

the HUMAN LIFE REVIEW



FALL 2012

Featured in this issue:

William Murchison on A Carnival War
Richard Hurzeler on Bulls at the Red Flag
Donald DeMarco on Fish Got to Swim

SYMPOSIUM: ON THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF *ROE V. WADE*

Ryan T. Anderson • Chuck Donovan • Richard Goldkamp
James Hitchcock • Alveda King & Frank Pavone • Bradley
Mattes • William McGurn • Mary Meehan • Lorraine
Osterberg • Cathy & Austin Ruse • Rebecca Teti

Mario H. Lopez on Hijacking Immigration?
John E. Murray on Expanding Marriage
Stephen Vincent on “Hookup” Disconnect

FROM THE ARCHIVES (1985):

Malcolm Muggeridge & Alexander Solzhenitsyn

Also in this issue:

Matthew Hennessey • Nat Hentoff • Vincenzina Santoro • Eve
Tushnet • Ed Mechmann • Brian Caulfield • W. Ross Blackburn

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. . . as it happens, the (second) inauguration of our first (genuinely) abortocratic president takes place on January 21, 2013—the eve of the 40th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*. No doubt those who view the loss of 55 million unborn Americans as a measure of victory in the ongoing “war on women” will celebrate both events. We asked several pro-life leaders to consider what the anniversary means for the anti-abortion movement as it labors to keep the flicker of conscience alive in the public square. The resulting symposium, “Reflections on the 40th Anniversary of *Roe*,” begins on page 12. Two contributors are new to these pages: Dr. Alveda King, who is the Director of African-American Outreach at Priests for Life (you will also read about her in the Nat Hentoff column we reprint on page 98), and Bradley Mattes, the Executive Director and cofounder of Life Issues Institute.

Mario H. Lopez (“Hijacking Immigration?,” page 49) is also a newcomer to this journal. The president of the Hispanic Leadership Fund, he reports here on the eugenic provenance of anti-immigration groups whose agenda is radical population control. Still another new voice is that of John E. Murray, the Joseph R. Hyde III Professor of Political Economy at Rhodes College in Memphis. His article (“Expanding Marriage: A Historical Experiment,” page 74) examines one community’s experience with redefining the world’s oldest social institution.

This issue closes our 38th volume. I don’t know if the late J.P. McFadden envisioned such a run when he introduced the *Review* in 1975, but I do know he was committed to maintaining a record of the abortion debate as long as the struggle to restore the right to life lasted. Who knows how long it will take? “That was the most interesting development on life issues politically,” a friend recently emailed me. “This was the first time, maybe ever?, that a presidential candidate won by running on (as opposed to away from) his pro-choice record. At the end of the campaign, it was not Obama’s people running ads saying ‘I’m not as pro-choice as my opponents make me sound’—it was the Romney people running ads saying ‘I’m not as pro-life as my opponents make me sound.’ . . . I still think the overall trend is toward the pro-life side, and this election was a blip in the opposite direction.” I hope he’s right.

The material in this issue was written before the election. Our symposium commentators are generally optimistic about recent pro-life gains, for instance that majorities of young people are rejecting their parents’ pro-abortion stance. Certainly no one suggests imminent victory. But again, who knows? An interesting aspect of the 1983 Malcolm Muggeridge interview with Alexander Solzhenitsyn we feature in *From the Archives* (page 88) is the fact that neither of these men anticipated the—if not imminent well then certainly not far-off—fall of the Soviet Union. When Muggeridge asked if he thought he would ever go back, Solzhenitsyn told him, “I live with this conviction, I shall go back. Now that contradicts any rational assumption . . . [however] history is so full of unexpected things that some of the simplest facts in our lives we cannot foretell.” Solzhenitsyn went back to Russia in 1994.

ANNE CONLON
MANAGING EDITOR



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Introduction 2

Maria McFadden Maffucci

A Carnival War 5

William Murchison

Symposium:

On the 40th Anniversary of Roe v. Wade 12

Bulls at the Red Flag 40

Richard Hurzeler

Fish Got To Swim 43

Donald DeMarco

Hijacking Immigration? 49

Mario H. Lopez

Expanding Marriage:

A Historical Experiment 74

John E. Murray

“Hookup” Disconnect 79

Stephen Vincent

From the Archives: (1985)

Socialism Is Absolutely

Opposed to Christianity 88

Alexander Solzhenitsyn &

Malcolm Muggeridge

Appendices 93

Matthew Hennessey

W. Ross Blackburn

Nat Hentoff

Vincenzina Santoro

Eve Tushnet

Brian Caulfield

Ed Mechmann

INTRODUCTION

As I write, we are poised between the November elections—which came on the heels of the devastating “Frankenstorm” Hurricane Sandy—and the 40th anniversary of the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision. That date, January 22, 2013, will fall one day after the second inauguration of President Barack Obama, who may go down in history as the Abortion Promoter-in-Chief. Especially for our cause, it does seem like the *worst* of times. However, as you read the articles gathered in this issue, you will be reminded that, in the bigger picture, there are many reasons for hope and for renewed dedication.

We begin with a frank assessment of how we got here. Senior Editor William Murchison, writing before the election, considers the presidential campaign, specifically whether the women’s vote, and the so-called “war on women,” would decide the election. Would women believe the Democrats’ claim that Republicans wanted to take their contraceptives away? As Obama himself tweeted: “Make sure the women in your life know: The GOP wants to take us back to the 1950s on women’s health.” The campaign’s “war on women” rhetoric—media-blared, tweeted, “Facebook’d,” etc., by Planned Parenthood and its allies—has, Murchison writes, been a “suggestive image, indicative of Democratic attempts to show up Republicans as so many drooling cavemen.” But why were the pro-abortion ranks so animated? They were terrified: As Murchison points out, we might have thought the “game was up” four years ago, and yet, “despite a president in power who sees no legitimate obstacles to a woman’s exercise of her federally guaranteed right to ‘choose,’” the Obama years have seen the unprecedented success of state legislation “aimed at surrounding the unborn child with every constitutional protection available.”

Nonetheless, the phony war-mongering was effective; in a blog written for our website (www.humanlifereview.com) after the election, Murchison reported that 55 percent of women voted for Obama, quoted a Democratic pollster’s view that it was not about abortion, it was about “women having a modern role . . . about their access to contraception.” And it didn’t help at all, Murchison added, that “two Republican candidates—Todd Akin in Missouri and Richard Mourdock in Indiana—expressed in awkward ways their concern for the tiny percentage of babies born as a result of rape.” (For more excellent commentary on the pro-life movement and the question of rape, see Matthew Hennessey’s “Third Rail,” *Appendix A*.)

Unfortunately, “we” let “them” frame our message—and those who would protect unborn life have suffered a crushing defeat. Once again, we need to get up, dust ourselves off, and keep walking towards our goal. Our symposium on *Roe v. Wade*’s 40th anniversary, which begins on p. 12, provides much food for thought as to how to do that. Early in the fall, we asked pro-life leaders and journalists to give us their thoughts and reflections on *Roe*’s tragic anniversary. We are honored to present the contributions of several dedicated leaders, such as Alveda King, niece of Martin

Luther King Jr, and Father Frank Pavone, director of Priests for Life, who in their comments, remind us that 2013 will also mark the 50th anniversary of Dr. King's unforgettable "I Have a Dream" speech. "I have a dream," said Dr. King, "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'" As Dr. Alveda King writes, "How can the dream survive if we murder the children?" Ironically, President Obama will be inaugurated on Martin Luther King Jr. Day, while abortion is the *leading cause of death* in the African American community. (Nat Hentoff, in *Appendix C*, also writes about "MLK's Niece and Obama" and why he wouldn't vote for a "pro-death president.")

Following the symposium we have another pro-life reflection, a sort of a report from the front. Richard Huerzler, who has taken part in peaceful "Stand Up for Life" protests outside an abortion facility in Tyler, Texas, describes being the object of snarling hostility from *men*—and wonders how much of it is due to their own post-abortion wounds. Next, philosopher Donald DeMarco contributes an engaging essay, "Fish Got to Swim," about human nature, virtue (and how it is cultivated—in his wonderful line, "Morality is the art of gardening applied to the soul"), and the profound contrast between individualism and personalism.

We welcome new contributor Mario H. Lopez to our pages with an article on a subject unusual for the *Review*—immigration—but you will soon see why it belongs here. Lopez provides the results of a painstaking investigation into the unsettling connections between the population-control movement—including pro-abortion and euthanasia advocates—and the anti-immigration movement. His research is reminiscent of the important work done for us by Mary Meehan ("The Road to Abortion: How Eugenics Birthed Population Control," Fall 1998) and Rebecca Messall ("The Long Road of Eugenics: From Rockefeller to *Roe*," Fall 2004) tracing the history of eugenics in America. As Lopez observes, disagreement about immigration by social conservatives is natural; however, it seems that good pro-life persons, concerned about illegal immigration, are unknowingly joining forces with those whose basic aims are widely opposed to the sanctity and protection of human life.

John Murray, another first-time *Review* contributor, has written a fascinating essay ("Expanding Marriage: A Historical Experiment," p. 74) about another kind of social engineering, one attempted in the Oneida community, which existed near Syracuse, New York, from 1848 to 1881. Founder John Humphrey Noyes' ideas on marriage evolved into something he called "complex marriage" (what the sixties dubbed "swinging") but he actually fabricated a "Christian, biblical" rationale for a situation where "each member of the group considered himself or herself married to all members of the opposite sex in the group." Murray's excellent essay is a look back as well as a "cautionary tale for the present," cautioning that "age-old institutions cannot be changed lightly." Interestingly, in Oneida, complex marriage also led to the practice of eugenics, based on Noyes' fear of immigrants. He decided

INTRODUCTION

that to combat the trend of working classes coming in from eastern Europe as well as from the southern part of the United States, he would make sure that the children born to his community were the result of selective breeding—and he was in charge of who could procreate with whom.

And now on to present-day swinging, or, more accurately, the “hook-up” culture prevalent on college campuses (and beyond). Stephen Vincent writes (In “‘Hookup’ Disconnect,” p.79) that it has become intellectually fashionable to argue that “hooking up is an overall plus for young women.” Pushing for this claim is Hanna Rosin, a “lifestyles writer and social commentator, who has perfected a form of soft porn” in her articles for the *Atlantic*, where she is a senior editor. Her latest, “Boys on the Side,” based on a chapter from her 2012 book, *The End of Men*, provides the grist for Vincent’s thought-provoking and refreshingly frank essay on the heart (and body) aches that are the all too-real consequences of the “hook-up” culture.

Our final article—in From the Archives—is a fascinating, historical interview featuring two illustrious men: our former contributor and dear friend, British journalist and satirist Malcolm Muggeridge, and the Soviet dissident, Alexander Solzhenitsyn. The interview took place in 1983; it is fascinating to think, as you read their conversation, that the Berlin wall would fall just six years later. Sadly, though, there is no time-limit on Solzhenitsyn’s prophecies; he talks about what happens when democracy, which was “developed before the face of God,” and which understood equality to be “equality before God” becomes changed, when man pushes away God’s image—then we are, he warns, “free to destroy our institutions and ourselves.”

* * * * *

In addition to Matthew Hennessey and Nat Hentoff, our appendices include: the Reverend W. Ross Blackburn’s powerful “Back-alley Birth” (*Appendix B*) about what Obamacare might hold for some pregnant moms; Vincenzina Santoro’s report (*Appendix D*) on “Italy’s Conscientious Doctors,” many of whom won’t do abortions; and Eve Tushnet’s fascinating account, “Sex and the City” (*Appendix E*), on her work as a volunteer at the Capitol Hill Pregnancy Center in Washington DC. Finally, *Appendices F* and *G* are columns inspired by our October Great Defender of Life dinner at which we honored Judge James L. Buckley. Brian Caulfield enjoyed toasting “An Original Pro-lifer,” and Ed Mechmann said he was thrilled to meet “A Hero Among Heroes.” There will be more from our dinner, including Judge Buckley’s remarks, in our next issue. In the meantime, we thank as always Nick Downes for his spirit-saving cartoons, and we pray that the New Year will bring us new opportunities for the protection of human life.

MARIA MCFADDEN MAFFUCCI
EDITOR

A Carnival War

William Murchison

“Women’s Vote Battle Defines 2012 Presidential Election”
—The Huffington Post

Anyhow that’s how things seemed at a point in the campaign carnage—between the conventions and the debates—when it appeared possible to insist, in grave, Edward R. Murrow-ish tones, that an ongoing “war on women” might prove the decisive factor in an apparent contest for America’s soul.

Hold on. What say we scratch Murrow—a male, after all; unqualified on that account to communicate the alarm liberal Democratic women wished to broadcast over prospects for a male chauvinist takeover in the event of a Republican victory. Real in its thrust and particulars or feigned largely to stoke fear of Mitt Romney and fealty to Barack Obama, the alarm revealed a current in American life hugely (it would seem to me) worth examination.

A caveat or two before I proceed.

First, I write knowing nothing about the outcome of the race, as contrasted with my present readers, who nod their heads sagely, knowing all. I write anyway. Journalists (ask one of us if you doubt it) fear nothing when it comes to extrapolation from events still in the mid-stages of manufacture. To adopt a military metaphor, the battle, if it is one, rages on and we’ll just have to wait a while to see what happens.

Second, we have to beware overstatement and overthink—temptations peculiar to the commentary trade. Not everything is so clear, from the backward perspective of six months or so, as it seemed in the midst of the fray. Still . . .

Whatever else it may do or achieve, combat clarifies. Various elements present in our national and cultural life come into focus as the 2012 presidential/congressional campaign goes forward. I propose the following clarifications:

—The pro-life camp rings with alarums (sic) and excursions; you would not likely call this the typical campaign year, filled with hearty if hopeless exhortations to rally the people around the cause of Life. With a president in power who sees no legitimate obstacles to a woman’s exercise of her federally guaranteed right to “choose,” one might suppose the game was up. The

William Murchison writes from Dallas for Creators Syndicate and is a senior editor of the *Human Life Review*. The author of *Mortal Follies: Episcopalians and the Crisis of Mainline Christianity* (Encounter Books), he is working on a book about the moral collapse of secularism.

opposite, seemingly, is true. The Obama years have seen what Wikipedia calls “an unprecedented rise in the passage of provisions related to women’s health and reproductive rights,” aimed at surrounding the unborn child with every constitutional protection available. Mandatory sonograms for women seeking abortions has become a favored tactic in the states’ alleged “war on women”—to the visible dismay of pro-choicers. Everything seems in place to keep the pressure on next year, regardless of how the election turns out.

—The confidence of the pro-life cause animates the pro-choice cause, simultaneously undermining its confidence. Cecile Richards, who is president of Planned Parenthood, claims never to have “seen a presidential election where women’s access to birth control is practically on the ballot.” Obama himself tweeted, “Make sure the women in your life know: The GOP wants to take us back to the 1950s on women’s health.” Not precisely Lincolnian in style, but what can you do in 40 or so characters? The Center for Reproductive Rights, “a global legal advocacy organization” with Meryl Streep, Caroline Kennedy, and Lisa Kudrow (of “Friends”) as supporters, was indignant enough, or sufficiently panicked, or both at the same time, to draw up and issue a Bill of Reproductive Rights. The first right affirmed in the manifesto is that of making “our own decisions about our reproductive health and futures, free from intrusion or coercion by any government, group, or individual.”

So what did you expect, a dignified luncheon with Wedgwood and starched napkins in honor of the administration’s exertions against whatever remains of federal respect for unborn life?

The 2012 campaign—as I write—has been a doozy from the human life standpoint: comparatively few of its developments making large headlines, given the tenseness and tightness of a race having more to do (in media terms) with personalities than with issues, including here and there the economic issue. The “war on women” has, amid the noise and clatter, been a suggestive image, indicative of Democratic attempts to show up Republicans as so many drooling cavemen, shouting at the little woman, “Hey, you, where’s my stegosaurus sandwich?” Debbie Wasserman Schultz, Florida Congresswoman and Democratic national chairwoman, began beating the war drums, terminologically speaking, as long ago as March 2011. “It’s just so hard for us to grasp,” she lamented, “how they [the Republicans] could be so anti-woman as they are.” She had particularly in mind a House vote to pull funding for Planned Parenthood. How low could they sink? “Their record,” she went on, “is a war on women, and it’s a priority for them.”

A summer episode in 2012 played into the Democratic strategy. A Republican Senate candidate in Missouri whose name hardly anyone outside the

state knew at the time became in record time known to almost everyone outside and inside the state. Rep. Todd Akin, a pro-life conservative seeking to unseat Sen. Claire McCaskill, a lackluster liberal and Obama-following Democrat, was speaking with a TV interviewer. What about rape, Congressman? Does it justify carving out an exception for abortion? Congressman Akin replied: “It seems to me, from what I understand from doctors, that’s really rare. If it’s a legitimate rape, the female body has ways to try to shut that whole thing down. But let’s assume that maybe that didn’t work or something: I think there should be some punishment, but the punishment ought to be of the rapist, and not attacking the child.”

Democrats received Akin’s unintentional gift with due gratitude. No wonder. “Legitimate” rape? And the foray into gynecology? Akin, starting to visualize his head on a platter, acknowledged that he “misspoke.” The Democrats by then were in full cry. So this was what Republicans thought of women! It was war as the continuation of ignorance by other means.

Republicans duly cringed. The Party of Rape they weren’t. Mitt Romney and Paul Ryan, both as pro-life, perhaps, as national candidates ever get, “disagreed” with Rep. Akin. There were calls from leading Missouri Republicans for Akin to bow out. The National Republican Senatorial Committee suspended support of his campaign. Karl Rove, according to *Businessweek*, urged Akin’s withdrawal from the race he was running by virtue of having persuaded most Missouri Republicans he was the best candidate. Rove is reported to have said that in the event Akin was found “mysteriously murdered, don’t look for my whereabouts.” Not all Republicans flinched, even so. Mike Huckabee stood by his man, Newt Gingrich raised money for Akin, urging party members, in effect, to recall that *errare humanum est* and that, in any case, Claire McCaskill deserved to be shown the door. In October, the Associated Press reported that during McCaskill’s Senate term businesses affiliated with her husband, Joseph Shepard, had received \$39 million in federal housing subsidies. Tsk, tsk. Maybe the administration’s notion was a war *for* women—a little intervention to adjust the sexual imbalance.

The “war on women” trope—I never used to say “trope,” but it’s become fashionable—is an obvious piece of political folderol (or as Joe Biden would say, malarkey), serving the electoral purposes of Democrats. But it kind of works, especially when folk like Congressman Akin step unsuspectingly into the elephant trap. Then the avengers swarm around, led by such as Gail Collins. Collins, best identified as the New York *Times* sarcasm expert who *isn’t* Maureen Dowd, led off with the observation that “In colonial America, conventional wisdom held that women could not get pregnant unless they

enjoyed the sex. People, who would have thought I'd have an opportunity to bring up this factoid right in the middle of a presidential race? Thank you, Representative Todd Akin of Missouri! Without you, we might have been condemned to spend today reinvestigating the Congress Budget Office Medicare cost projections."

No—thank *you*, Ms. Collins, for relieving America of any need to fret over the future of Medicare. Far better to cue the cameras toward the lowering battlefield: Men warring on Women; asserting (as usual) their baleful, degrading objectives. Can't we see where this thing is going? Right back to the *droit de seigneur*.

As I write (and you, gentle reader, know more at the moment of reading than I do), Todd Akin—devout Christian, 12-year veteran of the U.S. Congress, conservative critic of the liberal drift in national affairs—was making a kind of comeback in popular esteem. Republicans who had pulled away from him—reminiscent of those Israelites in *The Ten Commandments* scrambling to get away from Edward G. Robinson as he and the Golden Calf went south—were returning to his banner. Some at least, being assured by such as Newt Gingrich that bigger issues than word choice and phrasing were out there to be decided. Might the congressman yet dispatch his Woman opponent? Beats me.

The "war on women" is the plainest kind of diversion. Call it, as the quietish period between the Nazi invasions of Poland and France is denominated, a *sitzkrieg*—a phony war. Another way of seeing it might be as a carnival war, featuring metal ducks that pass in review, one by one, before a line of markspeople who blast away at will, hoping to win a kewpie doll. In other words, just one side in this particular "war" is firing. The other side—alleged oppressors of the female sex—is useful only as targets.

Thus the question arises: Why? The point of it all is . . . what?

As I've just noted, there's the diversionary aspect of such a war. If we're all agog over Congressman Todd Akin's verbal missteps, we don't have to talk about the campaign's real issues. We needn't discuss which economic policies are working and which aren't, and which might work if given half a chance. If you're the purveyor of policies that haven't been up to snuff for one reason or another, you clearly relish the chance to change the subject. Right, Sen. McCaskill?

The Democratic pollster Anna Greenberg is quoted by the *Washington Post* as observing that "This issue of women's health is going to play a much bigger role nationally than it ever has . . . we're having a national conversation about the most bizarre issues: the definition of rape and the largely settled debate over the use of birth control. It prevents Republicans from

having the conversation they want to have about the economy.”

That’s the purely tactical side of the thing, nevertheless. Another side of the matter looms larger. It may be Ms. Wasserman Schultz and so on see the conquest of their caveman adversaries as incomplete by developing standards. What matters in 2012 isn’t what mattered in 1972. The lack of “reproductive freedom” stands in the way of utter fulfillment—anyway until something newer comes along.

Headquarters staff on the pro-choice side are clearly exhilarated by the previously unknown experience of total support from the White House. Barack Obama is their kind of man all right—ideologically attuned and submissive to calls, in female tones, for greater expansion of rights and privileges; “rights” that the larger public, male and female alike, seems unready to accommodate, as I argued in a previous *Human Life Review* article (Summer 2012).

Pro-choice rage at Todd Akin proceeds at least in part from his stated hostility to loopholes in the abortion code for rape victims. Society—assuming so old-fangled an appellation applies to the chaos known as 21st-century America—has yet to face, far less sort out, the question of whether a rapist’s baby deserves to grow in the victim’s womb. That the mother’s choice should be honored in such cases is the point of Akin’s assailants. The mother’s choice: That surely must nail it.

Similarly with the woman’s choice—if not her God-given, gold-plated constitutional right—to use contraception. On that front, the pro-choice warriors have been pressing for all they can get. The right to contraception, as they see it, entails the right to contraception free of charge (as “free,” at any rate, as anything paid for by someone else).

Thus, in February 2012, Health and Human Services Secretary Kathleen Sebelius decreed that under ObamaCare all health plans, with narrow exceptions for churches, will cover contraception, sterilization, and abortifacients. Decisive protests from Catholic bishops and Evangelical leaders caused the administration to fabricate and announce a grudging “accommodation” that amounts in practice to no accommodation at all. Religious charities, schools and hospitals; pro-life business owners and employees—never mind their understandings of what their religious commitments entail. The premiums the government will soon require all Americans to hand over to insurers will cover any and all services the government requires. Oh, you *don’t* support abortion? Why let a quibble like that come between the U.S. government and a seeker of health care? The government has decided to cover up your embarrassing default by requiring that your insurer support abortion in your name, and in the name of all folk who used quaintly to

believe in religious freedom. Such will be the case, anyway, until the U.S. Supreme Court rules otherwise in one of the numerous lawsuits challenging the new policy.

The one-sided “war” continued through the winter and spring. At a House hearing called by Democratic members, Georgetown University third-year law student Sandra Fluke asserted the duty of her Jesuit institution to pick up the tab for such contraceptive services as she might elect to utilize for purposes best known to herself. “Without insurance coverage,” Fluke testified, “contraception, as you know, can cost a woman over \$3000 during law school. For a lot of students who, like me, are on public interest scholarships, that’s practically an entire summer’s salary.” Students with such needs as hers couldn’t attend school elsewhere? She swatted away the intrusive question. “[W]e refuse to pick between a quality education and our health.”

Rush Limbaugh’s subsequent attack on Fluke as a “slut” hardly elevated the tone of the debate, but, then, it wasn’t really a debate, was it? There was about it the acrid air of combat and confrontation: This, I need. Gimme. (Ms. Fluke will make a fine lawyer one of these days.) In due course organizers of the Democratic National Convention summoned her to underscore the party’s commitment to the Cause of Women. She spoke briefly at the Charlotte convention, advising the delegates of the choice before America: on the one hand, a man “who stands by when a public figure tries to silence a private citizen with hateful slurs”; on the other hand, a man who “stands with all women.” Are we in doubt as to the Democratic party’s preference for who prevails in the “war on women”?

Half a dozen years ago, Ramesh Ponnuru’s incisive study *The Party of Death* (Regnery) identified the Democratic party as “the party of abortion-on-demand and embryo-killing research,” a party “on its way to becoming the party of assisted suicide and euthanasia”—functioning in still broader terms as “the party of those for whom abortion has become a kind of religion.” With worshippers such as Sandra Fluke, it might be fair to add in 2012.

Ponnuru made plain that various Republicans—a minority in their party, to be sure—had pews in the identical secular church. (What was author of *Roe v. Wade* Justice Harry Blackmun if not a Republican?) Republican numbers, in the political realm anyway, are smaller now than when Ponnuru wrote—in part the consequence of crushing defeats inflicted on Northeastern Republicans in the 2006 and 2008 elections. The war being waged, for propaganda purposes, as somehow connected to the defense of women is a Democratic show, from top to bottom. We can hardly exclude the presence in the advancing army of particular Republicans (any more than we can

deny, or would want to, the persistence in Democratic ranks of committed pro-life people). The big guns, all the same, are Democratic. The partisanship this reality produces is among the saddest features of the whole controversy. One's view of life, it seems, is a function of one's party membership.

Republicans, at their Tampa convention, said the expected things about human life: “[W]e assert the sanctity of human life and affirm that the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed. We support a human life amendment to the Constitution . . .”

Democrats, by contrast, removed from their platform the prescription, dating from 2004, that “Abortion should be safe, legal, and rare”—the Bill Clinton formulation. “Rare” provided atmospheric coloration more than anything else. Still, it must have seemed a rhetorical tank trap into which the Army of Choice might stumble, seeing a word like “rare” as qualifying or even impeaching the sovereign right to “choose.” “The Democratic party,” says its platform, “strongly and unequivocally supports *Roe vs. Wade* and a woman's right to make decisions regarding her pregnancy, including a safe and legal abortion, regardless of ability to pay. We oppose any and all efforts to weaken or undermine that right.” The Democrats would have government at any level butt out of the “intensely personal” decision to abort a pregnancy, given that the matter concerns only “a woman, her family, her doctor, and her clergy.” No one else, it appears; certainly no one describable as a “fetus.”

Polls reflect similar partisan divisions on the momentous question at stake. A Pew Research poll in late August 2012 showed 65 percent of Democrats favoring abortion “in all or most cases,” leaving 30 percent to oppose it under the same circumstances. The numbers flip, though not quite in proportion, when Republicans are queried. Fifty-seven percent of Republicans would prohibit abortion “in any and all cases.” Independents agree with the Democrats but in lesser degree. Fifty-four percent would allow all or most abortions. That 55 percent of women, of various political affiliations, would authorize abortion in “all or most cases” (vs. 51 percent of men) seems to lend the war trope statistical validity.

As we know, or should by now, the divisions among us over the meaning of life and the responsibility to protect or not protect it are both moral and theological—not at the end of the day political, equivalent to disputes over tax policy or Saturday deliveries by the U.S. Postal Service.

The politicization of the human life question, as it touches birth and sex and health and religion, is among the tragedies of our morally un-centered time. Here we are, all the same. What is there to do? Look about. Organize. Vote. Pray.

Symposium:

On the 40th Anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*

Anniversaries can be celebrations of happy events or of lives well lived. They can also commemorate tragic events, such as the bombing of Pearl Harbor or the attacks on the World Trade Center. The 40th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, however, is an awful milestone to reach. It marks the advent of a Supreme Court decision that for nearly four decades has mocked justice and transgressed natural law—upending the founding principles of the American democracy and saddling the country with the shame of an unspeakably vast body count. As we stand up against *Roe v. Wade* on January 22, 2013—and every day—we remember and honor all the unborn innocents who were conceived as irreplaceable human beings and whose absence has made us incalculably poorer. We also honor all those—living and dead—who refused to accept the *Roe* decision and who have been fighting, steadfastly, these many years to restore protection to the unborn. What follows here is a chorus of many of these noble voices, reflecting on both past and present realities of our nation’s great moral struggle over abortion, and urging us on toward a future when *Roe v. Wade* will be overturned.

