting women into one of the clauses in the law."

Women often are shuttled from the committee room to the operating room down the hall, without an opportunity to reflect on the consequences of the procedure. Though hospitals are required by statute to provide information on

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the nature of abortion, many evade the mandate. At \$500 a head abortion is quite lucrative for private institutions.

In the face of this holocaust (I do not hesitate to use the term), Efrat, Israel's leading right-to-life organization, has adopted tactics similar to those of American champions of the unborn.

The group has produced its own literature, describing the humanity of the child-within and effects of abortion on the mother, which it tries to distribute to those awaiting the operation, though many clinics refuse to allow the canvassing. Israeli feminists were outraged when an Efrat activist attempted to show slides of dissected fetuses to abortion committee members. (What you don't see doesn't exist.)

Efrat warns mothers contemplating the procedure, those it can reach, that abortion is the leading cause of sterility among women. It notes the irony of the absence of babies for adoption, forcing Israeli couples to adopt infants from South America, while the slaughter of Jewish children accelerates.

The Israeli feticide phenomenon is a serious contravention of Torah. There is no right to abortion in Jewish law. The fetus may be sacrificed only if continuation of pregnancy endangers the mother. As Rabbi Yaakov Strauss of Jerusalem's Orthodox Shaare Tzedek hospital explains: "We may not decide which living beings have a right to live and which do not. This, according to Judaism, is beyond our power."

More than Israel's Jewish majority is at stake. In America the Jewish birth-rate is below replacement level. There are an estimated 5.7 million Jews in the United States today. By the year 2000, the Jewish population could decline by 350,000 (while the rest of the nation continues to grow).

In both cases—abortion and low fertility—the culprit is the secularist ethos, which exalts whims while disparaging the concept of responsibility to family and nation. Yet it is this very sense of duty, the tug of the bond of ages, that has enabled the Jewish people to survive for four millennia, in the face of an often hostile humanity.

Those Jewish groups which facilitate the medical holocaust bear a heavy burden. What tyrants, from Pharaoh to Hitler, failed to accomplish, may yet be realized in our lifetime.

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[The following article first appeared in our Winter, 1981 issue—almost exactly seven years ago. We reprint it now (having deleted only a few paragraphs containing then-current statistics, etc., that are outdated) because Colonel de Marcellus' arguments are so obviously relevant to the current "Birth Dearth" controversy provoked by Mr. Ben Wattenberg's new book. —Ed.]

Fertility and National Power

Col. Robert de Marcellus

National power is often defined in terms of men, money and material resources. In the past, the strength of Western nations has usually rested on all three, but today the low fertility of the West's industrialized nations foreshadows a rapid decline in manpower which will make difficult the manning of armies without the impairment of industrial potential; supporting a vastly larger number of aged citizens will deeply cut defense and Research and Development (R&D) budgets; economic growth will slow, and many areas of technological development, such as any future space programs, will be severely limited.

The implications of current demographic trends have not yet been widely recognized by either the public or government, in part because of the great publicity given to the *opposite* demographic problems of the developing world. There, the introduction of modern medicine and sanitation greatly extended life expectancy, causing the doubling-up of generations and the much-discussed "population explosion." Undoubtedly the lack of historical experience that the United States has had with stable, declining, or vanishing populations is also a reason for our seeming blindness to the danger now facing us.

Unfortunately, our official and semi-official bodies as well as the press mostly speak in terms of *world* demography, a "world population explosion," thus obscuring the fact that if current fertility trends in the West continue, Western nations will instead suffer within a few decades a population *implosion*, and a radical loss of power. Some of the misunderstanding concerning demographic trends in Western nations must also be attributed to the vested interests of groups that have for many years crusaded for lower birth rates.

