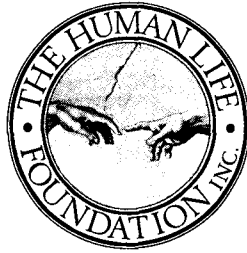


# the HUMAN LIFE REVIEW



FALL 1993

*Featured in this issue:*

Faith Abbott on ..... 'Remedial' Birth Control  
Robert Whelan on ..... Greens *vs.* People  
Desmond Rushe on ..... Will Ireland Go Trendy?  
William Murchison on ..... Telling It Straight  
Maria McFadden on ..... Bringing It All Home  
Paul V. Mankowski on ..... United We Fund?  
Paul T. Stallworth on ..... The Church's Politics  
Wm. F. Buckley Jr. on ..... Those Happy Days

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*Also in this issue:*

Cardinal John J. O'Connor • Rep. Henry J. Hyde • Jo McGowan  
• Fred Barnes • Suzanne Fields • Mona Charen • Wesley Smith •  
• plus the text of the famous "prophetic" *Cal Med* editorial •

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*Published by:*

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New York, N.Y.

... ABOUT THIS ISSUE

This issue, which completes our 19th year, brings you commentary on the current abortion scene from both sides of the Atlantic, as well as a look at “social policy” in China. We are pleased to bring you our faithful contributors as well as introduce some new writers to the *Review*.

We thank Mr. William F. Buckley, Jr. for permission to reprint the selections from his new book *Happy Days Were Here Again*, published by Random House. For the meticulous readers, we note that the first section (beginning on page 85) is taken from “An Agenda for Conservatives” written in January, 1990; “The Strange Uses of Tolerance” was a January, 1985 column; “Cuomitis” was another, issued in January, 1986; and “Happy Birthday to J. S. Bach” first appeared in March, 1985 (all are © 1993 by William F. Buckley, Jr.). Readers who want more should find the book—a large, handsomely-printed volume of almost 500 pages—in bookstores now.

The reviews of Mr. Steven Mosher’s *A Mother’s Ordeal* noted in the Introduction were written by Andrew Brick (*Wall Street Journal*) and Karen Stabiner (*Los Angeles Times*); the book, published by Harcourt Brace, is also currently available in bookstores.

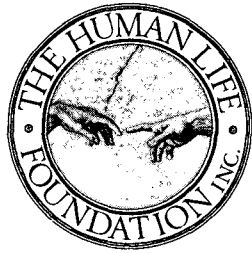
The ecumenical Consultation on the Church and Abortion (see Rev. Paul Stallsworth’s article, p. 66) was initiated by Presbyterians Pro-Life. Its executive director, Mrs. Terry Schlossberg, and Dr. Elizabeth Achtemeier, a professor at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, are currently working on a book about the Consultation.

In reference to my article, should you wish information about a pregnancy loss support group in your area, contact SHARE, Pregnancy and Infant Loss Support, Inc., St. Joseph Health Center, 300 First Capitol Drive, St. Charles, Missouri, 63301, (314) 947-6164.

We should correct an error in our Spring issue (Appendix A): Jessica Shaver wrote that the Centers For Disease Control Records in 1972 showed only 39 maternal deaths from abortion—we printed the number as 339—a most regrettable typo. Also, in Micheal Flaherty’s article (Summer) “Norplant and Margaret Sanger’s Legacy,” Norplant is described as a contraceptive. Several readers have pointed out that Norplant works as an abortifacient, and should be labeled as such.

Once again, we thank *The Spectator* for supplying us with more amusing cartoons.

MARIA MCFADDEN  
MANAGING EDITOR



# the HUMAN LIFE REVIEW

FALL 1993

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Mona Charen

Wesley J. Smith

*California Medicine*

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## INTRODUCTION

**T**HE FIRST REVIEW WE READ was in the *Wall Street Journal*; what impressed us straight away was how quickly the reviewer got into the “good stuff”—his second paragraph reads:

Almost matter-of-factly, Chi An tells of performing her first state-sponsored abortion: “I looked into the pan to find . . . the remains of what had been, a few minutes before, a 13-week-old fetus. I could make out the remains of arms and legs and trunk and skull. . . . Then my eyes locked on a perfect little hand, less than half a centimeter long. I started at four tiny fingers and a tiny opposed thumb, complete with translucent fingernails. And I knew what I had done.”

Halfway through he writes “In one of the most astounding parts of the book, Chi An shares a series of letters she received . . .” Who *is* this Chi An, and what makes her story so impressive? Fact is, it’s not her real name, nor did she write the book. Mr. Steven Mosher wrote it, in the first person, by way of convincing the reader that it is *her* story, and *true*. He’s convinced us: *A Mother’s Ordeal* is a remarkable book, all the more so because it is indeed about the inhuman realities of “remedial” abortion, yet it comes from a major publisher (Harcourt Brace), and has received serious treatment from major-media reviewers—if that’s ever happened before, we missed it. Perhaps the reason was caught by another reviewer (in the *Los Angeles Times*) who concluded that the “pro-choice forces” could take up Chi An’s “cause,” which is not *really* anti-abortion but rather “about government taking away a woman’s right to choose.”

We had thought to give you something straight from the book itself, but how to break into the fast-flowing narrative? Better to turn it over to our own Faith Abbott, and let her tell you all about it in her own flowing style. Which is exactly what she has done, in fascinating detail: as you will see, the book was a real “page-turner” for her—in fact, Faith had known very little about the fantastic fantasies Chairman Mao inflicted on his captive people—so you get to follow right along with her as she digs deep enough to discover what was going on down there on the other side of the world. After which, you can judge for yourself whether the story that Mr. Mosher has re-told, in chillingly matter-of-fact detail, is a powerful indictment of abortion itself—as an inhuman barbarity—or just another tale of “modern” totalitarianism.

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To be sure, Maoists are not the only humans who have a jaundiced view of *other* humans: fanatical “Greens” too consider “humanity itself” the enemy, and hunger for draconian measures to not merely control but *reduce* the world’s population. As it happens, Mr. Robert Whelan, a London journalist, is writing a book on the often-strange relationships between Christian churches and the “environmentalist” movement, which of course operates under its own *credo* (in fact it’s a *competing* “religion”?). Here, he gives us a preview of his thesis, specifically the notion of “people as pollution”—consider, for instance, what the international Greenpeace has to say in a recruiting pamphlet: “Modern Man has made a rubbish tip of Paradise. He has multiplied his numbers to plague proportions . . .”—be sure that those responsible for such crimes against the *better* part of humanity deserve punishment, which the Greens stand ready to dish out.

In truth, Mr. Whelan argues, there is “no reason to believe that population growth will make the environment worse” any more than *fewer* people will make it better; his own conclusion is, “We can have more people *and* less pollution”—provided only that we “use the intelligence which God has given us” to harness available resources and technologies. Like Faith Abbott *re* China, we learned a lot we didn’t know from this one, and you may too.

Sure and nobody can imagine *green* being an Irish problem, but there is trouble in the Emerald Isle, coming from those “leading” anti-people people or, as Mr. Desmond Rushe calls them, “the international pro-abortion lobby,” who see Ireland as “the last significant obstacle to the achievement of total pan-global victory” for their Molochian cult. To Irishmen like Rushe, legalized abortion is “an absurd prospect,” and yet it’s *possible* that “a combination of judicial bungling, political cowardice, liberal agenda hype and media trendiness may make an absurdity a fact of life”!

As you see, Mr. Rushe minces no words in getting his own beliefs before you; indeed, after we recovered from reading his piece, we had the urge to assure him that, in addition to agreeing with his every word, we haven’t got a *drop* of Swedish or Dutch blood in us—read him for yourself, and you’ll see *why* we wouldn’t want him to think anything like that—we’re certainly glad he’s on *our* side, which should profit from his powerful prose. We hope to get more of it soon.

But you need not wait for more good stuff: next, Mr. William Murchison serves up another well-done roast—call it a Texas-style barbecuing of that sacred cow, “Gay Rights”—which we think you will relish as much as we did. It’s *time* somebody put this vexed question, er, straight, and Murchison does it with gusto: despite all the undoubted *political* power gays have bought for themselves (it’s *easier* with no kids to put through college?), the Normal Majority remains un-ready for the Queer Nation agenda. With this issue, we also welcome Mr. Murchison as our new contributing editor, which should guarantee a steady flow of his distinctive reportage.

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We need hardly add that, unlike Murchison, most journalists take a favorable—if not fawning—stance *vis à vis* politically-correct issues such as gay rights, abortion *et al.*, while virtually ignoring the personal pain so often involved. If there *is* such a thing as a “post-abortion syndrome” you’d never know it from reading the “news” media. Whereas it is surely no surprise, to anyone not blinkered by ideological infallibilities, that a woman *knows* what she has lost when she loses her own child, at whatever age or for whatever reason. Alas, our Maria McFadden has suffered that experience; she decided to write about it. We hope her determination proved therapeutic, and that most readers will find her story not only moving but also informative—as we say, not much gets published about such things nowadays, although the number of women who have had similar losses must be legion.

**N**ext we have what might be considered “inside” stuff: that is, it’s not “general circulation” material, but rather a look at what is going on—fermenting is a better word—within the “religious community.” We were amused to note that Planned Parenthood recently did “research” into the question: Who is likely to be anti-abortion? The answer (*costly*, we hope!) was *religious* people—the more religious, the more “pro-life”—we could have provided that revelation for free, of course, but no matter. Our point is, “God-fearing” Americans were the *most* shocked by *Roe v. Wade*, and arguably the least *prepared*: Who would have believed beforehand that the Supreme Court would give us the world’s most “liberal” abortion law? Although immediate resistance was expected from committed Roman Catholics—indeed, the pro-abortionists tried to divide opponents by dubbing abortion a “Catholic issue”—it came more slowly from the Protestant majority.

We have here two pieces that, we think, reflect the growing *depth* of resistance to *Roe* and to the continuing slaughter of innocents by the millions. First, Paul Mankowski, S.J., ponders the moral responsibilities involved in indirect support for abortion “providers” *via* such “charities” as, for instance, United Way community funding: How can it be justified when, in fact, one need *not* contribute? It’s the kind of question that can make us uneasy—after all, we give out of “compassion” for the poor and needy—are we responsible for what *actually* happens to our money? Father Mankowski thinks we are, and you may well agree after you hear him out. (In fact, his essay developed from a talk he gave to a citizens’ group in Rochester earlier this year.)

Then Rev. Paul Stallsworth provides an in-depth report on the “findings” of an unusual assembly, the “ecumenical” consultation on “the Church and Abortion” which took place at Princeton Theological Seminary in February, 1992. It was indeed ecumenical, with representatives of various Protestant churches as well as Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholics in attendance, all guests of the sponsoring Presbyterian pro-life group (Rev. Stallsworth himself is a Methodist minister). And the point of inquiry was, How does abortion

affect “the politics of the church”? What response should the church make to a society that has not only legalized but also “legitimized” abortion? The discussion ranged widely “into seldom explored territory,” as Stallsworth puts it. No doubt some readers will find it territory that is as new to them as it is to us. But that’s our point: abortion is causing a re-thinking of many once-settled notions, to discover “what the church should look like in the midst of an aborting society,” to quote Stallsworth again. We found the fresh viewpoints most informative, and think that you may as well.

Our final offering is intended to refresh loyal readers who have come with us thus far: whereas we failed to give you something direct from Mr. Steven Mosher’s new book, we do have some choice (if you’ll pardon the word) selections from the latest by William F. Buckley, Jr. True, it’s not a great deal, given the wealth of good stuff in *Happy Days Were Here Again* (which runs to almost 500 pages), but the first parts concern us directly—Buckley on the controversies that focus on “the beginning and on the end of life”—and the others are just plain fun to read. For instance his memorable piece on Mario Cuomo (“Cuomitis”), written back when New York’s governor seemed the “inevitable” candidate for president. And concluding with “Happy Birthday to J. S. Bach,” a reverential tribute from a most devoted disciple. We read a newspaper story the other day reporting an “experiment” in California: students who listened to ten minutes of Mozart’s piano music did significantly better on intelligence tests. We don’t doubt it, but would add that what Mozart can do for the mind, Bach’s music does for the soul, and we would expect Mr. Buckley to second the notion (surely it was largely to honor Bach that Buckley learned to play the harpsichord so impressively?). Read and enjoy.

\* \* \* \* \*

The appendices that follow are as varied as the articles, but all of them are related in one way or another. For instance, Cardinal John J. O’Connor (*Appendix A*) recounts how the controversy over condom distribution in New York’s public schools followed him to the Labor Day parade, causing him to reflect on the question: What are we doing to the young? Teaching them some very bad lessons, he concludes. You will note that, to make his point, the Cardinal quotes from our William Murchison—we’re pleased to have provided such good ammunition.

Just as “Safe Sex” is a politically-correct nostrum, so is the equally-deadly proposition that abortion is “good” for poor people. Like the Cardinal, Congressman Henry Hyde (*Appendix B*) has some very counter-trendy things to ask about that, such as whether “compassion” only masks the “racial implications” involved in “the slaughter of unborn African-American babies?” As he explains, that question “hit a nerve”—*without* question many “population

## INTRODUCTION

control” advocates have a “eugenic agenda” as well, but nobody is supposed to *say* that in public, so Mr. Hyde caused quite a controversy when he did precisely that on the floor of the House. Ironically, those he most outraged are the very “civil rights” leaders who *should* be defending the “poor” victims.

In *Appendix C*, we find that our friend Jo McGowan is faithfully fighting the battle in her adopted India; her response to President Clinton’s lifting of the ban on fetal research got featured “Op-Ed” treatment in *The Pioneer*, a venerable newspaper that began in the 1860s and once published Rudyard Kipling and the dispatches of a young correspondent named Winston Churchill.

**I**t is hardly news that former President George Bush was ambivalent (at *best*) on abortion—some would argue that his failure to support his own anti-abortion stand helped greatly to defeat him—now White House-watcher (for *The New Republic*) Fred Barnes reports that Bill Clinton shares Bush’s “aversion to the abortion issue” (*Appendix D*). In fact, Barnes says, the new President holds *conflicting* positions, which is why he isn’t fighting very hard to implement his pro-abortion campaign promises.

Two other Washington columnists take on some currently-vexed questions: Suzanne Fields (*Appendix E*) argues that highschool girls who get pregnant *ought* to be “stigmatized”—How else will they learn “the hard lessons of life”? And Mona Charen (*Appendix F*) is appalled that homosexuality—even so-called “bisexuality”—has become the *fashionable* fad among Washington high-schoolers (the *Washington Post* tells us so, it must be true).

There is yet more counter-trendiness, even in painfully-trendy *Newsweek*, which recently ran a “My Turn” opinion column by Mr. Wesley Smith (*Appendix G*), who doesn’t think suicide is a noble act that endears the departed to loved ones left behind—they are more likely to feel abused and betrayed, Smith says.

It all makes one wonder: If so many still hold “traditional” views in strong opposition to current “moral” fashions, how did the Old Morality get displaced in the first place? You will find a powerful part of the answer in *Appendix H*, which gives you the full text of the landmark *California Medicine* editorial that rationalized the “new ethic” even before *Roe v. Wade* legalized it. For the record, this is the fifth time we have reprinted that “prophetic” piece in this journal—we ran it first in Volume I, Number I—perhaps we should have run it in every issue? It may be the quintessential New Age manifesto—a blueprint for the culture of death we have built for ourselves.

Next issue (which will begin our 20th year) we will try to bring you lighter fare—but we can’t *promise*; meanwhile, we hope you will have a good laugh at our little cartoons.

J. P. MCFADDEN  
EDITOR



## Taking “Remedial Measures”

Faith Abbott

When we were very young, most of us were told that if we dug a hole deep enough we would come out in China. Perhaps this “grown-up’s joke” was supposed to give us an idea of geography: China was on the other side of the earth. I remember wondering how you could actually dig through all that earth, and if you *did*, would you come out head or feet first? I didn’t spend much time on all this wondering, though, because China *was* so remote. It is not so remote now, in the 1990s, and—as a friend said, recently—if you dug a hole through to China today you’d probably fall (head *or* feet first) into an abortion “facility”—Planned Parenthood East.

In 1958 China began its Great Leap Forward. In that same year, my life took a great leap forward—I got engaged to be married. My great leap was a success. China’s (a massive industrial development program intended to transform the country’s economy overnight) was not. You could say China’s Great Leap Forward backfired.

In that year, 1958, a little Chinese girl and the other children in her third-grade class were led out into the countryside, armed with whistles, pans, washbasins and sticks and wok lids—anything that would make a lot of noise, so as to help rid the entire country of grain-eating birds. Not just a field-trip, this: Chairman Mao had decided that sparrows ate too much grain, so he launched a nationwide campaign to exterminate all birds from China’s skies.

Of course the kids loved it: silence was enforced in school but now they could make a tremendous din *while* having an outing in the country *and* knowing that they were playing an Important Part in the Great Leap Forward.

Sure enough, the din kept all the bird flocks airborne until they dropped dead from exhaustion; millions of birds *did* die throughout China, but the resultant infestation of insects caused grain losses far in excess of what the birds would have eaten.

More about this third-grade child and her story, later.

Chairman Mao’s next Great Idea (he had defined Communism as “public cafeterias with free meals”) was to have everyone “eat

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Faith Abbott, our dauntless contributing editor, is now also our Resident Expert on China.

out of the same big pot.” The third-grade child and her little brother were in charge of meals for their family: their father had died and their mother worked as a teacher all day—and the kids took pride in shopping and cooking. But when Chairman Mao ordered communal cafeterias to be established all across the country, “private cooking” was forbidden. Mao theorized that forcing his countrymen to eat together from the same big pot and work together in the same big fields would lead them to put the collective good above narrow self-interest. This plan backfired too: the peasants eagerly filed into the cafeterias morning, noon and night to eat their fill of free food. But—knowing that they would eat whether or not they worked—they would drag their feet back to the fields and spend their time sleeping off their heavy meals, laboring as little as possible. Eventually the cafeterias were all shut down.

At that time there was also a heavy emphasis on making steel. When “private cooking” was outlawed, families sacrificed their woks and other cooking utensils to the great smelting pot; at the height of this campaign, more than a hundred million able-bodied men were at work at the smelters. The 1958 harvest was bad: Mao blamed this on poor weather conditions, but the real cause was that so much of the harvest was left to rot in the fields.

In 1959 there was famine.

One early estimate was that more than 30 million people had died as a direct result of the Great Leap Forward. The most recent estimate—from a Party Secretary who served from 1982 until 1989, and who visited most of China’s provinces and collected local estimates of the number of casualties in each—puts the total number of dead at between 43 and 46 million, making that famine the worst by far in human history.

So much for China’s Great Leap Forward.

Despite the famine and other horrors, China’s population continued to grow. If China were ever to leap forward economically and materially, its leaders decided, there would have to be far fewer babies born. By 1981 the one-child birth planning policy was in place nationally—but the child *preferred* by most couples was a boy—boys are important to their aging parents; girls, when they get married, become part of their husbands’ family.

China’s current big boss, Deng Xiaoping, did not institute a new Great Leap Forward: instead, he ushered in an era of “reform” under his “Four Modernizations”—these being agriculture, industry, science,

and technology. There has indeed been a great leap forward into technology, and now *this* is backfiring. The ultrasound scanner, a marvelous machine, is available almost everywhere in the country. It is a diagnostic machine, and it is against government policy to use these scanners for sex-selection: doctors are “officially” banned from telling the parents the gender of a fetus. But more and more ultrasound scanning machines are being installed all the time, particularly in the rural township clinics where peasants have the most access to them. The peasants say that it’s not hard to find a doctor who will tell a mother the sex of the child she’s carrying: a gift of a carton of cigarettes “will usually open the doctor’s mouth.” And it’s unlikely that the doctor will be caught.

Last year more than 12 percent of all female fetuses were aborted or otherwise “unaccounted for”—that may not sound too alarming until you realize that this adds up to 1.7 million missing girls. If this continues, as it probably will in a society where bribery is rampant, in the not too distant future there will not be enough mothers to produce sons. A Western population specialist in Beijing said that “The authorities recognize the problem and will try to do something about it, but they will not succeed. Ultrasound is all over and extremely difficult to control.”

The third-grade child of Mao’s Great Leap Forward grew into a woman despite famines and purges and a life-threatening illness (later she nearly died during childbirth). Now she has told her story in a book by Steven Mosher, *A Mother’s Ordeal: One Woman’s Fight Against China’s One-Child Policy*, published (by Harcourt, Brace) this year. Mr. Mosher, author of three previous books about China, had lived for a year in a Chinese village where he’d witnessed the arrest and forced abortion of several dozen young women, many of whom were six or more months along, so he knew a great deal about “family planning, Chinese-style” before he met this woman, Chi An—not her real name, of course.

When she and her husband, then a visiting research scholar, first asked for Mosher’s help—in San Diego in 1987—he knew little of her past other than that she had been ordered by Chinese officials to abort the child she had conceived in this country. The idea that Chinese officials would try to enforce the one-child policy on a Chinese couple living here “rankled” him, and he became the prime mover in the fight to win political asylum for the family. Mosher explains in his Author’s Note that the more he learned about Chi

FAITH ABBOTT

An's life, the more he came to realize how unique her story was. She had been trained as an abortionist but had been forced to have an abortion herself; she had been bullied into signing a one-child agreement yet had gone to work as a population-control enforcer. "Here was the ultimate insider's account of China's family planning program," Mosher writes, "a stranger-than-fiction story so dramatic that it simply begged to be told."

He urged Chi An to allow him to "commit her experiences to paper," and spent many hours interviewing her. In order to present her story to the reader in "as direct and unfiltered a way as possible" he chose the unconventional approach of writing in the first person. Their conversations were taped entirely in Chinese, Mosher translated them into English, and the resulting book reads like an autobiography and is as absorbing as a novel.

In 1965, when Chi An was fifteen, she was admitted to nursing school. The students were about to take their year-end exams when the Cultural Revolution broke out: the students were told by Chairman Mao to "Stop Classes, Foment Revolution!" Exams were canceled and the students spent their days holding political rallies and street marches. It wasn't until April 1968 that they returned to regular classes, and by this time birth control was an important part of the curriculum.

(I was surprised to read that Chairman Mao had originally disapproved of "birth planning"—he viewed it as tantamount to genocide. The *People's Daily* of course followed his lead—this was in the early 50s—and condemned birth control as "a way of slaughtering the Chinese people without drawing blood . . . [the people] are the most precious of all categories of capital." But after the famine, Mao changed his mind and the policy on having children gradually became stricter.)

The last part of the "birth planning" course, completed just before Chi An's graduation in 1968, was on abortion. To pass it, the student nurses had to perform a suction abortion under a doctor's supervision, in preparation for the abortions they would later be expected to perform on their own. Chi An describes her first time:

"See if we have got everything," the doctor ordered after I finished.

Following his directions, I took the collection bottle and poured its contents into a shallow pan. Then I used water to rinse off the blood and smaller particles that clouded the bottom of the pan.

"Now look closely," the doctor said. "It is important that we have got all the stuff out."

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I looked into the pan to find that the “stuff” consisted of the remains of what had been, a few minutes earlier, a thirteen-week-old fetus. I could make out the remains of arms and legs and trunk and skull. I tried to piece them back together in my mind, to see if there were any missing parts. Most of the pieces were so battered and bloody they were not recognizably human. Then my eyes locked upon a perfect little hand, less than half a centimeter long. I started at four tiny fingers and a tiny opposed thumb, complete with tiny translucent fingernails.

And I knew what I had done.

She knew what she had done. Why then did she continue? To understand, it helps to know something about brainwashing, Chinese-style. Chairman Mao reigned supreme. He was the Conscience of the nation. Reverence for him was cult-like: Chi An says “we came to obey his ‘instructions’ unquestioningly.” When the Cultural Revolution began in earnest, Mao took control of the *People’s Daily* and “overnight” transformed it into his personal mouthpiece. In bold red type across the top of page one were such slogans as CHAIRMAN MAO IS THE RED SUN IN OUR HEARTS! ESTABLISH CHAIRMAN MAO’S ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY! WE WILL DESTROY WHOEVER OPPOSES CHAIRMAN MAO!

There was a pledge of allegiance to Mao, and a ritual “as fixed as a military drill,” followed by Devotions. Chi An says “When it was reported that some Beijing Red Guards prayed to Mao three times a day, we promptly did likewise, asking for guidance from Chairman Mao in the morning, harmonizing our actions with His teachings at noon, and reporting everything to Him at night.” Mao was invoked as “the brightest, the greatest, the most wonderful leader in the history of the world . . . Thou has started the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with thine own hands.” And they would chant the Maoist “creed”—“Whatever road thou wouldst we travel, we shall follow . . . we shall follow thee closely and carry thy Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution through to the final victory. Chairman Mao, place thy trust in us. We shall always carry out thine orders.” And so on. As the propaganda war intensified, so did the various factions’ efforts to outdo each other in showing reverence.

Chi An’s first experiences as a graduate nurse were happy: she and her medical team were sent to work in rural areas, helping to diagnose and treat the common ailments of the peasantry. They inoculated children and gave antibiotics; Chi An herself saved the life of a young girl who had pneumonia.

But in 1972 premier Zhou Enlai tightened the screws on birth control which (it was decreed) was essential for “socialist revolution and socialist construction.” New regulations were formulated and a great new campaign begun: its “watchwords” were *late*, *spaced*, and *few*. “Late” referred to late marriage (not before about age 25); “spaced” meant children born *at least* four years apart; “few” meant no more than two children. “You,” the young nurses were told, “will help in this campaign by sterilizing and inserting IUDs in rural women . . .” Officials of the Women’s Federation (an arm of the Communist Party) were barraging local women with this new message: “One is not too few, two will perfectly do, and three are too many for you.” In the village squares, posters proclaimed that “The struggle for birth control is an important aspect of the class struggle . . . Those who oppose it are class enemies.” Young mothers were informed at mass meetings that large families were now prohibited; holdouts were paid house calls and told that if their first child had been born within the last four years, they *must* have an IUD implanted; if they already had two or more children, they *must* be sterilized. “Gone,” laments Chi An, “were our days as itinerant doctors, traveling from village to village, treating peasants for every ailment under the sun. Now we rarely left the commune medical clinic, where we performed an endless series of sterilizations and IUD insertions. We no longer used our portable X-ray machines to diagnose cases of tuberculosis but only to search out missing IUDs.”

At first, when women began coming in for sterilizations, Chi An believed they were doing so of their own free will. Having been taught not to question government policy, she automatically pushed the question of “coercion” out of her mind. But “ever-new” regulations hit her personally in 1975 when she and Wei Xin (also a pseudonym) were married. This was marriage Chinese-style: first you had to get letters of “permission” from your “units,” then you had to be “registered” at the local police station. Before your marriage application was accepted, you had to listen to Our Great Leader Chairman Mao’s document concerning the official policy on birth planning. It was not sufficient to listen and to agree in general: “You must demonstrate a positive attitude toward the birth planning policy,” announced the woman official. “You must obtain a quota from your unit before you get pregnant. And you must contracept until you receive a quota. No exceptions are allowed to any of these conditions. You must abide by each and every one of them. Do you agree?”