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Ryan T. Anderson

“Supreme Court Settles Abortion Issue”: So declared a front-page New York Times headline the day after the Court handed down its *Roe v. Wade* decision. Of course, as the past 40 years have made painfully clear, there is no question *less* settled in American public life than abortion. But it wouldn’t have seemed that way in the years just after *Roe*, when public opinion shifted strongly in favor of abortion access. Day after day, another pro-life public figure—Ted Kennedy, Jesse Jackson, Al Gore, Bill Clinton—would have a change of heart and come to embrace abortion on demand. Elites ridiculed pro-lifers as being on the wrong side of history. It looked like a losing battle; how easy it would have been just to give up and go home.

But courageous people refused to sit silently. Academics such as Germain Grisez, John Finnis, Thomas Hilgers, and Hadley Arkes developed the philosophical, scientific, and legal arguments that now roll off our tongues so easily. Activists such as Nellie Gray, Mildred Jefferson, and L. Brent Bozell,

Jr. organized the marches, advocacy groups, and think tanks that still fuel the pro-life movement. Statesmen such as Henry Hyde, Ronald Reagan, and Ed Meese pushed for the laws, policies, and nomination criteria that changed our political and legal culture. And at the heart of it all were good shepherds like Pastor (later Father) Richard John Neuhaus, John Cardinal O'Connor, and Francis Schaeffer, nourishing the flock for what in the final analysis is a spiritual struggle for the Gospel of Life.

And now, well, the pro-life side has, in a word, won. No, *Roe* hasn't been overturned. But can anyone find a law professor who actually defends *Roe* as good jurisprudence? Even the Supreme Court—in its *Casey* decision upholding *Roe*, after decades of attempted rationalizations—couldn't bring itself to declare *Roe* right on the merits. And you'd be hard-pressed to find a serious moral philosopher who cogently defends abortion without also justifying infanticide. If the choice is killing newborns up to age two or protecting life in the womb, the pro-life side wins, hands down. Even socially, abortion is on the wane. Hollywood doesn't celebrate abortion; *Juno*, *Knocked Up*, and *Bella* all celebrated choosing life. "Pro-choicers" can't even bring themselves to say which choice it is that they affirm; "abortion" has become an ugly utterance.

Last year, Frances Kissling, the pioneering former president of Catholics for Choice, took to the pages of the *Washington Post* to confess that her side was losing and to plead with her allies to change course before the loss became final: "[Our] arguments may have worked in the 1970s, but today, they are failing us . . . The 'pro-choice' brand has eroded considerably. . . . We can no longer pretend the fetus is invisible. . . . It may not have a right to life, and its value may not be equal to that of the pregnant woman, but ending the life of a fetus is not a morally insignificant event."

Indeed.

Studies show that the past few years have set new records for the amount of pro-life legislation at the state level. Thirty-two states since 2010 have passed over 100 pro-life laws. And the latest public opinion polls show the current generation to be more pro-life than their parents. Forty years after *Roe*, a majority of Americans identify as pro-life.

There are lessons for us as we continue in this struggle and gear up for new ones. As a young person, I basically inherited pro-life arguments, organizations, and strategies ready-made. New challenges call on my generation to produce the next Grisez, Grays, and Hydes. No matter what the media, intellectuals, and other elites may tell us, there is no "wrong side of history," unless people of moral integrity choose to sit idly. As Fr. Richard John Neuhaus (paraphrasing T. S. Eliot) reminded us in one of his last public addresses, "there are no permanently lost causes because there are no permanently

won causes.” As he saw it, “To be recruited to the cause of the culture of life is to be recruited for the duration; and there is no end in sight, except to the eyes of faith.”

Just so, and so too for the fights for religious liberty and the protection of marriage. Arguments must be developed, coalitions formed, strategies devised, and witness borne. Witness to the truth matters for its own sake, but persistent, winsome witness also tends to bear good fruit, even if it takes 40 years and counting.

Faithful witness also builds community. What started as Christian-Jewish and Catholic-Protestant-Orthodox co-belligerency in a culture war on *Roe* has developed into real interfaith and ecumenical understanding; fraternity, and charity at least as great as any achieved by formal dialogue.

Celebrating four decades of gains, let us pray and plan for many more. For as Fr. Neuhaus reminded us, we must persist—argue and write, advocate and march, vote and repeal and propose, counsel and console—“until every human being created in the image and likeness of God is protected in law and cared for in life.” Until then, “we shall not weary, we shall not rest. And, in this the great human-rights struggle of our time and all times, we shall overcome.”

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Chuck Donovan

Forty years on, *Roe v. Wade* has reached middle-age in decidedly frail condition. The abortion decision was never ancient wisdom, but now it is merely prematurely old. Not strong on law or science, *Roe* has proven weak on sociology and psychology, and a failure at human relations and family studies. Once at least it was a business success, opening the way for Planned Parenthood and others to reap tremendous financial rewards, but as 2013 opens this graying figure, half misanthrope and half misogynist, is failing economics as well.

Roe and its companion case, *Doe v. Bolton*, made such grandiose promises in their juvenescence. With their aid, every child would be a wanted child. Marriages, no longer burdened by many children untimely conceived, would thrive. Poverty would be eliminated and the dread scourge of overpopulation would be averted. Men and women would regard each other with a profound new respect for their dignity, mutuality, and equality.

If all of these outcomes had occurred, and if the radical freedom and autonomy promised by *Roe* and *Doe* were their cause, the “abortion right” would by now be not just secure but venerable. But no portrait of our times

matches this picture, and increasingly social critics of diverse persuasion do not even try.

Over at *The Atlantic*, Hannah Rosin celebrates “the end of men” and the triumph of the “hook-up culture” of meaningless sex. At the Centers for Disease Control, which dutifully chronicles unexpected pregnancy as though it were indeed a disease, fresh reports indicate the fourth consecutive year of subreplacement-level fertility in the United States, with new declines among women in their prime childbearing years. In New York City schools, children as young as 14 are handed the “morning after” pill without the knowledge of their parents. Once upon a time, the typical “night before” for America’s 14-year-olds was homework, tea, and toast, and a prayer before bedtime.

More than 40 percent of children in the United States are born out of wedlock or (to phrase it more meaningfully) without the assured benefit of the married love of the man and woman who conceived and brought them into the world. Across Europe, nation after nation is experiencing a level of aging and barrenness denotative of national suicide, including lands lauded for their history, culture, and beauty, such as Italy, Greece, Spain, and Germany.

Japan, perhaps the world’s largest exporter of funds for international population control and a mere 20 years ago an economic juggernaut, is entering Gerontion’s twilight with a total fertility rate of less than 1.4 children per woman. Fear has stolen a future.

Can a single set of decisions by a nation’s high court trigger such a range of disaster? By no means, but the Abortion Cases are a pivot point, the place where a nation founded on ideals and green with promise turned toward a Culture of Death. Forty years further on, those most closely identified with that culture are redoubling their grim determination. While many people have begun to reconsider abortion and the managed mayhem it represents, the International Planned Parenthood Federation has announced that it increased its worldwide “abortion services” by an astonishing 147 percent from 2007 to 2011.

The IPPF’s domestic sibling, the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, sails along a similar course, performing 1,000,000 abortions every three years and operating abortion “mega centers” in Houston, Denver, and St. Paul. No longer content with promoting its activities through 50 federal-state programs, Planned Parenthood has even partnered with the Obama Administration to try to harness Catholic and other religious employers into their service network. The “preventive services mandate” is not a method of delivering free contraceptives and abortion drugs to women working at religious entities, because so many ways of doing that already exist. It is instead a means to destroy any alternative vision of mother-and-child health. Such is the daily work of the hegemon of hedonism, the empire of emptiness.

Bleak as this recitation may seem, these are the throes of an ailing enterprise. The abortion movement has long misjudged the character and endurance of its opposition. Its foray to the heart of the pro-life cause, its institutions and its charitable extensions, may prove to be an act of desperation more damaging to the assailant than to the intended victim.

After all, the first task of the right-to-life movement has been achieved: It has prevented the legal doctrines of *Roe* and *Doe* from being accepted as constitutional gospel. This is a rare event in American jurisprudence, where, on most matters, the conclusions of our highest court have eventually etched themselves into our social stonework.

On rare occasions, four decades along, decisions like *Plessy v. Ferguson* have grown less acceptable to the American people. Forty years after the Supreme Court ruling upholding state laws that required segregation in public accommodations, a young attorney named Thurgood Marshall won his case ending segregation at the University of Maryland Law School, where he had been denied admission because of his race. Today, on the eve of 2013, young lawyers are winning cases defending the right to life and the right of women to receive real information about the children they carry.

Roe and *Doe* are not settled law. They remain the ultimate in *unsettling law*, upending the meaning of the Declaration of Independence and creating conditions where human lives are not seen as created equal in value.

More work lies before us, but we would do well to remember Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's observation, early in her days on the Supreme Court, that *Roe v. Wade* was "clearly on a collision course with itself" (*City of Akron v. Reproductive Health Services*, 1983). The internal contradictions of abortion are evident in every phase of the science of maternity, from the use of ultrasound to advances in prenatal surgery. So many fetal conditions are now amenable to prenatal intervention that Children's Hospital of Philadelphia has devoted an entire website to the expanding services of its Center for Fetal Diagnosis and Treatment.

Pregnancy resource centers are just now entering their heyday. The number of medically oriented centers is increasing yearly, and the nation's pregnancy networks are devoting new attention to underserved communities where abortion rates are highest. African Americans, who bear the deepest wounds of abortion in the United States, continue to take up leadership roles and to challenge established organizations like the NAACP that have accepted anti-life alliances.

As a new study by my own organization, the Lozier Institute in Washington, D.C. confirms, pro-life pregnancy centers in the United States raise substantially more private funding than Planned Parenthood clinics do. Cut off

the federal-state gravy train to the nation's largest abortion provider, and Planned Parenthood's appeal will suddenly be revealed as remarkably limited. The health care of the future will deal with the well-being of the whole woman and the potential of the whole girl, including her relationships with family, church, and community.

Twenty-five years ago, then-President Ronald Reagan wrote that "[o]ur nation cannot continue down the path of abortion, so radically at odds with our history, our heritage, and our concepts of justice." Today our history, heritage, and concepts of justice continue their claim on the conscience of a nation: *Roe* and its progeny must go for our nation to have a new birth of life and liberty.

Chuck Donovan is the president of the Charlotte Lozier Institute, the education and research arm of the Susan B. Anthony List in Washington, D.C.

Richard Goldkamp

Close to 40 years ago, Samuel Lee and I became fast friends after we met at a pro-life gathering. Through most of the last three decades, Sam has been a passionate pro-life lobbyist at the Missouri Legislature. His persuasive ability and persistent effort have slowly enticed our state more and more toward the pro-life side in our nation's bitter struggle over abortion.

One of the landmark achievements of Lee's lobbying group in Jefferson City occurred last summer, when Missouri passed SB 749, a bipartisan law opposing the highly controversial contraception mandate tacked onto Team Obama's new federal healthcare law. The mandate, tacked onto the law by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, requires even churches opposed to contraception and sterilization to provide insurance coverage for birth control to the staffs of their hospitals, educational institutions, and other agencies under the guise of improving women's "healthcare" options. In fact, the mandate also effectively compels coverage of early abortions in the form of abortifacient drugs wrongly termed "contraceptives."

Clearly, supporters of SB 749 were not motivated by the constitutional issue of religious liberty alone. This was a bill designed to protect and save life itself. Turning it into a law wasn't an easy breakthrough.

Even passing the bill did not end the infighting. It took more persuasion by pro-lifers and defenders of religious liberty to persuade the legislature to override a governor's veto to keep the new law in place. Next SB 749 was challenged by a Kansas City lawyer filing suit with the Cole County Circuit Court in late September in an effort to strike it down.

It may be time to push for similar legislation in other states.

Even with the veto overturned in Missouri, it was far from obvious what would come from roughly a dozen federal lawsuits filed against the HHS mandate by more than 40 Catholic participants, and whether or when their court challenges might wind up before the Supreme Court. It dramatized just how important this issue was. That mandate directly violated the consciences of thousands of U.S. church leaders and staff members, especially at Catholic campuses and agencies covered by healthcare plans.

But meanwhile my lobbyist friend is already at work trying to raise more badly needed funds for Campaign Life Missouri and planning how to get Missouri legislators in 2013 to help restore the Pregnancy Resource Center Tax Credit to help Birthright, ThriVe and 56 other pregnancy resource centers continue their work in our state. It's a never-ending battle for one of the nation's leading pro-life lobbyists in a state legislature.

Sam Lee has been far from alone in his skepticism about our new federal healthcare law and the Obama administration's relentless push to keep Planned Parenthood, our nation's biggest abortion provider, generously supplied with U.S. taxpayer funds. In a separate letter to her own pro-life supporters, Charmaine Yoest, president and CEO of the pro-life group AUL Action, suggested that "Obamacare" may amount to "the greatest expansion of government-subsidized abortion since *Roe v. Wade*," due to its potential impact on the use of abortifacients through government-mandated health insurance coverage.

Yoest's AUL Action communique circulated a valuable fact-checking glimpse of what's going on in the fight over abortion. The abortion industry has a big advantage over the pro-life movement in raising funds from both the government and major donors. But a recent Gallup poll showed that support for the sanctity of an unborn child's life has continued to gain strength nationally in terms of numbers, with 50 percent of poll respondents considering themselves pro-life—a nearly 10 point advantage over their opponents. In fact, AUL Action found that only 7 percent of Americans who consider themselves pro-choice now favor abortion "for any reason, at any time."

A key AUL Action concern is getting more pro-lifers to the polls at voting time. Before she sent out her letter, Yoest learned from one source that as many as half the people who now agree with her organization's stand on abortion may not in fact be registered to vote. It's a critical dilemma that prompted the group two years ago to form a plan called Life Counts 2010 to zero in on 12 key congressional races where the pro-abortion agenda of members of Congress appeared sharply at odds with their constituents. The result: In 11 of those races, pro-life candidates won.

Other hopeful trends reported by Yoest should give pro-lifers plenty of encouragement. Among them:

- Nationwide statistics show a 25 percent reduction in the number of abortions performed between 1992 and 2006, the last year when figures were available. Some 400,000 fewer abortions were performed in 2006 than 14 years earlier.

- Last year, there were slightly less than 700 abortion clinics still operating in America. Two decades earlier in 1991, there were still about 2,000 clinics available.

- The Guttmacher Institute, a think tank linked to the abortion industry, found some 92 measures with abortion restrictions passed by the states last year. AUL Action and its sister organization, Americans United for Life, played a direct role in passing 28 of those measures.

Thus, active pro-lifers have little reason to let down their guard or give in to their critics. The latter group includes the media elite, which has for decades largely ignored the beneficial impact of millions of pro-life women in our country, in contrast to the attention their critics in NOW and other groups garner. That's hardly a tribute to media impartiality in covering abortion and other right-to-life issues.

Lurking behind all this activity on the state and national level is of course the lengthening shadow cast by *Roe v. Wade* itself. Number me among those journalists who suspect that a persuasive new court case is eventually likely to work its way up to the Supreme Court in a form that prods the court to re-examine the murky reasoning of the seven justices who pushed *Roe* onto our national stage in January of 1973.

Should *Roe* be overturned, it will be a belated tribute to pro-lifers like Sam Lee and Charmaine Yoest and their dogged defense of the inherent dignity and sanctity of every human life.

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James Hitchcock

As rock music got domesticated and (after years of denial) the real dangers of drug use were reluctantly acknowledged, the Sexual Revolution has survived as the lasting achievement of “the Sixties” (actually the period roughly 1966-73), the principal area of life where the transgression of moral boundaries can be repeated over and over again.

In the 1950s society still officially disapproved of sex outside marriage—even in secular colleges, students could be expelled for engaging in it. But boundaries were being pushed, mainly by asking whether sex might be legitimate between two unmarried people who genuinely loved one another and intended a permanent commitment.

Given the subjectivity of the experience of “love,” this soon came to mean any strong attraction between two people, and by the end of the Sixties sex had come to be understood as “recreational,” up to and including intercourse between people who had met only casually.

Quite revealing was the new approved attitude towards pornography (often considered a necessary ingredient in casual sex), as liberals moved from defending the civil liberties of those whose actions might be thought morally despicable to insisting that pornography is psychologically liberating and has its own redeeming social value.

Although there was some agitation for “open marriage,” adultery was still thought to justify divorce, so that the continuous rise in the divorce rate seemed to testify to the increasing prevalence of adultery; ironically, however, the divorce rate eventually slowed because of another major achievement of the Sexual Revolution—fewer people were getting married.

Living together outside of marriage was often a defiant public statement, usually by celebrities, against the bourgeois idea of marriage—“we don’t need a piece of paper to prove our love.” But even as the lovers claimed to have a relationship higher and purer than conventional marriage, their relationship belied that claim—people lived together without marrying precisely in the expectation that it was a temporary arrangement that could be dissolved, often unilaterally, with minimal trouble or obligation. Some married people envied this ease of dissolution, which led to “no-fault divorce,” a term that conveyed the moral agnosticism of the age—who could be said to be at fault over anything?

Thus in a matter of a few years the entire Judeo-Christian ethic of sexuality, in which sexual activity was legitimate only in marriage, had been swept aside.

While *Roe v. Wade* is widely acknowledged as one of the most specious decisions in the history of the Supreme Court, the *Griswold* case of 1965, where the Court discovered a “right to privacy” in the Constitution justifying the sale of contraceptives, stands as the most perfect example of a judicial ruling based not on the Constitution itself but on the justices’ sense of the needs of the time.

The Sexual Revolution was getting underway, and the use of contraceptives had become an imperative. At almost that exact moment the invention of “the Pill” was announced; since then its availability has been routinely cited as the chief enabler of the Sexual Revolution. But the promised liberation from unwanted pregnancy through contraception proved illusory. The movement to legalize abortion began almost simultaneous with the *Griswold* decision and the marketing of the Pill.

It was imperative to the new sexual freedom that no firm line be drawn

between contraception and abortion. The easy availability of contraceptives merely ratified the definitive separation between sex and procreation, and abortion had to be seen as merely another form of birth control.

Back in the middle of the Sixties, even liberal opinion for the most part accepted the claim that homosexuality was a psychic disorder, a judgment confirmed by the authority of Sigmund Freud himself. But it was a taboo simply waiting to be assaulted, since the definitive separation between sex and procreation left no basis for it.

The moral avant-garde had long considered the family to be an oppressive institution, and militant feminism was an inevitable unfolding of the spirit of the Sixties, as women were defined as the ultimate oppressed group because their oppression had the deepest roots of all—in biology itself.

Feminism required nothing less than a revolution in the relationship between mothers and children and husbands and wives. Motherhood was no longer to be considered natural but a social construct. The childless marriage was extolled, and the contraceptive revolution, especially abortion, came virtually to define feminism.

Paradoxically, the very dogmatism of the pro-abortionists demonstrated their moral insecurity. A pragmatic, common-sense attitude might conclude that abortion is permissible, even advisable, under certain circumstances, while remaining troubled by the moral issue. Instead its proponents require the complete suppression of the moral sense, a massive deadening of conscience.

The moral atmosphere of the Sixties was a tangled web indeed, and it set in motion a series of deceptions that show no sign of abating.

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Alveda King & Frank Pavone

The year 2013 marks the 40th year since *Roe v. Wade* (January 22) and the 50th year since the “I Have a Dream Speech” of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (August 28). These two moments in American history have something to say to one another, from completely opposite perspectives.

Roe, inaugurating a sweeping policy about which most Americans are still unaware, declared that “the word ‘person,’ as used in the Fourteenth Amendment, does not include the unborn” [410 U.S. 113, 158]. Dr. King, inaugurating a new season of hope for those fighting for justice, declared, “I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are

created equal.” Fifty years after that speech, and 40 years after that decision, a great chasm remains between the dream and its fulfillment in relation to the unborn child. The dream calls for equality, and *Roe* denies it. As Alveda has asked many times, “How can the dream survive if we murder the children?”

Shortly after we (Fr. Frank and Alveda) began working together full-time at Priests for Life, we were walking together at the annual March for Life in Washington. I (Fr. Frank) turned to Alveda and asked, “Does this remind you of the marches with your Dad and Uncle in the civil rights movement?” Alveda replied, “Fr. Frank, this *is* the civil rights movement.”

Forty years after *Roe*, this is a key point to reaffirm. Pro-life progress is slowed when the movement is identified with only one segment of the population, whether that be religiously defined (“It’s a Catholic movement!”), politically defined (“It’s an arm of the Republican party!”), or defined in some other limited way.

But the cause of life is too big for that, too fundamental. The cause of life is so basic, so intrinsically and simply human, that it calls for expression within every sector of society. Protestants and Catholics, Christians and Jews, liberals and conservatives, blacks and whites, should all have their pro-life movements, together creating a harmonious advocacy for the most fundamental human right.

For decades, many leaders and activists have asked, “How do we get the black community more involved in the pro-life movement?” But that is the wrong question. The right question is, “How do we encourage the black community to take ownership of the cause of the unborn?” Such ownership occurs when leaders of the black community itself are the ones calling for pro-life involvement.

That is why Alveda became a full-time Pastoral Associate of Priests for Life (see www.AfricanAmericanOutreach.com). By combining the influence she has in the black community with the outreach of Priests for Life, she has been able to raise awareness about abortion among black leaders and grassroots activists. She has assisted the formation and growth of the *National Black Pro-life Coalition* (see www.BlackProLifeCoalition.com), comprising many leaders who plan and carry out projects aimed at making the black response to abortion what it should be.

A turning point in this effort was the Pro-life Freedom Rides in 2010. Alveda led the way with this Priests-for-Life project, modeled on the Freedom Rides of the Civil Rights movement. From Birmingham to Atlanta, and from Knoxville to the Memorial for the Unborn in Chattanooga, these rides were relatively short in distance but powerful in impact, as they took away

from the abortion-rights movement the ability to claim that their movement was fueled by the ideals of freedom and equality that Dr. King articulated. And the rides helped to solidify the ongoing collaboration of black leaders in the cause of life.

Out of the *Freedom Rides* was also born the statement called “The Beloved Community and the Unborn,” a declaration calling for equality and non-violence for the unborn. This declaration was signed and read by Alveda’s mother, Mrs. Naomi Ruth Barber King, on the day of the annual March for Life in January of 2011 in Washington, DC, inside the Capitol building. The statement was also signed by Rev. Derek King (Alveda’s brother), by Gloria Y. Jackson, Esq., great-granddaughter of Booker T. Washington, by Lynne M. Jackson, great-great-granddaughter of Dred Scott, and by other black leaders. Moreover, this declaration was placed in the time capsule underneath the new monument to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. that was dedicated in Washington, DC on October 16, 2011.

In part, the statement, which you can read in its entirety at AfricanAmericanOutreach.com, declares,

The work of building the Beloved Community is far from finished. . . . In our day, we cannot ignore the discrimination, injustice, and violence that are being inflicted on the youngest and smallest members of the human family, the children in the womb. . . . We declare today that these children too are members of the Beloved Community, that our destiny is linked with theirs, and that therefore they deserve justice, equality, and protection.

Forty years after *Roe*, therefore, the increasing activism of the black community on behalf of the unborn, with the understanding that this movement is made from the same fabric as the civil rights movement, is one of the most consequential developments. Intimately connected with this development is the increasing chorus of voices of those who have had abortions and testify openly that it did not solve their problems, but only created new ones. Alveda King herself is among those voices who have coalesced into the Silent No More Awareness Campaign (see www.SilentNoMore.com). Alveda explains,

God intervened in my life when I was in my mother’s womb. She desired an abortion and was persuaded to keep me after her mother insisted that they seek counsel from their pastor, Dr. Martin Luther King, Sr. My Granddaddy told my mother that God had shown him in a dream three years prior that I was “a bright skinned baby girl with bright red hair,” and that I would “be a blessing to many.” Granddaddy King’s prophetic insight saved my life.

On the first anniversary of *Roe v. Wade* I celebrated my 22nd birthday. I experienced a legal abortion later that same year. I was already post-abortive because a trusted and respected African-American doctor had “played God” in my life in 1970, performing a D&C procedure in his office with only the explanation, “You don’t need another baby. Let’s see.” He made this decision, without my understanding or consent.

The doctor is long since deceased. I wrote him a letter of forgiveness in my life-changing Rachel's Vineyard healing encounter. My role as a national spokesperson for the Priests for Life-sponsored Silent No More Awareness Campaign is very liberating in that I can turn my tests and abortion trials into a prolife testimony that allows the truth about the harmful impact of abortion and contraceptives on babies, women, fathers, families, and society.

Forty years have passed (see www.Roe vWade40.com). Dr. King asked, "How long?" and answered his own question by declaring, "Not long!" And so must we. No lie can live forever, neither the lie that abortion helps women nor the lie that some human beings are less equal than others. Above all, let this 40th year since *Roe* renew our confidence in the victory of life!

Dr. Alveda King is Director of African-American Outreach for Priests for Life. Fr. Frank Pavone is that organization's National Director.

Bradley Mattes

During the early years of the pro-life movement, nobody would have imagined that in the year 2013 we would still be working to end the killing of innocent unborn babies through abortion. But here we are, 40 years after *Roe v. Wade*, and the brutality continues.

Those of us who are old enough probably remember where we were on that fateful day four decades ago. I was a sophomore in high school at a boarding school in South Dakota. The Christian student body and professors couldn't fathom the evil reasoning that would condemn millions of babies to death and sentence their mothers and fathers to a lifetime of grief and shame.

My pro-life activity didn't begin until two years after *Roe*, when I did a report on abortion in my senior year of high school. I was then attending public school in Billings, Montana, and went to the local right-to-life group for materials. A kind woman by the name of Mary Rose gave me an adequate supply of information to share with my classmates. There was a book by someone called Dr. and Mrs. Willke. It was accompanied by what they called the "Willke Slides" and a variety of pro-life brochures. Memorable among them was a *Life* magazine insert on fetal development that I later used for many years in educational presentations. It's now largely held together with Scotch tape, but remains a cherished reminder of the past.

Before my presentation on abortion, I first polled the class on where they stood on the issue. They were split about 50-50. After my presentation, I again polled the class. This time the vote was unanimous for life. This ignited a fire in my soul that continues to burn brightly nearly 38 years later. As a matter of fact, my passion runs deeper with each passing year as the

body count of babies continues to rise and we come face-to-face with grieving parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and friends—all affected by abortion.

It is said that God produces miraculous results out of the ashes of sin and tragedy. That has certainly been the case with abortion in America. The greatest humanitarian effort in the history of our nation, and quite possibly the world, has risen from the carnage of so-called “choice.”

Veterans of the pro-life movement have seen a network of thousands of help centers for women spring up throughout the nation and around the world. At first they were largely staffed by volunteers, but gradually they evolved into paid staff and now many are certified clinics offering 3D ultrasound and STD testing. A recent visit to one of these centers in downtown Pittsburgh revealed that they were advertising on BET and MTV, reaching out to underserved urban women. They’ve come a long way!

Pro-life education has also changed dramatically over the years. We went from slides to 16mm film to VHS to DVD, and now digital and Internet-based programming. Brochures have given way to websites where an almost unlimited amount of information on the life issues is only a click away. Email, texting, and social networking like Facebook and Twitter make communication inexpensive and instantaneous. Dr. Willke’s brief daily radio commentaries, *Life Issues*, once distributed on cassettes, are now hosted by me and delivered on satellite and FTP Internet sites. Information that used to take weeks to deliver now takes only seconds.

The pro-life educational legacy begun by Dr. and Mrs. Willke in the late 1960s and early 70s has taken on new forms and is being passed to future generations. Most notably, the weekly half-hour television program that I host, *Facing Life Head-On*, has been awarded two regional Emmy awards, a stunning milestone for pro-life programming in today’s world. Pro-life education, once considered representative of society’s fringe, has gone mainstream.

During the last 40 years we have seen the pro-life movement grow younger, a sharp contrast to the graying of pro-abortion activists. Our ranks are filling with young, eager minds and bodies who, as *Roe* survivors, understand the urgency of the task before us. And they’re a bold lot. Some have entered the lion’s den to conduct undercover video investigations revealing Planned Parenthood at its worst. I pray this won’t have to be the case, but should the protection of unborn babies take additional decades, I am confident the next generation will effectively carry the baton handed to them and finish the race for life.

Over the last four decades, the pro-life movement has grown politically into an influential voting bloc recognized by all candidates running for office—from city council chambers to the Oval Office. Political action committees have been responsible for mobilizing support for and the election of

candidates who stand for life and support laws to protect both mother and child. As a result, we've seen life-saving legislation passed on the state and federal levels, legislation that is also educating the public and shining a light on the evil of abortion.

