Feminists for Life defends life from conception until the natural end of life.

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Peter Singer’s recent appointment to a bioethics chair at Princeton University’s Center for Human Values has sent shock waves across the campus and America. Why? Singer, shown at right, supports the killing of severely disabled newborns and terminally ill adults.

Taking an illogical premise to its natural conclusion, the utilitarian Singer states, “If one accepts abortion … killing other human beings, in certain circumstances … is not something to be regarded with horror…. On the contrary … it is the refusal to accept killing that, in some cases, is horrific.”

Champions of partial-birth abortion have often tried to defend the late-term procedure by citing “gross fetal anomalies.” Susan B. Anthony’s Revolution warned against those who justify abortion by the “desire to save from suffering the unborn innocent.”

Singer’s “compassion” seems to be limited to killing those who need help the most. In his book, Animal Liberation, Singer recognizes the value of all sentient creatures and argues that people are obligated to relieve suffering regardless of race, sex, nationality or even species. Rather than treating animals like humans, Singer proposes that humans be treated like animals through euthanasia for the severely disabled infant or terminally ill adult.

He is not alone in his beliefs. Though others are not as blunt as Mr. Singer is, the most vulnerable in our society remain the most common targets of violence. Using violence as a solution to the problems of those in need has gained intellectual and legal weight since the inception of Roe v. Wade.

As we approach the end of this second millennium, FFL reviews the past 27 years since Roe v. Wade. How has our society valued other human beings, especially women and children? How do different threads of violence weave through our society?

Mr. Singer believes a dog is a cow is a pig is a boy.

More correctly, abortion

is infanticide,

is child abuse,

is domestic violence,

is euthanasia,

is capital punishment.

Serrin M. Foster
President
THE ISSUE OF VIOLENCE against women has always been a major concern of feminism, simply because women have suffered grievously from it throughout history. Female members of the human race have been the target of an assortment of appalling atrocities at all stages of their lives: selective abortion of female fetuses, infanticide of baby girls, neglect of female children, genital mutilation of young girls, incest, forced prostitution, forced marriage, assault, wife-battering and murder, rape, the burning of witches and widows, abandonment or murder of “useless” elderly women.

So many cultures have ignored, condoned or even encouraged the brutal subjugation of women that justification of the practice in all its manifestations seemed to acquire the status of immutable natural law. Male aggression directed against females, especially within the family, was—and in many circumstances still is—regarded as completely normal, reasonable and necessary. Violence and the threat of violence serve to intimidate and demoralize women so that they are less likely to challenge their inferior status within the family and community. Violence is a powerful tool of oppression.

Many social customs, schools of philosophy and religious teachings have validated the convoluted theory that women are inherently inferior because they are smaller, weaker, less rational, more emotional and more cowardly than men and therefore naturally subject to male domination. Bluntly put (and written into many legal codes), women were the property of men. As Gloria Steinem noted, “We spent the first 150 years of the women’s movement establishing ourselves as persons. Before that we were ownable, like cattle or chairs.” What a man did with his own property was nobody’s business. Rape, for example, was an egregious act not because it was violence committed against a woman, but because it was an abuse of another man’s property rights. Even during the Enlightenment in 18th- and 19th-century Western cultures, when the concept of “all men
“are created equal” caused so much social and political turmoil, very few of the widely recognized thinkers suggested that women were also entitled to the same rights that were being demanded for men of all classes.

There was one notable exception. In the 19th century, a few women in Europe and the United States proffered the preposterous notion that women, although different from men, were equally valuable and entitled to the very same rights being claimed by men. They especially condemned the casual acceptance of the often-horrific abuses women were expected to endure. These women, called suffragettes, were scornfully denounced for their views and subjected to withering ridicule, ostracism and even jail. But they persisted, challenging the patriarchal social hierarchy in speeches, writings and appeals before legislative bodies. Because of their indefatigable fervor, the theory—although not always the practice—of many of their ideals has been accepted by Western culture.

In rejecting both violence and the concept of humans owning other humans, the suffragists also rejected abortion. Human worth, in their view, was not based upon size (physical size had always been one supposed reason for male superiority), “wantedness” (women were wanted only insomuch as they could be controlled by men), or dependency. The suffragist newspaper The Revolution called abortions “reveling outrages against the laws of nature and our common humanity.” These women believed that struggling for the full “education and enfranchisement of women” was the only remedy against violence in all its forms.

In the past few decades, Western societies have made great strides in both educating and empowering women (although some non-Western societies have been slow to follow). Today, women have more opportunities than ever before. But violence targeted at women is still a leading cause of injuries suffered by women. Like the original suffragists, groups within the modern women’s movement are each working to eradicate this problem through prevention, education and legislative activism. The legislative efforts culminated in 1994 when Congress passed the historic Violence Against Women Act. This comprehensive law combined tough new penalties for perpetrators with funding for shelters for battered women, counseling services, public education and research into especially hideous act of violence, not only against the unborn child but against the mother as well. Too many modern feminists have forgotten this profound insight of our foremothers. They not only support abortion, they defend it—even in its most extreme manifestations—with zealous fervor.

FFL is disheartened to hear abortion-choice feminists justify the violent destruction of unborn humans with the very same ancient arguments used by men to excuse the contempt, neglect, abuse and violence targeted toward women throughout human history. As modern-day pro-life feminist Daphne de Jong writes: “Women who will not accept how best to assist women who are victims of violence. FFL and the National Organization for Women set aside their differences and cooperated in successfully lobbying for the passage of this law.

However, NOW and other women’s-rights organizations, in a striking inconsistency, refuse to extend their efforts against violence to the very children that women carry. Although FFL and NOW are able to work together on many issues to enhance our common goal of improving the lives of women, there remains this disagreement between the two organizations. Our common ancestors, the fiery feminists of the 19th century, were vehemently opposed to abortion because they recognized it as an especially hideous act of violence, not only against the unborn child but against the mother as well. Too many modern feminists have forgotten this profound insight of our foremothers. They not only support abortion, they defend it—even in its most extreme manifestations—with zealous fervor.

