



◆ FEATURED IN THIS ISSUE ◆

SYMPOSIUM: PRO-LIFE IN THE TIME OF TRUMP

Charles Camosy ♦ Marjorie Dannenfelser ♦ Kelsey Hazzard
Edward Mechmann ♦ Mary Meehan ♦ George McKenna ♦ Kristan
Hawkins ♦ Destiny Herndon-De La Rosa ♦ Ellen Wilson Fielding
Chuck Donovan ♦ Alexandra DeSanctis ♦ Anne Hendershott
David Mills ♦ Clarke D. Forsythe ♦ Susannah Black

—
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IT ALWAYS COMES BACK TO *ROE*

Margaret Hickey on
A VIEW OF TRUMP FROM ABROAD

Wesley J. Smith on
BRAVE NEW WORLD IS CLOSER THAN YOU THINK

Matthew Hennessey on
THE SILENCING OF EUROPE'S PRO-LIFE ADVOCATES

—

◆ 2016 GREAT DEFENDER OF LIFE DINNER ◆

Booknotes: Christopher White on Victor Lee Austin's *Losing Susan*
Jason Morgan on John H. Evans's *What Is a Human?*

Appendices: Nat Hentoff • Alexandra DeSanctis • Mike Pence

About this issue . . .

. . . “Where are voters when it comes to abortion this campaign season,” I wondered here last summer, observing that, “As with immigration, terrorism, and the economy, abortion remains a *seemingly* intractable political problem.” Well. In a great irony of the age of *Roe*, the anti-abortion struggle is now being propelled forward by someone who may not even believe in our cause. In “Pro-life in the Time of Trump” (p. 11), 15 leaders and thinkers, writing just before the inauguration, ponder what Donald Trump’s victory means for the pro-life movement. Thanks to all of them for providing lively, thoughtful, and diverse commentary. And thanks to Margaret Hickey, who sent her thoughts on the election from County Cork through cyberspace, inquiring in an email if we might be interested in publishing them. We’re pleased to welcome Ms. Hickey, a freelance Irish journalist, to these pages (“A View of Trump from Abroad,” p. 44).

The impending election was very much on the minds of those who attended the Foundation’s Great Defender of Life Dinner on October 27. We include here Fr. John McCartney’s powerful invocation, Jeanne Mancini’s enlightening introduction, and honoree Carl Anderson’s insightful and moving acceptance speech (p. 77). It was a heartening evening, as familiar and new faces enjoyed a kind of comradeship not often experienced on such a great scale.

The dinner is always like that, and especially so when we honored Nat Hentoff in 2005. Mr. Hentoff, who died on January 7, attracted two tables of Pro-life Democrats and a table of New York rabbis, among many others. He was neither a party player nor a practicing Jew; he was a man who when he saw the light followed the light. In “My Controversial Decision to Become Pro-life” (p. 87), Mr. Hentoff explains how he came to see abortion as wrong, and recounts the personal cost of making his conversion public. It was our honor to reprint his important pro-life work over many years, and to gather it into a book, *Insisting on Life*, which can be ordered (or downloaded) on our website (www.humanlifereview.com). RIP.

And now for a mea culpa: Not long after our Fall issue mailed out, I heard from Richard Weikart, whose book, *The Death of Humanity*, was the subject of an article in it by William Murchison. There was an “accidental misquote,” he told me, and while it was a whopper, it made it past four proofreaders, including me. In an extended quote from the book on page 73, in the sentence, “Secularism cannot explain why slavery or genocide is wrong, but Christianity is wrong,” the copy after the comma should have read “but Christianity can.” We immediately made the correction to the text on our website; we regret the misquote and also that such errors can’t be disappeared from “dead-tree” publications as they can be online.

ANNE CONLON
MANAGING EDITOR



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INTRODUCTION

“So now that it’s over—thank you, thank you Lord!—what do we say?” asks senior editor William Murchison in the first issue of our 43rd year. He refers of course to the 2016 presidential election, and to the “shock (it surely qualifies as that) of learning the last thing you expected has turned into reality. Donald Trump is President. Hillary Clinton is not.”

This reality, he writes, is proof of the “astounding feature of our landscape—the enduringness of the pro-life cause.” Donald Trump “made himself the defender of unborn life,” and “the elections showed respect for unborn life to be more powerful than might have been supposed.” For Murchison, and for most of the participants in our symposium that follows his article, “Pro-Life in the Time of Trump,” the November 2016 election was more a defense *against* the radical pro-abortion stance of Hillary Clinton and the Democratic Party than an acceptance of a deep pro-life conversion on Trump’s part. Yet Alexandra DeSanctis (p. 32) points out the paradox that “Trump’s original pro-abortion stance has provided the biggest reason to hope for pro-life outcomes during his presidency,” because his Republican opponents (like Ted Cruz and Rand Paul) perceived his weakness on the issue and pushed him hard. Trump “needed to attract socially conservative primary voters,” so he compensated by “offering numerous, detailed promises” to the pro-life lobby. As a matter of fact, writes Kristan Hawkins (p. 23), “Trump is the only president-elect to have made specific promises to pro-lifers during a campaign.”

One recurring theme in an otherwise diverse collection of responses on what the Trump administration will mean for the pro-life movement is that it remains up to *us* to: hold Trump to his pro-life promises; continue to “guide him to a holistic understanding of the rights—and dignity—that every human being inherently possesses” (Kelsey Hazzard, p. 14); and continue working *outside* of politics to create a culture of life. Up to us and, as Ellen Fielding writes (p. 27) “also ultimately beyond us. Let’s see what we and God can do in the era that now opens before us.”

Of course the world was watching the American election as well. On page 44, we bring you one “View of Trump from Abroad,” Irish journalist Margaret Hickey’s forceful analysis of Trump’s “unlikely march to the American Capitol to take the oath of office,” following on the heels of Brexit. “While Western institutions are still some way from chaos and collapse,” she writes, “the crumbling of the old order is happening before our eyes.” The people “decided to defy the establishment and their obliging retinue of experts to make a bold, even reckless statement.” The American election was a “rejection of Obama and his legacy as much as of Hillary Clinton,” a pendulum swing from the “attack on social and moral paradigms by the liberal left,” but one that she fears may be swinging too far in the opposite direction with the election of a “pirate of venture politics.”

And yet—as we go to press post-inauguration, President Trump has, in his first two weeks, made stunningly good on his pro-life promises! He reinstated the Mexico

City policy that blocks federal funding for organizations that promote abortion abroad, including International Planned Parenthood. For the first time in post-*Roe* history, the Vice President, Mike Pence, addressed marchers at the January 27 March for Life in person, as did another member of the Administration, Counselor to the President Kellyanne Conway. And on Jan. 31, President Trump nominated Judge Neil Gorsuch to serve on the Supreme Court, an announcement met with enthusiasm and gratitude by pro-life leaders, among them Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus Carl Anderson, who said Gorsuch's "writings and record" make it clear "he will interpret the Constitution as it was written including our First Amendment right to religious freedom, and the right to life of every person."

Anderson was honored just 12 days before the election as the Human Life Foundation's Great Defender of Life. In his stirring speech, which we have in full in our special dinner section (p. 72), he made it clear that pro-life voters had to make abortion a priority. "There are many threats to life in this country," he said, "but none comes close qualitatively or quantitatively to abortion," which has "resulted in death on such a massive scale, I do not see how it is even remotely possible to build a culture of life and a just society by electing people who defend such a regime." President of the March for Life Jeanne Mancini introduced Anderson; her remarks, as well as Rev. John McCartney's Invocation, are included, along with photos of the inspiring evening.

There is much hope on the pro-life horizon with respect to laws and funding, but not so much, writes Wesley Smith next (in "*Brave New World is Closer Than You Think*"), in pushing back the march of biotechnology. Smith looks back at the great Embryonic Stem Cell Debate of 2001, and compares the brouhaha over that controversy with the alarming *lack* of outcry now against biotechnological advances that further the "notion that some human lives can be treated as natural resources for the benefit of others. ... where are the democratic debates about whether we should permit human beings to be designed, manufactured, and subjected to methods of quality control?" We must engage "life issues on the cutting edge of science," he writes. "The human future, quite literally, depends on it."

Meanwhile, also alarming, as Matthew Hennessey reports, are recent instances of pro-life censorship in Europe (p. 58). Though Europe is a "raft of contradiction"—more left-leaning than America but with markedly stronger abortion restrictions, there is a chilling "anti-democratic drift" on the subject of abortion and free speech. In December 2016, the French senate "made it a crime to post pro-life material on the internet." This followed a ban earlier in the fall on the broadcasting of a two-and-a-half-minute video "showing children with Down Syndrome living happy, normal, and productive lives." The rationale? Seeing the video, said the French Broadcasting Council, would "likely disturb the conscience of the women who have lawfully made different personal life choices." How fragile French women have become, quips Hennessey.

Our Booknotes begins with Christopher White's review of a powerful and

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poignant memoir by Rev. Victor Austin, *Losing Susan: Brain Disease, the Priest's Wife, and the God Who Gives and Takes Away*. Susan Austin was a woman whose strength and pro-life convictions gave those around her, most of all her husband, the courage to embrace the mysteries of suffering, loss, and joy. Next, Jason Morgan, assistant professor at Reitaku University in Chiba, Japan, reviews *What Is a Human?: What the Answers Mean for Human Rights*, by John H. Evans. The answer to “What is human” might seem, he writes, “obvious”—but sadly, more and more it is a subject for debate where human rights are involved. (Professor Morgan is currently researching Dr. Kikuta Noboru, a pro-life Japanese doctor and a key founder of the Japanese pro-life movement.)

* * *

January of 2017 brought the sad news of the death of Nat Hentoff, our brilliant contributor and revered friend, and our Great Defender of Life in 2005. He called us the morning after that award dinner and said, “That was the most wonderful evening of my life, mostly because I met such good people. These people radiated goodness—that’s America!” Jazz expert, prolific author, champion of the vulnerable—we were privileged to know him. In *Appendix A* we reprint his 2009 article, “My Controversial Choice to Become Pro-Life.” And in *Appendix B*, symposium contributor Alexandra DeSanctis is back, from National Review Online, with a terrific report on the “huge, diverse crowd” marching for life, and the overwhelming attitude of hope among the marchers. Finally, in *Appendix C* we reprint Vice-President Mike Pence’s remarks to the March for Life rally, in which he echoed the famous words spoken by the late great Father Richard John Neuhaus (to the National Right to Life Convention in 2008): “We shall not weary, we shall not rest, until every unborn child is protected in law and welcomed in life.” May this year bring us closer to the goal!

MARIA MCFADDEN MAFFUCCI
EDITOR

It Always Comes Back to *Roe*

William Murchison

So now that it's over—thank you, thank you, Lord!—what do we say?

That it's not over even when it's over? I refer to the election—more properly elections—of November 2016: not least to the shock (it surely qualifies as that) of learning the last thing you likely expected has turned into reality. Donald Trump is president. Hillary Clinton is not. There's still the need, though it will pass, to grab a chair for support when what happened, and what happened next, are the topics on the table.

Yes, what happens next from the perspective of public policy bearing on the disputed right of an unborn human to enter the world without harm or injury? I think we might wish to think through this question with a view both to realizing possibilities and to the further entrenching of that astounding feature of our moral landscape—the enduringness of the pro-life cause. What didn't happen was extirpation of the view that the life of an unborn male or female is of marginal, if any, importance to a dynamic society whose organizing principle is choice.

To get right down to it, what *didn't* happen last November from the pro-life standpoint?

Oddly, given recent experience, the issue itself made few waves. Everyone knew where Mrs. Clinton stood; viz., where she had always stood. She was—to speak broadly—the advocate of female empowerment, not least her own empowerment in the political firmament. She was giving no ground on the question of the unassailable nature of *Roe v. Wade* and indeed the necessity of expanding Medicaid coverage to abortion. In the third presidential debate she proclaimed: “I will defend Planned Parenthood. I will defend *Roe v. Wade*, and I will defend women's rights to make their own health care decisions.” She didn't have to tell us all this. We knew it, didn't we? What we didn't know was where Donald Trump would come down on these vexed questions. As recently as 2011 he had affirmed his conventional—in Eastern seaboard terms—pro-choice convictions.

Political tides, nonetheless move in both directions—in and out—erasing, when unhindered, many a turreted sand castle. Donald Trump in 2016 made himself the defender of unborn life. The voter labored under no obligation to

William Murchison writes from Dallas for Creators Syndicate and is a senior editor of the *Human Life Review*. He is currently working on *Moral Disarmament*, a book examining the consequences of our moral disagreements. *The Cost of Liberty*, his biography of John Dickinson, an influential but neglected Founding Father of the United States, was published in 2013 by ISI Books.

ask why. Observation sufficed. Trump secured the endorsement of Marjorie Dannenfelser, president of the Susan B. Anthony List, which aids pro-life political candidates, after pledging to oppose late-term abortion and to appoint anti-abortion justices to the Supreme Court: justices who might be assumed friendly to the project of overturning *Roe v. Wade*.

It always comes back to *Roe*. How could it not? *Roe* transformed American politics—the issue stuck in democracy’s throat; too large to expel, too gristly to choke down. In electing Donald Trump as president, we the people settled nothing finally as to Hillary Clinton’s audacious claim, during a television interview, that “The unborn person doesn’t have constitutional rights.” Not that “settling” or composing or putting away from sight the essentially supernatural question of rights for the unborn has ever—I do mean “ever”—quite fit the mission of democratic politics.

Justice Harry Blackmun and six colleagues supposed they had turned this trick 44 years ago by way of promulgating the claim Mrs. Clinton renewed as candidate for president of the United States. *Roe v. Wade*, as the court majority believed, would fix the imagination of the American people on a woman’s claim to priority over the rights of the child she had conceived but not yet brought into the world. The justices were badly and baldly mistaken. It goes on and on, election or no election, the intramural warfare their meddling precipitated.

But that’s not to say the elections of 2016 had no effect on the way Americans think about abortion. Because—and in our finite arrangements it may be all we can so far expect—the elections showed respect for unborn life to be more powerful than might have been supposed; to be more stubbornly persistent, more enduring, more—I don’t know—alive. Which is more than the proponents of abortion, with Mrs. Clinton at their head, can have considered possible.

By widespread calculation, 2016 was to have been the year a woman finally crashed through the so-called “glass ceiling” of the presidency and began, with a woman’s heart, nailing down the constitutionally tenuous claim Mrs. Clinton expressed in her interview. An “unborn person” lacks constitutional rights, said she. Abortion opponents reacted indignantly. So, more surprisingly, in view of Mrs. Clinton’s fervent support for their cause, did advocates of “choice.” The former denounced the candidate’s denial of “equal protection” rights for those she had acknowledged were “persons.” The latter wanted to know what she had meant, calling unborn persons “persons.” An officer of Students for Life, Tina Whittington, called Mrs. Clinton’s acknowledgement “huge.”

It was “huge” most of all (or, as Donald Trump might have put it,

“yuuuuuge”) for the intellectual agony it displayed over the impossibility of ever devising a political/constitutional formula to cover the involved uncertainties and perplexities. It can’t have injured the pro-life cause one bit to watch the country’s No. 1 pro-choice champion grappling with speech patterns. Just how do you talk about these matters? And if you can’t figure out how to talk about them, how do you deal with them?

The cozy pro-choice rhetoric of the presidential “progressive” candidates this go-round—including the Libertarian and the Green standard-bearers—had about it the feel of repurposed wrapping paper, the sound of unshod feet mashing grapes from which the flavor has long since departed.

Thus Mrs. Clinton’s running mate, Sen. Tim Kaine: “...[M]atters about reproduction and intimacy and relationships and contraception are in the personal realm. They’re moral decisions for individuals to make for themselves.” Thus the Libertarian presidential candidate, former New Mexico Gov. Gary Johnson: “A woman should be allowed to make her own decision during pregnancy until the point of viability of a fetus.” How stirring! How profound! How bed-rock essential to the cause of winning progressive votes!

By contrast, Donald Trump brought to the campaign the element of surprise on those relatively rare occasions when the issue came up. “Like Ronald Reagan,” he claimed, “I am pro-life with exceptions.” These exceptions being what? The three that polls perpetually show most voters want to acknowledge—cases of rape, incest, and potential threat to the mother’s life.

The novelty lay in the linkage of Trump’s center-right position on abortion with his proclaimed crusade aimed at making America “great again.” The old ways weren’t working. There had to be new ways, which he himself would introduce after some crockery breakage in the kitchen.

The old ways, with respect to abortion, have for some time seemed less and less viable: the arguments as heated now as 5 years ago, 10 years ago, 15, 20, and so on back. Certainly the political rhetoric (“A woman should be allowed to make her own decision,” etc., etc.) had all the vivacity of last week’s half-finished champagne bottle.

Trump, in his Trumpian way, managed to get a good conversation going for a good while with his offhand call, as it appeared then and still does, for the punishment of women who had had abortions. From which exposed and heavily bombarded position he pulled back quickly without seeming to give ground—a talent he perfected in order to keep his opponents, and the nation, wondering what certain of his tweets can have meant.

No master of the complex sentence is our new president, but he has the salesman’s gift for directing enthusiastic attention to his plans and proposals, chiefly—in a pro-life context—that of nominating a pro-life judge to the

Supreme Court's Scalia seat. As why shouldn't he if he wants (by his own account at least) to lead the country along new paths?

Granted, this is the same Donald Trump who in 1999 called himself "strongly pro-choice." This was half a dozen years before technology captured him in conversation about the joys of groping unsuspecting women. There's been a conversion here—or an adaptation to the realities of the job of recharging the national batteries. I can't imagine anyone's claiming to read accurately the mind of Donald J. Trump on the great moral issues of our time, but it has to be said that, as insurgent chieftain, he has professed infinitely less respect for what isn't working than have the stewards of stagnation he and his party defeated last November.

The argument for a Trump vote, based on his pledge to appoint conservatives to the Supreme Court, is an argument I heard over and over from the doubtful and the wavering. It is obviously a pledge with many facets, the prospect for a better shake for pro-lifers being just one of those facets. The present Court, even before Scalia's death, let through plenty of bad stuff—from a conservative standpoint—not least the decree that states no longer may confine the holy estate of marriage to a man and a woman. Nonetheless, the prospect that a remodeled Court might—not will, just might—reverse *Roe v. Wade* put Tabasco sauce into the Trump cause.

The judicial decapitation of *Roe* seems almost an unimaginable possibility after four decades and the nation's partial acclimation to the ideal of choice in the matter of once-forbidden fruits. I am myself very, very, very disposed toward caution about predictions that *Roe*—the worst decision of the 20th century, both in moral and constitutional terms—will eventually fall. Striking it down would be a revolutionary action; modifying its terms might come more easily to the politicized bench our high court has become. A Pew Research Center poll released in January 2017 said 69 percent of Americans think the decision deserves to stand at least in part. "In what particular part?" is the question the poll customarily leaves unasked and unanswered. Protections for rape victims? To save the mother's life? Polls never traffic in the language of legislation; they are nods in one philosophical direction or another.

You might, without looking about, think it odd to test attitudes regarding a 44-year-old Supreme Court decision. Nobody asks, or has for a long time, whether Americans support the high court's ban on racially segregated public schools and its affirmation of a right to state-provided legal counsel. The political system long ago assimilated the decisions in question; not so with *Roe v. Wade*, to which active opposition in toto continues long after the deaths of the seven justices who saw their support for the decision as just another

day's work. That 28 percent of Americans, according to Pew, want *Roe* gone in its entirety—no crumbs left for the birds—is more amazing than the support of 69 percent for the decision's partial retention. That a presidential candidate better known as a fan of gorgeous women than as a friend of unborn life could become the great hope of the anti-abortion movement indicates a number of things. Most strikingly among these things: that, as a national issue, life has legs; large, seemingly inexhaustible, of a strength such as future power-seeking Hillary Clintons would be advised never to underestimate.

To look, in the Pew poll, at the demographic breakdown of support for the two opposed positions on *Roe* is to view, albeit with obvious imperfections of detail, the electorate that went to the polls last November. “[H]igher levels of education are associated with less support for overturning the decision,” Pew says. “Nearly nine-in-ten of those with postgraduate degrees (88 percent) say the court should not overturn the decision...” Liberal Democrats (87 percent) and moderate and liberal Republicans (71 percent) oppose complete—that word again: complete—overturn of *Roe*. Nearly as many white evangelicals (47 percent) want *Roe* overturned as (49 percent) want it retained. Nine in 10 of the “religiously unaffiliated” give the idea the back of their hand.

Yes, I grant we're talking about a minority here, in terms of support for throwing out *Roe*; this is hardly the majority (in electoral votes) that elevated Trump to the White House. What is striking, even so, is the congruity of viewpoints, among a major American constituency, on the need for change and dislocation in lots of areas: economics, foreign policy, unborn life. Something may be going on here: some restlessness over the absolute entitlement a particular political movement—feminism, chiefly—claims in defining allegedly for the general benefit what's good for unborn life and what's not.

The Trump uprising of 2016 asserted some counterclaims against the totalitarianism of the cozy and well-cosseted and, most of all, the highly educated. The anti-Trump vote protested to the end, and continues to argue, in essence, that the people who more or less have run America for the past few decades are doing the job better than you could. Few if any political stances enjoy the paramountcy, the apparent irrefrangibility, of the claim that *The-Supreme-Court-Says-Women-Can-Have-Abortions-So-Can-We-Just-Move-to-the-Next-Subject-Please?*

That we can't “just move to the next subject” signifies the complexity of the subject, if not in theological, then in cultural terms. Forty-four years of existence, and growing confidence in its outreach and abilities, confer on the post-*Roe* pro-life movement a sort of product-testing certificate. If they'd

had nothing to say, they'd be gone—right? But instead of gone, they're around and outdoing themselves in the public arena. Hardly was the election over before the *New York Times* was broadcasting the news that “Abortion Foes, Emboldened by Trump, Promise ‘Onslaught’ of Tough Restrictions.” “This is the strongest the pro-life movement has been since 1973,” the *Times* quoted Marjorie Dannenfelser as saying.

In December, the legislature in Ohio, a Trump state, outlawed abortions after 20 weeks. Gov. John Kasich, a Trump opponent in the presidential primaries, signed the bill with little ado. In January Kentucky followed suit. There's more such stuff to come in 2017, despite pro-choice confidence the federal judiciary, as presently constituted, will never sit still for it. On the other hand, as of this writing, Trump was weighing which jurist to appoint by way of honoring his promise to fill the Supreme Court's empty Scalia seat with a jurist representing, broadly, Antonin Scalia's commitment to the Constitution's original meaning. When the moment comes, we may look forward to a knock-down, drag-out political scrap reminiscent of the Bork and Thomas hearings.

Well, so be it. A good scrap could focus minds wonderfully on the political, as contrasted with the constitutional, nature of *Roe v. Wade*. Donald Trump, without calling explicitly for the overthrow of *Roe*, seems to suggest the time has come to throttle back on abortion. One has just the sense that the people are themselves in a kind of Trumpian deal-making mood, looking around to see what can be done to calm passions. Overthrow the decision completely? Likely not (cf. the above-referenced Pew poll). Afford the unborn certain protections not presently available? Maybe. Maybe. Trump's own instinct seems to be to restore the *status quo ante bellum*—to put the states in charge once more of their own policies on abortion: a bad deal for the principle that unborn life, in pro-choice California, as in pro-life Louisiana, is of unique value and worth. I do not write to recommend this course, whose success, or lack of it, would likely depend on vigorous efforts, or lack of them, to reconstruct in homes and churches the view that life itself is good. I write instead to report what appears to be going on at present in the country at large—the revival in many widely separated bailiwicks of an older way of understanding the duties and opportunities that accrue under democratic governance. We may not in a couple of years be where we were a couple of years ago. Or maybe we will be on the way to somewhere else. That you can't always tell which situation is which, at the time you're gazing, is one of democratic governance's endless fascinations.

Symposium: Pro-life in the Time of Trump

We asked our participants to reflect on “Pro-life in the Time of Trump,” and offered them the following two opposing views to consider: Charles Camosy writing the day after the election in Crux, and Marjorie Danennfelser quoted in Susan B. Anthony List’s press release the same day. The responses we received are thoughtful, challenging, and varied, and will, we hope, encourage fruitful dialogue and collaboration for life.—The Editors

Charles C. Camosy:

There is currently a mad scramble in many of my social circles to figure out why things went so wrong on Tuesday night. But before we do that, it would be prudent to pause and reflect on the question of what went wrong.