Any appraisal of Western power in terms of demographic trends is indeed bleak. Every major industrial nation of the Western world is failing to reproduce its current population. To remain at a stable population over the long term, the so-called "Zero Population Growth" (ZPG), a nation must achieve a

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fertility rate of approximately 2.1 children per woman. This replaces the parents, plus a fraction to make up for the children who die without progeny. In the West today, neither the United States nor any of its major allies has a fertility rate that high. Western Germany has approximately 1.4, Scandinavia 1.7, Britain, France, Japan, and the United States 1.8. The implications of these fertility figures are frightening. They mean, for instance, that West Germany (our principle NATO ally), with no *further* decline (but the rate dropped again this year), will not only lose 25% of its population at each twenty-year generation, but also must divert an increasing proportion of dwindling national capability to support a burgeoning number of retired elderly. If current trends continue, West Germans, numbering some 61 million today, will number only 52 million in 20 years, and only 35 million in 2030. Our other NATO allies will also suffer debilitating losses of population and a constant growth in the number of elderly, at only a slightly slower rate.

For the United States, not only is the problem facing the nation as a whole critical, but an analysis of the United States population by minority groups shows that many of the most productive and creative segments of our population are already in a demographic position as critical as West Germany's. For example, the so called "WASP" (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) shows a fertility rate of about 1.5, while the American Jewish community's fertility is almost as low as West Germany's (and thus on the road to demographic extinction). Reflection on the immense scientific, artistic, financial and commercial contribution of this community to the U.S. during the past century underscores the critical loss involved. Other minorities in our population that have hitherto maintained a higher fertility than that of the WASP and Jew, such as American Catholics and blacks, show a rapid decline as they adopt the values of their WASP and Jewish neighbors.

The future fertility of our nation and its major allies, then, must be of paramount concern to those planning Western security for the opening decades of the next century. The men and woman who, during that period, will man our armies, form our economic and industrial base, and pay for the support of today's working population must be born in the next decade. Present indications are that Western fertility will certainly not increase and may very well continue to decrease, unless public policy changes. Avowedly, projecting fertility and population size is a hazardous undertaking. Some reputable demographers still profess to see an upturn in fertility ahead. However, given the long-term historical down-trend of Western fertility and today's economic and social environment, one must assume that the future of Western fertility is not promising.

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The drop in Western fertility has been hidden until now by several factors. First, even though our fertility has fallen below the replacement level, our overall population will continue to increase for several decades due to the increase in life expectancy and the large “hump” of population with a number of years still to live. Second, the popular press has been filled with predictions of standing-room-only population because many writers and misinformed VIP’s have projected *past* population growth as a straight line projection into the future, regardless of fertility trends. Manifestly, a nation whose fertility is far below the replacement level cannot replace present generations, let alone increase, in the long term. Thirdly, the difference between birth rate and “fertility” is not fully understood. Birth rate is the number of children born per unit of population in a period of time. Fertility is the number of children born to each woman in her life time. If, for example, the daughters born in the “baby boom” each had a child this year, in the long-heralded but not forthcoming “ripple effect,” a great upsurge in the birth rate would result this year. However, if these mothers never bore any more children, the long-term fertility would be 1, and the population would halve itself at the next generation.

Estimates of our population growth during the last 20 years have always erred on the side of overestimation. Past Census Bureau projections have pictured an exceedingly fast growth. This is because the Bureau’s figures are what their name implies—projections, not predictions. For this reason transient factors such as the post-war baby boom were projected in 1963 to population forecasts of 259 million by 1980.

* * * * *

A long-term falling trend in the fertility of developed nations, including the U.S., is an historical fact. Muddying the picture for demographers has been the post-war baby boom. One school of thought believes in cyclical fluctuations, which can be mathematically computed. According to this school, phenomena such as the baby boom will recur. Changes in society and their effect on national fertility would indicate, however, that the falling trend in fertility of developed nations is a true trend and that a repetition of the post-war baby boom will not again take place without an unlikely repetition of the conditions which produced it.