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INFANTICIDE: Children as Chattel

FROM ANCIENT GREEK DRAMAS such as “Oedipus Rex” to modern tales such as “Agnes of God,” the theme of infanticide—the deliberate act of killing an infant—has played a prominent role in fictional stories. What could be more horrifying to writers, dramatists, and their audiences, than the idea of a parent driven to the act of killing her/his own child? Throughout the history of humanity, infanticide has played a role in many cultures. It is theorized that ancient civilizations such as Rome and Carthage used infanticide (sometimes with the “excuse” of a religious sacrifice) to control their populations. In more recent times, newborn infants have been killed because family resources could not be stretched to accommodate another child, the child was disabled or ill, or the child was the “wrong” gender (a practice that has resulted in the absence of millions of females from the populations of several east Asian nations).

Several well-publicized cases of infanticide in the past few years in the United States have brought the issue into the public eye. In November 1996, college students Amy Grossberg and Brian Peterson confessed to leaving their baby boy in a dumpster near a Delaware motel. In 1997, Melissa Drexler was dubbed the “prom mom,” when she gave birth in the restroom during her high school prom. The baby was later found dead in a trash bag. Two even more horrifying stories have come to light in recent months. Ronald Shanabarger confessed to marrying his wife, impregnating her, and allowing her to bond with her baby for seven months, all so he could kill the baby and get revenge on her for not cutting short her vacation to visit him when his father died. And Marie Noe confessed to having smothered eight of her children between 1949 and 1970.

Is infanticide on the rise in America, or are these just isolated incidents? Infanticide is very difficult to track, so there are not many statistics available. According to the U.S. Department of Justice’s Bureau of Justice Statistics, incidents of infanticide increased in the 1970s and ’80s, but decreased in the early ’90s. Nearly five infants under the age of 1 are killed in the United States each week, according to a 1997 CNN review of FBI statistics. The review found that 249 infants were killed in 1995, the most recent year for which data is available. More infant boys than girls are killed in the United States. In cases like Marie Noe’s, infant deaths are often attributed to sudden infant death syndrome, due to a lack of evidence to the contrary. Authorities have finally begun to see patterns and will investigate situations where several children in a single family die under unexplained circumstances. On a recent episode of “Discovery News” on the Discovery Channel, Dr. Phillip J. Resnick, a psychiatry professor at Case Western Reserve University, described five scenarios in which parents kill their children:

- Spousal revenge; despair over an “unwanted” child; the “altruistic” killer, who believes his or her children are better off dead; acute psychosis—i.e., a person hears “voices” telling him or her to harm the child; and inadvertent battering. Of the five, Resnick described inadvertent battering as the “most common” and spousal revenge as “rare.” Fears over an “unwanted” or unexpected child are also considered more common than other scenarios.

Resnick also described a rare condition that has been dubbed “Munchausen syndrome by proxy,” which is characterized by a parent who harms a child to gain attention and sympathy for him or herself. Some also theorize about postpartum depression and psychosis. Yet much is still unknown about the phenomenon of infanticide. Marie Noe has agreed to be studied extensively by psychiatrists, who hope to gain clues from her case.

Many women who kill their newborns do so in circumstances similar to those of women who have abortions. They act out of desperation. continued on pg. 8
In more recent times, newborn infants have been killed because family resources could not be stretched to accommodate another child, the child was disabled or ill, or the child was the “wrong” gender...
Should parents be allowed to decide to withhold food or take other measures to allow a child to die?

Steven Pinker, a psychology professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, wrote in New York Times Magazine, “the women who sacrifice their offspring tend to be young, poor, unmarried and socially isolated.” Many have kept their pregnancies a secret, and give birth alone and frightened. But Pinker then verged on misogyny when he implied that infanticide could be an evolutionary instinct in women: “Natural selection cannot push the buttons of behavior directly; it affects our behavior by endowing us with emotions that coax us toward adaptive choices. New mothers have always faced a choice between a definite tragedy now and the possibility of an even greater tragedy months or years later.”

Pinker created controversy with his statement that “A new mother will first coolly assess the infant and her current situation and only in the next few days begin to see it as a unique and wonderful individual. Her love will gradually deepen in ensuing years, in a trajectory that tracks the increasing biological value of a child . . . .” Similar controversial statements have also been made by doctors and philosophers such as Michael Tooley, Helga Kuhse, and Peter Singer, a bioethicist recently hired by Princeton University’s Center for Human Values, all of whom believe that infants are not born possessing the qualities that qualify them for “personhood,” and that killing disabled infants up to 28 days old is acceptable. These scientists have added fuel to an ethical debate that has potentially chilling implications for populations that could be deemed “unwanted” by others.

But their ideas are not new. Nobel Prize-winning scientist James Watson, who cracked the genetic code, wrote three months after Roe v. Wade: “Because of the present limits of such detection methods, most birth defects are not discovered until birth. If a child were not declared alive until three days after birth, then all parents could be allowed the choice.”

The question of what action, if any, to take in the case of severely disabled infants has several points of debate. In addition to the aforementioned scientists, who believe babies need to meet certain criteria to pass the “humanity test,” there is the question of who decides the fate of the child. Should parents and doctors be entrusted with the decision to treat or not to treat correctable conditions in an otherwise “defective” infant? Should they be empowered to decide to withhold food or take other measures to allow a child to die, or even to actively euthanize the infant? Should the government step in and force doctors to aggressively treat infants who would otherwise die?

The government did step in in 1984 when Secretary of Health and Human Services Margaret Heckler, citing the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, promulgated regulations to health-care providers who received federal funds. The regulations said that to prevent “discrimination on the basis of handicap, health care should not be withheld from infants on the basis of their mental or physical impairments.” Two years earlier, the Indiana Supreme Court had upheld the decision of parents who allowed their newborn with Down syndrome to starve to death after refusing minor surgery on his esophagus. The U.S. Supreme Court, led by Justices Stevens, Marshall, Powell and Blackmun (author of Roe v. Wade) sided against Heckler’s regulations in Bowen v. American Hospital Association. Their decision stated: “A hospital’s withholding of treatment from a handicapped infant when no parental consent has been given cannot violate [the Rehabilitation Act of 1973], for without the parent’s consent the infant is neither ‘otherwise qualified’ for treatment nor has he been denied care ‘solely by reason of handicap.’” With that decision the Supreme Court essentially sanctioned deliberate starvation of handicapped newborns by parental consent.