A major part of the answer must be the deeply unsettling fact that this was an absolutely terrible election for the pro-life movement.

The first bad news of the night was that physician-assisted suicide passed in Colorado by a 65% margin. This continues a trend of western, autonomy-centered liberals generally favoring assisted suicide, with eastern, social-justice centered liberals generally being more uncomfortable with the practice.

Next we learned that the death penalty, in the words of the election results feed at five-thirty-eight.com, was “quietly having a successful night.” Voters in Oklahoma strengthened their death penalty laws by adopting a constitutional amendment. Nebraska voters reintroduced capital punishment after the state legislature banned it last year. Even California voted not only to refuse to repeal the death penalty, but approved a plan to expedite it.

But the most damaging event for the pro-life movement was the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States. By far.

The traditional pro-life movement has been taken in by the strategy of trying to elect national Republicans in the hope that they will pass meaningful pro-life legislation and appoint pro-life justices to the Supreme Court.

Well before Trump became the Republicans’ nominee for president, Pasqual Emmanuel Gobry wrote a piece for The Week calling this strategy into question. He rightly points out that pro-lifers have given up far too much to the GOP and received precious little in return.

Indeed, Republican presidents have appointed some of the most stalwart defenders of abortion rights.

Enter Donald Trump.

As I’ve mentioned before on these pages, this is a man who will say almost

anything to the religious right in order to procure their votes. He claims to be a Christian, but insists that he has no need to ask God for forgiveness.

He claims he will put pro-life justices on the Supreme Court, but after his supposed pro-life conversion he suggested that his pro-choice sister would make a great Supreme Court justice.

He claims to be on the side of those who want to limit abortion, but even after the election the words “pro-life” or “abortion” are found nowhere on his website. Indeed, he never even brings up the issue unless someone presses him on it.

The Babylon Bee—the hilarious Evangelical Christian version of the Onion—summed up Trump’s approach well in a recent headline: “Let’s Cut to the Chase, Evangelicals: Which Exact Lie Can I Tell You to Get You to Vote for Me?”

Even if we stopped here we could see how Trump’s support from traditional pro-life groups, and his subsequent election to the presidency, represent a defeat for the movement. But we cannot stop here. We must ask ourselves what it means now that Trump is the de facto leader and face of the pro-life movement.

This is a question I took up in a piece in the *Washington Post* before the election. Especially because the winning future for the pro-life movement is one which embraces a new movement that is young, feminist, and disproportionately people of color, the Donald’s rise to leadership in the pro-life movement is an absolute disaster.

I pointed out that he is particularly loathed by millennials, women and people of color, and with good reason, for Trump’s positions on issues like immigration, criminal justice reform, health care and climate change are completely alienating to huge majorities in these demographics.

His racist and sexist rhetoric and behavior—linked to sexual violence—are even more repulsive to these sections of the population.

The pro-life movement has over the years painstakingly put itself in a position where it can authentically resist the attempts of our opponents to marginalize us as led by old, white, privileged, racist, misogynist men who want to use and control women’s bodies.

But with the election of Trump—who could not fit better into that category—all of our work now risks being undermined.

Pro-life groups should immediately distance themselves from the views of our new president-elect, emphasizing without equivocation that an authentic pro-life movement cannot possibly consider him our leader.

—Charles C. Camosy is Associate Professor of Theological and Social Ethics at Fordham University and author of *Beyond the Abortion Wars: A Way Forward for a New Generation*.

Marjorie Dannenfelser:

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: November 9, 2016

Contact: Mallory Quigley, mquigley@sba-list.org, 703-380-6674

Washington, D.C. – Susan B. Anthony List (SBA List) declared victory last night when **Donald Trump** won the presidential race and pro-life Republicans maintained control of the U.S. Senate. **SBA List president Marjorie Dannenfelser** offered the following comment this afternoon:

“This is an historic moment for the pro-life movement. We are poised to make the biggest legislative advances for the protection of unborn children and their mothers since *Roe v. Wade* was decided. With a pro-life White House and Congress there are four critical pro-life goals now within our reach: end painful late-term abortions, codify the Hyde Amendment, defund Planned Parenthood, and appoint pro-life Supreme Court Justices.

“The power of the pro-life grassroots was a huge factor in making possible a pro-life White House and Senate.

“This cycle Susan B. Anthony List set out to create the largest person to person pro-life ground game in the nation. We spent the last year talking to more than 1.6 million voters in battleground states of North Carolina, Ohio, Florida, and Missouri. We spoke to voters directly at their doors and through hard-hitting mail and digital ads. Not only did we work to turn out inconsistent pro-life voters, we identified and contacted persuadable Democrats, including one hundred thousand Hispanics.

“We educated them about the Democrats’ support for taxpayer funding of late-term abortion up until the moment of birth. And it is exactly those voters we contacted who propelled Donald Trump and Mike Pence to victory.

“Donald Trump also went on offense to expose Clinton’s extremism. The third presidential debate opened with a landmark debate over abortion. Donald Trump described well the horror of partial birth abortion. He forced Clinton to own up to the fact that there is not one circumstance in which she would protect the right to life of an unborn child—a position that is abhorrent to the majority of Americans.

“The abortion issue has consistently been on voters’ minds this election. According to Google trends, abortion was the second most searched for term during the first general election debate. In the days leading up to the election, abortion was in the top 2 issues and just yesterday, it was the number one issue voters were searching for related to both candidates.

“Now the hard work begins of making these opportunities a reality.”

Donald Trump and pro-life Senate candidates won in every state where

SBA List engaged. Leading up to Election Day, SBA List reached 1.6 million pro-life voters, including 1.1 million voters contacted directly at their homes in the battleground states of Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, and Missouri.

Susan B. Anthony List and its connected super PAC, Women Speak Out so far have spent more than \$18 million in the 2016 election cycle, knocking on more than one million doors in battleground states to defeat Hillary Clinton and maintain a pro-life Senate. SBA List is dedicated to pursuing policies and electing candidates who will reduce and ultimately end abortion. To that end, the SBA List emphasizes the education, promotion, mobilization, and election of pro-life women. The SBA List is a network of more than 465,000 pro-life Americans nationwide.

—*Marjorie Dannenfelser is president of Susan B. Anthony List.*

Kelsey Hazzard:

Actions speak louder than words. Or so I was told growing up. In the 2016 presidential election, actions fell by the wayside.

It didn't start out that way. In early 2016, 15 female pro-life leaders signed an open letter to Republican primary voters, begging them to vote for anyone but Donald Trump (<https://www.sba-list.org/?s=OpenLettertoSCGOP> voters from Prolife Women).

They cited “Mr. Trump’s treatment of individuals, women, in particular”:

He has impugned the dignity of women, most notably Megyn Kelly, he mocked and bullied Carly Fiorina, and has through the years made disparaging public comments to and about many women. Further, Mr. Trump has profited from the exploitation of women in his Atlantic City casino hotel which boasted of the first strip club casino in the country. America will only be a great nation when we have leaders of strong character who will defend both unborn children and the dignity of women. We cannot trust Donald Trump to do either.

Trump’s actions were unacceptable—and that was even *before* sexual assault allegations against him made the headlines. Once he obtained the nomination, however, pro-life leaders changed course. They cited Trump’s promise to nominate a pro-life justice to replace Antonin Scalia, his promise to sign legislation giving our tax dollars to federally qualified health centers that didn’t perform abortions instead of Planned Parenthood, his promise to support the Pain-Capable Child Protection Act. Promises, promises, promises. Words, words, words. He has the best words, you know.

I don’t fault anyone for trying to make the best of a bad situation. The alternative, Hillary Clinton, promised to strip unborn children of even the

very limited legal protections they currently possess. Her opposition to the 40-year-old Hyde Amendment, which has saved, according to a recent report by the Charlotte Lozier Institute, the lives of over *two million* low-income Americans—including some of my friends—is particularly abhorrent.

Donald Trump may be a buffoon, the reasoning goes, but at least he won't actively stand in the way of the right to life.

But he will—probably not by vetoing legislation or nominating bad judges, but by tarnishing the pro-life movement with both his actions and his words. Yes, there is always a risk that a candidate backed by pro-lifers will do something ill-advised on another issue, because there is no such thing as a perfect politician. But the risk Donald Trump poses is off the charts. Just in the few weeks preceding this writing, he has tweeted nonchalantly about nuclear weapons and cozied up to Vladimir Putin (who, it's worth mentioning, is *strongly* suspected of ordering the murders of political opponents, including journalists).

Let us also not forget the internal damage Donald Trump has inflicted—and most likely will continue to inflict—with his divisive comments on race, gender, and religion. The pro-life movement is diverse; many of our activists identify with the plight of unborn children *precisely because they themselves belong to marginalized groups*. Asking a Mexican-American immigrant, a survivor of sexual assault, or a Muslim to stick with the pro-life movement, while our leaders lavish praise on Donald Trump . . . to put it mildly, that's a hard sell.

The pro-life leaders and organizations that endorsed Trump are now in a position of power and responsibility. They will have the president's ear. I hope they do not take that for granted, because they will not be the only ones seeking influence. White supremacist groups, some of which are organized under the “alt-right” label, have made it clear that they see Donald Trump as their champion—and they have also made it clear that they are no friends of the pro-life movement, which they despise for preventing abortions of babies of color (<http://www.radixjournal.com/journal/2016/4/8/the-pro-life-temptation>).

It is incumbent on the pro-lifers in Donald Trump's orbit not only to hold him to his promises on legislation and the courts, but to guide him to a holistic understanding of the rights—and dignity—that every human being inherently possesses. This will require the courage to push back when Donald Trump proposes actions that dehumanize unpopular groups. It will require restraint when his hungry ego demands to be fed; praise must be doled out only when it is earned. It won't be easy, and I don't envy the task.

Looking further to the future, we must prioritize building a strong slate of

pro-life political candidates of whom we can truly be proud. We never again want to be caught in the situation of latching on to a nominee we didn't back from the start. We should pay particular attention to female and minority political talent. Imagine the impact if the first female president were a pro-life feminist!

—*Kelsey Hazzard is founder and president of Secular Pro-Life, which unites people of every faith and no faith to advance the right to life. She practices law in Naples, FL.*

Edward Mechmann:

The best thing we can say about the new administration with certainty—and gratitude—is that it is new. We can finally bid farewell to the Obama administration's relentless ideological hostility towards unborn life, the truth about human sexuality, and religious liberty. We can be thankful for having been spared at least four more years of the same, if not worse, treatment.

The coming of the Trump administration also presents the pro-life movement with considerable opportunities and challenges. It seems clear that our issues are not high priorities for the new president, so we have to be assertive in our advocacy while cautious in our expectations. We must stay on the offensive in Congress to ensure that pro-life issues aren't bargained away as part of any "Art of the Deal." While we have good reason to believe that pro-life forces in Congress will succeed in strengthening the Hyde Amendment and conscience protections, we will have to look principally to key executive appointments for significant pro-life progress, especially in regulatory and enforcement matters.

The need for realistic expectations is essential when it comes to the courts. *Roe v. Wade* is not going to be overturned any time soon, and no new Supreme Court justice will be "pro-life" in the sense that we would use the term—that is, believing that unborn human beings are "persons" within the meaning of the 14th Amendment and thus entitled to full legal protection. No such nominee could be confirmed by the current Senate. So we have to push for the appointment of originalist judges who will adhere to the authentic meaning of the Constitution and not just make it up as they go along.

These judges would eventually hold that there is no right to abortion guaranteed in the Constitution, therefore the issue is reserved to the states to permit and regulate, or to prohibit. In the meantime, they would show more deference in applying the *Casey* "undue burden" standard to state abortion regulations than the Court did last June in *Whole Woman's Health*. This incremental approach may be frustrating, but without a sense of what is realistically achievable, there is a danger that pro-life over-confidence could

lead to a premature challenge to *Roe/Casey*, and, possibly, a disastrous ruling.

Another major concern is that too much attention may be paid to Washington, and not enough to the states. There is a broad tendency in modern post-constitutional America to forget that the federal government is supposed to have limited powers. The pro-life movement has made tremendous strides on the state level during the last eight years and should continue to press for more. But we can expect our adversaries to have learned from our example. This may not be a big issue in “red states,” which have already enacted many abortion regulations. In “blue states” such as New York, however, the threats to life are going to intensify dramatically, because the pro-abortion establishment anticipates that the Trump administration will roll back some of its favored federal regulations and policies. It will be up to the national pro-life movement to step up to the plate at the state level.

Efforts to legalize assisted suicide by legislation or litigation are now focusing heavily on the more liberal states, the strategy being to develop a “critical mass” of states to tip the balance and produce a new Supreme Court ruling—an end-of-life *Roe v. Wade*. Our opposition is very well funded and the media is on their side. Pro-life advocates in these states are going to need help from the national movement in this tough fight.

Attempts are also underway to expand abortion, ostensibly by writing *Roe* into state law. But the real goal is to secure the legality of any late-term abortion, permit non-doctors to perform surgical abortions, and coerce all medical professionals and institutions to cooperate. In addition to these, extremist bills like New York’s (stalled) “Reproductive Health Act” (modeled on the old “Freedom of Choice Act”) mandate insurance coverage of abortion. Restrictions on the free speech and operation of pregnancy centers are also on the horizon in states that don’t have them already. Again, we need the national movement to turn its eyes away from DC and help out.

One last thing about this coming era, which may turn out to be the most important: The new President’s default response to any challenge or opposition seems to be to escalate the level of conflict and hostility. This tendency feeds directly into and will exacerbate our polarized and antagonistic public atmosphere. The pro-life movement cannot flourish in such a climate—it is rooted in love, not conflict and animosity. We have to reject not only the egregious unjust violence of abortion and euthanasia, but also the rhetorical violence of thought and word that fosters a culture hostile to life.

Pope Francis, in his 2017 World Day of Peace Message, has offered an alternative that the pro-life movement should find a perfect fit—a call for “nonviolence as a style of politics for peace.” The Holy Father noted that “in the world there is too much violence, too much injustice, and . . . this situation

cannot be overcome except by countering it with more love, with more goodness.” His closing invocation could be a charter for a movement that would seek not just to enact laws and cut funding streams but to build a genuine culture of life: “May we dedicate ourselves prayerfully and actively to banishing violence from our hearts, words and deeds, and to becoming nonviolent people and to building nonviolent communities that care for our common home”—a perfect pro-life agenda for the years ahead.

—Edward Mechmann is Director of Public Policy for the Archdiocese of New York.

Mary Meehan:

Since my crystal ball is cloudy these days, I cannot predict what will happen to the pro-life cause during the Trump presidency. But I do have several suggestions for the new administration and the pro-life movement.

One is that our new president, who is close to his own children, should keep children always in the center of the abortion debate. The president’s youngest child, Barron, is only 10 years old. Mr. Trump also has eight grandchildren: Theodore, Chloe, Joseph, Spencer, Tristan, Arabella, Donald, and Kai. Their ages, at this writing, range from about nine months to nine years.

Most Americans do love children. That love should lead to protecting their own children and to helping *other* people’s children when they are in danger. The more defenseless children are—because they are handicapped, for example, or abused by a family member—the more they need our help. Unborn children are the most defenseless of all children, since they cannot even cry out for rescue. Others can help them by defending their right to life and by giving encouragement and practical help to their parents.

The president should stress the many programs, both governmental and private, that help children and their parents. This should include emphasis on national networks of help centers for pregnant women, such as Birthright, Care Net, 1st Way, and Heartbeat International. There is also the Nurturing Network, which focuses on helping pregnant college students and working women. Feminists for Life and Students for Life also do a great deal of work to assist pregnant and parenting college students. Presidential meetings with leaders of these groups could be extremely helpful. They would give him useful information and also call media and congressional attention to the availability of special help around the country.

Heartbeat International, the largest group of pregnancy aid centers, already sponsors a “Babies Go to Congress” event every year. This involves a group of mothers—accompanied by their babies or toddlers—who visit members of Congress to explain how pregnancy centers helped them. How about having

a “Babies Go to the White House” event as well?

The president could also talk about men’s responsibility for their unborn children, which has needed more attention for a very long time. Most men active in pro-life affairs probably take this responsibility for granted, since they themselves have lived up to it. They overlook the fact that many men pressure—or coerce—wives or girlfriends to have abortions. Other men just walk away from their parental responsibility before a child’s birth and refuse to pay child support afterwards. We need men who will stand up, privately or publicly, and call other men to meet their responsibilities to their children. Fathers owe their children not just financial support, though that is essential, but also love, much time with them, and good example. Presidential reminders along this line could do a world of good.

We can expect a strong congressional effort this year to end federal funding of Planned Parenthood. This will be a big brawl—and an expensive one, since PP has so many friends in high and very wealthy places. But it will be well worth the effort. Pro-life groups can help by stressing the early eugenics influence on Planned Parenthood. They might also stress that PP leader Margaret Sanger, although a eugenicist, was opposed to abortion in most cases. She consciously pressed non-abortifacient birth control as an *alternative* to abortion. On this crucial issue, today’s Planned Parenthood has betrayed its best-known leader.

We can expect knock-down, drag-out battles over Supreme Court nominees. President Trump has promised to nominate pro-life ones. He may have chosen the first one—to fill the vacancy left by Justice Antonin Scalia’s death—by the time this appears in print. He may also have one or two other Supreme Court vacancies to fill later. But pro-lifers who viewed Justice Scalia as on their side should understand that he took a states’ rights position on abortion. Since there is nothing explicit in the Constitution about it, he thought the states were free to allow it or ban it. This is quite different from the position of the many pro-lifers who hold that unborn children are covered by the 14th Amendment’s provision that no state may “deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”

Every Supreme Court justice or nominee should at least be open to hearing and considering arguments based on the 14th Amendment. They should also be open to new information on the English common law’s anti-abortion tradition discovered by an English legal scholar, Sir John Hamilton Baker. And pro-life members of the Senate Judiciary Committee should be willing to ask nominees if they are open to hearing such arguments and evidence. Those committee members, by the way, should include at least one or two

women—Sen. Joni Ernst (R-Iowa) and/or Sen. Debra Fischer (R-Neb.). When the Republican cast of characters is all-male—as it is at this writing—that hands a major advantage to the Democratic side, which currently has two women on the Judiciary Committee.

There will be very difficult—but winnable—political battles in the next four years. Pro-lifers in the White House and elsewhere should fight hard, but always with the idea that this year’s opponent may be next year’s convert. They should work, not for the destruction of their political enemies, but for life and the joy of life.

—*Mary Meehan is a senior editor of the Human Life Review.*

George McKenna:

The word “salient” comes from the Latin *saliens*, “to spring forth, leap.”

Voters may have opinions on many issues, but for some voters today there is one issue that springs forth, leaps out, with such ferocity that it knocks all the other issues off the table.

For me, the salient issue is abortion. Here is why. Since *Roe v. Wade* was decided in 1973, 58 million children have been killed in America’s abortion mills. And the slaughter is ongoing: Before this day is over, thousands of children will be killed in their mother’s wombs, some even up to the point of delivery. Minority communities are particularly hard hit. In New York City in 2012 there were more black babies killed by abortion (31,758) than were born there (24,758). Killing on this industrial scale, in numbers beyond the imagination of Americans at the time of *Roe v. Wade*, is America’s greatest moral calamity since slavery, and it must be stopped.

Given these facts and my position, for whom should I have voted last November, the Republican candidate, Donald Trump, or the Democrat, Hillary Clinton? Remember, there was no other viable choice.

Let’s start with Clinton’s party. NARAL Pro-Choice America President Ilyse Hogue called its 2016 platform “far and away the most progressive platform on reproductive health, freedom and justice in the history of the party.” She was right: The platform called for increased funding for Planned Parenthood, for overturning the Hyde Amendment, for extending abortion overseas “as part of America’s global health programming,” and criminal prosecution of anti-abortion demonstrators for “intimidation” outside abortion facilities, including “noise disturbance.” During the convention, Hogue took the stage to tell why she aborted her own child years earlier. To cheers from the audience she said, “I wanted a family, but it was the wrong time.”

The party’s candidate, Hillary Clinton, had a 20-year history of supporting

abortion on demand, even voting against a ban on late-term abortions when she served in the Senate. On two separate occasions she declared that an unborn child, even on its due date, had no right to live.

Last year's Republican platform was equally far-reaching in its *condemnation* of abortion. Mentioning "abortion" by name 37 times, it not only reiterated the party's longstanding support for a Human Life Amendment to the Constitution, but encouraged states to defund Planned Parenthood and supported state and federal laws prohibiting partial-birth abortion. Responding to undercover videos released in 2015 showing abortionists discussing the sale of fetal body parts, it called for new laws prohibiting such traffic.

The Republican candidate, Donald Trump, generally supported these Republican positions. Though he once called himself pro-choice, he claimed that his views had "evolved," and during the debates he sharply challenged Clinton's endorsement of late-term abortions. "Now," Trump said, "you can say that's OK and Hillary can say that's OK. But it's not OK with me." During the election season Trump submitted a list of judges he would support for the Supreme Court who hold "originalist" judicial philosophies that would point toward limiting the scope of *Roe v. Wade* or even reversing it.

Going into the voting booth, a voter might hold positions on a number of issues besides abortion, but if abortion is his or her *salient* issue, the issue that springs forth from all the others, *then it cannot be weighed equally with any of the others*. In such a situation, if Candidate A holds a better position than candidate B on, say, the environment, or tariffs, or welfare, but supports "abortion rights," which candidate B opposes, I don't see how it is morally or even logically possible to cast a vote that will help Candidate A win the election.

Unless I have misinterpreted his remarks in the *Washington Post* last October and his more recent post-election comments in *Crux*, it appears that Charles Camosy, Associate Professor of Theological and Social Ethics at Fordham University, has a different view. Camosy thinks that the choice of Trump over Clinton in the election "was an absolutely terrible election for the pro-life movement."

Camosy is the author of *Beyond the Abortion Wars* (2015), a sober, well-developed treatment of the abortion issue that seeks common ground between people of good will on both sides. Camosy is firmly pro-life, but he believes that a significant segment of people who call themselves "pro-choice" would support far more restrictions on abortion than those allowed in *Roe v. Wade* over four decades ago. Taking account of the Supreme Court's more recent holdings in abortion cases, he outlines his own "Mother and Prenatal Child Protection Act," which he thinks might pass judicial muster today. I don't accept some of the loopholes he would put into his model law, but his book

opens the way to a temperate public debate on abortion instead of red-faced hollering.

That's why I was taken aback by his reaction to Donald Trump. He launches a fusillade of insults at Trump—"misogynist, racist, narcissist," "sexual predator"—that remind me more of Hillary Clinton's "basket of deplorables" than the kind of calm reasoning I encountered in his excellent book. Much of the criticism in his two articles seems scattershot; consider these shots:

- "[Trump] will say almost anything to the religious right in order to procure their votes." Welcome to America. This is what American politicians do. Hillary Clinton would say anything about Planned Parenthood and Emily's List to procure their votes; I would never begrudge it to her.

- "He claims to be a Christian, but insists that he has no need to ask God for forgiveness." I don't know what Trump has said on that score, and I'm not going down that rabbit-hole. Since the time of Franklin and Jefferson American politicians have held a variety of heterodox Christian views, so I'll go with Article VI of the Constitution: "No religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office."

- "He claims he will put pro-life justices on the Supreme Court, but after his supposed pro-life conversion he suggested that his pro-choice sister would make a great Supreme Court justice." This is a charge first made by Texas Senator Ted Cruz in one of the primary debates, and Politifact, the Pulitzer Prize-winning rating agency, rated it "mostly false" on its Truth-O-Meter. While Trump did say his sister would make a "phenomenal" Supreme Court justice, he quickly added that he wouldn't appoint her. Instead, he submitted the list of "originalist" judges I referred to above, judges who would probably not subscribe to the reasoning behind *Roe v. Wade*.