Evidently, nations such as West Germany, where fertility is dropping to just above one child per family, will not only shrink in absolute numbers, but cannot *produce* a new baby boom if they remain in this position long. The nation’s “breeding stock” of young women becomes too small; only immigration can replenish the population. The baby-boom period was marked by early marriages and a reduction of the mean age at which women had their

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second babies, from 27 to 24. Earlier marriages and first babies born to younger mothers prevented women from entering non-domestic life and increased the exposure to another pregnancy.

Evidence exists in the National Fertility study of 1955 that of those women interviewed who intended not to have any more children, one third admitted to having at least one unwanted child. This figure is considered an understatement due to the psychological and emotional factors in such an admission.

In "The Family in Developed Countries," Norman B. Ryder states his opinion that the baby boom resulted from increased exposure to pregnancy (i.e., early marriage) during a time when good economic conditions implied that the family standard of living would not be affected by another birth. The dramatic fall in the birth rate today would seem explainable by an extension of the same reasoning. Economic conditions have become harder, and an increasing number of families require double incomes to maintain the standard of living they want. Furthermore, the unwanted or "unplanned" child is not being born and the consequence is shown in the national birth rate. The validity of this conclusion seems borne out by the impact of legalized abortion as a "backup" to contraception.

The million-plus abortions in the U.S. in 1978 (unreported earlier abortions probably add considerably to this figure) reduced by one third the number of children who would otherwise have been born. Had these births taken place, the national birth rate would have been over 19 per thousand instead of 14.9, or a fertility rate of approximately 2.7.

June Sklar and Beth Berkov, California demographers, have asserted the belief that a new baby boom may be in the making. Their assertion is based on a study of California statistics that show a 1974 leveling of the downward trend in the birth rate and even a 3% gain. This leveling out of the decline is considered by them to be a "bottoming out" process prior to a new rise. They theorize that the all-time low in the birth rates came about because women postponed having children to a later age and that now, if they are going to have them, they must have them soon, thus starting a "catching up process" while new waves of women—the girls born in the baby boom of the fifties—enter childbearing age behind them. The reasoning of Sklar and Berkov is based on the following points:

1. The "bottoming" indication appeared despite high abortion rates.
2. It occurred despite economic downturn.
3. It occurred without an increase in the marriage rate.

This development is possible and would be welcome news to those grap-

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pling with the problem faced by the Social Security Administration. However, in the view of the long-term experience of all other developed Western nations and of the effect on birth rates when the “unplanned” child is precluded by recent developments in contraception, such an upturn in fertility is a slim possibility.

Since the declining birth rate is due in part to the decreased proportion of children born to women over 30 years of age, it would appear optimistic to think that childless women approaching that age will decide to “catch up.” In the past it has been shown that cohorts of women who put off childbearing for an unusually long time seldom make up the child deficit later. During the low birth rates of the 30s, it became apparent that many of the children demographers thought were being “postponed” actually were never born.

Abortion is a new and fast-rising trend. Well over a million abortions were performed in 1978 (the 1979 estimates are even higher), as compared to an estimated 193,000 in 1970. It can be anticipated that abortions will take an increasing toll of the birth rate for at least several more years. The Alan Guttmacher Institute claimed in 1975 that an additional half million women would have had an abortion had it been available. The institute said that between 1.3 and 1.8 million women “needed” abortions but were unable to get them due to “inadequate services.” This figure is projected from New York and California figures. Had the higher number been performed, the United States birth rate would have sunk another 33% for a total fertility of approximately 1.26. Such a development would ultimately almost halve the United States population at each generation.

Scientific breakthroughs enabling parents to determine the sex of their child will also have a lowering effect on birth rates as parents no longer “try again” for the desired boy or girl.

Indications that our lower fertility is a result of basic changes in society appear in the results of surveys taken throughout the Western world. The number of children desired in 1970 by women married 20 years was 3.5, but those married 5 years or less desired only 2.5. By 1972 a further decline to 2.2 showed in surveys. Today it is lower still—and these declines are consistent with the decline that actually has taken place in fertility. While it is possible that the actual number of children will be higher than the stated number desired due to unplanned pregnancies, it is doubtful, given new methods of birth control. More, in the U.S., for women between 30 and 40, *sterilization* has become the most favored method of birth control, and legalized abortion is increasingly eliminating such “unplanned” children as still happen.