The recent debate over partial-birth abortion has also contributed to the blurring of the lines between abortion and infanticide. Has infanticide become more acceptable since legalized abortion started us on the slippery slope toward devaluing life? It is difficult to say. However, if criminal penalties assigned to perpetrators of infanticide are any indication of how society views the crime, the “slippery slope” concern is quite valid. After Louise Woodward was convicted of the murder of 8-month-old Matthew Eappen, Judge Hiller Zobel reduced her sentence to time served on the grounds that “she was ‘a little rough with him,’ under circumstances where another, perhaps wiser, person would have sought to restrain the physical impulse.” Most recently, Marie Noe was given 20 years’ probation for killing eight infants. Would she have been given the same penalty for killing eight adults? Not likely.
In 1997, more than 3 million children were reported as alleged victims of maltreatment to the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System. There has been an 18% increase in substantiated cases of abuse and neglect since 1990. And of all perpetrators of child abuse, nearly 80% are parents, according to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Reasons for the dramatic increase in child abuse are complex, but this violence no doubt attests to a devaluation of our nation's children. At first glance, the family planning slogan, "Every Child a Wanted Child," seems reasonable. But accepting the "wanted child" concept allows for a subtle, societal agreement. If parents have the option of disposing of their unwanted child for any reason before birth, could this subtle, societal agreement quietly extend to the child who is already born? Dr. Philip G. Ney, an expert on child abuse, voiced his concerns as early as 1979 in the Canadian Journal of Psychiatry: "When we are so careful not to tamper with the delicate balances of plant and animal ecology, one wonders why we do not at least study the far-reaching effects that killing unborn infants may be having on the human species. We may have disrupted a very delicate balance...The abortion of unborn infants may diminish the value of all children. When the destruction of the unborn is socially sanctioned and even applauded, children cannot have much value."

We must carefully examine the possibility that there is a correlation between aborting the "unwanted" child and the increased rates of abuse and neglect for children as a whole. In 1972, one year before the Roe v. Wade decision, there were 2.05 reported abuse cases per 1,000 children, according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reported as of 1997, more than 40 of every 1,000 children under the age of 18 were reported as victims of maltreatment. Can this monumental rise be attributed solely to public awareness and better reporting? A 1996 government report refutes that theory. "The rise in the number of seriously injured children probably reflects a real increase in child abuse and neglect, because it cannot plausibly be explained on the basis of heightened sensitivity. The fact that the seriously injured group has quadrupled, and now comprises more than one-half million children, appears to herald a true rise in the scope and severity of child abuse and neglect in the U.S."

Larry Lader, co-founder of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL), wrote in his 1973 essay, "The Abortion Revolution," "The abortion revolution should usher in an era when every child will be wanted, loved, and properly cared for; when the incidence of infanticides and battered children should be sharply reduced." In fact, the legalization of abortion ushered in the opposite as increases in child abuse skyrocketed. Two cases in point are the states of New York and Washington. After New York legalized abortion in 1968 (the first state to do so), it experienced a rise in child abuse of 44% per year. Washington state legalized abortion in 1970. Within 28 months, incidents of child abuse in Seattle, its largest city, rose 379%.

This correlation between rising abortion and child abuse rates can be seen in other countries. Ney cited Canadian studies when he said, "British Columbia and Ontario with the highest rates of abortion are also the provinces with the highest rates of child abuse. Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick with low rates of abortion have low rates of abuse. The rate of increase in child abuse parallels the rate of increase in abortions."

Whether or not a child is wanted is not the deciding factor in child abuse. The popular assumption that only the unwanted child is subject to abuse is refuted by case studies. Dr. Edward Lenoski, M.D., Professor of Pediatrics and Emergency Medicine at the University of Southern California School of Medicine, conducted a comparison of environments of abused and non-abused children. He found that "91% of the parents admitted they wanted the child they had abused."

This leaves society with many unanswered questions. Clearly, children are in danger, and we must look to see why they are being mistreated in record numbers. There are no simple answers, but perhaps part of the solution lies in a respectful examination of the correlation between the rise in child abuse and more than two decades of eliminating the unwanted children. ☐

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IN 1973 MANY WOMEN CELEBRATED the legalization of abortion, believing that it would blaze a path in their struggle for justice and equality. They saw no connection between violence against the unborn and the larger fabric of violence in society. Decades later, at least 1 million women each year remain victims of violence inflicted by their husbands or boyfriends.

Nonetheless, U.S. laws and institutions did begin to address the problem of violence against women over the same period that they conversely codified violence against the unborn. By the 1970s, most Americans no longer considered beating acceptable behavior between husbands and wives.

Although the philosophical acceptance of domestic violence was no longer strong by the early 1970s, many people still believed that domestic disputes were not matters for public involvement. Public involvement was necessary, though, to reduce its frequency. The earliest method for gaining the public’s attention, and building the groundwork for legislation that supported an active effort to end domestic violence, was the development of statistical data. Gathering domestic violence statistics was not easy, however. By the early 1980s the FBI had concluded that...
domestic violence was the most under-reported crime in the nation. Despite such low report rates, a statistical analysis of crime reports in New Jersey in the early 1980s revealed that women were victims in 83% of all domestic crimes reported. This statistic emerged at a time when activists against domestic violence could begin to see the fruits of their labor. It supported the assertion that working to end wife battering was in fact an effort to diminish violent crimes in general. While one would hope that the value of each person is enough cause to combat violence, other statistics that helped to raise public concern also involved the impact that the battered household has on society. In 1987, the New York Victim Service Agency Report on Costs of Domestic Violence determined that 74% of employed battered women were harassed by their abusers at work either over the phone or in person, which caused 56% of them to be late for work a minimum of five times per month, 28% to leave work early five times per month, and 54% to miss three full days of work each month.

The earliest legislation that aided victims of domestic violence and advocates to end it came in the form of protective orders. Today, every state allows a woman to file for an order of protection if her husband, ex-husband, or boyfriend abuses her, but in 1970, just two states gave women that right. During the 1970s, three more states joined the first two. Then, in the 1980s, primarily between 1984 and 1988, statutes allowing for protective orders began springing up across the country. Each of these laws differed slightly from the others and none of them served as a model law, but a general description can be offered. These laws made the orders quick and easy to obtain and often had additional processes in place for acquiring an emergency order. They usually required a written allegation that there had been instances of abuse, but some of them required only allegations that the spouse or partner threatened abuse.

