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CATHOLIC LEAGUE NEWSLETTER



June, 1986

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TV station runs anti-Catholic ads to counter pro-life views

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—The management of WJKS-TV in Jacksonville recently resorted to vicious anti-Catholicism to strike a blow on behalf of legalized killing of unborn babies.

In a letter to WJKS management, the Catholic League has strongly protested the station's actions.

Traditionally, pro-life forces have faced an all but impossible task in winning fair presentation of their views on television

newscasts or community service programs.

Members of Florida Right to Life (FRL) decided to try an end run around the media's anti-life bias and purchase advertising time in the Jacksonville market in an effort to share their message with their fellow Florida citizens.

WJKS-TV management happily accepted FRL money for the ads. Then, in the name of the Fairness Doctrine, they granted free air to the Florida Abortion Rights Action

League (FARAL) to present the opposite view.

Beyond the fact that Federal Communications Commission Fairness Doctrine does not require TV stations to grant *free* time to refute statements made in another group's *paid* ads, WJKS-TV was also a willing partner of deceit.

The anti-life FARAL ad that WJKS aired

_____ Please turn to page 2

League defends pickets' free speech rights in federal appeals court

CHICAGO, Ill.—Catholic League Associate General Counsel Walter M. Weber, in a recent hearing before the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, argued in defense of the free speech rights of pro-life picketers. Weber asked the appeals court to affirm a lower court ruling striking down an anti-picketing ordinance of the Town of Brookfield, Wisconsin. The three-judge court took the matter "under advisement," and will probably decide the case within a few months.

The case of *Schultz v. Frisby* began in the spring of 1985 when pro-life individuals picketed on several occasions on the public street outside the Brookfield residence of abortionist Benjamin Victoria. Town officials responded with an ordinance prohibiting all picketing "before or about the residence or dwelling of any individual in the Town of Brookfield." The ban made no exception for peaceful picketing on public streets.

The League filed suit in federal court on behalf of two of the pro-lifers, claiming that the picketing ban violated the pro-lifers'

free speech rights. The district court judge agreed, and ordered the town not to enforce the anti-picketing law. The town then appealed the order to the federal court of appeals—the next highest court below the U.S. Supreme Court.

The main issue in the legal dispute is whether a town can prohibit all residential picketing, or only picketing which actually disturbs residential peace or privacy.

Attorney Harold H. Fuhrman of Milwaukee argued on behalf of the Town of Brookfield. He asserted that the town had the power to prohibit all residential picketing in order to preserve neighborhood peace and privacy. One of the judges asked Fuhrman if it really was necessary to ban picketing completely. Fuhrman replied that it was.

League attorney Weber countered by asserting that the town could pass less restrictive laws which outlaw only "abusive conduct" such as destruction of property, blocking roads and driveways, making ex-

_____ See Pickets on page 6

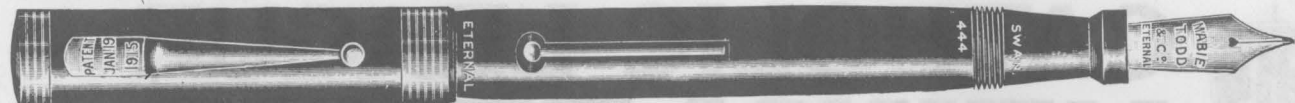


Now it's Judge Noonan

John T. Noonan, professor of law at the University of California, Berkeley, and a former Catholic League director and member of the Legal Advisory Committee, has been appointed to the federal bench. His appointment to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals was confirmed in December.

Educated at Harvard and at Catholic University of America, Judge Noonan is nationally-known as an advocate of the right to life of unborn children. Judge Noonan has written widely on the issue.

"Catholic baiting is the anti-Semitism of the liberals." — Yale Professor Peter Viereck



EDITORIAL

In the Worst of Taste

by Pastor Richard John Neuhaus

The following editorial appeared in the April, 1986 issue of *The Religion and Society Report*, published by The Rockford Institute and edited by Pastor Richard John Neuhaus. It is reprinted here with permission.

Spain has recently allowed abortion under limited circumstances, but that, predictably, is not enough for some people. The point was dramatically made at a national convention of 3,000 feminists. On the second day of the meeting two pregnant women were taken off stage and aborted. The fetuses, now dead and in bottles, were exhibited to the convention. According to the New York Times, "The hall rocked with cheers, and almost all of the conventioners signed confessions of responsibility for the abortions."

This was too much for Linda-Marie Delloff, managing editor of *The Christian Century*. It made pro-choicers look like "barbaric nonaffirmers of life." The action was "shameful," "distasteful," and "should be disowned by other pro-choice supporters."

Dr. Delloff asked Dr. Rosemary Radford Ruether of Cath-

olics for Free Choice for her response. Dr. Ruether, who has just completed a book including liturgies of healing for those who have had abortions, declared the Spanish action to be an instance of "horrible exhibitionism."

Dr. Delloff also asked a "spokeswoman" for the National Abortion Rights Action League in Washington but was told that NARAL does "not generally issue judgments" on what others do. Dr. Delloff comments: "This response struck me as somewhat equivocal; for support of a policy ought to include having carefully thought out—and being willing to justify—the moral or ethical basis for that policy. Thus it does seem appropriate for pro-choice people to articulate moral judgments on matters affecting their interests; and in this case it is on our own 'side' that such a judgment is appropriate. Just as we deplore the bombing of abortion clinics and other excesses displayed by anti-abortionists, so we ought to decry the ghastly display the Spanish women have perpetrated."

There is much that is commendable in Dr. Delloff's response to this event, but of course the sadness is that she seems ever so much more exercised about what was "perpetrated" on stage than off.

Florida TV station runs anti-Catholic ad to counter pro-life views

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featured Joseph O'Rourke, dressed in a Roman collar, saying, "As a priest..."

O'Rourke is not a priest. He was dismissed from the Society of Jesus in 1974, partly because of his public support for the practice of killing unborn babies.

By allowing FARAL to mislead viewers by presenting O'Rourke as a priest, the WJKS management became a partner in classic anti-Catholicism.

When challenged on this point by Father Edward Booth, pro-life moderator for the Diocese of St. Augustine, WJKS general manager, John Radeck, himself a Catholic, defended his station's action, saying in part:

"We did not question or censor any information (provided by either FRL or FARAL). It was cut and dried, under the law, as we understood our obligation under the law."

In a letter to Radeck protesting the actions of WJKS, Father Virgil C. Blum, League president, said in part:

"Invoking the Fairness Doctrine to give (FARAL) free air time to rebut positions taken by (FRL) during paid air time is to misread the doctrine."

Noting that FARAL presented an expert and a legitimate Catholic spokesman, Father Blum continued:

"That is anti-Catholicism and a deliberate FARAL misrepresentation. To allow FARAL to air the commercial makes WJKS-TV a partner in FARAL's anti-Catholicism and deceit...WJKS should provide free equal time...to a legitimate spokesman of the Diocese of Jacksonville to correct the FARAL deceit."

"Without this step," Father Blum concluded, Jacksonville television viewers could be justified in assuming that WJKS-TV actively supports the legalized, wholesale slaughter of unborn babies, and that WJKS was a willing accomplice in the anti-Catholic deceit perpetrated by FARAL."

Fortunately for Jacksonville television viewers, two other stations were less willing to be accomplices in the anti-Catholic tactics of anti-life organizations.

WJXT-TV pulled the O'Rourke commercial after learning that O'Rourke was not a legitimate spokesman for the Catholic Church. WAWS-TV elected not to show any of the commercials, opting instead to air a program (unfortunately also provided by FARAL) called "So Many Voices."

The Florida Catholic, newspaper of the Dioceses of Orlando, Palm Beach, Pensacola-Tallahassee, St. Petersburg and Venice, reported the story extensively and then went an extra step with a strong editorial protesting the WJKS action. In part, the editorial asked for an apology from WJKS and said in part:

"What WJKS did was to take pro-life money for pro-life ads and give away anti-life time. We've never heard of TV giving pro-life groups free ads...."

"There is basic discrimination against the pro-life message in Florida's media. Furthermore, since the Catholic Church has been the most outspoken force in the pro-life movement, anti-life groups have used TV to ridicule and to attempt to discredit the Church."

"Here is a classic case in point," *The Florida Catholic* editorial continued, "Using a former priest as a Catholic authority is both scandalous and unfair. That Mr. Radeck permitted this bold, commercial lie makes him and his station, in our opinion, equally responsible for any negative effects the commercial may have on the public, the reputation of Catholics in general and the pro-life movement in particular."

Protest of anti-Catholic cartoon gets response from campus official

LOS ANGELES—Last month, the *Catholic League Newsletter* reported on the anti-Catholic cartoon which appeared in the *Daily Trojan*, campus newspaper at the University of Southern California. The article cited the protest to Dr. James Zumberge, USC president, by Paul Freese, president of the Southern California Chapter of the League.

Since that report, USC officials responded to the League protest. In a letter to Freese, James Dennis, USC vice president for student affairs, said: "I share your shock and dismay."

In a letter of reply, Southern California Chapter President Freese thanked Dr. Dennis for his "thoughtful response" to the League protest and added:

"It is evident that the cartoonist has feelings of hostility toward the Pope and therefore Catholics. As part of his or her liberal education and as a means of mitigating ill feelings, however engendered, perhaps he or she would be willing to be my guest at lunch with a view to having a friendly dialogue about the attitudes which prompted the strong reaction to the cartoon."

Noting that the campus newspaper enjoyed freedom of the press and was not subject to pre-publication review or censorship, and that it shouldn't be, Dr. Dennis did acknowledge that the cartoon could be considered "gratuitous and malicious," and said that he shares the League's view of the cartoon.

Further, he assured the League that he has informed the paper's editor and faculty advisor, that the cartoon was tasteless and that in running it the paper breached "the unwritten as well as the written boundaries of responsible journalism."

League announces increase in membership contributions

MILWAUKEE—As organizations grow, so do expenses. Such is the case with the Catholic League. Despite reducing the size of the national headquarters staff and several other cost-cutting measures, it is necessary to ask League members for an increase in their annual, tax deductible membership contributions, according to Father Virgil C. Blum, S.J., president and founder of the League.

At their annual meeting in Chicago, April 19, members of the League's board of directors authorized increases of \$5 in various membership contribution classifications. Accordingly, the new structure is:

Student Membership.....	\$ 5
Senior Citizen Membership....	\$ 15
Individual/Family Membership...	\$ 20
Contributing Membership.....	\$ 30
Sustaining Membership.....	\$ 50
Supporting Membership.....	\$ 100
Life Membership.....	\$1000

Noting that since the League was founded 13 years ago there has been only one dues increase, Father Blum pointed to rising costs and increased League activity as the factors necessitating an increase.

"Postage alone is a major League expense," Father Blum said. "In 1973, it cost 1.9 cents to mail the newsletter by third class mail. Today it costs 8.5 cents. Similarly, we could mail a first class letter for 7 cents. Today it costs 22 cents and another increase is imminent."

"Since 1979, postage costs have risen by more than 300%. That is indicative of how spiraling costs have increased the League's operating budget," Father Blum said.

He added that the high inflation of the 1970s drove up all operational costs, especially in the area of salaries for service and support personnel. And the League is a labor-intensive organization, Father Blum

noted.

He also cited the cost of printing as the pace of the League's informational and educational efforts steps up. "Since the League was founded, paper costs have increased by about 45% and printing costs have gone up by about 60%," he said.

"No one likes the idea of asking people to contribute more than they already do," Father Blum observed. "However, I am sure League members realize that it is their contributions which support the valuable work of the League, the work they have so generously and loyally supported over the years."

"The Catholic League is a grassroots organization—not financially supported by the Church—which relies solely on the moral, spiritual and financial commitment of League members to continue in its apostolate of service to the Church," Father Blum concluded.

Membership contributions, special appeals fund League's apostolate

MILWAUKEE—As a grassroots Catholic organization that is not funded by the institutional Church, the Catholic League relies on two basic sources of funding.

The first source is the annual membership contributions made by members which entitles them to the monthly *Catholic League Newsletter* with its monthly supplement, a variety of informational materials and special member discounts on various League publications and tapes. Revenues realized from annual membership contributions finance the day-to-day operational costs of the League.

When the time comes for membership renewal, members receive a notice and a special membership envelope. That envelope should be used only for membership renewal because our computer department relies on those envelopes to keep membership records up-to-date.

The second source of funding is through special appeals to League members. Through such special appeals the League raises funds to undertake special projects, for example, publication of the book on the Holocaust.

Currently the League makes four special

appeals a year. Sometimes, though, members get confused because they receive a special appeal package at about the same time they receive a membership renewal notice.

Membership renewal notices and special appeal packages are significantly different. The special appeal package always includes a letter describing the project for which we are raising extra funds, a response card designed especially for the appeal and a special business reply envelope. The

See Funding, page 6

Dale Francis retires from League board

MILWAUKEE — Dale Francis, the widely-known, nationally syndicated columnist has retired from the Catholic League's national board of directors.

"It was with great regret that I learned of Dale's decision not to want to be renominated for election to the League board," said Father Virgil C. Blum, S.J., founder and president of the Catholic League.

"Dale was one of the 24 people who founded the Catholic League at a meeting in Washington, 13 years ago," Father Blum observed. "Since then, as a founding father of the League and a charter member of the board of directors, his advice, counsel, experience and devotion to the Faith have been invaluable to the League's service to the Church."

In the course of committing his life to the apostolate of Catholic journalism, Francis has served variously as editor of national newspapers such as the *National Catholic Register* and *Our Sunday Visitor*, as well as editor of *The Catholic Standard*, newspaper of

DALE FRANCIS



the Archdiocese of Washington, and several other diocesan papers.

Additionally, he was press secretary for the National Catholic Welfare Conference (predecessor to today's twin organizations, the U.S. Catholic Conference and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops).

In that period he earned countless awards and honors for his work in service to the Church.

"Though he chose not to continue his service to the League as a member of the board of directors," Father Blum observed, "the League is fortunate that Dale has agreed to serve the organization in an advisory capacity so that his wisdom and experience will not be lost to us."

Directors focus League attention on Nazi Holocaust, educational vouchers

CHICAGO—The Nazi Holocaust and the plight of educationally-deprived, inner-city children in church-related schools headed a list of concerns addressed by the Board of Directors of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights at its annual meeting in Chicago April 19.

Working ardently to see that both Pope Pius XI and the Catholic Church are treated fairly and accurately in Holocaust studies being proposed in the nation's high schools, was the point of one resolution passed unanimously by the board.

As one means of implementing the board resolution, the League will publish a book detailing Catholic history during the Holocaust years. The book will be distributed as widely as possible to Catholic religious leaders, Catholic schools and other Catholic institutions.

In another unanimous vote, the board resolved that the Catholic League will actively cooperate in any way possible with appropriate organizations to redress the harm done to educationally-deprived, inner-city children attending Catholic and other religiously-oriented schools by the U.S. Supreme Court through its *Felton* decision of July 1, 1985.

The Court ruled that federal remedial education programs could no longer be provided in Catholic and other church schools by public school teachers. The disastrous decision came after such programs had been offered for two decades with no problems. The decision made it very difficult, if not impossible, to provide the remedial educational services to

See Resolutions, page 6

Nationally-known figures elected to League's board of directors

CHICAGO — Ambassador Thomas Melady, Father Val J. Peter and Redemptorist Father Norman Muckerman were among six widely-known and influential Catholic leaders elected to the Board of Directors of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights at the board's annual meeting held in Chicago April 19.

Filling out the slate of Catholic leaders elected to the League's board are Paul Freese, a Los Angeles attorney, John Gleason, a businessman from Queens, N.Y., and Ruben Escobedo, a businessman from San Antonio, Tex.

"We are extremely pleased to welcome these six people to our Board of Directors," observed Father Virgil C. Blum, S.J., president and founder of the Catholic League.

"Their dedication to the principles for which the League stands, their national reputations and their expertise in fields ranging from politics, to the law, to business, the Church and to communications can only help a fledgling organization such as the Catholic League (now only 13 years old) to grow in numbers, in strength and in influence," Father Blum said.

He concluded: "Coupled with the dedication, experience and talent of the well-known men and women who already serve on the League's board, the efforts of our new members can only strengthen the League in its mission of service to the Church."

Brief biographies of the new League board members follow:

Dr. Thomas Melady, since 1976, has been president of Sacred Heart University in Bridgeport, Conn., where he also teaches political science. During that time he has held posts with the U.S. Department of Education.

Dr. Melady has held three major U.S. diplomatic posts, serving as U.S. Am-

bassador to Uganda, U.S. Ambassador to Burundi and as Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations.

He has also held administrative and faculty posts at various universities including St. Joseph's University, Philadelphia; Seton Hall University; Duquesne University; Fordham and St. John's University.

Father Norman Muckerman, C.Ss.R., a native of St. Louis, has been a Redemptorist priest for nearly 44 years. He has been editor of *Liguorian*, the national Catholic magazine, since 1977, and he has been on the magazine's staff since 1971.

Long active in the national Catholic press Association, he served as president of that body from 1981-1984. In 1985, he was given the CPA's highest honor, the St. Francis de Sales Award. (The very first St. Francis de Sales Award was presented in 1959 to long-time League Board member Dale Francis.)

Father Muckerman has also served his congregation as coordinator for Redemptorist foreign missions in Brazil and Thailand, and for 10 years, he worked as a missionary in Brazil's "Green Hell," the Amazon River Valley.

Father Val J. Peter, executive director of Father Flanagan's Boys Home in Boys Town, Neb., was ordained for the Archdiocese of Omaha in 1959. In that post, he remains on the faculty of Creighton University in Omaha where he has been a professor of theology for 13 years.

Educated at Gregorian University, the University of St. Thomas and the Pontifical

Lateran University, all in Rome, he is internationally known as a speaker and author in the areas of theology, marriage and family life and medical ethics.

Prior to his appointment to the Creighton faculty, he taught at St. John Seminary in Elkhorn, Neb.; St. Mary College and Mt. Michel Abbey, both in Omaha; and he was Newman chaplain at the University of Nebraska, Omaha.

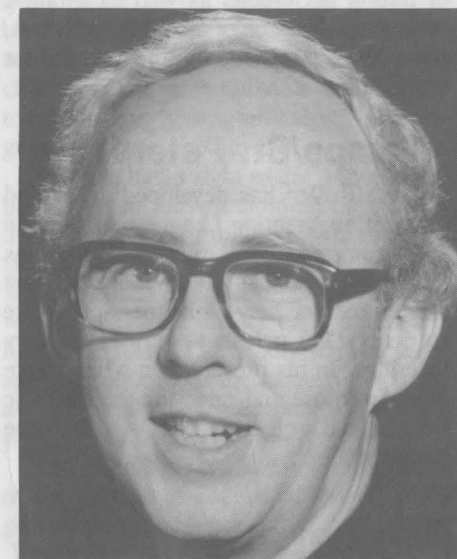
Paul Freese, a long-time League activist and president of the Southern California Chapter of the League, is a senior partner in the Los Angeles law firm of Kindle & Anderson. A graduate of Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., he earned his

law degree from Stanford University in California.

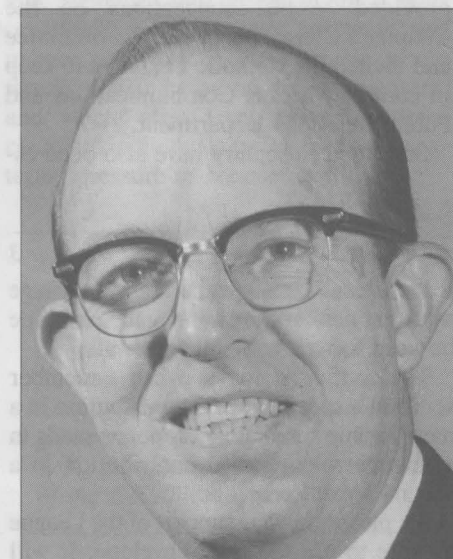
Known especially for his commitment to the right to life of unborn children, Freese was a key figure in the fight to secure a religious burial for the 17,000 aborted babies found in containers at a California pathology lab. That case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

John Gleason is widely known for his volunteer work on behalf of the Church. He has served for four years as chairman of the Catholic Charities Dinner, an annual fund-raising event, and as a director of the

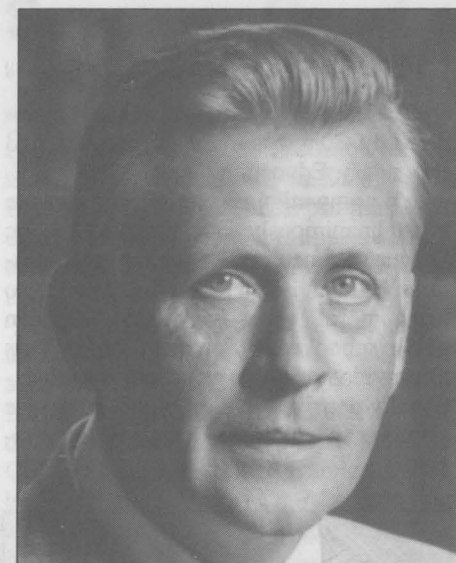
See Elected, page 6



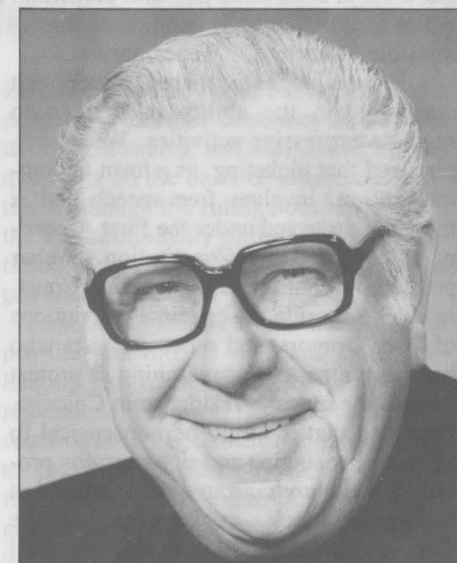
Father Val Peter



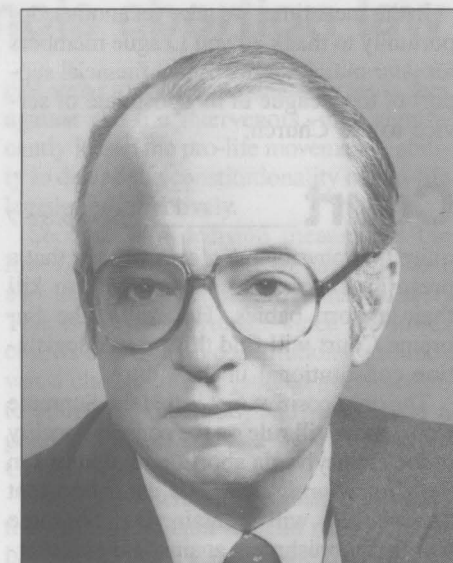
John Gleason



Paul Freese



Father Norman Muckerman



Dr. Thomas Melady

League officers re-elected

During the board meeting the League's directors re-elected as president, Father Virgil C. Blum, S.J., founder of the League; as board chairman, James Mc Laughlin of Connecticut, former president of United Parcel Service; as vice president, David Young, an attorney from Columbus, Ohio; as treasurer, John Hansen, director of finance for Marquette University; and as Secretary, Ann Brosnan, an international economist from Washington, D.C.

CHAPTER NEWS

Massachusetts

The Massachusetts Chapter's long battle with the Boston School Committee appears to be finally over. Reports reaching the chapter office indicate that the school district, at last in compliance with state law, is providing transportation assistance to private school students. Students from several Catholic schools have indicated that they have received transportation tickets.

Minnesota

Chapter President Steve Dolan and Executive Director Rosemary Kassekert report a most successful and cordial meeting with Archbishop Roach. The Archbishop provided several suggestions on the Chapter's Clergy Recruitment Committee and invited the Catholic Leaguers to keep in contact with his Communications and Public Relations Department.

Steve and Rosemary have also been es-

Funding

_____from page 3
response card in a special appeal package asks that neither the card nor the envelope be used for membership renewal.

The confusion comes when a member sends in a special appeal contribution in a membership renewal envelope, or sends in a membership renewal contribution in a special appeal envelope.

So, please, in your support of the League be sure to use the right envelope. It will help us to avoid mistakes. And if there is a problem, let us know and we will get straightened out as quickly as we can.

In the meantime, we take yet another opportunity to thank all you League members for your moral, spiritual, and financial support of the League in its apostolate of service to the Church.

Court

_____from page 7
quire that physicians inform women that a prescribed treatment causes them to kill their unborn babies. Hopefully, the Supreme Court will find this type of legislation constitutional in the future.

The only positive fact is that the Supreme Court must still rule on the constitutionality of the Pennsylvania abortion regulations in the *Thornburgh* case. We can hope that *Thornburgh* will contain the Supreme Court admonishment against judicial overreaction to abortion regulation which was absent in *Diamond*.

tablishing contact with various members of the media in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.

Finally, discussions are currently underway concerning a variety of fund-raising activities, under the direct supervision of League volunteer Irene Perrizo.

New York

Some of you may have heard Chapter Executive Director John Puthenveetil on the weekly Catholic Views Broadcast network radio program, "Views of the News." The program is aired weekly on over 100 local radio stations. John's appearance on two different 15-minute segments of the program included discussions of tuition tax credits as well as a rather complete discussion of the goals, activities, past achievements and future directions for the Catholic League.

Tampa/St. Petersburg

Mike Fuller has developed a detailed plan for augmenting League membership and communications in the area and has begun to implement it. Within the first three weeks of May Mike met and spoke to nearly 100 priests at various deanery meetings. In his presentation Mike spoke of the purpose and need for the Catholic League and urged the priests to become members.

Pickers

_____from page 1
cessive noise, and trespassing on the property of private dwellings. Such laws would allow for at least some peaceful picketing. A flat ban, on the other hand, is an impermissible "shortcut," Weber argued.

All three judges peppered Weber with questions on the ability of a town to regulate expressive activities. Weber emphasized that picketing, as a form of communication, involves free speech and is therefore protected under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Weber pointed out that the U.S. Supreme Court, in 1969, set aside the criminal convictions of Dick Gregory and other activists who had been arrested for marching in protest outside the mayor's residence in Chicago. He noted that it would be nonsensical to allow eighty singing and sign-carrying protesters to march around and around a residential block, as happened in the Gregory case, while prohibiting all picketing, even by a few quiet, well-behaved pro-lifers.

Westchester-Washington

A close liaison has been formed between these two chapters to work on issues related to the Holocaust. Information is being shared between the two because of each's efforts to bring truth and balance to discussions of this important issue. Westchester's Tony Mangano is writing a book for the League on the Holocaust while the Washington Chapter is working with the Holocaust Memorial Committee.

Elected

_____from page 5
board of Catholic Charities in the Diocese of Brooklyn.

Director of three funeral homes in Queens, N.Y., he is also president of the Catholic Cemeteries Guild. He also was voted Man of the Year by the Christian Youth Organization and has received many other honors for his volunteer efforts.

Ruben Escobedo, is now senior partner of Ruben Escobedo & Co., CPAs. Mr. Escobedo was formerly president of Handy Andy, Inc. He graduated cum laude with his degree in accounting from St. Mary's University in San Antonio in 1960.

Long active in civic affairs on the local, state and national levels, he now serves on the boards of the University of Texas and of Incarnate Word College. Since 1974 he has held several major positions with the United Way in San Antonio, in Texas and nationally.

Resolutions

_____from page 4
children in church-related schools mandated by Congress in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

In a companion resolution, the League board unanimously voted that the Catholic League commend U.S. Secretary of Education William Bennett for his "efforts to bring moral values back into American public school education and for his efforts to provide education vouchers for educationally-deprived children suffering the effects of the Supreme Court's *Felton* decision."

**We need your help.
Please remember us in your will.
—Father Virgil C. Blum, S.J.**



DOCKET

What if there were a right to die?

by Walter M. Weber,
Associate General Counsel

The popular media frequently refer to "right to die" cases. The "right to die" label, however, inaccurately portrays the legal issues actually at stake. These issues include the consent rights of parents, and the rights and duties of medical providers, in connection with the provision (or denial) of care or medical treatment. In legal circles, these questions come under the general heading of a "right to refuse treatment." No legislature, and no court—until the *Bouvia* decision—spoke in terms of a "right to die."

In *Bouvia v. Superior Court*, however, California appellate judge Lynn Compton wrote in his concurring opinion that the "right to die" is an "integral part of our right to control our own destinies." The majority of the court, by contrast, in ordering a hospital not to force-feed Elizabeth Bouvia, contended that her decision was not "an election to commit suicide," but was only a decision to refuse treatment.

The difference is not just semantic—it is crucial. Exercise of the right to refuse treatment may, as an unintended and incidental consequence, result in someone's death. Exercise of the right to die, however, intentionally and directly aims at the death of a human being.

To understand the significance of this dif-

ference, one need only ask: What if there were a right to die?

If people had a right to die, the right to life would lose much of its force. Instead of protecting lives, the law would only protect the choice whether to live or die. In short, life would become a mere elective.

If people had a right to die, those who interfere with that right—by saving lives—could be sued or prosecuted. Already at least two courts (in Ohio and Massachusetts) have permitted individuals to sue for damages because medical facilities provided life support to seriously ill relatives. Numerous courts already consider life a legal injury in the context of wrongful birth/wrongful life suits (based on a missed opportunity to abort handicapped children). The same rationale would apply to adults kept "wrongfully alive" in derogation of their right to die.

If people had a right to die, it could not be limited to the withholding of extraordinary medical treatments from individuals facing imminent and unavoidable death. The guarantee of equal protection of laws would require that suicidal college students, hunger strikers, and legally mature teenagers be entitled to the same right to die as the terminal cancer patient. Suicide would become a civil liberty.

If people had a right to die, the guarantee of due process of law would sharply limit government interference with the exercise

of that right. That would mean people would also have a right to kill—as Justice Compton put it, a right to provide the victim "the assistance which she needs in ending her life." Consequently the consent of the slain would become a defense to murder. Existing homicide laws would be unconstitutional because they do not recognize the right to kill willing victims. In addition, the state could not give parents the power to stop their legally mature teenagers from killing themselves. Some state courts might even require the funding of suicides for poor people.

Rights are powerful forces. The right the U.S. Supreme Court created in *Roe v. Wade* overturned virtually every law protecting unborn children. A right to die would wreak similar havoc on the legal system, and would strip legal protection from countless individuals facing internal or external pressure to choose death.

DOCKET is provided for informational purposes only, and should not be considered legal advice or used as such. Members of the legal profession who belong to the Catholic League may wish to receive a complimentary subscription to Status Call, the quarterly legal newsletter of the Catholic League.

Supreme Court refuses to rule on Illinois abortion law

The United States Supreme Court recently refused to address several constitutional questions raised by Illinois abortion regulations. Instead, the Court in *Diamond v. Charles* ruled that an Illinois pro-life physician lacked legal standing to appeal a lower court ruling that the regulations were unconstitutional.

One of the most important questions left unanswered by the Court was whether a state could permissibly require a doctor to inform patients that "contraceptives" he distributed were known abortifacients. The Catholic League had filed an amicus curiae brief with the Supreme Court, contending that such regulations facilitated "informed consent" and should be found constitutional.

League General Counsel Steven Mc-

Dowell observed: "The Supreme Court's decision in this case continues their recent trend of avoiding difficult constitutional questions on the basis of legal technicalities. Although the ruling does not address the constitutionality of the Illinois regulations, it creates several problems for the pro-life movement."

First, it severely curtails the utility of pro-life intervention in federal suits challenging the constitutionality of abortion regulations. Pro-lifers may find themselves required to rely upon state attorneys general to litigate the constitutionality of these regulations. Unfortunately, many attorneys general may not have great enthusiasm for the anti-abortion regulations they are required to defend.

This decision, combined with the judi-

cial trend toward assessing attorney's fees against pro-life intervenors, may significantly lessen the pro-life movement's ability to defend the constitutionality of pro-life legislation effectively.

Second, this decision means that the lower court's ruling that the involved statutes are unconstitutional remains in effect. This is most unfortunate since the lower court's decision on constitutional grounds was a classic case of judicial overreaction to abortion regulation, and, thus stood a good chance of reversal by the Supreme Court.

We are now left with a situation in which the most significant judicial ruling on the issue holds that a state cannot explicitly re-

See Court, page 6



The President's Desk

by Virgil C. Blum, S.J.

Vouchers—An idea whose time has come?

Because I have been advocating education vouchers for more than 30 years, I now receive many letters from private school parents and educators saying: "Aren't you happy, your voucher proposal is an idea whose time has come?"

True, the voucher idea is now being extensively debated, written about, and even proposed in state and federal legislatures. But I don't think its time has come, and for a very simple reason: Legislation providing education vouchers is totally contingent on another idea whose time has not yet come—the creation of private school parents interest groups to promote their education interests through the democratic process. Without such interest groups of private school parents to make political claims on government, it is virtually impossible to enact legislation to provide education vouchers for public and private school parents.

Striking the balance

This political reality was put succinctly by the brilliant political analyst Arthur Bentley when he wrote: "There is no political process that is not a balancing of quantity against quantity. There is not a law that is passed that is not the expression of force and force in tension."

Put in another way, the driving force behind government is the competitive struggle among interest groups striving to

satisfy claims. Hence, government gets its dynamic drive from interest groups. They set the problems; government finds the answer. Interest groups raise the issues; they create public opinion; they develop the grassroots support that makes legislative action politically possible.

In our pluralistic society, there is no way for the public interest to be achieved other than through the free competition of interest groups. The necessary compromising of their differences is the practical test of what constitutes the public interest.

Bentley emphasizes that the legislative process is a balancing of quantity against quantity, the expression of force and force in tension.

Formidable opponents

The quantity and force arrayed against education vouchers are formidable. The chief opponent is the National Education Association (NEA). Former NEA President John Ryor was not boasting when he said: "We will become the foremost political power in the nation." That is now the reality. Hamilton Jordan, President Carter's campaign manager, said enthusiastically: "The massive support from teachers was crucial to our winning. We turned to the NEA for help and it delivered nationwide." John Ryor was right when he boasted: "We can elect friends of education and un-elect foes."

Carter repaid his political debt to the NEA by using every political weapon at hand to kill the Packwood-Moynihan tuition tax credit bill, and by proposing an increase of 46 percent in federal elementary and secondary education programs in just two fiscal years.

The NEA has an estimated annual political action budget of some \$3 million. But more important than its financial support of political candidates are its contributions-in-kind: its more than 1400 politically trained field organizers, its tens of thousands of political field workers, and its average of 4,000 politically active members in every congressional district.

This constitutes "teacher power." It was to teacher power that Sen. Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate education subcommittee, paid tribute after his 1972 reelection, when he said: "Before they arrived, I was a two-to-one underdog. Then

an army of teachers began knocking on thousands of doors and making thousands of phone calls, and I won by 33,000 votes."

Sen. Pell was grateful: "You can be sure," he promised, "that I will continue to fight in Washington for a better deal for [public school] education." Pell delivered on his promise: he supported larger federal grants for public schools, and he voted to kill the Packwood-Moynihan tuition tax credit bill for private school parents. The political clout of the NEA was clearly demonstrated when 10 co-sponsors of the Packwood-Moynihan tuition tax credit bill voted to kill their own bill.

The NEA's political clout is so great only because the creation of interest groups by inter-faith private school parents is an idea whose time has not yet come. Consequently, there can be no balancing of forces—between the NEA and private school parents—resulting in a compromise that provides educational vouchers for some or all children in public and private schools. The brutal political realities are apparent for all to see: the NEA is a political giant and church-related school parents are unorganized political pygmies.

Time to organize

Education vouchers may be an idea whose time has come, but in an interest group democracy it cannot become a reality until private school parents, under the inspiration of their clergy, organize interest groups to engage in the democratic process. Only then can they counter and neutralize the political clout of the National Education Association. And, only then, through democratic discussions and compromise, can the public interest in the education of all American children be achieved through legislation providing education vouchers for some or all children in public and private schools.

Pray for
the Victims and
Killers of
the Nazi
and
American
Holocausts



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A HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE RIGHT TO LIFE

by Robert J. Henle, S.J.

McDonnell Professor of Justice in
American Society, St. Louis University

The National Organization for Women recently published and distributed a five-page document purporting to be a brief history of reproductive rights. This document is so inaccurate and biased that it must receive a careful, objective critique.

Some of the items listed are simply false; others are distortions or misrepresentations. In addition, there are serious omissions even for a "brief" chronology. Finally, the document makes use of the universal ploy of all propagandists, namely, the *suppressio veri*, i.e., the failure to point out important relevant facts which modify the impression of the statement.

The main bias of the document is obviously against Catholicism. If one were to read this document without having any other knowledge of the history of abortion, one would certainly get the impression that the only opposition to abortion in the whole history of our culture has come from several Catholic theologians and from the Catholic popes. This, of course, is a total misrepresentation of history.

The chronology is organized as a series of brief, dated items. I shall imitate the dating sequence. I will not comment on every entry: some are simply factual statements, some are unimportant or irrelevant. I cannot be brief. A critique must include explanation and this generally precludes brevity. As Chesterton once said, it takes a book to set straight a paragraph of falsehoods, half truths, facts, and innuendoes.

2600 B.C. to 1850 B.C.

The first two items report formulae for producing abortion or contraceptive pessaries from ancient documents. These do not seem to be of enough importance to merit mention in a brief chronology. However, an overview of ancient attitudes toward abortion would have been in place, as giving a background for the development of a civilized attitude toward abortion.

As far as we can make out from comparative anthropology and various records, the societies which had low levels of

morality, for example, which practiced cannibalism, oppression of women, slavery, perpetual warfare, and a great variety of superstitions, often had permissive or very superstitious attitudes toward abortion. No unified picture emerges from the so-called primitive societies.

But a quite different perspective of great importance for this chronology emerges with the appearance of what anthropologists call the "high" religions, for from these there developed in wide areas of the world more civilized moral codes and a general consensus against abortion.

The ancient Vedic spiritual writings condemn abortion (India, 1500-500 B.C.)

Buddhism (6th century B.C., in large areas of Asia) inculcated a respect for all life and completely condemned abortion.

Hinduism (ancient and modern India) regarded abortion as a great evil.

A strong tradition within Judaism (from 1200 B.C.) was opposed to abortion.

Islam may be mentioned here, although it is much later (from 622 A.D.). It, too, has consistently condemned abortion.

So it is not just popes who have condemned abortion. It has long been the considered opinion of religious men throughout the world that abortion is a great evil.

Recognizing this continuing consensus among the wise men of the world puts a quite different light on the whole issue of abortion.

After presenting the almost universal opposition to abortion on the part of highly developed and reflective religions, significant reference should have been made to what has long been considered the highest statement of medical ethics to emerge from classical civilization: this is the Hippocratic Oath. Hippocrates, sometimes called the Father of Medicine, was a Greek physician-medical educator of the third/

fourth century before Christ. He wrote a guide for his students to a proper medical/ethical and etiquette behavior which he summarized in the religious oath which he required his students to take. The oath is brief and very general, but there are two specific actions singled out for the young physician to reject:

I will give no deadly medicine to any one if asked, nor suggest any such counsel; and in like manner I will not give to a woman a pessary to produce an abortion.

This Oath has always been regarded as one of the noblest statements of professional medical ethics. It came, not from a pope, but from a pagan physician. The Christians took the oath over, substituting the Christian God for the range of pagan deities invoked by the Greek version. It has been customary, in American medical schools, to read the oath at graduation or at some terminal activity of the medical school. In recent years, the part on abortion has been quietly dropped, so that people do not realize that prior to Christianity, in a pagan civilization which was becoming morally corrupt, abortion was condemned in a solemn religious context.

200 A.D. But actually, the chronology omits another fact which is probably the most important in order to gain a proper perspective on the social consensus in Western culture condemning abortion. It was not St. Augustine or St. Thomas or the popes who first set up condemnations of abortion. As soon as the Christian community in the Roman Empire became vocal (from the 2nd century on) and were able to publish explanations of its faith and critique of the pagan civilization in which Christians were living, they emphatically and unanimously proclaimed their complete rejection of abortion at any stage of pregnancy. The grounds were that it was a serious sin or a horrendous evil which would certainly lead

Because of the importance of the FIRST civil right, the right to life itself, this month's supplement is a reprinting of a supplement first run in the Catholic League Newsletter in July, 1981.

to hell. There is no indication of any doubt or debate among the early Christians. Surrounded by pagan Roman culture in which abortion's logical accompaniment, infanticide, was generally approved in practice, they vigorously condemned both practices without qualification. This early Christian consensus is the reason why, until very recently, all Christian people in Eastern and Western Europe and in the New World universally condemned abortion, at least in general. As Christianity began to permeate both the Eastern and Western parts of the Roman Empire, and to become the religion and basic moral code of Western society, this original Christian consensus became also the universal consensus of Western society.

The condemnation of abortion throughout the West became so universal that from St. Augustine's time almost up to the resurgence of paganism in the Renaissance, there was practically no theoretical discussion; it was a closed issue.

When, therefore, Fathers of the Church like St. Augustine preached or wrote against abortion, they were simply voicing the common consensus of the entire Christian community. Moreover, as soon as the Church developed its Canon Law and began to make official pronouncements, condemnation of abortion appeared early, especially before the complete conversion of the Roman Empire.

4th Century Consequently, the next item from the 4th Century A.D. in which it is asserted that St. Augustine laid down the "Catholic Dogma" sanctioning "abortions up to 80 days for the female fetus and up to 40 days for the male fetus" is simply false.

In the first place, St. Augustine never "laid down a dogma"; he couldn't. Only the entire believing Church, or a General Council or a pope can lay down a dogma.

Secondly, it is not Catholic doctrine and never has been, that abortion during the first 40/80 day period was "sanctioned." Catholic doctrine has always been that deliberate interruption of pregnancy at any time after conception is a serious sin, which could bring the unrepentant procurers to hell.

Thirdly, it is not surprising, then, to find that St. Augustine never said this. All his statements on abortion condemn abortion from the moment of conception as a serious and terrible sin.

To understand the reference to the 40/80 days period, one must reflect on the state of classical, Arabic, and medieval medicine. The physicians of those times lacked adequate instrumentation to discover what was happening in the early stages of pregnancy. They had no X-rays, microscopes or sonograms and so had to depend on gross overt observation alone. They had seen fetuses and had dissected bodies or operated and so they knew that at some

So it is not just popes who have condemned abortion. It has long been the considered opinion of religious men throughout the world that abortion is a great evil.

point the fetus looked like a small human being. Hence, they called this the "formatio." They were certain that at this point a human being existed in the womb.

Another important observation was that at some point the mother could feel the baby kicking, moving and elbowing. This was called the "quickening." At this point, too, the physicians felt certain that human life existed in the womb. The physicians knew that some development was going on between conception and formation, but they knew very little about it. This gave rise to a doubt as to when a human being began to exist in the womb.

All this, of course, was the science of the time and had no origin in Church doctrine or theology. But when Christian theologians apply their principles to medical matters, they have to use the best scientific information available. Faced with this scientific uncertainty, they, too, had to accept the possibility that there was no human life prior to formation or quickening—the Church being incompetent to resolve scientific problems. The problem this created for them was not whether abortion could be "sanctioned" during this early period, but what was the *moral species* of the act of abortion during the early period. It was certain that abortion after formation was the serious sin of murder. St. Augustine, though he seems never to have used the 40/80 estimate, was aware that it was impossible to determine the exact point at which a human being certainly began to exist in the womb. But he never doubted that abortion during any time during pregnancy was a *serious* sin of some species.

13th Century The next item asserts that St. Thomas taught that Catholic dogma asserted sexual intercourse to be justified only for procreation. I will deal with this later in connection with the same statement (under 1930) which is made about Pius XI. Suffice to say at this point that *this is not Catholic doctrine and never has been Catholic doctrine, and St. Thomas never said it was.*

1550 to Present The casual reader of this chronology would have no idea that, after the Reformation, the Protestant Churches continued the General Christian consensus against abortion. To balance the brace of popes quoted, at least Calvin should have an entry. He said, "If some woman expels the fetus from her uterus with drugs, it is

considered an *inexpiable* crime, and rightly so" (emphasis added). And again, "...the fetus enclosed in the mother's womb is already a man." All the Protestant Churches, in general, maintained the traditional Catholic consensus—sometimes (as in Calvin's case) more severely than the Catholic Church, sometimes more leniently, but always in basic conformity with ancient Christian teaching.

Today, among liberal Protestants or secularized Protestants the opposition has been reduced or dropped. Yet still a large number of Protestants (and others such as the Mormons) oppose abortion or, at least, abortion on demand.

1588 "Pope Sixtus forbids all abortions."

This is a completely misleading entry. It suggests that, in forbidding abortion, Pope Sixtus V did something new. Actually, as indicated above, the condemnation of abortion was universal in Christian Europe. Pope Sixtus V didn't suddenly forbid abortion. He was a reforming pope, a stern man of high ideals. Up to the Renaissance, abortion had not been a serious social or moral problem in Europe, but in the paganizing of much of European society in the 16th century, the consensus was socially weakened and abortion began to be practiced. What Sixtus V did was to emphatically reaffirm the traditional teaching of the Church and to increase the *canonical penalties* for those procuring abortions.

In Catholicism, we must distinguish the *moral teaching* of the Church from *Canon Law*. Canon Law is simply ecclesiastical *positive law* which is used to enforce the moral teaching. When it attaches a penalty to a sin, it presupposes that, in the moral teaching of the Church, the action in question is a serious sin. Penalties vary from time to time as certain sins become more or less prevalent. Thus, dueling was once a serious moral problem for the Church and was condemned officially under severe penalties. Today, dueling is no social or moral problem. In Sixtus V's day, abortion had become a widespread sin and so he increased the canonical penalties. *But his action presupposed the previous continuous prohibition of abortion in the universal Church.*

1591 Here we find an even more startling assertion. "Pope Gregory XIV rescinds Pope Sixtus's edict against abortion." Gregory XIV did not rescind Pope Sixtus V's prohibition of abortion; he repeated it. What he did do,

however, was to reduce the *canonical penalties* established by Sixtus V. Among the penalties prescribed by Sixtus V was a reservation of absolution from the sin of abortion to the Holy See. This meant that anyone anywhere in Christendom who committed abortion had to appeal to the Holy See for absolution. No confessor—no priest and no bishop—could absolve a penitent who confessed his sin. This was simply unworkable and created crises of consciences throughout the Church. Consequently, Gregory XIV reduced this excessively burdensome penalty. But both popes maintained the same traditional condemnation of abortion. These two misleading items are quite irrelevant and should certainly be omitted from an "abbreviated" chronology.

1803, 1860s In Great Britain and in the United States, laws began to be passed against abortion. Says NOW: "States pass comprehensive, restrictive, criminal abortion laws." This is true, but as it stands, it is unintelligible. Some historical explanation is necessary to prevent false guesses or false interpretation.

Throughout the 19th century, modern embryology was being developed because of new instruments and new techniques. The doubts about the early period of pregnancy were cleared up, so that the physicians of Great Britain and the United States—Protestants for the most part and thoroughly imbued with Christian ethics—came to realize that abortion at any time after conception was, indeed, *murder*.

The medical profession therefore agitated for laws to protect the human being in the womb. Also, medical men felt that the clergy were backward in realizing the true

through its Canon Law—already forbade all abortions and declared abortion a great moral evil and a serious sin?

Pius IX did issue a resume of canonical censures and penalties, a common Roman practice. Among these penalties, as one would expect, are those for the procuring of abortion.

There was a great deal of political activity between France and Rome during that period, but we have been unable to find, even among Pius IX's detractors and critics (of which he had many), any suggestion of such a "deal." But, even should there have been one, all Pius IX did was to reiterate the 1800-year-old Christian consensus plus traditional penalties.

1879 "The birth of Margaret Higgins Sanger."

The item here does not say that Margaret Sanger was pro-abortion, but in this context, the balancing fact that she was opposed to abortion should have been mentioned. In this matter, Planned Parenthood has been engaged in a subtle *suppression veri* since the mid-1960s. Their propaganda frequently suggests that in their pro-abortion activities, they are carrying on Margaret Sanger's great crusade. This is not true.

1930 This item states that Pope Pius XI, presumably in *Casti Connubii*, "affirmed Catholic dogma that every act of sexual intercourse was a sin unless performed with the reproductive intent." The assertion that Catholic doctrine says "that every act of sexual intercourse is a sin unless performed with reproductive intent" is simply false. This never was and is not Catholic dogma, and Pius XI did not affirm that.

...after the Reformation, the Protestant Churches continued the general Christian consensus against abortion.

nature of early abortion and urged the clergy (especially Protestant) to make all this clear to their people.

Thus, the Catholic Church had very little to do with the laws against abortion (or, for that matter with those against contraceptives). The Church had little political clout and was more occupied in coping with internal growth problems.

1869 Pope Pius IX is said to have agreed to forbid all abortions in exchange for Napoleon III of France's acknowledgement of papal infallibility.

On the face of it, this seems ridiculous. Why should Napoleon III want Pope Pius IX to forbid abortions when the Church in France, through all its teaching agencies—in the confessionals, through preaching,

The evolutionary-biological intrinsic finality of sex is clearly the preservation of the species. The common teaching of the Catholic Church with regard to the intrinsic finality of marriage has been simply a recognition of this fact as it applies to human beings. Catholic doctrine teaches that the primary purpose, therefore, of marriage, as a *human natural institution*, is procreation and the education of children. This seems to be an obvious fact.

Moral theologians have long agreed that the "intent" of the individuals entering into marriage need not be an intent to have children. On the contrary, in many cases, that intention is not even considered; they may even hope not to procreate. The Church finds no difficulty with this as long

as the married couple do not deliberately use artificial or abnormal means to block the natural finality of the act. The Church has always approved intercourse during the non-fertile period of the woman's cycle or even limiting intercourse to such periods. Therefore, without sin, the married couple may have intercourse for a great variety of reasons without even adverting to the primary purpose of the institution of marriage. They may have intercourse simply out of love: to express in sexual intimacy their loving relationship. The Church has always allowed a valid marriage between people known to be sterile; surely, they could not be expected to have intercourse with the intent to procreate.

1948 "Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law."

This is Article 6 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* adopted on December 10, 1948, as a Resolution of the U.N. General Assembly. The vote: 48 states for, none against, 8 abstaining and 2 absent. This article is extremely important, in view of the use of the legal concept of person by the Supreme Court as a means of denying human rights to the fetus according to selected criteria other than the existence of a human being. This article states that no law can deny legal personhood to anyone; back of the article is the conviction that the easiest way to deny human rights is to declare someone a non-person (as in the Dred Scott case or the Jews under Hitler). The relevance of this article to this chronology is self-evident.

1960 Another item for the 1960s should have been notice of the about-face of Planned Parenthood policy. Up to some time in the mid-60s, Planned Parenthood, continuing Margaret Sanger's tradition, condemned abortion. Contraceptives prevent conception; abortion kills babies. But then, very suddenly, Planned Parenthood became militantly pro-abortion.

This is an essential item for even a brief chronology, since the switch of a nationally organized, highly respected and well-financed organization like Planned Parenthood gave an enormous impetus to the growing pro-abortion movement, perhaps a decisive one.

1973-1979 For the period 1973-1979, NOW lists numerous official acts of the courts, of the Catholic bishops, of NOW, etc. In view of the centuries-old civilized consensus against abortion it would seem important to know what has been the reaction of our general society. Our only source of information is the several polls taken during this period. These indicate a rather stable minority of 22% to 25% in favor of the abortion-on-demand stand of Planned Parenthood, NOW and similar organizations. The great majority of Americans want abortion pro-

hibited, but with provisions for exceptional cases. Presumably, the exceptions would include therapeutic abortions in either the strict sense (to save the mother's life) or in the broad sense (to avoid some serious harm short of death) and to prevent the birth of monsters or seriously deformed babies. Many pro-lifers would be in this group. Some 18% want abortion prohibited without exception. This raises the question: which minority is trying to impose its morality on all of us?

1974 If it was deemed fit, in so brief a chronology, to note the resignation of Thea Rossi Barron from the pro-life lobby, surely the far more important switch on the part of Dr. Bernard Nathanson should have been included. Dr. Nathanson, for years, was one of the most important pro-abortion medical activists in this country. He was one of the designers of the strategy to make the anti-abortion movement appear as a Catholic conspiracy to impose by law a minority sectarian morality on the majority of Americans. In his co-authored book, *Aborting America*, he details the deliberate dishonesty of the strategy.

From 1971 to 1972 he was director of the largest abortion clinic in the world. He gradually became disillusioned with what he was doing and finally decided that he had "presided over 60,000 deaths." He is now actively anti-abortion. Surely, his switch is more important than the resignation of Rossi Barron.

1975 Four thousand demonstrators are reported to have confronted the "Vatican Embassy in Washington, D.C. to publicize the money being spent by the Church to enforce *compulsory pregnancy*" (emphasis added). This is at least misleading. Nobody is "compelled" to become pregnant. That lies within the choice of the woman, or the husband and wife, except in rape—in which case all medical means should be taken immediately to prevent conception.

Once a woman becomes pregnant, she no longer has a choice: she has become pregnant. She has used her reproductive powers and a new human being is thereby produced. (This we know not from the Church but from modern embryology.) There are now two human lives to be protected, and the legal and political issue is one of human rights, not of religious belief.

The reference to the "amount of money" is particularly vicious and ironic when one considers the vast financial resources (some of them federal grants) which Planned Parenthood, NOW and similar organizations have been using to support their political activities. Pro-life works on a shoestring; most of its leaders are volunteers; it cannot afford fancy propaganda ads and television bits such as Planned Parenthood has financed.

November, 1975 The National Catholic Conference is alleged to begin a political campaign "against reproductive rights." As mentioned elsewhere, the political action of the Church is aimed at legally protecting the right to life of the human being in the womb. It may give moral instruction to its own people in respect to reproductive rights but its *political* activity is not aimed at restricting in any way the "reproductive rights" of women.

To include abortion under the rubric "reproductive rights" is absurd. By the time a conception has occurred, the woman (except in rape) has already exercised all her reproductive rights. She has reproduced another human being. This human being lives as a guest within her; a distinct living entity of the species *homo sapiens*. The mother supplies only an appropriate environment and nutrition. The entire growth of the fetus within the womb after conception is the growth of a living entity. It displays the most enormous intrinsic vitality, developing its active and passive potencies *from within itself*. It is no more a part of the mother's body than is the baby at the breast. We now know from embryology and genetics that at the moment of conception the human being has all the genetic determinations that it will ever have. It is now an individual, with an individualized character. If the fertilized ovum were transferred, before implantation, to an ape, a foster mother, or an artificial womb and then carried to term, the baby would be essentially the same (not an ape, nor related to the foster mother, nor a machine).

To say, then, that abortion is a reproductive right is a crude misuse of language. As I have already said, at conception reproductive rights have been exercised. Now it is a question of whether there is a right to kill this new human being or not. Even if you say that there is such a right, it cannot be a "reproductive right"; it is a destructive right.

1976 The June, 1976 entry reports that during two years, after a "how to disrupt an abortion clinic" seminar "dozens of abortion clinics are fire-bombed and vandalized."

I have previously challenged those fire-bombing statistics. I have asked for names, dates and places. So far, I have been unable to discover any absolutely authenticated case in which a pro-life group has engaged in fire-bombing or arson or other violent destruction of abortion clinics. All leaders of the pro-life people that I have heard of—including religious leaders of all faiths—condemn violence in any form. The picketing and nonviolent trespassing by pro-life activists have imitated previously praised methods for agitating for human rights. It should be recalled that in the political forum the abortion issue is not one of religious belief but of human rights.

(See under 1948; the U.N. was not proposing religious belief nor morality.)

Also, not all pro-life people approve of activist tactics.

1979 For this date add "Publication of *Aborting America* by Bernard N. Nathanson, M.D. with Richard N. Osting (Doubleday: Garden City, N.Y., 1979). This is the most important book yet to be published on the pro-abortion movement and the nature of abortion." (I give the bibliographical data because a number of people have told me the book cannot be found in bookstores. It must be ordered from the publisher.)

June, 1980 The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Hyde amendment: "thus," says NOW, "denying to all indigent women *their right to abortion*" (emphasis added). This is at least misleading. The statement assumes that there is a legal right to abortion, in the sense in which one has a legal right to "due process" or welfare payments, or attendance at public schools. These are rights to goods which the state should supply. There is no parallel right to an abortion. The law is that a woman is free to obtain an abortion in the same sense that she is free (has a right) to buy an automobile. The Supreme Court declared a woman free to have an abortion without state interference or criminal prosecution. It in no way implied that the state had to provide abortions as it must provide education or basic welfare. The woman has a right to have an abortion without state interference but not with positive state assistance. The majority opinion in *McRae v. Harris* was correct in constitutional law.

1980 Another entry should read: "NOW published and distributed 'An Abbreviated Chronology of Reproductive Rights, 2600 B.C. to the Present.'" The document is so clearly a piece of cheap anti-Catholic bigotry, so full of errors, half-truths and misinterpretation, so unscholarly in its important omissions that except for its possible influence through wide distribution, it would deserve to be ignored and relegated to a literary limbo of biased trash like *Maria Monk*.

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the twin cities **Christian**

PEACE urges boycott of Methodist Hospital

PEACE of Minnesota, a pro-life group, has been active in protesting clinics which perform abortions. Now PEACE is extending its activity to include a boycott of Methodist Hospital in St. Louis Park, a hospital that neither allows nor refers clients for abortions.

"We have decided that an absolute boycott of all of Methodist's services is necessary," explained PEACE President Michael Gaworski. Gaworski explained that such a boycott was necessary because Methodist Hospital administrators had refused to allow PEACE picketers on hospital property to distribute literature near the Meadowbrook Women's Clinic,

a facility which PEACE estimates has performed over 120,000 abortions since 1973.

The women's clinic is housed in the Meadowbrook Building, which sits on Methodist Hospital property and is physically attached to the Methodist Hospital building. The Meadowbrook Medical Building itself is owned by a development corporation, which has a long-term lease for the property.

PEACE charges that Methodist Hospital must approve all tenants of the Meadowbrook Medical Building, and therefore approves of an abortion facility on

continued on page 3

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Thursday, November 21, 1985

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PEACE of Minnesota President Michael Gaworski (speaking) called for a boycott of Methodist Hospital (Doug Trouten photo).

PEACE boycotts Methodist

continued from page 1

hospital property. Methodist Hospital administrators argue that this is not the case.

"We have no control over the tenants of the building," said Larry Anderson, a public relations worker for Methodist Hospital. "We have asked what our legal position is in response to the groups that have challenged us on the Meadowbrook Women's Clinic. We've been advised that under our lease we don't have the authority [to evict the abortion clinic]. For somebody that's involved in the legal practice of medicine, we don't have the authority."