In spite of the agonizingly long and arduous battle of protecting innocent human life from womb to tomb, God has raised up pro-life leaders and individuals who have changed our world and will go down in history as the most loving, nurturing, and politically savvy movement in the history of our nation. I am honored to be counted among them.

Bradley Mattes is the executive director and cofounder of Life Issues Institute in Cincinnati, Ohio, and president of the International Right to Life Federation.

William McGurn

When Harry Blackmun wrote the Supreme Court's majority opinion throwing out the abortion laws of all 50 states, he did so affecting a tone of Solomonic dispassion.

Far from limiting himself to the presumed issue at hand—the constitutionality of a Texas law making abortion illegal save when the mother's life was at risk—he ranged freely, here ruminating on the place of abortion in the Persian Empire, there dismissing the Hippocratic Oath as a “Pythagorean Manifesto,” here again embracing Aquinas's 13th century biology (but, of course, not Aquinas's timeless theology), there musing about the Victorian influence on state abortion laws. With all this Justice Blackmun was still paternalistic enough not to entrust women with the right to abortion, ruling instead that “the abortion decision and its effectuation must be left to the medical judgment of the pregnant woman's attending physician.”

At the time, all this passed for high wisdom: *Blackmun locuta est, causa finita est*. Certainly that's what Justice Blackmun thought. And why not? His faith in his own wisdom was echoed by *The New York Times*. “The Court's verdict on abortions provides a sound foundation for final and reasonable resolution of a debate that has divided America too long,” the *Times* declared. “As with the division over Vietnam, the country will be healthier with that division ended.”

How naive that assumption looks 40 years on. Today almost no legal scholar, including those who support abortion rights, accepts the legal and constitutional exegesis of *Roe*. No historian accepts its potted history of abortion. No doctor accepts its trimesters as anything more than one man's arbitrary division. Most ironic of all, where Justice Blackmun claimed science was quickly making the restrictions on abortion look ever less rational,

today it is science—the ultrasounds, the in-utero surgery, the medical advances that allow prematurely born babies to survive outside the womb at younger and younger ages—that militates most eloquently against the primitive assumptions that undergird his majority opinion.

Only one area of American life holds fast to the Blackmun standard: the judiciary. Even as the foundation for *Roe* crumbles, alas, public fealty has become a ritual. In confirmation after confirmation hearing, Republican as well as Democratic nominees tell the Senate they consider *Roe* settled law. Their problem is that no one believes them. In fact, in practice each side recognizes *Roe* as the least settled law in America.

So what gives this opinion its staying power? In a word, convenience. In judicial terms, *Roe* was a conclusion looking for a logic, and this legacy remains as the Supreme Court has itself been content to jettison the bulk of *Roe* for whatever new justification yields the desired outcome.

In moral terms, so much else we wish for today regarding the beginning and ending of human life is wrapped up in the *Roe* worldview in which the strong and healthy can be relieved of the burden of an inconvenient human being, whether that be an incapacitated wife on a feeding tube or an unborn child diagnosed with Down Syndrome. That is the same operating assumption that Pope John Paul II rightly characterized as the culture of death. To put it another way, our most lethal challenge is less with the legality of *Roe* than with the ethic of *Roe*.

Against this ethic we labor for an America that upholds the preciousness of each human life—and offers women with unexpected or untimely pregnancies a more hopeful option than the cold front door of a Planned Parenthood clinic. At times, and these may be one of those times, it can seem that this America has grown more distant than ever. Everywhere we turn—popular culture, academe, the media—the orthodoxy of *Roe* continues to dominate.

Yet for all its dominance, *Roe* has become a brittle orthodoxy. Increasingly it sustains itself not by providing answers that satisfy our deepest questions but by working overtime to prevent those questions from ever being asked. With *Roe*, Justice Blackmun ensured his legacy. It's just not going to be the one he intended.

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Mary Meehan

The sheer injustice of the majority opinion in *Roe v. Wade* is so upsetting that I couldn't finish reading it the first time I tried. Later, though, I was able to trudge through the whole wretched document. When the Library of Congress opened the papers of the opinion's author, the late Justice Harry Blackmun, I spent many days there, reading drafts and memos that showed the Court at its worst. Two justices in particular—William O. Douglas and William J. Brennan—seemed more like political strategists planning a campaign than impartial judges searching for truth. In writing about *Roe*, I also read articles about it by legal scholars. Even some who supported legal abortion were appalled by its reasoning.

In this layperson's opinion, here are some of the worst aspects of *Roe v. Wade*:

The justices did not require appointment of an attorney (a guardian *ad litem*) to represent unborn children during oral arguments before the Court. That was done in some lower-court cases involving abortion. It could have made a huge difference in the outcome of *Roe*.

The Court pretended that we don't know when human life begins. Embryology texts of the time said that it begins at fertilization, and two *Roe* briefs contained many photographs of fetal development. There was no excuse for the justices' claimed ignorance on this point.

In describing the status of abortion in the common law, the Court relied on a highly biased and mistaken account. Sir John Hamilton Baker, a leading British legal scholar, has found and translated early common-law cases that show the Court's account was even more deeply flawed than previous research had shown.

The Court ignored the preamble to the Constitution, which speaks of securing "the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity." The word "posterity" means *all* descendants.

The Court failed to note that the Declaration of Independence lists the right to life as an unalienable right. "Unalienable" means that no one can take it away. The Declaration is the first document in the U.S. Code, appearing in a section called "The Organic Laws of the United States of America." That should count for something. If it doesn't, perhaps we should stop celebrating the Fourth of July.

To get around the Constitution's Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, which say that no person may be deprived of life without due process of law, the Court said that "the unborn have never been recognized in the law as persons in the whole sense." It cited William L. Prosser's *Handbook of the Law*

of *Torts* (1971, 4th ed.) on this point, yet failed to quote Prosser's statement that "medical authority has recognized long since that the child is in existence from the moment of conception, and for many purposes its existence is recognized by the law."

Prosser noted that pre-1946 court decisions had denied financial recovery to children who were injured before birth; but he said there had been a dramatic reversal in court decisions in more recent years. "All writers who have discussed the problem have joined in condemning the old rule, in maintaining that the unborn child in the path of an automobile is as much a person in the street as the mother. . ." Prosser acknowledged that there was still debate on whether there should be compensation when the injury occurred before viability. But when faced with actual cases, he said, "almost all of the jurisdictions have allowed recovery even though the injury occurred during the early weeks of pregnancy, when the child was neither viable nor quick." The Court failed to quote any of these statements. Its misuse of Prosser was intellectually dishonest in a profound way.

The Court presented a totally negative view of childbearing: "Maternity, or additional offspring, may force upon the woman a distressful life and future. Psychological harm may be imminent. Mental and physical health may be taxed by child care." Nothing there about the *father's* responsibility for the child and for child care. But the *Roe* justices were all men. And they said nothing about the joy children bring to their parents.

The Court added: "There is also the distress, for all concerned, associated with the unwanted child. . ." Here the Supreme Court of the United States endorsed the idea of dividing human beings into the wanted and the unwanted. *What were they thinking?* As the late Hispanic activist Grace Olivarez once said: "Those with power in our society cannot be allowed to 'want' and 'unwant' people at will."

After 40 years of fighting *Roe v. Wade*, the pro-life movement should spend much time in self-examination in the coming year. While it has made great strides in offering alternatives to abortion and in public education, it seems to be politically stalled. Its political wing is so closely tied to the Republican Party that it rises when the party rises and falls when the party falls. The pro-life partner never rises high enough to win decisive and lasting victories against abortion. The Republican establishment courts pro-lifers during election years, but often puts their issues on the back burner when Republicans gain power.

Here are some suggestions for a fresh-start campaign against *Roe v. Wade*:

- Adopt a more realistic and independent attitude toward the Republican Party.
- Stop making life difficult for pro-life Democrats; find and encourage

more of them; also encourage the substantial number of Ron Paul libertarians who oppose abortion.

- In literature and advertising, place more stress on the severe *legal* deficiencies of *Roe v. Wade*. This is one of the mainstream media's best-kept secrets. It is long past time to call them on it.

- Show how *Roe* is like other Supreme Court decisions that discriminated against one group of human beings: *Scott v. Sandford* and *Plessy v. Ferguson* (African Americans); *Buck v. Bell* (those having, or alleged to have, mental disability); and *Korematsu v. United States* (Japanese Americans).

- Start a campaign to ensure that both public libraries and college and university libraries have good, solid books on *Roe v. Wade* and other aspects of abortion.

- Help start many more groups of pro-life law students. Urge those students to study *Roe* deeply so they will be ready to defeat it in court.

- Encourage lay pro-lifers to study *Roe* so they can demolish it in debates and in writing.

- Never give up!

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Lorraine Osterberg

On January 22, 2013, hundreds of thousands of people across the country will rally, march, and pray, commemorating the U.S. Supreme Court's infamous *Roe v. Wade* decision. During the last 40 years, opposition to abortion has grown as more and more people recognize the reality of millions of unborn infants slain in the name of "choice." Legalized abortion has had devastating effects on women, on families, and on our entire society.

Today, what was initially touted as a "choice" has become a mandate.

If asked, "How did we come to this?" most people would respond that it resulted from the Supreme Court's decision in *Roe*. But they'd be wrong.

Despite the shock waves sent out when the decision was announced, abortion didn't spring up without warning on that January morning 40 years ago. In the years leading up to *Roe*, there was widespread lack of a sense of urgency regarding abortion. The mentality was "out of sight, out of mind." On the rare occasions when legalization of abortion was even discussed, the usual reaction was, "That can never happen." To most people, it was unthinkable, therefore impossible.

In reality, not only could it happen, but it was already happening.

For years, the foundation for *Roe* was being carefully laid, beginning in 1957 when members of the American Law Institute (ALI) drafted a model

law on abortion. That model law called for legalization of abortion 1) in cases where there was a substantial risk that continuing a pregnancy would gravely impair the physical or mental health of the woman, 2) in cases where there was a substantial risk that the child would be born with a grave physical or mental defect, or 3) when the pregnancy had resulted from rape or incest. Essentially, abortion was to be legalized only for life-threatening or heart-wrenching situations.

Through a combination of actions in state legislatures and the courts, abortion proponents pursued their agenda. They were patient. They were dedicated. They knew that, initially, they wouldn't prevail. But, slowly and inexorably, they could build support.

It took 10 years before any state changed its law. Mississippi was the first to create an exception to its abortion ban, permitting abortion if the pregnancy resulted from rape. The following year, Colorado changed its law to one based on the ALI's model proposal and, out of the glare of publicity, other states followed suit.

Since these changes took place before the Internet or 24-hour cable news coverage, the public was largely unaware of what was happening, even in their own states.

Washington State was an exception. There, citizens actually knew that a change was being proposed, because a measure to legalize abortion was sent to voters, and therefore the machinations of pro-abortion activists, previously confined to lobbying legislators and petitioning the courts, were on full display. The experience in Washington serves as a model for the way in which the unthinkable became the acceptable.

A series of articles about the hardships of pregnancy and the dangers of "back alley" abortions, replete with harrowing stories of desperate poor women dying from "terminating their pregnancies," appeared in newspapers. The campaign for abortion began in earnest in 1969 and led to Referendum 20, slated for a citizens' vote in November 1970.

A cadre of trained speakers from Planned Parenthood, clergy counseling organizations, and members of the medical and legal profession formed Washington Citizens for Abortion Reform. They met with editorial boards, spoke to civic groups, and appeared as guests on radio programs and television programs. Their purpose: to persuade people that abortion "reform" was not only necessary, but was the compassionate thing to do.

Their chorus was: "It's happening anyway. But it's dangerous. The wise thing to do is to make it safe, carried out under very careful guidelines with stringent safeguards."

The safeguards they proposed lulled the public into believing that abortions

would not increase but that, after legalization, legal protections would be in place to prevent the kind of harm to women that took place in the shadows of the back alley.

Proponents focused on the “safeguards” included in the proposal. “Termination of pregnancy” could lawfully take place only under certain conditions. Abortion would be:

- Carried out by a licensed physician,
- During the first 16 weeks of pregnancy,
- Unavailable to anyone under 18 without consent of a parent or guardian,
- Available to a married woman with the prior consent of her husband if the woman and her husband were residing together,
- Only for women who were Washington residents,
- Performed only in a facility meeting standards set by the state (unless the physician determined that a medical emergency existed and immediate termination was necessary).

Although 1970 was a mid-term election year, voter turnout was huge since the ballot also included the right of 18-year-olds to vote. Referendum 20 passed by a vote of 56 to 44 percent. Even so, few people outside of Washington State thought that vote would affect them. Even fewer were paying enough attention to work at the state level to stop what was becoming a trend.

Yet, it was that unnoticed trend that provided much of the basis for the Court’s decision in *Roe*. Without it, the outcome of *Roe* might have been different.

Emerging Consensus

U.S. Supreme Court watchers often refer to what is called an “emerging consensus.” Under that theory, the Court may seem to lead the way on a certain issue but, on closer examination, the Court is just following public sentiment.

If several states change their laws or if current laws are largely disregarded, the court may revisit an issue and reach an outcome different from a previous decision. Indeed, that is what happened in *Roe*. In its opinion, the Court noted that “in the past several years, however, a trend toward liberalization of abortion statutes has resulted in adoption, by about one-third of the States” of liberalized abortion laws.

Since then, other high-profile cases have followed that pattern.

For example, in a 1986 decision (*Bowers v. Hardwick*), the Court upheld Georgia’s anti-sodomy laws; 17 years later, however, the Court overruled *Bowers* in *Lawrence v. Texas*. The rationale was that there was an “emerging awareness” in state laws.

Likewise, in the 2005 *Roper v. Simmons* case, dealing with the death

penalty for juveniles, the Court overturned an earlier decision. Noting the changing direction states were taking regarding this issue, the Court stated, “It is not so much the number of these States that is significant, but the consistency of the direction of change.”

And this brings us to the present time.

The Next *Roe*?

Another issue—assisted suicide—that could lead to a monumental loss of life is following the pre-*Roe* path.

In 1991, a voter initiative (Initiative 119) appeared on the Washington State ballot to legalize both euthanasia by lethal injection and assisted suicide by a doctor’s prescription, euphemistically called “aid-in-dying.” The measure failed, but the following year an almost identical initiative (Proposition 161) was on the ballot in California. It also failed.

Then, proponents—primarily from the Hemlock Society, which was then morphing into its new identity, Compassion & Choices, along with its affinity group, Oregon Death with Dignity—changed their strategy. They dropped promotion of lethal injection and focused solely on doctor-prescribed suicide. They tightened up the “safeguards” and polished their message.

As in the abortion campaigns, they highlighted “hard cases.” Tales of desperate patients who killed themselves by violent means and of doctors who “helped” patients outside of the law were recounted in conjunction with the mantra, “It’s happening anyway.” By making assisted suicide available under very careful conditions, the argument went, lives would actually be saved, since patients who knew they had a painless and peaceful way to die with dignity would be less likely to commit suicide out of desperation. The right and compassionate choice therefore was to legalize “death with dignity” under very careful guidelines with stringent safeguards.

Those safeguards? Eerily similar to the early safeguards in abortion proposals:

- Only by prescription from a licensed physician,
- Only for individuals with a life expectancy of six months or less,
- Unavailable to anyone under 18,
- Only for Oregon residents.

In 1994, Measure 16, the “Oregon Death with Dignity Act,” appeared on the ballot. It passed.

Instead of being a wake-up call to other states, the Oregon vote was dismissed and ignored. Oregon was viewed as the home of “sprout-chewing liberals” out of step with the rest of the country. Nonetheless, Oregon’s law became the model for proposals presented in the legislatures of state after

state. Such efforts garnered little attention and even those who were paying attention to a particular proposal in their state generally lacked a sense of urgency, believing it couldn't happen there. And, when a measure failed, opponents virtually ceased all activity until the next threat, rather than continuing to educate the public about the dangers of doctor-prescribed suicide.

Meanwhile, those working and planning for doctor-prescribed suicide kept up their campaign in the legislatures and courts and at the ballot box. They challenged laws against assisted suicide in court. In 1997, the U.S. Supreme Court decided two such cases (*Vacco v. Quill* and *Washington v. Glucksberg*), ruling unanimously that assisted suicide is *not* a federal constitutional right. However, the Court indicated that it might be open to revisiting the issue after there had been more time for assisted suicide to work "in the laboratory of the states." Thus, if several more states were to adopt Oregon-style laws, that, along with the experience in Oregon, could provide the impetus for another federal claim. And if that claim succeeded, it would *invalidate all state laws banning doctor-prescribed suicide*.

Since passage of Oregon's "Death with Dignity Act," there have been more than 125 failed attempts to pass Oregon-style laws in 25 states. This did not discourage assisted-suicide advocates. If anything, they worked harder after each loss. They continued to build coalitions, lobby for policy changes in professional organizations, and use the courts and the ballot box in specifically targeted states. Eventually, their efforts paid off.

In 2008, Washington State passed a law that is virtually identical to Oregon's assisted-suicide law. Capitalizing on that, Compassion & Choices' legal director, writing in the newsletter of the National Association of Elder Law Attorneys, said that the Washington vote "appears to be part of a broader trend." She also noted that four medical and policy organizations had adopted policies in support of "aid in dying," saying that such policy statements could have influence in both judicial and legislative forums.

At the end of 2009, the Montana Supreme Court handed down its ruling in *Baxter v. Montana*, a case challenging the state's ban on assisted suicide. While the court did not technically overturn the state's law, it decided that, if a physician prescribes the drugs for suicide (the court used Compassion & Choices' preferred term, "aid-in-dying") and is charged with assisting a suicide, the physician can use the patient's consent as a defense. Essentially, the decision permits *de facto* assisted suicide. And with that decision, another step was taken toward an "emerging consensus" favoring assisted suicide.

As this article is being written, advocates of assisted suicide have increased activity in an effort to add more states to the assisted suicide column.

In November 2012, Massachusetts voters will decide a ballot initiative

(Question 2) that, if passed, would implement an Oregon-style law in the Bay state. Furthermore, Vermont's Governor Peter Shumlin has vowed to sign a "death with dignity" law before he leaves office; a case challenging New Mexico's law against assisted suicide is pending in that state; a bill similar to Oregon's law is in the hopper in New Jersey; and assisted-suicide advocates are calling for campaigns in Hawaii, California, and Florida.

Conclusion

As advocates for life are preparing to commemorate the tragedy of *Roe v. Wade*, will they be alert to a building threat to other innocent human life? Or will an "emerging consensus" on assisted suicide result in the equivalent of *Roe* for death on demand? Will we, not too many years from now, be seeing marches across the country mourning not only millions of abortion deaths, but millions of assisted-suicide deaths?

The past is prologue. Reflecting on it can tell us who we are, where we have been, and what can happen—unless we take steps to stop further tragedy before it is too late.

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Cathy & Austin Ruse

As January 22, 2013, nears, abortion defenders will be tempted to gloat. After 40 years, *Roe v. Wade* still stands.

But abortion in America is more than a court opinion. At its heart, abortion is an act involving three people: a mother, her child, and an abortionist. It is also a movement and a political cause, even a political litmus test. It is a sociological and cultural phenomenon. It is certainly a business transaction, and big business at that: Hundreds of millions of dollars are made on it every year. In 1992 the Supreme Court even elevated abortion to a cosmic philosophy.

Put it all together, call it Big Abortion, and what do you see? A crazed and wounded elephant lumbering through the jungle, where it is set upon by jungle cats. One grabs hold of its snout, others have its legs, yet another leaps on its back. The elephant is going down. The lions know it, the elephant knows it, and so do all those watching this mortal combat on TV.

The pro-life movement is this pride of lions, and the one weakness in this metaphor is that ours is a movement of peace and not of violence. The part of the metaphor that rings thoroughly true is that Big Abortion is going down and everyone knows it. The pro-life movement is broad and deep and vast and is coming at Big Abortion from every angle. There is no escaping the inevitable.

The pro-life movement is also like religious orders during the Middle Ages. The Holy Spirit moved across the land in those days inspiring men and women to start religious orders and congregations. In a similar way, the Holy Spirit in our own day moves across America, indeed across the world, inspiring men and women, even boys and girls, to start pro-life initiatives. They are varied and inspiring.

Lila Rose heard the call of the Holy Spirit in her dorm room at UCLA and started making those wonderful phony phone calls and undercover visits that promise to bring Planned Parenthood down.

David Bereit heard the call and started 40 Days for Life, which has rejuvenated prayer in the pro-life movement. His efforts are now sweeping the world.

Jimmy Nolan heard the call and invited college students to devote a summer to walking across the United States, from California all the way to Washington, D.C., spreading the Gospel of Life.

Georgette Forney and other women heard the call and began bravely laying bare the truth about their own abortions, which were prompted by abandonment, not empowerment, and to speak aloud the unspoken reality that women do regret their abortions.

Thousands of ordinary men and women received the call and opened several thousand pregnancy care centers that have saved hundreds of thousands of lives.

There are pro-life societies of doctors and lawyers and legislators. Pro-life associations of students and professors. There are groups that go after the leases of abortion facilities and others that stand vigil outside them, assuring women that there are better options for them and their babies.

Every year tens of thousands of Americans march in protest on the anniversary of *Roe*. Catholic scholar Michael Novak has said that more people have marched for this cause than for any other in American history. They will march again this year, and the crowd will be as young and strong and hopeful as ever.

How will abortion proponents greet this anniversary (not in print but in their hearts)? With weariness and trepidation. Imagine yourself an abortion doctor. You're a late middle-aged man who never gets to know your patients and doesn't care to. In the beginning you saw yourself as a hero in the fight for women's rights, but now years later you travel a circuit of clinics, unknown patients lying prone on table after table, and the luster of your work has faded.

Every day you walk through a phalanx of protesters praying for you to stop your work and trying to persuade your patients to walk away. A few doors away or across the street sits a pregnancy help center that has a new sonogram machine opening a door to your secret world and turning women against you.

And now there is a new threat: Among the young women in the waiting rooms are undercover pro-lifers with hidden microphones recording clinic staffers saying impolitic things that will later be aired on *The O'Reilly Factor*.

Your landlord doesn't want you as a tenant. Your state legislature passes new laws every year that hurt your business. Your home phone is unlisted and your medical colleagues shun you.

It wasn't supposed to be like this. On the day the Supreme Court handed down *Roe*, the *New York Times* and the Court itself said the abortion issue had been settled. Of course, nothing in our public life is as unsettled as abortion.

Roe was never based on law but on political opinion and power. Critics of *Roe* grow in number every year, and there will come a day when the consensus that "*Roe* was wrongly decided" becomes so great that no appeal to *stare decisis* will prevail. And everyone knows it.

Big Abortion is a wounded elephant. Daily its end draws nearer.

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Rebecca Teti

You will know, as I cannot at this writing, which route the American people chose in November for addressing \$16 trillion in national debt and entitlement programs on course for bankruptcy. But whoever is president, he is missing 55 million producers to get the economy back on track. Thank *Roe v. Wade* for that.

The pressure brought to bear on our social safety net programs by declining fertility is obvious. In 2010, Social Security began paying out more in benefits than it received in revenues, putting it on course for bankruptcy in 2033. The independent Tax Foundation finds that 60 percent of American households receive more in government benefits than they pay in taxes. Talk about unsustainable growth! If current spending continues apace, the figure is likely to rise to 70 or even 80 percent within a few years.

It's not merely raw numbers of absent taxpayers we could use right about now, though. As John Mueller shows persuasively in *Redeeming Economics*, fewer people mean less wealth generation.

Mueller reminds us that there are two forms of capital. Physical capital consists of items businesses invest in to be able to operate: computers, machinery, and the like. We grant tax breaks and other incentives to stimulate capital investment. We tend to pay less attention to "human capital": the minds and muscles of people who design, create, or labor in business. Mueller estimates that two-thirds of wealth creation comes not from physical, but

human capital. Our wealth, in other words, does not spring primarily from machines, but from the people who invent and work them.

If it were merely a question of the opportunity cost of aborting one-third of the nation's wealth generators, the economic fruit of *Roe* would be poor enough. But *Redeeming Economics* shows that the harvest is far worse. Since *Roe* we have systematically dismantled the institution that produces and nourishes human capital: the family. Not only are we missing out on the contributions of people who might have been, but those of us who survive are being tutored to be more selfish.

Redeeming Economics makes a stunning case—following an argument from St. Augustine—that it's not raw self-interest that drives individual economic decision-making, but rather love and sacrifice of one's own resources for the sake of loved ones. To illustrate, Mueller imagines a mother buying milk for her household. She needs it for the baby, for her older kids, for cooking, for coffee, and for the cat. If milk is scarce, to whom will she give what little she has? To the cat? Will she pour it first into her own cup of coffee, the baby be damned? Contrary to economic models, her answer won't be based primarily on what's good for her—on mere self-interest.

Mueller extends the illustration to show that, like the mother in the example, human beings don't behave as atomized individuals, but as *persons* involved in a complex web of relationships. Strict utility does not explain our economic choices; love does.

Love of neighbor, love of self and hate all involve a weighing of oneself v. other persons. Such a weighing of persons is the essence of all moral decisions. The three behaviors differ, however, in the importance given the self relative to others. A person who loves others along with himself gives all those persons including himself a positive significance and a positive share in the use of his or her scarce resources. A purely selfish person gives himself a positive and all other persons a zero significance and keeps all resources to him- or herself. A person who hates others gives himself a positive and others a negative influence, and so takes or destroys what belongs to others.

For economic purposes, in other words, human love “is essentially neither an emotion nor a weighing of utilities (though either or both may also be present) but rather a weighing of persons.”

The question for the long-term health of our economy is whether we can generate enough people to sustain it and whether they will give of themselves for those they love. If we continue to undermine our marriage culture by legal abortion, there is reason to doubt. Mueller observes:

The legalization of abortion did far more than simply grant women an “option” that they did not have before . . . it contributed to a retreat from marriage . . . By making the birth of a child the choice of the mother . . . the legalization of abortion had the unanticipated result of making acceptance of the responsibilities of marriage and

child support also a choice of the father, not the unavoidable consequence of a previous choice. While the number and rate of abortions soared and the live birth rate declined immediately after *Roe v. Wade*, over time the number and proportion of both out-of-wedlock pregnancies and out-of-wedlock births also rose sharply.

Indeed, the data show that once the abortion rate climbed to about 25 percent, the marriage rate stalled and has continued to decline. Since marriage is the institution in which young citizens learn to think beyond themselves and sacrifice for others, its decline has led inexorably to a corresponding increase in “purely selfish persons” responsible to and for no one.

A host of foreseeable economic woes has followed. Not only the aforementioned strain on entitlements, but also our increasing dependency on these programs as substitutes for children to care for us parents. Even illegal immigration can be laid at the foot of *Roe*. Mueller shows that the economy, like nature, abhors a vacuum. Since immigrants tend to arrive in their twenties, the total immigration rate—both legal and illegal—in any year is roughly equivalent to the number of abortions 20 years earlier.

There is even a direct and *contemporaneous* proportion between abortion and crime, especially violent crime. The standard argument was that unwanted children are more likely to grow up delinquent, so abortion should reduce crime in the long run. Mueller utterly upends this logic by showing that crimes are not committed down the road by kids not aborted, but by men old enough to be their fathers *right now*:

... to understand the impact of legal abortion on crime, we don't require convoluted speculations about what crimes ... children might commit a couple of decades from now, if they are permitted to be born. Most violent crimes are committed by men the age of the fathers of aborted children; and it stands to reason that a man who has been party to killing his own child, and is not constrained by the bonds and obligations of fatherhood, is much more likely to harm other human beings.

By gutting our marriage culture, the *Roe* Court simultaneously fouled our economic engines. For anyone with eyes to see, today's debt crisis was predictable in January of 1973.

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Bulls at the Red Flag

Richard Hurzeler

I see him there in the red pickup truck. The truck is large and his body is robust. Somebody must have loved him enough to give him birth, but now, well, he's just mad as hell. His face is red and bristling as he leans out that window and spouts obscenities like water gushing out of an urban water main. Something touches me, the Spirit of God nudges me, and I exclaim to a few people around me, "Let's pray for that man." Most of the people nearby are younger than I am, and they are very quiet. We're all part of a group called Stand Up for Life that stands out on the street with pro-life signs and prayer to give some kind of witness that life, no matter how small, counts.