Another major legal shift that occurred alongside and supported the emergence of the protective order was the allowance of civil torts between husbands and wives. In 1970, most courts were not eager to be involved in abuse or rape cases between a husband and wife. Their position stemmed primarily from the common law holding that a husband and wife are one legal entity, and therefore cannot sue each other. At that time about 12 states had abrogated, or nullified, this common law, through state Supreme Court decisions. By 1988, almost every state had joined these 12 in allowing civil torts. This expanded right gave victims of domestic violence the option to seek damages in addition to criminal punishment for abuse. These early cases include Duplechin v. Toce (1987), which awarded damages to a Louisiana woman for assault and battery by her husband. In addition to awarding damages for assault and battery, civil courts have granted damages for intentional infliction of emotional injury, libel and slander, negligent infliction of emotional distress, and even for causing battered women syndrome, the clinical condition of learned helplessness and self-destructive behavior that is commonly seen in women who are beaten by an intimate.

Though most states had done something to combat domestic violence in the 1970s and 1980s, the problem of spousal abuse did not go away and advocates turned their focus toward a larger goal—national legislation. In the early 1990s, Congress introduced the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) and in 1994 it was enacted. This law set minimum standards for protection orders, strengthened sanctions against batterers who cross state lines with the intent to abuse, and provided monetary support to allow states to improve their police response to domestic violence. The law also encouraged the development of model definitions and standards for reporting domestic violence and provided funding to educate lawmakers about model stalking legislation as well as prevention programs.

Women who are abused by their husbands have gained protection and support through legislation since the early ‘70s. While women are still abused at shockingly high rates, increasing legislative and educational support has helped bring their problems into the light. As laws are passed, the abused woman begins to see that what happens to her in private is a concern of the public, that the public supports her desire to leave. In the same way, women experiencing an unexpected pregnancy often feel alone and lack the support to carry their pregnancies to term. By making abortion a private personal decision, we have denied women the public support that they often need. While Roe v. Wade abandoned women, the legislative advances for domestic violence victims have brought us closer to a society that values each person regardless of gender.

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ITTING IN MY DEN watching the New England snowfall or feeling the sun on my face, I feel a contentment and love for my own life that just five years ago I did not believe would ever come my way again. My home has been adapted for my access needs, I have successfully learned to train my own assistance animal, and wading through red tape for wheelchairs and other assistive technology has become second nature. I have learned that my value as a human being does not have to be tied to my ability to work 40 or more hours a week.

I have been a wheelchair user for about 12 years, and five years ago I experienced a pulmonary embolism that greatly altered my life. A pulmonary embolism is a blood clot in the lung. Often referred to as “throwing a clot,” it is a violent action that puts holes in the lungs, among other things. If it had occurred a tad more to the left, it would have hit my heart and killed me. I used oxygen 24 hours a day, needed almost 24-hour assistance, and could not accomplish the smallest of physical tasks. I struggled every day for breath, services, equipment, and decent health care. For the first time in my life, I became severely depressed. I wanted to die … desperately, mostly because I was in lots of pain, did not have a comfortable wheelchair, could not eat without becoming ill, and was experiencing the frustrations that come with sudden severe illness.

I attempted to get treatment for my conditions, and sought out counseling for my depression. I was routinely...
unable to receive mental health care due to my combination of health problems, or due to step-steepled architecture, or due to my breathing disability (I require an unscented environment). My doctor, whom I have since fired, told me I was fat and going to die anyway. In fact, at least one of Dr. Jack Kevorkian’s victims was a lot like me. If it were not for a few friends and the wisdom of one healer, I would be dead. As a matter of fact, some of my records still classify me as being terminally ill. Does that diagnosis or a lesser one of chronic illness make my life disposable?

For most Americans, the thought of living with a disability is as terrifying as a horror movie. Disabled people are seen as pitiful and less than others ... much less than others. Most individuals cannot fathom a life worth living in a wheelchair, or minus one leg, or without hearing or sight. It is, for the majority of people, a fate worse than death. This concept, better dead than disabled, provides the ethical and ideological basis for the pro-euthanasia and pro-physician-assisted suicide movement, a movement based on fear of dependency.

I am constantly battling bureaucracies for pain relief, medications, assistance and proper diagnosis of my medical conditions and needs. Most of the disabled people I know who live in pain do not have proper pain treatment. I am one of the privileged ones. I live in Massachusetts, which provides one of the best consumer-directed, home-based assistance programs under Medicaid in the country. Patients may receive up to 24 hours of in-home assistance a day if needed. This means that I do not have to live in a nursing home or other institution. I have a relatively decent health-care plan, which I often have to fight with, but I usually win on appeal. I live in truly lovely subsidized housing, and 98% of the buses in my area are lift-equipped. I now have a primary doctor who listens to me and is interested in assisting me to live my life in the ways I choose. And still, with all this, I find myself cycling in and out of depression because of the amount of fighting I have to do to just live my life on my own terms.

When non-disabled people view disabled people’s struggles, they are struck by the obstacles we continuously have to tear down. Tearing down can lead to wearing down, and when we are worn down, we become vulnerable to assisted suicide. The thoughts race through our exhausted minds ... “Well, maybe I should just give up,” “This is too hard,” “I can’t live in this kind of pain,” “I don’t want to be locked up in a nursing home,” etc.

For those with adult-onset disability the initial shock of disablement can be overwhelming, especially if one becomes institutionalized and sees no way of getting out.

When a person becomes disabled, he or she needs support, education, treatment, encouragement and hope to move with the changes presented. I often receive my best support from my “sisters” (and brothers) in the disability-rights movement. Even without that encouragement, most of us manage to get through the grief, loss, fear and anger and get on with our disabled lives.

Disabled people need life care, not death care. We need the freedom to move through the world as non-disabled people do. We need the right to live in our own homes with assistance, we need aggressive pain-control treatment, and we need love, encouragement, acceptance and equality. What we do not need is genocide, and the ultimate goal of physician-assisted suicide and euthanasia is exactly that: the removal of disabled lives. Simply put, it is murder.

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. . . WE NEED LOVE, ENCOURAGEMENT, ACCEPTANCE AND EQUALITY.
At the 1972 scene of her mother-in-law’s murder, Marie Deans recalls being comforted by a well-meaning policeman friend. “‘Don’t worry, Marie,’ he told me, ‘We’ll get the bastard and fry him.’”