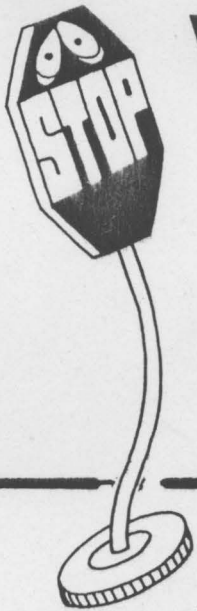
Anderson added, "There have been some cases where there have been some near automobile accidents as a result

of the activity, and we're naturally concerned about our liability for anything that takes place on the hospital campus. I think it's as much for the safety and security of the protesters as anything."

Methodist Hospital has some pro-life policies. Anderson explained, "We're one of the few hospitals that does not allow elective abortions. We don't refer for abortions. There is absolutely no referral relationship between the hospital and the clinic."

Gaworski said his organization isn't really after the hospital. "We don't want to hurt the hospital's reputation," he said. "All we want is cooperation. Methodist Hospital is not interested in cooperation. We will now apply economic pressure."





WATCH YOUR LANGUAGE!

WORDS SHAPE ATTITUDES

By Frances Strong
Human Life Alliance of MN

Words convey powerful images which shape our thinking and therefore, our attitudes. Equally important, the words we use affect other's attitudes.

Many words used to describe disability are outdated, inaccurate and stem from fears and misconceptions. These words are not consistent with the reality of being disabled or the way people with disabilities view their lives. They create attitudinal barriers which are often more handicapping than the actual disability.

Because of their extremely negative connotations, many of these words support arguments for allowing newborn disabled babies, newly disabled people and people in nursing homes to die. When words portray being disabled as being so tragic that life would no longer be worth living, death is seen as the only merciful alternative. Additionally, when words create an image of people with disabilities as being totally different from everyone else, their basic humanity may not be recognized. This can then become the justification for the denial of basic human and civil rights, including the right to life.

The following list can help you ensure that your words accurately reflect the attitudes you wish to express. Negative words to avoid are listed, followed by suggested alternatives which convey more realistic, positive images of disabled people and life with a disability.

CRIPPLE, CRIPPLED - The image conveyed is ^{of} a twisted, deformed, unattractive, useless body. The effect is strong stigmatization and total, all encompassing inferiority.

Instead say - DISABLED, DISABILITY. PERSON WITH A DISABILITY is better than DISABLED PERSON because it puts the person first and the disability second.

CEREBRAL PALSIED, SPINAL CORD INJURED, etc. - Never identify people solely by their disability.

Instead say - PEOPLE WITH CEREBRAL PALSY, PEOPLE WITH SPINAL CORD INJURIES, etc.

INVALID - The origins of this word mean not valid. It conveys images of being bedridden, which most persons with disabilities are not.

Instead say - PERSON WHO HAS A DISABILITY

PATIENT - Being disabled is not the same as being ill. Omit the word patient except in reference to doctor or hospital situations, or when someone is actually ill.

No substitution

VICTIM - People do not like to be perceived as victims for the rest of their lives, long after the victimization has occurred.

Instead say - A PERSON WHO HAS HAD A SPINAL CORD INJURY, POLIO, A STROKE, etc., or A PERSON WHO HAS MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS, MUSCULAR DYSTROPHY, ARTHRITIS, etc.

DEFECTIVE, DEFORMED, VEGETABLE - These words are offensive, degrading, stigmatizing and imply a lack of humanhood. Therefore, they should not be used to describe human beings.

Instead say - DISABLED or HAS THE CONDITION OF (Spinal Bifida, etc.), or BORN WITHOUT LEGS, etc. These are more accurate, more informative and do not devalue the basic worth and humanity of the person.



RETARDED - This word has become stigmatizing and is offensive to people who bear the label.

Instead say - PERSON WHO HAS A MENTAL DISABILITY.

MORON, IMBECILE, IDIOT - Although these are recognized as medical terms, they are also very stigmatizing labels to attach to a person.

Instead say - MENTAL DISABILITY, MENTALLY DISABLED, MILDLY, SEVERELY.

DEAF AND DUMB - is as bad as it sounds. Inability to hear or speak does not indicate less intelligence.

Instead say - HEARING DISABILITY, HEARING IMPAIRMENT, UNABLE TO HEAR, UNABLE TO SPEAK, PARTIAL/TOTAL HEARING LOSS.

BLIND AS A BAT - is plainly derogatory. In addition, many people labeled legally blind do have varying, though limited amounts of sight.

Instead say - VISUAL DISABILITY, PERSON WHO HAS LIMITED/PARTIAL VISION, PERSON WITH TOTAL/SEVERE LOSS OF VISION.

HEALTHY - When used as the opposite of disabled implies the person with a disability is unhealthy. Many disabled people have excellent health.

Instead say - ABLE-BODIED, ABLE TO WALK, SEE, HEAR, etc., PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT DISABLED.

NORMAL - when used as the opposite of disabled, implies the disabled person is abnormal. No one wants to be labeled abnormal. This is very demeaning.

Instead say - PEOPLE WHO AREN'T DISABLED, etc.

DISEASE - Many disabilities, such as cerebral palsy, spinal cord injury, etc., are not caused by diseases. Better to omit the word, unless referring to an actual disease.

No substitution

AFFLICTED WITH, SUFFERED FROM - Most people with disabilities don't view themselves as suffering all the time.

Instead say - A PERSON WHO HAS (name the disability).

RESTRICTED TO, CONFINED TO A WHEELCHAIR, CRUTCHES - Most people who use a wheelchair or other mobility device do not regard them as confining. Instead, they are viewed as liberating, as a means of getting around.

Instead say - USES A WHEELCHAIR or CRUTCHES, WALKS WITH CRUTCHES.

HOMEBOUND - is an assumption which isn't always true in this day of hand controls for cars and accessible buses. It tends to imply that it is totally impossible to go anywhere. If it is hard for the person to get out, then just say it, without exaggeration.

BURDEN - is a bad word because it makes a judgement which may exaggerate the degree of help needed and the impact on the helper.

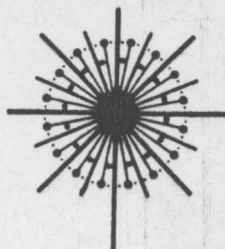
Instead say - PERSON WHO NEEDS ADDITIONAL HELP, CARE.

POOR, PITIFUL, UNFORTUNATE - These words reflect subjective, value judgments which may not be consistent with the way the individual views him/her self or wants to be viewed. Emotion-laden, judgemental words such as this should be omitted.

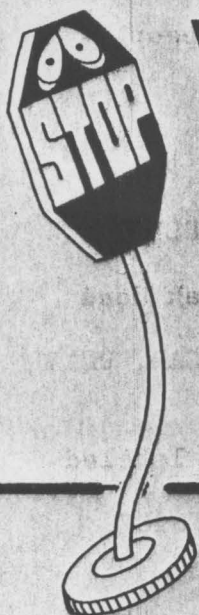
No substitution

HOPELESS, INCURABLE - Avoid referring to a person with a disability as being hopeless even if the disability is not curable. Often, someone will be described as hopeless and incurable without stating whether it is an incurable fatal illness or only the disability which is incurable. The designation, hopeless and incurable, is then used as justification for "allowing" the person to die. Since disability and death are vastly different, the distinction should always be made. Curable, life-threatening illness should be treated even when the disability can't be.

Suggestion - Use HOPELESS only when referring to situations where the dying process can not be reversed or delayed.



Frances Strong is a member of Human Life Alliance and serves on the Advisory Committee on Issues affecting the Disabled. She is also a Board Member of the United Handicapped Federation.



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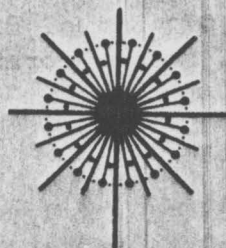
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Maryland Right to Life, Inc.

P.O. Box 115
Kensington, Maryland 20895-9990
PHONE: (301) 933-1933

"With each new life God manifests His Great Love for Mankind"

Dear Pro-Life Friends,

Our best holiday wishes to you. During this season we reaffirm our love for children, our willingness to give them a place in our lives and doing that, we proclaim our hope for the future.

We show our love by protecting and sustaining our children, especially before birth, but also during those precious months in early infancy, whatever the condition of the child. We must guarantee each child his or her precious right to life.

We at Maryland Right to Life, Inc., the oldest and largest pro-life group in Maryland hope, through education, to change the hearts and minds of Marylanders to protect the hidden child within the womb.

As you make your Christmas list please include Maryland Right to Life, Inc. We hope you will be generous with your Gift of Life so that we may continue our efforts to save children and promote a better world based on love and care.

Thank you and God Bless you.

Sincerely,

Reba M. Ferris

Reba M. Ferris
Executive Director

Richard E. Keating

Richard E. Keating
President



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ME 118, NO. 42 — OCTOBER 17, 1985



nt from the Eternal City

POPE JOHN PAUL II . . .

The God Of The Covenant

In his general audience of Sept. 25th, Pope John Paul II reminded his listeners that the God of the Covenant is the God "who gives Himself" to man in a mysterious way: the God of Revelation and the God of grace.

In our catechetical talks we seek to reply progressively to the question: Who is God? It is a case of an *authentic* reply, because it is based on the word of God's self-Revelation. This response is characterized by the certainty of faith and also by the intellect's conviction enlightened by faith.

Let us return once again to the foot of Mount Horeb, where Moses who was pasturing the flock, heard from the midst of the burning bush the Voice which said: "Put off your shoes from your feet, for the place on which you are standing is holy ground" (Ex. 3:5). The Voice continued: "I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." He is therefore the God of

the fathers who sends Moses to free His people from the Egyptian bondage.

We know that after having received this mission, *Moses asks God what is His name*. And He receives the reply: "I AM WHO I AM." In the exegetical, theological, and magisterial tradition of the Church, repeated also by Paul VI in the *Credo of the People of God* (1968), this reply is interpreted as the Revelation of God as "Being."

In the reply given by God: "I am who I am" in the light of the history of salvation one can have a richer and more precise idea of Him. By sending Moses in virtue of this Name, God — Yahweh — is

(Continued on Page 12)



Minister Farrakhan And

"Je Vous Salus Marie" Come To New York

Catholic Beliefs Publicly Trashed

By RICHARD COWDEN-GUIDO

"The Supreme Pontiff joins the faithful of the Diocese of Rome in unanimously deploring the presentation of a cinematic work that twists and falsifies the spiritual significance and historic value of the Christian Faith, and deeply wounds the religious feeling of believers and respect for the sacred, and the figure of the Virgin Mary" — Pope John Paul II, on the film *Je Vous Salus Marie*.

"We believe the film 'Hail Mary' is outright blasphemy and anti-Christian, anti-Catholic, and insulting to Catholics throughout the world. We are pleased that lay people and groups are voicing their concern and objection and doing so vociferously. . . ." — Fr. Pefer Finn, director of communications, Archdiocese of New York.

NEW YORK — When the heretical Muslim firebrand Minister Louis Farrakhan showed up in New York on the Feast of Our Lady of the Rosary (Oct. 7th) to, among other things, warn "the Jew" against many of the crimes he perceived them to be committing, and what would happen to them if they did not cut it out, the full prestige of the state was trotted out to denounce the man. Government officials from Mayor Koch to Mario Cuomo — who, as ever, was careful to cover his bases, since he announced that "Farrakhan says many things we can agree to," albeit with "a language of divisiveness and polarization" which the governor "deplores" — made a particular point of assuring New York's Jewish population of the state's resolute opposition to anti-Semitic bigotry. They even urged opponents of Minister Farrakhan not to bring attention to him with protest demonstrations, advice that was largely followed.

Alas, it proves that these men are not opposed to bigotry *per se*, but merely bigotry against groups they perceive to be politically

Gabriel, the Mother of Christ, and the Christ Child, showed up for a two-night run during the tax-funded (both federal and state) New York Film Festival, not a peep was heard either from the governor or the mayor — and none has so far been heard as we go to press.

The New York State Council on the Arts informed me that both it, and the National Endowment of the Arts, chose to use your tax money so that New Yorkers might more easily see a portrayal of the Madonna using the Anglo-Saxon words (in the official English translation) for the sexual act and for the vagina; to watch a doctor give her a pelvic exam to ascertain her virginity, which the Joseph character does in the same manner; to watch her writhe naked, though in pain, not sensually; to watch the Joseph character accuse her with vulgar language of having affairs with men genitally well-endowed; and, well, shall I go on?

A PROTEST OF THOUSANDS

Yes, racism and anti-Semitism

Pope Picks Cardinals Krol And Law

To Attend November Synod

VATICAN CITY (RNS) — Pope John Paul II has chosen Cardinals John Krol of Philadelphia and Bernard Law of Boston for a list of 20 Prelates who will attend the extraordinary Synod on the Second Vatican Council as Papal nominees, officials announced.

The Vatican officials said the Holy Father also chose Cardinal Krol to serve as one of three delegate presidents at the special Synod Nov. 25th-Dec. 8th.

News of the Papal appointments came Oct. 3rd during a conference on the extraordinary Synod, which Pope John Paul called to mark the 20th anniversary of Vatican II and to review the reforms the Council introduced in the Catholic Church.

Archbishop Jan P. Schotte, secretary general of the Bishops' Synod, said at the briefing that so far a total of 165 Catholic clergymen has been invited to attend.

The 165 include 14 patriarchs and leaders of Eastern Rite Catholic churches, 104 presidents of national bishops' conferences, 24 directors of Roman Curia, and 20 men named by the Pope, who by Church law appoints 15 percent of those attending the Synod.

The 165 delegates also include three leaders of Religious orders. The three leaders elected by the International Union of Superiors General are Fr. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, head of the Jesuit order; Benedictine Primate Fr. Viktor Dammertz; and the Salesian rector major, Fr. Egidio Vigano.

Archbishop Schotte said the size of the assembly will grow further when, in accordance with Synod tradition, a number of Catholic experts referred to as auditors are invited.

Archbishop Schotte said Pope John Paul also plans to invite representatives of non-Catholic Christian churches to emphasize the ecumenical concerns of Vatican II and of today's Catholics.

"It should not be forgotten that this extraordinary Synod was convoked on the 20th anniversary of the closing of Vatican Council II, which brought new impetus to the missionary and ecumenical dimensions of the Church," Archbishop Schotte said.

Delegates from world Christian churches engaged in dialog with

(Continued on Page 8)

VATICAN CITY — Pope John Paul II stands at prayer inside St. Peter's Basilica on Sept. 29th. In his public petitions that day, the Holy Father urged kidnappers to drop their demands and free the daughter of Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte and other victims who have been seized in that Central American nation.

Religious News Service Photo

U.S. Society Guilty Of Holocaust Second "Nuremberg Tribunal" Finds

By PAUL A. FISHER

NUREMBERG, Pa. — A "mock trial" by a panel of three pro-life "judges" listened to two days of testimony about the abortion holocaust in the United States, and found indeed, that there is a modern holocaust, and that the Supreme Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade* was "an assault" on the U.S. Constitution.

The "court" also found that American society in general is responsible for this latest and unremitting holocaust.

Sitting as "defendants" in the improvised courtroom were

silhouettes of human busts marked "The Media," "The Lawyers," "The Politicians," "The Medical Profession," "The Feminists," "The Educators," and "The Churches."

The lead witness was Dr. William Brennan, professor of Social Service at St. Louis University and author of the two-volume work, *Medical Holocausts*. As an "expert witness" he testified at length, using photographic slides to vivify his points, charging that there is a close similarity between the Nazi holocaust of World War II and the abortion holocaust.

Dr. Patrick D. Walker, a professor at the Tulane University Medical School in New Orleans, testified that "most physicians will agree that a human being is a human being from the moment of conception." Yet, he observed, vast numbers of physicians are in the abortion holocaust "up to their necks."

He told the "court" that physicians can earn "around \$225,000 a year" in their first year out of medical school by performing abortions. The normal first year earnings for a young doctor, he said, are approximately \$90,000.

The principal coordinator of "Nuremberg Tribunal II," as the "trial" was called, was Joseph Scheidler, director of the Pro-Life Action League. He said he worked to coordinate the "trial," because "I hate injustice."

The trial opened in St. Joseph's Church here, and then reconvened at the Holiday Inn, just outside of Hazelton, Pa., about one-half mile distant.

John J. Jakubczyk, an Arizona attorney and board director of Arizona Right-to-Life, served as "chief judge." He shared the bench with Earl Appleby, director of Americans for Catholic Values, and Marcelle Richards of New York.

ALWAYS WONDERING

Linda Vander Velden disclosed that she had undergone an abortion after her first marriage failed, and her boyfriend urged her not to have the baby.

She said abortion clinic counselors assured her that "abortion is 99 percent safe." Every day following the abortion, however, she continued to feel sick. Finally, she went to a gynecologist after the clinic counselors told her she probably developed a "tumor" following the abortion.

The gynecologist examined her and said: "There's no tumor, just a baby."

the case that anti-Catholic bigotry has as powerful a constituency as opponents of anti-Semitism do. Thus, when the Jean-Luc Godard film entitled *Je Vous Salue Marie*, or *Hail Mary*, with its vulgar portrayal of St. Joseph, St.

socially and politically repudiated by the organs of communication in America, both media and government. The nigger jewboy in the United States today is the Roman Catholic.

In addition, it is a deeper strain, if less consistently violent, than the racial bigotry against blacks; and it is certainly much deeper than anti-Semitism. That is why it will prove much more difficult eradicating it from the government, the media, and general society. Still, there is some good news, for though it is true, as New York Catholic League Executive Director John Puthenveetil observed, that "for far too long Catholics have remained passive in the face of anti-Catholic bigotry," there is increasing evidence that such culpable passivity is coming to an end.

Over 10,000 people showed up at Lincoln Center to protest the showing of the film on its first night, as did numerous thousands on night two, and dozens who demonstrated all day in front of the cinema house that began showing the film six times daily beginning Oct. 9th. Tens of thousands of signatures protesting the film have already been garnered; and the groups at Lincoln Center represented a deep and diverse segment of Catholic life, from the ever-militant Morality Action Committee to Holy Name Societies, the St. Gerard Guilds, the Knights of Columbus, the Blue Army, Catholics United for the Faith, and many more.

(Continued on Page 8)

(Continued on Page 6)

Pat Robertson To Address Wanderer Forum

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Well-known Southern Baptist minister and Christian broadcaster Pat Robertson will speak on the need for an alliance between Evangelical Christians and orthodox Catholics in the fight against secular humanism at the Oct. 18th-19th Wanderer Forum here. Dr. Robertson, said to be considering a race for the U.S. presidency, contacted the directors of the Wanderer Forum to see if he could address Forum participants during the annual meeting. The Forum's organizers graciously agreed, and he will speak on Friday, Oct. 18th, at 4:30 p.m., at the Shoreham Hotel.

The son of the late U.S. Sen. A. Willis Robertson, Dr. Robertson is a graduate of the Yale University Law School and the New York Theological Seminary. He is now best-known as the host of *The 700 Club* television program, and as



Pat Robertson

the founder and president of the Christian Broadcasting Network. In 1982, he served on the President's Task Force on Victims

of Crime, and from 1973 to the present, he has been a member of the Board of Directors of National Religious Broadcasters. His publications include *Shout it From the Housetops*, *The Secret Kingdom*, *Beyond Reason*, and *Pat Robertson's Perspective*, 1977-1982, a monthly economic-political newsletter.

Dr. Robertson is married to the former Adelia Elmer, and they have four children. He is a descendant of the Harrison family of Virginia, which produced one signer of the Declaration of Independence and two U.S. Presidents. He is also a descendant of John Churchill, second Duke of Marlborough and ancestor of Winston Churchill.

Those still wishing to make last minute arrangements to attend the Wanderer Forum should see the advertisement on page 8 for details.

Survey Shows Tridentine Mass Indult Tepidly Allowed

By PAUL A. FISHER

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A nationwide *Wanderer* survey of episcopal implementation of the 1984 Vatican indult which authorized celebration of the Tridentine pre-Vatican II Latin Mass shows that most U.S. bishops have been very tepid in implementing the indult.

At the same time there is a widespread view that chancery officials have been excessively legalistic in interpreting the Vatican authorization, and have been almost secretive in permitting the faithful to know that they may write to their bishops to request permission to participate in a Tridentine Rite Mass.

The *Wanderer* survey found that only three Dioceses permit the Old Mass on a weekly basis. Those Dioceses are New Orleans, New York, and San Diego.

Spokesmen at three other Dioceses said there are no plans to implement the indult. Those Dioceses are Galveston-Houston, Miami, and Pittsburgh. Those spokesmen say there have been few if any requests from priests or laity to participate in a Tridentine Latin Mass.

The Archdiocese of Boston now is in the process of drawing up guidelines for review by the Ordinary, Bernard Cardinal Law.

The Ordinaries of Buffalo,

Cincinnati, Ft. Wayne-South Bend, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and Philadelphia have permitted the Old Mass to be celebrated only once in their jurisdictions.

In the following Dioceses the Tridentine Rite Mass is celebrated once each month: Baltimore, Charlotte (and Winston-Salem), Cleveland, Milwaukee, Orange, and St. Louis.

Milwaukee and St. Louis Masses are celebrated on Saturday. The Tridentine Mass in Milwaukee is in the evening and satisfies the Sunday obligation. The Old Mass in the Archdiocese of St. Louis is celebrated on Saturday morning

(Continued on Page 3)

THE OTHER SIDE OF CHRIST . . .

Written In The Heart

By FR. ROBERT D. SMITH

No Christian teaching has been under greater assault, recently and in every generation going back to that of Christ Himself, than the Christian teaching on sin. In a sense, it was for this teaching that Christ was put to death. He was not put to death for His teaching on the Holy Eucharist. He was not put to death even for claiming to be God, although this claim of His was used as a pretext for His execution. Nor was He put to death because He was a political threat to become king, although this too was used as a pretext. He was put to death because He told the Jewish authorities that their morality was damnable, and that they were not on the road to happiness in the next life, but to perdition. They had been telling themselves that the observance of man-made moral laws, dietary laws, Sabbath work laws, could substitute for the observance of God's laws, the Ten Commandments. He told them that this self-righteousness would be of no avail on Judgment Day.

This kind of sidestepping on the notion of sin carried on by the Pharisees has been prevalent in the world before and since. It has been carried on even by those calling themselves teachers of Christianity.

There are many faulty American catechisms with us today. One way in which they try to sidestep sin is in their teaching about material and formal sin, objective evil and subjective evil. They make false distinctions on these points. They grant that many things such as abortion, contraception, divorce, churchlessness are material sins, but hold that real guilt is often absent because there is no knowledge of sin, no awareness of wrongdoing, and thus no formal sin. Here they are making a distinction which does not apply in the long run to violations of the Ten Commandments.

They are confusing man-made law and divine law. It is true that in civil law, for instance, a town could have a rule for the maintenance of a home that the homeowner is completely and guiltlessly unaware of, and unaware of in this way for a long time. A good many towns have rules 100 years old, never repealed, that no one enforces any more, and that virtually everyone, even most lawyers have forgotten about. Here there will be material violation of a statute, but in no sense formal guilt.

But with God's Ten Commandments, it is different. To be sure, one can be in ignorance for a short while. The person who starts to miss church for a week or two, let us say, could conceivably, at least for a non-Catholic, be without guilt. He has all kinds of people telling him it is perfectly all right. But sooner or later, and not too late either, he will come to see his mistake. Even in a non-Catholic area, he will run into someone, a devout Protestant, let us say, who goes to church every week without fail, and who makes it very clear that this is God's universal law. At this point, if he is a man of goodwill, all the others, even if there were hundreds of them, who told him otherwise, become as nothing.

The distinctions between material and formal guilt, objective and subjective sin, are valid distinctions. But these distinctions cannot be used to excuse any sane person from a longtime violation of any one of God's Commandments. Knowledge of them is written in the heart and will enter into the mind. True and valid ignorance can occur only at the very beginning. Anyone who claims ignorance of his own guilt and who admits he has been churchless, divorced and remarried, helping with abortions for a long period of time, is not to be presumed guiltless at all.

Pro-Life Students Sentenced To Community Service

GREENBELT, Md. — Anne McCarron, 17, and Shevawn Pearson, 16, have been sentenced to 20 hours of community service and are required to pay court costs for their pro-life sit-in at an abortion facility here on March 30th, 1985. The girls are also required to reappear in court in October, at which time the judge could impose additional punish-

ments, which might include sentencing to a detention home.

Anne, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. David McCarron of Abilene, Texas, and Shevawn, whose parents are Mr. and Mrs. Robert Pearson of St. Louis, Mo., are students at Seton High School in Manassas, Va. Along with five fellow students and several adults, they were arrested for blocking the

entrance of an abortuary. At their Sept. 26th trial, the judge refused to take any testimony or even to ask the girls any questions. He ordered that a juvenile counselor do a full case study on them, just as if they had committed a crime.

The court experience of Anne and Shevawn stands in sharp contrast to the disposition of the case of four other Seton students who went on trial for the same reason in July, Patti Aguinaldo, Catherine Brock, Paul Brock, and

and their attitudes. The judge at the Sept. 26th hearing, however, appeared to be hostile toward the pro-lifers.

A seventh Seton student, Malia Brock, now a graduate, will stand trial with the other adults who were arrested on March 30th.

The total court costs for Anne and Shevawn will be at least \$360 (\$90 apiece for each of two appearances). Both girls come from large families who have sacrificed so that their children could attend

Liturgical Reflections

TWENTY-NINTH SUNDAY IN ORDINARY TIME

Sunday, Oct. 20th, 1985
Lessons: Isaiah 53:10-11
Hebrews 4:14-16
Mark 10:35-45



An Offering For Sin

By FR. PAUL TRINCHARD

Christ gave His life as an offering for sin. "Through His suffering, my servant shall justify many and their guilt He shall bear" (Isa. 53:10-11).

JESUS' OFFERING FOR SIN

We are sinners: sinners by birth, sinners in deed, and sinners by habit. Of course, this basic truth is denied by some "in" the Catholic Church in America.

Some theologians and religious educators assure us that this world isn't perfect. Being born into such a world constitutes original sin. Baptism doesn't remove original sin. After all, how can it if original sin is a condition of the world?

Instead, according to them, Baptism is an initiation ceremony. It unites one to the community, to the People of God. One is now a member of the "People of God club."

In spite of this heresy which is allowed to flourish within "American Catholicism" — Baptism removes original sin. If anyone says that Baptism is optional, that is, not necessary for salvation — the Council of Trent pronounces such a one, be he or she a bishop, theologian, or religious educator, *anathema*.

How is original sin removed? Through Christ's offering for sin. His offering also removes our mortal sins committed after Baptism (under certain conditions,

of course). Through Christ's offering for sins, our guilt is removed and we are justified or made acceptable to God.

UNITED TO CHRIST

We who are truly Christ's are united to Him. United to Him, somehow we too can be an offering for sin.

Many of you remember the once popular prayer of the Morning Offering. In it one offered Jesus his prayers, works, and sufferings in

union with the Sacrifice of Christ, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, in reparation for his sins and those of others.

O Jesus, through the Immaculate Heart of Mary, I offer you my prayers, works, and sufferings of this day, for all the intentions of your Sacred Heart, in union with the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass throughout the world, in reparation for my sins, for the intentions of all our associates, and in particular for the intentions of our Holy Father.

Something Is Missing

By CINDY PASLAWSKI

The double line moves forward toward the altar for Communion. A nine-year-old boy plays with his transformer toy as he walks ahead. One person in line pokes another in a seat and waves. A gum-chewing lady reaches over and greets another across the main aisle. Eyes wander to ceiling fans, the floor, and out the windows.

Many, both adults and kids, are jean-clad, some are wearing shorts or sweatsuits and scruffy tennis shoes. One or two look as though they came from beneath their cars only five minutes before the opening hymn.

Is something missing in this Sunday Mass scene from a typical suburban Catholic parish?

A 10-year-old boy begs to go to a different school and cries himself to sleep at night because of the baiting, harassment, and ostracism with which he is greeted by his classmates day by day. A girl is accused of being "too

children are not rare occurrences.

Is something missing in this picture of a typical Catholic school?

A video rental store near the Catholic elementary school pushes R-rated films to underage kids but the parishioners won't picket the place because a lot of them get their films there, too. The Catholic school principal's attempt to get parental assistance in curbing obscene language on school grounds is frustrated because the parents said they talk that way at home. While the standard of living has risen and designer clothes, "in" hairstyles, boats, lake homes, and household conveniences abound, the financial contributions to the local parish remain a trickle. Mass attendance is about 35 percent and religious education for some children ceases after second grade. The teacher cries because she has gotten yet another phone call from a young pupil, begging

Is something missing from this picture of Catholic family life?

While the unifying element of each vignette is the word Catholic, it is easy to see that these Catholic people are virtually indistinguishable from anyone on the street. For many, their Catholicism has become a mere label, not a lifestyle. The identity of the Catholic as in the world but not of it, as living in a way to earn eternal salvation, not as a member of a convenient social club, has been lost.

Can the Catholic identity, the missing central piece of the puzzle, be found to give all these confused fragments of life true meaning?

The answer must come from within ourselves, as our station in life dictates. The answer must flow from individuals, to families, to the community. Each and every one of us must renew our commitment to doing everything possible to live

Find happiness and personal self-fulfillment as a teaching Brother. Vocations, Dept.-W, 6150 Champlain Blvd., Verdun, Quebec, H4H 1A5 — In USA, Vocations, Dept.-W, 368 S. Ellsworth, Marshall, MO 65340.



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dropped against the four, and the judge indicated that he saw no evidence that any of these young people had any tendency toward delinquency. He seemed to be impressed with their character

tribute to a and to defray their costs may make out the checks to either Shevawn Pearson or Anne McCarron, and mail them to Seton School, 9314 Maple St., Manassas, Va., 22110.

part in the raunchy conversation of her peers. Prayer is omitted in the classrooms because it takes too much time. Verbal abuse of teachers and meanness toward classmates and younger school-

same: "They're drinking again"; "My folks are stoned"; "My dad hit me." Reports of physical and sexual abuse are not unknown to her and she is powerless to give assistance.

opportunity for prayer and action. For only through the example of a lived and living faith is there any hope of curing the secular sickness gripping so many Catholics in America today.

UNA VOCE

seeks detailed information about the application of the Papal Indult of October 3rd, 1984, in favour of the "Tridentine" Mass as applicable to your diocese alone.

COMPLETE AS MANY QUESTIONS AS YOU CAN —
THEN MAIL IMMEDIATELY TO:

The Traditional Mass Society, The USA Affiliate of UNA VOCE International Federation
P.O. Box 447, San Juan Capistrano, California 92693

IMPORTANT! QUESTIONNAIRE INSTRUCTIONS...

Answers should reflect the situation as of the first week in October, the one year anniversary date of the Tridentine Mass Indult. By time of your receipt of this questionnaire, no doubt the full stance of your diocese has long been established, and you will be able to immediately fill out the questionnaire. The Society will ensure that all questionnaires are sent to the UNA VOCE Headquarters office in Switzerland by the required mid-November date. So please dispatch your completed questionnaire by early return mail, providing us with maximum lead time. A postage prepaid envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

0.1 Country and State _____
0.2 Name of your Diocese _____
0.3 Name of your Bishop _____

1. PUBLICITY GIVEN TO THE "INDULT"

1.1 Did the secular press report on it? ☐ YES ☐ NO
1.2 Did Catholic publications mention it to the faithful? ☐ YES ☐ NO
1.3 If 1.2 is YES:
1.3.1 Was the information objective? ☐ YES ☐ NO
1.3.2 Was the information sufficiently detailed for readers to understand that nothing would happen unless the faithful submitted petitions to their bishop? ☐ YES ☐ NO
1.3.3 Were such petitions encouraged? ☐ YES ☐ NO

2. DIOCESAN GUIDELINES FOR THE INDULT'S APPLICATION

2.1 Have such "guidelines" been issued in your diocese? ☐ YES ☐ NO
2.2 Were these "guidelines" published? ☐ YES ☐ NO
2.3 If published: give name of publication (and enclose clippings if possible) _____

3. REQUESTS ADDRESSED TO YOUR BISHOP

3.1 For regular celebration of the Old Mass:
3.1.1

By "established" groups:	Name of group	Approx. no. of signatures
3.1.1.1	_____	_____
3.1.1.2	_____	_____
3.1.1.3	_____	_____
3.1.2	By groups formed "ad hoc":	Parish or district
3.1.2.1	_____	_____
3.1.2.2	_____	_____
3.1.2.3	_____	_____

3.2 For occasional celebration of the Old Mass:
(list here any request for a "once only" permission for a major feast, as well as any Masses requested for family occasions such as funerals, weddings, jubilees):
3.2.1 _____
3.2.2 _____
3.2.3 _____

4. THE BISHOP'S RESPONSE

4.1 Have any Tridentine Masses been granted as yet under the Papal Indult? ☐ YES ☐ NO
4.2 If 4.1 is YES: Have regular Masses been arranged? ☐ YES ☐ NO
4.3 If 4.2 is YES:
4.3.1 How often are these regular Masses scheduled? _____
4.3.2 On Weekdays only, or also on Sundays? _____
4.3.3 At what times of the day? _____

Questionnaire

4.3.4 At which location (if parish church, add "PC") _____
4.4 If 4.1 if YES: Have any occasional Masses been permitted? ☐ YES ☐ NO
4.4.1 If 4.4 is YES, please supply brief details (if known)
4.4.1.1 _____
4.4.1.2 _____
4.4.1.3 _____
(If a parish church was allocated, add "PC")
4.5 Where the Bishop's response to a request is still pending, identify the request by reference to the appropriate Code No. under previous Sec. 3 and supply brief details of the reasons given for delay:
Code No. _____
Code No. _____
4.6 Where a request has been definitely turned down, identify the request by reference to the appropriate Code No. under previous Sec. 3 and supply brief details of reasons given for rejection:
Code No. _____
Code No. _____

5. THE CELEBRANT
Which of the following apply in your diocese? (Mark with X)
5.1 Petitions are only "acceptable" if presented by the priest who offers himself as celebrant
5.2 Petitioners can apply direct but must give the name of a priest willing to officiate
5.3 Bishop reserves right of nominating celebrant himself

6. RESTRICTIONS PLACED ON ATTENDANCE AT "TRIDENTINE" MASSES
6.1 Are "admission-letters" or "tickets" issued? ☐ YES ☐ NO
6.2 Is admission restricted to those who signed the applicable petition? ☐ YES ☐ NO
6.3 Is all publicity (before and after) expressly forbidden? ☐ YES ☐ NO

7. ATTENDANCE FIGURES (estimated)
7.1 At regular Masses (See 4.3 above)
1st _____ 2nd _____ 3rd _____ 4th _____ 5th _____
(if locations have varied, add name of Church)
7.2 At any occasional Mass (see 4.4.1 above)
4.4.1.1 _____ 4.4.4.2 _____ 4.4.4.3 _____

8. PRESS COVERAGE
8.1 If any Tridentine Masses that have actually taken place have been covered in the press, please enclose relevant clippings.

9. NEGOTIATIONS IN PROGRESS
9.1 Identify group(s) currently negotiating with the Bishop for
9.1.1 a first permission _____
9.1.2 improvements of permissions already granted _____
9.2 In respect of 9.1.2, indicate nature of improvement sought and number in order of importance
9.2.1 Additional Masses in present locations ☐ YES ☐ NO
9.2.2 Masses in additional locations ☐ YES ☐ NO
9.2.3 Regular celebration on Sundays/Holy Days of Obligation
9.2.3.1 every Sunday ☐ YES ☐ NO
9.2.3.2 less frequently ☐ YES ☐ NO
9.2.4 Transfer of Mass to specified Parish Church ☐ YES ☐ NO
9.2.5 (other, please identify) _____
9.3 If NO negotiations are in progress, give brief reasons WHY NOT: _____

10. FUTURE REVIEW OF THE ROMAN DIRECTIVE
10.1 For a future REVIEW of the Roman Directive, which amendments would you consider to be
10.1.1 imperative _____
10.1.2 additionally desirable _____

In order to help defray expenses, you may — if you wish — send your tax deductible contribution to The Traditional Mass Society, P.O. Box 447, San Juan Capistrano, California 92693.

If you would like to receive literature about the Society, please send your name and address or call us at (714) 831-2262.

Survey Shows Tridentine Mass Indult Tepidly Allowed

(Continued from Page 1)
and, accordingly, does not satisfy the Sunday obligation.

In the Archdiocese of Los Angeles a Tridentine Mass is held every week, but never at the same location in the sprawling Archdiocese. For example, last month, a Tridentine Mass was held on Sept. 1st at the San Fernando Mission Chapel at Mission Hills at 12:00 noon. The following week a Mass was held at St. Joseph's Chapel, Duarte, at 8:30 a.m. On Sept. 15th, the Retreat House Chapel at the Little Sisters of the Poor at San Pedro was the location of the Tridentine Mass at 10:30 a.m.; and on Sept. 22nd, the St. John Vianney Chapel was the scene of the Tridentine Mass, which began at 12:30 p.m.

Effectively, then, each chapel is the once per month site of the Tridentine Mass in the Archdiocese.

In the Diocese of St. Petersburg

the Old Mass is celebrated every other Sunday at 1:30 p.m. at St. Theresa's Church, Spring Hill, Fla., located about 80 miles north of St. Petersburg.

Fr. Robert L. Kealy, chancellor of the Archdiocese of Chicago, said there has been "no history of many requests for the Tridentine rite in the recent past, but in the last several months we have had a number of requests."

Although priests in four vicariates have been selected to say the Old Latin Mass, Fr. Kealy said only one Mass had been celebrated by the end of September. It was attended by "about 100 people or a little more," he said.

The Mass will not be celebrated on Sundays or Holy Days so that it will "in no way detract from the normative liturgy of Pope Paul VI."

As is the case in most archdioceses and dioceses, no publicity

is to be given to the Masses in Chicago. Interested persons should petition the priests designated in the following vicariates: Msgr. Harry C. Koenig, Marytown; Msgr. Charles N. Meter, Techny; Fr. Eugene R. Winkowski, Holy Trinity (Wolcott Street); and Fr. Jeremiah J. Rodell, Olympia Fields.

The Archdiocese of Washington holds a Tridentine Rite Mass on the second and fourth Sundays of each month at Carroll Manor Nursing Home at 11 a.m. The site of the Mass is somewhat remote for most people, and is just over the north-east line of the District of Columbia in Maryland.

"THE SAME PROBLEM CONTINUES"

The completely unscientific appraisal by *The Wanderer* involved 22 archdioceses or dioceses, or 13 percent of the total Catholic episcopal jurisdictions in the United States. Those episcopal territories are responsible for the spiritual welfare of 18.4 million Catholics, or 35 percent of the 52.2 million Catholics in the nation.

All dioceses use the guidelines set forth in the Oct. 3rd, 1984 circular letter from Augustine Cardinal Mayer, Prefect of the Congregation for Divine Worship, to the presidents of episcopal conferences. The Holy See's circular letter may be found elsewhere in this issue of *The Wanderer*.

The letter from Cardinal Mayer is interesting because it reflects concern by the Vatican that a 1980 request for reasonably accurate information on acceptance by the faithful of changes in the liturgy subsequent to Vatican II was not provided by the Bishops.

Further, the letter points out that the Vatican was under the impression from the Bishops' responses that "the problem" of those holding to the Tridentine Rite Mass "was almost completely solved." However, the letter notes: "The same problem continues."

The concern about being "excessively legalistic" is evidence by the New York chancery. Fr. Fred Berardi said permission to attend a

Tridentine Mass is not granted to young people, although he noted that the place of celebration of that Mass is not policed to prevent such people from entering.

The chancery's reasoning, Fr. Berardi said, was that anyone who has not had experience with the Tridentine Mass was considered not to have "maintained an attachment" to it.

It might be noted that the *Osservatore Romano* English translation of the letter from Cardinal Mayer reads, "... The problem of priests and faithful holding to the so-called 'Tridentine' rite..." Presumably, Fr. Berardi and officials in the New York archdiocesan chancery have another translation of that phrase, which reads "maintained an attachment" to the Tridentine Rite.

The question concerning restrictions for attendance at the Latin Tridentine Mass because of age was asked of all chancery officials contacted. Although the same rationale for disqualifying attendance at such Masses also is imposed by the Archdiocese of Milwaukee, officials at other chanceries viewed it as an excessive restriction and misinterpretation of the circular letter.

The restrictions by some ordinaries to require personal letters and not to accept names on a petition also is viewed as excessively legalistic by many lay people and priests.

Bernadette McNamara of the Buffalo Diocese was "very disappointed," not only by the lack of publicity given to the one Tridentine Rite Mass which was held at 3:15 p.m. on Sunday, May 26th in a driving rain, but also because there had been no others authorized. She said that nearly 1,000 people attended the one Tridentine Rite Mass held May 26th. The secretiveness and prohibition on publicity about the Tridentine Mass was a common complaint of all its supporters contacted by *The Wanderer*.

Attendance at Tridentine Masses in other Dioceses have been estimated at 700 in Baltimore; 400

in Charlotte; 600 in Cincinnati (actually held in Dayton); 120 in Cleveland (now down to 50); Milwaukee, 400; New Orleans, 250; Orange, 750; Philadelphia, 200; St. Louis, 250; St. Petersburg, 185; San Diego, 400; and Washington, 60.

THE TRUE CHURCH

In Charlotte, where the Tridentine Mass is celebrated on the first Sunday of every month at 5 p.m., Martin Kupris, president of the Society of Traditional Roman Catholics who was recommended to a reporter as a contact by the Charlotte chancery, said some people were concerned that attendance at the Tridentine Mass might be "divisive." However, he said: "Far from being divisive, there were a number of people who had not been to church in years who came to the Old Mass."

He added: "We feel if this traditional form of the Mass is made available, and it brings them back into the Church, then why aren't we doing it more widely?"

Kupris said he met with Cardinal Mayer last April. At that time the Cardinal told him the wording in the indult which speaks of not holding the Tridentine Mass in "parish churches" should be read "broadly" when the size of the congregation warrants, or an alternative site would not be an appropriate atmosphere for a Mass.

The Cardinal, he said, also expressed the belief that weddings and funerals can be solemnized by a Tridentine Latin Mass under provisions of the indult.

The youthful North Carolinian said he receives mail from all around the country concerning the Old Mass. A woman wrote him, he said, to tell how her husband missed the Old Mass "and eventually stopped going to church totally." Writing the letter to Kupris on her husband's birthday, she noted that her life-long companion "passed away a few years ago."

A priest wrote to say "he actually converted to the Catholic Faith because of the traditional Mass."

Moreover, Kupris noted, people in the Charlotte area younger than he "converted from Protestantism because they had read about the traditional Mass and read about the whole Church teaching about the Mass. It made them feel that this must be the true Church. Yet, they never attended a traditional Mass until they came to ours."

Catholics comprise approximately 1.6 percent of the population of North Carolina.

Text Of Tridentine Rite Indult

The following is the text of a Circular Letter sent on Oct. 3rd by the Congregation for Divine Worship to the presidents of Episcopal Conferences, as published in the English edition of the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano* on Oct. 22nd, 1984:

Most Rev. Excellency:

Four years ago, by order of the Supreme Pontiff John Paul II, the Bishops of the whole Church were invited to present a report:

— concerning the way in which the priests and faithful of their dioceses had received the Missal promulgated in 1970 by authority of Pope Paul VI in accordance with the decisions of the Second Vatican Council;

— concerning the difficulties arising in the implementation of the liturgical reform;

— concerning possible resistance that may have arisen.

The results of the consultation were sent to all the bishops (cf. *Notitiae*, n. 185, December, 1981). On the basis of their replies it appeared that the problem of priests and faithful holding to the so-called "Tridentine" rite was almost completely solved.

Since, however, the same problem continues, the Supreme Pontiff, in a desire to meet the wishes of these groups, grants to diocesan bishops the possibility of using an indult whereby priests and faithful, who shall be expressly indicated in the letter of request to be presented to their own bishop, may be able to celebrate Mass by using the Roman Missal according to the 1962 edition, but under the following conditions:

a) That it be made publicly clear beyond all ambiguity that such priests and their respective faithful in no way share the positions of those who call in question the legitimacy and doctrinal exactitude of the Roman Missal promulgated by Pope Paul VI in 1970.

b) Such celebration must be made only for the benefit of those groups that request it; in churches and oratories indicated by the bishop (not, however, in parish churches, unless the bishop permits it in extraordinary cases); and on the days and under the conditions fixed by the bishop either habitually or in individual cases.

c) These celebrations must be according to the 1962 Missal and in Latin.

d) There must be no interchanging of texts and rites of the two Missals.

e) Each bishop must inform this Congregation of the concessions granted by him, and at the end of a year from the granting of this indult, he must report on the result of its application.

This concession, indicative of the common Father's solicitude for all his children, must be used in such a way as not to prejudice the faithful observance of the liturgical reform in the life of the respective ecclesial communities.

I am pleased to avail myself of this occasion to express to Your Excellency my sentiments of deep esteem.

Yours devotedly in the Lord,

Augustine Mayer, Pro-Prefect
Virgilio Noe, Secretary

Where Are The Clowns?

Don't Worry, They're Here

The September newsletter of the Traditional Mass Society, *Our Catholic Tradition*, reports that the following appeared in the weekly bulletin of the two-centuries-old mission church of San Juan Capistrano:

CLOWN MINISTRY

In the Scriptures, St. Paul tells us: "We are fools for Christ's sake," (I Cor. 4:10) and "God has chosen the foolish to confound the wise" (I Cor. 1:17) with this in mind, the youth ministry is embarking on a *Clown Ministry*, with the hope of bringing God and Christ to our people, both young and old. We know that a clown is funny, a symbol of happiness and joy; but he/she is so much more. A clown is asexual, interracial, and ageless. The clown can touch at one time all ages, all intellects, all strata of society, the living and the dying. Instant communication. He (sic) encompasses all human emotion and expresses it in a big, exaggerated way, showing his (sic) beloved audience that they might "Let it all out," too, and feel better for it. In this way, he (sic) is a healer, by disclosing his (sic) own weakness, he (sic) risks himself (sic); he (sic) is vulnerable to his (sic) audience, and can be trusted.

diocese of Washington observed that Latin is "disappearing" in the Church, and he can find only three priests among the 1,000 in the Archdiocese who are willing to say the Tridentine Mass.

He recognizes "there is a corps of people who feel very, very strongly about the Old Mass, and they certainly miss it," but in his experience *Novus Ordo* Latin Masses have not been very well received.

As for large numbers of people

encourage ecumenism because it's so solidly Catholic. It states Catholic theology so strongly it just doesn't permit what they want.

"When you read the *Decree on Ecumenism* with its footnotes, the *Novus Ordo* was instituted because it was ecumenical. That's why they're resisting the Tridentine Mass."

The *Decree on Ecumenism* is a Vatican Council II document. Footnote 9 in section 2 of the *Decree* states: "Before this final

Familiar Liturgy

Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, in his now famous interview with Italian journalist Vittorio Messori, spoke vigorously and eloquently in support of a liturgy so fondly remembered by millions of people over the age of 30.

The following are excerpts taken from Chapter 9 of the English translation of that interview, titled, *The Ratzinger Report*, published by Ignatius Press and distributed by *The Wanderer*:

"... There were years when the faithful wondered, as they prepared themselves to participate in a rite or in the Mass itself, what form the celebrant's 'creativity' would take that day. ..."

(He then cautioned:)

"Regulation of the sacred liturgy depends solely on the authority of the Church, that is, on the Apostolic See and, as laws may determine, on the bishop. ... Therefore no other person, not even a priest, may add, remove, or change anything in the liturgy on his own authority. ..."

"The liturgy is not a show, a spectacle, requiring brilliant producers and talented actors. The life of the liturgy does not consist in 'pleasant' surprises and attractive 'ideas' but in solemn repetitions. It cannot be an expression of what is current and transitory, for it expresses the mystery of the holy. Many people have felt and said that liturgy must be 'made' by the whole community if it is really to belong to them. Such an attitude has led to the 'success' of the liturgy being measured by its effect at the level of spectacle and entertainment. It is to lose sight of what is *distinctive* to the liturgy, which does not come from what we do but from the fact that something is *taking place* here that all of us together cannot 'make.' In the liturgy there is a power, an energy at work which not even the Church as a whole can generate; what it manifests is the Wholly Other, coming to us through the community (which is hence not sovereign but servant, purely instrumental). ..."

"Liturgy, for the Catholic, is his common homeland, the source of his identity. And another reason why it must be something 'given' and 'constant' is that, by means of the ritual, it manifests the holiness of God. The revolt against what has been described as 'the old rubricist rigidity,' which was accused of stifling 'creativity,' has in fact made the liturgy into a do-it-yourself patchwork and trivialized it, adapting it to our mediocrity.

"... The Council rightly reminded us that liturgy also

means *actio*... that the faithful be guaranteed... an active participation. ..."

"... The concept is no doubt correct. But the way it has been applied following the Council has exhibited a fatal narrowing of perspective. The impression arose that there was only 'active participation' when there was discernible external activity — speaking, singing, preaching, reading, shaking hands. It was forgotten that the Council also included silence under *actuosa participatio*, for silence facilitates a really deep, personal participation, allowing us to listen inwardly to the Lord's word. Many liturgies now lack all trace of this silence."

SOLEMNITY, NOT TRIUMPHALISM

"... In the solemnity of the worship, the Church expressed the glory of God, the joy of faith, the victory of truth and light over error and darkness. The richness of the liturgy is not the richness of some priestly caste: It is the wealth of all, including the poor, who in fact long for it and do not at all find it a stumbling block. The whole history of popular piety shows that the poorest have always been instinctively and spontaneously ready even to do without necessities in order to show honor through beauty to their Lord and God without giving any thought to themselves.

"... The authorities of the Anglican church in New York had decided to cease work on the new cathedral. They felt that it was too magnificent and constituted an affront to the people, to whom they had decided to distribute the money that had been collected. And it was precisely the poor who refused to accept the money and called for the work to be recommenced; they could not understand the strange idea that the worship of God could be subject to calculation and that one could dispense with solemnity and beauty when standing in His presence. ..."

"... A certain kind of modern neo-clericalism sees man's problem as his sense of being oppressed by 'sacred taboos.' This is, however, the problem of those clerics who are going through a crisis. The drama faced by our contemporaries is rather that of living without hope in an ever more profane world. Nowadays the really widespread demand is not for a secularized liturgy, but, on the contrary, for a new encounter with the sacred through a worship that manifests the presence of the eternal."

(He objects to) "the romantic archaeologism of certain professors of liturgy who would throw out everything done after Gregory the Great as being an excrescence and a sign of decadence. For them, the criterion of liturgical renewal was not 'What ought to be done today?' but 'What was it like then?' They forget that the Church is living and that her liturgy cannot be frozen at the stage reached in the city of Rome prior to the onset of the Middle Ages. In reality the medieval Church (or the Church of the Baroque era, in many respects) developed a liturgical depth which must be carefully examined before it is abandoned. Here too we must be aware of the Catholic law of an ever better and deeper insight into the inheritance entrusted to us. Pure archaism is fruitless, as is pure modernization."

EUCHARIST AT THE HEART OF THE FAITH

Turning to a related issue, the Cardinal says:

"Some apparently see liturgy narrowly in terms of the Eucharist alone, and only under the aspect of the 'brotherly meal.' But the Mass is not only a meal among friends who have come together to remember the Lord's Last Supper through the common breaking of bread. The Mass is the common sacrifice of the Church, in which the Lord prays with us and for us and communicates Himself to us. It is the sacramental renewal of Christ's sacrifice: consequently its redeeming power extends to all men, those present and those far away, the living and the dead.

"We need to rediscover the awareness that the Eucharist is not worthless if one does not receive Communion: such an awareness would do a great deal to lighten the burden of such acute problems as the readmission to Communion of the divorced and remarried. ... If the Eucharist is only experienced as a community meal among friends, the person who is excluded from receiving the sacred gifts really is cut off from the brotherhood. But if we return to the full perspective of the Mass (a brotherly meal, but also the Lord's sacrifice, carrying within it its own power and effect for the person who is united with him in faith), even if a person does not eat that 'bread,' he still shares equally in all the other gifts made available."

Subsequently, Cardinal Ratzinger said:

"... The attempt to separate the Eucharist from the necessary link with the hierarchical priesthood

(results in) trivializing" (the sacramental mystery).

The same danger of "trivializing" the Blessed Sacrament is present in the decline in adoration of the sacrament, the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation continued, and added:

"People have forgotten that adoration is an intensification of Communion. It is not a case of 'individualistic' piety: it is a prolonging of, or a preparation for, the community element. The *Corpus Christi* processions so loved by the people should be retained. (When I led them in Munich, tens of thousands of people took part.) Here again the liturgical 'archaeologists' voice their objections and point out that these processions did not exist in the Roman Church in the first centuries. But I repeat what I said before, we must recognize that the *sensus fidei* of the Catholic people is able, as the centuries proceed, to draw forth all the consequences of the inheritance entrusted to them, to plumb that inheritance and bring it into the light of day.

"The Eucharist is the central core of our liturgical life, but for it to be the center, we need a shared total context in which to live. All investigations of the effects of the liturgical reform show that if the Mass is overemphasized pastorally, it becomes devalued. It is placed in a vacuum, as it were, without other liturgical acts to prepare for it or deepen it. The Eucharist presupposes the other sacraments and points toward them. But Eucharist also presupposes personal prayer in the family and extra-liturgical prayer in community.

"I am thinking of two of the deepest and most fruitful prayers of Christendom, which are always leading us anew into the mighty river of the Eucharist: the Stations of the Cross and the Rosary. If nowadays we are so dangerously exposed to the attractions of Asiatic religious practices, it is surely in part because we have forgotten these prayers.

"If the Rosary is prayed as tradition envisages, it draws us into a rhythm of calm which makes us flexible and well-balanced, giving a name to this peace: Jesus, the blessed fruit of Mary. Mary, who kept the living Word in the quiet peace of her heart and so was able to become mother of the Incarnate Word. That is why Mary is the ideal of genuine liturgical life. She is Mother of the Church, and as such she also shows us the task and the highest goal of our worship: the glory of God, from whom mankind's salvation comes."

REVERENCE

Fr. James McKay, pastor of Emmanuel Catholic Church in Dayton, and celebrant of the one Tridentine Mass authorized by Archbishop Pilarczyk in the Cincinnati Archdiocese, said:

"There's a decided difference in the reverence of the people in attendance (at the Tridentine Rite) than at Masses, say where there is folk music and where there is a lot of promotion of what they call 'hospitality,' and all that.

"It was really kind of awesome, the difference to me between that (Tridentine) Mass and, say, the regular Sunday Mass — at which people are very reverent in general."

Walter Matt, editor and publisher of *The Remnant*, and spearhead for the first Tridentine Mass celebrated in the U.S. following the circular letter from the Vatican, was asked why no subsequent Tridentine Masses were held in the Archdiocese of Minneapolis-St. Paul. He replied that Archbishop John Roach told him he "wasn't comfortable with the indult," and that he was "being made very uncomfortable by his presbytery."

Thomas J. Barbarie, former editor of the *Catholic Commentator* of the Diocese of Baton Rouge and now a free-lance writer living in Orange County, Calif., said:

"Who wants to go to Mass at 2:00 on Sunday afternoon? Why should I drive 40 miles to church when I can satisfy my obligation to God by attending Mass near my home?"

He added: "What we need is a Tridentine Rite. We don't need just occasional Tridentine Masses within the American Church. We need our own bishop to protect us from the people who messed up the spiritual life of the Church to begin with." Three other people contacted said they would like to see the establishment of a Tridentine Rite.

William Robert Opelle, president of the Traditional Mass Society, an affiliate of *Una Voce* International Federation, commented:

"The Bishops' response has been very grudging, and most Masses have not started until six, eight, and ten months after the indult was published. Often the Masses are held once a month, and spiritual needs are daily and constant. Many of the Masses are held at 2:00 or later in the afternoon, or on Saturdays or during the week."

He said a sensitive response by the Bishops would be to permit a Tridentine Rite Mass every Sunday "at a conventional time in the morning at every parish."

He also said that there seems to be "far more sensitivity to 'clown Masses' than to the Tridentine Rite Mass."

However, Msgr. Raymond Boland, chancellor of the Arch-

wait and see how much of that was "a curiosity factor," and how much was legitimate preference for the Tridentine Mass.

STONEWALLED

Because of the careful scrutiny given by virtually every diocese to those who request the privilege of attending a Tridentine Mass, most people contacted by *The Wanderer* were reluctant to be quoted by name. One such man commented: "They stonewalled us. They really gave us a bad time. They don't want this at all. You know, and I know, the New Mass is ecumenical. The Old Mass does not

been 'Principles of Catholic Ecumenism.' The change implies that the Council recognizes ecumenism as one movement for all Christian churches and communities. The goal for all is the same, unity in the Christian Faith, but the way of conceiving that unity and faith may vary, and one may speak of a Church having its own principles of ecumenism."

In that regard, one of many priests contacted by *The Wanderer* said: "We bend over backwards in ecumenism, and they (non-Catholics) are accepting all of the things we're throwing out. They're accepting everything but our Faith."

The Indult In Operation

Fr. Francis A. Cunningham, S.J., a member of the Jesuits for 47 years and now residing with the Fordham University Jesuit community in New York City, recently wrote to several high Vatican officials. He noted that it will be extremely difficult for Pope John Paul II to make a sound evaluation about the Tridentine Rite indult in view of the obstacles encountered in some episcopal jurisdictions.

In a letter, dated Sept. 5th, 1985, to Augustine Cardinal Mayer, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship, he observed that the indult requires the Tridentine Mass be celebrated according to the 1962 Missal. Fr. Cunningham commented:

"The 1962 Missal was, as you may know, a very limited edition. It had only one outlet in the United States, Benziger Bros., and they soon went out of business. I have not been able to buy one at any price, and I know of only one single copy (the New York Chancery has allowed us to copy the pertinent changes). ..."

To participate in a Tridentine Mass in the Archdiocese of New York, he said one must have his or her name on a list of petitioners who have been approved by the chancery. He noted that he had celebrated a Tridentine Mass in the Loyola Chapel in July, and people came from three states "at great inconvenience" to attend the Mass. Fr. Cunningham then said:

"By what right do I have to tell a resident to get out of his own semi-public chapel (because he did not file his name in advance)? You would not treat one who was excommunicated that way. No one keeps a file on the Gay Masses or the Clown Masses. Why on us?"

"Some are afraid to get on that list lest they be not allowed to teach catechism. Some find trouble claiming to be 'attached' to something which did not exist, and have 'remained' that way when they are not more than 30 years old.

"Some can neither read nor write, but they can pray. Can a man receive Holy Communion when he does not hear his name read off, and he was too ashamed to stand up and walk out?"

"In an adjoining diocese, a personal letter is required to get on that file. Not one percent of our Catholics have ever written a personal letter to a prelate. They do not know the titles, the forms, nor the rhetoric necessary to express a preference without implying a criticism.