So there is this guy like a bull facing a red flag, a burst of rage threatening us. He roars by and then he's gone with the traffic. And yet his mood lingers with me. If only his negative energy could somehow be channeled into the cause for life. What would it be like to have him turn around like Saul of Tarsus becoming St. Paul? Or could he be transformed like Dr. Nathanson from a killer of lives to a saver of persons? Soon my mind is invaded by the reactions of other motorists and his image retreats to a more remote venue within me.

This is not the only fire-breathing, obscenity-spewing opponent I have faced out there along the road. That particular man has come by several times, roaring his motor and blasting his barbs. But there are others. One guy drives a kind of dune buggy that looks like steel poles mounted over high wheels. He too is kind of muscular, but he does not use his mouth. He has his vehicle rigged to make a kind of high-intensity scraping noise and spew out thick black smoke. No doubt he does draw the attention of other people in cars or trucks. But at least his reaction to us is an indirect recognition that we exist. To the great masses of numbed drivers this is a wake-up call, since the majority of those driving by don't know we're there. Listening to radios, tapes, or electronic devices—or even texting or munching fast food—they are unaware of us beside the road. Of course the small number that do look at us and read our signs make it worth our while, even when some of them get very upset. Their explosive reactions draw other spectators to notice the source of their anger—us. So somehow this kind of evil may generate some good.

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Who are we? We are mostly Christians—Catholics and Baptists and others. We hold up signs—Choose Life, Adoption Not Abortion, Your Mother Chose You, and so on. We are prayer warriors. Our standing there is a kind of prayer in itself. Some of us recite set prayers such as rosaries and others make spontaneous pleas. Some positive feedback comes our way in the form of thumbs up, smiles, head nods, and positive horn beeps. Negative signs include head wags, thumbs down, angry looks, and the “finger.”

Our location is on a main thoroughfare by an alleyway that leads to the Planned Parenthood office in Tyler, Texas. Among the occasional people who have approached us to tell us that they agree with what we are doing is Leo Berman, Texas state representative. The support of persons like him is a blessing, yet we are casting our nets deeper to try to reach more of those threatened in one way or another by abortion.

Perhaps the most irate person I ever encountered was a stocky, middle-aged man driving a kind of open-air jeep. He must have calculated his move. He came in a small window of time when there was a lull in the traffic. He maneuvered the vehicle into the turn lane and then positioned it so its rear was facing me. Then, with foot on the brakes, he revved the engine and spewed out a horrible noxious smoke. I gasped and coughed as the smoke enveloped me. For several minutes I was stunned, bent over, clinging to my sign. Gradually the fumes drifted away. The driver seemed to linger in that middle lane as if to savor the moment. And then he drove off.

Why did he aim at me? Well, for one thing, that day I was at the end of the line. Standing alone with my simple sign, I was easy prey. Or maybe I was displaying the sign that reads Men Regret Loss of Fatherhood. Truthfully, however, I may have been showing the reverse side, which reads Women Do Regret Abortion. It could be that my age, 77, beckoned a man who was angry with a father or grandfather.

What we do know is that a good many men get mad when abortion is mentioned because they have somehow been involved with it and they don't want to be reminded. The husband or boyfriend who tells the woman to get an abortion certainly contributes to that result. And the biological father who runs away can influence the lonely woman to terminate her unborn's life. Seeing an older man holding a sign suggesting that abortion is a sin can knock on the door of their conscience. In a culture that promotes individual satisfaction at the expense of others, it is considered smart or “cool” to smoke out those one disagrees with. To roar the engines and make a lot of noise seems like a self-assertive step. Really it is a roaring into the valley of fear, where the attempt to physically move away from it all instead moves the body into a restless odyssey of searching.

Recently a young man seemed to appear out of nowhere. His dress and manner resembled those of a college student. He was darting around taking pictures of us with a digital camera. What was he going to do with pictures of people with pro-life signs, I wondered. When he approached me, I attempted to get him into some kind of conversation. So, after he snapped the picture of my sign, I invited him to take a picture of the other side. Quickly, he moved toward me and in a hushed voice said, "I was adopted." I started to affirm him, and then he bent toward me and said in a low voice, "I'm for abortion." I asked him why he held this position and he replied, "You have to be wanted." Remembering how Marco Rubio skillfully answered the pro-choice argument of being wanted in a recent issue of the *Human Life Review*, I began to reply to him. But already he was hopping away. This seems to be the pattern of these young bulls—they see our message, they blitz us with negatives, and before we can reply they scurry away. In some ways I can see my younger self in them. There is a certain self-righteousness in the stubbornness of youth.

What to make of all these angry young men? They seem to be aware of us and we are aware of them. We are at opposite poles, but while we are ready to dialogue, they clearly are not. Yet the young man giving me a few brief replies may be a start. It may be a small breakthrough in the logjam that has been going on for so long. Their mounting vehemence is a striking statement that men are part of the abortion picture. And our standing our ground is a more peaceful way that men can be involved.

So we continue to pray. We carry our signs. We are ready to reply to those who are interested. Lately I've been showing more often the side of the sign that says Men Regret Loss of Fatherhood. And lately I've seen more male faces taking a long careful look at that message. If I could characterize the expression I see in one word, that word would be Wonder. Oh yes, and some women too see that sign and nod their heads and some have that same look of wonder. Somehow in the depths of the human soul is a great curiosity about what it means to be human. And we men and women, many with roots in the Judeo-Christian tradition, need to share our vision of where human life begins. Young bulls at the red flag are at a distance from pro-life persons, but they are at a greater distance from anonymous sperm donors. We remain in prayer knowing that the One that we serve will bring graces to make more persons wonder and come to the truth. God is Pro-Life.

Fish Got To Swim

Donald DeMarco

1927 was an exceptional year, truly an *annus mirabilis*. It was the year that Charles Lindbergh became the first person to fly solo across the Atlantic Ocean. The Holland Tunnel opened in New York City, and work commenced on Mount Rushmore that year. Werner Heisenberg formulated his “uncertainty principle,” and the first transatlantic telephone call was made, from New York City to London. Babe Ruth swatted 60 home runs, while Ty Cobb collected his 4,000th hit. In the year 1927, the Columbia Broadcasting System went on the air, and Pan American Airways was formed. This year of wonders also saw, on April 16, the birth of Pope Benedict XVI. The present essay, however, begins with a reminiscence of something less spectacular or important than any of these events, though not un-theatrical. It begins with a lyrical snippet from a popular song that debuted during that extraordinary reign of 12 months.

The musical, “Showboat,” premiered on Broadway at the end of 1927, two days after Christmas. Its music is as fresh today as it was when first heard. One of its most appealing songs is “Can’t Help Lovin’ Dat Man,” which opens with the words, “Fish got to swim, birds got to fly, I gotta love . . .” At this juncture, and with all due respect to Jerome Kern, the composer, and Oscar Hammerstein, the lyricist, I echo what Jimmy Durante was famous for saying: “Stop the music!” These 11 words are enough to provide a feast for the philosophical mind. Nothing more is needed.

We begin, happily, with a universal agreement. No one would contest that fish are impelled to swim, while birds are impelled to fly. These creatures have no choice in the matter. The inclinations of their nature are irresistible. Their compulsory activities belong to something that philosophers have referred to as “the law of nature.” Such a law describes the inevitable relationship between being and activity, “*agere sequitur esse*,” according to medieval philosophers. The action of a natural being flows directly from the way it is constituted. Hummingbirds hum, woodpeckers peck, and spiders spin webs. They all do their work superlatively and unreflectively.

I do recall, however, a colleague who tried in vain to convince her university students that a radical and undeniable difference exists between humans

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and lower animals. Somewhat frustrated, she resorted to asking why one never sees a pig playing classical piano or a cow dabbling in portrait painting. "Maybe," retorted one student, "it's because they don't want to." In moments like this, a teacher may entertain thoughts of a career change. Some students simply enjoy disputing the indisputable. Apparently the only thing standing in the way of brutes adding to the contributions of Beethoven and Botticelli is motivation. Let us return to "fish got to swim."

Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., put a cynical spin on Hammerstein's enduring lyrics when he sang the calypso song, "Cat's Cradle," to the words, "Fish gotta swim, birds gotta fly, man gotta sit and wonder why? why? why?" Perhaps without realizing it, the author provided us with a handy way of distinguishing between the "law of nature" and the "natural law." The difference, of course, involves choice. A beaver lacks the power to choose not to build a dam. It cannot choose not to be itself. It cannot be "inbeaver" as a human can be "inhuman." As Aesop pointed out, a horse should not try to sing like a nightingale (nor should a nightingale attempt to whinny like a horse). The human being, having the power of freedom, has the capacity to choose not to be itself. The human can truly be "inhuman." In order to preserve his humanity, man must choose to be human; humaneness does not thrust itself upon him. Animals do not need virtue. The fact that their characteristic actions proceed from their nature is determined by their nature. In the human being, a rift exists between his proper actions and his human nature. This rift is overcome through virtue. Man must choose to be virtuous if he is to achieve integrity and wholeness.

In this regard, developing morally as a human being is analogous to cultivating a garden. No one expects a garden to do its own weeding and pruning. Left unattended, it becomes a wilderness. A garden needs a gardener and rain must penetrate its soil. Morality is the art of gardening applied to the soul. Personal fulfillment is its beautiful goal. Idleness and irresponsibility lead to the dissolution of the self.

When Cain, after he slaughtered his brother, asked, "Am I my brother's keeper?" he was denying his nature and trying to present himself as a mere individual. Cain's question continues to resound throughout the ages. How does one answer Cain? "You are your brother's killer, whereas you were born to be your brother's lover." Cain was attempting to take refuge in the illusion that he was not constituted to love and that the range of his moral choices was without boundaries. God's silence is eloquent. Cain's defense is so weak that it requires no response. It has its own impact on the human heart.

We need to know, therefore, what kind of act is fundamental and characteristic

of the human being. We do not think that sitting around and pondering the imponderable is, in itself, humanizing. And it surely cannot be hatred or violence. Neither is it amassing a fortune, an activity that is not essentially humanizing. Sigmund Freud, despite his many errors, was right when he said that wealth does not make man happy because it does not correspond to an infantile wish. Is there a more fundamental need that a neonate has than love? Perhaps Julie was on the right track when she sang, "I gotta love." Is love, then, the fundamental and characteristic act of the human being, the act that both expresses his humanity while, at the same time, preserving and improving it?

How deeply embedded is love in the constitution of the human being? It is, as various philosophers, from Empedocles to the present, have stated, "ontological." Here is that technical term that pleases academics and frightens everybody else. However, "ontological" simply means coinciding with or consubstantial with the being of a thing in the most radical way possible. Existentialist Gabriel Marcel, in his book, *Being and Having*, expresses the matter as follows:

Love, in so far as distinct from desire or as opposed to desire, love treated as the subordination of the self to a superior reality, a reality at my deepest level more truly me than I am myself—love as the breaking of the tension between the self and the other, appears to me to be what one might call the essential ontological datum.

This is a rather roundabout way of saying that love comes first, which is also to say that we human beings are primarily lovers. Further, it indicates that love is a bridge that extends from the deepest part of me to a higher reality that is outside of me. Paul Tillich, in his classic work, *The Courage To Be*, affirms the ontological character of love when he states that, "Most of the pitfalls in social ethics, political theory, and education are due to a misunderstanding of the ontological character of love." Jacques Maritain would agree with this ontological understanding of love and its relation to the person. In his book that bears the decidedly unprepossessing title *Existence and the Existent*, he says that when a man has been truly awakened to his inner self "and grasps intuitively the obscure, living depth of the Self, he discovers by the same token, the basic generosity of existence and realizes, by virtue of the inner dynamism of this intuition, that love is not a passing pleasure or emotion, but the very meaning of his being alive." Through love, man is emancipated from the closed ego and discovers, simultaneously, the innermost dimension of himself and an intimation of his personal destiny.

Love and life are profoundly interrelated. Pitirim A. Sorokin, who was Chairman of the Department of Sociology at Harvard for 30 years, produced

an encyclopedic work on love that has been translated into 15 languages: *The Ways and Power of Love*. After extensive research, he concluded that by “Eliminating our loneliness and binding us by the noblest of bonds to others, love is literally a *life-giving force*”

While a number of modern existentialists, theologians, and a few sociologists have had much to say about the importance and depth of love, the same thing cannot be said of contemporary psychologists, especially those who have written for an American audience. Paul Vitz has made a careful analysis of influential psychologists—Carl Rogers, Abraham Maslow, Eric Fromm, Rollo May, Frederick S. Perls, Richard Harris, Nathaniel Brandon, among others—who have popularized various brands of individualism. In his book *Psychology as Religion: The Cult of Self-Worship*, he comments that “when Carl Rogers titles his best known work, ‘On Becoming a Person,’ he is simply wrong. Instead, what Rogers wrote was a book about becoming an individual—an autonomous, self-actualizing individual who is devoted to the growth of the secular self. But he is not talking about the *person*.” What Vitz means by a person is a human being who lives by love.

Carl Rogers, who welcomed the split between the individual and love (resulting in “selfism” or “unconditional self-regard”), has no treatment at all of love in his book *On Becoming a Person*. Consistent with his individualistic framework, he predicted that by the year 2000, sex would have almost completely lost its role in procreation. Harvard sociologist Gordon Allport has lamented that “A persistent defect of modern psychology is its failure to make a serious study of the affiliative desires and capacities of human beings.” Disenchanted with the cult of selfism, Walker Percy produced *Lost in the Cosmos: The Last Self-Help Book* in response to the abysmal failure of “100,000 self-help books.”

It is commonplace in the contemporary world for people to believe that they can make morally valid decisions based on the notion that they are “autonomous” beings who act for themselves alone and not persons who are called to love others in a personal way. In his book, *est: Playing the Game the New Way*, Carl Frederick presents life as a game and advises his readers accordingly: “So you are responsible for the game as it is. All of it. And it has no significance. Choose. Life is one big ‘SO WHAT?’ ‘Choose’.”

So many impressionable people, although seeking help, have been virtually conditioned to view themselves as mere individuals. Harvard Law Professor Mary Ann Glendon has written extensively about “hyperindividualism at the expense of social responsibility” (*Rights Talk*, 1991). It is not surprising, consequently, that so many believe that they have a “right” to have an abortion in order to preserve their individuality. Pregnancy is not interpreted

as an extraordinary and beautiful manifestation of their personal, loving natures, but as an inconvenience, an intrusion on their alleged autonomy. Man has become estranged from himself. In his loneliness, he finds “help” that only reinforces his plight. “Just do it,” as the Nike commercial advises.

In his *Agenda for the Third Millennium*, and speaking more as a philosopher/sociologist than as a pope/theologian, Blessed John Paul II made this timely and pertinent statement which he directed to the young:

Love is the constructive force for humanity’s every positive road. The future does not gather hopes from violence, from hatred, from the intrusiveness of individual or collective selfishness. Deprived of love, we fall victim to an insidious spiral forever contracting the horizons of brotherhood while prompting each of us to make ourselves, our own ego and our own pleasure, the only criterion of judgment. The ego-centric point of view, the cause of the impoverishment of true love, gives rise to the worst snares present today in the world of the young.

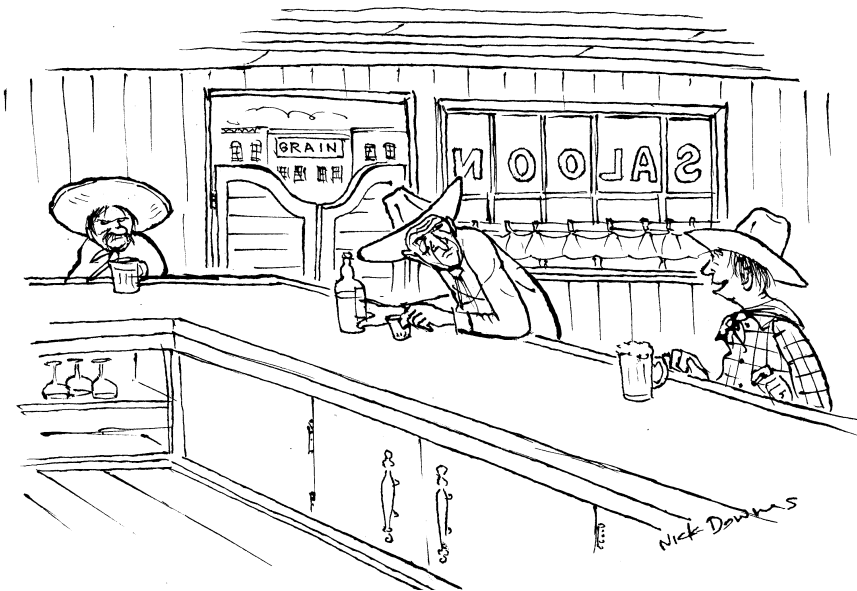
“Contracting the horizons of brotherhood” is a trenchant phrase. It brings to mind the dreadful image of Cain. Human beings are either slow or reluctant learners. If only people could be true to their nature as persons! Being a loving person is far more enterprising and rewarding than being a frustrated individual. Yet, even love has its disincentives. “To love at all is to be vulnerable,” C. S. Lewis wrote in *The Four Loves*. “Love anything and your heart will certainly be wrung and possibly broken.” Lewis was not trying to discourage people from loving, but simply pointing out that real love is not a sentimental indulgence. The dire alternative to love, as the author goes on to explain, “is Hell.” Love, then, requires the acceptance of vulnerability, as well as the need for virtue and sacrifice.

The future does not gather its hopes from abortion because its hopes lie in the activities of loving persons. To be part of the Culture of Life is to be part of the Culture of Love and the Culture of the Person. Individualism is highly marketable and plays easily into commercial interests, for it provides a number of individual satisfactions in the form of possessions, pleasure, and conveniences. Personalism is far less marketable. It appeals to a loftier ideal, the enhancement and humanization of the person. Yet, it may be misleading to speak of an “ideal.” It is an ideal in the sense that it is excellent and fulfilling. But it is not an ideal (or remote) in the sense that its roots are deeply ingrained in the person. Life invites us to become in act who we are in potency—lovers. And while the path of love may be fraught with difficulties and hazards, there is no other path that is tailored and true to who we are and how we are constituted. “Man’s got to love,” is the blueprint. “Man will love” is the edifice. Choice is essentially about personal authenticity.

The great paradox of freedom of choice, so dear to the mind of abortion

advocates, is that it is narrowed by individualism. Pro-life advocates, though they do not speak excessively about freedom of choice, actually enlarge their choices through personalism. As the personalist philosopher Emmanuel Mounier has stated, “if the first condition of individualism is the centralization of the individual in himself, the first condition of personalism is his decentralization, in order to set him in the open perspectives of personal life.” The individualist seeks satisfaction in self-interest, while the personalist asserts the absolute need for openness to others, even as a condition for his own realization. Thus, in terms of “choice,” it is the personalist who uses it in a more expansive as well as in a more authentic way.

Our moral revolution begins at the beginning, with the right answers to the following fundamental questions: Who am I? What must I do? How shall I do it? We are *persons*, called by nature to *love*, and to live by *virtue*. The outline is simple, though the road is steep. Is there any other challenge that is more worthy of our response and dedication?



“I’ve got spurs that Jingle Jangle Jingle!”

Hijacking Immigration?

Mario H. Lopez

The myth that human beings are “overpopulating” the earth, which has persisted for centuries, is rooted in a fundamental misunderstanding of human activity, economics, and natural science. Numerous political elites have promulgated the overpopulation myth in pursuit of various big-government policies both in their home countries and around the world. People like Thomas Malthus, Paul Ehrlich, and Margaret Sanger have sought various “remedies” for this false crisis, “solutions” which devalue human life—abortion, sterilization, and euthanasia—and promote government control of economic activity.

Often the radical nature of these proposed “solutions” has led advocates of such policies to couch their ideas in terms of helping the world’s poor and concern for the environment. But a lesser-known story is that over the last 40 years in the United States, many leaders of this movement have hijacked concerns over immigration to advance their agenda. Population-control advocates have built, operated, and funded much of the anti-immigration movement in the United States. What follows helps explain how this has happened and sheds light on the pervasive connections between the population-control movement and the principal proponents of immigration restrictions.

Background

Thomas Malthus (1766-1834), the godfather of population control, summarized his pessimistic view of population growth as follows: “The power of population is indefinitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man.”¹ In response he considered the checks on population: Disasters such as disease, war, and famine raised the death rate, while birth rates could be lowered through abstinence. To Malthus, checks on human population were the only way to raise the standard of living for those remaining. However, industrialization and rapid economic growth during the nineteenth century proved his pessimism wrong by allowing an increasing population to support itself.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the eugenics movement gained traction as a controversial way to solve numerous social ills.² British polymath Sir Francis Galton created both the term “eugenics” and

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the modern field in the late nineteenth century.³ In the United States, many social reformers and prominent progressives a few decades later were attracted to eugenics to solve the seemingly intractable problems of poverty and other social ills.⁴ The American Eugenics Society, founded in 1922, promoted anti-miscegenation laws, birth control for undesirable women, and abortion.⁵ However, the popularity of eugenics plummeted in the 1930s and 1940s, due to its association with the Nazi regime in Germany, which had promoted it. In 1977 the American Eugenics Society rechristened itself the Society for the Study of Social Biology; later still it became The Society for Biodemography and Social Biology.⁶

Margaret Sanger was a prominent American eugenicist, member of the American Eugenics Society, and Fellow in England's eugenics group.⁷ A founder of the organization known today as Planned Parenthood, she viewed population control as a way to prevent the births of people she deemed "unfit," most notably those with disabilities. Sanger helped organize the first World Population Conference in 1954 and openly advocated for state-sanctioned coercion in pursuit of her aims.⁸ A Planned Parenthood official quoted Sanger as saying, "The undeniably feeble-minded should, indeed, not only be discouraged but prevented from propagating their kind."⁹ Sanger openly discussed the intersection of her methods of population control and eugenics: "The campaign for birth control is not merely of eugenic value, but is practically identical with the final aims of eugenics."¹⁰

Sanger's writings contradict themselves and it is often difficult to determine whether she was being extreme to make a point. For instance, one of her most famous observations was that "the most merciful thing that the large family does to one of its infant members is to kill it."¹¹ She suggested that, given the high death rates for older poor children, perhaps killing younger ones and sparing them a sickly childhood in which they would eventually die of malnourishment would be preferable. But several chapters earlier in the same book she had written, "it is apparent that nothing short of contraceptives can put an end to the horrors of abortion and infanticide."¹² While Sanger's motivations in the context of this specific book may appear to be unclear, what is clear is that her life's work is nearly synonymous with abortion advocacy.

Later in the 20th century, the population-control movement found a new flag bearer in Paul Ehrlich, whose opposition to population growth was fueled by concerns about the environment. Harking back to Malthus, Ehrlich's 1968 book, *The Population Bomb*, predicted huge famines and dire environmental disasters due to population growth. Ehrlich called for "compulsory birth regulation . . . (through) the addition of temporary sterilants to water supplies or staple food. Doses of the antidote would be carefully rationed by

the government to produce the desired family size.”¹³ One of the founders of Zero Population Growth (ZPG) in the U.S., he is currently a key supporter of the British group Population Matters, an organization that continues to examine population and the environment and includes “family planning” as a key part of its mission.

ZPG’s co-founder was Garrett Hardin, whose 1968 essay “The Tragedy of the Commons” purported to make the case that population control was necessary to protect the natural environment. (The goal of ZPG is a numerically stable human population.) Hardin was a member of the American Eugenics Society and, in addition to his views on population control,¹⁴ also helped revive a pro-abortion argument contingent upon the rights of women. In a 1992 *Omni* magazine interview, Hardin asserted that “A fetus is of so little value, there’s no point worrying about it,” and that abortion was “effective population control.” He also openly supported incentives for sterilization to reduce human populations domestically and abroad, and described China’s one-child policy as “not strict enough.”¹⁵

Ehrlich has been proven spectacularly wrong, but that has not diminished his zeal for controlling the world’s population. In 1980, economist Julian Simon, whose work, *The Ultimate Resource*, showed that human well-being and environmental quality have improved as the world’s population has grown, challenged Ehrlich to a famous bet over the latter’s claim that resources were becoming scarcer. Simon and Ehrlich agreed to wager on whether the price of five metals—chromium, copper, nickel, tin, and tungsten—would rise or fall, in real terms, after a decade. The prices of all five metals fell and Simon won the bet.

Both Sanger and Ehrlich paid some attention to the role of immigration in population growth. Sanger included many immigrants in her categorization of those “unfit” to procreate, and favored a government office to “Keep the doors of immigration closed to the entrance of certain aliens whose condition is known to be detrimental to the stamina of the race.”¹⁶ Similarly, until 2003, Paul Ehrlich served on the board of advisors of the Federation for American Immigration Reform, one of the organizations examined below.¹⁷

Hijacking the Immigration Issue

There is much disagreement among social conservatives on the issue of immigration—which is natural. Many are alarmed about the flouting of American laws and the other negative aspects of illegal immigration. The modern American population-control movement is dominated by the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), Center for Immigration Studies (CIS), and NumbersUSA. These population-control groups have

wisely sought to appeal to American conservatives in pursuit of one of their stated policy goals: To limit all immigration into the United States.¹⁸ They have been so successful that many columnists and editorials refer to them as some derivative of “quintessentially American.”¹⁹ In reality, however, they reflect a very dark side of American history.

The opinions of the abortion and population-control movements are dominant among the founders, funders, and board members of FAIR, CIS, and NumbersUSA. They represent the direct modern continuation of the 1960s and 1970s population-control movement—in many cases the same people involved in that movement decades ago sit on the boards of these three organizations.

Of course, not everyone concerned about immigration advocates population control, abortion, or sterilization. However, the evidence shows that the primary leaders and funders of the anti-immigration movement were drawn to it because they were also active organizers and supporters of, and contributors to, the population-control movement in the United States. This should give pause to pro-life advocates who might consider collaborating with groups such as FAIR, CIS, and NumbersUSA on the issue of immigration.

Once one scratches the surface, the whitewashing, rebranding, and slight refocusing of the most radical side of the green movement—advocates of population control, abortion, and family planning—is striking, and stands diametrically opposed to the pro-life cause.

John Tanton: Founder and Chief Intellectual

“If we cut pollution per capita in half, but double the number of people, we’re back where we started.”—John Tanton²⁰

Tanton is the father of the population-control wing of the modern anti-immigration movement. Born in 1934, Tanton, who grew up on a farm, became an avid environmentalist at a young age. From early on he believed that population growth was the great enemy of environmental conservation. He was “drawn to Planned Parenthood by an imbalance between human numbers and available resources.”²¹ His wife, Mary Lou Tanton, was drawn to population control through her interest in poverty.²²

An ophthalmologist and eye surgeon, Tanton served as a board member of the Washtenaw County League of Planned Parenthood from 1961 to 1964.²³ He then co-founded and organized Northern Michigan’s first Planned Parenthood clinic in 1965, serving as its president from 1975 to 1978 and as the legislative chairman and head of public affairs for the Planned Parenthood Council of Michigan.²⁴ In 1968 he co-founded Michigan Women for Medical Control of Abortion and served as its president until 1972.²⁵ He was the national chairman of the Sierra Club population committee from 1971 to

1974, a national board member of Zero Population Growth from 1973 to 1978, president of that group from 1975 to 1977, and chairman of its immigration study committee from 1973 to 1975.

During his chairmanship of the immigration study committee for ZPG, Tanton authored an essay titled “Human Migration,” which won a Mitchell Prize and was published as the cover article in *The Ecologist*.²⁶ It was during that time that he concluded that controlling population growth required not only abortion, family planning, and other efforts to decrease fertility, but also ending all immigration. He argued:

The ‘core’ population, i.e., those here [in the United States] in 1970—now has sub-replacement fertility, which dictates reaching a peak population in several decades, and then a slow retrenchment back to present-day levels. It is immigration that is making us grow—and that must be cut to levels where immigration = emigration, if we’re to avoid continuous population growth—even to one billion.²⁷

Influenced by his work with ZPG, and by Paul Ehrlich’s 1970 bestseller *The Population Bomb* (which both Tantons put on their list of the 25 most influential books²⁸), John Tanton focused on curtailing the source of continued population growth in the United States: immigration. To that end, in 1979 he organized FAIR, chairing its board until 1987²⁹ and remaining a board member until 2011, when the *New York Times* published an expose of his extensive population-control, environmentalist, and anti-immigration efforts.³⁰ He resigned from FAIR’s board of directors little more than a week later. (ZPG co-founder Garrett Hardin, who committed suicide in 2003, also served on FAIR’s board for several years.)