No, you won’t, Deans said to herself about the escaped murderer who killed her husband’s mother. One death was enough. For Deans, an opponent of capital punishment, the homicide of a family member was not a moment to alter her belief in the sanctity of life. The murderer, who killed Dean’s mother-in-law in Charleston, S.C., had been on the lam from a prison in Maine, a state with no death penalty. South Carolina prosecutors, eager to revive executions, sought to extradite the killer from Maine where he had been returned. Deans and her husband promised to work against the extradition and the likely death penalty to follow. They succeeded.

Not long after, Deans founded Victims’ Families for Reconciliation. Her work with the organization—more than 100 families currently are members—defies the stereotype of murder victims’ families as pro-death penalty and supporters of politicians who call for more executions.

“He had a family, too,” Deans says of the man who killed her mother-in-law. “If he was executed, it would be another murder. It would be worse in a way, because he would be put on death row and the family would have been told every day for 10 years—or eight years or six years or however long it takes—that he was going to be killed. I think that’s worse.”

Deans expanded her work in 1983 to become director of the Virginia Coalition on Jails and Prisons, a Richmond public-interest group affiliated with the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons in Nashville. She has worked with more than 400 men and women on death row and with their families. Deans recruits lawyers, agitates in the courts and in wardens’ offices for medical and educational programs, and regularly visits to offer forgotten prisoners the warmth and love few ever had on the way to becoming killers.

It’s on the last point—How do murderers get that way?—that Deans offers an opinion that only a regular visitor to death rows could form. In her office last week, she said: “I have yet to find a case where there wasn’t a red flag thrown up years ago—in grammar school or somewhere—where a kid said, ‘I’m in trouble, help me.’ He gave us the message loud and clear and we didn’t pay any attention. And he ended up, years later, going down and down and killing someone. Let me tell you something. I resent the hell out of that as a member of a murder victim’s family … . Those governors, these prosecutors, Ronald Reagan and George Bush all getting up and saying, ‘I care about victims, I want the death penalty.’ If they cared about victims, they would have taken care of that victimized kid when he was six years old and prevented a homicide later.”

Deans, 49 and a single parent, is from a monied Old South Charleston family. An early sign of unconventionality occurred when in college she organized Republican voter-registration drives. Her parents were prominent Democrats. For that and other aberrations—including putting her son into a public school that had a majority of black students—they legally disowned her, she says.

What Deans may have lost in being cut off from her natural family, she has more than gained in ties to people on death row. Many see her as a sister or mother. Eight men have asked her to stay with them until being led off to the execution chamber. A death-row prisoner in Mecklenburg, Va., Correctional Center, about two hours south of Richmond, has known Deans for six years and says of her: “I couldn’t understand how somebody who was a member of a murder victim’s family could sit down across the table from me and tell me that I wasn’t evil, that the acts I did may have been evil, but I wasn’t evil. I was a human being and people cared. We spend hundreds of hours talking and communicating.”

continued on pg. 16
wasn't a red flag thrown up—

a kid said, ‘I’m in trouble, help me.’”
### One Death Row Inmate's Story

Nationally syndicated columnist Colman McCarthy updates FFL members on the case of former death row inmate Joe Giarratano.

**AMERICAN POLITICS TOOK AN ODD TURN last spring. The Hon. Virginia Daugherity, Mayor of Charlottesville, Va., proclaimed May 1 as “Joe Giarratano Day.”**

The oddness of that? Joe Giarratano is a former death row inmate now caged at the notorious Red Onion State Prison in Pound, Va., a new supermax penitentiary known for caging the worst of the worst.

The mayor of Charlottesville obviously thinks otherwise—that Giarratano ranks among the best of the best. Large numbers of others agree.

The story of Joe Giarratano is an unfolding one, going back to 1979, when, after a four-hour trial, he was convicted of a double murder and rape and dispatched to Virginia’s death row. He was 22, a drug abuser and drifter. In February 1991, he came within two days of being executed in Virginia's electric chair. An international outcry, including organized protests from Amnesty International, Bishop Walter Sullivan of Richmond and editorial writers from some of Virginia’s most conservative newspapers, persuaded then-Gov. L. Douglas Wilder to call off the execution for lack of credible evidence.

Governors rarely commute death sentences, doing so only if major doubts about the defendant's guilt are obvious. Giarratano did not receive a new trial because Virginia has the 21-day rule: Evidence of innocence must be brought to court within 21 days of sentencing. After that, tough luck. Since 1976, 79 men have walked out of death row in the United States owing to wrongful convictions. None has been from Virginia. Between 1900 and 1985, 23 innocent people have been executed nationwide.

I came to know Joe Giarratano in the mid-1980s, and since then have written more than a dozen articles about him and his case. Six times I have brought groups of students to his prisons for visits. They are given talks on the criminal justice system where people who are mentally ill, psychopathic, lawyerless and illiterate are regularly housed. The U.S. has the world’s highest rate of imprisonment.

Giarratano used his time on death row well. He became a legal scholar, with an article published in the *Yale Law Review*. He wrote a brief on behalf of a fellow inmate that was argued before the Supreme Court. With the warden’s blessing at one prison, he taught a course on nonviolence to fellow prisoners. It lasted three years. The state director of prisoners—a pseudo-tough guy who boasts of his belief in punitive, not restorative, justice—ordered the course closed and Giarratano sent to another prison.

In a recent letter—characteristically hopeful and upbeat, even though written from Red Onion, where guards fired their guns 63 times in the first nine months of operation—Joe displayed, still again, why he remains in control of his inner life, despite the harshness of the outer: “Teach, guide, share, uplift, raise up—this is all we can do. Nonviolence is one of the most powerful forces of change available to us. It truly is the path that requires heart and steadfastness.”

Despite the grimness of Red Onion, Giarratano is not alone. Such groups as Virginians for Alternatives to the Death Penalty (P.O. Box 4804, Charlottesville, Va., 22905) continue to rally support for him. You can also write Giarratano directly at: Joe Giarratano #118475, Red Onion Prison, P.O. Box 1900, Pound, Va., 24279.

Deans, the angel of America’s death rows, is aware that some people dismiss her as a saint and others as an emotional freak. She is neither. She is no more than a pragmatist wanting to decrease the nation’s violence, and what better place to work than death row where violence is on the increase.