"It was easier for a black to register and vote down in Georgia than it is for a Catholic up here to attend that Mass for which many of our fathers died.

"I do not see how our Holy Father is going to form a fair judgment when so few Catholics are given the opportunity to express theirs.

"If the signs of the times include numbers, I think that our Lord must have been pleased with the Old Rite. ..."

(The quotations in the text above are from a letter to Augustine Cardinal Mayer by Fr. Francis J. Cunningham, S.J., and are used with the kind permission of Fr. Cunningham.)

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The Pro-Council Effort

By ANNE STEWART CONNELL

The Declaration Pro-Council appeal being made by the Wanderer Forum Foundation is very important on several counts:

1) It amply demonstrates that *The Wanderer* and its devoted readership has not, is not, will not seek to return the Roman Catholic Church to pre-Vatican II status.

2) It lays to rest the lie that *The Wanderer* is "far right."

3) It recognizes the enormous value of the Second Vatican Council *if and when* properly implemented.

4) It destroys the myth that those who have been opposing improper implementations of The Council are negative reactionaries. On the contrary, by the Declaration Pro-Council, it becomes crystal clear what the Wanderer Forum is all about: accentuating the positive and eliminating the hypocrisies falsely claimed to be found "in the documents of Vatican II." The need for this Declaration Pro-Council is undeniable.

The press has reported that the U.S. emissary to the Synod this fall — Bishop James Malone — will be suggesting that problems in the United States are largely due to the "secular culture." In one sense this is a fact. But in another interpretation — clearly stated in the Declaration Pro-Council — what cannot be evaded by episcopal authorities is the "spiritual culture" (for which the Bishops are ultimately responsible) has all too often been neither according to the true spirit nor the letter of the Second Vatican Council.

It is to these spiritual matters that the Declaration Pro-Council addresses itself. How can "secular culture" be blamed for matters of "Sacraments and Sacred Liturgy"; "Priesthood and Religious Life"; "Episcopal Catechesis"; "Catholic Education";

Catechetics"; the "Role of the Laity"? The only way that these subjects can be said to be contaminated by secular culture is by inviting the world into the not-of-this-world Catholic culture. And this is what so many theologians, Religious, clergymen, and laity have done. This, then, is the cause of confusion among Catholics: not the Second Vatican Council, not the secular culture per se.

We cannot fault Bishop Malone for wanting to bring a good report about the Church in the United States to the Synod. Still, the Synod deserves all the facts and a full report. The 14 pages that His Excellency will submit cannot begin to cover what has happened the past 20 years in the U.S. This is why the Declaration Pro-Council is of vast importance as a post-script to the written statement of Bishop Malone.

The same Pope and the same *Magisterium* that brought to us *Familiaris Consortio* should ask the Bishops coming to the Extraordinary Synod how Catholic families have been faring in their countries since the Second Vatican Council. Some answers to this question are readily available to the Synod Fathers in the Declaration Pro-Council.

By signing the Declaration Pro-Council you are ensuring representation at the Fall Synod. The Wanderer Forum Foundation has done your homework for you in this summary statement. You can show your gratitude by signing and encouraging others to sign. This effort is not to be viewed as a statement contrary to that of Bishop James Malone. Not at all. It is an additional and compelling post-script from Catholics in the U.S.

Have you signed yet?

When I have spoken or written about government studies in the past, it was usually to point out, for example, that we could live without further information on the sex life of fruit flies. Especially when the funded government studies cost us a half a million dollars each.

A recent government study, however, breaks rank with such outrageous wastes of public funds, and really does present important findings. Its being in the genre of boondoggles that benefit the philosophically confused in our institutions of higher learning should not undermine the seriousness it deserves.

I speak of Dr. Paul C. Vitz' study, funded by the National Institute of Education, entitled *Religion and Traditional Values in Public School Textbooks: An Empirical Study*. The recently published study is part of a larger project entitled, *Equity in Values Education: Do the Values Education Aspects of Public School Curricula Deal Fairly with Diverse Belief Systems?*

Dr. Vitz is a distinguished professor of psychology at New York University, hardly a secret bastion of fundamentalist thought. To conduct his study, Dr. Vitz was joined by three distinguished colleagues: Dr. Donald Oppewal, professor of education at Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Mich.; Dr. Edward A. Wynne, professor of education at the University of Illinois at Chicago; and Dr. Henrietta Schwartz of San Francisco State University.

What Dr. Vitz and his colleagues found was shocking but not surprising. Consider the following conclusions, as expressed in the *Abstract* of their comprehensive 89-page report:

Study 1: The Treatment of Religion in Social Studies Textbooks: Grades 1 — 4: "Not one of the 40 books in this study had one word of text that referred to any religious activity of contemporary American life. That is, no text referred to any present-day American who prayed, or participated in worship, or in any other way represented active religious life."

Study 2: Religion in the Introduction to American History Textbooks: Social Studies, Grade 5. "Except for coverage of religion in colonial America and the early southwest missions, there was little coverage of religion

books. Not one of the many descriptions or comments on family suggested that being a mother or homemaker was a worthy, dignified, and important role for a woman."

Study 5: Other Observations on the Social Studies Textbooks: Grades 1 — 4. "There was a strong liberal bias in these texts. . . . Many of these books picked out certain people to serve as 'role models,' that is, to represent important people and admirable Americans.

"These people were given a photo and special coverage on their life and accomplishments. All such role models who had political or ideological significance for American society since World War II were tabulated. . . . The results were striking. Of the 23 such role models, 13 were Democrats and three were Republicans, and all the remaining seven were associated with liberal political or social causes."

Study 6: U.S. History Textbooks. "The best general summary statement of their treatment of religion is to say that none of them came even close to adequately presenting the major religious events of the last 100 years. . . .

"Even more important was the omission in all these texts of the essential fact that religion has played a significant role in American history. This fact has been mentioned by astute foreign observers since Alexis de Tocqueville."

Study 7: Religion and Other Values in Readers: Grades 3 and 6. "Six hundred and seventy stories and articles from widely used Grade 3 and 6 readers were analyzed. Not one story or article in these books (used to teach reading) had a religious or spiritual theme as central to it. . . . American business life was

ignored, since only one story featured achieving a business success, and that was a black woman banker born in 1867; and this story's primary emphasis was a feminist one."

In fact, aggressive feminism is a dominant theme found by Professors Vitz, Wynne, and Schwartz. As they conclude their *Abstract* of the Grades 3 and 6 readers: "No story featured an immigrant who made good in America in business or in a profession; there were only five stories with a patriotic theme, but all of these dealt with the War of Independence (over 200 years ago), and four of them were about girls and had more a feminist meaning. . . . No story featured a mother or motherhood as important and positive, nor did a story give any importance or positive significance to babies; however, there were many aggressively feminist stories and articles."

The next time someone says that conservative parents are "censors" and "book burners" because they object to the liberal bias in our public school classrooms, tell them you know better.

It is not a question of *whether* values, but *whose*. And it is liberal secularists bent on remaking society more to their liking who have long been the true censors.

For more information on this important study, interested parties can write to Dr. Paul C. Vitz, professor of psychology, New York University, 6 Washington Place, New York, N.Y., 10003.

+ + +

(Carl Horn is an attorney, author, and political consultant based in Charlotte, N.C.)



"Declaration Pro Council" Gaining Momentum

Support for the "Declaration Pro-Council" issued last month by the board of the Wanderer Forum Foundation is showing increased strength with each passing day. Thanks to an outpouring of contributions this past week, the Forum Foundation board has decided to sponsor a full page advertisement announcing the "Declaration Pro-Council" in the October 18th issue of *U.S.A. Today*. Though not all of the necessary \$25,000 to pay for the ad is yet in hand, board members are confident that sufficient contributions may still come in to cover the remaining balance which for the moment has been drawn from the Foundation's precarious resources.

Planned to coincide with the opening of the 18th National Wanderer Forum and the appearance of the advertisement in *U.S.A. Today*, the Forum board will hold a national news conference at 10:30 a.m. Friday October 18th at the Shoreham Hotel in Wash-

ington, D.C., to explain the purpose of the Declaration Pro Council.

Laurene Conner, executive secretary of the Wanderer Forum Foundation, informs us that hundreds of signature pages containing thousands of signatures already have arrived at Forum headquarters. Also, she said that several thousand additional copies of the "Declaration" have been ordered.

We wish to commend and to express our gratitude to all who have supported the "Declaration Pro Council" and who have contributed to the dissemination of its message. Once again we urge everyone who has not yet participated in this vital apostolic effort to add their voice to the swelling chorus of faithful Catholics who are asking the Synod Fathers to "fulfill the promise of Vatican II."

A. J. Matt Jr.
Editor, *The Wanderer*

What's Andy Afraid Of?

By JOSEPH T. GILL

This week's contribution to American letters by Fr. Andrew Greeley is not a pornographic novel (that was last week's), but another of his famous sociological studies of the American Catholic scene, entitled "American Catholics Since the Council: An Unauthorized Report." In this literary exercise, Andy achieves what only Andy could: a new definition, indeed the definitive definition, of the term "loyal."

One Chicago commentator, who has always taken Andy as seriously as he takes Cardinal Bernardin, got the drift right away, beginning his report, "The nation's 52 million Roman Catholics, although repudiating in growing numbers key (!) Church teachings on sexuality, remain deeply loyal to their faith and religious heritage, Chicago's controversial Fr. Andrew Greeley reports in a sweeping sociological study. . . ."

Andy reports, on the basis of the inevitable surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, where he is a "research associate," that U.S. Church members have departed dramatically from official Catholic teaching on such issues as birth control, premarital sex, divorce and remarriage, and Papal infallibility. Yet these surveys somehow support the researcher's conclusion that the Catholic people in this country, dissenters no less than nondissenters, "remain deeply loyal

to their faith and religious heritage."

Deeply loyal to *their* faith — whatever that happens to be — the dissenters surely are; but loyal in any ordinary understanding of the term, let alone *deeply* loyal to the authentic Catholic Faith, they surely are not. This is flawed, crippled, half-baked, sophomoric, if not deliberately fraudulent, thinking. It is, in other words, vintage Greeley. But what better can we expect of this apostle of pick-and-choose catholicism (sic), who believes that one is Catholic who says he or she is Catholic, no matter how many tenets and doctrines of the Faith one repudiates. That such a thinker can be taken seriously by otherwise intelligent individuals is a strange phenomenon of the times.

Like many of his tribe, Andy is on edge over the extraordinary Synod, which Pope John Paul II has called for to consider the effects on the Church which have grown out of Vatican II in the 20 years since its close. And so what is more natural than for the scientific pollster to conduct one of his famous scientific polls (one takes him at his word that he did) in order to produce "findings" which will enable him to draw the same sort of scientific conclusions for which he is famous. He does so in order to instruct the Pope and the Church that any effort by Church authorities to revoke what he calls the reforms

of the Second Vatican Council of the last 100 years of American history was almost devoid of any reference to religion. (Seven historically significant omissions are then given in the *Abstract*.) The proportion of pages with references of any kind to religion dropped from slightly over 50 percent for those covering history in the 1600s to 10 percent for the 1700s, to 4 percent for the 1800s, to 2 percent for pages referring to history in the 1900s. This represents roughly a 25-fold drop."

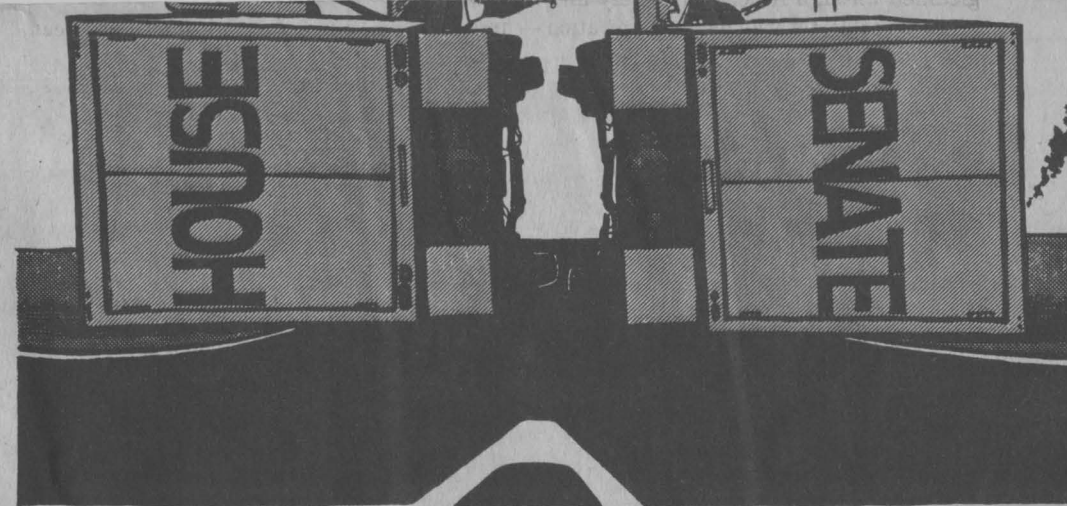
Study 3: Religion in World History or World Culture Textbooks: Grade 6. "These books showed the following deficiencies with respect to religion: (1) a serious neglect of the importance of ancient Jewish history; (2) a clear neglect of the life of Jesus of Nazareth; an occasional strong emphasis on Islam; (3) little, if any, treatment of the first 1,000 years of Christianity; (4) neglect of Eastern Orthodox Christianity and the Byzantine Empire; (5) little, sometimes no coverage of the Protestant Reformation; and (6) a neglect of Christianity in the last 200 years."

Study 4: Family Values in Social Studies Textbooks: Grades 1 — 4. "The notion that marriage is the origin and foundation of the family was never presented in any of these books. In particular, the words 'marriage,' 'wedding,' 'husband,' 'wife,' 'homemaker,' 'housewife,' did not occur *once* in these

which came out of the Second Vatican Council will "only make a chaotic Church more chaotic" and further undermine the authority and credibility of the Pope and his bishops.

"It would seem," Fr. Greeley observes, "that they have influence on their people only when their people decide to permit them to have such influence. The authority of the government apparently rests on the consent of the governed, not only in civil matters of the United States, but also in Catholic ecclesiastical matters." Thus writes the almost perfect example of the secular-pseudo religious intellectual for whom Christ has little influence on the conduct of the affairs of what is after all His Church.

We have no polls to fall back on in drawing our conclusions. Nor do we pretend to be a scholar or an intellectual in any form. Nevertheless, we make bold to suggest that if Andy is as terrified (and he has lots of company) of the upcoming Synod as the issuance of "American Catholics Since the Council: An Unauthorized Report" implies, we could not be more pleased. There are many reasons to believe that His Holiness is exactly on the right track in calling the Synod. Not the least of these is that Fr. Greeley is terrified of what might come out of it.



Selective Activism

By CINDY PASLAWSKI

A stockholder meeting is in the offing and the corporate heads are gnashing their teeth. Questions will be asked, investments and allocations scrutinized, and requests for divestitures made by one and two-stock owners. While their voting power is nil, these small-stock holders make a lot of noise and they have a large attraction for the media.

Some years back, the airing of social issues at stockholder meetings came into vogue. Under the banner of corporate accountability, activists of every bent gathered, purchasing stock, share by share, thereby earning the dividend of attending stockholder meetings, voting, and most important, the opportunity to speak out.

Nuns and priests and laity of socially liberal mind jumped on the stockholding bandwagon as well, purchasing sole shares of stock and all of these activists together turned otherwise boring stockholder meetings into confrontations over the current liberal issues of the day: the Vietnam War; napalm and chemical weaponry; nuclear weapons; and lately, apartheid. The argument was, and remains the same: "Corporate investments in these areas-countries is promoting immoral actions which we as stockholders find offensive. As stockholders, we ask that you cease investing in these areas."

Now I read that the Kellogg Foundation (started by the fellow of cereal fame "to receive and administer funds for educational and charitable purposes") funded a sex education manual entitled *Human Sexuality and Personal Relationships*, distributed by International Planned Parenthood Federation (or its affiliates) in Latin America. The manual's gross sexual recommendations are a direct affront to the cultural and religious background of the Guatemalan people, according to their Archbishop who saw the book and protested its contents to President Reagan (see *The Wanderer*, Sept. 5th, 1985, p. 1).

Kellogg? Does this mean Tony the Tiger

catches desperados with one corporate hand and passes out sex education books with the foundation's other hand? Has the money my father spent for decades on his Kellogg's Cornflakes for breakfast helped in any way to pay — through grants to the foundation — for a book advocating "free" genital activity for adolescents?

There go the Apple Jacks and the Rice Krispies and the Special K.

Now here is a current issue with social ramifications. Does the Kellogg Corporation, which provides a mainstay of America's breakfast table, in any way contribute funds to the Kellogg Foundation which funded the sex education book for Latin America? Will this question be asked at the next Kellogg Company stockholder meeting? Will the activists, waving their minute shares of the cornflake empire, demand information on any corporate allocations to the foundation? Will the activists go on corporate and media record as saying that as Kellogg Company stockholders, they find the activities of the foundation of the same name to be embarrassing and worth reconsideration?

I think not. No activist entourage has protested corporate funds channeled into the pornography industry. No activist battalion has shaken the world protesting Upjohn's abortion-prostaglandin efforts. So why should the destruction of religious and cultural autonomy of the nonwealthy fare any differently? The bandwagon will be empty this trip.

But a few years down the line, curtailing births in the countries where this sex ed book is now being distributed may become a hot social (and stockholder) pressure point. The activists' voices will be loud and clear on this issue. But where are they now when the whole idea of free sex is being promoted?

It seems that activism on liberal social issues is rather selective and not very liberal at all.

The Tridentine's Timeless Tug

Elsewhere in this issue of *The Wanderer* a survey shows that approximately 5,300 people in 22 dioceses and archdioceses, representing 35 percent of the Catholic population, are attending Tridentine Rite Latin Masses authorized by the local bishops. When those figures are extrapolated for the entire Catholic population they reflect that approximately 15,000 Catholics may be attending such Masses under the extremely restricted guidelines (or lack thereof) imposed in response to the request from the Vatican.

Those figures are, of course, grossly misleading with respect to the actual number of Catholics who would attend the Tridentine Mass if offered a free opportunity. The 15,000 people who are attending such Masses, in truth, represent a relative handful who (a) actually know they can attend such Masses; (b) are willing to write to their bishops to request permission to attend such liturgy; (c) will humble themselves to attend those Masses even if only allowed to do so once each month (or far less) when offered at any distant and inconvenient site; (d) are willing to participate in Tridentine Masses almost at any hour; and (e) don't mind that attendance at such Masses when only permitted on week days does not fulfill their obligation to attend Mass on Sunday and Holy Days.

Nevertheless, the 5,300 people who currently are reported to be attending the Tridentine Rite Mass are nearly two-and-one-half times larger than the 2,624 Catholics who regularly attend the Church's authorized St. Nicholas Eastern Rite churches. Moreover, the projected 15,000 Catholics who are attending Church-authorized Tridentine Rite Masses across the country approximate the 18,300 Catholics whom the Church permits to attend the Melkite Rite Mass and other liturgical services in the United States. Further, those 15,000 Catholics are just about half as large as the 34,200 Maronite Catholics in this country.

Clearly, if the Tridentine Rite Mass were offered every Sunday at convenient locations (or in every parish) at a convenient hour each Sunday and Holy Day, there is little doubt that those preferring that particular form of liturgical worship would far outnumber the 596,917 Eastern Rite Catholics in the United States, as reported in the 1985 edition of *The Official Catholic Directory*.

Now, five years after the Vatican requested to know "the difficulties arising in the implementation of the liturgical reform," it is high time the Pope received truly accurate information on the subject. The current "guidelines" for attendance at Tridentine Rite liturgy clearly do not provide a true assessment of reality.

The Real Reason For The Court's Attitude Toward Religion

Pursuant to its long custom, the U.S. Supreme Court began its new term on the first Monday in October and will, as it regularly has since 1940, make decisions affecting the religious rights of American citizens.

Indicative of the impact of the Court's ruling on religion during the last 45 years are recent findings in a study commissioned by the National Institute of Education. That study shows religion has been largely expunged from social studies and history textbooks in three-fourths of America's public schools.

Professor Paul Vitz of New York University, the principal investigator who conducted the study, cited as an example that "Mardi Gras is the end-of-winter celebration," according to one textbook. As another example, he noted that in sixth grade world history textbooks there is "clear neglect" of the life of Jesus, and little if any treatment of the first 1,000 years of Christianity.

In this connection, a forthcoming book explains in exquisite detail — heavily footnoted — exactly how the Supreme Court of the United States, apparently by design, set about to establish secular humanism as the state-sanctioned religion of America.

Here are some selected excerpts from the Introduction to that book:

"From the time I first read the 1947 *Everson* decision and related cases concerning the religion clause, it had been my conviction that the Supreme Court, for some unfathomable reason, had misinterpreted the clause's legislative history. That misinterpretation effectively wiped away the weathered glow of Christianity which for so many years had

WASHINGTON, D.C. — I suppose most professional writers of my generation felt a pang at the news that E.B. White had died. Nearly everyone who has studied writing seriously over the past quarter-century has read his tiny book, *The Elements of Style*.

The book is really no more than a revision of a handbook written decades earlier by White's writing teacher at Cornell, William Strunk, Jr. White introduced the book to the general public in 1959, and though he emphatically gave Professor Strunk most of the credit, nearly everyone thinks of the book somehow as essentially White's.

In any case, it is invaluable — a 70-odd-page guide to good writing that is worth reading and re-reading not only for what it says but for the power of thinking it

manages to communicate to the reader. It is a wise book that begets further wisdom. The first reading gives practical pointers; the 10th refreshes the mind in subtler ways.

From Strunk and White I learned that I could profitably replace a phrase such as "despite the fact that" with a simple "although," and that I should put emphatic words at the end of a sentence. They discuss writing the way Ted Williams discusses hitting. As you read them, you realize that they are showing you how to get the maximum effect from your own energy by eliminating sloppy motion.

I once asked a *Reader's Digest* editor how the *Digest* manages to be so readable. He answered with one word: "cutting." A good writer is his own editor, ruthlessly

sacrificing his own vanities to the reader's needs. Samuel Johnson recalled the advice of one tutor to his pupil: "Read over your compositions, and whenever you meet with a passage which you think particularly fine, strike it out."

This is hard advice. Most of the time, a writer thinks of himself as an oracle whose every verbal impulse deserves to be recorded. He can't bear to imagine a reader finding him boring. On the other hand, a writer may be under pressure to produce — and in the crude sense, "producing" may simply mean covering a page with ink before the deadline. Under such circumstances, it is tempting to forget the reader and stuff the page with adjectives, needless qualifications, and redundant illustrations.

A writer's natural temptation, in other words, is to write too much. Writing is not exactly a lucrative calling, and good writers are underpaid, or maybe I should say that too much writing is done on piece work: You are paid by the word, or for delivering a certain quantity of words. You may write the most brilliant epigram in the world, a remark that will be repeated thousands of times and make the next edition of *Bartlett's* and maybe change people's lives for the better, but unless it's embedded in an article of the proper length, you can't get a dime for it.

Hence the prevalence of padding. I wonder if even Hemingway didn't do it sometimes. One writer I have never suspected of it is James M. Cain. I recently reread *The Postman Always Rings Twice* and was astonished at Cain's skill in keeping a plot hopping: Even his descriptions are full of energy. The

book is only 120 pages long in the paperback edition — 120 electric pages. His later novel, *Mildred Pierce*, though much less exciting, is even more impressive technically. It's nearly three times as long as *Postman*, but it could easily have been as long as *Anna Karenina*. Cain edited himself like a *Reader's Digest* editor — and it paid off. There's a lesson here for padders.

The key to good writing is energy — the interest of the writer contagiously evoking the interest of the reader. If you don't have that energy to begin with, you can't fake it. But unskillful writing can disperse the real energy latent in itself. And sometimes that energy coalesces only after a good editor has worked over the author's manuscript. This is a great boon, but most authors, alas, aren't grateful for it. It offends their vanity — the vanity that made them writers in the first place. The war between authors and editors is second in fury only to the war between the sexes; but like the sexes, they need each other. And after all, the writers get the glory. I can't complain.



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The Arms Control Obsession

By GEORGE F. WILL

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Several years ago, I heard President Reagan say approximately this:

"I would like to take the Soviet leaders up in a helicopter over Los Angeles." (Here I thought: Good, he is going to push them out. But, no.) "I would point to all the small houses with swimming pools and I would say, 'Those are the workers' houses!'"

Surely Ronald Reagan does not think the hard men of the Kremlin are misguided Lane Kirklands, labor leaders mistaken about how best to raise living standards. But Reagan may illustrate the great, and perhaps fatal, paradox of American politics:

He is thumpingly successful because he is thoroughly American — moderate, amiable, reasonable, and convinced that others are, too. That is, he has the constricted political imagination natural in a sheltered, liberal nation to which history has been kind. Hence he is, as the most successful American

meetings, the axiom is: Control the pre-summit conversation and you control the event. And look what is happening. Throughout the 1970s conservatives sensibly criticized the policy of treating arms control as the centerpiece of U.S.-Soviet relations. Today we see a Gresham's law of political discourse. The dry arcana of arms control has driven out talk of all other things, including: Afghanistan, Poland, Angola, Nicaragua, yellow rain, terrorism, arms-control violations, Helsinki violations, etc.

In another way, too, America is paying the price of its arms-control obsession. So eager were the Nixon and Carter Administrations for agreements, they pre-negotiated (in Washington) proposals compatible with the Soviet buildup. Then they settled for agreements that were, essentially, mere snapshots of the rising force levels. But Soviet levels rose faster. Today they are so large and varied that a

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"As a result, for well over a generation — and likely for years to come — there has been, and will continue to be, imposed upon the American people, the deadly pall of a secular and humanistic religion that has no precedent in more than 160 years of constitutional history. The rationale of the precedent-setting *Everson* decision has stained virtually every legal opinion on the religion clause since that time. . . .

"By relentlessly pursuing the arguments advanced by the Court in *Everson*, the high bench: outlawed released time for children to attend religious classes within public school buildings; declared atheism and secular humanism to be religions protected by the First Amendment; prohibited the recitation of prayer in public schools, even though the prayer had been approved by leaders of the three major religious faiths in the United States; and banned recitation of the 'Our Father' and oral Bible reading as religious exercises in public schools.

"Related cases have denied to religious-oriented schools state-funded teaching aids, periodicals, maps, etc.; banned singing of Christmas carols in public schools; prohibited public school teachers from teaching in religious-oriented schools; and held that a law permitting employees to observe the Sabbath as a day of rest 'violates' the First Amendment. . . .

"The burning question remained: Why?

"Why did these cases suddenly come before the Court year after year? Why did the Court so obviously ignore the legislative history of the religion clause and the full context of earlier opinions rendered by the Court regarding that constitutional provision?

"Why was a figure of speech — 'a wall of separation between church and state' — enshrined as a rule of law?

"Why? Why?

"And then, in mid-summer, 1975, I stumbled upon the answer. I uncovered concrete evidence which confirms that some Supreme Court Justices have been motivated by personal biases in rendering their decisions.

"My discoveries began when I read an article in the August 10th, 1975 edition of *The Washington Post* based upon the diaries of Justice Felix Frankfurter. He quoted his friend, Justice Louis D. Brandeis, as commenting on Justice Hugo L. Black:

" 'Black hasn't the faintest notion of what tolerance means, and while he talks a lot about democracy, he is totally devoid of its underlying demand which is tolerance in his own behavior' ."

There is more — much more — of the story of intrigue and deliberate efforts to undermine the deep religious foundations of the American state.

The author of this forthcoming book needs to convince a publisher that there is an audience for such a tome. If readers of this column would be interested in such a book, tear this article out of the paper and send it to "Washington Word," *The Wanderer*, 201 Ohio St., St. Paul, Minn., 55107.

Ending The Deficits

As we go to press, the Senate, by a vote of 75-24, overwhelmingly approved a bill to set controls on the federal budget and to eliminate the deficit by 1991.

The bill, authored by Sen. Phil Gramm (R., Tex.), Warren Rudman (R., N.H.), and Ernest Hollings (D., S.C.) would set fixed deficit ceilings that would decline \$36 billion a year from \$180 billion this year to zero in fiscal 1991.

The measure also requires the President and Congress to prepare budgets within the established ceilings. In the event a deficit appeared likely to exceed it, the President would be required to make across-the-board cuts in spending under guidelines established by Congress.

The panic on the debt and deficit is evident because our current national deficit is nearly \$2 trillion. It took over 200 years for our country to reach its first trillion dollar deficit, and it has taken less than seven years to get the second trillion.

The Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill sounds like the right medicine to bring the spenders back to fiscal reality. But is it?

Cong. Robert Walker (R., Pa.) addressed his House colleagues on Oct. 7th, and pointed out:

"We passed a law several years ago aimed at balancing the budget of this country by 1981. What happens? The Democratic leadership regularly has its membership voting to ignore that law in vote after vote after vote.

"We passed a Budget Act in this body in the 1970s. What do we do? We pass the budget, and then when it comes to spending the money, we regularly bring rules to this House floor that waive the Budget Act, and we go ahead and spend the money. We have spent \$150 billion more than our own budgets in the last five years."

leaders are most likely to be, especially apt to underestimate the terrible dynamic of the Soviet system. One manifestation of this misunderstanding is the sweet thought that the regime's leaders would be susceptible to the taming example of American freedom and affluence.

I mention this now because the *Washington Post* reports that recently the President was flying over New Hampshire and said to the governor how much he would like to take Gorbachev to "any house down there" to meet "the working people." What does the President think such a visit would accomplish? Perhaps: The Gorbachev palm slapped to the Gorbachev forehead, and a thunder-struck exclamation, "Marx goofed! I have seen the future, and lots of kitchen appliances, and it and they work. So dismantle the Gulag!"

Is this another "It's all a horrid misunderstanding" theory of the Cold War? Usually the "misunderstanding" is a mutual misassessment of the other's peaceful intentions. In this case, the supposed misunderstanding concerns how best to satisfy the common man.

This theory founders on the fact that the thin slice of Soviet society that has power also has material comforts. The regime is driven by the need to justify the exemption of the privileged few from the dismal life led by the many. The regime derives its legitimacy, such as it is, from the pretense that it is custodian of History's progressive impulse. That is why the Soviet regime is not — cannot be — in the live-and-let-live business.

If the leader of this regime were not following in the shuffling footsteps of three cadaverous leaders, he would be seen to have the charisma of suet pudding. Yes, he is "resplendent" in his "gleaming white shirt" (words from the introduction to his self-interview in *Time*). But he is also a truculent liar: he is truculent when dismissing as "insubstantial" all complaints about Soviet violations of its Helsinki undertakings. He is a liar explaining how tickled Jews are about the privilege of remaining in the Soviet Union.

The "bold, new" arms-control proposal is bold in offering something so old. It is traditional Soviet algebra: X equals $X+Y+Z$. The Soviets offer X (50 percent reduction of "strategic" forces), the United States will give X , and will count its intermediate-range forces as strategic, and will kill its attempt to catch up with the Soviet strategic defense initiative. The Soviet side wins not by getting us to accept their equation, but by getting us to talk, exclusively, the arcane, antiseptic algebra of arms control.

It is axiomatic: Control the agenda and you control the meeting. Regarding summit

mutual cut of 50 percent could be tailored that would leave the Soviets with an enhanced strategic advantage.

The lament of correct thinkers within the Administration is: The Soviets would never attend a "Sakharov Summit" or an "Afghanistan Summit," but here we go to a "Star Wars Summit." And the (definite article, "the") question already is: What will Reagan give up to make it a "success"? This, too, is a reason why when I hear people praising summits I want to take them up in a helicopter and. . . .

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Dear Fellow-Christian,

It is clear that the Light of the Cross, which gave us our civilisation and our culture, is menaced to an unprecedented degree today by the powers of darkness.

Decade by decade, year by year, the forces of the enemy rain smashing blows upon that precious heritage which our forefathers bequeathed to us, that magnificent Christian civilisation, that legacy of art and architecture, of law and learning, of inspiring music and classical literature, which has uplifted and inspired the world.

Christendom is reeling today under the hammer blows of Satanic forces who gain their strength through our sins, our failure to love one another, our failure to pray and do penance.

All of us must come together now, Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, to pray for a new Pentecost, a new infusion of the Holy Spirit, to launch Christendom upon a new era of greatness and renewal.

There is a plan to launch a National Novena for all Christians. As the Apostles and the early Christians gathered together in the Cenacle after the Ascension, to await the coming of the Holy Spirit, so we must come together now. They prayed for nine days (a novena). *Reaching out urgently to the Holy Spirit as we are now, we must emulate them.*

Catholics will be praying for nine days between November 30th and December 8th. The Extraordinary Synod in Rome, called by Pope John Paul II to discuss the crises afflicting the Catholic Church, will be in session at this time.

It would be a magnificent gesture of love for one another and of loyalty to our Redeemer, if all Christians could unite and pray together during these nine days, all according to our own consciences.

We hope for massive interdenominational rallies during these days.

We should plan processions, tableaux, hymn singing, special choral events in the public parks. We should request the networks to telecast religious programs during these days and nights. Christian businessmen may help by funding these programs.

It should be a Novena for Christ in America, *nine days dedicated to proclaiming the Christian Gospel of love and service to our fellowman.* Let us demonstrate to the world the power of this Christian civilisation which civilised Europe in the dark ages and is able to civilise it again. In particular, this Novena should be a united call to Christ the Good Shepherd, to implore Him to save His flock from the ravaging wolves which so ferociously menace it today.

If you can do something for this precious cause, please let us know. Write to us at the address above, and may God richly bless you. And remember our slogan:

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(Please photo-copy the above letter and show copies to any or all of the Catholic AND Protestant ministers in your area. Please send us the names of those who wish to support this initiative. Also their designations and addresses.

We shall gladly contact them, and send on promotional literature to them. The hour is late. The issue is national survival. Please write to NATIONAL NOVENA, P.O. Box 382, Temple Hills, MD 20748.)

Catholic Beliefs Publicly Trashed

(Continued from Page 1)

Also significant were the number of priests who showed up at the protest; and the blasts against the film from the pulpit, including the pulpit of John Cardinal O'Connor at St. Patrick's Cathedral, where the Cardinal drew the explicit analogy to the formal protests against Minister Farrakhan. Further, the postulator general of the Redemptorist Order flew in from Rome on Oct. 8th, and went directly to Lincoln Center to register his anger at the blasphemy.

Msgr. Eugene Clarke, rumored to be a possible successor to Archbishop Peter Gerety in Newark, went on television to denounce the film for using "a sacred thing profanely," and called upon Mayor Koch to denounce it. The Archdiocese interceded with the selection committee of the New York Film Festival, seeking to convince them of the bigotry involved in using tax money to show this film.

A RIGHT TO PROTEST

Such protests, of course, provoked even more bigotry. Bigots do not like it when their objects stand up for their rights.

Consequently, the Film Festival went ahead with it, Mayor Koch and Gov. Cuomo ignored Msgr. Clarke's appeal. A. M. Rosenthal's *New York Times*, which had been giving front-page coverage all week to opponents of Minister Farrakhan, refused to cover either the protest or the controversy, which example was followed by most television news stations.

Those that did cover it concentrated on the idea that, Pope John Paul's observations aside, the Catholic protesters had not seen the film, and thus had no right to protest it. One mincey-looking black fellow was pontificating before the microphones about this unreasoning horror of criticizing something without seeing it, and so your friendly *New York Wanderer* correspondent intervened to ask if he would be equally indignant if the Film Festival were showing an *Amos n' Andy* review, and some black had the temerity to trust the judgment of his brothers in protesting such a development, even though he hadn't actually seen the film.

It was clear the gentleman had difficulty grasping my point. He answered that he had seen *Amos n' Andy* shows, and I asked again if he would be indignant at hearing of a brother protesting it on his authority. He said that there had been no blacks in the Woody Allen film *Manhattan*. I asked if he was as sensitive to religious bigotry against Catholics as he was to racial bigotry against blacks. He seemed clearly shocked by such an unfashionable idea, and denied there was such a thing. I suggested he thus has something in common with the producers of *Manhattan*. But by this time, the microphone had been skirted away; and such analogies were carefully deleted from the 6:00 news.

GRAPHIC OBSCENITY

What surprises and delights me about all this, is that *Je Vous Salus Marie* is — if I might speak sub-

jectively here — far less vile than so many other publicly funded and supported instances of anti-Catholic bigotry in the general society; and, again if I may, it is in many ways less of an assault on Catholic truth than the kind of thing you can read on any given week in many of the national and diocesan "Catholic" magazines and newspapers across the country. This should cause some chagrin to those who hope to undermine Pope John Paul at the upcoming Extraordinary Synod, for I wonder if this protest would have found such drive and energy, had it not been fueled by the Papal protest.

The reason I wonder this is because of the relative absence of protest against bishops who allow attacks on the virginity of Mary, such as those from the revered Raymond Brown for example, to be taught in their seminaries or published in diocesan papers. Or the fact that a couple years back, both the New York State Council on the Arts and the National Endowment of the Arts (along with private donations from, among others, Exxon, the Mobil Foundation, and F. W. Woolworth) funded a gallery that produced a show called *The Second Coming*, which was meant as a double-

entendre mocking our Lord's Return with the idea of a sexual orgasm. The show itself was full of graphic obscenity and pornography, promoting such things as sex with babies, sado-masochism, sex with urine, and obscene representations of the Christ Child and His Mother. There was some protest against this,

principally from Paul Morrissey's Morality Action Committee; but again, what received the most media attention, was shock and horror that uppity Catholics had the audacity to protest the use of their tax dollars to fund blasphemy. And 10,000 did not hit the streets in protest.

Meanwhile, according to *The New York Tribune*, "When a State Council on the Arts spokesman was asked if the council wouldn't be influenced by the gallery's sponsorship of such an obscene exhibition, he answered, 'Not any more than by the (Metropolitan Museum of Art's) sponsorship of Vatican art'."

Right. In addition, the National Endowment and the State Arts Council also funded a thing called the *Terence Davies Trilogy* which, among other things, included a scene wherein shots of a Catholic church were interspersed with those of a sodomite engaging in a violent act of self-abuse.

Is this shocking? Of course. But to quote the *Tribune* columnist Betty Wein, "I'm sorry if this offends your sensibilities, but ignorance about decadence in America is no longer bliss."

Nor ignorance about anti-Catholic bigotry.

WOUNDS TO RELIGIOUS SENSIBILITIES

Which reminds me. There is also all this attention given to the singer who calls herself Madonna, who drapes about herself Rosaries and other symbols very close to the heart of Catholics, and does so in matters explicitly obscene. The *Time* magazine publication *People* gave a full page complimentary shot of one such photo, and the media has not only given Madonna much attention, but has not voiced

so much as a word of protest about her explicit contempt for Catholics and Catholicism. Indeed, they have celebrated it. Imagine what the reaction would be if she used swastikas or gas ovens, or images insulting the deepest sensibilities of blacks? My, how we would hear from Mario Cuomo and *The New York Times* then.

Instead we read articles in the *Times* about the ominous Reaganite threats to staffing and funding of the National Endowment for the Arts.

And Godard's *Je Vous Salus Marie*? For the purpose of this article I went to see the film, and frankly found it less offensive than the drivel that regularly appears in such things as the *St. Anthony Messenger*, the *Brooklyn Tablet*, or the *U.S. Catholic* (to which Cardinal Bernardin recently gave the interview he cannot find the time to give *The Wanderer*), not to mention the *National Catholic Reporter*. More frankly still, I wish the Holy Father would give us his analysis of such publications as these, not only because they more than meet the criteria of what he disliked about the Godard production — but also because his critique of the film captured the essence of what was so brutal about *Je Vous Salus Marie*. It twisted and falsified the spiritual significance and historic value of the Christian Faith. It deeply wounds the religious sensibilities of believers, and respect for the sacred, and the figure of the Virgin, Mary.

But again, what's new about that? Most chancery offices across the country sponsor equal or worse wounds and falsifications every day.

Indeed, worse. To repeat, what was wrong about the Godard film is its gross disregard of the sacred,

and the sensibilities of Catholics. But it did not surprise me to learn that Godard is a Swiss Protestant, for there was about the film a thick despair, a gross heaviness that hates life and creation, more than any gratuitous salaciousness. Indeed, it reminded me a little of what it's like to read Karl Rahner, and it was not surprising that Heidegger popped up in the film's conversation, for his hatred of joy is precisely the theme that informs so much of Rahner's work: for Rahner was a Heidegger groupie. A lapsed Catholic, somebody who'd really had the Faith at some point, somebody like Christopher Durang, would have gone out of his way to make the film salacious. Godard doesn't do this. The film is offensive because it is obtuse, about a subject so profound.

A MORE SERIOUS BLASPHEMY

According to the lapsed Greek Orthodox but often astute film critic Andrew Sarris, "There is no fire of faith in *Hail Mary*, only a cool meditation on God as a cosmically oceanic lover, but without the power of feeling to tell a story with conviction... the entire experience registers in my mind as a very forgettable blur... truth to tell, I had a hard time following the plot. I had no clear impression who was playing Mary, who was playing Joseph, who the Angel Gabriel... I didn't connect with *Hail Mary*, and I didn't feel that Godard did either."

To be sure, although I am personally relieved in a way, for I was nervous when I went into the film about how the Devil might

manipulate the powerful impact of visual image to try to disrupt my prayer life. My guardian angel is most effective about driving the Devil away when he tries such things, but in this case, there will be no need, for the film was so utterly devoid of coherence, or drama, anything *holy*, that it was impossible to make any imaginative pretense of any real connection between the characters in the film and reality, not to say the Reality.

A lapsed Catholic would have tried to titillate and blaspheme deliberately. Godard's blasphemy is arguably of a more serious kind, precisely because he does not follow the example of the modern Scripture scholars by denying the virginal conception, and even hints at the possibility of a real film (if done by someone more serious and capable) in the struggle of St. Joseph to grasp his God-given role. For despite all this, Godard remains unmoved, grim, convinced that even this story has only tiresome Swiss angst to offer. There is no manger in the story, no shepherds, no salvation. Godard needs the real Virgin to touch his heart, and know the quiet glory of her love, and the life given to us by her Son, and her Father.

He has that in common with the sad and ugly bigots running the social life of the country these days, though I think their frenzy of hatred is often but a desperate response to the Godards and the Heideggers and the Rahners of the world who keep insisting that life is without meaning, devoid of that great joy the Christian artists saw, when they painted the very Blessed Virgin, gazing at her Infant Son.

Abortionist's

Acquittal Overturned

By Ontario

Supreme Court

By FRANK TESKEY

TORONTO, Ontario — The Ontario Court of Appeals on Oct. 1st ruled that the 1984 trial of Dr. Henry Morgentaler and two other doctors was fundamentally flawed. In that trial, the jury had acquitted Morgentaler and the others of the

woman has a right to determine what to do with her body: "The (Criminal Code) section balances the life and health of the woman against the interests of potential human life (fetus). Parliament has

WHY A JEWISH RABBI
FROM BROOKLYN

IS APPEALING TO CATHOLICS

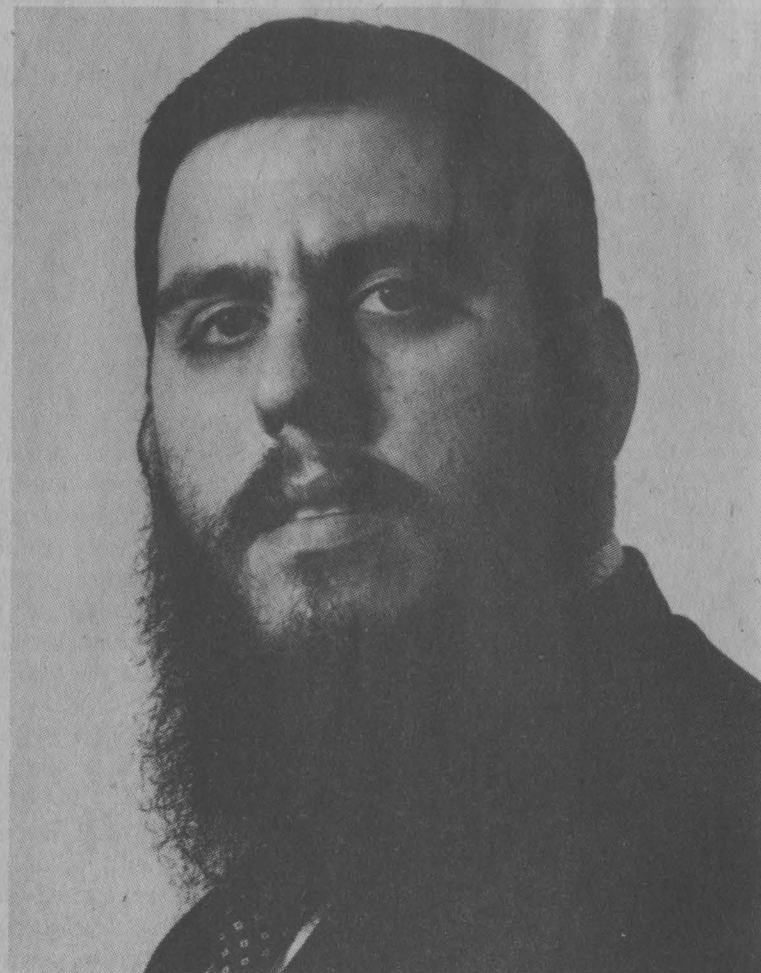
FOR HELP

His name is Yehuda Levin. He is a 30 year old Orthodox Rabbi and father of three. You may have met him if you attended the January 22nd March for Life. Nellie Gray has invited Rabbi Levin to deliver the invocation in 1979, 1982 and 1985. In 1983, he was a member of the pro-life delegation that met President Reagan and again in 1984 he was one of two witnesses to testify before a Congressional Committee in favor of President Reagan's decision to defund international population control agencies that promote abortion.

In addition to his pro-life activities, Rabbi Levin is probably best known for his strong opposition to the homosexual movement's bid for so-called "Gay Rights." He has worked tirelessly to block legislation that would protect and promote homosexuality as an alternate life style.

Like many of us, Rabbi Levin is concerned about the impact of abortion, homosexuality, pornography and improper sex education on the American family. To help fight these attacks, he founded the statewide Family Defense Coalition which includes on its Board of Directors Monsignor John Kean, Father Vincent Miceli and Dr. William Marra. The goals of the coalition are "for a stable marriage, constructive work, respectful children, and a happy home."

This year Rabbi Levin has accepted the New York State's Right to Life Party nomination in the race for Mayor of New York City. The two leading candidates for the office are incumbent Ed Koch and Carol Bellamy. Both are strongly pro-abortion and outspoken supporters of homosexual rights.



New York City is the media and communications capital of America. It is also the abortion and homosexual capital as well, which is why the mayoral race presents the perfect opportunity for Rabbi Levin to tell our side of the story and confront the anti-life candidates. Rabbi Levin has always been able to capture his share of headlines in New York's liberal media, but as a bona-fide candidate they cannot ignore him. ... FCC law insures that.

In addition, if Rabbi Levin can raise sufficient funds, he can purchase advertising space and commercial time on TV and radio.

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charges of conspiring to produce abortion at his Toronto clinic. Under Section 125 of the Criminal Code, abortions may be performed only at accredited hospitals after approval of a three-doctor committee which agrees that the pregnancy endangers the woman's life or health.

Morgentaler's attorneys had argued in the trial that the doctors should be found innocent by reason of the so-called defense of necessity, that is, that Morgentaler was acting in a case of emergency since the delay occasioned by the procedures for getting a hospital abortion resulted in an emergency in which the defendant acted to prevent greater harm.

The appeals court ruled that the defense of necessity was not applicable in this case, and that the judge had erred in letting the jury decide whether the defense was justified. The obvious intention of the defendants was to violate the law.

"Their dissatisfaction with the state of the law, although relevant perhaps to the issue of motive, afforded no basis for the defense of necessity," the court declared.

The court also seemed to reject the defense argument that a

Morgentaler will appeal the ruling to the Supreme Court of Canada.

Morgentaler also faces abortion-related charges in Manitoba, where trials have been postponed pending resolution of the Toronto case. He was acquitted by juries in abortion cases in Quebec, where later the provincial government legalized abortion clinics.

Earl Amyotte, spokesman for Campaign Life in Canada, told *The Wanderer* that his group is demanding that the government immediately close the Toronto clinic, as it is obviously operating in violation of the law. Attorney General Ian Scott, however, stated that the clinic will not be closed until the appeals process is exhausted.

Premier David Peterson, Liberal, had promised Campaign Life during his election campaign that he would close down Morgentaler's clinic.

Pro-life forces have organized daily picketing of the clinic since the trial. On Sept. 21st, over 20,000 abortion protesters marched past the clinic in a two-hour procession. The pro-lifers mean business.

Pope To Brazilian Bishops:

Stay Away From Partisan Politics

VATICAN CITY (RNS) — Pope John Paul II called on Brazilian Bishops to fight the spread of dangerous ideologies and urged them to show their concern for Brazil's poor by combatting illiteracy.

In a clear attack on Brazil's strong liberation theology movement, which holds that the Roman Catholic Church should mobilize for the poor, Pope John Paul said there can be no true liberation until the problem of illiteracy is solved.

"There can be no true reform of structures, no new social order, no genuine liberalization of a people if they are illiterate," the Pope said.

Pope John Paul made the remark during an audience with a group of Bishops from Brazil's vast northeastern region, one of the nation's poorest rural areas. The Bishops were in Rome for routine visits they are required to make to the Pope once every five years.

"One must make men leave ignorance behind but must bring them to a rounded development, because a literacy that deceitfully leads a person to ideological subjugation does not constitute true liberation, but rather allows a new form of slavery to germinate," the Pope said.

The Holy Father denounced a "certain climate of uncertainty and ambiguity in the proclamation

of the Faith and with the consequent sowing of doubts and perplexity in the spirit of many Catholics, above all the simplest ones."

Pope John Paul said the Bishops must not allow Roman Catholic clergymen to be divided among themselves by differences of opinion and said all must guard against attempts to modify "the content and the requirements of the Faith."

Listing problems that trouble the Church in Brazil, the Pope denounced "the devastating advance of secularism, the crisis of moral values" and "insidious and unfair" proselytizing by non-Catholic sects and groups.

Pope John Paul said that although the mission of Roman Catholic clergy is above all spiritual in nature, they cannot ignore the concrete problems afflicting men and women.

"In your concern and desire to participate in the material, moral, and spiritual progress of the country, it is not your role to propose technical solutions or political party-oriented alternatives," Pope John Paul said. "But it is your right and duty to offer a profoundly human contribution such as promoting literacy."

Ex-Sandinista Official Says Visiting Religious Groups Deceived

By WILLIAM BOLE

WASHINGTON, D.C. (RNS) — The Marxist-led Sandinista government of Nicaragua has conducted an elaborate campaign to deceive visiting American religious delegations in hopes of winning church support for the government, an ex-Sandinista official charged here.

Alvaro Jose Baldizon, who fled from the country in July after three years as a special investigator in Nicaragua's Ministry of Interior, also said the government has covered up the torture and murders of two Catholic lay workers. And he called on church groups to seek an explanation from the Sandinistas for the recent arrest of his wife, Maria, in Managua.

In an interview to be published here by the Institute on Religion and Democracy (IRD), a critic of the Managua government, the 27-year-old Nicaraguan described infiltration by government agents into church meetings, intimidation of Nicaraguans who speak unfavorably of the government to visitors, and other efforts to manipulate the view of church delegations.

Religious people are being used in a propaganda effort in which the Sandinistas "pretend to respect religion while they consolidate their power," said Baldizon, who worked directly under Interior Minister Tomas Borge. He described Borge as a key architect of the campaign.

"I have heard Borge boast to other officials of the Interior Ministry how clever he is at deceiving religious people and using them as propaganda tools," he said.

To carry out the effort, Borge keeps two offices for meetings with foreign visitors, Baldizon continued. In one office, which he uses for meetings with religious people, he has "photographs of children, gilded, carved crucifixes, and a Bible or two," he said. Before the meetings there, Borge usually memorizes Bible passages to impress the visitors, according to Baldizon.

In his real office, however, "there are no crucifixes or Bibles, only Marxist literature and posters of Marx, Engels, and Lenin," the former Sandinista said.

Baldizon added that all visiting

religious delegations "see only part of the truth because the Sandinista Front controls the tours." He made the comment in a response to a question about Witness for Peace, an American religious group that sponsors visits to Nicaragua and opposes U.S. policies in the region.

He said Sandinista security officers, dressed as civilians, follow the delegations and are always present when civilians speak with the religious visitors. The civilians, he claims, know who the security officers are and "very few dare speak ill of the Sandinista regime" in front of them.

In early June, Baldizon continued, he was among 500 people from the Interior Ministry who were instructed by Borge to dress as civilians and pretend they were Evangelicals at the closing session of an international assembly of Baptist youth, at which Borge spoke.

The Sandinistas far outnumbered the Baptists there and gave the appearance of support for Borge, he said.

Asked about the role played by Sr. Mary Hartman, a nun who

serves on the government-sponsored Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, Baldizon said, "She was a naive dupe for the Sandinista Front. She acted with good intentions but was exploited by the Sandinistas."

In one instance, he said, the Maryknoll Sister returned from a visit to Europe with several television sets and video-cassette recorders donated by a religious organization there and intended for political prisoners in Nicaragua. When she delivered the TV sets to prison officials, he said, the officials held a small ceremony for her and promised they would bring the sets to the prisoners.

After she left, however, the chief of the national prison system gave one television set and one VCR to each of the officials present at the ceremony, he recounted.

"Sr. Hartman does not know this, of course, and she continues to work naively for human rights in Nicaragua," Baldizon said.

In a telephone interview, however, he told *Religious News Service* he was "not sure" if the nun at the ceremony was Sr. Hartman or another nun named Nancy. Baldizon's meetings with various groups here have been coordinated by the State Department. He plans to apply for political asylum in the United States.

The Nicaraguan said his job at the Ministry's Special Investigation Commission was to look into charges of human-rights violations committed by Sandinista officers so that the ministry could concoct cover-up stories.

In the interview with the IRD, which will publish the remarks in an upcoming publication, he said the most "terrible" case he investigated involved a couple, Guillermo Glorio and Jamilet Sequeira, who were members of the lay Catholic organization, Delegates of the Word. In July, 1983 in the village of San Miguelito, two security officers apprehended the couple and a neighbor who had come to their doorway to see what was happening.

At a nearby village, the two officers — one of whom he identified simply as "Moises" and another as Guillermo Lugo Marengo — and a third officer, Victor Romero, interrogated and tortured them, he said, alleging that they "cut the throats of the two men, raped the woman, and cut her throat."

After leaving the scene to find shovels to bury the bodies, they returned to find the woman "still alive, kneeling in prayer with a crucifix," Baldizon said. "Guillermo Lugo Marengo cut her throat again and again and shot

for trial until a Dutch human-rights commission inquired into the case.

Although a judge found the men guilty of triple murders and sentenced them to 30 years in prison, the murderers were released and returned to military duty by a regional ministry commander, Saul Alvarez, he said. He added that this was not an isolated case but did not offer other examples.

Asked to respond to Baldizon's charges, Larry Leman, coordinator of Witness for Peace in Washington, strongly denied that the Nicaraguan government manipulates visits sponsored by the group.

He said the organization has 27 long-term volunteers who live with Nicaraguans in various villages and travel freely throughout the country and are not as manipulable as short-term visitors. These volunteers organize shorter visits by Americans who meet with both supporters and critics of the government, including representatives of the Catholic Hierarchy, business, the opposition newspaper, and political parties, he added.

Asked about the reported murders of the Catholic lay workers, he said in a Sept. 27th interview that he had no information on the case but added,

"It could very likely have happened. He (Baldizon) could point to one case in 1983, but I could point to — in news that we've received from Managua in the past week — four or five murders by contras of unarmed civilians."

Baldizon said he initially joined the Sandinistas because he thought the government would be "quite different from the police state" under former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. But he became disillusioned by what he termed the corruption and immorality of Sandinista leaders, he said. He told RNS that he now supports U.S. funding of rebels trying to overthrow the government.

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FORT WORTH, Texas (RNS) — Fr. Hans Kueng criticized Pope John Paul II the evening of Oct. 2nd, asserting he has given the Church "seven lean years" and is trying to roll back major reforms inspired by Vatican II. The controversial scholar charged that despite Pope John Paul's popularity in many areas and the goodwill gleaned in his unprecedented travels, the Pope has taken a hard line.

The Pope, he said, is turning the Church away from Vatican II and toward "conservative" stands against birth control and the ordination of women as priests, and insisting on celibacy for the priesthood.

Fr. Kueng, who has been censured by the Vatican for his unorthodox stands on Papal infallibility and other issues, described the years from 1958 to 1983 under the late Pope John

several times to talk with the Pope but has been refused.

"He (the Pope) talks to every boxer and every starlet and other people who come to the Vatican," Fr. Kueng said. "There are only two classes of people he won't talk to — critical Catholic theologians and critical Catholic Sisters."

When comparing the five years of John XXIII with the seven years of John Paul II, and looking at what substantive changes have been made, "You will see that this has been seven lean years," said Fr. Kueng.

The theologian made his comments before delivering the Texas Christian University Brite Divinity School Lectures at University Christian Church in Fort Worth.

He also said the upcoming special Synod of Bishops in Rome called by the Pope will be used to try to give a false "conservative" image to the Second Vatican

interpretation of the Second Vatican Council."

Although Vatican II had "conservative" elements, the spirit of the meetings was toward revolutionary reform and renewal in the Church, he asserted.

"It was quite clear that the main (thrust) of the Council was an opening . . . an opening to all the key questions before us, and to interpret the Council on its conservative points is just missing the greatest tendency of the Council. . . ."

"I think the tendency was quite clear and to deny that is really a betrayal of the Council," he said. "To make Vatican II just a conservative Council on the lines of (Pope) Pius XII is just a historical falsification."

The heterodox author said the Synod in Rome will not include theologians and also is for a

XXIII as "the years of plenty." Despite their differences, Fr. Kueng says he holds that he is "not a man of personal resentment" against Pope John Paul.

"I sent him my book (*Does God Exist?*) as a Christmas present after his election as Pope," Fr. Kueng said, slightly tongue in cheek. "I thought he would see that we have a common ground, since we are both for God, but he never even gave a word of thanks ... never answered my letter."

Fr. Kueng said he had asked

Council.

Fr. Kueng does not believe the Synod will be used to address "major issues" of the Church — such as the ordination of women and married priests — but he hopes that bishops at the meeting who believe in the "spirit of Vatican II" will try to bring up those issues.

"What will happen at the Synod is hard to say, but what they (the Church Hierarchy) plan to do is easy to say," said Fr. Kueng. "They plan to fix the Catholic Church on a very conservative

relatively short period. "They want to solve all the problems of the Church in two weeks," he said.

