



YEARS
THE AMERICAN FEMINIST

Feminists for Life of America

HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

hope for the future

THE FUTURE



THE AMERICAN FEMINIST

Feminists for Life of America

"When a man steals to satisfy hunger, we may safely conclude that there is something wrong in society—so when a woman destroys the life of her unborn child, it is an evidence that either by education or circumstances she has been greatly wronged." — Mattie Brinkerhoff, *The Revolution*, September 2, 1869



F A L L
2 0 0 2

CONTENTS

FFL'S 30TH BIRTHDAY

3 The Conception and Life of FFL

Immediate Past President Rosemary Oelrich Bottcher reminisces about 30 years of FFL.

7 Meet FFL Activists

We'd like to introduce you to some of the key people who make FFL what it is today.

11 The Future of Feminism

FFL members who are knowledgeable about feminist history reflect on FFL's place in the past, present and future of feminist theory.

14 The New York State Feminist Trail

Suzanne Schnittman takes us on a journey to the places where feminism was born.



18 The Feminist Case *Against* Abortion

Serrin Foster's exciting speech has been presented at colleges and other venues across the nation.

23 30 Ways to Celebrate FFL

Here's a list of things everyone can do to help FFL spread its important message.

IN EVERY ISSUE:

25 We Remember

Women who died from legal abortion.

26 Voices of Women Who Mourn

FFL gives voice to the millions of women who are mourning their loss after an abortion.

THE AMERICAN FEMINIST The Quarterly Magazine of Feminists for Life of America Editor Laura Ciampa Editorial Board Maureen O'Connor, Erin M. Sullivan Copy Editors Donna R. Foster, Karen MacKavanagh, Coleen MacKay
Communications Director Lisa Toscani Design/Layout Elizabeth L. Lambertson
Feminists for Life of America, 733 15th Street, NW, Suite 1100, Washington, DC 20005; (202) 737-3352; www.feministsforlife.org. President Serrin M. Foster Vice President Sally A. Winn
Board of Directors: Chair Andrea Milanowski Public Policy Chair Therese Madden Marketing/Membership Chair Nina Jurewicz Treasurer/Secretary Marion Syversen Member-at-Large Susan DeConcini
Feminists for Life of America, founded in 1972, is a member of the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, National Women's Coalition for Life, National Task Force to End Sexual and Domestic Violence Against Women, Seamless Garment Network, and the Initiative Against Sexual Trafficking.
The opinions expressed in *The American Feminist* by individual authors are their own and do not necessarily reflect the policies, views or beliefs of *The American Feminist* editorial staff, FFL's President, Vice-President or the Board of Directors.
Copyright 2002. All rights reserved. ISSN 1532-6861

1972

THE CONCEPTION AND LIFE OF FFL

Rosemary Oelrich Bottcher
Immediate Past President
FFL Board of Directors

ALTHOUGH PRO-LIFE FEMINISM is as old as feminism itself, our organization, Feminists for Life of America, celebrates its 30th birthday this year. Since I have been a part of the organization for almost that long, I was asked to reflect on how I have seen the organization evolve over the years. I am a post-babe working woman who has been married for 34 years and has four children, one of whom is adopted. I was motivated to get involved with FFL because I realized that my darling adopted son could well have been just one more abortion statistic, and the standard pro-life movement did not appeal to me at all. I have worked as a chemist all my adult life, even while I had four children under six, so I understand very well how difficult it is to juggle family and career and why it does not have to be that way.



Rosemary Bottcher (ctr.) with FFL founders Pat Goltz (l.) and Cathy Callaghan (r.) in 1997.

2002



SISTERLIFE

feminists for life of america

Volume XIV, Number 1

Spring 1984

THE LINK BETWEEN ABORTION & BREAST CANCER

By Ann W. Sameroff, Ed.

Breast cancer has reached alarming proportions in this country. Each year, approximately 150,000 women are diagnosed with this dreadful disease. Not only have American women experienced an increase in breast cancer, but the rate is rising around the world.

Researchers can trace much of the increase to "lifestyle risk factors" such as diet and genetics. However, a full 60% of this increase has remained a mystery to researchers. But recent legitimate medical studies have found a higher rate of breast cancer among women who have had abortions - more specifically, who have terminated their first pregnancies during the first trimester.

Why is that?

A woman's first full pregnancy creates hormonal changes which permanently alter the structure of her breast. The complicated process greatly reduces the risk of breast cancer. A premature termination of a first pregnancy disrupts this process.

Before a woman conceives for the first time, her breasts contain a variety of immature tissue surrounding a branching network of ducts, with relatively few milk-producing cells. When the first child is conceived, estrogen and other hormones stimulate the growth of an older, more experienced network of ducts and are associated with this "mature duct". Under the influence of these powerful hormones, the breast cells undergo further growth. The network of milk ducts begins to bud and branch, developing more ducts and more openings. This period of rapid growth is said to be the time when the breast cells are most likely to be affected by cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

When a woman aborts her first pregnancy, she is cutting off the hormonal stimulation that would normally occur. This means that the breast cells are not fully developed and are more susceptible to cancer-causing agents.

One Organization's Beginnings

The concept of an association of pro-life feminists was one born of necessity. One of our founders, Pat Goltz, was expelled from the Ohio Chapter of the National Organization for Women for what they must have seen as blasphemy: not only was she opposed to abortion, but her opposition was based upon feminist logic! In 1972, when she met kindred spirit Cathy Callaghan in a martial arts class, the two spunky iconoclasts invented FFL.

Originally, FFL was composed of strong conservative women. Then the Wisconsin chapter took over day-to-day management in 1976. This was a tiny, eclectic group of mostly left-wing, anti-establishment, alternative-lifestyle free spirits—in other words, hippies and hippie sympathizers. The group's activities were concentrated in the Milwaukee area, and focused mostly on being a presence at both pro-life and feminist events, distributing literature and writing letters to the editors of local newspapers. A mimeographed newsletter, *Sisterlife*, was launched. Then, boldly, the group organized a national workshop, which evolved into an annual conference. For the first time, pro-life feminists scattered all over the country were able to meet and see for themselves that they weren't alone.