“It’s only a piece of paper,” Wei Xin whispered to Chi An as he signed the two-child agreement and pushed it over for her to sign. She thought that perhaps by the time they had children, this policy—like so many—would have been forgotten or unenforced, so she signed her name too, and then they were “legally” married. But she had a sense of foreboding: “I felt as if I were signing the rights to my children away.”

It was Chi An’s mother who got them a birth quota; she managed to wangle it from a friend who was head of their Street Committee. There was no time to lose: for more than two hundred families, the quota was eight babies for the next year. The woman to whom the quota rightfully belonged was simply and secretly bumped off the list; it wasn’t known that she was already two months pregnant. When Chi An found this out she was remorseful: *she* probably wouldn’t get pregnant in time, couldn’t she give this other woman *her* quota? No. Her mother reminded her that it was against regulations to transfer a quota from one couple to another—why, if that were allowed, people would be buying and selling them on the black market. Yes, her mother agreed, it did seem “unnecessarily harsh to tell someone to destroy a growing baby for lack of a quota . . . But that is what the authorities will do, as soon as they find out her condition. They will instruct her to take remedial measures.”

Chi An did manage to conceive and bear a child within the time limit. Two weeks after she and her baby boy were released from the hospital, she was approached by a population control worker and asked to sign a one-child agreement. “Under the current regulation,” she was told, “if you agree to have no more children, you will receive a monthly bonus of five yuan and a washbasin.” And if she signed, it would be best for her to undergo sterilization, “just to make sure there are no accidents.” Chi An said she’d consider it, but her husband had mentioned that he might like a second child. In that case, she had two choices: insertion of an IUD or birth control pills. She managed to avoid both: she had a baby to nurse and the pills would reduce her milk supply, and because of her ill-treatment in the hospital she had a uterine infection and could not wear an IUD. The population control worker reminded her that remedial measures are required for those who violate the four-year waiting period, but then—amazingly—left her alone.

Nursing mothers do sometimes become pregnant, and Chi An did,

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when her son was seven months old. She tried to hide her condition but was caught and continually harangued. The population control official said: "We must take care of your condition without delay." The Street Committee official said: "Because of my friendship with your mother I did you a favor . . . I gave you a quota out of turn. If you have a second baby outside the quota system, I will be criticized. You owe it to me to take remedial measures."

Chi An's unborn baby's life was at stake (she felt sure it was a girl), yet she was terrified at the idea of playing cat and mouse with Party officials. Her political conditioning had taught her to take the path of least resistance: "When the wind blows, the grass bends" had become a byword of her generation, and she knew from experience that "Those who did not bend to the will of the Party were broken by it." The authorities were after her husband, too. "This is sheer coercion," he said, but "How can an egg break a rock?"

She had the abortion. Immediately afterward, the population control official led her into the post-operative room, gesturing that she was to climb up onto the bed. She hadn't the strength: she fell to the floor on hands and knees and sobbed "Please forgive me. Heaven, if you can hear me, please forgive me for what I have done."

In 1979 Chi An and other young nurses from her ward were summoned to a mass meeting. There seemed nothing new, at first, in what the Party secretary was saying: "Having children is not a question that we can afford to let each family decide for itself . . . It is a question that should be decided at the national level. China is a socialist country. This means that the interests of the individual must be subordinated to the interests of the state . . ." She had heard all this before. But then:

Secretary Wang fixed us with a stern glance and then slowly and deliberately said, "We here in Shenyang city must set an example for areas of the province more backward in family planning. The city government, responding to the call of the provincial authorities to reduce the birthrate, has come to the following decision: the bearing of second or higher-order children is to stop immediately. No couple in Shenyang city is to be allowed more than one child. This one-child policy goes into effect today. We must all wholeheartedly support the new policy of the Shenyang city government! I want all women of child-bearing age to sign a one-child agreement!"

They were, of course, to "volunteer." Prizes would be given. The first group of volunteers, after sterilization, received transistor radios and one hundred yuan—a combined value equivalent to three months'



salary for most of them. The next group got a set of bedsheets. Chi An was still holding out. She was told that she would *have* to agree, sooner or later; that if she waited till the end, she would become very “passive”:

This was another instance of Chinese Communist Party double-speak. What she meant by “passive” . . . was that in the end the pressure would grow so intense that I would have no recourse but to sign a one-child agreement. The Party preferred to maintain a pretense of choice when it imposed its policies on the people, but in the end they would stop at nothing to enforce compliance.

The third group received a set of dish towels: the fourth and fifth groups got nothing. Despite the constant harassment Chi An bore up well, until the official “dropped her bombshell.” She had been talking with the population control cadre over at Shenyang University: “I understand that your husband has qualified to go overseas. Do you know that your continuing refusal to sign a one-child agreement may affect his chances?”

Chi An agreed to sign, but only on the condition that she would not have a tubal ligation: by this time the official was so eager to report 100 percent compliance to the Party secretary that she agreed.

Chi An’s husband did fly to the United States in 1980 and Chi An managed to get transferred from the sanitarium to a factory health clinic: the factory was a small city unto itself, with cradle-to-grave security—regular hours, medical benefits, day care centers, time for Chi An to spend with her son. When the job was offered, she understood that she would be involved in family planning activities:

Though I didn’t relish the thought of having to enforce the one-child policy, by now my envy of women with more than one child had hardened into something akin to resentment.

And so Chi An became a population-control worker, trained to enforce the one-child policy through “peer counseling”—pressuring uncooperative women to “think clear” about their “condition.” She refused to do late-term abortions but helped with them; she hunted down women who were known to be “illegally pregnant”; she helped administer forced sterilizations; she had to watch—even to assist—doctors who gave lethal injections *at birth*.

How does she justify all this? At the time, she explains, she was actually convinced that China’s population problem was so serious that individual desires had to be suppressed for the good of society as a whole; that those who had more than the permitted number

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of children were holding China back. But she was secretly jealous of them:

It made good economic sense to me that China had to control its population in order to modernize. But at the same time I remained generally sympathetic to what these sad-faced women were going through. Had I nourished the slightest hope that one day I might be permitted a second child, I would have been more so. As things were I was convinced that I was doing them a kindness by helping them to accept, as I had, the inevitable.

She was an excellent manipulator. “Well,” she would say in her most sympathetic manner, “You appear to have exceeded your allotted number of children. I, too, once conceived an over quota child . . . I, too, had to undergo remedial measures. I know it is a difficult thing to do. But it is necessary for the sake of our fatherland. Are you willing?”

There were the “pleaders.” They would go down on hands and knees and beg: “Please allow my baby to live! Please spare the life of my child!” At first Chi An was sympathetic, but then she became irritated. Why couldn’t these pleaders understand that the clinic workers were not personally responsible? The doctors were only following orders; she herself was only a “minor functionary.” Besides, she too had been compelled to have an abortion: she, too, had only one child. Why should anyone be allowed to have more children than she did? “I hardened my heart,” she says, “against such women and began rebuking them: ‘Why do you insist on having a second child? Don’t you know that it isn’t fair to those who have only one?’ ”

Some officials were doing *more* than “just following orders for the sake of the fatherland.” At the beginning of 1984, the head of the district birth planning office (well-known to be a fanatic about the one-child policy) called a meeting of all the birth planning workers in her district. This woman desperately wanted to be selected as the “model birth planning worker” of the province: she would win a promotion, and prizes. She had placed only second before, and was furious that another city had been selected as the province’s “model” birth planning city. The legal limit for births in the cities had been 0.5 percent: it had been tough work—day and night—to ensure that no more than five babies were born for every one thousand people at the factory. But the prize-winning director had allowed only *one* birth per thousand. Therefore it was announced that all quotas would be reduced by 80 percent and there would

be no exceptions: “Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping has instructed us ‘in order to reduce the population, use whatever means you must, but do it!’ ”

So then many activists, struggling to meet his new quota, began “coercion” with a vengeance. Expectant mothers were “escorted” to clinics as soon as they were discovered to be pregnant; there were “rumors” of women being bound, gagged, and aborted, even though there was (supposedly) a provision in China’s family planning law that forbade the use of force. The “rumors” were *fact*: the law was simply ignored.

Chi An herself had taken part in force: she alone knew the likely hiding place of one of her best friends who was illegally pregnant; she found her and turned her in.

After that, Chi An suffered acute remorse—about that friend and about all the hundreds of women she had, in her words, “driven to despair,” and she made a decision: no longer would she force women to become unwilling accomplices in the abortion of their own children. No longer would she brutalize women in the name of population control. Somehow she would find a way to distance herself from “this dreadful work” forever.

When she heard from her husband in New York that it was now possible for Chinese spouses to get exit permits and visas, she requested a two-year leave of absence for herself and her son. It took half a year to get through the maze of government offices that had to approve her plans; background investigations delayed the issuance of her passport and her exit visa was held up when it was discovered that she wanted to take her son with her: no one at the provincial department of foreign affairs actually *said* so, but it was obvious that they were concerned that if she were allowed to exit China with her only child, she would never return. She thought their fears foolish: “There was no doubt in my own mind that Wei Xin and I would return to our fatherland.” (She had hopes that, upon her return, she would have become “too valuable to waste on the one-child policy”—perhaps she could be assigned to teach in a nursing school, or perhaps by that time the one-child policy would have been relaxed.) Her superior at the factory had been reluctant to approve her absence: only after she and her husband had written letters promising that she would return to the factory did he agree, and even then—to make sure that her IUD was still in place—he

ordered her to join the line of women workers waiting for their regular three-month X-rays. Chi An was furious, and silently fumed: "Do you think that I, a population control official myself, will have my IUD secretly removed and conceive an illegal child while I am abroad?"

In 1987, Chi An—now living with her husband and son in San Diego—had an operation to remove a tumor. Apparently the surgery removed something else as well:

As he was doing the ultrasound, the doctor had turned to me, smiling, sure that he was the bearer of good news. "There is no sign of an IUD, but there is every indication of a baby."

I kept my face expressionless, as I had learned to do in the presence of authority, but I felt as though I had fallen into a well. *I am pregnant—despite being thirty-eight years old; despite wearing an IUD, which is somehow missing; despite my plans to go to nursing school as soon as my English improves; despite my intention to return to China to help my backward country—despite everything, by accident, I am pregnant.*

At first she felt a wonderful sense of freedom. No one was going to report her to the authorities: she could keep the baby if she wanted to. But then reality set in: she could *not* take two children back to China without subjecting them all to heavy penalties. She would have to do what the Party expected, what she had demanded from so many other women: she would end "this unexpected, irregular, illegal pregnancy." Without telling her husband about her condition, she went to have an abortion. But at the very last minute, when she was already on the table with her feet in the stirrups, she changed her mind. It was her husband's child, too—what if he wanted this baby? She managed to disentangle herself, rolled off the table and crouched, naked, on the floor. "Don't touch me!" she shouted. "We want this baby."

The doctor looked at me in reproach at my change of heart—a look I knew all too well from my own work with "pleaders"—and began peeling off his rubber gloves. I realized that I had won. There would be no abortion.

She went home and told her husband: "I am pregnant. I went in for an abortion, but I couldn't go through with it." His face lit up and he said "Perhaps we can get permission from the authorities to have a second child . . . after all, we are in America now. Perhaps they will make an exception to the one-child policy."

The next day Chi An wrote to her factory's population control office, asking if the one-child policy applied to couples living outside China. The reply stated that "second children are absolutely

banned for state employees, no matter where they might be stationed.” And there was chilling news about the special government contract about to be awarded to the factory: “If we exceed our birth allowance by even one baby, we will lose this contract . . . the woman responsible for bringing this on her comrades will be dealt with severely.” The authorities were already harassing Chi An’s mother: “They tell me you have gotten pregnant in America,” she wrote. “They also said that if you don’t get an abortion, your factory will not be selected as an outstanding unit in the field of population control. If this happens, there will be unimaginable consequences for our entire family . . .” (Chi An was convinced that this letter had been dictated to her mother by the population control officials standing over her.) Another letter, from the factory, made it clear that if Chi An were to return pregnant, even in her eighth or ninth month, she would “absolutely” not be allowed to have her child. The message was loud and clear: YOU MUST FIX YOUR PROBLEM.

In a complete reversal of her earlier role, Chi An realized, “it was I who was carrying an ‘illegal’ child. When General Secretary Zhao insisted on remedial measures for women pregnant outside the plan, he was talking about me. The frightened, troubled faces of the women I had hounded in the past were about to become my own.” Many couples at the factory already blamed her for the loss of a child: if they were to lose their bonuses and raises as well, all because she had insisted on having the second child that she had denied *them*, what might they do? Someone just might seek to avenge their child’s death. “An eye for an eye,” she thought: “a baby for a baby. My newborn would not be safe in the factory nursery, or anywhere else for that matter.”

After much agonizing, Chi An and her husband made the decision to cut their ties to their homeland and to apply for political asylum; and this became a *cause célèbre*. Chi An explains that “almost nothing angers China’s leaders more than the Western practice of granting asylum to political dissidents, for it causes them to lose face in the eyes of the world.” State Department officials felt themselves to be under considerable pressure to placate Beijing; immigration officials seized on a narrow interpretation of the law, arguing that resisting Beijing’s family planning policies did not amount to “political dissent” and was therefore not sufficient ground for asylum. Deportation was imminent, but an official in the Justice Department got involved and after “a brief tussle” with the Immigration and Naturalization

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Service he had deportation proceedings put on hold. To establish the well-founded fear of persecution required by law, this official needed affirmative answers to two questions: Now that the child had been born (they'd had a daughter) would they still be persecuted if they were returned to China? And could their refusal to obtain an abortion be considered an act of *political* dissent?

By this time their visas had expired and only the United States Attorney General could overrule the INS. And this is when Steve Mosher got busy. He had articles about the case published in the *Washington Post* and *Human Events*; the *Post* article was reprinted in *Reader's Digest* and Mosher added a P.S. asking that readers (an estimated 27 million) write letters to the attorney general. Letters to the Justice Department began pouring in by the thousands. And the rest, you could say, is history—in one of Ed Meese's last acts as U.S. Attorney General, asylum was granted, and President Bush later signed an executive order giving sanctuary to all Chinese fleeing the one-child policy. (And a happy P.S. to *this*: Chi An's mother was allowed to join the family in America.)

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On September 20 Jane Fonda—actress, activist, “fitness queen” and now “Good Will Ambassador” to the United Nation's Population Fund—told a “packed house” at the UN that opposition to birth control by religious institutions is outdated and hazardous to Earth's health. “Powerful vested interests—including the Catholic Church—want us to ignore contraception as a necessary part of family planning,” said Ms. Fonda, warning that “the continuing population explosion is producing more than the planet can feed.” A spokesman for New York's Catholic Archdiocese called her remarks “silly.”

I think Chi An would agree. There *had* been a time when she agreed with senior Party officials about China's being such a poor country that people would not be allowed to have as many children as they wanted: “Ten people cannot eat from a rice pot intended for two.” Even after she had rejected forced abortion and sterilization, she remained convinced that China's population was “the number one obstacle to its prosperity.”

She no longer believes that to be true. She has learned that the wealth of the United States was created by individuals, not by the government; also that most of the countries of the developed world—

Japan, Taiwan and much of Western Europe—are more densely populated than China—yet despite this “overcrowding” none of these countries suffer from labor shortages, and she asked herself: “Why is it that only poor countries are defined as having too many people? Could it be that China doesn’t have a people problem so much as it has an economic one?”

And could it be that Chi An knows more than Jane? Despite Fonda’s fondness for Red regimes—remember, she was dubbed “Hanoi Jane” when, 20 years ago, she protested U.S. actions in Vietnam from the enemy’s capital—she’s never lived *under* one. “In my experience,” writes Chi An, “the Chinese Communist Party has produced little but misery in its four-plus decades in power . . . tens of millions of my countrymen have been starved to death in famines. Tens of millions have been tormented in repeated political campaigns. Again and again large sectors of the population—the capitalists, the landlords, the intellectuals, the students at Tiananmen Square—have been singled out and persecuted for problems largely of the Party’s own making.” She now sees that China’s continuing ills—from poverty and hunger and health problems to overcrowding and environmental degradation—are “in large part the direct result of nearly a half century of Party misrule. How convenient for the authorities to have a prestigious foreign theory—overpopulation—that allows them once again to shift the blame onto the Chinese people.”

“2000 Olympics Go to Sydney In Surprise Setback for China,” headlined a front-page story in the *New York Times*, calling the decision “a major political setback for the Chinese Government,” and stating that “in the end, Beijing’s candidacy appears to have fallen victim to China’s human rights record,” and “arguments by Western politicians and human rights groups that a Government that continues to repress dissidents should not be rewarded with the honor of holding the 2000 Olympics.” A spokesman for the Human Rights Watch, a New York-based group, applauded the International Olympics Committee’s decision which, he said, “puts the Chinese leadership on notice that they will pay a price for the continued abuse of their own citizens.”

What about the continued *killing* of their own future citizens? Beijing continues to deny that its controversial population control program is based on coercion, says Chi An, but the *facts* tell a different story: the “technical policy on birth control” remains in force, mandating IUD insertions for women with one child; sterilization for couples

with two children, and abortion for women pregnant “outside the plan.” Couples who violate the policy are threatened and persecuted. “The Party,” Chi An says, “is again making use of this ploy in the one-child campaign, in effect holding women and children responsible for all of China’s problems. In the West there is a name for such deception: It is called blaming the victim.”

That is one “in the West” phrase Chi An understands, but I wonder if—when she first came to this country—there weren’t Western phrases that she found confusing and bewildering. Such as “pro choice.” Wouldn’t that seem to mean (to Chinese ears) *choosing* to conceive and to have your baby? And shouldn’t “reproductive rights” mean having the freedom to, well, reproduce? And did it seem strange that people who are anti-abortion are often dubbed, by those in the pro-choice movement, “anti-choice?” Yet pro-choice China is an anti-choice nation.

And I wonder what she thought of our euphemisms for the unborn baby. China has its own euphemisms, such as “remedial measures”—but in Chi An’s story the fetus is never referred to as “a product of conception” or “just a blob of tissues” or even “a potential child.” It is always a *baby*, or a *child*, that the woman was or was not permitted to have. You could give the Chinese credit for “calling a spade a spade” but any “honesty” on the part of the abortion enforcers is mightily offset by their brutality: if an “illegal” baby isn’t dismembered within the womb and slips out alive, it is immediately given—through the soft part of its head—a lethal injection of formaldehyde. Or it is strangled—strangling is the “preferred method” in some regions. The mother hears her baby’s first cries—then silence.

Even safe in America, Chi An could still hear those cries. But then she and her husband took instructions at a Catholic church: in due course, she says, “I made my first confession, and felt at peace with myself”—now “the only baby’s cries that would wake me in the night were those of my newborn daughter.” She resolved to atone for “my past crimes” by helping others, but one question persisted: “How could I help the women still in China?” Her answer was to tell her story to Steve Mosher, “however painful that might be.”

It must have been *very* painful, just as Mosher’s skillful retelling is painful to read. But it is a tale the reader will not forget and, should it be widely read in China, it might do what Chairman Mao could *not*—change the minds of a generation.



## Greens and People

*Robert Whelan*

*In searching for a new enemy to unite us, we came up with the idea that pollution, the threat of global warming, water shortages, famine and the like would fit the bill . . . The real enemy, then, is humanity itself.*

The Club of Rome, 1991

The population controllers had been arguing since the 1950s that global population growth would usher in every imaginable economic and social evil, and that wars, poverty and famine would increase until this Pandora's box could be shut by the universal provision of birth control to ensure small families for all, but especially for parents in the Third World.

The idea that virtually every problem in the world came down to overpopulation proved to be so easy to promote that it quickly became established as part of the popular orthodoxy. "Overpopulation" was regarded as a fact—one of those things that "everyone knows."

However, a strange thing happened. As the years went by global population increased more rapidly than at any time in history, doubling between the 1950s and the 1980s from approximately 2.5 billion to 5 billion. In spite of this, the day of doom did not arrive: none of the terrifying forecasts of the effects of population growth came true. The first scare story, on the back of which the population control movement had been launched, was the prospect of famines. These were regarded as inevitable, as the world's population would outgrow the capacity of the earth to feed us all. However the food supply proved not only equal to keeping up with the greatest increase in global population in history—it kept way ahead.

The next big scare was that natural resources would run out. In 1972 the Club of Rome published its famous report *The Limits to Growth*, predicting the exhaustion of natural resources. By dividing known reserves by consumption, the report gave dates by which major resources would be finished. Some of the dates have passed, and the world is now richer in resources than ever before. Furthermore, the advent of new technology has made us less and less dependent on physical resources. For example, the silicone for silicone chips

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is found in sand, to which there is no realistic limit.

Empirical evidence also made nonsense of the notion that population growth causes poverty. Countries like Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore experienced spectacular economic growth concurrent with rapid population growth, which gave them some of the highest population densities in the world. Even the President of the World Bank, a body committed for many years to reducing population growth, was forced to tell a gathering of the International Planned Parenthood Federation:

The evidence is clear that economic growth rates in excess of population growth rates can be achieved and maintained by both developed and developing countries.

By the beginning of the 1980s the *rationale* for population control was beginning to wear a bit thin. However, by this time the population control movement was a multi-billion dollar industry, employing tens of thousands of population planners, and financed largely by Western taxpayers' money. In order to stay in work, the population controllers had to find new arguments on which to base their programmes.

At this critical moment, the Green bandwagon started to roll downhill. It proved to be the salvation of the population lobby because, if more human beings don't mean more poverty or famine or unemployment, they certainly do mean more human activity. If this activity could be shown to be, *of itself*, destructive and undesirable, then the population controllers were back in business.

#### **People as pollution**

In 1985 an umbrella organisation was formed called Common Ground International. Its aim was to bring together environmental organisations with population organisations on the pretext that, whilst they had in the past worked separately, their concerns were now so similar that it made sense to join forces.

Their first project was a touring exhibition called "Let's Get It Together." Aimed mainly at children, it comprised a series of panels blaming population growth for every imaginable horror, including child abuse. Visitors were greeted at the entrance to the exhibition by full length mirrors emblazoned with the legend "You Are Looking At the Most Dangerous Form of Life on Earth." The children were, of course, looking at themselves.

This set the tone for the arguments for population control which we were to hear in the years ahead. In striving to make population

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into an environmental issue, the population lobbyists argued that the population explosion was *the* environmental problem, and that nothing would improve on the environmental front until it was dealt with.

This was the origin of the idea that people are a form of pollution, or *popullution*. Jonathon Porritt (leader of the British ecology movement) summarised the philosophy as “living is polluting,” which is to say that anything we do will make the world a worse place.

The arguments for population control fell on fertile ground in the environmental movement. Green literature is shot through with the most negative images of human beings, who are depicted as a cancer or a plague upon the face of the earth. A recruiting leaflet produced by Greenpeace has this to say about the species of man:

Modern Man has made a rubbish tip of Paradise. He has multiplied his numbers to plague proportions, caused the extinction of 500 species of animals, ransacked the planet for fuels and now stands like a brutish infant, gloating over his meteoric rise to ascendancy, on the brink of the war to end all wars and of effectively destroying this oasis of life in the solar system.

The cumulative effect of these degrading and revolting images of human beings is to de-sensitize the reader. When it has become possible to regard people of whom one personally disapproves as a low or degenerate form of life, then drastic solutions to deal with the “problem” of other people become acceptable.

In his fascinating book *The Intellectuals and the Masses* John Carey has shown that this tendency to dehumanise groups of people by the use of pejorative terms such as vermin, scum, swarming insects, spawn etc., has an impressive intellectual pedigree. It was a commonplace amongst a number of leading figures in European culture at the end of the last century and the beginning of this, and Carey is able to illustrate his argument with quotations from Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Virginia Woolf, E. M. Forster and many others. Carey attributes the revulsion felt by these people towards “the mass” to the fear of the emerging popular culture of mass circulation newspapers, radio and cinema. The intellectuals were not in control of these mass media, and felt that their position as guardians of European culture was under threat. They therefore amused themselves by devising methods to exterminate the rabble. According to D. H. Lawrence:

To learn plainly to hate mankind, to detest the spawning human being, that is the only cleanliness now . . . If I had my way, I would build a lethal chamber as big as the Crystal Palace.

He was supported in his views by Bernard Shaw:

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If we desire a certain type of civilisation and culture, we must exterminate the sort of people who do not fit into it.

John Carey argues that this use of de-humanising language was copied by Hitler when describing the Jews, and that this was a factor in persuading people to accept the “final solution.” In the same way, the images of human beings in Green literature as a “horde of rats,” an “uncontrolled virus” and an “infestation” on the planet must predispose people towards accepting dramatic methods of population control.

Many people have been persuaded that human beings are such a bad lot, it would be better for the planet if there were fewer of them—or even none at all. In 1989 the Sunday *Times* gave over a whole issue of its magazine section to environmental doom-mongering, carrying the headline “The World Is Dying,” and rammed the message home with the sub-heading “You Damage the Earth Just by Living on It.”

Even *The Economist* could thunder in an editorial:

The extinction of the human species may not only be inevitable, but a good thing . . . That is not to say that the rise of human civilisation is insignificant, but that there is no way of showing that it will be much help to the world in the long run.

**How to lose people**

Against this background of anti-human prejudice it is easy to grasp the Greens’ enthusiasm for population control programmes. At the extreme edge we find the “ecoterrorist” group Earth First! and others calling for reductions in the human population almost amounting to extinction:

Massive human diebacks would be good. It is our duty to cause them. It is our species’ duty, relative to the whole, to eliminate 90 per cent of our numbers.

Some have even welcomed AIDS as a means of achieving this. Earth First! spokesman John Davis believes that “human beings, as a species, have no more value than slugs.”

Nearer home the British Green Party calls for a reduction of the UK population from the present 57 million to between 35-40 million. Although Sara Parkin, former family planning nurse with Brook Advisory Centres and architect of the population policy, insists that this would not involve coercion, it is difficult to imagine how else such a dramatic drop in numbers could be achieved. There is certainly no historical precedent for it.

It is also disquieting that the book *A Green Manifesto* by activists

Sandy Irvine and Alec Ponton, which is recommended reading for Green Party members, advocates:

payments for periods of non-pregnancy . . . tax benefits for families with fewer than two children; sterilisation bonuses; withdrawal of maternity and other benefits after a second child; larger pensions for people with fewer than two children . . . an end to infertility research and treatment; and a more realistic approach to abortion.