Fr. Kueng, 57, still is a professor and leader of an ecumenical institute at the University of Tuebingen in West Germany, but in 1979 the Pope stripped him of his credentials as an official teacher of Catholic theology because of his unorthodox stands, including his questioning the doctrine of Papal infallibility. Currently Fr. Kueng is a visiting lecturer at the University of Toronto.

her with an AKM rifle."

Baldizon said he had enough evidence to obtain confessions from the officers but that the government did not put the men up

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Gerry Ferraro Passes The Buck

By JOSEPH SOBRAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Lo and behold, she's back! Geraldine Ferraro has written a book about her ill-starred vice-presidential candidacy, excerpted in the current *Newsweek*. The message is that Miss Ferraro was a victim.

She doesn't look much like a victim. The magazine's cover photo shows her attractive face oddly divided in expression. One half is open, bright, smiling subtly. The other side has a deadly glint: The smile turns downward, the eye is narrowed threateningly.

"I wasn't prepared for the depth of the fury, the bigotry, and the sexism my candidacy would unleash," she says. She says she "hurt" for Walter Mondale, but she makes him sound like a weakling for failing to support her more vigorously when she was under attack for failing to comply with financial disclosure laws. She is explicit in her attacks on Mondale's staff. She complains about "the increasingly strident voice" of New York's Archbishop John O'Connor, whom she accuses of violating the separation of church and state.

Again and again she blames others for her campaign difficulties — including her fellow Italian-Americans: "I didn't expect the majority of the Italian-American community in my own home state, who should have been proud of their first member on a national ticket, to abandon me by

their silence instead."

Well, another way to put it is that the first Italian-American national candidate should have been someone other than Italian-Americans could have been proud of, and Gerry Ferraro wasn't it — for reasons this querulous memoir helps clarify. The most strident voice in last year's presidential campaign was her own, from the moment she attacked Ronald Reagan's Christianity until Election Day, by which time she had completely worn off the charm of the novelty of a woman candidate.

If Miss Ferraro is going to blame Italians for failing to support her, she might also blame women — most of whom voted for Ronald Reagan. But women are about the only group she spares her retrospective fury. She even recalls her childhood resentment at her father for failing to tell his family about his heart condition until he died. This is an angry woman.

She is kinder to her husband and children, who did support her loyally and with fortitude in moments of anguish. In fact, she uses their suffering as a substitute for an answer to all the questions raised by her failure to obey the disclosure laws. To her mind, the persistence of the press (most of which was actually very indulgent toward her) was reprehensible because of the pain it caused her

loved ones. By this reasoning, regard for the feelings of Pat, Julie, and Tricia Nixon should have stopped the press from pursuing the Watergate scandal.

The fact is that she not only violated the law, but did so in a way so pointed as to make us wonder who her husband's business associates were. If she didn't like the law, she could have said so, stating her objections. Instead she pretended she was abiding by it, and implied that those who thought otherwise were picking on her for being female and Italian. The charges of bigotry against her critics were as phony as they were feisty. And she is sticking to that tiresome line even now.

Miss Ferraro falsifies the issues rather freely. She cites Archbishop O'Connor's widely publicized remark about Catholic voters and abortion ("I do not see how a Catholic in good conscience can vote for an individual expressing himself or herself as favoring abortion") as if it had been directed against her. But the Archbishop was speaking in answer to a question at a press conference a full month before her surprise selection as Walter Mondale's running mate.

But she doesn't leave it at that: "So many times during the campaign, and even after, people would ask me if my faith had been shaken by the actions of some of the Church Hierarchy. The answer was — and is — no. I managed to dissociate Archbishop O'Connor and the other conservative bishops from my feelings about the Church." That is downright catty. Yet she is trying to sound so big about it all.

Geraldine Ferraro turned out to be a liability to the Democratic ticket. Against a popular President, Walter Mondale had to take a gamble that would either help a lot or hurt a lot. She hurt a lot. Mondale was the real victim, but she is too busy passing out blame to notice.

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U.S. Society Guilty Of Holocaust Second "Nuremberg Tribunal" Finds

(Continued from Page 1)
DIVINE JUDGMENT

The churches were not spared. Denny Hartford, chairman of the Christian Action Council of Omaha, said the church "has been asleep" and "indifferent." Although the churches have agreed with a pro-life view, by and large, the fact is they have been "satisfied with a spectator's position on the issue," he said.

Vincent Fitzpatrick of Washington, D.C., testified that "there is a definite problem" with the Catholic Church.

"Our Bishops almost always propose to protect the unborn, but not today," he said, and added: "But divine judgment will come in this country, and atonement must begin this very moment."

Churches, he said, acknowledge that the abortion holocaust exists, but it does not take a sufficiently strong stand to influence its members on the abortion issue. The battle is waged in the various dioceses, he observed, but not on a truly national level.

Deborah Henry of Detroit testified that she worked in an abortion clinic. She commented: "Women should start thinking seriously not only of themselves, but of the other party that's involved, the baby that's supposed to be coming into this world — the one that God had planned for us."

"There's a full baby in there, arms and legs. When a mother has this baby aborted, the baby is really ripped apart, arms and legs are just ripped right from the body. I don't think a lot of these women realize what they're doing," she said.

The principal "defendants'" testimony was presented in the form of tape recordings of public statements made by these "defendants." Among such "testimony" were statements by U.S. Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun, former Cong. Bella

Abzug (D., N.Y.), and Faye Wattleton, director of Planned Parenthood Federation.

Rick Woodrow, director of the Life Amendment Political Action Committee (LAPAC), served as "court-appointed counsel," for the defendants.

He challenged the jurisdiction of the "court," charging that it has "no jurisdiction," over the matter, because abortion is "perfectly legal" in the United States, according to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The "defense attorney" objected to the photographic films shown by Dr. Brennan, insisting that they were "inflammatory."

AN ELOQUENT SPOKESMAN

Toward the end of the trial, "Judge" Jakubczyk asked if there were any other witnesses. Robin Woodrow (wife of the "defense

attorney") stepped forward with a 12-week-old fetus. She said testimony had been heard from those who have spoken on behalf of the unborn, but "if a picture is worth 1,000 words, a human being is worth an infinity of pictures."

Gesturing toward the fetus, she continued: "This tiny preborn baby speaks more eloquently for all his brothers and sisters than all of the witnesses who have appeared. This child speaks on behalf of all the babies in the womb who are in danger of execution up until the moment of birth."

The infant was then placed in a small casket located immediately at the side of the judicial bench.

After the "trial" a procession marched from the Holiday Inn to the Shrine of Our Lady of Lourdes at Nuremberg's St. Joseph's Catholic Church. A three-year-old child carrying a single red rose led

the procession. She was followed by six-year-old Joshua Vander Velden, who wore a T-shirt which said: "I Survived the Abortion Holocaust." He carried a baby casket draped with an American flag. Behind him was his mother, who carried another living infant. The three-judge panel brought up the rear.

At the trial's conclusion, Scheidler said:

"Now we have reached the moment of truth, and the awful truth is that we are in no position to pass a sentence on those who are guilty of the deaths of millions." The crimes for which the Nazi criminals were punished at Nuremberg, Germany have ended, he said, and added:

"Today we can judge, but we cannot sentence, because in America the sin of abortion goes on. Even today, Oct. 5th, 1985, thousands of unborn children have been decapitated, sliced into pieces, disemboweled, scalded, and strangled to death in abortion mills all across the land. And it is legal."

"America has lost its way. It has abandoned God and God's law, and when it abandoned God, it abandoned man."

"So our verdict must be that since we are all part of a nation that condones abortion, all America is guilty of this evil. . . ."

Burial Of 16,433 Aborted Fetuses Concludes Long Legal Battle

NEW YORK (RNS) — The remains of 16,433 aborted fetuses received an interdenominational burial service in Los Angeles Oct. 6th. The babies, found in a storage container three-and-a-half years ago, have been the focus of a lengthy court battle.

The remains were buried at Odd-fellows Cemetery in East Los Angeles following a ceremony in which a eulogy by President Reagan calling for legal protection of fetal life was read by Los Angeles County Supervisor Michael Antonovich.

In his message, the President said, "From these innocent dead, let us take increased devotion to the cause of restoring the rights of the unborn."

President Reagan wrote a letter in 1982 to Dr. Philip Dreisbach of Palm Springs, secretary of the California Pro-Life Medical Association, agreeing that religious burial of the aborted fetuses would be "fitting and proper."

The babies were discovered in 1982 in plastic bags covered with

formaldehyde outside the home of a former medical laboratory director. After a three-year court battle by the Southern California chapter of the Catholic League, Los Angeles County's decision to incinerate the fetuses without religious rites was reversed.

The county had refused to conduct a funeral, saying it would violate the separation of church and state.

A Superior Court judge in July ruled the county had the right to authorize the burial of the aborted fetuses as long as it did not encourage or discourage a religious service. The Feminist Women's Health Center of Los Angeles tried in late September to block the funeral plans, arguing that the burial would violate the privacy of women who had undergone the abortions.

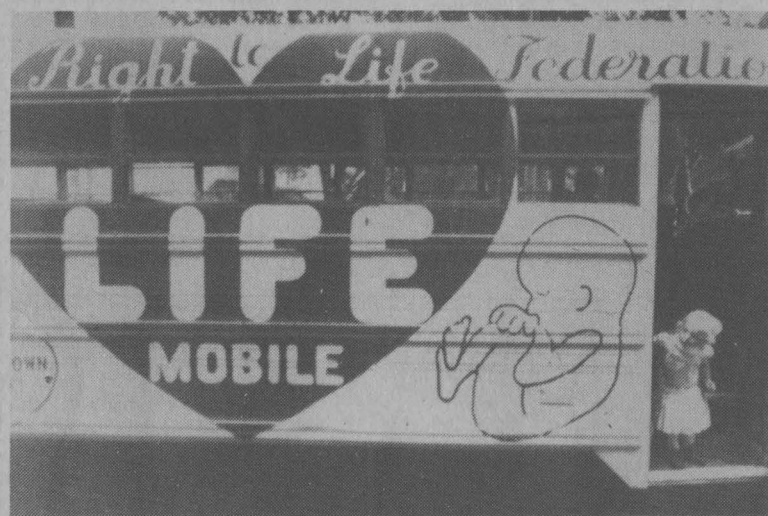
Three U.S. Marines draped a coffin with the American flag as about 400 onlookers, many of them carrying pro-life signs, gathered around the gravesite where six coffins holding the remains awaited burial. The service con-

cluded with the singing of the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*.

A group called Americans Committed to Loving the Unwanted organized the religious service. Jeannette Dreisbach, an organizer of the group, kissed each of the coffins before they were lowered into the ground. She said the group adopted its name so that it would have the initials ACLU, which are also the initials of the American Civil Liberties Union, which opposed the religious burial.

Participants in the service included the Rev. Charles Mims of Tabernacle of Faith Baptist Church in Watts, the Rev. Jess Moody, pastor of First Baptist Church of Van Nuys, and a representative of the Los Angeles Archdiocese.

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Religious News Service Photo

NUREMBERG, PA. — Jacinta Whittaker, 2, of Boonville, N.Y., peeks from a bus door while attending a mock abortion trial in Nuremberg, Pa., on Oct. 4th. Participants put the "morality of abortion" on trial for two days in Nuremberg, which is close to Hazelton, Pa. Organizers of the trial left little doubt about their beliefs regarding abortion, equating it with the Holocaust.

Pope, In Sunday Sermon, Stresses Commitment To Council Reforms

VATICAN CITY (RNS) — Pope John Paul II on Sept. 29th affirmed that he is committed to the reforms introduced two decades ago by

Speaking of the forthcoming Synod, the Pope said, "This initiative is intended to stimulate all of the people of God to an ever-

said the Council "is and remains a milestone in the 2,000-year-old history of the Church and, upon reflection, in the religious and

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Speaking to 30,000 pilgrims and tourists gathered in St. Peter's Square for his customary Sunday noon appearance, the Pope announced he plans to deliver a series of brief speeches on Vatican II in preparation for the extraordinary Synod of Bishops that will discuss the Council reforms in November. The Holy Father said he will speak of the Council every Sunday until the extraordinary two-week Synod begins Nov. 25th.

teachings and an ever-more faithful application of the criteria and directives that came out of that impressive assembly."

The Pope stressed his devotion to the principles promoted by Vatican II and reminded the public that he had "the singular grace" of being able to participate in the Council when he was a young bishop.

Quoting from a speech he gave the day after he was elected Pope in October, 1978, the Holy Father

"Vatican II constituted the background, the climate, the center inspiring my thoughts and my activities as a pastor," Pope John Paul said.

Voicing "profound conviction" of the continuing validity of the Council, the Pope quoted from a speech made by his immediate predecessor, the late Pope John Paul I.

"We want to carry on the legacy of Vatican Council II, whose wise standards must still be guided to completion, and keep watch so that subjects and meanings are not distorted and so that no braking and timid forces slow down its magnificent impulse of renewal and life," the Pope said.

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Pope Picks Cardinals Krol And Law To Attend

November Synod

(Continued from Page 1)
the Catholic Church will attend, as well as representatives of the World Council of Churches, the Archbishop said.

Archbishop Schotte declined to say exactly which churches would be represented but said the number of such delegates would be kept to 10.

"Obviously this gesture is not all-inclusive and cannot respond to all the requirements of ecumenical work, but rather is a symbol that goes beyond the actual number of delegates . . . to stress the Catholic Church's commitment to the goal of Christian unity, the Archbishop said.

Pope John Paul's choice of Cardinals Krol and Law brought to seven the number of Catholic Synod participants who are U.S.-born or residents of the United States.

The seven are Bishop James W. Malone of Youngstown, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops; William Wakefield Cardinal Baum, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education; Archbishop John P. Foley, president of the Pontifical Commission for Social Communications; Cardinal Krol of Philadelphia; Cardinal Law of Boston; Ukrainian-born Archbishop Stephen Sulyk, Metropolitan of Philadelphia for the Ukrainians; and Archbishop Stephen Kocisko, Metropolitan of Pittsburgh for the Byzantine Rite.

10:00 a.m. — Registration.

1:00 p.m. — Opening Symposium, "Women Standing Up As Catholics."

Miss Eleanor Schlafly, presiding.

Panelists: Anne Stewart Connell of Women for Faith and Family; Dr. Carson Daly, assistant professor of English, University of Notre Dame; Dr. Maura Daly, assistant professor of modern and classical languages, University of Notre Dame.

3:00 p.m. — Symposium, "The Moral and Social Imperatives of the Abortion Holocaust."

Prof. Charles E. Rice, presiding.

Panelists: Patrick Monaghan, attorney; Joseph Scheidler, pro-life activist.

7:30 p.m. — Dinner.

Address: "The Christian's Responsibility as a Citizen."

Jesse Helms, U.S. Senator from North Carolina.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1985

9:00 a.m. — Symposium, "Neither Capitalist Nor Socialist."

John J. Mulloy, presiding.

Panelists: Robert Rooney, Professor at Loyola College, Baltimore, Md.; James Lucier, special assistant to Sen. Jesse Helms; Jean-Francois Orsini, economist and ethicist.

In addition to a number of major addresses, symposiums will be held on issues and concerns about the Family, Pro-Life, the Economy, War and Peace, Liberation Theology's Threat to the Church, and the Feminist Subversion of Womanhood.

.....

With the challenges to the Church's teaching and discipline intensifying both from within and without, it is essential that the Catholic laity prepare to assume a more informed and active role in the life of the Church. The Forum is intended to advance that objective.

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Revolution?"

Paul A. Fisher, presiding.

Panelists: Thomas Pauken, former director of VISTA; Fr. Enrique T. Rueda, pastor, author, columnist.

1:00 p.m. — Luncheon.

Address: "Marx, Christ, and Education."

Dr. Damian Fedoryka, president of Christendom College.

2:30 p.m. — Symposium, "Toward a Dynamic Affiliate Program."

Frank Morriss, presiding and discussing how to improve and expand the Affiliate Program with a special emphasis on lay action.

Richard Cowden-Guido will examine the RENEW program from the standpoint of what Catholics can do when the program comes to their parish.

6:00 p.m. — Solemn High Mass, Church of St. Thomas the Apostle.

Celebrant: Msgr. Richard J. Schuler.

Sermon: "What Is A Catholic Conscience?"

Msgr. Richard J. Schuler, Pastor, St. Agnes Parish, St. Paul, Minn.

8:30 p.m. — Closing Banquet.

Address: "The Present Crisis in the Church — What Must Be Done."

Fr. Joseph D. Fessio, S.J., director of St. Ignatius Institute, University of San Francisco.

Adjournment.

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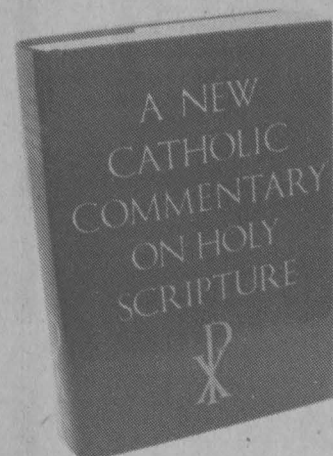
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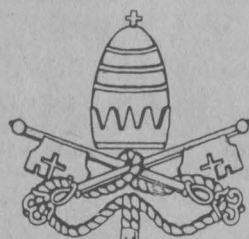
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Ubi Petrus . . . ibi Ecclesia!

Dr. Ratner Honored By Fellowship Of Catholic Scholars

By JOSEPH T. GILL

CHICAGO — The Cardinal Wright Award was established in 1979 by the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars to honor the memory of John Cardinal Wright, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Clergy from 1969 until his death in 1979. The award is given annually to a Catholic judged to have given outstanding service to the Church.

The 1985 recipient, Herbert Ratner, M.D., was honored at a gathering in the Hotel Continental in Chicago on Sunday afternoon, Sept. 29th. Dr. Ratner, editor of *Child and Family Quarterly*, consultant to the Pontifical Council for the Family, visiting professor, Community and Preventive Medicine, New York Medical College, and prolific author on medical and religious subjects, joins a group of distinguished Catholic scholars whose number includes: 1979 Rev. Msgr. George A. Kelly; 1980 William E. May, Ph.D.; 1981 James Hitchcock, Ph.D.; 1982 Fr. John Connery, S.J.; 1983 Germain Grisez, Ph.D.; 1984 Fr. John A. Hardon, S.J.

The master of ceremonies was John J. Farrell who, with his wife Eileen, was chairman of the selection committee. Most Rev. Edward M. Egan, a native of Chicago and newly appointed Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of New York, introduced Dr. Ratner. Others at the speaker's platform were Fr. Earl M. Weis, S.J., of Loyola University of Chicago, president of the Fellowship, who spoke briefly on its present state, Msgr. Kelly, through whose tireless efforts the Fellowship came into being, Fr. Kenneth Baker, editor of *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, and Carl Anderson, president of the American Family Institute and special deputy assistant to President Reagan.

Anderson read a letter from the President to Dr. Ratner which went as follows:

Dear Dr. Ratner:

It is a pleasure to send my warm greetings as you receive the Cardinal Wright Award from the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars.

Your work for the well-being of America's families and the strengthening of our moral values has contributed greatly to the lives of so many of our fellow citizens.

As a public health official, professor of medicine, editor of *Child and Family Quarterly*, president of the National Federation of Catholic Physicians' Guilds, and as a consultant to La Leche League, the Cana Conference of Chicago, and the Pontifical Council for the Family, you have demonstrated the profound truth that a nation's people and their trust in God are its greatest wealth.

The family is the moral core of our society, the repository of our values and the preserver of our traditions; and it is not too much to say that as the family goes, so goes the nation. Your example gives us all confidence that our nation has a very bright future indeed.

Nancy joins me in sending congratulations to you and Mrs. Ratner and best wishes to all the members of the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars for an enjoyable meeting and every future success.

God bless you.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

In his introduction Bishop Egan noted that Dr. Ratner saw the evils of contraception long before most others, recalling that in the 1950s he said we cannot pour chemicals into women without damaging them, and that we cannot upset the balance within them without inviting tragedy. Bishop Egan referred to him as "one of the Church's great men, one of the Church's great pastors, one of the Church's great teachers, one of the Church's great apostles."

Dr. Ratner titled his talk "Nature: Mother, Teacher, and Vicar General." Here are some excerpts:

● "The first part of the title of my talk echoes, of course, Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Mater et Magistra* which opens, 'Mother

always forgives, man sometimes forgives, nature never forgives.'

● "Unlike many modern scientists, Aquinas never adjusted or distorted reality to accommodate a bias. He would have been aghast at current philosophers, geneticists, and gynecologists who redefined the beginning of life to start it from implantation rather than from fertilization so as to pass off modern abortifacients as contraceptives.

● "Catholics who fail to understand nature's teaching about the family usually suffer from sacramentalism: that grace and the sacraments are substitutes which replace nature. This is a grave error. All that grace does is to help make good the promise of nature. In the words of Aquinas, grace is 'a perfection given to nature in the same direction towards which its own tendencies are working.'

● "The fact is that the traditional natural family is one of the most enduring and resilient realities of human history. Aberrations and deviations, innovations of one sort or another come and go, but never thrive or last. The traditional family has a habit of burying its own undertakers and that was the fate of the communes of the 1960s and 1970s.

● "Between man and nature a reciprocal fitness exists. The Old Testament is confirmatory and in addition to the *Book of Genesis* expresses it elsewhere. For example: In the *Book of Esther*: 'O Lord, you have given everything its place in the world, and no one can make it otherwise. For it is your creation, the heavens and the earth and the stars. You are the Lord of all' (*Est. 13:9-11*) (*Douay*). Or this from *Psalms* 103 (*Knox*): '... Thou dost send rain upon the hills. Thy hand gives earth all her plenty... What diversity, Lord, is thy creation. What wisdom has designed them all! There is nothing on earth but gives proof of thy creative power.'

● "Though we think of nature as mother nature and credit her with all that motherhood implies, she has, from a human point of view, an inescapable shortcoming that circumscribes and limits her motherhood. We cannot turn to her

parentless society. With grandchildren close by every grannie is a wanted grannie.

● "There are a multitude of poor, unlucky women who became sterile from the aftereffects of abortion, the Pill, the IUD, sexually transmitted disease, and irreversible voluntary sterilization. They flocked to the birth control clinics in their 20s and then in their ache to have children flocked to the sterility clinics in their 30s. They give witness to our Lord's prophecy to the Jewish women on His way to Calvary when He said, 'Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me, but for yourselves and for your children. For behold, days are coming in which men will say: Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bore, and the breasts that never nursed.'

● "Virtually all authorities agree that in the first three years of life, a child needs a full-time single caretaker, for optimum development. Nature intends this to be the mother. ... In a 639-page study of crime and human nature reviewed this month in *The New York Times*, the one factor the authors were certain of as predisposing to crime was the inadequate nurturing of the infant in the first three years of life."

Bishop Egan told of attending in Rome some years ago the tenth anniversary of the graduation of one of the classes taught by Dr. Ratner, who had made the trip from the U.S. at the invitation of the members. His Excellency inquired of his hosts why they had asked Dr. Ratner to make the trip. "Because," the answer was, "no professor inspired us more."

Dr. Ratner's has been a life well spent in the service of God and man, and we rejoice that it still has a ways to go. In honoring him the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars has honored itself.

Dutch Priest Who Opposed Nazi Propaganda To Be Beatified

NEW YORK (RNS) — A Carmelite priest who encouraged Dutch Catholic journalists to defy orders that they print Nazi propaganda will be beatified by Pope John Paul II at ceremonies in Rome Nov. 3rd as a "martyr for the Faith."

Church officials spent 20 years investigating the life and death of Fr. Titus Brandsma before approving the step. Fr. Brandsma died at the Dachau prison camp in July, 1942. Beatification is the "last step before sainthood," said Fr. Daniel Lynch, a Carmelite spokesman in Westchester, N.Y., in a telephone interview.

Fr. Brandsma, a scholar and educator, spent the latter part of his career in the Church as spiritual adviser to the mostly lay staff members of more than 30 Catholic newspapers in the Netherlands.

A significant factor in Fr. Brandsma's candidacy for beatification, said Fr. Lynch, was "the element of forgiveness." The Dutch priest repeatedly encouraged his fellow prison-camp inmates to forgive their guards.

According to Fr. Lynch, the martyred priest gave his Rosary to the nurse who was ordered to inject him with a deadly drug, causing his death at age 61. In his last days at Dachau, Fr. Brandsma was moved to the camp's hospital, where patients were subjects of medical experiments. The nurse, who returned to the Catholic religion following the war, credited Fr. Brandsma's influence and so

informed the Vatican. "We can't learn her name," said Fr. Lynch, "or she'd be judged as a war criminal."

Fr. Brandsma, born in 1881, wanted to be a priest from childhood and entered a Carmelite monastery in 1898. His early work with the Carmelites was in translating and writing. He held teaching posts, founded a journal of Carmelite spirituality, edited a newspaper and organized a team of scholars to translate works of St. Teresa of Avila. He served a term as president of the Catholic University of Nijmegen and then returned to the classroom.

In the mid-1930s the ranking Prelate of the Dutch Hierarchy appointed him spiritual adviser to the Catholic press. As Hitler's Nazism moved across Europe, Fr. Brandsma warned the Dutch in classroom, lecture hall, and press against Nazi tyranny.

The incident that led to his imprisonment came in 1941, when Fr. Brandsma was asked to convey to the Catholic press the Dutch Hierarchy's refusal to abide by a Nazi directive that all newspapers publish official Nazi press releases. The Dutch priest traveled around the country, meeting with Catholic editors to encourage them to resist the Nazi demands while explaining possible consequences of such resistance.

Aware that he was being followed, he met with 14 editors before he was arrested in January, 1942. He was held at three different prisons before being transferred

finally to Dachau, Germany, one of the most brutal of Nazi concentration camps. In the brief time there before his death, he was noted for encouraging other prisoners not to yield to hatred.

The beatification process began in the Netherlands in 1955, after acquaintances of the late priest petitioned the Carmelites and the Dutch Bishops on his behalf. After Church authorities carried out a meticulous process of gathering testimony about Fr. Brandsma's life and challenging the findings, a board of theologians eventually declared him a martyr for the Faith. Further deliberations by Church officials had to be carried out before the process was complete.

Other events honoring Fr. Brandsma are planned in the United States following his beatification in Rome, Fr. Lynch said. CBS-TV's *For Our Times* plans a program about him in December, and a special service at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City is scheduled for Dec. 14th.

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"Without explicitly posing the question

Today, the report added, concern for higher life is eclipsed by "the concern of many of achieving the 'good life' of prosperity and self-improvement."

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and teacher of all nations, the universal Church has been established by Jesus Christ.' Paralleling Pope John's words, today's talk begins 'Mother and teacher of all nations, universal nature has been established by God.'

● "Feminists make the mistake of thinking that their opponents are traditional religion and old-fashioned morality. Their real opponent is mother nature, the vicar general, and none of us can outsmart the vicar general. Since a vicar general is one with his or her superior — in the case of nature, the oneness is with God — and given nature's nature, no appeal is possible in nature's tribunal. The inability to appeal finds expression in an old anonymous saying: 'God

for solace as we can to our own mothers or to the Mother of Jesus. Rather, mother nature is a stern disciplinarian who expects us to heed what she says or suffer the consequences, consequences that are frequently severe. Mother nature doesn't plead with us, doesn't cajole us, doesn't bribe us. Mother nature says, 'These are my ways. They are good. They are wise. Follow them. I have implanted the seeds of their fulfillment within you. Nurture those seeds and be faithful to their growth if you would harvest my bounty. A plant that has withered cannot be reclaimed.'

● "The most striking popular example recognizing nature as a stern if not relentless vicar general is to be found in the March, 1983 issue of *Rolling Stone*. It had as its cover banner, 'Herpes, VD, the Pill: Sex Isn't Fun Anymore.' After listing the woes associated with current sex activities and modern contraception, Stephen Levy, the author of the lead article entitled 'The Birth Control Blues' concludes that it 'may seem like some wrathful deity is exacting revenge for our decade-long orgy.' How right he was! That 'wrathful deity' is no other than the vicar general who as executor of God's strictures has no choice in the matter.

● "Not knowing what is natural, liberal Protestant and Catholic theologians do not know what is unnatural. Accordingly it is understandable why so many of them espouse homosexuality. Under a banner of a false freedom they convert the defiant into the variant. Even Freud knew better.

● "To update *Rolling Stone's* 'wrathful deity,' nature, the inexorable vicar general, confronted by widespread homosexual activities, retaliates with a new disease, the highly lethal Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, through rectal cancer, and an array of opportunistic infections.

● "Today's prime threat to Western democracies is not from without but from within — not from the nuclear bomb but from our failure to recognize, accept, and implement the great universal teaching of *Humanae Vitae* concerning the two inseparable meanings of the conjugal act, the unitive and the procreative. Experience teaches that neither the unitive nor the procreative can make it on its own. The intrinsic unity of the unitive and procreative is so basic to the health of a society that experience shows its disruption and absence leads to catastrophe.

● "Surveys, even in *Playboy*, state that one of the great regrets of older women is that they hadn't had more children when they were able. It is a bitter lesson to learn. Loneliness, empty houses, and nursing homes unfold the lesson. Today the lament from older parents is that they live in a grand-

at the Vatican said recently.

In separate reports, most delegates to a Vatican plenary session of the Secretariat for Non-Believers said the "good life" of material and technological progress has been accompanied by growing religious disinterest in their countries.

Theoretical atheism has attracted only a small minority among the populations, even in some Communist countries, they said.

Non-belief is not so much tied to ideas, the delegates said, as to the uncritical acceptance of consumerism, loss of family values, and an emphasis on personal pleasure, all of which is reinforced by advertising and mass media.

The reports by about 20 of the experts during the meeting were published by the secretariat under the title, "Atheism and Dialogue."

Several of the reports noted that while dialogue with atheism is one of the secretariat's goals, such dialogue is particularly difficult with the religiously indifferent, who have no formal groupings.

Several of the studies identified indifference as the most widespread and most dangerous problem facing the Church.

Surveys in several European countries, for example, showed that while less than 10 percent of the population identified themselves as non-believers, a minority said they practiced their religion.

In traditionally Catholic Spain and Portugal, only about one-third of those surveyed said they practiced their faith.

The denial of God's existence (atheism) and the formal questioning of God's existence (agnosticism) have "little weight" in modern Spain, the report on that country said. But indifference to God was growing daily, it added.

In Portugal, "explicit atheism" is limited to a few intellectuals and students of Communist philosophy, a report said.

of the existence of God, people live as if God didn't exist," the report said. The statement by Bishop Jose da Cruz Policarpo, Auxiliary of Lisbon, blamed "forces of Freemasonry and various Marxisms" for removing the influence of religion in Portuguese art, literature, cinema, schools, social organizations, and mass media. These forces, it was noted, operate according to a pre-established plan.

In France another report declared that many people live a life of "day-to-day indifference," without asking essential questions about life and death. Technological progress, it added, often tends to blunt such questions by removing passion and action from people's lives.

The report also stated that many people are satisfied with "daily banalities." It cited the renewed interest in ancient paganism, astrology and sorcery.

Dissertations coming from the United States, Ireland, and Italy suggested that theoretical atheism had little or no impact on society. Among the causes of practical atheism, the reports asserted, was self-interest.

The Irish study indicated that the Church should recognize "the atheism inherent in consumer values and the ethos of money."

Marxist ideology affects few people in Ireland, the report said, but one exception is republican paramilitaries. Those associated with paramilitary violence used to continue to practice their religion, but that is no longer true, the report suggested.

In Italy, the practice of religion has suffered a "steep decline," partly because of a modern emphasis on "materialism, selfishness, and comfort," one report concluded.

In the United States, a traditional attitude of separation between religion and the world has given unbelief a certain legitimacy, pronounced Bishop Howard Hubbard of Albany, N.Y.

Reports on Poland and Angola indicated that even in those Marxist countries indifference is religion's main challenge. Among Poland's deeply Catholic people, "the faith seems to have sometimes disappeared in important areas of life," stated the report by Bishop Alfons Nossol of Opole, Poland.

"The proof is in the relatively high numbers of abortions, divorces, and alcoholics," the report said.

The report cited social causes of unbelief in Poland, including the government's attempts to promote atheism in schools and youth clubs. But it also warned of another cause of the "dangerous indifference" to religious values, "a mentality aimed at profit, consumption, and the career."

In Africa, too, there is a tendency to unbelief, wrote Francis Cardinal Arinze, a Nigerian who heads the Vatican Secretariat for Non-Christians. It is partly caused by the influence of European and American religious indifference, he said, and partly by anger over discrimination against blacks.

An influential minority in Africa, has concluded that "religion is a tranquilizer, not much in use in Europe but very much in use in Africa to keep the people down."

The attraction of religious cults or sects was cited as a problem in Zaire, and in Cuba and Latin American countries.

In Zaire, sects have replaced eucharistic participation with "worldly meetings, embellished with lectures and fantastic explications of the Bible," declared Bishop M'Sanda Tsinda Hata of Kenge, Zaire.

Their activity, he said, is a challenge to the Christian faith.

In Latin America, religious indifference is tied to an "implicit atheism" that replaces God with "the idols of pleasure, power, and having," stated the report of Bishop Antonio Quarracino of Argentina. He is president of the Latin American bishops' council.

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"All must remember that nobody has the right to remain indifferent when religion or the public welfare is in danger. Those who strive to destroy religion and civil society aim above all at getting control, as far as possible, of the direction of public affairs and at having themselves chosen legislators. It is therefore necessary that Catholics should strive with all their might to avert that danger." (Pope St. Pius X, 1906, to the Bishop of Madrid, Spain.)

Would anyone deny that the Pontiff's message is meant as much for 1985 America as for 1906 Spain? But, Catholics in America are tired, we are told. They are discouraged, it is said. We are not. We are the Cincinnati PAC in Cincinnati, Ohio and Catholics for Christian Political Action (CCPA) in Washington D.C.

Some of you will remember that two years ago I, James Condit Jr., ran a similar ad to this one appealing for help to put the Fatima message in 70,000 Cincinnati homes via my Council campaign as a candidate for the Cincinnati Party. THANKS TO YOU, THAT GOAL WAS ACCOMPLISHED! You see, there are 250 million Americans, but my guess is that only about 100,000 would have understood the last ad or this one. *That is why I am writing to you again — this time in conjunction with Gary Potter of CCPA.*

(Cincinnati is the only local political party in the United States explicitly organized around the rights of Christ the King at this time; CCPA has been the only organization in Washington D.C. explicitly laboring for the rights of Christ the King in the political arena.)

I have asked Gary to summarize our shared vision for you, and he responded with the following: "Christ is God. He rules over the entire world, which includes society. If the Church is all He rules over, He simply is not God. As the King of Society, He is owed His subjects' loyalty and obedience. When enough of His subjects fulfill their duty to Him, the result will be a Christian society. The Christian society will be ordered in such a way as to enable its members to better and

should be each man's private affair, THEY have been CRAMMING down our throats every anti-Christian policy whose effect surrounds us at every turn. Politics should not be a dirty word, and it won't be if we act to insure that our children do not grow up in a society which militates towards living in the state of mortal sin. That is our responsibility as confirmed Catholics.

WHY WE MUST BE ORGANIZED

We must organize because we are being outmaneuvered by organized forces. Pope Pius XI in 1937 said in his encyclical on atheistic communism regarding the shrewd spread of communist propaganda in all countries: "It is directed from one common center." And about the silence of the free world press regarding atrocities of communism: "This silence . . . is favored by various occult forces which for a long time have been working for the overthrow of the Christian Social Order." And a few paragraphs later regarding the Russian people: ". . . it is no part of our intention to condemn en masse the people of the Soviet Union . . . We blame only the system with its authors and abettors who considered Russia the best prepared field for experimenting with a plan elaborated decades ago, and who from there continue to spread it from one end of the world to the other." (Please ponder these Papal quotes.) And Pope Leo XIII in 1884 in *Humanum Genus*: "There are several organized bodies which, though differing in name, . . . in form and origin, are nevertheless so bound together by community of purpose . . . as to make in fact one thing with the sect of the Freemasons, which is a kind of center whence they all go forth, and whither they all return." Fr. Fahey relies on these Papal quotes and others, as well as a huge body of evidence, to irrefutably show that communism is only a part of a larger anti-Christian movement which operates in, among other countries, our own.

And what with communism built up by continued western technological trade, our government jailing pro-lifers instead of the murderers of unborn babies, pornographers given virtually free reign, massive press sympathy for organized homosexuality, the ACLU boldly trying to ban public nativity scenes at Christmas, — who can doubt the existence of these organized anti-Christian forces anymore? The evidence is all around us. The Popes — even a century ago — were trying to warn us to cling to the Standard of

"A year later and after much additional work, the mad Marxist tyrant was successfully overthrown, tried, and executed."

Potter and I became personally acquainted while we were running our slate for the 1981 council elections. He did a story on our expose of Masonic domination of the Cincinnati Mayor's office for the CCPA newsletter, *CCPA News & Views*. Afterwards he and I remained in regular contact, and I think I can say our acquaintance had developed into a friendship by the time we brought him to Cincinnati in November, 1983, to address the post-election rally and thank you dinner for our Cincinnati party volunteers and supporters. Shortly thereafter, a local talk show featured a man who spent an hour attacking the record of Pope Pius XII during World War II. With some local prompting, the talk show host had Gary on the next day via telephone from Washington D.C. Suffice it to say that what was meant to be a one-hour show grew into a three-hour program due to overwhelming listener response. Gary masterfully defended the Church and Pius XII, and, to my knowledge, that is the last that's been heard of the subject in Cincinnati to date.

Millions have seen Potter on *CROSSFIRE*, which is CNN's most popular program. *CROSSFIRE* at that time was hosted by Patrick Buchanan on the right, and Tom Braden on the left, usually featuring two people on the opposite sides of a hot issue. I saw Gary Potter when he routed a representative of the absurd Catholics for a Free Choice on the abortion issue. The liberal Braden became so upset with Potter that he attacked him and CCPA in his nationally syndicated newspaper column. Also comes to mind the time Potter wrote a guest editorial for the *New York Times* — and he wrote in the same uncompromising style he uses when writing for *The Wanderer*!

Finally, I cannot fail to mention that Mr. Gary Potter, in the last several years, has been organizing retreats around the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius for Catholics in politics in our nation's capital. Many of the men and women who've attended the retreats are the kind who can make a difference: leaders of important political organizations, key Congressional aides (and a currently sitting member of Congress), journalists, ranking military officers, college professors and, yes, ordinary heads of families

sounding candidates who abandon the field of battle when the crucial moment comes.

In 1983, Cincinnati used my lone candidacy to put the Fatima message into 70,000 Cincinnati homes. We carried proper disclaimers stating that we realized the Fatima message was not the property of any one candidate or party, and we challenged everyone to do what they must anyway: accept or ignore (reject) Our Lady's call for prayer, penance, and the amending of our lives. Thanks to so many of you, again, for your generous help in pulling off that project.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Christ said, "Occupy until I come." He did not say, "Begin to keep a low profile as soon as things start to look desperate." I don't know, maybe Christ intends to return soon. But if not, it is first and foremost up to us, the Catholics who can still say the Apostle's Creed without our fingers crossed, to try and restore respect for the Rights of Christ the King. Let's hear from Gary Potter again: "Further, we know what will happen if the numbers of Americans represented by persons like ourselves increase and their and our influence grows; we know because we have already experienced it in limited but hurtful ways. To cite the words of the great historian William Thomas Walsh: 'Our one hope of winning, for their own good, the millions of unbelievers who surround us . . . is to speak boldly the truth God has given us . . . This will inevitably bring persecution upon us. . . . If we are suspected, ostracized, insulted, starved, beaten, imprisoned, misrepresented, neglected, put to death in a thousand new ways — that is what we have to expect as Christians — or does anyone imagine that here in America, as an unique exception, the servant shall be greater than his Lord?'"

Gary continues: "Walsh wrote those words many years ago. Think of today's America. Think of the untold millions of dollars going into the pockets of pornographers, drug traffickers, abortionists. On another level, think of the dollars pouring into the coffers of political organizations whose leaders mouth pious generalities about 'traditional values' and a so-called 'Judeo-Christian heritage' but never speak of recognizing Christ as King of society, the one thing that can save the nation.

"The disciples Jesus loved most fell asleep

CCPA may seem to be hopeless. On the other hand, we know the Gates of Hell will not prevail — Christ said so. "However, this certain knowledge on our part does not exempt us from fighting. On the contrary, we are the Church **Militant**, and our very salvation depends on how valiantly we fight. How well we all know that we by ourselves cannot emerge victorious from any battle, not even a skirmish — Satan can sift us as wheat — but she who is our Queen is now clad in her armor, 'terrible as an army set in battle array'; she **alone** is the Vanquisher of all heresies, but even so, she does expect her bungling troops at least to be there under her banner." (Quoted from P.H. Omlor)

I, Jim Condit, was fortunate to attend a small conference last May in Cleveland which concerned itself with the Kingship of Christ. A priest who spoke put his finger, in my judgement, on exactly what role we Americans are consigned to play in 1985. After covering the Age of Faith when nations recognized Christ as King, he brought his point to dramatic conclusion: "Christendom is dead. Today it's dead. But the enemies of Christ, like Voltaire, knew that Christianity could only die in a place if the VERY IDEA of Christ was completely obliterated. Our job is to keep them from succeeding in America. Our job is TO KEEP THE IDEA OF CHRISTENDOM alive though these times. And then, if God so wills, Christendom will rise again, perhaps even right here in our own country. For it is the very nature of our religion to rise from the dead."

We've begun, but will a sufficient number of Catholics across the country join us in the movement, if it be God's will, to restore Christendom?

WON'T YOU PLEASE HELP?

We are looking for individuals who can afford to donate between \$10 and \$25. We do not want the money of anyone who is going to go \$10 further into debt by sending us \$10. On the other hand, if you can afford to donate, we are not ashamed to ask, for we know it will not be wasted. (Your donation will go half to CCPA and half to Cincinnati.) I would urge you, if you agree with the stand we take, to respond immediately so that Cincinnati can make maximum public impact in the last days of our local election. We will put on as many media spots as possible emphasizing that if Christendom is to be restored, it is up to us.

more easily do what God wishes for every man: to live as closely with Him as possible in this world in order to live fully with Him in eternity."

(Such lucid passages from Potter's pen should not be new to readers of *The Wanderer*. Many of you will remember reading Gary's incisive articles this past summer as he stood in for Mr. Paul Fisher.)

I submit to the reader that the local Cincinnati effort and the national CCPA effort are the only operations in the political arena in 1985 that are openly organized around the Standard of Christ as King of Society. And this standard is the ONLY one which corresponds to the gravity of the opposition we now face.

"The same forces that resisted and persecuted our Lord Jesus Christ during His life on earth resist and persecute Him down the ages in His Mystical Body."

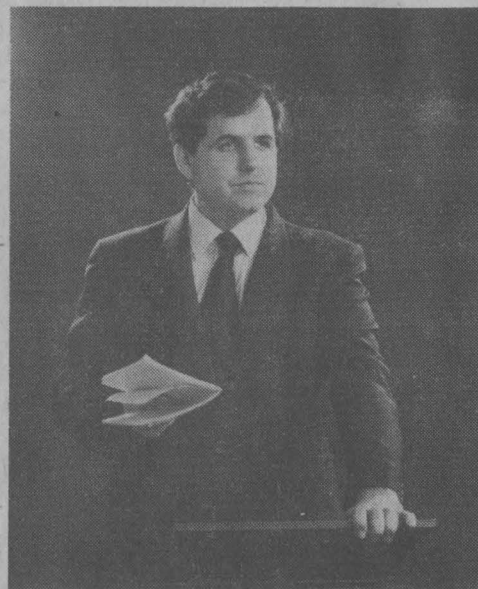
The above sentence is from the writings of the great Fr. Denis Fahey, a priest of the Holy Ghost Fathers who died in 1954. Fr. Fahey devoted his life to the exposition of a truth that is the subject of numerous Papal teachings. It is the central truth regarding society since the advent of Christ — a truth which one must grasp in order to fully understand the appeal you are reading. It is that the real struggle going on in the world is not primarily between Republicans and Democrats, or between liberals and conservatives, or even between capitalism and communism. No. The real struggle in the world is that going on FOR and AGAINST the Mystical Body of Christ. Let Fr. Fahey explain:

"There is unorganized opposition to the Supernatural Life in each one of us, owing to the Fall. This unorganized opposition of individuals inevitably leads to the formation of little anti-supernatural groups here and there, even without the concerted action of vast organized forces. But the fact that there exists concerted anti-supernatural action on the part of organized bodies is so far removed from the pre-occupation of the average Catholic that it needs to be specially stressed and its aims made clear. . . . Needless to say, the efforts of these anti-supernatural forces do not suffice to account for everything in history, for the causes of historical events are very complex. But if these forces are left out of account, modern history becomes a puzzle. . . . The art of maneuvering human beings towards a certain goal, without their being aware that they are being so maneuvered, has been brought to a pitch of perfection never before attained. . . . Catholics succumb to the machinations of Our Lord's enemies largely because they are not trained for the real struggle going on in the world. Thus they display a lamentable lack of cohesion and a pitiable want of enthusiasm for Christ's interests, so that Catholics who stand for integral Christianity can always count on finding other Catholics in the opposite camp."

Who is responsible for politics, anyway?

Politics is defined as the art or science of government. While the other side has been loudly proclaiming that politics and religion

Christ — whole and entire — so that the world might avoid the hour of darkness which we now face.



JAMES CONDIT JR.

Just as the enemy does not attack us under only one mode or organization, we too must mount a multi-faceted defense. And part of that defense must include as prominently as possible organizations which openly stand for the entire social teaching of the Church.

CCPA & CININNATUS HAVE A TRACK RECORD OF ACTION

Let's hear from Gary Potter again: "While many have spent these recent years complaining that *something* needs to be done to stay the judgement that God inevitably renders on peoples who are not loyal and obedient to Him, we *have* been doing. The Cincinnati Party and CCPA have records to show it, and with your support we can continue to remain active. It does not daunt us in the least that our numbers are not great, and our power less. In the first place, we know that it takes but a few to stay God's wrath. Beyond that, we also know that history has never been made by anyone except a determined minority."

CATHOLICS FOR CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION (CCPA)

"Even as the Cincinnati effort was being launched in 1979, I, Gary Potter, was launching CCPA as a national effort in Washington D.C. That was the year CCPA brought the exiled Equatorial Guinea Bishop (now Archbishop) Nze Abuy to the nation's capital. The bishop's African nation was then suffering under the rule of an insane Marxist dictator, Macias Nguema, and His Excellency was the only bishop in the world with a death sentence on his head. CCPA used the visit of Bishop Abuy to make known the plight of black Africa's only Spanish-speaking nation (with a 95% Catholic population) and was responsible for the introduction of a Congressional resolution condemning Marcias for genocide and persecution of religion.

difference).

When one stops to reflect that all supernatural life MUST come from Christ, that we are merely the instruments, that there can be no effective action that is not rooted in dynamic spirituality, then, in that light the value of such retreats cannot be over-emphasized.

Cincinnati PAC

Cincinnati ran a slate of 6 candidates in 1979, our formative year, because we could not in good conscience watch another year go by without someone loudly protesting the ongoing abortion slaughter. The major parties simply did not regularly nominate, or give support, to men who believed as we did. Realizing the masonic domination of both parties in our town, we decided to try and create a vehicle through which sound candidates could run for local office. We hope to see this begin in other cities. Our party is led by an informal board of Catholics who accept the social teaching of the Church as it has been understood for centuries. Much as the Moral Majority, which is led by a Baptist, seeks support from all men who can subscribe to the natural law, so do we. But we will not compromise on Catholic principles.

In 1979 Cincinnati became the first political entity of any size in the U.S. to vow to close down the local abortion chambers if we elected a majority. We pointed out that the Supreme Court decision itself was in violation of the Constitution and that no local government should respect such a criminal decision. (That year, as in every year since, our leading candidate received somewhere between 25% to 33% of the votes needed to finish in the top nine of the field of candidates and thereby be elected to office.)

In 1981 we published a survey proving that a member of the Freemasons had held the Mayor's office 80% of the time for the period spanning the past 80 years. We pointed out that this domination of office by members of the papally-condemned sect is the reason why so many evil trends are tolerated or even coddled and protected. Such would not be the case if loyal Catholics and Bible-believing Fundamentalists held public office. While there are rare exceptions to this rule, it constitutes the basic reason why good Americans keep voting for conservative

another disciple was never more feverishly active than on that night. To us of the Cincinnati Party and CCPA, it seems that Judas must still be as busy. (Of course it is his master who is.) What else can explain why so much money goes to support the useless (from a Christian point of view) and the positively evil, while worthy causes, including — let us say it — our organizations are 'suspected, ostracized, insulted, misrepresented, neglected' and, in a way, 'starved'?

"Does that sound vainglorious? We admit that what we do is not always done as well as we would like, and never perfectly, but Cincinnati and CCPA are two organizations that have *never* compromised. Yet publication of CCPA's newsletter has been suspended for months, and Cincinnati, while carrying on the fight every two years and making public impact, has had to survive on after-hours volunteers and Saturday helpers without having the means to spearhead the type of full-time effort that is needed to gain control of a major city's city council. In both instances, it has been because we were 'starved.' We lacked money. Truth to tell — and we need to be truthful — given the weakness of the Catholic position as we represent it in today's secularized and officially pluralist United States, our planning has to be for guerrilla tactics more than grand strategic moves. **Sometimes, as now, it is a question simply of survival for CCPA and of making another impact in time for Cincinnati.** We need the minimum means to do the things we have been doing, especially to proclaim that Christ is King of society, that His Kingship must have practical social, political and economic consequences, and that anyone who ignores or denies this truth is helping ultimately to doom this nation to historical oblivion."

BUT CAN WE SUCCEED?

We cannot fail. The worst we can do is challenge the conscience of America, to the extent we can make ourselves heard. The best we can do, in some small way, realizing that we are all just instruments IF Christ chooses to make use of us, is to prepare the way and plant the seeds for a future rise of Christendom.

Viewed in purely human terms, the practicality of the approach of Cincinnati and

prevail, then homosexual rights, abortion rights, pornographers' rights, etc., must be denied.

We would also like to appeal to Catholic businessmen who can afford to donate \$100, \$200, etc. If you have used your God-given talent to make a success of business, to make money, I have no hesitation in stating that here is your chance to throw your weight in to the political arena in a really significant way. And regarding CCPA, the only full-time lay Catholic lobbying organization on Capitol Hill will also appreciate your speedy reply. The stations, mail, etc. will carry our message for money, not love. That is the sad truth.

Anyone who sends a donation of any size, or a letter of encouragement, will receive a copy of my (Condit's) favorite CCPA newsletter, a copy of the Fatima pamphlet Cincinnati placed in 70,000 Cincinnati homes last campaign, and our 1981 pamphlet detailing the influence of the secret societies as shown through their domination of the mayor's office in Cincinnati. I might add that the very many who helped Cincinnati two years ago will receive this in any case, so that we can insure that we did not shortchange one or the other of you of a piece of literature you had coming for helping in the last campaign.

We confirmed Catholics have a job to do. If we don't believe we have the answer, we should keep quiet. If we really believe that we do — let's move into dynamic action.

As I finish writing this appeal, and you finish reading it, let us do something, as it were, together. Let us say a prayer for the return of Christendom so our children can grow up in a spiritually healthy environment some day. Let us say a prayer, in other words, for our country:

Hail Mary, full of grace . . .

Our Father, . . . Thy will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven . . . Amen.

St. John Bosco, pray for us!

St. Joan of Arc, pray for us!

St. Anthony of Padua, pray for us!

Our Lady, Help of Christians, pray for us!

**SEND TO:
Cincinnati PAC
4128 Simpson Avenue
Cincinnati, Ohio 45227**

Thank you all in advance!

(Remember, half of your donation will go to CCPA, the other half to Cincinnati PAC.)

- ☐ I will say a prayer for your effort.
- ☐ I can afford to donate \$10 or more.
- ☐ I can afford to donate \$100 or more.

A federal tax credit of up to \$50 on an individual return or \$100 on a joint return may be taken on the basis of \$1 credit for every \$2 contributed.

This ad paid for by the Cincinnati PAC, Jean Buschle, Chairman.

The Fundamentalist Challenge To The Church . . .

Christians Evangelizing Catholics And A Lack Of Subtlety

By KARL KEATING

Part IV

(Editor's Note: We continue with Mr. Keating's examination of Protestant Fundamentalism, its beliefs, tactics, and influence on some Catholics, and what Catholics can do to meet the fundamentalist challenge.)

Manteca is a sleepy little town in the San Joaquin Valley of California, the nearest city of any note being Stockton. In the spring and fall the San Joaquin Valley is a fine place to be; in the scorching summer, it is a fine place to be from. One might think, then, that Bill Jackson, the sole proprietor of Christians Evangelizing Catholics, which is headquartered in Manteca, has been on the road these last few months because of the heat. Not so. He's on the road much of the year. He travels so often and so far now that he can't restrict his travels to the hot months.

His is a small ministry, but he is in considerable demand on the fundamentalist lecture circuit, and the reports of his tours in his monthly newsletter show that he puts on plenty of miles. In March, for instance, he was in Colorado, Kansas, and on a swing through California. In two months in late 1984 he visited Georgia, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maine, Oklahoma, and Maryland, and then he was off to Ireland (where he was a missionary for 17 years) and England, where he made contact with the folks at Hethersett Baptist Church and arranged for Pastor Bernard Lambert to visit America this summer and speak on the Reformation in England and current ecumenical problems there.

"USE YOUR LOCAL PRIEST"

The small newsletter — a sheet of ordinary bond paper folded in half to make four pages — keeps

"Treasures in Your Catholic Bible" study course. . . I met one of them recently, and he needs your prayer for his Roman Catholic wife." No doubt he does, as does she. The study course is printed by Tabernacle Press in Louisville, Ky. This outfit prints Jackson's tracts (12 so far, soon more) and booklets (four), which he distributes "on a free-will offering basis."

In his newsletter Jackson does more than recount his family's version of the Pilgrim's Progress, of course. He gives practical examples of what can be done by one person to bring Catholics into real Christianity. He called one article "Use Your Local Priest." In it he explained that he at one time worked with a telephone ministry organized by a Baptist church in San Francisco. "We used a business directory and made random calls to certain areas."

One night he called St. Mary's Catholic Church. A layman answered, and Jackson asked him about "the assurance of salvation." The layman, stumped, went for the priest. "Needless to say," said Jackson, "the priest didn't know anything more about salvation than the layman had, but, during our conversation, he specifically told me he did not have assurance of salvation. From that time on, whenever I telephoned a person who identified themselves (sic) as a Roman Catholic, I could say, 'I talked to one of your priests the other day. He said he wasn't sure of going to heaven, but my Bible says that we can know.' I would then quote I John 5:13 and found this a very good way to initiate a gospel presentation."

SHILLY-SHALLYING

This can, indeed, be a good means to effect conversions, or at least confusions. Another way to get ammunition is to march right up and accost a priest. "You might

must cut off his head and leave it outside when he goes to church"? A priest who shilly-shallies invites precisely this kind of abuse.

Despite considerable success in making converts, not everything planned by Jackson's ministry has worked out as desired. He had scheduled the Fifth Annual Conference in Roman Catholic Evangelism for last October, but it was canceled "due to a lack of interest." It was to be a four-day affair, held on the north shore of Clear Lake in Lucerne, Calif.; the sponsoring organizations were Christians Evangelizing Catholics and Mission to Catholics, International. In a letter to prospective registrants, Jackson said, "We will have morning Bible studies, presentations on Roman Catholic doctrine, and time for questions-answers-discussions so that all who attend can participate and be a help and encouragement to one another." Confirmed speakers were Jackson and Greg Adams, an ex-priest from Ontario who directs the Evangelical Mission of Converted Catholics and who wrote for The Conversion Center an account of his conversion called "This Is My Story." A third speaker, unnamed, was hoped for — presumably Bart Brewer, the head of Mission to Catholics, but he was ill through much of 1984, and this was perhaps one of the engagements he had to forgo.

THE DEEPER CAUSE OF THE ABORTION MENTALITY

Jackson calls himself not pro-life, but pro-eternal life. One of his tracts advises fundamentalist pro-life workers to "realize your responsibility to the child you saved from abortion" by converting the parents to fundamentalism. "The greatest thing that can happen is for the mother to be evangelized and saved. Recently I met a young lady who, when unsaved, was planning an

mentalists) that would state a cult is a religion that does not believe in basic Christian truths and is always characterized by a denial in the uniqueness of biblical revelation and a salvation at least partially dependent on the works and merits of its adherents." In other words, a cult is any religion that is not fundamentalism.

Granted, this is not a particularly helpful definition, but there is some common sense to it. For the man who believes in fundamentalism in good faith, any other religion is necessarily erroneous. The Catholic Church adopts a similar perspective in acknowledging that every religion other than the Catholic is to some extent erroneous. But the Church differs in approach from fundamentalism in that she always (and not just since Vatican II) has been willing to acknowledge that other religions contain greater or lesser degrees of truth, depending on how much they mirror her. Eastern Orthodoxy is truer than, say, high-church Anglicanism, which is truer than Presbyterianism, which is truer than Unitarianism — which just about hits bottom. Few fundamentalists are willing to be so generous. You're either a fundamentalist or you're damned, and if you're damned, it doesn't much matter how close to Heaven's gate you are because you're still outside.

CHIEF OBJECTIONS

Jackson lumps the Catholic Church with the cults because "Roman Catholics have added to the Bible. They have no means of solid interpretation. Their present attitude toward its inerrancy is thoroughly liberal, and they have through the years been vocal in condemning God's Word. The Bible was placed on the Index of Forbidden Books — they will now tell you that was only because of erroneous Protestant translations

enough for St. Paul, it's good enough for me."

Jackson's tract naturally has other complaints about the Catholic Church. While attempting to suppress the Bible, the Church foists upon Christianity things of her own fashioning, such as the doctrine of the Assumption. "The addition of blasphemous Tradition and changeable Papal teaching is as bad as looking for inspiration in (Mary Baker Eddy's) *Science and Health* . . . or *The Book of Mormon*. It is difficult to come up with any modern definition of what is a cult and include Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, and a host of others and omit the largest false religious system of all — Roman Catholicism."

Jackson says that "only as we see the system for what it really is can we fulfill our evangelistic responsibilities to the millions of souls lost therein — blinded by Satan and believing a lie. May we clearly define the system and truly love the people, and may God use us in Roman Catholic evangelism."

AT A LOSS

Is Roman Catholicism a Cult? is a tract that appeals mainly to committed fundamentalists. It will sway few Catholics because its title is off-putting and its few paragraphs try to cover so many points that none are covered well. More effective, no doubt, has been Jackson's tract called *Charismatic Catholics*. It has been printed by Tabernacle Press for Jackson and reprinted by The Conversion Center and Mission to Catholics and is a good example of the way anti-Catholics cooperate. Catholic charismatics are a prime target for fundamentalists because they already have a keen appreciation of the Bible. They actually read it, which most "mainline" Catholics still do not.

