

# the HUMAN LIFE REVIEW



WINTER 2008

*Featured in this issue:*

James Hitchcock on . . . Abortion & the “Catholic Right,” II  
Maria McFadden on . . . . . Hitchcock’s Critics & Ours  
Faith Abbott McFadden remembers . . . . . “Sir William”

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**GREAT DEFENDER OF LIFE AWARD DINNER**

RICHARD NEUHAUS • GEORGE MCKENNA • RAMESH PONNURU • CHRIS SMITH

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**REMEMBERING HENRY J. HYDE**

WILLIAM MURCHISON • FRED BARNES • GEORGE WEIGEL  
JONATHAN TURLEY • NAT HENTOFF • RICH LOWRY & MANY MORE

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Stephen Vincent on . . . . . 40 Days for (New) Life  
Edward Short profiles . . . . . Jack Scarisbrick & LIFE

*Also in this issue:*

Mark Hemingway • Anne Conlon • Kimberly Heatherington • G. Tracy Mehan III

*Published by:*

**The Human Life Foundation, Inc.**

New York, New York

. . . you may recall my saying last time that we'd hastily made room for a tribute to Henry Hyde in our Fall 2007 issue—along with his photograph, we reprinted a poem which Hyde himself had recited as a tribute to our late founding editor Jim McFadden when the Human Life Foundation honored the congressman with its first Great Defender of Life Award in 2003. Hyde had found the poem, he said, in a booklet commemorating the death of another beloved member of the pro-life movement, Dr. Joseph Stanton of Boston. It had been signed CVS, but Hyde didn't know who that was and neither did we until readers Anne and Ken Fox emailed to tell us that the author was Dr. Stanton's sister, Clare. In this issue we honor Mr. Hyde with a special section of tributes culled from the vast number that appeared after his death last November; and with an original one by our senior editor William Murchison, "The Right Man" (p. 77), a keen appreciation that speaks for all of us here. Hyde's eloquence is cited by Murchison and others; fortunately, National Review Books has put that eloquence between covers in the just-published *Catch the Burning Flag: Speeches and Random Observations* by Henry J. Hyde (for more information, call (212) 849-2800 or email [jfowler@nationalreview.com](mailto:jfowler@nationalreview.com)).

There was a little more time for reflection when, while preparing *this* issue, the sad news came that another "right man" and champion of the *Review*, William F. Buckley Jr., had died on February 27. As you will see in "Remembering 'Sir William'" (p. 31), senior editor Faith Abbott McFadden, widow of Jim (and mother of Maria, our editor), knew Bill Buckley almost as long as her late husband did and shared all of his affection for him. It was to this long-time family friend that Faith and Maria turned for help in honoring Henry Hyde at the Foundation's first dinner. Buckley surprised everyone when, after giving Hyde his award, he proceeded to the podium to give an address about euthanasia that subsequently formed the basis for an important symposium in the *Review* (see "Ventilating Life and Death," Winter 2004).

At our latest Great Defender of Life dinner last fall, George McKenna recalled that Buckley had once described the *Human Life Review* as "the locus of civilized discussion of the abortion issue." The transcript (and photographs) from that dinner, at which we honored a strong contender for Henry Hyde's pro-life congressional mantle, Rep. Chris Smith of New Jersey, begins on page 35. As always, we hope readers will get a sense of that evening's special appeal and even consider joining us one of these years. (Our next dinner is Oct. 16—more on that next time.)

We don't have a new author-contributor to introduce in this issue but we do have a new photographer: 11-year-old Anna Clare Maffucci, who accompanied her mother (Maria McFadden Maffucci) and me to the Annual March for Life this past January—her photographs appear on pages 102 and 107. The passing of stalwarts like Henry Hyde and William Buckley is made easier to bear by the likes of Anna Clare and scores of other young people, who displayed such great enthusiasm to be a part of this annual showing of solidarity with the unborn, and also displayed such high spirits in this year's rain.



# the HUMAN LIFE REVIEW

Winter 2008

Vol. XXXIV, No. 1

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Published by THE HUMAN LIFE FOUNDATION, INC.  
Editorial Office, 353 Lexington Avenue, Suite  
802, New York, N.Y. 10016. Phone: (212) 685-  
5210. The editors will consider all manuscripts  
submitted, but assume no responsibility for  
unsolicited material. Editorial and subscription  
inquiries, and requests for reprint permission  
should be sent directly to our editorial office.  
Subscription price: \$25 per year; Canada and  
other foreign countries: \$30 (U.S. currency).  
ISSN 0097-9783.

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New York, N.Y. Printed in the U.S.A.

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## INTRODUCTION

Welcome to the first issue of our 24th volume. We open with Professor James Hitchcock's "Abortion and the 'Catholic Right' Part II," in which he discusses critical reactions to "Abortion and the 'Catholic Right'" (Spring 2007). Rather than introduce Hitchcock's sequel here, I have written an "Afterword" (p. 24) which discusses reactions *we* received to Professor Hitchcock's controversial article, and my thoughts about them.

Sadly, we have lost two great men in the last six months: Representative Henry J. Hyde, a giant of the pro-life movement and an irreplaceable American statesman, died on November 29; and then, on February 27, we lost our dear friend, and peerless nobleman of so *many* causes, William F. Buckley Jr. We have a collection of tributes in a special section, "Remembering Henry Hyde," with an exceptionally fitting piece written for the *Review* by senior editor William Murchison, "The Right Man" (p. 77).

It is with poignancy that I note the last time I heard from Mr. Buckley: It was in a note, dated January 21, in which he commented on a tribute to Henry Hyde I'd written for another publication. "Dear Maria," he began, "That was a lovely tribute you gave to Henry Hyde. He was such a super man, in every way. . . ." Well, we can say the same about Mr. Buckley, and senior editor Faith A. McFadden does so in "Remembering 'Sir William'" (p. 31). Some readers may not know that there might never have been an *HLR* without Bill Buckley and *National Review*: Faith tells the story of the relationship between my father, James P. McFadden, and WFB, a connection that meant so much to us all. The world seems much the poorer without these men, but I like to think of my father enjoying a heavenly meeting with two men whose friendship he cherished.

In a special section beginning on p. 35, we feature the *earthly* story of our 2007 Great Defender of Life dinner. It was an inspiring evening, and we have reprinted all of the speeches and some festive photos as well. Father Richard John Neuhaus told of the decisive moment when he knew that he was "recruited for the duration" in the fight to restore a culture of life; Professor George McKenna highlighted his decade-long connection to the *Review*; and *National Review* senior editor Ramesh Ponnuru, author of *The Party of Death: The Democrats, the Media, the Courts and*

*the Disregard for Human Life*, discussed current realities in the pro-life movement. Our Great Defender of Life for 2007, Representative Chris Smith of New Jersey, wowed the audience with his wide-reaching and impassioned speech about the many issues opposing a culture of life, and the urgency of fighting them now. (“Do enough of us understand the overwhelming urgency for action? Do enough of us really understand the big, moral, global meltdown, and that it can get worse, very quickly? Clones, chimeras, the 2008 election: all of this money that is pouring in to the pro-abortion movement.”)

If there was a unifying message from all the speakers of the evening, it was that we must not grow weary or despair. “It couldn’t be more clear,” Smith concluded, “that both at home and abroad, we need to do more now. If any of us are tired, you know we just don’t have the luxury of getting discouraged or tired. We really have to be in this for the long haul and ask for the grace, and the sustaining power that comes from the Lord, to really take this on anew, in every way.”

Contributor Stephen Vincent reports for us next on a movement that *is* generating new life and energy in many pro-life warriors. “40 Days for Life,” which took place last fall and again during Lent this year, is a national campaign to organize 40-day continuous-prayer vigils outside of abortion clinics across the country. Unlike Operation Rescue, participants do not attempt to bar women from entering clinics; they remain outside, praying in peaceful witness, and ready to speak with anyone who approaches them. It is a campaign of “prayer and fasting.” Thanks to the efficiency of email, thousands of people unite themselves in prayer with the thousands who sign up for hours outside the clinics. Vincent writes: The “fasting, or self-giving sacrifice comes from participants who go way beyond giving up chocolate for Lent by going to the abortion clinic—a ‘modern-day Calvary’—to fill one or more of the 24-hour slots” during the 40 days. Vincent has interviewed David Bereit, the national director, who is hopeful about the campaign’s effectiveness. Bereit reports that

40 Days for Life is reviving many who had grown weary in the pro-life movement, and it is building a whole new generation of hope-filled pro-life leaders and activists. I really believe that we are witnessing the beginning of the end of abortion in America.

We pray he is right!

Over the years, the *Review* has been pleased to develop relationships with pro-life journalists from other English-speaking countries, notably England and Ireland. In “A Pro-Life Special Relationship” (p. 65), Edward Short profiles Jack Scarisbrick, the British founder of the impressive organization LIFE, who is also reaching “across the pond” to collaborate with American pro-life activists. Short had the opportunity to meet Scarisbrick at his headquarters in Royal Leamington Spa, “where he described the work that he and LIFE are doing to combat the scourge of abortion.” LIFE, an organization with “over 26,000 active supporters throughout the U.K. and indeed around the world,” was founded by Scarisbrick and his wife

## INTRODUCTION

Nuala in 1970, as a response to Britain's Abortion Act of 1970. LIFE is the leading provider of crisis-pregnancy and post-abortion counseling in the U.K.; it also sponsors conferences, publishes a journal, and operates natural-fertility programs and even infant hospices. Short's essay for us is also a compelling report on the history of the pro-life movement in Britain, and how it compares to our struggles here.

\* \* \* \* \*

We lead our appendices with two accounts of this year's March for Life (on January 22nd, the 35th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*), from Mark Hemingway, writing on National Review Online, and from our own managing editor, Anne Conlon. Mrs. Conlon is the editor of the newsletter *catholic eye*, also founded by my late father, and her *In the News* section on the march is an invaluable addition to this issue, as well as to the *Review's* record of our movement. Anne and I went together this year, and I brought one of my children, Anna (11) who took the photos we included. I wanted Anna to see the young people out in full force, and we were not disappointed—I'd say about 85 percent of marchers were between 14 and 22! This is precisely why photos of the march don't seem to make it into the mainstream press: not a cheery sign for those ageing grande dames of the abortion-rights movement, like Frances Kissling (former president of Catholics for a Free Choice) and Kate Michelman (former president of NARAL), whose oddly confessional editorial in the Los Angeles *Times* both Hemingway and Conlon found noteworthy.

*Appendix C* is a reprint of a column about our *Review*, published in a special *Roe*-anniversary section in the Catholic newsweekly, *Our Sunday Visitor*. We were proud that the section also includes an interview with our friend, *HLR* contributor and Great Defender of Life of 2005 awardee, Nat Hentoff ("Atheist journalist fights for all human life") whose column about Henry Hyde is reprinted on p. 91. And finally, we have reprinted one of the abundance of tributes to William F. Buckley. G. Tracy Meehan's column is an exceptional account of the breadth of Buckley's character, accomplishments and influence, and he acknowledges Buckley's part in supporting the founding of our *Review*, about which he says "there is nothing like it in the developed world."

Well, if there isn't, it's largely thanks to our readers and supporters, and to signature touches like the Nick Downs cartoons we adore, including those here. Hope you enjoy it all.

MARIA MCFADDEN  
EDITOR

# Abortion and the “Catholic Right,” Part II

James Hitchcock

Last year I published an article in the *HLR*<sup>1</sup> documenting ways in which elements of the “Catholic Right” had ceased to treat abortion as the primary issue in public life.

I pointed out the obvious fact that involvement in political action necessarily carries with it moral ambiguities, in that citizens cannot simply will into being a political movement that perfectly satisfies all their principles and therefore of necessity must work with existing parties and groups. Over time, abortion brought many Catholics into an alliance with the Republican Party, an alliance that necessarily forces voters to buy a whole political package, and my thesis was that some on the Catholic Right, in repudiating that alliance, have been forced to retreat from the abortion issue itself.

There were, expectedly, spirited responses to my article, some from conservative Catholics expressing their whole-hearted agreement, others from people who accused me of distorting the facts. Oddly, however, those in the latter category often ended by confirming my original contention.

Christopher Ferrara, for example, a regular contributor to *The Remnant* newspaper (January 7, 2008), extracted from my article the proposition “Since the Republicans are not serious about ending legalized abortion, Catholics should focus energy on issues that present a more immediate prospect of success, including ending the war in Iraq,” a proposition Ferrara then dubbed “self-evidently true.” Despite this admission, however, Ferrara and some other respondents (primarily in the pages of *The Wanderer*) simply assumed that I could not have been sincere in my critique, that my essay was nothing more than special pleading for the Republican Party. Thus C. Joseph Doyle, identified as “executive director of the Catholic Action League of Massachusetts,” asked “what sane and lucid person could possibly repose faith in the Republican Party on moral issues?” (*The Wanderer*, September 20, 2007), and “S.C. from Las Vegas” (October 11, 2007) characterized me as “akin to a suitor refusing to acknowledge the unfaithfulness of his beloved” and accused me of expecting the popes to behave as “team players” of the Republican Party.

In the same (October 11) issue “Dr. M.H. of Northern Virginia” claimed that I even equate loyalty to the Republican Party with eternal salvation, and

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**James Hitchcock**, a professor of history at St. Louis University, is the author of *The Supreme Court and Religion in American Life* (Princeton University Press, 2004). Part One of “Abortion and the ‘Catholic Right’” appeared in the Spring 2007 issue of *HLR* ([humanlifereview.com](http://humanlifereview.com)).

Rupert Ederer, an economist who cheered the Democratic victories of 2006, sneered that “conservative cradle Republicans cannot leave the cradle.” (I am in fact a cradle Democrat who did not leave that cradle until I was 38 years old.)

The most common response to my article was simply to change the subject—from abortion to the war in Iraq, the economy, or whatever else seemed important to a particular individual, without apparently realizing that changing the subject exactly proved my point.

Scott P. Richert, an editor of *Chronicles* magazine, began his response (*The Wanderer*, November 18, 2007), “I do not believe in conspiracy theories—at least not in most. But from the moment that I heard about James Hitchcock’s rather strange and unexpected attack . . . I’ve had a feeling there must be more to the story.” He then revealed that the “more” was an attempt by Father Richard John Neuhaus and myself to defuse Catholic opposition to the Iraq war. (“Whatever the reason, something is afoot.”)<sup>2</sup> Richert lamented that “more conservative Catholics in America agree with Dr. Hitchcock in supporting the war in Iraq and pledging undying fealty to the Republican Party than in heeding the admonitions of two consecutive Pontiffs regarding the immorality of the war and judging candidates by their adherence to the culture of life rather than to party affiliation.”

I did not praise any presidential candidate in my essay, but Richert speculated further that both my article and a response to it by Neuhaus were attempts to convince Catholics that voting for Rudolph Giuliani for president in 2008 would be better than voting for Hillary Clinton, an arguable position but not one that I attempted to make nor one that I could make with much conviction. Likewise, nowhere in my article did I defend the war or imply that Catholics have an obligation to support it and, far from believing that Catholics ought to be blindly loyal to the Republican Party, I am happy to support the occasional pro-life Democrat and would never support a pro-abortion Republican.

Although the crucial distinction may seem subtle to some, it is itself virtually self-evident: Pro-lifers are in no way obliged to support the war, but in supporting particular anti-abortion candidates they may be forced to vote for people who do support the war, because there are few candidates who are both anti-abortion and anti-war.

Contrary to Richert’s assertion, I have never said or implied that Catholics should address only the abortion issue, something that would be absurd on its face. Rather, I questioned the priorities that some on the Right seem to have adopted. Remarkably, Richert mentioned abortion in his own essay only in order to justify, quite explicitly, its relegation to a subordinate moral



position, since “there is a war going on,” a reference to Iraq, not to the battle over the lives of the unborn. Richert then demanded to know, “Which is paramount for Hitchcock: The Catholic Church or the Republican Party. Abortion or the war in Iraq?,” a formulation that can only mean that abortion is merely a Republican issue, while the Catholic Church emphasizes the war.

*Wanderer* reader “T.L.” (September 20, 2007) defended the paper’s attention to other issues, “even if [abortion] were the paramount issue of our time, as Professor Hitchcock believes,” the use of the words “were” and “believes” indicating that my claim of such priority was contrary to fact. (Ederer denounced any attempt at establishing such priorities as a “preposterous divisive maneuver.”) Another *Wanderer* reader (September 13, 2007) stated flatly that “it is shortsighted to treat abortion as the fundamental problem” and urged that illegal immigration should hold that position.

In using terms like “uncomfortable alliance,” “moral ambiguities,” and “implicated,” I was obviously saying that no moral person can be blindly partisan. Richert somehow interpreted those words in exactly the opposite sense, contemptuously remarking that I think that “the Vatican is too naïve to realize that ‘political action necessarily brings with it the moral ambiguity inherent in all politics’”—a sneer that seemed to mean either that somewhere there do exist politicians who are wholly uncompromised or that Catholics must retain their purity by refraining from political activity of any kind.

Richert accused me of weaving a seamless garment of Republican issues, but my point was exactly the opposite—I insisted that abortion is in a class by itself, which, regrettably, may sometimes force voters to support candidates who stand for other things of which they disapprove. Richert himself wove a seamless garment by elevating opposition to the Iraq war to the same moral level as abortion.

The distinction between absolute and prudential moral judgments is fundamental to Catholic moral theology, but it has been a liberal Catholic ploy to elide the two together, thus producing the “seamless garment” by which liberals justify support for abortion by weighing it against the policies of the welfare state. Richert explicitly rejected the distinction between absolute and prudential moral judgments. Quoting a theologian, he correctly defined prudence as “the intellectual virtue whereby the human being recognizes in the matter at hand what is good and what is evil,” but he seemed not to understand its meaning. The Catholic Church teaches that abortion is always and everywhere wrong, whereas prudential judgments, such as those concerning wars, depend on knowledge of complex circumstances and can therefore be fallible. (Most notably, for what he considered valid prudential

reasons, Pope Pius XII never pronounced definitively on the morality of World War II.) The Catholic Church never makes solemn official pronouncements about concrete historical events in the same way that it does about moral acts that are intrinsically evil. Thus if judgments about war are on the same moral plane as judgments about abortion, it follows that under certain conditions abortion may be justifiable.

Right-wing Catholics who regard papal statements about Iraq as having absolute moral authority routinely ignore or reject such statements on other subjects. Over a period of decades the Holy See has strongly supported the United Nations, for example, and has consistently taken what must be called a liberal stance on capital punishment, foreign aid, immigration, environmentalism, and other things that right-wingers find unacceptable.

Some of my critique of the Catholic Right was of its willingness to oppose pro-life politicians who are deemed to be in error on other issues. Thus in 2006 *The Wanderer* urged the defeat of Senator Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, partly because of Santorum's support of Pennsylvania's other Republican senator, the pro-abortion Arlen Specter. Opposing Santorum could be justified on the grounds that his opponent, Robert Casey Jr., was also pro-life. But, as could have been predicted, Casey, as a Democrat, has turned out to be considerably less than completely pro-life, voting to overturn the Bush administration's Mexico City Policy that denies American funds to international bodies for the promotion of abortion. But *The Wanderer* (October 11, 2007) relegated news of Casey's defection to the bottom of page nine.

Paul Likoudis, a *Wanderer* editor, claimed in 2006 that Santorum's defeat was also justified by his support for the Iraq war, and a *Wanderer* reader asserted (November 16, 2006) that Santorum's real offense was not his support of Specter but the fact that that he had departed from "Catholic teaching" concerning the state of Israel. The latter charge was repeated a year later (October 11, 2007) by "Dr. M.H. of Northern Virginia," who derided Santorum, after he had left office, for using the phrase "Islamofascism," which Dr. M.H. characterized as "a position comporting nicely with the Old Testament, but some of us also believe there is a New Testament," an odd remark given the fact that it was Christianity, not Judaism, that was at war with Islam throughout much of history.

In their repeated denunciations of "neo-conservatives" over the Iraq war, right-wing Catholics ignore the fact that neo-conservatives, especially in the pages of their leading publication, *The Weekly Standard*, are among the few secular commentators enrolled in the pro-life cause (for example, a strong article [November 5, 2007]—not by any means the first—on the Terri Schiavo

case). Christopher Manion, a regular *Wanderer* columnist, regularly charges (e.g., November 15, 2007) that neo-conservatives' attitude to pro-lifers "seldom rises above thinly disguised contempt," an assertion for which he offers no evidence. Only a week before Manion made this claim, *The Wanderer* itself provided evidence of strong neo-conservative support of pro-life causes without acknowledging it, when it cited a *Standard* article<sup>3</sup> that was one of the most thorough and effective exposés of Planned Parenthood ever published.

Manion's "proof" that neoconservatives are not pro-life consists entirely of raw assertion, on the assumption that *Wanderer* readers know nothing about the movement except what he tells them. For example, the ecumenical religious journal *First Things* has over the years published innumerable articles on the life issues, but Manion (January 31) falsely claimed that in its pages "'national greatness' conservatism . . . crowds out the pro-lifers."

*The Wanderer* (August 23, 2007) also attempted to discredit the *Standard* by quoting at length from an article in the *New York Times* accusing the media empire of Rupert Murdoch, which owns the magazine, of corrupting American journalism. Although most social conservatives regard the *Times* as itself the prime exemplar of all that is wrong with the media, *The Wanderer* concluded its lengthy citation by commanding, "One should not doubt the veracity of the *New York Times* report. . . ."

Until he did so poorly in the primaries, it was right-wing dogma that neo-conservatives were planning to impose Giuliani on the nation, an assumption that was used to justify blanket condemnations of the Republicans. In reality, however, neo-conservatives were predictably divided over the various Republican candidates, and one article in the *Standard* (October 2, 2007) argued that Giuliani was unacceptable precisely because of his position on abortion, a judgment also tendered by *National Review* (December, 3, 2007), a magazine that right-wingers dismiss as having been captured by neo-conservatives. (Manion [December 13, 2007] distorted the *Standard's* argument against Giuliani by calling it a "lament.")

The assumption by right-wing critics of the Republican Party (and many on the Left as well) that the party's official pro-life stance is hypocritical is a dogma that, like all dogmas, is irrefutable, in that Republican inaction on abortion proves the charge, while any action is dismissed as a political trick. Thus Richert charges that "President Bush had six years in which he controlled both houses of Congress to make good on his pro-life promises, but he made no effort to do so," although no president ever simply "controls" Congress and Bush has effectively used his executive power for various pro-life purposes. "S.C. from Las Vegas" (*The Wanderer*, October 11, 2007) pointed

to the nomination of Harriet Miers to the Supreme Court as evidence of Bush's lack of commitment on abortion. But Miers was reportedly nominated in part precisely because she was pro-life; her nomination was withdrawn after she was criticized as lacking judicial depth. S.C. manifested a fundamental misunderstanding of legal realities by recalling that "[Supreme Court justices] Roberts and Alito both say that they accept *Roe* as established law," as though S.C. thinks it is not established law and that a Supreme Court nominee could repeal it simply by his own fiat. S.C. further noted that the Supreme Court in 1973 "didn't wait for the country to be ready for abortion," but he seemingly did not understand that any equally sudden reversal depends on gradually building a solid pro-life majority on the Court, something the Republican defeats of 2006 (applauded in the pages of *The Wanderer*) now make almost impossible.

C. Joseph Doyle unintentionally exposed the fallacy of this kind of analysis when he compared the Bush administration to the Stuart kings of England, whom he accused of courting Catholic support, then repeatedly betraying it. The analogy was apt, but in ways Doyle did not realize. The four Stuart kings all had Catholic wives. Charles I was as tolerant of Catholics as he dared to be, which was one of the factors leading to his overthrow and execution. Charles II, who became a Catholic on his deathbed, tried to enact religious toleration but was thwarted by Parliament. He fought hard to enable his Catholic brother James II to succeed him, but James lost the throne after he issued a decree of religious toleration solely on his own authority. Thus Doyle's analogy proved the opposite of what he thought—not even would-be absolute monarchs, much less modern democratic presidents, can simply ignore political opposition.

Without offering much evidence, "K.S. of Washington" (*The Wanderer*, September 27, 2007) condemned William Mukasey, Bush's nominee for attorney general, as being pro-abortion and declared that "the Bush-Cheney neocon crowd, having used the pro-lifers twice to get elected, can now freely abuse and betray them." As other *Wanderer* readers have done, K.S. argued his case on the odd assumption that a president cannot do more than one thing at a time, so that Bush's pursuit of the Iraq war somehow prevented him from pursuing a pro-life agenda domestically. K.S. did not attempt to explain what benefit Bush derived from betraying the pro-life movement nor how, after he had won reelection in 2004, his appointment of John Roberts and Samuel Alito to the Supreme Court constituted such a betrayal. K.S. claimed that Bush nominated Mukasey for the specific purpose of undercutting both the pro-life movement and the federal obscenity laws and predicted flatly that Mukasey would serve as attorney general until 2013, in

either a Giuliani or a Clinton administration. K.S. made no attempt to explain why Bush would appoint an attorney general acceptable to one of his bitterest political enemies nor why, if Giuliani and Clinton were to be opponents in 2008, they were already in agreement that Bush's appointee should continue to hold that office.

But, here as elsewhere, *The Wanderer's* stance sometimes defies any discernable consistency. After having for years vehemently denied that the president is truly pro-life, the paper featured a front-page story (January 31, 2008) about a group of Catholic college students who attended a pro-life breakfast in the White House, hosted by the president, an experience that was described as "amazing."

As I pointed out in my first article, economics—along with the war—appears to be the engine that is now driving much of the Catholic Right's stand on public issues, establishing its priorities and imparting a compelling sense of urgency. Likoudis has proudly recalled (January 10) that he predicted that the economy would be the principal issue in the 2008 election, a prediction that has been confirmed by Patrick Buchanan.

By ignoring abortion almost entirely, Richert discovered that Neuhaus and I have another, hidden agenda, which is the defense of capitalism, a system that has allegedly been condemned by successive popes. (I made no argument for capitalism in my article.)

Ederer has been an exponent of a certain kind of Catholic economic theory, albeit one that remains largely unknown, partly because it has never been articulated in America in other than the vaguest terms. Thus Ederer, in denouncing Republicans, extolled the ideals of "Solidarity" and the "just wage," without explaining what they mean or how they could be achieved.

C. Joseph Doyle also demanded that, besides the war in Iraq, which he placed on the same moral plane as the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, "issues of economic justice and social charity" must be paramount. A contributor to the right-wing newspaper *The Remnant*, Timothy J. Cullen of Argentina (August 15, 2007), saw modern urban life itself—deliberately promoted by "central banking and taxation systems" that "enslave" people and by "the central-bank-controlled U.S. Congress"—as the principal enemy of the "Social reign of Christ the King." A Chicago priest wrote (October 11, 2007) that through *The Wanderer* he had been introduced to authentic Catholic social thought that exposed the errors of "unbridled capitalism," a claim made by other readers as well, although a certain kind of provinciality seems to have rendered those readers oblivious to the fact that almost all the leading opinion-making agencies in America—the mass media, the universities, the mainline churches—oppose unbridled capitalism.

“G.H.S.” (September 20, 2007) minimized the abortion issue by offering the standard liberal argument that abortion can only be ended when everyone is economically secure, a claim that assumes, despite all evidence, that poverty is the only reason women have abortions. Like many liberals, G.H.S. in effect denied the moral validity of the entire pro-life movement, asserting that only those who are economically secure can “solely consider one issue as paramount.”

Reported very inconspicuously in *The Wanderer* (November 18, 2007) was the pro-abortion stance of a radio commentator named Lou Dobbs, whom the paper had once supported for president because of his championship of “working men and women and their families.”

The paper (October 11, 2007) also praised Paul Craig Roberts, a former official of the Reagan administration, as an acute economic diagnostician, because he had condemned the growth of corporate power through the free market and the weakening of government regulation. Roberts made important points about the economy, but the paper also seemed to endorse his view of the free market’s alleged bad cultural effects—media ownership by large corporations has made government less accountable to the citizens, and corporate money (through privately funded “think tanks”) has subverted independent research. *The Wanderer*’s apparent endorsement of those claims was odd for a morally conservative organ, in that the media, far from being uncritical of government, have been relentlessly hostile to the Bush administration, especially on the life issues, and conservative think tanks are a vital counterweight to the liberal universities. Roberts’ criticisms implied that the media need to be even more alert to the misdeeds of the Bush administration (such as defending Terri Schiavo’s right to life) and that institutions like the Heritage Foundation, the Institute for Religion and Democracy, and the Ethics and Public Policy Center actually subvert the common good.

Terry Hughes, an anti-abortion activist, defended *The Wanderer*’s preoccupation with economics (October 4, 2007) by pointing out that readers need to make informed moral judgments about a variety of subjects. He proposed “integrating the pro-life cause into these other issues,” but did not explain how this could be achieved. (Reader “D.L.” of Pennsylvania asserted that “sex education” provides the link, but failed to explain how.)

All but one of the Republican candidates for president have been discredited in the pages of *The Wanderer*; Giuliani quite legitimately but the others by various kinds of sleight-of-hand. Thus, as John McCain began to pull ahead of the rest, the paper reported (January 24) Santorum’s warning that McCain is not truly pro-life and that behind the scenes in the Senate he worked to

undermine the movement. Coming from Santorum it was a charge that needed to be taken quite seriously, except for one thing—it was *The Wanderer* itself that had systematically attacked Santorum’s credibility. (Senator Sam Brownback of Kansas, who is also strongly pro-life, has defended McCain.)<sup>4</sup> National Right to Life originally endorsed Fred Thompson, and his departure from the race left Mike Huckabee as the most consistently pro-life candidate, a fact noted in *The Wanderer* by Dexter Duggan (December 13, 2007). But immediately (December 27, January 3, January 17) Manion disqualified Huckabee on the grounds that, like McCain, he has had the support of some anti-Catholics and, even more importantly, is friendly to Israel.