Colman McCarthy is the founder and director of the Center for Teaching Peace, a nonprofit group that helps schools begin or broaden peace studies. His nationally syndicated column appeared in The Washington Post and his essays have appeared in magazines ranging from The New Yorker to Reader’s Digest. McCarthy is on the adjunct faculty at Georgetown University Law Center, American University, and the University of Maryland, and he is a volunteer teacher at Bethesda-Cherry Chase High School in Maryland. He lives in Washington, D.C., with his wife and three sons.

Women's and Children's Resource Act
The Women's and Children's Resource Act, sponsored by Rep. Joseph Pitts (R-Pa.) and Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.), would make $85 million available in grants to facilities that provide alternatives to abortion. Centers could use the money to help provide pregnant women with the practical resources they need—adoption information, prenatal and postpartum health care, baby food and clothing, and referrals for job and education training. Pitts and Santorum said the legislation would provide alternatives to government funded programs that focus on abortion. “No woman should ever feel that abortion is her only option,” said Santorum.

Unborn Victims of Violence
The Unborn Victims of Violence Act passed the House of Representatives in October. This legislation provides that an individual who injures or kills an unborn child during the commission of certain federal crimes of violence will be guilty of a separate offense. The legislation does not apply to performing an abortion to which the woman consents, medical treatment of the pregnant woman or her unborn child, or to a woman for any action in relation to her unborn child.

Eleven states currently have laws that recognize unborn children as potential victims throughout the period of prenatal development. All constitutional challenges to these laws have been unsuccessful.

Feminist Message, Feminist Solutions for Today's College Students

FFL President Serrin M. Foster will present "The Feminist Case Against Abortion" at the following locations:
- November 3, 1999. Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- November 9, 1999. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
- November 20, 1999. University of San Francisco

Foster will moderate a Pregnancy Resource Forum at the following location:
- November 18, 1999. University of California-Berkeley

FFL Public Education Coordinator Molly Pannell will present a workshop on FFL's College Outreach Program workshops at the following location:
In the tradition of our feminist foremothers, Feminists for Life continues to work toward justice and equal rights for all people. We believe that our struggle against abortion, euthanasia and other violent, dehumanizing “solutions” to complex human problems is as pivotal as the efforts of the women of the early 20th century who worked to ensure the women of future generations the right to vote.

Once again, your annual contributions will be recognized in a special way through FFL’s Feminist Giving Clubs.

Feminist Leadership Circle
$100-$249
Feminists nationwide who support justice and full rights for women and children.

Alice Paul Circle
$250-$499
Author of the original Equal Rights Amendment in 1923, Paul told a colleague, “Abortion is the ultimate exploitation of women.”

Susan B. Anthony Circle
$500-$999
Her publication, The Revolution, stated: “I deplore the horrible crime of child murder … We want prevention, not merely punishment.”

Elizabeth Cady Stanton Circle
$1,000-$2,499
In a letter to Julia Ward Howe in 1873, she wrote: “When we consider that women are treated as property, it is degrading to women that we should treat our children as property to be disposed of as we see fit.”

Women’s Suffrage Circle
$2,500-$4,999
In a landmark victory for the nascent women’s-rights movement, nationwide women’s suffrage was guaranteed through the 19th constitutional amendment in 1920.

The Revolution Circle
$5,000-$9,999
Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s and Susan B. Anthony’s periodical gave voice to early feminist thought and documented the anti-abortion consensus among feminist leaders.

Seneca Falls Society Circle
$10,000+
The 1848 Seneca Falls Convention marked the beginning of organized feminism in the United States.

As we approach another New Year, please help FFL honor the memory and legacy of our feminist foremothers by continuing the work they began. Donors who contribute more than $100 during 1999 through the Combined Federal Campaign or United Way local campaigns and wish to be recognized should contact FFL’s national office. Charitable agencies, including FFL, are not informed of individual giving amounts.

Donors who prefer to remain anonymous should notify the national office immediately. Thank You!

Surely you know someone who would relish the unique viewpoint of Feminists for Life. Use the envelope provided to give a gift that opens hearts and minds to a nonviolent, inclusive view of the world. Student memberships are only $15; regular gift memberships are $25. Gift members receive a full year of The American Feminist, as well as our “Pro Woman, Pro Life” bumper sticker.

Gift the gift of Feminists for Life today!
CELEBRITY MATCH

Planned Parenthood has confirmed what we knew was true—FFL's College Outreach Program is capable of having a “profound impact on college campuses and on Planned Parenthood’s public education and advocacy efforts.” But being capable and having the capacity to make their prediction a reality are two very different things.

It will take serious funding to bring FFL's College Outreach Program to even more campuses across the nation. **Patricia Heaton and other Hollywood celebrities have pledged to match whatever you give—dollar for dollar—toward FFL's 2000 Public Education and Outreach Campaign.**

But we must receive your gift before midnight on December 31, 1999, for it to count toward the challenge grant! Please hurry. The new millennium is approaching quickly. And we need to be prepared.

ELECTRONIC FUND TRANSFER MATCH

A former FFL Board member and a member of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Circle has challenged FFL members to begin or increase their electronic fund transfer donations. All EFT donations received or increased by December 31, 1999, will be doubled by this generous feminist.

Make a resolution to provide Feminists for Life with year-round support by beginning or increasing a monthly contribution through FFL's Electronic Fund Transfer. Along with your pledge, your first three months of support will mean twice as much because each gift will be doubled!

CORPORATE MATCH

Many employers offer a corporate match program. Ask your company if it participates—and double your gift to FFL!

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**Electronic Fund Transfer Form**

*Help FFL Help Women and Children!* Your monthly electronic donations provide essential support as FFL works to bring about positive change for women and children. Electronic donors receive quarterly President reports, detailing FFL’s progress. To begin your monthly contributions, simply fill out the electronic transfer form and send it (along with a voided check) to FFL. It’s that easy! Donations will be debited on the first business day of each month and will be put to work immediately by FFL.

Your participation helps FFL continue the tradition of the early feminists—pro-woman and pro-life!

I want my bank to transfer monthly donations to Feminists for Life of America. My authorization to charge my account at my bank shall be the same as if I had personally signed a check to FFLA. This authorization shall remain in effect until I notify FFLA, or notify my bank in writing that I wish to end this agreement, and my bank or FFLA has had a reasonable time to act on it. A record of each charge will be included in my regular bank statements and will serve as my receipt.