Many Catholics are immune to appeals to the Bible because they know little about it. Often, charismatics who think they know a lot about Scripture find themselves unable to counter arguments posed by fundamentalists. They accept the premise that any Christian truth should be able to be demonstrated by appealing to the plain words of the text, and they are at something of a loss to discover, say, that there is no clear mention of auricular Confession or infant Baptism or the Immaculate Conception in any book from *Matthew* to the *Apocalypse*.

Charismatic Catholics come in all flavors, and people who use the term to describe themselves often mean quite varying things. Some

which can never take away sins, but this man (Jesus), after he had offered one sacrifice for sins forever, sat down on the right hand of God. . . . For by one offering he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified" (Hebrews 10:11-12, 14).

A sacrificing priesthood is therefore a superfluity, says Jackson. The Bible clearly says so. "Ceasing to trust a human priesthood for propitiation and absolution, and placing our trust in Jesus' perfect work — this is salvation!" He makes no attempt, of course, to consider how the Catholic Church understands the verses he quotes.

One problem with fundamentalists is that they think the points they bring up have never been considered by the Church. It does not occur to them to find out what informed Catholics understand by a particular passage of Scripture. They find it incomprehensible that someone could come up with a conclusion

that differs from theirs. Their minds lack all subtlety.

They generally admit that Catholics hold their beliefs in good faith, but they think they hold them in unalloyed ignorance, having no rational grounds for them at all. When mention is made of someone believing in "blind faith," most people immediately think of stereotypic Bible thumpers, but Bible thumpers, as often as not, think immediately of Catholics. They think Catholics believe what they do either out of habit, having been brought up that way, or because they are under the influence of rapacious clerics, who keep them in intellectual bondage the better to mulct them. The Catholic religion is the opium of the people, say fundamentalists.

(To be continued)

(Copyright 1985, by Karl Keating.)



IF YOU CAN'T GO—GIVE

THE HOLY FATHER'S MISSION AID TO THE ORIENTAL CHURCH

October 20th is Mission Sunday—World Mission Day.

Christ asks all of us to be missionaries. He does not expect everyone to leave home and family and labor in His vineyards in foreign lands. You have work enough in your own neighborhood!

But He does expect all of us to help spread His Gospel. You can answer His call in another way . . . through your gifts to Catholic Near East, the Holy Father's own mission to the Eastern Churches.

GO TEACH ALL NATIONS

For just \$15 a month, you can train a native priest—a Sister, for \$12.50. For only \$14 a month, you can "adopt" a needy child. They'll send you their photos and write to you.

Churches, schools, clinics, rectories and convents, chapels and prayer huts are needed for our neighbors. You can build a special Memorial for someone you love with a gift of \$5 to 15 thousand. The true spirit is to give what you can, remembering that your gift will help our priests and sisters carry on their Christ-like service in the Near East.

A TASTY RECIPE

Your Sunday dinner will seem tastier (and be more meaningful) if you share your blessings with the hungry families huddled in refugee camps of the Near East. Missioners must feed both body and soul of their people. . . . you can feed a refugee family for an entire month for \$20. Can you feed your own family for a single meal with \$20? Sacrifice for a family you may never meet except in prayer. To express our thanks, we'll send an olive wood rosary from the Holy Land. We need your prayers!

those on the mailing list informed of his activities. Jackson, 55, often refers to his children and grandchildren, asking, in one issue, for prayers for his son Dave, who "has come back to the Lord" and who now thinks "the Lord has other things He wants him to do with his life" other than lay carpets, which has recently been his trade and which, it turns out, Dave finds "physically difficult to continue." Dave wants to return to college, but that will take money, "and any offerings that are sent in will be used to help meet (his) family's need while Dave prepares for whatever the Lord has for him in the future."

The other children seem to be making it on their own, without appeals for help to the mailing list. Bill, Jr., and his wife live in New York City; Colleen and her family are also in the San Joaquin Valley; and Mark is in Chicago, studying at the Moody Bible Institute, perhaps to join his father in convincing Catholics to leave the Church while there's still time.

Also making it, the readers of the newsletter are told, are "four Roman Catholics who have been saved through taking the

visit the priest and find him unwilling to talk, as a Baptist pastor and I experienced recently. When we knocked on his door and introduced ourselves, he said, 'I am a busy person. No one gets to see me without an appointment. This is one of the rudest things I ever saw, your just coming here and expecting to talk to me.' (These are not his verbatim words, but the jest (sic) of what he said to us.) If you run across this, excuse yourself politely and then call to make an appointment with him."

Good use can be made of priestly ignorance. "Sometimes the very lack of positive doctrinal standing by a priest can be used in evangelism. We often quote the priest we met last year in Dayton who was very difficult to corner, but who finally joined a conversation we were having with a Catholic lady theologian. We asked him if the Bible was the Word of God, if he was sure of salvation, if the Mass was a sacrifice — and all he could do was to uneasily shift from one foot to another and say, 'I don't know.'" Is it any wonder, with examples like these, that Jackson writes that "it has been said that an educated Catholic

Christian she was contacted by Christians who persuaded her to keep her baby and who led her to the Lord. Later, the father was also saved. So instead of three lives — one wrecked, one murdered, and one unsaved — we have a Christian family with a positive testimony of God's grace."

It's impossible to fault Jackson's logic here; he has, in this regard, a better appreciation of what is needed than do many Catholic proliferers who are satisfied just to halt abortions. However great a triumph it is to have one more life spared, stopping there is not enough. To do so is to ignore the deeper causes of the abortion mentality, which is necessarily a secularist and irreligious mentality.

Catholics, who, for so many years, carried on the pro-life battle seemingly alone, now sometimes express a little annoyance that Evangelicals and fundamentalists, who have more recently become politically active in the movement, seem unable to restrain themselves from evangelizing during strategy sessions. It's one thing, these Catholics think, to save babies; quite another to seek conversions among movement members. But they wouldn't be so annoyed if they perceived that the Protestants are perhaps being more consistent than they are and perhaps have a keener appreciation that abortion is as much a problem of the soul as a problem of the scalpel.

JACKSON'S DEFINITION OF A CULT

Aside from the newsletter, which preaches to the converted, Jackson produces tracts. One is titled *Is Roman Catholicism a Cult?* When Catholics think of cults, they think of the Hare Krishnas, the Moonies, the Scientologists. They find it hard to imagine that some Protestants think of the Catholic religion as a cult. But among fundamentalists, this is taken for granted and is a matter of keen concern. "Very likely," Jackson writes, "this is the most often asked question when I minister regarding Roman Catholic evangelism." Catholics are naturally offended at being called cultists, at least in the sense the fundamentalists mean to use the term. (In the formal sense, of course, all religion is *cultus*, but this matter is confusing enough without bringing in liturgiology.)

As in so many matters, fundamentalists and Catholics are at loggerheads because they define terms differently. Jackson explains the fundamentalists' peculiar definition: "The word, as generally used by the Lord's people today, means some kind of false religion, especially one that denies the basic truths of Christianity. We may get a consensus of opinion (among funda-

mentalist Catholics who read the Bible a lot and participate in prayer groups. Others are more "ecumenically inclined" and blur distinctions between Catholicism and various forms of Protestant Pentecostalism; they often, unknowingly, have doctrinal problems.

A common failing among charismatics is a lack of intellectual rigor; you find few making a concerted study of the Early Fathers, of ecclesiastical history, of just plain theology. Compared to them, fundamentalists often seem intellectually more demanding and intellectually more experienced. So it is not surprising that many charismatics (non-Catholic as well as Catholic, of course) fall prey to fundamentalist blandishments, each blandishment being in the form of a juicy quotation from Scripture.

"A person who claims to be a born-again Christian and remains in the Roman Catholic Church is ignorant, disobedient, or hypocritical," concludes Jackson. You can't stay in the Catholic Church and evangelize from within. God "told his people to come out of paganism and idolatry (II Cor. 6:14-18)." The answer? "It is essential that every true born-again child of God separate from the church of Rome or any false system of religion and unite with a Bible-believing fundamental Christian local church so that they (sic) can serve God in true obedience."

APPROACHING IDOLATRY

To the person impressed by strings of biblical quotations (examples of which will be omitted here), this kind of argument is persuasive. Charismatics see that syllogisms of a sort can be constructed from Bible passages, and they surprisingly often act on the syllogisms — as do thousands of Catholics who disdain the charismatic approach to religion but who, like the charismatics, have no ready intellectual defenses against fundamentalism. Most Catholics, of whatever stripe, are vulnerable to fundamentalist attacks.

Just as some of Jackson's tracts are aimed at a wide audience, others are aimed at a select few. One is aimed directly at seminarians. It is titled "Think: Should You Become a Priest?" This pocket-sized leaflet first quotes Pius XII and John XXIII about the paucity of vocations. The reader is told that "St. Alphonsus Liguori wrote eloquently about the duties and dignity of a priest." Then gears shift. To answer the question on the cover, "We must go to the Word of God and to your innermost heart." This passage is given: "And every priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices,

but it was first placed there in 1229, over 100 years before Wycliffe's first translation."

These sentences contain some of the chief fundamentalist objections to Catholicism. They will be discussed later in this series, but, for now, consider a few disjointed comments. Note that Jackson says the Church provides no means for "solid interpretation." At first this seems laughable coming from someone who dismisses any authority other than himself in interpreting Scripture. The individual is the least solid of all interpreters, which is precisely why Protestantism has been fissiparous. Jackson is more on point in saying the Catholic attitude toward inerrancy is "thoroughly liberal." This is his perception of the disarray in Catholic exegesis over the last 20 years. To him it appears that the historico-critical method and its "assured results" are fully indicative of the official Catholic position on the Bible.

Then he claims the Church has been "vocal in condemning God's Word" by placing the Bible on the Index of Forbidden Books in 1229. Of course, the Index was first printed in 1543, more than three centuries after that, but no matter. This gaffe is not entirely Jackson's fault. Here he was relying on Bart Brewer of Mission to Catholics, who made the same claim in one of his tracts, and Brewer got the date from Loraine Boettner's *Roman Catholicism*. Boettner has not identified his sources.

Note the last phrase, "over 100 years before Wycliffe's first translation." This is not a gratuitous line; it implies more than that the Church "prohibited" even the Vulgate to the common people. For fundamentalists it affirms something important. Wycliffe is thought by most fundamentalists to be the first to put Scripture into English (they are generally unable to distinguish him from the 16th-century Reformers), though in fact the first Englishman — actually, Anglo-Saxon — to do so was Caedmon, in the seventh century. (Granted, there is disagreement in linguistics circles as to whether he can be said to have written in English at all, but that is a quibble.)

"BLIND FAITH"

For fundamentalists, the culmination of what Wycliffe is understood to have started is the King James Version. You will find in the case of many fundamentalists a reverence for that translation which at times approaches idolatry. There have been many fallings out among fundamentalists because some will use only the King James Version, claiming that no other version is accurate, while others will adopt newer translations. As one fundamentalist woman explained, "If the King James Version was good

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Effort To Allow Patients To Starve Moves To Washington, D.C.

By ROBERT L. MAURO

The well-planned effort to allow certain patients to starve to death evidenced at the August, 1985 meeting of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws is now moving into high gear in Congress. During the first week of October, former U.S. Sen. Jacob Javits, who suffers from Lou Gehrig's disease, testified before a House committee in favor of the type of legislation which would allow certain patients to be starved to death.

EUPHEMISMS USED REGULARLY

The pro-death forces never use the word "starvation" when arguing their case. They always cast their argument in terms of "rights." They always say they want to give the elderly "rights," and they want to give persons in comas "rights." But they do not

inform persons who sign a form declining life-sustaining "treatment" that their definition of treatment includes food and water. Thus, they urge people to sign a statement (called, euphemistically, a "living will") which gives someone else the right to starve the signers to death if they become ill or comatose.

JUDGE KAUFMAN SPEAKS

Judge Irving R. Kaufman of the United States Court of Appeals, perhaps the most activist judge in the nation, has joined in the struggle over the life and death of patients. Rarely content to write only judicial opinions, Judge Kaufman often gives us the benefits of his thinking on the issues of the day in articles and letters to *The New York Times*. In *The New York Times* of Oct. 6th, 1985, he argues, not too subtly, for "legislative direction" for the courts on the life and death of patients.

FEDERAL LAW AGAINST STARVATION

Former Sen. Javits has testified in Congress for a federal statute which, if similar to that recommended at the August, 1985 commissioners' meeting, would allow certain patients to be starved to death.

Some weeks prior to the testimony of former Sen. Javits, I urged *Wanderer* readers to write to and telephone their U.S. senators and U.S. representatives to do two things: 1) cut off all federal funds to states, counties, municipalities, hospitals, physicians, and health-care personnel who allow the starvation of patients, and 2) to make it a federal crime to starve persons or patients to death.

I again urge readers to call their U.S. senators and U.S. representatives (tel. no 202-224-3121). Leave the above message with them.

CATHOLIC BISHOPS' STATEMENT URGED

I urge readers to write immediately to their U.S. Catholic Bishops, urging them to speak out against the starvation of patients at their meeting in November, 1985. Here is a suggested letter:

Bishop (Name)
Diocese
City, State

Re: Starvation of Patients

Dear Bishop (Name):

In Massachusetts, an effort is being made in court to starve Paul Brophy. He is in a coma, but he will continue to

live unless starved to death. Bernard Cardinal Law has opposed the starvation of Brophy.

In October, 1985, a lawsuit was initiated in New Jersey to starve or dehydrate Nancy Jobes, a 30-year-old woman. Mrs. Jobes is in a coma but will live unless she is starved.

I urge you and the other Catholic Bishops to speak out forcefully against the starvation of patients at your November, 1985 meeting.

Starvation is contrary to Judeo-Christian ethics. I urge you to speak out in defense of the helpless.

Yours very truly,
Name, address

THE NANCY JOBES CASE

In March, 1980 Nancy Jobes was injured in a car accident. She was pregnant at the time; her unborn child died in the accident. An operation was scheduled to remove the dead child. During surgery, complications developed, and Nancy Jobes lapsed into a coma.

The same year, 1980, a lawsuit was filed in behalf of Nancy Jobes and by her husband John for money damages against the doctors who performed the surgery. Four years later, a settlement of \$900,000 was agreed to.

If the court grants approval to allow Nancy Jobes to starve, that part of the settlement monies awarded to Nancy Jobes in the settlement will go to Nancy Jobes' heir or heirs at law.

Attorney Paul Armstrong (who filed the Karen Ann Quinlan case some years ago) is the attorney for the Jobes family. He said: "There is no monetary motivation here on the part of anyone in making this decision."

The God Of The Covenant

(Continued from Page 1)

revealed above all as the God of the Covenant: "I am who I am for you; I am here as the God who desires the Covenant and salvation," as the God who loves you and saves you.

God is thus presented as a Being who is a Person, and He reveals Himself to persons, whom He treats as such. God, already in creating the world, has in a certain sense, gone forth from His "solitude" to communicate Himself, by His opening to the world and especially to men created in His image and likeness (cf. *Gen. 1:26*). In the Revelation of the Name, "I am who I am" (Yahweh), there seems to be especially set out in relief the truth that God is the Being-Person who knows, loves, and draws all people to Himself, the God of the Covenant.

NEW STAGE OF COVENANT WITH MEN

In this conversation with Moses God prepares a new stage of the Covenant with men, a new stage of the history of salvation. God's initiative of the Covenant marks in fact the history of salvation through numerous events, as is shown by the fourth Eucharistic Prayer in the words: "Again and again you offered a Covenant to man."

In conversing with Moses at the foot of Mount Horeb, God-Yahweh is presented as "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob," that is, the God who had drawn up a Covenant with Abraham (cf. *Gen. 17:1-14*) and with His descendants, the patriarchs, the founders of the family of the Chosen People, which has become the People of God.

However, the initiatives of the God of the Covenant go back even before Abraham. The Book of Genesis mentions the Covenant with Noah after the flood (cf. *Gen. 9:1-17*). One can even speak of the primeval Covenant before original sin (cf. *I Gen. 2:15-17*). We can say that, in the perspective of salvation, God desired to establish a Covenant with His people from the beginning of human history.

Salvation is the communion of endless life with God, and this was symbolized in the earthly paradise by the "tree of life" (cf. *Gen. 2:9*). All the Covenants which God has sealed with man after the sin of Adam confirm the truth that God

is one Lord" (*Deut. 6:4*; cf. *Deut. 4:39-40*).

Isaiah will give to this monotheistic creed of the Old Testament a magnificent prophetic expression: "You are my witnesses — says the Lord — my servants whom I have chosen, that you may know and believe me and understand that I am He. Before me no God was formed, nor shall there be any after me. I, I am the Lord, and besides me there is no savior. . . . You are my witnesses — says the Lord — and I am God, always the same from eternity" (*Is. 43:10-13*). "Turn to me and be saved, all the ends of the earth, for I am God, and there is no other" (*Is. 45:22*).

PAGAN POLYTHEISM

This truth about the one God constitutes the fundamental deposit of the two Testaments. In the New Covenant it is expressed for example, by St. Paul in the words: "One God and Father of all who is above all and through all and in all" (*Eph. 4:6*). And the same Paul, who combated the pagan polytheism (cf. *Rom. 1:23*; *Gal. 3:8*) with an ardor no less than that of the Old Testament, proclaims with equal firmness that this one true God "is God of all, both of the circumcised and the uncircumcised, of both Jews and Gentiles" (cf. *Rom. 3:29-30*).

The Revelation of a one true God given in the Old Covenant to the Chosen People of Israel was

destined for all mankind which would have found in monotheism the expression of the conviction at which man can arrive even with the light of reason: because if God is perfect, infinite, subsistent Being, He cannot be but One. In the New Covenant, by means of Jesus Christ, the truth revealed in the Old Testament has become the faith of the universal Church, which confesses: "I believe in one God."

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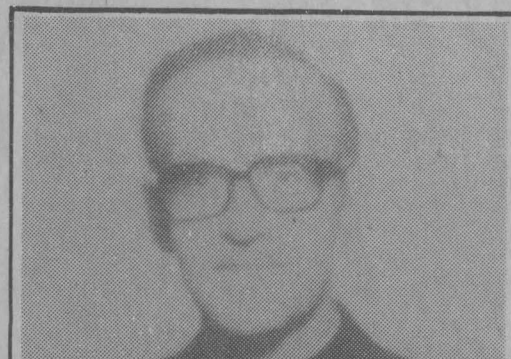
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the Covenant is the God "who gives Himself" to man in a mysterious way: the God of Revelation and the God of grace. He not only makes Himself known to man, but He makes man a sharer in His own divine nature (II Pet. 1:4).

The Covenant reaches its definitive stage in Jesus Christ: the "new" and "eternal Covenant" (Heb. 12:24; 13:20). It witnesses to the complete originality of that truth about God which we profess in the Christian Creed. In pagan antiquity the divinity was rather the object of human aspiration. The Revelation of the Old and still more of the New Testament shows God who is seeking man, who draws near to him. It is God who wishes to make a Covenant with man: "I shall be your God and you shall be my people" (Lev. 26:12); "I shall be their God and they shall be my people" (II Cor. 6:16).

MEANING OF CREATION

The Covenant, equally with creation, is a completely free and sovereign divine initiative. It reveals in a still more eminent way the importance and the meaning of creation in the depths of divine liberty. The Wisdom and Love which guide the transcendent liberty of the God-Creator stand out still more in the transcendent liberty of the God of the Covenant.

It must still be added that if through the Covenant, especially that full and definitive Covenant in Jesus Christ, God becomes in a certain way, immanent in regard to the world, He yet preserves completely His own transcendence. The Incarnate God, and still more the Crucified God, not only remains an incomprehensible and ineffable God, but indeed He becomes for us still more incomprehensible and ineffable precisely insofar as He is manifested as a God of an infinite, inscrutable love.

MONOTHEISTIC CREED

We do not wish to anticipate the themes of future catecheses. Let's go back again to Moses. The Revelation of God's Name at the foot of Mount Horeb prepared that stage of the Covenant which the God of the fathers would have wished to make with His people on Sinai. In it there is set out in relief in a strong and expressive way the monotheistic sense of the Creed based on the Covenant: "I believe in one God!": God is one, He is unique.

Here are the words of the Book of Exodus: "I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. You shall have no other gods before me" (Ex. 20:2-3). In Deuteronomy we find the basic formula of the Old Testament Creed expressed in the words: "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God

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Liberal defends anti-abortion stand

Opposition to abortion is falsely considered a right-wing position, says a prominent Lutheran pastor and editor widely known for supporting "progressive" and "liberal" causes.

In backing the pro-life movement and opposing abortion on demand, the Rev. Richard John Neuhaus said he is logically following the course that led to his arrests for civil rights and anti-war activities.

Neuhaus is pastor of a low-income, predominantly black and Puerto Rican Lutheran parish in Brooklyn, N.Y., and is editor of Worldview, a current affairs magazine, and of Forum Letter, a Lutheran monthly.



Neuhaus

During the Vietnam War, he led an antiwar protest service in his church at which many youths turned in their draft cards. He helped organize and was national cochairman of Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam.

He also has worked closely with community, city and national organizations in housing, urban education and antipoverty programs.

FINDING HIM fighting liberalized abortion policies should not be surprising, he said in an interview at St. Olaf College, Northfield, where he gave four lectures this week.

Explaining his position in a lecture, he said "it is a classic progressive issue to expand the definition of human life and to move toward an ever more inclusive understanding of it and of the protections and rights associated with it." Neuhaus called the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision on abortion

"a moral and political disaster" because it "removed from the American people and the normal political process discussion of one of the most urgent questions facing any society: How are we going to define and protect human life?"

HE SAID the decision "almost completely echoes" the Dredd Scott decision of 1857 because unborn children, like Negroes in the earlier ruling, are not considered persons under the U.S. Constitution.

Neuhaus said it is "unfortunate that many of the people concerned about protecting unborn human life play into the hands of pro-abortionists because they do not have a very comprehensive or credible commitment to a truly pro-life posture when it comes to the poor and the victims of racial discrimination and other injustices."

The pastor said that the increasing number of abortions being performed (from 1 to 2 million a year in the United States alone) makes it increasingly difficult to address the abortion issue with a "reasonable and fairly dispassionate approach."

"PEOPLE DO NOT want to think that what they or their relatives have done was to have terminated a human life, so, in that sense, time is against us in seeking a national reconsideration of the abortion issue," he said.

He said that abortion is "just the top of the iceberg" and that if one

follows the logic of the Supreme Court's decision one could also be led to support infanticide, euthanasia and the elimination of all forms of life that are not "meaningful."

Neuhaus said that both pro-lifers and pro-abortionists should work for a public policy that would establish what human life is, would work to reduce abortions and change attitudes toward unwed mothers. He urged the creation of a network of life-support centers to help unwed mothers so they would be less likely to have abortions.

IN ANOTHER LECTURE, Neuhaus spoke of the likely collapse of a coalition which has taken a "hard line" toward church-state issues in the United States.

He predicted that both evangelicals, such as Baptists, and Jews will move away from the coalition because of increasing disillusionment with the secularism that has resulted from policies they supported.

Neuhaus said that Baptists and other evangelicals were motivated in part to support the coalition because of fear of Roman Catholicism. However, he said developments in the Roman Catholic Church since Vatican II had helped dissipate that fear.

He said it is "ironic" that some liberal Protestant leaders are opposing the activity of Roman Catholic bishops on the abortion issue because they long have been urging Protestants to speak out on public issues.

Nick Thimmesch

A doctor's agony over abortion



WASHINGTON—The Right-to-Life Movement persists, this odd collection of people holding the deeply felt conviction that there's a human being in there and it shouldn't be done away with. Despite generalizations peddled by opponents, these people are not all members of the Papal Plot or leftover sign wavers. But, as with any movement, the adherents do need a boost now and then.

Occasionally they get it when, bam, someone walks among them who wasn't recruited, but came because of a personal experience so shaking as to change the mind.

An instance is found in the January Esquire magazine which contains the vivid report of a young doctor observing his first abortion. He is Richard Selzer, a surgeon at Yale University Hospital.

His own words tell it best. He describes the patient, a Jamaican, lying on the operating table "in that state of noble submissiveness." Dr. Selzer writes:

"The belly mounds gently in the 24th week of pregnancy. The chief surgeon paints it with a sponge soaked in red antiseptic. He covers the area with a sterile sheet, an aperture in its center. . . . He begins. . . .

"He inserts the point of a tiny needle at the midline of the lower portion of her abdomen. . . . He infiltrates local anesthetic into the skin where it forms a small white bubble."

With the promise of no more pain, the patient settles comfortably on the table, and the doctor places a second needle, 3½ inches long, into the site of the previous injection. After quick, sure movements by the surgeon, the uterus is speared. A few more, and "a small geyser of pale yellow fluid erupts. The doctor has found the right place, and Dr. Selzer suddenly sees something.

"It is unexpected, utterly unexpected," he writes, "like a disturbance in the earth, a tumultuous jarring. . . . I see a movement—a small one. But I have seen it. . . .

"And now I see that it is the hub of the needle in the woman's belly that has jerked. First to one side. Then to the other side. Once more it wobbles, is tagged, like a fishing line nibbled by a sunfish.

"Again, and I know! It is the fetus that worries thus. It is the fetus struggling against the needle. Struggling? How can that be? I think: *that cannot be*. I think: the fetus feels no pain, cannot feel fear, has no activation. It is merely reflex. I point to the needle. It is a reflex, says the doctor."

"At the beginning of the sixth month,

the fetus can cry, can suck, can make a fist. He kicks, he punches. The mother can feel this, can see this. His eyelids, until now closed, can open. He may look up, down, sideways. His grip is very strong. He could support his weight by holding with one hand."

Dr. Selzer sees movement again and has an impulse to seize the needle and pull it out. But that would be madness because everyone in the room wants it there, though he has changed his mind.

He imagines how it is inside the uterus, "bathed in a ruby gleam," where the fetus, resembling a sleeping infant, feels the needle graze its thigh, and then resists the lethal intruder. But the infant soon will be finished off by an injection of prostaglandin.

So Dr. Selzer, seeing his first abortion, reflects on the population problem, and a woman's right to decline childbirth, and the question of unwanted children.

"And yet," he writes, "there is the flick of that needle. I saw it. I saw. . . . I felt in that room, a pace away, life prodded, life fending off. I saw life avulsed—swept by flood, blackening—then out."

The doctor says it is all over, and the woman smiles. "Routine procedure," the chief surgeon says. Dr. Selzer says, all right.

Dr. Selzer, being young, contemporary, and supposedly "with it," will get a torrent of blistering criticism for publishing his eyewitness account. So did New York's Dr. Bernard Nathanson a while back when he wrote, in less specific terms, on how, after being party to 60,000 abortions at a clinic, he suddenly realized these were human lives being taken.

For today, it is secular heresy to describe abortion for what it is, even to discover it without urging.

BUT THERE is this collection of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, blacks and whites, poor and rich, toilers and intellectuals—a strange lot, indeed—which is against abortion. They are usually described as "conservatives" or inspired by the Roman Catholic Church, but the description is wrong.

They are a mixed bunch. Their numbers include blacks like Dick Gregory and Jesse Jackson; the celebrated Chicano, Cesar Chavez; a sprinkling of congressional liberals, and even a gifted writer like Margo Hentoff of the Village Voice.

And now, joining the ranks, is Dr. Richard Selzer who learned in the most telling way.

AMNIOCENTESIS --- WHAT IT IS & HOW IT IS USED



DEFINITION: Amniocentesis is the name given to a procedure used to enter the amniotic sac in which an unborn child is carried during pregnancy. A needle is used to penetrate the mother's abdominal and uterine walls and fluid may then be:

Withdrawn - for examination

or

Introduced - such as x-ray dyes for diagnostic tests or substances intended for direct treatment of the fetus, such as red blood cells.

This particular procedure has become increasingly useful, especially in the last decade, in both the diagnosis and management of the fetus at risk.(1)

DIAGNOSIS: Amniocentesis has rapidly become an important diagnostic tool in obstetrics. It has proved to be useful in the detection of fetal sex, chromosome variations and metabolic disorders. As in all diagnostic procedure, it is important to realize that the safety of the procedure to either or both the mother and the fetus cannot be guaranteed. Nor are the subsequent biochemical and/or chromosomal analyses carried out with certainty. At present, however, amniocentesis, carried out by well trained persons, is generally considered a safe procedure. The certitude of the chromosomal and biochemical findings varies with the particular test performed.

MANAGEMENT: Perhaps the most dramatic breakthrough in the management or actual treatment of an infant in utero was made by Dr. Liley in 1963.(2) An infant actually dying in utero from Rh complications was treated by administration of intrauterine blood transfusions and survived. Rh incompatibility problems can now be detected, monitored and treated if necessary through the use of amniocentesis.

AMNIOCENTESIS ----- SOME GENERAL PROBLEMS AND ABUSES

WHILE amniocentesis is without a doubt a useful diagnostic tool, it has been subject to much abuse in the area of management, following diagnosis. Perhaps the most blatant abuse can be seen in choosing to "manage" the fetus at risk by killing the fetus rather than treating or preparing to treat the risky condition.

IT IS RATHER IRONIC that a procedure which was originally developed to increase the chance of survival of a fetus during a difficult pregnancy, is now being used by many to target for destruction those infants who have been designated the weakest and most in need of help.

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- 1) McLain, Clarence R., Amniocentesis and the Diseases of the Unborn, March, 1973
 - 2) Liley, W.W., Intrauterine transfusion of fetus in haemolytic disease, British Med. J., 2:1107, 1963

We Have Become An Aborting Society

By Marjory Mecklenburg



We have become an aborting society. The January 22nd U. S. Supreme Court decision opened the door wide to allow what will be an estimated 1.7 million abortions in 1973.

Reactions are mixed. Many people are shocked and saddened by the decision and are working to reinstate laws that protect human life. Some are satisfied. They see abortion as every woman's right and grant the mother ownership and full control over her unborn offspring including the right to kill him or her. Some find abortion a tidy way to deal with a feared population expansion. Others would end a very young life or an oldster's life rather than see these lives continue with possible hardships or problems.

It is curious, however, that almost no one, including those pleased with the decision, finds abortion a happy event or intrinsically good or desirable. Most proponents of abortion see it instead as a sad, but necessary, solution to the problems of women and society. Is abortion the best we have to offer troubled pregnant women in our country?

Little can be said for the creativity, faith or sensitivity of the people of our time if the final death of abortion is to be the solution for society's ills. It is more difficult, takes more time, perhaps more money, and more love to help a woman through a trying pregnancy than it does to send her for an abortion or perform one on her. Yet, in a society where each human life is valued, we will search for solutions which will maintain respect for women and children--solutions which will provide help and support without legalizing violence and destruction.

If we really care about each other, every attempt will be made to educate and promote responsible parenthood and sexuality. Responsibility for one another is not demonstrated by killing unplanned or unwanted offspring. The number of children with special needs and problems can be reduced by stressing the health care of mothers prenatally, by encouraging stable families with adequate counseling and other services and by offering genetic counseling to prevent some birth defects. We should be good to our babies before they are born as well as after birth.

Day care centers with mother and family involvement can be a tool to teach parenting, child development and nutrition. Such quality centers should be available particularly when mothers must work. The young married or single mother should find it possible to complete her education and receive job training if she so desires. Happy, healthy babies, living in stable families, are a goal we can achieve with effort.

No doubt we can name many other needed programs and services in these areas. We are bounded only by our imagination and the depth of our concern as we think of pro-life solutions to problems.

The time has come for some real self-examination of ourselves as a people. We have been endowed with tremendous gifts and we possess enormous power; whether we use these gifts for good or for evil now depends on us. Will we passively submit to man's inhumanity to man, or will we silence the abortion cry with love and concern for our suffering neighbor?



Marjory Mecklenburg, President of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, is chairman of the Problem Pregnancy Research and Advisory Committee which was established to make recommendations to the Minnesota State Legislature for legislation in the area of alternatives to abortion.

With Dr. Thomas Hilgers and nurse Gayle Riordan, Mrs. Mecklenburg has co-authored a chapter on alternatives in Abortion and Social Justice, published by Sheed and Ward in June, 1973.

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HUMAN GENETICS AND THE UNBORN CHILD*

By Dr. Jerome Lejeune

Dr. Lejeune is a doctor of medicine, taking care of disabled children at the Hospital des Enfants Malades (Sick Children's Hospital) in Paris. He has spent ten years in fulltime scientific research, and is now Professor of Fundamental Genetics at the Universite Rene Descartes in Paris. After working with mongoloid children, Dr. Lejeune demonstrated that the disease of mongoloidism was due to an extra chromosome. For this work he received the Kennedy Award from the late President. In 1970 Dr. Lejeune received the William Allan Memorial Medal from the American Society of Human Genetics.

Together with his colleagues in Paris Dr. Lejeune has described many different chromosomal conditions in man and has compared the chromosomes of man and the primates. Currently Dr. Lejeune is deeply involved in new techniques of analysis and has achieved specific recognition of the old and the new chromosomes during cell division. He and his colleagues are also working on the effect of supernumerary chromosomes. In mongoloid children they have recently demonstrated an excess of a specific enzyme, super oxide dismutase. The eventual relationship between this trouble and the mental retardation of the affected child is under investigation.

The transmission of life is quite paradoxical. We know with certainty that the link which relates parents to children is at every moment a material link, for we know it is from the encounter of the female cell (the ovum) and the male cell (the spermatozoa), that a new individual will emerge. But we know with the same degree of certitude that no molecule, no individual particle of matter enclosed in the fertilized egg, has the slightest chance of being transmitted to the next generation. Hence, what is really transmitted is not the matter as such, but a specified conformation of the matter, or more precisely, an "information".

Without receiving the complex machinery of coded molecules like DNA, RNA, proteins, and so on, which are the vehicle of heredity, we can see that this paradox is common to all the processes of reproduction whether natural or man made. For example, a statue must be built out of some material, and could not exist if made of pure void. During the casting process there exists at every moment a contiguity of molecules between the statue and the cast, and later, between the cast and the replica. But, obviously, no matter is reproduced, for the replica could be plaster, or bronze, or anything else. What is indeed reproduced is not the matter of the statue, but the form imprinted in the matter by the genius of the sculptor.

Indeed, the reproduction of living beings is infinitely more delicate than the reproduction of inanimate forms, but the process follows a very similar path, as we will see by another familiar example.

On the magnetic tape of a tape recorder it is possible to inscribe by minute alterations of local magnetism a series of signals corresponding, for example, to the execution of a symphony. Such a tape, if introduced in the appropriate

*The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments held a day of hearings on May 7, 1974 on proposed constitutional amendments to protect the unborn child, with special emphasis on that day on the medical evidence regarding the humanity of the unborn. The main text of Dr. Lejeune's testimony delivered at that time is reproduced herein.

machine, will play the symphony, although there are no musicians in the machine nor any notes written on the tape. That's the way existence is played!

But, in this analogy, the magnetic tape is incredibly thin, for it is reduced to the size of a DNA molecule, the miniaturization of which is bewildering. To give an idea of this minuteness, we should remember that in this thread every character of each of us is exactly described. Thou shall have blond hair, hazel eyes; thou shall be six feet tall, and thou shall live some eighty years, if no road accidents intervene! All these instructions, giving a full description of a man, are written in a thread one yard long. But the thread is so thin and so carefully packed inside the nucleus of the cell, that it would stay at ease on the point of a needle.

To give another impression, if we were to reassemble on this table all these threads which will specify each and every quality of the next three thousand million men who will replace us on the surface of this planet, this quantity of matter would fit nicely in an aspirin tablet. The fertilized egg is comparable to a loaded tape recorder. As soon as the mechanism is triggered, the human work is lived, in strict conformity to its program.

The very fact that we have to develop ourselves during nine months inside the bodily protection of our mother does not change anything, as you can easily observe by looking at the egg of the hen, from which the chicken will emerge. It makes no difference whether he was incubated by the fowl, or by an electrical heating device! The chicken is still a chicken. If one day a child can be entirely grown in a test tube, the test tube will never believe that the child is its property!

Such a reduction of the human being to its very nature may not be very palatable, or intuitively satisfactory, but it accurately reflects the present state of our scientific knowledge. When a new student hears for the first time a symphony, let us say, "A Little Night Music" by Mozart, he must listen to the whole in order to know it. But if he is a music lover, he will recognize Mozart at the first bars, and could tell the title at the second or third bar. It's the same with the human symphony. The specialist can recognize it at its first accents, even if a great number of various movements are required, so that its general form becomes evident to everyone.

The infinitesimal threads of the genetic information are carefully coiled in little rods, the chromosomes, easily visible with an ordinary microscope. They are something like the magnetic tape inside the cartridge of a mini-cassette. Some twenty years ago, nobody could have told the cell of a man from the cell of a chimpanzee. Ten years ago, a simple counting of the chromosomes would have given the answer, 46 if a man, 48 if a chimp. Since last year, if a student looking at a dividing fertilized egg or at the dividing cell of a blastocyst, could not tell them apart saying, "This one is a chimpanzee being, this one is a human being," he would fail the examination for his license.

But can we say that the early human being is an

individual just after fecundation? Does he have the two qualities of an individual: its unity and its uniqueness? Exceptions to unity are known: maybe once in every million births, some subjects carry, side by side, male cells (recognized by their X and Y chromosomes) and female cells (recognized by their two X chromosomes). Thus, these subjects are simultaneously provided with the masculine attributes of Hermes and those feminine of Aphrodite, hence the name hermaphroditism. One would believe that two fertilized eggs, one bound to be a boy, and the other bound to be a girl, have united together intimately, and it is quite the case. In the hermaphrodite, the mistake is extremely precocious, and seems to happen at the second division of maturation of the egg. Two reciprocal cells are produced, the ovum and its polar body, which would be here just as voluminous as the ovum. Both of them are simultaneously fertilized, each one by a different spermatozoa. Hence, exceptions to unity can happen very rarely at the time of fecundation.

Exception to uniqueness is more common: the identical twins, coming from the same fertilized egg, share exactly the same genetic patrimony, but each of them is obviously an individual by itself. From embryological knowledge, it seems impossible to separate one nature into two (or more) persons after the neural crest; that is, the first appearance of the nervous system has differentiated. Hence, after the 13th day, no twins could occur. But, by inference, for the experimentation is not at hand at this time, it seems that the splitting must be extremely precocious, probably at the moment of the division of the first few cells of the embryo; that is, at the first encounter of the paternal and maternal sets of chromosomes.

These remarks on the exceptions to the individual "one and unique" corroborate the notion that every man begins at his very beginning. These theoretical and experimental notions can sometimes be directly felt by the persons themselves in exceptional situations. A very rare accident can occur at the moment the identical twins are formed. From an XY fertilized egg, bound to be a boy, two cells are produced: one XY will continue its masculine destiny, the other having received only the X chromosome (the Y being lost during the separation process) will develop itself as an imperfect girl. Two X chromosomes are required for a complete and harmonious femininity. Hence, the identical twins will be different: one normal boy and one frail and sterile girl.

In the first case we observed of such a young girl, who was 18 years old and complained of a strange trouble. She feared to look at herself in a mirror because she pretended she was seeing her brother. Such an impression, far from anomalous, was an extraordinary intuition, very feminine indeed, of a very complex situation entirely undetected at that time. At the exception of the lost Y chromosome, she was effectively a piece of her brother from whom she was issued.

These facts of human genetics can appear a little too theoretical, and the question must be asked whether common sense can recognize as such a tiny human being.

If very early, only the scientist aided by refined techniques can tell.

At two months of age the human being is less than one thumb's length from the head to the rump. He would fit neatly into a nutshell, but everything is there—hands, feet, head, organs, brain—all are in place. If you look very closely, you would see the palm creases, and if you were a fortune teller, you could read the good adventure of that person. Looking still closer with a microscope, you could detect the finger prints like Sherlock Holmes—every document is available to give him his national identity card! The incredible Tom Thumb really does exist. Not the one of the fairy tale, but the one each of us has been. For it is from this true story that the fairy tales were invented. If Tom Thumb's adventures have always enchanted the children, if they can still evoke emotion in grown-ups, it is because all the children of the world, all the grown-ups they have turned into, were one day a Tom Thumb in their mother's womb.

But can we scientists accept these fairy tales? The truth is indeed that Nature itself does. For instance, abortion is a normal process in imperfect mammals called marsupials. They have a special pouch on the abdomen, conveniently accommodated to nurture the little. In the giant kangaroo, the abortion occurs at the same stage as the little Tom Thumb in man, and is roughly the same size. The aborted fetus then climbs into the fur of its mother to reach the pouch. The bewildering fact is that the kangaroo mother will let him do so, although she would not allow any other kind of animal drop in! If the poor brain of a female kangaroo can recognize the tiny creature as a kangaroo being, there is no wonder that geneticists can safely assure you that Tom thumb is indeed a true human being.

From molecular genetics to comparative reproduction, nature has taught us that from its very beginning the "thing" we started with is a member of our kin. Being its own, human by its nature, never a tumor, never an amoeba, fish or quadruped, it is the same human being from fecundation to death. He will develop himself if the surrounding world is not too hostile. And the sole role of medicine is to protect the individual from accidents as much as possible during the long and dangerous road of life.

SUGGESTED FURTHER READINGS*

Granfield, David. "Chapter One. The Scientific Background," in *The Abortion Decision* (NY: Doubleday, rev. 1971), pp. 13-39. A complete, but precise popular statement on the current status of all the scientific evidence regarding the unborn child, including a synopsis of the history of embryology. Paper—\$1.45.

Lejeune, Jerome—"The William Allan Memorial Lecture Award: On the Nature of Men," *The American Journal of Human Genetics*, Vol. 22 (March, 1970), pp. 119-128. [During the hearings on May 7 Sen. Marlow Cook, a member of the Subcommittee, submitted this article for the record of the hearing.]

McKusick, Victor A. *Human Genetics* [Foundations of Modern Genetics Series]. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., rev. 1969. 148 pp. A college level survey of the science of genetics as it applies to man. Paper—\$4.50.

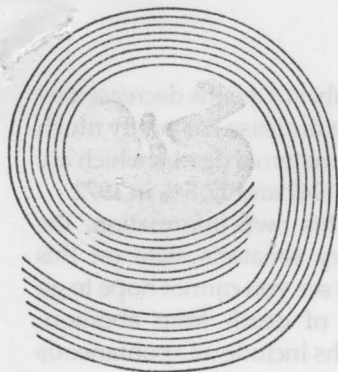
*These references are not part of Dr. Lejeune's testimony. They are offered in this re-print as a guide to the reader interested in further study.

OTHER RE-PRINTS IN THIS SERIES

Abortion: A Help or Hindrance to Public Health? by Dr. Andre E. Hellegers

The Unborn Child as Patient, by Dr. Albert W. Liley





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ABORTION: A HELP OR HINDRANCE TO PUBLIC HEALTH?*

By Andre E. Hellegers, M.D.

*Dr. Andre E. Hellegers is a Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Georgetown University Hospital, Director of the Joseph and Rose Kennedy Institute for the Study of Human Reproduction and Bioethics, and past President of the Society for Gynecologic Investigation and of the Perinatal Research Society. On April 25, 1974, the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments held a day of hearings on proposed constitutional amendments to protect the unborn child, with special emphasis on the public health aspects of the practice of abortion. At that time Dr. Hellegers presented the following testimony on his own behalf.

The abortion issue has been discussed at all sorts of levels. The issues of population expansion, of women's liberation, of adoption, of maternal and infant mortality, of religion, of public health and morbidity, have all been brought into it and all sorts of statistics have been bandied about.

Of course, these are all issues of interest to various groups, but fundamentally there would be no national debate of the present magnitude, if it weren't for one issue. The issue is whether, in abortion, human life is killed. That is the one key issue.

Now, I believe it is necessary to state that issue more clearly. Usually the question is put in the form of "When does human life begin?" That may be putting the question in a form which confuses things rather than clarifying them.

I do not believe there is any question when biological human life begins. It is at conception, by which I mean when a sperm fertilizes an ovum. To say that it begins at any other time is biological nonsense. Sperm alone do not lead to the birth of babies, nor do ova alone. It is when the two are fused that the process of human development starts and it ends at death. I will only add that with *in vitro* fertilization the truth of this statement is even clearer than it ever was before.

But I suspect that this undoubted fact is not what the abortion debate is about. That the fetus is alive and not dead is undoubted. If it were dead, an abortion would not need to be performed and there would be no child to raise. That the fetus is biologically human is also clear. It simply puts it in a category of life that is different than the cat, the rat or the elephant. So the human fetus represents undoubted human life and genetically it is different than any other animal life.

But I think what those who do not oppose abortion mean to actually convey is that this life is not sufficiently valuable to be protected. It has no value, no dignity, no soul, no personhood, no claim to be protected under the Constitution.



That is not a *biological* question. That is a *value* issue. The issue is hidden under such language as "meaningful" life or "potential" for life, or "quality" of life. What is at stake goes far beyond the issue of abortion. The question is this: are there to be *live* (not dead) *humans* (not rats, cats, etc.) who are to be considered devoid of "value", "dignity", "soul", "meaningfulness", "protection under the Constitution" or whatever phrase or word by which one wants to describe the inclusionary or exclusionary process.

This is fundamentally why I am opposed to abortion. It is because it attaches no value to live biological human entities. I am not among those who believe that all human life must be kept alive by machines at all costs, but I am opposed to a philosophy that proceeds to actively kill existing human life for utilitarian purposes. This cheapens all covenants existing among men.

Furthermore, I am puzzled by the selectivity with which some would apply abortion. If the fetus does not constitute truly human life, I do not see why so many would deny abortion on demand. It is sometimes said we do so because after the 13th week, or at some other arbitrary time, it becomes dangerous. But we do not prevent women from becoming trapeze artists for financial reasons, we don't prevent men from becoming football players or boxers for financial reasons. I frankly don't see why we should prevent women from incurring mortality or morbidity risks in abortion if they thought it was financially advantageous to them. But the problem is, of course, the fetal killing.

I also don't understand why genetic counselors would approve of abortion of fetuses if they are abnormal, but 96% would not if the fetus is of the wrong sex. If a fetus of the wrong sex does not represent human life, why shouldn't one abort it? I don't understand those who say they don't like abortion and would only use it as a last resort. If abortion does not kill human life, why should it be a *last* resort and not a *first* resort? Some might feel better with one abortion *per year* than a pill *per day*. So I see this constant ambivalence about abortion, but I understand the ambivalence, because I think the vast majority of people now know how babies are produced and they can't quite avoid the issue of the fetus all of the time.

So the fundamental question is whether we shall assign no value to certain categories of human existence.

Inevitably physicians are also asked to address themselves to other health issues in abortion, although compared to the massive loss of life, I personally think they are peripheral, although obviously important in their own right.

The first claim made is usually that free abortion reduces maternal deaths. Perhaps it does, but one should look at figures carefully, for they are usually presented in terms of percentages. The *absolute numbers* are much more revealing. Table I (see next page) gives the deaths from abortions and the total number of maternal deaths from 1942 through 1972. The figures for 1973 are not yet available. You will see that in 1942 there were 1,231 deaths from abortions. By 1968 this had come down to 133. Fairly

consistently since 1961 the number of deaths decreased by 20 to 30 per year. Since then the decrease has pretty much stopped. The percentage of all maternal deaths which are due to abortions was 16.9% in 1942 and 17.8% in 1972.

I have also appended, for his own information, the figures through 1967 for every senator's state on this subcommittee. Again, you will see you cannot hope to go much further in the control of death from abortion. Moreover, these abortion deaths include all spontaneous and truly therapeutic abortions.*

What these figures clearly show is that the percentage of maternal deaths which are due to abortions have remained constant since 1942, and the number of both has steadily decreased. This has happened in every country in the world regardless of its abortion laws.

Since 1962, the time of the proposed A.L.I. law, the average decrease in abortion deaths per year was 22. The greatest decrease has been between 1965 and 1966 when the decrease was 46. Between 1968 and 1969 abortion death decreased by 1, between 1969 and 1970 by 4. In other words, the decrease in abortion deaths has slowed down markedly in recent years. Now one can make anti-abortion hay with such figures, but I don't think it would be quite fair. The fact of the matter is that abortion deaths were quite rare before the law was changed, and as a condition becomes rare it becomes difficult to reduce the number even further.

The other claim which is made glibly is that abortion decreases infant mortality. That, of course, is absurd. No infant's life can be saved by aborting another fetus. Obviously, if one does one million abortions none of these fetuses will ever become infant deaths, since they'll never live to be infants. And, of course, like the maternal mortality figures, the infant mortality figures have also been coming down for years. To the extent that by abortion or contraception or anything else women do not have 7th or 8th children, who have a greater chance of dying than 2nd or 3rd children, this also will improve mortality figures. But what I think needs to be clear is that no abortion saves an infant's life. It simply prevents fetuses from becoming infants and even having a chance to die as infants. It is somewhat like saying that Vietnam deaths were good because they prevented a lot of cancer which might have occurred at a later age in all the people who were killed. If, then, the fetus is not a member of the human race, it is clear that the whole abortion debate would change. If the fetus does represent human life, then it is hard to see how one can justify killing 1,000,000 lives or more for the questionable saving of a few pregnant women.

But I think the analysis should not cease there. Legalized abortion is said to have decreased morbidity from illegal abortion. I strongly suspect this is true. However, it also causes morbidity. The troubling fact is that about half of all abortions in the United States are done in the unmarried, who are at greatest risk of such morbidity. Swedish and Norwegian figures cite an incidence of steril-

Editor's Note: these tables are not reproduced here.

ity following abortion of about 4%. We have no U.S. figures. If we are to do one million abortions per year, and 500,000 of them are to be on the unmarried, it would leave 20,000 women per year sterile, and this would happen every year. This strikes me as a serious figure. The problem is, of course, that in the abortion debate one only hears about its *immediate* hospital effects, whereas the subsequent sterility does not occur in the hospital. I doubt many women are given this information in abortion counselling.

To my mind, an equally serious problem is the increasing evidence that aborting a pregnancy yields a considerable increase in the birth of prematures in subsequent pregnancies. Prematurity has long been known to be associated with an increased incidence in cerebral palsy, mental retardation and lesser forms of damage to the central nervous system, such as learning disabilities. The more serious the prematurity the more serious the consequences. I am glad to know that federal funds are now

being spent to study this matter. Again the data imply that *first* pregnancies aborted yield the greatest damage, and the *later* in pregnancy the abortion is done, the worse the consequences. It is difficult to assess the precise damage which may be incurred in human or financial terms. In women who have the abortion in the first twelve weeks (the most favorable group) the data are still highly disturbing. In a studied group of 143 such women, 30 percent subsequently delivered prematurely, compared to 11.2 percent in 143 women who had not had a previous induced abortion. Even more seriously, 8.5% of the aborted women delivered prior to 32 weeks, compared to 2.1 percent of women in the non-aborted group. It is in this gestational age group that the severe mental damage occurs. Between 32 and 35 weeks, the previously aborted group produced 5% of its children, and the non-aborted group 1.4% of its children. It is in this group that the lesser cerebral damage occurs. If, conservatively estimated, only 10% of these infants developed central nervous system

TABLE I

The United States

Year	TOTAL ABORTION DEATHS			OTHER MATERNAL DEATHS			TOTAL MATERNAL DEATHS		
	White	Non-White	Total	White	Non-White	Total	White	Non-White	Total
1942	917	314	1,231	4,598	1,438	6,036	5,515	1,752	7,267
1943	853	312	1,165	4,610	1,422	6,032	5,463	1,734	7,197
1944	695	201	986	3,953	1,421	5,473	4,468	1,622	6,369
1945	602	286	888	3,520	1,260	4,780	4,122	1,546	5,668
1946	535	225	760	3,272	1,121	4,493	3,807	1,346	5,253
1947	385	200	585	3,170	1,223	4,393	3,555	1,423	4,978
1948	321	175	496	2,432	1,194	3,626	2,753	1,369	4,122
1949	236	158	394	1,863	959	2,822	2,099	1,117	3,216
1950	193	123	316	1,680	964	2,644	1,873	1,087	2,960
1951	170	133	303	1,608	901	2,509	1,778	1,034	2,812
1952	196	124	320	1,428	862	2,290	1,624	986	2,610
1953	162	132	294	1,317	774	2,091	1,479	906	2,385
1954	156	131	287	1,124	694	1,818	1,280	825	2,105
1955	150	116	266	984	651	1,635	1,134	767	1,901
1956	138	83	221	880	601	1,481	1,081	684	1,702
1957	126	134	260	871	615	1,486	997	749	1,746
1958	136	123	259	802	520	1,322	938	643	1,581
1959	138	146	284	789	515	1,304	927	661	1,588
1960			289			1,290			1,579
1961			324			1,249			1,573
1962			305			1,160			1,465
1963			272			1,466			1,738
1964	117	130	247	634	462	1,096	751	592	1,343
1965	106	129	235	550	404	954	656	533	1,189
1966	96	93	189	509	351	860	605	444	1,049
1967	76	84	160	495	332	827	571	416	987
1968			133			726			859
1969			132			669			801
1970			128			675			803
1971			120			610			730
1972			140			640			780
1973									

NOT YET AVAILABLE



damage, we would still be faced with a problem of major proportions.

Let us assume 1,000,000 legal abortions per year for the United States as a desirable public health aim. Assume that one-fourth would be done in first pregnancies, a conservative figure. That would be 250,000. If 8.5% were to deliver before 32 weeks, again a conservative figure, that yields 20,000 such deliveries. If 10% of these were to acquire cerebral palsy or mental retardation that would be 2,000 per year, again a conservative figure. Again I know of no abortion counseling service which informs its clients of these odds while seeking their full, free and informed consent for these procedures. Indeed, I also know of none which, in addition, informs them that abortion *may* kill live human beings, and even the Supreme Court does not deny that possibility since it prescinded from making a judgment on the matter.

The Committee can receive testimony from others about such matters as uterine perforations, blood loss, guilt feelings, ectopic pregnancies infection—in brief, such things as modern medicine can largely solve through surgery, transfusions, tranquilizers, antibiotics, etc.

My own major concerns are threefold: the relatively small numbers of maternal lives allegedly saved—if any—and at the expense of the hundreds of thousands of fetal lives destroyed; the subsequent sterility; and the emerging problem of prematurity and mental damage in subsequent children. But of all of these, obviously the key one is the massive destruction of fetal life and the profoundly disturbing issue of denying a share in our humanness and its dignity, value and protection to an entire class of human, living, biological entities, to put it as coldly as I can.*

Surely, the issue is whether under the Constitution we want to introduce the notion that biological and socioeconomic problems should be resolved by procedures which *kill*, or *even may kill*, human life. As an immigrant to this country, I would hope the United States, of all countries, could do better than that. What seriously bothers me about the Supreme Court decision is that it did not have the courage to decide when life starts—which we all know *biologically*. It was faced with the problem of when life starts as a *value*. I am deeply disturbed that it took the decision that when you *don't know* whether in performing an abortion you

*In the next section of his testimony (not reproduced here) Dr. Hellegers urged greater Congressional support for research in basic reproductive biology as a positive contribution to the whole question of human fertility.

will kill a human life you *may proceed*, instead of saying you *must desist*. That decision marks a watershed which I believe neither medicine, nor law, nor government should accept.

Again, as an immigrant, I have always had the notion, but perhaps it is an illusion, that in the United States, of all countries, men and women might be considered equally worthy of protection under the Constitution, regardless of their age, race, color, creed or size. Obviously such a notion presents enormous emotional, economic, logistic, legal and medical problems. But I also, intuitively, hold to the notion that the American Experiment in Human Living should be inclusionary and not exclusionary, and that the issue at stake in the proposed constitutional amendment is whether the fetus, as a first prototype of "meaningless" life, shall be excluded or included.

SUGGESTED FURTHER READINGS*

Dyck, Arthur J. "Is Abortion Necessary to Solve Population Problems?" in *Abortion and Social Justice*, eds. Thomas W. Hilgers, M.D. and Dennis J. Horan, Esq. J.D. (NY: Sheed & Ward, 1972) pp. 159-176. The author, a member of the faculty of the Harvard School of Public Health, presents a moral analysis of the practice of abortion as a part of public policy. Paper—\$1.95.

Hellegers, Andre E. "Abortion, the Law, and the Common Good," *Medical Opinion and Review*, Vol. 3, No. 5 (May, 1967), pp. 76-93. A summary/critique of the major statistical data then available on the practice of abortion.

"Fetal Development," *Theological Studies* (March, 1970), pp. 3-9. A concise scientific statement on fetal development.

Hilgers, Thomas W., M.D. "The Medical Hazards of Legally Induced Abortion," in *Abortion and Social Justice* (cited above), pp. 57-85. Surveying the medical data available on a world-wide basis, Dr. Hilgers challenges the claim then being made before the U.S. Supreme Court that abortion is a simple, safe medical procedure. "The medical hazards of legally induced abortion are very significant and should be conscientiously weighed to obtain a balanced and ethical viewpoint. Singling out only one set of 'facts' or figures to serve as evidence of safety cannot occasion this end" (p. 77). Paper—\$1.95.

*These references are not part of Dr. Hellegers' testimony. They are offered in this re-print as a guide for the reader interested in further study.

OTHER RE-PRINTS IN THIS SERIES

Human Genetics and the Unborn Child, by Dr. Jerome Lejeune

The Unborn Child as a Patient, by Dr. Albert W. Liley

Dr. Morris: Save one, save the world

"The Rabbis of ancient times said it with much beauty - 'He who saves one soul, it is as if he saved the whole world. He who destroys one soul, it is as if he destroyed the whole world.' We must apply this doctrine not just to the unborn but to all the underprivileged members of our human family. We must not allow ourselves to be railroaded by those pleading loudly and vociferously, emotionally and pitifully for their comfort, ease and security, into granting them their wishes by depriving others of their very lives."

So spoke Dr. Heather Morris, honored guest at the second annual Love of Life Ball February 28. About 230 pro-lifers attended the fund raiser at the Sheraton-Ritz in Minneapolis, sponsored by MCCL and American Citizens Concerned for Life.

Dr. Morris, a Canadian surgeon and pro-life leader, told her audience that as a Jew she can personally refute the charge that abortion is a Catholic issue. "But," she said, "if you

Catholics here stand accused by some of your fellow men and women on this earth, self-centered, near-sighted pragmatists that they be, then rejoice, as those Germans who stood out against Hitler should have rejoiced, that God alone is your judge."

"In fact," Dr. Morris said, "it is those campaigning for abortion to be a constitutional right who are bigoted - who seek to discredit our stand by invoking religious prejudice."

She said society must re-discover the art of caring for the dying in a loving, compassionate manner or "the proponents of active euthanasia will win the day."

