



VOLUME XLIV No.1 ♦ WINTER 2018

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HOW THE REAL IS OFTEN THE GOOD

Nicholas Frankovich on
ABORTION, TECHNOLOGY, AND SUICIDE

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Film / Booknotes:

Anne Sullivan reviews *Wonder*

John Grondelski reviews Michael Cook's *The Great Human Dignity Heist*

THE 2017 GREAT DEFENDER OF LIFE DINNER HONORING CARLY FIORINA

From the HLR Website:

Ursula Hennessey • Katrina Schickel • W. Ross Blackburn

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Appendices: Donald Trump • Mike Pence • Paul Ryan
Mary Eberstadt • The White House • Maria Steen

. . . in January, while attending events in DC related to the annual March for Life, it became apparent to me that at least some pro-life leaders are uncomfortable with Donald Trump—not the kind of presidential champion they had envisioned would take up the cause of the unborn. But as is clear in the White House Briefing Paper we reprint in *Appendix C* (page 92), President Trump’s administration has done much in that regard—one could even argue that pro-lifers have gotten more in the last year from Trump than any other group that supported him, including a beautifully delivered moment at this year’s State of the Union address celebrating adoption. Maybe next year he will do something truly unprecedented and attend the March in person. We reprint here the president’s Rose Garden address to marchers, as well as remarks by Vice President Mike Pence and Speaker of the House Paul Ryan. Thanks to our friends at *First Things*, we also share with you Mary Eberstadt’s essay, “Why the Pro-life Movement Will Live Long, and Prosper,” adapted from remarks she gave at the annual Cardinal O’Connor Conference on Life at Georgetown on Jan. 20, the day after the March (*Appendix B*, page 89).

Ms. Eberstadt, whose latest book is *It’s Dangerous to Believe: Religious Freedom and Its Enemies*, is new to these pages. As is Maria Steen, an Irish journalist whose *Sunday Independent* column on the recent impeachment of a pro-life Student Union president at University College Dublin we reprint in *Appendix D* (page 94). We also would like to welcome three new article contributors: Thomas Strobhar (“A Vow of Silence: Catholic Religious Ignore Corporate Ties to Abortion,” page 41), Patricia Ranft (“Eugenics and An Overlooked Rebuttal,” page 56), and Katrina Schickel (“Deo Gratias,” page 77). Ms. Schickel’s lovely tribute to her son who has Down syndrome originally appeared as a blog on our website as did Ursula Hennessey’s “Ohio Outlaws Death by Discrimination” (page 75). For the last two years, Reverend W. Ross Blackburn, an Anglican minister, has written a regular column on the HLR website, *A Pastor’s Reflections* (www.humanlifereview.com), one of which is included here (“A Stubborn Bond,” page 81).

Those of you who have activated your free digital subscriptions may have already visited our website and listened to the fine speeches given at our Great Defender of Life Dinner last October. We reprint them here in their entirety and include several photos of dinner guests. Dawn Eden Goldstein, as I have previously mentioned, edited an anthology of columns by our late friend (and contributor) Fr. Francis Canavan which she introduced that evening. The writings collected in *Fun Is Not Enough*, says *First Things* reviewer William Doyno, “are as lively and powerful as when they first appeared.” The book is available from En Route Books (enroute-booksandmedia.com) and due to the generosity of Sebastian Mahfood, En Route’s owner, all profits from its sales will go to the Human Life Foundation.

ANNE CONLON
MANAGING EDITOR



the HUMAN LIFE REVIEW

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INTRODUCTION

In her perspicacious lead article “Kicking the Stone: How the Real is Often the Good,” senior editor Ellen Wilson Fielding writes that ours is a sick society because we have accepted abortion, a fundamental injustice that ought always to shock us to the core. We live in “the delirium of illness,” where even those who are pro-life may be guilty of “spending too much time loathing the sensation of illness” rather than “remembering well-being well enough to long for the sensation of health.” Abortion, Fielding reminds us, is inherently wrong “because the human life it puts an end to is, objectively and irrevocably, a great good.” A healthy society is one that “values and cherishes children *and therefore* outlaws abortion.”

Another delusional trend we must resist? The “collision of the reality of gendered human nature” with the “queasy unreality of shifting and self-determined and self-referential gender identities unmoored to innate sex characteristics.” Support for gender “fluidity,” like support for “reproductive rights,” may be articulated by “intellectually sophisticated segments” of society who are mired in a kind of “solipsism of doubting whether there is any apprehensible reality.” This “miasma” was also in vogue, Fielding writes, in 18th-century England, where Samuel Johnson’s famous answer to such posturing was to give a “swift kick of the stone on the ground” to remind oneself that it is (ouch), in fact, really there.

Next, in “Abortion, Technology, and Suicide,” Nicholas Frankovich recalls with admiration remarks by Professor Helen Alvaré when, as he writes, *she* was “Samuel Johnson kicking the hard rock.” Speaking at Columbia University about efforts to persuade women away from abortion, Alvaré argued for honesty: An unexpected pregnancy entails unavoidable hardship and constriction of freedom. To a woman in crisis, agrees Frankovich, “The joy on the other side of childbirth is only a rumor, her anxiety is present and pressing,” and we “lose credibility” by not admitting this. Though “modern imaging technology” has “enabled us to see for ourselves that prenatal development is, to borrow a figure of speech, a seamless garment,” some argue (citing compassion) that it would be *better for the child not to be*, creating a “right to die” for the unborn.

Our special section, on page 21, features businesswoman and former presidential candidate Carly Fiorina’s powerful address to the guests at our gala dinner, where she was presented with the Great Defender of Life Award. Included as well are the remarks of the stellar pre-honoree lineup: Reverend Gerald Murray; editor of *Fun Is Not Enough* Dawn Eden Goldstein (see Anne Conlon’s About This Issue column), chairman of the Human Life Foundation Board James McLaughlin, and economist, author, and ABC Radio host Larry Kudlow. Fiorina recalled the media’s reaction when she exposed the grisly fetal-parts business of Planned Parenthood during a nationally televised presidential debate. Though the “data is so clear, the facts were crystal clear,” on every post-debate interview the next day the cry was ““That is not true. That is not true. That’s not true, the videotape has been discredited.”” Fiorina acknowledged that it

takes “enormous courage and perseverance” to stand up to such opposition, and urged us to “continue to tell people the facts and the science of life. . . . Science is something that so many liberals hold up, right? . . . I mean, science is our new god. So how about this science: The DNA of a zygote is exactly the same DNA as the day you die.”

Our next three articles discuss how people who affirm the truth of the inviolability of unborn life can defend it in the public square. Investment professional Thomas Strobar, chairman of Life Decisions International, writes about his lonely struggle to fight for the lives of the unborn in the corporate world. Every year for the past five decades, he explains, Catholic religious have filed shareholder resolutions with corporations on a variety of issues they care about—like tobacco marketing and environmental concerns—but *not* abortion. In his first article for the *HLR*, Strobar reports on the push-back he encounters when he files anti-abortion resolutions, as he has annually for the past 27 years.

Debate over abortion rages on in Ireland, where a referendum will be held at the end of May on whether or not to repeal the Eighth Amendment of the Irish Constitution, which protects the life of the unborn child. (See David Quinn’s “Abortion Looming in Ireland,” Spring 2017. And for more disturbing shenanigans in Ireland over life, see *Appendix D* by Maria Steen, who is a colleague of Quinn’s at the pro-life Iona Institute in Dublin.) Irish journalist Margaret Hickey, in “Framing Ireland’s Abortion Debate,” makes the case that there should be no confusion among Catholics in Ireland about how to vote on the referendum. Some Catholics may be tempted to adopt a “live and let live” attitude, she writes, because in a secular society “we are challenged to vote as citizens and not as Catholics.” But “inclusivity should never trump conscience,” and the Catholic belief in the sanctity of human life is a crucial witness to people of all backgrounds, who can see that the violation of life in abortion “impinges on how we value life in other contexts.”

Similarly, as we read in our next article, by newcomer Patricia Ranft, St. Thérèse of Lisieux, “who has been called the most beloved woman in modern history,” provided in her teachings a powerful—and accessible to all—rebuttal to another great violation of human dignity, eugenics. It’s chilling to be reminded here that eugenics, “promoted as proven, unassailable science,” was enormously “popular and influential” in the early 20th century. By 1914, thirty states had passed sterilization laws for the “unfit”; by the 40s eugenics was “entrenched in global culture.” Against all this was the “little way” of St. Thérèse’s *The Story of a Soul*, published posthumously in 1898 and an enormous international bestseller—translated into 35 languages—by 1925. She provides a pro-life ideology, writes Ranft, “with its emphasis on humanity’s inherent equality and dignity,” which can be “easily detached from her theology.”

Senior editor William Murchison writes next about the tremendous work of Dr. Leon R. Kass, the “eminent, invaluable American scholar,” biochemist, and ethicist. Dr. Kass’s new collection of essays—*Leading a Worthy Life*—is a “treasure house of wisdom, from floor to ceiling.” Like Fielding, Murchison describes a sick society, the result of people wanting “latitude”—they don’t want to be “boxed” in by others’ expectations or the mores of past generations. Dr. Kass provides a prescription to combat

the malaise, a return, across all our institutions, to integrity and a profound respect for the human being as such.

In Film/Booknotes, John Grondelski reviews a new collection of essays on a similar subject: Australian journalist Michael Cook's *The Great Human Dignity Heist: How Bioethics are Trashing the Foundations of Western Civilizations*, in which Cook, a "rapier-tongued iconoclast," smashes the idols of mainstream secular bioethics. In the same section, Anne Sullivan reviews *Wonder*, a "heartwarming," "emotionally powerful," and edifying film based on the book by R.J. Palacio. The story about the brave perseverance of Auggie, a boy whose genetic condition (Treacher Collins Syndrome) has caused severe facial deformation, is also very much the story of the love and courage of his family, in particular his mother.

Fierce maternal love is evident in the three selections we include from the *Human Life Review* website. In "Ohio Outlaws Death by Discrimination," Ursula Hennessey applauds a new Ohio state law that prohibits the abortion of babies with Down syndrome. But she also points out how much more needs to be done—parents of children with special needs (like Hennessey herself) are in "battle mode daily" for educational and occupational programs for the disabled. In "Deo Gratias," Katrina Schickel shares the story of her first-born son Luke's entrance into the world in 1970, his diagnosis of Down syndrome, and how he is the "heart and hope" of his family. Luke taught his mother how to join the battle and advocate for the disabled. And Rev. W. Ross Blackburn, in a column from A Pastor's Reflections, his regular feature on our website, meditates on the power of the "stubborn bond between mother and child"—and asks why it "now appears so fragile that 1.2 million times a year it fails to protect the unborn child?"

* * *

On Friday, January 19, Ifeoma Anunkor, our McFadden Fellow, Anne Conlon, and I joined the hundred thousand-plus marchers in Washington gathered for the 45th annual March for Life. We include in *Appendix A* President Donald Trump's speech from the Rose Garden (transmitted via satellite to the Marchers), Vice-President Pence's address (the evening before) to pro-life leaders, and Congressman Paul Ryan's remarks at the pre-March rally. *Appendix C* is a White House Briefing Statement: "President Donald Trump is Standing Up for Life." And in a marvelous reflection, Mary Eberstadt says she is sure the "Pro-Life Movement Will Live Long, and Prosper" (*Appendix B*, reprinted from *First Things*). Among other things, she compares the joylessness of grim pro-choice demonstrators to the youthful energy and mirth that "crackles" at the March for Life. Having joined the throngs of cheery youngsters ourselves, we can attest to the hope, and, as mirth is crucial in keeping our spirits up in the long struggle, we bring you the incomparable wit of Nick Downes in the cartoons included here.

MARIA MCFADDEN MAFFUCCI
EDITOR

Kicking the Stone:

How the Real Is Often the Good

Ellen Wilson Fielding

Recently, I heard the following anecdote: A doctor in a remote part of Africa arrived at a village that had almost no interaction with the developed world. Over time, as he won the people's trust because of the lives he had saved and the relief from illness he had brought them, they plied him with questions about life in the world beyond their primitive village. So he told them about street lighting and television and computers, supermarkets and shopping malls and flush toilets—in fact, all the modern marvels we take for granted. He told them how people lived and worked and what they did in their spare time. Because they trusted him, they believed everything he told them, however distant from their experience—except for two items that seemed too bizarre to be credible. The first was that there were people where he came from who believed in no God—not just in a different god from those they were familiar with and routinely sought to appease, but none at all. The second was that there were women who killed the babies growing inside them—and openly, with social acceptance. “Why would you tell us such a horrible thing?” they asked the doctor.

Although we proliferate agree with the tribe members that human life at all stages is a good, and that killing innocent human life is wrong, without traveling mentally a distance commensurate with that traveled by the doctor from his “developed” world to the primitive tribe, it is difficult nowadays to experience their shock at the appalling unrightness of abortion. I imagine it is a bit like the case of a person long imprisoned trying to conjure up the ease and rightness of strolling about at large: It is only by straining to recapture the sense of what is normal that he or she can regain the feeling of the unrightness, the unnaturalness of captivity. Or take the long-term invalid trying to recapture the once-familiar sensations of health and vitality, from which he can again realize the unrightness of the illness he suffers from.

At this point, in this society, we all live in the delirium of illness. We may not like it—and it is healthy and right not to like it—but we spend much of our time loathing the sensation of illness rather than remembering well-being well enough to long for the sensation of health.

This is a problem that crops up in all kinds of places in the very sick society

Ellen Wilson Fielding, a longtime senior editor of the *Human Life Review*, is the author of *An Even Dozen* (Human Life Press). The mother of four children, she lives in Maryland.

we inhabit. For example, that African tribe knew not only that killing the unborn child was wrong, but that human life is *good*. Despite illness, want, poverty, disappointment—despite moods in which we *feel* otherwise, it is good. In other words, abortion is not merely immoral as a law against something makes it illegal; it is inherently wrong, because the human life it puts an end to is, objectively and irrevocably, a great good. If we do not really apprehend *that*, we will be less empowered to oppose abortion, less energized by the vision of the good that abortion is opposed to. To the extent that we lose sight of our true goal—which is not merely a society that outlaws abortion, but a society that values and cherishes children *and therefore* outlaws abortion—we will not shake free of the sickness of our own ailing society, and we will be more susceptible to its outlying, seemingly less extreme, falsehoods.

During the years I homeschooled my children in the 1990s I found myself part of a profoundly pro-life community of people who celebrated life in part by counterculturally welcoming and caring for large families. And they were hardly unique: In fact, there are many other pockets of people living a consciously countercultural (because traditional) way of being families. Contrary to what the secular media imagine them to be, most of these rebels against an ailing society are not generally “haters,” as Taylor Swift would put it—but joyful and fulfilled spouses, parents, friends, neighbors, employees. Unlike many of their contemporaries, however, they choose not to join in their era’s great experiment of inventing new patterns of living as they go along, all in search of attaining at almost any price (including in some cases the price of others’ well-being and even their lives) something they call personal happiness. Those who have opted out of this experiment in societal self-creation are not occupied in stuffing an expanding array of experiences into the hollow places of a self-referential life; instead they experience the psychological ease of taking their place in the pattern of human family life, attempting to hand on what they received from those who went before.

Patterns of behavior, recognizably customary ways of settling into a human destiny that interlocks with millions—billions—of other human destinies, past, present, and future, this is not a description of human life likely to attract those immersed in an endless variety of improvised activities and fluid identities.

Which leads to another area where it has been getting harder to experience the shock of the collision between normal vision and what an overwhelmingly wide range of societies over millennia of human experience would have considered abnormal. I am referring to the collision of the reality of gendered human nature, complete with complementary roles in procreation and child-rearing, and the queasy unreality of shifting and self-determined and self-referential gender

identities unmoored to innate sex characteristics.

What perhaps makes navigating the multi-gender modern landscape such an exercise in disequilibrium is the switchbacks where we revisit traditional roles in discrete territories adjoining the new models. So, for example, Father's Day is a time when newspapers publish op-eds by successful women telling of the power of their father's belief in them, ascribing to them (despite the business success motif) a traditionally male, fatherly influence in encouraging achievement and drive and ambition. Merchandisers also cheerfully dish up the familiar stereotypes of man caves, sports watching, and tool-buying. Mother's Day, on the other hand, even in the most liberal venues, predominately features more domestically heartwarming tales of support, unconditional acceptance, and the nurturance of family cohesion. Ads for spas, cosmetics, brunches, pretty clothes, and flowers abound.

I wonder how, save through our tolerance for cognitive dissonance and perhaps the long arm of the retailers, Father's Day and Mother's Day even survive as separate entities, when the gender-free word parenting has for the most part pushed out mothering and fathering, and same-sex marriage seems logically to require us to attach no benefit in, let alone need for, the input of both a male and female parent? How long can we expect these holidays (and their residual role reinforcement) to last? Hard to tell, given the resilience with which we compartmentalize, but if the cultural arbiters decide to swoop down on those indigestible leftovers of outmoded family values, Mother's Day and Father's Day could be shoveled into the dustbin of history almost instantaneously.

Because delusional people make for intimidating enemies. After all, the elements of a delusional society necessarily exist only in the mind; therefore, the interruption of the delusion by the rude appearance of reality threatens to extinguish the delusion. That is why a largely healthy society, one with clear vision and a proper alignment of human roles, values, and relationships with reality, can tolerate delusional thinking here and there in the peripheries better than an unhealthy, delusional society can tolerate pockets of reality. It's as though someone prone to optical illusions were trying to safely navigate a route. The illusions themselves would not cause a real collision—the kind that can result in actual pain and injury—but pain and injury could result from attempting to sidestep the illusion and inadvertently bumping into the hard, unforgiving edges of reality.

Precisely because reality is so fundamental, so antecedent to our normal reasonings and rationalizations, it can be hard for many people to know how to formulate arguments for it. They may grope for words, and face the ridicule of those intellectually sophisticated segments of the population who also happen to

be unmoored from traditional religion, indigenous culture, or other reinforcers of reality. Most of us remember affecting certain cynical, mocking, subversive habits of thought at a skeptical stage in adolescence or young adulthood. In that sort of mood, it is easy to be blind to the appeal of the plain bread of custom.

The problem is, people who drink deep of the delights of nihilistic thinking soon sink to the solipsism of doubting whether there is any apprehensible reality and, if so, any way of coming to know it. Whether this miasma of solipsistic doubt is only half assumed or wholly bought into, it is hard to shift by purely logical presentations, partly because it attacks fundamental axioms upon which we ordinarily construct logical argument, and partly because it is itself pre- or non-rational.

In fact, “miasma” is a good word for it, because it is a mood, a mental atmosphere, like foggy weather or cloudy skies obscuring the sun. Far from being a 20th- or 21st-century affliction, however, it can be encountered among some of the ancient Greeks and even in Samuel Johnson’s 18th century England, where it took the form of a philosophical argument that reality was not something existing independent of human observation and thought. Intoxicating to children first transitioning from soaking up facts to exercising their newly developed logical and analytical muscles, this sort of extreme skepticism eventually becomes stale and wearying, a dead end that stymies mental progress. Johnson’s solution for this mental miasma—the swift kick of the stone on the ground, with “Thus I refute it,” was meant precisely as a jolt of reality, a kick in the shins, a bumping into a wall that convinces our nerve endings that we must turn around and head in another direction.

But no, that kind of argument doesn’t come across as particularly sophisticated. And neither, often, do we when we wade into arguments about ontology or natural law with proponents of abortion or same-sex marriage. More and more, though, I think that a great part of the possibility of breaking through the solipsist’s self-generated mental fog lies in a pure adherence to—a death-grip hold on—basic reality, however hard the reigning culture tries to tug it from our hands. We must let reality anchor us, because only then do we have a chance of handing it on to those lost in weightless worlds of their making—like “the unbearable lightness of being” that Czech author Milan Kundera observed in modern, post-everything Europe.

Yes, sophisticated counterarguments must be crafted (in part to show that we too can come up with them). But in a world as unanchored to reality as this, perhaps what is needed most is an unwavering gaze on a reality that we steadily point others toward. I think, for example, of Mother Teresa of Calcutta, when she was taxed with the pointlessness of rescuing one child out of so many lost, holding up the tiny, scrawny scrap of humanity and saying, “Look! There’s life in her!”

Look! Look! *Some* version of that directive (what I call the Indicative

Argument) to abandon the games and the fantasies and the fictions that we tell ourselves, that we float upon, is necessary to rouse us from the mists of sleep. Here, then, lies the importance of maintaining contact with those pockets of reality—as many of them as you can, of whatever kind—so that you will have something real to convey to those who are attempting to subsist on air, to consume theories and fantasies or clothe themselves with imaginary gender roles and identities.

Cognitive dissonance also reigns supreme in the discussions of sexual harassment that exploded near the close of 2017 in traditional and social media with Harvey Weinstein’s fall from grace. Most of the public commentary on this parade of sordid behavior consists of variations on Lord Acton’s “Power tends to corrupt.” However, though it would not prevent all or perhaps even most of the specific victimization that took place at the hands of selfish and immoral people, it is important for the healthy relations of men and women to remember the strengths that are the flip side of male testosterone-fueled aggression. And those are the protective and providing part of the male human package. Clearly all males do not properly employ their built-in biologically engineered instinct for sheltering and protecting. Correspondingly, many women cover up or corrupt their own feminine gifts (like those of the male, at least partially biologically derived) of surrounding loved ones with their own less aggressive version of protective love. In fact, some of women’s most momentous decisions—including aborting a child and ending a marriage—at times indicate the suppression, misdirection, or avoidance of such qualities—calling to mind Lady Macbeth’s “Unsex me now.”

SStill, the male protective instinct exists, however much it can be subverted or suppressed. Whether you attribute the differences between the sexes to a meaningless, accidental quirk of biology, an evolutionarily advantageous adaptation, the Divine Plan, or social conditioning arising from male physical ability to subjugate and establish patriarchy, these aspects of general maleness and femaleness are observable, are evident, are realities that can reflect “what we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes, what we looked upon and touched with our hands” (to quote St. John the Evangelist’s testimony to his personal knowledge of Jesus).

Once willing to acknowledge the “realness” of these male and female differences, it may occur to us that we should try to encourage the positive aspects of male aggressiveness rather than laboring to eradicate male aggressiveness altogether by well-intentioned indoctrination and/or shaming. (Or by segregating it to select arenas where male aggressiveness is not only tolerated but celebrated and rewarded, such as professional football and action movies.) To do otherwise is to assume that males as presently evolved are not merely

flawed like all human beings but uniquely twisted human beings.

The standard against which they are found wanting, in some models of this argument, is Woman. Women, after all, commit comparatively few of society's crimes, still constitute only a small percentage of those behind bars, and commit sexual abuse at a much smaller rate than men. Theorists of the more militant and revolutionary forms of feminism that developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s argued that attaining a just and peaceful society would require the reshaping of men to make them much more closely resemble women; others argued that such a transformation was impossible, and therefore males should be controlled physically, chemically, or psychologically. Feminist writers and controversialists like Susan Brownmiller (author of *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*) incited many a college argument in that era with her assertion that rape was "a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear."

Another differently directed but similarly radical feminism turned the first argument on its head: In their view it was *women* who needed to alter their behavior, motives, and morals to succeed in the "outside," formerly male worlds of business and politics. The trickle-down effect of this school of feminism is alive and well today: This is the arena of all those "having it all" discussions, talk of glass ceilings and a place at the water cooler—and of course, the push for much greater participation in the seemingly solely prestigious STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) careers.

This school of feminist-derived thought on what constitutes a successful life for a woman is founded on two implicit premises. The first is that the traditionally male model of going forth to tame the earth and subdue it, discover continents, conquer territory, and do battle with opponents or (in the business world) the competition—all those conquest/battle metaphors that have in the past only sparsely crossed over into the language of female self-definition—now are esteemed as unconditionally good things that women correctly covet. The second is that such modeling on male aggressiveness suits the mass of women as well as it seemingly suits the mass of men.