- "He never even brings up the issue unless someone presses him on it." Well, probably true. But then no major candidate is anxious to bring up abortion in a national debate. The abortion controversy is so emotionally charged that no matter what you say you'll probably lose half your audience. But Trump broached the topic boldly enough when he accused Clinton of supporting an abortion procedure that would "rip the baby out of the womb in the ninth month on the final day," prompting Clinton's accusation of "scare rhetoric."

Camosy does advance one meaty argument, which goes like this: The pro-life movement has made considerable progress in recent years and the driving forces behind this have come from the ranks of millennials, women, and people of color. But "Trump's positions on issues like immigration, criminal justice reform, health care and climate change are completely alienating to huge majorities in these demographics." We are left to conclude that the young women and racial minorities now spearheading the pro-life movement will

grow discouraged and drop out (or perhaps even go over to the other side).

The fallacy of this argument is its assumption that people march lockstep forever in fixed demographic categories. But think about that. Think about a young woman thoroughly committed to the pro-life cause who decides to vote for Trump based on the GOP's national platform and Trump's verbal support of life; then she hears that ten years ago Trump made some lewd remarks about women into a hot mic, for which he now apologizes. Is she likely to change her vote to Clinton? More to the point, *is she now going to drop out of the pro-life movement?* It does not seem likely to me, any more than it seems that, say, a black man who opposes abortion is going to change his views after finding out that Trump is skeptical about "climate change." Blacks, Latinos, women, millennials, have all kinds of beliefs, some "left" and some "right." Demography is not destiny: We have blacks demanding the charter schools that are opposed by Democrat-leaning teachers unions, Latinos who may be put off by Trump but want our borders protected, and young feminists who join the annual March for Life. They are not going to abandon their deepest commitments because Trump told dirty stories ten years ago.

I hold no brief for Trump's personal quirks. But I pulled the lever for him because he ran on a pro-life party platform and promised the kind of Supreme Court justices who may vote the way I want them to vote. If these promises are broken I will be done with Donald Trump, but at least he promised. Hillary promised the opposite, and I know she meant it. If she had been elected it would have set back the pro-life cause for generations.

—George McKenna is professor emeritus of political science, City College of New York, and author of *The Puritan Origins of American Patriotism* (Yale University Press).

Kristan Hawkins:

As the pro-life movement picks up the pieces after the long contentious election cycle of 2016, uniting as a voice for the preborn—and for all those hurt by abortion—is essential to attaining our shared goal of making abortion unthinkable. If pro-lifers refuse to join together to push for laws that would make abortion illegal, for Supreme Court justices who would consider overturning *Roe v. Wade*, and for ending taxpayer funding of Planned Parenthood, not only our work but that of an earlier generation of pro-life warriors could very well have been in vain.

The lives of millions of unborn children hang in the balance these next several years. I am cautiously optimistic about what we can expect from the Trump administration and congressional leadership.

But my hope doesn't lie in Washington: It's out on the campuses and in

the schools across our nation, where an entire generation of young people are asking themselves whether abortion should be a right, whether women need abortion to be free, and why the abortion industry has become one of the toughest lobbying forces in Washington. My hope lies in the more than 1,000 student pro-life groups that Students for Life of America serves. The passion of young pro-lifers is unrivaled in the pro-abortion movement, something even their leaders have noticed.

A Planned Parenthood vice president in Kentucky recently admitted that “The biggest challenge reproduction rights advocates face is the generational gap.” When Nancy Keenan, former president of NARAL, resigned in 2013, she said it was due in part to what she called the “intensity gap,” which she saw first-hand at the March for Life and in internal polling, where young pro-lifers said abortion was a matter of great importance in far greater numbers than did young abortion advocates.

She was right to be concerned. Polling has picked up on the undeniable trend that Millennials are more pro-life than previous generations, a change the abortion industry can’t seem to wrap its mind around. The Institute for Pro-life Advancement found that only 17 percent of millennials say abortion should be legal for any reason at any time versus 52% who say abortion should be illegal in all or most circumstances.

Abortion advocates are desperate to remove the stigma surrounding abortion, trotting out celebrities like Lena Dunham, who recently said she “wishes” she had had an abortion and Planned Parenthood president Cecile Richards, who has written about her own abortion in a national women’s magazine. They cheered when the president of a major abortion-rights group “shout[ed] her abortion” at the Democratic National Convention last summer.

They are losing and they know it. Planned Parenthood and its allies managed to survive a difficult scandal in 2015 after release of videos exposing their selling of fetal body parts, but only because they had an ally in President Obama, who vetoed a bill to strip them of taxpayer funding.

They put at least \$30 million behind Hillary Clinton in 2016, hoping for an even better ally than Obama, but were soundly defeated. At the end of 2016, Planned Parenthood and several of its affiliates and business partners were recommended for criminal prosecution by committees in both the U.S. *House* and Senate.

Donald Trump is the only president-elect to have made specific promises to pro-lifers during a campaign. Since his election he has appointed tested pro-lifers to his Cabinet and his staff. For once, Planned Parenthood leaders will know what it’s like to have to fight for their livelihood.

Regardless of whether you voted for or against President Trump, this is

our moment, this is our time to work in unison to hold politicians accountable to their pro-life promises so we can continue to expose Planned Parenthood—and the entire abortion industry—for the criminal racketeering organization it is, to strip all abortion providers of taxpayer dollars, and to show that they care nothing for women but only the bottom line.

I know many pro-lifers who are concerned that working with a Trump administration could hurt the “pro-life” brand. But the election is over. And guess what? The brand is already damaged, especially with millennials—and it was long before Donald Trump became pro-life. So forget about the brand and whether or not President Trump’s tweets actually reflect a culture of life. Quit worrying about if you are going to be lumped in as a Trump supporter. Focus on the outcomes. Imagine the lives that could be saved from abortion, the women that would be spared from the lifelong pain of that choice, and the cultural change we could make if we all work together in the next four or eight years.

—Kristan Hawkins is president of *Students for Life of America*.

Destiny Herndon-De La Rosa:

“She just kept saying, ‘*These babies have to go, these babies have to go, I have to go . . .*’ So I ended up sleeping outside of her room at the safe house . . . just to make sure she wouldn’t harm herself.”

I hadn’t spoken to my friend Claire* in nearly fifteen years. Unbeknownst to me, she had started working at a women’s shelter in a different state during that time. Claire said she was pretty familiar with most of the resources her shelter utilized—rehab centers, halfway houses, local Catholic charities, and food pantries. But the case she had received just 12 hours earlier was different. The young woman they were protecting was brought in by a state trooper, straight from the hospital to Claire’s shelter, and then immediately on to a safe house.

For the last three years, the young woman had been kept prisoner in her home by an abusive partner. She had been savagely beaten and while Claire first noticed her two black eyes, she soon learned there were also two babies in her womb. She was 11 weeks pregnant with twins and completely hopeless.

Claire knew she needed to find resources and she needed to find them fast.

If you asked my friend, I’m sure she would tell you she’s pro-choice, but even she realized that in such a fragile state, this woman should not be making decisions as permanent as abortion. She tried looking online for resources,

but was afraid she might accidentally wind up taking her to a clinic where that option would be pushed on the girl. That's when she reached out to me.

Although we hadn't spoken in years, because Claire and I are connected through Facebook she knew I was working on an app that offers life-affirming health-care alternatives and resources to women. As a feminist and uninsured woman myself, I'd grown so tired of hearing politicians talk about "defunding Planned Parenthood" without offering any comparable abortion-free alternatives in its place.

And while the app doesn't exist yet, we have compiled many of the resources we'll be using. The Vitae Foundation generously shared their database of over 3,500 pregnancy centers with us, and within five minutes, I was able to find two different pregnancy centers and a maternity home near Claire's shelter.

As the day went on with no word about the young woman, I refused to get my hopes up. This situation was certainly dire and she had so many reasons to be abortion-minded.

Then I got a call from Claire. She was in tears.

She told me how despondent the young woman had felt only a day earlier, and how all of that had changed now. One of the groups I told her about had driven four hours to come and spend the afternoon with the young woman. After their visit, Claire said the girl's entire demeanor had changed. Where there was hopelessness just the night before as she considered ending her life and the lives of her children, there was now hope that this might be their new beginning.

The group offered the young woman a place to come and stay for as long as she needed. Claire said she immediately took them up on their offer. She told me how they had brought a beautiful car to pick her up, stocked with fruits and vegetables, cookies and milk for the ride back in case she chose to go. The woman told Claire she hadn't had fresh milk in three years. On the seat there was a robe and slippers, as well as a gift card to Walmart, where they said they would stop off and get her a new wardrobe. Claire could not believe the generosity and love that this group was showing the young woman. And even harder to believe was how happy this girl now was.

By this point my eyes were filled with tears, too. I think far too often, we as pro-lifers can feel so defeated. If we don't have the resources to personally take a woman into our home or start our own pregnancy center, we feel like we aren't really making a difference. However, the resources are already there. They exist and yet so many people simply don't know how to find them. Sometimes all we have to do is make those connections and lives will be saved and transformed.

This is what “Pro-life in the Time of Trump” looks like to me. It looks a lot like pro-life in the time of Obama, and Bush, and Clinton. The pro-life movement *is* pro-woman and pro-child no matter whom we have as Commander-in-Chief. The very word—movement—implies action. We must constantly be moving towards those in need and loving them through our actions, not merely our beliefs or votes.

The only thing I can see changing under this new administration is the number of women we will have the opportunity to serve. If Planned Parenthood is defunded, then the pro-life movement will have a radical opportunity to step up and love those in our community even more. Women do not choose abortion based on who is in the Oval Office. They choose abortion based on fear and panic because of lack of resources and support. When it comes to offering that, we the people have much more power than the President of the United States.

*For the safety and security of the woman in this story, names have been changed.

—*Destiny Herndon-De La Rosa is founder and president of New Wave Feminists.*

Ellen Wilson Fielding:

Only eight years ago (it seems much longer), a pro-life president occupied the White House. In fact, counting from 1981, when Ronald Reagan took office, 20 of those 36 years have seen Republican presidents. We know that many things in the pro-life/pro-family world have changed for the worse in the past eight years, including Obamacare’s funding of abortion and abortifacients; the small but determined advance of pro-euthanasia legislation in the states; adoption of same sex marriage as a human rights cause; the redefining of freedom of religion as freedom of worship, and the exporting of all of the above abroad through foreign policy, foreign aid, and UN initiatives.

However, taking the long view of legalized abortion in America (which unfortunately gets longer each year—we have just hit the 44th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade* after all), what can we concretely expect in the next quadrennium? Of course, people point first to the Supreme Court, which awaits a ninth member and may see further turnover before the next administration. At this point, whoever assumes Justice Scalia’s robes is highly likely to be friendlier to pro-life and pro-family causes than whoever would have assumed them under a Clinton presidency. So that would perhaps prevent further—or at least less drastic—deterioration on the constitutional front, but would be unlikely to usher in a boldly pro-life Court that takes on—dare

we even say it?—the congealed *stare decisis* status of *Roe v. Wade*.

The thing is, it is much harder to stuff genies back into bottles than to loose them. More than even an earth-shaking election cycle appears to be needed. It is heartening to see the inching increase in those identifying as pro-life in polls, and note sentiment for greater restriction of abortion. It is inspiring to witness the massive yearly participation in the March for Life, and to find significant handfuls of politicians not only identifying as pro-life but dedicating themselves year in and year out, whether in Congress or in statehouses, to chipping away at the mammoth-sized abortion-on-demand right introduced in 1973.

On the other hand, if we consider the numbers of abortions in the U.S. since 1973, a couple of things give rise to doubting the magnitude of the difference an administration can and will make on the life issues. For instance, the best estimates seem to show there are still just over a million abortions a year in the U.S. That's a significant decrease from the high-water mark of 1.6 million in the 1990s. In addition, the CDC's 2012 figures showed a 4.2 percent drop, and abortion rates also have been declining.

Although that's good news, we could greedily wish it were even better. But the decline from the 1990s high and the drop in 2012 and after occurred during both Republican and Democratic administrations and with varyingly red and blue Congresses and statehouses. Consider, for example, that abortion numbers were still rising through the administration of Ronald Reagan, who movingly, convincingly, and repeatedly defended the right to life and supported the congressional efforts of pro-life Republicans like Henry Hyde to restrict abortion; the numbers only topped off midway through the tepidly pro-life George H.W. Bush's presidency, and then began and continued falling through Bill Clinton's.

I throw out this handful of statistics to remind readers—particularly those who are younger and perhaps more inclined to think changing the world is synonymous with changing who works in which office—that things are more complicated than they appear. Actions in the political sphere can cause great harm, but often it is harder to cause good. And the good that occurs often is a result of—a manifestation of—the growth of good in the private sphere.

Apart from true activists who naturally form a small minority, I see a somewhat disturbing number of people, particularly young people, who are sincerely pro-life in the sense of never considering abortion for themselves and even being willing to attempt to persuade close friends that it is wrong, but reluctant to impose that view (such as by making it illegal) on others. For instance, a number of “pro-life” young people voted for Bernie Sanders in the primaries and wished they could have voted for him in November.

My sense (which may be overly pessimistic) is that the kind of “that’s not me, but do what will make you happy” philosophy that moved a hefty majority of young people into solidarity with same-sex marriage operates somewhat analogously on the topic of abortion. It’s not quite the same, because it’s easier to see the harm caused by a *laissez-faire* approach to abortion: People—little people, but people nonetheless—die. However, the by now widespread avoidance and even distrust of absolutes makes it much harder to move people to universalize moral behavior. I think a number of them want to get there, see the need to somehow get there on certain issues, but haven’t, so to speak, been brought up to do so. And, since the onset of the battle with terrorist Islam, absolutes have been tarred with a very scary brush.

Bottom line: What will happen in the next four years? Whether and to what extent President Trump feels moved to push pro-life initiatives is not now clear to me. However, undoing the *Roe v. Wade* mindset and practices and assumptions and belief system is not the same as the also-difficult undoing of the Supreme Court decision itself. When abortion was last illegal in all 50 states, the mass marketing of the contraceptive pill was barely a decade old. Rates of illegitimacy and cohabitation were still quite low by today’s standards, marriage rates were still quite high—in short, it was a different world. What a third-millennium United States without abortion would look like, how far it would have to change to “tolerate” illegalizing abortion, how much of this change would have to occur *before* the undoing of *Roe v. Wade* and how much after, are unknowns waiting—and waiting, and waiting—to be tested.

Dramatic and even cataclysmic changes in society have occurred before now more rapidly than anyone could have imagined. Consider the rise of Nazism in Hitler’s Germany or the fall of Soviet Communism. Consider the Great Awakening religious revivals in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America. Consider the Sixties.

Until something similar surprises us, there is much to be done, and much of that—most of that—outside the sphere of politics, even in an era when the political sphere seems almost to have swallowed up the private. If that sphere could be pushed back, its dimensions shrunken in size, already that would be a mighty gain. But something positive would then need to occupy the abandoned space. That is up to us—as individuals, as members of organic groups, as neighbors, families, congregations, schools—and it is also ultimately beyond us. Let’s see what we and God can do in the era that now opens before us.

—Ellen Wilson Fielding is a senior editor of the Human Life Review.

Chuck Donovan:

From the earliest days of the national abortion debate, defenders of legal protections for the unborn have been politically and intellectually diverse. They have been people like the atheist writer Nat Hentoff; the mass abortionist-Catholic convert Bernard Nathanson, M.D.; the shock TV host Sean Morton Downey, Jr; the brilliant Harvard Law professor Mary Ann Glendon; the eminent lawyer Victor Rosenblum; the street-wise activist Joe Scheidler; the JFK-appointed Justice Byron “Whizzer” White; the indomitable Nellie Gray; the late Justice Antonin Scalia; the eloquent pacifist Julie Loesch; and the “peace through strength” Ronald Reagan. We would do well to remember a simple fact like this at a time when some are calling on the pro-life movement to refuse to work with our new president.

I understand the wariness. I had the privilege to work in the Reagan White House for eight years. President Reagan’s image has acquired an ever-brighter patina with the passage of time, and justly so. He was then and remains for many now the model of presidential bearing. He took strong positions, stated them plainly, but eschewed the making of enemies and scapegoats. His nemeses became his admirers over time. And his policies renewed a nation that, by the admission of his immediate predecessor, had sunk into a deep malaise. Jimmy Carter donned a cardigan in a chilly capital; Reagan rolled up his shirtsleeves and worked in the sunshine of American possibility.

As good as the Reagan years were on many fronts, and we have no lesser witness for this than Judge Bill Clark, Reagan left office ruing the lack of progress he had hoped to make protecting the right to life. Worse, and no doubt to his later chagrin, he left office with a Supreme Court where two of his own appointees, Sandra Day O’Connor and Anthony Kennedy, would play key roles in extending the “abortion right” into a new century. The election of President George H.W. Bush brought further disappointment. On the day the Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, a ruling that upheld a pro-life Missouri statute and offered hope for an ultimate reversal of *Roe v. Wade*, Bush, in the midst of a round of golf, dismissed reporters’ questions about the decision with a flip, “Can’t a fella play a little golf?”

To many it was little surprise in 1992 that the seemingly uninterested Bush suffered defeat by the Clinton machine. Democrats proceeded to win three of the next five Presidential elections, and they made one thing perfectly clear: They are far better at delivering on their radically pro-choice agenda than Republicans are at fulfilling their pro-life promises. The history of the Supreme Court proves the point: Every Democratic selection for the Court

has followed *Roe* to (and beyond) the letter; the Republican choices have been evenly split or are still “to-be-determined.” The ultimate result has been that the liberal ratchet on abortion (and much else) has been applied, well, liberally, and the conservative ratchet has done little more than keep the lock point exactly where the liberals set it.

The coming years may bring more of the same, or so it may be safest to assume before the fight enters its next phase. But this much should be clear. Election Day 2016 offered a choice between two candidates who, in different ways, divided the nation and stoked bitterness. Neither offered an example of enduring character. Both were capable of causing the pro-life movement grave harm.

But the truth is that only one of them plainly *intended* to inflict that harm. Mrs. Clinton, poised to claim some sort of balance had she tacked even modestly conservative on the life issues, only deepened her dedication to denying any rights to children until the day of their birth. Only she and her party proclaimed they would force Americans to be complicit in subsidizing and expanding abortion in the United States and, no doubt, worldwide. Only she and her party made clear that it was their aim to force Catholic hospitals to kill children in the womb, Christian churches to pay for the killing, the Little Sisters of the Poor to serve as minions of Planned Parenthood, doctors to relinquish their profession, and lawyers to be ineligible for theirs if they refused to bow to the dogmas of “choice” and gender eradication. It was an existential moment.

Some counseled that the movement should accept what I would call the oblivion option. We could select a possible martyrdom, embracing the affliction another Clinton administration would almost surely mean. But this is the thing about martyrdom. It can be accepted, but a moral Christian strives to avoid it, because, if nothing else, he wishes not to leave so grievous a sin on the immortal soul of the perpetrator.

Trump, like his 16 rivals for the Republican nomination, made commitments that no other presidential candidates had done before in writing. He would appoint “pro-life justices,” sign a bill defunding Planned Parenthood, support a national bill protecting the unborn at 20 weeks, and make the Hyde Amendment permanent. He would also dismantle the conscience-crushing Obamacare. Some say these promises are worthless with the volatile 45th president. They may be correct and by the time this article appears we are likely to know the answer on one of them—Planned Parenthood’s multi-million-dollar draw on Medicaid dollars.

In the months ahead, however, we should strive to implement these historic policies rather than relitigate 2016’s political struggle. We should acknowledge

how tense this battle will be, and that—as usual over these many decades—we may tussle with our friends as much as we tangle with our foes. But we have chosen in this bitter election not to be martyrs for our faith and cause. We will instead remain alive and answerable for our actions. We are used to fighting elites in every sphere for the sake of the innocent ones we defend. That is the battle that should consume us, not the devouring of allies anywhere on the political spectrum.

—*Chuck Donovan is president of the Charlotte Lozier Institute.*

Alexandra DeSanctis:

It would be folly to presume that Donald Trump is a resolutely pro-life politician. While only Trump himself knows what is in his heart, evidence from his decades in the public eye and his recent campaign suggests that he has long been unsure about when unborn life begins and is more than likely apathetic about government’s role in protecting that life. But it would be similarly incorrect to presume that this lack of obvious pro-life commitment renders President Trump incapable of presiding over a strongly pro-life executive-branch agenda. Thus, while it is possible that President Trump will be something of a mixed bag on this issue, the pro-life movement should still hope for, and perhaps even expect, progress at the federal level.

There is ample evidence to suggest that Trump is not—or, at least, has not always been—fully committed to government protection of unborn human life. In the first primary debate, for example, Trump gave the following explanation for his so-called evolution on abortion:

What happened is friends of mine years ago were going to have a child, and it was going to be aborted. And it wasn’t aborted. And that child today is a total superstar, a great, great child. And I saw that. And I saw other instances. And I am very, very proud to say that I am pro-life.

His underlying point is correct, of course. When we “terminate” unborn human life, we destroy not a “potential human being” but what Henry Hyde used to call “a human being with potential.” At the same time, Trump’s calculus implies a utilitarianism that isn’t the point of defending the unborn. Abortion isn’t wrong only because we might lose “a total superstar”; it’s wrong because human life has intrinsic value, whether the baby becomes a “superstar” or not. But whatever the cause of Trump’s apparent change of heart, he appears ignorant of anti-abortion arguments, and that ignorance could easily limit or undermine the progress that the pro-life movement has achieved, inch by inch, across the country. This remains a serious cause for concern.

On the campaign trail, Trump repeatedly praised the country's largest abortion provider, saying that "millions of women are helped by Planned Parenthood." This, of course, is a talking point designed to minimize the moral significance of abortion and place a procedure that ends a human life on the same scale as other women's health issues. Even more troubling, Trump cited Planned Parenthood's own statistic that abortion makes up only three percent of its services, a statistic that has been thoroughly and repeatedly debunked as a malicious distortion of the facts. If he were knowledgeable on the subject, Trump would not blandly offer this Planned Parenthood talking point, and, furthermore, would not praise the group for supposed care that almost always takes a backseat to the more profitable "service" of abortion.

Paradoxically, Trump's original pro-abortion stance has provided perhaps the best reason to hope for pro-life outcomes during his presidency. Trump has a non-existent public pro-life record and lacks the rhetorical passion of, say, Marco Rubio; instead, he has provided weak rationales for both his previous and current positions. Perceiving this weakness, long-time pro-life candidates such as Rubio, Ted Cruz, and Rand Paul pressed Trump forcefully on this issue, and because he needed to attract socially conservative primary voters, the former businessman compensated by offering numerous, detailed promises on this issue in a way that even steadfast pro-life politicians rarely do.

However, because there is reason to believe that Trump does not fully accept or understand its premises, it is incumbent upon the pro-life movement to hold him accountable and not allow him the opportunity to backslide. In particular, those pro-life activists, politicians, and pundits who spent the general election casting Trump as a defender of unborn life have a substantial obligation in this regard. Though he has the potential to enforce a pro-life agenda, it would be foolish and wrong to label him an absolute supporter of life and leave him to his own devices. If Trump governs as a pro-life president, it may well be because the same people who pressured him to "convert," or at least articulate pro-life positions, remind him of his words and "encourage" him to follow through on his promises.

Trump's concrete proposals outline an expansive course for activism at the federal level of a kind that hasn't yet been seen in the executive branch, even under pro-life presidents. Up to now, progress on this issue has come primarily from grassroots movements and Republican state legislatures, which have proactively defined and defended human life, rather than simply opposing pro-abortion policies. Perhaps Trump's articulation of specific goals during the campaign will permeate the executive branch and, by extension, allow a Republican Congress to enact broader pro-life legislation.

In this vein, Trump's Cabinet choices of Representative Tom Price as

secretary of Health and Human Services and Senator Jeff Sessions as attorney general are heartening. Both men are not only outspoken pro-life advocates but also are likely to be proactive in advancing a pro-life agenda in their respective departments. Meanwhile, long-time abortion opponent Mike Pence, as vice-presidential candidate, no doubt led the push to craft these extensive promises during the campaign, and it is conceivable that Pence will be the one to guide this agenda through the executive branch and Congress, with Trump merely holding the pen.