"No cancer patient need be wracked with pain if doctors practice the art of Medicine, but no distressed patient need be killed to alleviate suffering," Dr. Morris said. "We must make sure that those whose cry 'every child a wanted child' enabled this country to be plunged into

(Continued on Page 7)

the abyss of abortion on demand for social convenience will not enable this country to be plunged into the abyss of mercy killing when their cry is 'every granny a wanted granny.'"

Dr. Morris quoted Maimonides, the Jewish physician-philosopher of the 12th century, who wrote, "Let no thirst for profit take away from my calling."

"Let there be no dollars for the physician performing the abortions or the mercy killing, no dollars for the anesthetists, for the doctors referring; no dollars for the nurses working in abortion clinics, the extermination wards or operating rooms of hospitals; no dollars for the para-medical staff," Dr. Morris said. "How many abortions then?"

She said citizens must be certain that their power is delegated to the right people in the upcoming elections. "I urge each of you, regardless of your previous political affiliation, to vote for the candidates who are pro-life, against legal abortion, against euthanasia," she said. "Remember, no matter what else a man may say about having the interests of the people at heart...if he excludes today from his concerns one group of members of our human family - the unborn - then tomorrow it may be another group - the senile, the defective. If he does not have reverence for each and every human being regardless of age, sex, size, color, deformity, then he really has reverence for no human being."

Dr. Morris cited many reasons why she is pro-life, among them that "as a Jew, I believe the faith of the people of Israel demands that I not abdicate belief in the right to life of all human beings, demands that I celebrate life."

"I am pro-life because I believe that in every place where suffering weeps, we pro-lifers, too, may weep - but we will move to help constructively, not destroy," she said. "I am pro-life because at any time when despair cries out, we pro-lifers actively proclaim that where there is life, there is hope - I believe that the promise of life is the universal promise."

The Minnesota State Council of the Knights of Columbus received honors at the ball for their outstanding work on behalf of human life. Also honored was Dr. John L. McKelvey, former chairman of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at the University of Minnesota Medical School, who has fostered the pro-life cause in many capacities.

Thanks and congratulations are due to members of the ball committee, who were responsible for putting together an enjoyable evening which also brought in much-needed funds for the pro-life cause. They are Betty Dunn and Regina Knowles, co-chairmen; Ann Luxem and Mary Lou Althoff, reservations; Joan Plaisance, invitations; Claire Ready, Carol Dunn and Char Scanlon, decorations, and Julie Kocourek, publicity.



Photo by Pat Perrier

Dr. Heather Morris, center, honored guest at the Love of Life Ball, was welcomed by Minnesota pro-life leaders. Pictured (from left) are Marjory Mecklenburg, president of American Citizens Concerned for Life; Regina Knowles, ball co-chairman; Dr. Morris; Betty Dunn, ball chairman; and Georgine Alt, MCCL president.

Rallies set around U.S.

NC NEWS SERVICE

Pro-life groups across the country have scheduled marches and rallies for Thursday to mark the third anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court abortion decision.

The third "March for Life" in Washington, D.C. will be a demonstration against the high court's ruling which struck down most state laws restricting abortion. Its sponsors estimate that thousands will converge on the Capitol to march and lobby for a constitutional amendment against abortion.

The founder of a nationwide clearinghouse for anti-abortion material will keynote a dinner in Philadelphia sponsored by the Pennsylvania for Human Life Committee and the American Citizens Concerned for Life.

The Rev. Robert Holbrook, founder of the Baptists for Life and vice president of the Texas Right to Life, is the featured speaker at the dinner to be held Jan. 22 at the Bellevue Stratford Hotel.



Prayer Breakfast for Life—Religious leaders sit on the dais during the National Prayer Breakfast for Life '76, held on the third anniversary of the Supreme Court's abortion decision. From left: Bishop James Rausch, gen-

eral secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops; Dr. David Allen, a Boston psychiatrist; Rep. James Oberstar (D-Minn.); and Marjorie Mecklenburg, president of American Citizens Concerned for Life.

'Think snail,' pro-lifer suggests

American Citizens Concerned for Life held a workshop seminar late last month in Washington, D.C., on the status of 77 bills on abortion and proposed human life amendments which were introduced in the first session of the 94th Congress. Meeting Jan. 21, the day before the third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision wiping out all state laws protecting the unborn, the seminar recognized that the raft of bills may actually be a ploy to keep members of Congress from having to support any given measure. Those who don't want to be advocates on the side of the right-to-life movement may still assure their constituents that they voted for a bill (which they can tell beforehand will not pass).

Seminar participants were told of the most recent public opinion poll, which indicates that 72% of the citizenry believes some human life amendment should be passed and yet lists the scandal of abortion as only 10th on a list of national priorities deserving attention. Findings such as these, Congressman John Breau of Louisiana said, as well as the Senate hearings on a similar set of more than 100 bills introduced into the 93rd Congress, have finally prompted a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee to schedule hearings on protecting the unborn.

Participants were brought up to date on the growing pro-life movement. Mrs. Jean Garton of the social concerns committee of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and Pastor Robert Holbrook, Southern Baptist pro-life leader from Texas, described ways in which church members can be rallied to support the worth and dignity of the unborn. Mrs. Garton suggested that loyal antiabortion advocates "think snail," particularly in legislative matters. "There are 435 Congressmen; that's 96,000 pounds; and you don't push around anything weighing 48 tons very fast," she said.

A hopeful note was introduced by Dr. Arthur Lesser, former deputy chief of the HEW Children's Bureau, who reported that 75 to 80% of the mothers of babies born out of wedlock reject the opportunity for abortion when it is offered with alternative counseling. The seminar was led by Mrs. Marjorie Mecklenburg, president of the American Citizens Concerned for Life.

In a parallel event on Jan. 22, nearly 100,000 pro-lifers marched in Washington, D.C., filling the space between the White House and the halls of Congress. They visited their congressional representatives to voice their desire for legislation to protect the unborn. GHM

EUTHANASIA & The "NEW ETHIC"

by John M. Hendrickson, M.D. and Thomas St. Martin



We have been propelled into the abortion era by a new ethic which places relative value on human life; the same ethic has now brought us to the threshold of the euthanasia era. The notion that each and every human life (regardless of condition or social "usefulness") is inviolable has been eroded. It is being rapidly replaced by a philosophy of overpractical realism -- by a philosophy which understands "rightness" and "goodness" in terms of "usefulness." Life is no longer an absolute "good" in and of itself; the taking of life is justified in the interests of ensuring the greatest good for the greatest number. Thus, the relatively "useless" lives of the pre-natal human being or the aged human being can be destroyed in the interests of some greater social "benefit." In effect, the new ethic tells us that certain kinds of people in certain circumstances, are worth more dead than alive.

The basic fallacy of the euthanasia argument is this belief that life is expendable (under certain conditions), and worse, that some men are able to discern when another man's life falls into that category. It is the result of a falsification of life that our Madison Avenue society has created; that unless we are youthful, beautiful, intelligent and physically whole our lives cannot be fully worthwhile or "useful." We must reject this vicious doctrine and realize that the gift of life itself is the basis for everything else.

But what is euthanasia? Strictly defined, it means "good death." According to the dictionary it means "...inducing the painless death

of a person for reasons assumed to be merciful." A common synonym is "mercy killing."

Anyone who has seen a close relative or friend dying from a hopelessly incurable and unbearably painful illness (such as terminal cancer) feels the weight of the argument that the "humane" thing to do is to painlessly help the suffering patient out of his misery. Herein lies the superficial appeal of the pro-euthanasia argument.

This does not mean that a hopelessly ill patient must be kept alive by any and every means available. Everyone accepts the principle that the use of extraordinary means is not required in every case.

Our real concern must be with what is often termed "positive" euthanasia (as distinct from "negative" euthanasia -- the withholding of life sustaining measures from a hopelessly ill or dying patient). The concept of positive euthanasia centers on the distinction between causing death to occur and permitting death to occur; a distinction between active and passive behavior.

To actively terminate a human life for whatever motives (whether "mercy" or social "benefit") is a philosophy that the medical profession, as preservers of life, must never embrace and which a democratic and humanitarian society must never accept. It would involve climbing onto a greased slide from which no one can escape. If we can end the life of a hopeless cancer patient, then what is to stop us from acting similarly with the patient with hopeless brain damage or the senility of old age? What is to stop us from including the hopelessly mentally ill or retarded, or the bedridden who have become a burden to themselves and others? What of the incompetent patient who cannot give permission to terminate his life; who can decide his life is not worth living?

These superficially appealing euthanasia arguments have frightening corollaries and if they are accepted all our lives are in danger.

Loving Death

OUR FAILING REVERENCE FOR LIFE



With natural resources shrinking and world population swelling, Americans are changing their attitudes toward death. We now view euthanasia, suicide, abortion and homosexuality in neutral or positive ways. Since all these changes of opinion encourage population cuts, the authors speculate, final solutions may one day become semiacceptable.

by Elizabeth Hall with Paul Cameron

ON MARCH 10, 1974, the *Washington Post* published interviews with a group of physicians at the Maryland Institute for Emergency Medicine who had participated in the killing of quadriplegics. These are patients who are paralyzed from the neck down. Often they can talk; certainly they can think, read, and watch television. The hospital gets about four of these cases each year; they are accident victims whose spinal cords have been severed just below the base of the skull.

When these patients arrive at the shock trauma unit, physicians insert breathing tubes and hook them up to respirators. After a few weeks of treatment and study, and after the doctors are sure there is no chance for improvement, the quadriplegics are killed. Without a patient's knowledge or consent, he is drugged so that he will not know what is happening and will not feel the terror of dying. Then he is unplugged. These doctors feel it would be "inhumane" to ask the patient if he wants to live or die since, as one doctor puts it, "everyone dearly loves life."

In a single generation, our society has undergone a profound change. Thirty years ago, newspapers and magazines often carried stories about Albert Schweitzer, the humanitarian who gave up successful European careers in music, medicine and theology to heal uneducated blacks at his small African hospital near Lambaréné, Gabon. Schweitzer's philosophy of reverence for life became the credo of the American liberal. In 1949, he was the subject

of a *Time* magazine cover essay, and he became virtually the patron saint of Norman Cousins' *Saturday Review*.

Since Schweitzer's death in 1965, one hears little about reverence for life. Instead, articles discuss the lifeboat ethic, in which those who have hang onto their resources and those who have not do without—even if it means starvation.

Faced with mounting populations and diminishing world resources, we have moved from talking about the value of life to talking about its worthlessness under certain conditions, from discussing the Green Revolution that would feed millions to championing the right to die. Evidence is mounting from all sectors of society that our culture no longer values human life as it once did.

From cradle to grave, decisions are going against life. By a seven-to-two majority, the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that states may not pass laws prohibiting abortion. The Court's ruling allows women to abort freely during the first 24 weeks of pregnancy, permitting destruction of the fetus at a time when it has developed internal organs, hair, and sweat glands. By this time the fetus sleeps, wakes, kicks, cries, and looks disturbingly human.

Unless such late abortion is permitted, the new tool of amniocentesis, in which the amniotic fluid drawn from the womb is examined for abnormalities, will be useless. The technique cannot be used before the 16th week of pregnancy, and most physicians prefer to wait until the fetus is 20 weeks old.

Amniocentesis and subsequent abortion have undoubtedly prevented the births of many deformed babies. But some physicians have announced that they will abort at this stage for so slight a reason as the parents' discontent with the sex of their unborn child. In condoning the destruction of an organism that is only six weeks away from humanhood (babies born at 26 weeks sometimes survive), we have moved a long way from the ethics of Schweitzer, who was troubled because the antibiotics he administered killed bacteria.

Letting Babies Die. Not all couples seek amniocentesis, and defective babies continue to be born. In many cases, they need medical treatment to survive. If the parents agree, doctors commonly withhold treatment. At Yale-New Haven hospital, for instance, 43 deformed babies were allowed to die during a period of 30 months. The doctors and parents who were involved in these terminations decided that the babies faced lives devoid of "meaningful humanhood."

Some doctors go beyond the mere withholding of treatment. In Louisville, Kentucky, a physician discovered that his black patient was about to give birth to a limbless child. Once his diagnosis was confirmed by radiologists, the physician gave the mother morphine. Morphine depresses the respiratory responses of the fetus; the baby was born dead.

Psychologist Paul Cameron, who studies American attitudes toward life, heard of the case from one of the

radiologists involved. He has told this story to over 30 groups of people, and the first reaction has never been one of outrage or sympathy for the mother. Instead, he is always asked, "Was the infant defective?"

Life is no longer good enough for us; it must be "meaningful." Neurosurgeon Milton D. Heifetz, who wrote *The Right to Die*, says, "I treasure life, but I do not believe life is warranted if it cannot be lived with some measure of grace and dignity. The man who cannot speak, who cannot think, who would live as a vegetating mass of protoplasm without any hope of recovery should not be forced to live."

Many of us now agree with Heifetz's criteria for a meaningful life, but it has not always been so. In 1947 and again in 1950, the Gallup Poll asked Americans if doctors should be allowed to practice euthanasia. The answers were consistent; both times a majority said no. Only 36 percent were willing to grant doctors the power to end the life of a patient suffering from an incurable disease, even if both the patient and his family requested it.

A Majority for Death. Asked the same question in 1973, 53 percent replied that the doctor should end the patient's life. The majority now favored death. When death comes as a result of withholding treatment rather than by actively ending life, 72 percent are in favor of it, according to NBC-TV's poll conducted last December.

Rumor says that many physicians are already carrying out the wishes of the majority. Scattered evidence indicates that the rumor is true. When members of the American Association of Professors of Medicine responded to a questionnaire, almost 80 percent said that they had withdrawn treatment in response to the wishes of their patients.

Paul Cameron studied hospitals in Louisville, Kentucky, where his students collected reports on 125 patients in the cardiac and intensive-care units of four hospitals in which they worked. Twenty of those patients were terminated. That is, their deaths were the result of a deliberate decision by physicians. More than half died because medical treatment was withheld; the plug was pulled on the rest, either because "they had no chance of recovery," because another patient needed the life-sustaining machine, or as "an act of mercy."

At least two of the Louisville terminations were ethically questionable. In one case, an older man who kept fondl-

ing the nurses suffered a heart arrest and was allowed to lie without treatment for three minutes while the medical staff stood by. When they tried to resuscitate him, it was too late. In another case, the deformed baby girl of a 16-year-old black welfare recipient was denied proper care by the attending physician, who believed that the child would grow up only to produce more welfare recipients.

If the Louisville situation is typical, approximately 100,000 Americans die each year because someone decides not to give them medical care. The decision is usually made on humanitarian grounds, when unconscious patients with no hope for recovery have their fates decided by families or physicians. The Karen Ann Quinlan case, in which a 21-year-old woman with brain damage had been in a coma for five months, differed from these patients in that her case did not end in a quiet hospital death. When doctors refused to terminate Karen, her parents took the matter to court. Although the Quinlans, both Roman Catholic, had the support of their priest, the Court refused to allow the plug of her respirator to be pulled.

No one knows for sure what Karen would want, even though she once told her mother that she would rather die than become a machine-supported vegetable. Most people in good health would probably give similar answers, but there is no way for anyone to be sure what decision he would make when forced to choose between life and death. A Hawaiian medical technician who had hooked up more than 600 patients to life-sustaining machines told Cameron that 400 of them had been able to communicate their wishes. Not one of them asked to be allowed to die; instead, they usually asked to be attached to the machines as quickly as possible.

The Happy Handicapped. In eliminating deformed children and pulling plugs on paraplegics, we believe that we are sparing them lives of misery. But the trouble is, physical or mental defects do not necessarily mean that people are miserable. When Cameron surveyed people suffering from paralysis, muscular diseases, missing limbs, blindness and deafness, he found that they were as satisfied and optimistic as a comparable group of normal people. The handicapped were also less likely than the normal group to have contemplated suicide. In another of Cameron's surveys, mentally retarded children turned out to be happier than normal children,

according to ratings by their parents and teachers. [see *Social Stereotypes: Three Faces of Happiness*, pt, August 1974].

The happiness of the patient is not always the deciding factor when physicians decide to let death come quickly. At a meeting of the Tri-State Activity Directors Association in Evansville, Indiana, on March 21, 1970, a doctor discussed death-with-dignity. According to Cameron, he explained a difficult decision he had made regarding a woman on whom he had planned to operate for cancer. The night before the surgery, the woman's son-in-law called, reminded the doctor that he had performed approximately the same operation on the woman several years earlier, and asked him to cancel the surgery. If the physician operated the next day, the family's savings would be wiped out and they would have to go without a color TV, a second car, and a larger home. The physician cancelled the woman's operation. He explained that "the few extra years she would gain from the operation would hardly justify the privation to which this young family would be subjected."

The son-in-law's request may seem heartless, but it points to a problem that Albert Schweitzer never had to deal with. Advances in medical technology have brought us to a place where, had we machines enough, we could keep thousands of bodies functioning that otherwise would die. The prospect of special hospitals made up of bed after bed filled with terminal patients is chilling but possible. But respirators are expensive, and so are other medical and surgical advances.

The Cost of Care. Karen Ann Quinlan's medical costs had topped \$100,000 at the time her case was first heard. A Long Island hospital recently insisted that Thomas Cullington, an 18-year-old youth who had been in a coma for more than a year, be removed to a nursing home. His bills had passed \$75,000. The Quinlan and Cullington cases are not rare. Asked how many terminal patients are kept alive by mechanical means, Robert Veatch of the Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences replied, "lots and lots."

Our power to prolong life has forced us to decide when we will refuse to prolong it. A few years ago, when dialysis machines were scarce, the Seattle Artificial Kidney Center established a committee to screen applicants. The committee, made up of two physicians, an attorney, a banker, a labor leader, a

Loving Death (Continued from page 108.)

respirators from a \$299 manifold to a disposable manifold that cost less than \$5. The change saved the hospital a great deal of money each year, not only in initial expense but in sterilization costs for the expensive manifold.

There was, however, one disadvantage. With the disposable manifold, the temperature of the air that flows into the patient's lungs cannot be monitored. This means that there is no way for medical personnel to know whether the air is so dry that secretions are collecting in the patient's lungs, inducing pneumonia.

When a physician pointed out this danger to the hospital purchasing agent, the agent pulled out his calculator and quickly figured the extra cost of the reusable manifold.

"You can't possibly tell me," he said, "that one small hole is worth the thousands and thousands of dollars we will save on these things every year."

The purchasing agent saw the problem clearly. It was all a matter of simple cost accounting. □

Elizabeth Hall is Managing Editor of *psychology today* and has been on the staff for eight years. She has written a number of books for children, including *Why We Do What We Do*, which in 1974 won honorable mention for the American Psychological Foundation's National Media Award. Her latest book is *From Pigeons to People: A Look at Behavior Modification* (Houghton Mifflin).



Paul Cameron is associate professor of human development at St. Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City. His major research interest is the influence of the free-enterprise system upon a culture's regard for human life. Cameron received his doctorate in psychology from the University of Colorado. For more information read:

Cameron, Paul. *Marxian Theory vis-a-vis Suicide and Convenience Killing*, paper, Midwestern Psychological Association, Chicago, May 1973.

Etzioni, Amitai. "Doctors Know More Than They're Telling You About Genetic Defects," in *psychology today*, Vol. VII, No. 6, pp. 26 to 36, 137, November 1973.

Heifetz, Milton D. and Charles Mangel. *The Right to Die*. G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1975. \$8.95.

Rubenstein, Richard L. *The Cunning of History*. Harper and Row, 1975. \$6.95.



housewife and a minister, knew that the patients they rejected were literally condemned to death.

Now that dialysis machines are widely available, the committee has been disbanded. But the problem faced by the seven citizens of Seattle will one day be upon all of us.

In 1974, according to HEW estimates, kidney dialysis cost \$240 million; by 1982, the annual cost is expected to reach one billion. Coronary-bypass surgery, an operation that is chosen by approximately 35,000 patients each year, carries an annual price tag of \$200 million. As new technologies develop, the cost will skyrocket. Stripped of sentiment, the problem becomes how much of our gross national product we are willing to devote to medical care.

As the financial burden gets heavier, our eroded reverence for life may wear away entirely. Its erosion already shows clearly in other areas. When the U.S. Supreme Court declared most state laws on capital punishment unconstitutional, it appeared that the fight to abolish the death penalty had been won. Today, support for capital punishment is growing, and voices that once spoke passionately against this final solution to crime remain silent. The Gallup Poll found that in 1974, 64 percent of the American people support the death penalty, up from 47 percent in 1957.

The Case for Suicide. It also appears that suicide no longer repels us. The suicide rate is climbing, especially among blacks and young people. What's more, suicide has been appearing in an increasingly favorable light in the nation's press. When Paul Cameron surveyed all articles on suicide indexed over the past 50 years in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, he found that voluntary death, once portrayed as a brutal waste, now generally appears in a neutral light. Some recent articles even present suicide as a good thing to do and are written in a manner that might encourage the reader to take his own life under certain circumstances. Last year, a majority of Americans under 30 told Gallup pollsters that incurable disease or continual pain confer on a person the moral right to end his life.

If this trend continues, we may one day institute the euthanasia parlors portrayed in the movie *Soylent Green*. In this picture of the future, people who wish to end their lives report to a government building, where beautiful girls welcome them and administer a lethal drug. As they lie dying, the volunteers

watch movies of idyllic pastoral settings and listen to Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*.

While *Soylent Green* is only fiction, one must not forget that science-fiction writers have been on target with their forecasts of other developments in our society, from atom bombs and laser beams to communications satellites, birth-control pills, and moving sidewalks. Psychologist Robert Kastenbaum, of the University of Massachusetts, agrees that suicide may win society's approval. He contends that once we recognize the right to a dignified death, suicide will become a valid ethical choice, a choice that Kastenbaum says will strengthen the social fabric.

If the theologian Richard L. Rubenstein is right, no one should be surprised by these developments. Each one is an example of our application of reason to human problems. It is irrational to prolong suffering, to keep alive the malformed or the unconscious, to support murderers at public expense, or to allow unwanted babies to be born.

The Nazi Example. Rubenstein, who spent years studying the Nazi massacre of six million Jews, believes that the Nazis solved their problem of a surplus population by using similar rational means. Faced with more people than their economy could support, the Nazis first instituted euthanasia for the mentally incompetent and the "incurably sick," then stripped Jews of their citizenship and applied the same solution to them.

These conclusions, presented in Rubenstein's new book, *The Cunning of History*, are in accord with Hannah Arendt's observations. But Rubenstein pushes his analysis further.

The Nazi solution, he says, was an inevitable outcome of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. From the first chapter of Genesis, the Israelites set out to show that there are no magical or mysterious forces in nature that man must appease. Although God judges humanity's actions, He does not interfere capriciously in the universe.

No earlier culture had so disenchanting the world, and, Rubenstein believes, the consequences were profound. Succeeding generations systematically secularized the world, removing ever greater areas of human life from religious domination. At the same time, reason gradually spread into every act, as humanity learned to calculate with precision just what means

were required to reach a desired goal.

Only after such a development, says Rubenstein, could a system develop that would overcome the moral barrier that had always prevented the systematic elimination of surplus population. That system was not Nazism, but bureaucracy, which effectively erases love, hatred, and all emotional elements from man's dealings with his fellow man.

According to Rubenstein, the Nazis were only the first to push the Judaeo-Christian tradition to its logical conclusion. Civilization, which brings us art, literature, music, and new medical technologies, also brings us slavery, wars, exploitation, and death camps. It will, he says, bring us death camps again.

Gays Don't Reproduce. Our society has acknowledged the dangers of overpopulation, and Government agencies dispense pills and birth-control devices. As Cameron has pointed out, the recent professional and public acceptance of nonreproductive sex may be influenced by our need to control population growth. When Cameron and David Oeschger surveyed articles on homosexuality in the public press, they found that the number of articles had increased sharply since the 1930s and '40s and that the tone of the articles had changed from disapproval to neutrality or even encouragement. A growing number of homosexual activists have mentioned the link between nonreproductive sex and population control [see "Homosexuals May Be Healthier Than Straights," by Mark Freedman, *pt*, March 1975].

Should our efforts toward zero-population growth fail, the group that is rendered surplus next time will not necessarily be the Jews. Bureaucrats might someday decide that only members of the ruling political party would have access to advanced medical technology. Or the rational decision might be reached to withhold medical care from people who are retired. The next step might be the reward of a "mercy death" upon retirement, and retirement could be fixed at any age that seemed logical. Or guardians of the public coffers might decide to trim welfare rolls in a permanent fashion.

Bureaucrats may already be making death-dealing decisions. One of the first cases turned up in *Prism*, a journal published by the American Medical Association. A large city hospital switched its

(Continued on page 113.)

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18-Ounce 'Weakling' Beats Odds

Stout Heart In Her 11-Inch Body Kept Beating By Doctors, Prayers

By DOLORES FREDERICK
Press Science Writer

Her physicians prayed when Melkeya Keys caught the virus and her heart almost stopped shortly after she was born Feb. 16 at West Penn Hospital.

But the tiny girl, among the smallest babies in the world to survive premature birth, is home now—a healthy infant, gurgling, kicking, and snuggling up warmly to her mother's shoulder with contented sighs.

Weight 18 ounces

Melkeya, who weighed 18 ounces at birth, is the bright-eyed daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Keys of the Hill District. She was just 11 inches long.

She was 1½ ounces lighter than a baby girl reported by the Yugoslav national news agency last month, as "the world's smallest known baby" to survive her first five months.

That baby was born to a 19-year-old woman from central Serbia.

Records Questioned

There are two other, smaller births in medical records. But



PENCIL shows size of Melkeya Keys' tiny foot-print when she was born seven months ago.

physicians have questioned the documentation of the untended birth of a 10-ounce baby in South Shields, County Durham, England, June 5, 1938.

Records show the child, Marion Chapman, who was 12¼ inches long, grew up to weigh 106 pounds on her 21st birthday.

Further documentation is lacking on another baby, weighing 8 ounces, reportedly born March 20, 1938, to Mrs.

John Womack after a truck accident in East St. Louis, Ill.

Melkeya, whose doctors say she's doing "just fine," also is believed among the smallest babies to have a total blood transfusion because of the immaturity of her liver at birth.

Although her weight dropped at one time to 15 ounces, she now weighs 7 pounds, 8 ounces. She has



The Pittsburgh Press, Sunday, Sept. 16, 1973

18-Ounce Weakling Beats Odds

(Continued from Page 1)

grown to 21 inches—about the normal length of average newborns.

Premature 3 Months

Melkeya, whose organs were underdeveloped when she was born, was discharged from West Penn Hospital May 7. She was born three months prematurely.

Her pediatricians, Dr. John Siar and Dr. Harold Glick, said she gave them medical scares many times. "We prayed," Siar said, adding that her medical chart is three times her birth weight.

"She wasn't the easiest baby to handle," he said, pointing out she had 17 major problems.

He said there was no known reason for her premature birth. Her mother's pregnancy was uneventful and without complications.

Special Feeding Needed

All her organs were immature. Her digestive system couldn't take oral feedings. She had to be fed through a technique called, "parenteral hyperalimentation."

This means she was given total calories and nutrients for maintenance and growth

through her veins in her scalp, hands and feet, using tiny needles.

She stayed in the premature intensive care unit at West Penn 80 days. One month went by before she orally took food.

It had to be a specially prepared formula, which a pharmaceutical firm supplied after she went home to her family.

Her liver couldn't handle her body's loads of normal waste products of metabolism. She became jaundiced, because waste products spilled into her blood.

Transfusion Total

She required a total transfusion to clean out her blood. Her blood volume was less than two ounces—compared to five quarts for adults.

A special intense light, called a bilirubin light, was needed to break down the bilirubin pigment in her skin, because of jaundice.

When she was only 6 weeks old, Melkeya caught a virus. It affected her lungs and intestinal tract. She went into shock. She stopped breathing. Her heart almost stopped.

Special resuscitation bags were used to restore her breathing. A tube also was

placed in her trachea to get oxygen into her lungs. During that bout, she had to be in a ventilator for two days before she could breathe on her own.

She weighed two pounds, 15 ounces.

Dr. Glick said she will probably catch up to other children in growth by the time she is 2—as other premature babies usually do.

But he said she will probably be petite. Her mother, Jacquelyn, is tiny. She has an older sister, Tanis, 8½.

Her father is a roofer. Mrs. Keys said small babies, however, are hereditary (around 5 to 6 pounds) in her family—although not as tiny as Melkeya.

When Melkeya was ready to go home, she weighed 4 pounds, 3 ounces. Usually, premature babies aren't sent home until they are over 5 pounds.

Although she had to be clothed in very tiny outfits and booties, her mother said:

"She's growing into regular sizes now."

With her big grin and alertness with which she views the world in typical infant curiosity, it's little wonder that her mother named her Melkeya, which in Swahili, means "princess."

WOULD LITTLE MELKEYA HAVE MET THE DEFINITION OF "MEANINGFUL LIFE" PUT FORTH BY THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES AS A PRIME ARGUMENT FOR LEGALIZING ABORTION UNTIL BIRTH?

WAS SHE "VIABLE"? WHAT MADE THE DOCTORS AT WEST PENN HOSPITAL WORK SO HARD TO SAVE HER, WHILE IN THE SAME HOSPITAL HUNDREDS OF BABIES LIKE MELKEYA, (AND EVEN BIGGER) HAVE BEEN KILLED?



HIS WIFE WANTED AN ABORTION AND THAT WAS THAT

He (or She) Would Be 23, Going on 24 ...

BY BILL STOUT

Until recently, the abortion debate has been conducted mostly by women. One side said, "We have the right to control our bodies"; the other side said, "It is a human life and taking it is wrong."

Today, for better or worse, the debate has spilled over into politics, which means men have gotten into the act. Now I, too, simply by writing this, am entering the fray.

The reason for my entrance is that I had a jolt not long ago that set me thinking seriously—and personally—about abortion for the first time in more than 20 years. It is the kind of jolt that, at one time or another, many men have probably felt but few have wanted to talk about.

It happened late on a Friday afternoon, at the start of a long holiday weekend. The freeways were, of course, jammed, and the radio was full of sigalerts as I started out for a business meeting on the far side of Los Angeles. Since there was plenty of time, I decided to skip the freeway mess and loaf across the city on surface streets. Finally, the oozing cross-town traffic squeezed to a dead stop because of an accident at Beverly Blvd. and Vermont Ave. During the wait, my eyes wandered and caught the window of a second-floor office—and the jolt hit me like a knee in the groin.

It was here, in a building I had not noticed in many years, that I had taken my wife for an abortion one blistering summer day in 1952. Suddenly, the details sprang back to life in all their anguish.

We had been married two years, and did not consider ourselves poor, though we were close to it. We had an old car, a few dollars in the bank, and I had a temporary job writing news stories for announcers to read on the radio. It was then my wife became pregnant.

I remembered her first cautious announcement. I had adopted her young son by a previous marriage, but this would be our first child together. I was delighted, but briefly. Minutes later I was appalled, then infuriated,

by her insistence she would not go through with it. I was particularly hurt when she revealed she had talked with several women friends before telling me anything. She already had the doctor's name, and was ready to make an appointment as soon as I had a day off and could drive her there and back.

There was a lot of shouting and pleading in the week that followed, during which I pumped up my prospects at the radio station. She pointed out, however, that all I had were prospects. She noted the sickly condition of our bank account, plus the 12 payments to go on our first television set. She also made the point so often used today by pro-abortion women's groups: It was, after all, her body, and the decision should be hers and hers alone.

With the exception of the pain of our divorce years later, I remember that as the most dismal week of our marriage. Of course, she got her way. I dropped her at the curb

A former CBS network correspondent, Bill Stout now does TV commentary for KNXT.

outside the doctor's office, and pulled around the corner to park and wait. It would take 45 minutes, she said, certainly no more than an hour. In her bag she had \$200 in cash—no checks were accepted.

I passed the time multiplying and dividing. How much did the doctor make per hour? Per minute? How many of these jobs could he do in a day? Or in a year? Did he limit himself to a short two-week vacation so that he could hurry back to the women with so many different reasons for ending their pregnancies?

I still remember his name. I can see the sign in his office window as clearly as if it were still just a few feet away. There were seven letters in his name, and below them, centered on a separate line, was "M.D." I never saw the man, but I hated him and do to this moment, although I know he died long ago.

It was not long before my wife stepped out

on the sidewalk, pale and wincing with each step. I jumped from the car and ran to her side. But a couple of days later she was moving around with her usual energy and made it clear the whole episode was over. There was nothing to talk about.

A year and a half later, when everything was going nicely for me in my work, she gave birth to a normal, healthy boy, and not long after that a daughter.

Yet, over and over again, I have found myself wondering what that first one would have been like. A boy or a girl? If a girl, blonde or brunette? A problem or a delight? Whatever sort of person the lost one might have been, I feel even now that we had no right to take (his) (her) life.

Religion has nothing to do with my feelings. It is a gut response—still so strong that it overwhelmed me while idling in traffic at Beverly and Vermont that afternoon so many years later.

Slowly, the jam loosened and I was moving again. A few minutes later I was at my meeting in the Civic Center, luckily in the office of an old friend, because by then I was in tears that would not stop. Fumbling my words, I told him how that glance at an office window had simply swept away a dam that had held so much in check for more than 20 years. It was one of those times when friends are best, when all the usual defenses have been stripped away.

Even now I find myself wondering about my first child that never was, and I wonder, too, about others in my shoes. How many men share my haunting feelings about children who might have been, but were denied? Why are we, the fathers who never were, so reluctant to talk about such feelings? If it is all so painful for us, how much worse must it be for the women who nurture and then give up the very fact of life itself?

So you can see why, when I drive around town these days, I try to avoid Beverly and Vermont.

THE UNBORN



A SUMMARY OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISION, IT'S EFFECTS, RAMIFICATIONS & A CHALLENGE TO ACTION

Millions of Americans felt shock and disbelief when the United States Supreme Court handed down its 7 to 2 abortion decision last January 22. The ruling affected nearly every restrictive abortion law in every state, and ended this nation's long tradition of legally protecting unborn human life. Specifically, the court declared that:

1. The unborn child is not considered a person as the Fourteenth Amendment understands the term and is therefore not entitled to constitutional protection for his/her right to life.
2. The woman's so-called "right to privacy" takes precedence over the child's right to life and safety. According to the majority, the abortion decision is primarily a medical decision, but one in which the woman's personal interests are extensive and determining. The doctor's decision to perform an abortion should be "exercised in the light of all factors—physical, emotional, psychological, familial, and the woman's age—relevant to the well-being of the patient."
3. The state may not establish any regulations that restrict the practice of abortion during the first three months of pregnancy. A woman, who in consultation with her physician decides that abortion is advisable, may obtain the abortion free of any interference by the State.
4. The state may establish some guidelines to protect the health of the woman who decides on an abortion during the second three months of pregnancy.
5. After the point of viability, which the court designates as between the 24th and 28th weeks of pregnancy, the state may manifest a concern in "the potential human life of the fetus." The state may then establish laws to protect fetal life, unless the abortion is necessary for the life or health of the mother. Presumably, this covers anything from a serious threat to the mother's life to a late-term abortion for mild depression or simple anxiety.

Perhaps even more important was the manner in which the court evaluated unborn human life. The unborn child is viable when it is "capable of meaningful life" outside its mother's womb. Further, even the viable child prior to birth is not a person "in the whole sense." Thus the court has set a precedent whereby the right to life is no longer inalienable but is subject to governmental and societal judgments regarding its meaningfulness and quality.

The ruling has been severely criticized by many people, including the two justices who dissented. In his dissenting opinion, Justice Byron White stated:

I find nothing in the language or history of the Constitution to support the Court's judgment. The Court simply fashions and announces a new constitutional right for pregnant mothers and, with scarcely any reason or authority for its action, invests that right with sufficient substance to override most existing state abortion statutes. The upshot is that the people and the legislatures of the fifty states are constitutionally disintituled to weigh the relative importance of the continued existence and development of the fetus on the one hand against a spectrum of possible impacts on the mother on the other hand.

The legal and medical professions, as well as those deeply involved in the pro-life movement, could not easily have predicted the court's sweeping decision. There are several reasons for this:

1. As suggested by Justice White, the law's traditional stance had been protective, permitting abortion only when the woman's life was endangered. Increasingly in recent years, courts had recognized and granted rights to the developing fetus, including child support, property and inheritance rights, claims for damages suffered *in utero*, and the legal right to medical treatment before birth. The high court went contrary to this trend in denying the fetus its most basic right, life itself.
2. The decision ignored a growing anti-abortion climate in state legislatures and in the public arena generally. A 10-year drive by pro-abortionists had resulted in liberalized laws in some 16 states.

Yet in the two and a half years prior to the decision, not one state legislature had eased its law. In New York, the legislature voted to repeal an abortion-on-demand law it had approved earlier, only to have this decision vetoed by the governor. In November, 1972 referenda, easy abortion laws were rejected by voters in two states, Michigan (61% opposed) and North Dakota (77%). All over the country, pro-life organizations had grown in strength and numbers. The court decision, then, came in the midst of what seemed to be a turning away from permissive abortion.

3. At a time when women are demanding equal rights and mutually-shared home and family responsibilities, the court declared that women alone can make a decision whether to abort a child. The ruling does not acknowledge nor safeguard the father's right to progeny, nor grant him a voice in the decision, even when he is the legal husband and father.
4. The court refused to deal with the most significant and basic questions in abortion: When does human life begin? Does abortion destroy life? It bypassed overwhelming medical evidence which today—unlike even 20 years ago—is able to document the beginning of individual life at conception. Instead, the court said there was controversy over this question: therefore it would not try to decide whether life exists in the womb, and instead would deal only with the woman's rights.

Available to the court, but overlooked by it, were the following scientific facts:

- At fertilization, when sperm and egg unite, all of the unique genetic characteristics of an individual are determined: eye, skin and hair coloring, height and bone structure, intellectual potential, emotional makeup, pre-disposition to diseases, etc.
- From conception on, 46 chromosomes—23 from each parent—are present. This is the chromosomal content biologists define as that of a human being.
- The fertilized egg has the prime characteristic of all living organisms—the ability to grow and to reproduce its own cells.
- The embryo is made up of unique cell tissue, unlike its mother's or that of any other human in the world. Its blood type may differ from its mother's.
- Before the woman ordinarily knows that she is pregnant, the new individual has developed:
 - ▲ thousands of cells
 - ▲ a heart which was beating within 25 days from conception
 - ▲ veins and circulating blood
 - ▲ a backbone and skeletal system
 - ▲ the brain, with traceable brain waves
 - ▲ rudimentary organs
 - ▲ arms and legs, fingers and toes
 - ▲ eyes and ears
 - ▲ a mouth
- During the middle three months, the fetus has about a 10% chance of surviving if delivered prematurely. Some infants have been born at this age; some aborted babies have survived before the so-called "viability" point.

What Next After Abortion?

The implications of the Supreme Court ruling are wide-reaching and profound. Existing state laws have been made virtually unenforceable and state legislatures have been thrown into turmoil in their efforts to enact new abortion legislation. In 1972, an estimated 600,000 legal abortions were done in the United States; the coming year surely will see this number mount into the millions.

If the fetus is not valued and protected by the law, many Americans will conclude that abortion is not evil, and that indeed it may even be good if it seems to solve a problem. Law educates, and in this case it may be expected to teach that unborn life has little value.

A second immediate effect will be pressure for fetal experimentation, both within and outside the womb. There already have been reports documenting that live, aborted fetuses are being used for scientific research; government agencies are apparently considering drafting ethical guidelines on the matter.

The abortion decision also opens the door to stepped-up reproductive and bio-medical experimentation, including test-tube fertilization, genetic manipulation and cloning. The serious moral questions raised by such experiments may well be swept aside, given a prevailing attitude that embryonic life has no value and can be dealt with on the basis of pragmatic considerations alone.

At the other end of the spectrum, legalized euthanasia now becomes a genuine possibility. Bills permitting "death with dignity" have already been introduced in several states; some provide for "positive" euthanasia when the patient desires it. After all, if life can be violated at its beginning, why not at its end—or at any point between, once life becomes burdensome or unwanted?

In short, erosion of respect for all human life seems a likely consequence of the Supreme Court's decision. This is not inevitable, however. If enough strong-minded and dedicated Americans address themselves to the challenge, a rebirth of belief in human life could result. Immediate and long-range goals include these:

1. To foster a climate of respect for all life and to prevent the acceptance of abortion, by the public, lawmakers and the medical profession, as a humane and reasonable solution.
2. To describe clearly, graphically and with the best scientific evidence the process of human development from conception to birth. This would include the time schedule for development of basic organs; i.e., heart, brain, skeleton, blood. It would also include the unique capabilities of the unborn child; i.e., to smile, to feel, to move or swim, to suck its thumb.
3. To educate in depth and on a broad scale about the true nature of abortion, its personal and social repercussions, in order to enable individuals to make decisions based on accurate information and understanding.
4. To promote and cooperate in implementing positive and constructive alternatives to abortion. This includes searching out and eliminating the root problems which cause women to seek abortion.
5. To work toward a constitutional amendment which would restore our nation's traditional legal protection of unborn life.

THE NEW PREJUDICE

Some people would say that slavery never came to an end. It merely went underground for a generation. Slavery is not just the legal situation which obtained a century ago. Slavery is the denial of basic human rights.

The Negro is not as human as I am.

The Jew is not as human as I am.

The unborn is not as human as I am.

1. Prejudice requires that there be a distinguishing feature between the subject and object of the prejudice. This must be some fairly obvious characteristic. The subject never wants to run the risk of getting himself mixed up with the objects of prejudice and so be abused himself. Therefore, the white man can be prejudiced against the black, knowing that he will never be black himself. The Aryan can be prejudiced against the Jew with the same safety. And the already born human being never need fear his vulnerability, because he can never be returned to the womb.
2. There must be a "net gain" from maintaining the prejudice. Examples are cheap labor in the plantation economy, racial purity, or in the case of abortion, hoped for solutions to multitudes of personal and social problems. A side benefit of prejudice is the subtle satisfaction of feeling superior to someone else.
3. Attitudes of prejudice are not conscious. If they were conscious, they could be disproved. However people who are prejudiced are not susceptible to logical thinking. "I can see that he (Negro or Jew or Fetus) is human in some ways, but he's not a person and so should not have the same protections or rights that I have." No matter how many of these "reasons" you disprove, the opposition still comes back with . . . "yes, . . . but . . ."
4. Prejudiced argumentation is not clear and congruent. This is remarkable in otherwise perceptive and logical people. For example, a medical doctor maintaining that there is no difference between "life" in the sperm or ovum and in the fetus. Or an otherwise reasonable person maintaining that the fetus is a part of the woman's body.
 - a. More than half of the embryos conceived are male, and all mothers are female. Can the same body be both male and female at the same time?
 - b. Two different blood types are incompatible in the same body. How is it that the mother's blood can differ from the child's in type and factor, if they are both the same body?
 - c. The child's body may be dead and the mother's body alive. How is it that the same body can be both dead and alive at the same time? Obviously they are two separate bodies at vastly different stages of development.
5. Prejudice is full of arbitrary distinctions and boundaries. A good Fundamentalist Southerner would have felt that interracial marriage and fornication are both evil. It would seem logical that interracial fornication would have been even worse. But no, sexual relations with a slave were perfectly all right. The abortion phenomenon is likewise full of arbitrary boundaries.
 - a. A fetus can be aborted legally before (that is, he becomes human at) 12 weeks, 18 weeks, 20 weeks, 24 weeks, or 28 weeks, depending upon where you live or who you listen to.
 - b. The fetus may be aborted (that is, he does not have a right to life) if he is the product of a rape, but not if a product of normal intercourse, in some areas.
 - c. The fetus has guaranteed rights to inheritance, (to sue for damages,) etc., but not to life, in some jurisdictions.
6. Lacking good reasons for his prejudice, the prejudiced person often claims that his opponents lack "compassion," "experience," are merely of a single religious background (Roman Catholic), are "old fashioned," etc. This is an attempt to bypass the logic or lack of logic of the situation by creating a "red herring" dodge.



THE NEW PREJUDICE

Don't be guilty of the . . . **"I WOULD NEVER BUY A NEGRO"** fallacy.

Maybe you've heard someone say something like this: "I'd never buy a Negro myself. I don't believe in slavery. But I wouldn't want to force my moral position on someone else. After all, the law isn't designed to enforce ethical values. The law should be neutral. If a person doesn't want to own a Negro, he doesn't have to buy one. But if a person wants to own a Negro, we think the law should make it possible for him to obtain one in good condition. The Federal Trade Commission and other governmental agencies should exercise control over this commerce. Illegal purchase of slaves involves too many problems — Negroes are too expensive, they're not well cared for and so on.

What's wrong with this argument? This argument is often used in the abortion controversy. The argument goes something like this: "I'd never have an abortion myself. I don't believe in it. But, I don't think I should impose my morality on someone else. After all, if you don't believe in abortion, you don't have to have one. But if a woman wants to have an abortion, she should be able to get one under safe medical conditions."

1. Both arguments assume the right to alienate what our Declaration of Independence called "unalienable rights." In the case of the Negro, it is the unalienable right of liberty. In the case of abortion it is the unalienable right to life.

The Declaration of Independence says we have three "unalienable" rights: life
liberty
pursuit of happiness.

What happens in a conflict of those rights? Supposing a young man mistakenly feels that he would fulfill his happiness by having sexual relations with a young woman — even against her will (rape). The law says the girl's freedom of choice takes precedence over his pursuit of happiness. Suppose the young woman is pregnant and wants an abortion. Even though it conflicts with her "liberty," the law prefers to protect the right to life of the unborn.

2. Both arguments assume that the law can be "neutral" on the matter of a basic right. What would happen to the Negro if the law withdrew all protection from then and became "neutral"? You wouldn't have to hire a Negro, if you didn't want to . . . or sell him a home . . . or provide him with equal education. If the law became "neutral" it in effect would withdraw protection from an individual or a segment of society.
3. Both arguments assume that the law cannot "legislate morality." However, religion also says, "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." If these principles were dropped from the law just because they have a religious or moral base, our society would be an anarchy.

These arguments would hold for Buchenwald, if they hold anywhere. "I'm not executing hundreds of thousands of Jews in that camp. I think it's wrong, but I don't have the right to keep them from doing it."

(Cicero, De Off. I, vii)

"There are two kinds of injustice: The first is found in those who do an injury, the second in those who fail to protect another from injury when they can."

Figures Tell Another Story

It's Time to Defuse Population 'Explosionists'

By Thomas C. Jermann

Americans have been overwhelmed by an avalanche of scare rhetoric about the "population explosion." We have been assured that it is not only the greatest problem facing the world, but also our greatest problem.

The rhetoric goes something like this: If growth rates continue unchecked, in 600 years there will be one person for every square yard of the earth's surface. In 900 years a building 2,000 stories high covering the whole world will be needed to house the immense throng. The exploding U.S. population will keep pace: 375,000,000 Americans by A.D. 2000, 939,000,000 by 2050, and 2,300,000,000 by 2100.

Birth Rate Declines

Explosionists advocate unprecedented measures to stem the force of this impending tidal wave of humanity. Suggested solutions for the United States range from tax disincentives to nearly unlimited abortion and eventual government control.

All of this is in the face of a steadily declining birth rate in the United States. The birth rate and the number of babies born each year from 1957 to the present are:

Year	Births	Rate
1957	4,308,000	25.3
1958	4,255,000	24.5
1959	4,295,000	24.3
1960	4,257,850	23.7
1961	4,268,326	23.3
1962	4,167,362	22.4
1963	4,098,020	21.7
1964	4,027,490	21.0
1965	3,760,358	19.4
1966	3,606,274	18.4
1967	3,520,999	17.8
1968	3,470,000	17.4

The birth rate has declined every year from a high of 25.3 per 1,000 in 1957 to a low of 17.4 in 1968. The latter figure is the lowest in U.S. history.

The death rate, at 9.6, has remained almost unchanged in the last 20 years. As our population grows older (which is beginning to occur in consequence of the smaller number of babies born each year) the death rate must eventually rise to 15 in accordance with our life expectancy of 70 years.

(If, in the face of the declining birth rate, the death rate remained at 9.6 permanently, everyone could expect to live to be 104 years old.)

An Overcapacity

A total of 800,000 fewer babies were born in 1968 than in 1961. The consequences of this have not yet been fully appreciated, but these figures mean that in 1976 there will be 800,000 fewer third-graders in the nation's classrooms than there are today. This is not a hazy prognostication, because these children have already been born. There will be an overcapacity in teachers, schools, and educational facilities.

In view of these declining numbers and the recent record-low birth rates, it is probable that the U.S. population is already moving toward stabilization. It has become apparent that the Census Bureau's 1967 population estimates for the year 2000 are already outdated and must be revised sharply downward.

These estimates varied from a high of 998,000,000, to an intermediate range between 336,000,000 and 308,000,000, to a low of 283,000,000. The high and the intermediate estimates now seem to be completely

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out of the question; even the low estimate may be too high. Some demographers now think that the U.S. population will stabilize around the year 2000 at 245,000,000 to 265,000,000.

Extending Too Far

The impact made by the explosionists results partly from their extending trends far into the future. Such lengthy extensions are invalid, for they assume that all population factors will remain constant. Since population factors have a way of not remaining constant, the longer a "trend" is extended, the greater is the likelihood of error.

It is possible, moreover, even with the use of reasonably short extensions, to achieve forecasts that contradict those of the explosionists. One can note, for example, the "trend" in the U.S. birth rate from 25.3 in 1957 to 17.4 in 1968. If this "trend" is extended only 22 years into the future, the birth rate will be down to zero.

Similarly, the birth rate declined steadily from 30.1 in 1910 to 18.4 in 1936. If in 1936 this "trend" had been extended only 39 years into the future, births in the United States would have ceased altogether by 1975. This is not only invalid, but ridiculous. Such procedure is, however, not nearly as ridiculous as extrapolations that are mechanically extended for 600 or 900 years.

The chief danger, however, in the scare rhetoric of alarmists is that they tend to reduce many of our major problems to numbers of people. They thus divert attention away from the actual causes of the problems. To the extent that the distortions and half-truths find credence, they will retard much-needed solutions.

Crimes and Crowds

The ever-increasing rates of violent crime are attributed to population growth and density. If crowded conditions cause crime, the most crowded areas of the world might legitimately be expected to have the highest crime rates.

Holland, for example, where people are crowded together at a density of almost 1,000 per square mile (compared with 57 per square mile in the United States), should be a very dangerous place indeed. The Dutch, however, who have one of the lower crime rates in the Western world, seem to be unaware of their predicament. Perhaps they have not yet read such books as Paul Ehrlich's *Population Bomb*.

To take another example, Great Britain has 50,000,000 people crowded into an area smaller than California. On the basis of the explosionists' rhetoric it is hard to understand why there are fewer murders in the entire British Isles every year than there are in Chicago or Cleveland, or greater Kansas City. These examples suggest that population density, in itself, does not produce crime.

Hindering Reforms

There is danger, however, that irresponsible scare tactics may divert public attention to mere numbers of people. Progress in eliminating slums may be re-

tarded, increased educational and vocational assistance may be delayed, and much-needed reforms in prisons and courts may not be undertaken.

Another favorite theme of the explosionists is environmental pollution. This is, of course, a problem of paramount importance. It cannot, however, be reduced to mere numbers of people. Although more people produce more pollution, they also produce the wealth and the technology to combat it. The crucial factor is determination. Alarmists, by directing attention solely to numbers of people, tend to obscure the fact, admittedly unpleasant, that combating pollution requires large sums of money.

Oversimplification is heard even from government officials. Robert H. Finch, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, when asked what people could do on a voluntary basis to improve the environment, said: "I would begin by recommending that they start by having only two children."

This is not the heart of the problem. If population growth in the United States ceases today, rivers will remain ecological slums, and air over some cities will remain unbreathable until massive and costly efforts are undertaken to remedy these deplorable conditions. To the extent that environmental problems are obscured by simplistic rhetoric, they will continue to go unresolved.

Congestion in Cities

Finally, the explosionists delight in exploring the ever-increasing crowds in our cities and in our national parks. They ignore the fact that a large part of the urban congestion is a result of the continuing flight from the farm to the city. Fewer farmers are producing more food on less total acreage. As a result of the continuing exodus from the country, one-third of the counties in the nation are losing population; more and more of the populace is being concentrated in metropolitan areas.

Forty-four Kansas and 49 Missouri counties lost population between 1960 and 1966. The latter state, with 69,000 square miles of territory, has three-fifths of its people concentrated in two urban areas. Similar concentrations of people are occurring throughout the United States.

It is apparent that more cities are needed, not merely additional growth in a few metropolitan areas. Most of all planning is needed, so that the cities, new and old, will not be hampered by unrealistic political boundaries, segregated housing, and antiquated transportation systems.

Visitors to National Parks

National parks, as noted by population alarmists, are much more crowded than they were just a few years ago. Attendance has in fact increased by 450 per cent in fewer than 20 years while the population increased by 30 per cent. These figures might suggest all of the following: (a) we are indeed becoming an affluent society, (b) camping is becoming more and more popular, (c) we need more national parks.

Some developing countries have severe population problems. The United States does not. The serious difficulties facing our nation can only get worse if they are simply reduced to numbers of people. Crime, environmental pollution, and urban congestion cannot be eliminated by such simplistic thinking.

It is time to deflate the "population bomb" rhetoric so that we can have a clear view of the real problems.

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THE COURT AND ABORTION

Avoiding a Question About Human Life

An Interview with Dr. Andre Hellegers

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Dr. Hellegers is director of the Kennedy Institute for the Study of Human Reproduction and Bio-Ethics. He is a past president of the Society for Gynecological Research and the Society for Perinatal Research. This interview was conducted by Thomas Ascik of the Star-News staff.

Q. The Supreme Court, in its recent decision on abortion, calls a pregnant, but otherwise healthy, woman a "patient," and states that abortion is "primarily and inherently a medical decision up to the end of the first trimester." Is she a patient in the traditional medical sense?

A. Well, we've traditionally taken care of pregnant women. The question is whether you consider pregnancy a disease. Within the definition of the Court, pregnancy is a disease. The Court considered the stressful factors of pregnancy and the possibilities of future stress in making its decision. So the Court very rigidly followed the World Health Organization's definition of health which says that it is not just the absence of disease but "a sense of well-being." If being pregnant does not give a woman a sense of well-being, then she's ill.

Q. The Court uses the term "potential life" when talking about the fetus. What is a "potential life?"

A. I don't understand the language of the Court myself. You can't talk of the potential hand or the potential foot of a fetus; at least I presume not. It's there or it's not there, and it's obviously there. I think that people are confusing the term "life" and the term "dignity." The whole abortion debate has been very fouled up in its linguistics.

I think the simple biological fact is that the fetus is human, only because "human" is a biological category. So, first, the fetus is categorically human. Second, the fetus is a "being" because it's there. If it wasn't a being, you wouldn't need the abortion. So we're dealing with human beings; we're dealing with human life.

The issue is whether we're dealing with valuable human life, whether we're dealing with dignity in that life, whether it has to be protected under the Constitution. All of these are not biological questions.

The unfortunate part of the whole debate is that people have misused biology to create phrases like "when does life begin?" When the question should have been "when does dignity begin?" They have used terms like "potential life," trying to say that life wasn't there, when the reason for saying that life wasn't there was because they didn't attach any value to it. The abortion issue is fundamentally a value issue and not a biological one.

Q. The Court says that it is only "a theory" that human life is present from conception. You obviously think that it can be substantiated beyond mere theory.

"The question is whether you are going to have a utilitarian view of man or whether you are going to have some other view. The Court's decision is a utilitarian view. This fundamental question will come up very clearly, very shortly, when the issue of how we use the live fetus for experimentation comes up."

A. Oh, it's obvious. I don't know of one biologist who would maintain that the fetus is not alive. The alternative to alive is dead. If the fetus was dead, you would never do an abortion. Today we are employing euphemisms to pretend that human life is not present. This stems from the fact that we are not quite ready yet to say, yes, there is human life but it has no dignity. We have wanted to avoid that statement at all costs.

Q. So abortion is only a euphemistic question of life?

A. That's right, because of the fear of saying what we know — yes, there is human life but we attach no value to it. And it has led, incidentally, to a very interesting phenomenon. The Court specifically says that it does not want to take a stand on whether human life is there or not. But it says, operationally, you may proceed to abort. If you are not willing to say when life starts, there are two possibilities — either it is there or it is not. If you then proceed to abort you are factually saying that you may abort even though human life may be there.

Q. What is "the point of viability?"

A. The Court divides pregnancy into three sectors. During the first three months it rules totally under the issue of privacy. Then it says, as pregnancy advances, the state may have a compelling interest in the fetus at viability which it puts at 24 or 28 weeks.

The issue, of course, is that the fetus is perfectly viable at any time during pregnancy provided you leave it in place, and it is only because of your action that it becomes not viable. To me the odd situation is that because you do something to the fetus and doing that makes it not viable you may proceed to do so.

Q. What is the "compelling point" of three months? The Court says that is the point at which the woman and her doctor are free to make a private decision about abortion, and the state may step in after three months.

A. The state may step in after three months except when the life and health of the woman are involved — and the Court clearly defines health as being economic state, stress and so forth. Now, any pregnant woman who says, "I am pregnant and it is stressful to me," is right there a candidate for abortion.

Q. What is the basis of regarding the first three months as a turning point in pregnancy?

A. It's based on the proposition that it is safer to have an abortion at that time than to go ahead and have the childbirth. The Court says that up to that time the mother's health is automatically provable to be better off not pregnant than pregnant. And that, incidentally, is just terrible use of statistics. What has happened is that one compares the statistics of undergoing an abortion procedure with the general statistics on maternal mortality as whole. Several problems arise.

First, childbirth as a whole takes nine months whereas the abortion by definition takes less than that. So, obviously, there is less risk of dying in a three month period than in a nine-month period because you have lived less long. The second problem is that if you die of anything before you have had a chance to get an abortion, you are counted among the non-abortion deaths. The third problem is that all women who want a child regardless of their health status and who decide to go through with it, and die, automatically fall under the death statistics and not under the abortion statistics. So you are really comparing apples and oranges. It is total misuse of scientific method.

Q. Medically where does the term "the first trimester" come from?

A. The first trimester comes from the fact that up to 13 weeks the abortion procedure is rather a simple one. The first trimester has nothing to do with what a fetus is at 13 weeks compared to what it is at 26 weeks. Up to 13 weeks it is rather safe to get aborted. From 13 to 26 weeks you have to change methods; you have to do saline infusions or hysterotomies. Then the statistics don't look quite as good.

The Court maintains that up to 13 weeks it is safer to be aborted than to have a child, which is already poor statistics. After 13 weeks the Court recognizes that the abortion procedure becomes more dangerous and therefore says that the state may begin to have some regulations to protect the health of the woman. After the 27th week there may be some interest in protecting the fetus as well. But it again spells out very clearly that whenever maternal health is involved, as defined under the

World Health Organization's definition of stress, the state cannot stop the woman from getting an abortion. The first trimester has nothing to do with the viability issue; it has to do with the safety of the abortion procedure.