These two spheres of radical feminist thought—one positing that men are incompletely or only perversely human; the other positing that women are less successful at being powerful humans—do not neatly coexist. There are contradictions between the two, which is why those seeking a tidy feminist ideology align fairly cleanly with one or the other of them but not both. However, below those Olympian heights of ideology, in trickle-down territory, it is amazing how much overlap we are willing to tolerate in this area as in some of the others already mentioned. Ads, sitcoms, women news anchors can all convey—sometimes simultaneously—the commonplace stereotype that

women are more compassionate and possess greater emotional intelligence, while also emphasizing their competitive killer instinct on the sports field and encouraging women to flood into the more prestigious STEM career fields and storm the executive suites of businesses.

However, since women are still obstinately more likely than men to choose careers like elementary education, nursing, and social work (to name a few of the fields that are heavily populated by women—and where all that compassion and emotional intelligence can be real assets), how is the female STEM tsunami going to occur without causing equally massive shortages in those currently majority female jobs? And yet, surely these careers too are valuable to society.

The collision of conflicting feminist ideas of male and female aptitudes and abilities has today been further confused by the fluid LGBT-etc. gender experiment. Though each of these revolutionary threads shares a refusal to be constrained by a (human) nature whose determinations their adherents do not accept or respect, aside from this we already see glimpses of disharmonious thinking that are likely to become more visible. After all, if we truly seek to be self-determined—masters of our fate in the most fundamental senses—why should we accommodate ourselves to someone else’s social agenda? So, for example, when Kardashian stepdad and former Olympic medalist Bruce Jenner decided to become Caitlyn Jenner a few years ago, Jenner’s interviews about negotiating a newly single social life as a woman drew some feminist backlash from those deploring Jenner’s (and the media’s) preoccupation with Caitlyn’s makeup, appearance, and wardrobe. What apparently appealed to Jenner as a delicious reveling in new-found femininity was to some movement feminists a regression into the territory of stereotypical man-pleasing.

Or take another example of confusion and self-contradiction among those in the vanguard of remaking humankind: the response of women’s colleges to the brave new world of transgender choice. In the late 60s and early 70s, the single-sex colleges had decisions to make involving their identity and sense of mission—and also economic realities. Almost all of the men’s colleges chose to admit women, spurred on by declining enrollments but also newly uncomfortable with anything that savored of “separate but equal” arguments applied to the sphere of the sexes. Many but not all of the women’s colleges followed suit.

Which model of higher education makes more sense for women (and for men) is a complicated and perhaps (practically speaking) pointless question right now. Within and beneath the larger generalities, it may depend in part on the type of woman, the type of education, and the type of institution. Regardless, the remaining single-sex colleges seemed to emerge from this era of introspection

with a certain confidence in their mission, though often with a tougher job of selling it to prospective students.

Then, with the advent of gender multiplication and self-selection, many of those same women's colleges that had labored over mission statements found the very ground beneath their feet breaking under the fundamental question: What is a woman?

Is a woman a classifiable entity, friendly to the exercise of taxonomy? (Is anything nowadays really taxonomically friendly? Will we soon see the blurring of lines across species, classes, phyla, kingdoms? Who knows?) Can she be identified by DNA testing? If so, what is the transgender issue all about? Those who signed onto respecting someone's right to decide if he is a man in a woman's body (or vice versa) signed onto a non-scientific—indeed, an anti-scientific—definition of man and woman. In fact the definition is simplicity itself—but also simply impossible for someone other than the subject to either identify or change.

Women's colleges confronted with the question of who, in this era of gender self-determination, would be eligible for admission (and under what circumstances the admitted student would remain eligible) have followed the new order to its logical but non-scientific conclusion. Anyone who considers herself a woman can apply and, if accepted, attend. Anyone who, at some point in her college career, decides she is male would then need to look elsewhere.

Now, at least in the near term, there is likely to be minimal practical difficulty with this protocol since, even in liberal feminist academic institutions, the percentage of students switching identities from male to female and vice versa is (and probably will remain) quite small. But in terms of educational mission, where does that leave the formerly confident women's college? And in terms of educating people about the kinds of objective bodies of knowledge colleges have been accustomed to teaching, where does that leave any institution of higher learning philosophically and scientifically (no matter how much, in the interests of practicality and making the trains run on time and curing disease and developing robots, people ignore the philosophical implications)? What about biology, for example, and other areas of knowledge where testable, experientially derived results once earned them inclusion in the solid-sounding category of the "hard sciences"? Are material things measurable and quantifiable and classifiable—or not? And are historical events describable (even if their significance or lessons are not)? If so, *why*, when over here, on the online application form whose information is fed into the computer, something that used to be one of the most irreducibly objective pieces of data is now no longer perceivable, testable, or determinable? Are we left only with self-chosen taxonomies, based perhaps

(but we can't even definitively say that!) on internal, invisible self-identifications that rely upon self-interpreted emotional reactions? The gender charts that name (what is the current total?) some 50-plus possible gender categories describe these self-identifications, but do not define them in terms that would allow anyone else to sort people into a given gender without their self-report, or to verify someone else's choice.

We seem to have reached a place where people have determined, whether consciously or not, to arbitrarily separate into categories those subjects that, because of their urgency or extreme usefulness for human beings, will be treated objectively, rationally, and factually—such as, say, causes and cures for illness or technological innovations—and those that are segregated from rational discussion or empirical proofs or testing according to anything like the scientific method. If so, the assumption that we can somehow afford to tolerate such a distinction is likely to prove perilous for both the individual and society.

One of the great tasks that social scientists undertook over the last few centuries was a more “scientific” understanding of human motives and behavior both alone and in society. Hence, throughout the twentieth century the social sciences strove ever harder to identify with the hard sciences, becoming ever more statistically and neurologically based. Among the great recent achievements of this approach has been the development of psychotropic drugs to treat mental illness. In the history of intellectual thought, therefore, abandoning the attempt to understand human beings even on the most basic level of male and female (so basic that one of the most fundamental divisions of living beings is into those that reproduce sexually and those that reproduce asexually) would seem to be taking a huge step backwards. After all, over several thousand years of Western history, intellectual progress has been measured in terms of conquering greater and greater expanses of intellectual territory—more extensive areas of the observable world that can be measured, distinguished objectively from other areas, and understood to act in predictable ways.

Now, at the abstract and academic level of gender theory, or of the larger philosophical questions of what human beings are and how we do—or do not—categorize them biologically and psychologically, perhaps the loss of the kind of certainty ensuing from observation, the scientific method, or reasoning from universal first principles is not very noticeable. It is obscured by mental gymnastics, a passion for revolutionary utopianism, an ostensibly daring denial of the normal, a rebellion against the restraints of reality and the sometimes-irksome limitations imposed by biology, upbringing, and what used to be known as the duties of one's station in life.

Ultimately, however, intelligence untethered to truth has nothing reliable to offer—only the speculative and (by extension) behavioral license to do what one pleases, whatever the outcome. But in the real world that abides beyond the borders of our fantasies, there are always real outcomes, real consequences.

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well into the future.***



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Technology, Abortion, and Suicide

Nicholas Frankovich

We promise not that people will be richer or that they will have more time to enjoy leisure and pursue their dreams. We promise that they will be poorer and burdened with a new responsibility. Its gravity will curtail their youthful ambition and drag them to earth. Their horizons will shrink. They will exchange travel and reading and meditation for the mundane business of feeding and cleaning a baby.

In somewhat leaner language, Helen Alvaré made that observation in passing during the question-and-answer period after a talk at Columbia University in the early 1990s. She meant that we should appreciate the size of the task we undertake when we try to convince the world to reject abortion. If we urge a woman not to have one, we tell her to take a course of action that amounts to accepting an avoidable hardship and constriction of her freedom here and now. It may well be that “as soon as she delivers the child, she remembers no more the anguish, for joy that a person is born into the world” (John 16:21), but in the moment that she deliberates whether to keep the child or terminate the pregnancy, that joy on the other side of childbirth is still only a rumor. Her anxiety is present and pressing, and the means of ending it are available. Why should she not avail herself of them?

As an anti-abortion advocate, Alvaré, who represented the National Conference of Catholic Bishops at the time, had the advantage of being both young and a woman: The messenger was the message. Her arguments were sound on paper. Delivered through the person of Helen Alvaré, they were altogether compelling. It was not only the age and gender boxes she could check. It was her spirit. She could enchant an audience. Being a natural communicator and marketer of her cause, she knew the persuasion business from the perspective of the persuader and may have felt more sharply than most of us do the difference between the facts of life and the sugarcoating that a salesperson may be tempted to hide them under.

Alvaré was right, of course. Human persons are self-interested (though not only that), and anti-abortion advocates cannot afford to lapse into complacency about that fact. We need to prepare for the toughest-minded possible interlocutor, the skeptic who sees the reasonableness of the pro-life position but asks how it could be in her self-interest to forgo an abortion if she’s pregnant and doesn’t want to be.

Nicholas Frankovich is a deputy managing editor of *National Review*.

“How would I be better off if I kept the baby?”

“In economic terms, you wouldn’t be. He could care for you in your old age, but he wouldn’t have to, and in any case you don’t know whether you would even need his help. What we know for sure is that, for approximately the next two decades, you would have less time and money to spend on yourself, unless you gave the child up for adoption.”

That’s not the whole answer, of course, but it’s part of the answer, and we lose credibility if we omit it—or even if we include it but only after dwelling too long on the joy that, several months down the road, she should feel because a person has been born into the world. In life, the sequence of events is pain and then joy, and so should it be in our argument for life. With a few sharp words that evening on Morningside Heights, Alvaré drilled down to the nerve of the problem. She was Samuel Johnson kicking the hard rock to refute Bishop Berkeley’s “ingenious sophistry to prove the nonexistence of matter”: No, mundane reality does exist. Look what we’re up against.

The material cost to the woman who would be denied the opportunity to terminate her pregnancy is a hard, plain fact, but the body of the child she would abort is no less material, as readers of this journal appreciate. The two facts collide, and we feel the impact more keenly thanks to the proliferation and perfection of new technologies in the past century. The legal fiction that the fetus was not properly alive until “quickening,” the first moment that the woman felt it stirring in her womb, evaporated generations ago, as modern imaging technology enabled us to see for ourselves that prenatal development is, to borrow a figure of speech, a seamless garment, continuous and gradual, marked by no visible or tangible quantum leaps.

In the late 1950s, occurring roughly in tandem with this expansion and refinement of our scientific knowledge of life in the womb, vacuum-aspiration techniques for abortion were developed, replacing curettes, instruments for scraping the fetus from the uterus. The improvement to the efficiency and, for the woman, the safety of surgical abortion was revolutionary. In nation after nation across the Western world, campaigns to legalize abortion soon took off—ironically, against the background of a more accurate, detailed understanding than that of any previous generation in recorded history of how the human organism remains itself even as it develops from conception through birth. Magazines in the 1960s in America and Europe ran Lennart Nilsson’s stunning photographs of the unborn from their earliest stages of gestation, even as the daily newspapers chronicled the movement to strike down laws protecting those wondrous creatures—our very selves, or at any rate human beings such as we all once were—that he captured on film. The contradiction cried out for a resolution that the world still awaits.

American hospitals began using sonograms widely in the 1970s. “Nothing

has been as damaging to our cause as the advances in technology which have allowed pictures of the developing fetus,” the pollster Harrison Hickman told a National Abortion Rights Action League convention in 1989. “People now talk about that fetus in much different terms than they did fifteen years ago. They talk about it as a human being, which is not something that I have an easy answer how to cure.” Meanwhile, advances in perinatal medicine had begun to enable doctors to perform surgery on the fetus and otherwise treat him directly as a patient to a degree that would have been hard to imagine a century earlier. And the age at which a child born prematurely could survive continued slowly to drop.

On all these fronts, medical progress for treating the unborn and the newborn has shifted public discourse in a direction favorable to the pro-life view that the moral worth of the unborn child is not clearly different from that of the child born. Pulling us in the opposite direction is a recognition of the relative ease of aborting him by surgical or, since the 1970s, pharmaceutical means. It tempts us to half-pretend that the old distinction between pre-quickening and post-quickening still obtains. The modern procedure is a vast improvement for the woman who wants to terminate a pregnancy, but that miracle of modern medicine is for naught if we recognize the fetus as an infant and still recoil from infanticide. Other societies have negotiated the continuity between the unborn and the newborn differently, some erring on the side of the parents’ freedom to choose between his life and death. That meant honoring their freedom even after the child’s birth. Peter Brown in *Body and Society* (1988) describes the blurring of abortion and infanticide in ancient Rome: “The mere fact of physical birth . . . did not make a Roman child a person. Its father must lift it from the floor. If not, the little bundle of ensouled matter, as much a fetus as if it were still in its mother’s womb, must wait for others to collect it from a place outside the father’s house.”

When thinking about abortion, most people in our day swim through oceans of ambivalence and ambiguity. They feel—which is to say that their reasoning remains submerged, unconscious—that the injustice to the aborted child is proportionate to his age. Late-term abortion? Virtual infanticide. Abortion in the first few months? Virtual contraception—though our confidence that a fertilized ovum is not a human being dissolves when we spend enough time contemplating the question. In size, appearance, complexity, and faculties, the unborn in the early stages of development differ from us too much for us to feel that they and we belong to the same species, but what we know is that we too were once as they. Try as we might to repress the knowledge, it finds ways to return.

In the mind of each of us, as well as in the collective mind of our culture, two competing voices speak to us about abortion. Technology, as we have seen,

amplifies both. The unborn child has a natural right to life and should have a corresponding legal right, we maintain, while pro-choice proponents deny that he has legal rights and either muddle or dismiss as immaterial the question about natural rights. The impasse between those two contrary premises, underpinning the pro-life and the pro-choice causes respectively, has characterized the abortion debate since its early days in the 1960s. In the United States as elsewhere, the pro-choice side won at law, of course. *Roe v. Wade* has been in force since 1973. States have enacted restrictions on abortion late in pregnancy/gestation, but those laws conform to stipulations laid out in *Roe*, which grants to states the right to proscribe abortion after viability, even though it concludes that “the word ‘person,’ as used in the Fourteenth Amendment, does not include the unborn.” That is, the Court concedes that a state has the right to enact laws to protect its interest in “potential life” but that no legal rights belong to the unborn child himself.

Whether he has a natural right to life is a different question. That debate has never been won or lost decisively by either side and perhaps never will be, since it is not a disagreement that a final arbiter, such as a majority of the Supreme Court, can resolve with authority. The environment in which the question of the unborn child’s humanity is disputed is public opinion. There, conflicting ideas about his moral status cannot be compartmentalized and sequestered from one other, with one set of ideas treated as victorious and operative, the other defeated and moot. Rather, multifarious streams of thought mingle in the society’s larger, general current of thought, affecting its overall coloration. Consequently, many political justifications for abortion rights end up being suffused with a core assumption of the pro-life movement: that the unborn child is a human being and a person deserving respect.

Consider this familiar comment sometimes made to buttress the pro-choice cause: A woman who aborts may well do so out of compassion, to spare her unborn the hardship she has reason to think his life would have entailed. Note in that appeal to sympathy for the child the tacit assumption that he has a right to die. Once introduced into the debate, this right (even if it remains, as it usually does, only latent in the argument and never named) opens up for the pro-choice cause a fascinating possibility: The interest of the unborn child can be conceded and honored without affecting the practical outcome, abortion rights, if a right to die is understood to exist as equal and parallel to the right to life.

In political rhetoric and a segment of the public imagination, a woman’s right to an abortion is equated with the right of her unborn child to die. They are the same right seen from two different aspects: the woman’s self-interest and her interest in her child’s welfare, which in her judgment may be best served by her exercising, on his behalf, a right to die. As a legal issue, the unborn child’s right to die is simply assumed in a wrongful-life lawsuit. There, through a proxy, he

claims that he should have been aborted but that medical practitioners failed to detect his injury or deformity and thereby deprived his mother of information on which she might have decided to terminate her pregnancy. In U.S. abortion law, which grants most of the right to the woman, some to the state, and none to the unborn child, the obvious argument against the child's claim of wrongful birth is that he has no legal right to have been aborted, just as he has no legal right not to have been. Even if courts were to concede that he had a natural right to die in utero, the decision to exercise it would belong, under current law, solely to his mother.

Wrongful-life lawsuits are rare and even more rarely successful, and the remedy sought is never infanticide of the disabled child, but the legal theory underpinning them is still useful to study. It is an articulation of a widely though tacitly held view of abortion as the means by which a mother, acting as the natural proxy for her unborn child, can exercise a right of his to die. Such compassion may be genuine but misguided, or it may be a story that a woman tells herself to placate her conscience. In either case, we see in her reasoning, even when it is only rationalization, the limit of Alvaré's note about self-interest, which no doubt Alvaré herself recognized as a necessary but not sufficient part of the explanation for our society's complex attitudes about abortion.

Compassion, no less than self-interest, is also intrinsic to human behavior and psychology. Likewise altruism, your commitment to the welfare of another person even at your own cost—even if he lives on the other side of the globe and therefore rouses in you no strong emotion. Altruism is an exercise of the will, not always joined by an effusion from the heart. It is to channel this impulse to do good beyond the demands of your conscience that charities exist. As for conscience, unless we are sociopaths we cannot avoid feeling some intuition of the minimum respect that we owe another person simply because he is human.

To dismiss the compassion, altruism, and conscience that are natural to human beings would be just as soft-minded as to swoon over the smiling baby on the pro-life pamphlet while forgetting about the material costs of bringing the child to birth and raising him. Sentimental fallacies tug at us from one direction; from the other, sentimental fallacies in reverse. Few of us are all Hobbes and no Rousseau. Most of us are a bit of each. The ratio varies from person to person.

Good in themselves, these natural tendencies—self-interest, compassion, altruism, obedience to conscience—are all invoked, sometimes singly, sometimes in various combinations, to rationalize both abortion and suicide. Those two forms of taking life, and the various motives for taking it, shade into each other in the kind of dream logic that appears to shape the thinking behind our formal and official statements on the justice, or injustice, of abortion and suicide, including assisted suicide. “More people have been killed in this century by

tenderhearted souls than by cruel barbarians in all other centuries put together,” thunders Father Smith in Walker Percy’s *Thanatos Syndrome* (1987). “Do you know where tenderness always leads?” he asks rhetorically (and, granted, hyperbolically). “To the gas chamber.”

Hannah Arendt in *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963) shares the diary entry of a physician who in the last days of the Second World War in Europe urged a German woman to flee the approaching Red Army: “Where do you want to go? I ask her. She does not know, but she knows that they will all be brought into the Reich. And then she adds, surprisingly: ‘the Russians will never get us. The Führer will never permit it. Much sooner he will gas us.’ I look around furtively, but no one seems to find this statement out of the ordinary.” It’s not that the German woman lacked self-interest. It’s that her self-interest was oriented toward death, hers as well as that of others, just as the tenderness denounced by Father Smith would be a virtue if it were appropriately applied. The record shows, alas, that a feature of our age is that compassion, no less than self-interest, is easily conscripted into various schemes for taking human life—first that of others, then our own.



*“However, should the need arise at Cyber Biogenetics for a trusty sidekick,
we have your resume on file.”*

Great Defender of Life Dinner 2017

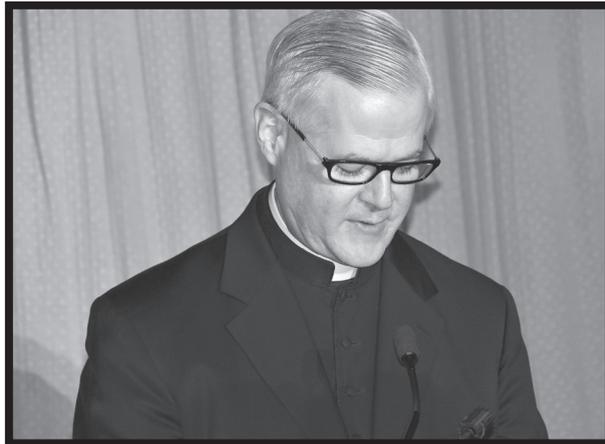


October 26, 2017

REV. GERALD MURRAY:

The hit Broadway musical *Hamilton* features a song with the refrain: “It must be nice, it must be nice to have Washington on your side.” While that may be true, tonight I say: “It is definitely nice to have Carly Fiorina on our side.” For evidence to support that statement I turn to David French writing in *National Review* Online on September 17, 2015, the day after a Republican primary debate. French summed up why we love Carly. “For years, the mainstream media, pop culture, and the conventions of politics have jammed pro-life politicians and activists into a box. In this, the most consequential of debates, in which millions of innocent lives hang in the balance, it is imperative that one not show too much emotion, that one be nice—not scary. A politician can thunder about income inequality, about manufacturing jobs, or about a degree or two on the thermometer, but when it comes to babies being dismembered in the womb, let’s just be civil, shall we? Last night, Carly Fiorina broke the convention.”

French then quoted verbatim what Carly said in the debate about the horrific barbarities revealed in the Center for Medical Progress sting operation against Planned Parenthood. Carly said: “I dare Hillary Clinton [and] Barack Obama to watch these tapes. Watch a fully formed fetus on the table, its heart beating, its legs kicking, while someone says, ‘We have to keep it alive to harvest its brain.’ This is about the character of our nation.” French then continued: “The Left has shaped the pro-choice debate, reserving



all the anger and emotion for itself, because it knows its vulnerabilities. Orthodox religion and moral tradition are not on its side, the facts are not on its side, and if emotion is allowed, the plight of the dismembered innocent should dominate the debate—and would dominate it, if honesty were permitted.

“Last night, Carly Fiorina threw down the gauntlet. As a conservative woman, she defied the unofficial rules of the abortion debate and put the truth, including

the emotional truth, directly in front of more than 20 million Americans, with various social-media shares likely accounting for millions more. This is what the Left fears most, and it will strike back hard and fast—indeed, it already is doing so—but the damage is done, and in attempting to rebut Fiorina, they are giving her more exposure. For more than a generation, pro-life activists have watched in frustration as even the best conservative politicians struggle to describe not just the facts of abortion but also its emotional truth. For the first time in my memory, a presidential candidate succeeded. Carly Fiorina gave the pro-life movement the moment it was looking for.”

To which I say: Amen. We are grateful to you, Carly, for your fearless defense of our unborn brothers and sisters.

Let us pray: God our Father, we turn to you with gratitude for the gift of life. Bless all those who work to defend innocent human life from those who would destroy it in the name of a false freedom, which is none other than a freedom to do evil. Bless Carly Fiorina and keep her strong in serving you and your truth. Bless the work of the Human Life Foundation, and reward those who generously support this important institution that is doing your work. Bless our meal and our fellowship this evening, and keep us ever mindful of the needs of the poor and the hungry, you who live and reign forever and ever. Amen.

MARIA MCFADDEN MAFFUCCI:

This evening, for the first time, we are streaming part of this wonderful celebration live on Facebook. So, I want to welcome all of our guests here again, and I want to welcome everyone who’s watching at home on their computers or smartphones. Welcome to the 15th annual Great Defender of Life Dinner! We are thrilled this evening to be honoring Carly Fiorina.

The debate over what feminism means rages on—on both sides of the abortion movement. But I love that Carly provides her own definition: I quote:

“To young girls and women across the country, I say: Do not let others define you. Do not listen to anyone who says you have to vote a certain way or for a certain candidate because you’re a woman. That is not feminism. Feminism doesn’t shut down conversations or threaten women. It is not about ideology. It is not a weapon to wield against your political opponent. A feminist is a woman who lives the life she chooses and uses all her God-given gifts. And always remember that a leader is not born, but made. Choose leadership.”

We honor Carly tonight at the *Human Life Review* and Foundation for publicly calling out Hillary Clinton, Planned Parenthood, and the abortion-rights lobby for their false definition of feminism. Because we know that true feminism includes acknowledgment of the life, rights, and potential of our unborn

children. I'm also happy to acknowledge that we have some past Great Defenders of Life here tonight, Susanne Metaxas, Eric Metaxas, and Clarke Forsythe.

And now I would like to introduce our first two speakers. Those of you who remember my late mother knew that she would really take to certain people, and sort of take them under her wing. Dawn Eden Goldstein is such a person. And it was here at the dinner—in 2006, I believe—that Dawn first met Fr. Francis Canavan, a dear friend of the *Human Life Review* and someone who would play a crucial role in Dawn's life, as she will explain.