The pro-life movement's success does depend in large part on the renewal of a moral culture that values human life and the family; law and policy can only do so much. But improving policy is a start, and Trump's possible moral ambivalence toward a family-oriented culture and life issues need not derail the advancement of the movement itself in this regard. The opportunity for concrete political progress in the ongoing war to defend unborn human life—perhaps the best chance since *Roe v. Wade*—must surely be counted as a victory.

—Alexandra DeSanctis is a William F. Buckley Fellow in Political Journalism at National Review Institute.

Anne Hendershott:

Like Marjorie Dannenfelser, I did not support President-elect Donald Trump during the primaries—I still have the “Cruz for President” memorabilia and membership card I received in the mail after I made a donation to the Texas senator's campaign. And, like her, I was disappointed when Cruz left the race because I saw him as a strong advocate for the unborn and someone people of faith could trust on religious freedom issues. But once it was clear that Donald Trump would be the Republican nominee, I prepared to support him—there was no other choice.

The 2016 Democratic Party platform was a paean to the culture of death. (Even the progressive Democrats for Life denounced it.) Promising to overturn hard-won state and federal restrictions on abortion, the platform pledged to “appoint judges who will protect a woman's right to safe and legal abortion,” and “stand up” for Planned Parenthood—despite the scandal surrounding PP's side business in selling body parts of unborn children. The platform also promised to silence pro-life sidewalk counselors by combatting what the Democrats call “intimidation of reproductive health providers, patients and staff.” Determining what constitutes “intimidation” would be left to politically appointed prosecutors who have in the past defined it as passing out pamphlets. The platform also promised to repeal the Hyde Amendment—

making all taxpayers complicit in the abortion industry; and also pledged to repeal the Helms Amendment, which bars federal funding of abortion through foreign aid to other nations. Described as the “most pro-abortion platform in history” by several media outlets, the 2016 Democratic Party platform defines abortion as a constitutional right that is “core to women’s, men’s, and young people’s health and wellbeing.” When the death of the unborn child has become the issue that unites a political party in a common purpose, it is clear that it has truly become a party of death. For me, any candidate running on that platform had to be defeated.

I voted for Donald Trump because I believe he will do all he can to fulfill the promises of the 2016 Republican Party platform. Unlike the Democrats, the Republican platform promises to protect life. It also promises to protect religious liberty. Having worked on a Catholic campus that had to file a federal lawsuit in order to be exempted from providing insurance coverage for birth control and abortion—both morally prohibited by the Catholic Church—I understand the need for religious liberty protections. The Republican platform, and Donald Trump, promise those protections.

As the mother of a former soldier in the U.S. Army—a young soldier who served under President Obama—I am grateful that the Republican platform decries the ways in which the military has been decimated these past eight years, pointing out that our military men and women have been “shortchanged in numbers, equipment, and benefits by a Commander in Chief who treats the Armed Forces and our veterans as a necessary inconvenience.”

I am especially grateful that the Republican platform, and President-elect Donald Trump, promise to replace the “costly and complicated” system created by President Obama’s Affordable Care Act with one that provides choice and expands our freedom—and most importantly, does not force those of us who value life to pay for abortion-inducing drugs.

President-elect Donald Trump is not a perfect person. Marjorie Dannenfelser issued a statement last year in the middle of the Iowa caucuses which read: “Donald Trump Is Unacceptable,” and urged voters to “support anyone but Donald Trump” (<https://www.sba-list.org/home/pro-life-women-sound-the-alarmdonald-trump-is-unacceptable>). But Dannenfelser gave all of her support to his election after he became the Republican nominee. Like me, she knew that Donald Trump was the only hope the unborn had in this presidential race.

I voted for Donald Trump because I believed him when he said he would protect life by appointing pro-life judges to the Supreme Court. I also believe that Donald Trump will not use the IRS to punish those who speak out against his policies as the Obama administration did during the lead-up to the passage

of the Affordable Care Act. This is something my family knows quite a bit about, as we continue to be denied information from the IRS through the Freedom of Information Act.

I believe President-elect Donald Trump when he says he believes in American exceptionalism—and that he will uphold the Constitution as our enduring covenant. I have to believe in Donald Trump. The alternative would be simply to give up, and that is not an option. To have voted for Hillary Clinton would have been a vote for despair—for giving up on the possibility of ending the war on the unborn; giving up on the possibility of religious freedom. I am not sure President Donald Trump will “Make America Great Again,” but I voted for Donald Trump because I believed he was the only candidate who could possibly help “Make America Good Again.”

—Anne Hendershott is professor of sociology and director of the Veritas Center at Franciscan University in Steubenville, Ohio.

David Mills:

Many years ago, interviewing for a job with a small non-profit, I realized from the questions that they were looking for a kind of messiah. They hoped to find the one person who would solve all their problems. I tried to dissuade them while trying not to sound as if I were making advance excuses in case I got the job. A less scrupulous person would have promised to make all their dreams come true.

Much of the pro-life movement has long looked eagerly for two messiahs: the fifth pro-life Supreme Court justice and the president who would appoint him (along with the fourth needed to get to the fifth). This, politically, is what we need.

For many pro-lifers, especially the political conservatives, Donald Trump is the messiah who will deliver the two justices. I’m not confident he will. He should appoint a pro-life justice to replace Scalia, because he’s not likely to disappoint a major constituency his first month in office (though he could).

But the second justice, perhaps not. Trump doesn’t evidence any real commitment to the defense of life. There’s nothing in the way he thinks, in what seem to be his assumptions and instincts, to suggest that belief in human dignity as we understand it shapes his actions. He seems to believe it (if he does at all) the way a gambler might believe a difficult mathematical explanation of playing the odds, but when he gets to the table gambles by his instincts as he did before. I expect him to forget his promises as soon as he has reason, and the reason may be as simple as giving the seat to a crony. I suspect he has promised more than the scrupulous person would promise.

Even if Trump does appoint two pro-life justices and all five justices vote to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court won't be the long-dreamed-of messiah. The new majority will not find in the Constitution the unborn child's right to live. They would probably be right, on originalist grounds.

Conscientious originalism aside, the Court does not read the Constitution very far from the social consensus. The social consensus seems to be a dislike of abortion in theory, mixed with acceptance of abortions in the early months, and especially for children conceived through rape or incest. The culture has shifted too far since 1973 for the Court to do anything genuinely radical.

Too many powers-that-be need legal abortion for the Court to make it everywhere illegal. The modern economy depends upon the ability to break bonds and upon the widespread feeling that intimate bonds are breakable. The bonds of marriage and parenthood reduce the flexibility the economy needs. There's a reason so many large corporations give to Planned Parenthood and none gives to anyone who speaks for the right to life.

The most the Supreme Court will do is return the matter to the states, as it was before *Roe v. Wade* invented the right to abortion. That's a big step and a very good thing, but still leaves the country seen as a whole on the pro-choice side of the scale.

Some states will eliminate or reduce legal abortion. Many states won't, and some will liberalize their laws even further. Abortuaries will pop up right on the border of the states that restrict abortion and Planned Parenthood will raise money to bus women from those states to their nearest facility.

Which leaves the pro-life movement where it is now and always has been: called to work to create a culture of life in which women don't want abortions and men will take responsibility for the children they father. This includes doing what we have been doing to support women with unplanned pregnancies, to teach, and to agitate, and doing more of it.

Commitment to life in the time of Trump requires reviving the pursuit of a culture of life. In the time of Obama, we focused on the political and on trying to keep things from getting worse. In many ways we have the same challenge, but that tells us to return to the deeper and harder work of changing America's heart and mind.

We need to do two things to revive a culture of life. First, work to create a culture of chastity more intentionally than we have done before. I mean one where people understand sexual intimacy to be part of a permanent, committed, legally established relationship (that is, marriage), not to be indulged in outside marriage. A true culture of chastity is one in which the ideal for human dignity includes the life conveyed in that stuffy Victorian word, "purity." Purity includes, for example, the very unfashionable idea that popular movies might be near

occasions of sin to be avoided. Even Christians dislike this idea. I dislike it. But abortion begins in casual, fleeting lusts, to use another stuffy Victorian word.

We can only create a culture of chastity by creating a lot more chaste people. For Catholics like me, the main way to do this will be bringing new people to the Church and strengthening the faith and practice of those already within.

This I think will prove a losing battle, not least because the powers-that-be I mentioned already make a vast amount of money from the sexual revolution, while so few people have any idea of chastity. As long as many people feel free to enjoy sex as recreation—and major businesses feel free to make money by encouraging that idea—women will get pregnant and want to end their pregnancies, and the men who impregnated them will agree, and they will form a permanent constituency for legal abortion.

The second thing is the delicate and controversial part of pro-life work in the time of Trump. We must think hard about the public policies a truly pro-life society would enact. Many pro-lifers will need to question their beliefs about the economy, public aid, and the role of government, which have been libertarian light.

It means seriously considering support for workers' rights and greater regulation of business. It means accepting that increasing profits does not necessarily justify corporate actions and that large businesses may be the enemies of a culture of life. It also means that social conservatism should be social conservatism, and not economic conservatism, or more precisely, that the latter be subsumed in the former.

To be pro-life in the time of Trump means pushing back against Donald Trump and the damage he does: against his coarsening of public life and speech and against his support for unfettered business and the belief that the market will solve all social problems. He's no friend of chastity or pro-life public policy—even though he's promised to make all our dreams come true.

—David Mills, former editor of *First Things*, is editorial director of *Ethika Politika*. He thanks Mark Barrett for his insights.

Clarke D. Forsythe:

The 2016 elections produced the first president to have publicly promised to nominate “pro-life judges,” continued Republican control of the U.S. Senate and House, and a Republican “trifecta” (control of Governor, House, and Senate) in 25 states. We may hope that someday both political parties will be pro-life, but in 2016 the national Democratic platform was radically pro-abortion and the national Republican platform was very pro-life—the defeat of Hillary Clinton lifted enormous threats and obstacles to building a culture

of life in America. What can we reasonably expect to accomplish in the first term of the Trump-Pence Administration?

The most serious obstacle remains the Supreme Court. Right now, the prospect of overturning *Roe v. Wade* remains difficult—as the Texas abortion case, *Whole Woman’s Health v. Hellerstedt*, signaled last June, there is a 5-3 pro-abortion majority on the Court. We *expect* a like-minded replacement for Justice Scalia, and we *hope* that a pro-abortion justice might retire in June 2017. But we can’t know for sure the future pace of change.

Another hurdle is the Senate filibuster. Will Republicans, holding only a two-seat majority, eliminate the 60-vote requirement for Supreme Court nominations? Not all Republican senators support simple majority approval for Court nominees. (Former Senator Phil Gramm opposed the change in a January 7 essay in the *Wall Street Journal*.)

If *everything* were to fall into place *quickly*, and Justice Scalia and a pro-abortion justice were replaced by “pro-life” justices, it’s plausible to conceive of a *Roe* test case arriving at the Supreme Court within four years. It would be against overwhelming odds, however, because *nothing* has fallen into place *quickly* for the cause for life since the 1973 *Roe* decision.

And *no one should confuse the Electoral College victory in November with a cultural victory*. The challenges we face are significant and will require political discernment and focused and prudent action. The counter-attack formally started on Jan. 4, when Minority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY) declared that Senate Democrats will block Trump nominees. Every Supreme Court nomination will be a ferocious fight.

Until that *Roe* test case arrives, it’s useful to measure pro-life progress by looking at the six factors justices have traditionally examined in overruling a previous Court decision. Here’s a brief summary:

- *Is the precedent unsettled?* *Roe* is unsettled, as numerous political and legislative factors make clear, including November’s election of a presidential (and vice-presidential) candidate who promised to appoint “pro-life” justices and to “overturn *Roe v. Wade*.” (For more detail, see my article “Why *Roe/Casey* Is Still Unsettled” in the Summer 2014 issue of HLR);

- *Was the case wrongly decided?* Scholarship, and academic and judicial opinion have regularly called the foundations of *Roe* into question;

- *Has it been unworkable?* Abortion cases, including *Hellerstedt*, and research publications (such as AUL’s December 2016 report, *Unsafe: How the Public Health Crisis in America’s Abortion Clinics Endangers Women*) demonstrate that the Court’s abortion doctrine is unworkable, leaving substandard clinic conditions and practitioners in its wake;

- *Have changes in fact undermined the decision?* Numerous technological

and social developments have changed the way the nation sees abortion;

- *Have changes in law eroded it?* Legal “disabilities” associated with pregnancy have been repealed, employment discrimination against pregnant women is prohibited by state and federal law, and Safe Haven laws are on the books in 50 states, all reducing the perceived need for abortion. Increased legal protection for the unborn child and limits on when the procedure can be performed further reduce the number of abortions;

- *What are the reliance interests?* Substandard conditions in clinics, studies on short-term risks, and a growing body of international medical data on the long-term risks indicate that abortion is bad for both mother and child, and the decreasing abortion rate points to less reliance.

The work of the pro-life movement has been guided by consideration of these factors for over four decades. We should continue to be guided by them going forward, as we seek to reduce cultural support for *Roe* and assure the success of a future test case. To that end, we need strategies for promoting the reasonableness of returning the abortion issue to the states. We also need a robust mother-child strategy, which stresses that abortion is bad for both of them. The “reliance interest,” which sustains *Roe*, should be rebutted by raising public awareness of how abortion harms women physically and psychologically. Demonstrating declining reliance on abortion is critical. The justices are likely to be less concerned about overturning precedent if the annual abortion rate is in significant decline.

Despite the best of efforts, *Roe v. Wade* may not be overturned by the 2020 elections. If some conditions we expect to be fulfilled by then have not been—we don’t yet have a majority of justices willing to overrule *Roe*, or powerful pro-abortion forces have prevented a test case from being heard by the Court—we will continue working to flesh out and publicly promote the case against abortion, so that when the test case arrives—and it will—the nation will be more favorably disposed to overruling *Roe* than it is today.

—Clarke D. Forsythe is Senior Counsel at Americans United for Life. His latest book is *Abuse of Discretion: The Inside Story of Roe v. Wade* (Encounter Books, 2013).

Susannah Black:

Before the election a relative emailed me some anti-Trump pieces she’d found online. Because I am a Christian she thought I might be considering supporting him. I told her I was voting for the American Solidarity Party candidate. I also told her the Christians I knew who were voting for Trump—and there were many—were not doing so out of ignorance. More information about his absurdity, his viciousness, his danger, would not sway them. They were supporting Trump for the same reason Evangelicals and traditional Catholics

could be counted on to support virtually any Republican candidate: He seemed slightly less guaranteed to appoint pro-choice judges than Hillary Clinton.

For many of them, it was a ruthless, almost anti-political act. Going beyond “holding one’s nose,” it approached being a conscientious existential crime, which they committed not as part of a polity but simply because they could not do otherwise. “Mark the ballot next to the guy with the R by his name or the baby gets it,” is what the Republican Party had been instructing Christians for the past forty-odd years. “This is the end-game,” I told my relative, “this is completely cynical on the GOP’s part and I think it’s close to being over for them.”

That was then. Russell Moore was the courageous leader of the future Christian America, having refused to bend the knee to Baal. Hillary was going to win, but Rod Dreher’s “Benedict Option” book was coming out soon, so her win would be, in its own wretched way, all right. We were prepared. We would retreat, bravely, into our exile. We would establish more crisis pregnancy centers, while being convinced they would soon be illegal. We would continue to speak truth to power.

Things were simple then, in those golden days before the election.

Then Trump won. And things are no longer simple.

There’s a case to be made that the natural home of the pro-life movement is on the Left. With its traditional concern for the powerless, for the oppressed and exploited, why won’t the Left embrace its best instincts and protect the most vulnerable class of human beings? Why, regarding the unborn, do leftists today sound like classical liberals committed to an atomized view of society where “self-ownership” is the highest good? Why do women talk about “my right to do what I want with my body” in a way that sounds so very much like libertarians talking about “my right to do what I want with my land, with my property?”

Even more than with arguments about, say, the effects on others of someone’s decision to dump toxic chemicals into a river that runs through his land, it is utterly clear in the case of abortion that one person’s autonomous decision concerning “my own body” has the effect of, well, killing someone else. Moreover, if one must read things through a Marxist lens, why in the case of abortion are women, rather than babies, assigned the position of the oppressed class?

These arguments were obvious to us. And it seemed, almost, that we were making inroads in persuasion before the election.

No more. Now, we have legal breathing space which we wouldn’t have if Hillary had been elected. There is a possibility the Supreme Court will do what we consider to be good things. But the closer this gets to reality, the more we must attend to the real fears of those whom we may have been on the verge of persuading before Trump’s victory. Because while we have legal breathing space, our cultural breathing space has nearly evaporated.

Let's look at where we are. The pro-life cause is now firmly linked to a man most on the Left believe to be a fascist. It's grotesque: Trump himself has no interest in the pro-life cause; his entire lifestyle is premised on a libertine culture that requires abortion in order to function. In Trump's mind, endeavors ranging from the sexual to the political are filtered through the category of "running a business." It's easy to see this with politics: He doesn't appear to perceive any real difference between running Trump, Inc.—making maximum use of available laws to generate as much profit as possible—and running the national economy.

Sex also is a matter of the marketplace for Trump: In 2013, for example, the struggling Trump Taj Mahal became the first Atlantic City casino to boast an in-house strip club. As Hannah Anderson puts it in a recent piece in *Mere Orthodoxy*, "Not only does Trump . . . feel a sense of ownership over women's bodies; he actually owns certain women's bodies." Anderson describes this as "patriarchy." But that's not it—"oligarchy" is a better word for it. Trump, through his business ventures, is an operative of the sexual consumer culture, the continued profitability of which depends on legal abortion. It is the pro-life movement's uncompromising stance that has forced him to adopt a position so uncongenial to his own financial interests.

Making maximum use of available laws seems also to be the way Trump runs his personal life. As Anderson writes, he "procur[es] and divest[s] himself of spouses the same way he disentangles himself from failed business ventures. Divorce is simply another form of declaring bankruptcy: file, take your losses, and move on."

To us it seems completely backwards that Trump—a man who bragged about using his power to sexually bully women—should be put in the position of defending the pro-life cause: Women who are victims of sexual assault and babies who are victims of medical assault are alike in that they suffer at the hands of the more powerful. It is doubly bizarre to us that a man who supports and has profited handsomely from the culture of capitalist sexual libertinism and familial disintegration would be in the position of taking action against a practice that so perfectly fits the broader cultural agenda.

But for at least some who are pro-choice, it makes complete sense that a person who would want to use women, who has shown contempt for them sexually, would also want to take away their ability to exercise autonomy in other areas. What is at the heart of forbidding abortion—the real motive, always, they believe—is the desire of men to control women. In this view, it makes perfect sense that Trump would line up with the pro-life cause.

Our job now is to show that we are not kidding about what we have said we care about. We are, I take it, involved in this movement because thousands

of human people, every day, legally are being killed. It is an attack on babies, one which goes hand in hand with a denial that there is such a thing as a human person who must be respected, whose life cannot be ended by arbitrary will. It goes hand in hand too with a denial that there is any justice, any good, beyond the positive law—any other law to which the positive law must, if it is to be just, conform.

Our desire is to live in a country where the least powerful are not abused, where justice isn't perverted to serve the cause of the powerful. We wish to be part of a society that is pro-all-of-life: that supports the vulnerable, expects the powerful to use their power wisely, and encourages the true flourishing of human individuals and families. That's what this struggle is about.

And so, in the age of Trump, we have to be vigilant: We have to hold Trump to account—to make sure he embraces the pro-life agenda, and that he acts to secure all the other goods we would hope for from a leader. It seems likely that he will do the former. At least that he will appoint pro-life justices. It seems profoundly unlikely he will do the latter. We have to be prepared to fight against a nominally pro-life president should he make decisions that undermine human good and justice in other areas.

We must keep supporting crisis pregnancy centers—indeed, if aspects of the social safety net at the federal level are abolished, we have to make good on our vaunted communitarian commitments to rebuild an economy and culture at the local level that provides, say, inexpensive health care, support for families and for mothers who are unmarried, and for others who may not do well in whatever kind of freaky, erratic oligarchy we're about to experience.

It's a wild new world. Being against the kind of pro-abortion, technocratic militarist globalism-with-capitalism that Hillary represented was easy. It would be to our infinite shame if we were to find ourselves defending any actual injustice, any cruelty or imprudence that starts oozing out of Washington or Midtown or wherever the government is going to be run from.

We don't know what's going to happen. But this is a moment to realize that those on the Left who don't understand what we are about are, right now, actually afraid. And we need to recognize this fear.

This is a moment for the pro-life movement to remember that it is part of a much broader pro-human, pro-justice movement, a movement to champion the moral order and beauty at the heart of the cosmos, and to see that order reflected in our laws. We must be prepared to guard the sanctity of human life in the face of technological ambition. And to fight whatever is unjust or inhumane—no matter whom we are fighting against.

—*Susannah Black's writing has appeared in First Things, Front Porch Republic, The American Conservative and elsewhere. Twitter: @suzania*

A View of Trump from Abroad

Margaret Hickey

As Donald Trump reaches the end of his unlikely march to the American Capitol to take the oath of office and attain the most prestigious and powerful political prize of all, he continues to be dogged every step of the way—as he has been from the moment he flagged his ambition—by bemusement, incomprehension, innuendo, and allegation. More than that, he is pursued by the threat, lurking behind all that negativity, that something may yet derail or disqualify him before he actually takes the reins of power in his hands. The stakes are high. If he makes it safely over the line there will be a reckoning. The insiders will be out in the cold, and those who may have rolled in comfortable abandon around the swamp Mr. Trump has promised to drain may well be the ones with reputational anxiety. Who knows? If anyone believes that the fury of the scorned and belittled is confined, as Shakespeare would have us believe, to women, let them suspend judgment and watch as the most scorned and belittled political candidate, perhaps of all time, becomes the one with an “access all areas” pass. What will be revealed? About them? And what is there yet to know about himself? What else is lurking in the shadows that may yet trip him up? Perhaps he will be his own undoing, and the most dangerous button at his fingertips, where he himself is concerned, is his tweet bar. The world waits with a mixture of emotions for the curtain to rise on the Trump presidency and how it may unfold, unravel, or even implode.

Writing about the threat to order and stability in 1916, Yeats, in his poem “The Second Coming,” penned words that are even better suited to the populist iconoclasm of exactly a century later. “Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold. Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,” he proclaimed.

While Western institutions are still some way from chaos and collapse, the crumbling of the old order is happening before our eyes. Brexit signaled something extraordinary. The people, the little men and women, decided to defy the establishment and their obliging retinue of experts to make a bold, even reckless statement. Enough was enough. If the expression of their feelings was to cost them dearly, it was a price they were prepared to risk so long as it taught their betters not to ever again take them for granted. Likewise, across Europe, there is the same drift towards what appears a regressive

Margaret Hickey is an Irish freelance writer whose op-eds on current social and religious issues have appeared in the *Irish Examiner* and *The Furrow*, a religious monthly. She also writes features on places of literary, historic, and scenic interest in rural Ireland.

politics of parochialism and intolerance, because people have felt sidelined and powerless in a system that spoke for them and to them, but left them voiceless. The ideal of Lincoln has reached a point where democracy is fast becoming as discredited as the other great movements that promised people empowerment: socialism and communism.

It is, however, the election of Trump that offers the most vigorous expression of revolt against the status quo and its institutions and icons. His election was a rejection of Obama and his legacy as much as of Hillary Clinton. The moral grandstanding and rhetorical overreaching they employed to woo and flatter the electorate only served to draw attention to the gulf between their words and their deeds. The self-enrichment of the Clintons under a banner of altruistic activity did not sit easily with the empathetic soundbites. Throwing in his lot so enthusiastically with the former rival he defeated after a bitter contest in 2008 to become his party's presidential candidate seemed self-serving rather than committed on the part of Obama, driven more by fear of what Trump might do than faith in, or even liking for, his would-be successor. However, nothing showed the gulf between words and actions more than the appalling record of both in the geo-politics of the Middle East. This was a legacy that Obama and Clinton wanted to bury rather than perpetuate. Its horrors will only find full expression in the pages of history, a history that will surely damn them both as well as the Western European leaders who supported them while they meddled, with all the arrogance of power and its self-serving "expertise," in a political order they did not understand. And then, when it was clear that destroying societies was easier than rebuilding them, they walked away, allowing Yeats's "anarchy [to be] loosed upon the world." Their names will be tagged to Iraq, Libya, and Syria in tomorrow's history books when Obamacare and glass ceilings may not even make it to the footnotes. The shamefully muted response of Western leaders to the plight of the people of these countries, especially perhaps the millions of displaced, persecuted, and tortured Christians who have become the collateral damage of Western attempts to oust the tyrants that kept darker and more dangerous forces at bay, is the basso profundo to their merry notes of self-congratulation. What those forces do in Brussels and Paris, Berlin and Munich with trucks and bombs they do with medieval barbarity in Syria, Libya, and Iraq. The media has focused on the former but it is likely that history will have much more to say about the latter.