Ten Years in Kansas City

In 1984, the national conference was held in Omaha, Nebraska. Rachel MacNair, a Quaker pacifist, was elected president and I was elected vice-president, positions we held for 10 years. Rachel lived in Kansas City, Missouri, so the epicenter of pro-life feminism moved there. FFL began to achieve national exposure through participation in related issues (death penalty, peace, nuclear weapons, environmentalism, etc.) and through the judicious placement of small ads in strategic publications.



Congress Offers Mixed Bag of Adoption Legislation

Many women face an abortion decision before they have even begun to think about adoption. For many women, the decision is made in a matter of minutes. For others, it is a process that takes weeks or even months. In either case, the decision is often made in a state of emotional turmoil. For many women, the decision is made in a state of emotional turmoil. For many women, the decision is made in a state of emotional turmoil.



Abortion Increased in New Jersey Under the 'Family Cap'

On May 15, New Jersey voters approved a referendum that would limit the number of children a family can have. The referendum was passed by a narrow margin. The referendum was passed by a narrow margin. The referendum was passed by a narrow margin.



Chapter leaders meet in Kansas City in 1991 with then-President Rachel MacNair (lower right).

These activities led to media interviews and invitations to speak at pro-life events (regrettably, we were never invited to participate in feminist events, and were ignored or ostracized when we just showed up). Feminist organizations responded to our growing influence by studiously ignoring our existence, but we were embraced by the pro-life movement, which was smitten with and fascinated by our exotic flavor of feminism. While the broader exposure was valuable, some FFL leaders worried about becoming too much identified as just another splinter of the mainstream, conservative pro-life movement. Feminists for Life workshops became a standard agenda item at pro-life conferences, and in 1985 the National Right-to-Life Committee arranged for me to address the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. Several pro-life feminist essays were included in anthologies compiled by the National Right-to-Life Committee. In 1985 FFL published its first book on pro-life feminism, *Pro-life Feminism: Different Voices*, and in 1995 its second, *Pro-life Feminism Yesterday and Today* (both are still available through FFL, on amazon.com, and occasionally at large bookstore chains). Our unique and intriguing perspective was reaching an audience, and we were becoming “heard of.”

At the 1994 board of directors meeting in Kansas City, momentous decisions were made to launch FFL into “the big time.” FFL’s national office would be relocated to Washington, D.C., where we hoped to be in a better position to exert our growing influence. Our current president, Serrin Foster, was hired as executive director, and an office within sight of the White House was rented. It was an exhilarating but worrisome time: Could we make it in the exciting but brutal center of government and culture?

Hippie to Hip

As part of this major reorganization, FFL conducted a national strategic planning process with our then-chapters to get broad input and identify priorities. The board of directors began a gradual transition from a “working board” that did nearly all the work to a “governing board” that created the framework in which staff and volunteer committees could implement specific projects. We also undertook an image makeover—which I saw as a transformation from hippie to hip. Dr. Elise Rose, an early FFL activist, had remarked some years before that “fashion is one of the most powerful forces on earth.” I was one of many who believed that there were hordes of people who had latent pro-life instincts, but who were put off

FFL Board members meet for FFL’s 25th anniversary in 1997.



by the staid and stodgy image of the pro-life movement. We wanted to appeal to a broader audience that included young professional women, who were generally considered to be the immutable constituency of pro-abortion feminism.

FFL’s logo was redesigned, a process that helped, or perhaps forced, the board to clarify its vision for FFL. Elizabeth Lambertson completely changed the format and look of *Sisterlife* and the name was changed to *The American Feminist*. Our brilliant communications director, Lisa Toscani, worked with Serrin Foster and board members Nancy O’Brien and Maureen O’Connor to develop a series of stunning, stirring ads to be used in our revamped literature and to be placed in publications, especially college newspapers. The team created new membership and outreach brochures. Later, Lisa redesigned the newsletter and turned *The American Feminist* into a magazine. Theme issues were developed. The Web site was created by Coleen MacKay and later redesigned by Marie McBride. We were prepared to be taken seriously.

FFL Board officers take a break from their strategic planning retreat in Maine, October 2001. Left to right: former Board member and advisor Maureen O’Connor; Nina Jurewicz, marketing chair; Andrea Milanowski, Board chair; Marion Syversen, treasurer; Therese Madden, public policy chair; not shown, Peter Wolfgang, vice chair.





And taken seriously we were.

Our focus on the root causes of abortion—lack of emotional and financial support, obstacles to pregnant women and mothers in the workplace and at school, the belittling of the power and value of maternity—offered a map out of the impasse that has been so frustrating and exhausting to the country. FFL's influence helped to ensure the passage of legislation that would reduce the perceived need for abortion, such as the Violence Against Women Act, the Welfare Reform Act, the Family and Medical Leave Act and enhanced enforcement for child support.

Two FFL initiatives have been very successful in promoting the renaissance of pro-life feminism: our College Outreach Program and our celebrity outreach efforts. Most students enter college with pro-life views but are so inundated with pro-abortion rhetoric while there that by the time they graduate, they've given in to pro-choice orthodoxy. FFL challenges these students to "Question Abortion" and "Refuse to Choose" through ads, presentations and workshops. Our resource kits have been presented to nearly 500 colleges, and Serrin Foster has spoken at more than 100 campuses in 35 states and four foreign countries. This program has been so successful that Planned Parenthood has labeled it "the newest and most challenging concept in anti-choice student organizing," predicting that "FFL could have a profound impact on college campuses as well as Planned Parenthood's public education and advocacy efforts." It has even listed FFL on its Web site as a "leading anti-choice organization."