After Dawn we will have our Chairman of the Board, James McLaughlin, who will speak a bit about the Human Life Foundation—who we are and what we do! Dawn?

DAWN EDEN GOLDSTEIN:

Well, what a joy and an honor it is to be here with you tonight and to be here with our guest of honor Carly Fiorina.

And to be here at this same event that truly changed the course of my life when I came to this event 11 years ago, where thanks to Faith McFadden, I met Father Francis Canavan, SJ. Francis Canavan was born October 27, 1917. So we are gathered here tonight on the eve of what is the one hundredth anniversary of his birth. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1939. In 1957, he received his



doctorate in political science at Duke University. He had a long academic career, most notably at Fordham University, where he taught for 22 years before being made professor emeritus in 1988. Father Canavan was a prominent scholar of Edmund Burke, and he was an essayist whose thoughts on faith, politics, and culture earned him accolades from many of the leading Catholic minds of his time.

But the impact of Father Canavan's writings extended well beyond academia. For more than 25 years, he contributed to a newsletter that many of you may remember, *catholic eye*. It was published by a sister nonprofit of the Human Life Foundation. In writing commentaries for *catholic eye*, Father Canavan made his wisdom accessible to the ordinary person in the pew.

At the time I met Father Canavan, I had read his columns for *catholic eye*. And Father Canavan became a mentor to me.

Now there are two things that you'll find in my press biography. Number one

is that I have written books, including one on healing from childhood sexual abuse and also one more generally on healing of memories. The first is called *My Peace I Give You*, the other one is *Remembering God's Mercy*. And the other thing you'll find is that I was the first woman to obtain a doctorate in sacred theology from the University of St. Mary of the Lake, Mundelein Seminary. I'm now an assistant professor of sacred theology at Holy Apostles College and Seminary in Cromwell, Connecticut.

Well, I'm here to tell you tonight that even though, yes, it was I who wrote those books and it was I who studied hard and received my doctorate *summa cum laude* at the age of, thank you, at the age of 48 [applause], I—thank you—well, even though it was me, it was this encounter with Father Canavan and the mentorship he gave me that enabled me to accomplish those things.

At the time that I met Father Canavan, I was working for the *New York Daily News*. I was a fairly recent convert to Catholicism from Judaism. I was best known as a former rock and roll historian who had interviewed Harry Nilsson, and Del Shannon, and as a person on the editorial staff of the *Daily News* who had been a headline writer at the *New York Post* when Donald married Melania—I wrote the headline, “Lady is a Trump.”

Well when I met Father Canavan, I had recently written my first book on chastity with a typical kind of *New York Post* headline title, *The Thrill of the Chaste: Finding Fulfillment while Keeping Your Clothes On*. And Father Canavan, when he read this book, told me something that no one had said to me before. He said this is a recovery manual. And he said that for himself, as a chaplain to the Calix Society—which is a society of recovering alcoholics who take part in AA and are Catholic and seek Catholic fellowship—well, he said that as a chaplain to the Calix Society, he saw what I was doing as being like what he was doing.

And moreover, when I began studying towards a master's in theology, simply for the desire to have a steadier job than working for the newspaper industry—which was not that steady at the time I started my master's program in 2008—it was Father Canavan who said, “No, you can't stop at a master's. You can't just go into campus ministry. You have to get a doctorate and teach Catholic theology at a Catholic college because there are too many people with doctorates at Catholic colleges who don't teach Catholic theology.” And so it was his inspiration that led me to do this, and so I am very proud to have edited this book, which is in your gift bags. Each of you will be coming home with this new collection of all of Father Canavan's columns. Father Canavan died in 2009, and it's been my dream of compiling and editing his *catholic eye* columns.

I was going to read a section of it, but rather than delay the speech by Carly Fiorina, I just want to tell you, don't be afraid to read this because it's so large, because it's made up of columns that are three pages apiece, so this is pro-life bathroom reading. You can keep it in the loo, and when your friends come who

may not be pro-life, by the time they're out of the bathroom they may have a different idea. [Applause.]

Thank you. Thank you. So I want to thank everyone at *Human Life Review*, particularly Anne Conlon who helped to make this collection possible. And you can purchase this online from En Route Books (enroutebooksandmedia.com), and you can also get it from Amazon as well, and it is on Kindle. Thank you all so much and God bless you.

JAMES MCLAUGHLIN:

On the morning of January 22, 1973, James McFadden was in Miami on the deck of a boat he had chartered for a family vacation when he opened the *New York Times* and read the headlines announcing the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision. He was stunned and horrified by the news and on the spot resolved that he must devote himself to this cause. He organized this Foundation and shortly thereafter, the debut issue of the *Human Life Review* appeared.

For 43 years, the *Review* has played an indispensable role in the pro-life movement. It has been called the intellectual backbone of the pro-life movement. William F. Buckley praised it as “the focus of civilized discussion of the abortion issue.”

The *Review* also addresses genetic engineering, human cloning, euthanasia, assisted suicide, and a range of related issues. It is read by journalists, legislators, pro-life activists, academics, students, and anyone who wishes to read the best of what is written on these important topics.

The motto of the *Review* is Truth and Reason in Defense of Life. I would like to say a few words about Truth and its opposite.

Writing in the pages of the *Review*, Professor George McKenna wrote: “From its inception the ‘pro-choice’ movement has used lies to advance its cause.”

In the beginning, before *Roe v. Wade*, Dr. Bernard Nathanson, who was then chairman of NARAL—now called the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League—was promoting the legalization of abortion. He and other pro-abortion activists consistently claimed that there were 5,000 to 10,000 deaths a year from illegal abortions and that this was a principal reason why abortion should be legalized. These statistics were endlessly recited in the news media. Now, it happens that the federal government keeps statistics on this. The actual number for 1972 was not 5 to 10 thousand. It was 39. In his memoir, Dr. Nathanson wrote:

“I confess that I knew the figures were totally false . . . but in our revolution it was a useful figure, widely accepted, so why correct it?”

Professor McKenna recites page after page of outright lies told through the

years by the proponents of abortion. You all know what I am talking about and there is no need to recite all of it in an assembly of this kind.

Professor McKenna concludes: “These are not just lies blurted out on the spur of the moment. They are premeditated lies, lies worked out and rehearsed well in advance, then ceremoniously introduced to the public. It is organized lying, carried on now for more than a generation by the abortion industry and its supporters. Why do they lie? I suppose because they have to. The truth about what they are doing and defending is very unpleasant.”

Every January tens and often hundreds of thousands of people travel from all over the country to Washington D.C. for the March for Life. In most years, it is the largest march held in our capital. A newsworthy event. But most years, the television news networks—ABC, NBC, CBS—give virtually no coverage whatsoever to the march. The people at the networks who decide these things know that for most Americans, if it is not on TV, it didn’t happen. Put plainly, they want to hide the march from the American people. That too is a deception. Isn’t it?

Roe versus *Wade* itself is based on numerous falsehoods: the most egregious being that the Constitution mandates our current regime of abortion on demand. Professor John Hart Ely of the Harvard Law School was pro-choice, but said of the *Roe* decision:

“What is frightening about *Roe* is that it is not inferable from the language of the Constitution, the framers’ thinking, any general value derivable from the provisions they included, or the nation’s governmental structure. It is not constitutional law, and gives almost no sense of an obligation to try to be.”

Supreme Court Justice Byron White in his dissent wrote that the *Roe v. Wade* decision was nothing more than “the exercise of raw judicial power.”

Raw power indeed. The power of the United States Supreme Court. The power with the proverbial stroke of a pen to instantly invalidate the laws of all 50 states, to overturn centuries of ethical precepts embodied in those laws, and to turn the enormous legal and moral authority of the United States Constitution against the lives of unborn children.

The falsehoods and untruths of the supporters of abortion are promoted and sustained by tremendously powerful forces: the news media, the U.S. Supreme Court, and an army of powerful organizations.

Planned Parenthood receives about 500 million dollars a year from taxpayers. It receives another 300 million dollars in contributions and fees for its abortion and related services. That is more than one thousand times the annual budget of the *Human Life Review*. And Planned Parenthood is only *one* of these organizations. There is NARAL, NOW—The National Organization for Women—Emily’s List, the National Coalition of Abortion Providers—the list goes on and on.

We are in a battle. And in terms of power, influence, and money, on our best

day we are outnumbered one hundred to one. Maybe a thousand to one.

And yet, the pro-life movement is vibrant and alive. In this room at our 2014 dinner, Kristan Hawkins, president of Students for Life, told us about extensive recent polling data revealing that “Millennials are demonstrably more pro-life than preceding generations.”

The findings are detailed in her article “Pro Life Millennials” in the *Human Life Review*.

Students for Life has over 800 active student pro-life groups across the country. The two largest pro-choice activist groups *combined* have fewer than half that number.

Former NARAL president Nancy Keenan revealed a sense of doom when she saw pro-life youth flooding Washington for the March for Life. *Newsweek* reported: “When Keenan’s train pulled into Washington’s Union Station, a few blocks from the Capitol, she was greeted by a swarm of anti-abortion-rights ac-



tivists. She said, I just thought, my gosh, they are so young. There are so many of them, and they are so young.”

There are more pro-life legislators in federal and state governments today than ever before.

How is it possible that the pro-life movement is alive and gaining ground when in material terms—in terms of power, influence, and money—the pro-abortion side is so much stronger?

I’d like to suggest a simple reason and its right there in the *Review*’s motto. Truth and Reason in Defense of Life. Truth has a mysterious power. A good trial lawyer knows that juries do not always reach correct conclusions and they may not understand all of the complexities in complex cases, but men and women on juries try very hard to determine who in a trial is telling the truth and who is not. They usually render their verdict on that basis. Our human nature has a built-in affinity for truth and aversion to falsehood.

Why do they block out news of the March for Life and so many other things? They have to cover all the windows—make sure not a single ray of light comes in because if the light of truth comes into a dark room it’s not dark anymore. And it doesn’t work the other way round. You cannot project darkness into a room. If you want darkness, you have to block out the light. Light destroys

darkness. That is our one great advantage. That is the power of truth.

When he was confronted by his executioner, the man from Nazareth was asked, Who are you? Are you a king? He answered, You say I am a king. For this I was born and for this I came into the world. To testify to the truth. And in that answer he gave us the rest of the story. The power of truth is manifested only if *we* act. Truth has power only if there are those who are willing to stand up for the truth. To speak the truth. To testify to the truth.

For 43 years the *Human Life Review* has been doing exactly that. Speaking the truth about the ever-evolving ethical, legal, political, and cultural issues surrounding abortion, euthanasia, assisted suicide, human cloning, and other manifestations of what John Paul II called “The Culture of Death.”

I think of the *Review* as a bright light in a world that sometimes seems to be growing very dark. The *Review* has no endowment. This is its major fundraising event which supplies most of what is needed to keep publishing through the year. The *Review* is sustained by the devotion of its friends—most of you are in this room tonight. In your gift bag is a pledge card. If you do not already, please subscribe to the *Review*. And please consider making a contribution. I know that this is a lot to ask, particularly from those of you who have already been generous. But please, think about what’s at stake.

Thank you.

MARIA MCFADDEN MAFFUCCI:

Thank you Jim, that was really beautiful. And now, I would like you to please help me welcome Larry Kudlow. Mr. Kudlow is CNBC’s Senior Contributor and the host of WABC Radio’s *The Larry Kudlow Show*. He’s also the author of the recent book, *JFK and the Reagan Revolution*. Larry Kudlow is a tremendous friend of the unborn. And I welcome you.

LARRY KUDLOW:

Thanks very much, I appreciate it. Thanks to this group, thanks for inviting me. Believe it or not, I’m not here to talk about tax cuts. It’s a very rare moment. Actually, I am here to talk about something which is even dearer to my heart, and that is the right to life and protecting the unborn. It’s one of my favorites. In fact, hopefully, Carly will come on the radio with me on Saturday and we will have a discussion about this. You can’t ever do enough on this subject; you just can’t do enough in defeating pure evil.

Carly, I want to say, who I’ve known for a good many years, is a brave and courageous woman, with enormous faith. And that faith never stops her; it

keeps her going, against all odds. She was a great success in business, as we know. She ran a Senate race against Barbara Boxer, and all the fruits and nuts in California. I had Carly on the TV show a bunch of times. The front office kept asking me why. I said, “Well, a) look at the name of the show [*The Larry Kudlow Report*], we make our own decisions, and b) we have this very unusual woman.” She didn’t win, but she kind of began to spread the Carly gospel in defense of life and would never back down, which is a wonderful thing. We need about 10 thousand, or 20 thousand of them. When she ran for president, she blasted Hillary Clinton for Hillary’s opinions about essentially unlimited abortion right up—I guess in the last debate, Clinton said right up until the last day, you can have an abortion, as far as she’s concerned. So Carly smoked her out . . . hit her again and again. I thought it taught the Republican Party and the whole country a thing or two, and we owe her a debt of gratitude for that as well.

Maybe the most important thing is how she unmasked the hideous Planned Parenthood business of selling fetal parts, which I think caused great angst around the country. Very few people knew about this. I didn’t—remarkably grizzly and unholy and evil. And nobody said these kinds of things before. That’s one of the reasons why Carly so deserves this award. For my own part, you know, as I see it, I’m an eternal optimist, I have a lot of faith myself, which sustains me. There is nothing more important than fighting and ultimately winning the battle for the life of the unborn. Nothing more important. It’s a matter of conscience, morality, law.

Since *Roe v. Wade*, which was decided in 1973, according to most estimates we have regrettably had 58 million abortions in this country. Fifty-eight million, according to the latest data. And that data, by the way, comes from an interesting website which is actually pro-choice. But they put out some pretty good numbers, and I checked them. Fifty-eight million. I could use them in the economy, increase the work force, or give opportunities. Now, blessedly, in recent years, the abortion rate has come down, for a bunch of reasons. As James said, we are to some extent beginning to persuade people. And I think this is very, very important—progress, however you can get it. We’re still having about a million abortions a year—that’s what it comes down to. But that’s a lower number. Now, these are in some sense unreal statistics. They’re bizarre statistics, but worth contemplating. And I think, personally, some of the restrictions that have now popped up in the courts and in the states have been very helpful in this respect. I think these restrictions are very good. We have parental consent, or parental advice. We have counseling. Partial-birth abortion is now illegal. I remember years ago my great friend Kellyanne Conway predicted that the sonogram itself would begin to have a major impact in reducing abortions and the demand for abortions. Younger people see it. There’s a great ad, I don’t know who runs this ad, I should know but I don’t. It’s a great TV ad with the

singer Roberta Flack, who had this wonderful song many years ago: “The First Time Ever I Saw Your Face.” The first time ever I saw your face. And it’s running on TV, it’s not harsh, it doesn’t point fingers, it doesn’t yell, it just shows a couple watching a sonogram of their child at its earliest stage. Life begins at conception.

And I want to quote Pope John Paul II in his *Evangelium Vitae*, in 1995, which of course spoke at great lengths—with great moral authority—about the sanctity of life. And I think Pope John Paul II—who was revered and respected around the world—I think his own efforts had a huge impact on our movement, and our faith that somehow we could fight back. I think we owe a lot to John Paul II. He had a very simple notion here: The Ten Commandments,



which I think pretty much have widespread support. By the way, they’re not suggestions, they’re commandments. That part is sometimes lost. But the Sixth Commandment says “Thou shall not kill.” Thou shall not kill. It doesn’t get any simpler, or more straightforward than that. And the pope talked about life beginning at conception, and he talked about the battle to preserve the right to life, and support sanctity for the unborn. Pope Francis, I don’t always agree with him, but Pope Francis came out not long ago with an encyclical in which he talked about remembering abandoned people. Remembering abandoned people.

Part of that was an economic discussion, but part of it was about the unborn. How can we abandon the unborn when we can see with our own eyes—thanks to technology—that they exist at a very early stage, at conception? That is a cause worth fighting for.

We are constantly fighting a cultural war in this country. I don’t know that we’re going to lose it. I’m always optimistic about individual men and women—in whatever station of life they are, whatever their position is, whatever their business, whatever their faith. But we’ve had a cultural decline. And I happen to think this battle of supporting the unborn and stopping 58 million more murders is part of the cultural fight that we are having. You see it in areas—out of wedlock births, family breakup, no fathers to teach sons and daughters. A disregard for the moral virtue of work, which is another of my favorite topics. And yes, a disrespect, a disrespect for the unborn. Again, I go to the Sixth Commandment: Thou shall not kill. We have to keep fighting hard, so that life will

triumph over death, to put it in John Paul's phrase.

And we have to work, I think, to persuade—Carly and I were talking about this at dinner—*persuade*. James mentioned that millennials are moving away from abortion. I've seen it, heard that too. We can persuade using facts, using technology, using culture, using moral and religious principles, which must never go out of date. We need not offend, smear, or try to destroy people. I'm a great believer in civility. Part of my book about JFK and Reagan was about civility. I don't see the kind of civility nowadays that I would like to see. I don't see it in our public life; I don't see it in our private lives. We need to do a lot better. But I think if I'm sitting at a dinner table—God help me, on the Upper East Side of New York, which is only a tad better than Barbara Boxer—I can try to persuade, calmly. I don't need to insult. I can try to persuade. I don't even need to raise my voice. I can talk about moral principles and culture, and I think people will listen. I believe they'll listen. You know, we learn in faith that we hate the sin but we love the sinner. And it's never too late to convert the sinner and the sinner's friends and their families—never too late.

And so I'll simply finish on a note from the Lord's Prayer: Please, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Deliver us from evil, with God's help and our perseverance. And I know of no one better and more devoted to that cause than Carly Fiorina.

CARLY FIORINA:

Well, thank you Larry so much for that stirring set of remarks. And Maria, thank you so much for including us. And, my gosh, it's a family affair here, your wonderful children and your great leadership. And Reverend, thank you for your very generous invocation, as well. And Dawn, what a character you are. I love you. Gosh, I love you. And Jim as well. Thank you for your so eloquent remarks. And I don't know if you could see this, but my award, I'm sort of in this—in kind of a Wonder Woman outfit, I guess. And it says, "Once I dive in, I dive in all the way." Thank you. I am deeply honored to be here this evening. Thank you all so much for being here.

You know, the other night I was speaking to students at Catholic University, a marvelous institution; an institution that believes in spiritual rigor, as well as intellectual rigor. And at the end of my remarks, an executive at Catholic University said to me, "You know, we've been looking for—this is a sad comment—we've been looking for female professors. Why is it, do you think, Carly, that so many educated women are pro-choice?" He was distressed because he was finding it difficult to recruit pro-life women who had the necessary credentials and degrees to teach at Catholic University. I thought about that a lot because

it's true. I know, as someone who's come up in the business world, I know, as someone who was a Silicon Valley chief executive officer, people were stunned to learn that I was pro-life—even more stunned to learn that I was actually willing to speak about being pro-life. And so I spent the last couple of hours and days thinking about that. And of course you know the answer, it is the purpose of this organization. But the reason too many people, so many people, educated or not, think they're pro-choice—it's almost instinctual, when you ask women, as well as men: "Oh, I'm pro-choice." They're pro-choice because it's politically easier, but mostly I think people are pro-choice because they're ignorant or they're indoctrinated. And I make no judgment about them. It's hard to get the truth on this subject, as so many of you have wisely said. One of the things, when I say it's politically more convenient, is that if you go into a gathering of people, certainly here in Manhattan, certainly in California, but if you go into a gathering of folks, and you happen to say you're pro-choice, everybody kind of moves on. And if you happen to say you're pro-life, everyone goes "Really? Really?"

In fact, one of the experiences that I had when I was running for president, as well as when I was running for the Senate against Barbara Boxer in the deep



Carly Fiorina and Larry Kudlow admire a Nick Downes original cartoon in Mrs. Fiorina's honor.

blue state of California, was a lot of people, a lot of people who called themselves conservatives or Republicans, or even people who called themselves pro-life, would come up to me and say, “You know, Carly, I’m with you, but don’t talk about it. I mean, you know, the fiscal conservatism, we’re with you. Tax reform, we’re with you. You know, work stuff, we’re with you. Just don’t talk about it.” It’s just easier, isn’t it? It’s just easier, in so many settings, not to talk about it. And so people don’t, and when you don’t talk about it—as Larry said, and as the reverend said—when you don’t talk about it, it’s easier to have ignorance and indoctrination take hold.

So let’s talk about ignorance just for a moment. I can remember that debate that you so generously referenced. The data is so clear, the facts were crystal clear. And in fact, despite the fact that the folks who created those sting videos were indicted in Texas is ridiculous, despite all that, congressional hearings months later demonstrated that in fact Planned Parenthood is trafficking in body parts. There’s no doubt about the facts here. And yet, the morning after that debate, I did what’s known in politics as the full monty. That means every morning show there is, or on Sundays, every Sunday show there is, I did them all. And on every single morning show—it didn’t matter the politics of the morning show, right or left—on every single morning show, the discussion of the show was, “That is not true. That is not true. That’s not true—I mean, the videotape has been discredited. That’s not true, that’s not real footage.” All of the discussion was about “that’s not true.” I say this not to pat myself on the back, not at all, I say this in empathy. It is extremely difficult, it takes enormous perseverance and courage to stand up to “That is not true” by absolutely everybody. My candidacy, whether it was for the Senate or the presidency of the United States, has been called, on more than one occasion, an offense to women, an insult to women. Because, of course, part of this narrative is “if you are pro-life, you must be against women.” Of course, the people who say that ignore the fact that the vast majority of abortions around the world are of females, not males; that, in fact, the very reason for abortion in so many parts of the world is simply gender. And yet those of us who are pro-life are an offense to women, we hate women. That’s hard to stand up to, which is why I applaud all of you.

Of course people are ignorant of the science as well. It’s interesting, when I was at Catholic University, the professor told me that he had done an informal survey, and he asked his students, “What do you think the constraints and limitations are on abortion in the United States?” And most students said, “Oh, well, abortion in the first trimester is okay, but after that it’s not okay.” They were shocked to learn, they did not know, that this is one of the very few countries on the face of the planet where there are literally no restrictions on abortion. It is shocking when we say that. I have spoken with people from elsewhere in the world, who are literally shocked, appalled, stunned to know there is literally no

limitation on abortion in this country. Most of our young people do not know—which is a tribute to them that they remain pro-life nevertheless.

Ignorance. I remember debating Barbara Boxer and Barbara Boxer saying Hillary Clinton said, you know an abortion at any time is okay. She sort of tried to justify it by saying, Well, most of the time these abortions are done for health reasons of the mother—untrue. But I remember Barbara Boxer literally saying it's not a life until it leaves the hospital, because I challenged her: What is life? When is it a life? And her answer was when it leaves the hospital. And yet, when people say things like that, to Larry's point of optimism, most people in the world recoil from it. They understand there's something truly wrong. Truth actually is on our side. But we should never underestimate the level of ignorance that exists.

Science, all the way back to science. Science is something that so many liberals hold up, right? We should pay attention to the science of global warming. We should pay attention to the science that tells us there are infinitesimal microbes in the bottom of the ocean, or maybe on the surface of Mars. I mean, science is our new god. So how about this science: The DNA of a zygote is exactly the same DNA as the day you die. So I'm not smart enough to decide, as President Barack Obama once said, when life begins. I choose to begin where the DNA begins. And most scientists would tell you that life indeed scientifically does begin at conception.

I am a person of great faith, but, we do not need to appeal to faith to make this case because science is making this case for us every day. And now, when we have parents engaging in genetic engineering at far younger than five months, science is telling us a lot. By the way, a small hint—we said this at dinner—I would never say 20 weeks. Twenty weeks sounds clinical. Five months sounds real. It sounds like a bump in the belly. It sounds like a heartbeat when you put your hand on that belly. Keep it real. We've got to keep it real. In any event, science is on our side.