So, it should not be overly surprising that people are rejecting the rhetorical ooze and plumping instead for the counter-rhetoric of Trump, with his raw take on reality, his plain telling of unvarnished truth and untruth alike, often to the point of self-parody. In a sense, the people are really clearing the swamp

for themselves in throwing in their lot with brash and bold and high-risk alternatives. However, their electoral rampage against the established order follows on and is in large part a reaction to a similar attack on social and moral paradigms by the liberal left. It is they who are the prime up-turners of the established order with their social re-invention. They have led society to a shift of focus from what was called the common good— fundamental shared concerns and values—to the pursuit of individual freedoms and choices, many of which are perceived by large swathes of the electorate as detrimental to social stability and order. Policies to legislate for rights that allow a biological man to use the same toilets as young women and children, or a transgender man to give birth to a child before completing the transition and continue to raise the child he/she has given birth to, as a registered male and “father,” are, for many, more incomprehensible than the election of a volatile, vain braggart to the first office of global politics. The declaration that the protection of the child’s best interests is a priority stands up well when a government bans genital mutilation or underage marriage, even if a child claims to want it as a rite of cultural passage. However, allowing parents to follow their interpretation of a child’s behaviour and change that child’s sex irrevocably is considered a legitimate choice. Contradictions like that can’t be masked for long in political platitudes about rights and choice. When you mess around with the social givens in such a crass way, under pressure from lobby groups, you can expect a reaction and a following of suit, as others, quite literally in the case of the U.S. presidency, trump your wild card with perhaps an even wilder card of their own. Those who now wring their hands at the “incomprehensible” outcome of America’s presidential election might well look to where and how the seeds were sown instead of continuing their moral grandstanding.

History should tell us that when the political pendulum swings towards extremity it is because it is rebounding from an opposing extremity. It can ease back to equilibrium if it doesn’t swing too wide. But, it can also jolt and jerk itself into the chaos of Yeats’s anarchy. Pulling back the forces of the right from their excesses demands an equal give on the left. But that is not likely to happen before an equally wide learning curve is painfully traced by all concerned. For the moment, the ship of state in the world’s most powerful country seems to have fallen into the hands of a pirate of venture politics— not a good thing by any means unless perhaps you thought it more important to bring a ship of fools to its senses.

Brave New World is Closer Than You Think

Wesley J. Smith

If you had told me back in, say, 2003, that biotechnology would not be an incendiary subject of political and cultural controversy in 2017, I would have thought you were living in an alternate universe. Those were the days of the great embryonic stem cell (ESCR) debate, during which President George W. Bush and pro-lifers were angrily accused by scientists in the biotechnology sector, politicians, various patient advocacy groups, and the media of wanting to thwart *cures*, stifle science in the name of religion, and usher in a new “endarkenment” (as a prominent bioethicist once put it).¹ Moreover, given the speed at which biotech was even then advancing in knowledge and sophistication, I would have expected the field to be explosively controversial at all levels of society.

The stakes could not be higher. As the eloquent moral philosopher and medical ethicist Leon Kass wrote back in 2002:

As we gain the capacity for genetic screening and for precise genetic modification of embryos, fetuses, and those already born, it becomes easy to imagine the host of disconcerting moral dilemmas in store for us as we come to manipulate our own DNA: questions about the individuality and identity, freedom and limitation, nature versus nurture, respect for life versus the search for cures, procreation versus manufacture, the meaning of having a child, relations among the generations, the definition of “normal” and the standards of “improving” upon it, and the ultimate goals—and limits—of science and medicine. These are no longer questions just for philosophers. Biomedical science and technology have made them questions for all of us, as human beings and as citizens.²

In other words, almost everything that truly matters in human society—all that we have commonly understood about our physical, social, and cultural natures—could be profoundly affected and impacted by our growing biotechnological prowess.

All of that is more true today than in 2003. Yet, despite exponential advances in biotechnology in the intervening years, the issue generally has faded from public discussion and concern. That needs to change. The stakes for our children’s future and for a free society require us to re-engage these issues, not merely drift passively with the tide. Through democratic deliberation, society needs to meet its responsibility to fashion wise ethical parameters

Wesley J. Smith is a senior fellow at the Discovery Institute’s Center on Human Exceptionalism and a consultant to the Patients Rights Council. His latest book, the revised and updated edition of *Culture of Death: The Age of “Do Harm” Medicine*, was published by Encounter Books in 2016.

around the science sector that are, as Goldilocks put it, “not too hot and not too cold, but *ju-u-u-st* right,”—that is, sufficiently open to permit innovation and derive new knowledge, while sufficiently protective of the sanctity and intrinsic dignity of human life to avoid the dystopian perils we face. It will be a tricky business.

The Great Embryonic Stem Cell Debate

Understanding history as prequel, it is worth taking a moment to recount the ESCR debate as a means of preparing ourselves to effectively counter the apologetics for a radical biotechnology that could dismantle our common understanding of the purpose and meaning of life, family, and society. In 1998 Dr. James Thomson and his colleagues at the University of Wisconsin in Madison announced that they had successfully isolated stem cells from human embryos. (Embryonic stem cells were first isolated in mice in 1981.) Thomson’s announcement marked a crucial turning point. Human embryos were no longer to be viewed only, or even primarily, as potential babies. Now, their tiniest body parts had become potentially valuable sources of medical treatments and biological data—the raw material that could lead to vast riches for the biotechnologists and capitalists in the emerging field of regenerative medicine.³

Almost as soon as Dr. Thomson published his research, the scientific community began to urge the National Institutes of Health (NIH) to open its funding spigot to pay for ESCR. (The NIH is an agency of the United States Department of Health and Human Services. One of its primary purposes is to issue government grants to help fund scientific and medical research.) But those yearning for federal research grants faced a serious legal difficulty. It was (and, as of this writing, is) illegal for the federal government to fund research that destroys embryos; due to what is commonly known as the “Dickey-Wicker Amendment,” a 1995 rider to an appropriations bill that forbade the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) from using federal appropriations to fund research into embryonic stem cells.⁴

President Bill Clinton found a way to circumvent the spirit, if not the letter, of Dickey-Wicker. The Department of Health and Human Services promulgated regulations that made federal funds unavailable to pay for the relatively inexpensive process of destroying embryos and extracting their stem cells. Once the cell lines were created, however, all further research upon them *would* be eligible for full NIH funding. In other words, Clinton *encouraged* scientists to destroy embryos for (unfunded) research with the promise of bountifully funding research on the cells of the dead embryo once the deed was done.⁵

That plan never went into effect. President George W. Bush believed it

was morally wrong to destroy human life (even at its earliest stages) for the purposes of conducting experiments, and had in fact run on that issue in his campaign. As soon as he was inaugurated, the new president suspended—but did not rescind—Clinton’s ESCR funding plan, and entered a time of deep pondering about whether and how to replace it.

Bush’s action kick-started what I call the Great Embryonic Stem Cell Debate, a tectonic moral, scientific, ethical, and political struggle that consumed most of the Bush presidency. Those in support of ESCR federal funding quickly formed a potent political coalition. In a brilliant stroke, celebrity disease and injury victims, whose fame guaranteed ample media coverage and fawning treatment by politicians, became the campaign’s leading spokespersons. The most effective of these were the late movie star Christopher (Superman) Reeve (quadriplegia from spinal cord injury) and television stars Michael J. Fox (disabled by Parkinson’s disease) and Mary Tyler Moore (insulin dependent diabetes), whose frequent lobbying trips to Capitol Hill received high-profile media coverage followed by softball interviews on television shows like *Larry King Live* or *Oprah*.

This march of the celebrities was undergirded by politically potent and well-funded disease victim organizations, always influential with elected representatives and regarded with great sympathy and support by media and the public. The entire campaign was funded in the millions by biotechnology companies and coordinated by their trade association, the Biotech Industry Organization (BIO).

It is not my purpose here to replay all of the ups and downs of a several-year-old political debate. We can leave that to political science and history textbooks. But just as the first battle of Bull Run did not decide the Civil War, the Great Stem Cell Debate of 2001 did not finally resolve the larger societal argument over the proper parameters society should place on biotechnological research. During the Bush term, a Nobel Prize-winning technique for obtaining pluripotent stem cells from skin was discovered that offered most of the benefits of ESCR without the ethical cost. After a newly inaugurated President Barack Obama essentially reinstated the Clinton approach—and the promised cures failed to follow, even as adult stem cells enjoyed increasing success—the issue quickly faded from public attention.

The ESCR dispute may have lost its potency, but the epochal ethical controversy it unleashed and the moral quandaries identified in 2002 by Leon Kass remained—awaiting the next big breakthrough to explode into public consciousness. But an odd thing happened. Those breakthroughs did indeed occur. However, rather than causing an explosion, they barely caused a ripple of public concern or comment.

The Arrival of Human Cloning

In 2002, President George W. Bush's President's Council on Bioethics issued its first important advisory report, *Human Cloning and Human Dignity*.⁶ The Council was sharply divided about the ethical propriety of engaging in human cloning. Seven of the eighteen members urged that "cloning-for-biomedical-research," as the Council called it (aka "therapeutic cloning," that is, creating cloned embryos for use in stem cell experiments) proceed under "strict federal regulation." Ten urged a total ban on all human cloning experiments for four years. (One member did not participate.) All voting members urged that "cloning-to-produce-children" (aka "reproductive cloning," that is, bringing a cloned embryo through gestation to live birth) be permanently banned.

The distinction usually made between "therapeutic cloning" and "reproductive cloning" is a misnomer, since the actual act of human cloning creates—some would say, manufactures—an embryo asexually, that is, without sperm and egg. Briefly, here is how the primary method of cloning, known as "somatic cell nuclear transfer" (SCNT), is accomplished:

- First, take a skin or other cell and remove the nucleus;
- Next, take an egg and remove its nucleus;
- Place the skin cell nucleus where the egg nucleus used to be;
- Stimulate with an electric current or other means.

If the cloning works—the "doing" is far more difficult than the "describing"—the egg reacts as if it had been fertilized and a new single-cell life comes into being. After that, the embryo develops in the same manner as an embryo created through sexual means. Indeed, the only substantial difference between a natural and cloned embryo is that the genetic makeup of the former comes from both parents, while the genetic makeup of the latter is identical to that of the person whose cell nucleus was inserted into the enucleated egg.

The question next becomes what to do with the nascent human life thereby created. If the cloned embryo is destroyed for stem cells or otherwise used in experiments, the process is often called "therapeutic cloning." If the embryo is implanted in a uterus for gestation and birth, the process is often called "reproductive cloning." But, it is important to re-emphasize that these distinctions involve how the cloned embryo is *used*, not the actual act of cloning.

At the time of the Council's report, no one had actually succeeded in human cloning, nor were scientists certain that it could actually be accomplished. Yes, mammals were, even then, increasingly being cloned and gestated to birth

successfully. But creating human clones remained a future possibility rather than a present actuality. That was why the members believed it was so important to grapple with the philosophical and ethical conundrums human cloning presented and help society reach agreement about a proper way forward.

Alas, that didn't happen. Except for the laws of a few states in the U.S. and certain foreign countries, such as Germany, human cloning remained fundamentally unregulated when conducted with private resources. True, the U.S. does not federally fund the research, thanks to the Dickey-Wicker Amendment. But attempts at creating cloned human embryos have continued through private funding from the Bush years forward.

Then, in 2013, the breakthrough.⁷ Scientists reported that they had succeeded in creating four cloned human embryos through SCNT and maintained them to the 150-200-cell stage (known as a blastocyst), the point at which embryonic stem cells could be (and were) derived—which also happens to be the stage of development at which embryos can be implanted in a uterus if they are to be gestated to birth. This should have been *huge* international news and a cause of much public discussion and debate. Indeed, in 2004 when South Korean scientist Hwang Woo-suk claimed to have created the first human cloned embryos and derived embryonic stem cells from them, it set off a political firestorm, with human cloning proponents and opponents hotly debating how and whether to regulate human cloning, or even—as I advocate—to ban it altogether. (It later turned out that he had done no such thing. Hwang was a charlatan, and with that news, the cloning controversy went into eclipse.)

But now, the *very deed* that briefly made Hwang the world's most famous scientist has actually been accomplished, and you can hear the crickets chirping. Why the striking difference in attention paid to an epochal story? Hwang claimed to have *successfully cloned human beings*. Seeing the discord that caused—and wanting to prevent another such public brouhaha that could result in regulations impeding their work—the Science Establishment avoided using the C-word in the popular media, instead claiming merely that stem cells were obtained from “unfertilized eggs,” a technical truth that masked a huge lie. Thus the *Wall Street Journal* reported:

Scientists have used cloning technology to transform human skin cells into embryonic stem cells, an experiment that may revive the controversy over human cloning. The researchers stopped well short of creating a human clone. But they showed, for the first time, that it is possible to create cloned embryonic stem cells that are genetically identical to the person from whom they are derived.⁸

That bland description missed an essential—and morally crucial—element:

The experiment did not stop “well short of creating a human clone.” *It did that very thing.* As I described above, SCNT does not create stem cells, *it manufactures a human embryo*, via asexual reproduction, from which stem cells can be derived just as with a fertilized embryo. After that, no further “cloning” is required and a new life exists, as much a human as Dolly was a sheep after being created by the same process. That’s no small matter.

The successful cloning of human beings—whether for research or birth—is momentous: Even if the technique is used only in pursuit of biological knowledge and medical treatments, those will come at the very high ethical price of manufacturing human life for the purpose of harvesting it like a corn crop—that is, for the purpose of destroying it.

The fact that human beings can be cloned is a scientific triumph, but also an ethical earthquake. Cloning is the essential technology in the development of a plethora of other unprecedented and morally dubious technologies: the genetic engineering of embryos, the creation of human/animal chimeras, the gestation of cloned fetuses in artificial wombs as a means of obtaining patient-compatible organs, and eventually, the birth of cloned babies. But because these experiments also offer the potential to advance scientific knowledge and ameliorate significant human suffering, they will tempt us—always for “the best” reasons—to set aside our convictions about the intrinsic dignity of all human life. As the noted pundit Charles Krauthammer, who served on George W. Bush’s President’s Council on Bioethics, warned in the *New Republic* in 2002, creating cloned embryos for research is “dangerous” because it reduces the cloned embryo to “mere thingness,” justifying “the most ruthless exploitation.” He went on to opine:

It is the ultimate in desensitization . . . The problem, one could almost say, is not what cloning does to the embryo, but what it does to us . . . Creating a human embryo just so it can be used and then destroyed undermines the very foundation of the moral prudence that informs the entire enterprise of genetic research: the idea that, while a human embryo may not be a person, it is not nothing. Because if it is nothing, then everything is permitted. And if everything is permitted, then there are no fences, no safeguards, no bottom.⁹

But supporters of the pro-life philosophy, on the other hand, believe that good ethics lead to good science—just as George W. Bush’s embryonic stem cell funding policy helped create an atmosphere in which the intrinsic value of the human embryo remained a major focus of the debate. Just as induced pluripotent stem cells eventually opened an ethical path around the moral quandaries posed by stem cell research, so too will scientists be able to discover biotechnological means of obtaining knowledge and developing medical treatments without surrendering the sanctity of human life principle.

Setting the Table for Genetic Engineering

Human cloning has been sold to a wary public as a means of bringing about medical treatments and cures. For example, some have argued that stem cells taken from a cloned embryo could be used in regenerative treatments for diseases like Parkinson's, without worries about tissue rejection, since the cells and the patient would be an exact match genetically. Others have gone even further, urging what some call "fetal farming,"¹⁰ that is, creating cloned embryos for a patient needing an organ transplant, gestating them into fetuses, and then transplanting the fetal organs, a process that could theoretically solve the organ shortage and allow transplant recipients to be liberated from the strong drugs currently required to suppress tissue rejection.

Such utilitarian exploitation of cloned human embryos is a ghoulish theoretical possibility, but I don't believe this represents the ultimate goal of the Brave New Worldists (if you will). *Cloning is not seen as the goal but rather as a launching pad, the essential technology that could permit the redesign of the human genome.* Or, to use a more familiar term, the coming of human cloning has opened the door to the radical redesign of the human species through methods of genetic engineering.

Not too long ago, the notion that scientists were close to developing the technological prowess to enable them to change our biological nature at the genetic level seemed farfetched, at best. The human genome and its expression are extremely complex, both in its architecture and function. Untangling which genes do what, how they impact other genes and their expression, and what could happen if these natural functions are altered, seemed as challenging as the Gordian knot.

Now, with the epochal breakthrough of cloning human life, scientists have arrived at the threshold technology that—when further perfected—could allow them to create methods to engineer the human genome through trial-and-error experimentation on mass-produced genetically identical cloned embryos. That possibility has prompted Vice President and Research Director of the Charlotte Lozier Institute David A. Prentice, Ph.D. (a biologist and adult stem cell researcher) to warn, "Cloning is a gateway technology for many embryo experiments, and especially for genetic manipulation of humans."

Initially, these experiments would probably be conducted on early cloned embryos in Petri dishes. But developing the techniques to effectively engineer the human genome would eventually require developing embryos further into gestation—feasible once the artificial womb is perfected, the development of which is an ongoing scientific area of inquiry already in animal testing.

Prentice worries:

Scientists would have to clone thousands of embryos and grow them to the blastocyst stage to ensure that part of the process leading up to transfer into a uterus could be “safe,” monitoring and analyzing each embryo, destroying each one in the process. Next, cloned embryos would have to be transferred into the uteruses of women volunteers or artificial wombs. The initial purpose would be analysis of development, not bringing the pregnancy to a live birth. Each of these clonal pregnancies would be terminated at various points of development, each fetus destroyed for scientific analysis.

Finally, if these experiments demonstrated that it was probably safe to proceed, a few clonal pregnancies [of the genetically modified] would be allowed to go to full term. Yet even then, the born cloned babies would have to be constantly monitored to determine whether any health problems develop. Each would have to be followed (and undergo a battery of tests both physical and psychological) for their entire lives, since there is no way to predict if problems [associated with gene expression] might arise later in childhood, adolescence, adulthood, or even into the senior years.¹¹

We are not yet at the place where the above scenario can be carried out. Yes, scientists can clone humans. But the technology remains difficult, with far more failures than successes. Moreover, “mass cloning” (as I call it) isn’t yet feasible, because would-be cloners lack a basic resource: human eggs. As readers will recall, each cloning attempt requires one mature human egg, and at present, human eggs are a rare and increasingly valuable commodity on the open market, most of which are consumed by the ever-expanding IVF industry.

That could soon change. In animal studies, technologists have learned to transform skin cells into induced pluripotent stem cells, which were, in turn, transformed into eggs—which were then fertilized successfully. From the *Telegraph* story:

Artificial eggs have been grown in a petri dish for the first time, and used to create living animals in a breakthrough hailed as “remarkable” by British experts. Scientists in Japan proved it is possible to take tissue cells from the tail of a mouse, reprogramme them as stem cells and then turn them into eggs in the lab.

The “eggs in a dish” were then fertilised and the resulting embryos were implanted in female mice which went on to give birth to 11 healthy pups.¹²

If that could ever be done with human tissues—and there would seem to be no biological impediment—there would be *no limit to the number of eggs* that could be manufactured and made available for use in the cloning process. At that point, there would be nothing, other than self-restraint—good luck with that!—stopping technologists from learning how to clone human embryos more efficiently and, from there, conducting mass cloning experiments of the kind discussed above.

There’s still more meat in the stewpot. The final technologies needed to genetically engineer the human race have already been developed. IVF

embryos are routinely genetically tested for diseases and quality control—including sex-selection—in a process known as pre-implantation genetic diagnosis (PGD). Those that pass eugenic muster may be implanted. Those that don't are tossed as medical waste or turned over to technologists for experimentation.

Such testing is a passive process. *Actively* engineering embryos would require an “editing” technology that would permit the biotechnologists to switch genes in and out, for example, to examine the role the genes play, say, in human development, and to learn how to use genetic engineering for health improvements or enhancement outcomes.

That technology is not futuristic. It is already here. CRISPR¹³ is a gene-editing technique—the details of how it is done aren't important for our discussion—that “makes it easy, cheap, and fast to move genes around—*any genes, in any living thing*, from bacteria to people.”¹⁴ This means that technologists can now bioengineer any organism on earth, with the potential to produce miraculous cures of illness and disability, a eugenics regime of embryo design, even a bioengineered weapon of biological terror.

Conclusion

From the pro-life perspective, biotechnological advances have already eroded the fundamental ethic that all human life is sacred and caused a resurgence of the belief—which permeated the slavery consciousness—that some human lives can be treated as natural resources for the benefit of others. It has also furthered a particular mindset—nay, *ideology*—that sees biology as applied through technology (“biotechnology”) in almost mystical terms. Some even foresee a future in which biotechnologists' manipulations have become so radical and widespread that they will have blurred the genetic distinctions between some humans and animal species.

With so much humanity-altering power being developed, where are the democratic debates about whether we should permit human beings to be designed, manufactured, and subjected to methods of quality control? They barely exist outside the realm of science symposia, and these issues certainly weren't discussed during the recent presidential campaign.

Not only that: When attempts to establish parameters for biotechnology are tried, usually at the state level, they are almost always stymied in the legislative process. We haven't even had a transparent national discussion about what constitutes a “positive direction” for these technologies or grappled with the essential question of whether the genetic engineering of humans is inherently wrong.

It's not as if we weren't warned to be prepared. “The theme of *Brave New*

World is not the advancement of science as such,” wrote Aldous Huxley in a 1946 foreword to the republication of his groundbreaking novel, it “is the advancement of science as it affects human individuals.”¹⁵ Huxley worried that science was leading “a really revolutionary revolution” to “be achieved, not in the external world, but in the souls and flesh of human beings.”¹⁶ In other words, human biology—and, indeed, *human nature itself*—could, Huxley feared, become the subjects and objects of scientific manipulation.

When Huxley first published his immortal novel in 1932, the technologies he described seemed unbelievable. Babies gestated in artificial environments rather than in their own mothers’ wombs? It could never happen. Genetic engineering to “predestine and precondition” human life toward possessing pre-selected traits and attributes?¹⁷ What a vivid imagination! A world where applied science has alleviated all human suffering but also destroyed human aspiration and individuality? Science fiction fare. Now, they are all here.