$_________________________ Amount of monthly pledge ($5 minimum).

Name __________________________

Address __________________________

City_________________________State_________Zip______

Phone: Day(____)______________Eve.(____)_____________

Signature__________________________Date_________

Please enclose a voided check from your account to show the bank’s address and your account number.

Send to: Feminists for Life,
Electronic fund transfers will begin immediately upon receipt. Thank you!
DOROTHY DAY WAS CO-FOUNDER AND GUIDING SPIRIT of the Catholic Worker Movement, which now runs more than 140 “houses of hospitality” in the United States and seven other countries. The houses are staffed by volunteers who provide food, clothing, shelter and welcome to homeless people, those in poverty and other exiles from society.

Though often revered for her work, Day thought of herself as an ordinary person. She experienced the same joys, successes, sorrows and regrets as many contemporary women.

In 1914 Day set out from her Chicago home after winning a scholarship to the University of Illinois-Urbana. Friends there introduced her to the flourishing socialist movement.

After only two years, she left campus to report for the radical New York City newspapers The Call and The Masses. In 1917, Day was one of 40 women imprisoned for a suffrage demonstration outside the White House.

Deeply affected by World War I and longing to do more than report on human suffering, Day began nurses’ training at a Brooklyn hospital. There she met her first lover, journalist Lionel Moise. As she recounts in her 1924 autobiographical novel The Eleventh Virgin, her happiness soon gave way to great anguish:

“And then June [Day] discovered she was about to become a mother … . She lay crying and sobbing on the bed. She was caught! … Dick [Moise] would never consent to have one. He had impressed that on her mind many times. If she insisted on having it, he would leave her … . She could not sacrifice her pride and go to a home to have a baby. She could sacrifice every vestige of pride—throw it all into the flames to keep her love burning. Her love for a man. But not her love for the child that was beginning to form in her … . Why should she expect any help from Dick anyway? … . She continued excusing him for the brutality she expected he would show her … . It was all her fault anyway.”

She refused a woman friend’s challenge to consider having the baby: “Because I’d lose Dick if I did … . And because Dick and I aren’t married. He’s never once suggested it … . I’d give anything in the world to have a baby, but I can’t … . I’m the most incapable sort of person. It’s the height of selfishness to bring children into the world anyway unless they’re going to have a fair chance at happiness.”

“Weeping at the thought of the child she could not have,” she underwent an illegal abortion: “Just to lie there and endure … . The hours seemed an eternity, but the minutes sped by very fast … . The pain came in a huge wave and she lay there writhing and tortured under it … . She no longer thought of the child. That was over and done with. Although it was amazing how weak she was, she felt curiously clear and light-hearted … .”

Her relief and denial soon evaporated. Moise not only broke his promise to take her home from the doctor’s office, he left a note terminating their relationship.

In 1924 Day bought a beach cottage with earnings from her novel and began a common-law relationship with anarchist and botanist Forster Batterham. Her newfound joy intensified when she became pregnant again. “For a long time I had thought I could not bear a child, and the longing in my heart for a baby had been growing,” she wrote.

With the birth of her daughter, Tamar Theresa, Day wrote, “my joy was so great that I sat up in bed in the hospital and wrote an article for The New Masses about my child, wanting to share my joy with the world … . a joy all women know no matter what their grief at poverty, unemployment, and class war … . The account was reprinted all over the world in workers’ papers.”

Tamar’s birth empowered Day to reclaim a personal growth process that her abortion had thwarted. She went on to a lifetime of boldly leading the Catholic Worker Movement and resisting war, the death penalty, labor abuses, anti-black racism, anti-Semitism—and abortion. “We’re living in an age of genocide,” she asserted. “Not only war, and the extermination of the Jews, but the whole program of abortion.”

Mary Krane Derr is a student of Buddhist Dharma and co-editor of the anthology Pro-Life Feminism: Yesterday and Today. She thanks Jonathan Derr, Jim Forest, Jim Allaire, and Phil Runkel for their help in researching this article.

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Editor’s note: FFL is a non-sectarian organization.
When a woman finds out that she's pregnant, she often considers it an overwhelming task and something that she cannot handle," said Sister Mary Louise Gude of the University of Notre Dame. In an effort to help pregnant students with what may seem "an overwhelming task," student pro-life leaders hosted a Pregnancy Resource Forum, moderated by FFL President Serrin M. Foster.

Sponsored by Notre Dame-St. Mary's College Right to Life and Feminists for Life of Notre Dame, the forum aimed to dispel myths surrounding pregnancy on Notre Dame's campus and facilitate better communication about resources for pregnant and parenting students. The Pregnancy Resource Forum featured representatives from the University's student affairs office, health services and counseling center and the off-campus Women's Care Center. Student Lynette Vargas, a junior at the University and mother of a 1-year-old, shared her experience with panelists and audience members.

According to Notre Dame-St. Mary's College Right to Life president Laura Antkowiak, the forum was "a great success." Plans are under way to improve communication of available resources and provide increased childcare options for faculty, staff and students.

Congratulations to the students at Notre Dame—and thank you to FFL supporters who helped make the forum a reality.

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The Dalai Lama—Where Does He Stand?

The Dalai Lama, teacher and the spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhism, is quickly becoming an international figure in human rights. He recently spoke about the value of life in his teachings. The Dalai Lama denounced abortion as a sin against “non-violence to all sentient beings” and criticized proponents of euthanasia.

Yet in a separate interview with Fabien Ouaki, the Buddhist leader said that “as a Buddhist, I have to say abortion is wrong, but it is up to the individual to decide.” He went on to say that in “very rare and exceptional cases, or when the mother’s life is in danger” abortion is justified.

Newsweek, August 16, 1999
Interview with Fabien Ouaki

Overusing EC in Thailand

While emergency contraception (EC) is available only by prescription in most countries, pharmacies in Thailand have dispensed EC freely for the past 20 years, and health officials are concerned that it is replacing condoms as a primary form of contraception for Thai couples, leaving them at risk for sexually transmitted disease and HIV. Despite EC’s wide use, pharmacist Sammit Leucharoen said that many customers who ask for it “do not know when or how it should be taken.” The only warning in the package tells women to use the drug one hour after sexual intercourse.