Indoctrination. So ignorance is part of the issue. Indoctrination is another part of the issue. I remember being in a diner during the presidential campaign. A diner. And a high school class got out of class and showed up at the diner. And this young woman walked up to me. She was 17, I know that because I asked her. And she said, "Carly, why do you hate LGBT people?" And I said, "Wow, why do you think I hate LGBT people?" She said "because you're pro-life." Now I don't know quite how she got that juxtaposition, except I do know exactly how she got it—it's sort of a litany of liberal causes. You know, if you disagree with any of them, you disagree with all of them. I was pro-life, so I had to hate LGBT people. Here's what I said to this young woman. I said, "You know, have you ever known anyone who was pregnant?" She said, "Oh yes, my aunt." And I said, "Well, have you watched her belly grow?" "Yes." I said, "Have you

ever put your hand on her belly?” “Yes.” “Have you felt the baby kick against your hand?” “Yes.” She lights up because she’s excited. Her aunt is pregnant. And I said, “Are you so sure that’s not a life? Because I’m pretty sure it is.” She stopped. And I said, “Now why does that make me hate LGBT people?” Sometimes we just have to tell someone a story so they will stop and think.

I remember going to a Planned Parenthood clinic with my dear friend. I was 22 years old. I was sort of, I mean I had been brought up to be pro-life and a faithful person, but I wasn’t really thoughtful about the issue. And I remember going to a Planned Parenthood clinic in Washington D.C. with my dear friend who had decided to get an abortion. And she asked me to go with her. And I was her friend and so I did. And I watched what that did to her. I watched the physical pain, the emotional pain, the spiritual devastation. I watched my friend actually never be the same again. And I think stories like that, stories like that

are worth telling over and over and over to people.



I remember meeting my husband Frank some years later. And when I married him, almost 36 years ago now, I learned that his mother had been told to abort him. His mother actually should never have had children, but she had first his elder sister, and then her middle child, and finally, when he came along, she was told this was a great harm to her and she should abort him. But she was a woman of great faith, and great courage, and she decided to bring her child into the world. She spent a year in the hospital. He was cared for by her

sister-in-law. But her son, Frank, my husband, Frank, became the joy of her life. He has been the rock of my life. We should tell stories like that—of the people who have made a difference in the world because they came into life.

We need to continue to tell people the facts and the science of life. We need to continue to tell people the stories of life. The stories that have made a difference in each of our lives. Because people are moved by stories. We need to talk about the miracle of life. And we need also to make progress towards life. That is why I believe we must pass the Pain Capable Unborn Child Protection Act. Not because it is the end of the story, but because it is the beginning of the

story. Once people decide life starts at five months, then it's harder and harder to say it doesn't start at four months, or three months, or two months. And that is why the pro-choice movement fights so hard against any limitation. Because they know once they give an inch, they have lost the factual fight, the scientific fight, not to mention the fight on morals and character.

And, finally, can anyone argue that abortion is discriminatory? Of course it's discriminatory. It's how the abortion industry got its beginning—in a discriminatory fashion. Can anyone argue with the reality of where abortion clinics are? They are mostly in poor communities. They mostly affect people of color—African Americans, Hispanics. Abortion *is* discriminatory. And so therefore we must talk about, always, the promise of life, the potential of life—whether it's the life of my husband that made a huge difference for me and our children, and our friends and our family, or whether it's a nameless, faceless, incredibly poor woman I met in a slum in New Delhi, India. Her circumstances were desperate. All around her was trash, human misery, desperation. I don't know if you've been to the slums of New Delhi, but they are desperate circumstances, and yet this was a woman who, with a helping hand and a small loan and support, this was a woman who had built a business, who had employed her family, who had made her community better.

You see, in the end this is the only nation on earth founded on an incredibly powerful idea. And the incredibly powerful idea that this nation was founded on was that every life has potential. My mother would say it this way—she would say everyone has gifts from God. The Constitution says it this way—that every individual has the right to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness, and that for individuals in this country those rights come from God and cannot be taken away by government. That was our Founders' way of saying everyone has potential, everyone is gifted by God. Every life is filled with possibilities. This is the only country that believes we are not—none of us—defined by our circumstances. None of us should be defined by where we come from, or where we are conceived, or where we grow up or the color of our skin, or our last name, or how our parents start. This is a nation of possibilities. And when we as a nation do not invest in the possibilities of every life, including the possibilities of unborn life, we are not being true to who we are. And that is why I said all those many months ago in that debate that this is a matter of the character of our nation.

And so ladies and gentlemen, what I would say to you tonight is: Be leaders. Leaders are courageous. Be of good courage. Yes, this fight takes courage, because there is much ignorance and there is much indoctrination. But there is also a willingness, on the part of young people, as we know from the statistics, and there is also a willingness of human beings everywhere to hear a story, and to see a different point of view. Be of good courage. Know that this fight is

about the character of our nation. And be willing, as leaders always are, to see the possibilities. Not just the possibilities in every unborn life, but the possibilities as well of the good will and civility of our fellow citizens. Because I believe good will and civility and courage and character and good heart in the end will always triumph. Thank you so very much for this honor.



Bob Maffucci and Clarke Forsythe chat during cocktail hour.



Jonathan and Neena Hendershott



Faith Murphy with Carly Fiorina

*Maria McFadden
Maffucci, Bena
Phagoo, and Jane
Devanney*



Susanne Metaxas

GREAT DEFENDER OF LIFE DINNER 2017

*Anne Feely, Anna Fata,
and Meghan Feely*



*Board members Patricia
O'Brien and Fr. Kazmierz
Kowalski*



Stephen and Kelly Feiler

Carly Fiorina and Michael Hayes, Jr.

A Vow of Silence:

Catholic Religious Ignore Corporate Ties to Abortion

Thomas Strobhar

During 2016, approximately 60 Catholic religious groups, mostly religious orders, filed hundreds of shareholder resolutions with large American corporations. The shareholder resolution is a tool that Catholic organizations (mostly religious orders) have used for 50 years to confront corporate America on issues of interest. In that year alone, Catholic religious filed resolutions on the following topics: Drug Pricing, Separate CEO & Chair, Business Plan for 2C Warming Scenario, Lobbying Expenditure Disclosure, Political Contributions, Tobacco Marketing in Lower-Income Communities, Water Impacts of Business Operations, Proxy Voting Policies, Feasibility of GHG Disclosure, Low-Carbon Transition, Executive Pay, Prohibiting Virtual-Only AGM, Reducing Food Waste, Principles for Minimum Wage Reform, Public Health Risks of Coal Pollution, Sustainability Reporting, Greenhouse Gas Reduction, Environmental and Human Rights Due Diligence, Methane Emissions, Independent Director with Climate Change Expertise, Indigenous People’s Rights, Reducing Pesticide Use, Supply Chain Impact on Deforestation, Human Rights Risk Assessment, Non-Therapeutic Use of Antibiotics in Animals, Reviewing Public Policy on Climate, Equal Employment Opportunity, Human Rights Policy Stressing Right to Health (Tobacco), Ethical Labor Recruitment, and Cigarette Smoking Depicted in Movies. It is a litany of liberal social issues championed by a couple of platoons of Catholic religious. This is the face of the Catholic Church at corporate annual meetings. One topic, however, that they avoided when choosing which resolutions to file that year or (to the best of my knowledge) any of the last fifty years was abortion!

The Catholic bishops have called abortion “the human rights issue of our time.” Despite this, aside from the efforts of a grandmother from Iowa in the 1980s, I am responsible for almost every shareholder resolution confronting corporations on abortion in the last twenty-seven years.

During those twenty-seven years I have proposed scores of resolutions—at least one a year. One year I filed ten. Due to objections by the companies to the Securities & Exchange Commission, not all my resolutions got on the

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ballot, but most did. In my first attempts, I challenged corporate charitable gifts to America's largest abortion-performing organization: Planned Parenthood. (When I started, Planned Parenthood was doing about 100,000 abortions a year. They now do over 300,000 a year.)

Early Shareholder Resolutions: the 1990s

I first tried my hand at writing a resolution in 1990. Writing for a Bristol-Myers Squibb shareholder, I asked the company, a maker of baby formula, to stop funding Planned Parenthood. I simply borrowed the somewhat formal language required for a resolution from the countless examples my Catholic religious brothers and sisters had provided me in addressing other topics. My resolution was sandwiched between two resolutions offered by Catholic religious orders on South Africa and the hiring of women and minorities.

Somewhat surprisingly, my resolutions often worked. Companies like American Express, Chevron, General Mills, Target, and others stopped donating money to Planned Parenthood after the filing of one of my resolutions. It didn't hurt that I often showed up at the meetings and made this an issue the companies were forced to address. The *New York Times* even credits me with ending the entire charitable giving program at Warren Buffet's Berkshire Hathaway. Buffet, who is America's second wealthiest man, is also our largest abortion financier. Though he owned approximately a third of the company, over 55 percent of corporate contributions—amounting to nearly ten million dollars—went to his private foundation to fund abortion-related causes. Because I introduced this resolution at an annual meeting in front of 19,000 of his admiring shareholders, he thereafter changed the format of his famous annual meeting “because of speeches like we had last year.”

In addition to filing resolutions against Planned Parenthood, I have challenged insurance companies that pay for abortion and companies like Pepsico, which was using fetal cells derived from abortion in taste testing. Pepsico changed its policy soon after the filing of my resolution and an accompanying press release. Other companies that have attracted my attention include Johnson & Johnson, which also used cell lines derived from abortions in the manufacture of their vaccines. One resolution filed with human embryo research in mind asked Merck to observe the Nuremberg Code by securing the permission of the (embryonic) person before experimenting on him or her.

As mentioned above, hardly any resolution goes unchallenged by the corporations against which it is filed. They almost always appeal to the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) for permission to omit it. Often their legal challenges can run twenty pages or more. Most of the time, the company loses the appeal, and the SEC tells it to include the resolution on the proxy so all

shareholders can vote on it.

The actual vote is often the least important part. I have never garnered more than 10 percent of the vote, and more typically, it is in the 3-to-5 percent range. However, the vote is merely advisory: Even if a proponent gained 100 percent of the vote, the company would be free to ignore it. Still, this fact has not discouraged my Catholic brothers and sisters from using this tool to promote practically every liberal issue imaginable.

One resolution filed with Upjohn ironically juxtaposed my efforts with those of eight religious orders. Years ago Upjohn made a drug called Depo-Provera that could end prenatal human life at its earliest stages. It was promoted as a contraceptive, but its abortifacient potential was quite real, according to Pharmacists for Life. The company also made drugs used to induce abortions. I asked Upjohn to inform women, in easily understood language, if any of their drugs acted as an abortifacient. At this same meeting in 1999, a coalition of eight Catholic religious orders challenged Upjohn on drug pricing, believing that some drugs were too expensive. Considering the cause the coalition had united to pursue, I was reminded of a scene from the Marx Brothers movie *A Day at the Races*. Groucho Marx calls out, “Don’t drink that poison; it’s four dollars an ounce!” His concern is the price of the product, not the fact that it could kill people. Similarly, my religious brothers and sisters were concerned about the price of Upjohn’s drug, and not the life-ending action of the drug itself. If they wanted to, they could have copied the language of my resolution and offered something similar elsewhere in succeeding years. None of them did.

Shareholder Resolutions in the New Millennium

In fact, Catholic religious groups have been less than helpful to me in addressing the abortion issue. In 2001, I phoned Sister Pat Daley of the Dominican Sisters of Caldwell, New Jersey. As I was introducing myself, she said, “I know who you are.” Such immediate recognition is either a very good sign or a very bad one. I praised her knowledge of the shareholder resolution process and asked if she would help me on some language issues I was having with the SEC. (The SEC was making it increasingly difficult to challenge Planned Parenthood directly.) Sister Pat replied, “I don’t address that issue [abortion].” She suggested I contact an attorney.

Our civil conversation concerning abortion was going nowhere, so I asked her what she was working on. She told me she was researching prisons run by for-profit prison management companies to see if any of them were doing executions. Presumably, if she found any, her order would file a shareholder resolution. I told her I had an interest in that and asked if she had discovered any. She had not. I then asked if she was concerned about for-profit

hospitals that perform abortions regularly. Her reply: “No comment.” I then asked about insurance companies that pay for abortions when no law compels them to. Again, “No comment.” Sister Pat was later the subject of a very glowing article in the *New York Times*. It is exceedingly unlikely that the *Times* would have heaped praise on her if she had been out front publicly opposing abortion.

Incidentally, I encountered Sister Pat a number of years later at a Ford annual meeting. I was there to present a shareholder resolution concerning Ford’s inclusion of the phrase “sexual orientation” in their employment policy. I reminded those in attendance that Ford was cutting retirement benefits for all, while adding domestic partner benefits for those who identified as gay. Ford was also donating \$1,000 to an LGBT organization for every Volvo sold. In addition, they were opening gay and lesbian centers, while closing manufacturing facilities around the country. Bill Ford, the chairman, kept his head down the entire time I spoke. After I finished, Sister Pat stood up and told Mr. Ford how much she appreciated all of Ford Motors’ efforts to improve the environment. A big smile returned to Mr. Ford’s face, and he said, “Thank you, Sister Pat. We look forward to working with you again this year.”

Sister Pat’s inability to find her voice on the abortion issue is the rule, not the exception among Catholic religious. It is Catholic religious orders that make up the largest denominational block at the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR) in New York. The ICCR provides a forum and helps coordinate corporate challenges from its 300 members. Its chairperson is Father Seamus Finn of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. I once asked Diane Bratcher, a staff member of the ICCR, why abortion is never mentioned in any of its publications. She explained there was a gag order on any discussion of abortion because “It would tear this place apart.” Nothing prevents Catholic religious from bringing up the issue on their own, but none do. The gag order is self-imposed and closely adhered to. I recently emailed Father Finn asking him if he knew of any shareholder resolutions concerning abortion offered by Catholic groups. He did not reply.

In 2008, I issued a press release declaring, “Catholic Religious Ignore Abortion at Corporate Meetings.” In response, Fr. Michael Crosby emailed me that the press release was false, because he had filed a number of resolutions challenging tobacco companies, and these should also be considered pro-life resolutions. He reminded me that tobacco use increases the likelihood of a spontaneous abortion or miscarriage; I replied that I was more interested in stopping the not-so-spontaneous abortions. In addition, tobacco use is not unique in this respect: Other substances, like caffeine, also increase the likelihood of a miscarriage. I have heard nothing from Fr. Crosby about the health evils of excessive coffee drinking—although the Christian Brothers Investment

Service wrote a letter to Proctor and Gamble informing them that they “may, in fact, be not too far from signing a pact with evil.” For doing what? For buying coffee beans from the ARENA government in El Salvador. While the Christian Brothers, the largest investor of Catholic funds in the world, were very heated about coffee beans, they have never challenged corporations with a shareholder resolution concerning abortion. They even tried to defend a significant investment in American Home Products, maker of abortifacient drugs and devices.

A few years earlier, both Fr. Crosby and I were at the JPMorgan Chase annual meeting presenting resolutions. After I presented my resolution, I was challenged by a Methodist minister who denigrated my pro-life efforts. Fr. Crosby could have said something in my defense, but remained silent. Two nuns—who shook the hand of the chairman before the meeting—were also silent.

In 2012, at a time when banks were being pilloried for their possible role in precipitating the housing crisis, I presented a resolution at the Bank of America meeting. At this meeting nuns were being very disruptive, shouting at the top of their voices, “Stop the foreclosures.” I only wish they had been shouting, “Stop funding Planned Parenthood.”

In 2015, I managed to get a resolution on the ballot of Chevron. The company had been giving \$26,000 regularly to a Planned Parenthood affiliate, and for months before the meeting, I had tried talking to various vice presidents about the contributions. Nothing happened. As the date of the meeting approached, I felt little enthusiasm for flying to California to make a three-minute speech to introduce my resolution. Not only would it cost money, but, based on my previous discussions, I was not hopeful that my journey would be fruitful.

Thankfully, I was wrong. For the first time, I would bring a picture of an aborted child into the meeting. Annual meetings are highly scripted formal affairs designed to put the best face possible on the company. There was incredible security at this meeting. Local police were everywhere. I had to hand over my cell phone, have my papers inspected, and pass through a metal detector. Unnoticed was the four-by-two-foot cloth banner I had folded and stuffed in the back of my pants, covering the bulge with my suit coat. The banner pictured two severed heads side by side. On the left was the head of an adult man brutally decapitated by radical Islamists. On the right appeared the severed head of an unborn child, with credit going to the folks at Planned Parenthood and its sponsor Chevron.

After being admitted to the meeting, I saw a nun and asked her to say a prayer for me. Since she was also there to present a resolution, she sat directly in front of me, both of us near the microphone. Her name was Sister Nora Nash, a nun with the Sisters of St. Francis outside Philadelphia. She was her order’s director of corporate social responsibility. Her resolution concerned hydraulic fracturing, or fracking, a method of extracting natural gas.

Given how disturbing my banner was, when I held it high for all to see, I was prepared for anything. People were shocked, of course, as I intended. And Sister Nora was close enough to almost touch the banner. After the meeting, I asked if she had ever done a pro-life shareholder resolution. She said she had not thought of it, an interesting comment considering her years of experience. I said, “You could do what I do.” She smiled at me and said, “Opposing fracking is pro-life, too.” I smiled and said nothing.

A few months after the meeting, an article in the *Wall Street Journal* (July 10, 2015) titled “Catholic Investors Press Climate Concerns” featured a color picture of Sister Nora Nash. The author noted that Catholic groups, inspired by Pope Francis, had submitted 12 environment-related shareholder resolutions that year. Sister Nora explained, “Every part of our area is being pipelined to death.”

A year or so later I called Sister Nora to ask if she would be interested in doing a resolution opposing abortion. She told me she was not interested, explaining that the abortion issue already gets considerable attention.

Other Resolutions, Other Omissions

In the 1970s and 1980s, Catholic religious focused tremendous energy on the issue of *apartheid* in South Africa, going so far as to recommend complete divestment from any company that did business in a country that legalized such a sinful, racist activity. Even though the company itself may not have been doing anything wrong, just doing business in South Africa was enough to elicit widespread condemnation from Catholic religious. Using the same logic, they should exclude all companies that do business in the United States from their investments, since we have legalized the killing of the most innocent. And really, which is worse: being discriminated against or being killed?

The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) explicitly states in their investment guidelines that they “will consider supporting shareholder resolutions on abortion-related issues when deemed appropriate.” Unfortunately, no Catholic religious group has to my knowledge ever given them the opportunity by submitting such a resolution. Like Sister Nora Nash, many have never thought about it or, like Sister Pat Daley, many refuse to address it. The result in both cases is silence.

In contrast to their lack of interest in abortion, one group of nuns—Mercy Investment Services, the investment arm of the Sisters of Mercy—said they raised social issues at more than 140 companies in 2015 alone!

On other issues dealing with the great moral debates of our time, issues involving personal sin as opposed to social sin, Catholic groups have been slightly more active, though sometimes not for the better. In 2001, The Religious Alliance Against Pornography (RAAP), an interfaith group headed by

the late Cardinal Keeler of Baltimore, challenged AT&T's porn business offered through their cable television business. I was there challenging AT&T's use of the phrase "sexual orientation" in their employment policy. I had also authored a resolution with K-Mart challenging the pornography sold through their Waldenbooks division in 1994. When the AT&T meeting was over, I congratulated the RAAP spokesperson. I then asked why RAAP had not been at last year's annual meeting, since AT&T had been selling pornography for years. Amazingly, he replied, "We couldn't agree on what porn was."

This was the last time to date that a corporation faced a shareholder resolution concerning pornography. Interestingly, in 2001 the USCCB did not even have a policy regarding investments in pornography. In contrast, they had five paragraphs addressing land mines. Only in 2003 did the USCCB add that they, "will promote and support initiatives, including in some cases, shareholder resolutions to promote responsible family-oriented program content by media companies." To the best of my knowledge, there have been no resolutions on this topic that they could support.

In 2009, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) produced a documentary on the many facets of the business of pornography, *Hardcore Profits*. It featured an interview with me and a representative of the Christian Brothers Investment Services (CBIS), Brother Louis DeThomasis. The BBC contacted me because I had written an article, "Holy Porn," which was very critical of the Catholic response to pornography. CBIS is the largest investor of Catholic funds in the world. Their policy addressing the pornography issue sanctioned investments in any company where the pornography component did not exceed 50 percent. Brother DeThomasis must have forgotten their one-time policy, as he explained ethical investing would be easy if they could exclude a company based on a simple set of rules. He argued that it took judgment; for example, owning companies involved in pornography would give CBIS some influence in dissuading them. When the BBC interviewer then asked if the Christian Brothers had filed any resolutions in the last seven years with any of the porn-related companies they owned, Brother DeThomasis was flummoxed. The interviewer pressed him: "You admit owning companies in the porn business with the understanding you will make an effort to change them, but in seven years you have done nothing." Not liking the direction the interview had taken, Brother DeThomasis stopped it. Again, silence.

Even though the BBC documentary was not even seen in the United States (a ten-minute clip can be viewed at www.corporatemorality.org), the negative reaction CBIS received prompted them to coordinate a letter-writing campaign to companies in the porn business. They admitted that the BBC documentary had inspired their action. Having done nothing for years except promote and profit from porn as a shareholder, they were now going to do something—anything.

Strangely, Catholic religious have challenged movie production companies for many years, and did so again this year with shareholder resolutions objecting to movies showing people smoking. However, they don't seem too upset about sexually explicit movies and the behavior they might inspire. They are more concerned with images of people smoking cigarettes. In short, it is acceptable to show the steamiest love scene—just don't show anyone smoking after sex!

On another moral issue, the sacredness of marriage between a man and a woman, six Catholic religious groups in 2010 joined the Pride Foundation (as in gay pride) and others in a resolution concerning a political contribution that Target had made. They were upset because, as the resolution stated, "Target donated \$150,000 to a political group, Minnesota Forward, which actively supports a candidate for Governor who is a vocal opponent of same-sex marriage, as well as full parenting rights for same-sex partners."

Keep in mind that corporations make political contributions all the time. A Proctor & Gamble executive once explained to me that they give money to all kinds of politicians, many of whom they do not like. They do so to get their phone calls returned if an issue of importance to them arises. What upset these Catholic organizations was this particular candidate's support for traditional marriage, ignoring the many other positions he undoubtedly held. If the Catholic groups were only doing this because they opposed political contributions in general, why would they have agreed to co-sponsor a resolution focusing on an issue clearly in opposition to Church teaching? Either they are exceedingly foolish or they agree that donating to a politician who doesn't support gay marriage is wrong.

Life Decisions International: Filling the Gap Left by Catholic Religious Orders

It is hard to imagine what might have been accomplished if Catholic religious had addressed abortion with the same intensity and fervor they have devoted to social issues. I am the chairman of a pro-life organization with one full-time employee, Life Decisions International (LDI, www.fightpp.org). Over the past twenty-five years, this organization has helped dissuade over 340 companies from giving money to Planned Parenthood, costing our nation's largest abortion provider tens of millions of dollars. Doug Scott, the founder of LDI, said, "The shareholder resolution has been the single most effective tool to defund Planned Parenthood." How much more effective would it have been if Catholic religious had joined the fray? Could they have tried to influence companies more directly involved with abortion or pornography? Most certainly. Could they have attempted to slow the cultural dynamic that now calls for affirmation of homosexual behavior? The answer is obvious.

It is easy to see the dichotomy of interests: the corporate nexus of social vs.

personal sin. Very simply, almost all of the issues these Catholic religious act upon are liberal social ones. In the public arena, they ignore those issues that touch on personal sin, like abortion, pornography, and same-sex marriage. Opposing fracking may be pro-life, as Sister Nora Nash claims, but if so this is true only in a broad general sense. And opposing fracking may also result in higher energy costs, as the chairman of Chevron reminded Sister Nora. If you are struggling to pay your energy bill now, what will you do if it costs more? Cut back on food and medicine? Would promoting something that may raise energy bills for the poor be pro-life? It is politically debatable. Good people can differ. However, opposing abortion is always and everywhere pro-life. My Catholic brothers and sisters need not abandon their mostly liberal causes. But they should at least show equal fervor for the unborn at annual meetings. If they don't, the Catholic voice on the abominable crime of abortion may not be heard.