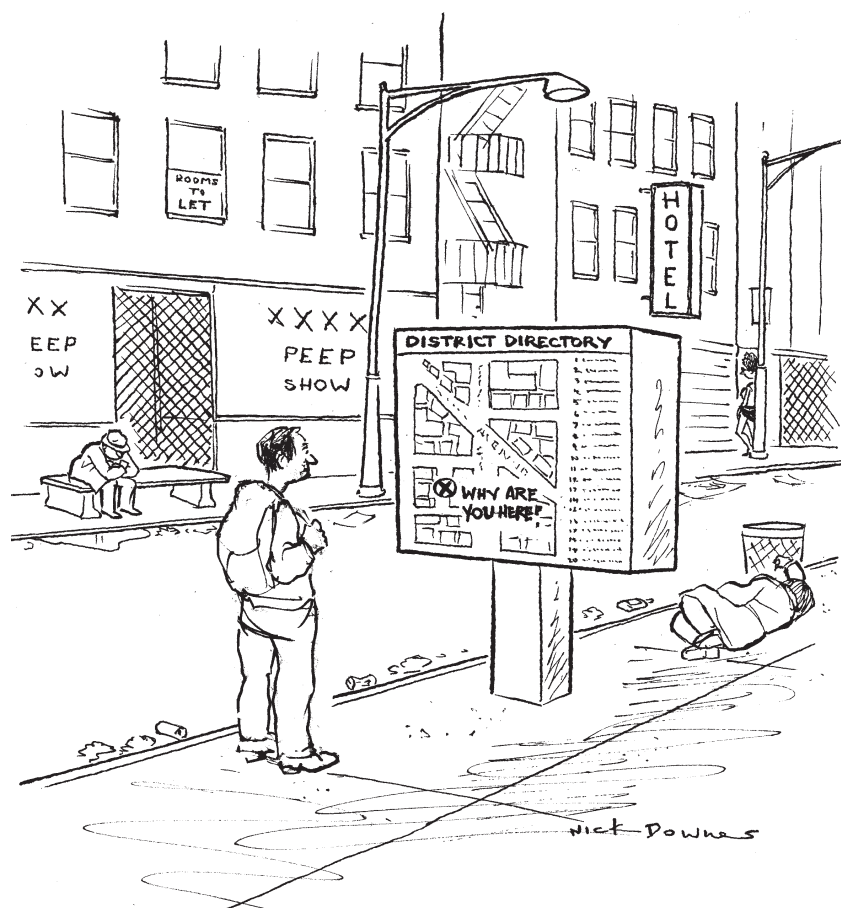
With the development of biotechnology, we find ourselves at one of the most important moral crossroads in human history. We can pursue biotechnology to treat disease and improve the human condition, while retaining sufficient humility and self-restraint to keep ourselves from endangering the intrinsic value of human life. Or we can hubristically rush onto the very anti-human path warned against by Aldous Huxley, driven by our thirst for knowledge, vast profits, and obsession with control and vastly expanded life spans.

This essay is not an argument for stifling biotechnology. That couldn’t be done even if it were deemed desirable. But it is written in the hope that the pro-life community will come to understand that they will have to engage life issues on the cutting edge of science as energetically as they do abortion—and perhaps more so. The human future, quite literally, depends on it.

NOTES

1. A stem cell is the popular name for a cell that is “undifferentiated,” meaning it has not yet transformed into one of the more than 200 types of tissue found in the human body, e.g., blood, bone, fat, brain, etc. Pluripotent stem cells, such as those derived from destroyed embryos, are capable of becoming any tissue in the body. Adult stem cells, which also offer great medical potential, are multipotent, that is, they are capable of becoming many different kinds of tissues.
2. Leon Kass, Foreword, *Human Cloning and Human Dignity: The Report of the President’s Council on Bioethics* (New York, Public Affairs, 2002), pp. xiv-xv.
3. Biotechnological and medical researchers hope that stem cells may be able to provide “regenerative” medical treatments for “degenerative conditions,” i.e., an illness or injury in which an organ or other body system ceases to function properly because of a breakdown or death of cells or tissues such as heart disease, diabetes, serious burns, spinal cord injuries, Alzheimer’s, and other such afflictions.
4. The Dickey-Wicker Amendment is a limitation amendment in the appropriations bill for the Dept. of Health and Human Services. It must be renewed annually. <https://embryo.asu.edu/pages/dickey-wicker-amendment-1996>

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13. CRISPR is an acronym for "clustered regularly interspaced short palindromic repeats."
14. Amy Maxmen, "The Genesis Engine," *Wired*, August 2015 (my emphasis). <https://www.wired.com/2015/07/crispr-dna-editing-2/>
15. Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World*, from the Foreword (Harper Perennial, New York, NY, 1998), p. xi.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*



Speak No Evil:

Europe's Pro-life Advocates Are Being Silenced

Matthew Hennessey

To the American mind, Europe is a raft of contradictions. It is both the staid repository of our cherished Western cultural inheritance and the birthplace of countless revolutionary disruptions to that self-same inheritance. The continent's ancient political and ethical traditions provide the DNA for our own egalitarian form of government, yet many of Europe's most consequential philosophers have deliberately corrupted the Judeo-Christian values underpinning Western culture. Europe is the seed-ground of both the sacred and profane. For every magnificent Gothic cathedral there is a squalid red-light district; for every world-class university there is a transnational criminal network. For every Speaker's Corner there is a censorious technocrat lying in wait.

If Americans know one thing for sure about Europe, it's that the atrocities of successive 20th-century wars inspired a continent-wide experiment in left-leaning social democracy. While the recent success of the Brexit campaign and the triumphs of nationalist political parties in France, Italy, Poland, Austria, and the Netherlands have muddied that picture somewhat, it's fair to say that the average European swings further to the left than the average American. If Europe were an American state, it would be California—only a lot more liberal.

One issue where this dynamic breaks down is abortion. When it comes to the hottest-button topic of them all, the long shadow of Christianity still hangs across Europe—if only lightly. The continent may not be as liberal as it seems.

“I assumed that Western Europe would be the land of abortion on demand, likely government-subsidized, and possibly with a free bag of condoms afterward,” wrote pro-choice journalist Emily Matchar in a 2013 article for *The Atlantic*. “But as it turns out, abortion laws in Europe are both more restrictive and more complicated than that.”¹ Matchar is right. Europeans' personal attitudes toward abortion are quite accommodating, but European laws governing abortion are in some cases more restrictive than those in the United States. Most European countries allow legal abortion for just about any reason up to 12 weeks of pregnancy. However, between 12 and 24 weeks,

Matthew Hennessey is an associate editor of the Manhattan Institute's *City Journal*.

a European woman seeking an abortion often must obtain medical approval and endure a waiting period of at least a few days.

This is a far cry from the current state of play in most of the United States, where a pregnant woman can generally manage to obtain an abortion with few—or no—questions asked well into her second trimester. Some states now require waiting periods, and a few even mandate the viewing of an ultrasound prior to an abortion, but the vast majority of American states allow women to end their pregnancies without restriction up to 20 weeks. More than 20 states allow unrestricted abortions up to the 24th week. Seven states and the District of Columbia have no laws prohibiting abortion at any point in a woman’s pregnancy.²

It should be noted that European women aren’t shut out of the abortion game altogether after 12 weeks. The presence of a genetic abnormality such as Down syndrome is typically enough for a doctor to sign off on abortion at any time during a pregnancy. As a last resort, women in many European countries can obtain late-term abortion if a doctor determines that having the baby will put her at risk of mental distress or a psychiatric disorder.

In Ireland, Northern Ireland, and Poland, abortion is technically illegal, but women in those countries can legally abort if continuing with their pregnancies will put their own lives in danger. Irish women seeking abortions are frequently advised by their doctors to travel to England, where abortion is legal for any reason up to 24 weeks—and, practically up to delivery in the event of a life-threatening emergency or in the presence of “fetal abnormality.”³

There are many reasons why Europe’s abortion laws seem in certain key ways more restrictive than America’s, but chief among them is this: Europe doesn’t have a Supreme Court decision like *Roe v. Wade* hanging over its abortion debate, suffocating all possibility of democratic reform. “[*Roe v. Wade*] was supposed to have settled the question of abortion once and for all,” observed the *Wall Street Journal*’s James Taranto in 2009. “Instead, by circumventing the normal political process that produces compromise and consensus, it exacerbated divisions and ensured that disagreements over abortion will scuttle efforts to get other things done.”⁴

Not that Europe’s pro-abortion activists haven’t tried to find a judicial endgame to the continent’s abortion wars. In 2005, three anonymous women—two Irish, one Lithuanian—who had obtained abortions in England alleged that Ireland’s restrictive abortion laws had violated their right to privacy as outlined by Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights. In 2010, the European Court of Human Rights surprised observers on both sides of the Atlantic when it ruled against the women in the case of *A, B and C v.*

Ireland.⁵ The court found that there is nothing in the European Convention on Human Rights obliging the 47 member states of the Council of Europe to provide their citizens with a legal right to abortion.⁶

By affirming the sovereign rights of individual nations to craft and pass their own local abortion laws, the court did European democracy a great service and avoided the American-style pitfalls of applying a judicial remedy to a contested political issue. The ECHR's decision opened up civic space for all the compromise and consensus that is missing in the abortion debate on this side of the Atlantic.

Not surprisingly, a movement has gained considerable traction in recent years to repeal the Eighth Amendment to the Irish Constitution, which established a right to life for the unborn and gained the support of 67 percent of Irish voters in a 1983 referendum. "Repeal the Eighth" has become the battle cry of international abortion activists, celebrities, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, who ruled last summer that Irish women have been "subjected to discrimination and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment" as a result of the abortion ban. The repeal crusade is an organized and vocal political movement, squarely within the bounds of standard democratic debate. With the help of major stars such as Liam Neeson, they are making a case in the public square that abortion should be legal in Ireland.⁷ They are attempting to achieve that goal through the time-tested democratic processes of argument and persuasion. Fair play to them.

Yet not everyone gets a seat at the debate table. Across Europe, pro-life advocates are increasingly being censored, shouted down, and shut out of public discussion of the abortion issue on the grounds that mere expression of their ideas constitutes an assault on vulnerable women. Europe may not have *Roe v. Wade* stunting and distorting its culture wars, but it also doesn't have the First Amendment ensuring that even the most unpopular opinions are heard and debated.

The French government has been on the vanguard of the trend of denying pro-life activists the right to voice their opinions. Distributing pro-life materials near a hospital or abortion clinic is already a criminal offense in France.⁸ In December 2016, the French senate took the extraordinary next step of making it a crime to post pro-life material on the Internet.⁹ "This law may prohibit the [Catholic] church from publishing its position on abortion. If you teach that it is a sin then teaching itself would be sufficient for prosecution," said Grégor Puppinck, director of the European Centre for Law and Justice.¹⁰

France is often called the eldest daughter of the Catholic Church. Baptized Catholics make up nearly 80 percent of the French population. Yet, rapid and

aggressive secularization has considerably reduced the church's influence in France, and attitudes toward social issues such as abortion have liberalized apace. Since 1975, abortion-on-demand has been legal in France and, according to a 2015 BuzzFeed News/Ipsos poll, France is one of the most pro-abortion countries in Europe. Nearly 70 percent of French poll respondents said abortion should be permitted "whenever a woman decides she wants one." Only the Swedes reported a more robust attitude, with 79 percent supporting abortion on demand.¹¹

France is on a censorship roll. Late in 2016, a French court upheld the ruling of a government regulator to ban the broadcast of a two-and-a-half minute commercial video showing children with Down syndrome living happy, normal, and productive lives. The rationale? Seeing the video could upset women who may have aborted their children after receiving a prenatal diagnosis of Down syndrome. The video, according to the French Broadcasting Council, was "likely to disturb the conscience of women who had lawfully made different personal life choices."

How fragile French women have become. Are we to believe that this great nation—which once produced such stalwart proto-feminists as Saint Joan of Arc and the heroines of the French Resistance—now produces women so emotionally delicate that the mere sight of a happy child with Down syndrome disturbs their consciences? One thing is for sure: If the statistics provided by the Jérôme Lejeune Foundation are correct, a lot of French women are vulnerable to having their consciences disturbed. Estimates suggest that nine out of every ten French women who find out they are carrying a baby with Down syndrome choose to abort.

The situation on European college campuses is particularly dire. In 2014, a pro-life student group at Oxford University's Christ Church College was forced to cancel a proposed campus event when aggrieved feminists and other activists raised a ruckus over the debate topic: "This House Believes British Abortion Culture Hurts Us All." The fact that the two invited debaters were both male journalists was naturally a further point of contention. "Many on the Left imitate the very authoritarian mindset of the people on the religious Right that they claim to hate, likewise trying to safeguard their definition of freedom by eradicating contrary ideas," wrote Tim Stanley, one of the cancelled debate's erstwhile participants. "On the subject of abortion, the Left can enjoy that authoritarianism because contemporary society broadly agrees with them. But a day will come when they try to argue for something that proves unpopular and they, too, will be gagged."

Perhaps Oxford Students for Life should count itself lucky. It is, after all,

a going concern. Irish pro-life students at the University College Cork (UCC) and the University of Limerick have reported being refused the right to incorporate as on-campus clubs. “I feel discriminated against; we’re paying huge fees that partly fund the societies so we feel like we are being robbed to a certain extent,” an anonymous pro-life UCC student told the *Sunday Independent*, the weekend edition of Ireland’s biggest-selling newspaper. “We don’t have freedom of speech or the right to association, it’s an absolute oppression. It’s not that we want people to agree with us, but I’m proud in my convictions and it’s absolutely frightening that I must face intimidating tactics should I pose a pro-life opinion.”¹²

According to the Alliance of Pro-Life Students, an umbrella group that helps college students in the United Kingdom set up campus societies, students at Newcastle University and Cardiff University have faced attempts to “de-ratify” their established pro-life groups. At the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow, Scotland, pro-lifers who recently sought to gain official sanction for their group were turned away by the student association that governs such matters. “Allowing an anti-choice group to form would be a barrier to freedom, equality and body autonomy for those with uteruses,” declared the Equality and Diversity committee of the Strathclyde student association in a statement.

According to Jamie McGowan, 18, a student spokesman for the aspirational Strathclyde pro-life society, the association has offered its imprimatur without delay or conditions to other groups promoting highly charged political agendas. “There are plenty of controversial societies at Strathclyde, whether pro-Palestine or pro-LGBT,” he said in a recent Skype interview. “When it comes to the pro-life issue, however, they’re afraid of reasonable debate. They’d rather just shout and scream insults.” McGowan reckons the fear of debate stems from a strategic calculation on the part of the pro-abortion crowd: “They don’t want to hear us out because we have logic and reason on our side.”

While the hostility to free speech among European students is troubling, it can perhaps be explained away as the overheated and misdirected passions of youth. How to explain away the anti-democratic tendencies of Europe’s technocratic elites? In 2014, the unelected bureaucrats of the European Commission, the 28-member executive body that runs the European Union, vetoed a legally prepared citizen’s initiative that proposed ending E.U. funding of activities that destroy human embryos or promote abortion. The E.U. currently spends nearly 200 million euros annually on embryonic-stem-cell research.

The organizers of the “One of Us” citizen’s initiative had gathered nearly 2 million signatures—including that of Pope Francis—from at least seven

different member states. There was only the second such petition to satisfy the requirements of a highly touted reform established in 2012 that was advertised as bringing a measure of accountability to the E.U. lawmaking process. “One of Us” was hailed by its supporters as the largest petition in European history. On the last day of its 2014 session, however, the European Commission voted not to submit a legislative proposal based on the initiative to the European Parliament as called for by the 2012 reform.¹³

In its 19-page denial of the “One of Us” request, the European Commission pointed to Horizon 2020, an €80 billion initiative launched by the European Parliament to fund scientific research, including on human embryonic stem cells. “In the democratic process that led to agreement by Council and Parliament on Horizon 2020,” the Commissioners wrote, “[i]t was agreed that EU level human embryonic stem cell research projects add value to Member State activities in this area in compliance with the principle of subsidiarity System-level audits have demonstrated that the system in place is well-designed and complied with in accordance with the highest ethical standards.”¹⁴ In essence, the message of the European governing elites to the European common man was this: The matter has been decided—leave it to us to determine whether the work is being done ethically or not. So much for participative democracy.

* * *

These recent cases provide a stark illustration of the anti-democratic drift occurring in Europe on the subject of abortion and free speech. Some Americans may still consider Europe the land of magnificent cathedrals and great universities, but the continent’s radical students and political elites are increasingly turning their backs on the values and ideas of the Western cultural tradition.

No one can say for sure where all of this is heading. Polls have repeatedly shown that a majority of Irish citizens want to see the Irish Constitution’s Eighth Amendment repealed.¹⁵ It could happen sooner rather than later. Francois Fillon, who for a time was one of the leading candidates to become France’s next president, is a professed Catholic and abortion opponent. Like many American Democrats, however, he draws the line at legislating from his belief system. “As a politician for 30 years, have you once heard Francois Fillon suggest that the right to interrupt pregnancies should be renounced?” he asked while defending himself against an onslaught of criticism during a November presidential debate. “Haven’t I, over 30 years, voted for every law that has given women access to abortion? The response to your question

is that obviously I won't touch anything in this domain."¹⁶

At the very least, a politician with Fillon's beliefs seems unlikely to go along with laws designed to criminalize pro-life speech. Perhaps this is the best that can be asked of Europe's elites at the moment.

NOTES

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4. "Weekend at Bernie's: Could a socialist senator's conscience kill ObamaCare?" by James Taranto. <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748703523504574604163266752916>
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BOOKNOTES

LOSING SUSAN: BRAIN DISEASE, THE PRIEST'S WIFE, AND THE GOD WHO GIVES AND TAKES AWAY

Victor Lee Austin

(Brazos Press, 2016, \$19.99, 160 pp.)

Reviewed by Christopher White

Writing in *A Grief Observed*, C.S. Lewis reflects on the death of his wife and his efforts to reconcile this loss with his Christian faith: “Not that I am (I think) in much danger of ceasing to believe in God. The real danger is of coming to believe such dreadful things about Him. The conclusion I dread is not ‘So there’s no God after all,’ but ‘So this is what God’s really like. Deceive yourself no longer.’”

A similar consideration is offered by Victor Lee Austin in his new memoir, *Losing Susan: Brain Disease, The Priest’s Wife, and the God Who Gives and Takes Away*. Austin’s meditation on grief, like Lewis’s, isn’t so much a working out of theological tension as it is a deeply personal narrative, one that ultimately poses more questions than it answers. Still, in grappling with perplexity, Austin, an Episcopal priest, has penned not only a moving tribute to his late wife, but also a compelling testament to the dignity that inheres in all human beings at all stages of life.

Victor Austin and Susan Gavahan met as students at St. John’s College in Santa Fe, New Mexico, attracted to each other by a shared passion for matters theological and literary. Victor’s eagerness to attend church with Susan made for a fast friendship that turned into romance and then marriage. Austin chronicles their early years together through lenses tinged with bittersweet delight and sorrow. The young lovers, fueled by physical and intellectual attraction, were bonded by a shared spiritual commitment to building a Christian home.

In the early ’80s, the Austins moved to New York City where Victor would attend seminary. While his work as a clergy member served as a natural conduit for his theological interests, Susan, too, found a way to follow intellectual pursuits while raising their two young children. She engaged in correspondence with the likes of William F. Buckley, Jr., and James McFadden, founder of the *Human Life Review*. McFadden published Susan’s essays, including the memorable “The Aborting Community,” in which she

probed the relationship between individuals and their community, and the nature of individual decisions that a community allows.

For Susan, the abortion issue was no mere academic or political concern—it was personal. Convinced that it was the responsibility of those in the community to support those in need, in addition to raising their own two children, over the years she and Victor were short-term foster parents to nine others. “We knew that none of these children would ever remember us,” writes Austin. “But Susan would say that deep in their souls they would have the memory of being held, touched, cradled, cleaned, fed, and in general being loved. She believed that such a deep memory would not be lost and had the capacity to change a person’s life for good.”

Like C.S. Lewis, Victor’s was a happy marriage grounded by a shared faith. But whereas Lewis married his wife following her diagnosis with cancer, and with her death already imminent, the story of Susan and Victor Austin is one of unexpected heartbreak, of an unforeseen early test of their vows to remain faithful in sickness and health.

Just over fifteen years after those promises were made, Susan was diagnosed with a brain tumor. Despite a successful removal, the resulting brain damage from the operation sent them on a new journey that would define almost half of the Austins’ 34-year marriage. Now Victor was not only husband, father, and priest, he was also his wife’s consummate caregiver. Their lives would be reevaluated and realigned as a result of Susan’s illness and her slowly deteriorating health.

Hopes of a vocation defined by his theological scholarship were put on hold. Dreams of a family that would live out their days with the same traditions, crafts, and festivities that Susan introduced in the early years of marriage and childhood were now diminished. Values and core beliefs that had been central to their identity were called into question.

And yet in spite of it all—the thousands of hours spent in hospitals and medical offices, the agonizing seizures, the countless bed sheets that had to be changed, the inability to travel, the difficulty of seeing a bright and vibrant woman lose many of the capacities that once kindled their attraction, and watching his two children slowly lose the mother they had known—Austin discovered anew what it meant to love his wife.

He writes: “It is *not only* that I had to do these things for Susan, things that I did not foresee and for which I was usually quite unprepared. It is, also, *not only*, that in doing these things I found God to be with me and, in the tensest moments, to be present and helping me through. It is this: I *found joy* in doing these things.”

And this joy—this recognition that Susan was still of inestimable value to

her family, her church, and her community, albeit in a different and unexpected way—served as a daily reminder to Austin that the very truths he had taught in his ethics courses and that Susan had once explored in her writing were now given a profound, even if painful, new significance.

This meaning, however, was not merely a personal one, but was discovered and shared by all those who encountered Susan. “Here was a woman who walked slowly with a cane, who was hunched over, who loved to smile, and who was hard to communicate with,” reflects Austin. “It was good for them to see her and to see that she was loved and valued too, not for what she could do, but just for who she was.”

On December 17, 2012, after several weeks of hospitalization, Susan Austin passed away. For nearly two decades, she suffered from a brain disease that radically altered the life she had expected to live. Yet it is this *unexpected* life that is her legacy, a testament to a unique individual who had much to offer this world and a community that needed to be reminded of that truth. We owe our gratitude to Victor Austin for his deeply personal and honest wrestling with a perplexing mystery because in *Losing Susan* much has been found.

—*Christopher White is director of Catholic Voices USA.*

WHAT IS A HUMAN?: WHAT THE ANSWERS MEAN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

John H. Evans

(Oxford University Press, 2016, 272 pages. \$35.00)

Reviewed by Jason Morgan

What is a human? The answer may seem obvious. Perhaps that’s why most people have never really considered the question. Even many pro-lifers, who spend much of their time trying to convince others of the humanity of the unborn, may not have had much occasion to define what, exactly, a human being is. “Life begins at the moment of conception,” we often say. But what is life, and what makes some life human?

John H. Evans’s new book, *What Is a Human?* is not an attempt to solve this thorniest and most pressing of philosophical quandaries. But as the book’s subtitle (*What the Answers Mean for Human Rights*) shows, whom we include under the rubric of humanity can have profound consequences for how far we are willing to go to care for one another.

Evans is a sociology professor at the University of California-San Diego who has written widely on bioethics and public attitudes towards reproductive technologies. *What Is a Human?* is a welcome contribution to an already extensive body of work. Evans's well-researched and cogently presented book does not answer the question posed rhetorically in the title, and does not try to. It is far beyond the scope of a work of statistical sociology to treat of such weighty inquiries as this. Instead, *What Is a Human?* explores who thinks who—or even what (computers? monkeys? clones?)—qualifies as a fellow member of our species. In this, Evans succeeds, and is to be thanked for his enlightening efforts.

While the question of humanity is, philosophically and religiously speaking, very old, statistical data showing who holds which views of humanity in the United States today (and how these various views influence commitments to human rights) are sparse. This topic becomes increasingly relevant year by year, because rapidly-emerging biotechnologies—from prosthetics to transplants, medications to gene therapies, and fertility treatments to stem-cell research—serve to widen the field of what Evans calls “contested humans,” or people (such as the cognitively disabled; the congenitally diseased; the socially stigmatized; and infants, children, and the elderly, who are less fully functional than normal adults) whose degree of humanity is a subject of ongoing debate.

Naturally, which humans are “contested” will depend upon which definition one uses for “human being.” Evans's task in writing *What Is a Human?* was to condense various claims about who does and does not count as a human into concise “anthropologies,” and then to present those anthropologies to both PhD students (in a variety of disciplines) and laypeople in order to gauge whether, and how, the degree of agreement with a given anthropology enhances or dilutes agreement with various aspects of human rights. Evans's anthropologies—all stated fairly and plainly, to my mind—are:

1. The Christian Theological Anthropology. This is centered on the claim that each human is made in the image and likeness of God.

2. The Philosophical Anthropology. This defines “humans” as “persons” having a number of traits (about which not all philosophers agree), such as consciousness, reason, and powers of communication.

3. The Biological Anthropology. This anthropology “assumes a thoroughgoing materialism, where only material entities are real[.] Humans ‘are’ the chemical called DNA, and since a chemical is an object, this anthropology portrays humans as objects” (p. 9).

4. The Socially Conferred Anthropology. This anthropology, widespread in academia albeit in “inchoate form” (p. 10), holds that, essentially, a human

is anything in a social relationship with other humans.