According to Patricia Heaton, Emmy-winning actress and Honorary Chair of FFL, there is far more pro-life sentiment in the entertainment culture than is apparent. Her outspoken courage in expressing her pro-life beliefs and in promoting FFL's philosophy is helping to dispel the notion that all the Beautiful People are fans of abortion. The enthusiastic support of Heaton, FFL Honorary Co-Chair Margaret Colin and other actors accentuates the charisma of pro-life feminism. We're becoming well-known as the positive feminists, the happy feminists, the feminists to take seriously.

FFL has come a long way since Pat Goltz and Cathy Callaghan met at a karate class and decided to take back feminism and return it to its pro-life roots. We know that they are proud. And if the past 30 years are any indication, the road ahead for FFL promises to be exciting, challenging, and full of surprises. ○

Meet FFL Activists



MARILYN KOPP

"Most of my work has focused on getting FFL's empowering message out through public relations and media coverage," says 12-year FFL member Marilyn Kopp, and oh has she succeeded. From organizing controversial pro-life feminist art exhibits to protesting intolerance at the 1999 Lilith Fair, Marilyn is not afraid to publicly challenge the inconsistencies of mainstream feminism.

She says her most challenging project was organizing an art exhibit featuring visual artist Mary Cate Carroll, whose "American Liberty Upside Down" featured a 5-month-old fetus, and Jean Blackwood, whose poetry complemented the exhibit with a "do no harm" Zen/Buddhist message. She wants her actions to make people think.

"While the exhibit was controversial," she said, "it successfully stimulated open discussions about feminism as human rights advocacy," she told me.

This kind of bravery and purpose led her to another project that stimulated discussion nationwide. The Lilith Fair was a national rock and folk music tour organized by singer Sarah MacLachlan that featured solely women musicians, including such heavy hitters as the Indigo Girls and Sheryl Crow.

"Women's groups such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and Planned Parenthood were allowed booth space at the shows, but FFL was denied," Marilyn said. "In protest, we stood near the NOW and Planned Parenthood booths wearing 'Peace Begins in the Womb' T-shirts and gags over our mouths." It resulted in nationwide media coverage.

"I've learned from these and many other actions that FFL's consistent message of inclusive justice for all is often warmly received by those who are open-minded enough to listen, particularly young people," she said. Marilyn has touched many young people's lives—her fledgling idea for a program she wanted to implement in Ohio using ads and information about alternatives to abortion was applied to a college setting and provided inspiration for FFL's College Outreach Program.



Marilyn won't be silenced!

MARION SYVERSON

If anyone knows the fear and isolation of facing an unplanned pregnancy, the pain of abortion and the guilt, shame and self-loathing that all too often surface in the years to follow, it's Marion Syverson.

Despite her experience, this FFL board member exudes a combination of positive energy and down-to-earth reason that inspires admiration—an admiration she appreciates but is quick to shrug off. "What I do in the pro-life movement doesn't seem special since I feel compelled to speak," she says matter-of-factly. She is compelled by a disturbing image.

She says that every day, she thinks about women who that day have found out they are unexpectedly pregnant. "It's a bad time, a very bad time," she says sadly. "She doesn't know where to start or who to tell. And the clock in her head feels like it's ticking as loudly as a bomb about to blow up. I can never get the picture out of my head, the fact that this 'discovery scenario,' if you will, is playing out today, now."

"FFL's proactive, positive, woman-centered approach is liberating."



And so she travels the country, spreading FFL's pro-woman, pro-life philosophy because she believes it can help those with such burdens. "When she feels alone, deeply troubled and in a panic, FFL's clear message can reach into her heart," Marion says with confidence.

A self-described "wiggly" kid who was cutting school by the third grade, Marion Syverson now channels her energy into helping others who are facing an unplanned pregnancy or quietly suffering after an abortion. In her speech, she describes a difficult childhood.

"My parents were messed up, violent and abusive," she says. "By the time I was in high school and my parents were divorced, I got very wild. I was pregnant three times in high school, with two abortions and a miscarriage."

She says she developed a deep faith that enabled her to share her story and to forgive herself. Yet, it was a non-sectarian group that made her feel most "at home."

"I'm a quirky person of faith; kind of rough around the edges, and though the religious community has been very supportive of me, FFL has been my group. All pro-life groups accept women who have had abortions," she continues. "I don't know how clearly the women perceive that acceptance when violence to the baby is the center of a group's message."

Marion says that the hardest part for women who have had abortions is forgiving themselves. "I've spoken with hundreds of women who have told me how ashamed they feel because of their abortions," she said. "I've had more than a few say, 'God may forgive, but I can never forgive myself.' It's sad."

She then perks up when she thinks of FFL. "We are leading the culture with cutting-edge graphics and portraying the message of life with confidence and strength."

"FFL's proactive, positive, woman-centered approach is liberating!"

And so she travels, with the hope that somewhere, sometime, she can support someone in a situation in which she found herself alone.



JESSICA SHANAHAN

In 1993, Washington, D.C., was crippled by a snowstorm, prompting American University to tell its employees not to risk leaving their homes to come in to work. Rather than stay safely at home, Jessica proceeded to spend the day looking for space to house FFL's new national headquarters.

"It paid off to be young, naïve and bold," jokes Jessica, who found what is still FFL's office, right down the street from the White House. Jessica's role in the historic move of FFL from Kansas City, Mo., to Washington, D.C., is just one of many that she has played for FFL throughout the years.

From 1990-1994, Jessica served on FFL's Board of Directors and used her experience as a legislative aide for U.S. Rep. John J. LaFalce (D-NY) to cover legislative issues for FFL. Since then she has served on the New York State Chapter's board of directors, where she has been president since 1998.