AIDS activist Supatra Nakapiew said that many young male factory workers are carrying EC instead of condoms, as they are “more convenient.” Supatra said, “Some of the factory girls don’t even know what they’ve been made to take after sleeping with their boyfriends. Most are told they are vitamins.”

Bangkok Post, Oct. 4, 1999

“One Child” Means No Girls in China

In the official Chinese government publication People’s Daily, Peng Peiyun, a minister of family planning for ten years, admitted that the number of unwanted baby girls abandoned nationwide is rapidly escalating. China’s strictly enforced “one child per couple” rule allows couples in cities to have one child and rural couples to have two children only if their first child is handicapped or a girl. Asian cultures have an historical bias in favor of boys over girls. In these countries there is a dramatically higher rate of abortion or abandonment of female babies than male babies.

Peiyun, now a vice chairman of the Chinese national legislature, also acknowledged that there is a serious imbalance of young adult men and women in China and throughout Asia. In many areas—and especially in rural areas—the practice of kidnapping and selling young women to be brides for men has become rampant.

Lay Witness, July/August 1999

Having Disabled Babies Will Be a “Sin”

Bob Edwards, the scientist who created Great Britain’s first in-vitro fertilization baby, said the increasing availability of prenatal screening gives parents a moral responsibility not to give birth to children with disabilities.

“Soon it will be a sin of parents to have a child that carries the heavy burden of genetic disease. We are entering a world where we have to consider the quality of our children,” said Edwards, speaking at an international fertility conference in France. Genetic screening is currently used in many American fertility clinics to screen out specific genetic defects.

Disability rights and pro-life activists believe that Edwards’ comments reflect the views of most British doctors and that women will be increasingly pressed into aborting children.

The Sunday Times, July 4, 1999

Killing Our Children: Euthanasia

A controversial government bill in the Netherlands would make euthanasia available to children as young as 12 years old. The bill proposes immunity from criminal prosecution for doctors provided they follow government guidelines when performing euthanasia. The law would also apply to very young incurably ill children with parental consent. Yet parental consent can be circumvented in some cases.

According to the Justice and Health Ministries, “In the case of 12 to 15 year olds the consent of the parents or guardian is required, but in the event of refusal … a minor’s request may nevertheless be met … .” Royal Dutch Medical Association spokeswoman Karin Hagelstein said, “If there is no unanimous agreement [between parents and children], then it is the doctor’s duty to fulfill the wishes of the patient.”

Reuters Limited, Aug. 10, 1999
**Membership/Subscription**

Indicate number of items:

- $25 Annual Membership ( _new_ _renewal)
  includes “Pro Woman, Pro Life” bumper sticker and The American Feminist
- $25 Gift Membership (may not be anonymous to the recipient)
  Name of recipient:_____________________________________
  Address:____________________________________________
  City/State/Zip:________________________________________
- $15 Student Membership ( ___________ graduation date)
- $15 Student Gift Membership
  (may not be anonymous to the recipient)
  Name of recipient_____________________________________
  Address____________________________________________
  City/State/Zip________________________________________
- $35 The American Feminist subscription only,
  non-membership/institutional
- $30 Annual Membership Outside U.S. (U.S. currency, please)

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  Assisted Suicide and Euthanasia
  Summer 1999
- _Unplanned Pregnancy: You Have Choices_
  Spring 1999
- _Remarkable Pro-Life Women_
  Winter 1999
- _Victory Over Violence: Rape, Incest and Domestic Violence_
  Fall 1998
- _Work vs. Family: The Struggle to Balance Career & Family_
  Summer 1998
- _The Bitter Price of Choice: The Aftermath of Abortion_
  Spring 1998
- _She’ll Ask. Don’t Tell: Women’s Right To Know_
  Winter 1997–98

**College Outreach Program**

Send a Kit to Campus

Indicate number of items:

- $35 Health Clinic Kit
- $35 Pro-life Collegiate Kit
- $35 Pro-life Advisor Kit
- $35 Campus Counselor Kit
- $35 Pregnancy Decision Questionnaire (*Free* with self-addressed stamped envelope)

__ Please send kit to where the need is greatest
__ A college of my choice:

Name of kit recipient_____________________________________
Title___________________________________________________
College_________________________________________________
Address________________________________________________
Phone _________________________________________________

**Materials**

Indicate number of items:

- $14.95 _Prolife Feminism Yesterday and Today_ (anthology of pro-life feminist essays)
- $17.50 _Swimming Against the Tide: Feminist Dissent on the Issue of Abortion_
- $15 _Different Voices_ (anthology of pro-life feminist essays)
- $2 “Peace Begins in the Womb” bumper sticker
- $2 “Question Abortion” bumper sticker
- $2 “Voices of Our Feminist Foremothers” poster
- $4.95 _Man’s Inhumanity to Woman_ (essays by 19th-century feminists)
- “Free” *with a self-addressed stamped envelope _You’re Not Alone_ brochures:
  50 for $5; 100 for $10; 250 for $20
- “Free” *with a self-addressed stamped envelope _What Women Really Want_ brochure
- “Free” *with a self-addressed stamped envelope _College Outreach Program_ brochure
- $75 FFL Logo Pin
  __sterling silver
  __24K gold plate over sterling

**Donations**

- ___ Monthly pledges
- ___ Please send monthly donor envelopes
- ___ Electronic transfer form; see page 19.
- ___ Tax-deductible donation to Feminists for Life

+ ___ 15% shipping and handling for materials

$ ___ TOTAL ENCLOSED

Please print: ___ Indicate if new address

Name__________________________________________________
Address________________________________________________
City/State/Zip___________________________________________
Phone _________________________________________________
E-mail address______________________________________

If using VISA or MasterCard:

Type of Card: □ VISA □ MasterCard

Card Number: ____________________________  Exp. Date:_______

Name (if different on card):__________________________________

Billing Address (if different on card):__________________________

Signature:____________________________________________

Please use enclosed envelope or mail to:
FFLA, Dept. 0641, Washington, DC 20073

Thank you!

0F11/99
Challenge

While members of the 70s’ women’s movement continue to promote abortion, Feminists for Life is moving forward with woman-centered solutions in the workplace, home and school.

Feminists for Life of America
Because women don’t have to settle for less.
Because there is a better way.

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