On the international front the authors claim that:

Help given to regimes opposed to population policies is counter-productive and should cease. They are the true enemies of life and do not merit support. So too are those religions which do not actively support birth control. Green governments would reluctantly have to challenge head-on such damaging beliefs.

Irvine and Ponton also quote approvingly American population guru Kingsley Davis who said:

If having too many children were considered as great a crime against humanity as murder, rape and thievery, we would have no qualms about "taking freedom away."

This sort of rhetoric does not encourage readers to put too much trust in Green claims that population reduction will be achieved without coercion.

On one point we must agree with the Greens; human beings certainly do affect their environment. You can discern human settlements from the air by their straight lines and curves. We shape the natural world to make it fit our needs. Our human ingenuity enables us to create order out of chaos, and to plan, build and invest for the future in a way which would be impossible for even the highest species of the brute creation.

This capacity for making the world comfortable is something of which human beings used to be proud, and of which they should still be proud. It reflects the wondrous gift of reason which the Creator gave to man alone amongst his creation. The almost complete domination which we have achieved over the rest of the natural order reflects our special position in the creation. Unlike any other created thing, we were made in God's image to eventually spend eternity with him. God gave to Adam complete command over the rest of the natural order, and he was even more explicit with Noah after the Flood:

And God blessed Noah and his sons and said to them, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth. The fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every bird of the air, upon everything that creeps on the ground and all the fish of the sea; into your hand they are delivered." (*Gen. 9: 1-2*)

In what amounts to a very remarkable reversal of traditional values,

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the Greens see human beings as most successful when they do the least. For example, an article praising tribal wisdom in *People and the Planet*, the magazine of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, had this to say of Amazonian Indians:

Such people walk lightly on the landscape, *with such success* that outsiders often consider their habitats a “wilderness,” as if no people had ever lived there (*emphasis added*).

The same view was expressed by Edward Goldsmith, the founder of *The Ecologist*, in his book *The Way*:

Ecologically the temporary settlements of nomads are the most desirable, because they have the smallest impact on the environment.

He goes on to quote the anthropologist W. E. H. Stanner who claimed that Australian Aborigines make less impact on the environment than beavers, who build dams, and termites who build nests. If bugs are now being held up to us as role models, then we have clearly come a long way from the biblical view of man as the lord of creation!

The downgrading of human beings and the elevation of animals is more than an intellectual exercise. It has had profound consequences for the well-being of certain groups of people, including the unborn.

#### **Greens and abortion**

We have witnessed, throughout the last twenty years, a growing movement to establish “rights” for animals which have been legally guaranteed. Throughout the Western world a plethora of laws have been passed to protect whales, seals, birds of prey, spotted owls and natterjack toads. There is scarcely any animal or insect species which has not found its constituency of human supporters. International agreements, often reached as a result of massive media coverage featuring dramatic pictures of bleeding animal corpses, have severely restricted the hunting of seals and whales. The lobby for a worldwide ban on the ivory trade has been successful, in spite of the fact that countries which permit the trade such as Zimbabwe and South Africa have increased their herds of elephants considerably, and the fur trade in Britain is on the verge of extinction due to animal rights activists. Those who disturb colonies of bats or the nests of the condor eagle can face stiff fines and even prison sentences.

At the same time abortion, which for hundreds of years was regarded as murder, has become widely accepted as a normal part of Western lifestyles. Despite the fact that advances in embryology and fetology have established beyond doubt that the baby in the womb is alive

and human from the moment of conception, the Western nations have almost all taken steps to remove legal protection from the unborn. The child in the womb no longer enjoys the most basic of all human rights—the right to his own life.

Abortion has led to the acceptance of practices so barbaric that they would have been regarded as unthinkable only thirty years ago. These include the trade in human parts from aborted fetuses, the use of living human embryos for experimental purposes, and the cannibalising of aborted babies for fetal material to “patch-up” adult patients suffering from conditions such as Parkinson’s Disease.

Is it a co-incidence that animal rights have increased as human rights have decreased, or are these two things linked? Are they, in fact, both part of the same equation, which involves a radical re-assessment of the value which we place on human beings in the order of creation?

When the Australian Senate set up a Select Committee, to enquire into the use of human embryos for experiments, it received evidence from Professor Roger Short of the Australian Academy of Science. He maintained that the traditional protocols of carrying out experiments on non-human higher primates like gorillas and orangutans could no longer be followed because they are endangered species. Human embryos were regarded as useful because “we are not endangered.”

Although Green parties in different countries do not espouse exactly the same policies, they appear to be united in one important respect—their support for abortion. If human beings are really a form of pollution—a sort of cancer on the face of the earth—then it makes sense to cut the cancer out. Hence the attraction of the abortionist’s knife to the Greens.

#### Population and the environment

I have argued so far that the demeaning view of man as a form of pollution which is put forward by Greens is incompatible with Christianity, because Christians believe that every human being is made in the image and likeness of God. To describe man as a pollutant is therefore a form of blasphemy.

However, there are many Christians who do not subscribe to this view of man as pollution, but who are still genuinely concerned that population growth is damaging the environment. After all, more people put out more rubbish. And if population growth has to be slowed down or reversed, how are Christians to square that with

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God's command to "be fruitful and multiply" (*Gen. 1: 28*)? Is it true that, as some Greens claim, the Bible was written for a less crowded world and cannot be taken literally now?

We therefore need to address this important question of whether or not population growth makes the environment better or worse.

It has to be admitted that the idea that population growth will make the environment worse has a certain logical appeal. More people will consume more resources; they will require more houses; more power supplies, more cars. How will the planet cope?

Environmental problems, like most of the problems which are blamed on population growth, are certainly real enough problems, but they are being attributed to the wrong causes.

Like poverty, famine and unemployment (which have all been blamed on "the population explosion"), they are basically political and economic in origin.

To have a good environment you need two things: the political will to tackle the problem and the level of resources to pay for the solution. Countries which are rich and free will therefore always have better environments than countries which are poor and oppressed.

An important addition has been made to our understanding of the relationship between politics and the environment by American economist Mikhail Bernstam. In his monograph *The Wealth of Nations and the Environment*, published by the Institute for Economic Affairs, he argues conclusively that the issues of pollution and resource consumption are directly linked to the political and economic structures of countries. Illustrating his argument with statistics from official sources, he shows that the innate tendency of socialist or planned economies is to consume more resources, create less output and produce more pollution. The tendency of capitalist or market economies is to consume fewer resources to create more output and generate less pollution.

During the 1970s and 1980s there were *falls* in the per capita energy consumption of the market economies of Europe and the USA, while per capita consumption was steadily rising in the USSR . . . We have to remember that living standards were higher in the West and rising, especially in terms of all the consumer goods we take for granted which use energy (like cars, videos and computers) while the standard of living in the USSR was much lower and falling throughout the period. We were able to make less energy do much, much more!

Bernstam shows that these trends cannot be attributed to the rise of the Green movement and the rash of environmental legislation



which characterised the 1970s and especially the 1980s: they go back much further. He also manages to counter the familiar Green argument that we must accept economic stagnation because further growth would mean more pollution. Bernstam argues that, as economic growth is impossible without technological progress, and as that technological progress “cannot but eventually reduce resource use and environmental discharges,” then “long-term economic growth is impossible without environmental improvements.”

Bernstam warns that “the future of world environmental conditions depends to a significant extent on the choice of economic system in developing countries.” Put simply, this means that the spread of market economies will lead to a better global environment, and the spread of socialist or centrally planned economies will make it worse. This is a prescription that the Greens would find revolting, given their deep-seated hostility towards markets.

#### Good news from Africa

Africa is a continent which is frequently held up by the population control-environmental lobby as an example of the horrors of population growth. More people are equated with more poverty and a more degraded environment.

It is therefore doubly significant that the most important work which has recently emerged to squash these assumptions has come from Africa.

In December, 1992, the Overseas Development Institute published an important study of the Machakos District of Kenya by Michael Mortimore and Mary Tiffen. The authors studied reports on the area going back to the 1930s, and found that the enormous increase in population (by more than five times since the 1940s) coincided with great improvements in agriculture (output per hectare up by *ten times*) and improvements in the environment. Problems which had worried observers in the 1930s, notably soil erosion, had been dealt with as a result of an increased labour force and improved access to markets for their products. It is now possible to survey “before” and “after” pictures of areas which were described as irredeemably degraded in the 1930s, and which are now covered with crops and trees.

Patrick Darling of the Natural Resources Institute, a division of the Overseas Development Administration, has now written an overview of the research to emerge from Africa in recent years which shows

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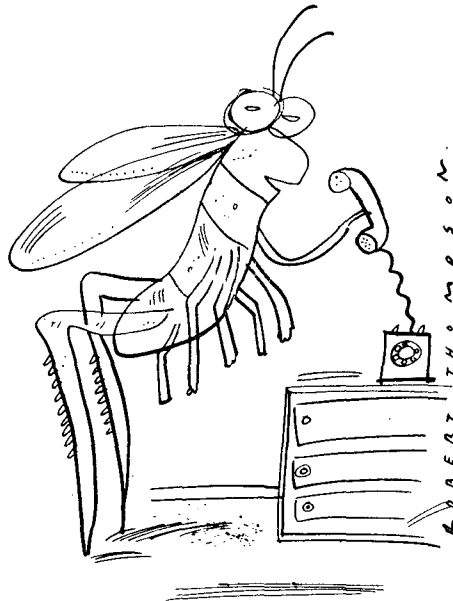
how often population growth has accompanied improvements to the environment, and how the one is indeed often dependent on the other.

For example:

In the Kano close-settled zone of northern Nigeria . . . studies show increasing population densities over the centuries going hand-in-hand with *increasing* tree densities, small livestock numbers and crop yields, without any discernible loss in soil fertility . . . Population pressure causing the deforestation of Kano proves to be just another discredited, dry-season, rural tourist myth . . .

A nationwide survey of smallholder farmers in Kenya shows that, as densities increase, the percentage of farmers planting trees goes up, livestock ownership rises, more milk is sold and more manure and other inputs are used; and these characteristics hold true under different agro-ecological conditions.

There is no reason to believe that population growth will make the environment worse, or that population shrinkage will make it better. We can have more people *and* less pollution, as long as we are prepared to pay, and as long as we continue to use the intelligence which God has given us to develop the new technologies which will continue to improve the quality of life on earth.



*'Hi, it's me. Listen. It's David's birthday, so a few million of us are going out for a meal. Are you interested?'*

THE SPECTATOR 15 May 1993

## Will Ireland Get Abortion?

*Desmond Rushe*

It will be an extraordinary and bitter irony should Ireland awaken one morning to find legislation permitting abortion on its statute book. It will also represent a negation of the democratic process which is enshrined in the country's Constitution.

But the possibility is there: a nation which on two occasions has voted by a three-to-one majority for a total ban on abortion may find legalised abortion a reality. It is an absurd prospect; yet a combination of judicial bungling, political cowardice, liberal agenda hype and media trendiness may make an absurdity a fact of life.

The developing scene is being watched with very great interest outside Ireland because Ireland is the only member of the European Community, and one of the few countries in the world which, in taking an uncompromising stand on the protection of the unborn, has not become a party to the most barbaric and evil of modern practises. Should Ireland fall into the abortion net, the international pro-abortion lobby will emit whoops of delight, for the last significant obstacle to the achievement of total pan-global victory will have been removed.

The Irish have been traditionally and solidly anti-abortion. An Act of 1861 outlawed all abortions and served its purpose adequately for considerably more than a century. But the British parliament legalised abortion in 1967 and the *Roe v. Wade* decision opened the door in the United States six years later. The miasma began to spread and thicken, and the international abortion bandwagon moved into a higher gear.

The descent into moral decadence became an increasingly obvious world phenomenon to which Ireland was by no means immune, and the most distinguished Irishman of his time on the global scene made it the recurring theme of his public utterances. Sean McBride, a highly respected statesman, an eminent international jurist and the only person in history to have been awarded both the Nobel and Lenin peace prizes, referred to the collapse of public and private

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**Desmond Rushe**, a Dublin journalist, was for many years a theater critic and columnist for *The Irish Independent*.

morality with dogged persistence, and pleaded with Ireland to swim against the suppurative tide.

Once the darling of self-professed liberal opinion moulders, Mr. McBride became an outdated Canute seeking to stem the flow of progress, and a tiny but vocal minority began to question traditional values. Egged on by abortionist pressure groups, the Irish stand came under attack: curbs on artificial contraception would have to go, divorce would have to be made available and abortion would have to be legalised.

In response, a pro-life movement was galvanised into action, and a campaign was instituted to have a referendum held on the abortion issue. The rationale was that the 1861 Act offered but fragile protection to the unborn because it could be altered by parliament. The Pro-Life Amendment Campaign sought to have a definitive ban on abortion inserted into the Constitution: that way, future change could be brought about only by the majority wish of the people expressed in a further referendum. And so, in a referendum held in 1983, the Irish people took an unequivocal pro-life stance by the massive majority of more than three to one. That, one would have thought, was that.

And it was—until January, 1992, when a 14-year-old Dublin schoolgirl alleged that her pregnancy was due to rape by the father of her best friend. Miss X, (as she was to become known throughout the world) and her parents decided on an abortion, which would be carried out in England, but instead of simply going to have the killing quietly done, the parents informed the police of their intentions.

The reported motive for this remarkable action was that part of the dead unborn baby might be retrieved for a DNA test which might help convict the reputed rapist. Having consulted the Attorney General, the police advised the parents that such evidence would be inadmissible in court, and the parents then told the police they would bring Miss X to England for an abortion next day. After they had departed, the Attorney General sought an *ex parte* injunction in the High Court restraining Miss X from having an abortion, and the girl and her parents meekly and obediently returned to Ireland without an abortion having been carried out.

Later the High Court ordered the defendants not to interfere with the right to life of the unborn baby, and denied them the right to travel outside the Irish jurisdiction. Incidentally, the right to travel outside Ireland for any purpose whatever had not been an issue in the 1983 referendum and, indeed, had never even been mentioned.

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By now the case of Miss X had become a black *cause célèbre* in the international media: it had all the ingredients beloved of tabloid journalism, and of so-called quality journalism which conceals a tabloid mentality beneath a broadsheet format. It had sex and rape, and a bewildered, innocent child as the victim of a heartless and repressive system. Its huge emotive potential was exploited to the maximum and media commentators shed floods of crocodile tears in their drooling about the plight of Miss X. Ireland was excoriated and represented as a compassionless relic of the Dark Age—a pariah among civilized nations. Political opportunists popped up in several countries and, in the time-honoured tradition of political opportunism, showed scant regard for truth as they garnered publicity.

In Sweden, liberal politicians urged that a coming state visit by their King Gustav and his Queen Silvia to Ireland should be cancelled lest their royal personages be sullied by Irish barbarism: this was one of many examples of hypocritical moral posturing at a level which, even for political buffoons, was impressive. Sweden, as I pointed out at the time, was a traditionally neutral country, like Ireland, but its neutrality in World War II was as accommodatingly flexible as to allow Nazi hordes to pass through it on their way to ravage Norway.

There was a black irony in the fact of Swedish politicians assuming high moral ground in relation to a case of extreme and extraordinary rarity in Ireland while Sweden itself pursued a pro-death policy not merely in relation to the unborn but also in regard to trafficking in weapons of death manufactured to slake Swedish commercial greed. After all, Sweden supplied both Iran and Iraq with the means of mutual slaughter during the eight-year civil war between the two countries, and continues to sell lethal weapons, secretly if possible, to whatever warring state, faction or tribe has the money to pay for them.

Swedish political hypocrisy was matched elsewhere, as in Holland, which is so enlightened and liberal that the elderly there may soon be in as much danger of being murdered through euthanasia as the unborn are through abortion. And Herr Gerhard Schmidt, leader of the German socialists in the European parliament, said: “We must redefine conditions for EC membership. I propose that only states which have experienced the Age of Enlightenment have the right to be members of the Community. I doubt whether, in fact, Ireland can stay in the Community.”

Clearly Herr Schmidt believes that Ireland missed out on the Age of Enlightenment, an 18th century French invention of extremely dubious benefit to the human race; equally clearly he believes that Germany really did experience the Age, though he did not elaborate on whether the experience resulted in the ascent to power of Kaiser Wilhelm and Adolf Hitler who, between them, engulfed humanity in two world wars during the first half of this century and who left such monuments to enlightenment, German style, as flying bombs, gas chambers, Belsen, Buchenwald, Auschwitz and Dachau. The Herr Schmidts of this world should not, of course, be taken seriously, but there is a big, gullible public out there still sufficiently naive as to be influenced by the most imbecilic words of the most scoundrel of politicians.

In the publicity circus which inexorably grew around the Miss X case all over the world, the truth inevitably became an early victim. Facts were fudged and distorted, and the Irish attitude towards the sacredness of human life, born and unborn, was perversely represented as something of unconscionable cruelty. Almost without exception, the Irish media, print and electronic, became part of the international clamour; they condemned restrictions on Miss X's right to travel abroad for an abortion and, in some cases, argued that she should have the right to kill her baby wherever she might choose, even in Ireland. It was against the background of this huge and painful welter of publicity that Miss X and her parents appealed the High Court decision to the Supreme Court.

When it came, the majority Supreme Court judgment caused consternation, dismay and anger in pro-life circles. The court reversed the High Court restriction on travel and, on the grounds that Miss X's right to life was threatened by suicide if the pregnancy continued, concluded that she was entitled to abort, in Ireland if need be. The suicide factor arose out of the evidence of a pro-abortion psychologist who was not subjected to cross-examination and whose views were subsequently repudiated by some of Ireland's most prominent medical and psychiatric experts.

The decision was hailed by the media with virtual unanimity as humane and compassionate: in truth it was bizarre and perverse. A major function of the Supreme Court is to protect the integrity of the Constitution but, in this case, it can be argued that the court accomplished the reverse. Article 6 (1) of the Constitution states:

All powers of government, legislative, executive and judicial, derive, under God, from the people, whose right it is to designate the rulers of the State

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and, in final appeal, to decide all questions of national policy, according to the requirements of the common good.

Surely an attitude on abortion is a question of national policy: if it is, the people exercised their power in the 1983 referendum when they conclusively imposed a total ban. By what strange process of legalistic reasoning could the Supreme Court usurp the right of the people, as incontrovertably proclaimed in the Constitution, by legalising an abortion in the case of Miss X and, by extension, for every woman who might claim to be suicidal because of her pregnancy? In any event, the court's judgment created a situation of utter confusion, a situation which the pro-abortion lobby was quick to exploit.

The dilemma posed by the ruling of the highest court in the land touched off renewed and intense controversy, with the pro-life movement, on the one hand, demanding another referendum which would allow the people to again exercise their wish for a total ban and, on the other, with pro-choice and pro-abortion (what's the difference?) groups calling for legislation which would accommodate the court's decision, and legalise abortion, albeit in limited circumstances.

In the event, the government decided to hold a three-part referendum which asked the electorate to vote (1) on allowing abortion information and non-directive counselling to be made available; (2) on allowing the right to travel and (3) on the substantive issue of whether abortion should be permitted on restricted medical grounds.

The wording of the substantive question did not find favour with pro-life interests because it did not give an unqualified right to the unborn, but neither did it find favour with some pro-abortion interests because it did not sufficiently protect the health of the mother and, as a result, it was paradoxically opposed by pro-life interests as a whole and by pro-abortion interests in part.

In the voting last November, the travel and information sections of the three-part referendum were carried, but on the substantive issue, 65.4% of the voters rejected the government's plan for restricted abortion. There has been more controversy as to whether the wording was rejected because it went too far or didn't go far enough, but it is significant that the majority vote was almost precisely what it was in the 1983 referendum. Despite the hype, the emotiveness of the Miss X case and concerted media support for the proposed limited abortion legalisation, it is clear that the people reiterated their 1983 desire for a total ban.

Twelve months later, the dilemma remains unresolved. Pressure for another referendum with clear-cut wording establishing a total ban continues; so does pressure calling for legislation which will accommodate the Supreme Court ruling. The dilemma seems destined to continue for at least another year: like many other countries, the Ireland of today is grievously lacking in decisive and dynamic political/moral leadership.

Meanwhile, the fashionable liberal agenda is being promoted with considerable avidity by the Fianna Fail-Labour coalition government. A referendum to remove the ban on divorce is promised for the middle of next year, homosexual acts have been decriminalised with the age of consent placed to 17 years, and a law has been passed permitting the widespread availability of condoms. A government advertising campaign places no emphasis on sexual abstinence and little on responsibility in its appeal to the youth: permissiveness is being promoted through the implicit message that all will be well, that there need be no fear of unwanted pregnancies, or of sexually transmitted diseases, or of contracting AIDS, if a condom is worn.

Aided by political and legislative institutions, the slide into moral degeneracy is gathering momentum, and for the pro-life movement, the signs are ominous. If the condom mentality and divorce come with parliamentary blessing, can abortion be far behind?

The Catholic Church in Ireland is uncompromisingly against the direct termination of unborn human life, and while individual bishops have been prominent in their public statements, there has been criticism of the hierarchy as a body. According to some leading pro-life campaigners, the hierarchy have become too timid, too afraid of adverse media and political reaction, less outspoken in the influence they may exert on their flocks.

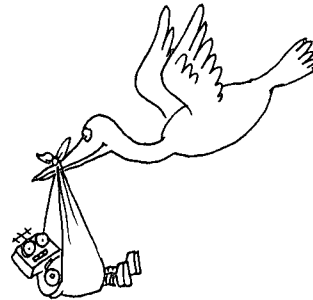
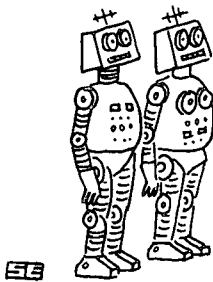
The Church of Ireland, on the other hand, has no fear of censure from the media, politicians or champions of liberalism: it is pro-life, but it is *also* pro-abortion—"for strict and undeniable medical necessity" as the Protestant Primate of Ireland, Archbishop Robin Eames, put it at a Synod when the Miss X case was hogging the headlines. The Church of Ireland is a great "*but*" church: it is against divorce, *but* it accepts divorce when marriage has irretrievably broken down. It is against abortion, *but* it accepts abortion in certain instances. In all matters of serious moral import it is on the side of the angels, *but* when it comes to the crunch it is on the side of liberalisation



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as well. It is adept at speaking out of both sides of its mouth at the same time, at having its cake and eating it, and is not unlike Mrs. Murphy's dog, that friendly creature which goes part of the road with every passerby.

The But Syndrome which characterises the Church of Ireland's stance on abortion is not uncommon: it is rife among political leaders, and the danger is that it could also become rife among the huge mass of the Irish people who have twice recorded their abhorrence of the taking of unborn human life in any circumstances whatever and who, in this area at any rate, and unlike the Church of Ireland, refuse to compromise. They must be allowed to express their refusal to compromise in another referendum.



# Telling It Straight

*William Murchison*

“**Q**ueer” means “odd.” Both words mean something different from, well, “different”—mostly a non-judgmental term. Whatever is “odd” or “queer” makes you scratch your head in puzzlement or dismay, as if to say, “However did this come about?” An example is the British term “Queer Street,” meaning “financial straits.”

“Queer,” as it happens, is also old-fashioned slang meaning a homosexual. The term, it goes without saying, is derogatory. When trying to spare the feelings of homosexuals—or signal outright sympathy with their cause—modern folk say “gay.” The successful expropriation of this everyday adjective constitutes the most remarkable act of verbal brigandage ever seen. I once sat on an editorial board that was interviewing a city council candidate. His name was Gray. In the conversation we learned his true surname—Gay. He had added the “r,” he said, in order to spare himself and his family potential embarrassment.

This essay is not an etymological inquiry. It concerns rather the ongoing, ever-more-successful quest on which homosexuals are launched—that of normalizing their identity, at least in terms of their relations with the “straight” majority. (The antonym of “straight” is “crooked,” but this seems not unduly to trouble “gays.”) The late 20th century is full of—may I?—oddities: moral, social, political, and so on. None is odder than the culture’s extraordinary patience with the efforts of homosexuals to de-queer themselves. Or, more accurately, to eat their cake and have it. When feeling mainstream, they would oblige us to treat them as such. When their hearts are young and gay, they demand the right to dress in drag, hold hands, smooch, and generally advertise their contempt for (or envy of?) that straight world in which they are conscious outsiders. Indeed, a subset of homosexuals revels in the name “queer.” Or seems to. Its members wear outlandish get-ups. One homosexual “action group” proudly bills itself as Queer Nation—a nose-thumbing gesture aimed at presumptuous straights who regard their way as the only way.

No doubt there are deep psychic reasons for this kind of equivocal

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approach to the self-definition of homosexuality, but these are best left for qualified specialists. The “gay” challenge to “straight” society is topic enough for now—a topic growing in dimension, and in danger.

The gay-rights movement’s overall aim is to acquire society’s consent to the proposition that homosexuality is as attractive and valid a “lifestyle” as heterosexuality. This consent, should it be gained, would represent the most revolutionary change in the history of Western morals: all our understandings on sex, and sexual relations, turned upside down.

Like the “abortion rights” movement, gay rights has adopted the language of civil rights. Its language is the language of law. Morality, to the gay rights movement, is a fringe issue. Moralists judge other people’s private behavior. The Constitution acknowledges no such right. The only applicable right in fact is the right to do whatever one wants without hurting someone else.

The strategy must be called inspired. An age besotted on equality can respond only with interest, and frequent sympathy, to the claims of another “disenfranchised” group: particularly one portraying itself as the target of hateful words and deeds. Gay rights activists like to compare themselves with the civil rights leaders whose action tactics helped pull down the beetling edifice of racial segregation in post-World War II America. When President Clinton put on the table his proposal to open military service fully to homosexuals and lesbians, backers of the proposal compared it to President Truman’s 1947 order that racially integrated the military.

Lawsuits, a favorite civil rights tactic, are popular with exponents of gay rights. A favorite target of these suits is state laws that ban and penalize sodomy. The U.S. Supreme Court set back this strategy by upholding, in *Hardwick v. Bowers*, Georgia’s right to pass and enforce a sodomy law. The court said there existed no “fundamental right to engage in homosexual sodomy.” However, there are always legislative ears to be whispered into, legislative arms to be twisted behind the owner’s back. The gay rights movement’s success in the legislative sphere has been impressive. Numerous cities have enacted ordinances that protect gay rights. The one passed in St. Louis, in late 1992, is stronger than many others but not atypical: It bars discrimination in housing, credit, employment, education, and public access on various grounds, the most conspicuous being “sexual orientation.” Violators are to pay fines of up to \$500 and go to

jail for as long as 90 days. At the time, about 130 cities had such laws. Another tactic is to campaign for laws and ordinances recognizing sexual partners, male or female, of government workers as full-fledged dependents, eligible for health insurance and other benefits—the same as wives and husbands. Austin, Texas, capital city of a generally conservative state, recently passed such an ordinance.