Evans's findings largely confirm the suspicions of those outside academia that academics have a diminished regard for human rights. According to the answers that academics provided to a series of questions Evans prepared, those who advocate tightening the circle of humanity by excluding groups based on arbitrary criteria are indeed more likely to be willing to dispense with human rights for the sake of convenience, money, or utilitarian calculations of aggregate happiness and suffering. For example, people "who agree more [with the biological and philosophical anthropologies] are more likely to say it is morally acceptable to not risk troops to prevent genocide, to buy kidneys from poor people, and to commit suicide to save money" (p. 175).

Evans admits that this is a troubling development. However, Evans also finds that these links between circumscribed anthropologies and tepid human rights commitments statistically disappear when one surveys the general public. In other words, while the public may define humans using roughly the same language as do the academics—we have human DNA, we are able to communicate with others, we have ideas and feelings, and so forth—they do not believe that "contested humans" who fail to meet all of a given anthropology's criteria are somehow less worthy of life.

Evans attributes this statistical decoupling among the wider American public to two factors. First, there are deep reserves of religious faith in the United States, particularly among evangelical Protestants. This faith teaches that human beings are in some way made by God, which means that human life, however defined, is ipso facto sacred. (The conservative Protestant PhD students Evans interviewed also subscribed strongly to this belief.) Second, there is an abiding American ethos of equality, itself intimately correlated with adherence to the Christian Anthropology (see Ch. 6). Americans' professed sense of equality is overwhelming—fully 98 percent of those polled in one study agreed that everyone should have equal opportunities and equal education, for example (p. 184, citing Herbert McClosky and John Zaller). There is a disturbing open-endedness to this equality talk, as Evans finds. Many of his PhD-student interviewees, for example, struggled to find some reason why, given the choice, one should save a human life over that of a chimpanzee or a dolphin. Nevertheless, as Evans avers, perhaps there is some reason to be hopeful, after all.

And yet, as much as I would like to agree with Evans's conclusion (his methodology seems beyond reproach), I find that I cannot join him completely in his sanguine assessment. Even if the statistics show that the public does not, mercifully, share the anti-humanism of the professors, the social reality of the United States in 2016 belies the public's protestations about equality

and human rights. Readers of the *Human Life Review* need hardly be reminded that the same people who claim to think all deserve equal treatment routinely vote for candidates who promise to treat vast swaths of the American population as though they did not, in fact, deserve to be honored as human beings. If 98 percent of Americans truly believed in equality, Planned Parenthood would have been an ugly footnote in a high-school history textbook a long time ago. Even after the Daleiden videos had been revealed in all of their grotesque horror, Hillary Clinton gave speeches nationwide vowing to expand access to the same clinics that traffic in infant cadavers. (She won the popular vote by almost three million voters.)

And it isn't just abortion where Americans' anthropologies and actions do not overlap. Some form of euthanasia or doctor-assisted suicide is legal in nine states, with more likely to follow. (Legal or not, Americans have a long history of euthanizing and sterilizing those who do not fit the definition of "human" that happens to be prevalent at a given time.) For all the talk during 2012 of a "war on women," the Obama administration oversaw the repeal of the ban on sending women into combat zones. And there is a terrifying opioid epidemic underway in the United States today, with all its attendant human misery, including the effects on family members and children. Given such realities, it is difficult to believe that Americans really value human life as much as they say they do. Perhaps it is not the professors' anthropologies that are directly influencing Americans' disregard for themselves and others, but some ideology at work that countermands what Evans depicts as a kind of sunny American exceptionalism.

I also find that the strength of the evangelical anthropology is not, perhaps, as formidable as might first appear. It is surely a good thing that evangelicals see human beings as made in the *imago Dei*. But even the evangelical PhD students Evans interviewed had trouble articulating a definition of humanity beyond scriptural quotation. In other words, there is little hope that the presence of evangelicals in a PhD program will help to counter the corrosive ideologies espoused by the vast majority of university professors, men and women not exactly inclined to listen attentively to passages from the Bible.

Moreover, Evans finds that Catholics are doing a poor job of catechizing on life issues, such that the Catholic laity do not have a good answer for the question, "What is a human?" To some degree, this may be due to a statistical anomaly: Many Catholics answer this question using natural law arguments, which do not always register as "religious" and therefore would not show the strength of Catholic teaching on this point. Perhaps. In my own experience, the Catholic Church does strive to instruct the faithful on the sanctity of human life. And yet, polls show that, in election after election, about half of

American Catholics vote for politicians who preach infanticide, geronticide, and “mercy killing” for the disabled. While evangelicals, although epistemologically bounded by their lack of a natural law tradition, are a refreshing contradiction to the prevailing secular orthodoxies when it comes to human dignity, the Catholic laity seems to draw from two broad anthropological currents—humans as sacred creatures, and humans as value-creating demigods. It is not clear to me how either of these two bulwarks—Catholicism and evangelicalism—will be able, as Evans hopes, to keep the flood tide of the professors’ anti-human-rights anthropologies from seeping any further into an already compromised electorate.

There is more in Evans’s new offering, which is well worth purchasing and keeping close at hand. Specialists who read *What Is a Human?* may slog through the whole thing, but everyone else will likely want to skim the lengthy passages detailing the interviewees’ responses, if only because the American idiom as spoken by young people is almost unrecognizable as English. Nevertheless, I recommend this important book to those with an interest in learning the field in which they will have to debate others’ humanity.

—Jason Morgan is an assistant professor in the Faculty of Foreign Studies at Reitaku University in Chiba, Japan.

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Great Defender of Life Dinner

October 27, 2016



Honoring

Carl A. Anderson
Supreme Knight
Knights of Columbus

Fr. John McCartney:

On May 4, 1865, Bishop Matthew Simpson of the Methodist Episcopal Church delivered an address at the burial of President Abraham Lincoln in Springfield, Illinois. A close confidant of Lincoln, the Bishop first spoke about the sentiment of the American people five years earlier as they confronted the great crisis facing them:

“Many said, ‘Is it possible to save our nation?’ Some in our country . . . declared it to be impossible . . . and many an honest and patriotic heart was deeply pained with apprehensions of common ruin; and many, in grief and almost in despair, anxiously inquired, ‘What shall the end of these things be?’ . . .”

But the Bishop continued: “Often did [President Lincoln] remark to friends and to delegations that his hope for our success rested in his conviction that God would bless our efforts, because we were trying to do right . . . To a minister who said he

hoped the Lord was on our side, [the President] replied that it gave him no concern whether the Lord was on our side or not ‘For,’ he added, ‘I know the Lord is always on the side of right;’ and with deep feeling added, ‘But God is my witness that it is my constant anxiety and prayer that both myself and this nation should be on the Lord’s side.’”



Tonight we gather again here at the Union League Club, an institution born of that civil war fought to rid our country of the great moral evil of that time: the evil of slavery. And we assemble as modern soldiers engaged in a new civil war, which has become a world war, to end the great moral evil of our age: the war on life. This year, for the fourteenth time, we honor a Great Defender of Life, Mr. Carl Anderson, even as together we renew our resolve to continue to “war on death for life.”

It was in this club, in 1979, at a dinner to honor our beloved founder, James P. McFadden, that Malcolm Muggeridge praised J.P. for being someone whose best cause was a “lost cause.” Now, I would certainly not want to

commit heresy here tonight by disagreeing with “St. Mugg,” but what J.P., and Faith, and Maria, and Carl, and all of us have been fighting for all these years is not a lost cause, because it is not *our* cause at all.

We must always remember that it is not *we* who ask for God’s help to win *our* cause; it is rather God who *allows us* to help Him win *His* cause. This is the truth that President Lincoln understood so well: that God’s cause is right because it is His, and because it is His, it can never be lost. Oh, we may suffer defeat in battles, be routed in skirmishes, or be forced at times to engage in tactical retreats; there have been dark days before and there may be other even darker days ahead. We ourselves, perhaps, may not live to see the ultimate victory. But none of that matters, and we must never grow discouraged. As long as we are faithful to serving on the Lord’s side; we can trust that the day of His victory will come.

Let us pray:

Almighty and merciful God, Lord of Life and Conqueror of Death, we humbly ask Your blessing upon us this night as we gather to honor those who have dedicated their lives in defense of Your gift of life. Forty-two years ago You inspired Your son and servant James P. McFadden to establish this Foundation to be a voice crying in the wilderness, proclaiming Your Truth in a time growing ever more dark and confused. We thank You for the many graces You have bestowed on us over these years, and tonight, with temerity, we ask for even more.

Give us the gifts of wisdom and courage, according to our state in life, so that we may always respond to Your call to serve as Your instruments, to protect and defend the sacredness of all human life in these crucial times.

Help us never to become discouraged in this battle You have called us to, and assist us in witnessing to Your Truth always with charity, love and joy.

Give us, too, the grace of personal conversion, so that we may convert others by example before words.

And help us to see the great love You have for all the vulnerable souls of this world: the child in the womb, the disabled, the poor, the sick, the elderly, and those who do not know You or have forgotten You, so that we may be better channels of Your grace to others.

May we always perceive that Your side is our side, that Your cause is our cause, and may we always strive to be worthy to be called Your great defenders of life.

We ask this in and though Your Most Holy Name. Amen.

—Fr. John J. McCartney is the pastor of St. Mary’s Church in Roslyn Harbor, New York.

Jeanne Mancini:

So delighted to be with you tonight and honored to introduce a person who is no stranger to anyone who has been involved in the pro-life movement, a person I consider to be a visionary in the most critical area of building a culture of life in our country and world, Mr. Carl Anderson. As many of us



here know, Carl Anderson is the Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus, and in that capacity acts as CEO.

What you may or may not know is that the Knights are literally the backbone of the most critical works building a culture of life.

A number of years ago my father and I pulled up information on the Knights to see the kinds of organizations that they help to support. It's a long list. That list includes:

- establishing, at The Catholic University of America, Father Michael J. McGivney Hall, as the new home of the Pontifical John Paul II Institute for Studies on Marriage and Family, which by the way was founded because JP II saw that the only way culture would be restored was to train experts in God's plan for marriage and family; providing scholarships for students at the institute (I was one of those students who had such a scholarship).

- spearheading an ultrasound initiative, with over 700 of the highest technology ultrasounds placed in pregnancy care centers in the US, Canada, Jamaica, Peru and other countries. They have supported this effort with more than \$20 million in resources.

- assisting with the construction of the national Catholic seminary in Cuba;
- launching the Christian Refugee Relief Fund, a charitable fund that benefits the persecuted Christians in the Middle East, and donating more than \$10.5 million for food, housing, and other basic necessities for those in the region who have fled their homes.

- building schools and food distribution centers for AIDS orphans in Kenya and Uganda.

- establishing the Heroes Fund to provide immediate assistance to the families of first responders who lost their lives on 9/11.

At the March for Life, I can honestly say that we wouldn't exist without the Knights. They were there to help with the very first March for Life in 1974, and continue today as our largest supporter, from financial resources to staffing the March with hundreds of marshalls for safety and organization.

And there have been many other projects.

Mr. Anderson has led the Knights and their families since 2000 to unprecedented levels of charitable giving and support for their communities and Church. Under Mr. Anderson's leadership, membership has grown to more than 1.9 million Knights, who together in 2015 alone donated over \$175 million to charity and provided more than 73.5 million volunteer hours of charitable service worldwide. Over the past decade, under the Supreme Knight's guidance, the Knights of Columbus has donated more than 700 million hours of service to charity and \$1.55 billion to charity.

Prior to becoming the leader of the Knights of Columbus, Mr. Anderson had a distinguished career as a public servant and educator. He worked for a number of years in the White House in various positions including as acting director of the White House Office of Public Liaison. He also served for a decade as a member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. He taught family law at the Pontifical John Paul II Institute for Studies on Marriage and Family at the Pontifical Lateran University in Rome. In addition, he was the founding vice president and first dean of the Washington, D.C., session of this graduate school of theology now located at The Catholic University of America.

Supreme Knight Anderson is the author of several books, including the *New York Times* bestseller, *A Civilization of Love: What Every Catholic Can Do to Transform the World*.

He was appointed by Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI to positions on a number of Vatican commissions and serves on a number of committees of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops.

I would venture to guess that the accomplishment he is proudest of and the one most important to him is his family—his marriage to his beautiful wife, Dorian, and parenting his incredible children.

When I was at the Institute, Fr. Francis Martin, during his class on biblical foundations of marriage and family, talked about the different vocations and how we are all called to live the fullness of the particular mission God has for us. He used the analogy of a glass to water to make his point. He used the example of different popes. He talked about how our capacity, state in life, the graces given to us are like the empty glass but how we respond is like water in the glass. The call, of course, is to respond with a full glass of water. He contrasted St. John Paul II to some of the popes who were less holy in

earlier years in church history, dark years. One who had a mistress, and didn't respond to the fullness of grace, resembled a somewhat empty glass. He compared this to St. John Paul II's "full glass"—JP II wrote more than any pope ever, traveled to more countries, helped to bring down communism in Poland and the USSR, did more for marriage and family, etc.

I think Mr. Carl Anderson has a very full glass. If any of you, like me, are disheartened by this election cycle and the general darkness in our culture, take heart. Our theme for the March for Life this year is "The Power of One"—and it is appropriate to reflect upon that theme as we celebrate this honor tonight bestowed upon Mr. Anderson—and God working through him. God raises up certain people for a particular time period. Know of my personal admiration and gratitude, Mr. Anderson. Please join me in welcoming to the stage Mr. Carl Anderson.

—*Jeanne Mancini is president of the March for Life.*

Carl A. Anderson:

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, and my brother Knights of Columbus, it is an honor to be with you this evening to accept the Great Defender of Life Award. Dorian and I first became active in the pro-life cause in the 1970s while we were in college. Since that time, I have had the privilege of working in the cause of life alongside saints such as Mother Teresa of Calcutta and Pope John Paul II and public servants such as Jim Buckley, Henry Hyde, Chris Smith, and, of course, Jesse Helms and Ronald Reagan. But aside from religious leaders and elected officials I think the person who may have influenced me the most in the pro-life movement was Jim McFadden.

And so, this evening is very special for me.

I first met Jim in 1976 after moving to Washington, D.C., and over many years I learned a great deal from him. He was a man of strategic vision, tactical know-how, political realism and, surprisingly for a person with these qualities, he was also a man of great humility. Jim was not interested in the limelight or accolades. He was interested in getting the job done.

He knew Capitol Hill needed a dependable pro-life network and so he founded the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life. He knew those of us working on the Hill needed timely news about what was happening in the movement as well as among policy makers and so he began *Life Letter*. He understood that to win as a political and social movement the pro-life cause would have to reach out beyond the Catholic community into the Evangelical Protestant community and so he helped organize the Christian Action Council.

And he knew that in order to grow in a sustainable way the movement would have to attract and provide a forum to display the intellectual depth of the pro-life cause and so he established the *Human Life Review*—a journal that soon had contributors such as Jerome Lejeune, Malcolm Muggeridge, Nat Hentoff, and Walker Percy—to name just a few.

What I think was the key to the success of the *Human Life Review* and to Jim’s leadership in general was his steely realism, his uncompromising intellectual rigor, and indomitable commitment to the cause of life.

It is in that spirit that I would offer some brief remarks this evening.

This election year, we are often told that poverty, inequality, and peace are key themes.

According to one of the world’s foremost experts on poverty of all time, there is no greater poverty than that experienced in America. In her speech to Harvard’s graduates in 1982, Mother Teresa explained that the poorest of the poor weren’t in the slums of India. Calling abortion “one of the greatest poverties,” the humble saint added: “A nation, people, family that allows that, that accepts that, they are the poorest of the poor.”

Mother Teresa saw that the inequality of rights assigned to the unborn resulted in great poverty. She also regularly warned that this was likewise a threat to peace.

In 1994, at the National Prayer Breakfast, attended by congressional leaders of both parties and by President and Mrs. Clinton, Mother Teresa made a direct plea to the American people, saying: “I feel that the greatest destroyer of peace today is abortion, because it is a war against the child, a direct killing of the innocent child, murder by the mother herself. And if we accept that a mother can kill even her own child, how can we tell other people not to kill one another?”

The saint continued: “Any country that accepts abortion is not teaching its people to love, but to use any violence to get what they want.”

How much of the violence we see today, and how much of the coarsening of our culture is the result of a legal system and way of thinking that says some lives don’t matter—that some human beings have no rights at all.

We confront this greatest of poverties because our country has legally embraced what theologians might call “a structural sin,” namely a legal system that denies the humanity of the unborn, and allows their innocent lives to be destroyed.

There are many threats to life in this country. All are to be resisted, but none comes close qualitatively or quantitatively to the devastation of abortion—the legal regime that has resulted in the intentional deaths of 50 million innocent human beings.

The Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade* didn't end the debate and it didn't settle the law. Instead, it left a country deeply uncomfortable with the decision and it galvanized a movement in favor of the civil rights of those who could not speak for themselves.

That decision did something else too. It undermined the credibility of our Supreme Court in the way that *Dredd Scott, Plessy v. Ferguson* and *Buck v. Bell* had done before it. Two of those cases denied human rights to African Americans. The third denied rights to those with intellectual disabilities, allowing their forced sterilization and opining that "three generations of imbeciles [was] enough." In each of these cases, as in *Roe*, the Court usurped for itself the role that the Declaration of Independence leaves to God—that all are created equal, and endowed by our Creator with certain unalienable rights—including life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And it usurped that role with disastrous consequences.

If you doubt this, you have only to turn to the early volumes of the *Human Life Review* to see numerous legal scholars conclude not only that *Roe v. Wade* is bad constitutional law, but that it makes very little pretense of being constitutional law at all.

Roe, and its companion case of *Doe v. Bolton*, opened the door to virtually unrestricted abortion. And since that time the smallest and most common-sense restrictions have been blocked by pro-abortion politicians or by federal courts.

But that hasn't changed the fact that Americans remained unconvinced.

Forty-three years after *Roe*, our polling with Marist has found that a strong majority of Americans says abortion is morally wrong. They do so by 20 points. And 8 in 10 would restrict abortion to—at most—the first three months of pregnancy; a majority would limit it to the rarest of cases, to cases of rape, incest, or to save the life of the mother, or would not allow it all.

We may see these positions as imperfect, given our strong belief in the value and dignity of every human life, but it is undeniable that if our politicians had the courage to act on this American consensus, we could eliminate almost all abortions in the United States.

Instead of embracing this consensus, we see too many politicians, including some who are Catholic, embracing ever more radical—and unpopular—positions.

Some pro-abortion candidates now want to repeal the Hyde Amendment even though almost two-thirds of Americans disagree.

Others use as a fig leaf their own "personal" opposition to abortion, but won't allow what they say is a religious belief to influence their public policy.

Let us be clear. The unique life of the unborn child isn't a matter of faith,

it is a matter of science, as the world-famous geneticist Jerome Lejeune made clear in testimony before Congress and in the pages of the *Human Life Review* more than four decades ago. The intentional killing of an innocent human being is wrong *not* simply as a matter of religious belief. It is always wrong because intentionally killing the innocent is always a grave injustice.

When the late Governor of New York, Mario Cuomo, pioneered this “personally opposed” argument in 1984, he claimed that he couldn’t impose what he considered a minority view on the majority of Americans. It was a poor argument then.

It is an even poorer argument today, when 8 in 10 Americans support substantial limits on abortion. The position these politicians say they support in conscience could be acted on with overwhelming majority support, but instead they impose a political orthodoxy that is the minority view, violating their own conscience and the will of the majority.

The entire personally-opposed argument also throws away the principled position of John F. Kennedy before the Houston Ministerial Association in 1960. There, Senator Kennedy had said that a conscientious public official should resign his office if he concluded that enforcing a law would violate his conscience.

It seems this principled position has gone by the wayside. Today, all that is necessary is to “sincerely” register in a public forum one’s personal opposition to a morally offensive law and then one is morally free to defend and even promote the law one has concluded privately is gravely immoral. It is, of course, the very opposite of sound moral reasoning. It reflects the kind of counterfeit morality which one suspects Nelson Mandela and Martin Luther King spent much of their lives struggling against.

It is a doctrine that has for decades proved politically useful, but which may in the future be less tenable. Most Americans today agree that abortion is morally wrong. And huge majorities want restrictions on abortion. But still, these “personally opposed” politicians insist on violating both their own conscience and those of the majority of Americans.

I have not endorsed any candidate in any of this year’s elections. But I have argued that we should not vote for any candidate who supports abortion and opposes abortion restrictions.

When confronting the greatest poverty in the world, the number one cause of death in our country, the greatest destroyer of peace, the cornerstone of violence, and the denial of human rights to an entire class of people, and which has resulted in death on such a massive scale, I do not see how it is even remotely possible to build a culture of life and a just society by electing people who defend such a regime.

The reason is twofold.

First is the simple math that tells us that no other issue takes as many lives—all of them innocent—as abortion. Heart disease comes in a distant second.

Second, compromising on this issue for the sake of other issues has not moved pro-abortion politicians in the direction of life. To the contrary, it has moved them further away—as the recent campaign to overturn the Hyde Amendment demonstrates. Those Catholics and other people of faith who think they have more influence as “insiders” with pro-abortion politicians have failed to deliver.

If Catholics were to stand together with other people who support life to make abortion the preeminent human-rights issue of our time and to treat it as a truly non-negotiable priority, imagine how different our country would be.

In 1976, this almost happened. We could have had pro-life Democrat Sargent Shriver, who ran against Jimmy Carter in the primary, as president. If Shriver had won the primary and beaten Gerald Ford, it seems very unlikely that four years later Ronald Reagan could have put together a coalition of blue-collar Catholics and values voters to defeat a Pro-Life Catholic President Shriver as he did to defeat President Carter in 1980.

If this had happened, we might have had two parties committed to restricting abortion. We might have been able to have an ongoing debate over the rest of the important issues in Catholic social teaching. We might have been able to have a rational discussion of how to best tackle issues like immigration, the environment, poverty, the economy, and foreign policy.

I believe we can create such a moment again. If we stand together and say no politician, of any political party, will get my vote unless he or she commits to policies that legally restrict abortion.

Quite simply, if enough of us did that, both parties would have to listen. And that would be real change.

But this isn't just an election year. For Catholics, it is also the Year of Mercy. And for all of us who value the life of each person—including the life of every unborn child—we think of abortion not just as a political issue, but as a personal one.

Mother Teresa told us we should fight abortion with adoption, and everyone who would reduce abortion should commit to helping women in crisis pregnancies and by supporting adoption. In my book, *A Civilization of Love: What Every Catholic Can Do to Transform the World*, I mentioned that years ago Dorian and I brought into our home a young unmarried pregnant girl who lived with us throughout her pregnancy and who we helped place her

child with a loving Catholic couple through a private adoption. What I did not mention in the book was that the individual who assisted in that private adoption by finding the adopting couple was Jim McFadden.

We can be proud that for decades the pro-life movement has assisted women in choosing life by—among other things—making sure they have access to a full range of pre-natal health-care options, including the chance to see the child in their womb via ultrasound. In this regard I am tremendously proud of the Knights of Columbus initiative of placing the most technically advanced ultrasound machines in crisis pregnancy centers.

Since this program began in 2009 we have placed 720 machines with a value of more than \$35 million. Of course, we do not know the number of lives that these machines have saved. But if each machine is decisive in convincing just one mother each week to keep her baby, these machines will save more than 37,000 lives each year. And they will keep doing this, year in and year out.

Emotionally and spiritually, we must also accompany women. Whether they are pregnant, have had their child, or have had an abortion we need to continue our support of ministries like Project Rachel. We have a responsibility to accompany women who face these challenges in ways that encourage them to see that the choice for life is at the same time a choice for their own fulfillment.

There is so much for us to do to bring about a culture of life in our politics, our economics, and how we respect the inherent dignity of each human being. There must be a comprehensive, holistic approach that looks forward to the day in which each person is truly welcomed and accepted.

In beginning these remarks, I mentioned that Dorian and I have been working continuously in the pro-life cause since we were in college together. Since that time I have had the opportunity to be involved in numerous pro-life initiatives, including the Helms Amendment, the Hyde Amendment, the Human Life Bill, the Mexico City Policy, various Human Life Amendments to the Constitution, litigation such as *Harris v. McRae*, the Bork and Scalia nominations to the Supreme Court, and initiatives such as our own ultrasound machine program. In all these efforts, the person whose advice I have relied upon the most has been Dorian. And there have been several times in the past decades when I have asked her whether we have done our part and whether it is time to move on to other matters. Her answer has always been: There is so much still to do, we can still make a contribution, we must stay the course. So tonight, I would like to give my own, personal, Great Defender of Life Award to my wife, Dorian.