Objections

Let me be clear. My complaint isn't with the bishops, with any particular diocese, or with any of the openly pro-life religious orders. I have never seen any of these groups put forth a resolution on any topic. Businesses, Catholic or otherwise, have seldom been active in the shareholder arena. Ditto Catholic universities, although a number of them did divest of companies that did business in South Africa and, more currently, companies in the oil business. My concern is with Catholic religious orders that frequently use the shareholder resolution on a wide range of topics—save one.

Some might protest their innocence by claiming they don't do abortion-related resolutions because they don't own shares in abortion-related companies. After all, you have to be a shareholder, an owner, to file a resolution. For some this might be an excuse, but as my Upjohn example showed, Catholic religious do own abortion-related companies. In fact, most of my resolutions concerned companies that gave money to Planned Parenthood. Their actual business was not related to abortion. I have known few Catholic religious groups that excluded companies contributing to Planned Parenthood from investment consideration. Also, on abortion-related companies, Catholic religious groups could have invested a nominal amount to affect a greater good.

While some Catholic religious are involved in other pro-life work, why should their pro-life work stop at the corporate door? Their very presence brings a moral dimension that lay people do not have. So much more could be done.

Keep in mind that many of these religious groups fancy themselves "speaking truth to power" when challenging corporations. The issues they do pursue are, unlike abortion, quite popular among the liberal religious of many faiths on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. If the "human rights issue of our time" is not

enough reason to find a way to speak out rather than an excuse not to, we are all the poorer for it.

Someone once speculated that, when proliferers are received into heaven, they will hear a chorus of praise from the millions of unborn who observed and appreciated their pro-life work. Catholic religious, all too often silent on abortion, should ask themselves what they might hear.



“Do something, Kirkwood—you’re in charge of Human Resources.”

Framing Ireland's Abortion Debate

Margaret Hickey

For Catholics (and others who believe in the unconditional sanctity of all human life), there should be little confusion about how to vote in the forthcoming referendum that will most likely propose the removal of the Eighth Amendment from Ireland's Constitution—the provision that explicitly protects the right to life of unborn human beings. Yet polls, and comments we pick up from various sources, reveal that many people who subscribe to the faith, both in belief and practice, do not see the issue in such clear-cut terms. They may feel it is not anyone's place to impose their views on others, especially those who find themselves dealing with the textbook hard-case situations that the pro-choice movement constantly raises. They may feel unsure about their own response if such a situation presented in their lives. Often, they position themselves at the very restrictive end of the pro-choice scale, their main reservation being that—as happened in the UK—allowing for exceptions might lead to the slippery slope of further and further liberalization.

The pro-choice case is being made under the banners of compassion, personal autonomy, freedom of choice, and human rights. The arguments don't focus on abortion per se, for understandable reasons, but on its justifications. Counter arguments from the pro-life side tend to answer in the same language of human rights and compassion, for the unborn baby in the first instance, but also for the mother in terms of the emotional, psychological, and physical impact abortion and its aftermath are known to have. Because the pro-life movement is broad based and includes people of no religious affiliation, it is rare to hear a faith-based argument in public discussions. Such arguments could lose or alienate many voters who likewise, of course, include people of different faiths and none. So the success of the public campaign rests on a case built on arguments asserting the undeniable humanity of the unborn, the violence of abortion, damage to women, and the cynical and sinister nature of the abortion industry.

But is that enough? It might seem like a strong line-up, but persuading people is about more than piling up arguments; it is also about changing the frame of the debate. Is it appropriate, or even necessary, to preclude what our faith teaches about the inviolable right to life when we address the issue among fellow believers? Or consider how we ourselves should vote in the forthcoming referendum, or how actively we should participate in the campaign? The answer

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hinges in part on where we see the divide between church and state, the things that are Caesar's and those that are not. Mostly perhaps, it depends on where we think the line should fall between the freedom of choice on the one hand and the imperative to defend a moral principle on the other.

In a pluralist but largely secularist society, we find ourselves challenged to vote as citizens and not as Catholics. To vote in a way that reflects respect for social and cultural diversity. To adopt a live-and-let-live attitude. This is a relatively new debate for the Irish but it has been pushed to its logical conclusion in countries like the U.S. When John F. Kennedy ran for president, he took great pains to stress his commitment to the separation of church and state, and found it necessary to assure voters that his own religious convictions would not influence the way he approached issues "like divorce and family planning." He famously told a group of Protestant ministers in 1960 that as a public legislator he would work for "what my conscience tells me is in the national interest." To what extent this political marker has influenced current-day American Catholic politicians like Joe Biden and Nancy Pelosi, who enthusiastically defend abortion rights, is a matter for speculation. What is certain is that Kennedy's follow-on point, that he would resign the office of president if the day ever came when he either had to "violate my conscience or violate the national interest," is less well remembered.

It is also certain that the line between respecting other people's choices and autonomy and defending core principles and values will not fall in the same place for everybody. We will never know whether Kennedy would have felt free in conscience to support abortion as a right or indeed whether he would have determined that its legalization served "the national interest."

However, he made the significant point that political pragmatism, or openness to what we now call inclusivity, should never trump conscience, that there is a point beyond which we cannot say "yes," whatever the public level of demand and support. In Ireland, for instance, alien cultural practices and rituals can proceed without hindrance or disapproval only until a line is crossed and something like female genital mutilation (FGM) comes to light. The issue of FGM has led politicians like Ivana Bacik and Fidelma Healy Eames, usually far apart on the ideological spectrum, to join forces to stop it through legislation. Because the same universal revulsion does not apply to abortion in western countries does not undermine the right and obligation of an individual to protest as conscience dictates.

As Catholics, our conscience ought to conform to the Christian faith and the Church's teaching. Like those of other faiths, or of none, our views are informed by our values, and our values shaped by dominant cultural influences. The interplay of these influences can be complex. People from varied backgrounds can

see that abortion is a violation of the dignity and worth of human life, and that it impinges on how we value human life in other contexts. They can perceive the unborn baby as “one of us,” entitled to the same protection they enjoy. You don’t have to be Catholic or Christian to see that, but being Catholic and Christian should mean that you can’t *not* see it.

The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, reflects the values of an age shaped by Christian thought and religious adherence. The document, however, represents more than a passive absorption of the prevailing dominant ethos. Specific terms and concepts, such as “the dignity and worth” of each human life, were appropriated directly from the writings of the French Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain, who wrote extensively on the subject of the reciprocal rights and responsibilities between church and state, and the state and its citizens. The Declaration is not in any explicit way Catholic or Christian, but it is grounded in a Catholic Christian understanding of the value of each human life, whose origin and destiny transcend the temporal world. Today, the language and terms of that Declaration are used by opposing sides in debates on moral and ethical questions, and have been co-opted by viewpoints that deny their basis and inspiration. The English title of one of Maritain’s books, *The Things That Are Not Caesar’s*, goes right to the heart of the issue we are now confronting in the referendum to repeal the Eighth Amendment.

Matthew, in Chapter 22, makes it clear that there is a line between the things of Caesar—the things legitimately within the remit of temporal power—and those that belong to God alone. The coin the Pharisees bring to Jesus is stamped with the image of Caesar but it is the image of God himself that is stamped on each and every human being of his creation. To become a child of God, one who is called to eternal life, is the only sense in which we can talk about the “potentiality” of the unborn. In all other respects they are complete in both their humanity and their unique identity, which will continue to unfold and reveal itself over the years and decades of their earthly life. Under the influence of God’s gifts and his grace, that unfolding can be transformative in the most amazing ways. What is silently accomplished in the first nine months is the first joyful sign of the life of growth that lies ahead, for however long or short a time, however smooth or rough the journey.

So our faith in essence is pro-life to its very core. Psalm 139, written a thousand years before the coming of Christ, speaks this profound truth in simple, homely words: “For you created my inmost being; you knit me together in my mother’s womb.”

Knitting is an activity associated with women and mothers but it is God who is the author of life. The story of Jesus begins at the moment of his conception with the Annunciation of the Angel Gabriel. His presence is first manifested while he is still in the womb, when another unborn child, John the Baptist,

leaps with joy as his mother, Elizabeth, is greeted by Mary. Jesus' first encounter with the world is as an unborn child. Mary and Elizabeth are two pregnant women who welcomed life, wholeheartedly and generously and joyously, in circumstances that could not be described as opportune or easy or convenient—Mary, a young woman as yet unmarried and her much older cousin, Elizabeth, who had failed to conceive over many years of marriage. Today their situations might be described as “crisis pregnancies.”

Catholics and Christians know that it is especially in times of challenge and difficulty that we draw most deeply from the wellsprings of faith. We are in such a time now. Not only in respect of the call to defend the basic tenet that all human life is sacred, God's to give and God's to take away, but also more generally in that we live within a culture that is more and more stridently hostile to faith and its public expressions. If we are to be “the light of the world,” we cannot retreat to the safety of polite silence, leaving the field open to those for whom the value of the unborn child is contingent, and also putting our own commitment to life at risk.

It may be that the arguments we form for ourselves and others will oftentimes mirror those we hear in public debates that carefully avoid religious references. But they will have a more profound bedrock and carry greater conviction. The frame of our thinking will be both broader and deeper because it will be strongly rooted in the fundamental worldview of our faith. And this should need no more defense or justification than the way a secular and relativist worldview influences the thinking of other citizens.

A view that upholds the integrity of human life unconditionally does not deny the very real challenges and difficulties faced by the parents and families of some unborn children. It is very much part of our witness in this debate that we acknowledge a real and practical and not just ideological commitment to life. We can also support a culture among the young that promotes responsible use of their sexuality. We can question the emotional and psychological damage of commitment-free relationships and the way they fuel the campaign for abortion on demand. There are many levels on which we can, as a society, address the problems and issues associated with crisis pregnancies. But it is the troubled or traumatized pregnant woman who has first claim on our practical care and support. A pro-life culture not only opposes abortion; it actively supports life and the gospel injunction to care for the needy we encounter—however their neediness is manifested.

It was the sick and the weak and the silent who claimed our Lord's special care and attention. The sinner, the outcast, the infirm, the elderly, those with disabilities, damaged physically, mentally, and spiritually—all were affirmed because no one or no situation is beyond his healing power. The lives of all those

who enter our lives, and that includes, most of all, our children, are both gift and responsibility. Children are quite literally the ones who come to us naked and hungry: We clothe and feed them. In their helplessness and humility, trustfulness and loving, they show us what we need to be, what we need to recover to enter the Kingdom.

“For whoever is the least among you, he is the greatest,” Jesus says when we welcome the children (Luke 22). And it is the least of all, the unborn child, who we are called to defend at this time. Doing so will take us out of our comfort zone. This is an occasion, many will feel, that requires more courage than most. Not everyone is called to enter the fray of media debate. Not everyone feels they can be effective in persuading lukewarm family members and friends. However, all of us can witness to our pro-life stance, our faith, by simply declaring ourselves silently with a pro-life badge or a tiny-feet pin, or a sticker on a car. Those who want to engage with us will then have an opportunity to do so. Those who do not will not be confronted.

It is actually those who may appear to be doing least who are following the model of the Gospel. Jesus did not harangue anyone, or seek out argument. But when issues and questions were brought to him, everyone knew where he stood.

Following Jesus means we follow in action as well as in word. He knows us and he knows the mission he has entrusted to us. He will not leave us on our own when the going is tough and the challenges uncomfortable.

We can be “a light to the world” in many different ways. Only by joining together can the collective witness of our many little lights become the shining “city on a hill,” which the world cannot ignore.

And the King who empowers us, who identifies so strongly with the weak and small, will also hold us to account, each according to his talents and opportunities. Matthew again: “As long as you did this to the least of my brethren, you did it to me” (25:40).

Promoting a culture of life, supporting life, voting life, and encouraging others to do so is, in a very literal way, about serving the least of our brethren.

Eugenics and an Overlooked Rebuttal

Patricia Ranft

In the introduction to the French edition of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, Clémence Royer claimed that Darwin's theory called for the elimination of "all the disgraces of nature" among humanity, and social Darwinism was born. In 1871 Darwin's cousin Francis Galton gave this belief a name, eugenics. During the remainder of the nineteenth century, eugenic ideology spread across the globe. Promoted as proven, unassailable science, eugenics was by the twentieth century endorsed by practically everyone who was anyone. The wealthy Harrimans, Andrew Carnegie, and John D. Rockefeller funded research; politicians (such as Theodore Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Woodrow Wilson), European ministers of state, and Supreme Court justices promoted it through laws, policies, and judicial decisions; the presidents of Harvard, Stanford, Bowdoin, and the like incorporated it into their universities; and celebrities such as Charles Lindbergh, Helen Keller, Aldous Huxley, and Bernard Shaw popularized it in mass culture.

Soon eugenic ideology was accepted by the middle class, and even (naively) by some of the lower class. Critics were few and far between. Instead of being a passing fad or an embarrassing mistake, as many present-day scholars maintain, eugenics was deeply and openly entrenched in global culture by the 1940s. Only when the horrors of the Holocaust became visible did the name of eugenics become stained. I say "name" because eugenic ideology did not disappear or abandon its founding principles, even after the Nuremberg trials. It lowered its profile and hid—but only for a while.

Today, "old" eugenics is still very much with us, disguised under different nomenclature. The British Eugenic Society renamed itself the Galton Institute, and the American Eugenic Society now calls itself the Society of Biodemography and Social Biology. The National Institutes of Health now funds a division for biodemography, making the United States the first government since the Nazis to fund eugenic research. Oregon's Board of Eugenics, operating under the name Board of Social Protection, coercively sterilized its last victim in 1981. This "new" eugenics is alive and well and is still the driving ideology behind the current assault on life. Only the way the ideology is applied varies. For this reason it is essential that we become thoroughly familiar with its fundamental principles. Such knowledge is hard to come by, though, because ever since the

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disgrace Nazism brought upon eugenics there has been a concerted effort to erase it from public memory. Since the 1990s, however, the stranglehold of selective amnesia has at last begun to relax, and the history of eugenics is gradually being exposed.

Eugenics

It is hard to overestimate how popular and influential eugenics was in its first century. It is also hard to exaggerate the leading role the United States and Britain—not Germany (the Rockefeller Foundation funded German research)—played in the movement. In 1912 eugenicists were numerous enough to hold their First International Conference on Eugenics in London. There, representatives from twenty-two countries and four continents passed an agenda calling for, among other things, life segregation of the unfit; coercive sterilization; eugenic education of the public; euthanasia; and outlawing marriage for those with certain medical, mental, and social problems.

America was quick to adopt all the above. By 1914 thirty states had passed coercive sterilization laws for the unfit. Eugenic treatises for the educated and pamphlets for the masses were published in the hundreds of thousands. Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916), with its argument for the extermination of all Africans and Jews, was an international bestseller; Hitler had a personal copy. Nobel laureate Alexis Carrel's *Man, the Unknown* (1935) was another international bestseller, and *Reader's Digest*, with a global circulation of nearly two million, serialized its chapters. (In chapter two Carrel demands that the unfit "should be disposed of in small euthanasia institutions supplied with proper gases.")

Professional journals flourished: *Eugenic News*, *Journal of Heredity*, and *Eugenics: Journal of Race Betterment* were supported by the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations, as was the American Eugenic Society, founded in 1922. Newspaper articles offered advice on how to spread the ideology and to overcome any resistance to it; Fred Hogue's column, "Social Eugenics," ran weekly in the *Los Angeles Times* during the 1930s. Popular writers filled their (supposedly) nonfiction books with eugenic propaganda: Henry Goddard's immensely popular and false *The Kallikak Family* convinced a wide audience that mental and social problems were inherited. Eugenists like Erskine Caldwell (*Tobacco Road*) had their eugenic novels made into plays and movies. In 1917 alone, four widely distributed eugenic propaganda movies—*Parentage*, *Married in Name Only*, *Are You Fit to Marry?*, and *The Black Stork*—premiered, with *The Black Stork* being a huge, critically acclaimed hit.

Eugenic journals printed article after article on how to indoctrinate elementary, secondary, and college students in eugenics; in 1913 every issue of *Eugenic Review* was exclusively devoted to this effort. Universities offering courses in

eugenics increased exponentially during the 1920s, up from 44 in 1914 to 367 in 1928. Textbooks for all levels of schooling presented eugenics as proven beyond question, or, as the U.S. Public Health Service declared, “fact, not fad.” British eugenicists sponsored the First International Congress on Education in 1907. The American Eugenic Society awarded Eugenic Certificates of Merit (designed by Galton in 1903) to those with desired eugenic traits and sponsored Better Babies, Fitter Families, and Best Sermon contests throughout the land. Eugenic-themed pavilions appeared in county, state, and world expositions. Museums opened eugenic exhibits, while the American Museum of Natural History in New York City hosted the Second International Conference on Eugenics in 1921, with Catholic Archbishop Patrick Hayes enthusiastically welcoming the group. If all this failed to get the notice of society’s middle and lower classes, then the involuntary institutionalizations, incarcerations, lobotomies, sterilizations, abortions, and marriage restrictions mandated by eugenic legislation would, for these classes were the main victims of these actions.

To find out what the core beliefs of eugenics are, we need look no further than Darwin’s call for the extermination of “savage races” by “civilized men.” Here are the two keystones of eugenics: belief in human inequality and the denial of universal human dignity. Eugenics grants “civilized men” (later eugenicists call them the fit) total control of the “savage races” (the unfit). It is as simple as this: I say I am superior to you, so I get to decide whether you are worthy of life. As to who these unfit people are, answers varied little. Anyone who was alcoholic, homeless, deaf, blind, criminal, illegitimate, short, feebleminded (sub-classified as idiots, imbeciles, and morons), non-white, orphaned, unemployed, tubercular, or epileptic or who masturbated ended up on someone’s unfit lists. Teddy Roosevelt’s identification of the unfit was simple: “All the wrong people.” Oliver Wendell Holmes wondered whether newborns who failed an examination should be killed outright. Eugenicist-turned-critic Raymond Pearl probably gave the most honest, comprehensive answer: “[I]t always seems to mean either ‘a) my kind of people, or b) people whom I happen to like.’”

The criteria eugenicists used to compose their lists varied. Some said ugliness was the best criterion. Others used economics, age, ethnicity, personal habits, or the shape of one’s head. The most common criterion was utility. Only people who rendered useful service (again, as judged by eugenicists) were fit to survive. Grant insisted that “the laws of nature require the obliteration of the unfit,” for human life was justified only if socially useful. Helen Keller hypocritically argued that “a human life is sacred only when it may be of some use to itself and to the world,” conveniently forgetting that not every disabled child has an Annie Sullivan as a teacher. French philosopher Henri Lichtenberger offered another criterion, which, horrifyingly, was not considered extreme by fellow eugenicists: “To spare future generations the depressing sight of misery

and ugliness, let us kill all those who are ripe for death.” Even if one rendered a service generally considered useful, one did not necessarily escape being targeted, for eugenic usefulness was relative and gave eugenists a free hand in deciding whatever they so inclined.

Eugenic leaders were well aware that their ideology was in direct conflict with Christianity’s belief in the sanctity of life. Over and over they claimed Christian doctrine was a hindrance to humanity’s progress, with Grant lamenting that “a sentimental belief in the sanctity of human life tend[s] to prevent both the elimination of defective infants and the sterilization of such adults.” Eugenists were also particularly harsh in their attacks on charity, for it sabotaged natural selection and enabled the survival of the unfit to the detriment of the fit. Accordingly, Julian Huxley, founding director of UNESCO, demanded that the unfit not have ready access to healthcare lest it be too easy for them to survive and reproduce. Thomas Common, a noted Nietzschean scholar, compared Christian charity to snake’s venom and skunk’s stench. Margaret Sanger wanted to eliminate the unfit because the fit “must pay in one way or another for these biological and racial mistakes.”

Not everybody, however, recognized the fundamental incompatibility of eugenics and Christianity. When the emphasis was on increasing the fit (positive eugenics) rather than on decreasing the unfit (negative eugenics), many Christians blindly became supporters. They failed to realize that the principles of human inequality and the selective dignity of individuals are common to both positive and negative eugenics. No matter how enlightened it may sound to wish for more fit babies than unfit ones, implicit in that wish is the supposition that somehow my super-intelligent lawyer sister is more worthy, more valuable, and possesses more dignity than my Down syndrome brother. However, as anyone who knows them knows, that simply isn’t true.

Thérèse Martin of Lisieux (1873-97)

Catholics formed the only organized opposition to eugenics, but it came late. The institutional church was silent for decades. Some hierarchy, like the previously mentioned Archbishop Hayes, even supported the movement. Only after eugenists pushed for coercive sterilization in the 1920s did the Vatican finally condemn the ideology in 1930. But by that time clergy and theologians of all denominations had for decades seemingly been oblivious to the seriousness of the eugenic challenge.

There was one laywoman, though, who developed an ideology containing a sound rebuttal of eugenic ideology, the cloistered nun Thérèse Martin, often called the Little Flower. Few are aware of this much-needed ammunition in her writings, which is unfortunate, because her defense of life is powerful. It is not based on esoteric complexities, addressed solely to theologians, or even

restricted to Christians. Although Thérèse is obviously writing as a Catholic, her pro-life ideology, with its emphasis on humanity's inherent equality and dignity, is non-sectarian and easily detached from her theology; one need not be a Catholic to be persuaded by the force of her arguments. Rather, her defense is written in plain language, with the down-to-earth examples and metaphors that the uneducated and the educated, the theist and the atheist, can easily grasp. The amazing publication history of her autobiography, *The Story of a Soul*, verifies her accessibility. First published in 1898, by her canonization in 1925 it had been translated into thirty-five languages on five continents, and new editions and translations continue to this day.

As a young teenager Thérèse established the first basic principle of her ideology, the equality of persons. She rejected class distinctions and recognized that office and authority do not make one superior ("All these titles and these *de* appeared to us as nothing but smoke"). She condemned the inferior position of women in the secular and religious realms ("Ah! Poor women, how they are misunderstood!"), the superior status of clergy ("They are, nevertheless, weak and fragile men"), and denied the perceived inadequacies of those she called "the little people" (the eugenists' unfit). She embraced her own littleness, for "when I fall on the way/ I can get up very quickly." She made it her life's mission to communicate this message of equality to all persons, but especially to those who were as "powerless and weak" as she was: "I want to teach them the little means that have been so perfectly successful with me." Her life bore witness to the usefulness of the hidden life, the importance of small actions, and the goodness present in the drudgery of daily life. In short, Thérèse turns the eugenists' world upside down. The unfit are the fit, the little are the great, and the socially useless are the spiritually useful.

After entering the convent, Thérèse developed her second fundamental principle, the dignity of every person. Little or great, weak or strong, sick or healthy, rich or destitute, producer or consumer, every individual possesses an inherent dignity that is not subject to degrees. "Poor little souls are fearful . . . that they are good for nothing," Thérèse observed, "but this is not so: The essence of their being is working in secret." A vast amount of her writing addresses this issue. Imperfections, be they physical, mental, or social, do not detract from that dignity, for to be human is to be imperfect. Thérèse accepted herself "such as I am, with all my imperfections," and urges others to do the same. There is no demand for remarkable accomplishments or impeccable behavior, for with littleness comes a free pass. "I will have the right of doing stupid things up until my death, if I am humble and if I remain little," she maintained. No matter what one does, one should not be discouraged over imperfections, because the imperfections of little people "are too little to hurt." Moreover, every person who loves is useful, for "the smallest act of love is more useful . . . than all other works

put together.” Like nighttime drops of dew whose “mission is to hide itself” in flowers so that they can bloom by day, little people must not believe “those who consider the little drop of dew as useless.” She finds it deplorable that little people, “not realizing their value, deem themselves as beneath other creatures.”

Thérèse is intent upon convincing such people that they possess the same worth as the great. She does this by pointing again to love. Eugenists have no place in their ideology for love. Indeed, many ridicule it. Thérèse placed it center stage. Far from being sentimental or emotional, Thérèse understood love to be both felt and “unfelt,” for at its essence love is “a pure act of the will, an act of detachment, an act of acceptance.” Love is what makes social categories and biological classifications irrelevant, for what counts is not “so much the grandeur of actions or even their difficulty as the love which goes to make up these actions.” It is the great equalizer. For both the bestower and the bestowed, love transforms and transcends the human condition: “In one act of love, even unfelt love, all is repaired.” Love’s limit is that “there is no limit.” After all, “why should there be any? We are greater than the whole universe.”