These and like efforts have provoked backlash. For instance, last August the commissioners of Cobb County, a prosperous middle-class enclave northeast of Atlanta, condemned by resolution the homosexual lifestyle as “incompatible with community standards.” Nor did that end the matter. The commissioners proceeded to eliminate county funding for the arts and their too-frequent, as the commissioners saw it, embrace of the “gay agenda.” In 1992, Colorado voters became briefly famous—infamous to gays—for approving a constitutional amendment outlawing preferential treatment of homosexuals by state or local government. This knocked out non-discrimination ordinances passed by towns like Aspen. (The provision has not yet been enforced, pending resolution of a court challenge filed by homosexual activists.)

More remarkable yet was Congress’ reluctance to overrule the Pentagon and concur in Clinton’s plan for full incorporation of homosexuals and lesbians into military service. Clinton, on whom the gay rights movement lavished votes and money in 1992, was trying—maladroitly as it turned out—to fulfil undertakings he had made to his gay supporters. To the credit of powerful Democrats like Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, the issue got promptly refocused. The good of the military, rather than the desires of the homosexual lobby, became the chief criterion for assessing the proposal: which brought about its swift evisceration.

Yet did the episode convince Clinton that America isn’t really ready for the gay rights agenda? Certainly his behavior respecting the Boy Scouts of America indicated otherwise. Last summer the Boy Scouts were holding their national jamboree at Fort A. P. Hill, an hour and a half from Washington, D.C. Thither the Scouts have come since time out of mind, to celebrate the Scout virtues that are so much a part of American folklore.

“On my honor I will do my best to do my duty to God and my country,” begins the Scout Oath. In the debauched ’90s it sends shivers down the spine. There is more: The Scout promises to keep himself “morally straight.” (That word again!) This means the Scouts respect what are known as traditional moral values, including the

ideal of heterosexual monogamy. Open homosexuals—one can't always tell of course about the secret or suppressed ones—are barred from serving as scoutmasters. This sturdy stance has landed the Scouts in some trouble, particularly in the San Francisco Bay area (are you surprised?), where some schools have ousted Scout troops and the local United Way cut off their funding.

Did Clinton therefore rush off to Fort Hill to pay the Scouts homage, as had predecessor presidents? He did not. He certainly had plenty of time. The jamboree lasted from August 4 to 10. He did designate Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt to represent him. However, Babbitt never showed. The *Wall Street Journal* referred to this “snub of the Scouts” as “one of those small acts of expediency that tell worlds about an administration.” And, in the present case, tell worlds about the power of gay rights.

After centuries of acquaintance with the moral law and its stipulations, Americans are instructed to forget it. There is a new plan, a new program; the old one is off. Naturally the intelligentsia chime in with messages of support. Episcopal Bishop John S. Spong of Newark, New Jersey, asserts in a recent book, “Living in Sin,” that homosexuality and heterosexuality are equivalent orientations, “neither good nor evil . . . Both aspects of sexuality will ultimately be seen as natural . . . Our pious conditional resolutions binding homosexuality to celibacy reveal nothing less than an irrational belief in a sadistic God, in the light of new knowledge.”

This “new knowledge” is widely advertised. Certainly Spong, in his regular attempts to set up shop as a New Age prophet, makes much of it. The idea is that homosexuality cannot be considered a conscious choice; it is, rather, an orientation, the product of internal forces such as give one man a taste for chicken fried steak, another a flair for five-card-draw, deuces-wild. We would not wish to punish or disadvantage a citizen for what he cannot help, would we?

How very 20th century! The whole spirit of the times pours scorn on the pitiful, old-fashioned idea of individual responsibility for personal actions. We are prisoners of our environments, the *Zeitgeist* whispers seductively in our ears. If we are fat, fearful, overfond of the bottle, unsuccessful in business, inclined to bicker with spouses, inattentive to children—why, let's not blame ourselves. Our genes are to blame; or our parents; or the callous indifference of society. Nobody here but us victims. Our national banner is the crying towel.

Gay rights leaders understand well enough the nature of the tactical advantage they are trying to seize. Whereas they formerly spoke of “sexual preference,” the term today is “sexual orientation”—an easier pill, they hope, for the general public to swallow than unnatural sex by personal and individual choice. Every new scientific study that might suggest as much is leaped on with enthusiasm. One study has pointed to a “gay gene” that *may* determine sexual orientation, according to the researcher, who is himself homosexual and therefore not quite above suspicion of cooking the results. More recently the National Cancer Institute has suggested “a genetic link to homosexuality.” Not one of these studies goes farther than the mere suggestion of such a link.

And where is that gay gene? It “has not yet been isolated,” the cancer institute researchers acknowledge. The retired Harvard biologist Ruth Hubbard, writing in the *New York Times*, notes the “near impossibility of establishing links between genes and behavior.” It is all speculation, guesswork, made riskier (if showier) by the political character of the guesswork. Gay rights, as we see, has turned gays into a constituency that cannot be omitted from any large political calculation, least of all in states where they are numerous, such as California and New York.

Beyond this, the gay-gene studies sound an odd note—a defensive, deterministic one. If homosexuality is after all so joyous and enriching a lifestyle, why the quest to prove it involuntary? Would it not make more sense to advertise it as an option that all might follow with profit? Yes, why not meet the “straight” society head-on: convince it that homosexuality is as noble, and as bracing, as vintage bordeaux? No doubt the failure to do so bears some relationship to the sparseness of the evidence that might support such a claim.

Yet the public pretense is that homosexuals are different only in bed. “We are your sons and brothers (or daughters and sisters)” is a slogan that, with local variations, appears on pro-gay-rights placards all around the country. The idea is that we know you, and you know us. This permits homosexual activists to agitate for more than tolerance: for a Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval, if one gets down to it. Mere tolerance can be withdrawn, nor does such a condition feed the self-esteem of the tolerated, who feel like fifth wheels. Homosexuals want legitimation. In fact, they want society’s patronage.

Gay groups clamor for educational materials that represent homosexuality with sympathy: as, for instance, the briefly-celebrated

children's book "Heather Has Two Mommies." Authorized for use in New York City schools, the book related that, although Heather's mommy had a lesbian lover, this really was nothing novel or alarming, and Heather should be glad for the extra attentions this state of affairs made possible. This attempt at gay legitimation did not end happily. The book, and the school superintendent's attempt to impose it on more old-fashioned families, cost the superintendent his job.

Gay journalists have been successful at persuading mainstream publications to hire them specifically as reporters and commentators on the lifestyle they practice. This is queer indeed. There are no reporters conveying news of the heterosexual community—unless you count all those hetero weddings that get written up every Sunday. In fact, the success of straights at monopolizing the marriage scene angers many gay activists; these clamor for the full legal recognition of gay "unions"—the operative term for now at least. Some liberal clergymen, engaging in theological improvisation, have extended them this very right.

For all these efforts, the singularity, shall we say, of the homosexual lifestyle continues to stand out. Recent surveys contradict gay rights claims that 10 percent of Americans are gay. The claim derives from Alfred Kinsey, founder of the celebrated sex-research institute bearing his name, who adduced the figures in 1948. (Kinsey's precise claim was that 10 percent of males over 16 practice homosexuality exclusively for periods of up to three years.) Kinsey was notably unselective in choosing his interview subjects. Around a fourth of the males he spoke with were prisoners, present or former; many subjects had attended his sex lectures—200 were male prostitutes—hardly a cross-section of 1940s America! Though the 10 percent figure has been a longtime staple of gay rights rhetoric, other studies fail to confirm it. In fact, studies in this country and elsewhere point to homosexual populations, temporary or exclusive, as small as 0.7 percent (France), 1.4 percent (Britain), and 1.2 percent (the United States).

Well, so what? Don't 1.2 percent of us have "rights"? Why not give homosexuals theirs? But they have them already, you see—the same rights as everyone else: free press, jury trial, religion, speech. Privileges, not rights, is what the gay rights movement seeks: the right of its members to be queer when they want, the right to be the same as everyone else when the fancy takes them. There are no historical precedents for such an extravagant claim, lodged in

behalf of a group linked only by sexual preference/orientation. However, the territory is not so uncharted as one might imagine. Civilization has in the past done some hard thinking about homosexuality—and continues to, prompted by just such claims as the above.

On the heterosexual relationship, as we know, the family is founded. No male-female sex, no families. The command to be fruitful and multiply is received on the Highest Authority, but even a determined secularist will acknowledge that, absent fruitfulness, the human species disappears. P. D. James' stunning new novel, "The Children of Men," addresses just this point, both chillingly and inspiringly.

The likelihood that the gay rights movement, however articulate and well-organized, can overthrow the heterosexual family must be counted marginal. That is not to say the movement, given present objectives, is incapable of inflicting harm on perceptions of family life, and on family structure.

The clamor for legitimation of homosexuality is deeply harmful to families. It confuses the purposes for which families are formed and may subject individual members to additional, and deeply personal, confusion. Few in the broader society care deeply whether homosexuals or lesbians pair off (in sad parody of the marriage relationship) and reside together. When they court visibility, and seek cultural and legal affirmation of their relationship, it becomes society's affair.

The family is more than a reproductive device; it is training ground: "the chief agency—and the best one—," writes Rita Kramer, "for developing character in the individual and for transmitting the values of the culture." What is the family to do, teach the equivalence of heterosexuality, on which the family is founded, and homosexuality, which denies the family's sexual basis? If heterosexuality is no more than a lifestyle option, there is no social need to prefer it. Parents, on this showing, should let children discover and pursue their "sexual orientation." Nor is there reason, in such a case, not to recognize legally any personal relationship the persons involved might choose to declare.

In recent years, homosexual and lesbian couples—though firmly committed to sterility for themselves—have sought the rewards of parenthood. They have adopted children or, in the case of ex-heterosexuals, have absorbed into their new relationships the children they already had. Washington, D.C., is currently *recruiting* homosexuals and lesbians as adoptive parents. Lately lesbians have begun impregnating themselves with sperm, acquired from sperm banks. Just when one



thinks the 20th century has no more *bizarrierie* to show us, one reads of something like this.

What will come of it all, no one of course can say with precision. The world has never known, at least on a broad scale, such a thing as homosexual “parenting.” At a minimum the values imparted to such children will not include the superiority of traditional family norms. Enormous confusion is sure to afflict these children as to who they are and what kind of sexual identity is theirs.

Then there is AIDS, which kills. Everyone who contracts AIDS dies of it. There are no exceptions. Despite enormous efforts to depict it in other lights, this great blight is much more often than not the consequence of homosexual activity.

The association of AIDS—Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome—with homosexuality is played down by gay rights spokesmen or sympathizers. The politically correct view is that anyone can contract AIDS. Heterosexuals are invited to consider the danger to themselves; if they do, maybe they will leave off “gay-bashing” and enlist in the war on AIDS. As gay rights apologists see it, writes Irving Kristol, “The well-established connection between homosexual promiscuity and AIDS must be ignored, lest a bias toward ‘traditional family values’ filter into public discourse,” embarrassing those who instruct us that these values are sadly out of date. It is far safer, and therefore highly popular, to argue that AIDS can strike anyone, and regardless of race, creed, color, or sexual orientation. Which it can—theoretically. In the real world—the one the theoreticians normally find so uncomfortable—homosexual and bisexual men are the main victims of AIDS. Seventy percent of American AIDS sufferers fall into these two categories. By far most women who are infected have contracted the disease from relations with bisexuals or intravenous drug users. Heterosexual intercourse with members of the opposite sex rarely causes AIDS, according to the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Rectal intercourse—unnatural and, as we see, dangerous—is the chief culprit. (The Typhoid Mary of AIDS, a homosexual Canadian airline steward named Gaetan Dugas, told doctors investigating the disease’s origins that over the previous decade he had averaged 250 sexual liaisons a year. “It’s my right to do what I want with my body,” he claimed—even unto infecting his lovers with the deadly disease he carried.)

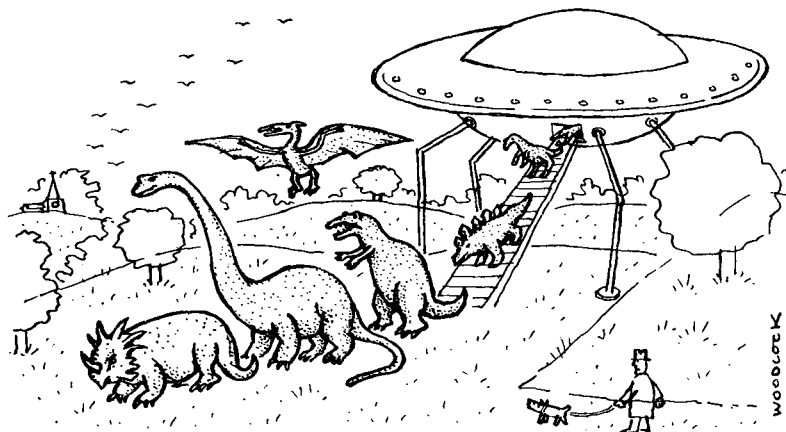
Homosexuality on a moral/social/cultural par with heterosexuality? If this is so, one is obliged to ask: How do we explain the AIDS epidemic?

WILLIAM MURCHISON

AIDS may be the deadliest fact about homosexuality, but it is one fact only. History has very little to say that is complimentary of the homosexual "lifestyle." Most of the time general condemnation has been its lot. Such was the case up until the late 1970s. The gay rights movement was born into a culture fed up in large part with norms and "hang-ups," ready to throw the whole business overboard and begin anew. The surly spirit of rebellion that the counterculture introduced in the mid-1960s accommodated and empowered the gay rights movement: indeed, made the movement a movement instead of a disorganized, discontented lunatic fringe.

Power is power, and votes are votes. But likewise facts are facts, and there is no altering those factual considerations acknowledged since that time, as old Blackstone put it, "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Sex—rightful sex—is the relationship between man and woman; a relationship anchored in infinitely more than theory and teaching. And, yes, in accordance with the Divine strategy. God: Remember Him? As Maker and Creator, He formerly bulked large in human affairs. His viewpoints were received as more than mere opinion. If He made man and woman for each other, then with each other they belonged, and not in the arms of—as the current phrase would have it—"same-sex" mates.

Bewitched, bothered, and bewildering times, these times of ours. Drinking in the public discourse, one finds it hard to tell up from down, east from west. But a vital distinction cries out to be underscored. The age, our age, may be odd. Queer it is not. Not yet at least.



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## Bringing It All Home

*Maria McFadden*

Long years of engagement in the anti-abortion movement can cause what might be called a “burn-out” syndrome: one gets tired of being “counter-cultural” and is tempted to wonder: Is this really so important? And: Are we really being fair to women? Certainly abortion isn’t the *only* issue, maybe we should lighten up. At least I’d like to come home after a day’s work and forget about the issue, and just live my own life.

I used to have these thoughts, but two things happened: my husband and I lost our first pregnancy, and I found out that our apartment is across the street from a well-known abortuary. You might say the issue has been brought home.

Being pregnant held some surprises for me. I have always, always wanted children, and I was thrilled to find myself pregnant. Still, as the days of morning sickness (throughout the day), fatigue, and hormonally-induced anxiety wore on, I had some ambiguous feelings. Am I really ready to be a mother? Am I ready for my life to change? Rather than spending every minute of the day in rapture about the thought of a baby, I sometimes felt depressed about having no energy, and feeling sick, and then guilty for not being constantly thrilled. And yet I knew I already loved and fervently wanted the baby . . .

As I struggled with these new and complicated feelings, I understood better, almost in spite of myself, the abortion controversy. If the pregnancy had been unwanted, if I were unwed, panicked and alone, then how would I feel? Very much like someone (for it was someone) was taking over my body, very vulnerable, my fear exacerbated by hormones, by the inability to make decisions.

I realized that part of the problem with abortion is that we are asking women in crisis, women who are in their least calm and reasonable state, to make a decision that will affect them the rest of their lives and will end another life. In the “old days,” the consensus that abortion was a grave moral wrong set up a sort of guard-rail for pregnant women who might be veering, out of despair, towards a dangerous edge. Today, with the idea pushed that a fetus is a human

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Maria McFadden, our managing editor (a.k.a. Mrs. Robert Maffucci), writes from experience.

life only if you want it, the guard-rail is gone, and women who are in a crisis are being taken advantage of, by men in their lives, by feminists who want to deny that childbearing is more than just a choice among many other choices, and by an abortion industry that makes millions of dollars a year from women "in trouble."

In David Reardon's valuable book, *Aborted Women: Silent No More*, one of the women he interviewed expressed similar thoughts. Ila Ryan had four illegal abortions in the 60's, and is now a member of Women Exploited by Abortion and a pro-life advocate. She finds that legality has done little to change the reality of abortion.

... then, as now, women are being coerced into an abortion during the first twelve weeks of pregnancy, when they are at their lowest ebb, emotionally and physically. What with nausea, vomiting, and the ambiguous feelings about the baby (which is a common symptom of pregnancy), abortion seems like a quick end to the early discomforts of pregnancy. I personally feel that women are being manipulated into hasty decisions to terminate their pregnancies for the profit of the abortionist. It is a decision she will regret for the rest of her life.

At the same time I was having these realizations that pregnancy can be difficult, I also experienced a profound sense of the miraculous. It seemed to me a wonderful miracle that I was pregnant. Even though I know how it happens, it seemed incredible that it had actually happened to me. It was like being in love: when it happens to you, you almost want to believe that you are the only person on earth experiencing the thrill and the joy. Walking along the street, I felt my body had been transformed, that I held and protected something precious; I concealed a happy secret from passers-by. Spiritually, there was the strong sense that my husband and I, after all, didn't really produce this baby, it was a gift from God. Freely given—to be freely taken away.

At 10 weeks, I had slight bleeding. My first reaction was to say, to God or to the child, that I was sorry I complained. Please be OK, I begged the baby, and I won't complain anymore. I really didn't mean anything by it, I love you. I went to the doctor for a sonogram, and no one was too concerned (slight bleeding is common); as a matter of fact the doctor had the nurse turn the screen toward me so I could see. I was excited at the prospect of hearing a heartbeat or seeing a recognizable form. But after some looking, the doctor fell silent and then went to look at my chart. I stopped looking at the screen (I hadn't been able to make anything out anyway).

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At that point I knew something was very wrong, and that it was probably too late. I tried to mean it when I prayed: it's Your baby, and Your will.

After another, more sophisticated ultrasound, I was told that what the doctor saw was a 5-6 week old egg-sack, not a 10 week fetus. My baby—I say that, but there wasn't even a fetus—had stopped growing weeks before, even though I still had all my pregnancy symptoms.

I went home that day, alone for the first time in weeks. I realized I had been patting my tummy and talking to someone who hadn't been there. For a week I stayed home (to see if I would lose the pregnancy naturally), mourning, angry. It felt like a break-up—I thought I had someone I loved and knew, but the relationship was over, and there was nothing I could do about it. A week later, I had a D&C in the hospital; two days later, I got back to work, newly unpregnant.

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I think that only women who have had a pregnancy loss can fully understand the experience, and it was in talking to them that I gained the most comfort in the first few days and weeks after my and my husband's loss. Miscarriages (in my case it was a "spontaneous abortion"—so ironic for me to see those words) are so common that most women who have children will experience at least one. And yet it isn't easy to know where to turn to get help in dealing with pregnancy loss. When my mother was having children, miscarriages just happened: you didn't really talk about them, and you weren't expected to grieve, at least not openly. As a matter of fact, my parents lost three pregnancies in a row, but I never have really considered them deceased siblings. My mother says that you weren't encouraged to think so personally about each new life, and they certainly didn't have the modern windows to fetal life we have now, so intrauterine life was more abstract. The attitude then was: it's a shame, but you have or you will have others, so don't make a big deal out of it, get over it. Some people today still say things like that to grieving parents.

But we in the pro-life movement ought to know that each pregnancy is unique and irreplaceable. That is one thing I now know on a level deeper than words. You cannot replace a pregnancy with the next one. I don't know if it is because we know so much more about

MARIA MCFADDEN

fetal development now, or if it is that women wait longer to have children, have fewer, and often have trouble with fertility, but women who have pregnancy loss today do grieve. And parents and families who suffer a pregnancy loss mourn the child who didn't make it. For those who work in Pro-life, and I am sure for those who work in the medical profession, there is the added irony that we try to save children we don't know, but we often can't save our own.

I was fortunate to have excellent and compassionate medical care, and a lot of sympathy from friends and relatives. I also had many prayers—but for a while, I couldn't pray. I was angry at God. Why did He give just to take away? He hurt not just me, but my husband and both of our families; especially in my family, I thought the good news of a baby would do much to balance the painful reality of my father's illness. And, as all women who lose pregnancies do, I thought about what I might have done wrong. Was it the trip I took, the worrying I did?

All these feelings are normal to women who suffer pregnancy loss, and knowing that helped me separate thoughts and truths from feelings. As most doctors will tell you, spontaneous abortions usually occur because there is an abnormality in the embryo (chromosomal or genetic) or in the process of implantation. These early miscarriages aren't really "miscarriages," in which a woman has a problem carrying the baby to term. Women will naturally have some feelings of guilt but in most cases there is nothing they could have done differently, the fetus just wasn't meant to be. That doesn't always help at first (Why couldn't my pregnancy be "meant to be"?), but it does end up preventing useless self-recrimination. Spontaneous abortions are also quite common: 10-20 percent of pregnancies are lost, and about 80 percent of those occur in the first twelve weeks of pregnancy. Many women I know have lost their first pregnancy this way. Knowing the statistics doesn't erase the pain, but it does help balance feelings of unfairness.

As for God, I soon realized that I had so much to thank Him for, and after all, He has His reasons for everything. Perhaps He wanted my husband and me to have some time alone together, and I had to trust that He knew what He was doing with the pregnancy. From my research of post-abortion syndrome, I knew of the "At Peace with Your Unborn" service, in which you pick a sex for and name the child you lost, and imagine him or her safe and happy in God's arms. My husband and I thought we were having a girl,

and we thought of naming her Clare. And since I do believe that a soul is created at conception, I like to think of Clare as God's little angel, and our family's angel in heaven. Theologically incorrect, I guess, because angels aren't human, but it brings comfort.

Still, this has been a very difficult time. For days after the miscarriage, I worried that something would happen to my husband, even if he was just around the corner. I was afraid of losing him, too. I had a hard time seeing newborns on the street or in the mall. I worry about not having a successful pregnancy in the future. I feel sometimes, irrationally, that I failed as a mother, and that I disappointed those I love the most.

I had frequent nightmares in the weeks following my miscarriage. In some, I, or my husband, or other family members or friends were insane, or deathly ill. I had dreams about a baby girl, but usually I wasn't holding her, or I didn't hold her on her first day of life. In one I remember vividly, I had a baby, but it was lost. After a day of frantic searching and hysterical pleading with everyone to help me, a group of neighborhood kids showed up, pulling a little red wagon with my happy two-year old. So it was OK, it was all a misunderstanding, they were just taking my child for a walk. But when I gathered up the child, and started walking toward my husband, the baby started shrinking. I looked down and I had a newborn and I suddenly realized that she would die if I didn't feed her, but I hadn't been taught to breast-feed at the hospital. Suddenly I was in a room with two cousins who each had a newborn, and they told me to go ahead and feed the baby, it was no big deal. I felt inadequate. That's when I woke up.

At least in most of my dreams, I had a happy healthy baby. It's just that she was always being held by other people. I suppose my subconscious doesn't think I hurt a baby, but does wonder if I am able to be a mother.

To help myself, I started looking for literature on miscarriages. It's hard to find. Of the plethora of self-help books in one bookstore, I didn't see any on pregnancy loss. Women's health books had small sections, which did say the "right things"—let yourself grieve, it *is* a big deal, all your feelings are normal, etc., but I wanted more. I have literature in my office on post-abortion syndrome, which mentions miscarriages, but focuses mainly on abortion. I was thankful I didn't have the added guilt of an abortion, but I couldn't help

thinking in a new way about the abortion experience. What made it so different from what I was going through? Abortion is, after all, a pregnancy loss. There are no books in the secular bookstores on post-abortion syndrome, because it's not supposed to exist. But if I felt sadness, guilt, fear, worry and anger and I had no choice in the matter, do women who make the choice, and come home not pregnant for the first time, feel nothing? That I cannot believe.

I went to the largest bookstore I knew of and finally found two books on pregnancy loss: *When Pregnancy Fails*, by Susan Borg and Judith Lasker, and *A Silent Sorrow*, by Ingrid Kohn and Perry-Lynn Moffitt. Both books deal with the losses of miscarriages, ectopic pregnancy, stillbirth, sudden infant death syndrome, and abortions done for reasons of (suspected or confirmed) fetal deformity or disease. Abortions done for other reasons aren't discussed: they are not considered pregnancy losses, but reproductive choices.

*When Pregnancy Fails* was written in 1981, and re-released in 1988. Both woman authors had lost children: Lasker delivered a stillborn baby girl, and Borg's infant son lived only a few days. Accounts of these types of losses are staggering—I cannot pretend to know what it is like to carry a child for nine months, to really know and feel the child, and then have the baby die. Yet the authors' experience of trauma led them to write a book that encompasses many types of pregnancy loss, not at all dismissing an early loss as inconsequential in comparison to their tragedies. The sections on miscarriages are comforting, compassionate and informative. It was a relief to read of women having the same feelings I had, and to find the experience of miscarriage appreciated:

Even in an early miscarriage there is a strong element of surprise. The pain of contractions and the amount of bleeding are much greater than most women expect, especially since the pregnancy is barely obvious. Although they have not felt the baby move and might not see a formed fetus, the experience is still very frightening. The feelings afterward—the guilt, the anger, and the depression—resemble those of parents whose babies die at a later time in pregnancy . . . Although miscarriage is the most common type of failed pregnancy, the grief associated with it is probably the least understood.

*A Silent Sorrow* is a more recent study of pregnancy loss, published in 1992. Both of its authors suffered miscarriages. The book covers many situations: early and late miscarriages, high-risk pregnancy losses, stillborn and newborn deaths, pregnancy loss and infertility, and "Prenatal Diagnosis and Abortion: The Burden of Choice." There



are also good chapters on subjects such as the father's grief and ability or inability to express it, the grief of grandparents, the importance of a ritual to say good-bye and the role of religion, including sample rituals for lost babies from the Jewish and Christian traditions. Mentioned in both books is the support group, SHARE, Pregnancy and Infant Loss Support Inc., which is based in St. Charles, Missouri, and has chapters nationwide. It seems that most women find out about SHARE if they ask for support groups at the hospital.

*A Silent Sorrow* is an excellent resource, and its extensive bibliography is evidence that there has been a considerable amount written about pregnancy loss. But you have to look for it. Unlike AIDS or breast cancer, pregnancy loss trauma is not likely to be, I think, a hot topic in the politically-correct media, because it is uncomfortably close to the abortion issue.