Q. You're saying that meaningful life outside the womb could start at the 27th week?

A. Well, after the 27th week we no longer use the term "abortion" in obstetrical circles. We then talk about "premature delivery." Now the survival rate between 20 and 28 weeks is only 10 percent. The question here is how long must you have lived to be considered viable. That's an issue in its own right.

What is, of course, absurd about the situation is that it is the procedure that makes the fetus unviable. Obviously the chances of survival are greater the closer to 40 weeks you are. But viability at any time during pregnancy is only with assistance. But it is just like a newborn child which is only viable with assistance.

Q. The Court maintains that the abortion question turns on whether the existing laws violate a woman's "rights" and "privacy." Is the fetus the possession of a woman the same as an appendix?

A. In the opinion of the Court it is. Not just the decision but a great deal of things that are going around suggest that intercourse is a given. It shall be without consequence; philosophically, that is what we are saying. It is now assumed that intercourse is one action that everyone can engage in without accepting any consequences. We are now saying that the decision whether to bear a child is not a decision to be made prior to intercourse.

In the high schools we are trying to teach children that, good heavens, intercourse does things. It is very strange the way Justice Douglas puts it in his concurring opinion. He says, "The vicissitudes of life produce pregnancies that may be unwanted."

We are trying to teach in the high schools that pregnancies are produced by intercourse, and here is a Supreme Court Justice who says that pregnancies are produced by "vicissitudes of life." If he had said that rape produces pregnancies which are unwanted and over which one has no control, you might be able to agree. That is not a decision for which one must take the consequences because it was not entered into voluntarily. The philosophy now becomes all intercourse is involuntary. Or else everyone is getting raped. It really is amazing.

Q. The Court allows the state a "concern for the health of the mother," and allows the state a concern for the "potential life" of the fetus, but only after 27 weeks. Why?

A. The Court simply and flatly states that the fetus is not a person to be protected under the Constitution. If that is right, then there is no reason at all for the Court to worry about the health of the fetus. Now, very interesting things will happen as a result of this.

As I read the decision, you should now be able to experiment on the fetus *in utero*. The Food and Drug Administration has always had very strict rules about what drugs may be used in pregnancy. There has been a lot of talk about setting up primate colonies to test the effect of drugs on the unborn fetus. As a consequence of this decision it is now possible to test all drugs on pregnant women who are going to have an abortion, providing the woman agrees, of course.

Q. The Court says that it wished "a consensus" could have been reached from philosophers, theologians and doctors about the starting point of life.

A. There is a consensus on the starting point of life, without any question. There are many ways to prove when the starting point of life is. If we were going to make a test tube baby how would we do it? We would start off by putting a sperm and an egg together and if we succeeded, then we would be in business; we would have life. The fertilized egg would develop automatically unless untoward events occurred. The first definition of life, then, could be the ability to reproduce oneself and develop on one's own, and this the fertilized egg has while the individual egg and sperm do not.

The Court makes some really amazing biological errors in its decision. When it deals with the history of abortion, it talks about what people thought about conception in the past without realizing that conception was only discovered in the 19th century. The ovum wasn't discovered until 1827. The Court says that the Pythagoreans held as a matter of dogma that the embryo "was animate from the moment of conception." Well we didn't even know about conception until 150 years ago. The Pythagoreans were philosophers, not biologists, but the Court seems to regard their opinions as dissenting biological opinions. Factually, of course, they arrived at the right answer anyway, even though they knew very little about biology.

But unless you can think about an ovum as an entity, you cannot talk medically about a start of life. Before, people thought the seed was planted and it either caught or it didn't, almost as if the seed itself was life. That is why we have such crazy terms as insemination, a pure agricultural term that implies that the seed is planted. One ought to talk about co-semination or something that recognizes that the woman contributes an ovum.

The American Medical Association in the 19th century took its stand against abortion when it became known what the process of conception was and what the ovum was. When they found out when life began they thought it imperative to protect it from the beginning.

Q. It seems that the 20th Century has used the same medical knowledge to draw the exact opposite conclusion.

A. That's right. Now that it is absolutely clear how the process works one begins to falsify history and blame the 19th century for having written laws which it wrote, not based on Victorianism, but based on the new knowledge about the process of conception. Unless you are aware of the fact that biologists did not discover the ovum until the 19th century you will completely misread the history of the subject.

The original idea was that the soul was attached at some time to the body but nobody knew when the process of body building started. When that became known, doctors and the AMA began to count the start of life from conception.

It has been commonly assumed that once human — not cat or rat — life — not death — has started then the concept of soul or human dignity has started. That is where the falsity of the Supreme Court decision lies. If the Court had said that we know when life starts but the issue is when we shall protect it or when we shall attach value to it, then it would have had rational ground for its decision. In the whole debate I have resented the falsification of embryology for the purpose of avoiding the fundamental question — when shall we attach value to human life?

Q. Do you think the Court could have reached the same decision if it had put the question on the proper grounds?

A. Ah, that would have been the difficult one. The Court would have been forced to say something which the California Journal of Medicine has already said very clearly. It says that we know when life starts, let's not kid ourselves. We ought to admit that we are handling certain social problems with the medical technology of killing life that has already started. The Court didn't have the courage of its convictions. So it wound up with the principle that you may kill the fetus even though it is already alive, but the Court didn't quite dare to come out and say it.

Mainstreams and Others

High Court's Abortion 'Legislation'

By Edwin A. Roberts, Jr.

The U.S. Supreme Court, we are frequently reminded, is not in the business of affirming the views of the American majority. Rather, it is the Court's responsibility to interpret the Constitution according to the Justices' best lights.

Unlike congressmen, the Justices do not represent the people even nominally. Nevertheless it sometimes seems that the jurists suffer from cabin fever, that they look wistfully now and then at the Capitol just across the road.

The Court's 7-to-2 decision in favor of legalized abortion is puzzling both in substance, for what it allows, and in style, for the way it allows it.

Reading Justice Harry A. Blackmun's majority opinion, one is struck by its legislative tone. It sounds more like a Senate bill than a judicial decision, and there is good reason to believe history will one day mark it a hideous error.

Justice Blackmun writes: "With respect to the state's important and legitimate interest in the health of the mother, the 'compelling' point, in the light of present medical knowledge, is at approximately the end of the first trimester [12-week period]. This is so because of the now established medical fact that until the end of the first trimester mortality in abortion is less than in normal childbirth.

"It follows that, from and after this point, a state may regulate the abortion procedure to the extent that the regulation reasonably relates to the preservation and protection of maternal health. . . .

"If the state is interested in protecting fetal life after viability, it may go so far as to proscribe abortion during that period except when it is necessary to preserve the life or health of the mother."

Expect to Be Disappointed

Now all of us are free to agree or disagree with the Supreme Court, and we must expect to be disappointed from time to time when the wisdom of the Court runs counter to our own interests or convictions. If we don't like a decision we have four choices: resign ourselves to the fact, work for a Constitutional amendment, move to Australia, or start a revolution.

And so it is with a profound sense of futility that once again I file a brief in support of the 1.6 million babies who will be killed this year before they are born.

In this opinion, Justice Blackmun dismisses the central question with these words: "We need not resolve the difficult question of when life begins. When those trained in the respective disciplines of medicine, philosophy, and theology are unable to arrive at any consensus, the judiciary, at this point in the development of man's knowledge, is not in a position to speculate as to the answer."

A Duty to 'Speculate'

I suggest the Court is too modest. The Court had a duty to "speculate" about when life begins because it is certain when life begins. In a recent letter to the editor of the New York Times, Dr. Landrum B. Shettles, a physician at New York's Presbyterian Hospital with "20 years' work in this field," makes these telling observations based on his expertise and not on "any known religious influence":

"Concerning when life begins, a particular aggregate of hereditary tendencies (genes and chromosomes) is first assembled at the moment of fertilization when an ovum (egg) is invaded by a sperm cell. This restores the normal number of required chromosomes (46) for survival, growth, and reproduction of a new composite individual.

When Life Begins

"By this definition a new composite individual is started at the moment of fertilization. However, to survive, this individual needs a very specialized environment for nine months, just as it requires sustained care for an indefinite period after birth. But from the moment of union of the germ cells, there is under normal development a living, definite, going concern. To interrupt a pregnancy at any stage is like cutting the link of a chain; the chain is broken no matter where the link is cut. Naturally, the earlier a pregnancy is interrupted, the easier it is technically, the less the physical, objective encounter. To deny a truth should not be made a basis for legalizing abortion."

To deny a truth should not be made a basis for legalizing abortion.

Right there Dr. Shettles has put his finger on the outrageous and unquestionably immoral fault in the Court's decision. Human life begins at conception—that is a fact. Medical men know it's a fact. High-school biology students know it's a fact. And the Supreme Court of the United States knows it's a fact.

An Inconvenient Fact

But it's an inconvenient fact. To recognize it would have made impossible the result the Court legislators wanted. So in their concern for unmarried pregnant women, for the miserable mothers of very large, very poor families, and for the simple convenience of housewives who want to escape the domestic routine, the Justices have declared what is known with certainty to be unknowable.

The Court then goes on to muddy the waters with references to a woman's right to privacy, even though privacy is not the issue. Women can be as private about their bodies as they choose. But if they have sexual intercourse, it is their responsibility to prevent conception if no baby is wanted. If they are fearful of the pill or if the 95 per cent effectiveness of mechanical contraceptives worries them, let both partners use a device. That should do it.

But once conception occurs, let's let the new life live. Nobody should kill an unborn baby, even though the Supreme Court says it's all a matter of size.

Confusion at the Highest Level

★ SPEAKING against abortion five years ago, a distinguished professor of law likened the juridical question of fetal identity to the *Dred Scott* decision of 1857. Sure enough, when Justice Harry A. Blackmun announced the seven-man majority opinion on the state of Texas abortion law (*Jane Roe v. Henry Wade*), the dark ghost of *Dred Scott* could be seen brooding over the Supreme Court building.

In the 1857 decision, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney ruled that the black slave, *Dred Scott*, was not a human being with citizenship rights; therefore his owner could do with him as he wished. Justice Blackmun's majority opinion declares that an unborn human being has neither status nor rights in the eyes of the law. It took a bloody civil war and a constitutional amendment to demonstrate the nation's rejection of the 1857 decision. There will be no civil war over abortion, but many believe that a constitutional amendment is the only device that can restore legal protection to unborn children in this land.

As citizens of the republic, we like to believe in the transcendent wisdom of the Supreme Court. What the Warren court did for black minorities epitomized that wisdom. What the Blackmun opinion conveys is a state of intellectual confusion and shortsightedness. Two instances of contradiction are notable:

First, he declares that "the word 'person,' as used in the 14th Amendment, does not include unborn." Presumably this statement means that any unborn child is beyond legal protection for whatever reason. It has no rights. But then, amazingly, comes the provision that a state may prohibit abortions during the last ten weeks of pregnancy. Why? Because a child, if born during that time, is viable, he says. Good enough. But does the child command any other interest of the body politic at that stage?

Second, Mr. Blackmun acknowledges that experts in medicine, philosophy and theology (what about embryologists?) cannot "resolve the difficult question of when life begins." In this he is dead wrong. All can and do agree that "life begins" at conception. What they cannot agree on is whether that undeniably distinctive human life has a sanctity to be honored and a potentiality to be protected. So if the experts cannot concur, he observes, "the judiciary at this point in the development of man's knowledge is not in a position to speculate as to the answer."

But speculate they do, and more! They define and decree. They make the most categorical distinctions of human worth at the end of the third month and

The Christian Century, Feb. 28, 1973,
254-55.

the sixth month, thus announcing implicitly that they know the secret of fetal identity. Of course, they rationalize this scheme in terms of the pregnant woman's health, not the preservation of the child. And who would doubt that her health is a matter of great concern to society? But is her health — or wish or convenience — the only decisive factor? The Supreme Court says it is.

We are not endeavoring to enter the tangled jungle of debate over abortion just now. It is enough to comment on the faults of this unhappy decision. What it all means for moral discernment, reaction of churches, and revised social policy is another story.

Historians say that Justice Taney thought his decision in *Dred Scott* would lay to rest the issue of slavery. Whether the seven justices are so sanguine or deceived as to think that they have resolved the issue of abortion cannot be known. What they may have done in effect is to stimulate a renewed and fortified popular struggle for the rights of all human beings, the unborn as well as those who have proved their viability.

J. ROBERT NELSON.

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SENATE VOTES TO TABLE HELMS AMENDMENT

On the afternoon of April 28th the U.S. Senate voted 47 to 40 to table consideration of Senator Jesse Helms' (R-N.C.) constitutional amendment granting personhood and the right to life to every human being from the moment of fertilization. The full text of the amendment is as follows:

Section 1. With respect to the right to life guaranteed in this Constitution, every human being subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, or of any State, shall be deemed, from the moment of fertilization, to be a person and entitled to the right of life.

Section 2. Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Senator Helms' amendment was considered under a Senate rule requiring unanimous consent for the vote. This procedure was utilized because the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee last September rejected all of the amendments pending in the Senate.

After the vote, Helms said it "will be viewed by millions of Americans as a vote against the protection of the life of the unborn." However, we would caution everyone against drawing firm conclusions from this vote. The roll call vote is reproduced below. Because it was a **procedural** vote, Senators may have voted differently than they would have on a substantive vote on the Helms amendment.

No effort should be made to criticize or defeat a Senator on the basis of this vote alone. You should immediately communicate with Senators who opposed the motion to table, expressing your gratitude for their support. It is crucial to understand that Senators who voted to table may favor a different approach to an amendment, may have felt that a Senate vote on the amendment was premature and unnecessarily divisive because all amendments lacked the necessary 2/3 vote, or may have known that the votes were present to table and, though supportive of our views, voted the position they perceived was desired by a substantial share of their constituency.

The Senators who voted to table should be encouraged to continue to examine the need for action to make possible legal protection for the unborn and should receive your appreciation for any assistance they may have previously given our cause aside from this vote. This issue will be before the Senate again, and we will need all of the support and good will available to us if we are to successfully enact legislation to change the present situation. If we make premature judgments and harden opposition now we may forfeit the right to call upon good will in the future and may jeopardize our claim to respect as responsible citizens — which respect will be essential if we are to succeed.

The House Hearings Project was organized by ACCL in the fall of 1975 following Representative Don Edwards' announcement that his House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights would hold hearings on the proposed human life amendments to the Constitution.

It was important that immediate leadership be offered and that communication be opened so that pro-life forces could properly utilize these hearings, for they provided a needed opportunity to publically document the abuses and the injustices of legal abortion, and to present non-assailable facts clarifying the adverse effects of the Supreme Court's abortion decision on society, on families and on individuals. Focusing on such facts builds a case that serious problems exist as a result of the Court's decision and thereby helps convince members of Congress that action is necessary.

Proper preparation of such testimony and coordination of the hearings efforts were the goals of the House Hearings Project. Several meetings were held with representatives of major national pro-life organizations, congressmen and their staffs to discuss strategy. A Congressional Advisory Committee was formed to guide the project and to assist in working toward these goals. Serving as members of the Advisory Committee were Representatives John Breaux (D-La. 7), John N. Erlenborn (R-Ill. 14), Charles Grassley (R-Ia. 3), Donald J. Mitchell (R-NY, 31), and co-chairmen James L. Oberstar (D-Minn. 8) and Albert H.

Quie (R-Minn. 1). Mr. C. Thomas Bendorf, a Washington attorney and lobbyist who is ACCL's legislative counsel also served as an advisor.

The House Hearings Project has been a great success and has occupied much of the recent time of ACCL's staff and volunteers. Members of the minority and majority Judiciary Subcommittee staff were consulted often and were offered assistance in selecting witnesses and topic areas. Witnesses were briefed and helped with testimony preparation and arrangements. Written statements were solicited from a number of individuals who were not chosen to testify by the subcommittee but whose input would be an important part of the record. Congressmen and their staff members cooperated with the project and contributed a great deal of their expertise and time to insure that the pro-life movement was well represented. Especially appreciated was the assistance of Congressmen Albert Quie and James Oberstar and their aides Michael Koempel and Michael Stone.

The hearings were an important step in promoting pro-life legislation in Congress. They served to educate and inform members of the Congress, the press and the public on the issue. National Public Radio broadcast the entire hearings.

It is expected that there will be no action on the amendments in the subcommittee at this time and that neither the majority nor minority will move for a vote. However, there is a great deal of in-

terest by members of the subcommittee in the entire issue. Most of the members attended all of the sessions and participated in the questioning. They clearly were troubled by some aspects of the implementation of abortion, such as late abortions, neglect of live born aborted fetuses, conscience provisions, and advertising and health regulation of facilities. The House has held only seven mornings of testimony on abortion and no more hearings are expected in the immediate future. This is in contrast to 18 longer sessions that were held in the Senate.

More hearings should be encouraged in both the House and the Senate. Committees other than the Judiciary must be utilized for telling the pro-life story and soliciting congressional interest and support. We can initiate the enactment of protective legislation by modifying appropriate bills while they are in the drafting process or by drafting new and separate bills which would limit abortion. The first House hearings are now behind us, but the activity surrounding these hearings and the record built should be seen as only the beginning and a small part of the concerted and professional effort that the pro-life movement needs in Washington.

The House hearings have variously been described by observers as a "smash", "very effective", and "solid" for the pro-life forces. There is no doubt that they did provide a helpful educational forum and that the effort expended by ACCL staff and volunteers on these hearings through the House Hearings Project was well worth the effort. The generous contributions that many of you have made to this work helped to make such a success possible.

We have made a good beginning in both the Senate and House. It is important not to lose the momentum gained but instead to redouble our efforts. ACCL pledges its continuing leadership in Washington—leadership which will unite committed members of Congress and staff, professional volunteers and other pro-life forces so that the progress made with the House Hearings Project will continue.

PROTESTANT PRO-LIFE LEADERS CHALLENGE RCAR

"The Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR) is deliberately attempting to polarize religious bodies against one another in order to protect its support of abortion on demand," according to an open letter sent to the Coalition in early February by ACCL and the Texas-based Baptists for Life. The letter was signed by Marjory Mecklenburg, a United Methodist, who is ACCL's president, Judith Fink, a Baptist, who is ACCL's vice president, and the Reverend Robert Holbrook, coordinator of Baptists for Life.

The letter specifically accused the RCAR of "inaccurately attempting to characterize opposition to abortion as originating only from Roman Catholics" and was prompted by increasing attacks by the RCAR on the anti-abortion efforts of Catholics. The statement said that the coalition "cannot help but be aware that opposition to abortion is not now and never has been a concern of Catholics alone, but is part of a shared Judeo-Christian ethic. Catholic, Protestant and Jewish traditions all reflect a belief in the sacredness and uniqueness of each human life." The joint statement also charged that the RCAR fosters "religious prejudice" and appeals to a "base spirit which men and women of good will have long worked to eliminate from the American culture."

While critical of the RCAR, the letter took note of the increasing numbers of Americans who are becoming aware of the abortion issue through their churches. "We applaud the efforts of the Catholic Church to educate its members on the problems of widespread abortion, to work for enlightened pastoral care and alternatives to abortion for troubled pregnant women; and to motivate Catholics and others to actively seek



CONGRESSIONAL ACTION PROJECT

To extend and enlarge upon the solid pro-life political foundation built with the House Hearings Project, ACCL is continuing its Washington activity with the Congressional Action Project. Much can and will be accomplished when the experienced resource people available to this project are mobilized for legislative research, planning of congressional strategy and followup lobbying. The development of the legislative effectiveness is the pro-life movement's most crucial task in Washington now. There are a number of congressional doors that can be opened in the life issues debate and many pieces of legislation that can be designed or altered to suit the advancement of our cause.

This project, if adequately funded, will provide the innovative, creative and professional skill our movement needs on Capitol Hill. You are invited to use the enclosed envelope to make a contribution to the Congressional Action Project to help defray the cost of the necessary staff, telephone, travel, meetings and printing.

solutions to these problems by becoming involved in citizen pro-life action groups," the letter said.

The letter and accompanying news release were picked up and carried widely by the religious press. One particularly noteworthy result was a story carried in the *Texas Methodist* on February 27th. The story repeated the basic charges contained in the letter to the RCAR, but then went on to an in-depth analysis of United Methodist Church (UMC) involvement in the abortion issue. According to the article, "Prominent United Methodists are involved in both the coalition and the American Citizens groups, but the RCAR has the UMC's institutional support. The United Methodist Board of Church and Society, Women's Division and National Division of the Board of Global Ministries are members ... of the ... coalition. The coalition is housed by the Board of Church and Society, is under the administrative direction of its division of general welfare and department of population problems, and the board handles treasury functions for the coalition."

The article also featured lengthy interviews with two prominent United Methodist opponents of abortion who are members of ACCL's Advisory Board. Both Dr. Albert Outler, of Southern Methodist University's Perkins School of Theology, and Dr. Paul Ramsey, an ethicist at Princeton University, strenuously took exception to their church's handling of the abortion issue.

The story closed with the report that the UMC Board of Church and Society has approved the following revision to the abortion section of the church's "Social Principles" and will recommend it to the 1976 General Conference to be held in Portland, Oregon, April 27th through May 8th: "We affirm support of the legal option of abortion under proper medical procedures. Nevertheless, governmental laws and regulations do not necessarily provide the guidance required by the informed Christian conscience."

CLERGY, CONGRESSPEOPLE, LAITY JOIN IN NATIONAL PRAYER BREAKFAST FOR LIFE

Stirred by the dynamism of speaker David Allen, moved by the poignant "anniversary" message of Rep. Lindy Boggs, and uplifted by the voices of Barbara Breuer-Sipple and Susan Speight, the 650 attendees at the National Prayer Breakfast for Life joined together in an unprecedented ecumenical worship service dedicated to the preservation of human life. The event was held on January 22 in Washington, D.C.

Dr. Allen, a psychiatrist who is a native of the Bahamas and a practicing psychiatrist in Boston, said that God's view of people is timeless and He sees their worth at every stage of life. "God sees me as a fetus struggling in my mother's womb", as a young man getting ready to marry, as a person whose life is in process. "You are somebody. The fetus is somebody. The old man is somebody".

"To know your own dignity means you must treat others with respect and dignity," he said. A true pro-life attitude of offering assistance in time of need is exemplified by the establishment of homes and services for unwed mothers, Dr. Allen told the audience in his main address.

The unusual service included as participants members of Roman Catholic, Baptist, Jewish, Lutheran, Orthodox, and Methodist traditions. Concern about threats to life and dignity before birth, in sickness and old age, and under degrading conditions of poverty and hunger characterized the prayers and meditations.

Participants took note of the increasing cooperation shown by major religious groups in America on the abortion question, and

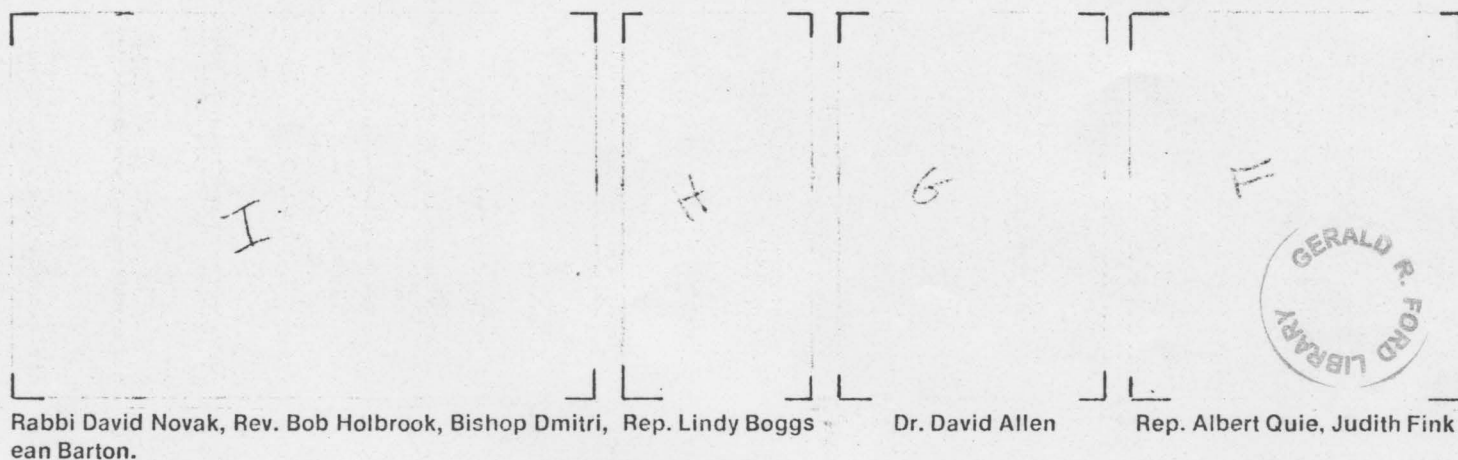
hailed it as an indication of the growing strength and diversity of the pro-life movement.

In a telegram to the Breakfast assemblage, Cong. John Rhodes (R-Ariz) House Minority Leader, termed the U.S. Supreme Court decision "unfortunate" and told the pro-life workers "you are trying to do what should be done and working to undo what should not be done. It is a high calling, and I join with you in spirit in these endeavors."

Mrs. Ruth Bell Graham, wife of Billy Graham, and a sponsor of the Prayer Breakfast, and also sent a message which informed the participants of her wish for "God's special blessing" on their work.

Among those on the platform were Cong. James Oberstar (D-Mn), Cong. Lindy Boggs (D-La) the Most Rev. James S. Rausch, General Secretary U.S. Catholic Conference; the Rev. Robert Holbrook, President, Baptists for Life; Mrs. Jean Garton, Lutheran Church Missouri Synod Social Concerns Committee; Rabbi David Novak, Beth Tfiloh Congregation, Baltimore; Mrs. Marjory Mecklenburg, President, ACCL; the Rev. Calvin J. Eichhorst, Lutheran pastor (ALC), President of ForLIFE, Inc.; Judith Fink, Vice Pres., ACCL; the Rev. Imajene Stewart, Urban Evangelist, United Methodist Church, Washington, D. C.; and Bishop Dmitri, Orthodox Church in America.

Rev. Stewart, a well known charismatic singer in the Washington area, led the Breakfast participants in singing the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" at its close.



Childhood in the Special Child

Nothing is so clear in this world as the glory in the special child. It shines in its hard times with words — they are songs if you listen carefully — and in his troubled walk there is a dance if you pay attention: The special child — whether or not he came into the world in agony or had that agony imposed on him by the world — that child is a blessing. It is our work to celebrate his life, his spirit, his right to grow, to be who he is. No matter how difficult that being in the world might be, the special child has a share in this world and this world must have a share in him. The special child and those who are his guardians must learn how to give life to each other and these pages will tell us with simplicity and joy how we might begin that holy task.

(foreword to "Families Play to Grow Program,"
Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr. Foundation)

SPECIAL OLYMPICS NEEDS YOUR HELP

An opportunity to assist mentally retarded children by helping with the effective and well-run Special Olympics program will soon be available and should be of interest to many pro-life people.

Special Olympics is an athletic competition that provides retarded youngsters with an opportunity to experience a unique sense of achievement and self-worth. The Special Olympics will be held this summer in every state, and district competitions will be held in many large communities.

Doctors especially are needed as volunteers to give physical exams and nurses are needed to provide first aid. For several years members of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life have greatly enjoyed cooperating in these pro-life events.

A copy of the names, addresses and telephone numbers of the 1976 State and Regional Special Olympics Directors may be obtained by sending a stamped, self-addressed envelope to Special Olympics, c/o ACCL's Minneapolis office.

JEWELRY AVAILABLE FOR GIFTS AND FUNDRAISING PROJECTS

The 1976 ACCL Respect Life Commemorative Medallion, as well as key rings, necklaces and paper weights incorporating the medallion, are now available for immediate shipment. These bronze and sterling silver medallions make ideal gifts and pro-life groups can purchase them in quantity at a substantial discount for resale as a fundraising project. All items are also available in 14 Karat gold for special occasion gifts or awards.

A small quantity of bronze medallions is available struck with only a front or reverse face. When mounted on an engraved brass plaque these medallions make an ideal award honoring a pro-life leader or organization. An order form for these attractive medallions is enclosed.

A

B

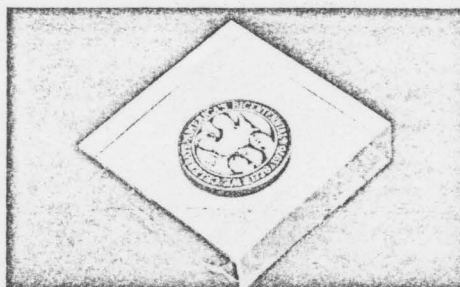
diameter 1 1/4 in.

front face

reverse face



Key Chain



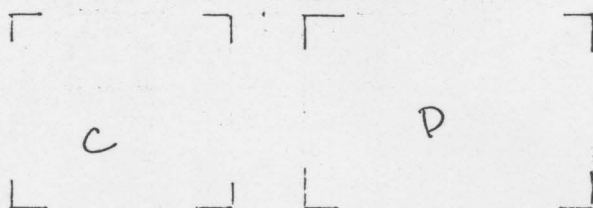
Paperweight



Necklace

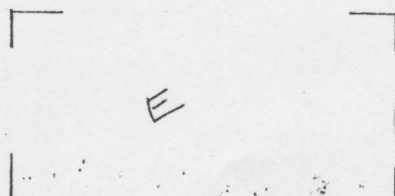
ACCL also has on hand a quantity of Circle of Life sterling silver tie tack/lapel pins and cast bronze pendants. These also make excellent gifts and fundraising projects for pro-life groups and are available at the following greatly reduced prices (including shipping charges):

	1 to 9	Box of 25	Box of 50
Tie Tack/Pin	\$3.00 ea.	\$2.00 ea.	\$1.50 ea.
Pendant	\$3.25 ea.	\$3.00 ea.	\$2.50 ea.



The new "We Respect Life" bracelets developed by For LIFE, Inc., are now available through ACCL. These attractive bracelets are available in a brushed gold finish, solid brushed stainless steel, and embossed leather with a snap closure. Quantity prices apply if your order totals at least \$30.00 and is accompanied by at least a 1/3 down payment (balance due in 30 days). Otherwise, "Suggested Selling Price" prevails. Shipping charges are additional.

	Suggested Selling Price	Quantity Price
Leather Bracelet	\$1.75 ea.	\$1.00 ea.
Stainless Steel Bracelet	\$3.25 ea.	\$2.10 ea.
Brushed Gold Bracelet	\$7.50 ea.	\$5.25 ea.



"MOVEMENT DYNAMICS" ACCL WORKSHOP GAINS FAVOR

"Widening the Sphere of Pro-life Influence," an ACCL produced slide presentation, has attracted intrigued audiences around the country and encouraged them to examine the principles underlying successful social movements.

Prepared by Judy Fink, the 45-minute presentation uses visual imagery to acquaint the viewer with ideas such as "reticulation of groups", which when combined with "synergistic activity" can bring about a strong and vital outreach of influence.

Her interest in the people-patterns operating in pro-life circles and in how and why new people are motivated to join with this cause led Mrs. Fink to do the necessary research and preparation for this excellent educational tool. Insight into some possible answers to a number of important questions confronting pro-life activists is gained from viewing the presentation.

"Why is the pro-life message sometimes seen as threatening by those outside it? Why is it often exclusivistic? How do we approach and convince a reluctant body politic? Are we really growing, and in what directions? What happens when a pro-life group feels over-controlled? Do we need to alter our image to fit new situations?"

The wrong techniques used by a group will discourage many people from active participation in or identification with the group and the pro-life cause.

Shown to the National Right to Life convention in Denver last June, the Movement Dynamics workshop was enthusiastically received and is slated for the upcoming national convention in June of 1976. To date, audiences in Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Indiana, New Jersey, Arizona, Tennessee, the District of Columbia, Ohio, California, and Maryland have viewed the series.

Groups interested in scheduling the workshop may contact the ACCL Minneapolis office.



1976 ELECTIONS SUMMARIZED

Tabulated below are the dates and other details of some significant political events occurring this year, including the 24 remaining presidential primaries, the national political conventions and the November general election. Also included is a tabulation of the dates of the nominating primaries for statewide and federal offices in each state. The format of this summary is: date, state, name and party of Senator whose term ends, number and party of Representatives facing election, name and party of governor whose term ends. In 1976 33 senators, 435 representatives and 14 governors will be elected.

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES

May 18	— Maryland
May 18	— Michigan
May 25	— Arkansas
May 25	— Idaho
May 25	— Kentucky
May 25	— Nevada
May 25	— Oregon
June 1	— Rhode Island
June 1	— Montana
June 1	— South Dakota
June 8	— California
June 8	— New Jersey
June 8	— Ohio

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

July 12	— New York City, N.Y. — Democratic National Convention opens
August 16	— Kansas City, Mo. — Republican National Convention opens

GENERAL ELECTION

November 2	— Presidential electors and all other officials
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NOMINATING PRIMARIES

March 16	Ill.	24 Reps. (13D, 11R); Gov. Walker (D)
April 27	Pa	Sen. Scott (R); 25 Reps. (14D, 11R)
May 1	Texas	Sen. Bentsen (D); 24 Reps. (21D, 3R)
May 4	Ala.	7 Reps. (4D, 3R)
	Ind.	Sen. Hartke (D); 11 Reps. (9D, 2R); Gov. Bowen (R)
May 11	Nebr.	Sen. Hruska (R); 3 Reps. (3R)
	W.Va.	Sen. Byrd (D); 4 Reps. (4D); Gov. Moore (R)
May 18	Md.	Sen. Beall (R); 8 Reps. (5D, 3R)
May 25	Ark.	4 Reps. (3D, 1R); Gov. Pryor (D)
	Ky.	7 Reps. (5D, 2R)
	Oreg.	4 Reps. (4D)
June 1	Miss.	Sen. Stennis (D); 5 Reps. (3D, 2R)
	Mont.	Sen. Mansfield (D); 2 Reps. (2D); Gov. Judge (D)
	N.M.	Sen. Montoya (D); 2 Reps. (1D, 1R)
	S.D.	2 Reps. (2R)
June 8	Calif.	Sen. Tunney (D); 43 Reps. (28D, 15R)
	Iowa	6 Reps. (5D, 1R)
	Maine	Sen. Muskie (D); 2 Reps. (2R)
	N.J.	Sen. Williams (D); 15 Reps. (12D, 3R)

	Ohio	Sen. Taft (R); 23 Reps. (8D, 15R)
	S.C.	6 Reps. (5D, 1R)
	Va.	Sen. Byrd (I); 10 Reps. (5D, 5R)
August 3	Idaho	2 Reps. (2R)
	Kans.	5 Reps. (1D, 4R)
	Mich.	Sen. Hart (D); 19 Reps. (12D, 7R)
	Mo.	Sen. Symington (D); 10 Reps. (9D, 1R); Gov. Bond (R)
August 5	Tenn.	Sen. Brock (R); 8 Reps. (5D, 3R)
August 10	Ga.	10 Reps. (10D)
August 14	La.	8 Reps. (6D, 2R)
August 17	N.C.	11 Reps. (9D, 2R); Gov. Holshouser (R)
August 24	Alaska	1 Rep. (1R)
	Okla.	6 Reps. (5D, 1R)
Sept. 7	Ariz.	Sen. Fannin (R); 4 Reps. (1D, 3R)
	Conn.	Sen. Weicker (R); 6 Reps. (4D, 2R)
	Fla.	Sen. Chiles (D); 15 Reps. (10D, 5R)
	N.D.	Sen. Burdick (D); 1 Rep. (1R); Gov. Link (D)
Sept. 11	Del.	Sen. Roth (R); 1 Rep. (1R); Gov. Tribbitt (D)
Sept. 14	Colo.	5 Reps. (3D, 2R)
	Mass.	Sen. Kennedy (D); 12 Reps. (10D, 2R)
	Minn.	Sen. Humphrey (D); 8 Reps. (5D, 3R)
	Nev.	Sen. Cannon (D); 1 Rep. (1D)
	N.H.	2 Reps. (1D, 1R); Gov. Thomson (R)
	N.Y.	Sen. Buckley (C-R); 39 Reps. (27D, 12R)
	R.I.	Sen. Pastore (D); 2 Reps. (2D); Gov. Noel (D)
	Utah	Sen. Moss (D); 2 Reps. (2D); Gov. Rampton (D)
	Vt.	Sen. Stafford (R); 1 Rep. (1R); Gov. Salmon (D)
	Wis.	Sen. Proxmire (D); 9 Reps. (7D, 2R)
	Wyo.	Sen. McGee (D); 1 Rep. (1D)
Sept. 21	Wash.	Sen. Jackson (D); 7 Reps. (6D, 1R); Gov. Evans (R)
Oct. 2	Hawaii	Sen. Fong (R); 2 Reps. (2D)

NOTE: States not holding nominating primaries pick candidates at State Conventions.

United Methodist Survey Finds Church Members are Dissatisfied

A survey conducted by *The Interpreter* magazine, national program journal of the United Methodist Church, has found that members of the denomination are generally more conservative both theologically and sociologically than its programs would indicate. A recent issue of *The Interpreter* said that the 13,000 survey replies it received "made it clear that many United Methodists are bitterly frustrated because they feel the church doesn't listen to them when policies and programs are being shaped."

JOINT FUND RAISING DINNERS HELD IN PHILADELPHIA AND MINNEAPOLIS

The Southeast Region of Pennsylvanians for Human Life and Minnesota Citizens for Human Life and Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life sponsored joint fund raising dinners with ACCL on January 22 and February 28.

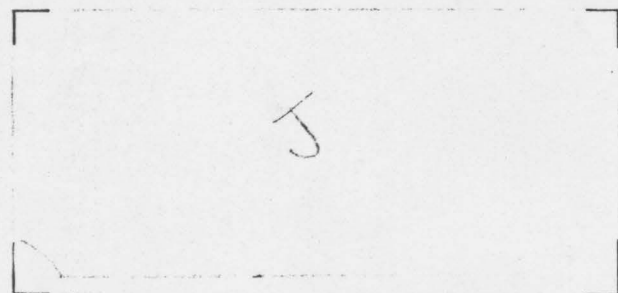
The featured speaker at the January dinner in Philadelphia was Representative James L. Oberstar (D-Minn.) who urged supporters of a human life amendment to elect legislators who will campaign for the constitutional amendment in Congress. Right now "we don't have the votes to pass a constitutional amendment," Oberstar noted. "You send the votes to Washington and we'll pass that constitutional amendment."

With the support of pro-life workers, Oberstar, who was relatively unknown, was elected to office against heavy odds in 1974, defeating a strongly backed pro-abortion candidate. Oberstar said his election was proof that apparently impossible odds can be overcome with proper organization.

The Reverend Robert Holbrook of Hallettsville, Texas, national coordinator of Baptists for Life, also addressed the more than 500 persons attending the fund raising dinner. Pastor Holbrook told pro-life supporters that they were 'swimming against the tide' and that there would be "no overnight victory". We must avoid the politics of confrontation, vilification, and character assassination," he said, calling for a strategy of patience, courtesy and coalition building.

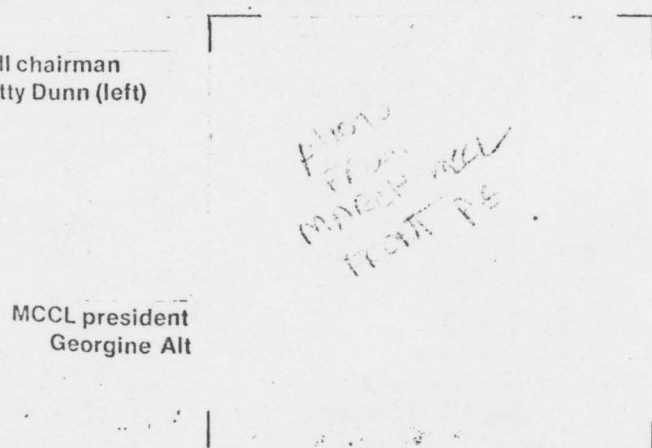
Refuting common objections to a human life amendment, Reverend Holbrook said: "Freedom of choice doesn't include freedom to kill. We're not speaking about legislating morality. We're speaking about preventing one human being from harming another."

Dr. Heather Morris, a Toronto surgeon and gynecologist, was the honored guest and featured speaker at the second annual Love of Life Ball on February 28th in Minneapolis. About 300 persons attended the fund raiser sponsored by ACCL and Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life.



ACCL Advisory Board member Erma Craven greets Dr. Heather Morris at Ball.

Ball chairman
Betty Dunn (left)



MCCL president
Georgine Alt



Rep. James
Oberstar address
es Philadelphia
dinner audience.

(Left) Dr. Edward
Sullivan, president
t S.E. Region PHL

Rev. Albert
Kovacs president
PHL.

Rev. Robert
Holbrook.

Dr. Morris, who is the founder and president of Canadian Physicians for Life and former president of the Alliance for Life of Canada, told her audience that as a Jew she can personally refute the charge that abortion is a Catholic issue. "But", she said, "if you Catholics here stand accused by some of your fellow men and women on this earth, self-centered, near-sighted pragmatists that they be, then rejoice, as those Germans who stood out against Hitler should have rejoiced, that God alone is your judge."

"In fact," Dr. Morris said, "it is those campaigning for abortion to be a constitutional right who are bigoted — who seek to discredit our stand by invoking religious prejudice."

"The Rabbis of ancient times said it with much beauty — 'He who saves one soul, it is as if he saved the whole world. He who destroys one soul, it is as if he destroyed the whole world.' We must apply this doctrine not just to the unborn but to all the underprivileged members of our human family. We must not allow ourselves to be railroaded by those pleading loudly and vociferously, emotionally and pitifully for their comfort, ease and security, into granting them their wishes by depriving others of their very lives."

She said society must re-discover the art of caring for the dying in a loving, compassionate manner or "the proponents of active euthanasia will win the day."

"No cancer patient need be wracked with pain if doctors practice the art of Medicine, but no distressed patient need be killed to alleviate suffering," Dr. Morris said. "We must make sure that those whose cry 'every child a wanted child' enabled this country to be plunged into the abyss of abortion on demand for social convenience will not enable this country to be plunged into the abyss of mercy killing when their cry is 'every granny a wanted granny.'"

Paying tribute to her audience, Dr. Morris said that she felt "rather like a former pupil returning to lecture at her old school, because when I first started speaking about pro-life issues, I derived much of my information from materials prepared by MCCL. We in the pro-life movement in Canada have ongoing admiration and respect for the work done by Minnesotans."

Pro-life organizations interested in co-sponsoring an event such as the Philadelphia or Minneapolis dinners with ACCL should contact the Minneapolis office. We will obtain a speaker for the event and can provide you with technical assistance and help in organizing a successful fund raiser.

PRO-ABORTION SPEAKER'S PRIMER AVAILABLE FOR THE ASKING

A new publication, titled **Abortion Trends**, produced by W/W Communications, PO Box 261, Lakewood, California has arrived on the print media scene.

Mailed as a promotional device to thousands of physicians, the four-page pro-abortion piece stylistically mimics some of the pro-life news sheets.

Seemingly a re-hash of already printed news, a recent issue of the paper stated that an unnamed 'spokesperson' for the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights informed them that abortion is a religious issue "because anti-choice forces **have adopted the Catholic doctrine** of life as the moral underpinning of their crusade and because the Catholic hierarchy has made the anti-abortion battle a **top-priority item** on its agenda — the only religious group to have done so." (emphasis theirs)

Claiming that pro-abortion sentiment represents "the majority of the memberships" of Protestant and Jewish groups, the RCAR person attempts to steer the three major religious groups in the country into a collision by provoking the notion that "**rights would be violated** if Catholic theology were written into law on the matter of abortion..." (emphasis theirs)

Abortion Trends also helpfully provided information about a pert sheet for pro-abortion debaters entitled "**Legal Abortion: A Speakers Notebook**." Written by Ms. Jimmye Kimmey, executive director of the Association for the Study of Abortion (ASA), the 32-page booklet provides ready responses to pro-life positions.

A sample quote: "Make it clear, often, that what the debate is about is not whether abortion is moral, or nice, or desirable ... but is about whether one group of people can impose its views of abortion on the whole nation. Emphasize to the audience that they now have a **freedom** which your opponent wants to **take away from them**." (emphasis theirs).

You can prepare for your next debate by asking for the speaker's notebook from ASA, 120 W. 57th St., New York, NY 10019.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS ADOPTS LIFE RESOLUTION

A milestone national conference of Protestant evangelicals, the Continental Congress on the Family held in St. Louis in October, has been placed on record as opposing abortion and encouraging "spiritual guidance and material solace consistent with God's Word" for distressed mothers and families.

The statement, released October 17th at the close of the six-day meeting attended by 2200 pastors and laypeople, also stated "we acknowledge that Christians differ in their view concerning the time when personhood begins, but we agree that God has admonished us to choose life instead of death and has set penalties for those who would, even accidentally, cause a pregnant woman to be injured in such a way that an unborn child is harmed ... we urge the church to influence the social-moral climate in which unintended pregnancies occur. We see no grounds on which Christians who are concerned for all human life and for the well being of the family can condone the free and easy practice of abortion as it now exists in our society. At the same time, we exhort the church to show compassion for those who suffer because of the abortion experience."

Two workshops on developing alternatives to abortion were presented by Marjory Mecklenburg and Judy Fink. The medical and theological aspects of the issue were discussed by the Rev. Clifford Bajema, a Christian Reformed minister from Akron, Ohio and Dr. Philip Ney, a psychiatrist from British Columbia.

At an evening plenary session for all delegates, Jean Gorton, an official of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, introduced the film "The First Days of Life." ACCL observers were struck by the rapt attention of the large audience as they viewed the fetal development and birth sequences. The film is distributed by For LIFE, Inc. of Minneapolis. Following the viewing, the information booth staffed by ACCL and ForLIFE personnel did an especially brisk business.

During the Congress, 90 people attended a dinner at the Chase Park Plaza Hotel to mark the launching of the Women's Task Force for Life, a new national pro-life group formed to educate Protestant women about abortion and euthanasia. In addition to Jean Gorton and Marjory Mecklenburg, David Allen, M.D., a psychiatrist and evangelical leader from Boston, Massachusetts, addressed the meeting, saying that "the abortion issue brings together in one microcosm all the basic issues of our society." Allen urged rapid mobilization of Protestants in the life concerns issues and scored those who felt these were not "their" concerns.

The Women's Task Force for Life is headed by Mrs. Ruth Bell Graham, wife of the noted evangelist Billy Graham. Mrs. Graham has appointed ACCL's Vice President Judy Fink as coordinator of the new effort.

GALLUP POLL SHOWS SUPPORT FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

A nationwide Gallup Poll released on March 18th revealed that nearly half of those questioned support a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion except when a pregnant woman's life is in danger. 49 percent said they would oppose such an amendment while 45% voted in favor.

The question asked to determine attitudes toward such a constitutional restriction of abortion was: "A constitutional amendment has been proposed which would prohibit abortions except when the pregnant woman's life is in danger. Would you favor this amendment which would prohibit abortions or would you oppose it?"

Here are the national figures as well as results by major population groups:

	Favor Amendment	Oppose Amendment	No Opinion
NATIONAL	45%	49%	6%
Republicans	48	47	5
Democrats	48	44	8
Independents	39	56	5
Protestants	46	48	6
Roman Catholics	52	42	6
Men	42	50	8
Women	48	47	5
College background	30	65	5
High school	49	46	5
Grade school	56	31	13
Under 30 years	38	57	5
30-49 years	43	50	7
50 & over	52	41	7
Married	47	47	6
Single	30	63	7

These results are based on personal interviews with 1,525 adults, 18 and older, in more than 300 scientifically selected localities during Feb. 27-March 1.

GERALD R. FOR

LEADERS PARTICIPATE IN SEMINAR

A pilot group of pro-life leaders from 20 states met on January 21st at the Shoreham American Hotel in Washington for a day long political action seminar led by legislative and organizational authorities. Alan Parker, chief counsel to the House Judiciary Subcommittee, discussed the House hearings process. C. Thomas Bendorf, ACCL's legal counsel, and Charles Plante, a Washington health lobbyist, shared ideas for effective lobbying techniques and strategy. Representatives of the March of Dimes, the Child Welfare League of America and the Special Olympics described some of their programs in which cooperative efforts with pro-life groups might be possible and desirable.

A discussion of some of the specific legislative proposals currently before Congress which could reduce the number of abortions by offering added supportive services for pregnant women and families was presented by a number of Congressional staff aides and Dr. Arthur Lesser, former Deputy Chief of the Children's Bureau at HEW. Congressman John Breau (D-LA. 7) spoke at an evening dinner on the status of the human life amendments and the pro-life movement within Congress.

The leadership seminar was coordinated by Mary Beliveau, the immediate past president of the Maine Right to Life Committee. Other pro-life leaders who were program participants included Jean Garton of Pennsauken, New Jersey, the Reverend Bob Holbrook of Hallettsville, Texas, Mary Ann Johaneck of Cleveland, Judith Fink of Pittsburgh and Joseph Lampe and Marjory Mecklenburg of Minneapolis. Persons who were unable to attend the seminar may obtain copies of the folder of educational and political action material provided to registrants by forwarding \$2.50 for each folder desired.

The seminar is being evaluated by its participants and leaders to determine whether such a program fills a need in the movement for advanced leadership training. If there is sufficient interest similar programs will be planned by ACCL for other areas of the country.

C. Thomas Bendorf

Rep. John Breau

Robert Montague
Special Olympics

Mary Ann Johaneck

Mary Beliveau
Seminar Chairman

Wm. Pierce, Child Welfare League; Clyde Shorey, March of Dimes

Alan Parker, Chief Counsel, House Judiciary Subcommittee

Lon Fendal, aide to Michael Stone, aide Michael Koempel, Sen. Mark Hatfield. to Rep. James aide to Rep. Albert Oberstar. Quie.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TASK FORCE FOR LIFE ORGANIZED

A number of prominent Protestant women who are leaders of the pro-life cause have united in support of the National Women's Task Force for Life, an all-Protestant activist organization created to promote awareness within Protestant denominations of the escalating concern over abortion on demand.

Pro-life activists who are members of the Task Force Advisory Board include Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D., president of the National Right to Life Committee (NRLC); Marjory Mecklenburg, president of American Citizens Concerned for Life (ACCL); Carolyn Gerster, M.D., chairman of the board of the NRLC; Darla St. Martin, chairman of the National Activities Committee of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life (MCCL); and the Reverend Marlene Walters, Methodist chaplain at Wilmington, Delaware, General Hospital.

Elected president of the Task Force at a recent Washington, D.C., meeting was Judith Fink, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Mrs. Fink was co-founder of Baptists for Life, Inc., and currently serves as vice president of ACCL. Mrs. Jean Garton of Pennsauken, New Jersey, a member of the Committee on Social Concerns of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, is corporate secretary.

The Women's Task Force for Life has the backing of Mrs. Ruth Bell Graham of Montreat, North Carolina. Sandra Simmons, former assistant executive director of MCCL, serves as membership coordinator and staffs the Task Force's office in McLean, Virginia.

Mrs. Garton announced that a major goal of the group is to staff information booths at Christian oriented seminars and conventions. "The impact made at the recent evangelical Continental Congress on the Family by factual brochures and booklets prepared by Protestant authors helped bring about the strong anti-abortion resolution which the Congress adopted," she said.

To enable the Task Force to build a nationwide network of active members, the organization's officers announced the beginning of "Operation Identify". Mrs. Fink said that "each pro-life group throughout the country is being asked to identify its Protestant members and send us their names. From these and other sources, we are building a network which will be responsive to both local and national needs."

Mrs. Garton said, "We are calling upon the leaders of each state and local group to help in this project. Both lay workers and clergy contacts are being sought. Many ministers want to do more for the life issues but need the help of nearby people to assist them. As names are forwarded, they will be classified by denomination and state. The Task Force will be sub-divided into districts to facilitate the distribution of educational tracts and to speed communication."

The Women's Task Force welcomes inquiries from any Protestant who is interested in the life concerns issues. The organization's offices are located at 7119 Warbler Lane, McLean, VA 22101. Mrs. Fink can be reached in Pittsburgh at 412-561-8944.

HOUSE HOLDS WEEK OF HEARINGS ON ABORTION

Following up on two days of hearings it held in February on proposed pro-life constitutional amendments (see story on page 7) the House Judiciary Subcommittee heard five more days of testimony the week of March 22 through 26. Testimony presented on Monday and Tuesday concentrated on legal problems arising from the Supreme Court's abortion decision and arguments for and against reversing *Roe* and *Doe* through a constitutional amendment or other legislation. Witnesses heard on the remaining three days included representatives of various religious groups, public officials, medical authorities and pro-life leaders.

Pros and Cons of Amendments Argued

The hearings began on Monday the 22nd with a round of verbal fireworks from the day's two pro-abortion and two pro-life witnesses. The leadoff witness, Arthur S. Flemming, chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, submitted a written statement based on his Commission's 1975 abortion report, "Constitutional Aspects of the Right to Limit Childbearing".

He insisted that all attempts to reverse the Supreme Court's abortion decision were an assault on the Constitution itself and on other guaranteed civil rights such as privacy and freedom of religion. "When no wholly secular reason can be advanced for the prohibition, then to outlaw abortion is a direct assault on the freedom of conscience protected by the First Amendment," Flemming said.

Harriet Pilpel, legal counsel to the Planned Parenthood Federation and the American Civil Liberties Union, maintained that "nowhere in our Constitution or in any amendment adopted to date is there any reference to, or guarantee of a 'right to life' for anyone, born or unborn." She asserted that "the 'Right to Life' Amendments would create an enormous category of constitutional rights which this country is not prepared psychologically or economically to cope with."

Reflecting the concerns that pro-abortion groups have about the "states' rights" amendment proposals (they feel such amendments could be enacted by Congress and ratified), Pilpel went to considerable lengths to attempt to discredit these proposals and argued that they would not accomplish their intended results. Her more fundamental concern, however, was clearly with "returning us to a chaotic situation of varying state laws (which) would revive the intense debate along religious lines that preceded the Supreme Court decisions in *Roe* and *Doe*."

The day's two pro-life witnesses were law professors David W. Louisell of the University of Virginia and Victor Rosenblum of Northwestern University.

Disagreeing strongly with the position that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has taken on abortion since Flemming became chairman, Rosenblum immediately zeroed in on several of the assertions and premises in the Commission's recent report which were repeated in Flemming's testimony. Rosenblum said, "I am deeply concerned over the innuendo that borders on religious prejudice contained in the report's contention that 'raising a particular religious view of personhood to the level of constitutionality would be widely regarded as a constraint on the free exercise of religion and an attack on the Constitution itself!'"

Far from providing what the Commission termed 'rational answers to difficult questions', Rosenblum said "the decisions in *Roe* and *Doe* appeared to sanction the most irrational stigmas of a hostile society." He said that as a teacher of torts for the past several years he found it especially interesting "that tort law has recently been and is today far more supportive of the sanctity of life than is the Supreme Court's present position on abortion."

Terming the abortion controversy "one of the gravest social, political and moral problems in our Republic's history", Professor Louisell said that "nothing the Court has done in its long career has so departed from its historic norm of protection of the essential values of this Republic as *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton* (unless it be *Dred Scott v. Sanford* in 1857)." He then reiterated some of the medical abuses, social costs and infringements of other person's rights that have resulted from the Court's decisions.

Louisell said that "those who remember the court packing plan of 1937, which brought the Court to the edge of doom because of its disregard of the warning of Justice Holmes (*Lochner v. New York*, 1905) and others that the Court must not legislate its own personal convictions, may well conclude that the greatest service that can be rendered the Court itself is to extricate it from its error. The error will permeate political process until the people have at least a chance to reverse it."

Ancillary Legal Issues Discussed

Tuesday's pro-life testimony centered on an analysis of the problems created by the various lower court interpretations of such aspects of the Supreme Court decision as the meaning of the term "viability", the conflict between legitimate and compelling state interests in rights of fathers, parents of minor girls, and unwilling abortion-tax payers, and other definitional problems. Attorneys J. Jerome Mansmann of Pittsburgh and Jacqueline Nolan-Haley of Boston argued brilliantly that the court's language was so faulty that it isn't possible to interpret it correctly and that legislative action is needed to correct the present intolerable situation.

Mr. Mansmann, a Deputy Assistant Attorney General for the state of Pennsylvania, discussed abortion clinic abuses and said "there is chaos in principle and practice." He cited evidence of lack of counseling of women, poor overall medical care, and underscored the profit motive, showing abortion to be "big business".

Striking home telling points regarding the fuzzing of the term "viability" Jacqueline Nolan-Haley discussed how Supreme Court inspired confusion has led to late abortions in the second and third trimester. She reported that the Court did not acknowledge the fact that this medical concept is changing to adjust downward the point during pregnancy that a child can survive outside the womb.

Ms. Nolan-Haley also discussed the medico/legal obligations regarding the viable fetus. Maintaining that, at a minimum, *Roe* gave the state power to protect viable human life, she reviewed the difficulty encountered in upholding state laws which attempt to limit or proscribe post-viability abortions, and the "rampant confusion" in lower courts.

Both pro-life witnesses opposed mandatory abortion payments through Medicaid.

Ruth Jane Zuckerman, professor of law at Rutgers University, spoke against all abortion related constitutional amendments. She opposed any interpretation of the Supreme Court decision which would allow legislation that would grant rights to fathers of the unborn, parents of minor children, or would restrict use of Medicaid funds for abortion. Zuckerman described her field of law as "family law, rights of minors, and population law".

William T. Homans, defense attorney for Dr. Kenneth Edelin, presented a brief off-the-cuff statement. He also opposed any restrictions on abortion.

Religious Leaders Present Views

Clear and succinct arguments from four Christian pro-life witnesses began and ended the testimony on religious issues Wednesday. Terence Cardinal Cooke, chairman of the Committee on Pro-Life Activities of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB), and Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin, president of the NCCB, represented Roman Catholic interests. Mrs. Jean Garton, a member of the Lutheran Church-Missouri

Synod (LC-MS) Social Concerns and Public Relations Committees and chairwoman of the LC-MS Task Force on Women, and Dr. Eugene Linse, chairman of the LC-MS Social Concerns Committee and professor of political science at Concordia College, St. Paul, Minnesota, spoke for the traditional Protestant viewpoint. They were opposed by Ms. Theresa Hoover and Rabbi Balfour Brickner, both of whom represented the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights.

The testimony presented by the Roman Catholic witnesses clearly expressed their concern for the present abortion on demand situation and called for the enactment of a constitutional amendment. When questioned by the subcommittee, each decline to be specific on wording preference, stating only that they would favor the "strongest possible" amendment. Questions about the possibility of widely used contraceptives being eliminated if the human life amendment is enacted were met with a firm "stick to the issue" response by Archbishop Bernardin and his refusal to pursue the topic. Members of the audience were impressed with the firm confidence of manner shown by the NCCB representatives and their clear call for the subcommittee to come to grips with the problems caused by the Court's decision.