Eugenics and Thérèse Juxtaposed

Thus, the contrast between eugenic and Thérésian ideologies is stark. Both address the human condition, but the two have radically different definitions. Eugenics denies the equality and dignity of life. Thérèse upholds both. Eugenic individuals are not autonomous, and personal liberty is sacrificed for the community. Thérèse vehemently disagrees. Eugenics limits agency to certain people; Thérèse extends it to all. Eugenic culture declares that the fit have the right—no, the duty—to eliminate the unfit. Thérèse denies that there is such a mandate and condemns the arrogance behind it. Eugenists hold that life is predetermined by biology. Thérèse rejects determinism and maintains that “each soul [is] free to respond . . . to do little or much . . . in a word, to *choose*” (Thérèse’s italics). Eugenic philosophy, literature, sociology, economics, and especially science tell ordinary people that their lives are insignificant, disposable, and ultimately meaningless. Thérèse asserts that every life, no matter how others denigrate it, no matter how useless others consider it to be, is meaningful and sacrosanct. The silent, hidden life is useless to eugenists and therefore expendable, but to Thérèse it is to be treasured, rich with possibilities. Eugenics condemns the invisible and the wounded; Thérèse elevates them. Thérèse’s nothingness is a fertile, positive state; for eugenists it is a barren and negative state. Eugenists have employed (and often manipulated) photographic images of the disadvantaged to promote prejudice, intolerance, and bigotry. Thérèse uses the image of the wounded Christ to inspire sympathy, love, and identification with sufferers. Every aspect of Thérésian ideology is premised on the dignity of the individual and the subsequent right of self-autonomy, thereby

challenging the eugenisists' claim that only those they so designate have the right to live. In sum, Thérèsian ideology is a well-developed, persuasive rebuff to eugenic ideology. Again, what makes Thérèse's arguments even more pertinent is that they are so easily grasped by the very people most affected by eugenic policies. Her life is perhaps the best proof we have of the dignity, value, and usefulness of little people.

Thérèse has been called the most beloved woman in modern history. The height of her cult in Western countries may have peaked in the Vatican II years, but it is still growing in non-Western countries, even among Muslims and Buddhists. A world tour of her relics begun in 1997 drew unanticipated millions of pilgrims, illustrating how Thérèse still has an amazing ability to reach the hearts of people. Her life and her writings have the power of persuasion. The pro-life movement will miss a great opportunity if it fails to take advantage of what Thérèse has to offer.

At a time when world headlines gleefully announce Iceland and Denmark's elimination of nearly all their Down syndrome babies, and Dutch Catholics openly and proudly practice euthanasia on the mentally ill, we have Thérèsian ideology to challenge such misplaced celebration. As Thérèsian biographer Barry Ulanov observes, "By our insistence on the worth of the hitherto spurned, the very least of us, we have demonstrated in the midst of the horrors of our time an understanding of Thérèsian wisdom." As the "old" eugenics of coercive sterilizations, lobotomies, marriage restrictions, and Holocausts is replaced by the "new" eugenics of selective abortion, genetic engineering, euthanasia, and ethnic cleansing, let us hope Ulanov is not too optimistic.

Life as It's Meant to Be

William Murchison

All right, then. We know what people nowadays want. They want . . . I think the word might be latitude. They want room to move around and try out things, whether commended by advice and experience, or not. Maybe just because certain things have surface appeal, or maybe because others display them as useful, nice, affirming, pleasant, generous, the wave of the future.

Latitude means not being boxed in. “Boxed in by what?” you might ask innocently. Boxed in by the expectations of others, the rules of others, the measurements and gaits that past generations might have found appropriate; but that was then, this is now.

Latitude! The American way—yes? Or, as some might define it, the path to human fulfillment and the richness to be found on either side, as well as at the end.

Polls and surveys regularly indicate the modern commitment to latitude, not just for one's self but for others. Among the superficially startling data of recent years is the degree of support for same-sex marriage, such support being especially strong among people in their twenties, who are expected to drag along behind them their own children (if any) and like constituents of the new age of latitude: all fixed on un-boxing themselves. Support for abortion, as we know, remains strong in spite of diligent, intelligent efforts to display and affirm the humanity of unborn life. Support grows, if in ways hard to measure with precision, for the right to discard life itself when it becomes wearisome and the body a burden.

Latitude! What more could we want in our mortal existence? Could we want purpose? Could we want meaning? Could we want dignity and worth and value and such like?

The fundamental value—there are other values, but this is a starting place—of Leon R. Kass's new book, *Leading a Worthy Life* (Encounter, \$27.99), is the daringness of the whole enterprise. Do you want a worthy life? Do you know in what a worthy life consists? Do you know what others say and have said about the question? Do you dare to find out?

The challenges that this eminent—I am ready to say invaluable, should any reader press the question—American scholar flings our way are precisely the challenges requiring the face time so long denied them by our latitudinarian

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society. We want what we want when we want it. Kass waves a cautioning hand. Maybe we don't want it as much as we think: assuming we take the time to think.

Kass may require a word of introduction, or perhaps reintroduction. A biochemist by training, he became famous during the George W. Bush administration, when he was named to head the President's Council on Bioethics—on the ethical questions, in other words, that swirl continually around our enfleshed humanity. Among these: human cloning, embryonic stem-cell research, euthanasia, in vitro fertilization, organ transplantation. I take away from this book the impression he has somehow or other, at some time or the other, read everything except the funny papers. Maybe he has read the funny papers as well.

The immense questions regarding human life are not funny in themselves: least of all those that have to do with the good life—a state not automatically to be identified with the self-chosen life. “I seek to provide,” he says, “an articulate defense of what many Americans tacitly believe or seek in their heart of hearts but have forgotten how to articulate or defend.” This, and how those approaches to life “can still be pursued under present circumstances.”

A complex mission, to be sure. There is neither shame nor scandal—quite the reverse—in the book's structure as a collection of separate essays written by Kass over the past 20 years. In a single, magisterial tome we might not have received at Kass's hands side-by-side consideration of the Ten Commandments and the Gettysburg Address. Here we do. And it helps. It reminds us how broad is the topic, the good life, how properly diverse the considerations that inform and shape it. We talk about the humanities here; we talk about sex education; we talk about liberal education and the pursuit of the ageless body and “the end of courtship” and the importance of names. You see what kind of good life Leon Kass has chosen for himself, aimed at the explication of mysteries we hardly think of anymore as mysteries.

You would rightly suppose Kass to be a major fan of life, generically. Human life he regards with immense respect. “Respect for anything human,” he writes in the chapter on human dignity, “requires respecting everything human—respecting human *being* as such.” It is in 21st-century terms a perverse stand. “Being,” to the latitudinarian, is personal. He—or she—*is*. Doesn't that do the job? If it does, and to latitudinarians it should, does not this signify personal rights to, say, the determination of life span?

Concerning the impulse for euthanasia or doctor-assisted suicide, Kass notes that “one who calls for death in the service of personhood is like a tree seeking to cut its roots for the sake of growing its highest fruit. No physician, devoted to the benefit of the sick, can serve the patient *as person* by denying and thwarting his personal *embodiment*. The boundary condition, ‘No deadly drugs,’ flows directly from the center, ‘Make whole.’” Thus, there can be no medical killing.

“[T]o bring nothingness is incompatible with serving wholeness: one cannot heal, or comfort, by making nil. The healer cannot annihilate if he is truly to heal.”

An important reminder bubbles to the surface. The good life depends on the integrity of our institutions, all of them: medicine, law, education, theology, family, even sports. They shape the way we look at the world. They shape *us*.

Our interactions with others occur in the context of work and play and study. It matters, accordingly, what the context does to us. “Even sports,” I said a moment ago—as if the field of play on which so many exercise their talents were not as influential in its way as other institutions.

Kass has a notable chapter on “the love of the game,” whose exemplar, the great athlete, “longs for more than the spirited conquest of his opponent; he longs for ‘the perfect game’—for perfection itself, the performance that transcends victory alone.” Everyone acknowledges the imperfections of many of our sporting figures. (*C’mon, don’t you watch TV?*) Yet bad behavior in and of itself cannot annul the experience of aspiration and achievement. Kass does well to bring to our attention the literal arena that excites so many onlookers as well as participants.

Observe now. We are discussing the human body, its strong points in particular but also its weaker ones—those that detract from achievement. And what we find active in our culture, in our lives, is a desperate desire to bring about just plain old perfection, athletic or not, in the human species. We are bent, often enough, on what Kass calls “the zealous pursuit of the more perfect human”—with science and medicine as our instruments. Kass begs not to be misunderstood. He is not examining “the goodness of science and medicine as such but the goodness of looking to science and medicine as the solution for the human condition, for the relief and salvation of man’s estate.” Beware, he cautions, of “the new religion”—the displacement of the God who became man in favor of “the man become as a god.”

The lineaments of the new religion are dreadfully familiar. Thinkers of one kind or the other have always aimed at human perfection, without the science to bring their aspirations to perfection. Victor Frankenstein had to make do with lightning. Modern laboratories furnished with once barely thinkable technology make present in everyday life the expectations of “science as salvation, informed by a new idea of human perfection that has, in the end, little patience with human frailty and disability.” Which is to say, with human life as put here by God.

“[A]lready,” says Kass, “we are widely practicing genetic screening and prenatal and preimplantation genetic diagnosis, capable of identifying and rooting out the genetically unfit before they can be born . . .” The “prime targets for

elimination” are “mental retardation and mental illness, severe bodily deformity and disability, and, later in life, dementia, debility, and enfeeblement—serious imperfections all.” This, notwithstanding the prospects for improving memory and late-in-life wellbeing.

Friends of human life will understand instinctively what is implied here—namely, the tendency of many to play down prospects of fulfilling lifespans for “the imperfect”—the “genetically deprived,” let us say, or the untimely and inconvenient—and play up the benefits of, well, just letting these deprived lives become nullities. The cultures of abortion and euthanasia are subsets of the larger culture of perfection.

What Kass has to say on this topic is immensely valuable if depressing. “Though well equipped,” he says, “we know not who we are or where we are going. We triumph over nature’s unpredictability only to subject ourselves, tragically, to the still greater unpredictability of our capricious will and our fickle opinions.” The sentences invite repeated reading and reflection. They strike deep. Who are we? Where are we going?

Back to the matter of institutions. Kass, without trying specifically, makes, and powerfully so, the case for cultures—I hate to use a vogue word; it is not a bad one, even so—that speak to individuals with intonations different from those commonly heard today. Cultures of reverence and respect, difficult as they are to maintain in an ultra-democratic climate like today’s, stand out against cultures of self-absorption or subjectivity.

Church, school, family, journalism, and so forth inherit the duty of holding up for admiration, or at least recognition, the understanding of human beings as more than electronic circuits and muscular reflexes. An institution that does its job *teaches*. Shows. Inculcates. Postulates. Not so much looking for applause as acknowledgement.

The institution of medicine, we could say, has within itself the capacity to overthrow easy assumptions about human perfectibility and the civilized boundaries essential to stake out between what is and what might be. Essential to that mission is a general informed understanding of what goes on here, and why. Who are we? Where are we going? Kass approaches these mountaintops toward the end, having negotiated the necessary lowlands (though nothing in this high-toned and evocative book can be called “low”).

We arrive, respectfully, at Genesis 1—“the beginning of a Bible-length response to the human need to know not only how the world works but also what we are to do here. It is the beginning of a Bible-length response to the human longing for meaning and wholehearted existence. The truths it bespeaks . . . point away from the truths of belief to the truths of action,” speaking “more deeply and permanently than any mere doctrine, whether of science or even of faith.” Or of CNBC. Or the *Washington Post*.

The humanity to which Genesis speaks requires no re-invention, no mock-perfecting. It requires, among other things, a sobriety out of keeping with the tone and pace of 21st-century life. Which makes Kass's ruminations a happy gift to modern times.

Who are we? Where are we going? Kass has a highly readable, as well as useful, chapter on the *Nichomachean Ethics*. Gasp! Aristotle? Aristotle—yes. Aristotle, with his concern for human flourishing and human excellence. Perfection of character and perfection of mind are linked in the *Ethics*. The summons to wisdom is persistent and irrevocable. Kass loves the *Ethics*, which he has taught numerous times. Numerous? Wait, Aristotle's dead, isn't he? What's his use to us?

Questions of that sort are very modern—and very, as you might say, pointless, like all questions that seem to assert the value of the present-day experience alone, with rarely a glance backwards or forwards to weigh experience or prospects. Aristotle—and Kass—are of considerable use in showing that, as Kass would have it, “the perfection of character finally cannot do without a certain perfection of mind . . . Strictly speaking, one cannot be ethically good unless one is practically wise.”

“Well, do tell,” a good modernist might riposte, with slightly lifted eyebrow. And where's this stuff come from, hmm? Isn't it all opinion? With the odor of mothballs? All this talk of the good life. Is not the matter of “good,” is not the matter of life itself a topic no one individual can determine for another individual? Such is the modern predicament: against which Leon Kass impressively (as you would expect, knowing anything about the man) arrays himself. For all his wisdom and gifts he needs powerful help. From whence is it to come?

Back—once more—to institutions, not as websites, not as apparatuses for research or the handover of golf tournament prizes at conventions; rather, as custodians of something resembling That Which Is, over against That Which Seems Like a Good Idea, However . . .

Medicine: We have looked at that through Kass's eyes. Of medicine we might say that an institution dedicated consciously to the maintenance and spread of health would know intuitively the answer to questions such as, Why can't I take my own life, it's mine, isn't it?

Education: What is the particular problem here? Is that problem not the default of educators—not all, please, not nearly all, but too many—respecting the corpus of knowledge and truths educators formerly believed it their duty to transmit? The intellectual wasting away of the academy is in many respects, I submit, the cause of our moral impoverishment. The teachers no longer teach. Or else what they teach is at odds with what they formerly, as an institution, thought it essential to transmit.

The family, the church, journalism—on and on. American institutions waste

away, their stomachs empty from intellectual malnutrition. The success of Leon Kass's enterprise, if that should occur, hangs on the awakening of formerly dependable institutions. Once these institutions knew, generally speaking, what life was about—and were unhesitant to show and explain it. Their knowledge, their wisdom, grew from prolonged meditation on the good life: its rewards, its challenges. They knew what Kass knows. They knew, accordingly, their duties, their responsibilities.

The shoulders of a single individual, however gifted, cannot bear the weight of the job at hand, namely, the general restoration of mislaid or forgotten sensibilities and truths. Yet particular individuals are marked for the attempt, Leon Kass being conspicuously among their number. His book is a treasure house of wisdom, from floor to ceiling. Take time for exploration. He matters. What he has given us matters.



“Do you, Darlene, take Jim to be your lawfully wedded husband, when you could clearly do far better?”

FILM/BOOKNOTES

WONDER

Directed by Stephen Chbosky

Reviewed by Anne Sullivan

“Dear God, let them be nice to him.” It seems like such a simple prayer, one that any mother might utter for her child. We hear it quietly whispered by Isabel (played by Julia Roberts) for her nine-year-old son on his first day of fifth grade in the heartwarming yet emotionally powerful film *Wonder*.

Based on the eponymous book by R.J. Palacio, *Wonder* tells the story of Auggie Pullman (Jacob Tremblay), who suffers from Treacher Collins Syndrome, a genetic condition that causes severe facial deformities. While the novel doesn’t hold back from describing Auggie’s horrifying face—underdeveloped cheek bones that can look like melted skin, a small jaw and chin structure that leaves him chewing with his front teeth, and downward-slanting eyes, one of which hangs lower than the other—director Stephen Chbosky softens Auggie’s facial condition. Still, it is enough to have an impact without frightening the viewer.

The film, like the book, is narrated by different characters as they describe from their own point of view Auggie’s first year at a mainstream school—Beecher Prep—after years of homeschooling. Auggie is petrified, as any kid starting a new school would be. The difference is he is no ordinary kid—and he knows it. Very much aware of his looks, he wishes he could “walk down the street without people seeing me and then doing that look-away thing.” Auggie cautiously starts making his way, dealing with his classmates’ stolen glances at his extraordinary face, their open taunts suggesting that touching him may “give you the plague,” and the school bullies who hide their fear of opening their hearts to Auggie by intimidating or turning others against him. The viewer aches, alternately rooting for Auggie while wanting to warn him not to risk his heart. And when he finally makes a friend in classmate Jack Will (Noah Jupe), it is all we can do not to openly weep and cheer.

However, the normalcy of Auggie’s relationship with Jack leads to a betrayal so real and familiar that anyone who has ever been in middle school will feel as if the wind has been knocked out of him. Part of the beauty of this story is that Auggie deals with the same difficulties many other children his age face. Even without being in Auggie’s shoes, we can identify with his feeling of isolation and his longing to be accepted. Slowly, we see Auggie for what he is: a normal child wanting to make connections with his contemporaries. We understand how difficult it is for Auggie at a time in childhood when kids are simultaneously trying to fit in and stand out. The difference is that his situation is layered with a facial deformity that prevents him from getting that first chance most

kids are afforded by their peers. Yet what draws the viewer in is the strength and determination with which Auggie perseveres. Despite—or maybe because of—his face, Auggie makes a difference at Beecher Prep, not only to his few friends but to his class and his school. When the people around him take a chance and look beyond his face, the impact it has is like the millions of ripples after a small pebble is dropped in a lake.

This is not the kind of story where the kid goes it alone, though. Auggie is surrounded by adults who care about him: his mother Isabel; his father Nate (Owen Wilson), and school principal, Mr. Tushman (Mandy Patinkin). Auggie's high-school-aged sister Via (Izabela Vidovic) is also supportive and loving, even as she struggles to find her own way in the shadow of Auggie's difficulties. Auggie is part of a loving family unit that, while flawed, still struggles to treat him with respect, demanding as much from him as they would of any child. When he storms off from the dinner table after a particularly difficult school day, Isabel doesn't coddle Auggie but reprimands him by saying, "That is not the way we leave the table."

Jacob Tremblay, who plays Auggie, is quite a gifted actor and he is supported by a superb cast of children and adults. Together they transport the viewer to a particular time in childhood. Auggie's situation is of course uniquely challenging. But it is universally relatable because it is the human story of hurt and agony, kindness and acceptance, as experienced by all the characters. As Auggie's mother, Roberts is restrained enough to be believable as a mom who, after years of holding on tight, has to let go in order to allow her son to fulfill her own heart's true desire: that he will grow strong and free like every other "normal" child.

A parent watching the film will want to hold Auggie in her arms. Almost any adult can remember those times in childhood when your cheeks burned and you fought back tears because of a cruel word or a hurtful situation. Reading the book or watching the film with your child may afford an opportunity to relate Auggie's story to their own experience. I first read *Wonder* with my daughters and more recently with my fifth-grade son, whose class used the book as a read-aloud and then made a field trip to see the movie. There were many times when I fought back tears while reading (and watching), times when tears flowed freely and times when I laughed out loud while pondering the ideas of acceptance, friendship, and loyalty.

It was an opportunity to discuss with my kids our own reactions to people's differences, and not just the physical ones. And in a way most probably not intended by the author or director, the goodness in *Wonder* gave me a chance to point out the type of books, television programs, and other entertainment material we choose as a family, and as individuals. What we bring into our homes and minds influences our thoughts, words, and deeds. In a world where there

is so much muck, are we consciously choosing things that edify us? It's easy enough to be lazy and allow ourselves to be fed by whatever the media and publishing industries want to sell us. But it takes effort to push back against hype and to seek out entertainment that builds us up. Would I be comfortable if my parents, children, or neighbor saw what I was watching on television, opened the magazine on my coffee table, or took a look at the online newspaper on my iPad? I think seeing the blue book cover or the torn theater ticket from *Wonder* would fit in just right with my comfort level.

But the greatest gift *Wonder* brings is its exhortation to children and adults alike to do something bold: Be kind. It is an action that is often overlooked, or seen as a weakness, or worse, not noticed at all. Kindness is that gentle act of consideration for another human being. All Auggie desires is this small, friendly gesture. As Jack Will slides into the bench to sit across from Auggie at lunch, it marks the beginning of their friendship. It is this selflessness that changes hearts and minds, something we hopefully can bring into our own lives as well.

Wonder will take your breath away. Let it.

—Anne Sullivan previously wrote for the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops as a nationally syndicated film critic.

THE GREAT HUMAN DIGNITY HEIST: HOW BIOETHICISTS ARE TRASHING THE FOUNDATIONS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Michael Cook

(Redland Bay, Queensland: Connor Court Publishing, 2017, 254 pp.)

Reviewed by John Grondelski

Michael Cook is an Australian journalist and editor of the on-line newsletter Bioedge (<https://www.bioedge.org/>). A rapier-tongued iconoclast, the idols he smashes are those of mainstream secular bioethics, especially of the utilitarian bent. This book is a collection of 60 of his best essays.

Bioethics is something of a strange discipline. Etymologically, it qualifies ethics—the science of right and wrong—with the Greek prefix βίος, “life,” i.e., “life ethics.” It started gaining ground in the 1970s, as the biological sciences began asserting greater control over life and death. The “Pill,” which was introduced in the 60s, already had given us sex without babies; the 1972 *Roe v. Wade* decision gave us a woman’s right to abort an unwanted pregnancy. By the late 1970s, with the rise of in vitro fertilization and other techniques of artificial reproduction, sex without babies turned into babies without sex. And, like Moore’s Law in information technology—IT capacity doubles on average

every 18 months—“advances” in biotechnology also grow at an exponential rate.

It’s not that there were no ethical principles available to guide new developments in the biological sciences. The Catholic medical-moral tradition was already well-established, with its long history of both theological reflection and practical application in hospitals (another institution, like the university, born in the cradle of the Church). But Daniel Callahan, an ethicist and co-founder of The Hastings Center, recognized the need for a secular bioethics which would, after appropriate handwringing, clear the way to permit what the Catholic medico-moral tradition would forbid (see <https://www.bioedge.org/bioethics/interview-with-daniel-callahan/11626>).

Forty years after the term “bioethics” entered common parlance, Cook writes, “we have progressive bioethics, conservative bioethics, global bioethics, feminist bioethics, Islamic bioethics, Catholic bioethics (my favorite), and so on. Bioethics, as most of the real experts quietly agree, is a field in crisis.”

One reason for this is that secular, utilitarian bioethics has shoved aside the others (including natural law bioethics). “Autonomy” and “dignity” are its code words, in which are compressed a whole array of philosophical presuppositions. Take “autonomy.” Freedom of choice is essential to the ethical enterprise; without freedom, there can be no responsibility. But choice is not constitutive of the good: Something is not “good” because I choose it. A thief chooses to steal, but that hardly makes burglary a morally acceptable act. *Roe v. Wade* turned this way of thinking around. “Choice” itself became paramount. A woman who chooses to have a baby is doing a good thing. But so is a woman who chooses to have an abortion. The killing of the child is subsumed in “choice.”

Cook is not bowled over by “experts” who couch their death-dealing nostrums in jargon and euphemism:

[W]hat gives “bioethicists” authority to pronounce on moral issues? Why are their conclusions more solidly grounded than yours—or your grandmother’s, or a reader of Tarot cards? Perhaps it has something to do with the name. That sexy little prefix “bio” has become a Kevlar vest for so-called experts who couldn’t score a job in the philosophy department of Monty Python’s University of Woolloomoodoo.

Consider, for example, how embryonic stem-cell research was sold as promising myriad cures, even though subsequent studies showed that stem cells derived from adults—which posed none of the moral issues embryonic stem cells did—bore far more fruitful results. Have you heard an apology from any of the “authorities” responsible for misinforming the public, raising the hopes of many of those suffering from such diseases as Alzheimer’s?

Those “experts” not only secure jobs in prestigious universities—think Peter Singer at Princeton or Julian Savulescu at Oxford—they also publish articles in key journals—think Alberto Giubilini and Francesca Minerva, as well as Savulescu,

in the *Journal of Medical Ethics*—promoting ideas that undermine the foundations of Western civilization.