The most persuasive explanation for fertility trends since World War II is

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that advanced by William P. Butz and Michael P. Ward in their RAND study conducted for HEW. They correlated the prospering economic climate which would seem to have been suitable for a high birth rate with the increasing economic opportunities for women in the work force. Their work clearly indicates that as the market value for women's abilities has increased, fertility has fallen. Only when this value decreased (during recessions of the past two decades) has there been a marked upturn in fertility. This suggests that baby-raising is not only a consequence of a family's overall economic well-being, but it is also closely linked to how the baby affects the added material well-being that the mother's work can bring. Women apparently opt for jobs over motherhood if the market for their talents is high, regardless of how well the family is already doing.

This study corroborates the experience of France. Enfeebled by a century of low birth rates and the blood-letting of World War I, France established a complex system of cash payments for the birth of children, child maintenance payments, paid vacations for child-bearing, and strong pro-natal policies in private industry. Initiated in the late 1930's, these pro-natal policies brought about a radical turnabout in France's demographics, giving it both the youngest population in Europe as well as the highest fertility, which in 1950 reached 2.6. These programs, however, did not keep pace with rapidly-increasing standards of living and national economic growth. As the financial rewards of motherhood became dwarfed by those offered the mother in the work force, French fertility began an alarming fall. Professor Pierre Channu states that family subsidy payments fell from 22% of the family income in the 40s to 6.4% in 1974. As motherhood increasingly became less financially rewarding, ever-larger numbers of women opted for jobs.

Professor Charles F. Westoff of Princeton, writing in the December 1978 issue of *Scientific American*, states: ". . . nothing on the horizon suggests that fertility will not remain low. All recent evidence on trends in marriage and reproductive behavior encourages the presumption that it will remain low."

Robert L. Clark of the University of North Carolina also believes that fertility will remain below the replacement level. He cites such social phenomena as falling marriage rates, rising divorce rates, deferred childbearing, the upswing in single parent, two-wage-earner or individual households, higher education levels, increased work experience among young women, their greater career opportunities, the high cost of rearing and educating children, and the ever-increasing usage of birth control. Clark could have added the huge number of abortions and the rapidly-increasing number of sterilizations.

These trends are quantified by the Census Bureau as follows:

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- a. Among women 20 to 24 who had ever married, the proportion who were childless in 1977 was 43%, compared to 36% in 1970.
- b. The proportion of women in their early twenties who had *never* married increased from 36% to 45% between 1970 and 1977.
- c. Unrelated couples of the opposite sex living together increased 83% to just under one million couples.
- d. The number of children under 14 fell 6.4 million since the start of the decade.

Yet reference is often made by those writing on fertility trends that “fertility will have to rise.” And this assumption is echoed in the Government projections showing a return to replacement fertility and a maintenance of that level afterwards. But history shows that this does not necessarily happen; indeed, it is replete with examples of peoples who simply ceased to exist, their civilizations dying or being absorbed by more vital peoples. The Greece of antiquity is a notable example. Strabo wrote that Greece was “a land entirely deserted, the depopulation begun since long ago continues, the Roman soldiers camp in the abandoned houses, Athens is peopled by statues.” Plutarch said “One would no longer find in Greece 3000 Hoplites” (Infantrymen). Polibus (Vol. 37): “. . . one remarks nowadays over all Greece such a low birth rate and in a general manner such depopulation that the towns are deserted and the field lying fallow, although this country has not been ravaged by war or epidemics . . . the cause of this harm is evident, by avarice or by cowardice the people if they marry will not bring up children that they ought to have. At most they bring up one or two . . . it is in this manner that the scourge before it is noticed has rapidly developed. The remedy is in ourselves, we have but to change our morals.” His warning came too late and was not heeded. Under Christianity Greece was repopled, not with the blue-eyed, fair-haired Greek of antiquity, but with new peoples, and it took 16 centuries. Probably the major cause for the end of the Roman Empire was a similar failure to reproduce new generations. Towards the middle of the second century B.C., religious marriage was replaced by civil marriage in order that they might be more easily dissolved. It was said that “Women no longer count the years by the consuls but by their husbands.” The rate at which Roman fertility fell is startling. However, it is even more startling to realize that the present drop in Western fertility is *far faster*.