"I am very proud of my efforts to head up the New York State Chapter of Feminists for Life for the past three years," she said. "We have such a strong and dedicated Board and such a solid core of volunteers. Our Board doesn't have time to waste. There is too much to do!" A mother of three, ages 1 and 3, and a newborn, Jessica has had more than FFL to keep her busy. She also has two Master's degrees, one in higher education and one in Hospital Administration.

Her next big goal is to address a dire need of FFL.

"One huge thing I would really like to see happen in the pro-life movement is a greater base of financial support," she said.

"It paid off to be young, naïve and **bold**."



ANDREA MILANOWSKI

A Harvard graduate and Generation Xer who has lived in a variety of places throughout the world, FFL Board of Directors Chair Andrea Milanowski represents the countless number of women who shatter the common media-perpetuated image of who is pro-life, and who is not. As fellow activist Lisa Toscani articulates, “Where the opposition has failed, we’ve succeeded in attracting young, educated and professional men and women.”

Andrea’s tenure at FFL began with a summer internship at FFL national headquarters in Washington, D.C., while an undergraduate at the University of Michigan. That was when her appreciation for the College Outreach Program was cultivated.

“FFL has made a significant impact on college campuses,” she says enthusiastically in an interview she gave from Singapore. “Campuses are where women and men form their opinions on this issue and women are aborting their children at a rate higher than any other age group because they are choosing between their education and their children. It makes good demographic sense to focus on this area. And we’ve proven that we can do it with players from both sides of the debate. That’s success.”

Andrea’s fresh and international perspective is also helping FFL look ahead. “In the future, FFL needs to look beyond the current abortion debate in America,” Andrea says. “International aid to women should be based on empowerment via education and economic advantages rather than policies focused on eliminating [their] unborn children. We must precede new scientific advances, such as cloning, with policies and practices that will protect new, unknown human categories.”

While always looking ahead, Andrea doesn’t hesitate to learn from those who came before her, noting that “FFL incorporates and honors the feminist foremothers in its philosophy, education, and solution-finding.” She’s pleased about the progress FFL has made since she became involved and during her tenure as board chair, but she knows there’s much more in store for FFL. “I can only believe that this message is ready for a wider audience. It has wide appeal. We just need to get it out there and show the world that women are beginning to challenge the status quo.”



“FFL has made a significant impact on college campuses.”

LISA TOSCANI

“Pro-life without apology—hold the banner high! FFL is the voice of reason.”

Those are the messages Lisa Toscani, FFL’s communications director, sends with our ad campaign. And does she ever. When Planned Parenthood publicly admits its nervousness about FFL’s compelling materials, and mainstream feminist professors who have studied the pro-life movement spotlight FFL for its smart and savvy marketing materials, you know she’s doing something right. So does she.

“[I am most proud] when the other side holds up our ads as the most dangerous threat to the pro-choice mission,” she says. Those who fear her may not be very comfortable with their contributions to her groundbreaking designs and ads. “I pick up clues from pro-choice people,” she says when asked how she comes up with her concepts. “I pay attention to their ‘hot buttons.’” Not only have mainstream feminists stood up and noticed, but others in the pro-life movement have as well. FFL has several partnerships with pro-life organizations around the country that are using Lisa-designed FFL advertisements. Lisa

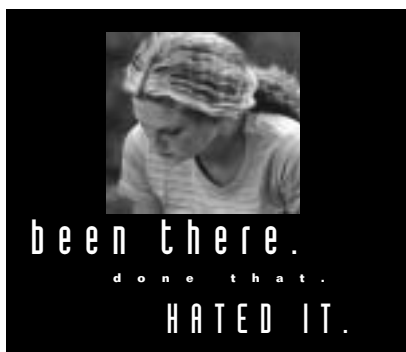
appreciates that, believing that one of our biggest and most important challenges is “building a coalition with other pro-life groups,” and she wants her work to “eradicate the perception that to be pro-life is to be outdated at best; fanatic and violent at worst.”

“FFL members are smart, savvy, dedicated and selfless. We share a collectiveness of purpose,” she says. “Our message is consistent, timeless and rooted in our strong feminist legacy. FFL gets it. [It] is a haven for people of reason, but especially, and most importantly, for women who have been lied to by all abortion providers,” she says.

She recognizes the work needed to win the hearts and minds of those in the middle, as well as in the media, but she sees a bright future. “After losing so many innocent lives, we are experiencing a renewed enlightenment of the sacredness of all human life,” she says. “This is not your father’s pro-life movement anymore.”



“This is not your father’s pro-life movement anymore.”



No one wants to have an abortion, much less a second one. But if you have had an abortion, you are at an even higher risk of experiencing the tragedy of abortion again. While others are satisfied with the status quo,

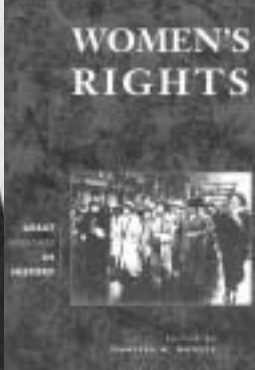
Feminists for Life concentrates our efforts on prevention and less painful alternatives. If you prefer action to rhetoric, please contact us.

Refuse to Choose. There is a better way.





FFL President Rosemary Bottcher, Mary MacAleese, president of the Republic of Ireland, Maureen O'Connor and Serrin in 1998.



Serrin's speech "The Feminist Case *Against* Abortion" is included in *Women's Rights* from the 2001 series *Great Speeches in History*.



Serrin debates abortion proponents Bill Baird and Planned Parenthood of America's president Gloria Feldt at the Harvard Forum in 2000 while moderator former Sen. Alan Simpson (center) and teammate Dr. Bernard Nathanson (right) look on.



SERRIN FOSTER

"Serrin eats, breathes and lives FFL," says FFL board member Marion Syverson of FFL's president. "She is dedicated to this cause like no one else I know. The arguments are most frequently best framed by her. I think [she] is a real hero."