**T**he discrediting of all other candidates was for the purpose of bringing together *The Wanderer*’s primary concerns over the war and economics in its fervent support of the presidential candidacy of Congressman Ron Paul of Texas. The paper has for a long time published front-page articles on his campaign in almost every issue, often predicting that he will win the White House, because he alone represents the real interests of the people, and that, if he does not, it will be because of rigged voting machines and other kinds of cheating (August 16, 2007).

The fervor of this support was expressed by “M.M.” of Pennsylvania (October 4, 2007), who described herself as “cynical at age 24” and wondered if she dared pray for a Paul victory. *The Wanderer* was her only reliable source of news, because she could not watch television for fear of seeing the faces of “Democratic politicians.” (Apparently she missed *The Wanderer*’s warning that, except for Paul, Republicans are if anything even worse.)

Paul is a unique figure in Congress, where his voting record ought to appall conservative Catholics. He has, for example, voted against laws prohibiting transporting a minor across a state line for an abortion, making it a crime to harm a fetus during an assault on a mother, and banning child pornography, and he opposed awarding a congressional medal to Blessed Teresa of Calcutta.<sup>5</sup> The stated reason for such positions is his deep devotion to states’ rights, but—while his principles are no doubt genuine—his fervent Catholic supporters make an act of faith in the man that requires them to ignore the way in which his principles undermine some of their own most cherished causes.

Paul’s pro-life stance is mentioned in *The Wanderer* but never featured, which is appropriate, in that Paul himself does not claim that opposition to abortion is at the center of his agenda. Analyzing the sources of Paul’s appeal (October 4, 2007), the paper’s astute political commentator, Thomas Roeser, did not even mention abortion as a factor, nor did the paper (August 16,

2007) include abortion on its list of reasons why Paul is “the only serious candidate.” To prove that Paul had won a debate among Republican presidential candidates, Likoudis (September 13, 2007) quoted a number of people who confirmed Paul’s victory by e-mail, only one of whom even mentioned abortion and then only to say that Paul should have been asked his views on the subject.

Early in the presidential campaign Paul made himself into a Republican pariah by asserting that terrorist attacks on America were in effect justified by American foreign policy, a claim he later repeated at a Catholic college (*The Wanderer*, September 20, 2007). But it is Paul’s economics above all that seem to attract the newspaper. It has praised (November 15, 2007) his economic ideas as “reality-based,” in that he blames the Federal Reserve for the country’s economic troubles, a theme frequently sounded in *The Wanderer*, with no attempt to explain precisely how the Federal Reserve achieves its nefarious effects or what its motives are. But except for such vague semi-conspiratorial intimations, Paul’s ideas on economics in fact seem to go directly contrary to those expressed elsewhere in the paper, suggesting that ultimately *The Wanderer*’s fervor on his behalf stems not from clear analysis of the issues but merely from general frustration with the state of the world.

Appearing at a Catholic college (*The Wanderer*, December 13, 2007) Paul called himself “Catholic-friendly,” claiming that the Catholic Church has officially condemned the Iraq war. But he is a Baptist who can hardly be thought to be conversant with papal economic ideas, and Roberts’s or Ederer’s criticisms of the free market seem scarcely compatible with the Texan’s own economic philosophy, which appears to be an extreme version of precisely the free market they condemn, a free market liberated from even the possibility of outside restraint, because most such restraint is imposed by federal agencies that Paul would abolish. When asked about capitalism (*The Wanderer*, January 17), his chief complaint was that it is not unbridled enough.

*The Wanderer* (November 29, 2007) gave prominent attention to the advice of a “financial advisor” who urged citizens to donate generously to Paul’s presidential campaign, since otherwise the dollar will become “worthless.” The paper also reported favorably on a company whose assets had been seized by the Federal Bureau of Investigation because it was issuing its own currency, some of it bearing Paul’s picture!

Because of his opposition to Federal authority, Paul has a kind of populist image, with all the ambiguities inherent in that stance. He has reportedly raised unprecedented amounts of money on the Internet, which has given him a significant financial advantage over his opponents. But both his ability to raise money and his absolute opposition to government “interference” in



the economy suggest that, while perhaps appealing to some of those who suffer from the ills of that economy, Paul may be particularly attracting well-to-do people who resent any kind of restraint on the pursuit of profit, the kind of “rugged individualism” that is at the heart of the idea of the unrestrained free market.

As for Paul’s position on abortion, it is deceptive, in that he calls himself unreservedly pro-life—a claim some of his admirers accept at face value—but offers no solution to the abortion plague and seems to object to it not so much because it is wrong as because it was authorized by federal authority—the Supreme Court. His states’ rights philosophy relieves him of the necessity of addressing the life issues in moral terms, because governmental actions that promote objectionable practices are invalid under the Constitution. He voted against federal funding for embryonic-stem-cell research and in favor of the law forbidding partial-birth abortion, but he refers to *Roe v. Wade*—rather weakly—as “ill-advised” and explains his vote against stem-cell research on the libertarian grounds that taxpayers ought not to have to pay for things of which they disapprove.<sup>6</sup>

*The Wanderer* (January 17) quoted Paul on abortion as follows: “We will never persuade all 300 million Americans to agree with us. . . . For too long we have viewed the battle as purely political, but no political victory can change a degraded society.” The editors seemed not to understand that Paul’s statement amounted to a call to dismantle the pro-life movement, as both ineffective and misconceived. He apparently does not think that unborn human life deserves legal protection, so long as not all of those 300 million people agree.

In one of his Catholic-college appearances (*The Wanderer*, December 13, 2007) Paul was asked by a student why he did not favor the protection of the unborn under federal law. He replied that it is not a federal issue and that, if the federal government is wrong, “it messes up the fifty states”—an explanation that seemed to leave ample room for the various states to “mess up” in their own way. Paul has never indicated that he opposes state laws that permit abortion, as some did prior to *Roe v. Wade*. *The Wanderer* (October 11, 2007) also reported that Paul favors a law that would empower Congress to remove abortion from the jurisdiction of the Court. But at this point such a law would be a case of locking the barn door after the horse has escaped. Had the law been in effect in 2007, for example, the Court would have been barred from upholding the federal ban on partial-birth abortions, thereby allowing state laws that permit the practice to stand by default. President Bush’s public expressions of support for Terri Schiavo, a courageous act that the Catholic Right largely ignores, would have to be judged a misuse of

presidential authority according to Paul's philosophy, which also denies the validity of any constitutional amendment protecting the life of the unborn, because such matters belong to the states.

Shockingly, Paul's position, as it turns out, is precisely that of so many liberal Catholics: "Personally I am opposed, but . . ."

Over a period of several decades, admirers of Paul have published several newsletters in his name (e.g., *Ron Paul's Freedom Report*), in which a number of startling ideas have been set forth, such as the prediction of a "coming race war" and the suggestion that Israel perpetrated the attack on the World Trade Center in 2001.<sup>7</sup> Paul's official spokesman has explained that Paul was simply lax in supervising the publications. But a defense of Paul came from an unlikely source—the left-wing journalist Colman McCarthy, writing in the *National Catholic Reporter* (January 25, 2008), a left-wing paper whose chief reason for existence is systematically to question official Catholic doctrine. McCarthy claimed that Paul "outthinks" all other Republicans and accepted the candidate's excuse that he had not been paying attention, a credulity McCarthy would scarcely show towards any other Republican. McCarthy then "proved" that Paul does not hold extreme views by the perfectly circular argument that, if he did, he would not have been elected to Congress. (It seems much more realistic to think that he has gotten elected precisely because of people who hold the views expressed in the newsletters.)

The fact that the media in general did not pursue the story of the newsletters was to McCarthy not a dereliction of responsibility but further proof that the allegations were, if not exactly untrue (McCarthy used uncharacteristically evasive language to get around that), nonetheless things for which Paul should not be held responsible. McCarthy began his defense by asking who was giving Paul so much money, but along the way his curiosity on that point vanished. In the end, his defense of Paul required him to violate all the usual canons of investigative journalism, something made even more curious by the fact that, if Paul were the Republican nominee, McCarthy would almost certainly not vote for him against a liberal Democrat.

Pro-lifers have long recognized that the "country-club Republicans"—roughly the old Rockefeller wing of the party—are hostile to social conservatism. But the events of recent years have revealed that the "paleo-conservatives"—roughly the Goldwater wing that defeated the Rockefellerites—are sometimes equally unsympathetic.

Barry Goldwater himself espoused an amoral philosophy that extolled a certain notion of "freedom" for its own sake, without regard for its social consequences. He could not see racial discrimination as a transcendent moral issue, for example, and in time he became a passionate advocate of abortion

and homosexual “rights.” Paul’s views on economics and government are in the Goldwater tradition. To many Goldwaterites the social conservatives who started voting Republican in the mid-1970s are often not “true conservatives.” Indeed most do not even know what a true conservative is supposed to be, and as single-issue voters they are willing to support candidates that paleo-conservatives like Buchanan and Manion find unacceptable. (Buchanan also writes a weekly column for *The Wanderer* in which he almost never mentions abortion.)

In 2008 paleo-conservatives think they see in Ron Paul an opportunity of recapturing the Republican Party, and for that reason they promote Paul’s cause with religious fervor. But, as Manion said with no apparent sense of irony (January 31), “Through all this, unborn life gets lost in the desert dust.”

**D**ebates over the war, the economy, abortion, and states’ rights all take place within the familiar framework of American electoral politics. But there are also elements of the Catholic Right that operate in entirely different universes, where the issues are so far-reaching as to make abortion appear almost insignificant. Manion, for example, discovered that Bush is a “Darwinian Marxist,” because the president has expressed the belief that history will vindicate his administration (*The Wanderer*, August 23, 2007). For true Christians, according to Manion, there are no such things as historical judgments, only timeless truths that cannot change.

A “Catholic Ph.D.” from Massachusetts explained (*The Wanderer*, October 4, 2007) that Americans suffer from a conviction of righteousness deriving from Calvinism—a theology that allegedly teaches that everything, including world dominance, is predestined and that those who are predestined cannot err, a conviction that has justified repeated acts of American aggression against other peoples. The invasion of Iraq was in accord with the Calvinist gospel of wealth, according to this reader, with “only a few benighted Catholics” opposing it, an opposition that has now increased because the war has not proven profitable. The reader linked the war with the social issues by identifying abortion and homosexuality as themselves “Puritan” ideas deriving from the same Calvinist sense of righteousness, since Calvinism allegedly denies human sinfulness and does not require repentance. C. Joseph Doyle calls contemporary liberalism “Puritanism on steroids” (*The Wanderer*, December 27, 2007).

After my article appeared I received an e-mail message from someone identifying himself as a “district judge,” who convicted me of “calumny, character assassination, detraction, and arrogance,” revealed that his favorite college professor had warned him against me many years ago, and charged

that my criticisms of the Right stemmed from the fact that neither I nor the papal biographer George Weigel accept the Catholic Church as the true church.

Richert charged that Father Neuhaus does not believe (and, by implication, that I do not believe) that the Holy Spirit guides the Church and that he has rejected “the magisterium established by Christ.” Referring to the 2008 election, Richert solemnly warned, “Here’s hoping, for [Hitchcock’s] soul’s sake, that he makes the right choice.” (The warning left my salvation in peril, however, because, while Richert made it clear that I must not vote Republican, he offered no guidance as to whom I should support. Oddly, this concern for my soul originally appeared on a blog sponsored by an international playboy who is pro-abortion.<sup>8</sup>)

To the right of *The Wanderer* is *The Remnant*, a newspaper whose name derives from the fact that in effect it seceded from *The Wanderer* after the Second Vatican Council, whose authority *The Wanderer* accepts but *The Remnant* does not. John Rao, a regular *Remnant* author, titled his response “The Exotic Liberation Theology of Fr. Neuhaus and Dr. Hitchcock: Enlightenment Ideology at War with Faith, Reason, & *The Remnant*” (November 15, 2007), an essay whose tone was typified in the statement “I do not know when Dr. Hitchcock became a fellow traveler down Neuhaus’ Yellow Brick Road to a liberated Oz governed by an Americanist civil religion passed off as the Faith of the Apostles.”

Rao claimed that the theology that Neuhaus and I allegedly share requires us to banish the saints from the liturgical calendar, in favor of “John Locke, David Hume, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Ludwig von Mises, and maybe Mickey Mouse,” and he concluded with the charge that what Neuhaus and I represent is “to the detriment of Faith, Reason, and the human spirit in general.”

“Liberation Theology,” which has its greatest influence in Latin America, is a quasi-Marxist interpretation of the Gospel as primarily a message of salvation from social and economic oppression, to be achieved through violent revolution if necessary. Since neither Neuhaus nor I have ever been accused of being Marxists, and since both of us have criticized Liberation Theology, Rao’s title was, to say the least, provocative. He resolved the anomaly by changing the definition of Liberationism into “the unique, profound transition wrought on the individual and society not through Christ but through the political and economic freedom taught by the British Enlightenment and through the American system,” a definition that is roughly the opposite of what Liberationism is ordinarily thought to be.

Rao did not find it necessary to explain what exactly he meant by the

Enlightenment or how precisely Catholics are being seduced by it. He dropped a clue, however, in deriding “peace and harmony of religions under the American system.” (The Lefebvrist schism in the Catholic Church, with which *The Remnant* sympathizes, stemmed in large measure from its disaffection with the Second Vatican Council’s *Decree on Religious Liberty*.) Rao piled assertion on top of assertion as to Neuhaus’ alleged beliefs (“God’s creation as a whole lies in melancholy slumber, groaning to become like to Enlightened Britain and the United States”), without offering even a close paraphrase, much less a direct quote, of Neuhaus’s actual words. Thus he convicted Neuhaus of “Sophism” by the simple expedient of summarizing the views of one ancient Greek philosopher, then asserting that anyone could see that Neuhaus shares them. As with the perfectly circular argument that the professed anti-abortion stances of Republican politicians have to be lies, Rao backhandedly acknowledged that Neuhaus might sound orthodox, by warning that his Liberation Theology is “dressed up in appropriate words for the benefit of the strong and the confusion of the weak,” subverting “the dull public with a repetitiveness worthy of Joseph Goebbels. And the Catholic public swallows and parrots (his words).”

Rao repeated the claim that I demand that those who oppose abortion also support the Iraq war, a demand I have never made and would never even think of making. (In his habitual manner of attributing opinions to people without evidence, he charged that “of course” I regard the war as “a perfectly respectable massacre.”) He also claimed that I demand attendance at the White House Prayer Breakfast (an event I have never even attended myself) as necessary for the fight against abortion, even though the breakfast contaminates Catholics by bringing them into close contact with President Bush. (It might be inferred that Rao also condemned the breakfast because it is a manifestation of “peace and harmony of religions under the American system.”) With his high opinion of the diabolical cleverness of the enemy and his low opinion of the intelligence and honesty of his co-religionists, Rao claimed that one of the purposes of the breakfast, while it is apparently a gathering of conservative religious believers, is in reality to provide an opportunity for Catholics to be “manipulated by anti-religious forces to aid in the battle to promote abortion.”

Rao sternly enjoined Catholics to oppose the war, because “the overwhelming majority . . . including the pope and the vast bulk of non-American bishops and laity—is openly and correctly anti-war and anti-Bush.” The word “correctly” is the key to understanding Rao’s position. Readers unfamiliar with the Catholic Right would reasonably assume that Rao simply defers to the Holy See as the ultimate infallible teacher. But the reality is

quite the opposite—*The Remnant* is highly sympathetic to the Lefebvrist schism, in effect rejects the teaching authority of the Second Vatican Council, and does not think there has been a wholly reliable pope for fifty years. Thus Rao proclaimed the reign of John Paul II as “The Worst Pontificate in History” (*Remnant*, August 31, 2004), because the pope was “the Master of Muck” whose ideas were contained in “goofy wrapping” but who was merely “an honest slave of the Enlightenment . . . not its sinister master.”

*The Remnant* in fact exists precisely in order to instruct readers as to which words and actions of the Holy See are authentically Catholic and which are not, a judgment *Remnant* authors like Rao reserve to themselves. In this ecclesiastical world the Iraq war is not wrong because the pope has declared it so. Rather papal pronouncements must be followed because they are found to be in harmony with *The Remnant*'s own positions.

**R**ao rejects pro-life participation in democratic politics, because “the cards are stacked against your victory . . . when [elections] have degenerated into sophism and money-dominated carnivals.” (He cited Soviet elections under Josef Stalin as an example, presumably because American elections are similarly fraudulent.) This rejection of electoral politics is, once again, based on a perfectly circular argument, in that any good apparently achieved in that way merely proves that the voters are the gullible victims of trickery. (In urging Catholics to shift their efforts from abortion to the war, Ferrara did not explain why the political process will prove to be any more responsive to the latter issue than to the former.)

*The Remnant*'s disaffection with American society goes very deep. If Ron Paul's followers appeal to the Constitution, Rao found that document itself an “empty shell,” because it is not based on “a classical natural law theory that is also open to correction and transformation in Christ.” Rao condemned the Founding Fathers as representatives of the Enlightenment and reiterated his charge that the American pro-life movement (including the “dangerously immoral” ideas being promoted by Neuhaus, Weigel, and others) is actually an evil force in the world—“a “seamless, Americanist, Republican, Capitalist, British Enlightenment garment” that undermines the last remnants of “Catholic Europe,” thereby preparing the way for abortion and the very secularism that its apostles pretend to oppose. Catholic pro-lifers, he charged, were “even to the point of welcoming the coronation of an openly pro-choice King Rudi I,” ignoring the fact that *National Right to Life News*, to take one example (September 2007), called Giuliani's position “bizarre and unpersuasive.”

The pro-life movement, Rao pointed out, came into being in America

because of the prior reality of abortion itself, but he did not explain why no movement of similar strength has emerged in “Catholic Europe.” Legalized abortion, he charged, was the inevitable result of the idea of “freedom” espoused by American Liberationists, but he also failed to explain why, if this is so, the practice was accepted even earlier in some European countries.

*The Remnant* advocates the “Social Kingship of Christ,” without explaining what exactly the term means and, given the paper’s “traditionalist” suspicions of the Second Vatican Council, it is not unreasonable to infer that this “social kingship” has no room for the concept of religious liberty.

Rao has reduced the United States to an abstraction—that of “The Enlightenment,” which he does not define—a reduction that permits him to ignore the complex way in which this country and every other country, including the nations of “Catholic Europe,” actually develop over time, the obvious fact that history moves in crooked lines and that the United States is not simply the inevitable unfolding of Enlightenment-Masonic ideas.

Rao stresses the British character of the Enlightenment because the British (and therefore also American) version was not virulently anti-religious, as in France, but managed to coexist with Christianity. Common sense suggests that the Founding Fathers were sincere in their espousal of religious liberty, but Rao cannot allow that possibility. Instead he explains the American founding as “a quiet campaign of intellectual and spiritual seduction” for the purpose of tricking Christianity into becoming “a willing accomplice in its own corruption.” Here again his unhistorical approach to history betrays itself. It defies common sense to think that the Founding Fathers wanted to suppress the Catholic religion by law—something for which at the time no one but a handful of Catholics would have blamed them—but refrained from doing so as part of an extremely subtle plot to undermine it over a period of centuries. Such a plot, if it existed, would merely demonstrate the unbelievable stupidity of those enlightened anti-Catholics, who missed the opportunity to strangle the infant American Catholic Church in its cradle and instead relied on a vague hope that eventually it would be seduced by the culture, thereby allowing it over time to become the largest religious group in the country. (Rao cannot even consider the familiar point—first made by Alexis de Tocqueville—that religious liberty and the consequent religious pluralism of America had an invigorating effect on the churches.)

Besides the Enlightenment, the United States is obviously the product of, among many other things, Puritanism with its repeated “great awakenings,” black Christianity, a plethora of home-grown religions like Mormonism, and massive immigration. (It is one of the few countries in the world where the immigrant working class retained strong religious loyalties.) Instead of trying

to understand this complex identity, Rao expounds a theory of history according to which everything unfolds as programmed, so that Thomas Jefferson and James Madison's embrace of Enlightenment principles inevitably brought "global imperialism, contraception, abortion, euthanasia, racial engineering, and genocide" upon the land. (All these things—racial engineering perhaps excepted—are perennial in human history, already common in ancient times.)

Rao's dismissal of the pro-life movement—his claim that in certain ways it even deliberately subverts its own goals—is required by his deterministic theory of history, according to which the consequences of ideas unfold inexorably once those ideas have been formulated. Thus he treats practices like abortion, which were already rampant in ancient times, as the necessary fruits of the modern liberal idea of freedom. It then becomes impossible to understand how some modern people base their opposition to abortion precisely on that same idea of freedom, now extended to include the unborn. (Although both Christianity and civil law condemned abortion over the centuries, only very recently has the evil of the practice called forth the degree of passion and urgency it requires.)

Rao is forced to be antagonistic to the pro-life movement, because his unhistorical view of history makes it impossible for him to understand how any movement of genuine moral and spiritual renewal could exist in a liberal society. To acknowledge the validity of the pro-life movement would be to grant some validity to the society itself, and for that reason pro-life efforts must always be seen to fail, in order to prove that the deck is stacked. This is, once again, a circular argument—the Catholic Right sneeringly rejects the idea that the appointment of judges ought to be a major priority for Catholic voters, then triumphantly exults that the courts have failed to do their duty. Ferrara proclaims that the Supreme Court's decision against partial-birth abortion merely "demonstrates that the nation is in the grip of an Enlightenment-bred lunacy only a miracle of grace can cure," an assertion based on the fact that the Court did not condemn abortion outright.

But the history of the Court is the history of the way in which sometimes radical changes take place, over time, through a series of seemingly small, even apparently irrelevant, moves. Many of those on the right seem not to understand the complexities of judicial politics, or have no patience with those complexities, so that they cannot understand how the nation even got into its present state and must ascribe legalized abortion to the irresistible triumph of the Enlightenment zeitgeist, something that was already fated more than two centuries ago but for some unexplained reason did not assert itself until 1973.



Those who reject electoral politics as a way of combating abortion offer no concrete alternative. Disdaining the work of painstaking, step-by-step political activity, they leave the field to their enemies and direct much of their fire at those ostensible allies who consider the battle still worth fighting.

#### NOTES

1. "Abortion and the 'Catholic Right,'" *HLR*, XXXIII, 2 (Spring 2007), pp. 7-23.
2. For the record, I am seldom in communication with Father Neuhaus, have never talked with him about the war, and as far as I know he was unaware of my article until it appeared in print.
3. Charlotte Allen, "Planned Parenthood's Unseemly Empire," *The Weekly Standard*, October 22, 2007, pp. 28-36.
4. Kathryn Jean Lopez, "Brownback Reads McCain," National Review Online, January 22.
5. Jay Root, "Republican from Texas Explodes the Stereotypes," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 18, 2007, p. A4. See also [www.OnTheIssues.com](http://www.OnTheIssues.com).
6. Quoted in *National Right to Life News*, October 2007).
7. James Kirchick, "Angry White Man," *The New Republic* Online, January 8, 2008.
8. Taki's Top Drawer ([www.takimag.com](http://www.takimag.com)). See *Wikipedia*, "Taki Theodoracopulos."

## Afterword

Maria McFadden

Last fall, friends alerted us to Scott P. Richert's "Who's Infallible Here Anyway? The *Human Life Review* Chooses Party Over Church," a column posted on "Taki's Top Drawer," an online magazine of "paleoconservative and libertarian contributors." Mr. Richert wrote: "I have to wonder what the late Mr. McFadden would have thought of the decision, by those entrusted with carrying on his legacy, to print James Hitchcock's 6,700-word screed, 'Abortion and the "Catholic Right"....'"

As one of the unnamed referred to above, James P. McFadden's daughter and the *Review's* editor since his death in 1998, I thought a few words of response—about our decision to print Professor Hitchcock's article (as well as the sequel), the responses we received, and what it all has to do with my father's legacy—were in order.

Hitchcock's manuscript came in to us as many do: unsolicited—though, I have to say, the arrival of a package from James Hitchcock is always a welcome and intriguing event. His cover note said he would understand if we didn't want to publish his article, but he wanted us to see it. When, after discussion among the editors, we did decide to publish "Abortion and the 'Catholic Right'" (in our *Spring 2007* issue), we knew there would be exercised reactions, and that some unfortunate divisions in the pro-life movement would be spotlighted (and that we might dismay some of our friends). But, as with Paul Benjamin Linton's article on the debate over incrementalism ("Sacred Cows, Whole Hogs & Golden Calves," *Summer 2007*), we believed that Hitchcock's subject was too crucial to ignore.

The critical issue is this: We all know that there are liberal Catholics who vote for pro-choice candidates (or *are* pro-choice candidates), but many assume (especially non-Catholics and the media) that the "Catholic Right" votes pro-life. Hitchcock was pointing out that a substantial number of conservative Catholics, part of the "Religious Right," seemed to be turning *away* from pro-life voting. He cited examples from the pages of *The Wanderer* (in his words, "one of the most conservative Catholic journals in the United States and a publication that is implacably anti-abortion") in which readers were discouraged from making voting decisions based on abortion, either because of a dismissal of incremental legislation ("if anything short of the complete reversal of *Roe v. Wade* must be rejected, and if such a reversal is

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at present scarcely realistic, then pro-lifers are in effect being advised to base their votes on other issues”), or because other issues—the war in Iraq, the state of the economy, or general aversion to President Bush and his administration—trump abortion in urgency.

Richert’s title notwithstanding, the *Human Life Review* is a non-sectarian publication, targeted to people of all faiths or no faith. Our focus is on abortion, and our mission, as stated in our first issue (January 1975), is to “support the God-given rights of the unborn, as well as the aged, the infirm—all the living—whenever or wherever their right to life is challenged, as the right to life is being challenged in America today.” It matters greatly to us how Americans vote regarding pro-life candidates and legislation.

We, like Hitchcock, received responses to his article, pro and con. Several people congratulated us for having the courage to say something that has been on their minds for a long time. Thomas Kolberg of Oneonta, N.Y., wrote: “The Hitchcock article was excellent. It was an objective analysis of what is going on. . . . Thanks for taking the risk and printing the good professor’s article.” And Patrick Young of Ontario sent us a note: “Hitchcock’s [essay] is a most welcome contribution to the human-life literature and mission as was your courageous decision to publish it and place it up front in your latest issue. Congrats!”

We read this response in *The Wanderer*’s “From the Mail”:

M. K. from Bloomington, Minn. writes: “Finally, someone has written an article that expresses what I have been thinking about for about a year. Whose side are these guys on anyway? (I mean the writers in *The Wanderer*.) All they do is criticize the most pro-life president we ever had; never does he get a word of credit for his staunchly pro-life views and actions. If it weren’t for his vetoes where would we be? I shudder to think what will be passed and signed if a Democrat is elected president.”

What was interesting, and disappointing, about the handful of *negative* responses we received was that they failed to address Hitchcock’s central charge—focusing instead on personal attacks against us, or indulging in page after page of fury about a fictitious “neocon conspiracy.” The conspiracy talk tends to center on Father Richard Neuhaus and his magazine, *First Things*. (Now, we greatly admire our friend Father Neuhaus, but he has no editorial connection to the *Review*, nor, as Professor Hitchcock notes, did he have anything to do with Hitchcock’s article. He did comment on the article in the December 2007 issue of *First Things*.) For example, a Dr. Terence Hughes from Maine, though he wrote sensibly about abortion’s hold on the Democratic party and the ways Catholics have failed to support the pro-life cause, also wrote:

*The Wanderer* has been in continuous circulation for 140 years. . . . Will *First Things*

still be in circulation 140 years from now, when you [Father Neuhaus] and the millions of dollars from your “neoconservative” warmongers who now subsidize *First Things* are history? To ask the question is to answer it. In addition, the *Human Life Review* depends for its existence on the continued existence of the Culture of Death with its banner of killing humanity in unlimited numbers by abortion under the sanction of law. . . . Any magazine that depends for its existence on the continuing Slaughter of the Innocents should not be critical of *The Wanderer*, which was fighting the battle first, and of all those who do, will probably be the last one standing when final victory arrives. It’s hard to trump 140 years.

I had been hoping for responses that focused on the question at hand: *May a Catholic, in good conscience, vote for a pro-choice candidate, if there are pro-life candidates running? Is there a difference between abortion (and euthanasia), and questions of war and social justice? The Catechism of the Catholic Church states clearly that abortion and euthanasia are always wrong, have always been and ever will be wrong, are intrinsically evil, and “must always be opposed.” It also states that “All citizens and governments are obliged to work for the avoidance of war,” and then lays out the “strict conditions for legitimate defense by military force”—in other words, the “just war” doctrine. There is no “just abortion” doctrine.*

In the 2007 document “Forming Consciences for Faithful Citizenship: A Call to Political Responsibility,” the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops likewise distinguishes between the obligation to oppose intrinsic evil and the responsibility to make prudential judgments in “applying moral principles to such specific policy choices in areas such as the war in Iraq, housing, health care, immigration, and others.” As far as a Catholic voting for a pro-choice candidate is concerned, this is a grave sin if the voter is doing so because he or she supports abortion—but the bishops do allow for times when a person may feel he must put aside a candidate’s views on abortion for other issues, or when a voter is left without a pro-life candidate. To wit:

35. There may be times when a Catholic who rejects a candidate’s unacceptable position may decide to vote for that candidate for other morally grave reasons. Voting in this way would be permissible only for truly grave moral reasons, not to advance narrow interests or partisan preferences or to ignore a fundamental moral evil.