Tanton founded U.S. Inc. in 1981 as an “umbrella foundation” that funnels money from large donors to smaller startup non-profits that further anti-immigration, environmental, and other pro-abortion causes. Tanton has also served as U.S. Inc.’s chairman and vice-chairman since its founding.³¹ He used his positions at FAIR and U.S. Inc. to create and fund CIS in 1985.³² Beginning in 1996, U.S. Inc. began subsidizing Roy Beck and Jim Robb to create NumbersUSA.³³

Here is a timeline of Tanton’s population-control and anti-immigration activities:

- 1961-1964: Board Member, Washtenaw County League for Planned Parenthood
- 1965-1971: Co-founder, Organizer and President, Northern Michigan Planned Parenthood
- 1968-1972: Co-Founder and President, Michigan Women for Medical Control of Abortion
- 1968-1972: Board Member, Michigan Council for Study of Abortion

MARIO H. LOPEZ

- 1975-1978: President, Northern Michigan Planned Parenthood
- 1969-1971: Organizer and Chairman, Mackinac Chapter Sierra Club Population Committee
- 1970-1972: Organizer and Chairman, Sierra Club, Petoskey Regional Group
- 1970-1973: Member, Sierra Club National Long-Range Planning Committee
- 1970-1974: Organizer, League of Conservation Voters, 11th Congressional District
- 1971-1974: Chair, National Sierra Club Population Committee.
- 1973-1975: Chairman, Zero Population Growth Immigration Study Committee
- 1973-1978: National Board Member, Zero Population Growth
- 1975-1977: President, Zero Population Growth (1975-1977)
- 1975-1978: President, Northern Michigan Planned Parenthood
- 1976-1979: Sexuality Education Consultant and Curriculum Development Advisor, Petoskey High and Middle Schools
- 1976-1979: Legislative Chairman and Public Affairs, Michigan Planned Parenthood Council
- 1979-1987: Organizer and Chairman, Federation for American Immigration Reform
- 1979-present: Board Member, Federation for American Immigration Reform
- 1980-1990: Board Member, Population/Environmental Balance (formerly Environmental Fund).
- 1982-present: Founder and Chairman, U.S. Inc.
- 1996: Founder, NumbersUSA.

U.S. Inc.: The Funding Source

“We look at philanthropy as buying into ideas—which unlike material goods, have very low carrying costs.”—John Tanton³⁴

Tanton believed that the human population must be limited to protect the natural environment. As he explained in a 1991 letter, U.S. Inc. “see[s] the number of people as the multiplier in many environmental problems where the formula is: Impact/Person x Number of People = Total Effect. Our goal is to keep the multiplier down, rather than working on the multiplicand.”³⁵ The multiplier in Tanton’s equation is the number of people.

Tanton explained the organization of U.S. Inc. in a May 2000 memo: “Each constituent project has its own board and runs its own affairs within the overall supervision of the U.S. board. Projects receive contributions and

disburse funds in their own name.”³⁶ In that manner, Tanton has been able to pursue projects concerning “conservation of natural resources, population, immigration” and others.³⁷

U.S. Inc. has funneled millions of dollars to advocate population control, pro-abortion policies, sterilization, and environmental goals. Between 1996 and 2004, it gave \$22,020 to Petrovsky, Michigan, public schools that in part funded their sex-education programs.³⁸ In 1997, it donated \$12,000 to FAIR, \$15,000 to NARAL, and spent \$471,480 on a documentary intended to show the dangers of population growth.³⁹ In 1998, U.S. Inc. gave \$11,187 to FAIR and spent \$744,813 on another documentary about the threat of population growth.⁴⁰

U.S. Inc. has also given small donations to less well-known population-control organizations such as Floridians for a Sustainable Population and the Treferig Cottage Farm Press. But from Planned Parenthood of Northern Michigan to NARAL to FAIR, there is a clear pro-population-control agenda behind the allocation of U.S. Inc.’s money.

U.S. Inc. transferred \$115,930 to FAIR between 1994 and 2008 and just a few thousand dollars to CIS⁴¹ in the same period.⁴² Under Tanton’s control, U.S. Inc. also transferred \$2,939,867 to NumbersUSA between 1999 and 2002 and personally paid its head and titular founder Roy Beck \$751,546 as an outside consultant between 1996 and 2001 until NumbersUSA became financially self sufficient.⁴³ U.S. Inc. also founded the group ProEnglish, which recently gave the American Unity Award to Rep. Steve King (R-IA).⁴⁴ U.S. Inc. paid Kenneth McAlpin a total of \$1,223,724 between 2000 and 2008 to be the executive director of ProEnglish.⁴⁵ He was U.S. Inc.’s most highly paid employee between those years. On July 1, 2010, ProEnglish announced that McAlpin would become the president and executive director of U.S. Inc., ProEnglish’s “parent organization.”⁴⁶

In 1985 Tanton created CIS to “build the intellectual basis for immigration law reform”⁴⁷ and supply policy ammunition to FAIR. Tanton used his board membership on FAIR and his control of U.S. Inc. to gather the resources to create CIS. Writing donor Cordelia Scaife about CIS, Tanton said that “[f]or credibility, this [CIS] will need to be independent of FAIR, though the Center for Immigration Studies, as we’re calling it, is starting off as a project of FAIR.”⁴⁸ CIS and FAIR legally separated in 1986, but as late as 2007, U.S. Inc. paid \$89,475 to the law firm Olive Edwards Brinkmann LLC,⁴⁹ whose principal, James R. Edwards Jr., wrote numerous papers published by CIS.⁵⁰ He joined CIS as a fellow in 2009.⁵¹

Three of the five directors of U.S. Inc.—chairman John Tanton, vice-chair Mary Lou Tanton, and director David Irish—are openly committed to

population control through abortion, family planning, and curtailing immigration.

Mary Lou Tanton joined the Ann Arbor Planned Parenthood board in 1961,⁵² served on the board of the Michigan Council for the Study of Abortion, and was a founding member of Michigan Women for Medical Control of Abortion (MWMCA).⁵³ MWMCA spearheaded an initiative petition drive to liberalize Michigan's abortion laws in the early 1970s; it failed, becoming irrelevant with the *Roe v. Wade* decision.⁵⁴ Dave and Ann Irish were co-founders of the Planned Parenthood location in Petoskey, Michigan, for which they received an award.⁵⁵ Former director John Rohe, who served on the board until 2006, wrote a biography of the Tantons in 2002.⁵⁶

The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR)

“Only by stabilizing and cooperatively reducing the number of people in the world over time will the poor of the world have a chance to achieve their aspirations.” —Charles T. Roth⁵⁷

“Certainly we would encourage people in other countries to have small families. Otherwise they’ll all be coming here, because there’s no room at the Vatican.” —Dan Stein, President of FAIR⁵⁸

FAIR is the most prominent and successful of U.S. Inc.’s creations. With some notable exceptions, FAIR’s board of directors, national advisory board, and staff include many population-control, pro-abortion, and forced-sterilization advocates. Their statements and membership in other pro-abortion population-control groups reveal their true ideological allegiances.

FAIR’s website openly touts environmentalist and population-control rhetoric. Reading like Paul Ehrlich’s apocalyptic *The Population Bomb*, it mournfully announces the addition of 103 million Americans since 1970.⁵⁹ FAIR’s worldview presents a stark choice:

The U.S. has already exceeded its sustainable population level; we must now take firm and responsible measures to minimize further environmental degradation. Would anyone seriously argue that Americans should consider a “one-child” policy rather than bringing immigration to a sustainable level?⁶⁰

FAIR presents a false choice. With website headlines like “The United States Is Already Over-Populated,” “More is Not Necessarily Better,” and “Environmentalists Support Immigration Reform,” the true goal of FAIR’s commitment to reducing immigration is revealed for its true intentions: reducing the American population.⁶¹

FAIR’s companion website Fairdebate.org is even more extreme. The sub-heading for Fairdebate.org is, “Immigration and Overpopulation: Big Issues, Big Debate, Join In.”⁶² A poll on the side of the homepage asks, “Has overpopulation contributed to habitat destruction in the U.S.?” taking for granted

that the nation is already overpopulated.⁶³ The banner headline reads: “More People: Higher Carbon Footprint” and an advertisement below warns “US Population Growth Will Make 2050 Emission Cuts Hard.”⁶⁴ FAIR believes that the human population must be decreased to accomplish environmental goals.

That extreme population-control rhetoric is unsurprising, because FAIR’s executive director is population-control advocate Dan Stein.⁶⁵ He routinely appears on radio and television shows arguing that immigration should be stopped because it increases the total population of the United States. Stein described China’s one-child policy as an “international family planning program.”⁶⁶ He is married to Sharon McCloe Stein, the former executive director of Negative Population Growth (NPG), a group devoted to “a smaller and truly sustainable United States population accomplished through smaller families and lower, more traditional immigration levels.”⁶⁷ NPG emphasizes a “two-child family” for Americans,⁶⁸ to decrease the population to the 150-200 million range.⁶⁹

Planned Parenthood

Planned Parenthood has many representatives on both FAIR’s main board and advisory board. The organization’s genesis lay in Margaret Sanger’s campaign for birth control in the early part of the 20th century. Her work and that of others eventually led to a national organization known since 1942 as Planned Parenthood Federation of America.⁷⁰ From those beginnings it went on to fund research for the birth-control pill and eventually to provide abortions. Planned Parenthood is currently the largest abortion provider in the United States and the most public face of the pro-abortion movement.⁷¹

Sarah G. Epstein is FAIR’s board secretary and also a longtime board member of Planned Parenthood of Metropolitan Washington (PPMW).⁷² She was a major sponsor of PPMW’s 2009 Champions of Choice Luncheon.⁷³ FAIR advisory-board member Donald A. Collins, Epstein’s husband, served on the national board of Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA).⁷⁴ In 1988, the *New York Times* published a letter to the editor by Epstein concerning refugees from China’s one-child policy:

I think the Chinese have developed one of the *most humane* and rational population policies in the world . . . We can learn for our own future. Allowing any pregnant Chinese couple to gain asylum here on assertion of fear of forced abortion at home . . . makes a mockery of our asylum law. . . . Let us work out a rational population policy for our own country and respect policies of other countries that are dealing *humanely* with the critical need to slow population growth (emphasis added).⁷⁵

Janet Harte served on FAIR’s board until her death in 1999. Besides giving generously to FAIR in her will,⁷⁶ she founded Planned Parenthood of South Texas.⁷⁷ J. Bayard Boyle, who serves on FAIR’s advisory board, is

also a board member of Memphis Planned Parenthood.⁷⁸ Recently deceased Dorothy R. Blair, one of FAIR's national-advisory-board members, was the treasurer for Planned Parenthood in San Diego.⁷⁹

Pathfinder International

Pathfinder International is a major provider of abortions worldwide.⁸⁰ Founded by Clarence and Sarah Gamble in 1957,⁸¹ early on Pathfinder made an arrangement with Planned Parenthood whereby it would provide abortions, sterilizations, and contraception overseas, while Planned Parenthood would provide these services in the United States.⁸² Pathfinder was a significant conduit for USAID funding for abortions and contraception in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and elsewhere for many years.⁸³

Sarah G. Epstein, FAIR's board secretary, is an emeritus director and board member of Pathfinder International in the U.S.⁸⁴ She inherited the position from her parents: Clarence and Sarah Gamble. She is also a board member of the Scaife Family Foundation (SFF), which is engaged with Pathfinder in conducting trials of the quinacrine sterilization procedure.⁸⁵ When speaking of quinacrine research, Epstein evokes religious tones: "I feel like a missionary. Quinacrine is something that can help women help themselves."⁸⁶ But a Vietnamese woman who was involuntarily subjected to quinacrine sterilization without her permission asked, "Did they consider us lab rats so that they could do whatever they wanted with our bodies?"⁸⁷

The International Services Assistance Fund (ISAF), founded by FAIR advisory-board member Donald A. Collins, promotes female sterilization though the quinacrine pellet.⁸⁸ Collins refers to this method as "permanent female contraception" instead of sterilization.⁸⁹ ISAF is currently documenting quinacrine use and results in numerous foreign countries as it awaits FDA resumption of the Phase 3 trial.⁹⁰

Quinacrine testing took place mostly in the developing world.⁹¹ Drs. Elton Kessel and Stephen Mumford were the foremost doctors advancing this population-control scheme. According to one report, the result of the quinacrine campaign is a "mass-sterilization program affecting thousands of women, but involving limited health-related follow-up. . . . In addition, some women seeking routine gynecological care have been sterilized without their knowledge or even against their will."⁹² Quinacrine sterilization involves the insertion of chemical pellets that produce scar tissue in the fallopian tubes, *sterilizing the woman permanently*. As was revealed in 1999, "Financial support for Mumford and Kessel's work has come largely from anti-immigration groups such as FAIR as well as the conservative Scaife Family Foundation."⁹³ SFF is a major funder of FAIR and Tanton's other groups and programs.

FAIR advisory-board member Robert W. Gillespie began his long career in population-control movements with the Pathfinder Fund. There he advised the government of Taiwan on formulating the first national family-planning program in the world to introduce intrauterine devices (IUDs) and oral contraceptives.⁹⁴ He also set up an IUD manufacturing plant in Hong Kong while working for Pathfinder.⁹⁵ With Pathfinder, he traveled to Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines to report on family-planning and population policies.⁹⁶

Gillespie also founded Population Communication in 1977. While there he authored the Statement on Population Stabilization that was presented at the 50th United Nations anniversary, with the signatures of 75 heads of governments. Gillespie designed 181 different family-planning and population-policy instruction and evaluation manuals that have been used in ten countries.⁹⁷

Outside of Pathfinder, he produced and starred in a documentary called *No Vacancy*, about how people in the developing world have begun to limit their family sizes.⁹⁸ The film won the Environmental Sustainability Award at the EarthVision 2005 International Film & Video Festival in Santa Cruz, California, and was initially screened at the Population Council in New York.⁹⁹ J. Bayard Boyle, another FAIR advisory board member, is emeritus director of Pathfinder International.¹⁰⁰

Alan Guttmacher Institute

FAIR advisory-board member Donald A. Collins was a founding board member of what is now called the Guttmacher Institute. Started in 1968 under a different name, the Institute in its early years was a research arm of Planned Parenthood.¹⁰¹ Its name was changed to honor Alan F. Guttmacher, the doctor who had served as Planned Parenthood's president from 1962 to 1973. Guttmacher, vice president of the American Eugenics Society from 1956-1963 and a board member of the eugenics group from 1964-1966, had pushed hard for the legalization of abortion in the U.S. and for population control at home and abroad.¹⁰² Now independent of Planned Parenthood, the Guttmacher Institute is one of the largest and most influential advocates of population control. The "right to choose safe, legal abortion" is one of its core principles.¹⁰³

The International Projects Assistance Service

The International Projects Assistance Service (Ipas) seeks "to expand the availability, quality and sustainability of abortion and related reproductive health services, as well as to improve the enabling environment."¹⁰⁴ Ipas works mainly in other nations, most famously in those where abortion is prohibited,¹⁰⁵ and produces pamphlets on guidance and use of various

abortion methods.¹⁰⁶ Ipas is also the manufacturer of the Manual Vacuum Aspiration Kit (MVA), a mobile abortion device.¹⁰⁷

FAIR advisory-board member Donald A. Collins is a founding board member of Ipas.¹⁰⁸ Another FAIR advisory-board member, Robert W. Gillespie, helped Ipas market its MVAs in other countries.¹⁰⁹ Gillespie stated in an interview in 2004: “Now, where I saved most lives is with the MVA. Those fourteen thousand MVA kits out there [are doing good]. I’ve helped Ipas market their kits.”¹¹⁰ Gillespie also added incentives for women to avoid pregnancy and offered abortions at his clinics.¹¹¹ He has referred to incentivizing abortions and family planning as “social marketing.”¹¹²

Gillespie recalled his time spreading population control techniques and devices in Iran:

And then, if I could get the age of marriage up to twenty for girls and twenty-three for boys and then get birth spacing—birth spacing was my principal interval. I gave birth intervals as high as between—well, between marriage and birth by two or three years and then from birth to second birth by three to four years. And particularly if I could get it up to six years, then I knew that the third child was almost an improbable event for all kinds of reasons.¹¹³

Population Institute

The Population Institute (PI) describes its mission thus:

To provide essential leadership to promote voluntary family planning and reproductive health services and increase awareness of the social, economic, and environmental consequences of rapid population growth. PI works actively to educate policymakers, policy administrators, the media and the general public about population issues. PI also recruits and trains tomorrow’s population activists, and national membership networks to address population issues. Our programs advance population education and activism. The Institute promotes both international and U.S. support for voluntary family planning programs.¹¹⁴

Sarah G. Epstein’s name comes up again as a former board member. PI’s Public Policy Advisory Committee also includes Senators Barbara Boxer, John Kerry, and Olympia Snowe, Rep. Nancy Pelosi, and media mogul Ted Turner.¹¹⁵ The International Advisory Committee includes the most well-known population-control advocate of the last 50 years, Paul Ehrlich.¹¹⁶

In October 2009, PI co-hosted a public forum on the subject of “Population Growth and Rising Consumption: What’s Sustainable?” Their answer was that a smaller population consuming fewer resources was better for the environment, so those are desirable goals.¹¹⁷ The late Joan Freedheim Kraus Collins was vice chairwoman and longtime board member of PI.¹¹⁸ When the public headquarters of PI in Washington, DC, were named for Mrs. Collins,¹¹⁹ Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi was there to personally congratulate her.¹²⁰

Family Health International

Family Health International (FHI) began in 1971 and was originally called the International Fertility Research Program (IFRP). Begun with funding from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), its goal was to use science and research to introduce contraceptive, sterilization, and abortion technology in the developing world. IFRP grew so rapidly that by 1978 it was operating in 47 countries. It expanded into all aspects of family planning and was renamed Family Health International in 1982.¹²¹ Today, it is USAID's oldest and most highly funded population-control NGO. FAIR advisory board member Donald A. Collins is on the board advisory committee for FHI.

Californians for Population Stabilization

Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS) is a neo-Malthusian organization that blends population control,^{122,123} environmentalism,¹²⁴ and opposition to immigration. The goal of CAPS is to stabilize the population of California and the rest of the United States¹²⁵ through decreasing family size. It supports restricting child-tax credits to the first two children, family-planning services, and “expanding clinics and programs that provide sex education, birth control, and abortion services.”¹²⁶

The CAPS board boasts membership by Eddie Tabash, who has been active in the family-planning and abortion movements in California for over 20 years.¹²⁷ He has made over 1,000 public presentations on that topic.¹²⁸ CAPS board members spread the notion that civilization can prosper with a declining population, something that is countered time and again.¹²⁹

Former Governor of Colorado Richard Lamm is the most notorious member of CAPS' advisory board.¹³⁰ He is also on FAIR's national board of advisors.¹³¹ He is most famous for stating that elderly people who are terminally ill “have a duty to die. . . . Like leaves which fall off a tree forming the humus in which other plants can grow, we've got a duty to die and get out of the way with all of our machines and artificial hearts, so that our kids can build a reasonable life.”¹³²

As a freshman Colorado legislator in 1967, Lamm sponsored the nation's first liberalized abortion law, legalizing it in cases of rape, incest, fetal deformity, and physical and mental health.¹³³ Robert W. Gillespie also serves on the advisory board of FAIR and CAPS with Lamm.^{134, 135}

Floridians for a Sustainable Population

FAIR national-advisory-board member Joyce Tarnow¹³⁶ runs Floridians for a Sustainable Population (FSP), which describes itself as:

A non-profit, statewide organization of concerned environmentalists. We believe that unrestrained population growth is the chief factor in the development sprawl

that is eating up our wetlands, our forests and our necessary agricultural acreage.¹³⁷

Tarnow started running FSP after she retired from owning and running an abortion clinic in southern Florida, from 1976 to 2004. That clinic provided 800-900 abortions a year, totaling about 25,000 over that 28-year period.¹³⁸

The Weeden Foundation

The Weeden Foundation (WF) is run by President Alan Weeden, who is on the board of FAIR.¹³⁹ WF's mission is to "save biodiversity on the planet"¹⁴⁰ through funding environmental, population-control, abortion, and anti-immigration advocacy.¹⁴¹ Weeden sees "continued high levels of immigration . . . carrying a very high environmental cost that cannot be sustained."¹⁴² WF's website says that people are the problem and population control is the solution:

Population growth, particularly in the United States, and over-consumption have also evolved into major program interests in order to more fully address the factors driving biological impoverishment. Organizations supported to date range from those that protect ecosystems and wildlife to those that work towards population stabilization and sustainable consumption.¹⁴³

And,

[P]opulation growth is equally problematic within the U.S. which is growing faster than any other industrialized nation and which could reach 500 million people (if current trends continue) by the year 2050. The Foundation's primary domestic population objective is for the U.S. to respond directly to the directives of the President's Council on Sustainable Development by adopting a national policy dealing effectively and equitably with all sources of U.S. population growth, including immigration, and leading towards population stabilization in the near future. Cultivating support among environmental and population organizations for such a policy is among our top grant-making priorities. The Foundation has funded projects to: advocate for increased federal funding of family planning clinics (Title X); conduct sprawl studies that break out population growth as an important driver of sprawl; and, promote immigration reduction on the basis of environmental concerns.¹⁴⁴

To further advance that goal, in 2009 WF gave \$20,000 each to ISAF, Ipas, and the Population Media Center (PMC).¹⁴⁵ The last was to insert reproductive and environmental propaganda into popular Brazilian soap operas.¹⁴⁶ WF also funded the Alliance for a Sustainable USA, Catholics for Free Choice, National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association, PMC, Ipas, and CAPS.¹⁴⁷ Some other environmental groups funded by WF are the World Wildlife Fund, National Wildlife Federation, Rainforest Alliance, and Conservatree.¹⁴⁸ WF and Alan Weeden have also given significantly to FAIR: a total of \$49,000 from 2002-2008, as well as \$40,000 to the Immigration Reform Law Institute, the legal arm of FAIR.

The Alliance for a Sustainable USA

The Alliance for a Sustainable USA, formerly Diversity Alliance for a Sustainable America (AS-USA), “works to preserve a socially, environmentally, economically and politically sustainable America by addressing this nation’s population growth for all U.S.-born citizens and legal immigrants.”¹⁴⁹ It seeks to achieve those goals through promoting replacement-level fertility and a moratorium on all immigration.¹⁵⁰ AS-USA received \$45,000 from WF between 2005 and 2007.¹⁵¹

FAIR advisory board member Yeh Ling-Ling is the Executive Director of AS-USA.¹⁵² Ling focuses the group’s attention on the environmental impact of immigration while avoiding nativist critiques. Other FAIR advisory-board members involved with AS-USA are Frank Morris and Peter Nunez. They are, respectively, Chairman and Vice-Chair of AS-USA. Morris was the Executive Director of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation.¹⁵³ He and Nunez are also on the board of CIS.¹⁵⁴

Pro-Abortion Groups and Political Action Committees

Many FAIR board and advisory-board members either serve on or contribute to abortion-supporting political action committees (PACs). The majority of political donations made by the vice president of FAIR’s board, Henry M. Buhl, are to Republican PACs and politicians, but he also gave \$2000 to the Women’s Campaign Fund (WCF) in 2000.¹⁵⁵ WCF seeks to protect and expand abortion access in the United States.

Former FAIR advisory-board member Janet Harte, founder of Planned Parenthood of South Texas,¹⁵⁶ was the chairwoman of the Texas Pro-Choice PAC.¹⁵⁷ Robert Zaitlin of FAIR’s advisory board contributed to NARAL and Pro-Choice America PAC.¹⁵⁸ Recently deceased FAIR advisory-board member Dorothy R. Blair was a contributor to Republicans for Choice PAC and Voters for Choice/Friends of Family Planning.¹⁵⁹ She was also an avid environmentalist and early board member of the Conservancy of Southwest Florida.¹⁶⁰ In 1999 she donated \$1 million to build the Blair Audubon Center, a two-story environmental-education center at Corkscrew.¹⁶¹

The Center for Immigration Studies (CIS)

Since 1985, when Tanton, using his position at FAIR and U.S. Inc., created CIS, it has attempted to become the scholarly face of the immigration restrictionist establishment.¹⁶² CIS is supposed to “[b]uild the intellectual basis for immigration law reform”¹⁶³ by supplying information to FAIR and other anti-immigration activists. The same environmentalist, abortion, and population-control ideology permeates CIS, its funders, and founders.

Mark Krikorian, the current executive director of CIS, used to work for FAIR. When asked about the ties among CIS, population-control groups, and John Tanton, he stated:

The center [CIS] has no views on population control, no views on China's one child policy, or anything else. The guy you mentioned, John Tanton, he's an eye doctor or retired doctor, he helped arrange our first grant, he's a population guy, Malthusian in a lot of ways, has never been on our board, doesn't know where our offices are, never told or had any hand in the opinions, development, or views of the research of the center in any way. I met him a couple times and he seems like an affable enough guy, but what do I know, and what do I care.¹⁶⁴

Tanton's own writings to donors and others contradict Krikorian's statement. As noted earlier, Tanton told Cordelia Scaife in a letter that "For credibility this will need to be independent of FAIR, though the Center for Immigration Studies, as we're calling it, is starting off as a project of FAIR."¹⁶⁵ CIS's supposed independence from FAIR was a façade. Tanton was intimately involved with its founding and guided its positions from the start. As late as 1994, Tanton's front group U.S. Inc continued to funnel money to CIS.¹⁶⁶ Tanton arranged a lot more than a first grant for CIS—he created it, funded it, and provided its ideology.

CIS produces many research papers and other writings about population control. Much of their material focuses on how population growth is contributing to environmental decay; they go so far as criticizing mainstream environmental organizations for not doing enough about population growth.¹⁶⁷ CIS calls population "stabilization" (a code word for population control) a fundamental aspect of the 1970s American environmentalist movement and laments its relative decline in importance.¹⁶⁸ Following its founding mandate, CIS is openly terrified of increases in national population and supportive of trends that show a potential decline in population.¹⁶⁹

CIS claims that, as immigrants move to wealthier nations like the United States, they become a significant source of increased carbon-dioxide emissions that (CIS asserts) will lead to widespread man-made global warming.¹⁷⁰ When the Kyoto Treaty was first being negotiated in the 1990s, CIS drew a direct link between population growth through immigration and greenhouse-gas emissions, blaming the former for the latter.¹⁷¹ As CIS admits:

Other factors beside population size determine total U.S. output of greenhouse gases. New technologies and conservation efforts, for example, can reduce per-person emissions. . . . The simple fact is high immigration will make any effort to reduce the emission of greenhouse gases more costly for the average American.¹⁷²

CIS consistently condemns urban sprawl as a consequence of unchecked population growth through immigration and reproduction.¹⁷³ To CIS,

seemingly every supposed problem in the world can be solved by decreasing the size of the human population.

NumbersUSA

“Immigration and the fertility of immigrants is the only long-term cause of the population growth in this country. . . . Most people could understand that if you add three million people a year to your country, that’s going to have a lot of inter-environmental impact. And of that three million, about two and a half million of that three million can be accounted for from new immigrants, legal and illegal, and from the births of immigrants. That’s two and a half million a year.”—Roy Beck, President of NumbersUSA¹⁷⁴

NumbersUSA was founded in 1997 with the generous financial backing of U.S. Inc. and has been run by executive director Roy Beck ever since.¹⁷⁵ Between 1994 and 2001, U.S. Inc. paid Roy Beck a total of \$751,546 to get NumbersUSA off the ground and produce “independent” anti-immigrant research.¹⁷⁶ In 1996 and 1998, U.S. Inc. also paid NumberUSA’s Vice President of Operations Jim Robb a total of \$147,041.¹⁷⁷

NumbersUSA is open about its mission to reverse American population growth. Its name is meant to conjure fears of too great a number of people in the United States. Its emblem is a ghostly image of blue silhouettes multiplying into the distance.¹⁷⁸ Its website includes a population counter, and Beck incessantly warns about the dangers of population growth.