Mrs. Garton met head-on the claim that opposition to abortion is a "Catholic" issue. Pointing to the millions of persons of all religions who care deeply about the many deaths caused by the Supreme Court decision, she stated such concern was indeed a catholic one — with a small "c", meaning universal. Refusing to accept the labeling of either opponents or proponents of abortion, she asked, "Is the promotion of abortion a 'Jewish issue'? If one only looks at polls, the answer might appear to be yes — but we know that it is not the case."

Dr. Eugene Linse pointed out that enactment of federal laws to restrict abortion and activity leading toward a constitutional amendment should proceed at the same time. Stating the theological groundwork for Protestant respect for life, he noted that both Jews and Christians in the present day were opposed to abortion.

Pro-life Protestants listened in amazement as Theresa Hoover informed the sub-committee that "Protestant churches think life begins at viability." Questioned by Representative M. Caldwell Butler in regard to which Protestant churches these might be, Ms. Hoover attempted to duck the question and finally said that "probably" the Presbyterian Church in the USA fixed the beginning of life at viability. Reformed Jewish Rabbi Balfour Brickner displayed a thinly veiled anti-Catholicism in his testimony and was careful to state that he was speaking for no religious body.

Witnesses Thomas I. Emerson of Yale University School of Law and Leo Pfeffer, special Council for the American Jewish Congress and the American Civil Liberties Union, were scheduled to speak on the First Amendment and the issue of separation of church and state. However, there was no time available and they were not heard.

Congressmen, Pro-Life Leaders Testify

The selection of witnesses for Thursday and Friday was made by the minority members of the subcommittee, M. Caldwell Butler (R-Vir. 6) and Thomas N. Kindness (R-Ohio 8).

The leadoff witness for Thursday's hearing was Congressman John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz. 1), the House Minority Leader. Mr. Rhodes opened his statement with a quotation from the Book of Common Prayer: "We have done those things which ought not to be done and we have done those things which ought to be done." "I believe that pretty well describes the situation regarding the right to life issue today," he continued. "It is my belief that the Supreme Court erred in *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton* in ruling against the rights of states to prohibit abortions. These 1973 decisions have had unfortunate results. Now the Congress must take steps toward rectifying this situation."

When questioned by Representative Herman Badillo (D-NY 21) on whether he was supporting President Ford's states'

rights position (Rhodes has sponsored the Whitehurst states' rights amendment), Mr. Rhodes indicated his preference for an amendment protecting human life. His press secretary subsequently indicated that the congressman supports Senator Buckley's amendment.

Congressman G. William Whitehurst (R-Vir. 2) was the second witness of the day and asked simply that the Congress return the power to the states to legislate on abortion. Chairman Edwards asked if that was not the case in part now and Mr. Whitehurst replied that this was apparently not possible given the present attitude of the courts. Mr. Badillo wondered if we ought not decide this issue on a national level rather than letting each state have standards which might differ. He asked if a precedent existed in allowing states to decide such matters. Mr. Whitehurst referred to the death penalty as such an example.

John C. Danforth, Attorney General of the State of Missouri, who argued Missouri's regulatory bill defense before the U.S. Supreme Court on March 23, was the next witness to appear. His presentation was based on the issue of the role of State government in America today: "Should States be permitted to determine public policy, or do we continue to look for new *a priori* principles which will be handed down from Washington?" He made it clear that if he were in Congress he would support a human life amendment.

During questioning Mr. Danforth made the observation that the humanness of the fetus is a fact question but that the states could have their power to regulate in this area returned without Congress reaching agreement on this question. Representative Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn. 2) carried on a lively exchange with Mr. Danforth on the 14th Amendment, due process, states' interests, the right to privacy, and the use of federal tax dollars for abortion.

The wrapup witnesses on Thursday were Doctor and Mrs. J. C. Willke, co-chairmen of Cincinnati Right to Life and well-known authors and speakers for the pro-life cause. There was considerable interest in their printed testimony which contained pictures of live prematurely born babies, developing babies, and aborted babies. Members of the press and the audience seemed visibly affected by the testimony. The presentation was expertly done and was an overview of the basic issues involved in the question of legalized abortion.

Representatives Seiberling and Butler expressed their concern about the incidence of illegal abortions prior to the decision and the resulting damage to women. The feeling that the situation was somehow beyond control and that women always have had and still seem intent upon abortion was expressed by Mr. Seiberling. "Something is wrong in our society," he observed. The National Public Radio news wrap-up of the hearings played a portion of Dr. Willke's testimony and the announcer who covered the hearings commented that the pro-life side had been effective both emotionally and logically, although no action was expected from the Subcommittee. Chairman Edwards confirmed this probability in an interview with Public Radio.

Medical Issues Focus of Last Hearing

Friday was devoted entirely to medical testimony and featured five witnesses. Each of them gave separate statements and they were questioned as a panel at the conclusion.

Dr. Irving Bernstein, a University of Minnesota Professor of Psychiatry, Neurology and Obstetrics and Gynecology, indicated that from the psychiatric point of view there are no indications for recommending therapeutic abortion. He stated that termination of pregnancy is not without psychiatric risks, that all women reject their pregnancies to some degree, especially early in pregnancy, that the use of usual psychiatric therapies may still be beneficial during a pregnancy, and that mental illness is not made worse by a pregnancy. He made the point that because a woman does not want a pregnancy at a particular time, does not mean she will continue to not want it and produce a battered child.

Dr. William J. Keenan, M.D., professor of Pediatrics and Obstetrics and Gynecology, and a Cincinnati, Ohio, specialist in neonatal and perinatal medicine, gave an explanation of his field of specialization: "Perinatology is that branch of the healing arts concerned with fetal growth, development, and well-being. Many of the scientific advances in the past ten years have been successfully applied to the care of the fetus and newly born infant. Many of the infants who survive with widely used medical management are comparable in size and gestation to some infants who are currently being aborted. This presents a dilemma to which there must be a solution."

Dr. Keenan continued, "there is a great paradox in medicine's efforts to help one child in his struggle for life while killing other infants of comparable physiologic and anthropometric measurements. My colleagues and I are happy to see some of our patients grow and thrive yet we are disturbed by attending a live born infant who is dying because of the decision that he or she should be aborted."

Dr. Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D., Assistant Clinical Professor of Surgery, Boston University School of Medicine, and president of the National Right to Life Committee, spoke next: "The surpassing value of the Hippocratic tradition in medicine is that it represents an ethical system where killing and curing functions of the doctor are separated and the society is obliged not to ask the doctor to kill. The assignment of killing functions to the doctor, even with the permission of the highest Court in the land, jeopardizes the entire foundation of an organized society."

She concluded by stating that "our objective is to reestablish the protection of life as the principle that we assumed under the Constitution until the U.S. Supreme Court cancelled the right to life of the unborn child. The states' rights proposal seeks an accommodation for abortion. The human life amendment establishes human life as the priority of this society. We will not compromise. We will accept nothing less."

Dr. Elizabeth B. Connell, M.D., Associate Director for Health Sciences, The Rockefeller Foundation, questioned the wisdom of enacting constitutional restrictions on abortion, saying that "there is every evidence to suggest that such measures would in no way curtail the use of abortion as a means of fertility control. Women who can afford safe, clean abortions will obtain them; women lacking comparable financial resources will resort to self-induced or illegal procedures. The intense guilt and confusion previously felt by many women when considering an abortion is no longer present. Most women are now able to accept abortion in a very different manner. A constitutional amendment would deprive women of the proven health benefits as well as the social and psychological benefits of properly performed, safe, legal abortions."

Dr. Irvin M. Cushner, Associate Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology in the School of Medicine and Associate Professor of Public Health in the School of Public Health at UCLA, was the last witness of the day. Dr. Cushner stated what he considered to be the leading arguments offered by pro-life physicians and then attempted to refute them one by one. Included in his testimony were discussions of maternal mortality and abortion related mortalities, psychiatric indications for abortion and psychiatric complications of abortion, and the humanness of the fetus.

"Contrary to popular terminology, I do not know a 'pro-abortionist'. I know many people who are pro 'the availability' of abortion. Certainly, prevention of pregnancy — contraception — is preferable to abortion. But given the fact that women do become pregnant accidentally — that contraception is not universally available in our society and that even our most advanced contraceptive technologies fail — there is obviously a need for abortion. Given that reality, we feel strongly that abortion be performed legally, safely and with dignity."

Questions were limited and centered around the conscience clause, counseling and HEW guidelines. It appeared that the lawyers serving on the Subcommittee were far more apt to take at face value the statements of physicians in this matter than they were those of attorneys who testified.

LEGAL ISSUES FOCUS OF INITIAL JUDICIARY HEARINGS

The first two days of hearings on the abortion issue held by the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the House Judiciary Committee began on February 4th and 5th with a sober and businesslike seven-man panel firing tough questions at pro-life and pro-abortion witnesses.

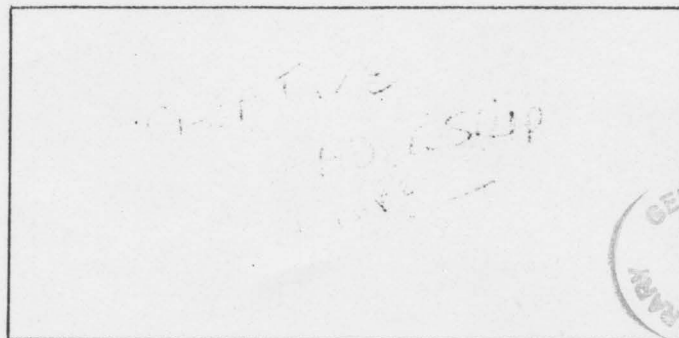
The five Democrats and two Republicans took the matter seriously, although they displayed a wide variety of opinion. Most clearly evident was a strong interest in discussing the pros and cons of a "states' rights" type of constitutional amendment to return the abortion issue to the state legislatures. In his opening remarks, representative Thomas N. Kindness (R-Ohio-8) indicated his advocacy for local option, and said that he would propose a constitutional amendment to form a new federal "court of the states" that would rule solely on disputed decisions handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Both Professors Joseph Witherspoon and Robert Byrn expressed preference for the constitutional amendment wording contained in House Joint Resolution 132, introduced by Rep. James Oberstar (D-Minn.-8). This amendment would prohibit abortion except to save the life of a pregnant woman. Congressman Oberstar, although not a member of the subcommittee, sat in the audience through both hearings. Under questioning, Witherspoon spoke against wording suggested by Professor John T. Noonan, Jr. Noonan defended his "federalist" approach, saying that he trusted the American people to ultimately make pro-life decisions. He did not reject H.J.R. 132 outright, but pointed out that he did not feel it would become law and said he believed his own approach stood a better chance for passage.

Professor Cyril Means' testimony centering around the history of English common law on abortion elicited little response from the subcommittee. Judith Mears, who announced that she would be counsel to Planned Parenthood in the U.S. Supreme Court review of the Missouri regulatory statute, said that the prime goal of pro-abortionists was now to force public hospitals to provide abortion facilities and personnel. Mears also stated that if the federal government chose to fund medical care for the indigent then providing medical services for maternity also mandated the government to provide funds for abortion. Not to do so, she said, would "burden the woman's choice".

Professor Paul Bender, University of Pennsylvania Law School, displayed some ambivalence under questioning, and acknowledged that if the Supreme Court's decision continued to be under fire for a long period of time he might see grounds for its reversal. Noting that "unpopular new rights" often experienced backlash, Bender predicted that the current pro-life furor would fade away in time.

The hearing room was packed with congressional staff aides, pro-life people from several states, worried looking pro-abortionists and a full complement of news media personnel, listening intently as each member of the subcommittee shot questions at the witnesses concerning the meaning of "burdened choice", whether banning abortion would also eliminate the use of the contraceptive pill, the IUD and treatment after rape (Byrn said yes, Noonan no), and the nuances of phraseology of the various proposed amendments.



DISAGREEING CAN BE A CIVILIZED PROCESS

By Sydney J. Harris

Thomas Aquinas, who knew more about education and persuasion than almost anybody else who ever lived, once said that when you want to convert someone to your view, you go over to where he is standing, take him by the hand (mentally speaking), and guide him to where you want to go.

You don't stand across the room and shout at him. You don't call him a dummy. You don't order him to come over to where you are. You start where he is, and work from that position.

We have lost sight of this elementary psychological fact. The world is full of passionate advocates, screaming their own prejudices, and excoriating their opponents.

This (a) makes the people who agree with you feel better, (b) makes the people who disagree with you stiffen their resistance and (c) it makes the people on the fence uneasy and skeptical that you are speaking the whole truth.

Editor's Note:

Particularly in the realm of politics, where one must often deal with powerful and seemingly non-defeatable public figures, the art of persuasion is an essential skill. Reprinted below are some thoughts on the subject by Sidney J. Harris, author, editor, drama critic and syndicated columnist from Chicago.

I have never known a single passionate and partisan argument to win over a person who disagreed with it, or even to persuade a person neutral on the subject. All passionate and partisan arguments overstate their case and understate their opponents'.

When you think someone is wrong, and disagree with him, the first task is to determine in what way he is right. No view can be entirely wrong and everybody has a little piece of truth by the tail.

If people can't agree on how to disagree, there is no hope of reconciliation or compromise. The art of argument is learning how to disagree productively.

It is far easier to be passionate in defense of what one believes than to comprehend why somebody else believes something different. But ultimately, only this comprehension (which is not agreement) can replace violence with dialogue instead of the defending monologues that lead to war.

STEWARDESSES FOR LIFE ORGANIZED

Formation of a new national pro-life organization, **Stewardesses For Life**, has been announced by Sue Fremgen, an ACCL area Representative from Westmont, Illinois. The new group plans to be active in pro-life counselling and in presenting educational programs on the life issues to airline industry personnel.

Officers of the new group include Sue Fremgen, president, a former stewardess and supervisor for Continental Airlines; Karen Gormley, vice president, and Chris Rohleder, secretary, both United Airlines hostesses; and Kathy Streberger, treasurer, a former Braniff International stewardess.

Among the pro-life activists on the Advisory Board of the organization are Marjory Mecklenburg of ACCL, Dr. Mildred F. Jefferson of the National Right to Life Committee, Professor Victor G. Rosenblum of Northwestern University, Jackie Henry of Illinois Citizens for Life, Joseph M. Scheidler of the Illinois Right to Life Committee, Pat Goltz of Feminists for Life, and Ramona Clairmont of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life.

Stewardesses for Life meets monthly at O'Hare Airport for the convenience of flight attendants coming off domestic and international flights. Future plans include the opening of an office at or near Chicago's O'Hare International Airport.

Annual membership dues are \$5.00 and persons interested in joining or in forming a local unit of Stewardesses for Life can contact the organization at P.O. Box 118, Westmont, Illinois 60559; telephone 312-852-3729. Membership is open to all present and former pro-life stewardesses.

BOOKS ON UNMARRIED PARENTHOOD NOW AVAILABLE FROM ACCL

The problem of out of wedlock pregnancies in the United States has reached astounding proportions and is responsible for much of the pressure for legalized abortion. Because a thorough knowledge of the underlying reasons for abortion is so important in combatting it, pro-life leaders and strategists will appreciate five informative paperback books on unmarried parenthood that are now available from ACCL.

The papers in each book were originally presented by a wide range of authorities in the fields of social work, psychology, sociology and education at sessions sponsored by the National Council on Illegitimacy (NCI) during five annual National Conferences on Social Welfare. Pro-life lending libraries or resource centers should have a set of these books on hand and persons involved in developing or lobbying for programs of alternatives to abortion should read them.

The five books in the series are:

Unmarried Parenthood: Clues to Agency and Community Action	\$1.50
Unmarried Parents and Their Children	1.95
The Double Jeopardy The Triple Crisis — Illegitimacy Today	2.35
Illegitimacy: Changing Services for Changing Times ..	1.95
Illegitimacy: Today's Realities	1.95
	\$9.70

GOVERNMENT TELLS STAND ON ABORTION AID

On March 26 the federal government filed a brief with the U.S. Supreme Court maintaining that states should be free to deny Medicaid payments to women seeking elective abortions. Significantly, the Court had requested the government to outline its views on the question. The brief was filed with the Court in a case involving Pennsylvania officials' appeal of a decision striking down that state's regulation limiting Medicaid payments for abortions to those deemed essential to protect the life or health of the mother.

In the brief Bork disputed arguments that the requirement unconstitutionally discriminates against women who choose to have abortions rather than live births.



Marriage and Family Newsletter

JOHN E. HARRINGTON, MSW, ACSW, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER



In addition to placing an order for your own subscription, or order, please consider giving a gift subscription or order to your local public, elementary or secondary school, or college or university library. Students are researching papers on topics covered in Marriage & Family Newsletter.

Since I began Marriage & Family Newsletter, January, 1970, it has been a one-man operation, except for a part-time secretary in Collegeville, Minnesota, and the help of my wife and our seven children. Marriage & Family Newsletter is not funded by any group, organization, or church. Marriage & Family Newsletter does not have any connection with any group, organization, or church. For the articles published in Marriage & Family Newsletter bearing my name as author I do the research and writing myself. For all of the articles published in Marriage & Family Newsletter I do all of the typing, layout, mailings, etc. myself.

Since January 1970 I have edited and published Marriage & Family Newsletter on a part-time basis while I have supported our family with a full-time position. I normally spend about four hours each weekday and most of Saturdays and Sundays working on the Newsletter.

Since January 1970 Marriage & Family Newsletter has not made a profit nor has it paid me a salary. Marriage & Family Newsletter is now at the point where it needs my full-time attention just in order to keep up and to expand. To do this I need many more subscriptions than I have presently.

Provided that I can increase the number of subscriptions, I will quit my full-time position and only work as editor and publisher of Marriage & Family Newsletter. Can you help me toward this goal by either subscribing or renewing your subscription and by giving or obtaining other subscriptions? I am counting on you. Your help is appreciated.

(See page 4 of this order form for subscription rates and ordering information.)

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Expenses:

Promotion	\$152.00	Delivery, express, freight.	\$1327.00
Bank charges, interest	126.00	Postage, office expenses	1271.00
Printing	3248.00	Office & storage rent.	850.00
Salaries (part-time office and secretary).	835.00	Supplies & materials	819.00
Telephone	865.00	Travel & convention (includes Bucharest).	2021.00
Publications & subscriptions	300.00	Capital cost allowance.	86.00
Miscellaneous	252.00		
Bad debts	697.00		
TOTAL EXPENSES	\$12,849.00		

Income (subscriptions, bulk orders for back copies, talks, workshops, donation from U.S. Coalition for Life to attend Bucharest Conference (\$1000.00

\$11,632.

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The symposium is an impressive record of achievement and endeavour, justifying Sir Brian Windeyer's belief that the future collaboration of radiobiologists and radiotherapists offers the promise of real improvements in the results of the treatment of cancer.

¹ Pickering, G., *Lancet*, 1965, 1, 57.

² *British Medical Bulletin*, 1973, 29, 1.

Latent Morbidity after Abortion

The abortion debate continues. An important contribution to it now comes from Margaret Wynn and Arthur Wynn,¹ incorporating their evidence to the Lane Committee on the Working of the Abortion Act. This Committee is expected to report later this year and its findings are eagerly awaited, though the problems of abortion are such that it would be sanguine to hope for simple solutions.

In her paper Margaret Wynn is firmly of the opinion that "it would be wise for young women and their parents and future husbands to assume that induced abortion is neither safe nor simple, that it frequently has long-term consequences, may affect subsequent children and makes young single women less eligible for marriage." The evidence in support of this statement comes from an analysis of a series of publications with much reference to overseas experience, which is often longer and more complete than our own. Her emphasis is on the long-term effects of abortion, which Arthur Wynn designates latent morbidity. In Britain notifications of abortion include only the complications occurring in the first week—much too short a period on which to base estimates of morbidity, especially when in the private sector patients are frequently seen only for one day. Moreover, nobody knows the extent of the failure to notify. The Wynns argue that there is enough evidence now available on which to base estimates of morbidity. Most importantly they stress that the longer the follow-up the worse the results. With a really prolonged follow-up—that is, several years—a 30% morbidity rate may not be an over-estimate.

A previous abortion increases the chances of a subsequent perinatal death by 50%, according to the British Perinatal Mortality Survey,² and the experience of some other countries suggests that even this figure is an underestimate. In addition there may be a 40% increase in premature births, and these are known often to be associated with impaired mental and physical development. Ectopic pregnancies are increased two- or three-fold after a previous abortion, and there is a four-fold increase in pelvic inflammation and menstrual disorders, while 2-5% of those who have abortions may subsequently be sterile. Husbands who desire a family, Margaret Wynn suggests, might justifiably be alienated from wives who fail to bear children because of termination of a pre-nuptial pregnancy for which they were not responsible.

As regards the consequences of abortion older women with

families are in quite a different category from young single women. Arthur Wynn emphasizes the problems for the latter group by citing the statistically significant increase in premature labours, and he carries the story further by showing that they have an increased likelihood of postpartum haemorrhage, mid-trimester abortions, rhesus isoimmunization, antepartum haemorrhage, stillbirth, and even congenital malformation. Much of the evidence for these sequels of abortion comes from German experience, though it can be matched from Czechoslovakia too. And these results take no account of any psychological consequences of abortion.

Margaret Wynn shows that up to 1970 the numbers of illegitimate births—with all their social consequences in terms of unhappiness—had scarcely diminished, while the numbers of terminations of pregnancy in single women had rapidly increased. She infers that "abortion is being used increasingly as a contraceptive method." More than half the women seeking abortion had used no other method of birth control.

Doctors may legitimately ask what sort of society has been underwritten by the Abortion Act? Is it one of sexual freedom or even licence with serious consequences for those involved? Does legislation make any difference to human behaviour in such delicate areas, or does it drag along in the wake of public opinion? Has the Abortion Act made a change in behaviour which would not otherwise have occurred? Do these changes in behaviour matter? The questions crop up endlessly and still the answers seem no clearer. This is because they involve value judgements with elements of emotion, passion, and reason. Simple consideration of the pros and cons will not solve the dilemma, but it has to be attempted.

One aim of the Abortion Act was to get rid of back-street abortions with all their bad consequences. The back-street element may have been greatly decreased, but many of the bad consequences remain. Legal abortion has probably diminished the number of maternal deaths, and it could be argued that it may have enlarged the limits of human freedom. These factors might be put on the credit side, but the debit side might show a great sum of serious morbidity—and the final bill will have to be paid by those who undergo abortions, their children (if they have any), their immediate circle, and society at large. Is the price too high? Will any law make it different? Presumably there will always be casualties of cultural attitudes in any society, and whether one attitude is better than another remains a matter of opinion. Nevertheless, the Wynns have produced a very serious indictment of legalized abortion, which must be heeded by doctors and law-makers. Some may argue that their case is overstated, but it is well and dispassionately argued, and the supporters of easy abortion must look to their defences. The importance of the subject in social, economic, and human terms demands a similar dispassionate reply.

¹ Wynn, M., and Wynn, A., (1972) *Some Consequences of Induced Abortion to Children Born Subsequently*. London, Foundation for Education and Research in Childbearing, 27, Walpole Street, London S.W.3. Price 60s.

² Butler, N. R., and Bonham, D. G., *Perinatal Mortality*. London, Livingstone (1963).

Infectious Complications following Abortion

PERFORMING ABORTIONS on an ambulatory basis has recently received much publicity. The Supreme Court's decision which ruled abortion in the first trimester a procedure without controls has increased the interest of both the medical and non-medical public in this practice. A recent article in this journal implied that ambulatory abortion was a benign, almost perfectly safe method of terminating pregnancy in the first trimester.

Gaziano and Kaplan in the April issue* of MINNESOTA MEDICINE remind us that there are definite hazards to legal abortion and report a series of post-abortion infections. These infections probably would not have appeared in the morbidity statistics of the clinics in which the abortion was performed because the infection occurred after the patient was hundreds of miles from the abortion facility.

Legal abortion was touted as a measure to eliminate the risk of infection that frequently followed criminal abortion. Though recent articles have emphasized the decrease in hospital admissions for infected criminal abortions, this report is one of the first to point out that infection may also be a significant problem in legal abortion.

Non-adherence to the rules of strict sterile technique as practiced in the hospital operating room may extract a costly price in terms of post-abortion infection. Though the type of facility in which these ambulatory abortions were performed is not stated, the article points out one real hazard of this approach. Although a strict sterile surgical technique removes the abortion from the non-medical procedure atmosphere that the "free standing" clinic promotes, it better protects the life and health of those women who choose to be aborted. The minimal sterile technique used in "free-standing" or ambulatory abortion clinics is to be deplored.

Though at the moment there are no legal controls on who, where, or when abortions may be done in the first trimester of pregnancy, Gaziano and Kaplan's article should force us to consider some type of quality control on abortion facilities and procedures. If abortion is to be performed as an ambulatory service it should be done in a "surgi-center" or outpatient operating room type of facility in which strict sterile surgical technique is maintained.

The incidence of infection following legal abortion in this country has not been established. Unless accurate, complete follow-up and reporting is required, the exact risk of post-abortion infection will never be known.

Peter Fehr, M.D.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

See page 269.

ANNUAL MEETING

Friday—Continued

Mid-Trimester Therapeutic Abortion—Robert C. Goodlin, M.D.

On our service, mid-trimester therapeutic abortions are accomplished with either hysterectomy, hysterotomy or hypertonic saline amnioinfusion. The saline technique is associated with the shortest hospital stay but with the most late complications, while the opposite is true of the hysterectomy technique. Several other mid-trimester abortions techniques have been used (in small numbers of patients) but with less satisfactory results.

The present saline amnioinfusion technique includes: (1) withdrawal of 50 to 200 ml of amniotic fluid, (2) gravity infusion or injection of 200 to 250 ml of 20% saline plus antibiotic, (3) intravenous oxytocin infusion at rates of 50 to 300 mu/min, (4) cervical insertion of laminaria tents or a Foley catheter. Past serious complications include: (1) water intoxication, (2) septicemia, (3) hypofibrinogenemia with renal failure, (4) lower segment lacerations with retroperitoneal hematoma and (5) cervical fistuli; but no maternal deaths have occurred.

A problem common to all mid-trimester abortion techniques is associated emotional stress of both hospital staff and patients. Since we are unable by physical examination to estimate gestational length closer than \pm three weeks, an occasional viable size fetus is unintentionally destroyed. Likewise, unlike the patient requesting first trimester abortion, those asking for mid-trimester abortions often are ambivalent over terminating the pregnancy and in my experience, frequently express feelings of guilt or hostility after the procedure.

Can this happen again?

MASS KILLING IN

PRE-WAR

GERMANY

Frederick Wertham, M.D.

In the latter part of 1939, four men, in the presence of a whole group of physicians and an expert chemist, were purposely killed (with carbon monoxide gas). They had done nothing wrong, had caused no disturbance, and were trusting and cooperative. They were ordinary mental patients of a state psychiatric hospital which was—or should have been—responsible for their welfare. This successful experiment led to the installation of gas chambers in a number of psychiatric hospitals (Grafeneck, Brandenburg, Hartheim, Sonnenstein, Hadamar, Bernburg).

Let us visualize a historical scene. Dr. Max de Crinis is professor of psychiatry at Berlin University and director of the psychiatric department of the Charite, one of the most famous hospitals of Europe. He is one of the top scientists and organizers of the mass destruction of mental patients. Dr. de Crinis visits the psychiatric institution Sonnenstein, near Dresden, to supervise the working of his organization. He wants to see how the plans are carried out. Sonnenstein is a state hospital with an old tradition of scientific psychiatry and humaneness. In the company of psychiatrists of the institution, Dr. de Crinis now inspects the latest installation, a shower-roomlike chamber. Through a small peephole in an adjoining room he watches twenty nude men being led into the chamber and the door closed. They are not disturbed patients, just quiet and cooperative ones. Carbon monoxide is released into the chamber. The men get weaker and weaker; they try frantically to breathe, totter, and finally drop down. Minutes later their suffering is over and they are all dead. This is a scene repeated many, many times throughout the program. A psychiatrist or staff physician turns on the gas, waits briefly, and then looks over the dead patients afterward, men, women, and children.

The mass killing of mental patients (in prewar Germany) was a large project. It was organized as well as any modern community psychiatric project, and better than most. It began with a careful preparatory and planning stage. Then came the detailed working out of methods, the

formation of agencies for transporting patients, their registration and similar tasks (there were three main agencies with impressive bureaucratic names), the installing of crematory furnaces at the psychiatric institutions, and finally the action. It all went like clock-work, the clock being the hourglass of death. The organization comprised a whole chain of mental hospitals and institutions, university professors of psychiatry, and directors and staff members of mental hospitals. Psychiatrists completely reversed their historical role and passed death sentences. It became a matter of routine. . . .

The whole undertaking went by different designations: "help for the dying," "mercy deaths," "mercy killings," "destruction of life devoid of value," "mercy action". . . . They all became fused in the sonorous and misleading term "euthanasia". . . . In reality, these mass killings. . . were not mercy deaths but merciless murders. It was the merciless destruction of helpless people by those who were supposed to help them. . . .

The greatest mistake we can make is to assume or believe that there was a morally, medically, or socially legitimate program and that all that was wrong was merely the excesses. There were no excesses. Rarely has a civil social action been planned, organized, and carried through with such precision. . . . Often it took up to five minutes of suffocation and suffering before the patients died. If we minimize the cruelty involved (or believe those who minimize it), these patients are betrayed a second time. It was often a slow, terrible death for them. . . .

From the very beginning—that is, before the outbreak of war and before any written expression by Hitler—it was officially known to leading professors of psychiatry and directors of mental hospitals that under the designation of "euthanasia" program was about to be carried through by them and with their help to kill mental patients in the whole of Germany. The object was "the destruction of life devoid of value." That definition was flexible enough for a summary proceeding of extermination of patients. The term "euthanasia" was deliberately used to conceal the actual purpose of the project. . . . The most reliable estimates of the number of psychiatric patients killed are at least 275,000. . . . The indications became wider and eventually included as criteria "superfluous people," the unfit, the unproductive, any "useless eaters," misfits, undersirables. The over-all picture is best understood as the identification and elimination of the weak.

A considerable percentage of the whole number were. . . merely aged and infirm. Many of the old people included in the program were not in institutions but were living at home, in

good health, with their families. A psychiatrist would go to these homes and give the aged people a cursory psychiatric examination. . . . The psychiatrist would then suggest that such people be placed under guardianship and sent to an institution for a while. From there they were quickly put into gas chambers. It is difficult to conceive that thousands of normal men and women would permit their parents or grandparents to be disposed of in this way without more protest, but that is what happened. . .

Thousands of children were (also) disposed of. . . . They were killed in both psychiatric institutions and pediatric clinics. Especially in the latter a number of woman physicians were actively involved in the murders. Among these children were those with mental diseases, mental defectives—even those with only slightly retarded intelligence—handicapped children, children with neurological conditions, and mongoloid children (even with minimal mental defects). Also in this number were children in training schools or reformatories. Admission to such childcare institutions occurs often on a social indication and not for any intrinsic personality difficulties of the child. . . .

The chief of the mental institution Hadamar was responsible for the murder of "over a thousand patients." He personally opened the containers of gas and watched through the peephole the death agonies of the patients, including children. He stated: "I was of course torn this way and that. It reassured me to learn what eminent scientists partook in the action: Professor Carl Schneider, Professor Heyde, Professor Nitsche". . . . And when Dr. Karl Brandt, the medical chief of the euthanasia project, defended himself for his leading role in the action, he stated. . . . "We're not the regular professors of the universities with the program? Who could there be who was better qualified than they?"

Doctors Kill "Worthless People"

These statements that leading psychiatrists supplied the rationalization for these cruelties and took a responsible part in them are true. . . . Historically there were tendencies in psychiatry (and not only in German psychiatry) to pronounce value judgments not only on individuals, on medical grounds, but on whole groups, on medicosociological grounds. What was (and still is) widely regarded as scientific writing prepared the way. Most influential was the book *The Release of the Destruction of Life Devoid of Value*, published in Leipzig in 1920. . . . The book advocated that the killing of "worthless people" be released from penalty and legally permitted. It was written by two prominent scientists, the jurist Karl Binding and the psychiatrist Alfred Hoche. The concept of "life devoid of

value" or "life not worth living" was not a Nazi invention, as is often thought. It derives from this book. . . .

These ideas were expressed in 1920. Surely Hoche and Binding had not heard of Hitler at that time, nor did Hitler read this book. It is not without significance that at this time, when Hitler was just starting his career, the "life devoid of value" slogan was launched from a different source. Evidently there is such a thing as a spirit of the times which emanates from the depths of economic-historical processes.

This little book influenced—or at any rate crystallized—the thinking of a whole generation. Considering how violence-stimulating the ideas in it are, it is significant that both authors were eminent men who played a role as intellectual leaders in a special historical period. This illustrates the proposition that violence does not usually come from the uncontrolled instincts of the undereducated, but frequently is a rationalized policy from above. . . .

Executions Precede Hitler

It has been stated that the psychiatrists were merely following a law or were being forced to obey an order. Again and again we read—as if it were a historical fact—of Hitler's secret order to exterminate those suffering from severe mental defect or disease. . . . According to this view, everything was fine until that order was given and became fine again when the order was revoked. The reality was very different. There was no law and no such order. The tragedy is that the psychiatrists did not have to have an order. They acted on their own. They were not carrying out a death sentence pronounced by somebody else. They were the legislators who laid down the rules for deciding who was to die; they were the administrators who worked out the procedures, provided the patients and places, and decided the methods of killing; they pronounced a sentence of life or death in every individual case; they were the executioners who carried the sentences out or—without being coerced to do so—surrendered their patients to be killed in other institutions; they supervised and often watched the slow deaths.

The evidence is very clear on this. The psychiatrists did not have to work in these hospitals; they did so voluntarily, were able to resign if they wished, and could refuse to do special tasks. . . . The psychiatrists in authority did not take advantage of this. Instead they initiated the most extreme measures cloaked them in scientific terminology and academic respectability. . . . Without the scientific rationalization which they supplied from the very beginning and without their mobilization of their own psychiatric hospitals and facilities, the whole proceeding could not have taken the shape it did. . . .

(For example:) The special agency for child "euthanasia," the Reich Commission for the Scientific Registration of Hereditary and Constitutional Severe Disorder. . . . was a commission of experts, psychiatric and pediatric, that decided—entirely on its own—which children should be killed as being mentally below par or handicapped or physically malformed. . . .

Children Starve To Death

The children slated for death were sent to special "children's divisions," first Goerden, then Eichberg, Idstein, Steinhof (near Vienna), and Egling. They were killed mostly by increasing doses of Luminal or other drugs wither spoonfed as medicine or mixed with their food. Their dying lasted for days, sometimes for weeks. In actual practice, the indications for killing eventually became wider. Included were children who had "badly modeled ears," who were bed wetters, or who were perfectly healthy but designated as "difficult to educate." The children coming under the authority of the Reich Commission were originally mostly infants. The age was then increased from three years to seventeen years. . . . A further method of "child euthanasia" was deliberately and literally starving children to death in the "children's divisions." This happened to very many children. . . .

There is a persistent myth about the whole "euthanasia" project which serves to ease the conscience of the civilized world. It is entirely false. According to this myth, Hitler stopped the program after about a year (when "only" some 70,000 patients had been killed) because of protests and pressure from the churches and the public. The "euthanasia" killing was not stopped. It went on until 1945, to the end of the Hitler regime—and in some places, e.g., Bavaria, even a few days longer. . . . It did not even get less cruel but in many cases was more cruel. . . . The methods employed were deliberate withdrawal of food, poisoning, or in many cases a combination of both. The poisoning was done by injections of overdoses of drugs. Patients screaming from hunger were not unusual. If it got too bad, they were given injections which quieted them, made them apathetic, or killed them. This was called euthanasia too. "Euthanasia" by starvation. Such methods had the advantage of more discretion: patients who were destroyed in this way could be more easily counted as "natural deaths." . . . With respect to children, the legend of the 1941 ending of "mercy deaths" does not have even a semblance of truth. The child-killing agency functioned openly and efficiently till the collapse of the regime in 1945. . . .

As for the resistance of the churches, the fact that the killing did continue shows that it was not so

strong or so persistent as to be effective. It was not enough. Dr. Karl Brandt stated that it was Hitler's opinion (which proved right) that resistance to the "euthanasia" killings on the part of the churches would under the circumstances not play a great role. The efforts were sporadic, isolated, and fragmentary. At certain levels the attitude was for a long time so passive and ambiguous that a top bureaucrat in the mercy killings, Hans Hefelmann, could state truthfully in court in Limburg that it had been his understanding that the church "was willing to tolerate such killings (at the time) under certain conditions."

What clergymen did was sixfold. They first protested about the transfer and eventual killing of patients in institutions under their jurisdiction. They wrote to the government and submitted evidence. They protested against the project from the pulpit. In some, but not all, institutions where religious sisters worked as nurses, the clergy made the further work of the sisters dependent on the assurance that they did not have to "participate" in any way in any part of the project. They reported instances to local juridical authorities as punishable crimes. (This was of no effect, because all complaints relating to the "action" were forwarded to Berlin and disregarded.) . . .

Mass Killing, 20th-Century Style

The mass killing. . . cannot be subsumed under any of the old categories. It is not bestial, because even the most predatory animals do not exterminate their own species. It is not barbaric, because barbarians did not have such organized, planned and advanced techniques for killing people and processing them into such commercial products as fertilizers. It is not medieval—it is indeed very twentieth century. It is not strictly a national matter, for the perpetrators had no difficulty in finding collaborators—even very active ones—in other countries. It is not a past, historical episode, because it is still largely unresolved legally, politically, psychologically and educationally. It is not a unique occurrence, because there is no certainty whatsoever that it will not be repeated when similar circumstances arise. It is not an unforeseeable natural catastrophe, because it was long foreshadowed. It is not the work of madmen, for many of the perpetrators and organizers led (both before and after the killings) normal, average bourgeois, working-class, professional, aristocratic, or intellectual lives. . . . It was not a disorderly orgy of primitive violence but a mass action lasting years and carried out with pedantic orderliness.

This article is excerpted from Dr. Wertham's book, *A Sign for Cain* (New York: 1966), by permission of The Macmillan Company, Inc.



Let's Talk It Over



The Abortion Issue

In the last two years bills to liberalize abortion have been proposed before almost three dozen legislatures. These bills are usually drawn up according to the American Law Institute's Model Penal Code of 1962. This says that abortion should be permitted when continued pregnancy would gravely impair the physical or mental health of the mother, when there is substantial risk of gross physical or mental defects in the child, or when pregnancy results from rape (including statutory rape) or incest.

Such concerted effort on so wide a front in so short a time to destroy a hitherto almost self-evident moral code could hardly have occurred spontaneously. In any case, Colorado, North Carolina, and California have succumbed to the pressure. The latter, however, refused to condone abortion to prevent the birth of possibly deformed children.

Even the churches have gotten into the act, with Episcopal and American Baptist bodies making approving statements. The ALC's Commission on Research and Social Action has published a pamphlet with a mild and traditional underwriting of the Protestant ethic on therapeutic abortion. It is also being widely quoted as though it supports revision of the abortion laws. In Minnesota, where the ALC is the largest Protestant denomination, this so-called endorsement is presently vigorously exploited as advocating extensive abortion reform.

If invited churches do not hurry to join the parade to support abortion, they are dismissed in either of two ways. They are said to be injecting an undemocratic sectarian viewpoint into the legislature and should quit their political lobbying. This label is attached especially to Roman Catholics, and it is presumed that such attachment automatically enrolls all Protestants and Jews on the side of abortions.

Or, the abortion issue is said to be a political and not a moral issue. Therefore the religious people should not be allowed to force their particular ancient moral code upon the rest of an enlightened populace. We had enough of that with the Prohibition amendment. Thus under the specious plea that its policy is based solely on the desire "to protect and advance civil liberties," the American Civil Liberties Union has called for the abolition of all laws "imposing

criminal penalties for abortions performed for whatever reason by a licensed physician," because "the state has no power to force these particular moral and religious standards upon the entire community."

Keep Thinking

No American Lutheran should be betrayed into forfeiting his judgment on this issue for either of these two reasons. Whether legal abortion is right or not, dare not be answered by automatically enrolling on the side opposite the Roman Catholics. Nor as Christian citizens can we ever renounce the responsibility to work for laws that express the highest moral insights of the community. That is, Christians have held (see Romans 1-2) that society should as far as possible carry out those human relationships which God declares to be good for mankind. Lutheran theology calls this "civic righteousness," and enjoins it upon unbeliever and Christian alike.

The first remarkable public application of this Christian concern for mankind in the ancient world was in forcing the abandonment of the grizzly violent games in the Roman arena, where men were killed as a spectator sport. The second was the abandonment of infanticide, a close parallel to the question of abortion. Extra babies who might mar the physical or mental health of their mothers—especially when they were worthless girl babies—were no longer left on the city dump to die. This impact of Christianity's "reverence for life," as Albert Schweitzer named it, became a glorious new step in human history, one of the very few humanity has to cherish. Shall we renounce this reverence for life now through abortion bills?

The decision to terminate life as in abortion, made by someone other than the one whose life is ended—and without his consent—is therefore a most serious possible action. Dr. George Williams, Harvard theologian, says that Roman Catholicism's work against abortion is "defending the very frontier of what constitutes the mystery of our being." He adds, "Next to the issue of peace in the world, I feel the opposition to abortion and euthanasia constitutes the second major moral issue of our society. Christians, who have lived by the parable of the tiny mustard seed, should be the most alert and sensitive . . . to safeguard the rights of the smallest and weakest—the invisible, the fetal, person at the very inception of his pilgrimage among the children of men."

GHM

Let's Talk It Over



Abortion (II)

Looking at abortion again: Christians have always granted, of course, that not all men have an equal right to live. Forget for the moment the quarter million at Hiroshima who together were said not to be worth a single American boy's life. Think instead of modern medicine. Transplant surgeon C. Barnard chose one out of the five patients who were waiting for a new heart at the same time. This year over 80,000 will die who could benefit by heart transplants in this country; a dozen of them will be chosen to live.

So Protestants, particularly, have been careful to say that not all abortion is wrong. "Therapeutic" abortion, where the unborn is sacrificed when a mother is in danger of death, is generally held to be a faithful expression of Christian values, since the mother has responsibilities the unborn does not have.

But this is far different from denying the right to life for the 8-12% of all babies that are born subnormal in our country, or of the baby whose parent was a rape victim, or of the baby whose mother wasn't thought to be psychiatrically ready for the promise of another child. These are the reasons now being pushed to legalize further abortions.

Christianity's reverence for life has never been more dramatically expressed than by William James: "If the hypothesis were offered us of a world in which millions were to be kept permanently happy on the simple condition that a certain lost soul on the far-off edge of things should lead a life of lonely torture, even though an impulse arose within us to clutch at the happiness so offered, how hideous a thing would be its enjoyment when deliberately accepted as the fruit of such a bargain."

The fact is, as Dr. Hellegers wrote in his article in *THE LUTHERAN STANDARD* (Feb. 6, 1968), there is no evidence that the persons born with a defect would rather not have been born. If anything, the lower rate of suicide among the defective argues the opposite. They perhaps value life more than do the rest of us.

If the imperfect child shall not live, who is the perfect one among us to decide? Or, if the baby shall die because it has an unpredictable social future, then, as the Rev. Richard Neuhaus, New York Lutheran slum pastor says, "this middle-class smugness" means "that by these criteria almost all the children of my parish should not have been born."

Aborting for rape or incest holds the same question: why trespass on the unborn child for the sin of its parent? Dare we put the case as shockingly as one *STANDARD* correspondent? She wrote us, "My suggestion is, 'Kill the sex fiends and let the decent humans live.' It is no worse to kill the dope addict and the sex fiend than to kill the unborn baby. If we must kill, let us start with the offenders and the lawlessness which is causing all this evil."

So this attack on the innocent who cannot plead their own cause must always remain within the area of judging the comparative value of the lives involved. As Neuhaus puts it: "How flexible we can be with regard to abortion is tantamount, I believe, to asking how flexible we can be with regard to taking human life." The well-known family educator, Dr. Henry Bowman, said it this way, "When I am asked by a woman, 'Shall I have this baby,' my answer always is, 'Lady, you do have your baby; the only question is, will you keep it?'"

How We Were Pushed

How did Christians, whose reverence for life has remade the practices of every society it has touched, get enrolled in this sudden push to legalize abortions? They heard the proponents argue that as high as a million and a half illegal abortions are performed in the U.S. annually, with up to 10,000 deaths resulting. It is piteously added that this slaughter should be stopped—by legally killing off the unborn instead.

It cannot be too much emphasized that the number of illegal abortions is not known, no matter how pretentious the statistics-slinger may appear. Consult again Dr. Hellegers' article. And as for the death from illegal abortions, we have, as Dr. Hellegers said, only 250 registered abortion deaths a year. Even doubling the figure to take care of concealed deaths (death demands a medical certificate for cause, remember) gives far from the totals recklessly asserted by abortion advocates. Even if the unsupported guesses were true, do such violations get stopped by legalizing them? Does stealing get stopped by legalizing it? Better reasons for trespassing on life must be offered than the abortionists suggest. G.H.M.

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Let's Talk It Over



Abortion III

Loosening up abortion laws has been urged in order to get rid of the many illegal abortions now undertaken. Actually, the number of illegal abortions would continue (with attendant deaths) just as frequently as before, because the illegal abortions are not performed in order to prevent the kinds of births this new law-code would make legal. Who goes clandestinely to an abortionist because her child may be born handless? In every country such as in Scandinavia, where abortion has been loosened up, illegal abortions occur as often or more often than before. In Japan, says Dr. Christopher Tietze of the Population Council, where termination of pregnancy is available so easily that it is "tantamount to making abortion available on request," several hundreds of thousands of illegal abortions yearly are performed "owing, it has been alleged, to the reluctance of physicians to pay income tax on their full earnings."

So easing up the abortion laws in favor of causes currently advocated in the several legislatures cannot really be based on a concern to keep people from being hypocrites about the law. We should more honestly confess that the majority of women seeking abortion simply do not want the child, as Alice Rossi found in her studies. And so we are back again to the initial question of the comparative value placed upon human life. Shall the unborn fetus, which has legal right even to sue in the American courts, be denied the right to live out its future under God by those who find its birth inconvenient?

Two herrings have been drawn across the trail at this point. Abortion advocates urge that theologians don't know when "the soul infuses the body," and so we aren't really destroying a person in abortion. They quote medieval scholastics who philosophically juggled the question. Bishop Pike, for example, calls attention to those who thought soul-life began only when the baby began to move in the womb. Since it was only in the last century that cellular life was experienced, the misinformed ponderings of the ancients should not cause a hangup for us. We know that new life begins when the two cells unite.

The sophisticated non-religious form of this argument is offered by Prof. Garrett Hardin, who claims that the fertilized egg, the zygote, contains essential chromosomal information like blueprints for a house. "This principle is precisely applicable to the moral problem of abortion," he says. "The zygote, which contains the complete specification of a valuable hu-

man being, is not a human being and is almost valueless." One hardly knows how to comment on so misleading a statement. Let it suffice to ask Dr. Hardin if he ever watched a blueprint grow into a full-blown house, the way a fertilized cell ends up by being a college professor?

The other herring is that if we can advocate birth control by contraception, we can as well encourage abortion. Roman Catholics tend to be trapped by this statement. Mrs. Jill Knight, member of the British Parliament, puts the right answer plainly, "There is all the difference in the world between deliberately not starting a baby and deliberately killing a baby you have started."

Who Plays God?

Suppose we all agree now and say, "It's a choice of who should live best and who should best live. We think it's up to the mother to decide that question." Relatively few would add the second sentence. At least all the prospective abortion laws before our states say that the medical profession should play God and decide who may continue to live.

But what qualifies the medical man to make this moral choice better than others? How can Gov. Agnew of Maryland say that "the question of abortion is properly a medical question, not a legal one"? The spectacle of Hitler's medical men experimenting on the concentration camp inmates does not encourage us to believe that medical training as such prepares one to judge the moral correctness of any given action. Or will all the illegal abortionists among the doctors suddenly become astute moral theologians over night?

Shall medical men be given the determination of which race or class gets decimated by abortion? Who shall then be privileged to play God? At least the present dependence upon law prevents the kind of subjective judgment which any man who believes in original sin can see at work every day.

It is surely evident that "abortion on demand" is filled with so many moral pitfalls that Christians are well advised to stay off the bandwagons that are wheeling by these days, all headed for Abortion Unlimited. The abortion dilemma is a terrible choice, as one symposium states its findings. But it's not so terrible that the historic Christian reverence for life cannot find a solution that protects the holy innocents.

GHM

Let's talk it over

a page
of editorial
opinion

Killing

LUTHERAN BISHOP Per Lønning of Norway said it in the last LUTHERAN STANDARD: "Killing human beings is a dreadful thing" (p. 22). While he was talking about war, his words apply also to abortion. Let at least this be clear: There would be no abortion issue at all — nobody in the American Lutheran Church would be concerned — if killing human beings were not so dreadful a thing. And if killing human beings were not the issue for those who oppose abortion on demand.

The President's Commission of Population Growth and the American Future has forced us all to address the morality of abortion again. It stated that it "believes that the various prohibitions against abortion throughout the U.S. stand as obstacles to the exercise of individual freedom... the freedom from the burdens of unwanted childbearing."

Who has the right to kill, and for what reasons? This must be the basic issue for every Lutheran Christian. So-called liberals cannot put that issue off by bidding us think of the infrequent isolated mother who died from an illegal abortion. We say "so-called liberals" because for the true liberal the issue looms large across our pathway: Why should we not be much rather concerned for the more than 139,061 women who died by legalized abortions in New York City in the first 18 months of the law's enactment? Of course, they were women as yet unborn. And even one of those babes made it, you recall — aborted but refusing to die, it is now an adopted child. Do these yet unborn have any less right to life than the rest of us? Is it only in levity that the observation has been made that the only people you can find who are in favor of unlimited abortion are those who never were themselves an abortion? Who has the right to decide these deaths, and for what reasons?

Emotion

Concerned Christians are often shunted aside by the plea that they are making an emotional issue out of it all. Precisely; for if the love of our neighbor, the defenseless and unprotected little people, was not the issue, there would be no issue.

But emotion has been ruled out of order by claiming that we don't know if these unborn are human beings at all. This is empty talk. No biologist can show any addition made to this living being before or after birth, which thereafter gives it the privilege of being called human. Besides, if we can't show that it "becomes" human, should not the church and society through its laws give the benefit of the doubt to this unborn child? Though no bigger than one ounce at three months, its tiny ears pick up the bark of a dog in the backyard. Should it not have the benefit of the possibility that this child is one with us?

We know how men have suffered by being de-humanized. Let the blacks and the Jews of Dachau tell us what it means to be destroyed because they were said to be only animals and not really human.

Whose Right?

The right to kill is an awesome burden indeed. Government and the church have never given this right away simply because the victim is inconvenient to us. Even Hitler had to trump up reasons for the Jewish holocaust. To say that abortion on demand is preferable in the name of freedom for the child-bearer, is to open the door to killing off any who are a burden. This is no "private matter" between the mother-to-be and her physician or her "counselor."

Killing is not private. It is therefore not surprising that with the collapse of attitudes for restrictive abortions in the last three years, no less than six legislatures have introduced bills this year to do away with the ill and the aged whose life has become a burden.

The President's commission itself apparently abandoned the unimpressive argument for abortion based on the need for population control. It went directly instead over to the insistence that women must have the "freedom" to abort.

That the commission refused to take the awe-full moral responsibility of deciding why this right to death-dealing should be given, should not excuse the American Lutheran Church from the responsibility, however. The ALC has an acceptable document on abortion, adopted in 1966. It wrestled in Christian fashion with the question: Whose right is it to destroy life? The church will do well to keep that statement, unless it can come to an agreement that reflects a far higher level of ethical responsibility toward the little people.

GHM

An Episcopalian Doctor Speaks Against Abortion

FOLLOWING IS AN ARTICLE WRITTEN BY JOHN L. FALLS, M.D. A PROMINENT OBSTETRICIAN AND GYNAECOLOGIST, AND A MEMBER OF CHRIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, RED WING, MINNESOTA.



THERE WAS A TIME when childbirth and pregnancy were accompanied by grave dangers: when toxemia, infection and hemorrhage were commonplace and carried many young mothers to an untimely grave, yet society forbade fetal destruction.

THERE WAS A TIME when syphilis was often transmitted from the infected mother to her unborn child, inflicting on this innocent victim lifelong physical disfigurement, and heartbreaking handicaps - and yet society forbade termination of pregnancy, and instead gave encouragement to the medical profession making mandatory the early recognition and prompt treatment of all syphilitic mothers to prevent this tragedy.

THERE WAS A TIME when there were no reliable or acceptable methods of contraception, and without doubt the vast majority of pregnancies were unplanned, and many quite inconvenient - and yet society protected the fetus against arbitrary destruction because it came upon the scene unsummoned.

THERE WAS A TIME when Rh isoimmunization wreaked untold havoc upon many babies, silently and without detectable warning. Now the process can be detected in the incipient stage, monitored in its progression, and thwarted by prompt intervention in nearly all cases. And now, this tragic process has been found completely preventable by prompt immunization of the Rh negative mother with anti-Rh immune globulin.

THERE WAS A TIME when the Rubella virus (German measles) infected a small percentage of pregnant mothers and occasionally damaged the fetus, sometimes severely, and there was no way of telling which mother was susceptible or of preventing the contagion. Now there is available to every practicing physician and hospital a test showing which mother is susceptible to Rubella, and a vaccine to immunize against Rubella. Hence, the mother at risk can be easily identified as she registers for care, or better yet at the time of her premarital examination, and if she is susceptible to Rubella, she will be immunized by vaccination. There need be no more Rubella babies.

THERE WAS A TIME when the additional burden of pregnancy was thought detrimental to the mother with heart disease, kidney disease, tuberculosis, or liver dysfunction. With the rapid technologic advance in controlling these diseases, pregnancy no longer constitutes an additional hazard.

POTENTIAL MEDICAL COMPLICATIONS OF ABORTION

by Edward M. Hanton, M.D.



No operation is so simple that it is entirely free of risk. The wise clinician will balance the benefits of the therapy he considers advisable against its possible disadvantages, both immediate and remote. The physician is required to judge in good faith whether termination of pregnancy or continuation of pregnancy carries greater risk to the life and health of the patient. This decision cannot be made responsibly without knowledge of these risks.

The morbidity and fatal potential of criminal abortion is accepted widely, while at the same time the public is misled into believing that legal abortion is a trivial incident, even a lunch hour procedure, which can be used as a mere extension of contraceptive practice. There has been almost a conspiracy of silence in declaring its risks. This is indefensible when patients suffer as a result.

The immediate complications surrounding these various procedures used in abortion include the following:

The most common complication is that of hemorrhage. Hemorrhage is considered to have taken place when there is an estimated or measured blood loss exceeding 500 milliliters. Because this is only an estimate, there is wide variation as to the percentages of frequency. Basically, they range from approximately 3.8% in the report of the Joint Program for Study of Abortion (JPSA) which is considered to be, by those strong advocates of abortion, as an extremely accurate study, to a level of approximately 17% reported by Professor J. A. Stallworthy of Oxford England who does abortions, but is not exactly a strong proponent of the procedure.

Immediate complications also include trauma or injury. This may include cervical laceration, or tears, uterine perforation or other injuries to the pelvic contents. The percentage of this type of complication reported by the JPSA was 1.04% in 73,000 cases. Dr. Stallworthy's report indicates 4.5% of a similar type of complication. Whenever there is perforation of the uterus strong consideration must be given to immediate exploration because of the possible risk of injury to the abdominal contents. In the JPSA study, of 187 patients with perforation of the uterus, 99 required a hysterectomy.

Infection must also be considered as an early complication of abortion. In the JPSA study approximately 3.7% of the total number of abortion patients developed a fever. Fever, however, does not specify the source and the patient's problem. Serious infection with an endometritis, peritonitis, septicemia, thrombophlebitis, or salpingitis totaled 1.6% of the 73,000 procedures. These types of infections are considered to be much more serious than fever alone. In Dr. Stallworthy's group 15% of patients developed a fever. Significant infections in this group there totaled 3.1%.

The effects of hypertonic solutions injected into the uterus for midtrimester abortions has resulted in several maternal deaths because of accidental introduction of this material into the circulation. This procedure also appears to have a higher risk of infection and hemorrhage.

There were 6 deaths in the 73,000 patients in the JPSA study corresponding

to a mortality rate of 8.2 per 100,000 abortions. There were no deaths in Dr. Stallworthy's study.

Also there is risk involving subsequent pregnancy following induced abortion. The immediate effects of trauma to the cervix during an abortion procedure at an early stage of gestation may lead to cervical incompetence which in turn may lead to midtrimester spontaneous abortion, premature births with its incumbent perinatal mortality and morbidity. Damage from a mechanical disruption or infection following an induced abortion may lead to subsequent placental insufficiencies with intrauterine growth, retardation and its ensuing premature births, perinatal mortality, and morbidity.

In addition, both of the above may lead to prolonged labor and complicated delivery. The addition of infection to the above mechanical damage may lead to tubal infection and subsequent sterility or extra uterine pregnancy.

The third phase involves the unrecognized or unappreciated Rh negative woman who, following an induced abortion, fails to receive Rho-gam and subsequently becomes iso-immunized to future Rh positive pregnancies. This in turn may result in premature births, stillbirths, and subsequently defective children.

In view of these various considerations facts and figures relative to abortion should be made known to the population facing the risks. It is reasonable to expect that dissemination of such information would generate greater interest by individuals during their reproductive years in prevention rather than termination of pregnancy. Otherwise, as facilities for performing abortion become overwhelmed (as has been the case in various parts of the world) we can predict that an increase in morbidity and mortality will occur. It is all the more important, therefore, that doctor, patient, and those who put pressure upon them should know the facts concerning the implications of their actions.

If termination of pregnancy were as safe as so many advocates of liberal abortion maintain, a patient suffering as a result of the operation could claim that professional negligence was responsible for her subsequent disaster, or distress. Such claims would generally be grossly unfair. There would be a great sympathy for a 16 year old girl whose uterus was ruptured, for the married woman with bowel resection and peritonitis, for the anxious infertile wife who knows that the tubal damage that denies her the baby she desires is the delayed price she is paying for her teenage abortion. But the fact remains that none of these situations may be the result of the negligence. They are complications which, while known to and well documented by those with wide experience, are seldom mentioned by those who claim abortion is safe and merely an extension of contraceptive techniques. There is an important appreciation by both public and the medical profession which are inevitably associated not only with allowing certain pregnancies to continue, but with their risks associated with their termination.

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