Abortions for reasons of fetal disease or deformity are discussed in this literature because the child was, initially, wanted, and the parents suffer the loss of their wanted child. The authors all express sympathy with the pro-choice point of view (or they are afraid not to: books with a pro-life message are seldom if ever accepted by mainstream publishers). Abortions done because a child is not wanted are not included. However, the authors of *A Silent Sorrow* write in the preface that they "considered using terms such as 'fetus' and 'embryo' when discussing abnormal pregnancies and abortions, realizing this language was more in keeping with the pro-choice stance" but:

In the end, we continued to refer to the "Unborn baby." We felt compelled to acknowledge this common grief: No matter what the cause of their loss, bereaved parents mourn for someone who was dear to them, someone who was supposed to be their "baby."

At the same time these books acknowledge the grief felt when a baby is lost, they buy into the current notion that a "baby" is a baby before birth only if the mother wants it; an abortion of an unwanted child brings no grief. And yet in my grief it seemed natural to sympathize with women who have abortions. Maybe I shouldn't. Maybe some women have abortions because they are pregnant with a boy and they wanted a girl, or they want to look good in a bathing suit in the coming summer, and they never look back. I don't understand women like that, though they probably exist. But there are many women who want the baby in some ways and not in others, women who are pressured by many factors into a decision they are not at

all sure of, women who are tortured over their abortion decision, and tortured afterwards.

Occasionally, some women as these do write their stories, all the while insisting they are pro-choice. Dr. Amy Thalia Miller (a pseudonym) wrote a heart-wrenching column in the Sunday San Francisco *Chronicle*, September 9, titled "Choice and Loss." Ms. Miller is a professional woman, a doctor, in her early forties, who found herself pregnant at the end of a relationship. She wrote the father with the news, and tried to call: but he ignored or hung up on her calls, and went on his vacation. Amy spent the first months of pregnancy "floating in ambivalence," with "lists and decision trees, determined to make the 'right' choice." She didn't think she could afford to be a single mother, she didn't know if it would be fair to the child not to have a father, and she didn't think she could go through the experience of having the baby alone. At twelve weeks, she says she was growing attached to the child, when in burst the formerly non-communicative father, with "tears and apologies."

... he promised I could count on him. However, he was coming up for partner at the firm and this was not the right time for a baby. Maybe next year. He pitched an elaborate "termination package," complete with financial incentives, couples counseling and a back-up sperm donation if all else failed. However, if I kept the baby, Nick would "run me to the ground" to avoid paying child support, and he would refuse to be a dad.

Amy had an abortion at fourteen weeks. "I never really decided; I caved in. Nick showed up and drove me to the clinic. I rolled over onto the table, and in a five-minute procedure, I gave up my first child."

Amy goes on to write a classic description of post-abortion syndrome: her heart "quickenings with regret" when she sees toddlers, she is compelled to ask people on the street the ages of their children, she imagines her son as he would be now and in the future. After the abortion, of course, Nick took off, his promises were empty. As Amy struggles to recover, she realizes that "there is a point when giving up a baby is violent to a woman," and though she insists she is "emphatically pro-choice" (I wonder, really, how emphatic), she asks: "In our fervor to protect a woman's right to choose, are we promoting the idea that abortion is 'no big deal'?"

I think that is exactly the idea the pro-abortion lobby wants to promote and why not? The less of a "big deal" it is perceived to be, the more abortions will take place. More women will exercise

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their “reproductive rights,” safeguarding them for those who wish to be free of the consequences of sex, and clinics, doctors, and pharmaceutical companies will make more money.

Even the medical fact of my own D&C was a “big deal” to me—I hadn’t been in the hospital since I was four years old, and the thought of general anesthesia was frightening. When I returned from the hospital recovery room, one of the first things I said to my husband was that I was sure women who have D&C’s in abortion clinics don’t get the care and careful monitoring I received. Curious about this, I looked in the Manhattan Yellow Pages under abortions and birth control. Clinics proliferate in the neighborhood in which I work. One particular placed offered abortions with “caring service,” “Low Fee/Back to work in 1/2 hour”! And they offered “general anesthesia—no pain.” I have to admit here that I lied: I called pretending I was pregnant. The woman who took the call only wanted to know how far along I was, and then said “That’ll be \$300, honey, for anesthesia, antibiotics and everything.” I asked how long general anesthesia would take—“Half an hour, honey.” No big deal—except that women who have this kind of shoddy care may end up sterile or dead.

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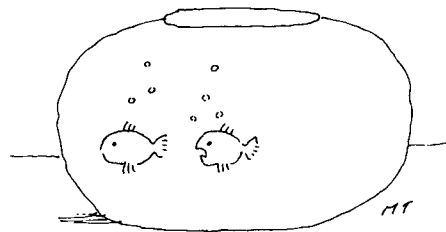
My husband and I are recently married, and we moved into a good building we love. The only thing I didn’t like about the location is that the building directly across the street is a business building, it’s dark and cold-looking at night. There are also garbage trucks making pickups in the middle of the night, and as we are only on the second floor, this wakes us up. We had been wondering what was in that building, because we see young people congregating on the steps, and we often see people in white coats, so we thought maybe it was a drug rehabilitation clinic.

About two weeks after my D&C, we learned that the fourth floor of the building—we can see the windows—is none other than the Margaret Sanger Center of Planned Parenthood. Abortions are done there up to 16 weeks. Women are in there having “procedures” similar to mine, but they are losing a baby that might have made it. When I come home from work now, rather than leaving the “issue” at the office, I look up at the lit windows, across from Epiphany Catholic Church, and I wonder about the women in there—and I think of Clare.

MARIA MCFADDEN

Amy Miller and I have something in common—we lost our first pregnancy. We grieve and we worry about the future. She writes: “So focused was I on exercising my rights, I never considered the possibility that I would experience this abortion so profoundly as a death, one all the more painful for my complicity . . . I am still ravaged by ‘fright nights,’ when my head hits the pillow and I lie awake in terror that I will never have another child. Not that any child will ever replace this child, my first, the one I lost.”

When I think now about being fair to women, my mind reels at the injustice of describing abortion as an empowering choice. Women don’t gain power by stepping on the dead bodies of their children. We know better. And until more women admit this, there will be little comfort for the millions of women who suffer the silent sorrow of pregnancy loss.



*'Is there somebody else?'*

THE SPECTATOR 2 October 1993.

# Funding Abortion the United Way

*Paul V. Mankowski*

**T**he deliberate destruction of the life of an innocent human being is always and everywhere wicked. I will take this principle (in shorthand: murder is wicked) as the linchpin of everything that follows. I believe that there are conclusive reasons for acknowledging this principle to be an exceptionless moral norm, but I will not attempt to sketch them here. I am simply nailing my colors to the mast, convinced that those are unlikely to profit from this particular exercise who deny that killing the innocent is wrong.

By “exceptionless moral norm” I mean this: a rule of human conduct that excludes a class of action in such a way that, as soon as we can identify a given act as belonging to that class, we understand that the choice to perform it is morally forbidden, regardless of the attendant circumstances. For example, if we acknowledge that the rule forbidding treachery is an exceptionless moral norm, once we admit that a certain action (conniving to steal military secrets in order to sell them to a hostile power, say) falls under the category of treachery, no circumstances or complicating factors can make this choice a moral one. As the Oxford philosopher John Finnis reminds us, there are many moral norms that are true, but not “absolute” in this sense:

“Feed your children,” for example. This moral norm is true, forceful, but not absolute. When the only food available is the body of your neighbor’s living child, one (morally) cannot apply that norm in one’s action; nor does one violate it by not applying it.

The norm forbidding killing the innocent is, however, absolute precisely in the sense that it is exceptionless.

I am myself a convinced Roman Catholic, and I believe that the universe of moral reason is only brought to fullness and clarity by faith. Yet the remarks that follow presume no faith, no Catholic or Christian conviction. I am making a minimalist argument directed to persons of any religion or no religion at all who are willing to admit the truth of the claim that killing the innocent is wrong.

So much for the major premise. The minor premise is simply that abortion is an occasion of the destruction of innocent human life.

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The objections to this claim are not formidable. No one has been able to argue convincingly that a fetus is not innocent in the relevant sense, or that it is not human, or that it is not alive, or that the procedure in question does not end this life. Most of the objectors have had to abandon the language of philosophy and resort to the language of law, and have been pushed into the position of maintaining that one and the same entity, the child, has a full franchisement of human rights on one side of the uterine wall, but not even the most fundamental human right on the other.

The feebleness of this position is so glaring that most abortion proponents have shifted their rhetorical spotlight from the object of the moral act to the independence and freedom of the moral agent. They insist, through a kind of numbing repetition, on a generalized Right to Choose, leaving the thought unfinished, sensing quite rightly that the Right to Choose the moral object in dispute—the death of the innocent—is indefensible.

So I maintain: the deliberate destruction of innocent human life is wicked. Abortion is deliberate destruction of innocent human life. Therefore, abortion is wicked. If the major premise holds exceptionlessly, and if the minor premise is true, then the conclusion must hold exceptionlessly as well. But the question before us today is: who counts as a moral agent in the act of abortion? Who shares the responsibility for its wickedness? And the answer is the same as for any other action: those who knowingly and freely conduct themselves so as to make this action possible, those who participate, who take part, who collaborate, in the action.

You notice that I did not say: those who *desire* a given action to take place are morally responsible for it. Desire that an action occur does not implicate one in its occurrence unless one chooses to do something that will help it occur. By the same token, if a man desires that a certain action not occur, but freely and knowingly acts in such a way that it will, he does share moral responsibility for the action. An officer in the Nazi SS may have been “personally opposed” to the Holocaust, he may have desired that the destruction of innocent Jews not happen; but if he served in the machinery of destruction, knowing the purpose to which the machinery was put, he was complicit in the act, he was morally responsible.

Sentimentally perhaps it makes a difference whether the SS officer operated a gas chamber at Auschwitz or simply rubber-stamped papers in a well-lit office in Berlin to the sound of Mozart coming over

the radio; morally it makes no difference whatsoever. The pertinent categories for moral responsibility are knowledge and freedom: Do I know what's going on? Am I free to oppose wrongdoing?

Who then shares moral responsibility for abortion? Those who freely and knowingly act in a way that will make it possible. Even if a person desires that abortions not occur, should he deliberately provide a condition for abortions to happen, he shares responsibility for them. Providing funds for abortion providers to operate abortion services or to counsel abortion is obviously supplying a condition for abortions to happen, because abortions and abortion counseling cost money. Those who freely and knowingly fund abortion providers must accept moral responsibility for the death of the innocent.

At this point the objection will be raised to my treatment: What you say may be true as far as it goes, but this is not a fair description of funding that derives from global, umbrella charitable organizations. You have wrongly described the act of the financial contributor. If I donate some money to an organization in order that it will do good things with my contribution, and I make my wishes plain about which things I consider good, and the good things the charity funds far outnumber the bad, how can I be responsible for the bad actions I reject? Now this is a serious objection that an intelligent person can make with good will, but it involves the rejection of a principle that is absolutely central, crucial, to a system of universal reasoned morality.

The traditional axiom that expresses this principle runs in Latin: *malum ex quocumque defectu*, which means “wrong comes from any defect whatever.” That is, when we are contemplating the action of some agent, we are obliged to judge it wrong as soon as we identify a morally significant defect in the agent's motivation—either in his means or his ends—and here the term “defect” means an intention to act contrary to a relevant and forceful moral norm. No amount of good motivations and good intentions can outweigh a single significant flaw in the contemplated action.

Think of it this way. Suppose we're dealing with a notorious wife-beater who lives next door. One day he approaches us to ask for \$20 with which to buy a baseball bat. Suspicious, we ask him whether he intends to harm his wife with the bat. He admits that he intends to kill her with it, but goes on to say that he intends to use it for many other purposes as well, purposes we admit to be innocent and even wholesome, such as hitting fungoes to kids during Little

League practice: moreover, he insists, the amount of time and the number of occasions he will spend working with youth will *far* outweigh the time and exertion spent engaged in actions we object to, so we have no moral ground for withholding the \$20. Now obviously this is moral nonsense, and it is no good making a little speech to ourselves (“I am giving this money for Little League”) that absolves us of complicity in wickedness. If we freely and knowingly engage in an act that makes evil possible, there is no aggregate of attendant good effects that removes or diminishes our complicity and our blame.

By the same token, if we contribute money to keep open an abortion clinic, even if that clinic performs services that are morally neutral or good (such as pregnancy testing or pap smears) in addition to abortions, we cannot segregate good from bad by inspecting our own desires and concluding that, after all, we did not *wish* those abortions to occur that we helped make possible.

Now suppose, after we've refused to buy a bat for our wife-beating neighbor, he comes to us again and says, “Alright, I agree that there are differences of moral opinion about wife-battering and I won't ask you to buy me a bat. Could you please give me \$20 to pay my heating-oil bill?” Obviously there is nothing immoral about heating a house, and contributing financially to heating expense might seem innocent enough. But when we quiz our neighbor on his intent to bat his wife to death he admits his plan is still on. “But you needn't worry about your own involvement,” he assures us, “I promise the bat won't be paid for out of my utilities account but out of my recreation budget. In fact, you can bring in any auditor you want to prove to your own satisfaction that your \$20 won't go toward the bat.”

Do we accept this dodge? Of course not. Provided the murderer perseveres in his stated intention to kill, and needs money to accomplish his end, ANY expense we relieve him of (that he'd have to pay anyway) makes us complicit in the contemplated murder. It is folly to pretend that strictly audited accounting procedures have any moral bearing whatsoever in this case. As long as a murderer has any discretion over his income, and has any income besides what we give him, any donation we directly or indirectly provide to him helps to make his murders possible. All villains, after all, have innocent expenses as well as nefarious ones.

I hope the application to charitable funding of abortion providers is clear enough. Morally it makes no difference whether an agency



relieves an abortionist of his light bill or his secretarial expense or the cost of the apple juice for the post-surgical blood sugar boost. If you pay for his Kleenex you're paying for death. To claim otherwise is a scam and a scandal. Nor is it reasonable to think that channeling monies from charitable agencies solely into referral or counseling or family-planning offices makes the slightest difference from pumping them directly into dilation and curettage. This is important: we do *not* have to assume there will be any fiddling of accounts; the financial procedures may be flawlessly and scrupulously observed. But if there are any sources of funding shared between the soft end and the sharp end of a reproductive health service, and any discretion in the use of income, avoidance of moral culpability for funding is a fiction.

**B**ut wait a minute: Is it not the case that we have a moral duty to act charitably, to provide for the poor and the weak according to our means? And isn't it the case that financial donation to agencies engaged in serving the poor and unfortunate is an exercise of this charity, a way of discharging this duty? The answer to both questions is yes. Does it follow, however, that our duty to charity permits us to discharge our responsibilities by directing our alms through funding agencies that disburse monies to organizations engaged in systematic homicide? By no means. It is good to remember here that while a negative moral norm (like, "You shall not kill the innocent") holds *semper et ad semper*, always and on every occasion, positive moral norms (e.g., "Provide for the poor") hold *semper sed non ad semper*; they are always in force but require further moral judgment as to the times, places, and circumstances of their application.

In particular, a positive moral norm can never be honored in such a way that an exceptionless negative moral norm is violated. You cannot observe the positive moral norm that says Feed Your Children by slaying your neighbors and violating the negative norm forbidding homicide of the innocent. By the same token, you cannot morally provide for the poor and disabled in a way that involves, directly or indirectly, the taking of unborn life through abortion.

The waters are muddied here by the erroneous assumption, sometimes abetted by the propaganda of the charitable organizations themselves, that the poor and vulnerable will suffer if donations are re-routed because of moral objections to the executive policy of the charity. There are two responses to be made here. On the one hand, it should be pointed out that this consideration cuts two ways, that it ought

to make directors of the charity loath to fund a morally defective or questionable agency out of *their* putative concern for the greater good. On the other hand it must be said that, as an inducement for potential donors to pony up their contributions in defiance of their own ethical objections, this consideration would be plausible if and only if there were no way of directing alms to the needy except through the umbrella organization in question—and of course this simply isn't the case.

Everyone has the freedom to discharge his obligations to charity by “rifle-shot” donation, that is, by targeting a specific agency with a wholesome, beneficent, morally praiseworthy purpose and giving money and other kinds of assistance directly to that agency. In addition, rifle-shot donation has the twin effect of making the recipient agency more responsive to the moral and social concerns of the donor than is possible through donation by means of pooled funds, while it heightens the interest and knowledge of the donor in the social goods served by his targeted agency. And of course, nothing whatsoever prevents a moral dissenter from a pooled-fund program from giving as much or more than his customary money to meals-on-wheels, or to programs for the retarded, or to a cancer-research hospital.

To accuse those who choose alternate funding routes for their alms of neglecting the needy, when the choice for the alternate route is motivated by ethical repugnance to institutionalized homicide, is stark moral nonsense.

Is it really so difficult? If any other instance of institutionalized homicide were involved—if the controversy concerned social agencies that aspired to execute runaway children, or eliminate the homeless by putting them through gas chambers, or reduce non-European races by paramilitary death squads—would we even hesitate in our deliberation? Would we let ourselves even for a moment be inclined toward a donor-designation program that funded these procedures but allowed us to earmark our own contributions for non-homicidal purposes? Wouldn't the smallest taint, the remotest hint of association with such enterprises utterly damn any organization that solicited our donations, regardless of the nobility of the causes for which they promised to apply them? Would we accept anything less than full repudiation and compensation before we even consented to listen to such an appeal?

It wasn't that long ago that the heaviest moral pressure was brought to bear on public institutions such as universities to divest themselves

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of stocks they held in companies that did business in South Africa, because of South Africa's policy of racial apartheid, even though appeals were made by many opposed to apartheid that divestiture would cause great economic distress to precisely those people the moral activists were trying to help. The standard response was that no price can be put on moral integrity. If this reasoning applies to the injustice of apartheid, surely it must apply *a fortiori* to abortion?

Is there not a fundamental inconsistency at the bottom of this controversy? On one hand we have appeals made to our humanity, our sense of compassion for the handicapped and our protectiveness toward the weak; on the other monies are asked for the elimination of human problems through the elimination of problem humans. On the one hand, our hearts are warmed by pictures and stories of those who have struggled against adversity in heroic ways to better not only their lives but ours; on the other we are asked to help ensure that some never even have the chance to struggle. Charitable solicitations bring us face to face with people who are less than perfect physically, mentally, and emotionally, and who challenge us to expand our notion of community and our own generosity; our vision of humanity is thereby enlarged.

On the other hand we are offered a picture of what Planned Parenthood foundress Margaret Sanger called "a race of thoroughbreds": that is, life, happiness and prosperity for the fit, an early surgical death for those who aren't; our vision of humanity is narrowed, brutally. If someone were to try to make us believe that we can't say yes to one picture without saying yes to another, would we really want to listen to him at all? Would we trust him with the things and persons we loved? Would we *pay* him to fix our broken world for us?

Donations to charity are not compulsory. They are free acts, deliberate choices, for which we must accept full moral responsibility—because, after all, we become the people we are, for better or for worse, through our morally significant free choices. When we freely choose to fund abortionists, we have freely joined ourselves to their inequity. It's unsettling, but true: morally speaking, you become what you pay for.

# The Politics of the Church

Paul T. Stallsworth

**T**here is politics, and then there is politics. There is, to be sure, a politics of society. In the United States, the politics of society is partisan through and through. It is Democrat, Republican, and/or, on occasion, Independent or Liberal. It involves campaigning and electing, compromising and legislating, talk shows and newspaper editorials, rights and more rights. In this kind of politics, there is seldom something new under the sun.

But there are other kinds of politics. Consider, in the pages that follow, the politics of the church. *Simply stated, the politics of the church is the church's distinctive common life.* Distinctive because the church's life sharply contrasts, or should sharply contrast, with the ways and means of the prevailing culture. Common because the church's life is, or should be, communal.

Clarity is required here: the politics of the church is not just about denominational politics. That is, it is not solely about striving for, obtaining, and maintaining power—or passing certain legislative programs or policies—in the organizational structures of a particular denomination. The politics of the church is theologically more demanding, on a continuing basis, than the political struggles that occur within denominational bureaucracies and/or structures. Admittedly, denominational politics is a slice of the politics of the church; but it is a very small slice.

The church's politics begin in Trinitarian affirmation: God the Father gathers the church; God the Son rules over and in the church, as the Head rules the Body; and God the Holy Spirit sustains the church. Based on these truthful realities, the politics of the church involves the church being a "Christian colony," as Stanley Hauerwas and William H. Willimon have contended in *Resident Aliens* (Abingdon, 1989). If the church is to be a Christian colony with integrity, the church must have her own communal language, communal mind, and communal practices. Because of and only because of the communal language, mind and practices, the colonial politics of the church can resist the dangers and temptations presented by the imperial

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politics of society. Because of the grace of God, the politics of the church, which has to do with love and truth, can hold off the politics of society, which has to do with the extension of power and compromise.

It could be said that the ecumenical Consultation on the Church and Abortion—which took place on February 28 and 29, 1992, at Princeton Theological Seminary and which was initiated by Presbyterians Pro-Life—was basically about the politics of the church. (The Consultation was also about the politics of the church at war with the politics of society, as Dr. Paul R. Hinlicky, formerly of *Lutheran Forum* and now on the Evangelical Faculty of Comenius University in Slovakia, argued in his keynote address on the “War of Worlds,” which appears in *Pro Ecclesia* [Spring 1993], pp. 187-207.) More specifically, the evangelical Protestant, oldline Protestant, Orthodox, and Roman Catholic consultants uncovered what the church, and the politics of the church, should look like when the church is hosted and confronted by a society that has legalized and legitimized abortion. To get at what the church, and the politics of the church, should be, the Consultation discussed in detail the “marks of the church.” In Protestant terms, the marks of the church are Word, Sacrament, and order (or discipline). What follows are the findings of the two-day Consultation: that is, what the church—faithful in Word, Sacrament, and discipline—should look like in the midst of an aborting society.

This Consultation was an exploration into seldom explored territory. After all, as Dr. Mark Ross of First Presbyterian Church, Columbia, South Carolina, asserted, American “churches are today without a doctrine of the church.” A sign of this problem—churches lacking ecclesiology (that is, a doctrine of the church)—is the abortion debate that usually takes place in the churches. This debate routinely employs the same vocabulary and the same arguments that the general society’s abortion debate employs. One might suspect that this is an important indicator that the churches neglect their own politics. What the Consultation attempted to do was to use the problem of abortion as an occasion to take the church and the politics of the church seriously. Therefore, the issue, for the Consultation, was not how to weigh the rights of the unborn child over against the rights of the mother. The issue, for the Consultation, was how the church—constituted by Word, Sacrament, and discipline—witnesses, out of her own grace-full resources, to an aborting society.

**The Politics of the Word**

The Word is the first major mark of, and the first political reality in, the church. This fact admits that the church is not a self-gathered community; nor is the church simply another voluntary association among many others. Rather, the church is a community gathered together and held together by God and by God's Word. A church in an aborting culture would begin well by remembering that truth, as well as the specifics that follow.

*The Word Creates the Church:* the church knows that the Word of God is more than just words from the Bible. Also the church knows that the Word is more than preaching. First of all, according to the church's faith, "the Word is a person," said Reverend Alexander F. C. Webster, of the Greek Orthodox community, "and this person of the Son of God is unique. He is the source of our common life, as Christians, of our truth, and of our morality." Furthermore, according to Dr. John Richard DeWitt, of Second Presbyterian Church of Memphis, the church faithful to the Word adheres "to the full authority of the Word of God, which includes the Trinitarian teaching regarding Jesus Christ, who is the only Savior of sinners and the only Lord of the universe, of His church, and of our lives." Therefore, the church faithful knows that she lives because of, and only because of, the Word of God who is Jesus Christ. Therefore, the church faithful need not wonder about or go shopping for her reason for being. Her reason for being is a given: to be a community of the Word, even when the world despises the living Word, not to mention a well-reasoned word.

The church, assembled and sustained by the Word, preaches and teaches the Gospel in an unapologetic way. Indeed, the church, said Professor Robert W. Jenson of St. Olaf College, is "marked by the living Word of the Gospel." The church which is well-girded to face the threat posed by abortion has a clarity of doctrine that continues the witness of the Apostles. Such a church has a particular—and by modernity's standards, a peculiar—vocabulary. Such a church is not timid about speaking of: God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—and evil; grace and sin; deliverance and lostness; heaven and hell.

General doctrinal clarity, a foundation for the church's politics, is at odds with today's world. Today, society at large (as well as sectors of the churches) is quite happy to maintain an anything-goes style of pluralism—in all philosophical and practical realms.

Philosophically, American pluralism has recently degenerated into “a nihilism, in which two incompatible moral claims are held to be true,” Jenson contended. An illustration: public-opinion polls in the United States repeatedly show that many Americans believe that abortion is the taking of life; at the same time, many of the same Americans believe that the freedom to choose abortion ought to be legally protected. Furthermore, Jenson noted that many in the society reject even the possibility of a difference between right and wrong. This condition, Jenson maintained, can slide into “fascism, which is the reduction of all human relations to [partisan] politics, and the reduction of politics to power. Fascism is the political condition in which it is affirmed that the rules by which we, as society, live together have no basis in real distinctions between right and wrong. Hence, we ourselves have to make them up. So we are free to make up our own rules that suit our own will to power. Such polities, as it turns out, usually require having somebody to kill.” Given this description, it is no wonder that Jenson described American society as “post-Christian” or “ex-Christian.”

For the sake of the world—which, in today’s America, includes a pluralism seemingly gone mad, apparent nihilism, and potential fascism, all of which are shaped and spread by the wasteland of popular culture—Jesus Christ, the Word, established His own polis, the church, to witness to the world. Dr. Richard D. Land, of the Southern Baptist Convention’s Christian Life Commission, declared: “Jesus, in *Matthew* 5, looked at a lost, decaying, dying world that was groping in the darkness. Then He turned to His disciples, to the redeemed, and said, ‘You are the salt of the earth, and you are the light of the world.’” The Christian polity, therefore, offers both preservative and light-provoking benefits to the larger society. In both cases, doctrinal surefootedness and confidence, grounded in the Word of God, are required for the church to be politically strong enough to face up to a culture which permits abortion for rather casual reasons. Such doctrinal clarity is not easily achieved, especially in churches where theological seriousness is taken to be impolite or beside the point. Still, it is politically necessary if a church, in the modern world, is to be part of the church faithful.

#### The Word through the tradition

A faithful church in the modern world knows that, through the ages, the church’s teaching on abortion has had an undeniable trajectory.