So do many others. Serrin's contagious and unrelenting support and enthusiasm for FFL is legendary among feminist circles. Just listen to her speak for a brief moment and you will understand why. You will find yourself riveted to a detailed explanation of feminist history, a passionate account of real stories and an enthusiastic description of solutions. By the end, you wonder how anyone's beliefs can be anything but completely aligned with her own. This explains why her speech, "The Feminist Case *Against* Abortion," was chosen to be published in the anthology *Women's Rights* edited by Jennifer Hurley. *Women's Rights* is one volume in a series, *Great Speeches in History*.

She says her commitment is due to the importance of FFL in her own life.

"For years I thought that I was all alone in my pro-woman, pro-life beliefs. Finding Feminists for Life was life-altering," she said. "I am still asked if Feminists for Life is an oxymoron, but there is nothing more consistent than supporting women and children, rejecting violence and exploitation."

Serrin has been doing that for years. She is most proud of the growth and success of the College Outreach Program.

"This year more than a million students—students who have never known a day without legalized abortion—have had a basic assumption challenged," she says enthusiastically. "The best part is that because of FFL, these students will go out into the world knowing that they can 'refuse to choose' between women and children because we deserve better."

Her success indirectly perpetuates some of her biggest frustrations. "I am constantly reminded of how much more needs to be done, and frustrated that we can't do it all!" she says. "Without a doubt, we need to grow to a number that truly reflects the support we have for our pro-woman, pro-life message. So many people are depending on us. It's not enough to be right. We have to be effective."

Serrin's long-term dream is "a world where women expect better of and for themselves. A world where violence, discrimination and exploitation in all its new and old disguises are recognized and rejected."

"Oftentimes I laughingly say that 'It's hard to save the world.' But when it comes right down to it, that is why we are here." ○

"There is nothing more consistent than supporting women and children, rejecting violence and exploitation."

Serrin appears on C-SPAN *Today* in 1996.

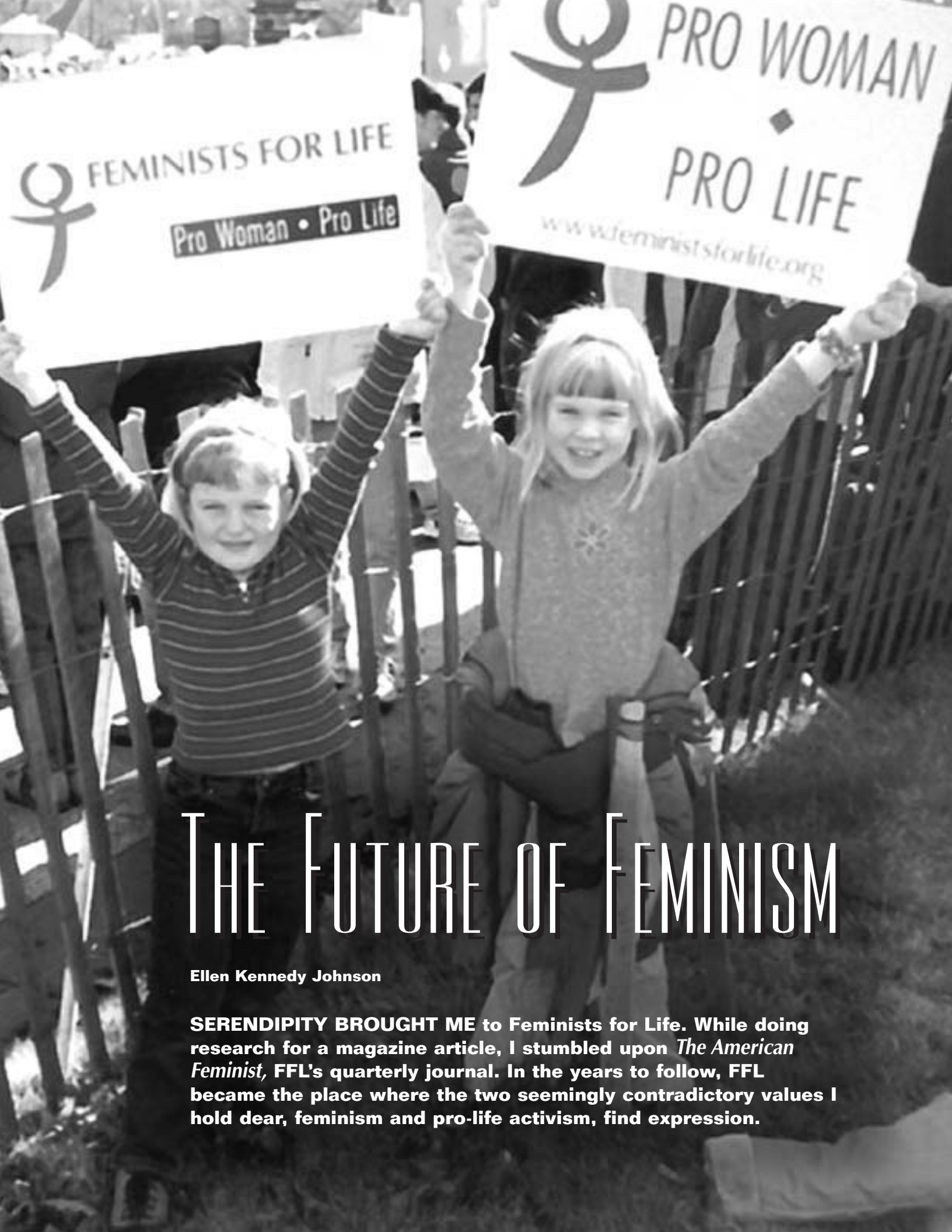


Rep. Chris Smith (left) and the late Governor Bob Casey with Serrin in 1996.