Is that an overstatement? Cook summarizes the news out of one week of decisions by various Australian bioethics commissions:

On Monday, a couple were given permission to create a designer baby to cure a youngster with anemia. The Victorian Infertility Treatment Authority said this was ethical. On Tuesday, Monash IVF applied to screen embryos so that some couple's grandchildren would not have hemophilia in 30 years. Its ethics committee said this was ethical. On Thursday, a single woman was confirmed in her right to have IVF. All the relevant authorities said that this, too, was ethical.

All of these projects, having enormous social, ethical, and cultural import, are approved by obscure bureaucrats whose decisions will reshape human society.

Some bioethicists Cook writes about think that human extermination might not be a bad idea. Others defend torture as well as abortion. If you have any doubt about the significance of where we are headed, consider the prophetic words of the *California Medical Journal's* famous editorial, published just after the state legalized abortion in 1970:

The reverence for each and every human life has also been a keystone of Western medicine This traditional ethic is still clearly dominant, but there is much to suggest that it is being eroded at its core and may eventually even be abandoned. This of course will produce profound changes in Western medicine and in Western society.

Cook's essays pose refreshing questions that bioethicists should be but are not asking: How is euthanasia changing society, so that even though there is no legal duty to die, there is now a growing cultural expectation to "shuffle off this mortal coil?" Is this expectation particularly strong when it comes to the disabled, especially given the fact that many countries are eliminating Down syndrome by prenatally eliminating persons bearing it? Does euthanasia not serve our pragmatic mindset, in that simply eliminating a patient requires a lot less effort than the "complicated social work" necessary to address his depression, fear, and lack of social support?

Not limiting himself to euthanasia and other standard problems of contemporary bioethics, Cook also ventures into the cutting edges of the field: Should we develop a drug that wipes out memory, something perhaps of promise for post-traumatic stress disorder sufferers but potentially catastrophic for society as a whole? Should government use DNA the way it now uses fingerprints? Do we need "anti-love" drugs to help blunt romantic feelings that make quitting "a number of situations, including adulterous love, suicidal love, incestuous love . . . paedophilia, or love for a cult leader," difficult? Can/should we suppress the functioning of parts of the brain that experience pleasure, a possible "solution" for addicts of all kinds?

Also of interest is Cook's gallery of bioethicists he calls "miserabilists." "Not only are they not pro-life," he writes, "they are not pro joie de vivre, which may be something even more serious." These include David Benatar, who in his book *Better Never to Have Been* (published by Oxford) argues that every birth is a tragedy and therefore that it is wrong to procreate; Julian Savulescu, the Australian philosopher who wants us to improve the gene pool by deliberately substituting new genes; and a trio of scientists who have proposed we genetically downsize people's physical stature to reduce their carbon footprint. You can't make this up.

Pro-life books are often published by small publishers in out-of-the-way places. Fortunately, *The Great Human Dignity Heist* is available from online sellers like Amazon. A worthwhile addition to any reader's library, it will make you aware of the questions "mainstream" bioethics doesn't address—and stimulate you to ask them.

—*John M. Grondelski (Ph.D., Fordham) is former associate dean of the School of Theology, Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey. All views herein are exclusively his own.*

FROM THE HUMAN LIFE REVIEW WEBSITE

Ohio Outlaws Death by Discrimination

Ursula Hennessey

Imagine a conversation in which one executive confides to another something like this:

“I don’t really want to hire that African-American guy,” says exec No. 1.

“I understand, buddy, but legally we can’t reject a person based on race,” replies exec No. 2.

“Geez. What do we do?”

“Well, we can just say he ‘doesn’t have enough experience’ or that he ‘isn’t the right fit.’ That kind of thing usually throws people off the scent.”

“Perfect!”

This is the kind of conversation—and potential cruel outcome—that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and subsequent anti-discrimination statutes were supposed to prevent. Do they work all the time? Of course not. The law is often easy enough to circumvent. Versions of this imaginary conversation probably happen every day. Employers discriminate and skirt responsibility. But few would argue that this means we don’t need a federal civil-rights law. Good laws include a pedagogical component. They can set moral goalposts for the nation.

On December 22, Ohio governor John Kasich signed legislation aimed at preventing abortions of babies with Down syndrome in his state. Like similar laws in Indiana and North Dakota, Ohio House Bill 214 targets doctors, making it a fourth degree felony to “perform or induce” abortions on women who have received a positive prenatal diagnosis of Down syndrome. The law goes into effect in March.

I don’t expect this new law either to reduce the number of abortions of babies with Down syndrome in Ohio or to generate a sudden wave of respect for unborn babies who grow up to be people like my daughter Magdalena, who has Down syndrome. Nevertheless, I support the law because it teaches respect for all human life, just as numerous other laws—including the Civil Rights Act—have served as great moral teachers.

Not all injustices can or should be outlawed, of course. But laws such as this one, which protect the most vulnerable from extermination, reflect our country’s foundational belief in equality and freedom.

The usual pro-abortion fanatics have stepped forward to paint the Ohio law as an assault on “women’s health” and “reproductive freedom.” That’s par for the course. But in the Facebook groups and discussion threads I frequent, a more compelling critique has emerged, namely that underfunded educational

and occupational programs are the pressing problem in states like Ohio, so why pass laws that are likely to be unenforceable when there's other work to do?

I am sympathetic to this view, within limits. Adults with disabilities have precious few opportunities for meaningful, dignified interaction with others. They have trouble finding schools and jobs. Often they are mistreated or ignored in public. The educational landscape for children with disabilities is similarly bleak; it is pockmarked by inconsistency, ineffective use of funds, lack of training, and poor planning.

Still, why does it have to be one or the other? We ought to be able to keep up the fight for the dignity of unborn babies while also acknowledging and working to correct the deficits in our current system. Many of us are in battle mode, daily, for improved education and job opportunities for our children. No reason we can't also applaud a law shining light on the targeted extermination of those just like our children.

Maybe those bashing Gov. Kasich for signing this law should consider another imaginary scenario, this time with one special education teacher confiding to another:

"I like teaching kids with dyslexia," says teacher No. 1. "That's why I got into this profession. They are quick learners and well-behaved. Not like some of these kids with autism or Down syndrome. They spit. They yell. They have seizures. They ought to be in special schools."

"Hold on," says teacher No. 2. "According to the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act we need to provide a 'free and appropriate' education for all children. That means we must truly welcome the entire spectrum of children into our classrooms."

"Well, what can I do?" asks No. 1. "It's too hard."

"Here's something that's easy," says No. 2. "Just slap some jargon into the kid's individualized education plan, sell a rosy picture to the parents, and you're golden. So long as you comply on paper, you can pretty much do what you like in the classroom."

Again, this is an imagined conversation. Yet as with the one between the two executives, versions of it happen every day all over the country. Many teachers adhere to the letter of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act while violating its spirit. Special education is a disaster in many school districts, even ones with all the money in the world, and the existence of this Act hasn't changed that. Does that mean we should do away with it? No way.

The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act enshrined in law the notion that children with disabilities deserved to be educated. It is worth a full-throated defense—even one that falls on deaf ears. We must likewise defend Ohio House Bill 214. For those of us who think the lives of unborn children with Down syndrome should be protected, it shouldn't be an either/or scenario.

Some laws take decades or longer to bear fruit. A hundred years from now, people may note the passing of the Ohio bill in our nation's history. Perhaps they will understand something important about us: We valued people with Down syndrome enough to create legal obstacles to their wholesale elimination. Whether we all agree or understand today is beside the point. The Civil Rights Act and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act had their detractors, too.

—*Ursula Hennessey lives in Connecticut with her husband and five children. She is a former sports journalist and elementary school teacher.*

Deo Gratias

Katrina Schickel

Blow on the coal of the heart.
The candles in churches are out.
The lights have gone out in the sky
Blow on the coal of the heart
And we'll see by and by.

—from *J.B.: A Play in Verse*, by Archibald MacLeish

Cornflower blue skies and crisp breezes are what I remember. The image of a beautiful blue October sky marks a moment in time that stilled my young heart and opened my life to an extraordinary gift. I had no idea of what was to come—I understood only that my husband and I were about to begin a journey that would indelibly mark us for life.

Our story begins in a predictable and familiar manner: boy meets girl and they fall in love. Bill and I met during my freshman year of college; we married five years later. It was the late 1960's and life was changing rapidly. Social barriers were falling, cultural mores were in flux. There were still major hurdles for disenfranchised people in America to overcome, but those hurdles seemed somewhat remote from our immediate concerns, which were focusing on our love for each other and building a life together.

After our wedding I relocated to the Boston area, where Bill was in graduate school. The first few months were beautiful and carried their own magic weight in our hearts. I recall long walks from our place in Somerville to Cambridge, where we would picnic on the Charles River, eating a meal that I had spent the entire day preparing. On weekends we roamed through bookstores and planned for our future. Sunday Mass at St. Paul's in Cambridge, and frequent discussions about what our Catholic faith meant to us, were common during those first months together.

The news of my pregnancy, in the early spring of 1970, was greeted with such joy! The anticipation of holding that new baby filled my every waking hour. To say we were thrilled doesn't seem to capture what we felt. Bill continued with his studies and searched for "real" work to support our growing family. As good fortune followed us, Bill secured a position as a high school history teacher at a private boarding school. He studied for his comprehensive exams during the summer.

October 4, 1970, dawned with the arrival of our beautiful son, Luke. It was a lovely and treasured birth and always will be for us. Bill had to return to our apartment following the delivery to get ready to teach in the morning. I recall that the doctor came to my room at about ten that evening. He told me that Luke was a Mongoloid baby ("What was that?"), and that he had a blockage of his intestine. I needed to make an immediate decision as to whether or not he would be operated on. I was 24 years old, alone, and did not understand what the doctor meant—could he really be asking me to agree to let the baby starve until he died? I told him to operate. Then I called my husband, and the rest is a blur. Here is where this story will be familiar to many parents. There is the shock, of course, the need to absorb, and, more importantly, to understand what this means for your child. How do you best meet his needs? Really, what do you do—what happens now?

Luke spent from October until December in the neonatal ICU at Massachusetts General Hospital. We were there every day to be sure he was held by us. His inability to absorb nutrients puzzled the doctors. Eventually, the good fortune of being in a top-notch hospital created the opportunity for Luke to benefit from what was then new technology: an intravenous catheter was inserted into a scalp vein and he was fed intravenous parenteral nutrition through this vein—basically amino acids and trace elements with glucose. This gave his intestines needed time to recover from the surgery. Within a few days, his tummy was functioning and he was home with us for Christmas.

"Treat him like you would any baby!" These words of advice from my husband meant the world to me. Bill is an extraordinary man, and I say this understanding that he has flaws. He is a man of great love and kindness. He grew up on a dairy farm, which he managed at certain points in his life. He has baled hay, spread manure, and milked cows—in ungodly weather and at ungodly hours. He understands hard work and he understands tenacity. He is also a man of enormous faith. Indeed, faith is the bedrock of his existence; it drives his every move and thought. Luke's birth was an opportunity for me to share in a more profound way the faith that is the engine of my husband's very existence. I have turned to that faith in countless ways over the 47 years we have been married.

The years following Luke's birth were filled with learning—about how to be parents and about how to think about our new role. Luke did not sleep well at

night and my husband would walk him endlessly up and down the halls of the dormitory we were now overseeing as dorm parents to 60 high school students. The students embraced Luke as the beautiful baby he was, and I will be forever grateful for the support they provided us.

Trips to the pediatrician proved that Luke would be a healthy and robust child. Yet when I found myself pregnant with our second child about a year after Luke was born, the pediatrician's remarks to me were unsettling at best. "You should really consider having an amniocentesis to see if the new baby has Downs. You have a social responsibility to do so!" I changed pediatricians instead.

When he was three we enrolled Luke in a preschool comprised of typical three-year-olds as well as children with disabilities. At the time this kind of integration was revolutionary—the beginning of a wave of change in the world of disabilities. His first teacher, Mary Wiley, encouraged me and taught me common sense when it came to raising children. She was a great gift.

In the ensuing years Luke taught me how to be both a mom and an advocate for people with disabilities. Along with four other women, I helped develop an educational program, now called "Understanding Our Differences," which encourages third and fourth graders to imagine what it is like to have a disability. Volunteers spend 20 hours in the classroom doing simulation activities that mimic in some way the disability about which students are learning. Individuals with various disabilities talk to the class about what their lives are like. It's a magical program that breaks down barriers so students can give voice to the questions they have in their heads: "What's it like to get dressed if you can't see?" "What does it feel like to be called 'retard?'" "Do you have a girlfriend?" And it is still being implemented in public schools in Newton, MA. The friendships that were shaped during the program's creation are also enduring. A few years ago, the five of us gathered for a weekend together, catching up on each other's lives and dwelling in the warmth of the very special bond we share.

I call Luke "The gift that keeps on giving!" The eldest of five siblings, he is the heart and hope of our family, the joy and the light of our lives. Sharp and intuitive—and possessing a delightful sense of humor—he is always ready for a laugh when his brother and sisters walk in the door. He has taught them patience and compassion—to have a deep feeling for those less able than they are. And this lesson has been passed on to *their* children.

Luke's sister Katie shared this story with me. After school, she was at a local playground with her three small children. A young mother pushing a stroller approached where they were. In the stroller was a little boy about five, the age of Katie's youngest, Xavier. It was apparent to Katie that he had Down syndrome. He had difficulty walking and displayed no obvious language skills. But this little boy loved the slide! He was able to navigate up and down the slide with such glee and abandon that Katie took notice. At a certain point in the afternoon

the young mother approached Katie and asked her if Xavier was her child. Katie's affirmative response brought the following comment from this young mother: "He's a lovely child. He asked my little boy to play—no one has ever asked my boy to play with him."

Today, Luke works with older adults at an assisted living facility. He is unfailingly kind and generous in his heart to those he sees at work, at church, and in our community. People like Luke are often overlooked by those whose lives are busy and full, but what I have learned from Luke is, if you pause and listen, you will be rewarded with the extraordinary beauty of this young man. His is the kindness and sweetness that must be so close to the heart of God that it sometimes takes your breath away. Luke's light in the world shines on our life and the lives of those we may never know. What a blessing. Thank you, Luke!

—Katrina Schickel has served older adults and caregivers as an Aging Services Specialist at the federal Office for the Aging in Tompkins County, New York, for 23 years. She is also a teller of tales to her five grandchildren.

W. Ross Blackburn

1 Kings 3:3-14 [16-28]

Then the king answered and said, "Give the living child to the first woman, and by no means put him to death; she is his mother." And all Israel heard of the judgment that the king had rendered, and they stood in awe of the king, because they perceived that the wisdom of God was in him to do justice (1 Kings 3:27-28).

Perhaps you know the story. Two prostitutes each gave birth to a son. One baby died in the night, and his mother switched him for the living one. Predictably, the mother of the living baby knew that the dead one was not hers. The matter was brought before Solomon, who decided the simplest solution was to cut the living child in two, dividing him between the two mothers. One woman objected, the other concurred. Solomon gave the boy to the woman who refused to let him be killed—"she is his mother."

How did Solomon know which baby belonged to which woman? Wisdom is not some supernatural ability to know what to do in a particular situation, but a general and keen understanding of how things are, how the world works, how we work. Solomon simply recognized the bond between mother and child that caused the real mother to make the most difficult of decisions for the welfare of

her baby. Even if it cost her a lifetime of wondering, not knowing what would become of her son. It mattered not that she, a prostitute, bore the baby out of wedlock. He was her son.

If Solomon could be so sure of the bond between mother and child, why does this bond now appear so fragile that 1.2 million times each year it fails to protect the unborn child? Has human nature changed?

Let me make two comments. First, we live in a culture increasingly hostile to life. For example, our culture expects that sex should be readily available, and without consequence, especially the consequence of pregnancy. Supporting this commitment to consequence-free sex are the twin pillars of contraception and abortion. While abortion advocates generally deny that abortion is used as a means of birth control, it is noteworthy that the Supreme Court used precisely this reasoning in arguing for the legitimacy, even the necessity, of abortion. According to *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*,

[t]he Roe rule's limitation on state power could not be repudiated without serious inequity to people who, for two decades of economic and social developments, have organized intimate relationships and made choices that define their views of themselves and their places in society, in reliance on the availability of abortion in the event that contraception should fail.

That the Court is using abortion to protect, even promote, sexual license could not be clearer. And, lest we assume this is simply an issue in the secular world, the Christian community, in its (often unreflective) acceptance of contraception, has also largely separated sex from pregnancy. When we accept the notion that sex can be rightly separated from childbearing, pregnancy often becomes an unexpected event, something that has gone wrong. Such thinking can only weaken the bond between a mother and her child. In the end, the commitment to sexual license requires that we ignore the bond between mother and child.

Secondly, we too readily assume that a mother who has aborted a child actually desired that abortion. Recently, I read an article which dismissed the suggestion that a clinic intake interview should include the question "Are you the one who wants this abortion?" The writer claimed the answer would be obvious. Well, perhaps not. We know that, generally speaking, the chief reason a mother undergoes abortion has to do with her relationships. While the bond between a mother and her child is real, that relationship is not the only one that bears upon her decision. The bond between a pregnant woman and the father to whom she has given herself is often also very deep, as are her relationships with her family and sometimes others. It is far from unusual for a mother to choose abortion due to pressure from someone(s) who is important to her—people who don't have the same bond with the unborn baby that she does.

One of the most important things the church can do for our culture is to make plain, in our lives and from our pulpits, that life is a blessing, that sex appropriately

leads to pregnancy, and that, despite the cultural effort to blunt it, the bond between a mother and her child is real. For the mother who came before Solomon was not unusual. The bond she felt is felt by women today. The difficult and often lasting effects of abortion upon women testify to the strength of this bond. We might deny it, but we cannot make it go away.

—Reverend W. Ross Blackburn is an adjunct professor at Trinity School for Ministry and Gordon Conwell Theological Seminary (Charlotte). He writes *A Pastor's Reflections*, a regular column featured on the Human Life Review website. He is married with five children.



Anna Fata, Ifeoma Anunkor, and Treasa Dalton at the 2018 March for Life

APPENDIX A

[We reprint here the texts of President Trump's Rose Garden speech on Jan. 19, the day of the March for Life, Vice President Pence's remarks at a White House reception for pro-life leaders on Jan. 18. (www.whitehouse.gov), and Speaker of the House Paul Ryan's remarks at the rally before the annual March (<http://dailysignal.com>).]

Three March for Life Speeches

Donald Trump

Thank you very much. That's so nice. Sit, please. We have tens of thousands of people watching us right down the road—tens of thousands. So I congratulate you. And at least we picked a beautiful day. You can't get a more beautiful day.

I want to thank our Vice President, Mike Pence, for that wonderful introduction. I also want to thank you and Karen for being true champions for life. Thank you, and thank Karen. (Applause.)

Today, I'm honored and really proud to be the first President to stand with you here at the White House to address the 45th March for Life. That's very, very special—45th March for Life. (Applause.)

And this is a truly remarkable group. Today, tens of thousands of families, students, and patriots—and, really, just great citizens—gather here in our nation's capital. You come from many backgrounds, many places. But you all come for one beautiful cause: to build a society where life is celebrated, protected, and cherished.

The March for Life is a movement born out of love. You love your families, you love your neighbors, you love our nation, and you love every child, born and unborn, because you believe that every life is sacred, that every child is a precious gift from God. (Applause.)

We know that life is the greatest miracle of all. We see it in the eyes of every new mother who cradles that wonderful, innocent, and glorious newborn child in her loving arms.

I want to thank every person here today and all across our country who works with such big hearts and tireless devotion to make sure that parents have the care and support they need to choose life. Because of you, tens of thousands of Americans have been born and reached their full, God-given potential—because of you.

You're living witnesses of this year's March for Life theme. And that theme is: Love saves lives. (Applause.)

As you all know, *Roe vs. Wade* has resulted in some of the most permissive abortion laws anywhere in the world. For example, in the United States, it's one of only seven countries to allow elective late-term abortions, along with China, North Korea, and others.

Right now, in a number of states, the laws allow a baby to be born [torn] from his or her mother's womb in the ninth month. It is wrong; it has to change.

Americans are more and more pro-life. You see that all the time. In fact, only 12 percent of Americans support abortion on demand at any time.

Under my administration, we will always defend the very first right in the Declaration of Independence, and that is the right to life. (Applause.)

Tomorrow will mark exactly one year since I took the oath of office. And I will say, our country is doing really well. Our economy is perhaps the best it's ever been. You look at the job numbers; you look at the companies pouring back into our country; you look at the stock market at an all-time high; unemployment, 17-year low.

Unemployment for African American workers, at the lowest mark in the history of our country. Unemployment for Hispanic, at a record low in history. Unemployment for women, think of this, at an 18-year low. We're really proud of what we're doing.

And during my first week in office, I reinstated a policy first put in place by President Ronald Reagan, the Mexico City policy. (Applause.)

I strongly supported the House of Representative's Pain-Capable bill, which would end painful, late-term abortions nationwide. And I call upon the Senate to pass this important law and send it to my desk for signing. (Applause.)

On the National Day of Prayer, I signed an executive order to protect religious liberty. (Applause.) Very proud of that.

Today, I'm announcing that we have just issued a new proposal to protect conscience rights and religious freedoms of doctors, nurses, and other medical professionals. So important. (Applause.)

I have also just reversed the previous administration's policy that restricted states' efforts to direct Medicaid funding away from abortion facilities that violate the law. (Applause.)

We are protecting the sanctity of life and the family as the foundation of our society. But this movement can only succeed with the heart and the soul and the prayer of the people.

Here with us today is Marianne Donadio from Greensboro, North Carolina. Where is Marianne? Hello. Come on up here, Marianne. Come. (Applause.) Nice to see you, Marianne.

Marianne was 17 when she found out she was pregnant. At first, she felt like she had no place to turn. But when she told her parents, they responded with total love, total affection, total support. Great parents? Great?

MS. DONADIO: Wonderful parents, yes.

THE PRESIDENT: I thought you were going to say that. I had to be careful. (Laughter.)

Marianne bravely chose life and soon gave birth to her son. She named him Benedict, which means blessing.

Marianne was so grateful for her parents' love and support that she felt called to serve those who were not as fortunate as her. She joined with others in her community to start a maternity home to care for homeless women who were pregnant. That's great. They named it "Room at the Inn."

Today, Marianne and her husband, Don, are the parents of six beautiful children, and her eldest son Benedict and her daughter Maria join us here today. Where are they? (Applause.) Come on over. How are you? That's great.

Over the last 15 years, Room at the Inn has provided housing, childcare, counseling,

education, and job training to more than 400 women. Even more importantly, it has given them hope. It has shown each woman that she is not forgotten, that she is not alone, and that she really now has a whole family of people who will help her succeed.

That hope is the true gift of this incredible movement that brings us together today. It is the gift of friendship, the gift of mentorship, and the gift of encouragement, love, and support. Those are beautiful words, and those are beautiful gifts. And most importantly of all, it is the gift of life itself.

That is why we march. That is why we pray. And that is why we declare that America's future will be filled with goodness, peace, joy, dignity, and life for every child of God.

Thank you to the March for Life—special, special people. And we are with you all the way. May God bless you and may God bless America. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Mike Pence

Well, thank you, Karen. Thank you. Thank you for your wonderful words, for your example, for your devotion for life. Would you give the Second Lady of the United States another vigorous round of applause? (Applause.)

And let me say, it is a great honor for me, on behalf of the 45th President of the United States of America—the most pro-life President in American history—President Donald Trump, to say, welcome to the White House. (Applause.)

I know the President is very much looking forward to a Rose Garden event to help participate in the March for Life tomorrow. And we're going to be with you all—just a little bit off the Mall, but we'll be with you in spirit. And I hope many of you that have come to the White House today will be able to join us at the White House tomorrow. But thank you for coming tonight.

I wanted to extend the hospitality of the First Family and really extend a thanks to all of you who have been so instrumental in this extraordinary annual event. There's so many people to thank, but when I think of the 45th March for Life, I think of those that have gone before, like the late and great Nellie Gray. (Applause.) And her worthy successor, the President of the March for Life, our friend, Jeanne Mancini. (Applause.) Thank you, Jeanne. Where are you?