Our falling fertility took its toll on the elementary school population some years ago. Today the toll has reached the men of military age. Defense department projections indicate that the military manpower pool of 18-year-olds will decline by 15% of present size by 1985 and 25% by 1990. While the military is less manpower-intensive now than it was in earlier periods, this

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short-fall will still be most detrimental—e.g., it will be exceedingly difficult to continue present Volunteer Army policies. Not only will there be fewer volunteers, but the developing labor shortage will “bid up the market.” A Volunteer Army will become increasingly expensive, with a significant decline in *quality*. A return to the draft would ease the problems of quality and cost, but would in no way ease the crisis in the labor market, thus causing added resistance to a draft.

The services are today trying to replace a large proportion of their normal manpower with educationally or physically less qualified men, or turning to women to fill the ranks. The latter tactic is, of course, a stop-gap which in itself must add another depressant to the national fertility, and worsen the long-term outlook. Such shortsightedness is apparent in press reports, e.g., former Army General Counsel Jill Wine-Banks advocating that self-paid abortions, for women on active duty and military dependents, be allowed to be performed by military physicians—to prevent recruitment losses (it would hardly lead to increased birth rates). Worse, the defense problems stemming from a lack of men of military age, already severe, are far exceeded by those that will flow from drastic cuts in Western defense budgets that will occur due to our falling fertility.

A decade ago payments to the elderly and federal retirees amounted to \$46 billion or 23% of a \$201 billion federal budget. The 1979 administration budget allocated \$203 billion in an array of programs for the elderly or 40% of a \$500 billion budget. This was to be spent on the approximately 24 million elderly citizens over 65 years of age in 1979. Apparently some 38% of an estimated \$584 billion 1981 budget will be spent on the elderly, which would mean \$222 billion.

Within the next 20 years, however, the number of elderly is expected to grow by some 30%, to over 30 million. If their slice of the budget gets the same proportionate increase, it would rise by 12% from the current 40% to 52% of the budget. However, since the 23% increase in the number of elderly in the last ten years produced a 74% increase in their share of the budget (from 23% to 40%) it is likely that their actual percentage would significantly *exceed* 52%. In fact, if the elderly's share of the budget increased at the same rate as over the past ten years, it would account for 100% of the budget by the end of the century.

Even the conservative view (that the elderly's share will be “only” 52% in twenty years) suggests that the additional 12% will come mainly from the current 24% allocated to defense, since defense monies constitute the largest source of discretionary funds. We must, therefore, anticipate that defense

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spending could be reduced to some 12% of the budget in two decades. Only a very rapid increase in the real per-capita income and rate of economic growth could so enlarge the national wealth that the proportion of the budget devoted to defense could be maintained in the face of the mounting costs of the elderly. A crystal ball is not necessary to see what will take place; one has only to look at the budgets of Western nations further along the demographic path of below-replacement fertility.

The manner in which the division of the British budget has changed over the years is illuminating. In 1951 defense spending in Britain accounted for 24.1% of the budget and social security for 11.8%. By 1973 these figures had almost reversed: 12.6% of the budget was devoted to defense and 17.3% to social security. This change, prophetic of the change taking place in our own country, came as a result of the increased support requirements for an ever-larger elderly population. The drastic changes in America's future economic and military strength that will take place if fertility does not increase are evident in the following fact: *for every retired American today there are five working Americans, but fifty years from now there will be only two.*