Honorary Co-Chair Margaret Colin and Honorary Chair Patricia Heaton with Serrin at the White House, 2002.





THE FUTURE OF FEMINISM

Ellen Kennedy Johnson

SERENDIPITY BROUGHT ME to Feminists for Life. While doing research for a magazine article, I stumbled upon *The American Feminist*, FFL's quarterly journal. In the years to follow, FFL became the place where the two seemingly contradictory values I hold dear, feminism and pro-life activism, find expression.

For the last thirty years, Feminists for Life has been described by many as the “light in the darkness” or “a beacon of hope”—where the pro-life legacy of our feminist foremothers is reclaimed, promoted, and cherished. While many of the voices in the second wave feminist movement confidently assert that Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and many other nineteenth-century feminists would, indeed, support the abortion-choice movement given contemporary circumstances, Feminists for Life liberates first wave feminist values from this revisionist miasma.

Mary Krane Derr, who co-edited the compilation *Pro-life Feminism Yesterday and Today*, understands the significant contributions FFL makes in promoting the principles advocated by first wave feminists. “At heart,” Derr writes, “the women’s movement was and is about listening reverently to women’s life stories and responding with the pursuit of justice and mercy for all human beings. FFL simply calls upon the movement to more deeply, expansively honor its core values.”

The intolerance of the liberal establishment toward anyone who is a feminist and does not support the abortion-choice movement belies the fundamental ethics of the first wave feminist movement. Since the beginning of the second wave women’s movement, mainstream feminists abruptly moved away from these foundational principles promoting the sanctity of all human life. Ruth Moynihan, a former women’s history professor, explains why many feminists abandoned this respect for the unborn: “Unfortunately, much of the ‘new feminism’ of the ‘60s and ‘70s included

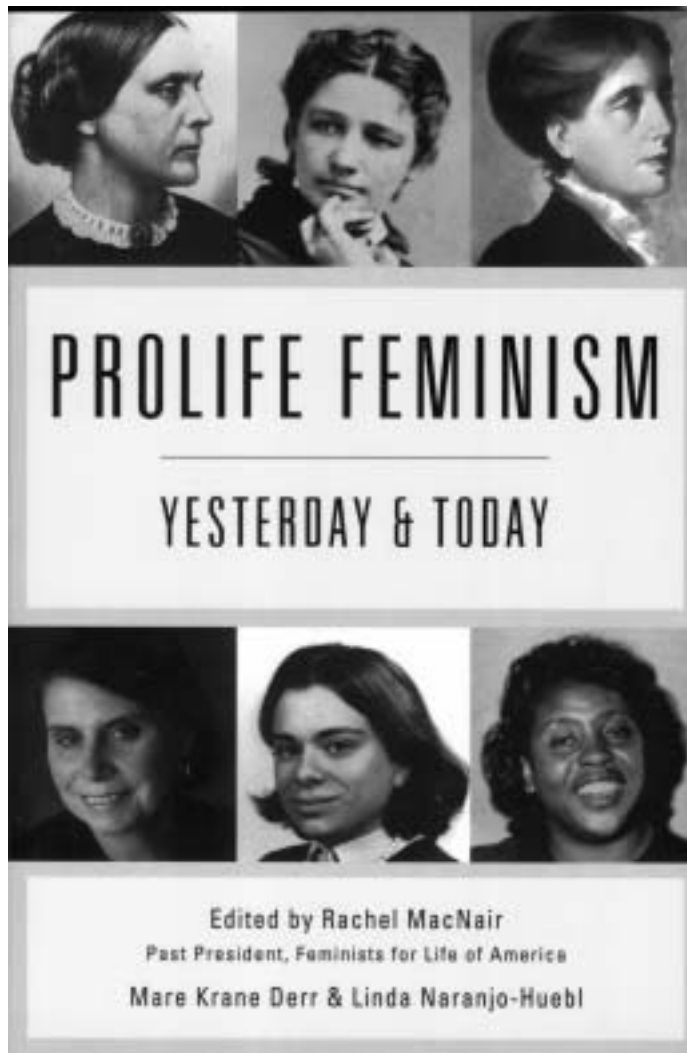
a strong, subconscious, neo-Freudian hatred of womanhood and its presumed limitations. Though it stressed the equality of opportunity that all women deserve, the public movement became increasingly elitist, serving the interests of the corporate economy by insisting that all women should want to be in the work force (even at minimal wages in dead-end service jobs), and that having babies or raising children

ramifications of abortion. One of FFL’s goals has been to tell the stories of women who suffered fatal or debilitating effects from having abortions in “We Remember” and “Voices of Women Who Mourn,” featured in every issue of *The American Feminist*.

While mainstream abortion-choice feminists narrow women’s reproductive choices to the “lesser of two evils,” FFL expands the debate beyond simplistic “either/or” scenarios, working to improve the material conditions of women and focusing their efforts to improve child care and health care, and remove the financial and educational obstacles pregnant or parenting women face. By advocating for a broader range of options for women, FFL’s concept of feminism corresponds with the fundamental values of nineteenth-century feminist pioneers.

The constricting notion of women’s rights offered by abortion-choice feminists may contribute to the trend among young women and men to excoriate feminism. Teaching at a large university, I have the opportunity to talk with college students who are confused by the two contradictory narratives society offers about motherhood: that it is a burden and a dead end or a commitment worthy of great personal sacrifice. Second wave feminist rhetoric, with its increasing focus on abortion rights, ignores the social conditions in need of restructuring for true change to occur. Perhaps many college students reject feminism because the seemingly “settled” stance on abortion is restrictive and lacks critical inquiry, contradicting their developing sense of justice and desire to change the world.

Village Voice columnist Norah Vincent addresses issues facing college students in her bi-weekly column “Higher Ed,” often indicting mainstream feminism for its convoluted notion about how women exert control over their bodies. Vincent believes that true reproductive control “means making choices deliberately, and up front, not desperately and after the fact.” A person



was an inherent threat to their freedom.”