36. When all candidates hold a position in favor of an intrinsic evil, the conscientious voter faces a dilemma. The voter may decide to take the extraordinary step of not voting for any candidates, or, after careful deliberation, may decide to vote for the candidates deemed less likely to advance such a morally flawed position and more likely to pursue other authentic human goods.

37. In making these decisions, it is essential for Catholics to be guided by a well-formed conscience that recognizes *that all issues do not carry the same moral weight and that the moral obligation to oppose intrinsically evil acts has a special claim on*

*our consciences and our actions.* These decisions should take into account a candidate's commitments, character, integrity and ability to influence a given issue. In the end, this is a decision to be made by each Catholic guided by a conscience formed by Catholic moral teaching. (Emphasis added.)

Opposition to the war in Iraq, which has been forcefully and eloquently expressed by both the late Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI, might well qualify, I would think, as a grave enough moral reason to vote against the war. But does this mean one can vote for a pro-choice candidate? Whatever a Catholic person decides, I believe it is a disservice to obfuscate important distinctions. Richert says that Hitchcock is "dismissing" both Pope John Paul and Pope Benedict's opposition to the war as "prudential judgments." No, he is *identifying* them as such. Prudential judgments can be right; but they are not right by definition. As Hitchcock writes, "prudential judgments, such as those concerning wars, depend on knowledge of complex circumstances and can therefore be fallible."

## II

**P**rofessor Hitchcock's article has obviously revived a years-old sore subject. When I opened above with Scott Richert's criticism, I didn't explain what *primarily* upset him, and that was Hitchcock's (and, by extension, our) treatment of Joseph Sobran. Richert begins his essay by alluding to Sobran's book, *Single Issues*, which had been published by my father (Human Life Press, 1983); he quotes my father's praise for his former friend and colleague Joseph Sobran and writes, "for many years when one thought of the *HLR*, one thought of Joe Sobran, and with good reason."

The warmth of J. P. McFadden's words ("Mr. Sobran is a most unusual and original man, whose friendship is as warm as his laugh") makes the dishonest attack on Joe Sobran in the Spring 2007 issue of *Human Life Review* seem all the more despicable. . . . Surely, whatever his later disagreements with Joe Sobran (and there were some) he would have regarded as vile slander the final clause of Hitchcock's concluding paragraph.

(The passage Richert refers to is the following: "The widely held, apparently self-evident, assumption that the pro-life movement is the creature of the 'Religious Right' has blinded even most informed observers to the unexpected and intriguing fact that, for some on the Catholic part of 'the Right' the life issues are no longer paramount, if they ever were.")

Now, it's absolutely true that Mr. Sobran was a valued contributor and friend to us and to the *Review* from its inception until 1993, as well as a close friend of my father (they were colleagues on the staff of *National Review*). But Richert's assertion that J.P. and Joe Sobran had "some . . . disagreements" is

something of an understatement; actually, these disagreements were serious enough to cause an estrangement that was never resolved.

Here's how it happened. In the summer and fall of 1993, a long-brewing controversy about Joe—specifically, over accusations that some of his columns were anti-Semitic—came to a head. *National Review* distanced itself from Sobran's syndicated column; Sobran responded with public, personal attacks on Bill Buckley; and *National Review* and Sobran parted ways.

My father was tragically distracted that summer of 1993. In May, he had been diagnosed with throat cancer; he had surgery in June, and he lost most of his voice and his ability to swallow. During a long summer of surgery and radiation, J.P. did not hear one personal word from Joe. He had agreed to write part of our *catholic eye* newsletter in June, before J.P. went into the hospital, and he wrote a few lines in his column asking for prayers for Dad. But he never called us or wrote to ask about how Dad was faring. J.P. was saddened (thought not surprised) when he heard of troubles between Joe and *NR*—and then appalled, when, in July, he read Joe's column "Are Moslems Terrorists?" That column contained, in J.P.'s words, "shameless, deliberate slander" against Buckley. J.P. was flabbergasted and dismayed both at Sobran's further attacks on Buckley that fall, *and* at the fact that Joe had not warned J.P. that they were coming. (Anyone who knew my dad knew how devoted he was to Bill.)

In November, my family got the worst news of all, that my brother Robert (33 years old) had a virulent, metastasized cancer. It was in that month that Sobran sent a letter to J.P. about an article idea, with *no* mention of anything else, and beginning with "Haven't heard from you in a while." J.P. was furious, and wrote a long memo to Joe; but he eventually decided it would be the "lesser of evils" to say nothing. He *had* decided that the *Human Life Review* could no longer publish Sobran. He never wrote about the break publicly; he wrote about it all in a private memo for us (because, as I said, he could hardly speak): "It was obvious I had no choice; honor alone demanded the break with Joe, not to mention the fact that I wanted to stand with Bill, he's stood with me through *my* trials." J.P. also wrote that it was his duty to keep the *Review* out of controversies that had nothing to do with its subject, abortion.

Sobran wrote an angry column about J.P. after that, stating that he had been fired from the *Human Life Review* "without a word" (technically true) and insinuating that *National Review* and the *Human Life Review* had "legal and financial ties" (not true). Dad suffered from the distorted account of events the column caused, along with some hate mail from Sobran fans, but at the time we were all dealing with issues much closer to our hearts. Robert

was undergoing chemo, and then a bone-marrow transplant in the spring of '94. But his cancer returned, and he died on December 28, 1994. Joe, who had been quite fond of Robert, came to his wake, and he and my dad shook hands. I believe that was the last contact they had.

After my father's death, Joe wrote an eloquent and mostly complimentary column about him; and, recently, Joe wrote a very good column about Buckley, after *his* death, in which he practically called Bill a saint ("the people who really knew him . . . wanted to talk about . . . his goodness, his warmth, the quality his and my friend Hugh Kenner, an eminent literary critic who measured his words carefully, once called 'saintly'") and said they had reconciled ("My employment ended unhappily, much to my regret now, but I rejoice to say we patched things up a year or so ago.").

Back to today's subject: I find it amazing that Mr. Richert seems so sure of what my father would have thought. Even I cannot be *certain* what my father would do or think, but I can make an educated guess, based on things I do know. He admired James Hitchcock's work and published him often, and they usually saw eye-to-eye on Catholic issues. When asked about his political affiliations, J.P. would say "I am Catholic first" —his faith trumped any other identification. After 1973, abortion became his issue, and he dedicated his life to fighting it. He believed in incremental measures, often reminding me that "politics is the art of the possible." He commuted for years to Washington to strategize with Henry Hyde and many others on legislation. He would *never* have accepted a lessening of the importance of fighting against abortion and euthanasia. I would bet that he would never vote for a pro-abortion candidate, however he may have felt about this war or any other issue. I think he would have stayed home before he would have voted for what he called a "pro-abort."

My father died in 1998. I remember thinking, right after 9/11, that as much as I missed him, I was grateful he did not live to witness that awful day. For him to endure the shock of an attack on his beloved New York City, the deaths of thousands, and the knowledge that Ground Zero was less than two miles from his young grandchildren, who had to stay inside the day after because of the horrible smoke coming from the fallen towers . . . well, I think he would have been devastated that he, a brave man, ready to protect his loved ones at all costs, had only luck to thank for our safety. I don't think J.P. would have stayed silent about 9/11 conspiracy theories, or balked at criticizing, as Hitchcock did, Sobran's written skepticism about the danger posed by al-Qaeda.

Those of us who do carry on his legacy here include those who were the closest to him—my mother, senior editor Faith Abbott McFadden, and my-

MARIA MCFADDEN

self. We are proud to carry on in his footsteps, and understand it as a privilege and a great responsibility. J.P. founded the *Review* to be, among other things, a record of the pro-life movement in this country, and that includes the debates that divide us as well as the dedication to the defense of unborn life that unites us. This current debate about the abortion issue in this election season deserves to be covered in our pages. We thank James Hitchcock for his articles, as we do those of you who took the time to write us your thoughts.



## Remembering “Sir William”

Faith Abbott McFadden

That’s how my late husband often began memos to Bill Buckley, and *scads* of memos there were, after Jim McFadden’s cancer took his voice in 1996. Most though began “Dear Bill,” and dear he was to our family—godfather to one of our daughters—and to all of us here. I suppose the Human Life Foundation and its *Review* could have happened some other way; maybe the Cold War could have ended without Ronald Reagan and JP II (and maybe Reagan could have happened without WFB and *National Review*) but it’s reasonable to believe—as we realized again when we got the news about Bill’s death—that without him there wouldn’t *be* what’s been called “the flagship of the anti-abortion movement.”

It all began when Jim read Buckley’s *God and Man at Yale*. He was in Youngstown College and editor of its paper, for which he wrote a stirring editorial about the book (to the dismay of certain profs). After graduation Jim continued in journalism, becoming a reporter for the Youngstown *Vindicator*; then after two years in Army Intelligence he came to New York, hoping to meet the book’s author—now editor of that new blue-bordered conservative mag—but hardly daring to even *hope* for a job there. They *did* meet, in Bill’s office, and chatted; and as Jim said, “Bill hired me on an impulse . . . Suddenly he looked at his watch and asked ‘When can you start?’” That was in 1956, nine months after *NR*’s first issue: Jim said “I was its first baby.”

Jim wrote some articles and reviews for *NR*, but after a few months realized they didn’t need him as a *writer*; the magazine was losing money, it needed someone to run the *business* end. Bill agreed and said in effect “You’re it.” So Jim began throwing everything into keeping *NR* afloat; he became a direct-mail genius and, in time, associate publisher. (At his Testimonial Dinner in ’79, Bill called him “the man most responsible for the magazine’s production”—more about that Dinner later.)

Now skip ahead to January 23, 1973. We and our five kids had taken the train to Miami, there to sail on Bill’s marvelous schooner *Cyrano*. Its engine was broken, so Jim sat down on the deck with a bottle of Lowenbrau and that day’s New York *Times*—which had the transcript of the entire *Roe v. Wade* decision. He was flabbergasted and outraged. Up till then he hadn’t felt the need to get involved in the abortion issue; he hadn’t realized, he told an interviewer, that our Supreme Court “could put the moral suasion and

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Faith Abbott McFadden, the *Review*’s senior editor, is the author of *Acts of Faith* (Ignatius Press, 1994).

moral power of this country behind killing babies . . . I had never focused on abortion, thinking that the Church should hold the line. It never dawned on me that the Supreme Court would come and simply turn the world upside down.”

So that was the beginning of Jim’s anti-abortion crusade. But without Bill’s backing and moral support, he couldn’t have continued raising money for *NR* while at the same time setting up, three months later, the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life, a lobbying organization with an office in D.C. (and its monthly *Lifefletter*) and then, in ’74, using the skills developed at *NR*, founding the Human Life Foundation—which had the first issue of the *Human Life Review* rolling off the press in ’75.

In May of 1979, Bill and Malcolm Muggeridge (who chose the event for his last public appearance in America) hosted that Testimonial Dinner—a gala affair. The June 22 issue of *NR* ran articles and photos, and a staffer wrote that Jim “is best known as *NR*’s Associate Publisher, prolific author of seductive form-letters to nearly lapsed subscribers; but on this occasion he was saluted primarily as founder and editor of the *Human Life Review*.” Bill said, in his address, “That which he undertakes avocationally is done with the thoroughness of a Normandy Landing. If in the future there is a change in the public attitude toward abortion, it is not an exaggeration, I think, to say that Jim’s journal will have been the proximate cause of it.”

By the end of 1982, Jim realized he couldn’t go on riding both horses, so to speak, so he “stepped down” from *NR*—down but not out; he kept his 8th floor offices. *NR*’s NOTES & ASIDES of January 21, ’83 announced that “With this issue, James P. McFadden relinquishes his duties as associate publisher. He does this after 25 years of hard, productive, and often inspired labor. He will devote himself to his role as editor of the *Human Life Review*; but also as Consultant to the Editor of NATIONAL REVIEW.”

The Tenth Anniversary issue of the *Review*—Winter/Spring ’85—had many congratulatory messages; in his *Postscript* Jim wrote “Another generous congratulatory message came from Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.:

There was a brief but scary period during which it appeared that the opposition to abortion would be done in the accents of John Brown, who accomplished nothing much more than his own hanging. Until The *Human Life Review* came along, and careful and sensitive readers knew that there were people out there opposed to elective abortion who could find the language in which to speak to other Americans. That is the challenge, because if respect for life in the womb is to return, Americans will need to listen, and to have hard sessions at the moral sweatshop. The *Human Life Review*, by its excellence, and by its tone, has taken up the cudgels, and made them into words at once patient and firm, into analysis tough and persuasive, in the effort to brew a moral potion strong enough to return life.

Right below that, Jim wrote: “In truth, there would be no such review

without Bill Buckley's peerless demonstration of what the printed word can do to thwart 'inevitable' forces of history. Buckley has, without doubt, provided inspiration to numberless people, but to none more than to us, as mentor, colleague, and, above all, friend."

\*       \*       \*       \*


*July 21, '89*, Bill to Jim: "That was an eloquent letter you sent to the Friends of the Human Life Foundation. What you have done is quite simply historical, and I am proud of our long association and friendship." *May 24, 1993*, Bill responding to Jim's cancer diagnosis: "I am by constitution optimistic about these things, having had so many reassuring experiences in the last very few years . . . But I don't deny the gravity of such a reading as you got, and I can imagine the torture you are going through. I can only imagine what it must be like for those who don't have what we are so singularly blessed with, which is our faith. I can say only this moment that you will be in my prayers, as one of the most marvelous men I have ever known, and as great a friend as ever existed."

Jim never, ever stopped working but what with surgeries, radiation, then no voice; tube-dependent for nourishment and elimination, in 1997 he felt he could no longer be a contributing member of *NR*'s Board of Directors, and offered to resign. *WFB to Jim, November 10 '97*: "Re the Board, as long as we have absentee director Ronald Reagan, we will have absentee director Jim McFadden. When [Reagan] leaves us, I'll accept your resignation and we'll come up with some younger blood, though no one will ever match your contributions. Your courage under fire should be written about—and will be."

In the early days, Bill would say that Jim "suffered from terminal bluntness" and often called him "Honest James"; he sought Jim's "take" on issues public and personal and knew he wouldn't pussyfoot around Peerless Leader. After the '96 surgery took what was left of his voice (Jim wrote Bill that speechlessness "was not 'the worst' for a guy who lives on his typewriter, however outdated") he used his trusty Royal to "discuss" a potpourri of things, from politics to prelates, and Bill always memoed back—even when on a plane to or from, say, Switzerland. I have bulging folders of these memos; rereading them is a wild ride through lots of history. Here's one of my favorite exchanges: Jim to Bill, June 15 '95: "Throwing a small cocktail party up here tonite, called a 'No Reason' affair—the private joke is, tomorrow is my 'second anniversary' meaning that it's two years today since I ate a meal, about which there is indeed 'no reason' to celebrate . . . If you can't eat 'em, laugh at 'em. Actually, it's not as bad as the raw telling sounds, I'm in pretty good shape and able to keep busy, which is salvation for me . . ." Bill replied: "That's a

hell of a reason to have a party. Your strength and idealism don't surprise me, but it's wonderful indeed to be able to laugh at it, given the tragedy of last December [when our son Robert died at age 34]. On the other hand most of what you have touched in your lifetime has blossomed."

Back in 1991, when Bill learned that a good friend had "RIPed at—age 65!" he wrote his executor it had occurred to him "that it would be improvident of me (breaking, thereby, a lifelong record) to delay stipulating who, in the event it happened to me, I desire as my pallbearers." There followed a list of names, including James McFadden; all the listees got a copy of the letter. A few months before Jim died (on 17 October '98) he arranged for *his* pallbearers and of course Bill was a designated hefter. Had things been reversed, I know Jim would be devastated but would have written a beautiful tribute to one who was what "Sir William" said Jim was: "One of the most marvelous men I have ever known, and as great a friend as ever existed." From all of us here—Thanks, Bill.



**the HUMAN LIFE REVIEW**  
150 East 35th Street New York N.Y. 10016 / James P. McFadden, Editor / Edward A. Capano, Publisher  
Sept. 27 '90

Bill!

How could you? To overwhelm me with pride over the Dedication (I'll even read all the CSS stuff in this one!) and provide the means to over-celebrate it -- what a heady brew! Vintage Buckley.

Next Monday, I'll celebrate my 21th anniversary: it was Monday morning, Oct. 1, 1956, that I came to work at 211 East 37 Street, New York 16, New York. NR sure didn't need anybody -- far from it -- Lord knows why you took me on. Maureen once giggled "Mac, you're Billy's best mistake" -- one of my fondest (of many) memories. Call it a mistake made in Heaven: a fruitful union, certainly for me and, I trust, for the One True Faith that has driven us both.

Devotedly,  
*Jim*



The Human Life Foundation  
GREAT DEFENDER OF LIFE DINNER  
October 19, 2007



*Honoring Congressman Chris Smith*

**FAITH McFADDEN:**

Welcome, all, from far and near—  
We're overjoyed to see you here.  
The Human Life Foundation  
Welcomes you, with exultation,  
To an evening of celebration  
Honoring a Great Defender of Life  
Congressman Chris Smith and  
Marie, his wife.

Thanks for coming again, Old  
friends:  
And before the evening ends  
We hope to meet all of you  
Who are New.

Now the *other* Smith Dinner's a  
gala one  
But we think that *ours* will be

more fun:  
Last night was for *Al*, at the  
Waldorf Astoria  
This is for Chris, who surely won't  
bore-ya.

Among our guests—so much  
diversity!—  
From Fordham University  
We have with us  
A Professor Emeritus  
Who's anticipating celebrating,  
Next week, his *90th* birthDAY:  
Father Francis Canavan, ESS-JAY!

Father Canavan, long may your  
candles burn.  
And now, Maria, it's *your* turn.

**MARIA McFADDEN MAFFUCCI:**

(I don't rhyme!) Thank you. I add my welcome to our fifth annual Great Defender of Life dinner. On behalf of the Foundation's staff, I would like to thank you for making this event possible, and thank you for making the Foundation possible. As I write you endlessly, we wouldn't be here without you.

As most of you know, the Human Life Foundation was founded by my late father, J.P. McFadden, in 1975. We have two programs. The first is educational: We seek to sway minds and hearts by arguing for life in the pages of our quarterly journal, the *Human Life Review*. As my father wrote in the tenth anniversary issue, "good writing can win battles, great writing whole wars." One should never underestimate the power of words, and the use of language, to change history.

The Foundation's second program is charitable: We offer matching grants to crisis pregnancy centers, so that we can help those who reach out with practical, life-saving aid to babies and their mothers in need.



My father died on October 17th, 1998, and we have this dinner in October also as a tribute to him. We are so blessed to have friends who have supported this dinner from the beginning—most of our benefactors and sponsors have contributed tables each year, and I want to thank them especially. Their names are in our program.

There is one woman in particular, from Washington D.C., who has been here every year with a lively table of friends—the great Anne Higgins. Anne, who was the head of White House Correspondence for President Ronald Reagan, was also a close friend and colleague of my father's, and she played an essential role in the creation and growth of his pro-life ventures. God bless you, Anne.

Professor George McKenna, contributor to the *Review*, will speak to us right after our invocation.

One particular article of George's, which was in our Summer/Fall issue of last year, garnered much attention; and so we have made it into a reprint, which is in your gift bag. George has become a great friend of ours, and we treasure his and Sylvia's friendship as much as his marvelous contributions to our *Review*.

We are also pleased to have with us tonight Ramesh Ponnuru, Senior Editor of *National Review*, political commentator in print and on television, and author of the important book, *The Party of Death: The Democrats, the Media, the Courts and the Disregard for Human Life*. This is also our gift to you, thanks to Ramesh, and a generous discount offered by his publisher, Regnery.

Ramesh, of course, is here to introduce our honoree. We are so honored to have Congressman Smith and his wife Marie here tonight, and I thank them for coming. This Mr. Smith is truly a Great Defender of Life, one who has moved mountains in Congress advocating for the unborn, the disabled, those suffering from Alzheimer's, for veterans, for vulnerable women and children, and for the victims of religious and racial persecution . . . and the list goes on. Chris Smith has been relentless in his dedication to fighting for human rights. We have long admired him for his unflagging opposition to abortion, including voting against federal funding, and the partial-birth abortion procedure, and his initiative in authoring the Unborn Child Pain Awareness Act.

He has stood against embryonic-stem-cell research, and pushed for research into life-saving alternatives. His bill, "The Stem Cell Therapeutic and Research Act of 2005," provided two hundred and sixty-five million dollars for umbilical cord blood collection and storage, a non-controversial and highly promising (unlike embryonic stem cells) area of hope for medical treatment.

My son James, J.P.'s namesake, is autistic, and so I am personally grateful to Congressman Smith on behalf of another group he fights for, autistic

children and their families. He has done an immense amount for us as Founder and Co-chairman of the Congressional Coalition for Autism Research and Education. He has been largely responsible for waking up the government and the National Institutes of Health to the autism epidemic, so much so that funds for autism research are now nearly ten times what they were in the mid-nineties.

And now I would like to pass on the mike to another person to whom I am deeply grateful, my former boss Father Richard John Neuhaus, Editor in Chief of *First Things*. Father Neuhaus inspires and strengthens us through his work. He has also been a terrific friend of our Foundation.

***FATHER RICHARD JOHN NEUHAUS:***

Thank you, Maria. This is the thirty-second year since Jim McFadden founded the *Human Life Review*. He saw, with rare acuity—many people did not see it at the time, *most* people did not see it at the time—that a great intergenerational struggle had been joined in the infamous decision of *Roe* versus *Wade* of January 22, 1973. And he had, as I say, the acuity, the insight, the courage to say that there must be a place where, with great intellectual integrity and relentless persistence, a campaign could be sustained in the name of what the great John Paul the Second would teach the Church and the world to call the culture of life. He saw that, he anticipated that, he was, in that respect, remarkably prescient. But then that's the way Jim McFadden was: a person of great, extraordinary perception and wisdom.

He married Faith, for example. And by the grace of God they, together, had Maria. And so that intergenerational—it is not too much to say prophetic—vision of Jim McFadden is being fulfilled in the continuation of the *Human Life Review*, of which this dinner of support is a critical ingredient; the fifth of these.

There are those who are here, I'm sure, who have for a very long time been part of this great conflict on behalf of the Culture of life against the Culture of Death. There are those who say: How much longer, how many more of these dinners will there be? How many more years will it be necessary to publish the *Human Life Review* with all of the sacrifice and dedication that that entails? How much longer? In principle, until Our Lord returns in glory.

The conflict between the culture of life and the culture of death is a permanent conflict within human history. And for all the horrors that we have seen, in terms of the slaughter of the innocent in the womb, there are more horrors to come. And we brace ourselves for that; we knew that we were recruited for the duration. We were recruited to the cause of life when we were baptized into the life of Him who is the way, the truth and the life.



Most of you here, I'm sure, have had occasion to recall the moment in which you knew that you were recruited, and you knew that this cause would never, never ever let you go. [For me it was] the first Sunday of Advent, in 1964, long before *Roe v. Wade*, and I was then a Lutheran pastor of a very poor, African- American congregation in Brooklyn, St. John the Evangelist. We called it St. John the Mundane to distinguish it from St. John the Divine, the Episcopal cathedral up on Morningside Heights. And I remember that Sunday. The week before I had read an article in *Harper's Magazine* by a very distinguished scholar at Princeton University, Ashley Montague. And the article was entitled "A Life Worth Living." And Ashley Montague discussed what were the requisites, what were the things required, to have a life worth living. And as I recall he had, I believe, twelve different criteria, different measurements of a life worth living, and they included physical health and a secure family situation and a secure economic circumstance and educational opportunity et cetera, et cetera.

And I remember that first Sunday in Advent in 1964, all these many years ago, looking out at the congregation of St. John the Evangelist, at the



*Alicia Colon and Father Neuhaus*

two or three hundred people there, all these black faces, and realizing—with a certain rude abruptness much like being struck with a thunderclap of cognition—that in Ashley Montague's view, according to his lethal logic, there was not one person among the members of St. John the Evangelist, not one, who by his lethal logic, had a life worth living.

And I knew in that moment that a great evil was afoot. And that evil, which John Paul the Great taught us to call the Culture of Death, proceeds apace, and will continue to rage against the light, and to rage against the Gospel of Life, the *Evangelium Vitae*.

But all of us here, what do we have in common? All of us here had a moment like that in which we knew that we were recruited—recruited for the duration—and that we will never, never ever grow weary. We will never ever despair. We have not the right to despair and, ultimately, we have not the reason to despair. For the One who is the way, the truth and the life has prevailed. It is His cause before it is our cause. And in that is our confidence of triumph. Let us pray:

Heavenly Father of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, look with mercy upon this community gathered. We give you thanks that you have called us, recruited us to your cause. We ask you to strengthen those who become in long battle weak kneed and fainthearted. Help us by the grace of your Holy Spirit to rise again and to soar on eagle's wings. We beseech you to bless this community and this evening in all we do and in all we say, and in all we are, and this food to our good, and everything to your glory. Through Christ our Lord, Amen.

[later]

I have been asked to introduce George McKenna, which I am pleased to do. You are familiar with his credentials as a distinguished scholar; Professor Emeritus of Political Science at City College of New York, and author of *The Puritan Origins of American Patriotism*. George McKenna combines, in a way that all of us must learn from, an understanding of the horror of the Culture of Death with a deep awareness of its contradiction of the blessing that is the American experience.

As a historian he appreciates the exceptional character of the American historical experiment. And he has eloquently articulated the ways in which its integrity and its future are contingent upon our understanding of the dignity of the human person.

And so with that, permit me to exercise the great pleasure of presenting Professor George McKenna.

**GEORGE McKENNA:**

Thank you very much, Father Neuhaus. I'm honored to be introduced so generously by someone of your stature and accomplishments, and I'm honored to be invited here as a guest of Faith, Maria, and Christina McFadden, Anne Conlon, and all the other people who have made *The Human Life Review* such a bright beacon of hope. I want to resume these thoughts in a moment, but first I want to say something from my own very limited perspective about tonight's honoree, Congressman Chris Smith. I know there are going to be a lot more substantive things said here tonight about Congressman Smith. This is just a small, personal reminiscence from some years back that meant

a lot to me then—and still does.

What's most memorable to me about Congressman Smith is the wonderful, warm reception he always gave to me and other Right-to-Life marchers when we converged on Washington on January 22nd of every year.

Now I don't come from Congressman Smith's district. I come from a district in northern New Jersey that, for years, was represented by Democrats. And, oh, boy, what a frosty reception we got from those Democrats on that cold January day. But then, as a result of redistricting, a Republican represented us, for a time—for *quite* some time—a pleasant woman named Marge Roukema, who treated us with the utmost politeness and condescension, talked to us for a very short while and then suddenly recollected that she had another appointment. She voted consistently with the Democrats on the abortion question.



*George McKenna*

offices, there was always an office down the hall where we would be welcomed, and, I might add, be fed. There was coffee and there was hot chocolate and there were donuts and other high-caloric goodies waiting for us. And there was always a very warm welcome, a listening ear, and more than that, a voice that told us we weren't alone, that we were fighting the same fight. It made the whole effort worthwhile, and for that I'm very grateful to Chris Smith.

Well, at about the same time we were getting the brush-off from Marge Roukema I was laboring over an article suggesting a strategy on abortion that in some ways would resemble the approach that Abraham Lincoln took on the slavery question during his encounters with Stephen Douglas in those historic debates of 1858. I submitted it to the *Atlantic Monthly*, and to my surprise they published it. That was in 1995. Shortly afterward I got a call from Anne Conlon at the *Human Life Review*, asking if they could reprint it, and of course I said yes. After that I got a postcard, the first of many, from Jim McFadden asking if I'd like to write some more for the *Human Life Review*.

Well, Marge finally retired and I'm happy to say that we now have a Republican, Scott Garrett, who represents us and who hails, as they say nowadays, from the Republican wing of the Republican Party. I'm glad we have him there.

Anyway, during all those lean years, when two Democrats and an abortion Republican made it clear that we were not welcome in their

And that's when it all began, my association with this wonderful journal.

And so I wrote stuff, and I exchanged correspondence with Jim McFadden. His usually came on post cards. I loved those post cards; they were marvelous. They had lots of underlining in them, for emphasis. There were a lot of exclamation marks and an occasional *egad*. And so, during the next three years I was constantly stimulated and inspired by Jim's post cards.

My only regret, of course, is that I never got to meet him face to face during those last three years of his life. But I'm thrilled that his legacy remains intact and is being carried forward by Faith—lower case and upper case—and by Maria, Christina, Anne, and the other good people who make such large personal sacrifices to bring this journal out every quarter. William F. Buckley, whose sister I have the pleasure of sitting next to tonight, has said, with Buckleyesque restraint, that the *Human Life Review* is “the locus of civilized discussion of the abortion issue.” Nat Hentoff, with Hentoffian gusto, calls it “by far the most valuable and challenging pro-life journal that, to my knowledge, has ever existed.”

Well, that's true! Whether it's the painstaking empirical research of Mary Meehan, the thoughtful reflections of Ellen Wilson Fielding, the trenchant analyses of William Murchison, the sober and, alas, accurate warnings of Wesley Smith, the constitutional and legal insights of Hadley Arkes and Mary Ann Glendon, or the work of any of the other writers for the *Review*, you know that the *Human Life Review* is going to give you something serious, solid, and substantial.