The consequences of an aging population are finally beginning to receive close study by some economists. Even assuming a return to a fertility of 2.1 and a replacement-level birth rate, the ratio of the aged population to those economically active will show an increase of 49% by 2050. And, if trends towards early retirement should continue, or the legal retirement age be lowered, the ratio of aged to active would move higher. Boone A. Turchi, of the Carolina Population Center, computes that a rise of 50% in the ratio of retired to economically active would call for an increase in real per capita income of (at least) 1/2% annually between 1970 and 2050. But if the history of the social security system is a guide, benefits will be increased because of the policy of attenuating the drop in real income of newly-retired workers. Turchi computes that to achieve an increase in real benefits of 1% a year would require a growth rate in per capita income of 2.01%. *Actually*, real monthly social security benefits between 1950 and 1972 grew at the annual rate of 3.52%, which would require a growth rate of 4.53% in personal income. It is imperative, therefore, that real income grow significantly in order that the working members of the population be able to support the retired. Such growth may be possible, but is it likely?

As of now, it seems more probable that an increasingly-inflationary economy will place ever-heavier burdens on the economically-active portion of the population, while the older, nonproductive portion gains increasing political strength and presses for ever-greater benefits to meet higher living costs. Theo-

ries about the economy in a ZPG environment are outlined (by Joseph P. Spengler, William J. Serow, Alan R. Sweezy and Charles R. Weiss) in *Zero Population Growth: Implications*. Some examples: 1) Population mobility will be curtailed in a stagnant population, reducing economic mobility precisely when it is most needed to compensate for major shifts brought about by demographic change (e. g., making rocking chairs instead of baby buggies); 2) a stationary population will likely be composed of “less favorable” social and economic elements—those most able to provide for family and social requirements will be in the smallest fertility groups and will have to “be made up for” by those elements of the population least able to provide; 3) Profit prospects will be adversely affected by worsening expectations that reduce the incentives to invest (particularly in science, innovation, and other new ventures); 4) Decision-making will tend to pass to older people with shorter perspectives; 5) When a critical ratio of working/non-working population is reached, further benefits for the retired will be paid for by deficit financing which will intensify inflation.

As the authors point out, this will mean that taxes will absorb more potential savings, the return on capital inputs will fall, the rate of increase of production will diminish (unless the rate of technological change somehow increases), and, as the population becomes older, it will be less adaptable in bringing about optimal distribution of labor. The growth rate of aggregate savings will decline. The demand for satiable goods will stabilize. As maintenance of a high level of activity without the stimulus of population growth becomes more difficult, frictional unemployment will rise; capital formation in the private sector will decline; income distribution will become increasingly unequal if the middle and upper income families have the lowest fertility.

A marked decline in population growth which results in a decline in technological progress, investment, and employment will have multiplier effects. For instance, increasing the amount of capital per worker in order to compensate for the shortage of workers is limited by the law of diminishing returns, and as more capital is added its marginal effect or profitability decreases.

Historically our national economy has been a voracious devourer of *new* manpower. In its precedent-breaking growth from the Civil War until World War I, growth was fueled by millions of immigrants. Starting with World War I, industrial growth used up the millions of small-farm families until by 1966 only 5.9% of the United States population was still agricultural. Today 48% of American women are employed, a figure that appears close to the maximum. Unquestionably any further increase in the proportion of women in industry or the military would further diminish the national fertility.

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A stagnant or shrinking population being a new experience for the developed nations, the various economic theories on its effect have yet to be proved by events. However, given the fact that the dramatic growth of Western economies developed concurrently with population growth, it would be rash not to suspect a causative relationship to the effects of a declining population.

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In addition to social security benefits, we also have greatly increased expenditures for all forms of medical care for the aged and others, and these will continue to expand. If today's outlay for the aged is 40% of our budget, what then of the year 2000? As a shift takes place, from dollar investment in new technology, construction and expanding industry, to transfer payments for the upkeep of the retired, our national strength, including our military capability, must be seriously affected.