In 2010, on the anniversary of the 40th Earth Day,¹⁷⁹ Beck said that, “Congress [does] not understand that U.S. environmental sustainability is not possible unless we greatly reduce immigration numbers.”¹⁸⁰ He then referred to rapid population growth in the United States and blamed immigration for most of the increase.¹⁸¹ In the same piece, he favorably quoted President Clinton’s Population and Consumption Task Force, which reported: “We believe that reducing current immigration levels is a necessary part of working toward sustainability in the United States.”¹⁸² Beck further stated:

The 1990s saw the biggest population boom in U.S. history. This is truly astounding news coming three decades after widespread agreement among Americans that the country was mature and probably already overpopulated. No wonder Americans became increasingly alarmed at their deteriorating quality of life due to sprawl, congestion, overcrowded schools, lost open spaces and increasing restrictions on their individual liberty caused by the new population explosion!¹⁸³

As Beck clearly states, the issue is not so much immigration in itself but population control:

To talk about changing immigration numbers is to say nothing against the individual immigrants in this country. Rather, it is about deciding how many foreign citizens living in their own countries right now should be allowed to immigrate in the future.¹⁸⁴

Beck and Leon Kolankiewicz wrote a report in 2001 titled, "Forsaking Fundamentals: The Environmental Establishment Abandons U.S. Population Stabilization." They portrayed a Catholic conspiracy led from the Vatican to halt population-control policies, and cited National Security Study Memorandum 200 (NSSM 200), a long document about the dangers to American national security of population growth in third-world nations.¹⁸⁵ The report was endorsed by President Ford,¹⁸⁶ but Beck believes that its population-control recommendations were never implemented "because of intense pressure applied by the Vatican and the U.S. Conference of Bishops."¹⁸⁷ Beck's notion that NSSM 200 was never implemented is fiction and Catholics are his scapegoat.

Beck seemed to suggest that American Catholics are more loyal to the Vatican than they are to the American government, claiming that "U.S. government officials of Roman Catholic background were particularly susceptible to such pressure"¹⁸⁸ from the Vatican and U.S. bishops. Beck also complained that into the 1990s it was difficult for "a pro-stabilization person or group to get a hearing among many Catholic and pro-life groups without being automatically considered an abortion apologist."¹⁸⁹

NumbersUSA's website features a litany of outlandish environmental claims and pleas for population control. Environmental sustainability is the stated objective of NumbersUSA's population-control and anti-immigration advocacy.¹⁹⁰ The organization also appears concerned that increased immigration will cause population growth and damage the environment.¹⁹¹ In fact, its concern for the environment is so great that it wants immigration bills to be reviewed by the environmental committees in Congress.¹⁹²

On virtually every page of NumbersUSA's website, there are warnings about overpopulation. It begs its followers to:

Contact your senators and representatives and urge them to vote for bills which would help stabilize the United States's population numbers, and to vote against bills that would worsen the problem. Use NumbersUSA.com to send e-faxes to your congressmen for free, to stay informed on all the latest immigration bills in congress, and to find the latest news on the effort to reduce immigration numbers.

Similarly, it argues that cutting immigration would reduce the population and therefore CO₂ emissions.¹⁹³ Notably, NumbersUSA's reasons for decreasing immigration are the same used by other population-control advocates.¹⁹⁴

The radical Weeden Foundation (WF) played no less a prominent role in funding NumbersUSA than it did with FAIR and CIS. NumbersUSA board member Don Weeden, son of Alan Weeden, is also the executive director of WF and had a long career working at Planned Parenthood.¹⁹⁵ Between 2001 and 2008 WF granted \$180,000 to NumbersUSA¹⁹⁶ in addition to the

hundreds of thousands of dollars it also donated to other population-control, pro-abortion, environmental, and anti-immigration groups.

Working with Pro-Life Leaders?

FAIR, CIS, and NumbersUSA were created and now are largely supported and staffed by radical environmentalist population-control and abortion advocates. Many of those same people and organizations fund and ideologically support abortion, sterilization, and population-control policies. FAIR serves as the activist wing of the movement, while CIS produces studies and research reports that support their position. NumbersUSA makes little effort to hide its advocacy for population control.

Beyond the legacies and goals of FAIR, CIS, and NumbersUSA, in recent years they have attempted—in many ways successfully—to broaden their advocacy efforts by establishing ties to leaders, organizations, and elected officials who are otherwise staunch defenders of life. The legislative battles and highly intense public debates over immigration in the mid-2000s served as an opportunity for the population-control movement to whitewash its true agenda. FAIR, CIS, and NumbersUSA have managed to conceal their true intentions enough to be invited to speak at conferences, briefings, and media events alongside pro-life individuals and leaders.

For example, former U.S. Representative from Colorado Tom Tancredo and current Representative Steve King (R-IA) are both on record as not just citing, but praising, the work of FAIR, NumbersUSA, and CIS. Another former U.S. Representative, Todd Tiahrt of Kansas, was one of numerous “pro-life” members of Congress who worked with FAIR and/or NumbersUSA to craft immigration-related legislation. Likewise, think tanks and advocacy organizations that describe themselves as pro-family and pro-life have allied with Roy Beck of NumbersUSA, Dan Stein of FAIR, and Mark Krikorian of CIS. This represents such a stark dichotomy that one must, at a minimum, question whether any due diligence was done at all.

Conclusion

No civilization has ever sustained a shrinking population and a growing economy for long. Without people there is no economy, and nobody left to value the environment.¹⁹⁷ Organizations that would limit population growth through abortion, drugs, sterilization, and other methods are pursuing a radical anti-life agenda that undermines our country, freedom, prosperity, and morality.

Those who seek to advance the pro-life cause should not allow themselves to be fooled by those whose work is ultimately diametrically opposed

to the right to life—the most fundamental of all rights. Regardless of one’s particular views on immigration, pro-life leaders in particular should denounce CIS, FAIR, NumbersUSA, and any other entities that advance the dark cause of population control.

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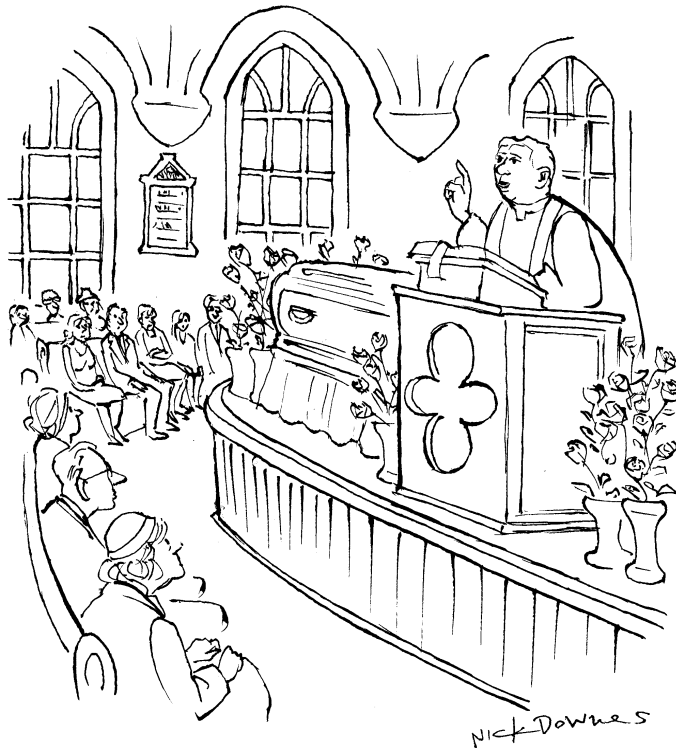
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“And let us acknowledge Fred’s cradle-to-grave brand loyalty.”

Expanding Marriage: A Historical Experiment

John E. Murray

Perhaps the most dramatic change to our society's practice of marriage has been the rise of legally mandated recognition of marriage between two people of the same sex. To be sure, the nineteenth-century transition of divorce from state legislatures to courts, and the later twentieth-century transition to administrative, no-fault divorce modified the lifelong part of marriage. Still the Judeo-Christian ideal of a perpetual bond between a man and woman remained. An experiment with changing another dimension of the marital relationship occurred near Syracuse, New York, from 1848 to 1881. The history of Oneida Community offers some perspective on the view that marriage is simply a social arrangement that we are free to alter as we see fit. It also suggests that abandoning Christian tradition for a more secular one is a perilous choice—especially for children.

The founder of Oneida was John Humphrey Noyes. His early years suggested eccentricity, if not total nonconformity. He was born in Brattleboro, Vermont, in 1811. After a classical education at Dartmouth, he started to read for the law before breaking it off, dissatisfied. While studying for the ministry at Yale, he was attracted by the Wesleyan doctrine of Holiness, and so began to follow a group of New Haven theologians who called themselves Perfectionists. Christian perfection, according to the Wesleyan tradition, did not mean a reversal of the Fall, but rather a maturity in faith and an increasing love of God. Faith working outwardly through love resulted in an ever purer and more complete love of neighbor. That process of deepening love of God and neighbor constituted Perfection.

Noyes proposed that Perfection was more of a destination than a journey, and he believed he had reached the end of the line. However, belief in his own perfection made it impossible to secure a calling after graduation—no congregation wanted to engage a cleric who described himself as a “crazy genius.” By the age of 26, he had met with the great evangelist Charles G. Finney, as well as abolitionists Gerrit Smith and William Lloyd Garrison, and failed to persuade any of them of the validity of his brand of Perfectionism. While promoting his ideas, he developed a following that listened to his sermons and read his pamphlets. In this group was Abigail Merwin, his first great love. Noyes was crushed when Abigail married another Perfectionist

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suitor. His frustration, combined with his expectations of perfectibility, led him, as one historian noted, “to look upon monogamous marriage as a tyrannical institution that did not exist in heaven and eventually would be abolished on earth.” Nevertheless, in 1838 Noyes married Harriet Holton.

To accommodate his ideas and his following, Noyes founded a commune in Putney, Vermont, that lasted from 1839 to 1847. Here he began the practice of what he called complex marriage. He found himself attracted to a female community member whose husband was conveniently attracted to Harriet. Noyes, perplexed by this situation, struggled with his conscience, reminding himself: “I will not steal.” Struggles of conscience over seemingly obvious moral choices often resolve in favor of the sinful option, and so here. Noyes concluded that it was God’s will that the newly attracted couples have sexual relations with each other. Thus began an arrangement in which each member of the group considered himself or herself to be married to all members of the opposite sex in the group. As additional couples entered, all agreed to be led by Noyes, whom they described as “the father and overseer whom the Holy Ghost has set over the family thus constituted.” A contraceptive practice somewhat similar to withdrawal made complex marriage manageable from the procreative perspective. Word got out, though, and when townspeople threatened to bring legal charges of adultery, Noyes, not for the last time, fled a few steps ahead of the law.

The Perfectionists regrouped two hundred miles west in Oneida, New York, in 1848. For the first two decades of Oneida Community’s history, complex marriage was a centerpiece of community life. As it was practiced at Oneida, community members could have sexual relations with any willing member of the opposite sex, as long as the man communicated his proposition through one of the community leaders—either Noyes or one of his lieutenants. Noyes provided scriptural justification for complex marriage. If the resurrected neither married nor were given in marriage, then on earth Oneida would aim to win its members the same status. Further, he argued, the lack of specific ties to a spouse made it easier to love one’s neighbor, in the absence of the usual exclusive spousal relationship. Members of the Community described themselves as Christian and their unusual way of life as Bible Communism, pledging to confess their union “with Christ and Mr. Noyes.”

Mr. Noyes, however, was gradually changing the lodestar of the Community away from servitude to Jesus Christ and emulation of his Kingdom, and towards secular concerns of the times. In the later nineteenth century, wealthy and waspish Americans of the educated classes—that is, people just like John Humphrey Noyes—became concerned about rising numbers of immigrants

who came to the Northeast from southern and eastern Europe as well as the southern United States. If those trends continued, so Noyes and those like him thought, the new working classes, whose fertility led to appallingly large families, would swamp the white, “old-stock” Americans. The solution, many old-stock Americans agreed, was eugenics, or selective breeding of humans. In line with eugenic doctrine, Noyes would not suffer children to come unto Oneida randomly. For his Community, Mr. Noyes turned to eugenics.

Beginning in 1869, Noyes decided that the Community was wealthy enough that he could allow procreative sexual relations. But he wanted the Community collectively, eugenically, to produce the best children possible. Noyes explained his motivations for allowing particular men and women to reproduce in a pamphlet called *Essay on Scientific Propagation* in 1872. By this time far from Wesleyan Perfection, he began his essay by quoting directly from Plato’s *Republic*, Book V, in which Socrates queries Glaucon about his techniques of animal husbandry. They decide that if selective breeding works well for livestock, it ought to work just as well for people.

Plato’s advocacy of selective breeding among humans aligned perfectly with Noyes’s growing eugenic interests. In his essay, Noyes described monogamous marriage as harmful to the progress of humanity, because it restricts the reproductive activities of the better sort of man to only one wife and mother, who herself may not belong to the better sort. Noyes’s days of seeking guidance from Jesus Christ or the writings of John Wesley were long past, as he concluded: “The great law which Plato and Darwin and Galton are preaching, is pressing hard upon us, and will never cease to press till we do our duty under it.” It was a message Noyes was primed to act on.

To do his duty under Plato, Darwin, and Galton, Noyes began a eugenic experiment completely in keeping with the times, if not with Christian tradition. He ranked men and women in the Community in terms of their suitability for reproduction, matching those at the top for prospective procreation. In keeping with many charismatic leaders, he gave himself first crack at many of the women. Of the 58 children who were born of the experiment, Noyes fathered 10, each with a different mother. The project lasted just over a decade. Turmoil grew partially from the reproductive desires of lower-ranking Oneidans and the related frustrations of younger men with complex marriage. The deepest problems stemmed from the introduction of younger Community members to complex marriage. In the end Father Noyes fled to Canada to avoid arrest on almost certainly valid charges of statutory rape.

By historical standards, the charges against Noyes were well grounded. Not long after the end of communalism and complex marriage at Oneida, a Syracuse gynecologist interviewed women who had lived through the

eugenic experiment. They offered a very different perspective from that of the hyper-literate Noyes. Several women reported their entry into complex marriage—their first experience of sexual intercourse—immediately after menarche, when they were 12 to 14 years old. One woman claimed that several of her contemporaries had been sexually initiated at 9 or 10 years of age, even before menarche. This respondent explained that girls faced considerable pressure to participate. While many young women resented the pressure to acquiesce to sex with older men, those men told them to be unselfish in their intimacies, because that would place them closer to God. “I have known,” she recounted, “of girls no older than sixteen or seventeen years of age being called upon to have intercourse as often as seven times in a week, and oftener.” She also recalled that 13- and 14-year-old boys were “put with old women who had passed the change of life, and instructed all about such things before they had begun to think of it at all.” By the later 1870s younger men were tired of being paired with much older women for their “interviews,” as their assignations were called.

Although Noyes had attempted to put the institution of complex marriage on firm scriptural grounds, his eugenic project was purely secular. Indeed, his insistence on choosing which men and women could engage in procreative sex did not come from divine authority; instead, it placed Noyes himself in the role of a divine authority. The tragedy of John Humphrey Noyes was that he believed himself to be a God figure, the arbiter of good and evil, which is the oldest temptation in the Book. Whereas Scripture warns us that those who fall for such temptations are merely sinners, Noyes received no such guidance from Plato. But if Noyes had read further into the *Republic* he would have encountered a description of tyranny that fit his own actions: “A man becomes tyrannical in the precise sense, then, when his nature or his practices or both together lead him to drunkenness, eros, and melancholia. . . . When people of this sort are driven by the stings of these other appetites, but particularly of Eros itself, which leads all the others as if they were its bodyguard, stung to frenzy, don’t they look to see who possesses anything that can be taken by deceit or force?” Eros led Noyes to take youth and beauty, modesty and virtue, from the girls of Oneida by a deceitful representation of Christianity.

Those who have written about Oneida, both in scholarly and popular publications, have generally praised its ideals, not excluding its polyamory. One historian applauded Noyes for his efforts to “restore the possibility of healthy human relationships.” A 2007 *New York Times* article promoted Oneida as an offbeat travel destination. The reporter saluted Noyes as one of a long

line of American dreamers, concluding with Noyes's own boast: "We have, like a band of explorers, made a raid into uncharted territory, and we have returned, having charted our findings without injury to man, woman or child." But the elimination of exclusivity in the marital relationship simply left the weak to be raped by the strong. As Plato also writes in the *Republic*, "Which of these people will rule, and which will be ruled? Isn't it clear that the older ones must rule?" Indeed, the young people of the community suffered at the hands of their elders, and scholarly and other observers who ignore that suffering simply let their ideology override their humanity.

Like all bits of history, this case study is simultaneously an episode from the past and a cautionary tale for the present. Noyes aimed to change the number of people in the marital relationship from two to many, and he rearranged the procreative role of marriage in a way that was endorsed by leading scientists of the day. Now, Oneida did not address the question of homosexuality. Still, the experiences of Noyes at Oneida might suggest that age-old institutions cannot be changed lightly. To recognize relationships between two men or two women as marital in the sense in which that word has been understood up to now will undoubtedly cause unforeseeable harm to the institution as a whole, and will not help a society built on the cohesion of families.



"Oh, play along honey—he's a flesh-eating zombie!"

“Hookup” Disconnect

Stephen Vincent

In 1975, I arrived at a New York City Catholic college campus, a true innocent, anxious to imbibe the best of Western literary culture within the ivied walls. Yet in that Animal House age, a few years after urban riots and anti-war protests, and in the midst of the cynical post-Watergate era, campus life looked more like the Fall than the Rise of the Roman Empire.

In my first literature class, after the gray-haired professor droned through an introduction to *Beowulf*, he took out a cigarette and invited other students to “light up,” which most of the smokers did as laughter filled the classroom. In Logic 101, another “do your own thing” professor seemed to bring every deductive equation back to a comment about beer and blondes as he eyed a particularly attractive sample of the latter in the third row.

My dorm, two blocks from campus, crammed five students into a one-bedroom apartment, with three beds in the living room and two in the bedroom. Fortunately, I was assigned to the bedroom, where I saw little of my roommate and was able to close the door on the sound of beer kegs rolling down the hallways on weekends and the semi-madness going on in the living room. On the first weekend, one outside roommate with hair like Roger Daltry brought back a girl from campus, and they had quite a time on the squeaky bed as another student tried to sleep just an arm’s length away. The young lady was in the shower the next morning, much to my red-faced embarrassment, but she told me to “come on in” to use the toilet. In January, when I arrived back from Christmas break, another apartment-mate told me how he and a fellow student had paid a prostitute to come to our dorm room. I screamed, “Are you nuts? You could get a disease or something!” To allay my fears, he shook his head, repeating, “No intercourse! No intercourse!” I rushed into my room and slammed the door, not wanting to ask what he and his buddy had done with the prostitute.

I’m not making this up.

Sex-stablishment

I tell these stories not to shock or amuse, but to explain why when I hear today about the horrors of the college “hookup” culture, I tend to think that not much has changed.

“Sex and drugs and rock-‘n’-roll” was the signature phrase of the psychedelic, protest, hippie hype that poured onto American campuses in the 60s

Stephen Vincent writes from Wallingford, Connecticut.

and has shaped college culture ever since. When I entered college, the protests were over, no one would have dreamed of occupying the administration building or burning the American flag, but the sex-drugs-rock culture was deeply imbedded. Only now there was little resistance from the administrators and dorm directors, some of whom had themselves been on the protest lines a few years before. In the mid-70s we had the worst of all worlds: Dead was the idealism of building a new world, but the destructive aspects of anti-establishmentarianism remained. The heck with the world, was the attitude, let's get high to the tune of The Who's "Teenage Wasteland."

If there was any saving grace to my college cohort, it was that we didn't quite see that we were riding the downward bend of a cultural curve. The Jefferson Airplane (famous for their "up against the wall" expletive screed) was now the "Starship" and they were singing, "Look to the summer of '75, all the world is gonna come alive," as if there was really something fresh on the horizon. The problem was that the 60s celebrated youth, energy, and idealism, yet sex and drugs tended to run down the body and mind as young rockers (those that survived) got inevitably older. What do you do when the physical and moral universe—what we might call the natural law—doesn't bend to your desires and you're left with a cosmic cultural hangover? What happens when, a decade later, the harsh reality of AIDS intervenes and makes a deadly mockery of the "free sex" ethic?

With all this negative fallout from the sexual revolution, you would think people would have wised up, sobered up, and been "scared straight." Yet instead we have today's much-publicized and analyzed "hookup" culture. As I understand it, the term is used to describe a panoply of sexual behaviors, from a little necking on the quad to multiple partners on multiple nights, and the defining characteristic is that young people ask and expect no commitment from partners. No going steady or boyfriend-girlfriend. The hookup culture has been a source of great anxiety for parents, who worry about the effects on their kids as they move from campus antics to working world and family life. Yet higher education has always had its shadier elements; even the young St. Augustine complained in his day about students failing to show for lectures and refusing to pay tuition—while he went home to the mistress he would not marry.

But perhaps there is one significant difference in the hookup culture today. Back in the 70s my generation could say we didn't know any better, that the full effect of our actions and attitudes was not yet manifest in wasted lives, broken families, new STDs, and what may succinctly be called "death by sex."

Today's hookup generation can't say the same. They know the physical and emotional consequences and are largely in denial, enabled by a medical,

media, cultural, and political apparatus that is run largely by my generation, the 50-somethings. The year I was born, 1957, saw the peak of births in the Baby Boom era, and too many of my graying compatriots seem intent on aping that English professor who enjoined his students to “light up.” We know that by and large my generation’s experience with “sex and drugs” was a big bust, and most of us have learned the lesson and moved on to quasi-responsible adulthood, with career, marriage (maybe affairs, maybe divorce), mortgage and kids (maybe abortion) whom we really care about and want something better for. Yet as much as we fear for their future, many of us are hampered by the culture we created from warning them about the mistakes we made and the lifelong effects of “youthful indiscretions”; many of us feel “hung up” for seeking to shut the party door on our kids after we have had our fun and instead comfort ourselves with the latest sociological study, learned article, talk-show expert or celebrity tweet that tells us there are—really—some very positive results of the hookup culture, or that our fears are wildly overblown.

Boys on the Side

Many theories have been put forth about this campus culture, but few have been bold enough to state that hooking up is an overall plus for young women—their self-image, confidence, and careers—and in the long run will have little effect on their marriages and motherhood. Enter Hanna Rosin, lifestyles writer and social commentator, who has perfected a form of soft porn for the educated elite in her articles for the *Atlantic*. She writes incessantly about males and females, sex and statistics, power and politics, and what happens when they mix. In her article two years ago called “The End of Men”—which she expanded into a book by the same name—she cites the new majorities of females in college who are entering elite professions and explores how the economy, relationships, sex, and marriage are changing with the “rise of women.” All very reasonable topics for study and discussion. Men *are* finding it more difficult in our information/service economy in which muscle has been downsized, manufacturing has gone overseas, and manual labor has been replaced by machines. The ability of a blue-collar worker to support a family has been compromised, and in many families the college-educated woman brings home the bacon and cooks it up. Social researcher Charles Murray meticulously presents this issue in his latest book, *Coming Apart*.

Yet I don’t think it’s only because I’m a man that I fail to see the up side of this development for either men or women. As more than one critic of Rosin’s rosy view has commented—self-styled feminists among them—if men

continue to lose ground in education and earning power, women will be left with fewer social equals to marry as they make their way up the corporate ladder.

Yet in the September issue of *Atlantic*, Rosin continues the same theme of female enhancement by taking the first chapter from her book (“Hearts of Steel: Single Girls Master the Hook-Up”) and weaving it into another teasing article called “Boys on the Side.” The lengthy subhead sums up her point nicely: “The hookup culture that has largely replaced dating on college campuses has been viewed, in many quarters, as socially corrosive and ultimately toxic to women, who seemingly have little choice but to participate. Actually, it is an engine of female progress—one being harnessed and driven by women themselves.”

Phew. Take a breath.

Rosin acknowledges some studies and informed opinions that weigh against her assertion. There’s the book *Hooking Up: Sex, Dating, and Relationships on Campus*, in which author Kathleen Bogle interviewed 76 college students to conclude, as Rosin puts it, that hookup culture is a “battle of the sexes” in which women want relationships and men want “no strings attached.”

But Rosin discounts Bogle’s “spotlight interviews” as unreliable in uncovering college women’s true feelings and experience. She prefers a much larger online study by a New York University researcher who has gathered the responses of some 20,000 college students about their sexual life. If anything, the data indicates that the hookup practices of college kids are not as pervasive or excessive as older people might fear. Rosin reports that college seniors claim “an average of 7.9 hookups over four years, but a median of only five.” That’s less than two a year, on average, and the definition of “hookup” is vague, since “Students are instructed to use whatever definition their friends use.”

It is difficult to say how reliable this study is. Not only is online data gathering a questionable method, since young people are used to posting their preferred self on Facebook and other online social media, but we don’t even know what a college kid means when he or she reports a “hookup.” Any definition or innuendo will do. It’s a sort of “don’t ask, but do tell” self-reporting policy.

Rosin also draws from Indiana University researchers who followed 53 women from a single floor of a “party dorm” over their four college years, and used the term “sexual career” to describe the way they managed their hookups. Despite bumps in the road, most of these women managed to engage in sex, protect their reputations, delay commitment till after

graduation, and set themselves up with a job and a future.

Rosin acknowledges that her positive view has also been challenged in the pages of her own *Atlantic* by Caitlin Flanagan, who sees the removal of fatherly oversight and the breakdown of dating expectations as a huge problem for women, who no longer can rely on family or culture to protect them from male hormonal behavior. On a campus where “everybody’s doing it,” Flanagan says, women have little choice but to hook up in order to stay in the mate-finding game, or at least to avoid being tagged as uncool and out of it.

Yet Rosin dismisses Flanagan’s view as “nostalgia-drenched,” describing “an earlier time, when fathers protected ‘innocent’ girls from ‘punks’ and predators, and when girls understood it was their role to also protect themselves.” To Rosin, this view puts too much emphasis on what women have lost and not enough on “the unbelievable gains women have lately made” and “How much those gains depend on sexual liberation.” After all, she observes, “Single young women in their sexual prime . . . are for the first time in history more successful, on average, than the single young men around them. They are more likely to have a college degree and, in aggregate, they make more money.” Along with the contraceptive pill and abortion, this fact is made possible by “the ability to delay marriage and have temporary relationships that don’t derail education or career. To put it crudely, feminist progress right now largely depends on the existence of the hookup culture.”

With this point, Rosin hits on a question that I have sometimes wondered about. If campus hookup culture is so “toxic” to women, why do so many more women than men go to college, and why do so many more graduate and enter successful professions? Shouldn’t they be psychological and physical wrecks after four years?

The answer may be that women are advancing despite, not because of, the hookup culture. Rosin’s view of young college women “perpetuating the culture” may be more a matter of their adapting to or coping with it than a sign of their upper hand in the hookup ritual. After all, Rosin does backhandedly acknowledge the negative influence of hookups when she explains how most women move on in life. She writes, “for most women, the hookup culture is like an island they visit, mostly during their college years and even then only when they are bored or experimenting or don’t know any better.” This admission is telling. If women just dabble in hookups, only retreating to this island out of boredom or ignorance, it hardly seems that they are driving or perpetuating the culture.

In fact, Rosin’s writing seems to say different things that serve differing conclusions about the hookup culture. When she wants to show that the hookup culture serves women’s purposes, college girls are “savvy head-

hunters,” playing with the campus boys in the dark but keeping daylight between them so as not to limit their study time and career options. Yet to show that women can handle this load without jeopardizing their future marriage or fertility prospects, Rosin writes that females simply visit hookup “island,” mostly from boredom or ignorance.

There is a habitual soft-porn veneer to Rosin’s prose that suggests a loose attitude toward the truth. Rather than build a strong case for her assertions, she is content to grab facts here and there and place them in a preformed narrative designed to tease the interest of a reader. In the process, she feeds a female—and perhaps even a male—fantasy, conjuring up the college gal who books hookups on her iPhone, keeps desperate boys at bay to remain free for grad school and to time-slot high-powered job interviews, yet is no longer called the campus slut but a “savvy headhunter” with “boys on the side.”

Of course, there may be college women who live this way and succeed by Rosin’s standards. There are certainly many more who claim they do because it seems so perfectly in tune with the progressive mores that demand that a woman be “hot” as well as academically and professionally successful. For centuries, men have used women as sexual playthings, keeping “girls on the side” (Augustine comes to mind) and marrying their social equals when the right time comes. So there is some sense of satisfaction or payback to think that women are now in a power position to play the same sort of game with men. But whether this dynamic was ever good for men—at least for their character and morals—and whether it can ever work well for women are important questions about which Rosin seems not the least bit interested. It’s enough that women appear to be playing the game to their advantage and grabbing the choice spots in grad school and the job market.

But do we really want to frame women’s futures around a fantasy of “steel hearts” and “savvy headhunters” to satisfy a narrative of equality? Let the adults among us say NO. We’ve already trapped ourselves within a sad story of sexual liberation—with an unremarked epidemic of sexually transmitted infections and countless lives marred by abortion and divorce. Rather than descend deeper into this abyss, we need to set a new course. We can argue about how best to get there, but telling women that they need to keep “boys on the side” is definitely not the way.