Once introduced into the public square, these arguments are not going to go away. There is a *thereness* about them. They are *there* in print and cyberspace. And when fair-minded people read them, they wonder what replies can be made to them. If those replies are limited to razzle-dazzle, and evasions, and caricatures, as increasingly seems to be the case, then our side will win. It's that simple. Words—mere words, when they speak the truth, will knock out the other side's mightiest tanks. It will take time, we all know that, but we also know this: that with the grace of God, that time will come.

### **MARIA McFADDEN MAFFUCCI:**

I would like to make a few more acknowledgments. Susan Brady Konig is here tonight. Along with the other goodies in your bag, you have received, compliments of Ms. Brady Konig and her publisher, copies of her new book *I Wear the Maternity Pants in this Family*. I can't wait to read it.

The chocolates are compliments of our volunteer, Patricia O'Brien. Pat's presence at our office brings sunshine even on the gloomiest days. Also thanks

to Pat and Bob O'Brien, we have exciting news. The *Human Life Review's* back issues have been digitized so the entire collection, which tells the story of over thirty years of the pro-life movement, is available on two CD-ROMs. This means that all our articles are available and researchable. For more information on that, you can call Christina Angelopoulos, my sister. This digitized collection, and so much else, was also made possible by Christina's technological savvy, and the consulting of my brother-in-law, Andrew Angelopoulos.

Our Managing Editor, Anne Conlon, manages to keep the *Review* articles in top form while also churning out the "In-the-News" section of our sister publication, *catholic eye*, every month. My beautiful mother, Faith, is our Senior Editor and the witty punster behind *catholic eye's* "eyeview." And our financial manager, and so much more: Rose Flynn De Maio. As many of you know, this summer we had to move, and Rose was amazingly energetic, dealing with brokers, negotiating leases, and setting up our move. (We even had to stage an intervention, or she would have moved many things herself.)

We have several of our *Review* authors here tonight: Mary Meehan, Brian Caulfield, Pat Mullaney, Ramesh Ponnuru, Edward Short, John Burger, Kathryn Jean Lopez and Alicia Colon. And finally, we have people here tonight representing several of the crisis pregnancy centers we help. These are truly great defenders of life, men and women who do the lifesaving work of counseling and aiding women in crisis. We have Susan Mire from New Orleans, Suzanne Metaxas and Nicole Moss from the Midtown Crisis Pregnancy Center here in New York; Sister Dorothy Rothar from Bright Dawn Ministries also here in New York; Ann Manice who, for many years, ran Pregnancy Help on Fourteenth Street, and Chris Slattery from Expectant Mother Care. And we have more good news for you. You have, most likely, heard of the film *Bella*. It won the People's Choice Award at the Toronto Film Festival. Other films that have won that award were *Chariots of Fire*, *Life is Beautiful* and *Hotel Rwanda*. I have not seen *Bella* yet, but I have heard much testimony that it is a beautiful film, with a pro-life message. *Bella* is finally opening in New York on Friday, October 26th, at two theaters. The Foundation has sponsored, as a fundraiser for Expectant Mother Care, a private screening on Saturday, October 27th, at 5PM at Union Square and everyone here is entitled to free tickets. If you're interested, please see Chris Slattery during dessert at table 13. And we just ask that you take tickets only if you really think you can go, because we need to sell the theater out so that we can get this film to open at more theaters in New York. Thank you again, all of you, for coming. God bless you.

And now I will ask a warm welcome for Mr. Ramesh Ponnuru.



*Ramesh Ponnuru*

***RAMESH PONNURU:***

Thank you Maria. I'd like to thank everybody for coming out here tonight. And, in particular, I'd like to thank the benefactors and sponsors and contributors who made this evening possible, because you've done a great deal of good, probably more than you even know. I'm also grateful to the *Human Life Review* and the Human Life Foundation for putting a copy of *The Party of Death*

in the gift bags. I've been looking forward to reading that for a long time. Although, if you heard earlier, Maria said how they were made possible through a generous discount which, just for future information, are two words no author ever wants to hear, Maria.

I am sorry to confess, first of all, that my remarks, like Maria's, will be in prose. And I'm also embarrassed to admit that this is the first time that I have actually been to a *Human Life Review* dinner. Like many correspondents for the publication, I am one of the far-flung contributors, although I gather that there are folks from as far away as Ireland who make regular contributions to it. But now that I've experienced the food, I'm definitely coming back.

I'm coming here at sort of an odd moment, I think, in the history of the pro-life movement when, in some ways, we are stronger than ever, and in other ways, we are more imperiled than we ever have been before. So I think the *Review* and the Foundation are as important as they've ever been. I think it was in 1995 that my first article for the *Human Life Review* appeared. We have seen a lot of changes since then, and you can see it in the polling on abortion.

In 1995, according to Gallup, fifty-six percent of Americans described themselves as pro-choice; thirty-three percent as pro-life. That's a very punishing twenty-three-point gap in the opinion polls. But within two years, that had shrunk from twenty-three points to single digits, and now it is not uncommon to see that more Americans describe themselves as pro-life than pro-choice. I don't think it's solely because I've been writing for the *Human Life Review* in that period.

You can see, in particular, a change in public opinion among young people. Just last month, the Lou Harris poll released some data where they grouped voters by age, and those voters between the ages of eighteen and thirty were

the most opposed to abortion, the most opposed to euthanasia, the most opposed to embryo-destructive stem-cell research. So I think there are a lot of signs of hope for our future.

My research for the book took me in all kinds of strange directions and one of the things I looked at was *Glamour* magazine. And in 2005 *Glamour* ran a story on what it described in its headline as “The Strange Disappearance of Young Pro-choice Women.” And they went through some of the polling data on the steep decline over the previous decade in the number of young women who considered themselves pro-choice. And there was this wonderful quote from Alexander Sanger of Planned Parenthood and yes, of that Sanger family. He said, “I have seen these numbers, and I find them unbelievably shocking. Shouldn’t it be obvious that young women need to be at the forefront of the battle for reproductive rights because they’re the ones who need them?” Well, all I can say is that it is not obvious to an awful lot of young women.

One of the other things that we’ve seen over the last dozen years or so is that the abortion lobby has moved further and further away from the word abortion.

Let’s take NARAL, for example. NARAL, of course, began its life in 1969 as the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, and then after *Roe* came down, became the National Abortion Rights Action League. Well in 1993 they started to sideline the word “abortion.” They added the words “reproductive rights” to their name. And in 2003, they adopted their current official name which is NARAL Pro-Choice America.

Officially, the letters in NARAL no longer stand for anything. Advocates of free speech or the right to own guns—they can all unfurl their banners proudly. Abortion is the right that dare not speak its name.

And, in fact, one of the other things I found in my research was that more characters on soap operas returned from the dead in one season alone than have had abortions in the history of the genre; which is not exactly what you would expect given the underlying behavior on those shows. The culture is not a monopoly of the pro-abortion forces. I think there are a lot of reasons why we have had a pro-life trend over the last ten to fifteen years. One reason I would highlight is the development and the dissemination of ultrasound technology. Now I’m sure a lot of people in this room remember that in the early stages of this debate, it was quite common to hear advocates of the abortion license describe



Miss Mary Ponnuru

the fetus and the early embryo as a mere “mass of tissue” or a “collection of cells,” a “product of conception.” You’ve heard all the dismissive phrases.

But by now, so many people have seen the images of their kids, their grandkids, their nephews and nieces, that they know that even very early in pregnancy those descriptions are grossly inadequate; that that is, in fact, a baby in there. And nowadays you only hear that sort of patter about a collection of cells when you’re talking about stem-cell research.

And by the way, whenever anybody says to you, “oh that’s just a collection of cells,” I hope you will tell them in response, “what do you think you are?” But for all the gains that we’ve made I think there are a few dangers that we are now facing. And I’m just going to try briefly to talk about three of them.

I think one is that even at this very moment when pro-lifers have made so many gains in public opinion, there is some chance that some of us are going to start demanding less of our political allies, and start accepting less from them. I see no reason for us to do that.

The second is this—you know nothing in politics ever stands still and the advocates of the abortion license have changed their tactics—we have one leading pro-abortion senator who is happy to tell the television cameras that she shares some common ground with us; that she wants to work with us to bring the abortion rate down. And, unfortunately, the people who say these sorts of things are generally people who advocate keeping late-term abortion legal, having taxpayer-funded abortions, and opposing parental consent laws. And it’s going to be up to us to expose those kinds of truths, because I’m afraid we can’t expect a lot of our friends in the media to do it for us.

And last, I would mention the threat of human cloning. One thing that anybody who studies the history of this issue can quickly see is that the pro-lifers of the late sixties and the early seventies were extraordinarily prescient: that all of the things that they predicted *would* come from the abortion license *have*. But one thing that I don’t think even our fellow pro-lifers were able to predict was human cloning. We would not be talking about the mass production of human embryos to be destroyed in the process of research if we hadn’t legalized abortion back in 1973. And I will add this: We will not be able to restrict abortion once we get into the business of mass producing embryos for the purposes of research. That is an evil that all of us have to be just as passionate about fighting as we are in fighting abortion.

Well, nobody has been more alert to the promises and the perils of the moment for pro-lifers than Congressman Chris Smith. Congressman Smith, I’m sure you all know, has been the Chairman of the Pro-life Caucus in the House for twenty-five years. He has represented the Fourth District of New Jersey since 1980, and he has been a pro-life champion since even before that.



I'm told that he met Marie, his lovely wife, during a meeting of a pro-life organization at Trenton State. And she is a defender of life in her own right.

What I think I most admire about Congressman Smith is the way that he sees the battle for life as a campaign for human rights. Any time there's a fight in the Congress for the disabled or the poor or the elderly, or for political prisoners, or for the victims of trafficking, you know that Chris Smith is going to be on that side. And what he recognizes, which, unfortunately, not everybody who joins with him in those fights recognizes, is that abortion is an attack on human rights. In fact it is, in some ways, the most radical attack of all because the theory and the premises behind abortion and embryo-destructive research and euthanasia deny that human rights exist at all; because if it is not the case that all human beings have a right to life, then it is not the case that there is such a thing as human rights at all. It just follows logically.

I am also a great admirer of the way that Congressman Smith has been an advocate of stem-cell research. And by the way, let's never let anybody get away with using any other kind of label to describe us. *We are* advocates of stem-cell research; we are advocates of the kinds of stem-cell research that have had clinical applications and helped actual patients in the past, of the kinds of research that are at the cutting edge today. But we are in favor of ethical stem-cell research that lives up to the promise of the Declaration of Independence, and that respects the sanctity of human life.

Now if I were to make a list of all of the pro-life accomplishments that the Congressman has contributed toward, I would be up here for far too long, and I would also be repeating many of the things that you can find in your program. One of his most recent accomplishments, however, was helping to persuade President Bush to issue a letter to the Congress explaining to the pro-abortion leaders of the current Congress that if the Congress sends him any legislation that will weaken the pro-life legislation that we have on the books, he will use his veto pen. And I hope everyone in here will join the Congressman in helping to make sure that our next president is somebody who is equally prepared to issue that kind of promise.

So with that, let me close and let's all join in thanking this year's, and every year's really, Great Defender of Life, Congressman Christopher Smith.

***CONGRESSMAN CHRIS SMITH:***

Thank you very much. Please be seated, and Ramesh thank you very much for that very kind introduction, and for your excellent words, your extraordinary writing. And I would tell everybody—because I've read your book—to read, and go out and buy the book. But you've given it out for free, so please

take it home and read it. I think it gives a great insight as to what has happened within the Democratic Party which used to be the party that defended the smallest, the little guy, so to speak. And they have abandoned that. They have become a wholly owned subsidiary of the abortion rights movement. And he just penetrates that. So I greatly encourage all of you to take that home and read it.

My wife Marie and I are much honored to be here tonight among such good friends. We owe a great deal to the pro-life movement. In fact, we owe our marriage to the pro-life movement. Marie and I met at what was then known as Trenton State College while working on the Pro-life Committee. We just celebrated our thirtieth anniversary and are both still working to promote a global respect for life.

Let me also just say a brief word: Father Neuhaus—I don't think there's anybody more eloquent. I have traveled with him and seen him in operation.



*Maria McFadden talks with Congressman and Mrs. Smith*

In the worst days of the Soviet Union, one day we were at a human-rights conference, and, frankly, Father Neuhaus stole the show in bringing the issue of religious freedom and human rights and democracy to the Warsaw Pact in what was then the top leadership of the Soviet Union. The chief Procurator General of the

Soviet Union was there, and was no match for Father Neuhaus. So thank you. And you did say that we all know the day, and really the hour, when we were recruited. Jeanne Head and I have talked about this. I know the day, the hour when I was recruited into the pro-life movement. And I thought it would be a five-year stint; after five years, somehow, people would get it and it would be over. So I want to talk to that recruiter. This is my thirty-fifth year in this pro-life movement.

And, obviously, let me just say Mary Ward is here, the sister of Cardinal O'Connor, the great, great Cardinal who, I am sure, is looking down from Heaven. I'll never forget at the big massive rally in the early 1980's, three hundred thousand plus people showed up—pro-life—in April, National Right to Life ran that. And I'll never forget it. He looked at all of the news people who were all there with their cameras running, and you could almost hear it

from where we were on the dais; he said, “I just want to say, what do you people do with all of that film? Because we never see it.”

The other side, you know, holds up a sign and they get page one. Obviously he hit the nail right on the head. And the McFaddens—I’ll say a word about them in a moment. And I could go on and on. There are so many people here that I see that I just have a great deal of respect for. And I just said to George McKenna—thank you for your remarks and your great writing—we have glazed donuts, jelly donuts and we’ll leave the light on for you when you come by.

Ladies and gentlemen, just let me say that each generation—with all of its good and evil, complexities and nuances, opportunities and dangers—not only affects the people living in its day, but has an enormous consequence on the next. And, frankly, given today, what has happened in our society, that should make us shudder.

As the baton passes, morality, or the screaming lack of it, is passed on as well. Consider this: late last night, the Senate voted forty-one to fifty-two against the Vitter Amendment, designed to end the federally-subsidized collocation of abortion mills with family planning clinics under the Title X Program. One recipient alone—one recipient of that Title X money—Planned Parenthood—performs over two hundred and sixty thousand abortions every year, and the taxpayer is providing the venue. Father Neuhaus spoke a moment ago about how Jim McFadden’s brilliant work has been passed down through the McFadden family. Good does follow good. And, unfortunately, with a group like Planned Parenthood, one only has to read just a small amount—and I’ve read much of it—of the writings of their founder, Margaret Sanger to see how bad follows bad.

I remember a book called *The Pivot of Civilization*. In Chapter Five there’s an entire section called, “The Cruelty of Charity.” And Margaret Sanger, the founder of Planned Parenthood, a eugenicist, who hated blacks, hated Catholics, Irish, Italians—there weren’t many people she would embrace in her small-minded world—but she talked about how we shouldn’t help poor women when they’re pregnant because it was a burgeoning group of people. Philanthropists and the like in their day were saying we need to help the poor. We need prenatal care and maternal health care. She said, no. Not that. You’ll get more useless eaters. You’ll get more of those—and I don’t want to use some of the words she used—of those running around. She was a racist, and she’s the founder of Planned Parenthood.

Faye Wattleton, who used to head up the organization, was at a Mexico City hearing in 1985. And I brought all of these writings of Margaret Sanger. She had just gotten the Margaret Sanger Humanist Award, and she also was

the head of Planned Parenthood. So I asked her how she felt about the Foundress's remarks. Then I read several of them. She said, "Oh you're taking them all out of context." I said, "Am I?"

I held up all of these papers from the Library of Congress, with *The Birth Control Review* which is one of the things she wrote, and said, "This is absolutely in context, and the group that you head is a racist organization."

Consider, as well, when you talk about how things are eroding, that this week we learned that a Maine middle school will now dispense birth control pills to eleven year olds. Are eight year olds next? Are they unaware of the Mayo Clinic's meta-analysis? Thirty-four studies in all showing a forty-four percent increase in risk for breast cancer for those girls and young women who take birth control pills prior to their first pregnancy. We can only imagine what these very powerful chemicals and drugs might do to an eleven year old.

And speaking of breast cancer, most Americans remain woefully unaware of the breast cancer/abortion link which is serious and life threatening. And, compounding that error, a *Time Magazine* cover article on October 15th missed the link almost completely. They did note that breast cancer is rapidly spreading throughout the developing world. One reason—and *Time* said this, and they never elaborated on it—they said, "Western reproductive habits are also coming under scrutiny." We are sending those habits all over the world.

**E**ven though abortion carries significant, well-documented adverse risks to women's physical, mental and spiritual health, the prevailing culture demands an unfettered right to kill the unborn child.

And, today, we are at risk of passing euthanasia on demand to the next generation. Consider Terri Schindler Schiavo, made to die by dehydration and starvation over the course of two weeks. Two Bushes, George and Jeb, intervened in word and with new laws, but to no avail. It was one of the greatest single acts of injustice, impunity and cruelty ever committed by a court.

Still, there is reason to hope. In the spring we got some encouraging news, at least for some unborn children, and, hopefully, for our efforts to educate. The Supreme Court upheld the ban on partial-birth abortion. This ruling allows us to maintain a very modest line of defense for the unborn. Yet we all know too well that all methods of abortion, not just the recently outlawed partial-birth abortion method, are acts of violence. Americans now need to connect the dots. Dismembering a child or chemically poisoning a baby are acts of child abuse, and are no less gruesome than partial-birth abortion. In recent years modern medicine and scientific breakthroughs have shattered the myth that unborn children are somehow not human persons, or alive. Birth is merely an event, albeit a very important one, but only an event in the life of the child.

Today ultrasound technologies and other diagnostic tools have helped doctors to diagnose illness and disability before birth. New and exciting breakthrough health-care interventions for the unborn, including microsurgeries of all kinds, are leading to successful treatments and even cures for sick or disabled babies while still unborn. Unborn children need to be regarded as the littlest patients. Yet too many are still the victims of so-called safe medical procedures.

I truly believe the United States—and I actually believe the world as well—is in deep trouble. Do enough of us understand the overwhelming urgency for action? Do enough of us really understand the big, moral, global meltdown, and that it can get far worse—and very quickly? Clones, chimeras, the 2008 elections: all of this money that is pouring in to the pro-abortion movement from philanthropists, and all of these foundations, all working synergistically to promote the abortion agenda. Thankfully, some do. The McFaddens do.

The *Human Life Review* and its legendary great founder Jim McFadden, and, of course, his wonderful wife Faith, established a flagship of thought and reason for the culture of life. I remember the excitement when the first issue rolled off the press some thirty years ago, and I read it from cover to cover. I used to read *Lifeletter* all the time as well.

Over the years, incisive commentary that spans the pages of the *Human Life Review* not only asks the hard questions, but provides compelling recommendations and workable solutions. The *Human Life Review* educates across a broad spectrum of culture of life issues. Each page is packed with information, knowledge, and wisdom. The *Human Life Review* inspires hope, generosity and constancy, and reminds us, as one of the previous speakers said, we're not alone; we're all in this together.

The *Human Life Review* is a durable record of truth, that in the future will serve to chronicle the history of the greatest human-rights movement on earth as seen through the eyes of its most gifted thinkers and talented writers.

So thank you Faith, Maria, Christina, and your entire family for the extraordinary service your family has rendered.

Ladies and gentlemen, one of the historical figures that we all can draw inspiration from was Saint Thomas More. And I know that I do. Saint Thomas More was a man who faced an agonizing moral challenge and refused to capitulate. He would not betray the Pope. A distinguished lawyer, statesman, scholar and martyr, we only dimly grasp, I think, what it must have been like to have it all, as he did, risk it all, as he did, and stand firm throughout it all, as he did, even unto death.

The historical record tells us that he brought wit, humor and an almost preposterous lack of malice to his confrontation with Henry the Eighth and

Cromwell. Jesus admonishes us to love our enemies, to do good to those who persecute us, and to have malice towards none. Saint Thomas did that, and so much more. In fact he kept his wit and humor to the end.

It is recorded that as he laid his neck on the chopping block, he pushed his beard forward with his hand saying, “That, at least, has not committed treason.” I am reminded of the scene in Robert Bolt’s play, *A Man for All Seasons*, when Thomas was asked by the new Duke of Norfolk to go along with him, and others, out of fellowship, and publicly agree with the King. More says, and I quote, “And when we stand before God, and you are sent to paradise for doing according to your conscience, and I am damned for not doing according to mine, will you come with me for fellowship?”

Back in 1535, public policy was the exclusive domain, as we all know, of one man: the King. Political power here in America in 2007, however, is derived from the people, and rests on the consent of the governed. Despite opinion polls, including the Zogby Poll this week, that showed only eleven percent of Americans think Congress is doing a good job, our system is likely to be sustainable far into the future. Because we live in a representative democracy, the compelling duty to take a firm stand, to advance justice and to promote truth, is everybody’s business. You all know that or you wouldn’t be here.

And we have to do it in a way that is wise as serpents and gentle as doves. Saint Thomas More famously once said that he was the King’s servant, but God’s first. How many today, particularly in Washington, put God first or second or third or last, or not at all? How many have so personalized and marginalized their faith in God, so as to render it meaningless in the public square. How often have we heard that tired old cliché that “I’m *personally* opposed.” What does *that* mean?

But we, like Thomas, need to ensure that we put God first and our own self-interest and preoccupations with being liked, popular and—in my line of work, elected—second. We need to be bolder and wiser in using our strategic positions to promote justice and compassion for all, and to do His will on earth as it is in Heaven. We need to engage wholeheartedly, not counting the cost, without fear or trepidation over unpleasant consequences.

Today there is a frustrating and beguiling tendency, especially in the political arena, to accept clever surface appeal arguments over fundamental truths. Today’s intellectual flabbiness is made all the worse by our culture’s descent into the morass of moral relativism. And nowhere is this more apparent than in the clash of what Pope John Paul the Second called—and what Father Neuhaus reminded us of—the culture of life versus the culture of death.

The Catholic Church, for one—joined, I’m happy to say, by many other denominations in faith, but I’m sad to say opposed by many other denominations

in faith—has been clear and unambiguous in its teaching, that all human life is profoundly sacred. In both word and deed, heeding the commandment of Jesus Himself to care for the least of our brethren found in Matthew 25: The Church is the leader in helping the poor, feeding the hungry, assisting the refugee, caring for the AIDS patient, embracing the guilty prisoner, rescuing a victim of human trafficking, and presenting the awesome gift of reconciliation to post-abortive women.

The Church has withstood the world's hatred, endured an endless barrage of criticism and mockings in its valiant defense of unborn children, and other defenseless human beings. Yet, with generosity and charity towards even its most obnoxious and violent critics, the Church has modeled Christ who, from the cross, forgave his tormentors.

You know if you serve in the pro-life movement, even for a day, you know the world's hatred, and thank God we have the Lord's example of how to handle it. But, as we all know, it's easier said than done.



*Maria and Faith present Congressman Smith with the traditional Nick Downes cartoon award*

As some of you may know, over the last twenty-seven years, as a Member of Congress, I've been the prime sponsor of numerous human-rights laws, including those designed to combat human trafficking, end subsidies for coercive population control, free political prisoners and stop religious persecution and torture. When I visited places like China—and I've been there many times—Darfur, Khartoum, Sudan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Ethiopia, the Soviet Union and many of the Warsaw Pact nations when they were in the Warsaw Pact, to name a few, I would always press human-rights concerns. And the government would always reflexively deny any complicity in any of that.

And Father Neuhaus and I were in Zeeland, Holland, I'll never forget it,

in the eighties, pressing the Soviets on political prisoners, and a whole host of human-rights issues. And all of them said, “not us, not here.” And, of course, we knew it wasn’t true. But they agreed at least that these things were evil; that they were wrong. There was a common, or a consensus that it was, at least, wrong, but they weren’t the ones that were doing it.

Abortion, on the other hand, is the only human-rights abuse that some have the audacity to market and promote as a human right. It’s Orwellian. Rather than acknowledging abortion as violence against children, and the exploitation of their mothers, groups like Amnesty International, the latest casualty and absolutely bitter disappointment, have gone over to the dark side. Before they made that decision, I met with their executive director on two occasions. A group of us wrote a letter asking, practically *begging* Amnesty not to make that walk over to the abortion side. And, sure enough, they went and did it. And then after they did it, they kind of denied what they had done until we got a copy of a multi-page internal document that said, “here’s how you deal with the pro-lifers.” It was filled with all kinds of disinformation.

And now anything Amnesty tells me about anything, any other human-rights abuse, I have to consider as somewhat suspect. Because they had an internal document, at least on this issue. And so extreme is their position that they are for partial-birth abortion, and it’s right in black and white in their memorandum.

Rather than acknowledging abortion as violence against children, and the exploitation of their mothers—again Amnesty is a goner. In the process they join an all-too-large dishonor roll made by those who have fundamentally betrayed the case and the cause of genuine human rights, preferring instead the cheap sophistry of the hard Left; preferring instead the plausible over the truth; preferring instead a culture of death over a culture of life.

Today, some UN agencies, including the UN Population Fund, are ratcheting up their promotion of abortion worldwide, packaged, of course, in a human-rights wrapper, always looking to be integrated in the latest UN action plan, or humanitarian initiative. For example, China’s barbaric one-child-per-couple forced-abortion policy in force since 1979 was created and crafted with the UN right there on the ground and implemented ever since with the UN right there on the ground. While the UN was there saying what a great, voluntary policy it is, the policy has murdered more children than all those victims killed by Mao Tse Tung and Josef Stalin. And now it’s being promoted—and has been for some time but now it’s getting some takers—as the population-control model for the world.

Rwanda’s President Paul Kagame is now pushing the three-child-per-couple policy, believing it’s the brass ring for economic growth and development. Do you want to be like China? The message is, if you want your



economy to flourish, you need to kill the kids. The Philippine Congress, in like manner, is considering a sweeping two-child-per-couple policy. Well, the last Congress in the Philippines stopped it. But it's right back now. It has been reintroduced, tweaked in ways that will deceive some. And now the battle is enjoined once again as they push this two-child-per-couple policy.

One man, Lester Brown, who runs *World Watch* once said in his magazine, "We need a world of one and two-child-per-couple policies." And, unfortunately, there's been an overlap with some of the environmentalist groups, who look at population control kind of like the way we look at thinning the herd. Too many deer, too many rabbits, you thin the herd. And they are looking at population control as the way of sustainable development.



*Congressman Chris Smith*

I held twenty-six hearings on human rights in China. Like I said, I was there many times, and I'll be brief on this. I met many of the women who had been forcibly aborted. I remember one hearing: the women were seeking asylum here and the Clinton administration wanted to send them back. I met with Mrs. Clinton, asked her if she would intervene, so that these women who were in Bakersfield, California could be freed. They had come to the U.S. on the *Golden Venture*, you might recall, that washed ashore right near here. They had been forcibly aborted and were broken. And they had targets on their backs for trying to flee China yet they were being "detained" on immigration charges. It finally took Henry Hyde and me writing some legislation that we added to a bill, a must-pass bill, to get the policy of the Clinton administration overturned. They were going to send them all back. They were in prison for almost three years. We call it detention, but it was a prison.

I had two of those women testify in my subcommittee. I had the subpoena to get them to come and testify from California. They came in orange jump suits; they had leg irons and their arms were bound—these are tiny, thirty-five year old Chinese women whose only crime was that they fled a dictatorship that had forcibly aborted their children, and they tried to get out so that it wouldn't happen again. One of the women told me in the hearing that she found a baby girl who was abandoned, scooped up that baby girl like the Good Samaritan, and for that the family-planning cadres came and said, the one you're carrying has to be destroyed. You're only allowed one. Brothers and sisters are illegal.

That model, now, and the Chinese government is all over in Africa, in Latin America, just turn on the news and you see their growing influence. With that comes the one child per couple model, which the UN-FPA, the Chinese government, IPPF, and the Planned Parenthood folks are all pushing.

You know the pressure to legalize abortion. It is critically important to try to rally the countries who are the targets; this is growing all over the world, including in Ireland, in Northern Ireland. For years the government in 10 Downing Street and the House of Commons have been trying to compel Northern Ireland to accept abortion. One of the powers that was not devolved to the new Northern Irish Assembly was the issue dealing with issues like abortion. Thankfully, there is now an all-party pro-life caucus. The Protestants and the Catholics working hand-in-glove to stand up to 10 Downing Street and to the House of Commons, Westminster, to prevent the imposition of the 1967 Abortion Control Act which leads legalized abortion right up into the twenty-fourth week in England.

The same is happening in Poland. In African nations like Ghana, Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria, everywhere you look the abortionists are there with their poison. I recently learned that Ethiopia, under pressure from U.S. and European NGOs, decriminalized—which means legalized—abortion on demand. In fact, I understand that at least one U.S.-based pro-abortion NGO, helped write the language for them, and they stuck it into a criminal reform bill, and the next thing you know Ethiopia has abortion on demand.

The pressure to legalize is ever present in Latin America as well. This year, Mexico City legalized abortion on demand, and a court in Colombia, using *Roe versus Wade* as its model—and it's in the Court Decision—did the same. In a tie vote, fifteen to fifteen, this passed Wednesday. The Senate in Uruguay failed to legalize abortion, obviously a victory for life. But the death peddlers promised to be back soon. And another vote is likely to occur next week.