Though the New Testament is silent on abortion (which does not, in any way, suggest that therefore abortion should simply be considered a matter to be decided by “individual conscience”), the early church and her fathers spoke decisively and definitively about the perceived evil of abortion. Reverend Webster explained: “The Orthodox witness on the issue of abortion is so clear, consistent, thorough, unanimous, and durable that there really is not a contemporary debate within Orthodoxy on this issue. The Orthodox witness on this issue is overwhelmingly uniform. There is not a single church father, excepting Saint Augustine, who wrote anything that is extant that reflects anything but what we call today a pro-life position. In fact, this position became increasingly clear and precise as the centuries wore on.” One characteristic of the politics of the church, therefore, is the ability to read the Bible through the tradition of the early church.

Another characteristic of the church under the Word is the basic knowledge of the church’s tradition on the moral issue in question. As it penetrates the church, this knowledge leads to the formation of the “mind of the church,” says Webster. Resisting the formation of that mind, or to maintain silence on abortion, a church thereby becomes “non-church,” to use Jenson’s term.

Presently among oldline Protestant denominations in America, there is not a “mind of the church” on abortion. Indeed, regarding abortion, there is much division and strife. Furthermore, there are, and have been of late, sectors of the churches that have been “guilty of wicked collaboration” (Dr. DeWitt) with those who have advocated abortion rights. Consider, for example, the United Methodist Church renting space to the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR) in its Methodist Building in Washington, D.C. The politics of the church, renewed under the Word of God, therefore, could not help but elicit denominational confession of sins and urge denominational withdrawal from abortion advocacy.

#### **The Word against autonomy**

A culture which permits, or encourages, abortion nearly on demand is a culture which grants the individual nearly unlimited autonomy. That is, an aborting culture elevates the individual to a self-governing status in the sense that she/he can make all of her/his “choices” in public and private life, according to her/his self-chosen criteria for making those choices. In short, an aborting culture makes the self sovereign. It sees the self as an “abstract, free-floating, disembodied,



decision-making, autonomous individual,” Dr. Hinlicky noted.

When the germ of autonomous individualism invades and infects the Christian community, there are devastating ecclesial consequences. On the one hand, says Mrs. Frederica Mathewes-Green, who is with Americans United for Life and Feminists for Life, autonomous individualism can turn the church into a “granny church that goes on giving out sweet advice that is not in touch with reality.” In this situation, the church can act and speak idealistically. Indeed, the church can even be pro-life, in the abstract. But the church’s idealistic position does not make a real difference, because what really matters, when autonomous individualism has found its way into the community, are the real choices of real individuals made apart from communal-Christian commitment. On the other hand, suggested Webster, autonomous individualism can turn the church into a feel-good institution. Autonomous individualism can lead church members, who are hard-driving types out in the work place, to think that their personal peace of mind on Sunday morning is the reason for the church’s being. Hence, they want feel-good theology during worship services; they do not want to be bothered with prophetic challenges about abortion or anything else. Both the granny church and the feel-good church have a politics untouched by the Word. Hence, they are non-church.

Ironically and sadly, autonomous individualism, which wrecks the political life of the church, might have been historically carried by American Protestant theology and Arminian revivalism, according to Professor Jenson. Said he: “The model—nobody is going to stand between me and my God—is precisely the religious version of the Enlightenment model of individualism.” If that actually happened (and it is highly debatable, in Dr. Land’s opinion), American Protestantism itself helped to dissolve the political-communal lives of the churches.

Over against autonomous individualism—and the gutted, non-political, non-church it produces—stands the Word. The church which faithfully preaches, teaches, and demonstrates the Word calls the sovereign self, and the philosophy of the sovereign self, into question. (And yes, the church, not just the pastor, preaches, teaches, and demonstrates the Word.) Dr. Hinlicky argued that “good preaching destroys the fictional world of autonomy, and it reconnects people with God and with the people of God. In other words, biblical narrative gets hold of a person, deconstructs his notion of autonomy, and then reconstructs him by connecting him to God and the church.

In this way, people begin to see themselves not as autonomous individuals but as creatures of God destined for redemption.” As autonomous individualism eliminates the politics of the church, the Word, by undermining individualism, makes such a politics possible.

#### **The Word on Creation**

The church faithful boldly confesses that the Word of God has to do with creation, including marriage, sexuality, and children. For starters, because of the Word, the church is hospitable to children. The church’s willingness to welcome new children as God’s gifts stands in sharp contrast to contraceptive mentality that stops at nothing to resist children. On this point, Reverend Benjamin E. Sheldon of Bethany-Collegiate Presbyterian Church in Halvertown, Pennsylvania, said: “The issue here is the sovereignty and faithfulness of God, and the trustfulness of us, as His creatures. Contraception can represent a lack of trust in the sovereignty of God. Underneath the contraceptive mentality is the question, Can we trust God, who is sovereignly in control? After all, is there a single human being in this world who has not been created by God? Are there any accidental people out there? A man once said, ‘I was conceived in the back seat of a car near the Boston harbor, before my father shipped out for war in 1942. Pregnant, my mother went back to her parents. But he never came home.’ I do not think that man was accidental.”

The conferees around the table agreed that a faithful church’s word on contraception is not required to conform to Roman Catholic teaching on the subject. However, the Catholic position, it was also agreed, deserves a serious hearing. It was also consensually agreed that the politics of the church, under the Word, should advance an openness to children more than a desire for contraception.

#### **The Word to the world**

The Word is spoken by God to the world. However faintly, the church hears God’s Word to the world. It is that Word which gives shape and substance to the politics of the church. The church is never content to fixate on her own internal life, for the church also has a mission to the larger society. A part of that mission, with regard to abortion, is engaging the larger society in moral discourse. As the Word gives the church the ability to exercise moral discourse in her internal life, the Word also gives the church the ability and the duty to enter the public realm for purposes of discussing, invitingly

and persuasively, the issues of the day in terms of right and wrong.

Prof. Jenson believes that American society is now trying to silence competent moral discourse. Therefore the church should stand as a living and sure guarantee that the Word and its resultant moral discourse will not be silenced. That is, in a culture heavily concerned with rights, the church should be persistent in raising the issue of what is right, especially when it comes to abortion. Here the politics of the church has immediate consequences for the politics of society.

The politics of the church includes the duty to love and the capacity to suffer. Formed by the Word, the church is enabled to speak the truth in love. Even when the subject at hand is abortion and the hard truths about abortion, the church is both commanded and enabled to speak out of love. When addressing abortion, the church which demonizes pro-choice advocates or lapses over into self-righteousness falls into non-church. A faithful church stands on alert against permitting unloving motivations or self-righteous attitudes to guide its ministry in the area of abortion.

These are times, as are all times, when the world will make the church suffer because of her witness, including her witness on abortion. Since powerful sectors of American society—for example, the prestige media, the popular culture, and the universities—favor the freedom to abort, the church that is faithful to the Word on abortion will be forced to pay a substantial price for her position. When the church suffers because of her faithfulness, when the church stands with a woman in a difficult pregnancy, the church's life conforms to the life of Jesus Christ, the Word of God, who suffered. Also when the church suffers, she displays that the greatest good in human life is not the avoidance of suffering, as some who advocate abortion seem to suggest; instead, the greatest good is the endurance of suffering for the cause of Christ.

The above, then, describes the politics of the church that are derived from the Word who gathers the church. It is clear that the church's politics, on the matter of abortion, demands much more than mentioning in a sermon, once in a blue moon, that abortion is wrong. The greater challenge is to envision the problem of abortion in the light of the Gospel. Said Jenson, in summary: "Instead of always concentrating on the evil that is abortion, we might preach the Gospel. We might preach a Kingdom in which children, even aborted ones, will be accepted gloriously."

### The Politics of the Sacraments

The second general mark of the church is the Sacraments. Through the ages the Sacraments of the church catholic—assumed by the Princeton conferees to be baptism and eucharist, to simplify ecumenical problems—have fundamentally shaped and directed the life and mission of the church. By duly administering the Sacraments, the church has been, is, and will be fundamentally determined and formed by sacramental grace. Again, duly administering the Sacraments, the church always becomes an identifiable political community. When a sacramentally faithful church is located in an abortion-on-demand culture whose politics makes the self sovereign, that church's political character sharply contrasts with the surrounding culture.

*The Sacraments against Autonomy:* the political character of the sacraments is indicated by the Latin word *sacramentum*, which originally meant an oath, particularly a soldier's oath of allegiance. In the vocabulary of the early church, *sacramentum* was used to emphasize God's oath of allegiance to His world and to His people. Therefore, the church, celebrating the Sacraments, recalls anew God's mysterious oath of allegiance, which is seen most clearly in Jesus Christ; at the same time, while celebrating the Sacraments, the church offers anew her oath of allegiance to this God, and no other. Therefore, the Church's sacramental events, which both celebrate God's allegiance declared to the world in Jesus Christ and the Christian community's consequent allegiance to God, are political events. The Sacraments help to make the Christian community a political community, which is to say a real community.

Baptism and eucharist are politicizing realities. That is, they create the political community which is commonly called church. In the power of the Holy Spirit, they create a community that is bonded together, especially under duress. They create a community that is cleansed together, that is nourished together, that is strengthened together. Of course the Sacraments are remembered and employed for the benefit of those who have broken ranks with the church. But first of all, they function constructively, by creating a real, political community around and in the Gospel. It is this kind of community, and only this kind of community, that can withstand the assault against God and humanity that is abortion.

The politics of the sacramental church is not first of all interested in the question, Who gets into heaven? Prof. Jenson said that the

sacramental church “gets away from concentrating on this individualistic anthropology of salvation.” Indeed, when the church understands herself to be a sacrament, Jenson argued, “the church negates the myth of the autonomous individual. After all, the Sacraments, in mysterious ways, get hold of people who, as supposedly autonomous individuals do not understand or affirm what they are doing.” That is, the Sacraments convert people out of themselves and their egoism, and to God and the church. Thereby, the Sacraments strengthen the politics of the church to witness faithfully to a disordered, aborting culture.

**The Sacraments, humility, and hope**

The Sacraments shape the faithful church, wherever located, to be a community of humility and hope. That is, a seriously sacramental church is a humble and a hopeful church. Otherwise stated, the sacramental church has a politics of humility and hope.

“At the Lord’s Table,” said Professor Mark Talbot of Calvin College, “we are reminded that we, but for the grace of God, are not above doing the worst things which human beings are capable of doing.” Indeed, “we remember that there, but by the grace of God, go we.” In an antinomian situation, where sexual practice and abortion have been separated from communal morals and made “private issues,” the humility cultivated by the Sacraments helps to save the church from self-righteousness. Acknowledging the arrogant excesses of the abolitionist movement in America, the church formed by the Sacraments, when addressing abortion, seeks to be righteous, opposing unrighteousness, without becoming self-righteous. Furthermore, humility might well lead the church toward greater empathy with those who have sinned sexually or through abortion.

Hope is also a characteristic of the politics of the sacramental church. Said Talbot: “As we partake of the bread and the wine, we are reminded of Someone whose body was broken and whose blood was shed for us. What looked as if it was the worst possible tragedy, did not turn out to be that at all.” Talbot carried on: “Talking about what happens to Christ on the Cross, Augustine wrote something like this: ‘Though You [Jesus] are poured out, You are not dissipated and scattered; instead, You gather us to You.’ The picture is of a cup turning over and the liquid dropping out of it. As the liquid hits the ground, it scatters the way Christ’s blood was scattered. When the disciples saw that at the cross, they at first considered it to be the worst possible thing. But God reversed what was happening.

So everything was drawn back up to Christ rather than dissipated.” Through tragedies less significant than the tragedy of the cross—including those associated with abortion—God draws us to Himself. Therefore, the church, the community which is baptismally bathed and eucharistically fed, can offer hope, even in seemingly hopeless situations, for redemption and for new life. Practicing its politics, the church humbly hopes and offers hope.

#### **The Sacraments and pastoral care**

Humble and hopeful, the church’s pastoral care is determined by the Sacraments. For beginners, most of the church understands the unborn child who has been aborted to be a recipient of God’s eternal grace. In the midst of sin and sadness, the church publishes the hope that that child, “because of God and God’s promises,” as Dr. Land says, is destined for eternal life with the Company of the Redeemed. Therefore, along a similar line, a service for the miscarried might be instituted and practiced in churches.

When some would contend that not all the aborted unborn are heaven bound, an Episcopal priest, representing sacramental Christianity, reacted strongly against such speculations. “At the end of the day,” he said, “the church is going to gain more from thinking about [abortion and the destiny of the aborted] in terms of incarnation and resurrection. Those terms are accessible to Christian people. What captures me is that Jesus has lived out His life on earth, in every nook and cranny of human existence, and His resurrection draws everything to Him.” Those are doctrines, which are recalled and reenacted in baptism and eucharist, that lead the local congregation to think clearly about abortion.

The Sacraments enhance the pastoral care of the church in a second way. Since the Sacraments, as “outward and visible” signs, are materially a part of creation and history, they assist the pastor and the flock in naming evils perpetrated against creation and in history. Hinlicky explained: “A complacent, privatized Christianity, that exists for the sole purpose of personal consolation, can obscure the evil of abortion. But in my understanding of Christian salvation, the church speaks of the resurrection of the body, which involves the redemption of historical life. Therefore, abortion is radically evil because it denies the historical life of one who is to be redeemed.” The materials of the Sacraments—the water, the bread, and the wine—keep the church anchored in creation and history, and aware of God’s redeeming work in creation and history, and aware of those evils which violate

creation and history.

Third, pastoral care is also strengthened by sacramental presentations of the realities of sin and forgiveness. Both baptism and eucharist demonstrate that humanity—all men and all women, all boys and all girls—has declared war against God. They go on to display the bloodied love of God, and invite repentance and confession. Indeed, as Dr. Ross noted, “the Westminster Confession says that we must repent of particular sins, particularly.” Included, of course, are those sins associated with abortion.

*The Sacraments and Abortion:* looking beyond the scope of pastoral care, and underlining the importance of the church’s Sacraments to the church’s politics, Professor Jenson said: “The Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox bodies—with all of their flaws, shortcomings, and delinquencies—define the life of their churches, quite unambiguously, sacramentally. Also, it is these two churches, as churches, that have an unambiguous witness on the matter of abortion. That is just a fact. None of the rest of the church, as churches, has such a clear witness. This connection, between Sacrament and witness, is not accidental, and the rest of the churches should meditate on that.” Sacramental churches, it seems, are the churches better equipped because of their sturdier politics. For all churches, this is the reason for sacramental renewal.

#### The politics of order and discipline

The third mark of the church, along with Word and Sacrament, is the mark of church order (or discipline). Church discipline is clearly a part of the political reality that is called church. Indeed, the church with a healthy politics is a church with an unambiguously defined discipline.

The goal of church discipline is different from, and more than, a let’s-get-the-bad-guy inquisition. The ultimate purpose of disciplining the church is maintaining a resounding respect for the reputation of God in Christ. After all, “with the church, the reputation of God in Christ is at stake. If the church does not stand up to the character of God, then God’s reputation is tarnished by the church’s failure,” said Reverend Timothy Bayly, a Presbyterian Church in America pastor. Dr. DeWitt added that “church discipline is not, first of all, surgical and punitive. Instead, *disciplining* the congregation has to do with *discipling* the congregation. It has to do with fleshing out what is preached and taught. It is largely positive. Only secondarily

is it remedial, medicinal, and, in a churchly sense, punitive.” Likewise, Frederica Mathewes-Green specified that the two penultimate purposes of church discipline are, first “to save the soul that has fallen into error,” and second, to protect the church, as a community, from debilitating influences.

Unfortunately, in many contemporary churches, discipline is nonexistent. Today’s churches find it difficult, if not impossible, to practice their politics: even the mildest forms of church discipline, addressing the vilest manifestations of sin, have fallen into disuse. The church, seldom disciplined on anything, becomes non-church.

There are several reasons for today’s church being unmarked by the politics of discipline. First, as Reverend Gary LeTourneau, a Presbyterian Church (USA) pastor, noted, the churches have substituted a “theology of unconditional niceness” for a “theology of Christian love.” Consequently, on abortion and other moral matters, the Christian community has become too nice to offer either substantive guidance or redemptive correction. The theology of niceness permits emotions to overrule all ecclesial, doctrinal, and moral considerations. Second, the philosophy of autonomous individualism—which, to one degree or another, can be found in most churches—powerfully resists an authoritative community. Autonomous individualism wants no church politics: it encourages individuals, following their own lights, to make their own choices about all aspects of life. A third reason for the lack of discipline in the church is the self-understanding of the church. All too often, the church understands itself to be just another business, which exists because it successfully markets itself by persuading individuals to contract for its services. The first victim of this contractual notion of the church, which arises rather naturally in a culture of democratic capitalism, is the truth that declares the church is the Body of Christ. The second victim is a church politics that would require church discipline. A fourth reason for the church without discipline is that the threat of hell no longer makes a difference in the church or in society. James Nuechterlein, the moderator of the conference and the editor of *First Things*, mentioned that Martin Marty has written and spoken of the “cultural unavailability of hell.” Today, given the powers of pluralism in all spheres of modern life, one might also speak about the cultural unavailability of judgment of any kind. To these reasons, others could surely be added.

Obviously, the church that would be disciplined is the church that is required to swim, with all of her might, against the cultural stream.



**The discipline of compassionate truth-telling**

Regarding all matters, the disciplined church's first duty is to tell the truth in love. To be sure, Christians, without exception, are called to the duty to love one another. However, the love to which Christians are called is not a feel-good love. Christian love is based on Christian truth and advances Christian morals.

On abortion, the disciplined church unapologetically preaches, teaches, and counsels out of the church's Great Tradition. As the church through the ages contended that abortion is sin and demonstrated that her common life should be ordered to resist this sin, the disciplined church of today does likewise. This mandates that the church be upfront in her claim that the unrighteous, including those who have participated in abortion and remained unrepentant, will not enter the Kingdom of God. It also mandates that the disciplined church, following the model presented in *Matthew 18*, lovingly seeks after her own, who, through abortion or any other grave sin, have fallen from grace.

The woman who has sought and received an abortion is not the only one who falls under the church's discipline. However, she is one. Unintimidated by the various forms of ideological feminism, the disciplined church must take her and her sin seriously. Said Frederica Mathewes-Green: "The woman who has had an abortion, no matter how extreme the reasons, is as guilty as the man, who, under a similarly difficult situation, kills one of his own children. The bottom line is that God entrusted her with a new life. For whatever reasons, she chose to abandon that trust and abandon that child." To refuse to take this woman and her sin this seriously, added Mathewes-Green, is to insult her, to treat her like a "minor child," and to discount the importance of her salvation.

**The discipline of the powerful**

The pastor, of course, is central in maintaining a church with discipline. "The pastor, under the authority of Christ," said Mathewes-Green, "is the leader of the flock, not a distributor of warm fuzzies who repairs everybody's self-esteem when it is damaged." Preaching, teaching, and counseling compassionately and frequently on abortion, the pastor acts as the church's shepherd. On the denominational level, the same faithful pastor might have to work to disentangle his/her denomination from pro-choice political advocacy (e.g., from membership in the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights). But again, the end of discipline is always restoration, not simply punishment.

Church discipline, regarding abortion, does not fixate only on the most vulnerable—the woman who is tempted to abort or who has aborted. The church's disciplinary politics on abortion extends also to those who are often left out of the proverbial picture of an abortion. They are often left out of the abortion picture because they are more difficult to discipline, and they are more difficult to discipline because they are powerful. But the church with integrity disciplines without discrimination—despite the economic, social, and political standing of the disciplined. For example, there was Ambrose of Milan who, in 390 A.D., excommunicated the emperor, Theodosius the Great. Webster wondered aloud if there was a contemporary Ambrose in American Orthodoxy who would stand up to a Paul Tsongas or a Paul Sarbanes regarding their stated positions on abortion.

The sad fact is that oftentimes churches lay down their duty to discipline, and thus their political integrity, in front of idols of power. Dr. Land pointed out a few instances from recent American Christianity: “Can you imagine what would have happened if the Southern Baptist Convention would have removed fellowship from Jimmy Carter for his pathetically inadequate position on abortion? Can you imagine what would have happened in the 1950s if the governor of Mississippi had been disciplined by his local Southern Baptist church because of his odious views of African-Americans? Or if the Methodists in Alabama had similarly treated Gov. George Wallace when he stood in the schoolhouse door? Or if Cardinal John O'Connor excommunicated Governor Mario Cuomo? Then the fat would be in the fire.” (Answering the last question in the series, Nuechterlein offered a humorous understatement: “There would be disapproving editorials in the *New York Times*.”)

Before worrying about her pro-choice politicians, the faithful church attempts to discipline, in whatever ways, her own who are closer to home and who contradict church teaching—for example, doctors who perform elective abortions, and pastors and seminary professors who push a pro-choice line. Forever seeking the restoration of fellowship, the disciplined church will strive to be both merciful and truthful. Furthermore, such a church emphasizes that discipline is not so much the church “kicking out” a member as it is the church recognizing that a member whose practice contradicts church teaching thereby excludes himself from the fellowship of the church.

**The discipline of morals**

In the area of abortion, much of the church's discipline is persistent, persuasive, and clear preaching and teaching on the church's sexual morals. The church's sexual morals include, but are hardly limited to, recognition of God's good gift of sexuality to women and men, and respect for abstinence in singleness and faithfulness in marriage.

The church does not tire of offering forgiveness through Christ to those who break ranks with the church's prescribed politics of sexuality; at the same time, the standard of the church, or the mind of the church, or the law of the church, on sexual morals, is never in doubt. The point is that the disciplined church, formed by the Word of God, has a communal sexual ethic; that is, she is not willing to turn sexual life over to personal choice and individual conscience. In an aborting society, such a church will be forced to stand up against the sexual disorder of the culture.

The church focuses special attention on the moral education of her young. Of course this involves much more than one lesson taught to a youth group, once every four years, on marriage and family. Acknowledging that society miseducates in the area of sexuality—and that miseducation ranges from the distribution of hardcore pornography to standard sit-com television to MTV to many sex-education programs in government schools (which, ironically and sadly, tend to foster sexual promiscuity), the church educates her own, in her own way, about sexual morals. The church is also intentional about equipping parents to teach their children and youth about Christian sexual morals. Abstinence training is a key part of the disciplined church's teaching ministry.

*The Discipline of Merciful Works:* the church that has a communal politics is anxious to engage in works of mercy in behalf of those tempted by abortion. This church knows that most women in "crisis pregnancies" do not want to pursue abortion. (According to a Nurturing Network survey, 91 out of 100 aborted women wanted options to abortion that were not forthcoming). Therefore, this church provides women with alternatives, real alternatives, to abortion.

The Sheltering Church Movement, which was described by Mr. Steve Wissler, one of the founders of the Taskforce of United Methodists on Abortion and Sexuality, calls on churches to provide alternatives to abortion-tempted women. A sheltering church offers hospitality—including counseling, food, low-cost or no-cost housing, medical

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assistance, child care, and, most of all, love and hope—to the vulnerable woman with child. Such a church also provides workers for other organizations, including crisis pregnancy centers, in the community that offer shelter to the pregnant woman who is vulnerable.

The church that shelters, Mathewes-Green emphasized, is not just another social-welfare agency. Nor does a sheltering church attempt to become a kind of “artificial husband” by standing in for the man who has vanished from the scene. This church will indeed offer ministry to the neighbor, but a part of that ministry is the gift of accountability. Said Mathewes-Green: on the one hand, offering ministry without requiring accountability, the church slides into a welfare mode; and on the other hand, requiring accountability without offering ministry, the church winds up in a punitive mode. The church that shelters women and their children gives the gifts of ministry and accountability to those who need both.

Another work of mercy by the disciplined church and her members is, once again, truth-telling. Said Mrs. Carol Risser, of Loving and Caring Inc. in Lancaster, Pennsylvania: “A friend told me that the last thing she needed to hear, in the aftermath of her abortion, was, ‘By getting an abortion, you did the best thing, under the circumstances.’ Her words were, ‘What I needed was to hear the truth about abortion, so that I could face what I had done.’ ” Truth-telling is also accomplished by a church burying an unnamed victim of abortion who is found in a paper bag at the end of a farm lane. Truth-telling is also achieved by a church showing a film series like “Whatever happened to the Human Race?” (by Francis A. Schaeffer).

Yet another of the disciplined church’s works of mercy is to be pro-child in orientation. That is, the disciplined church is forever providing real ministry, as opposed to sentimentalized programs, to children. A church reaches out to all of the children in its neighborhood. This church, according to Mrs. Ellen Kogstad Thompson of New Moms Inc. of Chicago, knows that “there are no illegitimate children. There may be illegitimate acts on the part of parents, but the children should not thereby suffer.” This church opens its doors and its arms to all children.

The church shaped by the politics of Christian discipline is also interested in the economics of the workplace. For example, such a church will encourage employers to strive to provide benefits, such as health insurance, that would improve the well-being of the children of their part-time and full-time employees. This work of

mercy, last of all, leads the church to the halls of state legislatures and beyond. The societal-political goal, which is easier stated than accomplished, is policies that constructively support women who have been abandoned and their children.

Let the church be the church

The word of God spoken, the Sacraments practiced, and the order maintained, as noted above, create a specific political community with a specific politics. That community is called the church. Living over against the disorder of the world, for the sake of the world, the church is distinctive. Living over against the disorder of an aborting culture, for the sake of that culture, a church with a clearly defined politics—based on Word, Sacrament, and order—carries a certain common life into the future. Above, an attempt has been made to describe characteristics of that common life.

The church's main calling from God, the church's primary duty to God, is to be the church. In addition, as Reverend Richard John Neuhaus, of *First Things*, put it, the church's greatest contribution to society is this: "Unembarrassed, uninhibited, to be how we are—by our baptism and our faith, by the blood that washed away our sins, by the hope of glory." The church's identity is never at the service of another goal, even a laudable goal. Rather, the church's identity, and the faithful maintenance of the church's identity, is the need in itself.

Abortion is a practice that collides head-on with the politics of a church which is, by the grace of God, attempting to be the church. Abortion collides directly with that church's preaching and teaching of the Word, celebrating the Sacraments, ordering of her life together. On the other hand, if abortion does not collide with the politics of a church, the chances are that that church has become, to use Jenson's term, non-church.

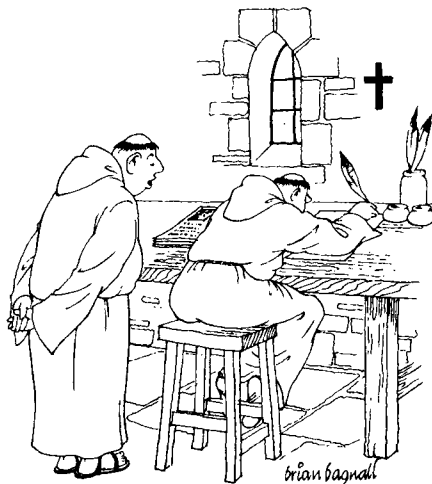
It is not enough for a well-meaning church to have a policy statement, brief or detailed, on abortion. Abortion offers a greater and more fundamental challenge to the very soul of a church than a policy statement, even a good one, can handle. Abortion and all of its associated temptations are resisted by, and only are resisted by, a church which lives in accord with what she is—the Body of Christ, faithful in Word, Sacrament, and order. The People of God rises to the threat of abortion by being the People of God, not by recalling a paragraph in a book of church law. The People of God rises to

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the abortion threat through “obedience to the revealed Truth of God, Jesus Christ,” as Neuhaus put it. Regarding abortion, the politics of the People of God has to do with truth and obedience, not with democracy and compromise.