Space exploration, for example—despite its obvious defense/security implications—cannot be expected to be highly prized as a national priority by retirees battling to keep their social security benefits commensurate with inflation and newly arrived immigrants from undeveloped countries fighting to gain a higher rung on the social and economic ladder.

It is highly probable that the moon explorations of the sixties will appear in retrospect as the achievements of a golden age. In fact, the know-how, technological competence and personnel teams that permitted Apollo flights may well be lost—as were so many of the Roman Empire's engineering capabilities, and for many of the same reasons. "Greypower" will become an increasingly strong political force and short-term interests will take precedence.

What the West will increasingly witness is a wholesale change in its social, genetic, and political make-up. Today, Western Europe is already host to some 13,000,000 "guest workers" who have come to take up some of the manpower slack. But with these new people come major economic and social problems. Large ghettos have sprung up in major West German cities in which the children of the newcomers run in gangs. Unaccepted as Germans, unable to speak the language of their parents, these children create major social problems as they grow. In Britain, racial prejudice has flared as the British population tries to cope with the influx of blacks and Orientals. This influx of new people represents the modern counterpart of the Germanic tribes that settled the depopulated areas of Roman Europe. The new peoples will come, because without them the economies of Western nations will founder, but they will bring about profound changes in thought, Western values and political realities.

The new peoples of the United States will doubtless be Latin Americans,

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predominantly Mexicans, as the Wetback of yesterday becomes the predominant source of tomorrow's manpower. These new populations will have different priorities. (The United States will need between 15 and 30 million immigrant workers by the year 2000, according to Dr. Wayne Cornelius, Director of the U.S.-Mexican studies program at the University of California at San Diego.)

NATO has served the West well. It has preserved a free Western Europe for a quarter century. Today it is being refurbished in the light of Soviet military buildups and NATO strategy is being rethought and updated. But will these efforts assure long term survival for NATO members? If current fertility trends continue unchanged, today's efforts to bolster Western defenses will prove to be a short-term effort that will inevitably fail. Unless radical change in the West German birth rate takes place, during the next twenty-five years our principal NATO ally will lose 25% of its population. More importantly, the loss will be in German youth. National efforts currently placed in the defense sector will have to be shifted to support of a far larger population of retirees; retirees who may well see political accommodation with Soviet pressure more to their benefit than defense appropriations for measures planned to take place long after their death. Britain, our other principal NATO ally, will continue to use an increasingly large portion of its budget for the support of a growing elderly population.

Consider these facts: the population of Britain has dipped below the 56 million reached in 1974; The "new towns" built to hold the overflow from the older cities are full, but huge gashes of abandoned housing, empty of all but the poorest, are now appearing in London, Liverpool and Glasgow; London, which had almost eight million people in 1960, is expected to have well under six million by 1990.

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France, with a fertility of 1.84, while still holding the highest fertility of any Western industrialized nation, has shown an alarming decrease which has sparked violent debate. Some predict that the population will number only 14 million in 50 years (from 53 million today). Scandinavia, like West Germany and Britain, will hardly have viable economies. As population expert Erland Hofsten of Stockholm stated ". . . a nation with a fertility of 1.57 such as Sweden, will lose 25% of its population at every generation and will cease to exist as a viable nation in 100 years."

The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have experienced many similar problems. In fact, the demographic plight of Eastern Europe is so severe that its governments have launched campaigns to bring about a demographic reversal.

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The European peoples of the Soviet Union also have very low fertility, but this failure is balanced by the high fertility of its Mongolic peoples. By the year 2000 it is estimated by the United States Department of Commerce that European Russians will be only 44% of the Soviet population. This imbalance between European and Mongolic Soviet birth rates poses a possible cause for internal social strife, yet the prospect of a predominantly Mongolic Soviet Union cannot increase Western feelings of security or make easier any *rap-prochement* with the West. Rather, it summons to mind visions of a latter-day Ghengis Khan destroying an enfeebled Europe.