On Capitol Hill the abortionists—and we all know they have an agenda—

have discovered a new spigot of funds—and they're always looking for new taxpayer funds. They're now in the realm of global health, trying to incorporate the good, which we all want to see happen in global health, like the combating of HIV/AIDS. But they also have the poison pill of putting abortion in it.

Take the Global AIDS program. It's a fifteen billion dollar program. It has done enormous good in Africa, especially in the abstinence, be faithful, the mother to child transmission, drugs that are saving the ARV's, the whole effort. It is a very, very monumental effort. That will go from fifteen to thirty billion dollars. But that money, and much of that money is at high risk of unwittingly promoting abortion. Under current law, pro-abortion NGOs routinely apply for and get huge grants. The Population Council is the group that brought RU486 to this country. A few years back they got a sixty-two million dollar grant from Uncle Sam to do their mischief overseas. But what they do is they ingratiate themselves. They establish medical clinics and health infrastructure.

And I want to make it very clear; women need help and lots of it in the developing world. But they don't need abortion. To mitigate maternal mortality women need essential obstetrical services, not abortion. They need skilled midwives, safe blood, maternal health care, but not abortion.

While U.S. funds are precluded from directly subsidizing abortion, these pro-abortion NGOs weave themselves into a country's health-care network. They become essential themselves. They occupy a dangerous position to promote abortion from within. So the new rally word is "integration," a melding of the evil of abortion into a package of otherwise benign services and health training. And this, in my view, represents the greatest threat to pro-life countries throughout Latin America, Africa and parts of Asia. It is just like the Trojan Horse.

In closing it couldn't be more clear that both at home and abroad, we need to do more now. If any of us are tired, you know we just don't have the luxury of getting discouraged or tired. Father Neuhaus mentioned that we're in this until the Lord comes back. Maybe that's soon; who knows? But we really have to be in this for the long haul and ask for the grace, and the sustaining power that comes from the Lord, to really take this on anew, in every way. We need to do it not just for the victims of today, but we need to do it so that we bequeath to our children and grandchildren a culture of life that protects all, includes all, respects all and treats all with compassion. Thank you very much.

GREAT DEFENDER OF LIFE DINNER



*Tyler and Amber Schwartz with  
Satya Ponnuru*



*Betty Klink, Ruth Harzbecker  
and Barbara Ann Connell*



*Bob Maffucci and Marie and Tom Bolan*



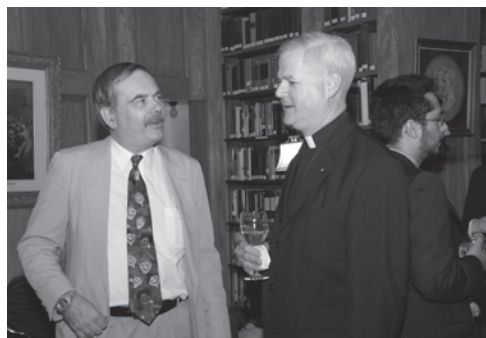
*Julietta Schiffino and Sean Connelly*



*Faith McFadden and Stella Morabito*



*Ambassador Gerald Scott and  
Sr. Dorothy Rothar*



*Chris Slattery chats with  
Rev. Gerald Murray*



*Drusilla Baron and Dawn Eden with  
Fr. William Shelley*



*Annes Conlon and White*

*Photographs by Michael Fusco and James Shea*

## 40 Days for (New) Life

*Stephen Vincent*

**A** baby was saved one fall morning at 3100 Professional Drive in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This is the way it happened:

A 15-year-old young man came out of the Planned Parenthood clinic at that address and approached a group of pro-lifers who were praying outside the parking lot. He said that his girlfriend, also 15, was in the clinic with her mother, who was pushing her daughter to abort. But, the young man said, he wanted more than anything to keep the child he fathered. After praying with the group for a while, the teen went back inside the clinic and was not seen for more than an hour.

“Everyone outside was quite certain that the abortion had been performed, and began to mourn the death of this little soul,” recalled Milissa Ackron, the coordinator of the prayer vigil. “But then this young man came out of Planned Parenthood with his girlfriend and her mother in tow. He was smiling, and gave the vigil participants a huge grin and a thumbs up. The baby had been saved!”

This is just one of many such stories from the first national 40 Days for Life in the fall of 2007. Across the nation, 40-day vigils were held at abortion clinics in 89 cities located in 33 states, with a total of about 22,000 people praying at different hours of the day and night in all sorts of weather. Approximately 350 unborn babies were saved by women who had been headed for abortion but decided to turn around.

As this article was being written, a second national campaign was under way during the 40 days of Lent, beginning Feb. 6, with thousands more praying at clinics across the country. By late February, dozens of turnarounds had been recorded and more than 100,000 individuals had signed up to pray at the abortion sites or at home in support of the effort.

These are the amazing numbers reported by 40 Days for Life national campaign director David Bereit. A veteran of the pro-life movement who had worked previously for American Life League, Bereit conceived of the 40-day effort with friends in Texas when he worked there for a local pro-life organization. The number 40 carries a rich biblical symbolism, including the 40 years the Israelites wandered in the desert and the 40 days Christ prayed and fasted in the desert.

Now the only full-time employee of the national 40 Days for Life, Bereit,

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Stephen Vincent writes from Wallingford, Conn.

who is 39 years old, has spent much of the last year traveling the country, organizing vigils, encouraging those who have made the commitment, praying with local prayer groups, and sending out regular e-mails to report on the progress of the campaign, with often dramatic details of hearts changed and lives saved. With an office in his Virginia home, where he lives with his wife and three young children, and by working remotely as he travels with his cellphone and laptop, Bereit uses modern technology to advance the cause of life and mobilize a whole new base for pro-life activism.

The key to the program's success is prayer. Prayer is the one essential component of any pro-life activity, he says, and it has the power to bring together people from diverse backgrounds and even from different churches and faith traditions. "The campaign is built, first and foremost, on the foundation of prayer and fasting, drawing on God's infinite power and recognizing that 'with God, all things are possible'—even ending the tragedy of abortion," he said.

The "fasting," or self-giving sacrifice, comes from participants who go way beyond giving up chocolate for Lent by going to the abortion clinics—a "modern-day Calvary"—to fill one or more of the 24-hour slots on one or more of the 40 days.

### **Time and Eternity**

As Bereit says, faith in God's power is the only motivation for someone to rise in the middle of the night, brave the 10-below temperature, and pass by shoulder-high snow banks to stand before an unlighted abortion facility and pray the Rosary at 3:00 in the morning. Yet this is what has been taking place regularly at the 40-day effort organized by Brian Gibson, another pro-life veteran who is director of Pro-Life Action Ministry, based in St. Paul-Minneapolis.

"The interest is extremely high," he said. "There is an excitement this effort is generating that we haven't seen since the days of Operation Rescue."

However, unlike in the heyday of Operation Rescue, in which participants sought to block entrances, the 40-days effort has gained the grudging accommodation of the hospital where Gibson and his vigil partners pray. The chief of security told him that his staff would watch out for the vigil participants during the night and plow the sidewalks of snow where they stand.

"That's the kind of unexpected benefits we have been seeing all around," Gibson said. "What we're doing is not much different from what we've always done in terms of prayer and witness, yet there is a new energy with the 40 Days for Life. I think people can focus on the definite time period, and when

you ask them for an hour or two a week, they say, ‘I can do that.’”

The appeal is also metaphysical. 40 Days for Life motivates participants because it demands something beyond the ordinary that can be accomplished in small, definable actions. No one person can end abortion in America or heal the wounds of 35 years of *Roe v. Wade*—no one can even stop every woman entering the local abortion clinic on a typical Saturday morning. Yet one person with a strong pro-life commitment can pray for an hour or two in public in the spirit of the saints who were “fools for Christ.”

To pray at midnight before a locked-tight clinic, when no one except God “who sees in secret” pays mind, is to invest a piece of time into eternity and receive a personal return. It is to cast a small drop into a limitless ocean and see the ripples expand in a widening network of rings that you will never fully see. This is the faith that moves mountains, and when added to the faith and prayers of thousands of others who have done the same, it may work to end abortion.

### **God’s Helpers**

Although 40 Days for Life has brought new energy to the pro-life movement, the elements of the campaign are far from new. Prayer has always been a basic practice for pro-lifers, and conducting vigils outside abortion clinics has been a staple since the 1980s. The practice of prayer and sidewalk counseling was popularized by the Helpers of God’s Precious Infants, founded in 1990 in New York City by Msgr. Philip Reilly, who has traveled the world to establish networks in every continent.

As well, a pro-life Mass and national vigil for life have been held for years in association with the annual March for Life in Washington, D.C., which marked its 35th anniversary last January.

Still, there is something new and renewing about 40 Days for Life that has caught the imagination of veteran pro-lifers and brought many others into the movement for the first time. Bereit, who calls Msgr. Reilly “my hero,” explains: “The characteristics that make 40 Days for Life unique are that the campaign calls upon participants to sacrifice over an extended period of time, which builds faith, character, and leadership and serves as a powerful witness to the community. The focused and finite 40-day period of the campaign—with a clear beginning and end—makes it an effective ‘point of entry’ to draw hundreds of new people into local pro-life efforts. The campaign has generated powerful lifesaving results in communities where it has been conducted, thus generating more publicity and interest. The positive results experienced during the 40 days build strong momentum which leads to involvement long after the campaign.”



Bereit concludes, hopefully: “40 Days for Life is reviving many who had grown weary in the pro-life movement, and it is building a whole new generation of hope-filled pro-life leaders and activists. I really believe that we are witnessing the beginning of the end of abortion in America.”

### **New Life**

The “new generation” of pro-life leaders includes Milissa Ackron, the young woman from Ann Arbor, who decided to organize a 40-day event last fall despite never having been involved in pro-life activism before. She and her fiancé, Kevin Kukla, took a deep breath and a leap of faith. About 500 individuals turned out to pray at the 24/7 effort.

“God calls the lowly sometimes so that he really shines through, and that’s what happened with me,” said Ackron, who began a second 40 Days for Life in February. “I’ve only been doing pro-life work since June 2007. It’s amazing what God has done in my life in such a short amount of time!”

Michele Mason, a homeschooling mother in Colorado Springs, prayed long and hard with her husband before deciding to organize the pro-life vigils during Lent in her community. “It’s been a challenge. We’re going pretty much day by day,” she admitted. “You know it’s the right thing to do, but you can get so tired.”

The enthusiasm of the participants has inspired her. “People are on fire, they are really making a sacrifice to keep it going,” Mason said. “This is a sign that this is what God wants us to do. You can tell by the fruits. People are being converted. Women are not having abortions. It’s worth any effort.”

### **Pro-Life, High-Tech**

Another aspect of the campaign that is new to pro-life circles is Bereit’s high-tech, direct-mail style of promotion. He sends regular, personally addressed messages—“Dear Stephen”—to an e-mail list of more than 15,000 individuals. His tone has a touch of Madison Avenue hype: “In just a few days, the pro-life movement is going to explode with new activity and excitement . . .” In fact, when I first began receiving these e-mails out of nowhere touting the initial national campaign last fall, I thought it was some sort of Internet scam. In my experience, pro-lifers don’t communicate in this way and they tend to shy away from slick promotion, or much promotion at all. But as news from the fall campaign spread over the Internet and was confirmed by reputable pro-life sources, I began to see that something new, indeed, was afoot.

Bereit is quite open about the fact that he strives to bring the high standards of the world to his work. “While doing pro-life work, our standards should

be even higher than those of the business world, since we are engaged in the most important work on Earth,” he said. “40 Days for Life has tried to utilize standards of professional excellence in everything we do, and we are continually looking for ways to improve our efforts and maximize the impact and effectiveness of the work we are called to do.”

The effort has paid off. Although pro-lifers are used to being at best ignored and at worst distorted by the national media, local media have turned out in generous numbers for the 40-day vigils, and many news outlets have given “balanced” coverage, allowing organizers to tell their own story and explain their own motivations.

Bereit himself has appeared on Mother Angelica’s Eternal Word Television Network, which beams worldwide, and he has posted homemade videos on YouTube, the symbol of the “Generation XYZ” global communications village. In a YouTube post from January’s March for Life, Bereit bypassed the national media to show the enormous numbers of young people, male and female, gathered in joyous and energetic solidarity. Teens and young adults from all over the world can watch this amateur, heartfelt video and picture themselves among the crowd as part of a new generation for life.

Bereit’s e-mail reports from the field have also told a story of amazing graces. A small sampling:

Cindy in SPOKANE, WASHINGTON, notes that the participants arriving at midnight for the vigil at Planned Parenthood discovered a student from nearby Gonzaga University shoveling the walkway so they could stand legally near the clinic entrance.

Bethany in CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA reports that, already, God has achieved small victories that will multiply as the 40 Days for Life campaign continues. She writes, “For some people, this was their very first time participating in a pro-life event! We have churches and organizations signing up that haven’t participated in the past. We heard testimonies that gave us hope and stories that have inspired us to do more!”

Jennifer called a local company to place an order for yard signs. When the woman she spoke to asked what 40 Days for Life was all about, it began a 45-minute conversation. “She was on the abortion side at the beginning,” Jennifer reported, “but she ended by crying. She’d had an abortion.”

Listen to these words of encouragement from another volunteer, in thanksgiving for all that YOU are doing as part of 40 Days for Life: “I am so humbled by their dedication to life. I am humbled by their prayers, their withstanding the elements, their withstanding the ridicule of those who think they are wasting their time; their standing up for what is right in the eyes of God . . . I am overwhelmed and in awe of them.”

As David Bereit would say, to read more testimonies of how 40 days can change your life, go to [www.40daysforlife.com](http://www.40daysforlife.com).

## A Pro-life Special Relationship

Edward Short

Describing “the special relationship” between Britain and America in a speech at Harvard in 1943, Winston Churchill cited the things the two countries have in common: “Law, language, literature—these are considerable factors. Common conceptions of what is right and decent, a marked regard for fair play, especially to the weak and poor, a stern sentiment of impartial justice, and above all a love of personal freedom . . . these are the common conceptions on both sides of the ocean among the English-speaking peoples.”<sup>1</sup> What Churchill did not include in this list is what ought to be our shared commitment to the life of the unborn. I say “ought” because, of course, it is not universally shared. Many in America and Britain are persuaded that what are called “reproductive rights” take precedence over the life of the unborn and that therefore abortion is defensible. (It is some relief to find that the dictionary of euphemism recently compiled by R. W. Holder and aptly titled “How Not to Say What You Mean” defines “reproductive freedom” as “the right to abort a healthy foetus.”) As we all know, Britain’s Abortion Act (1967) and America’s *Roe v. Wade* ruling (1973) paved the way for an assault against unborn life that puts what Churchill characterized as our “marked regard for fair play” in a grotesque light. In Britain, 200,000 unborn children are killed each year; in America, the number is well over a million. Surely these are statistics that cry out for a renewed special relationship.

Fortunately, such a relationship has already been forged. J. P. McFadden, the founding editor of *The Human Life Review*, initiated cooperative partnerships with such pro-lifers from across the pond as Lynette Burrows and Mary Kenny. British pro-lifer Jack Scarisbrick is continuing that tradition by collaborating with many American pro-lifers, including Joel Brind, Professor of Human Biology and Endocrinology at Baruch College, City University of New York, and Father Joseph Koterski, S.J., Professor of Philosophy at Fordham University and editor of *International Philosophical Quarterly*. Prof. Brind has appeared at many LIFE conferences educating British pro-lifers on the abortion/breast cancer link (ABC) and Father Koterski, well-known for his pro-life conferences in the U.S., recently addressed LIFE audiences in Exeter, Bristol, Gloucester, and Bath, and

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**Edward Short** reviews for the *Weekly Standard*, *City Journal*, and other publications. He is completing work on a book about Cardinal Newman and his contemporaries which will be published by Continuum in 2010.

conducted a seminar for LIFE Education Officers at LIFE's headquarters.

Prof. Scarisbrick came to the pro-life movement over 40 years ago from a distinguished academic career. Educated at the John Fisher School in Surrey, he read History at Christ's College, Cambridge, after serving in the RAF. He taught in the University of London, in Ghana, and in the U.S., and from 1969 to 1994 was Professor of History in the University of Warwick. Prof. Scarisbrick and his wife Nuala—who have two daughters and eight grandchildren—founded LIFE, Inc. in 1970.

What, then, *is* LIFE? It's a model pro-life agency that offers counseling, education, housing, and natural-fertility assistance to thousands of women and men each year. In addition to 33 LIFE houses, located throughout the U.K., the agency operates Zöe's Place—Britain's, and perhaps the world's, first baby hospice, which provides 24-hour respite and terminal palliative care for children aged 0 to 5 with multiple special needs. Currently, LIFE operates Zöe's Place hospices in Liverpool, Middleborough, and Coventry, though their goal is to have one operating in every major urban center in the U.K.

**R**ecently, I had the privilege to meet with Prof. Scarisbrick at his LIFE headquarters in Royal Leamington Spa, where he described the work that he and LIFE are doing to combat the scourge of abortion. My first introduction to his work, however, occurred years before when I was an undergraduate studying history and happened upon his magisterial biography of Henry VIII, a splendidly incisive account of the architect of the English Reformation. Nowhere else is the insatiable selfishness of the man more vividly presented. When Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries, he acquired a huge treasure trove of land and endowment. But rather than apply it to charitable works, to poor relief or education, he took most of it for himself and sold the rest to courtiers, about whom William Cobbett memorably observed: "For cool, placid, unruffled impudence, there have been no people in the world to equal the 'Reformation' gentry."<sup>2</sup> The divisions that Henry's confiscations caused affected all subsequent English history. But what struck me most in rereading the book recently was something one of the men of that sad generation said after the consequences of Henry's vandalism became clear: "Our posterity will wonder at us..."<sup>3</sup> For all who have witnessed the ravages of abortion, these are chilling words—but ones that must return us to the fight for life.

Prof. Scarisbrick and LIFE will soon continue their fight for the unborn in a wonderful old assembly hall in Royal Leamington Spa, which is now being renovated to become their new headquarters. The hall has an interesting

history. It was built in 1906 for the Catholic Apostolic Church, an offshoot of the Methodists that was founded by Selina, Countess of Huntingdon (1707-91). Instrumental in introducing Methodism to England's upper classes, Lady Huntingdon formed her own group known as "the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion" after breaking with John Wesley. Her preachers, according to the historian Paul Langford, "were seeking out sin, and not unreasonably thought it should be attacked most vigorously where it was strongest, in polite society. The early chapels of the Huntingdon Connexion were often in places of fashionable resort, Bath, Tunbridge, Margate, or at least in towns with assemblies, balls, and the regular attendance of the upper crust."<sup>4</sup> Hence, it would have been natural for her successors to set up shop in Leamington Spa, with its fashionable pump room. Prof. Scarisbrick gave me a tour of the new site when we met and it is impressive, with great timber beams and space galore for his education, counseling, and housing departments, as well as a clinical area for his LIFE Fertility Care Program. Soon, Royal Leamington Spa will be famous for more than Queen Victoria stopping here for lunch on her railway journeys to Balmoral, or the future Napoleon III living briefly at 6 Clarendon Square: It will be the place where LIFE helped bring about an end to abortion in Britain.

Prof. Scarisbrick and LIFE continue to make admirably dogged strides towards that end. Thanks to LIFE, over 26,000 active supporters throughout the U.K. and indeed around the world now realize that there is a positive alternative to abortion, euthanasia, and the misuse and destruction of human embryos. By any measure, this is an impressive accomplishment, especially when one considers the power and the reach of the British pro-abortion establishment.

How that establishment became so formidable is a melancholy tale. In 1967, David Steel's Abortion Act was passed ostensibly to clarify the 1861 Offences against the Persons Act and "stamp out backstreet abortions." In the intervening 40 years, the myth of "backstreet abortions" has given way to the reality of "abortion on demand." In 2007, the aptly named Marie Stopes<sup>5</sup> International, a pro-abortion agency, recorded its busiest month ever: Six thousand abortions were performed in January, 2007 alone.<sup>6</sup> Attempts to modify the 1967 Bill have almost universally failed.<sup>7</sup> In 1969, Norman St. John-Stevas, Conservative MP for Chelmsford, presented a bill to amend the 1967 Act by requiring one of the certifying doctors necessary for an abortion to be a consultant gynecologist or doctor appointed by the Secretary of State. The government appointed the Lane Commission to investigate how the 1967 Act was working and reported back that no amendments should be made. In 1979, when Scottish Conservative and Unionist MP John Corrie

presented a bill designed to prohibit most abortions after 20 weeks and to limit the legal grounds for all abortions, the Trades Union Congress sided with the pro-abortion lobby and soundly defeated it. In 1980 another bill was introduced to prohibit abortions after 24 weeks but failed. In 1982, Lord Robertson of Oakridge introduced a bill similar to the one introduced in 1979 but the Lords rejected it. In 1987, Peter Bruinvels, Governor of the Church Commissioners, who once suggested that the BBC might wish to consider changing its name to the “Bolshevik Broadcasting Corporation,” failed to pass a bill that would have given putative fathers the right to be consulted before an intended abortion. In 1988 David Alton attempted and failed to establish a time limit of 18 weeks for abortions. In 1989 various bills were presented attempting to amend the certifying clauses of the 1967 bill and they were all rejected. In 1990, the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act extended the scope of the 1967 Act by permitting the use of human embryos for experimental purposes, establishing an upper limit of 24 weeks, instead of 28 weeks, for most abortions, and permitting abortion in certain multiple pregnancies. It also legalized the abortion up to birth of special-needs children—what Hitler called “Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens”—the “destruction of life not worth living.”<sup>8</sup> Unlike our own culture of death, the Nazi variety could at least call a spade a spade.

The 1990 bill had predictable consequences. In October 2004, a British high court judge ruled that Charlotte Wyatt, born three months premature, should be euthanized without further efforts to save her life. She had brain damage and injuries to her lungs and kidneys. Despite her condition, her parents requested doctors to continue doing everything possible to save the child. But presiding Justice Hedley, citing “fundamental principles that undergird our humanity,” ruled that her doctors should be allowed to discontinue treatment, which killed the child. In his ruling, Hedley said that it was in Charlotte’s best interests that she be allowed to die “a good death.”<sup>9</sup>

Nuala Scarisbrick categorically rejected this heartless Orwellian logic. “Doctors have no training in measuring ‘quality of life.’ No one has. It is a subjective and dangerous catchphrase of the eugenics and euthanasia lobbies. Doctors have a duty to care for all patients, not to pick and choose according to some arbitrary and unscientific criterion.”<sup>10</sup> American readers know the ruthlessness of such legal butchery from the Terri Schiavo case, in which another court ruled against the quality of another life.

Again, Nazi parallels are unavoidable. In 1936, a correspondent wrote to the SS paper *Das Schwarze Korps* demanding that a law be passed permitting consenting parents to euthanize their mentally retarded children. The paper published the letter alongside commentary agreeing with the correspondent:

A law should be passed “that helps nature to its right.” If anyone should object that there is no morally defensible right to euthanize the mentally retarded, the paper “countered by saying that there was a hundred times less right to defy nature by keeping alive ‘what was not born to life.’”<sup>11</sup> This makes Hedley’s case better than his preening himself on bringing about “a good death.” If he had simply said that the mentally retarded must be killed because they are unfit to live, his ruling would still have been odious but at least it would have been honest.

The high-handedness of the pro-abortion establishment is only matched by its callous irresponsibility. In January 2004, the British government announced that two women died after taking the abortion drug RU-486, also known as mifepristone. Melanie Johnson, a British public-health official, admitted that the Committee on Safety of Medicines had received information about two women who died after taking the abortion drug, which was made legal in the U.K. in 1991. Despite this information, Johnson disputed whether the abortion drug was to blame. “The reporting of a suspected adverse drug reaction does not necessarily mean that the drug was responsible,” Johnson told the *Daily Telegraph*. “Many factors, such as the medical condition that is being treated, other pre-existing illnesses or other medications might have contributed.” Nuala Scarisbrick was unconvinced. “I hope this tragic news serves as a warning to women about just how dangerous these powerful drugs are. If these women had not taken RU-486 they would probably be alive now—and so would their babies. There is such a conspiracy of silence about the after-effects of abortion that LIFE is sure that there are other deaths that have not been reported.”<sup>12</sup> As of December 2007, the RU-486 drug has killed 13 women worldwide (in addition to the two in the U.K.) and injured more than 1,100 women in the U.S. alone.<sup>13</sup>

**B**efore looking at how LIFE is responding to this conspiracy of silence, it might be helpful to define terms. The British Abortion Act, passed in 1967, differs from the American ruling in *Roe v. Wade* in that it does not give a woman the right to have an abortion: It protects from prosecution a doctor who performs an abortion if two doctors attest that an abortion should be induced. Grounds for “lawful” abortion include (a) risk to the life of the mother; (b) to prevent grave permanent injury to the physical or mental health of the mother; (c) risk or injury to the physical or mental health of the mother greater than if the pregnancy were terminated; (d) risk of injury to the physical or mental health of existing (i.e. born) children; (e) substantial risk of the child being born seriously handicapped; (f) in an emergency, to save the mother’s life; (g) in an emergency, to prevent grave permanent injury to the

physical or mental health of the mother.<sup>14</sup>

In February 2007, Mary Kenny, the staunch Irish pro-lifer, who has worked in Britain for many years, provided a useful status report on how the vaunted benefits of the 1967 Act have panned out:

The original campaigners for abortion-law reform emphasized the scandal of back-street abortions: They also claimed that legal abortion and better access to contraception would mean (a) no more unwanted children; (b) no more children in care; (c) no more cruelty to children; (d) a reduction in “teenage mothers”—the figures had reached a shocking 4,000 in 1966; (e) a reduction in all “illegitimacy”; (f) a reduction in “subnormal”—that is, low-IQ—mothers giving birth; (g) the disappearance of “subnormal” children; (h) a reduction in child murders and attacks on children. In the mid-1960s there were some 5,000 children abandoned to local authority care. Access to abortion would solve all that, campaigners believed. Forty years on, there are now some 50,000 children in care, and, 40 years after the Abortion Act was supposed to decrease “illegitimacy,” Britain has the highest rate of single teenage mothers in Europe, and a third of all births are now out of wedlock. As for improving conditions for children, a report from UNICEF this week put the UK bottom of the developed nations’ league for child wellbeing.<sup>15</sup>

If a central claim of the 1967 Act is that “lawful” abortion promotes the health and well-being of pregnant women, Prof. Scarisbrick has been sedulous in calling attention to the various ways in which abortion, far from promoting, threatens the health and well-being of pregnant women. In his most recent book, *Let There Be Life* (2007), which gives an excellent overview of the British pro-life movement, Prof. Scarisbrick describes the many studies that have been conducted in Britain and America demonstrating the link between abortion and breast cancer (ABC), a link that Prof. Joel Brind continues to highlight in lectures throughout Britain and the U.S. Recently, LIFE invited Prof. Brind to their 2007 National Conference, where he showed how 26 of the 32 studies conducted from around the world connected the ABC link. For those who may not know the medical facts surrounding the issue, there are two main points that need to be grasped regarding the ABC link, as Prof. Scarisbrick points out:

First, it is now widely accepted that a full-term pregnancy, especially if followed by breastfeeding and especially if this is the first pregnancy, provides protection against breast cancer in later years. So, if a woman or girl has her first pregnancy “terminated” she forgoes that protection. Subsequent full-term pregnancy may make good the loss in part, but her defences have been weakened. But that is not all. Studies from around the world suggest that she will have increased the risk of attack, especially if hers is a nulliparous abortion, that is, if she had no full-term pregnancy previously. Since the majority of abortions in Britain are nulliparous, abortion must be playing a part in the alarming and steady increase in the incidence of breast cancer since the late 1970s. . . . [Secondly], there is a clear biological explanation of the ABC link. In early pregnancy a huge surge in estrogen levels causes the cells of the breast to



proliferate. Later in pregnancy these cells differentiate to enable them to produce milk. If this differentiation does not occur the cells become vulnerable to carcinogens. This will happen if the child is born very prematurely. It does not happen if the abortion is spontaneous.<sup>16</sup>

Despite this cogent evidence, the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (RCOG) continues to argue that there are no links whatever between abortion and breast cancer: The evidence is “inconclusive.” When LIFE called attention to the links in 2006, RCOG responded by refusing even to concede the possibility of such links and argued instead that rises in the incidence of breast cancer rates were attributable to obesity, menopause, and binge-drinking, “without,” as Prof. Scarisbrick notes, “any statistical evidence” or “biological explanation.”<sup>17</sup> The RCOG is equally dismissive of studies linking abortion and mental illness.