“The lethal logic of *Roe v. Wade*,” said Neuhaus, advances a cluster of devastating societal problems, including “promiscuous abortion, euthanasia, the return of eugenics, coercive programs of population control, and recklessly manipulative genetic engineering.” That lethal logic, now at work in American law, states “that there are no rights possessed by those who are unable to assert their rights.”

Over against this lethal logic, the politics of the church—faithful to God in Word, Sacrament, and order—stands out and stands up. Over against this lethal logic, the politics of the church—telling the truth, offering forgiveness, and serving “the least of these”—witnesses to the politics of the Kingdom of God. And that Kingdom, the church knows, declares, and demonstrates, is coming in power and glory.



*'Hmm. Most illuminating.'*

THE SPECTATOR 16 October 1993

## “Happy Days Were Here Again”<sup>99</sup>

*William F. Buckley, Jr.*

Whatever else is responsible for the breakup of the family, it is inescapably the case that the official prejudice against religion in education has played a large, perhaps even a decisive role. The *Playboy* philosophy, explicitly regnant in the sixties, may have appealed to the younger generation as the key to hedonism, but hedonism is not the key to happiness, and the wretchedness that blights so many families—white certainly, but predominantly black—has much to do with the nakedness of the public square, in which for generations there were men and women who spoke the language of duty and morality, of loyalty and obligation. And licentious engagements in hedonism are more readily outgrown in the more disciplined classes than in those less self-reliant.

The church/state clause in the First Amendment has effectively been transformed into an instrument of secularization. The time has come, for those who deplore present trends and wish to resist them, to invoke their knowledge of history sufficiently to proclaim that fanatical interpretations of the separation clause of the First Amendment are unrelated to protecting the public from the illusory threat of an established religion. And to go further, to note that the effect of the fanatical interpretation of the separation clause has been to insulate two generations of urban youth from exposure to an ethos whose advocates would have been celebrated as prophetic benefactors of the lower class, if only what they spoke hadn't already been spoken under the aegis of the Bible. Conservatives should be adamant about the need for the reappearance of Judeo-Christianity in the public square.

A politics related to the view of man as a transcendent creature cannot avoid addressing the fundamental questions of human life, which have to do, obviously, with the preservation of life during its normal span. The questions raised in hot dispute around the world focus on the beginning and on the end of life.

The question of abortion divides Americans, and the appropriate

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*William F. Buckley, Jr.*, needs no introduction. With his kind permission, we reprint here several choice selections from his latest book, *Happy Days Were Here Again* (Random House).

means of proceeding politically also divides Americans. Among those who oppose abortion, for instance, there are the latitudinarians who believe that effective moral pressure can only be generated internally. At the other end, there are those who believe that the higher moral perception should be written into the law, even as there were those who believed 150 years ago that a flat-out prohibition against slavery was the only tolerable moral mandate. Abraham Lincoln, as we all know, was not among them. And in between are those who believe that existing political mechanisms need to feel pressure, of whatever kind, to move in the correct direction.

Disagreement as to means is not only tolerable but welcome, sharpening the argument as it does, and exploring, to good end, different epistemological techniques. But that there should be an end in common is plain, that end being to gain acceptance of the assertion that some time before the child is born, the child *is*, and that to close out his life is a morally aggressive act, inconsistent with the dignity of life which is the foundation of conservative politics.

The same consideration should guide us in respect of life at the other end of the compass. This problem is already acute and will grow more so, given the pace at which science succeeds in elongating the time between when man is, so to speak, ready to die, and the time when man will die. The great quarrel will deal with the responsibility of society when there is the clearly expressed will of someone who deems life on earth under this current condition worse than death. We are aware that self-inflicted euthanasia is becoming conventional in the Low Countries of Europe, and we are progressively made aware that medical journeymen often surreptitiously practice euthanasia on their own initiative. What we have not arrived at is an understanding suitable to conservatives who believe in the sacredness of life, but who believe also that there is a point where its prolongation becomes fetishistic, rather than humane. Lively arguments on where the line is, how it is to be drawn, and what are the reasonable presumptions in the absence of coherent instructions from the patient will take place. Conservatives must once again be willing to listen, and to accommodate themselves to reasonable moral compromises provided they are assured that the only agents whose voices will give guidance are those directly involved with the individual as an individual, rather than the individual as a state statistic.

\* \* \* \* \*



## The Strange Uses of Tolerance

Do you agree that opponents of abortion ought not to threaten the lives of men and women who operate abortion clinics, or their property? The answer is presumably that yes, you agree. The overwhelming majority of Americans believe in the rule of law, and that means that you take your protests not in hand, but to your legislature or court. But all morally dynamic societies are accustomed to externalized forms of indignation, and these are often ugly, though their motivation isn't always ugly.

Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote an American classic about how women were treated when caught in adultery. *The Scarlet Letter* [as already noted] was a visible stigma, designed to draw perpetual attention to one woman's breach of matrimonial faith. It was society, speaking at that time, finding its own voice, declaring its solidarity behind monogamy. The branding of an adulteress strikes us now as infamous and cruel, but it was better than what was routine a few hundred years earlier and still is in some societies, namely the execution, often by torture, of the adulteress.

Defenders of white supremacy during a long and ignoble period of American history adopted a variety of means by which to signify their displeasure at ruptured social conventions. These included flogging, tarring and feathering, and occasional lynching. The idea of racial integrity was very big in America, and the law recognized it as integral to the social structure, forbidding, as was done in many states, interracial marriage.

John Brown's body lies a-moldering in the grave because he decided to take into his own hands his battle against slavery, and this he did by itinerant attacks and killings of targeted slaveholders and their spokesmen. Nat Turner, like John Brown, was also hanged because he led a rebellion against slavery that resulted in considerable carnage.

But have you noticed? John Brown and even Nat Turner are slowly making their way back into the kinder passages of history books. At worst they are zealots. It is not held in any question that their cause was just. It is only specified that they should have turned their energies not to different causes, but to different means of achieving their ends.

And so we see that societies tend, eventually, to judge the exertions of prophets on the basis of current attitudes toward right and wrong. Adultery is no longer an offense people get excited about. Racism,

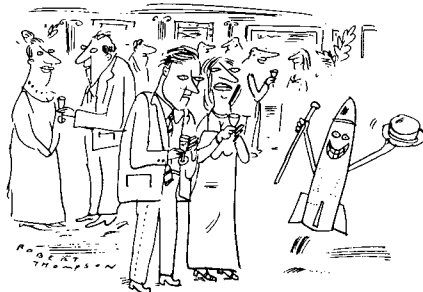
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

on the other hand, is, and from any cosmopolitan gathering of civic-minded citizens one could put together enough volunteers to crew a man-of-war to set out against Capetown, armed with letters of marque and reprisal from the Black Caucus of Congress.

“How do societies resolve conflicts between two opposing moralities?” The *New York Times* editorial asks, confessing its disappointment with President Reagan’s handling of the abortion rally in Washington. What did Reagan do wrong? He did ask for “a complete rejection of violence as a means of settling this issue,” to be sure. But the president reiterated his commitment to “ending the terrible national tragedy of abortion.” That is what upset the *Times*, because it views the abortion decision of the Supreme Court as one that “gives practical, even brilliant voice not to abortion and not to its foes but to tolerance.”

But what does that mean? Would the appropriate answer to the opponent of slavery have been that he should be tolerant toward those slaveowners who disagreed? What defenders of tolerance appear incapable of understanding is that there is a school of thought that makes it not a mark of moral jingoism to assert responsibility for protecting the lives of the unborn, but a mark of fraternal obligation. If it is true that an infant is on Day Minus One for all intents and purposes as human as an infant on Day Plus One, then it is something other than mere passage through the womb that confers on that child the protections we grant under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution, which derive from the Fifth Commandment of the decalogue that specifies that thou shalt not kill.

\* \* \* \* \*



‘Oh, no, it’s an attention-seeking missile.’

THE SPECTATOR 17 July 1993

## Cuomitis

Mario Cuomo, Governor of New York, seems to be saying that there is so much anti-Italian prejudice in America he has no choice but to contend with it by running for president and getting elected. Oh, yes, and if he runs for president and isn't elected, why, that means he was right the whole time, there's a huge anti-Italian prejudice out there.

It's an odd thing to talk about anti-Italian prejudice in the most influential state of the Union in which the governor is of Italian descent and a Democrat, and one of the two senators is of Italian descent and a Republican. The second senator is of Irish descent.

Ah, Mario would say, but New York is different. To which observation the balance of the country would no doubt say, Thank God. But in fact New York State is two demographic realities: New York City and upstate. And Mr. Cuomo did well in both regions. If he were nominated for president by the Democratic party, the following is a pretty safe bet, namely that more voters would vote for him merely because he is of Italian descent than would vote against him because he is of Italian descent.

Mario Cuomo's sensitivity is something of a phenomenon. Sensitivity is in many respects an admirable human trait, but it can paralyze one's judgment. A fine example of this is the now famous statement by Mr. Cuomo that there is no such thing as the Mafia. To suggest that there is, is to engage in anti-Italian defamation. Presumably all those people who shoot each other and get electrocuted simply adopted Italian names to confuse us. Mr. Cuomo sometimes seems to be implying that to concede the existence of a Mafia, membership in which is predominantly Italian-American, is the same thing as suggesting that all Italian-Americans are members of the Mafia.

His hypersensitivity causes the governor to make gross gestures every now and then. Joseph Sobran, the syndicated columnist, last spring stoutly defended President Reagan's decision to go to the cemetery at Bitburg. This defense caused a cartoonist in Albany to depict Sobran as a Gestapo guard at a Nazi concentration camp, a vile act of polemical aggression. Because Governor Cuomo has smelled anti-Italian prejudice in one of Sobran's columns, he picked up the telephone and congratulated the cartoonist. Last week, after Governor Cuomo had courageously recommended clemency for a thoroughly reformed convict who has served eighteen years for a crime he might well not even have committed,

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the governor ran into protesters, one of whom carried a banner, KILL A COP, GET PAROLED BY THE WOP. One hopes no public official will think to call that protester to congratulate him on his eloquence.

“His is a classic case of St. Mario’s paranoia,” commented Roger Ailes, the bright Republican media consultant. “I think he’s quite a disturbed man. It’s beyond being thin-skinned. He always has to invent a moral crusade to justify his out-of-control ambition to be president. We’re all heathens and his job on earth is to save us, and that’s what he’s doing here.”

One hopes Mr. Cuomo will not now accuse Mr. Ailes of anti-Italian prejudice. If he does, he will need simultaneously to account for the fact that Mr. Ailes is right now managing the reelection campaign of Senator Alfonse D’Amato, who is not a member of the Mafia, who supported president Reagan’s visit to Bitburg but is not pro-Nazi. All these things need to get said nowadays if the mere mention of the Mafia as primarily an Italian-American organization induces the governor to tell you that a) the Mafia doesn’t exist, and anyway, b) it isn’t primarily Italian-American.

Granted, it is easy to be called a racist. Such black leaders as Benjamin Hooks and Jesse Jackson regularly say it of the President of the United States. At a trial a few weeks ago, a cuckoo lawyer turned to me and asked darkly whether in using the term “a white lie” I had intended anti-black insinuations. One can’t deny that there is ethnic prejudice, but it tends, in America, more and more to manifest itself fraternally, rather than inimically. More Italians, as I have suggested, tend to vote for the Italian candidate than Irish or Jewish or Hispanic tend to vote against a candidate because of his Italian ancestry.

If Mr. Cuomo runs for president, I shall pray that he will be defeated, but in doing so I shall conceal from Providence the knowledge that he is an Italian-American. God’s anti-Italianism, as we know, has reached such limits that he had to go all the way to Poland to find a pope.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Happy Birthday to J. S. Bach

Three hundred years ago on March 21 Johann Sebastian Bach was born. The event is as though God had decided to clear his throat to remind the world of his existence. That existence had been greatly dishonored by the terrible Thirty Years' War that had ended only a generation before Bach's birth, a war whose reverberations we still experience, even as the ayatollah continues to dishonor the Muslim creed he misunderstands himself to incarnate.

Bach has the impact of a testimonial to God's providence not because he wrote the most searingly beautiful church music ever heard (about "The Passion According to St. Matthew" one can say only that it does credit to the Gospel according to St. Matthew), but because he wrote the most beautiful music ever written. If one were to throw away the three hundred cantatas, the hundred-odd chorale preludes, the three oratorios, the passions, and the Mass (which would be the equivalent of destroying half of Shakespeare), still the other half would sustain Bach as a creature whose afflatus is inexplicable, for some of us, in the absence of a belief in God.

If it is true, as the poet says, that one can't look out upon a sunset without feeling divinity, then it is also true that one can't close the door on that sunset and, entering the darkened chapel, listen to the organist play one of Bach's toccatas and fugues without sensing divinity.

It is not necessary to believe in God in order to revel in Bach. It is not necessary, for that matter, to love one's country in order to fight for it, nor even to love one's family in order to protect it. And there is no need to make heavy weather over the point, though there is a need for such human modesty as Einstein expressed when he said that the universe was not explicable except by the acknowledgment of an unknown mover. The music of Bach disturbs human complacency because one can't readily understand finiteness in its presence.

Carl Sagan, who sometimes sounds like the village atheist, reports that the biologist Lewis Thomas of the Sloan-Kettering Institute answered, when asked what message he thought we should send to other civilizations in space in that rocket we fired up there a few years ago with earthly jewels packed in its cone, "I would send the complete works of Johann Sebastian Bach." Then he paused, and said, "But that would be boasting." There are those who believe it is not merely to boast, but to be vainglorious to suggest that the

movements of Bach's pen could have been animated by less than divine impulse.

There are sobering lessons to contemplate on Bach's birthday. One of them is that when he lived he was almost entirely unnoticed. True, he was renowned as a virtuoso at the harpsichord and the organ. When he died, one of his biographers notes, there were something on the order of ninety obituaries written, only three of which, however, mentioned him as a composer. This is tantamount to remembering Shakespeare as a great actor.

The thought reminds us of what it is that we almost let slip through our fingers—and reminds us, even more darkly, of what it is that we have irreversibly let slip through our fingers. We are reluctant to believe that anyone else ever existed of such artistic eminence as JSB; but we can never know, can we? Nor can we ever understand how it was that so musically minded a culture as that of what we now know as East Germany could have greeted so indifferently a genius so overpowering.

And it reminds us, too, that there are among us men and women who will not drink from this most precious vessel of our cultural patrimony. To some he does not speak. If we understand that, then we understand, surely, what the problems are in Geneva, where grown men are actually talking to each other as if it were a challenge to formulate arrangements by which the world should desist from the temptation to destroy itself. If a human being exists who is unmoved by the B minor Mass it should not surprise that human beings exist who are unmoved by democracy, or freedom, or peace. They have eyes but they do not see, ears but they do not hear. Well, Bach tended to end his manuscripts with the initials "S.D.G."—*Soli Deo Gloria*, To God alone the glory. But God shares that glory, and did so three hundred years ago when Johann Sebastian was born.

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## APPENDIX A

*[His Eminence John J. O'Connor, Archbishop of New York, writes a regular "From My Viewpoint" column for the archdiocesan weekly Catholic New York, in which the following first appeared (Sept. 9). It is reprinted here with permission of the publishers (© 1993 Ecclesiastical Communications Corp.).]*

### **"What Are We Doing to the Young?"**

*Cardinal John J. O'Connor*

I was hardly dressed for what was coming, in my miter, full vestments and holding my staff in hand, waiting outside Our Lady of Sorrows 125-year-old church to begin the anniversary Mass. Her look almost withered my miter. Her words withered my ears.

"How many kids will die in these streets because you won't give out condoms in the schools?"

I could have shrugged it off as the no-win "When are you going to stop beating your wife" question. I didn't. It disturbed me because she meant it and she was sincere. Nor is she alone in her thinking. Various school boards throughout the country are saying much the same; cheered on by editorials in some of the most important newspapers. I'm told a delegation of assemblymen from Albany want to come to see me to tell me that Catholic teaching on condoms is leading to genocide.

I watched the entire Labor Day parade from beginning to end. A lot of nice people marching, including a large contingent of the United Federation of Teachers, some with their own children. I spoke with a number and had pictures taken. They seemed to me like the kind of teachers who are serious about teaching youngsters in the classroom, just as they seemed serious about the care they were giving their own children. I didn't get any sense at all that they had become teachers to give out condoms.

But now it would appear that the federal government itself wants to get behind condoms in a big way. I saw young kids on television enthusiastic over the idea; heard them say their parents should have nothing to say about it—"none of my parents' business."

Good God! What are we doing to the young? They are crying for bread, and we're giving them stones. Who is killing them, not only physically, but morally and spiritually?

I'm not going to argue that too many condoms are defective, or improperly used, or induce a sense of false security, so that kids end up with AIDS or a venereal disease or get pregnant. Those arguments are absolutely true, but there's a much more critical argument about pushing condoms on kids: It's wrong! It's corrupting thousands of kids. It's telling them they have no personal moral responsibility for their actions. It's telling them that the only real sinners are those who deny them condoms. It says: "It's not your fault if you get AIDS

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or give someone else AIDS. It's the fault of those who try to push moral values down your throats—those killers—those Catholic priests and bishops, those Protestants and Jews and Muslims who believe in Divine Law and personal responsibility.”

William Murchison, syndicated columnist based at the Dallas *Morning News*, writes betimes for *The Human Life Review*. I quote from his article in the latest issue, Summer 1993, “The Straight ‘90s.” Speaking of the striking down of a Louisiana sex-education curriculum by a state court, he writes:

The curriculum recommends sexual abstinence as one means of preventing pregnancy and sexual disease. Ah, but the court reasons that the promotion of abstinence violates “the taboo on interjecting religious beliefs and moral judgments into teaching.”

Such a finding is as interesting as it is outrageous. What the court has done is concede to religion the high ground of common sense. In other words, it can't be argued that abstinence doesn't work. Of course it works. Avoid sex, and you avoid the consequences of sex. But abstinence is also a moral proposition; in other words, morality equates with common sense. To do the right thing is to do the sensible thing, the thing that works. The court's problem is that moral connection. The Constitution (on the court's showing) rules out the interjection of moral and religious beliefs into public discourse.

This means, under the new order, we can't teach what works best. All we can teach is what works second and third best, such as condoms, which are notoriously ineffective in preventing pregnancy, much less AIDS...

...We rule out the best remedy as unconstitutional. We settle for runner-up remedies, not on account of their effectiveness but rather to facilitate the worship of ideological propriety.

I even hear otherwise intelligent people argue: “Well, kids are going to do what they're going to do, so at least we should give them *some* protection.” And with that well-meaning “proverb” they buy into the “quick fix.” Stop fighting the real problem. Give up—let's face what we're really doing—give up on the antiquated notion that there's anything wrong with such normal good clean fun as sex outside of marriage, recreational sex, “inevitable” sex. “Everybody's doing it,” so let's make it safe. It's *that* kind of “safety,” not Catholic teaching on sex and marriage, on purity and virtue, on heaven and hell that kills. I have been scorned in some quarters before for saying it, but I'll say it again and again: “Bad morality is bad medicine.” I have only heard that ridiculed, not disproved.

It's a sad, sad day when people really believe that the Church is engaged in genocide by teaching that condoms are a formula for disaster. It admittedly hurts to be called a killer, when you're all dressed up for Mass with a miter on. It hurts even more to know that others share that opinion. But it would hurt far worse if I believed it myself.

Sorry, lady, I think you're dead wrong.



## APPENDIX B

[The following column, issued Aug. 4, first appeared in the Daily Oklahoman, and is reprinted here with permission of the author. Mr. Hyde—who has represented the Sixth District in Illinois since 1975—wrote it following the widely-reported debate in the U.S. House of Representatives over the Hyde Amendment, which Mr. Hyde initially sponsored in 1976. His opening statement in that debate was reprinted in our Summer, 1993 issue.]

### “Their Dirty Little Secret”

Rep. Henry J. Hyde

A few weeks ago, I caused a bit of a ruckus on the floor of the House of Representatives during debate over the Hyde Amendment, which bans federal funding for abortion.

One of my colleagues had asserted that the amendment was nothing but an act of discrimination against the poor, and against the black poor in particular. I asked whether there wasn't something strange about a situation in which we told poor, black women that we couldn't give them a job, or safe streets, or a decent apartment, but there was something we could do for them: we could pay them to abort their unborn children. Shouldn't we be concerned, I asked, about the ugly racial implications of Congressional support for the slaughter of unborn African-American babies?

And that, as they say, hit a nerve.

But it was a nerve well worth hitting. For the eugenic agenda of many advocates of radical “population control”—the attempt to keep “those people” from, well, overbreeding—has long been the dirty little secret of that powerful movement.

Margaret Sanger was, of course, the inspiration and foundress of Planned Parenthood: a woman often hailed, these days, as the prophetess of a more mature approach to human sexuality and reproduction. But Margaret Sanger was also a eugenicist. Indeed, Margaret Sanger was *fundamentally* a eugenicist.

She began a speech at Vassar College in 1926 with the blunt assertion that “the question of race betterment is one of immediate concern.” She welcomed governmental efforts to stop the flow of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe on eugenics grounds, but then wondered why, if we “close our gates to the so-called ‘undesirables’ from other countries, we make no attempt to discourage or cut down the rapid multiplication of the unfit and undesirable at home.”

The “breeding of defectives,” Sanger argued, had to stop, because “these types are being multiplied with breakneck rapidity and [are] increasing far out of proportion to the normal and intelligent classes.” Moreover, this was costing the “normal and intelligent classes” money: “In 1923 over nine billions of dollars were spent on state and federal charities for the care and maintenance and perpetuation of these undesirables.” In sum: “The American public is taxed,

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heavily taxed, to maintain an increasing race of morons, which threatens the very foundations of our civilization.”

And what was Margaret Sanger’s answer to this alleged dilemma? She put it with admirable, if chilling, directness in 1932: “a stern and rigid policy of sterilization and segregation to that grade of population whose progeny is already tainted, or whose inheritance is such that objectionable traits may be transmitted to offspring.”

Today, the heirs and heiresses of Margaret Sanger’s program argue almost exactly the same eugenic case. Thus the president of Planned Parenthood, Pamela J. Maraldo, issued a statement before the Senate debate on the Hyde Amendment arguing for federal funding of Medicaid abortions in terms virtually identical to Margaret Sanger’s: “For every dollar the government spends on abortions for poor women, four dollars are saved in public medical and welfare costs that would be spent in just the first two years following an unwanted birth. Children born unwanted and in poverty will surely add to the increasing burden that taxpayers already bear.”

One particularly revealing “letter to the editor” dated July 2, 1993, appeared in the Chicago *Sun-Times*, signed by one M.A. Bergson of Skokie, which came directly to the point: “Funding an abortion is hundreds of times less expensive than funding the rearing of the unwanted child on welfare for the next 18 years or paying his way for a jail sentence at \$25,000 per year.”

Eugenics—“race betterment,” in Margaret Sanger’s brutal terminology—pure and simple.

To be sure, not everyone who adopts that euphemistic label, “pro-choice,” is a eugenicist. A certain concept of a woman’s “autonomy,” informed by some of the more radical versions of feminist ideology, plays a dominant role in pro-abortion activism today—and has even shaped the jurisprudence of several Justices of the Supreme Court.

But for all that some of the arguments have changed over time, the eugenic dimension of the “population control” movement has remained a constant. The movement has learned not to talk, publicly at least, about “race betterment.” And it no longer beats the drum for sterilization of the “unfit,” the “undesirables,” and the “defective.” No, it now agitates for abortion on demand and federal funding to accomplish this hidden agenda—that the lower classes don’t overwhelm “us.”

That the substance, if not the rationale, of this agenda is vociferously supported by many “civil rights leaders” and by the overwhelming majority of African-American Members of Congress is a mystery, a tragedy—and, if I may be so bold, a travesty.

## APPENDIX C

*[The following commentary first appeared in the "Science" section of The Pioneer (July 30, 1993), a well-known paper from New Delhi; Jo McGowan, a contributor to this journal and other American periodicals, also writes for various publications in India, where she lives with her husband and three children.]*

### Foetal research: The ethical dimension

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*Scientific research on aborted human fetuses has gained momentum after the lifting of the ban on such research by President Clinton. Researchers claim that such experiments will provide clues to dreaded diseases like Parkinson's, Alzheimer's and leukemia. Jo McGowan questions the research.*

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One of U.S. President Bill Clinton's first acts on taking office was to rescind the longstanding ban on Federal support for scientific experimentation on aborted fetuses. His goal, as he put it, was to "free science and medicine from the grasp of abortion politics," but what he actually accomplished has more ominous overtones.

In 1975, American taxpayers discovered to their horror that they were paying for scientists to engage in experiments of the grisliest kind: in one, a dozen fetuses were aborted live by hysterotomy and decapitated. Their heads were then kept alive in an effort to measure foetal metabolism. In another, aborted babies were maintained alive in a saline solution to see whether they could absorb oxygen. When these experiments were publicized, the nation reacted with such outrage that the government was forced to withdraw further funding.

Now, according to Mr. Clinton, the public is ready to give the scientists another chance. Over the past ten years, the mainstream press has sympathetically covered the work of a few brave souls who have carried on with foetal tissue research. Claims by these scientists that foetal tissue may hold the cure to diseases like Parkinson's, Alzheimer's and leukemia has changed the terms of the debate. What was once unthinkable became possible. Efforts are now underway to make the whole concept appear not only inevitable but a positive good.

The question that some proponents of foetal experimentation keep asking so plaintively seems simple enough: why not? Abortions will take place anyway; why waste all that valuable foetal material? If some good can be gained from the tragedy of unwanted children, well, why not? Other proponents are not plaintive at all. To them it is simply a question of common sense. Foetal tissue is the most exciting raw material a biotechnician could ever hope for, and scientists are panting to get at it. But whatever their justifications—one fact remains: A sizeable section of society has accepted yet another atrocity without so much as a murmur.

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It has, of course, happened before. The German people did not just wake up one morning to acquiesce in whatever new depravities the Nazi regime had in mind for the day. The Germans were not really different from any other nation today. They had simply grown accustomed to a slow numbing of their natural human instincts.