Counter-Narrative

Perhaps the first objection to Rosin’s view is that it runs counter to most things we know about relations between men and women. Helen Alvare, family law professor at George Mason University and a long-time advocate of the “new feminism” based on pro-life and pro-marriage ethics, told

this writer that Rosin's narrative is too shallow.

The assertion that women are running the hookup culture by choice and to their advantage “flies in the face of qualitative data, such as reported in Professor Mark Regnerus' book *Premarital Sex in America* and Dr. Miriam Grossman's *Unprotected*,” Alvare said. Rosin “seems to take some young women's bravado as the story for all college women. It also looks at these women at a snapshot in time, without asking them five or 10 years down the road how, if they did adopt this approach to casual sex, it affected them years later—whether via a sexually transmitted infection, their attitude toward sex and marriage, their mental state, or their marital stability.”

Alvare continued, “Rosin does not even consult that literature, or account for the psychological literature (e.g., Baumeister and Vohs 'Sexual Economics') which suggests very, very strongly that men remain the 'buyers' and women the 'sellers' of sex outside marriage, and that this sets up the 'prisoner's dilemma' for women.”

Alvare has expounded on her theory of the “prisoner's dilemma” in her writing, in which she likens the situation confronting young females in the hookup culture to that of a prisoner who is told by her captors that her crime partners are copping a plea and pinning the blame on her. Should this prisoner keep quiet and trust her partners, or should she tell all and share the blame? According to Alvare, young women are ratting out one another by breaking the “silence” of the moral code, and thus forcing others to enter the world of easy sex in order to remain in the mating game. If most women would keep the code and demand more than a hookup from men, it would be easier for everyone to follow their hearts and save sex for commitment and marriage.

Whatever the relative merits of their theories, I think most women (and men, for that matter) would rather live in Alvare's worldview than in Rosin's. In Alvare's eyes, young women are smart enough to work together to protect themselves from opportunistic males and raise the cultural ante for sex and female attention. In Rosin's world, young women are mostly on their own—hookup “island” is an apt description—unable to communicate with one another about love, intimacy, and marriage, because they think everyone else is beating them to men and mating. This is a nominally liberated world in which college women provide oral and anal sex to boys they don't really care for in order to have the fun and freedom of sex without a commitment that might hinder their post-graduate options. As even Rosin suggests, relations between men and women have gotten much cruder, along with the language. In her soft-porn way, she lets drop some really gross terms about sexual practices that this journal best not repeat. Yet despite the risky behavior

described, the author expresses no concern for female health or safety. In fact, when women have protested the excesses of the hookup culture, as Yale University females did in the spring of 2011, they don't get much sisterly support from the author.

As she reports, a Yale Title IX complaint centered around frat boys yelling outside freshmen dorms, "No means yes! Yes means anal!" Rather than condemning the incident and telling the reader what disciplinary measures the Epsilon gang incurred, Rosin simply continues with her "girls rule" narrative, pointing out that not even the feminist student who brought the case wants to outlaw the hookup culture because, "Plenty of women enjoy having casual sex." In this, Rosin unwittingly underscores the fact that feminism has been swallowed up by its own "choice" rhetoric, to the point where it has trouble sustaining the basis of a Title IX action or objecting to boorish boys' behavior, because some girls might like a little sex on the side.

The New Look of Liberation

The inherent problem with Rosin's view is revealed in the opening scene of her article, in which she describes a racy party of elite graduate business school students, about 10 years out of college, who are passing around a digital image of "snowblowing" or "snowman fellatio." That is, a female in a Santa cap mouthing a snowman's melting anatomy. Ha. Ha.

If we weren't told otherwise, we might have thought this was a gathering of adenoidal teens at a beer party. Yet Rosin cites the behavior of these experienced Wall Street traders to illustrate her point that women in America have advanced to sexual and financial superiority over the men in their lives. After all, the ladies at the party make as much or more than their male companions, and they are so blasé about the "snowjob" image that they ignore the guys who try to show it to them. Another "beautiful Asian woman" plays the field of six male admirers by imitating the pickup lines of an Asian prostitute, eventually choosing one guy because "he seemed like he'd be the best in bed." These are Rosin's prime examples of mature, high-powered, liberated women—unmarried, pushing 30, back in school after years in the lucrative financial world, playing prostitutes while their boyfriends download digital porn. "America has unseated the Scandinavian countries for the title of Easiest Lay," she admits, but then continues, "Is that so bad?" Her answer, drawn out through the rest of the article, is: no, definitely not, maybe sometimes, it depends, there's a downside to all this, but women will figure it all out to their advantage now that they're in charge.

In Rosin's world, morals are as negotiable as an Asian prostitute's price, and the heartache and heartbreak some campus women feel from the hookup

culture is mostly sob-story stuff for an all-night chat session with a best friend, but in the morning everyone is fine.

And, as Alvare asks, what of sexually transmitted infections? The Centers for Disease Control has been reporting for quite a number of years, albeit in hushed tones that rarely make headlines, that there is a growing epidemic of STIs. In fact, there are *19 million new cases each year*, about 10 million among college-age kids. Who are these millions on campus, and why don't we hear more about them? They are pressured by our culture of "free sex" to keep quiet, especially on our hookup campuses, where a confidential visit to the student health center is supposed to heal all, with another round of antibiotics or a salve applied discreetly to private parts to hide a sore that might discourage a hookup partner. Ten million teens and young adults each year, and we hear so little about them. Ten years later though, they may be lining up for fertility treatments or IVF due to scarring STIs.

It may seem quaint in this day of the "sexual career," but young women may need to reset their vision of success in order to perform their age-old role of challenging men toward maturity, so we don't have 30-year-old guys fingering digital porn. They should do this for their own good, so they will have worthy mates when they look to marry, and they should do it for the sake of the boys and girls they will give birth to. In the long run, they should do it for the sake of our culture and civilization. Rather than "Boys on the Side," what we need is men and women side by side, working together for their common good, seeking to build a better, more civil world for the next generation. That would be true success and lasting liberation.

From the Archives: (1985)

Socialism Is Absolutely Opposed to Christianity

Alexander Solzhenitsyn interviewed by Malcolm Muggeridge

MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE: *I would very much like to know if you consider it possible, or conceivable, that the whole Gulag apparatus could be abolished without some violent upheaval in the Soviet Union?*

ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN: It is not only the Gulag which expresses the nature of violence which is inherent in the communist system. It is only its extreme form, it is only the extreme manifestation of violence. But there is a whole gradation of violence; so really your question should be turned round in this way: Is communist totalitarianism possible without violence? The answer is: no, not for one single day.

MUGGERIDGE: *That makes it absolutely clear. Well the present situation is that you have, in both the USSR and the USA, this vast nuclear potential. Is it possible to imagine, therefore, that we shall avoid having a nuclear war?*

SOLZHENITSYN: You know, for some reason I want to say that I'm *convinced* that there will be no nuclear war. There can be various interpretations of why such conflict will not take place. If only, after 1945, the West had not disarmed itself, had not let all its armed forces disband but had retained conventional armies, then today there would be no danger of a nuclear confrontation. I won't go through all the various possibilities, but I will stop over one, and it is a very pessimistic variant. It is a possibility which in fact is the summary of ten years of concessions and capitulation. One of the reasons why there will not be a nuclear conflict is that the West has, in fact, given in on nuclear balance, and has lost any kind of initiative in a balance of conventional forces, and is very unprepared for subversion from within. So that, in fact, even without having recourse to any nuclear confrontation, there are all sorts of possibilities for the communist leaders.

MUGGERIDGE: *I'm a very old journalist now, and it quite often happens that people ask me what is the most significant thing that has happened in the*

Malcolm Muggeridge (1903-1990) was a well-known British journalist and the author of many works, including *Something Beautiful for God*, the book that introduced Mother Teresa to the world. **Alexander Solzhenitsyn** (1918-2008) was a renowned Russian author and outspoken dissident. His most famous books are *The Gulag Archipelago* and *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. Mr. Muggeridge's interview with Mr. Solzhenitsyn was broadcast on the BBC2 on July 4, 1983. This edited version was reprinted in the Summer 1985 *Human Life Review* with the kind permission of both men.

last 50 years. Well I always say one thing, which partly derives from your writings, and that is, in fact, the revival of the Christian faith in the one place in the world where I would have expected it to have had no chance of reviving. In other words, would it be true to say that the efforts of the Soviet authorities to prevent any faith in Christianity or any practice of the Christian religion have been a failure?

SOLZHENITSYN: What you have said has a profound significance. For the last five, six decades we have seen in, oh, many places in the world the victory of communism. True, those are victories which don't really bring much good to people; they are not economic victories, they are not good, positive victories, they are really victories of power. And in my country the communist powers in fact took, so to speak, military steps against the Christian faith. The signal for an attack against Christianity was given right at the very beginning by Lenin and Trotsky. Millions of peasants were slaughtered in order to eradicate faith from the very roots of the people. Millions of hours of propaganda time were used in order to burn out the faith from the hearts of the children. And yet, despite this, we can say that, after all these years, communism has not destroyed the Christian faith. Christianity went through a period of decline, but now it is growing and reviving. And that is the most hope that one can see anywhere, not only in my country, but anywhere in the world. For the moment I see no end to the military victories of communism . . . It looks as if the shadow of communism is covering the earth more and more deeply. I would compare this with an eclipse of the sun. But with an eclipse of the sun a small portion of the earth is darkened, whereas with communism it is half the earth which is in darkness, perhaps even three-quarters. But because communism has already shown its weakness, its inability to destroy Christianity, for this reason we may hope that the shadow will gradually pass across and clear the earth; and will perhaps clear precisely those countries which have been in the deepest shadow until now. It is amazing, but Dostoevsky saw all this at least one hundred years ago.

MUGGERIDGE: . . . *Not only that, but he saw, in The Devils, that the demon that would bring it all about was the demon of liberalism. I always think that you are like Dostoevsky . . .*

SOLZHENITSYN: I never stop wondering, I never stop marvelling, at the prophetic power, the prophetic vision of Dostoevsky. We already see happening what he foresaw in many parts of the world, but what is amazing is how he saw the very first beginnings and sometimes even saw things that had not even begun in his time. When I was a schoolboy there was no Dostoevsky among the Russian writers . . . he just hadn't existed . . .

MUGGERIDGE: . . . *But now they've revived him—and the fascinating thing to me, the most amazing ideological acrobatics that I've ever seen, is that they're trying to persuade us that in fact Dostoevsky was a hang-over from Karl Marx and that, really, although Lenin spoke severely about him, he admired him.*

SOLZHENITSYN: There is no end to Marxist acrobatics. It's not only Dostoevsky who has, so to speak, been colonized as an ally, but, while attacking Christianity, they are ready to colonize our Lord Jesus as well. The political atheist literature in fact maintains that Marxism continues what Christianity began; that it makes possible what Christianity failed to achieve. If this were only limited to the communist countries . . . But this trick, this sleight of hand, we find it everywhere in the whole world; because socialists everywhere ascribe Christian virtues to themselves, constantly. Socialism is, in fact, absolutely opposed to Christianity. Christianity is founded on good will; whereas socialism is founded on violence or, if you like, on pressure at any rate.

MUGGERIDGE: *Do you think that the West is fated then to be swallowed up in this thing—that there will be a complete disintegration of our Christian civilization?*

SOLZHENITSYN: Both threats are very much alive, very present. If one were to speak merely of the simple advance, the simple push to communism, yes, it is very possible that communism may come to obscure the West. But by that same law of the eclipse of the sun, the shadow will pass; the West may escape this destiny, this fate. But if the West does not find in itself the spiritual forces, the spiritual strengths to rise again, to find itself again, then, yes, Christian civilization will disintegrate. We use the same words to describe the same phenomenon—democracy. Democracy was originally developed before the face of God. And the foundation of its concept of equality was equality before God. But then the image of God receded, it was pushed away by man. And this same democracy changed, and acquired a very strange character. And the responsibility that each person had before God, this concept of responsibility has been lost; whereas the so-called democratic institutions cannot exercise any force, any pressure. And so, having lost any concept of true responsibility, we are, so to speak, free to destroy our institutions and ourselves.

MUGGERIDGE: *Do you think, then, that the situation is hopeless?*

SOLZHENITSYN: Thank God, and I mean thank God, the situation is never hopeless. In the USSR you might say that we have lost everything, and yet our position is not hopeless. I do not consider that human history has reached its ultimate point. The history of the decline of Christian civilization . . . the history

of communism which has come into the world . . . all this will be measured in sections, but history will continue. The lesson that we, mankind, humanity, the lesson which we have to learn takes many centuries to learn.

MUGGERIDGE: *I've thought about it a lot, and I've thought this: that we could say, perhaps, that when we say Western civilization we mean Christendom: On one level we could say that Christendom is finished, but not Christ . . .*

SOLZHENITSYN: I wouldn't like to say that the social form of Christian life has gone forever. I think it is very possible that here, too, there are possibilities of change or development which we simply don't know about. And indeed, if it were not still present, then Christianity would be something that would be removed from us, would, so to speak, ascend to the heavens. I think we shall see many forms of Christianity on earth.

MUGGERIDGE: *I was first in Russia as a young journalist in 1932. Now, of course, at that time everybody adulated Stalin in an entirely and utterly extravagant way, including many distinguished Western authors. Then came Krushchev's speech at the 20th Party Congress, and the busts of Stalin were taken away—he was abolished. Do you think that they will ever put him back?*

SOLZHENITSYN: There isn't really actually such a need for this anymore. Andropov in some ways is perhaps following in the steps of Stalin—not in the same extreme way, but he is following in his footsteps. It's enough simply to have the two models, Lenin and Marx. And if there are too many in between, then the significance, the importance, of the originals diminished . . .

MUGGERIDGE: *What I want to know is, take the ordinary Russian people, they were given this extraordinary idea of Stalin, this great man . . . and then they woke up one morning and he was not a great man at all. Now, do they afterwards think, well perhaps his successor might not be a great man . . . does it destroy their confidence?*

SOLZHENITSYN: Here I think that, for the Western mind, history has been written inaccurately. Even in the Thirties, I knew scores of people who in fact had absolutely no respect for Stalin—in the villages it was the most uneducated, the simplest people. So really, the dethronement of Stalin was no event and no surprise to them. It was a shock for the highest levels—for the communist elite—and for the so-called progressive Western circles who actually believed in Stalin.

MUGGERIDGE: *Now, I want to ask a personal question. Do you expect ever to go back to Russia?*

SOLZHENITSYN: In a strange way, I not only hope, I'm inwardly absolutely *convinced* that I shall go back; I live with this conviction, I shall go back. Now, that contradicts any rational assumption; I'm not so young, and I can't point to any actual facts which make me say this. History is so full of unexpected things that some of the simplest facts in our lives we cannot foretell.

MUGGERIDGE: *Well, I hope with all my heart that this one comes true. I shan't be here, but if I can observe from up there what's going on, then I shall rejoice.*

SOLZHENITSYN: My life now, from early morning till late at night, is working on my writing. And I really do feel that at last I'm doing that for which I was born. But all this is illumined by the sun—by the light that is my hope of returning to my country.

APPENDIX A

[*Matthew Hennessey writes from New Canaan, Ct. He is a columnist for Fairfield County Catholic, the monthly newspaper of the Diocese of Bridgeport, and frequently writes for the Irish Echo and other publications. The following was written for the Human Life Review.*]

The Third Rail

Matthew Hennessey

Joseph Sargent's classic 1974 film *The Taking of Pelham One Two Three* stars Walther Matthau as a rumpled New York City transit cop and the British actor Robert Shaw of *Jaws* fame as Mr. Blue, the criminal mastermind behind the hijacking of a New York City subway car. During the movie's climax, the two actors face off in the middle of a tunnel deep beneath Manhattan. Cornered, Mr. Blue opts to zap himself by touching his foot to the electrified "third rail" rather than letting himself be captured and sentenced to die in the electric chair.

Bzzzzzp. Roll credits.

I can't help but think of this scene every time some pundit trots out the old cliché about this or that political issue being a third rail. Reforming the benefit structure of entitlement programs such as Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid? That's a third rail—political suicide. Touch those issues, and like Robert Shaw's Mr. Blue, you die.

We could use some of Mr. Blue's courage in our politics these days, especially among those politicians who call themselves pro-life, for there is no hotter third rail in the modern discourse than the question of abortion in the case of a pregnancy caused by rape or incest.

Most on the right are content never to answer a question about abortion, let alone a question about abortion after rape or incest. Yet as everyone knows by now, Missouri Republican congressman Todd Akin recently walked right up to this third rail and touched his foot to it. "If it's a legitimate rape, the female body has ways to try to shut that whole thing down."

Bzzzzzp.

It was assumed the credits would immediately roll on Akin's bid to replace NARAL-backed Democrat Claire McCaskill. The Republican Party leadership turned its back on the six-term representative en masse. All sides agree that there is no way he can win in November.

As of this writing, however, Akin is hanging on like grim death. On the pro-choice left, Akin's recalcitrance has been welcomed with glee and amazement. His gaffe has been received as a well-timed gift, a distraction from the floundering economy. On the pro-life right, teeth have been gnashed about the unfairness of having to answer questions about Akin's artless and scientifically unsound comments. No one wants to be mocked by the media. No one wants to join Todd Akin in the political graveyard.

No one wants to hear that noise. Bzzzzzp.

But in the race to distance themselves from the pariah, no one in the Republican leadership has been willing to do the one thing that would demonstrate true moral courage: to go up and grasp the third rail by saying, “Yeah, what Akin said is indefensible and inexcusable. I call on him to step aside. But I want to take this moment to underscore my belief that abortion is always and everywhere wrong, even in the case of rape and incest.”

If any of our prominent pro-life politicians had the cojones to make that statement, I must have missed it. (Kirk Cameron doesn’t count.) Mike Huckabee spoke out, but the former Arkansas governor’s support for Akin seemed less a principled defense of the sanctity of life than a self-serving political gambit. Huck thought he could use this flap to reclaim his mantle—eroded recently by the rise of Michelle Bachmann and others—as the leading evangelical voice in the Republican Party.

But where were the leaders of today’s GOP? Where were Catholics Marco Rubio and Chris Christie? Where was Paul Ryan? Where was Mitt Romney?

I’m not suggesting these guys should have embraced Akin’s ridiculous remarks. Of course not. In their statements every single one of them urged Akin to step aside. Good. But none of these pro-life leaders took the rare opportunity presented by this bad business to make an unpopular stand for the most innocent and the most vulnerable.

In fact, Romney told CBS News during the Republican convention, “My position has been clear throughout this campaign. I’m in favor of abortion being legal in the case of rape and incest, and the health and life of the mother.” When questioned about Romney’s view, Paul Ryan has said, “I’m comfortable with it because it’s a good step in the right direction. I’ll leave it at that.”

If the Republican Party is a pro-life party then it cannot get comfortable with abortion. It has to confront and deal with the difficult issue of abortion in the case of rape or incest in a compassionate and consistent way. But chronic fear of touching the political third rail—fear of being hated by the smart set—has led many of our pro-life leaders into a complicity of silence. Pro-lifers must not shy away from this issue. We must run toward it. If we don’t, we allow the enemies of life the latitude to successfully define us as anti-woman, anti-science, and pro-rape.

We are not those things. We have science on our side. We are on firm moral footing. We are consistent in our view that all children possess the God-given right to life regardless of how they were conceived.

It’s not an easy position to hold, but it is the right one. We should not be bullied into giving away the lives of human children simply because we are afraid of being hated.

As Jesus said, “If the world hates you, realize that it hated me first.” (John 15:18)

APPENDIX B

[*W. Ross Blackburn serves as the rector of Christ the King, an Anglican Fellowship in Boone, North Carolina, and teaches Biblical Studies at Appalachian State University. This commentary was written for the Human Life Review.*]

Back-alley Birth

W. Ross Blackburn

“You know a major difference in this campaign is that Governor Romney feels comfortable having politicians in Washington decide the health care choices that women are making.”—Barack Obama, 2nd Presidential Debate

The President’s oft-repeated comment is a veiled but clear reference to abortion. The implication of the comment, of course, is that Obama’s health-care policies create choice for women, particularly what has become known as reproductive choice. Yet, as has been pointed out by many, Obama’s Affordable Care Act constrains choice. Ironically, it does so on the very issue of abortion. In passing the ACA, the President and the Democratic Party have forsaken their own rhetoric of choice, and set the stage for abortion to move from choice to coercion. Gone are the days of back-alley abortion. Coming are the days of back-alley birth.

Let me suggest what this might look like, from my family’s experience with our last child. Via a 14-week ultrasound, my wife Lauren and I learned that our daughter Joy had hydrocephaly, a condition where the brain doesn’t develop; instead, the skull fills with water and grows abnormally large. Although the prognosis for any kind of normal life—even if the baby survived to birth—was bleak, we ignored the medical staff’s recommendations to abort her. The pregnancy proceeded relatively uneventfully, until a serious complication arose at 30 weeks. Pregnant mothers rely upon their babies to consume and eliminate amniotic fluid. Because hydrocephalic babies cannot do this, mothers can grow dangerously large, the pressure of the increasing volume of fluid placing them at risk of a life-threatening uterine rupture. Thankfully, Lauren was able to go to the hospital several times to have fluid carefully drawn off, relieving the pressure until the baby could be safely delivered alive. Her head being too large for a vaginal birth, Joy was delivered by C-section at 36 weeks. After six days in intensive care, she died.

This kind of scenario is not uncommon. Complications happen, especially with children with serious disabilities. And complications are expensive. In our case, the increased number of doctor visits, the many trips to the hospital to drain excess fluid, the C-section, and the six days the baby spent in intensive care were all very costly, financially and otherwise. But that is what parents do—they do what they can for their children, even (and often especially) when a child is most vulnerable, and when circumstances appear hopeless. My concern is simply this: When decisions about what is and is not covered by insurance are made by an appointed administrator with a medical sheet in one hand and a balance sheet in the other, what will happen to children whose prognosis is bleak, and treatment expensive? Will mothers be

given the choice to bring their babies to birth, or will they be told that their condition *requires* abortion? Or that it doesn't make financial sense to carry the baby to term, and therefore childbirth will not be covered. And what will happen to mothers who refuse to allow their babies to be killed? Where will they go?

Welcome to the back alley.

This is not a stretch. At the other end of life, the legalization of physician-assisted suicide in Oregon has led to situations in which Medicaid will cover this practice, but not some forms of treatment. This is unsurprising, for treatment is more expensive than poison. And if both count as health care, why not? Along these lines, it is telling that the only reference to assisted suicide in the ACA is a prohibition forbidding discrimination against health-care providers who don't "treat" patients by writing prescriptions for lethal cocktails. While not stated explicitly, the implication is clear, and important—assisted suicide counts as health care. If death counts as a legitimate health-care treatment at the end of life—and some are currently being coerced in that direction—why would we assume that things would be different at the beginning of life?

The structure for pushing women toward abortion is already taking shape. Like assisted suicide, the ACA clearly assumes that abortion is health care. Furthermore, as Wesley J. Smith has consistently warned, the Independent Payment Advisory Board (IPAB), an independent and unaccountable body created by the ACA, has the power to determine what is paid for by insurance and what is not. Is it worth it to cover a 75-year-old woman's knee replacement? To give a man with an apparently unresponsive cancer another chance with a different course of chemotherapy? To deliver a child with cerebral palsy? Given that the IPAB is charged with curtailing spending, where do you suppose that might leave vulnerable children? Those who don't believe that the care these children now receive could be soon jeopardized won't find anything in the law to prevent it from happening. As the contraceptive mandate has already demonstrated, the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services has been granted massive authority to decree policies by fiat—policies that nowhere appear in the text of the law itself. And are we to trust that the president will appoint IPAB members who will respect the consciences of future patients? The contraceptive mandate has already answered that question.

And it could go even further. What about the unborn baby with Down Syndrome who will require extensive care? The unborn baby with spina bifida who needs a costly pre-birth operation? Or the unborn baby whose parents already have five children? Will we reach a point where the government can determine cases in which insurance will not cover a birth but only an abortion (which is invariably cheaper)? Once we are at peace with aborting the "unwanted," the question naturally arises, unwanted by whom? Do we mean only the mother? What about the central planner charged with ensuring that—for the good of all, of course—health-care costs are kept low? Whose choice will be honored? Some might think this farfetched, but when one surrenders health-care decisions to an unelected general secretary and board appointed by the president, the possibility of *their* choices becoming the

only ones becomes very real.

Here's an example of the kind of thinking we could be subject to in the not too distant future. While the Obama administration backtracked over Vice President Biden's remarks about China's one-child policy (which Biden knows is enforced in large part through forced abortion), listen again to his words:

But as I was talking to some of your leaders, you share a similar concern here in China. You have no safety net. Your policy has been one which I fully understand—I'm not second-guessing—of one child per family. The result being that you're in a position where one wage earner will be taking care of four retired people. Not sustainable. So hopefully we can act in a way on a problem that's much less severe than yours, and maybe we can learn together from how we can do that.

That Biden could make such a comment shows he has no moral objection to what China is doing. Rather, his words suggest a measure of sympathy. Biden did, however, have one objection to China's one-child policy—that it was *economically unsustainable*. The questions concerning the value of unborn life and economic sustainability are exactly the issues at stake in the Affordable Care Act. It is telling, and chilling, to see how they are considered by our current vice president.

None of these issues will be discussed openly by advocates of the health-care law. Planned Parenthood, which claims to be concerned both with women's health and with choice, won't criticize the law. And this is how it must be, for there are many Democrats who would abandon their support for the ACA if they knew where it might lead. Nevertheless, for all the rhetoric about women being forced into back-alley abortions, unless something changes we appear to be approaching the day when health-care choices made in Washington will force some mothers into back-alley births. And some won't make it through.

APPENDIX C

[*Nat Hentoff is a nationally renowned authority on the First Amendment and the Bill of Rights and the author of many books, including The War on the Bill of Rights and the Gathering Resistance. The following two syndicated columns were published on Nov. 3 and Nov. 10, respectively, and can be accessed at www.JewishWorldReview.com.]*

MLK's Niece vs. Obama

Nat Hentoff

I was struck by this headline on LifeNews.com on Sept. 26: “Poll: Obama’s Abortion Record Hurts Him in Battleground States.”

Why? As I’ve written previously, the reason now that “a majority of swing voters (54 percent) are less likely to vote for President Obama” in crucial states is “after learning that he voted against a law (three times as an Illinois state senator) to give equal treatment and constitutional protections to babies born alive after a failed abortion (35 percent much less likely)” (Steven Ertelt, LifeNews.com, Sept. 26).

The poll was carried out by the polling company inc./WomanTrend and, significantly, was authorized by one of the nation’s most influential pro-life organizations, the Susan B. Anthony List.

Anthony was a major force in having finally enabled, after her death, the ultimate passage of the 19th Amendment, permitting women to vote. And in 1876, on learning that her sister-in-law had had an abortion, Anthony wrote in her diary, “She will rue the day she forces nature” (“Sarah Palin Is No Susan B. Anthony,” Ann Gordon and Lynn Sherr, newsweek.washingtonpost.com, May 21, 2010).

The president of the Susan B. Anthony List, Marjorie Dannenfelser, makes what may turn out to be a crucial point: “Today’s poll confirms: Pro-life voters make up a sizable voting bloc capable of achieving victory in close elections” (“New Poll Reveals Swing Voters Repelled by Obama’s Extreme Abortion Record,” sba-list.org, Sept. 26).

In any case, the president left absolutely no doubt of his passionate dedication to abortion when, as an August Washington Times headline clearly stated, he assured a meeting of liberal bloggers in New York City that he wouldn’t “give ‘any ground’ on abortion rights” (“Obama to women bloggers: I won’t give ‘any ground’ on abortion rights,” Susan Crabtree, washingtontimes.com, Aug. 2, 2012).

Among those with a determinedly opposite view is Alveda C. King, an influential force among our nation’s many strong pro-life women. She is the niece of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and works for Roman Catholic organization Priests for Life as its pastoral associate and director of African-American Outreach.

She speaks and writes with direct, penetrating clarity and is not intimidated by forceful personages whom she thinks need educating about abortion when she often says:

“How can the dream survive if we murder our children?”

Here she is quoted in a 2007 Priests for Life press release: “Rev. (Al) Sharpton says he’s concerned about the dignity of African-American women; so am I. . . . I

would suggest to Rev. Sharpton that he look at the greatest assault on the dignity of black women today – abortion. We are three to four times more likely to have abortions as white women” (“Dr. Alveda King to Rev. Al Sharpton: ‘Look at the Greatest Assault on the Dignity of Black Women,’” priestsforlife.org, July 13, 2007).