Faced with such continual stonewalling, Prof. Scarisbrick recently sent off a letter to the president of the College asking him to say, whether, “in view of the mounting evidence of the damage which induced abortion can do to women’s minds and bodies, the College continues to believe that a doctor can still authorize the operation on the ground that continuance of the pregnancy would involve risk to the mental health of the woman greater than if the pregnancy were terminated.” This put the president in a well-deserved dilemma and as yet he has not responded. In a press release dated November 26, 2007, Prof. Scarisbrick got to the heart of the matter:

Ninety-five percent of abortions are done on the ground that they are safer for the mother than going to term and having their babies. But there is now overwhelming evidence from all over the world that induced abortion is a significant risk factor for breast cancer, infertility, and subsequent premature delivery, and that abortion can leave a terrible legacy of guilt, grief, anger, and self-hatred among women. Post-abortion trauma is now a major women’s disease. Studies from around the world show that rates of suicide, binge drinking, depression, and self-harm are much higher among abortive than non-abortive women. In view of all this, we have asked the president of the RCOG to give a clear ruling on whether a doctor can still confidently authorize or perform one on the ground that it would be better for the mother’s physical or mental health than going to term. This is an urgent question. Why will he not answer it?<sup>18</sup>

Why indeed? Such stonewalling is not a British monopoly. In the United States, the Guttmacher Institute, which describes itself as committed to “advancing sexual and reproductive health worldwide through research, policy analysis, and public education,” touts the safety of abortion with blithe disregard for the available evidence. Aptly enough, this pseudo-scientific pressure group is the research arm of Planned Parenthood. Indeed the institute was founded by Alan Guttmacher, president of Planned Parenthood from

1962 to 1974 and vice-president of the American Eugenics Foundation. Readers who go to the institute's website will see that the references attached to the assertions below are uniformly bogus. Women suffering the known ill effects of abortion must read such assertions and seethe:

Exhaustive reviews by panels convened by the U.S. and British governments have concluded that there is no association between abortion and breast cancer. There is also no indication that abortion is a risk factor for other types of cancer.

In repeated studies since the early 1980s, leading experts have concluded that abortion does not pose a hazard to women's mental health.<sup>19</sup>

Prof. Scarisbrick gives an equally telling example of how British pro-abortionists confront the cause of life. When David Alton initiated a debate in the House of Lords on the link between abortion and breast cancer, "he encountered an angry, almost hysterical refusal even to consider the question."<sup>20</sup> If the issue at stake were not so vital, there would be something comical about die-hard lords behaving so petulantly but alas it is not funny. There is not only something irrational but something *anti-rational* about the opponents of life. "This, then," as Prof. Scarisbrick observes, "is abortionism. It cannot engage in reasoned debate. It is incoherent. It can offer only slogans, assertions, and old myths. It evades and fudges. It will break with the rules of scientific research and not hesitate to ignore norms of academic discourse."<sup>21</sup>

**T**he British government is no more accountable. Rather than acknowledge that there is considerable evidence that abortions are harmful to women, it is now suggesting that nurses be permitted to perform abortions in doctors' private offices—a plan which, the *Daily Telegraph* reported, only 14 percent of the 2,175 doctors polled supported.<sup>22</sup> The notion that the abortion crisis can be addressed by making access to abortion easier is an *idée fixe* with the men and women who rule the British welfare state. Some will always see depravity as the driving force behind official abortionism, but one cannot underestimate the role that incompetence plays in policies of such persistent folly.

Yet, to judge from recent developments, things may be looking up for British pro-lifers. Now that the demographics of the U.K. are changing—with more and more pro-life immigrants from both Roman Catholic and Islamic traditions recasting the ethnic and religious mix of the country—it is questionable whether the government will be able to continue to make abortionism a centerpiece of the NHS. Some are even suggesting that the U.K.'s surging Catholic population might force the government to jettison the Act of Settlement (1701), which bars Roman Catholics from ascending

the throne.<sup>23</sup> Clearly a sea change is taking place in the once squarely Protestant British state and this could very well capsize the abortion lobby. The government's latest push to get nurses to perform abortions at a time when more and more doctors refuse to perform them is emblematic of this. Now one in five GPs describes himself as anti-abortion.<sup>24</sup> As more doctors from Catholic and Muslim backgrounds enter the NHS, that number is likely to increase.

Seven years ago, Ann Furedi, now chief executive of the pro-abortion Pregnancy Advisory Service, branded the British pro-life movement an unqualified failure: "They've lost the mainstream argument about whether abortion is right or wrong, and they know it."<sup>25</sup> Yet now such gloating seems delusive. To see which side is winning the debate we should look at the arguments recently made regarding permitting nurses to perform abortions. For the pro-abortion lobby the benefits of involving nurses in the destruction of unborn children are self-evident: Dr. Kate Guthrie, a spokesman for the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, told the *Daily Telegraph*: "This is logical. As long as standards of care are high and as long as there is adequate training, competent clinical staff should carry out early surgical abortions and it does not matter if it is a doctor or a nurse." Michaela Aston, of LIFE, responded by putting Dr. Guthrie's logic into context: Permitting nurses to perform abortions "would be a retrograde step and contrary to widespread public opinion which believes that we should be finding ways of reducing the number of abortions, not making them more readily available. This is a far cry from what was intended when the Abortion Act was introduced. This would trivialize abortion, trivialize the huge decision that it is for women and trivialize the suffering many women experience after their abortions." Anthony Ozimic of the Society for the Protection of Unborn Children made the pro-life case more starkly still: "Do nurses really want to perform abortions, the killing of innocent human beings? The pro-abortion lobby claims that so-called safe, legal abortion was necessary to safeguard women's health yet, having achieved legal abortion, it now wants to remove safeguards by getting nurses to do doctors' dirty work for them." For years, the pro-abortion lobby has caricatured proponents of life as lunatic. But who is lunatic here: the side that recommends a policy that will increase the already huge number of abortions by making them easier or the side that recognizes that Britain has a serious abortion problem on its hands, which trivializing abortion will only exacerbate?<sup>26</sup>

By exposing the false logic of the pro-abortion lobby, Prof. Scarisbrick and LIFE are waking up the British public to the evils of abortion. At the same time, by offering vital housing, counseling, and other maternity services

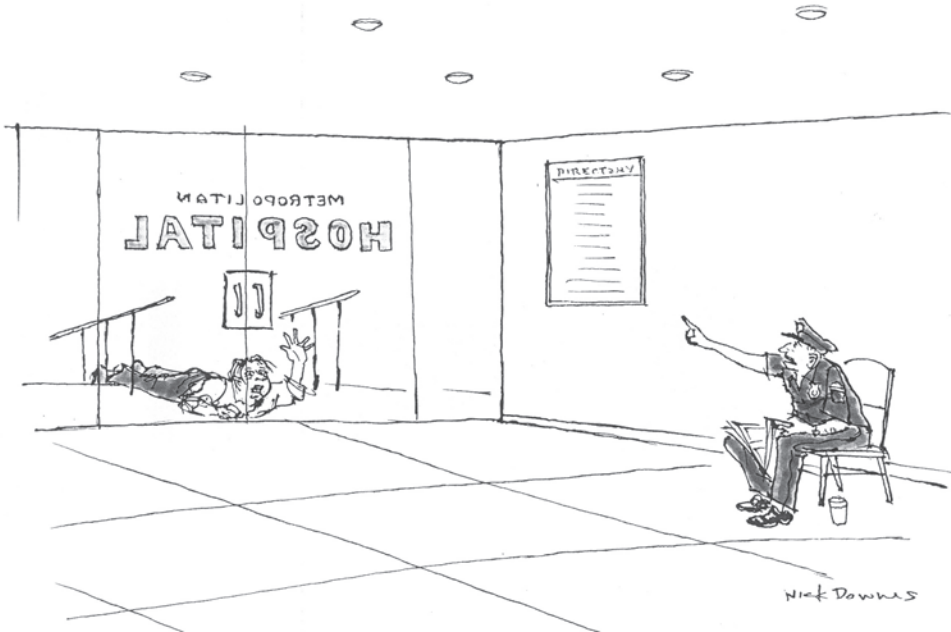
they provide practical life-affirming options that truly redound to the good health and well-being of mothers-to-be and their newborns. In accomplishing his work with the help of talented American pro-lifers, Prof. Scarisbrick is also renewing the pro-life special relationship, which, *pace* Furedi, mops up the floor with the proponents of the culture of death, who are as muddled as they are unconscionable.

## NOTES

1. Winston Churchill quoted in Andrew Roberts, *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples Since 1900* (London, 2006) 641.
2. William Cobbett, *A History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland* (New York, 1896) 15.
3. J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (Folio Society, 2004) 461.
4. Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783*. (Oxford, 1989) 253.
5. Returning home from New York in 1924, Noel Coward met Marie Stopes on board the *SS Cedric*. At the time, Coward's first play, *The Vortex*, had just completed a successful run on the London stage. The play was about a debauched mother and her drug addicted son, "trapped," as Coward put it, "in a vortex of beastliness." After seeing the play, Stopes wrote Coward an effusive letter suggesting that they team up and write a sequel. Coward wrote her back: "I am afraid I never collaborate with anyone, and even if I did, it would not be over a sequel to *The Vortex*, as psychologically speaking, there is *no* sequel—unless of course the gardener's boy found the box of cocaine and gave it to his younger sister who took a boat to Marseilles and went into a bad house; one of those particularly bad houses for which Marseilles is justly famous." See *The Letters of Noel Coward*. ed. Barry Day (New York, 2007) 71.
6. See *The Daily Telegraph*, "Clinic Reports busiest month for abortions," Sarah Womack, September 9, 2007.
7. I am indebted for this précis of the disappointments of the pro-life movement to Decca Aitkenhead and her piece in *The Independent*, "New lease of Life the struggle for life," August, 11, 1996.
8. Readers interested in comparative infamy might wish to see what Ian Kershaw has to say about the relationship between Nazi Germany's euthanasia program and the roots of the Holocaust. See Chapter 6, "Licensing Barbarism," in Ian Kershaw's *Hitler: 1936-1945: Nemesis*. (New York, 2000) 231-279. See also Scarisbrick, *Let There Be Life*, 30.
9. See *Lifenews.com*, "British High Court Judge Approves Euthanasia of Baby Charlotte," Steven Ertelt, October 8, 2004.
10. *Ibid*.
11. See Kershaw, *Hitler: 1936-1945: Nemesis* (New York, 2000), 257.
12. See *The Daily Telegraph*, "Revealed: two women die after taking controversial new abortion pill," Michael Day and Susan Bisset, January 17, 2004. And *Lifenews.com*, "Brit. Gov: Two Women Died After Taking RU 486," Steven Ertelt, January 19, 2004.
13. See *LifeNews.com*, "British Physicians Oppose Government Plan for Abortions at Doctors' Offices," December 30, 2007.
14. LIFE Student Fact Pack.
15. See *The Daily Telegraph*, "What is done easily is done frequently," Mary Kenny, February 16, 2007.
16. J.J. Scarisbrick, *Let There Be Life* (Leamington Spa, 2007) 28.
17. J.J. Scarisbrick, *Let There Be Life*, 29.
18. LIFE press release dated November 26, 2007.
19. See website for Guttmacher Institute: [http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/fb\\_induced\\_abortion.html](http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/fb_induced_abortion.html).
20. Scarisbrick, *Let There Be Life*, 29. See also Hansard (Lords) 29 October, cols. 335 ff.
21. Scarisbrick, *Let There Be Life*, 29.
22. See *The Daily Telegraph*, "Doctors say no to abortions in their surgeries," Sophie Borland, December 29, 2007.

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23. See *The Times*, "A Catholic tremor through Westminster," William Rees-Mogg, December 27, 2007. Securing a Protestant succession to the throne, according to John Cannon, editor of *The Oxford Companion to British History*, "was done by putting aside more than 50 Catholic claimants and offering the succession to Sophia, electress of Hanover, a granddaughter of James I... The clauses devoted to the succession [included in the Act of Settlement] took effect in 1714, when Queen Anne was succeeded by Sophia's son George I." See *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. John Cannon (Oxford, 1997) 854.
24. See *The Daily Telegraph*, "Doctors say no to abortions in their surgeries," Sophie Borland, December 29, 2007.
25. See *The Independent*, "New Lease of LIFE the Struggle for Life," Decca Aitkenhead, August 11, 1996.
26. See *The Daily Telegraph*, "Let nurses carry out abortions, experts say," Celia Hall, March 27, 2007.



"This is an employees only entrance, sir."

HENRY J. HYDE  
5TH DISTRICT ILLINOIS  
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JUDICIARY  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
CHAIRMAN  
REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE

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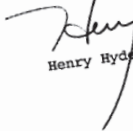
May 18, 1994

Mr. J.P. McFadden  
Editor  
The Human Life Review  
150 E. 35th St.  
New York, NY 10016

Dear Jim:

I certainly did get the leather bound volume of '92 HLR, for which my profound thanks. Thank you too, Jim, for your support on the gun bill -- I have been called names not used since Shakespeare's time! To judge by some of the reaction, there are people who ought not have a knife and fork much less a gun! Meanwhile, you and yours are always in my thoughts and prayers.

Warmest,



Henry Hyde

HJH/gmf

## REMEMBERING HENRY HYDE

*April 18, 1924 – November 29, 2007*

# The Right Man

William Murchison

“Well”—as Joe E. Brown smiled, in the dénouement of *Some Like It Hot*—“nobody’s perfect.”

Indeed. Not Jack Lemmon’s cross-dressing character, finally revealing himself to the amatory Brown as a man. Not Henry J. Hyde either, peerless champion as he was of the divinely ordered right to be born.

When last November the Lord retrieved Congressman Hyde from the human swirl, obituarists—though generally respectful—reminded the reading public of armorial chinks. Chiefly this meant the extramarital dalliance a forty-ish Hyde had conducted in the 1960s and a federal lawsuit filed against him and eleven other ex-directors of a failed savings and loan on gross negligence charges. (Hyde attributed the dalliance to “youthful indiscretion” and fought his way clear of the lawsuit.)

Such reminders went along with the notations of tribute paid by, for instance, the editors of *National Review*, who saw tall, bulky, white-thatched Henry Hyde as “one of the great congressmen of his generation—or any generation.” President Bush himself spoke of a “fine man [who] believed in the power of freedom,” “a tireless champion of the weak and forgotten,” working to “build a more hopeful America and promote a culture of life.”

Only days before, Bush had bestowed on Hyde—in absentia—the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his defense of life, his support for a strong national defense, and his outspoken support for freedom around the world. The White House called Henry Hyde “a true gentleman of the House, [who] advanced his principles without rancor and earned the respect of friends and adversaries alike.” George Weigel would add, in *First Things*, that he “almost singlehandedly kept the federal treasury out of the abortion business.”

No, he wasn’t perfect: nor, unless I am gravely misled, has anyone—that would include the spirit of the late Joe E. Brown—suggested he so much as approached that state. Let all that go. I think what we might want to do, some months after our friend and champion’s death, is move beyond the obvious and well-deserved tributes. What I think warrants present notice is the depth of Henry Hyde’s teaching about the amazing things that happen when principle and desire intersect and grapple for political advantage.

“His teaching,” I said. I don’t mean he stood before some classroom

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delivering meticulous lectures, neatly sectioned, on note cards, into topics. He taught by action and example.

Let's look.

The first thing almost everyone knows about the political craft is its morally ambiguous nature. We don't go there to find models of human perfection: not ever. That's because when we go there we find instead models of human passion contending for advantage against other models of human passion. Disraeli called politics "the greasy pole"—a lovely image of men (all were men then) pulling themselves upward, losing a handhold, falling back, resuming the climb, hoping at any stage to loosen the handholds of others.

We know what happens in politics—"the systematic organization of hatreds," as Henry Adams called it; "the doctrine of the possible," said Bismarck; "the science of who gets what, when, and why," according to the old labor union maestro Sidney Hillman; also—Disraeli again—"this career of plundering and blundering."

We'd expect human perfection amid all that? Hardly.

The blogs have accustomed us, further, to ritual dissections of reputation. As I write these lines, the media are still awash in breathless speculation as to just what John McCain's true relationship was with a certain blonde lobbyist—and whether it mattered what it was. To a 17th-century Frenchwoman is attributed the dead-on—and oh-so-French—observation that "No man is a hero to his valet." Most of all, perhaps, no political figure of consequence, seen too long up close, looks altogether heroic.

Our good luck as voters, possibly, is to get from politicians like Henry Hyde much more than we have any right to expect—regard for principle, and sometimes decisive action in behalf of principle. It's only logical—before passing on to other matters—to note what we actually got from Henry Hyde. A vast deal, actually.

I quote from *National Review's* posthumous tribute to him:

He will be most remembered for the Hyde Amendment. First passed in 1976, when Hyde was new to Washington, it bans the public funding of abortions through Medicaid. The year before it passed, the federal government had financed 300,000 abortions for low-income women. Afterward, this number dropped essentially to zero—the women either found another way to pay for their abortions or chose life for their unborn children. The National Right to Life Committee has estimated, conservatively, that the Hyde Amendment has prevented at least one million abortions. That's one million Americans who are alive today because of Henry Hyde.

The Hyde Amendment has proven remarkably durable, undergoing only one important revision. In 1993 [following Bill Clinton's overthrow of the George H. W. Bush administration], Congress added rape and incest exceptions to the life-of-the-mother clause that had been in place from the start. It is without question the most important piece of pro-life legislation ever to pass Congress.



A law professor long associated with Hyde, Jonathan Turley of George Washington University, called him “one of the most powerful and influential politicians of his generation”—“a uniquely decent and compassionate man.”

Will not that serve?—an evaluation compressing character and professional skill into a couple of phrases? I think such an evaluation might serve very well.

Our luck of the draw, so to speak, respecting Henry Hyde, was to be seen in his emergence at just the right moment, with just the right outlook and skills-set to become tax-funded abortion’s pursuing fury (if “fury” isn’t too odd a word for such a nice man).

Turley writes: “Hyde’s difficult early life [against the backdrop of the Depression] left him with a deep understanding of and sympathy for people with little money and power.” Such as unborn babies? Less powerful than that jeopardized category, you hardly ever get.

Rich Lowry recounted, in his syndicated column, how the pro-life cause drew the formidable congressman to its center: “Hyde came to his famous pro-life views in a characteristic way—he considered the evidence.

“When he was serving in the Illinois legislature in the 1970s, a colleague asked him to co-sponsor a bill liberalizing abortion law. He hadn’t thought about the issue, and read a book called *The Vanishing Right to Live* by Charlie Rice that convinced him of abortion’s evil. He opposed the Illinois bill and, when elected to Congress, shepherded to passage legislation forbidding the federal funding of abortion.”

**T**he right man at the right time in the right place—that was Henry Hyde. A man who understood intuitively, it strikes me, the limitations inherent in the political craft. He must have apprehended—it could hardly have been otherwise—the unsuitability of politics for the pressing out of all the wrinkles in our mortal garments. What were politicians after all but fellow humans? It was to them that other humans looked—reasonably enough in many instances—for collective solutions to collective woes and dangers. Like war. Yet it’s to politics, and especially political intervention, that the nation’s—for that matter the world’s—stalemate over abortion can be traced.

The various state laws forbidding or restricting abortion were of course instruments of politics; but a law can always be adapted or modified after intensive discussion, to the general satisfaction of the community. Further, the losing side in the dispute enjoys the democratic entitlement to change the community’s mind as to what should be done. So books and op-eds are written; organizations are formed and initiatives launched. And when all is said and done, the losers may wind up the winners.

The peculiar politics of the federal judiciary have given the bearers of such aspirations the steepest possible hill to climb. A Supreme Court decision doesn't need majority support at the grassroots. Why should a judge with lifetime tenure care what the peasants want? He shouldn't and doesn't—a stance the elected branches of government usually encourage by refusing to take action when the unelected branch asserts its will.

That can leave the likes of Henry Hyde feeling—like Manon Lescaut in the Puccini opera's last act, “alone, lost, abandoned.” At which point one of two things happens: “Manon” quits, gives up the ghost; or, rises, politically speaking, to whatever height remains possible. As Hyde did.

I met Hyde only once, exchanged only a few words with him: hardly the right circumstances for taking a man's measure. I know him to have been described as cheerful. He would have had to be to stand up for so many years affirming, against a powerful consensus, the inviolability of human life. One is reminded a little of Beverly Sills, across whose sun-dappled professional career life threw dark shadows in the form of the serious disabilities her husband and two children incurred. She is supposed to have said that she hadn't been happy; what she had been, she said, was cheerful.

The cheerful politician may find himself—as Hyde did—outnumbered and outgunned. What can he do against so many, and in the face of such daunting odds? It may be—and in Hyde's case I think it was—that he has a way of looking past the immediate storm to the radiance and peace that are surely coming, against present odds, in the face of every reasonable expectation.

Hyde's tenacious Roman Catholic faith, one can only speculate, gave him the extra measure of cheerfulness that allowed him to press ahead, when knocking back a quick one or sitting down to a bridge game could have proved the irresistible temptation. He didn't sit down, of course, and because of it an estimated one million Americans have cause to give him thanks. The job, for their sake, wasn't too big at all. It was what had to be done.

The cheerful political man understands as well the power of persuasion by example, as opposed to the twisted arm, or the crackling cross and hooded head. To do nothing when times are bleak and evil is to send a signal: Nothing is worth doing. Certainly not at the cost of lost friendships or foregone professional opportunities. To do *something*, by contrast, is to plant a standard, even if only for a day (and it may be much longer than that). It is to say, keep the faith. It is to say—maybe—the cavalry's coming, can you hear the bugle yet, blowing “Charge” and the far-off thunder of horses' hooves?

As I write, I recall another occasion when Henry Hyde, with good cheer, kept the faith. It was during the Clinton impeachment brawl, when he served

as House manager for, shall we say, the prosecution. It wasn't a pleasing prospect at all. Half the country didn't want Clinton impeached; the other half—seemingly—wanted him hung out to dry. The floor manager for the impeachment forces had little to gain, save the satisfaction of making the case for honor and truth-telling in high places—no bad case to make if you're set on making one.

Not that Hyde himself could have been very happy at his vocation to the grubby task of impeaching a president (less happy, certainly, than were the Radical Republican prosecutors of Andrew Johnson a century earlier). Hyde knew why the thing had to be done; he knew he had to do it and he did it. It was that simple—and that complex.

When the tumult and the shouting had died, one American political figure, at least, was known to have bellied up to responsibility. Improbably he had failed to disappoint expectations.

Strange, and controversial, are the uses of partisan politics, a profession best locked out of the house at night and otherwise given clear and specific instructions about behavior inside. One couldn't say Henry Hyde "saved" America, or even the pro-life cause in America. What he did was remind his fellow countrymen—including the many who wouldn't have been here without him—that at the worst times, and in the bleakest contexts, you may hear a voice reminding you of things larger than personal advantage. You may observe a large physical frame seemingly barring the way against those who would denude the landscape of norms deeply planted but more than a little shriveled under the blaze of the contemporary sun.

Oh, I wouldn't call Henry J. Hyde, the man, the public servant, perfect. Just near enough so that if you did notice, you'd forget about it in two shakes.

# The Gentleman from Illinois

*Fred Barnes*

The first time I spoke to a pro-life group—it was the summer of 1993—I expected Illinois congressman Henry Hyde to be there. I was speaking in Milwaukee at National Right to Life’s annual convention and my assumption was that when a major anti-abortion group gathered, Hyde’s presence was required. But Hyde wasn’t there. I had brought my daughter Sarah with me and I was disappointed she wouldn’t get to hear Hyde, the great pro-life orator and the nation’s leading defender of the unborn.

As luck would have it, when we were flying home and changed planes in Chicago, whom should we sit across from on the flight to Washington but Henry Hyde. We were thrilled. And Hyde, tall, stout, white-haired, and quite friendly, said he’d be glad to chat with us over coffee at Washington National Airport. And he did, and told us a fascinating story. For several years, he had debated a liberal Republican from New Jersey named Millicent Fenwick on the House floor. She was a real character. She smoked a pipe. Her mother had died in the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915. Fenwick was an unswerving defender of a woman’s right to have an abortion.

After an especially contentious debate, Fenwick confronted Hyde in a state of fury. She told him he shouldn’t be talking the way he did about abortion. He was dividing the Republican Party, even the country. He was stirring ugly passions. He must stop.

Hyde interrupted Fenwick’s tirade to say he’d tell her a story he’d never told anyone in Washington, not even close friends. Then she’d understand why he believed so strongly in saving unborn children. His mother wasn’t married when she’d gotten pregnant. But she didn’t seek an abortion. And when he was a month old she’d left him on the doorstep of a family, who took him in and reared him. That, he told Fenwick, was why he opposed abortion.

Fenwick was thunderstruck. She walked away without saying a word and never debated the issue of abortion with Hyde again. At this point, Hyde paused in telling the story. He looked at me and then at my daughter. “Of course the story wasn’t true,” he said. He’d made it up on the spur of the moment. But it was for a worthy cause, and he had never regretted using it to silence Fenwick. We laughed and laughed and so did Hyde. My immediate

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**Fred Barnes** is executive editor of *The Weekly Standard* in which this tribute first appeared (Dec. 10, 2007). © Copyright 2008, News Corporation, Weekly Standard, All Rights Reserved.

thought—one that stuck with me up to the day Hyde died last week at 83—was simply, “What a wonderful man. What a great guy to have on your side.”

Hyde was a cheerful politician with a great sense of humor and a wide range of interests. He once told me how much he enjoyed going to movies, usually on Saturdays, and listed all the movies he’d seen recently. I hadn’t seen any of them.

He was a skillful legislator who got along with nearly everyone in Congress, including Democrats. This was true even after he led the effort, as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, to impeach President Clinton. When he argued on the Senate floor for conviction, it was a historic moment. But his role in impeaching Bill Clinton wasn’t Hyde’s most important as a congressman.

Enacting, and later saving, the Hyde Amendment was. The measure was passed in 1976, two years after Hyde arrived in Washington, and is still the law of the land. It bars the use of federal funds to pay for abortions. The year before, there were 300,000 federally funded abortions. A conservative estimate is that the amendment has saved at least a million lives over the past three decades, but the number could be higher.

When Clinton became president in 1993, he urged repeal of the Hyde Amendment. His administration estimated that, absent Hyde’s ban, federal funds would pay for 325,000 to 675,000 abortions annually. Only a shrewd concession by Hyde saved the ban.

Many pro-lifers insisted that any softening of the amendment should be strongly opposed. But Hyde found he didn’t have the votes. By altering it to permit federal funds for abortions in cases of rape and incest, Hyde peeled off enough House members to preserve the amendment. It was a victory that shocked the pro-abortion lobby, spurred opposition to Clinton’s health care plan (which would have paid for abortions), and prompted the defeat of the Freedom of Choice Act.

Hyde was an early convert to the pro-life movement. As a state legislator in Illinois—pre-*Roe v. Wade*—he’d been approached by a colleague to cosponsor a bill legalizing abortion. Hyde was inclined to back the bill. When he read it, however, he changed his mind. Hyde had never thought about the abortion issue. Once he did, rather than support the bill, he led the opposition in defeating it. When he won a House seat in 1974, he came to Washington an ardent pro-lifer.

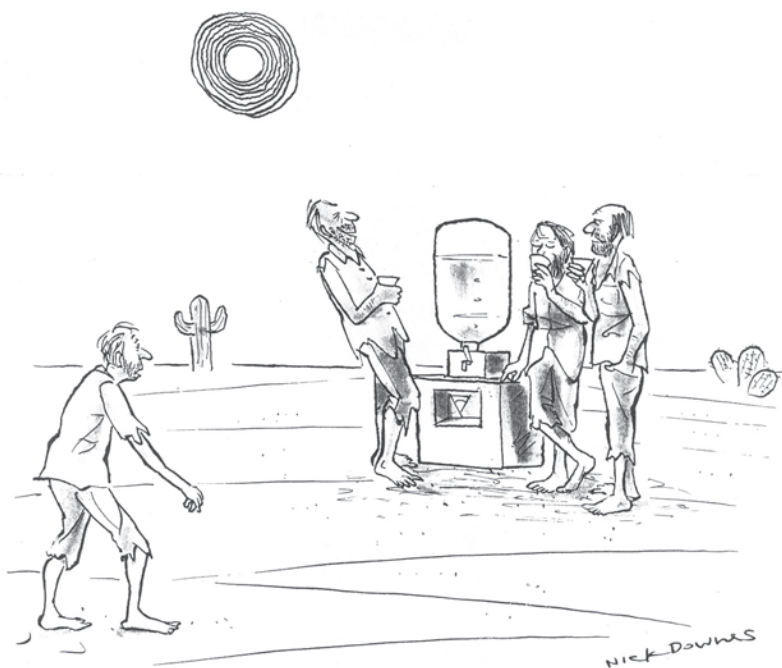
I don’t know whether Hyde was always eloquent on the moral imperative to save unborn children. But he certainly was when I first heard him at a platform hearing at the Republican convention in Dallas in 1984. The party

had adopted a pro-life plank four years earlier, and Hyde argued for keeping it. Senator Lowell Weicker of Connecticut—another Republican in the Millicent Fenwick mold—urged it be dropped.

Until covering their debate, I'd paid little attention to the morality of abortion. I'd thought about abortion chiefly as a political issue or simply a medical procedure to be avoided if possible. But that wasn't what Hyde talked about. He said the Republican platform should oppose abortion without any exceptions, a position that seemed a bit extreme.

Hyde didn't run away from the hard cases: rape and incest. He said there was already one innocent victim in these cases, the pregnant woman, and abortion would only add a second. Aborting the unborn child would compound the horror of the crime that had been committed.

As I listened to Hyde, tears began streaming down my cheeks. This was embarrassing, unprofessional even, since I was sitting in the press section. I'd never thought of myself as a pro-lifer, but suddenly I did. A great man had persuaded me.



## Henry Hyde (1924-2007)

*George Weigel*

**I**n September 1984, I had a sabbatical year at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. One day—while I was having lunch with a Seattle congressman, Joel Pritchard, then in the midst of a bout of chemotherapy—a portly gentleman came up to our table to ask Joel how he was feeling. Congressman Pritchard introduced me to Congressman Henry Hyde, who politely asked what I was doing in town. I explained that I was exploring Catholic thought on war and peace at the Wilson Center. Hyde smiled and went off to his own lunch.