Indeed, "Nazi" policies did not actually begin with the Nazis, or even with Hitler. According to Dr. Leo Alexander, expert interrogator at the Nuremberg trials, "whatever proportions (Third Reich) crimes finally assumed, it became evident to all who investigated them that they had started from small beginnings. The beginnings at first were merely a subtle shift in emphasis in the basic attitude of the physicians. It started with the acceptance, basic in the euthanasia movement, that there is such a thing as life not worthy to be lived."

In America, this attitude is by now well-entrenched and the general public has no problems with the idea of "shutting off the machines" or even, more recently, with withholding food and water from people in various stages of illness. In India, a society for the right to die and its eminent physicians like the urologist Dr. B. N. Colabawalla are working to make it legal for doctors to permanently "relieve patients of their suffering in the most ethical manner possible."

Justice Bakhtavar Lentin, retired justice from the Bombay high court, sees nothing but danger in the prospect. "Doctors do practice euthanasia when they are convinced that nothing can be done," he said in a recent interview. "But to make it legitimate will be opening a floodgate of medical murders." There is already a general distrust of the profession, he said, and suspicion "will graduate into abhorrence as the doctor changes from saviour to destroyer."

As Dr. Alexander observed in 1984 (shortly before his death) "It's much like Germany in the '20s and '30s. The barriers against killing are coming down."

The issue of foetal experimentation is the perfect example of where "breaking the barriers" will lead us to. Once the absolute sanctity of human life has been called into question, there are no longer any logical reasons to stop at one point rather than another. In America, nearly 90 per cent of elective abortions are done in the first trimester.

For purposes of experimentation and transplantation, however, the more developed the child, the better the results. It isn't hard to imagine a doctor persuading a woman to wait a few more weeks or months to abort, thereby turning her personal tragedy into a positive contribution to medical science. And if it's permitted to experiment on pre-born babies in the 28th or 34th week, why not a new-born? What's a matter of 6-12 weeks, really? Especially if the baby happens to be handicapped and not particularly wanted. Why not put its miserable little life to some good use for mankind?

When the Nuremberg trials were held, the world listened in horror and disbelief as Nazi doctors described the experiments they had conducted on holocaust victims. Most of them believed passionately in the ultimate good of

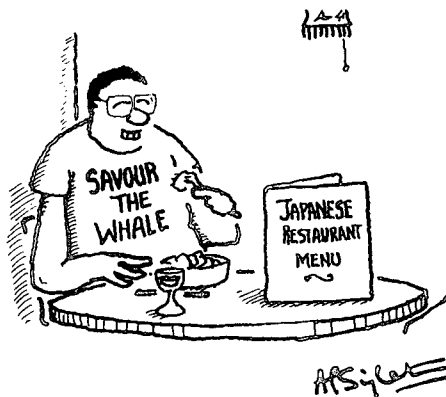
THE HUMAN LIFE REVIEW

what they were doing and felt themselves in no way implicated by the fact that these people had been systematically murdered. It is no accident that one of these men, Dr. Joseph Mengele, spent his post-war years as an abortionist in Argentina.

Advocates of foetal experimentation have now caught up with the likes of Dr. Mengele. While it is no doubt true that experimenting on unborn yet-alive babies may provide the cures for a whole host of diseases it is also true that there are some things we simply cannot do and still remain human. Indeed, reading accounts of the latest developments in foetal science, one wonders if there are any humans left at all.

A scientist at the University of Edinburgh, for example, is developing a technique for transplanting the ovary of an unborn baby girl (killing her in the process, of course) into a sterile woman. *Newsweek*, reporting this advance, comments astutely, "if such a transplant can give a woman born without ovaries a chance to conceive, the abortion of one foetus could give life to a whole family of babies."

You can't fault that logic. Adolph Hitler would approve. So would all the Nazi doctors who worked so tirelessly to create a super-race. But the question still remains: what good is a perfect body when the heart and soul are dead?



THE SPECTATOR 15 May 1993

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## APPENDIX D

[The following article first appeared in the *New Republic* (Oct. 11, 1993), of which Mr. Barnes is a senior editor and White House correspondent; it is reprinted here by permission (© 1993, The New Republic, Inc.).]

### Bush II

*Fred Barnes*

President Clinton has something in common with President Bush besides support for the North American Free Trade Agreement. He has an aversion to the abortion issue, too. Their positions are different, Clinton being pro-choice, Bush pro-life. But Clinton's way of coping with his discomfort is just like Bush's: he doesn't talk about abortion unless he absolutely has to. In marathon conversations with counselor David Gergen, the president has never broached the issue (Gergen hasn't either). This is odd, because a month before joining the White House staff last May, Gergen had written that Clinton's policies would open "the floodgates to universal abortion on demand, funded by taxpayers," and "ride roughshod over the sensibilities of most Americans." And Clinton was a regular reader of Gergen's columns in *U.S. News and World Report*. In fact, until just before his September 22 speech to Congress on health care, Clinton hadn't held a prolonged discussion on abortion for months.

Clinton is about as eager to step forward and lead the pro-choice fight as he is to invite Rush Limbaugh to the White House. He didn't lobby the House of Representatives last July when it took up the Hyde Amendment banning government-financed abortions. He made no effort to broker the dispute that derailed the Freedom of Choice Act over the summer. Why not? He wasn't asked to, explains Clinton aide George Stephanopoulos. And he certainly didn't offer. Nor is Clinton insistent that abortion be kept a guaranteed benefit in his health plan. It's in his proposal announced on September 22, but whether it stays or not is "negotiable," says a senior White House official. He also has declined to impose a pro-choice litmus test on nominees for federal district court judgeships.

The resilience of abortion opponents has surprised Clinton. He and his aides had thought the pro-life movement was dead, until they were shocked when the Hyde Amendment passed the House by eighty-five votes. In August, he anticipated a no-friction meeting with Pope John Paul II after he flew to Denver to welcome the Pontiff. "The expectation was he [the Pope] would not say anything that was confrontational or embarrassing to the president," says Gergen. The Pope didn't fully comply. Following their forty-five minute meeting, he proclaimed his opposition to Clinton's pro-choice policy. He cited "the inalienable dignity of every human being and the rights which flow from that dignity—including the right to life and

the defense of life.” The Pope also repeated part of a speech he’d delivered in 1987 in Detroit: “If you want equal justice for all and true freedom and lasting peace, then America, defend life.”

Part of Clinton’s problem is that he has two positions on abortion, and they don’t always mesh. Before a straw poll at a Democratic gathering in Florida in 1991, Clinton adopted a moderate position (he won the poll). Abortion, he said, should be “safe, legal, but rare.” This ambivalent view of abortion won’t satisfy the Pope, yet it has political appeal since it’s how most Americans feel. But implicit in this view is the notion that the right to an abortion is different from other rights. Clinton doesn’t say the right to free speech or assembly should be exercised rarely. As president, Clinton signed four executive orders on abortion-related issues on January 22 and reaffirmed the safe, legal, but rare position: “Our goal should be to protect individual freedom, while fostering responsible decision-making, an approach that seeks to protect the right to choose, while reducing the number of abortions.” In an interview on CNN with Larry King in July, he boasted that “in the many years I was governor [of Arkansas], the number of abortions performed dropped over the previous years.”

Clinton’s other position, which emerged during the 1992 campaign, is that of the abortion rights movement. He took more than a page to spell it out in *Putting People First*, the Clinton-Gore campaign treatise. He vowed to sign the Freedom of Choice Act (“Our government...has no right to interfere with the difficult and intensely personal decisions women must sometimes make regarding abortion”). He promised to “urge” Congress to repeal the Hyde Amendment. He opposed “any federal attempt to limit access to abortion” through a mandatory waiting period or requirement of parental or spousal consent. He called for measures to protect against “radical demonstrators who illegally block health clinics.” Clinton has followed through aggressively on this last promise. Attorney General Janet Reno testified on Capitol Hill in favor of legislation protecting abortion clinics, legislation likely to pass this year.

In his column last April, Gergen pointed to the clash between Clinton’s two positions. As president, “he seems intent on keeping the first two-thirds of that promise” to make abortion safe, legal, but rare, Gergen wrote. “He is in serious danger, however, of breaking the last third.” By backing repeal of the Hyde Amendment and proposing universal insurance coverage for abortion, Clinton would make abortion “a routine medical procedure easily available to all—no questions, no costs, no issues of morality or personal responsibility.” Gergen asked: “This will make abortions ‘rare’?” If Clinton prevails, he wrote, “there is a real possibility...the number of abortions will soar again.” The percentage of pregnancies ending in abortion doubled after the *Roe v. Wade* decision (from 12.9 percent to 23.1 percent), stabilizing at 25 percent only after the Hyde

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Amendment was passed in 1977.

Gergen also suggested Clinton was headed for political trouble on abortion. "Where most Americans have drawn the line is on paying for other people's abortions, especially abortions on demand," he said. Polls show that large majorities oppose government-funded abortions for the poor (69 percent in an ABC-*Washington Post* survey last year) or including abortion coverage in health reform (only 23 percent in favor in a recent CBS-New York *Times* poll). But Clinton doesn't have a passel of pro-life aides advising him to take these polls into account. I can only think of two Clintonites who are pro-lifers: Ray Flynn, the ambassador to the Vatican, and Paul Begala, unofficial White House adviser. Gergen is pro-choice.

Clinton senses the problem, hence his reluctance to talk about abortion in public or private. When confronted with the issue, he's usually conciliatory toward pro-lifers. At a town meeting in Chillicothe, Ohio, last February he praised a high school senior for voicing his objections to abortion. He downplays abortion coverage in his health plan. He's only for what's "traditionally covered in private health insurance policies," Clinton told MTV in May. (Actually, many policies don't cover abortion.) And he's ready to argue that his plan includes ways (family planning, preventive services, counseling) to curb abortions. Gergen said he finds this "encouraging." But the tension caused by Clinton's two positions won't go away. On September 20, five women Democratic senators visited him in the Oval Office and raised the abortion issue. He promised them he'd fight to kill the Hyde Amendment and preserve abortion coverage. But fight hard? Don't count on it.



## APPENDIX E

[The following column first appeared in the *Washington Times* (Oct. 11, 1993), and is reprinted here with permission. Miss Fields is a regular columnist for the *Times*, and is also nationally syndicated.]

### Teen moms: Nothing to cheer about

*Suzanne Fields*

The varsity cheerleader of Hempstead High in rural south Texas, blonde and beautiful with the innocent freshness of youth, thinks the "Fighting Bobcats" had one of the best cheerleading squads in years. So what if four of the 15 pom-pom girls, ages 15 to 17 were pregnant? Was it only something in the water? "This little incident should never have been publicized," says another pretty Bobcat. "It was nobody else's business, really."

But it was. And it became everybody else's business when the unusual story exploded in the "major media" and dramatically brought into focus one of the crises of young people in America today—unwed motherhood. Young girls with little more maturity than toddlers who play with dolls are giving birth to their own doll babies. Jesse Jackson describes them as "babies having babies." (In the black community, 65 percent of the children are born illegitimate, and the numbers are growing in other groups.)

In some high schools, teen-agers compete for status in "maternity chic," dresses from shops with names like "New Conception" and "A Pea in a Pod" when they should be shopping for jeans and sweaters at the Gap and Urban Outfitters.

Worse, these young women see nothing wrong in what they've done. Why should they? Worst of all, adults who know better are talking like teen-agers. The pervasive cultural message is that nobody has done anything wrong.

When the school board in Hempstead benched the pregnant girls, the *New York Times* called it another gross example of America refusing to confront the realities of teen-age sex: "These girls should neither be stigmatized nor stopped from joining in any school activity."

Well, why not? How else can young men and women learn the hard lessons of life—that it's wrong to bring a baby into the world without a father; that it's wrong to have sex with a teen-age boy who cannot take on the responsibility of fatherhood, that it's wrong to be a premature mother.

Statistics of the economic and emotional deficits that these children of children are likely to suffer can be abstractions, carrying no penalty, but getting kicked off the cheerleading squad—or the football team—sends a loud, strong and effective message.

If the girls experimented with drugs rather than sex, who would object to stigmatizing them as an example of bad behavior, or ruling them out

## APPENDIX E

of high-status high school activities?

Feminists who make such an issue over the right to “choice” ought to make illegitimacy a feminist issue, too. Teen-age girls need to know how to take responsibility for their bodies *before* they get the right to an abortion. They need to learn how to say no. That’s “choice,” too.

The school board at Hempstead had the right idea, to forbid any pregnant girl—or identified father—from holding elected school office, which includes cheerleading. They might also insist on ethical principles of conduct for participation in team sports as well as the honor society, making virtue along with smarts, talent and ability a standard for school leaders.

Nothing brings out the snickers of “sophisticated” adults as much as programs that push teen-age chastity. But in the permissive world of teen-age sex, where nothing else works, chastity can even have its rebellious appeal.

Teen-agers in Hempstead could talk to their teen-age neighbors down the highway in Houston. In Houston, almost 200 teens have formed an organization called “True Love Waits.” Tired of seeing themselves portrayed on television and in the movies as having no self-control, of being only glands and appetites, they’re protesting the image of teenagers driven mindlessly by hormones and hedonism.

In a sex-obsessed society, where the surgeon general tells girls to carry condoms on their dates, chastity still can have awesome power. Adults can rediscover the value of teaching self-discipline and self-respect.

“It gives you a good reputation,” adds Jennifer Sleep, 16, of Houston, who doesn’t mind being retrograde, rebellious—and resistant. It’s something to cheer about.



*‘Ooh, the apple looks tempting.’*

THE SPECTATOR 28 August 1993

## APPENDIX F

[The following column appeared in the *New York Post* (July 20) and is reprinted here by permission of Mona Charen and Creators Syndicate (© 1993, Creators Syndicate).]

### Being gay is the rage among today's teens

*Mona Charen*

"Being bisexual seems to be the thing. I just wish they wouldn't push it on everybody else." So says a Washington-area 18-year-old who just finished high school. She's referring not to the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force or ACT UP. She's talking about her own high school classmates.

According to *The Washington Post*, bisexuality and homosexuality have become the "in" thing among the high school and junior high school set. They sport pink ribbons, kiss members of the same sex in the hallways ("to see what people will say") and tell reporters that "Everyone is bisexual, if you ask me."

For many non-bigoted, non-homophobic heterosexuals, this is the heart of the debate over homosexuality. No one wants homosexuals to be hounded or harassed in any way. But is there a risk that by acquiescing to demands for acceptance and equality, we will miss the mark and wind up encouraging homosexuality as a fashion?

The *Post's* account of the burgeoning number of teenagers who are now calling themselves "gay" or "bi" suggests the overwhelming power of fashion in human affairs—particularly when the humans are between the ages of 13 and 20. Confused and overwhelmed by sex in any case, and now bombarded by talk of homosexuality in the press, school sex-education classes and in entertainment, lots of kids are calling themselves "gay" to be trendy or rebellious.

In some cases, the very absence of a taboo is sufficient to sow confusion. Adrian Banard, an 18-year-old from suburban Virginia, told *The Washington Post*, "Someone asked me what my sexual orientation was, and I found myself rather unable to tell them. I had just gone along assuming I'm heterosexual. Then I sat down to think about it and realized I could go either way."

Key to the argument of homosexual activists is the idea that homosexuality is an innate, immutable characteristic. You are born straight, or you are born gay. No one in his right mind, they assert, would *choose* to be homosexual in a society as homophobic as ours.

Whether our society in fact fits that description is now debatable, as these high school kids demonstrate. But neither is it clear that homosexuals are born, not made. There is a great deal of evidence that many people who have no difficulty describing themselves as heterosexual can be tempted into homosexuality. Look at the behavior of men in prison. They

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engage in homosexual conduct because women are unavailable. Do gay activists insist that their fundamental natures have changed?

Besides, to say that no one would willingly choose to be homosexual, in light of the difficulties attending that life, is to interpret the word “choose” much too narrowly. Most people make decisions based upon partly or even largely unconscious motivations, fears and needs. A peeping Tom doesn’t rationally weigh all the sexual options available and “choose” voyeurism the way one chooses chicken salad at a cafeteria. He feels driven to it by his history and his upbringing.

The young man who told the *Post* that, having thought it over, he could “go either way” probably speaks for thousands, if not millions. Sexuality is not fixed and permanent, like eye color. It is influenced by emotion, age, experience and, yes, culture. When I was a student at Columbia University in the mid-and late 1970s, the homosexual and lesbian group was a tiny fringe. By 1990, according to the report of a recent graduate, a substantial number of women students were experimenting with lesbianism as “a political act.” In the space of a decade, a taboo had fallen, a new fad was born and people acted accordingly.

Fashion is very powerful. For centuries in China, mothers bound the feet of their infant daughters, grossly deforming them and consigning the girls to a lifetime of pain and disability. For fashion.

Why not accept the gay trend with equanimity? Because even if one is non-religious, it is clear that in the age of AIDS, widespread homosexuality is an invitation to disaster. Moreover, the family—comfort of children and core of civilization—depends upon adults marrying members of the complementary sex.

## APPENDIX G

[*The following article first appeared as a "My Turn" column in Newsweek (June 28, 1993), which described Mr. Smith as an author and a consumer advocate who lives in San Francisco. It is reprinted here by permission (© 1993 by Newsweek, Inc.; all rights reserved).*]

### The Whispers of Strangers

Wesley J. Smith

"Today is my 76th birthday," the letter began. "Unassisted and by my own free will, I have chosen to take my final passage." Suicide. My friend Frances died in a cold, impersonal hotel room after taking an overdose of sleeping pills, with a plastic bag tied over her head suffocating the life out of her body.

Frances was not a happy woman. She had family troubles. She suffered from chronic lymphatic leukemia and was facing the difficult prospect of a hip replacement. She also had a chronic nerve condition that caused her to feel a burning sensation on her skin. But Frances was lucid, aware and involved. And she certainly was not terminal, at least not in the sense of impending death. In all likelihood, she had years of productive and meaningful life ahead of her.

"I am still in control," she wrote. "The choice is mine—this act is not one of 'suicide'—I consider that it [is] my final passage."

Why would Frances want to do such a thing? Those of us who knew her best understood. She had been talking about killing herself for years. She was a follower of Derek Humphry and was a member of his Hemlock Society. She approved of Dr. Kevorkian. She held a schoolgirl's romanticism about suicide, seeing it as noble and an act of strength. For Frances, suicide was not only an answer to life's miseries, it was her cause.

Those of us who considered ourselves Frances's closest friends spent years trying to dissuade her from killing herself. It was like some perverse dance. She would plan the thing, we would change her mind, and then for no apparent reason, she would announce that she was planning it again.

I had come to believe that she had a whisperer quietly urging her on. After her death, I learned there was indeed such a "voice." I discovered it among her possessions that her executor sent me. Frances had a suicide file (ever the organizer, she kept a file for everything), filled with publications from the Hemlock Society and other writings extolling the moral correctness of self-termination and euthanasia. That these writings had a major influence on Frances there can be no doubt. They were carefully clipped and highlighted in yellow marking ink. Many were dog-eared from frequent reading.

One of the articles was a "how to" piece that told the reader the best drug to take and the proper use of a plastic bag placed loosely over the head to make sure death was not foiled. As I read the piece, I felt chills run up my spine. It was as if I were reading an exact description of Frances's suicide, so closely

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had she followed the instructions. I also found several articles recounting stories of “good” suicides. These tales, eerily comparable to the religious practice of “witnessing” to spread the faith, had a consistent theme: that suicide could be empowering, beneficial and a positive, even uplifting, experience.

I began to feel sick to my stomach. The arguments and euphemisms in the stories were the very ones Frances professed in her prosuicide philosophy. Some stories recounted in warm and glowing terms the gathering of friends at the suicide to wish the soon-to-be-departed a loving and heartfelt bon voyage. That was exactly how Frances had told me she wanted to die. A short time before Frances killed herself, she invited friends to a party where, she said, she would take her final passage. (I wasn’t asked. I live in another city and Frances knew how strongly I objected to her plan.) When her friends refused, she told them she had changed her mind. But unknown to those close to her, she paid a distant relative \$5,000 to be with her as she swallowed the deadly pills. The very thought of someone accepting that money makes my skin crawl.

Moral ideal: Frances once told me that through her death she would be advancing a cause. It is a cause I now deeply despise. Not only did it take Frances, but it rejects all that I hold sacred and true: that the preservation of human life is our highest moral ideal; that a principal purpose of government is as a protector of life; that those who fight to stay alive in the face of terminal disease are powerful uplifters of the human experience.

Of greater concern to me is the moral trickledown effect that could result should society ever come to agree with Frances. Life is action and reaction, the proverbial pebble thrown into the pond. We don’t get to the Brave New World in one giant leap. Rather, the descent to depravity is reached by small steps. First, suicide is promoted as a virtue. Vulnerable people like Frances become early casualties. Then follows mercy killing of the terminally ill. From there, it’s a hop, skip and a jump to killing people who don’t have a good “quality” of life, perhaps with the prospect of organ harvesting thrown in as a plum to society.

Over the years, Frances and I went around and around over these issues. In the end, neither of us was able to convince the other. “For I would be like a seed planted in all of them,” reads an underlined clipping in the suicide file, “and when they would think of me, my memory, my spirit, I would blossom again, live again, be with you again, love you again and be alive within you.” Underneath these words Frances wrote, “This is what I believe.”

At least in this, if she were still among us, I could prove to Frances that she was wrong. She would see that she has not left behind a sweet garden of memory. Her death is not viewed by those she cared for as noble and uplifting. Not one of her many friends appreciated the morbid experience of receiving photocopies of her suicide letter in the mail after she was dead. We all feel abused by her passing—and betrayed.

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“The friends I leave behind will not forget me,” she wrote in her letter. In that, she was right. We remember you, Frances. But not in the way that you had hoped. For your life is now symbiotically connected with the way you chose to leave us—and that makes us wish we could forget.



*H. Martin*

*'My winning the lottery has given me the finance necessary to fulfil my lifelong dream to start a terrorist group.'*

THE SPECTATOR 7 August 1993

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## APPENDIX H

*[The following is the complete text of an editorial first published in California Medicine, the official journal of the California Medical Association (Sept., 1970; Vol. 113, No. 3). It was a seminal document in the abortion/euthanasia debate, and remains as relevant today as when first published. We reprint it here for the benefit of those readers who have not actually read the original, which we have reprinted four times previously, the first time in our Vol. I, No. 1—Ed.]*

### **“The Traditional Ethic...”**

The traditional Western ethic has always placed great emphasis on the intrinsic worth and equal value of every human life regardless of its stage or condition. This ethic has had the blessing of the Judeo-Christian heritage and has been the basis for most of our laws and much of our social policy. The reverence for each and every human life has also been a keystone of Western medicine and is the ethic which has caused physicians to try to preserve, protect, repair, prolong, and enhance every human life which comes under their surveillance. This traditional ethic is still clearly dominant, but there is much to suggest that it is being eroded at its core and may eventually even be abandoned. This of course will produce profound changes in Western medicine and in Western society.

There are certain new facts and social realities which are becoming recognized, are widely discussed in Western society and seem certain to undermine and transform this traditional ethic. They have come into being and into focus as the social by-products of unprecedented technologic progress and achievement. Of particular importance are, first, the demographic data of human population expansion which tends to proceed uncontrolled and at a geometric rate of progression; second, an ever growing ecological disparity between the numbers of people and the resources available to support these numbers in the manner to which they are or would like to become accustomed; and third, and perhaps most important, a quite new social emphasis on something which is beginning to be called the quality of life, a something which becomes possible for the first time in human history because of scientific and technologic development. These are now being seen by a growing segment of the public as realities which are within the power of humans to control and there is quite evidently an increasing determination to do this.

What is not yet so clearly perceived is that in order to bring this about hard choices will have to be made with respect to what is to be preserved and strengthened and what is not, and that this will of necessity violate and ultimately destroy the traditional Western ethic with all that this portends. It will become necessary and acceptable to place relative rather than absolute values on such things as human lives, the use of scarce resources and the various elements which are to make up the quality of life or of living which is to be sought. This is quite distinctly at variance with the Judeo-Christian



ethic and carries serious philosophical, social, economic, and political implications for Western society and perhaps for world society.

The process of eroding the old ethic and substituting the new has already begun. It may be seen most clearly in changing attitudes toward human abortion. In defiance of the long held Western ethic of intrinsic and equal value for every human life regardless of its stage, condition, or status, abortion is becoming accepted by society as moral, right, and even necessary. It is worth noting that this shift in public attitude has affected the churches, the laws, and public policy rather than the reverse. Since the old ethic has not yet been fully displaced it has been necessary to separate the idea of abortion from the idea of killing, which continues to be socially abhorrent. The result has been a curious avoidance of the scientific fact, which everyone really knows, that human life begins at conception and is continuous whether intra-or extra-uterine until death. The very considerable semantic gymnastics which are required to rationalize abortion as anything but taking a human life would be ludicrous if they were not often put forth under socially impeccable auspices. It is suggested that this schizophrenic sort of subterfuge is necessary because while a new ethic is being accepted the old one has not yet been rejected.

It seems safe to predict that the new demographic, ecological, and social realities and aspirations are so powerful that the new ethic of relative rather than of absolute and equal values will ultimately prevail as man exercises ever more certain and effective control over his numbers, and uses his always comparatively scarce resources to provide the nutrition, housing, economic support, education, and health care in such ways as to achieve his desired quality of life and living. The criteria upon which these relative values are to be based will depend considerably upon whatever concept of the quality of life or living is developed. This may be expected to reflect the extent that quality of life is considered to be a function of personal fulfillment; of individual responsibility for the common welfare, the preservation of the environment, the betterment of the species; and of whether or not, or to what extent, these responsibilities are to be exercised on a compulsory or voluntary basis.

The part which medicine will play as all this develops is not yet entirely clear. That it will be deeply involved is certain. Medicine's role with respect to changing attitudes toward abortion may well be a prototype of what is to occur. Another precedent may be found in the part physicians have played in evaluating who is and who is not to be given costly long-term renal dialysis. Certainly this has required placing relative values on human lives and the impact of the physician to this decision process has been considerable. One may anticipate further development of these roles as the problems of birth control and birth selection are extended inevitably to death selection and death control whether by the individual or by society, and further public and professional determinations of when and when not to use scarce resources.

Since the problems which the new demographic, ecologic and social realities

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pose are fundamentally biological and ecological in nature and pertain to the survival and well-being of human beings, the participation of physicians and of the medical profession will be essential in planning and decision-making at many levels. No other discipline has the knowledge of human nature, human behavior, health and disease, and of what is involved in physical and mental well-being which will be needed. It is not too early for our profession to examine this new ethic, recognize it for what it is, and will mean for human society, and prepare to apply it in a rational development for the fulfillment and betterment of mankind in what is almost certain to be a biologically-oriented world society.



*'Oh Ma'am — I wouldn't bother him while he's eating.'*

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