The consequence of this “elitist dogma,” as Moynihan declares, is a suppression of information about alternatives to abortion or the possible consequences of the procedure. Since 1972, FFL has consistently challenged the misinformation circulating within the mainstream pro-abortion movement: information that neglects long-standing research conducted about the physical, emotional, and spiritual

with liberal views on abortion, Vincent asserts, “after all is really someone who wants the Federal government to provide the emotional and financial resources that impoverished mothers lack—day care, maternity coverage, housing—thereby allowing them a real version of the so-called ‘choice’ feminists claim to be offering, but aren’t. But for some reason, abortion is different. Here the usual feminist answer is, as it happens, quite conservative. It says women don’t have the resources to bear their kids, so they simply shouldn’t have them.”

Vincent praises FFL’s College Outreach program for providing realistic choices for pregnant and parenting women, exemplifying the true spirit of feminism. In its seventh year, the College Outreach Program challenges students and university

“The logic of domination that leads to unilateral acts of abortion,” Callahan writes, “is incompatible with a pro-life, pro-woman commitment to radical equality and human flourishing.”

The mainstream feminist movement’s single-issue focus on abortion choice minimizes the importance women place on the bearing and raising of children. Professor and author Elizabeth Fox-Genovese believes that women reject mainstream feminism because of its narrow approach to women’s rights: women reported “a gut sense that feminism was not talking about their lives. Worse, they had a sneaking suspicion that feminists do not think their lives are important.” FFL, on the other hand, “[brings] a radical new perspective to women—especially young women. Insisting that women really do have

worst. Even the most stalwart abortion choice advocate must concede that abortion does not enhance a woman’s life, per se, but can only be a temporary solution to an insidious problem and should not be the goal of feminist activity. As long as mainstream feminist groups confine their advocacy to issues of access to abortion, they will continue to lose large blocks of supporters who refuse to capitulate to the needs of the marketplace or deny the value and honor associated with motherhood. First wave feminists were more creative in their approach to problem solving; motherhood was problematic only because of a system that denied women a public voice, financial independence, or the ability to gain custody of their children in a divorce. Their solution was not to jettison motherhood, but to find a way to change the

“[brings] a radical new perspective to women—especially young women. Insisting that women really do have a choice, FFL is reminding us that the true support for women’s rights is to be pro-life and to cherish and honor women’s special capacity to bear and nurture life.”

administrators to question status quo discourse making abortion the only option for women dealing with unplanned pregnancies.

What issues will FFL tackle in the years to come? Recognizing the intolerance shown by the mainstream liberal movement toward anyone espousing both feminism and a pro-life stance, Lisa Bellecci-st.romain, who writes about nineteenth- and early twentieth-century pro-life women in *The American Feminist’s* “Herstory Worth Repeating,” hopes this “stranglehold,” as she calls it, loses its strength: “Proponents who might eventually embrace FFL’s ethic would do so in individual conversion, risking loss of status and power within the mainstream. FFL will have to continue to forge alliances according to specific common issues.” Syndicated columnist and university professor Sidney Callahan is hopeful that FFL’s continuing presence will result in all feminists eventually embracing the value of human life in all its stages.

a choice, FFL is reminding us that the true support for women’s rights is to be pro-life and to cherish and honor women’s special capacity to bear and nurture life.”

The future of feminism demands a reiteration of the foundational principles of the first wave movement; nineteenth-century feminists knew their worth as women and believed the progress of humankind was dependent upon the infusion of their unique perspectives into the culture. Contemporary abortion choice feminists labor to make gender politically irrelevant and fear that women’s reproductive capacity impedes upon their ability to gain equality with men. This position is complicit with the misogynist discourse that dismisses women’s bodies as diseased, inferior, and something to tame. Assuming that abortion rights should take precedence over issues concerning the material conditions women, men, and children living in the U.S. struggle with on a daily basis is insular, at best, and elitist, at

“system” so women could contribute in both the public and private arena. Women from all points of the political spectrum are rejecting abortion choice dogma and are asking for real solutions to complex problems.

In the words of Serrin Foster, “FFL serves as a catalyst for developing resources and progressive solutions by asking women what they really want—because women deserve better.” For thirty years, FFL has honored the ethics of care modeled by first wave feminists and will continue to work for practical changes, allowing women to more readily choose life.

Fox-Genovese adds, “Thanks to FFL, we now have a fresh and dynamic voice that is defending women’s allegiance to life as a decisive contribution to a better and more humane world for all—beginning with women themselves. Not least, FFL is showing that the pro-life movement can be vital, youthful, feminist—and fun.” ○



Niagara Falls

In 1901, Annie Edison Taylor became the first person and only woman to successfully hurl herself over the falls in a barrel.



**Middleport
Birthplace of Belva Lockwood, the first woman to practice law before the Supreme Court.**



**Tonawanda
Serrin Foster's childhood home.**

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony

The New York State Feminist Trail

Suzanne Schnittman

AMID THE MELLOWING autumn colors last October, FFL President Serrin Foster embarked on a speaking tour of colleges in upstate New York's "historic corridor." Serrin's visit not only allowed us to rediscover many feminist foremothers and their pro-life efforts but also helped us to find new connections between the past and the present in women's ongoing struggles to prevail as mothers and as citizens.

The bright, cold day we spent in Niagara County began with a stop in the town of Tonawanda, at Serrin's childhood house, where she lived exactly 100 years after enlightened folks in this area launched annual women's rights conventions. Then

it was a short car ride to Niagara Falls, where exactly 100 years before, on October 24, 1901, Annie Edison Taylor became the first courageous soul and the only woman to hurl herself over the falls in a barrel and live to tell about it.