Fifteen minutes later, he came back and asked me, “Have you ever written anything on church and state?” I replied that I had and would be happy to send him some things, which I did. As it turned out, Hyde had been asked to give a lecture at the Notre Dame Law School in response to the “I’m personally opposed, but . . .” abortion politics of Mario Cuomo and Geraldine Ferraro. (Note to younger readers: Cuomo was a three-term governor of New York; Ferraro was the vice-presidential candidate on a ticket that carried one state and the District of Columbia.) So I pitched in with the drafting of the speech, which was intended both as a rebuttal to Cuomoism and as a positive statement of how Catholic understandings of the dignity of the human person should engage the public square—a phrase then just coming into the national vocabulary.

From such an accidental beginning came one of the great friendships of my life and a twenty-year collaboration that would teach me a lot about how American politics really works.

Henry Hyde, who died on November 29, 2007, was, without exaggeration, a singularity. As Clement Attlee once said of Winston Churchill, Henry’s personality resembled a layer cake. There was the Hyde who reveled in the contact sport that is Illinois politics and who regaled friends with Mr. Dooley-like stories of campaign shenanigans and naughtiness (on both sides of the partisan divide). And there was the Hyde who was a close student of history, one of the most avid readers in the House of Representatives.

There was the Hyde who was the undisputed legislative leader of the American pro-life movement, the man who almost single-handedly kept the federal treasury out of the abortion business. And there was the Hyde who

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defied some conservative orthodoxies by arguing that it was nonsensical to claim that the Second Amendment created a constitutional right for eighteen-year-olds to own AK-47s and other assault weapons.

There was the Hyde whom Cokie Roberts (no conservative) once described to me as “the smartest man in Congress.” And there was the Hyde who was one of the best joke-tellers of all time.

There was Hyde, the ambitious politician. And there was the Hyde who passed up what would turn out, later, to be a chance to become Speaker of the House, because he had given his word to minority leader Bob Michel to vote for Michel’s candidate for whip.

There was the Hyde who was a master of rhetorical cut and thrust, the greatest extemporaneous debater in recent congressional history. And there was the Hyde whom the likes of Nancy Pelosi liked, respected, and perhaps even came to love.

One indelible memory that captures Henry Hyde in full involved Thanksgiving 1986. Henry’s prostate was giving him grief, so he spent the holiday in Georgetown University Hospital. When I went to visit him on Thanksgiving Day, I found him sitting up in bed, tubes running in and out of him, smoking a six-inch-long cigar, watching TV as his beloved Bears played the Lions—and reading a massive tome on William Wilberforce, the British parliamentary scourge of the slave trade. I asked Henry whether he’d had a lot of visitors. He replied that a guy who was interested in running for his seat had come in and expressed grave concern. Said Henry, in a growling whisper, “I told him, ‘The last words you’ll ever hear me say are gonna be, ‘Get your foot off the oxygen hose.’”

**H**e loved the U.S. House of Representatives, and, while he made important contributions to foreign policy as one who married a profound concern for international human rights to a principled anticommunism, I think Henry most enjoyed chairing the Judiciary Committee after the Republicans took control of the House in January 1995. His remarks during the committee’s first meeting under his chairmanship are worth remembering:

In our American system, justice is not an abstraction. Like all the virtues, justice is a moral habit; we become a just society by acting justly. The duty to “promote justice,” which we lay upon ourselves when we pledge to defend the Constitution, is a duty we exercise through the instrument of the law. [For] the “rule of law” distinguishes civilized societies from barbarism.

That simple phrase—“the rule of law”—should lift our hearts. To be sure, it has little of the evocative power of Lincoln’s call to rebuild a national community with “malice toward none” and “charity for all”; to celebrate the “rule of law” may stir our souls less than MacArthur’s moving call to “Duty, Honor, Country.” But if that phrase lacks the



eloquence of Lincoln and MacArthur, it nonetheless calls us to a noble way of life.

Legislators—makers of laws in a democratic republic—are involved in a vital task. Ours is not just a job; public service in the Congress is not just a career. What we do here we ought to do as a matter of vocation: as a matter of giving flesh and blood to our convictions about justice—our moral duty to give everyone his due. I have been in public life long enough to know that not every moment in politics is filled with nobility. But I have also been in public life long enough to know that those who surrender to cynicism and deny any nobility to the making of the laws end up doing grave damage to the rule of law—and to justice. If we don't believe that what we are doing here can rise above the brokering of raw interests—if we do not believe that politics and the making of the law can contribute to the ennobling of American democracy—then we have no moral claim to a seat in the Congress of the United States.

It was a touching confession of political faith, and Henry's conclusion was met with applause and cheers. Even such sworn partisan foes as the ranking minority member, John Conyers, and the ultra-pro-choice Patricia Schroeder were moved and leaned across to shake the new chairman's hand. (Chuck Schumer, if memory serves, continued to eat a jelly doughnut while chatting on the dais with his friend Howard Berman of California.)

In less than four years' time, of course, chairing the Judiciary Committee got Henry embroiled in the impeachment inquiry against President Clinton. Hyde was a model of fairness throughout, as even a Clinton defender like Barney Frank acknowledged. His own falls from grace, decades in the past, were dredged up by reporters, aided and abetted (I am convinced) by unscrupulous Clintonistas, all of whom somehow imagined that the impeachment inquiry was about extracurricular sex. Henry was hurt, badly, and even talked of resigning. I remember telling him that no two people I had ever met had been more married than he and Jeanne (who had died in 1992), and that he owed it both to her forgiveness and his duty to press ahead. Which he did, in the conviction that President Clinton had put the Congress and the country in an impossible position. How could the nation have as its highest law-enforcement official a man guilty of a crime—perjury—for which more than a hundred other men and women were serving time in federal prisons?

When the House managers solemnly carried the Articles of Impeachment across the Capitol to the Senate, Henry Hyde saw in Trent Lott's eyes (as he told me later that night) that "we're not going to make it; Trent won't fight." Rather than let the trial of the president descend into farce, Henry tried heroically, through the force of argument and rhetoric, to keep the country focused on the nobility of the rule of law, as he did in opening the Senate trial for the House managers:

Every senator in this chamber has taken an oath to do impartial justice under the Constitution. The president of the United States took an oath to tell the truth, the

whole truth, and nothing but the truth in his testimony before the grand jury, just as he had, on two occasions, sworn a solemn oath to “faithfully execute the laws of the United States.”

The case before you, Senators, is about the taking of oaths: the president’s oaths, and your own oaths. That is why your judgment must rise above politics, above partisanship, above polling data. This case is a test of whether what the Founding Fathers described as “sacred honor” still has meaning in these United States: two hundred twenty-two years after those words—sacred honor—were inscribed in our national charter of freedom. . . .

In recent months, it has often been asked—it has too often been asked—so what? What is the harm done by this lying, by this perjury? The answer would have been clear to those who once pledged their sacred honor to the cause of liberty. The answer would have been clear to those who crafted the world’s most enduring constitution. And the answer should be clear to us, the heirs of Washington, Jefferson, and Adams, Madison, Hamilton, and Jay.

No greater harm can be done than breaking the covenant of trust between the president and the people; among the three branches of our government; and between the country and the world. For to break that covenant of trust is to dissolve the mortar that binds the foundation stones of our freedom into a secure and solid edifice. And to break the covenant of trust by violating one’s oath is to do grave damage to the rule of law among us.

The Senate acquitted the president, but students of American history will read Henry Hyde’s remarks during the impeachment inquiry and trial for decades after President Clinton’s memoir (with its bitter criticisms of Hyde) is pulped.

Late in the Reagan years, House Speaker Jim Wright (of all people) asked Henry to speak at a luncheon Wright was hosting for newly elected members of Congress. Henry graciously congratulated the neophyte solons, cracked a few jokes, and then got very serious. “You are basking in the glow of victory,” he told them, “and that is entirely understandable. But permit me to suggest, on the basis of long experience, that if you don’t know what you’re prepared to lose your seat for, you’re going to do a lot of damage up here. You have to know what you’re willing to lose everything for if you’re going to be the kind of member of Congress this country needs.” That was Henry Hyde. And even his most bitter enemies knew that he spoke the truth.

Once, addressing the National Right to Life Convention, Henry reminded the ground troops of the pro-life movement that they were not “playing to the gallery, but to the angels, and to Him who made the angels.” Last November 29, I imagined the angels giving him a rousing Chicago-style welcome. So, I expect, did today’s holy innocents, the unborn, whose cause he led for decades with wisdom, wit, and effect. It seems too much to ask that we’ll ever see his like again. How blessed we were, as a nation under God and under the rule of law, to have had his services for so long.

# The Henry Hyde I Knew

*Jonathan Turley*

**M**ore than 30 years ago, I walked on to the floor of the House of Representatives on my first day as a congressional page, fidgeting in a new blue suit and trying desperately to hide the fact that I was terrified. I was immediately pushed into a scrum of representatives and pages running about in the midst of a close vote on a piece of legislation. Nobody really noticed the teenager being shoved around like flotsam and jetsam until I felt a huge hand grab me by the arm and pull me into a member's seat. I looked up at a tall man in an outrageously bright canary-yellow suit and a smile to match. It was Henry Hyde. While I was a Democratic page, he spotted me from across the room and ran over to stop me from being ground into chum.

When I heard of Hyde's death Thursday, I thought about sitting with Hyde back then as he explained what was happening on the floor. For me that was Henry Hyde. He was, to be sure, one of the most powerful and influential politicians of his generation. However, he was also a uniquely decent and compassionate man. The bill on the floor was his bill, but the most important thing for him at that time was to help some 15-year-old page on the edge of a panic attack.

Years later, we would work together on legislation and on President Bill Clinton's impeachment. In his final years, I spent months interviewing Hyde for a possible book on his remarkable life. It is easy to memorialize a man such as Hyde in a recitation of his historic contributions during 32 years in Congress. He was a bigger-than-life character in the House Judiciary Committee, the author of the pro-life Hyde Amendment and countless pieces of major legislation. From his chairmanships of the Judiciary and International Relations Committees, he changed the world in which he lived.

However, Hyde wasn't bigger than life. He was shaped by life and never forgot its lessons. The true Henry Hyde can only be found back in Illinois where he grew up during the Depression, the son of a coin collector in a family that was often short of everything but bad luck.

When the Hydys lost their house in Evanston during the Depression, they were forced to live above a Chicago tavern on Howard Street. They could not afford the \$1-a-month tuition for St. Margaret Mary Catholic Elementary School, so he worked at the school to pay it off. In high school, he ignored

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the taunts of his classmates and worked as “their” janitor to pay the tuition at St. George High School.

Hyde won a basketball scholarship and went to Georgetown University.

Hyde’s difficult early life left him with a deep understanding and sympathy for people with little money or power. Fact is, I’ve never met anyone who knew Hyde and did not like him, even those on the other side of the intense battles of his career.

There was something genuine about Hyde that is missing in today’s freeze-dried, robotic politicians. For one thing, he genuinely liked people and enjoyed helping them out. When he was in the Illinois legislature, a man with a gun barricaded himself in the bathroom near Hyde’s office. The police were ready to shoot him, but Hyde insisted on going in to speak with him. It turned out the man had problems at home. Hyde came out with the man and the gun.

Hyde was one of the last of the “Old Guard.” He was widely viewed in Congress as someone who valued consensus and played fairly with colleagues. Hyde sought a new direction for the Republican Party, away from divisive politics, including his critical role in replacing Newt Gingrich as House speaker. When Africa was being ravaged by AIDS and poverty, it was Hyde who pushed through \$15 billion in relief.

Of course, there was impeachment, and Hyde was personally attacked for an affair that he had had some 30 years before, suggesting that there was no difference between Clinton and his accusers. Hyde supported impeachment because Clinton was a perjurer, not an adulterer.

The fact is that the affair showed how different these two men were. Unlike Clinton, Hyde never tried to deny his affair and he certainly never lied about it under oath. When he told his wife about the affair, he broke down, filled with shame that continued to haunt him for the rest of his life. His late wife, Jeanne, forgave him, but he never forgave himself.

While it may seem trite, Hyde truly believed what he said in 2003. He believed that “the law exists to protect the weak from the strong.”

He had a deep faith in a system that allowed a kid living above a tavern on Howard Street to become one of the most powerful people in the world. But unlike others, he never became bigger than life.

For me, Henry Hyde will remain that man in the canary-yellow suit who looked into a crowd of politicians during an important vote and only saw one scared kid who needed rescue. If the measure of a man is the size of his heart, Henry Hyde was the greatest of his generation.

# Remembering Henry Hyde

*Nat Hentoff*

As a pro-lifer, I became accustomed through the years to being rebuked and scorned by liberal friends, and some women journalism colleagues stopped speaking to me. But getting to know Rep. Henry Hyde and his ceaseless battle against what he and I both called “the culture of death”—from abortion to assisted suicide and other determinations that some lives are not worth continuing—more than compensated for whatever standing I’ve lost on the left. As a member of Congress from 1975 to 2007, Mr. Hyde, a force for life, was not only instrumental in limiting the number of abortions, but also voted for such measures as the Family and Medical Leave Act. He was also vital in passing an American commitment to invest \$5 billion for a five-year global program to curb the advance of HIV and AIDS.

Additionally, he supported the Women, Infants and Children’s nutritional program, which led Rep. Barney Frank, Massachusetts Democrat, who was not with Mr. Hyde on abortion, to tell the *New York Times* (Nov. 30) that the lawmaker from Illinois, “acted on the view that because he opposed abortion, that children would be born in difficult circumstances, and he felt an obligation to help them.” Mr. Hyde and I got to know each other in the 1980s, when I was reporting often on the decisions by an increasing number of parents and their physicians to deny medical treatment (and eventually life itself) to handicapped infants. In 1984, during a bitter debate in the House, Mr. Hyde championed an amendment to a bill extending the Child Abuse and Treatment Act.

This amendment, vigorously opposed by House liberals, would broaden the definition of child abuse to include the denial of medical treatment or nutrition to infants born with life-threatening conditions. To make that section work in real life, it included a mandate that each state—in order to continue getting funds for child-abuse programs—would have to put in place a reporting system that could be alerted whenever a handicapped infant was being terminally abused by denial of medical treatment or food. What Mr. Hyde said that day on the floor of the House stands, in my mind, as one of the most powerful affirmations of equal protection of the laws concerning the fundamental humanity of everyone in this nation:

“The fact is that . . . many children . . . are permitted to die because minimal

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**Nat Hentoff**, a long-time columnist for the *Village Voice*, has authored many books, including *The War on the Bill of Rights and the Gathering Resistance* (Seven Stories Press, 2003). This tribute appeared in the *Washington Times*, Dec. 17, 2007, and is reprinted with Mr. Hentoff’s permission.

routine medical care is withheld from them. And the parents who have the emotional trauma of being confronted with this horrendous decision, and seeing ahead a bleak prospect, may well not be, in that time and at that place, the best people to decide. I suggest that a question of life or death for a born person ought to belong to nobody—whether they are parents or not. The Constitution ought to protect the child . . . Because they are handicapped, they are not to be treated differently than if they were women or Hispanics or American Indians or black. [These children’s handicap] is a mental condition or a physical condition; but by God they are human and nobody has the right to kill them by passive starvation or anything else.”

The House voted 231 to 182 to pass the bill expanding the definition of child abuse to include the neglect of handicapped infants. (Mr. Frank was among those in opposition.) After a tough battle, it also passed the Senate and a House-Senate conference. My liberal friends couldn’t understand—despite that debate in the House—how I could become a pro-lifer, and I kept reminding them that they prided themselves on working to assure justice for the underrepresented in this country, those mired in poverty or without competent legal help or otherwise without essential resources. Mr. Hyde, in his ultimately successful striving to end the grotesque child abuse of partial-birth abortion, made the same point:

“The people [other activists who] pretend to defend the powerless, those who cannot escape, who cannot rise up in the streets, these [are also human beings halfway outside the womb who] ought to be protected by the law. The law exists to protect the weak from the strong.”

Mr. Hyde and I last spoke some months ago, when I was intent on tracking a House bill that would kill more human beings not yet born. He, of course, was on the case, and said to me, “You’re a tiger on protecting life.” His 1976 Hyde Amendment banning the use of federal funds to pay for abortions has saved at least a million lives over the past 30 years. Compared to the tiger Mr. Hyde was, and remains in the effects of his advocacy of the life force, I’m just a pussycat. It was a great privilege to have known him. Not long before his death, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by the current President Bush. Considering how many lives Mr. Hyde freed from extinction, it was utterly well-deserved.

## Henry Hyde, R.I.P.

*Rich Lowry*

**W**e haven't lacked recently for congressmen who have disgraced Congress. Now, we've lost one who ennobled it.

Henry Hyde has died at age 83. He represented a suburban Chicago district in the House for 32 years before retiring last year in failing health. When political commentators lament the passing of a Golden Age in Congress, they usually are inventing an imagined past. But Henry Hyde really did embody a set of political qualities that have become rare in an age of hyperpartisanship and YouTube debates.

He had principles, but was never a fanatic. He was partisan, but never a bomb-thrower. He defended traditional values, but never was preachy. He was respected by both sides because he knew that respect must be given to be received. He was eloquent in a way few American politicians are, and deeply literate. But he enjoyed his cigars and—once a stand-up comic—leavened all he did with a keen sense of humor.

One of his most extraordinary qualities was that he was persuasive and persuadable. In the mid-1980s, he doubted the need to reauthorize the Voting Rights Act. After traveling to the South for field hearings, he changed his mind and worked to convince Reagan administration officials to support the reauthorization.

Hyde came to his famous pro-life views in a characteristic way—he considered the evidence. When he was serving in the Illinois legislature in the 1970s, a colleague asked him to co-sponsor a bill liberalizing abortion law. He hadn't thought about the issue, and read a book called *The Vanishing Right to Live* by Charlie Rice that convinced him of abortion's evil. He opposed the Illinois bill and, when elected to Congress, shepherded to passage legislation forbidding the federal funding of abortion. The Hyde Amendment has stood for decades as the most consequential piece of pro-life legislation ever to pass Congress.

The pro-life cause became one of the pillars of Hyde's public life. He once told incoming congressmen, in the political axiom he lived by, that they "need to be at least as clear on the reasons why they would risk losing as they are on the reasons why they wanted to come here in the first place." His staffers recall left-wing lioness Maxine Waters later repeating exactly

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**Rich Lowry** is editor of *National Review* and a syndicated columnist. This column was published Nov. 30, 2007 and is reprinted with permission. © 2007. King Features Syndicate.

the same advice to freshmen congressmen—and attributing it to Hyde.

Hyde grew up a New Deal Democrat in an Irish-Catholic family in Chicago. He thought Republicans were “a bunch of bankers, bloated bondholders and economic royalists.” The cause of anti-communism prompted him to rethink his attitude toward the GOP. He became a committed Cold Warrior, and during a career studded with legislative achievements, it was his work on national security of which he was most proud.

He will be remembered for leading the impeachment of President Bill Clinton, a cause he undertook more out of duty than of zeal (during the controversy, it was revealed that he had had an affair 30 years previously). He thought he had no choice but to champion impeachment given President Clinton’s offenses against the rule of law: “It protects the innocent, it punishes the guilty, it defends the powerless, it guards freedom, it summons the noblest instincts of the human spirit.”

Right, center or left, we need more representatives who love Congress the way Hyde did—as a magnificent expression of our experiment in self-government—and do all that they can to make it an institution worth loving. “When I cross the river for the last time,” he told friends not long ago, echoing Gen. MacArthur, “my thoughts will be of the House, the House, the House.”

In a speech in the midst of the impeachment fight, he had proclaimed, “We vote for our honor, which is the only thing we get to take with us to the grave.” Henry Hyde departs with his honor intact, honed during decades of public service and acknowledged by all. RIP.





## A Life for Life: An NRO Symposium

*Editor's note: Former Illinois Republican congressman Henry Hyde died early Thursday morning. National Review Online asked some former colleagues, friends, and admirers to assess his legacy.*

### Helen Alvare

My fondest recollection of Congressman Henry Hyde involved parliamentary maneuvering, a glass of champagne, and a horde of “pro-life feminists” storming his congressional office to give him a group hug. I can’t recall the precise year, but it was during the early 1990s—the “bad old days,” when opinion polls still claimed that more Americans called themselves “pro-choice” than “pro-life” (that is no longer the case). The days when abortion advocates were still blathering something about the unborn children being “inhuman” (science seems finally to have silenced this silliness). Congressman Hyde was struggling in those days to pass again his “Hyde Amendment” preventing federal Medicaid funds from being spent on abortions. His substantive amendment was defeated and the only possibility for success lay in putting limiting language in the relevant appropriations bill. After a day and a night of work and umpteen consultations with the House parliamentarian, victory was achieved! Immediately, a group of us associated with Feminists for Life tromped down to his office on the hill where champagne was being served at some ungodly hour of the morning. It took four or five of us to give him a proper hug, given his size in those days. The joy, the eloquence, the zest for life that made him the advocate that saw the movement through some of its darkest days, was on full display that morning. May God bless you now for your work, great Friend of Mothers, of Children, of Life!

—Helen Alvare, a professor at the Catholic University of America’s law school, is a long-time pro-life activist and former pro-life spokeswoman for the U.S. Catholic bishops.

### Carl A. Anderson

Some 25 years ago, I recall bringing Mother Teresa to Henry Hyde’s congressional office for what was supposed to have been a “brief” meeting. They both sat on his couch, and it was immediately apparent to me that they were on the same wavelength. Their conversation about the need to build a culture of life, and help those in need, went on for quite a while, and the “brief” meeting lasted until finally Henry had to leave or miss a vote on the House floor. Pro-lifers have never had a better friend in congress.

Henry Hyde was an effective leader because he genuinely loved people, and he was too nice for his opponents to get angry at. At the end of the day,

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This symposium was posted on National Review Online ([nationalreview.com](http://nationalreview.com)) on November 29, 2007 and is reprinted with permission.

you always knew that he'd do what was right, and that's why so many people were always ready to go the extra mile for him. At the Knights of Columbus, we all aspire to be "Catholic gentlemen," and Henry Hyde was a Knight for 53 years. He was the very epitome of a Catholic gentleman, and we all owe him a huge debt for a life of public service well spent.

— *Carl Anderson worked in the Reagan White House, and later served as a member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Today, he is Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus, a Catholic men's organization with 1.7 million members worldwide.*

**John Boehner**

I have long included Henry Hyde among my heroes, and for the 16 years I served with him in the House, I was honored to call him a mentor, a colleague, and a friend. Henry was a student of American history, a constitutional scholar, a thoughtful legislator, and a passionate orator. But above all, he will be remembered as a gentleman who stood as a beacon for the bedrock principles of liberty, justice, and, above all, respect for life. His work in crafting the Mexico City policy, for example, remains among his most significant accomplishments in Congress, and it will forever be remembered as a defining moment for the pro-life cause.

What often struck me most about Henry was his keen sense of our nation's history and of the gifts bestowed on our Republic by the Founding Fathers, whose actions and deeds were never far from his mind. In his respect for the institutional integrity of the House of Representatives, Henry took second place to no one. He was a forceful advocate for maintaining the dignity of the House and for recognizing the sacrifices and struggles Members make while in its service. Indeed, when Henry spoke in Committee or on the House floor, Members on both sides of the aisle listened intently—and they learned. And while he had unquestionably strong views on domestic and foreign policy, Henry never allowed political differences to cloud personal relationships.

Henry served his country with great honor and distinction, and it is only fitting that President Bush awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom just three weeks ago. Hard as it is to let go, we can be comforted knowing that God gave us a man of Henry Hyde's character who did his patriotic duty to the fullest. I send my thoughts and prayers to the entire Hyde family in their time of loss.

— *John Boehner (R., Ohio) is House Republican leader.*

**Tom DeLay**

He was brilliant and noble and eloquent. His legendary floor speeches changed the votes of hardened, career partisans. It was like Atticus Finch was elected to Congress. Like everyone else, I loved Henry Hyde the gallant

statesman, the silver-tongued knight who fought and won more important battles than any conservative in history.

But what I remember today, almost incredulously, is Henry Hyde the Congressman. During his 16 terms in the House, that man was *everywhere*.

In 1976, when the Equal Rights Amendment was still on the verge of ratification, he won passage for legislation to prohibit the federal funding of abortion. In 1987, when liberals tried to bring down the Reagan Administration in the Iran-Contra scandal, Hyde exposed their cynical strategy in one hearing cross-examination after another.

In 1995, Hyde's Judiciary Committee generated more than half of the Contract with America legislation. And, in 1998, when our constitution and national honor were threatened, he endured withering attacks to successfully defend them both.

It's time we put his towering legacy in its proper context: Henry Hyde was nothing less than the greatest man of the Greatest Generation.

— *Congressman Tom DeLay is the Former House Majority Leader.*

#### **Jack Fowler**

A favorite Henry Hyde story: It is the height of the congressional Sandinista wars. Hyde has criticized Senator Daniel Moynihan, who had been tirading over the CIA mining of the Managua harbor. The two meet in the Capitol on an elevator bank. Short unpleasant words are exchanged. The doors open, Moynihan enters, and as the doors close, he raises his right hand and flips Hyde the one-finger salute.

He is leaning back in his House office chair, his mountainous shoulders heaving as he laughs. That smile, that white mane, a brandished cigar—what a sight (and site!) he is. Hyde clearly enjoys regaling how he brought the pompous New York intellectual to his Hell's Kitchen roots.

— *Jack Fowler is the publisher of National Review.*

#### **Richard W. Garnett**

There is so much to admire in Rep. Henry Hyde's more than 40 years of public service in state and national legislatures. At or near the top of the list, of course, is the Amendment that bears his name: The Hyde Amendment—first enacted shortly after Rep. Hyde came to Congress—was and has long been an important, inspiring pro-life achievement. Even during the early years after Roe, when it seemed that the Supreme Court was unwilling to permit even the mildest and most reasonable abortion regulations, the Hyde Amendment protected the consciences of millions of Americans by limiting the use of federal tax dollars for subsidizing abortion. As the current election cycle reminds us, so many in politics, and in both parties, have found it

convenient over the years to flip and flop from one side of the abortion question to the other. However, as President Bush observed recently, when he awarded Rep. Hyde the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the congressman was always — in his mind, heart, and voting record — a “powerful defender of life” and a champion for “freedom around the world.” God bless him.

— *Richard W. Garnett is a professor at the University of Notre Dame's law school.*

### **Robert P. George**

Henry Hyde will rightly be remembered as a man of steadfast principle who, in the era of *Roe v. Wade*, never gave up hope that our nation would fully honor its commitment to the profound, inherent, and equal dignity of every member of the human family, including the child in the womb. As a member of the House of Representatives, and Chairman for several years of its Committee on the Judiciary, Hyde worked unceasingly to rectify the wrong of depriving an entire class of human beings of the law's most elementary protections. His commitment to fighting the evils of abortion and human embryo-destructive research, despite deep and widespread support for these practices in elite sectors of our culture, was sustained by his religious faith; at the same time, it flowed from his dedication to the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence. In this latter respect, the Illinois Republican resembled no one so much as the Illinois Republican of a prior era who, at Gettysburg, reminded his countrymen that ours is a nation “dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.”

In the cause of defending human life, Henry Hyde became a great man. With justice, the tributes that will now come flooding in will refer to him as a statesman. But Hyde did not begin his political career as a great man, or even as an especially good one. He was, in the early years, an ordinary politician, not one of the worst, but not among the best. The low point came in the late-1960s when, while serving in the Illinois legislature, he carried on an extramarital affair. (It would later generate against him charges of hypocrisy when, in his role as Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, he led the movement to impeach Bill Clinton for perjury and obstruction of justice in the Monica Lewinsky matter.) Not long after that, however, the question of abortion was thrust onto the national stage and Hyde mustered the strength of character to see it as what it is, namely, the deliberate taking of innocent human life. He knew that his duty was to defend its victims. The effect on him—politically, morally, spiritually—was profound and enduring. He himself could not have realized it at the time, but his days of being an ordinary politician—and an ordinary man—were over. He was on his way to becoming the statesman whose loss so many today mourn, and whose memory

the nation will long honor.

— *Robert P. George is McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence, and director of the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University.*

### **Jeb Hensarling**

I was saddened to learn this morning of the passing of Henry Hyde, a leader in the conservative movement in the House for decades. Today we remember him as a true statesman and leader of distinction who served the American people with courage, nobility and pride. Chairman Hyde was a pioneer in the effort to protect human life, and because of his tireless efforts, there are thousands of people living around the world today who remember his service to mankind. He was a commanding presence in an institution that too often lacks them, and a voice of statesman and intelligence in a field that too often overlooks them.

Henry's great victory for humankind will never be forgotten, particularly by those who live today because of the Hyde Amendment. There aren't many people who can move on from the boundaries of earth knowing that their effort has saved thousands and thousands of human beings. Henry can rest knowing that he has done so. His work to protect human rights across the globe was relentless and will carry on for generations to come, in countries that many of us will never visit, in villages that many of us will never see. Though we reflect on his passing with great sadness, Chairman Hyde's steadfast dedication to the belief in the sanctity of life reminds each of us that there is more work to be done. I offer my prayers, condolences, and sincere gratitude to my friend (and Henry Hyde's son, who resides in Dallas, Texas) Bob Hyde, his siblings and the rest of the Hyde family.