On May 26, in remarks before the World Congress of Families VI in Madrid (“The World’s Largest Gathering of Pro-Family Leaders, Scholars and Activists”), King said:

“I stand before you as part of the greatest civil rights struggle facing the world in the 21st century – the battle to end discrimination against the unborn. ... Blacks in the 1950s and babies in the womb today were and are considered to be less than fully human. ...

“Now, you may have heard that pro-lifers in the United States have been successful in passing state laws that give a pregnant woman the right to view an ultrasound image of her baby before an abortion. The culture of death is opposing these laws with all their might. They know the power of an image. ...

“Father Frank Pavone, national director of Priests for Life in the United States, always says, ‘America will not reject abortion until America sees abortion.’ It’s harder to kill a baby than a blob of tissue. And the culture of death knows this.”

Turning to the late Margaret Sanger, the founder of Planned Parenthood (before which President Obama has approvingly appeared), King said of this icon of pro-abortion feminists:

“When she said she wanted more children from the fit and fewer children from the unfit, it didn’t take much imagination to figure out what she meant. I’ll just say that I don’t think she would have wanted me, and African-American women, to have more children.”

Alveda C. King has six children.

Before the World Congress of Families, Martin Luther King Jr.’s forthright niece came to her deadly point: “Since 1973, 14 million black babies have been aborted in the United States. That’s one-third of the current number of blacks in the U.S. It’s as if a plague swept through black neighborhoods and killed one of every four people. That plague was real, though, and it came in the form of abortion clinics.”

Whether or not Barack Obama is re-elected president, I’d love to see him debate King on how abortion has affected black Americans. Anyway, with the election almost upon us, King did comment on Michelle Obama’s speech at the Democratic National Convention, saying, “She looked beautiful and proves that she’s nearly as much a consummate skilled politician as her husband.”

But Alveda C. King could not resist adding – as emblazoned in the headline of her press release – “She almost makes you forget that her husband supports killing babies ...” (“Mrs. Obama Almost Makes You Forget That Her Husband Supports Killing Babies and Killing Natural Marriage. Almost ...’ Says Alveda King,” christiannewswire.com, Sept. 5).

But as impressed as she was by the first lady, King did not forget those deaths for a second, nor will those black Americans on the Susan B. Anthony List who are

“less likely” to vote for Obama because of the most indomitably insistent civil rights conflagration of our time.

I am not a black American, but King speaks for me, too. She recalls that her legendary uncle and her father, the Rev. A.D. King, “were often called ‘the sons of thunder!’”

For some of us pro-lifers of all backgrounds, Alveda C. King reverberates loud and strong against killers of babies.

Election Day: I'll not vote for pro-death president

Nat Hentoff

On the one hand, I cannot vote to re-elect President Barack Obama, who more than any other president in our history continuously exceeds the constitutional limitations of the executive branch. For example—one of many I've documented—Obama, without going to a judge, regularly selects those who are to be assassinated from a “kill list”; this includes American citizens suspected of being associated with terrorists.

But I have other reasons for not possibly voting for him. One is that no previous president has been so radically pro-abortion as Obama, who, when he was in the Illinois Senate, voted three times against the Born-Alive Infant Protection Act. The bill would have ensured that if a live baby fully emerged before an abortion was successfully completed, he or she was to be saved.

To let this legislation die would be an act of infanticide, but it did not pass while Obama was in the Illinois Senate.

However, according to the Chicago Tribune, “In 2005, when additional language was added to a ‘born alive’ bill in Illinois that explicitly spelled out that it would not impact abortion rights in any way, the law passed easily” (“Executive summary: What you need to know about the ‘born alive’ issue,” Eric Zorn, blogs.chicagotribune.com, Aug. 22, 2008).

Years ago, as I reported in an article for the Human Life Review on the highly disproportionate number of abortions on blacks (“President Obama and ‘Black Genocide,’” Winter/Spring 2009), I had interviewed a registered nurse who had worked in the Labor and Delivery Department of Christ Hospital in Oak Lawn, Ill., and had participated unwillingly in one of these botched abortions.

I honor Jill Stanek for what she revealed.

Some of what she told me of the dispositions of these abandoned babies appeared in a September 2000 House Judiciary Committee report. One of the babies persisting in being alive was “left to die on the counter of the Soiled Utility Room wrapped in a disposable towel. The baby was accidentally thrown in the garbage, and when they were later going through the trash to find the baby, the baby fell out of the towel and on to the floor.”

Another nurse “happened to walk into a Soiled Utility Room and saw, lying on the metal counter, a fetus, naked, exposed and breathing, moving its arms and legs.”

Nonetheless, then-state Sen. Obama, who dissented against the Born-Alive Infant Protection Act, had opposed what he called the view that "you have to keep alive even a preivable child."

But the fetus on the metal counter had become one of us, its fate like that of another baby I've written about previously, who "was disposed of as a horrified nurse who was not necessarily pro-life followed the doctors' orders to put the baby in a pail or otherwise get rid of the child" (my column, "Infanticide Candidate for President," April 24, 2008.)

Yet state Sen. Obama insisted that the Born-Alive Infant Protection Act interfered with a woman's reproductive rights. But wanted or not, the child had been born, and preventing him or her from continuing to live was infanticide!

I should point out that although I am obviously a pro-lifer (not for religious reasons, but because I'm an atheist who can read biology), I have voted for pro-choicers with whom I have otherwise agreed on the First and Fourth Amendments and other constitutional rights, among them the late Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York. He was pro-abortion, except for partial-birth abortion, which he described as "only minutes away from infanticide."

Obama, however, has firmly opposed any action taken against partial-birth abortion, including action taken by the Supreme Court.

With regard to the other pressing reason I cannot vote for this incumbent president: I was intrigued to find out that his communications advisers "created an interactive Web forum for receiving and evaluating citizen petitions" to the White House, as the June 1 Daily Caller reported.

I expect Obama will particularly ignore one of these petitions, which the website highlighted. The request focused on an acute life-or-death issue that he has hardly had to cope with during his fateful presidential campaign:

"Considering that the government already has a "Do Not Call" list and a "No Fly" list, we hereby request that the White House create a "Do Not Kill" list in which American citizens can sign up to avoid being put on the president's "kill list" and therefore avoid being executed without indictment, judge, jury, trial or due process of law" ("White House website petition to Obama: Please create 'Do Not Kill' list," David Martosko, The Daily Caller, June 1).

Somehow I do not believe our commander in chief's sleep was troubled by this petition. But ever-increasing, concerted demands from black pro-life citizens, including preachers, may well be irritating Obama and, if he is indeed re-elected, could conceivably lead to human rights protests outside the White House.

As a prelude to next week's column on this passionately faithful pro-abortion president, I am revisiting a fervent petition that was made to Obama three days after he was inaugurated. In my article for the Human Life Review, I wrote about Luke Robinson, a black pastor confronting the first black president, who said at the 2009 March for Life in Washington, D.C.:

"Please, Mr. President, be that agent of change that can commute the sentence of over 1,400 African-American children and over 3,000 children from other ethnic

APPENDIX C

groups sentenced to die every day in this country by abortion. . . . At the conclusion of your term in office, may it never be said that you presided over the largest slaughter of innocent children in the history of the country.”

Yet Obama increasingly supports and encourages the abortion-created corpses of innocent black children.

In my *Human Life Review* column I quoted LifeSiteNews.com, which reported that, in February 2009, the head of Canada's Campaign Life Coalition told our new “president of change” that “abortion is the number one killer of African-Americans in the U.S.”

If Obama is re-elected, will that horrendous distinction persist?

You know the answer.



“Congratulations, Nesbit.”

APPENDIX D

[Vincenzina Santoro is an international economist. She represents the American Family Association of New York at the United Nations. This essay was published on Mercator.net (www.mercatornet.com) on October 3, 2012 and is reprinted with permission.]

The Unborn Child: Italy's Conscientious Doctors

Vincenzina Santoro

Jesi is a lovely Italian hill town not far from Ancona on the Adriatic coast in the center-north of the country. A few weeks ago the local hospital let it be known that they faced a doctor shortage of sorts. It seems that all of the town's 10 gynecologists refuse to perform abortions. They are all conscientious objectors. The local office of the communist labor union spread the news because they claimed women's rights were being denied, although Italy's abortion legislation (Law 194/78) explicitly provides a right for doctors and other medical personnel to refuse to participate in the procedure.

Jesi's top medical bureaucrats began a search for doctors elsewhere in the Marche region where the town is located. A doctor from nearby Fabriano, 40 kilometers away, agreed to be on call in case of need and to go to Jesi if an abortion seeker would not go to Fabriano. However, his services may or may not be much in demand.

While abortion doctors in the entire Marche region seem to be rare, abortions are not that many to begin with. Italian Ministry of Health data on abortions indicate that women from the Marche region had 2,458 abortions in 2009, but that nearly one-fourth had their procedure done outside their resident province and 10% outside the region.

Further north, in the town of Treviglio, near Bergamo in Lombardy, a similar problem has arisen: 24 out of 25 anesthesiologists in the four hospitals serving a population of around 350,000 refuse to be involved in abortions, and 24 out of 28 gynecologists-obstetricians are also conscientious objectors. Other medical facilities in the Bergamo province also report a high number of objectors but the supply is not as tight as in Treviglio. Nonetheless, press reports indicate that in the entire province of Bergamo, five percent of the 1,867 abortions performed in 2010 were on women from outside the area. It seems that there may be even more conscientious objectors elsewhere in Lombardy, Italy's most prosperous region.

If such refusals are helping the downward trend of abortions in Italy, there are also incentives for women to keep their babies. The regional government of Lombardy has put in place a program to assist resident women who wanted an abortion for economic reasons but changed their minds. Progetto Nasko—or Project I am Born—grants a mother keeping her child 250 euros per month for 18 months after she obtains medical confirmation of her pregnancy and demonstrates evidence of economic hardship. The expectant mother receives a prepaid rechargeable card which is managed by one of several Centers for Aid to Life (Centri di aiuto alla vita).

The examples above are part of Italy's experience since abortion was legalized

APPENDIX D

in 1978. Not all countries compile data on abortions as detailed as that of Italy's Ministry of Health, but the results coming out of Italy, as discussed in a previous MercatorNet article by this author, indicate that in 2010, the total number of abortions in Italy declined 2.7 percent to 115,372 and were 51 percent below the 1982 peak. At the same time, the number and share of conscientious objectors in the medical profession have steadily increased.

Evidently moral and ethical factors do play a role in people's professional lives. Respect for life and human dignity should be a consideration falling under medical doctors' oath to "first do no harm." Ethical considerations are not always in harmony with economic perceptions, but every child brought to light in Italy helps advance the precariously low fertility rate, which has been inching up in recent years and reached 1.42 in 2011, up from 1.35 in 2006 and 1.25 ten years earlier.

The latest data (2007-2009) also show that the overwhelming majority of Italy's gynecologists are conscientious objectors when it comes to abortion. A regional breakdown shows a range from a low of 52 percent in Emilia-Romagna (part of Italy's so-called "red belt", in political terms) to a high of 85 percent in Basilicata in the south. Indeed, objectors account for over three-quarters of their profession in 10 out of the 21 Italian regions. The national average has been as high as 71 percent. Jesi and Treviglio are just two local examples of good news on the life front coming out of Italy.

APPENDIX E

[*Eve Tushnet is a writer who lives in Washington, D.C. and blogs at www.patheos.com/blogs/evetushnet. This essay first appeared in The Weekly Standard (August 27). Copyright 2012 Weekly Standard LLC.*]

Sex and the City

Eve Tushnet

For the past 10 years I've volunteered at the Capitol Hill Pregnancy Center, a pro-life Christian ministry in the troubled heart of Washington, D.C. Over this decade of listening to women in crisis, talking with them, helping them find the resources they need, praying with them, hugging them, sometimes inviting them into my home when they had no safe place to go, I've seen shifts in the culture of poor D.C. women. My own perspective has shifted as well. I wrote about my early experiences for The Weekly Standard in 2003, after a year at the center; here is how I see the work today.

One of the first surprises I had, as a new counselor, was how often our clients were not considering abortion. Although we have recently noticed an increase in clients who are considering abortion, many of the women we see are willing to accept a child if one comes, and some are eager. (Their own mothers are much more likely to push, or even try to coerce, them into abortions.) Many have had abortions in the past and are adamant that they don't want to do that again.

At first I thought this meant we should focus our conversations on abstinence. And there are still many clients, for example the teenagers, for whom this is the best approach. But abstinence isn't a life goal. It's not a destination or a vocation. Motherhood is—it's a way to give and receive love, and to gain a sense of meaning and purpose beyond oneself. Something always beats nothing; unwed motherhood now beats possible marriage in the unimaginable future. You can tell a girl, in the evangelical cliché, that she's "worth waiting for," but to many of our clients, waiting for marriage feels about as useful as waiting for Godot.

So now I try to concentrate on identifying people in our clients' lives who can help them view marriage to a good man as an imaginable, even achievable, goal. I try to offer them small concrete steps they can take toward the goal of creating a loving, stable family based on marriage.

What this involves differs from client to client. Again, with teens it really is mostly about abstinence, focusing on their schoolwork rather than on drama with boys, strengthening their relationships with people they know whose lives they admire (often grandmothers), and cultivating a spirit of prayer.

Other women really love and trust the guy they're with, but are fearful or negative about marriage for reasons even they often find hard to articulate. Poor women, just like rich women, believe that you shouldn't get married until you're "stable," until you're financially settled and emotionally "ready." But in the chaos of life in poverty, stability and readiness are a long time coming—and even longer if you've begun having children out of wedlock. Delayed marriage becomes no marriage at all.

APPENDIX E

Women who are in good relationships I try to connect with premarital counseling. This is an area where the churches have stepped up, but there is definitely room for improvement: Almost all the women I speak with who attend church regularly say that they “think” there’s a marriage-preparation program at their church, but they’re not sure. When I suggest premarital counseling as a possible first step, even women who were initially resistant to marriage often find it extremely attractive. It’s a way of making marriage real, something for normal people, not something for fairy tales and celebrities.

One fear many of our clients have is that marriage means giving up too much control to a man. These are women who have needed to be self-reliant all their lives, and who have only rarely seen men keep their promises. Their strength has become defensiveness and instinctive mistrust. The decision to seek marriage counseling is a way for them to assert themselves, guide the relationship, and move toward marriage with self-determination rather than simply capitulating to the man’s wishes.

That’s assuming the man wants to marry, which he often does. Many times, the baby’s father wants the child and wants a wedding much more than the pregnant woman. Men, too, long for purpose and meaning in their lives; like women, they long to sacrifice and to love. But unlike women, they don’t control who gets to care for the babies. A poor, unwed father is almost entirely dependent on the woman if he wants to see his child. His power to break his promises, to walk away from his kids in a way women simply can’t and won’t, is matched by his powerlessness if he wants to keep those promises against the will of a mistrustful mother.

Men were hit hard by the tanking economy, making them less attractive marriage prospects; the women we see are more likely to be working than their children’s fathers. Many men are locked up (as of 2008, one out of every nine black men between the ages of 20 and 34 was incarcerated) or have a prison record. They’re taken away from their kids and returned, years later, broken and unable to get legal work. In my opinion, one of the biggest pro-family policies we could institute in America would be to lock up fewer nonviolent offenders and switch to forms of punishment short of incarceration. For many lower-level drug offenses, the emphasis should be on treatment and rehabilitation, not on imprisonment. While some changes may be forced by budget crises, just dumping ex-cons on street corners isn’t a long-term solution either. Reintegration of ex-offenders is essential if we want to strengthen marriage in low-income communities.

Often when I ask our clients to talk about married people whose lives they admire, they name grandparents—or pastors. The black church, though often led by women, is also a place where black men are found—Christ-centered, married men—in positions of leadership. But church attendance for lower-class white adults has been dropping. One recent study found that only 23 percent of the least-educated whites went to church at least once a month, while 46 percent of college-educated whites did. Though little is known about class-based trends for African Americans, I think I’ve noticed a parallel drift in our clients. Ten years ago we did see women

who no longer went to church, but they usually had some reason for it—often a somewhat cagey reason (“Everyone there was a hypocrite,” for instance) or a very practical reason (long hours at work or a new baby). Now I see many young women who are unchurched and without apparent guilt or defensiveness about it. But trust and hope in God have not been replaced by trust or hope in anything else. These women are even more alone in the world than those who do believe that their lives, however rocky or misspent, are ultimately in God’s hands.

There have been other shifts. The influx of African immigrants to the District brought us a client base with relatively straightforward needs: They’re mostly married, just really poor.

There’s been a noticeable increase in openness about mental illness. Ten years ago I almost never heard a client say that she took medication for depression or ask me about mental-health resources. Now I speak with a client about mental illness once or twice a month. This is the result of continuing attempts to make mental-health services culturally sensitive and available to poor and minority sufferers; yet increased mental illness may also, as Andrew Solomon has speculated in *The Noonday Demon: An Atlas of Depression*, be another consequence of the contemporary crisis of meaning.

In my own practice I’ve become more aware of the desire our clients have to give back. We encourage clients to bring in their own gently used baby clothes and equipment to donate to others. Some of the best counseling I’ve seen has been done in the waiting room, as clients reassured one another and shared tips on finding everything from housing to a good church.

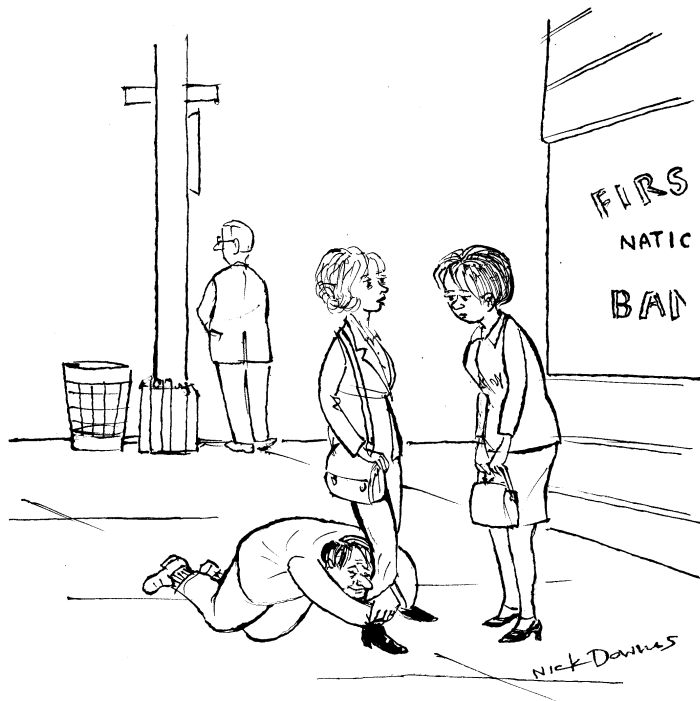
At least two clients have given back in the most dramatic way possible: Janet Durig, the center’s director, told me, “Twelve years ago a girl came for a pregnancy test and it was positive. After changing her mind about aborting her baby, she became a regular client of the CHPC for many years to follow.” This young woman eventually married a man who adopted her son—and returned to the center saying, “It is time to give back.” Today she counsels other women in similar situations. Another woman came in planning an abortion. She didn’t change her mind. But she remembered the center later, when she began to seek spiritual healing from the abortion. Today she is one of the facilitators of the center’s post-abortion program.

Janet has met several kids born to women who initially came to the center planning to abort if their tests were positive. Both of us have watched families progress and couples come together in marriage—sometimes with a lot of bumps along the road, and not always to the tune of “first comes love, then comes marriage, then comes the baby in the baby carriage.” We’ve seen grandchildren reconnect with grandparents, pastors mentor struggling couples, and relatives and godsisters step in where parents were unwilling to help.

When I started counseling I saw our work as serving the mother-child dyad. I wanted to help the woman and save her unborn baby. Over time I began to see more and more the frayed communal fabric in which these women and children are wrapped. I began to appreciate the connections they lacked—to their own fathers,

APPENDIX E

to their children's fathers, to happily married couples who could serve as models, to churches where they were nurtured and shown God's love. Now I see my job primarily as helping women find people in their own communities who can give them support, advice, and most of all the hope that married love is possible.



"I like a man who's not afraid to show affection in public."

APPENDIX F

[*Brian Caulfield is a communications specialist for the Knights of Columbus, where he serves as editor of the website FathersforGood.org. The following is an Oct. 22 column he wrote for www.catholicnewsagency.com; it is reprinted here with his permission.*]

An Original Pro-lifer

Brian Caulfield

Last week I had the extraordinary privilege of meeting one of the true pioneers of the pro-life movement. Unlike most of those who were shocked into action by the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton* Supreme Court decisions imposing abortion on demand on the country, the man I met was actually in a position to do something more than speak out, protest, and write his congressman. At the time, he was the Conservative U.S. senator from New York – that’s right, the state has a viable Conservative Party—who sought an immediate legislative remedy to the Supreme Court’s infamous overreach.

I speak of the Honorable James L. Buckley, a pivotal figure in the pro-life movement from the very beginning, who is not well-known by the activists of today. He was honored on October 18 in New York City with the “Great Defender of Life Award” at the annual banquet of the Human Life Foundation, publisher of the *Human Life Review*. Senator (and later Judge) Buckley has indeed lived up to his title of “Honorable” through a career of public service, rarely grabbing the spotlight for himself, always looking for both the principled stand and the winnable strategy, and leaving a legacy of integrity that today’s politicians of both parties would do well to study and emulate. Among his many distinctions is the fact that he served in all three branches of government. In addition to his six years in the Senate, he was an under-secretary in the State Department, and later a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., the nation’s most prestigious, from 1985 till his retirement in 2000.

He was also the key to the Reagan administration’s 1984 “Mexico City Policy” of denying overseas funding to organizations that perform abortions, a policy that has been revoked and restored by presidents along predictable party lines.

Buckley, age 89, was born into the affluent Catholic family that produced his more famous younger brother, the late William F. Buckley, founder and editor of the conservative journal *National Review*. James was a Navy man serving in the Atlantic during World War II, and then went to Yale Law School. He practiced law and helped his father with the family oil business before being drawn into politics when his brother made a quixotic run for Mayor of New York in 1965. James served as his younger brother’s campaign manager, coining the slogan, “He’s Got the Guts to Tell the Truth! Will You Listen?” Not a slogan that would fly in today’s atmosphere of political pandering. The elder Buckley ran for the U.S. Senate on the Conservative ticket in 1970 and won in a three-way race, serving one term, from 1971 to 1977. His reelection bid was defeated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

APPENDIX F

After the Court's decisions of January 22, 1973, Senator Buckley sprang into action, introducing a Human Life Amendment to undo the wrong of abortion on demand. He knew a constitutional amendment was a long shot, but he also knew that one branch of government could not let the other violate the basic right to "Life and Liberty" put forth in the Declaration of Independence. Introduced on the Senate floor May 31, 1973, the Amendment reads, in part:

With respect to the right to life, the word "person," as used in this article and in the Fifth and Fourteenth articles of amendment to the Constitution of the United States, applies to all human beings, including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development, irrespective of age, health, function, or condition of dependency.

Receiving the "Great Defender of Life" Award, Buckley humbly stated that many other individuals were far more deserving, who have stood on the front lines of the pro-life movement for decades. "I had the opportunity to speak out on a national stage on a few occasions," he said, "but others have been working hard day after day."

He observed that for many years after the 1973 decisions, the landscape for life was bleak, but in recent years the tide has seemed to change, so that a small majority of Americans describe themselves as pro-life. He recalled that a legislative aide of his used to say that if a woman's womb were transparent, abortion would soon be outlawed. Today, Buckley continued, a window to the womb is provided by ultrasound technology, and this view of the humanity of the unborn has pushed opinion in the pro-life position.

Pro-lifers have always have had truth on their side; now that truth is visible, and can no longer be denied, he concluded.

The senior statesman of the pro-life movement told pro-lifers that they have every reason to be optimistic if they continue their efforts with hope, prayer and commitment. Let us all thank, and pray for, this great man of our times.

APPENDIX G

[*Ed Mechmann is with the Family Life/Respect Life Office of the Archdiocese of New York. The following commentary was posted on his blog ("Stepping Out of the Boat," <http://archny.org>) on October 19, 2012 and is reprinted with permission.*]

A Hero Among Heroes

Ed Mechmann

Last night, the media and the political world were all focused on the Al Smith Dinner, where Cardinal Dolan hosted the two presidential candidates and many of the leading public officials and political figures from New York and across the nation.

I'm sure it was a wonderful event, full of the best professionally-written jokes. But they were all looking at the wrong dinner.

I had the good fortune of being at the right one—the annual Great Defender of Life Dinner, hosted by the invaluable Human Life Review. Every year, this event gathers pro-lifers from New York and around the nation, to offer an evening of fellowship and mutual support. It gives us a chance to see the real face of the pro-life movement—not the blinkered media stereotype, but the wonderful, dedicated people who are committed to protecting and preserving human life at all stages. It is a celebration of their love for each other, love for God, and love for the precious gift of life. So many quiet, ordinary people—so many heroes for life, building a true civilization of love in their everyday lives.

Every year, there is an award for a Great Defender of Life, and this year there were two recipients. The first was Advocates for Life, an organization of young pro-life attorneys and law students who are dedicated to resisting the culture of death that is so deeply entrenched in the law and in the legal community. It is very uplifting to see so many of my fellow attorneys who have enlisted in this great cause.

The second honoree has a special significance for me—former Senator and federal judge James Buckley. For those of us who came of political age in the Seventies, Mr. Buckley was a major formative figure. A man of deep moral fibre, he was a model to us that it was possible to be a man of principle in the world of politics. On so many of the crucial issues of the day, he gave witness to the importance of high moral standards, and a commitment to the common good of all.

In his long and distinguished career, one of the highlights was his sponsorship of the Human Life Amendment. This was the first comprehensive attempt to overturn the infamous *Roe v. Wade* decision, and Senator Buckley's 1975 floor speech in support of the amendment is a classic statement of the fundamental pro-life position. (This speech can be found in the Human Life Review's volume on *The Debate Since Roe*—a must read for pro-lifers.)

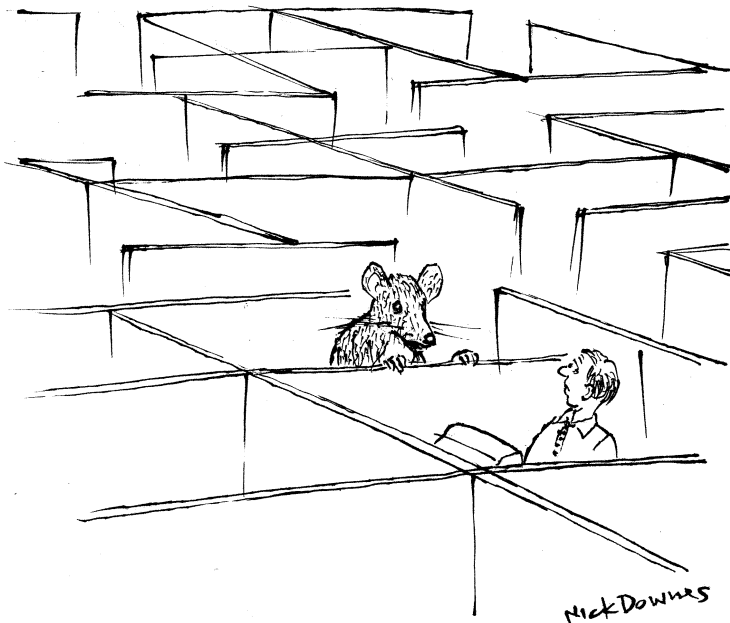
Before the dinner, I had an opportunity to meet Mr. Buckley, and I was able to tell him that he has long been one of my heroes. In his typically humble, self-effacing manner, he accepted my compliment and managed to turn it into a genial joke, precisely what one would expect from a true Catholic gentleman.

APPENDIX G

Last year, the honoree at the dinner was Paul Greenberg, the great journalist and essayist. During his address, he said something that has stayed with me, and that should haunt all of us: “Whether the issue is civil rights in the middle years of the 20th Century or abortion and euthanasia today, a still small voice keeps asking: Whose side are you on? That of life or of death?”

To many of us, that still small voice was heard in the soft, erudite tones of our Senator James Buckley, speaking gently but firmly, giving witness consistently and heroically for life, and encouraging us all to join him in that noble cause.

May we all answer in the same way as did this Great Defender of Life.



“Could you point me towards the exit?”

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