Karen and I were talking with Jeanne just a few minutes ago. And we told her that, as impressed as we are with her leadership, frankly, we were more impressed to have the opportunity to meet with some extraordinary young women and men who are part of Students for Life.

Their President Kristan Hawkins is with us today, and I just want to ask, would these Students for Life just come up here and join us on the stage for my—(applause.) Let's hear it for these great young leaders for life. (Applause.)

Come on up. You can come right next to me. Come on up. There you go. You can go around that side.

Aren't they something? (Laughter and applause.)

These are leaders of Students for Life organizations, and from college campuses and

high schools all across the country who are extending hearts and hands of compassion to young women in crisis pregnancy, and they're telling the truth about the cause of life in their generation. And I truly believe, with all of my heart, this is the pro-life generation in America. (Applause.)

Tonight, I'm here on behalf of President Trump and our entire administration just simply to say thank you. Thank you for a year of extraordinary progress. And you know, it will be one year ago, this Saturday night, that we swore in the most pro-life President in American history. And in one short year, President Donald Trump has made a difference for life. (Applause.)

You made that happen. Your efforts over the years, over the decades, standing tirelessly for the sanctity of life, has brought this day about—this year about. A year of extraordinary accomplishment.

In one of his very first acts, our President reinstated the Mexico City policy. He expanded it to cover \$9 billion in foreign aid, so that no taxpayer dollars will fund organizations that promote abortion around the world. (Applause.)

We've stopped U.S. funding for the United Nations Population Fund—(applause)—so that American taxpayer dollars won't support abortion in countries like China.

We've reversed the last administration's policy, and I was honored to be the tie-breaking vote to allow states across the country to defund Planned Parenthood. (Applause.)

And tomorrow, President Trump will be the first President in American history to address the March for Life. (Applause.)

It's been an incredible journey for us. Karen and I haven't been on it alone. We've stood shoulder-to-shoulder with this great President. And I want to tell you, as evidence of the strength of this cause, from the Oval Office on down, we've got some very prominent members of this administration who are with us here tonight, just because they heard you all would be here. (Laughter.)

Andrew Bremberg is the head of Policy and Planning at the White House—is with us today. (Applause.) And I know you've heard of that great pro-life champion, Kellyanne Conway. (Applause.) These are special people, appointed by a President who believes in the sanctity of life. He's built a team around him that's made the incredible progress that we've made. And we're just getting started.

My friends, I truly believe in my heart that life is winning in America because of all of you. We're winning hearts and minds, each and every day. Life is winning through the generosity of adoptive families, as Karen said, all over America who are opening their hearts and homes to children in need.

And life is winning because of the compassion of caregivers and volunteers at crisis pregnancy centers, who come alongside young women with unplanned pregnancies to provide them with care and support, and encouragement, and faith. And life is winning, I truly believe, because of the quiet counsels between mothers and daughters, between grandmothers and granddaughters.

Life is winning, as well, because of all of you. Because of your faithfulness and your prayers. You've been speaking the truth to the American people now for decades, and you can see, in this rising generation, the truth is catching on. (Laughter.) And I truly

believe, in this generation, we will restore the sanctity of life to the center of American law once again. (Applause.)

So thank you for coming. Thank you for coming tonight. Thank you for coming, again, as tens of thousands gather in our nation's capital to stand for those who can't stand for themselves.

You know, I've long believed that a society can be judged by how it deals with its most vulnerable—the aged, the infirm, the disabled, and the unborn. Your compassion, your perseverance—it's made a difference for the most vulnerable in our society. And because of all of you, I truly believe the day will come, because of your efforts and prayers, with pro-life majorities in our Congress, with President Donald Trump in the White House, I know America will choose life, once again. (Applause.)

Thank you all very much. Thank you for your stand for life. And God Bless you all. Thank you. (Applause.)

Paul Ryan

Can we just thank God for giving us a pro-life president back in the White House? What a crowd. This is so exciting. It is so exciting to see so many young people here today. Your energy is so infectious.

You know, I've been participating in the March for Life for years. One thing that has always struck me—and there's one thing that strikes me again right now—is the vigor and the enthusiasm of the pro-life movement.

Looking out on this crowd, I can see there are people here of all ages, from all walks of life, but the young people here is what is so inspiring because it tells me this is a movement that is on the rise.

And do you know why the pro-life movement is on the rise? Because truth is on our side. Life begins at conception.

Do you know why the pro-life movement is on the rise? Because science is on our side. Just look at the ultrasounds that have shown us more about the pre-born child than ever before. How they develop, how they react, how they feel pain.

Most importantly, the pro-life movement is on the rise because we have love on our side. We believe every person is worthy of love and dignity. That is why the pro-life movement is on the rise.

You know, one thing that gets lost in all of the controversy is how compassionate the pro-life movement really is. This is what is lost by all those detractors out there.

I am so proud of the work this movement has done to help women, especially women who have gone through the pain of abortion. This movement helps them find healing and acceptance.

I am so proud of this movement and how it supports single mothers who are struggling to raise their children. How it gives them resources through thousands of phenomenal crisis pregnancy centers around the country. This is the face of the pro-life movement.

We're so proud of the movement and what it's doing to reach out to past and present abortion workers—to help those with new perspectives find new jobs and a fresh start.

This is true compassion. This is real love. That's what this movement is about—and it's why the March for Life is such a joyful march. Anyone who is out here today can feel how much joy there is in this crowd. Anyone watching on TV can see it.

People come from all over the country. You march with your churches, your friends, your neighbors. You march with joy and hope, not with anger or hate. You don't see that on the other side, do you?

You know what is so exciting and so blessed here is I get to stand up here with these phenomenal pro-life stalwarts in Congress. Let's hear it for these men and women in Congress.

This is the face of the pro-life movement in America. This is the face of the pro-life movement in Congress.

We strive to make our time in Congress a March for Life in itself. We strive to fight for the unborn, to pass important pro-life legislation through Congress, to work with the Trump administration to pass pro-life policies and laws.

And we're making a lot of progress.

In the House, we passed legislation defunding Planned Parenthood.

In the House, we passed the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act, which restricts abortions after 20 weeks.

We passed the Conscience Protection Act, which ensures no one is forced to perform an abortion against his or her will. Religious freedom is the first amendment. It is the first protection in our Bill of Rights.

And just a few minutes ago, today, we passed the Born-Alive Survivors Protection Act. It protects the life of those babies who suffer from failed abortions.

But most importantly, like the March for Life, we are striving to do this without judgment in our hearts—but with compassion and with love for all of the victims.

I want to thank you. I want to thank you for being here, for taking the time, for the prayers, for the joy, and for the compassion, and for the love you demonstrate here at this march. This is why the pro-life movement is on its rise.

Remember, these are our most powerful tools against the pains of abortion. This is the pro-life movement. This is one that we will win this day. Thank you and God bless you, and tell everybody, come back next year and bring three friends.

APPENDIX B

[*Mary Eberstadt is senior research fellow at the Faith and Reason Institute. This essay is adapted from remarks she delivered at the annual Cardinal O'Connor Conference on Life at Georgetown University on January 20, 2018. It is reprinted here with the permission of First Things (firstthings.com), where it was published online on January 23, 2018.*]

Why the Pro-Life Movement Will Live Long, and Prosper

Mary Eberstadt

We're asked today to reflect on the future of the pro-life movement in an increasingly secular age. A few years ago, I wrote a book called *How the West Really Lost God*, about the phenomenon called "secularization" and the various hypotheses about its roots. The book advanced the theory that, contrary to conventional accounts, the weakening of Christianity is due above all to the fact of the sexual revolution, and its catastrophic impact on the essential transmission belt for religion itself: the family.

To sort through the empirical evidence, as happened in the course of my writing the book, is to find many reasons for concern over secularization—including, for starters, the unhappy fact that the rise of "nones" will reduce charitable donations to good causes. As social scientist Arthur Brooks has documented, religious people give far more to all manner of do-gooding than do secular people. There's also the steady rise in ideologically driven attacks, by legal and other means, on Christian schools, colleges, clubs, and charities, including and especially crisis pregnancy centers. And that's just the beginning of the obstacles to come, as more and more Western individuals opt out of religious literacy and practice.

Yet for all that, there's a light on the horizon that pulses brighter with every passing year. One area we shouldn't worry about when we worry about secularization is this: the fate of the pro-life movement itself. And that is so for three reasons.

First, the logic of *Roe* is so quintessentially unnatural that human reason, and the human heart, will continue to overrule it, both inside the churchgoing flock and out. Thanks to *Roe*, the United States has one of the most extreme abortion regimes on earth. And that is *Roe*'s ineradicable weakness. Abortion on demand—abortion at any time, for any reason—unleashes too many toxic results, which too many people know *intuitively* to be wrong.

It permits gendercide: Around the world, millions of unborn girls are killed because they *are* girls. It permits, indeed licenses, prejudice against people with Down Syndrome, clubfoot, cleft palate, and other disabilities. Brown eyes could be next, or blue; there's no reason in the theory of abortion-on-demand why not. *Roe* empowers the strong and predatory—men of the sort unmasked in the continuing #MeToo scandals—and crushes the small and weak.

Again, the heart itself knows, however inarticulately, that this record is alien to nature; and rebellion comes in sometimes unlikely guises. Rap superstar Eminem, with singer Ed Sheeran, just released a track called "River," in which a man who calls himself a liar and a cheat expresses furious remorse over an affair and an abortion. It uses the words, "baby" and "unborn child." This is only the latest example of a subterranean

theme found elsewhere in popular culture: namely, tacit rejection of the idea that abortion is only about “my body.”

This isn't to say that rappers will be leading the next March for Life, though it will be a banner day if and when any do. It is to say that Eminem, who chooses words with care, knows better than to use ugly, obfuscating phrases like “reproductive byproducts,” when truer references to “babies” apply; and that his fans will understand such usage, too. The point is that the “blob of tissues” theology is unsustainable, and that plenty of people can grasp as much, whether or not they know what a tabernacle is.

The second reason for optimism resonates with many younger people, especially. We live in a time of increasing moral awareness about animal life, and its preciousness, and its testimony to the magnificence of creation. To observe this isn't to imply moral equivalence, but to emphasize that more and more people, religious and secular, now realize that our fellow creatures on earth should not be treated as things, or as mere blobs of tissue, either.

Think of the outrage a few years back when Cecil the lion was killed for sport. Think of how elephants are now understood to be stupendous creatures made for purposes beyond human entertainment. Think of how many people, in light of evolving scientific evidence, have become mindful eaters, more careful shoppers, donors to the cause of animal rescue, or even vegetarians and vegans, all out of newfound respect for animal life.

Many among us—inside the walls of faith, and out—applaud this rising moral consciousness. The logic of concern for animal welfare and the logic of concern for *human* animal welfare operate on parallel tracks. There's a grand alliance just waiting to be born between people who are pro-animal and people who are pro-life—especially as science documents with increasing accuracy just how intricate and sublime are the workings of all animals. That includes the human animal at every stage of development, beginning in utero.

Utilitarian philosopher Peter Singer argues against “species-ism,” his term for the way human beings unfairly (as he sees it) put ourselves first. Yet by that same token, when we regard the smallest humans as *inferior* to other animals, we are being “species-ist” in reverse. Consistency on this score is one more logical migraine for defenders of *Roe*. No one would support the abortion of giraffes or elephants. No one should support the abortion of humans, either.

The third reason for optimism has been there all along, and has only grown more apparent with every March for Life—including last week's.

It is frequently remarked that the face of the pro-life movement is a youthful one, and that the March crackles with adolescent and child energy like no other demonstration of our day. This is true, of course, and it's in part a function of demographics: Over time, many people who didn't want children either contracepted or aborted theirs away; while simultaneously, others who turned their face toward life went on to have the families whose representatives can be seen singing and dancing and throwing Frisbees around the Mall every January.

There's another point about the connection between youthfulness and abortion that also demands attention. To attend rallies by the other side is to see the mirror opposite

of youth and exuberance. There is no joy in the pro-choice marchers. There is grim determination, steely drive, and quasi-religious fervor—but no adolescent energy, and no mirth. If one were to attend both a pro-life and a pro-choice rally without knowing what either assembly was *for*, one would still know instinctively which to join.

And that contrast, finally, may spell the end of abortion on demand, just as decisively as any future Supreme Court. In the matter of the heart, and leaving aside the Constitution, there has always been something untoward about the spectacle of people nearing the other end of the time spectrum telling boisterous youth that babies are bad.

Related inversion in the natural order is a theme in Greek tragedy via Euripides's play *The Bacchae*. Like the violent women in that tragedy, the position of today's elders of "choice" is unnatural. That truth, too, is something even an un-churched child can spy.

In the end, logical dots overruling *Roe* connect all over the place outside of organized religion: between the scientific truth about unborn life, and the consequent obsolescence of the blob-of-cells theory; between rising solicitude for animal life, and enduring concern for human animal life; between the truth about the joy of existence, especially youthful existence, versus the sad desire to see less of it.

All of these are lines that can be drawn without setting foot in a house of God—which is why they are, more and more. None of which is to underestimate the philosophical and theological bedrock of the Church. Two thousand years of Christian teaching do indeed explain all the reasons why life is good, and why killing is wrong. But *that* these truths exist can be determined by reason, including youthful reason, alone.

And this verity, like life itself, is a good thing.

APPENDIX C

[The following is a White House Briefing Statement, issued on January, 19, 2018, the day of the 45th annual March for Life in Washington, D.C.]

President Donald J. Trump is Standing Up for the Sanctity of Life

Issued on: January 19, 2018

“We cherish the sacred dignity of every human life.”

—President Donald J. Trump

AN IGNOBLE EXCEPTION: The United States is one of a few countries to allow elective abortions after 20 weeks of pregnancy.

- The United States is one of only seven countries that allow for elective abortions after 20 weeks of pregnancy; two of the other countries are North Korea and China.
- Research shows unborn babies feel pain as early as 20 weeks to such a degree that anesthesia is routinely administered to unborn babies undergoing in utero surgeries and premature infants of the same age undergoing surgery.
- In the United States, taxpayer funding subsidizes 900 health care plans that cover abortions, according to the Charlotte Lozier Institute.
- Under the previous administration, States were allowed to outlaw pro-life health insurance with impunity.

AMERICANS SUPPORT PRO-LIFE POLICIES: Public support for pro-life policies remains high according to recent polling.

- A recent Marist-Knights of Columbus poll shows the majority of Americans, 56 percent, believe abortion to be morally wrong.
- More than three in four Americans support restrictions on abortion.
 - Even six in ten of those who identify as pro-choice support restrictions on abortion.
- 63 percent of Americans support a ban on abortion after 20 weeks of pregnancy.
 - Even the majority of pro-choice Americans, 56 percent, support banning abortions after 20 weeks of pregnancy.
 - Public support for banning abortions after 20 weeks of pregnancy has grown by four percent in the last year.
- Six in ten Americans oppose using taxpayer money to fund abortions.
- The majority of Americans, 52 percent, believe that, in the long run, having an abortion does more harm than good to a woman’s life.
- Nearly half of all Americans, 47 percent, believe life begins at conception, and 62 percent believe it begins within the first three months of a pregnancy.

COMMITTED TO PROTECTING LIFE: President Donald J. Trump has shown his steadfast commitment to preserving the precious gift of life and defending religious liberty.

- President Trump is the first sitting President to address the March for Life live via satellite.

- o Vice President Mike Pence addressed the March for Life in 2017, becoming the first sitting Vice President to do so in person.
- Today, the Department of Health and Human Services is announcing a proposal to revise its conscience regulations to protect President Trump’s promise to enforce Federal conscience and religious freedom protections. The proposed conscience provisions include:
 - o Restricting taxpayer funds, including Medicare, Medicaid, and Obamacare, from being used by entities with discriminatory policies or practices,
 - o Protecting Americans who have religious or moral convictions related to certain health care services,
 - o Recognizing that Americans should not be discriminated against for their religious or moral beliefs when participating in certain health services.
- Just after taking office, President Trump reinstated and expanded the Mexico City Policy, which protects \$9 billion in foreign aid from being used to fund the global abortion industry.
- President Trump has expressed strong support for the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act, which would stop late-term abortions after 20 weeks of pregnancy, when science tells us that an unborn child can experience pain.
- President Trump’s Administration issued guidance to enforce the requirement that taxpayer dollars not support abortion coverage in Obamacare exchange plans.
- President Trump’s Department of Health and Human Services just announced the formation of a new Conscience and Religious Freedom Division, tasked with ensuring that laws that protect religious freedom and conscience rights are appropriately enforced.

The White House

APPENDIX D

[A slightly modified version of this column was published October 29, 2017, in the Sunday Independent (Ireland) and is reprinted with permission from both the paper and the author. ©Maria Steen]

Caught Between a Student Union and a Legal Hard Place

Maria Steen

Last Thursday night, Katie Ascough, the UCD Students' Union President, was impeached by her fellow students.

Before the conspiracy theorists start whispering, let me declare openly that I am against abortion, that I am a spokesperson for the Iona Institute and that I know Katie Ascough. I know her to be an intelligent, talented, energetic and warm person. But the past few weeks have also shown her to be a young woman of immense courage and inner strength, who has become an inspiration for thousands of people across the country.

What happened in UCD last Thursday was the climax of a sorry tale in which a good and honest person had her name blackened, her trust betrayed and her words and actions twisted by a lynch mob.

Ascough, who is openly pro-life, had been elected Students' Union president only five months earlier. She was impeached by popular vote on the pretext that she set about imposing her own pro-life views on the students of UCD. In reality, the charges laid against Ascough were never substantiated.

The main complaint was that she had prevented distribution of a booklet, prepared for incoming first-year students, because it contained information on how to obtain an abortion in the UK, and in reprinting the book with a differently worded page, had wasted union money.

The reality was that the unsolicited information was clearly illegal under an Act of 1995. Had she authorised its release, both she and the union, as well as others concerned in its distribution, would have been committing an offence and liable to criminal conviction and fines.

As soon as she was made aware that there was a question concerning the legality of the book, Ascough sought advice from the union's lawyer, who happens to be pro-choice. She published that advice during the impeachment campaign, and it clearly states that "distributing the handbook with this text will almost undoubtedly constitute a breach of the Act" and that "the prudent course of action would be to avoid proceeding with the current handbook, whether through redesign (if not too late) or cancellation."

Ascough had delegated the preparation of the booklet to others, who were aware of the illegality of the information in question, but chose not to bring this to the President's attention. It was only when another staff member commented on the issue—after the books had already been printed—that Ascough was in a position to take advice. The choice she was faced with was to obey the law or to knowingly break it.

Contrary to the loudly expressed views of the mob calling for Ascough's head, obedience to the law is not the imposition of one's views on others.

Yet, remarkably, some of our parliamentarians joined in criticising Ascough for not breaking a law made by our parliament. Senator Ivana Bacik—a lawyer—deserves special mention for weighing in, without the inconvenience of responsibility or liability for error, to dispute the written legal advice of the union’s lawyer, and to lecture the girl on what she should have done. That someone of her age, experience and standing would criticise a young woman in Ascough’s unenviable position demonstrates the extent to which pursuit of a pro-abortion agenda overrode basic principles of fairness and empathy.

The context is also important. As one Twitter user commented, no UCD student has ever said, “Oh no! I’m pregnant! Where’s my student handbook?” All of the information concerned could have been obtained within moments by anyone with an internet connection.

In the end, the booklet was reprinted, with a revised page, indicating telephone numbers and web addresses from which the relevant information could be obtained—on a solicited basis—should the reader wish.

Ascough’s opponents also decried her because of questions she asked about the funding of pro-choice organisations and the positioning of “UCD for Choice” in the union tent during Fresher’s week. Ascough explained, in a video published on her Facebook page, that she was merely doing her job in asking questions, as she would for any other group. But no questions are allowed to be asked of the pro-choice zealots.

And so a small group of students, committed to unseating Ascough from the first day she was elected, set about fomenting unrest.

The pretext of their campaign was that she had gone against her election promise to support the pro-choice mandate and delegate on issues relating to abortion. Of course, the real reason was that she is Catholic and pro-life.

On the very day she was elected, one of the leaders of the campaign publicly called for her impeachment.

Impeachment of an elected official is usually reserved only for the most serious of offences. Even taking her detractors’ case at its highest, her “crimes” were following the law and questioning her officers’ suggestions.

Perhaps the most worrying aspect of the result, given the university setting, was the fact that there was no intellectual debate or rigour brought to bear on the issue by most of the students, but rather an emotional reaction in which students showed no interest in fair procedures, no respect for a different viewpoint and, most worryingly of all, no empathy.

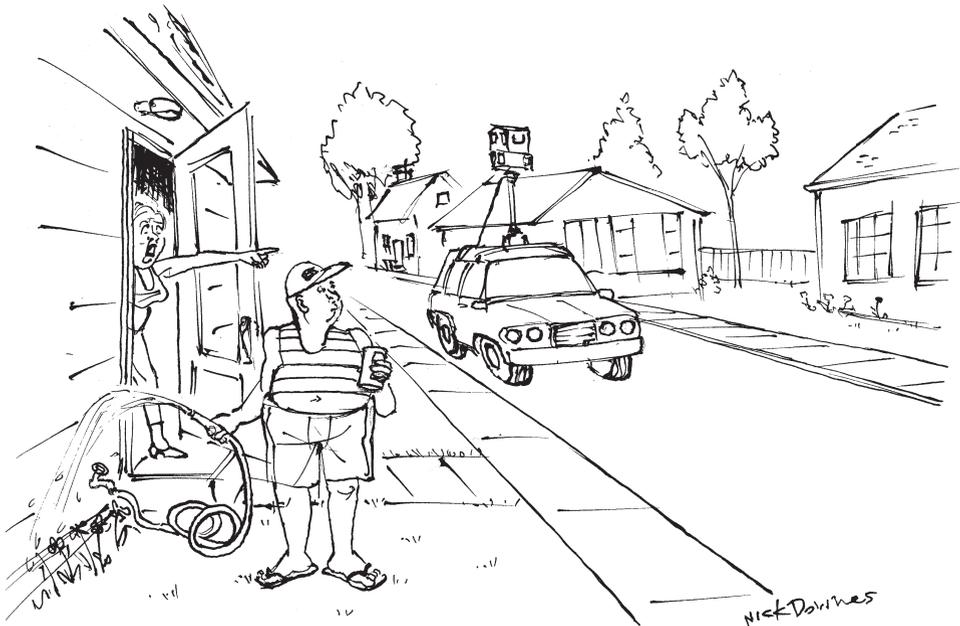
It seems the scent of blood was too much for the mob.

Engaging in a ruse to defame and discredit her before she had a chance to open her mouth, her opponents and fellow SU officers set about their character assassination. All this was done with the compliance of the University Observer, which published articles against her in a ratio of 10:1.

Online abuse rose to incendiary levels, with the most vile language used against Ascough and threats, including one from a male student, who said “but tomorrow when I go to ucd I’m going to punch Katie Ascough in the back of the head.” Female students joined in the abuse, frequently calling her a c***.

APPENDIX D

In the end about 27% of students voted, 69% of whom voted for impeachment. One Twitter user observed wryly “Not surprised at record turnout. People love a good stoning.” However, Ascough’s detractors may find that theirs is a short-lived victory, as she has emerged from this affair with her character, her principles and her dignity intact. For Katie Ascough, I predict a bright future.



“Get in the house Harry—it’s the Google Maps truck!”

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These two spheres of radical feminist thought—one positing that men are incompletely or only perversely human; the other positing that women are less successful at being powerful humans—do not neatly coexist. There are contradictions between the two, which is why those seeking a tidy feminist ideology align fairly cleanly with one or the other of them but not both. However, below those Olympian heights of ideology, in trickle-down territory, it is amazing how much overlap we are willing to tolerate in this area as in some of the others already mentioned. Ads, sitcoms, women news anchors can all convey—sometimes simultaneously—the commonplace stereotype that women are more compassionate and possess greater emotional intelligence, while also emphasizing their competitive killer instinct on the sports field and encouraging women to flood into the more prestigious STEM career fields and storm the executive suites of businesses.

—Ellen Wilson Fielding, “Kicking the Stone:
How the Real Is Often the Good”