— *Congressman Jeb Hensarling (R., Tex) is chairman of the Republican Study Committee.*

### **Kate O'Beirne**

Henry Hyde was the original compassionate conservative. In his exemplary public service, he was devoted to giving voice to the voiceless, devoting his singular talents to defending people he would never know. The vulnerable who found a champion in Mr. Hyde included unborn children and victims of Communist oppression. Those privileged to know the gentleman from Illinois witnessed firsthand his humanity and humor. I mourn the loss of a man of uncommon intellect and integrity whom I admired for decades and who honored and enriched me with his friendship.

— *Kate O'Beirne is Washington Editor of National Review.*

### **Christopher Smith**

Henry Hyde was one of the rarest, most accomplished and most distinguished Members of Congress ever to serve. He was a class act.

Henry was a man of deep and abiding faith, generous to a fault with an incisive mind that worked seamlessly with his incredible sense of humor. He was a friend and colleague who inspired and challenged us to look beyond surface appeal arguments and to take seriously the admonitions of Holy Scripture to care for the downtrodden, the vulnerable and the least of our brethren.

In the greatest human rights issue of our time—the right to life, Henry Hyde will always be known as a champion and great defender of children and their moms. Because of the Hyde Amendment countless young children and adults walk on this earth today and have an opportunity to prosper because they were spared destruction when they were most at risk. With malice towards none, Henry Hyde often took to the House floor to politely ask us to show compassion and respect—even love—for the innocent and inconvenient baby about to be annihilated.

A Congressman for 32 years, a chairman for 6 years of the Judiciary Committee and for another 6 years Chairman of the International Relations Committee, Henry was a prodigious lawmaker. With uncanny skill, determination and grace, he crafted numerous, historic bipartisan laws and common-sense policies that lifted people out of poverty, helped alleviate disease, strengthened the U.S. Code to protect victims and get the criminals off the streets. He was magnificent in his defense of democracy and freedom both here and overseas.

One of his many legislative accomplishments includes his authorship of the President's Emergency Plan For AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) a 5-year \$15 billion plan to combat HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. During the debate Chairman Hyde was positively incisive as he compared the HIV/AIDS crisis to the Bubonic plague of the 14th century—the black death—and challenged us to enact a comprehensive program, which we did, to rescue the sick, assist the dying and prevent the contagion from spreading.

Having served with this brilliant one-of-a-kind lawmaker, I know the world will truly miss Henry Hyde. Still, we take some comfort in knowing that Henry Hyde's kind, compassionate and generous wit and ability will live on in the many laws he wrote to protect and enhance the lives of other.

— *Christopher Smith is a congressman (R.) in New Jersey.*

## APPENDIX A

[*Mark Hemingway, a writer who lives in Washington, D.C., is also a staff reporter for National Review Online. The following column appeared January 23, 2008 on NRO (nationalreview.com) and is reprinted with permission.*]

### Every Year They March

*Mark Hemingway*

Every year they march.

They come on thousands of buses and cars and trains and on public transportation, but they come every January 22. Many make annual pilgrimages and have planned their trips months in advance. Others are merely people whose conscience and commitment got the best of them, such as the two college students who drove through the night from Mequon, Wisc., to be there.

But however they come, every year tens of thousands find their way to the right place at the right time, and they march.

They come from Wexford, Pa. and Elizabeth, N.J., and the Upper Peninsula, and all over Missouri, and lots of other places that people in Washington, D.C.—including their own elected representatives—don't think about enough. That's fly-over country; places where the rubes think that every life is worth protecting. While Washington disdains the values of Middle America, the marchers' essential faith in self-government and the values our nation was founded on keeps them from storming the Bastille. Instead, the inhabitants of the heartland (and those from coasts framing it too) descend on the Supreme Court and peacefully mark the anniversary of the most democratically subversive act in the nation's history.

They orderly carry signs and banners that express their unified support for the right to life, and they march.

One of the less consequential indignities of *Roe v. Wade* is that the decision was handed down in January, so commemorating the date with a protest march ensures there will be terrible weather every year. (One measure of relative commitment worth considering—the last major pro-choice rally in D.C. was years ago and took place in the spring.)

Every year they put on warm clothing and wait patiently while it takes hours to assemble in the cold, and finally, they march.

The March for Life is also a time to come together. It's one of the best representations of DeTocqueville's famous observation about the nation's affinity for volunteer organizations. Older men in their Knights of Columbus sashes keep the crowd safe. The march itself is a roll call of churches, schools, and civic institutions of all stripes, each carrying its own banner and wearing its own colors—giving you some indication about who they are and what they believe. There are even groups marching for those who can't all the way from Germany and France. Even the guy holding the sign saying “Anarchist Agnostic Against Abortion” is welcome.

But while the fellowship is important for expressing a unified message, many

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are there providing a more personal witness. A Lutheran pastor at the march told his story:

I will be at the March (my first one this year) because I was born in November of 1972. Just a couple of years after Gov. Rockefeller had signed into law one of the most liberal abortion laws in the country. It allowed for abortion-on-demand beginning at the 24th week of pregnancy. I am fairly certain that the young, unmarried woman who gave me up to Lutheran Social Services in Buffalo, New York, would have been well within her State-given rights to terminate her pregnancy. Instead, she courageously carried me to term, gave me up, and by the grace of God I was placed in the home of my family, who had been waiting almost a decade to have a baby of their own. Hence, discussions about when life really begins are a little less abstract for me.

The Rev. Andrew Jagow came to Washington on January 22, 2008 and, for the first time, he marched.

For the 35 years since *Roe v. Wade*, opposition has been mounting. And the decades of marching have been a hard slog, with little visible progress on the issue of abortion. But finally, there are signs that the walls of Jericho might finally be starting to crumble. The Supreme Court upheld a congressional ban on partial-birth abortion last year. Abortion rates have fallen nine percent in the last five years. And while the pro-life forces were marching, the former head of National Abortion Rights Action League marked the anniversary of the Supreme Court decision with an op-ed in the *Los Angeles Times* lamenting that pro-abortion forces have lost the “moral high ground”—if that were even possible. But encouraging as these signs may be, they are not enough.

Until the life of every unborn child is protected, they will come to Washington every year on January 22 and they will march.



*photos by Anna Clare Maffucci*



## APPENDIX B

[*Anne Conlon is managing editor of the Human Life Review and editor of catholic eye, a monthly newsletter published since 1983 by the National Committee of Catholic Laymen in New York. The following is the “In the News” section of the January issue of eye, which Ms. Conlon writes, reprinted as it (graphically) appears in the newsletter.*]

### March Gladness

*Anne Conlon*

■ **“Dear young people,** like the young St. Agnes, you have received the gift of faith. You have been offered the Kingdom of heaven, the pearl of great price, the treasure worth many sacrifices. How is He calling you to thank, love and serve Him? Tonight in prayer, you must ask Him to make His will known to you, and to give you the courage to follow it once His voice is clear to you. He will surely give you all the grace you need”—Philadelphia Cardinal Justin Rigali, Homily, National Vigil for Life Mass, National Shrine, Washington, D.C., January 21, 2008.

■ **Once again,** the mainstream media virtually ignored the Jan. 22nd March for Life—that’s a cliché, we know, but nevertheless should be noted for the record. And noting it isn’t as dispiriting as it once was because the last few years have seen the booming production of a new record—one where pro-lifers can’t be ignored. We’re speaking of the Internet, the global vehicle for disseminating news the establishment media would rather suppress. Just Google “March for Life 2008” and a plethora of websites featuring news accounts are at your fingertips. Packed with lively and unedited commentary, photographs, and videos, the online coverage has the “you are there” feeling of old movie-theatre newsreels, and conveys the story of the march more powerfully and more thoroughly than conventional media ever could.

■ **For us** (we *were* there) and for many others the big story of this year’s march was the BIG number of youthful marchers: It seemed that at least 75% were high school students (big fans of the Internet—and cell phones, which many used to take pictures they would later post online). The *New York Times* and the TV networks didn’t see fit to record the hordes of youngsters who’d travelled to D.C. on buses from Massachusetts and Louisiana and Ohio and other far off places to protest the massive elimination of the unborn initiated by the Supreme Court’s 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision—a legal plague that’s claimed at least a fifth of their own generation. But the *Washington Post* did (okay, it can’t ignore “tens of thousands of abortion opponents” on its own doorstep) and did so favorably—on page A-3. “This is the social justice issue of our era,” a 17-year-old from Dallas was quoted in the *Post* story, “and I want to do something about it” (see “A Youthful Throng Marches Against Abortion,” Jan. 23).

■ **“There may be some,”** Cardinal Rigali had warned young worshippers who

gathered at the Basilica on the eve of the march, “who will taunt you from the sidelines in angry, accusatory ways.” We didn’t encounter any taunters as we made our way up Constitution Avenue and over to the Supreme Court. We did see several people lining the windows of government buildings and waving to the cheery band of marchers below. (A Jan. 23 *AP* account reported that “a smaller crowd of several dozen abortion-rights supporters held their own rally later.”) “Try not to judge them or to define them by their anger and bitterness,” Cardinal Rigali urged his young flock. “They are fellow human beings in need of reconciliation and healing. They too are invited to a change of heart and to join in the ‘great campaign’ for life. Many like them have already bent before the gentle power of God’s grace.”

■ **Alas**, the same day as the March for Life, students at Yale were being invited to join a great campaign for death. Capping off a week-long birthday party for *Roe*, the Reproductive Rights Action League at Yale (RALY) and Yale Medical Students for Choice sponsored a rally where, it was reported by *LifeSiteNews.com*, participants were shown how “to perform mock abortions on anatomically correct models of the human female pelvis” and . . . “papaya.” The Yale *Daily News* website even posted a story about the event, quoting med student Rasha Khoury’s comments on abortion: “It’s not as scary as it seems. It’s just blood and mucus. You’ll be able to see arms and stuff, but still just miniscule.” But soon after “arms and stuff” hit the Catholic blogosphere the story was disappeared from the Yale site. Some days later, “a new sanitized version,” written by the aspiring babyslayer herself, had replaced it (*www.lifesite.net*, Jan. 25).

■ **For 35 years**, abortocrats have mightily strained to sanitize the bloody matter of abortion. Khoury’s aging “it’s just a blob of tissue” sisters, ones who in an earlier time might have hurled invective at pro-life marchers, must have hurled plenty of invective at callow young Yalies as news of the papaya rally rocketed through cyberspace. “Arms and stuff” is expunged from Khoury’s new article, replaced by the standard old “products of conception” and “fetal parts.” And her valley-girl callousness toward human life has morphed into medi-speak: The purpose of the rally, she writes, was to offer “an overview of the epidemiology of abortion as a medical option for women with unintended pregnancies, and a technical description of the procedures, medical and surgical, involved in pregnancy termination.” Her comments had been meant only to “demystify, not trivialize, the procedure.”

■ **To “demystify”** with talk of “arms and stuff” is to trivialize. Khoury may not get this but her elders sure do. While she was suctioning papaya in New Haven, two old stalwarts of the abortion wars marked the anniversary of *Roe* with a mournful op-ed in the Los Angeles *Times*. In “Abortion’s battle of messages,” Frances Kissling, former president of Catholics for a Free Choice, and Kate Michelman, former president of NARAL, lamented that “advocates of choice have had a hard time dealing with the increased visibility of the fetus.” Ultrasound images “of *babies* in utero” [our emphasis] now “grace the family fridge.” The advent of fetal surgery,

they go on, and the growing survival rates for premature babies, have “commanded our attention, and the question of what we owe them, if anything, could not be dismissed.”

■ **“Twenty years ago,”** say Kissling & Michelman, “being pro-life was déclassé. Now it is a respectable point of view.” Pro-lifers, in shifting their focus from banning abortion to restricting it, succeeded in making the public “look at what was being decided, not just who was deciding.” Today, pro-lifers “present a sophisticated philosophical and political challenge,” by insisting that “caring societies” are ones that welcome “the fetus” into the “human community.” “To some people,” the former blob-sisters note, “pro-choice values seem to have been unaffected by the desire to save the whale and the trees, to respect animal life and to end violence at all levels.” John Paul II’s “culture of life” terminology, “adopted” by George Bush, has, they contend, “moved some hearts and minds.” And the once sacrosanct choice to abort now undergoes greater scrutiny: “The specter of women forced into back alleys as a result of a one-time ‘mistake’ has been replaced with hard questions about why women get pregnant when they don’t want to have babies” (*LA Times*, Jan. 22).

■ **It’s a hard question** because after decades of so-called sex education there’re still over a million abortions a year in the U.S. The latest figure is 1.2 million in 2005, down from a high of 1.6 million in 1990 and approaching the lowest figure recorded since *Roe*—just under 1.2 million in 1976. These figures, heralded with headlines like the Boston *Globe*’s “Number of abortions lowest in decades” (Jan. 17) come from a new report by the Guttmacher Institute, “considered,” says the *Globe*, “one of the most authoritative sources of data on abortions in the United States.” (The Institute is a spin-off of the Planned Parenthood Federation and was named after a former PP president.) According to Guttmacher, “the majority (61%) of U.S. women who have abortions are already mothers, more than half of whom have two or more children” (see “Concern for Current and Future Children a Key Reason Women Have Abortions,” [www.guttmacher.org](http://www.guttmacher.org), Jan. 7).

■ **Will these women—mothers—**be moved to behave more responsibly by a “national emphasis on better sex education and access to contraception”? That’s the *NY Times*’s predictable answer to the uncomfortable fact that “in 2005, one in five pregnancies ended in abortion” (“Behind the Abortion Decline,” Jan. 26 editorial). Or is it possible that no amount of counseling and condomizing can break what is at heart an “arms and stuff” mindset? “When the pro-choice movement seems to defend every individual abortion decision, rather than the right to make the decision,” Kissling & Michelman warn in their *LA Times* piece, “it too becomes suspect.” Here’s how they finish up:

If pro-choice values are to regain the moral high ground, genuine discussion about these challenges needs to take place within the movement. It is inadequate to try to message our way out of this problem. Our vigorous defense of the right to choose

needs to be accompanied by greater openness regarding the real conflict between life and choice, between rights and responsibility. It is time for a serious reassessment of how to think about abortion in a world that is radically changed from 1973.

■ **The ancient femi-warriors**, way beyond child-bearing age, and perhaps having glimpsed scions of their own family trees gracing a fridge or two, are apparently ready to admit that some abortions *are* wrong—if only because they cast suspicion on the pro-choice cause. But by what authority do the ancients seek to inflict “responsibility” on anyone else? If abortion is a fundamental human right then one abortion has to be as *right* as another. Surely they know that some of those sonograms on fridges end up in the garbage when later testing reveals an unacceptably damaged “fetus” in utero? What the ancients have bequeathed highly (sex) educated women like Rasha Khoury is an ossified habit of doublethink: The creature in the womb is a “baby” when it is wanted; a disposable collection of “arms and stuff” when—don’t ask, don’t tell—it is not. Suspect? How about *déclassé*?

■ **In poll after poll** most Americans say most abortions are wrong. Yet in the same polls, most say abortion should remain legal. Why? We suspect it’s because most of our fellow citizens really don’t want to close off the option—that is, for themselves, their families, their friends. Unlike Kissling & Michelman, we’d argue that this “pro-choice” majority thinks it *has* the moral high ground—“wrong” abortions are what other (poor, uneducated) people engage in. Yes, pro-lifers have put some stops on the unrestricted license issued by *Roe*. And they’ve produced a new generation ready to take up what is certainly the social justice issue of its time. But doublethink is a profound cultural sickness. How can they see the “baby” in the sonogram, we ask ourselves after reading their op-ed, and still defend the abortion right?

■ **They can because** they arbitrarily define “the real conflict” as one “between life and choice,” and in 21st-century America, inchoate choice, not logic, (mis)rules. But try as they may, Kissling & Michelman simply can’t feel good about abortion, and given the papaya antics of soon-to-be Dr. Rasha Khoury, no wonder. And then there’s Dr. Susan Wicklund, a 20-year abortionist whose memoir, *This Common Secret*, was called “brave” by the *NY Times* this month. In an interview with *Salon.com*, this aging babyslayer complained that even Democrats “are so far to the right on this issue, saying things [as Hillary Clinton did in her *Roe* anniversary statement] like ‘abortion should be extremely rare.’ It’s not rare. It’s 40 percent of women in this country”—a fact *she* doesn’t appear troubled by ([www.salon.com](http://www.salon.com), Jan. 22). In her book, Wicklund describes herself as part of “a far-flung culture of outcasts” who don disguises, wear bulletproof vests, and carry guns. “It is one of the few areas of medicine where you are not working with a sick person,” she told the *Times* in an interview last fall, “you are doing something for them that gives them back their life, their control.” She finds that “rewarding” (11/6/07).

■ **“When you die** and arrive at the pearly gates, what would you like God to say to you?” former Catholic schoolgirl Frances Kissling asked Kate Michelman in a

2004 interview. “That I was a good person,” Michelman, also a Catholic, answered (*Conscience* magazine, 2004). On Jan. 16, a good person named Dennis Heiner died in New York City at age 80. He was, according to Fr. George Rutler, who celebrated his funeral Mass and knew him well, a humble man who attended daily Mass and “spent every Saturday praying outside abortion mills.” But back in 1999, Mr. Heiner—who graduated from Harvard and studied law at Yale—gained a certain notoriety when he entered the Brooklyn Art Museum and heaved a can of white paint on a portrait of the Blessed Mother, one that depicted her encircled by a garland of vaginas and anuses cut out from pornographic magazines. When he was called on to explain his action in court, Fr. Rutler recounted, Mr. Heiner surprised the judge—who’d expected an angry and bitter defendant—with a moving disquisition on how the Virgin had been treated with great love and reverence by artists throughout history. The judge, who was Jewish, dropped the charges. Our Blessed Mother is most often depicted with her baby, Our Saviour, in her arms. Like Dennis Heiner, we must eschew anger and bitterness and pray, with Cardinal Rigali, that the babyslayers may yet one day bend “before the gentle power of God’s grace.”



*photo by Anna Clare Maffucci*

## APPENDIX C

[Kimberley Heatherington writes for Our Sunday Visitor where this article appeared January 20, 2008. It is reprinted with permission.]

### **Pro-life journal gets to heart of matter**

*Kimberley Heatherington*

*Human Life Review* has provided intellectual commentary for more than three decades.

The cover of the *Human Life Review* is that of a scholarly journal, all type and titles. But the understated package wraps some of the most rousing and rigorously intellectual pro-life commentary aired in the public square—a role its editors, writers and readers have savored during the more than 30 years since it was first published.

“Good writing can win battles; great writing, whole wars,” explained editor Maria McFadden, quoting her father, J.P. (James Patrick) McFadden. The elder McFadden—who lost his life to cancer in 1998—responded to the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision by founding an anti-abortion lobbying organization, the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life, and The Human Life Foundation, which quarterly publishes the *Human Life Review*.

“I think he realized that [*Roe v. Wade*] was an opportunity for great writing to get enjoined in the battle,” McFadden said of her father. “He was convinced that we needed to marshal all the arguments—philosophical, legal, literary—because he trusted in the power of truth, and words.”

#### **Covering the spectrum**

While its primary topic is abortion, the journal also focuses its analysis and criticism upon the full spectrum of life issues, including genetic engineering, euthanasia and assisted suicide. It’s an ethical terrain that has grown increasingly bizarre in recent years, with the result that the *Review* frequently educates the pro-life movement itself by detailing incidents so extreme as to defy the imaginations of seasoned activists.

“Even pro-life people sometimes can’t believe some of the things we publish,” Maria McFadden shared. “I remember I gave a speech once about fetal harvesting for experiments. The audience was looking at me with horror. Some things are so horrible that people hope that it’s hype and not necessarily true—but unfortunately, it is true.”

The bylines populating the *Review*’s list of former and current contributors exemplify some of Catholicism’s fiercest intellects, among them playwright and politician Clare Boothe Luce, journalist Malcolm Muggeridge, Cardinal John J. O’Connor and newly elected U.S. ambassador to the Vatican Mary Ann Glendon.

Yet, as a nonsectarian publication, the *Review*’s writers bridge a spectrum of denominations and beliefs, including Nat Hentoff, a self-described “Jewish atheist.” The arguments of Hentoff—who has perplexed many on the ideological left with his denunciations of abortion—are, Maria McFadden suggested, journalistic evidence that the defense of life is informed not only by faith, but innate morality and logic. “For Nat, it’s purely a human-rights issue. He’s an eloquent voice for the unborn.”

While the mainstream media only infrequently take notice of *Human Life Review*, the renown of one past contributor was impossible to ignore. In 1983, President Ronald Reagan submitted the article “Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation.”

“Make no mistake,” President Reagan wrote, “abortion-on-demand is not a right granted by the Constitution.” Comparing abortion to the moral crisis of America’s slavery era, Reagan’s 25-year-old text remains prescient: “The real question today is not when human life begins, but, What is the value of human life?”

Reagan’s words, Maria McFadden thinks, were an eerie foretelling of contemporary pro-abortion positions that may concede the humanity of a fetus but nonetheless shrug at its destruction. “With all the scientific advances proving our point, in a way, they had to be even more brutal; they were pushed to an even more cruel position with ‘quality of life’ arguments.”

### Changing hearts

William Murchison—a senior editor of the *Human Life Review* who also writes for Creators Syndicate—doesn’t trust the power of politics to reverse *Roe v. Wade*. “I think that the public needs to be engaged at the level of the altar and the pew,” said Murchison, an Episcopalian. “I truly believe that this problem is not going to be resolved by politics; it’s going to be resolved in people’s hearts.”

As a continuous and consistent record of the intellectual thought of the pro-life movement, the *Review* can provide the philosophical ammunition to equip advocates, Murchison said.

“We the people have got to do the right thing—we’ve got to work for the restoration and protection of human life to the center of public affairs,” said Murchison. “But in the end, we’re not going to do it ourselves; we’re going to have to have the help of God.”

Fellow contributor George McKenna—a Catholic and emeritus professor of political science at City College of New York—has witnessed a shift in the language of life. “One thing I think the *Human Life Review* and the writers in it have done is to abolish the flippant invocation of abortion,” McKenna said. “I remember one of my students back in the early ’70s said she was going for a ‘routine abortion.’ Nobody talks like that anymore.”

Ultimately, the *Human Life Review* is “all about saving a life,” Maria McFadden said. “It doesn’t matter if a congressman reads it and tries to work for legislation, or a 16-year-old happens to read a short story, and not have an abortion—because it’s life. We hope it works on all those levels.”

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### **William F. Buckley Jr.: catalyst for conservatism**

*G. Tracy Mehan III*

His sparkling wit and trenchant analysis made him an institution in American political life.

It may be difficult for anyone coming of age in the post-Reagan era to fully appreciate the monochromatic character of American political culture during the first three and half decades after World War II.

Liberalism was the default position of most politicians, pundits, journalists, all academics, and most voters whose formative memories were the Great Depression and the New Deal. Even Republican presidents toed the line. It was Richard Nixon who claimed, "We are all Keynesians now." In 1950 the great liberal intellectual and critic, Lionel Trilling, viewed the fact that there were no conservative or reactionary ideas in general circulation as self-evident.

The election of Ronald Reagan as U.S. president in 1980 is unimaginable but for the Herculean efforts of one man, William F. Buckley Jr, who passed away this week.

Buckley's personal achievement in catalysing an ambitious intellectual and political movement, which embodied elements of economic and social conservatism as well as anti-Communism and robust support for military preparedness, is testimony to his mental acuity and personal stamina.

According to George H. Nash, author of the definitive history of the post-War conservative movement, Buckley published 55 books (fiction and non-fiction); dozens of book reviews; at least 56 introductions; prefaces, and forewords to many books; 225 obituary essays; more than 800 editorials, articles and remarks in his magazine, the *National Review*; and approximately 5,600 newspaper columns. He delivered countless lectures (Buckley estimated about 70 a year over 40 years) and hosted 1,429 separate *Firing Line* shows, and, according to Nash, "may have composed more letters than any American who ever lived."

Buckley's televised performances, in which he engaged friend and foe alike with élan and civility, are like a fine wine when compared to the swill which is contemporary cable television and, yes, conservative talk radio.

The *New York Times*'s obituary noted that Buckley's collected papers, which he donated to Yale University, weigh seven tons.

To use a reference from America's Revolutionary era, Buckley was a one-man Committee of Correspondence. Many commentators have observed that there would be no Ronald Reagan without Barry Goldwater; no Goldwater without *National Review*; and no *National Review* without William F. Buckley Jr.

Buckley founded the *National Review* in 1955 which he supported through his



lecture fees and intense intellectual energy until he gave up his voting stock in 2004. He made it the premier publication of American conservatism even after other publications such as Irving Kristol's the *Public Interest*, the *American Spectator* and the *Weekly Standard* came into being years later.

In Buckley's hands the *National Review* was the forge which fused the distinct, sometimes quarrelling, strands of conservatism into a coherent intellectual whole. Economic libertarians, cultural traditionalists, and anti-Communists were strangers to one another until Buckley and other conservative intellectuals such as Frank Meyer were able to reconcile freedom and virtue, limited government with social cohesion, liberty and order.

Thus, the post-war conservative movement began to articulate more clearly the indispensable role that religion, morality, family, and social order play in sustaining and protecting a free market system as found in America. In other words, "economic life naturally does not go on in a moral vacuum".

This at least was the view of one of the greatest free market economists well known to American conservatives in the Buckley era. Wilhelm Röpke, often referred to as the architect of the post-war economic boom in West Germany, authored *A Humane Economy* which appeared in the U.S. in 1960. This was a timely contribution to what was to become known as "fusionism" in conservative circles.

Röpke described the essential fusion of a free market and the social context necessary for its survival:

Self-discipline, a sense of justice, honesty, fairness, chivalry, moderation, public spirit, respect for human dignity, firm ethical norms—all of these are things which people must possess before they go to the market and compete with each other. These are the indispensable supports which preserve both markets and competition from degeneration. Family, church, genuine communities, and tradition are their sources.

William F. Buckley Jr, was a Roman Catholic. Always the wit, I once heard him describe himself as "not a good Catholic, but a loyal one." No doubt, his faith provided the moral and intellectual imperative to achieve a synthesis of freedom and responsibility and the vision of a society free of the heavy hand of government but mindful of morality and good order.

Other commentators have described Buckley's numerous achievements, but his untiring defence of the integrity of unborn children in the face of the devastating Supreme Court decisions in *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton* is the logical, most profound extension of his fusionist principles. His untiring defence of the right to life will surely weigh heavily in his favour in the higher realm for which he recently departed.

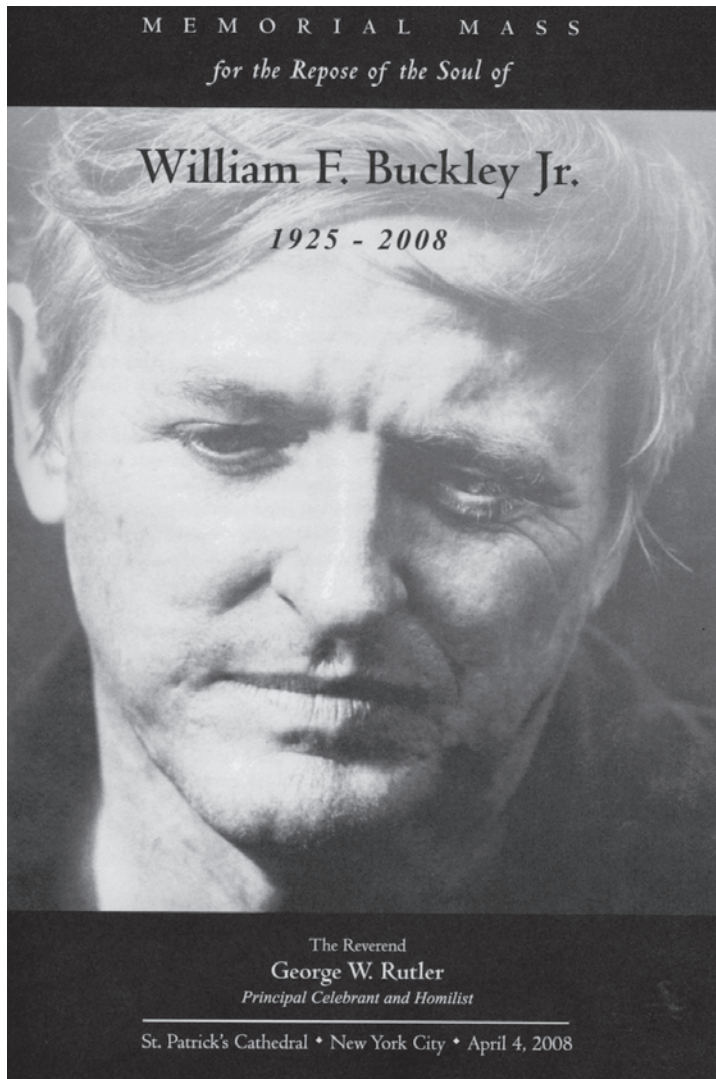
As a young law student, I vividly recall the marvellous article by the federal judge and philosopher John Noonan which Buckley ran as a cover story in *National Review* in the early 1970s. It was a magisterial piece revealing the flawed legal reasoning of the Supreme Court and its misreading of history and science, all done with impeccable logic and scholarship, not to be found on the pages of any

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other mainstream opinion magazines. Reprints of it were made available for a song and enjoyed wide circulation throughout the country.

Subsequent to firing this salvo, Buckley supported the publication of the *Human Life Review*, right from the offices of *National Review*. It soon became *the* forum and rallying point for the small band of thinking, committed people who took to heart the admonitions of the Declaration of Independence and made the American right-to-life movement the force it is today in American politics. There is nothing like it in the developed world.

May he rest in peace.



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