The questions raised for a long-term defense planner are these: Is there any evidence to warrant confidence that the United States birth rate will regain or rise above replacement level? If United States fertility does not recoup, can we expect real economic growth to continue in the face of a stagnant or decreasing labor force and increasing outlays for the non-productive portion of the population? What factor will take the place of the apparent historical requirement in our economy for an ever larger labor force? Is it reasonable to expect defense spending to remain at the present proportion of the national budget? Is there any valid reason to assume that the British model of cutting defense spending to finance social security would not be followed in the United States? If European economic and military strength collapses due to an inability to carry the burdens of aged populations, what new problems in Western defense strategy will face us? What new policies and strategies should be considered to harness the potential of Latin American manpower? Should defense planning envisage governmental efforts to increase the U.S. birth rate?

Whether or not we can regain a fertility above replacement level is one of the most important factors in assessing the nation's future.

It is probably prudent to predict that real economic growth, in the face of slowing population growth (aggregate demand) and energy constraints, will be very slow (and may even decline), and that if the defense budget becomes a markedly smaller percentage of national expenditures, the nation's defense posture will rapidly deteriorate.

An Appraisal of Future Strategy

Structuring a defense force with the equivalent of half of today's defense dollars as a consequence of falling fertility would involve fateful decisions, and may require a strategy that involves the following:

- A pull-back from Europe, ideally with negotiated reductions in Warsaw Pact forces—but if not, then *unilaterally*.
- Fast-declining reliance on European allies who, for the most part, will be

faced with a similar but larger problem and who may opt for a neutral position when our troops depart.

© Increased reliance on “massive retaliation” as the “cheapest” form of defense rather than on the conventional-force capability of “flexible response.”

Brazil and Mexico could emerge as our most powerful economic and military allies. In the Pacific, we may have to retreat to the island perimeter of the Western Pacific. Increasingly our security will lie in the balance of power between the USSR and Communist China. We will be unable to afford Middle East strife. Combined with a worsening energy crisis, the economic constraints of our aging population will force increasing support of Arab positions. Africa could not be considered an area for defense activities, nor could South Asia.

In short, were the United States forced by the fertility-related economic problems outlined to adopt within two decades a defense budget proportional to only half of today's, drastic revisions in strategic thought would be required. “Fortress America” and a completely nuclear strategy may be the only defense we can afford. And our problems will be exacerbated by the continued “technological inflation” which will drive up weapons costs over and above monetary inflation.

Today's birth rate and the historical falling trend in fertility are a stark fact; its harmful economic consequences are conjectural but almost certain, and the implied consequences for defense grave. A partial alternative to such draconian changes in strategy exists. The volunteer military could be replaced by universal national service. When privates draw only that money needed for PX sundries, it will also make possible lower pay scales across the board. A return to compulsory service would be more palatable if all were required to serve through a program wherein youth chose the form of national service they were to perform, in the military, other governmental, or non-governmental public service institutions. Such a program would also pump new and economical labor into hospitals, police forces and other public service agencies, relieving the demand for government funds in support of programs such as law enforcement, Medicare and Medicaid. Although “unthinkable” now, such a combination of revised strategy and low-pay universal service may soon receive serious consideration.

Today's strategist and policy maker must lift his thoughts higher than the budgetary considerations of the next fiscal year. He must face the disheartening but evident fact that Western fertility is already far below the replacement level and all present indications are that—without major public programs to

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bring about an increase—it will either remain at this level or sink lower. United States taxpayers today annually provide at *least* 60 million dollars (some put the figure much higher) to support planned-parenthood-type activities which exert a continuous depressant on national fertility. We must realize that just as there is neither perpetual motion nor a cornucopia of plenty, a continuing rapid decline in the numbers of young, and an equally rapid increase in the number of old, unproductive citizens, must entail economic, military and social consequences of extreme magnitude. We must realize that there is nothing immortal about our nation or civilization and that if the infertility of the West continues, Western society and power *cannot*.

Unless our fertility is restored, we Americans shall, like so many nations before us, give way to younger, more vital peoples.

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