Earlier, I mentioned the influence of a former governor of New York. In

closing, I would like to quote another governor of New York whose words have always provided guidance for me and which I think are particularly appropriate for those of us committed to the cause of life. Teddy Roosevelt once said this:

“In any moment of decision, the best thing you can do is the right thing. The worst thing you can do is nothing.... Do what you can, with what you have, where you are.”

So let us continue together, in what Ronald Reagan once described as “the long march for life,” confident that we are in the right and that in America, despite all obstacles, right will ultimately prevail. Again, thank you very much.



Maria McFadden Maffucci presents the Great Defender of Life Award to Mr. Anderson

2016 GREAT DEFENDER OF LIFE DINNER



Brad Miner, George Marlin, and Mike Long



Dana and Anne Hendershott with Kristan Hawkins



*Maria Maffucci and Carl Anderson
with James McLaughlin, Human Life
Foundation Board Chairman*



*David and Kathleen Renton and John
McBride bid on auction items*



Anna Maffucci checks in longtime supporter and regular dinner guest Walter Russell, Jr.



McFadden Fellow Ifeoma Anunkor (r) chats with Helen Smith

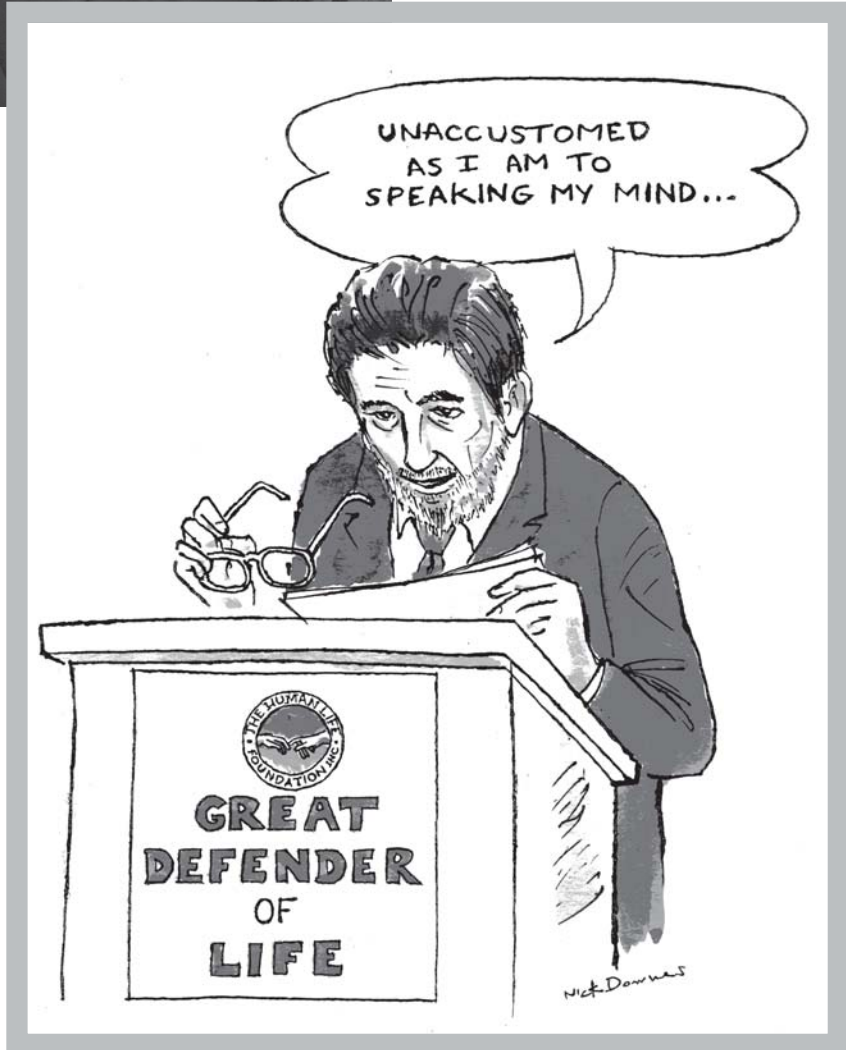


Jeanne Mancini with Clarke Forsythe

2016 GREAT DEFENDER OF LIFE DINNER



NAT HENTOFF
6/10/1925 - 1/7/2017
R.I.P.



APPENDIX A

[*Nat Hentoff, the Human Life Foundation's 2005 Great Defender of Life, and a renowned journalist whose work appeared over many years in the Human Life Review, died on January 7. The following is an original article Mr. Hentoff wrote for the Summer 2009 issue of the Review (accessible online at <http://www.humanlifereview.com/9680-2/>).]*

My Controversial Decision to Become Pro-life

Nat Hentoff

It took me a long time, when I was much younger, to understand a conversation like the one a nine-year-old boy was having recently at the dinner table with his mother, a physician who performs abortions. I heard the story from her husband when he found out I'm a pro-lifer. "What is abortion?" the nine-year-old asked. His mother, the physician, tried to explain the procedure simply. "But that's killing the baby!" the boy exclaimed. She went on to tell him of the different time periods in the fetus's evolution when there were limits on abortion. "What difference," her son asked, "is how many months you can do it? That's *still* killing the baby!"

I didn't see that an actual baby, a human being, was being killed by abortion for years because just about everyone I knew—my wife, members of the family, the reporters I worked with at the *Village Voice* and other places—were pro-choice. But then—covering cases of failed late-term abortions with a live baby bursting into the room to be hidden away until it died—I began to start examining abortion seriously.

I came across medical textbooks for doctors who cared for pregnant women, and one of them—*The Unborn Patient: Prenatal Diagnosis and Treatment* by Drs. Harrison, Golbus, and Filly—turned me all the way around: "The concept that the fetus is a patient, an individual (with a DNA distinct from everyone else's), whose maladies are a proper subject for medical treatment . . . is alarmingly modern. . . . Only now are we beginning to consider the fetus seriously—medically, legally, and ethically."

I also began to be moved by a nationally known pro-life black preacher who said: "There are those who argue that the [woman's] right to privacy is of a higher order than the right of life. That was the premise of slavery. You could not protest the existence of slaves on the plantation because that was private [property] and therefore outside of your right to be concerned." (His name was Jesse Jackson, but that was before he decided to run for president, and changed his position.)

So, in the 1980s, in my weekly column in the *Village Voice*, I openly and clearly declared myself to be pro-life. That was—and still is—the most controversial position I've taken. I was already well known around the country as a syndicated columnist (appearing then in the *Washington Post*) reporting on assaults on free speech and civil liberties as well as focusing on education, police abuse, and human-rights violations around the world.

Much of that writing was controversial, but nothing as incendiary as being a pro-lifer. Some of the women editors at the *Voice* stopped speaking to me; and

while I had been a frequent lecturer on free speech at colleges and universities, those engagements stopped. The students electing speakers were predominantly liberals and pro-choicers. They didn't want this pro-life infidel on their campuses.

I was still winning some journalism awards, the most prestigious of which was one from the National Press Foundation in Washington "for lifetime distinguished contributions to journalism." I'd been told by the head of the foundation that the selection committee's decision had been unanimous. But as I came into the building to accept the award, a committee member told me there had been a serious and sometimes angry debate about my being chosen.

"Some on the committee didn't think that my reporting was that good?" I asked. She hesitated. "No, it wasn't that." "Oh." I got the message. "They didn't think a *pro-lifer* should be honored." "Yes," she nodded, "that was it."

A very pro-choice law professor I knew did invite me to debate him at his college, Harvard. When I started, the audience was largely hostile, but soon I sensed that I was making some headway, and my debating partner became irritated. "If you're so pro-life," he shouted, "why don't you go out and kill abortionists?" I looked at him, and said gently, "Because I'm pro-life." That response seemed to register on some of the students.

During other public debates in various settings, I challenge pro-abortionists to look at photographs in multi-dimensional ultrasound sonograms of infants waiting to be born: their eyes, the moving, outstretched fingers and hands. I have read of women who, on being shown a sonogram of their child, decided not to have an abortion. And I greatly welcomed the news that on May 29, 2009, Nebraska's *unicameral* legislature unanimously voted for a bill that its supporters called "The Mother's Right to See Her Unborn Child Ultrasound Bill." It is now the law in that state that before an abortion, the mother has to begin to get to know—through a sonogram—the child she is thinking of killing.

And, even more likely to prevent abortions is this breaking development reported on June 30, 2009, on lifesitenews.com: "A London art student—Jorge Lopez, a Brazilian student at the Royal College of Art in London—has developed a revolutionary new step in prenatal imagery that allows parents to hold a life-size model of their unborn baby." Using four-dimensional ultrasound images and MRI scans, plaster models can be built "that can delineate the unique form of each child." Says inventor Lopez: "It's amazing to see the faces of the mothers. They can see the full scale of their baby, really understand the size of it."

And really understand that it is a unique human being!

On this basic issue, there was an interesting conversation on the June 18 episode of Jon Stewart's popular TV program, *The Daily Show*. Stewart is pro-choice, and his guest, former Arkansas governor and presidential candidate Mike Huckabee, is pro-life. Said Huckabee: "To me the issue is so much more than about abortion. It's about the fundamental issue of whether or not every human life has intrinsic worth and value." Stewart asked him whether he thought that pro-choicers "don't believe that every human life has value." Answered Huckabee: "I don't truly

believe that even people who would consider themselves ‘pro-choice’ actually like abortion [but] they haven’t thought through the implications . . . of their conclusions.” Huckabee then made the crucial point that 93 percent of abortions in America are elective—they are not based on the health of the mother. Therefore, he went on, this trains future generations to believe that “it’s OK to take a human life because that life represents an interference to our lives—either economically or socially.”

Stewart became defensive, saying he had affection for his own children before they were born. “I think,” he said, “it’s very difficult when you look at an ultrasound of your child and you see a heartbeat—you are filled with that wonder and love and all those things.” But Stewart was still not against abortion, explaining: “I just don’t feel personally that it’s a decision I can make for another person.” And that brings us back to what the nine-year-old boy told his mother, who performs abortions: “That’s *still* killing the baby”—whoever decided to abort that human being. To say it’s a decision you can’t make for someone else allows a life to be taken.

Years ago, as a reporter, I came to know Dr. Bernard Nathanson, who, at the time, was a wholesale abortionist, having performed more than 75,000 abortions. Then one day, he looked at the lives he was taking, and stopped. Why did he change his mind? In an interview with the *Washington Times* (reported on lifesitenews.com on June 12), Dr. Nathanson said: “Once we had ultrasound [sonograms] in place, we could study the fetus and see it was a member of our community. If you don’t do that, you’re just a creature of political ideology. In 1970,” Nathanson continued, “there were approximately 1,100 articles on the functioning of the [human] fetus. By 1990, there were 22,000. The data piled up swiftly and *opened a window into the womb.*” (Emphasis added.) And there was a baby—certainly a member of our community!

Eventually, Dr. Nathanson converted to Catholicism, and the late Cardinal John O’Connor of New York presided at the event. I had come to know the Cardinal—first as a reporter, writing what eventually became a book about him, and then as a friend. From our first meeting, I had told him I was an atheist and a pro-lifer. He never tried to convert me; and the day after former abortionist Dr. Bernard Nathanson became a Catholic, the Cardinal called me: “I hope we don’t lose you because you’re the only Jewish atheist civil-libertarian pro-lifer we have.” I assured him he would not lose me, as I realized that for this high-level member of the Catholic hierarchy, my becoming a pro-lifer was decidedly not controversial.

However, I continued to be banished elsewhere. When the dean of the graduate school of Antioch College said he would like to establish there a Nat Hentoff Graduate School of Journalism, I was stunned. No institution has ever been named after me. I accepted, but the day before I was to leave to meet the faculty, the dean—clearly embarrassed—called me to tell me that because many in the faculty were strongly opposed to having a dean opposed to abortion, they would resist the appointment. So, even now, no institution has ever been named after me, and that’s

just as well. I much prefer to speak for—and be responsible for—only myself.

In debates with pro-abortionists, I frequently quote a writer I greatly admire, Mary Meehan, who often appears in this publication of the Human Life Foundation. Mary was active in the anti-Vietnam-war and civil-rights movements, and wrote an article for *The Progressive* magazine, many of whose readers have similar backgrounds. For years, I was a columnist for *The Progressive* and, as far as I know, I was the only pro-lifer on the staff—and probably among the readers. Mary Meehan shook up both the staff and the readers when she wrote:

Some of us who went through the antiwar struggles of the 1960s and 1970s are now active in the right-to-life movement. We do not enjoy opposing our old friends on the abortion issue, but we feel that we have no choice. . . . It is out of character for the left to neglect the weak and helpless. The traditional mark of the left has been its protection of the underdog, the weak, and the poor. The unborn child is the most helpless form of humanity, even in more need of protection than the poor tenant farmer or the mental patient. The basic instinct of the left is to aid those who cannot aid themselves. And that instinct is absolutely sound. It's what keeps the human proposition going.

Whether you're on the left or on the right—or an independent, as I am—it's also vital to keep in mind what Barbara Newman has written in *The American Feminist*, the national magazine of Feminists for Life: “If it is wrong to kill with guns, bombs, or poison, with the electric chair or the noose, it is most tragically wrong to kill with the physician's tools.”

Way back, a German physician and humanist, Dr. Christoph Hufeland, wrote: “If the physician presumes to take into consideration in his work whether a life has value or not, the consequences are boundless, and the physician becomes the most dangerous man in the state.” Once human life is devalued unto death, many of us born people who are sick and in need of costly care—especially as we grow older—can be left to die because our “quality of life” isn't worth keeping us alive.

Having been out of step all these years, I have learned the most fundamental human right is the right to life—for the born, the unborn, the elderly who refuse to give up on life. My daughter, Jessica, recently sent me a button to wear to proclaim the essence of what she and I believe to be Constitutional Americanism: “No, you can't have my rights—I'm still using them.”

APPENDIX B

[*Alexandra DeSanctis is a William F. Buckley Fellow in Political Journalism at the National Review Institute. The following column appeared on National Review Online (www.nationalreview.com) on January 27, 2017, and is reprinted with permission.*]

Huge, Diverse Crowd Marches for Life in the Nation's Capital

Alexandra DeSanctis

“We are the pro-life generation,” the crowd chanted, voices building to an overwhelming crescendo with each repetition of the line. Packed onto the National Mall across the street from the White House Friday, the revelers deafened one another with their joyful shouts, tens of thousands gathered just across the street from President Donald Trump’s new home, smiling and laughing and breaking into spontaneous cheers.

Such was the scene at the 44th annual March for Life, first held here on January 22, 1974, one year to the day after the Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade* that legalized abortion nationwide. In good weather and in bad—given Washington’s bitter Januaries, it’s usually the latter—crowds swarm the Mall every year to protest against the country’s abortion laws and to advocate for the protection of unborn life.

This year’s March had particular historic significance, as it followed on the heels of a Republican sweep of November’s elections and, with it, the chance to enact pro-life policies at the federal level for the first time in years. The crowd never cheered louder than when Vice President Mike Pence spoke at the morning’s rally, becoming the first member of a presidential administration ever to address the event in person.

“President Trump actually asked me to be here with you today,” Pence said. “He asked me to thank you for your support—to thank you for your stand for life and for your compassion for the women and children of America. . . . Compassion is overcoming convenience and hope is defeating despair. In a word: Life is winning in America because of all of you.”

Every year the March makes evident just how phenomenally young and vibrant the pro-life movement is, bolstered by students who travel from hundreds of colleges, universities, and high schools all across the country, often sleeping on buses overnight or driving for two days straight to be here. This year was no different.

Take, for example, twelve-year-old Tommy Steines, who was attending his very first March for Life. “I’m here to stand up for life and for support,” he told *National Review*, smiling from under his knit cap. Steines and his family drove eight hours from Ohio to attend the event. Steines’s mother, Donna, said that there are smaller, satellite marches for life in Ohio, “but none of them have half a million people.”

Even though young faces dominated the crowd, people of all ages and genders and races were well represented at the March, as they always are. The Mall this year held a truly heterogeneous mixture of Americans, united in the belief that this

country's women and children and families deserve better than a regime of abortion on demand.

Dozens of pro-life public figures and movement leaders gathered behind the rally stage, speaking most frequently of the hope embodied by the new administration. One of those activists was David Daleiden, founder of the Center for Medical Progress, which recorded and released the undercover videos that exposed the vast fetal-tissue-trafficking industry profiting off the body parts of aborted babies.

Daleiden told *National Review* that the Trump administration gives pro-life people reason to expect the demise of the abortion industry. "It's a historic moment that I think we now have the opportunity to enact the sorts of commonsense, consensus pro-life policies that the vast majority of Americans say they want," he said.

Judging from the groups within today's crowd, Daleiden is correct. The March for Life has always been a highly inclusive event, with Feminists for Life and Atheists Against Abortion standing shoulder to shoulder with Catholic priests and nuns, Protestant ministers, and rabbis.

And NFL players, too, for that matter: Baltimore Ravens tight end Benjamin Watson was one of the featured speakers at Friday's rally, and he chatted with *National Review* for a moment before heading on stage. "Any time I can advocate for life—whether it's pre-born, whether it's post-born, whatever it is—I want to stand for life and for those who can't stand for themselves," he said.

If there was a theme this year, it was "hope." Jonathan Darnel, a Northern Virginia resident and pro-life activist, said it is incumbent on pro-life people to continue doing everything they can to end abortion in the U.S. "We say it's murder, but we don't act like it," he told *National Review*, holding up a twelve-by-four-foot banner that reads, "Be honest: If abortion killed born kids, wouldn't we fight harder?"

Rather than seeking out pro-choice individuals, Darnel sees his mission as encouraging people who are already pro-life to become as active in the movement as they possibly can. "It should radically change your regular life as long as it's legal," he said.

Kansas governor Sam Brownback sounded hopeful, too. "The video evidence against Planned Parenthood is so significant and their defense, I believe, so weak, in that they say nobody else can provide these services, the non-abortion services that we provide," he said. "But others can, and this is now documented. We've gone through this in our state."

Three pro-life politicians, representatives Chris Smith and Mia Love and Senator Joni Ernst, also spoke at the rally. Love's address was particularly poignant, as she tearfully spoke about how her parents chose not to abort her.

"I am certain that this couple would never have thought that that child would become the first black, female Republican ever elected to Congress," she declared. Love spoke eloquently about the limitless potential each child has:

That child may become a friend that saves a peer from suicide, or a mom who strengthens her family, or a neighbor who volunteers and eradicates hunger, or a teacher who

inspires a struggling student. Every time we kill a child through abortion, we kill our potential. Every time we kill a child, we—all of us—suffer. We lose a little of ourselves and a whole lot of our future.

Perhaps Love's remarks best encapsulate the perpetual hope of the pro-life movement: hope for a future free of the horrific violence of abortion, hope for each mother to embrace the child within her, hope for the potential and promise of every unborn life. It is this hope that impels thousands to travel here to stand in the snow and wind and rain every January, and it is this hope that fuels their joyful belief that they will one day bring an end to the brutal practice of abortion in America.



APPENDIX C

[Mike Pence made history by being the first vice president ever to address the annual March for Life in Washington, D.C., held this year on January 27. The following is the full transcript of his speech, as published on LifeSiteNews.com.]

March For Life 2017 Speech

Vice President Mike Pence

WASHINGTON D.C., January 27, 2017—Thank you Karen and Charlotte, and thank all of you on behalf of Pres. Donald Trump, my wife Karen, and my daughter Charlotte.

I'd like to welcome you all to Washington DC for the 44th annual March for life. It's a good day. It's the best day I've ever seen for the March for Life, in more ways than one.

I'm deeply humbled to stand before you today. I'm deeply humbled to be the first vice president of the United States to ever have the privilege to attend this historic event.

More than 240 years ago, our founders wrote words that have echoed through the ages.

They declared these truths to be self-evident that we are, all of us, endowed by our Creator with certain unalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Forty-four years ago, our Supreme Court turned away from the first of these timeless ideals.

But today, three generations hence, because of all of you, and the many thousands that stand with us in marches like this all across the nation, life is winning again in America.

That is evident in the election of pro-life majorities and the Congress of the United States of America. But it is no more evident, in any way, than in the historic election of a president who stands for a stronger America, a more prosperous America, and a president who, I proudly say, stands for the right to life—President Donald Trump.

President Trump actually asked me to be here with you today. He asked me to thank you for your support, for your stand for life, and for your compassion for the women and children of America.

One week ago today on the steps of the Capitol we saw the inauguration of the 45th President of the United States. I can tell you firsthand, our president is a man with broad shoulders and a big heart. His vision, his energy, his optimism are boundless, and I know that he will make America great again.

From his first day in office he's been keeping his promises to the American people.

I like to say that over there at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., we are in the promise-keeping business.

That's why on Monday, President Trump reinstated the Mexico City Policy to

prevent foreign aid from funding organizations that promote or perform abortions worldwide.

That's why this administration will work with the Congress to end taxpayer funding of abortion and of abortion providers, and we will devote those resources to healthcare services for women across America.

And that's why next week, President Donald Trump will announce a Supreme Court nominee who will uphold the God-given liberties enshrined in our Constitution in the tradition of the late and great Justice Antonin Scalia.

You know, life is winning in America. And today is a celebration of that progress that we have made in this cause. You know, I've long believed that a society can be judged by how we care for its most vulnerable—the aged, the infirm, the disabled, and the unborn.

We have come to an historic moment in the cause for life. And we must meet this moment with respect and compassion for every American.

Life is winning in America for many reasons.

Life is winning through the steady advance of science that illuminates when life begins, more and more, every day. Life is winning through the generosity of millions of adoptive families to open their hearts and homes to children in need. Life is winning through the compassion of caregivers and volunteers at crisis pregnancy centers and faith-based organizations who minister to women in towns across this country.

And life is winning through the quiet counsels between mothers and daughters, grandmothers and granddaughters, between friends across kitchen tables, and over coffee at college campuses. The truth is being told. Compassion is overcoming convenience. And hope is defeating despair.

In a word, life is winning in America because of all of you.

So I urge you to press on. But as it is written, "Let your gentleness be evident to all." Let this movement be known for love, not anger. Let this movement be known for compassion, not confrontation. When it comes to matters of the heart, there is nothing stronger than gentleness.

I believe that we will continue to win the hearts and minds of the rising generation if our hearts first break for young mothers and their unborn children, and if we each of us do all we can to meet them where they are, with generosity, not judgment.

To heal our land and restore a culture of life we must continue to be a movement that embraces all, cares for all, and shows respect for the dignity and worth of every person.

Enshrined on the walls of the Jefferson Memorial are the words of our third president, who admonished us, so long ago, to remember that God gave us life and gave us liberty.

On behalf of the President of the United States, and my little family, we thank you for your stand for life. We thank you for your compassion. We thank you for your love for the women and children of America.

APPENDIX C

And be assured, be assured, that along with you, we will not grow weary, we will not rest until we restore a culture of life in America for ourselves and our posterity. Thank you and God bless you.

And God bless the United States of America.



“Today, three generations hence, because of all of you and the many thousands who stand with us in marches all across the nation, life is winning again in America.”

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The Human Life Foundation, Inc.
353 Lexington Avenue
Suite 802
New York, New York 10016
Phone: 212-685-5210
humanlifereview@verizon.net



“**F**or me, the salient issue is abortion. Here is why. Since *Roe v. Wade* was decided in 1973, 58 million children have been killed in America’s abortion mills. And the slaughter is ongoing: Before this day is over, thousands of children will be killed in their mother’s wombs, some even up to the point of delivery. Minority communities are particularly hard hit. In New York City in 2012 there were more black babies killed by abortion (31,758) than were born there (24,758). Killing on this industrial scale, in numbers beyond the imagination of Americans at the time of *Roe v. Wade*, is America’s greatest moral calamity since slavery, and it must be stopped.”

—George McKenna, “*Pro-life in the Time of Trump*”