In the Niagara County town of Middleport we could visit the memorial that marks the 1830 birthplace of Belva Lockwood, the first woman to practice law before the Supreme Court. We easily bridged the distance between past and present at lunch that day when two FFL-New York members, both lawyers, talked about practicing law, defending life, and raising a total of seven children.

Inspired by adventurers and scholars from western New York, we traveled east up

the trail toward the homes of the giants in women's history. They have already been memorialized by the likes of filmmaker Ken Burns, but remain understudied. No single thorough and contemporary scholarly work has been published on Susan B. Anthony or Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Many historians choose to edit letters and speeches or select one aspect of these women's lives to illustrate. *The Revolution*, the newspaper they edited together for a few years, is increasingly popular to excerpt. While pro-life feminists have relied on this newspaper for many quotations that demonstrate Anthony and Stanton opposed abortion, only recently have general women's historians begun to include comments about their pro-life stands.

Rochester
Site of Susan B. Anthony
House, home of Anthony and
her sister Mary and children.

Rep. John LaFalce (D-NY) joined New York Chapter President Jessica Shanahan and FFL President Serrin Foster to tour the home of Susan B. Anthony; shown here with a statue of the great feminist leader.



"Failure is a

During our private tour of the Susan B. Anthony House we realized that no matter how many visits one makes, the ground to the house where Anthony and her sister Mary lived for 40 years remains sacred. We learned many curious things on the house tour: the sisters had one of the few bathrooms in Rochester with running water and a place for a hot bath, the worn alligator bag that characterized Anthony sits on a rush chair in her bedroom, and dozens of photos of women's rights leaders from around the world are on display.

Probably because Congressman John LaFalce from Western New York accompanied us, we heard in detail about the 1872 election and voting in general. That was the year Susan, Mary and 17 neighbor women dared to register to vote in a city election. Susan was arrested two weeks after the election in the very parlor where we stood. Downtown displays the latest attraction in her honor, a giant sculpture of Anthony having tea with Frederick Douglass, her dear friend and

colleague in battles they could share. Today, we were told, neighborhood children sit on these figures and have their own pretend tea parties.

The Susan B. Anthony House gift shop offers an array of items inscribed with Anthony's famous words, "Failure is impossible," which are also etched in the stained glass window erected in the A.M.E. Zion Church in Rochester. Anthony first used the phrase at her official retirement party in Washington, D.C. She was 86 and frail, yet feisty. Responding to high praise from other workers in The Cause, she said: "There have been others also just as true and devoted to the cause—I wish I could name every one—but with such women consecrating their lives, failure is impossible!"

During the earliest years of Anthony's work in the women's rights movement, her closest colleague lived less than an hour's train ride away in Seneca Falls. Elizabeth Cady Stanton launched the First Women's Rights Convention in this thriving mill town in 1848 and stayed another 12 years, during

which she had the last four of seven children and split her time between writing speeches and housewifery. It was during these years that Stanton raised an outrageously jaunty flag over her house whenever she bore a new baby, to the scandal of neighbors who would not even utter the word "pregnant" out loud. Stanton's words ring clearly pro-life in the legacy of articles she left us. Most prominently in *The Revolution* but elsewhere as well, she attacked abortion and the damage it wreaked on unsuspecting mothers. The solution she finds in "the education and enfranchisement of women." "Let woman assert herself in all her native purity, dignity, and strength, and end this wholesale suffering and murder of helpless children. With centuries of degradation, we have so little of true womanhood, that the world has but the faintest glimmering of what a woman is or should be" said Stanton in *The Revolution* on January 29, 1868. We stopped for yet another photograph, featured in the *New York Feminist*, of a sculpture that depicts the meeting of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton on the streets of Seneca Falls.



**Seneca Falls
Home to the First
Women's Rights
Convention in 1848.**



Suzanne Schnittman and Serrin Foster strike a pose with statues of suffragists on the historic trail in Seneca Falls.

impossible.”

— Susan B. Anthony

Seneca Falls is but a mid-point along New York State’s historic trail, yet it captures the most attention because it was home to the First Women’s Rights Convention in 1848. Standing in the shell of the Episcopal Church that housed this meeting brought us a sense of pride. The group of statues inside the Women’s Rights Park depicts men and women who attended that first courageous meeting. One of the women, Martha Wright (Lucretia Mott’s sister), is noticeably pregnant. This statue itself is a tribute to the strength of women as mothers who came to this meeting in search of a better life for their daughters. The designer’s choice of her in a representative selection of convention-goers is a contemporary statement, for surely in those days she would not have been highlighted but hidden behind many skirts and tables.

Our last stop took us to the home of Matilda Joslyn Gage, who lived another hour down the corridor in a town outside of Syracuse. Gage represents the more radical element in social movements, the person with the brilliant yet occasionally outlandish comments. She never failed to

speak her mind, fought hard for the most extreme positions including divorce rights, and left us powerful pro-life statements. Her major concern was for the mother, forced to abort her child, then found criminally responsible. She blamed men for the deed in *The Revolution* (April 9, 1868): “I hesitate not to assert that most of this crime of ‘child murder,’ ‘abortion,’ ‘infanticide,’ lies at the door of the male sex.” Efforts to memorialize Gage have lagged behind those devoted to her colleagues, but finally are underway in this small town. Co-author with Anthony and Stanton of the four-volume *History of Women’s Suffrage*, Gage remains without a decent biography.

If we had more time for train rides we could venture farther east to visit New York’s other memorials honoring Amelia Bloomer, Harriet Tubman, Emma Willard, Elizabeth Blackwell, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Inez Mulholland, and Carrie Chapman Catt, among others. The legacy is strong, the inspiration awaits us, and the heritage of women leaders belongs to all of us. ○



FFL President Serrin Foster and FFL Board Counsel Jane Sullivan and Foster outside Susan B. Anthony House in 1999.

Fayetteville
Home of
Matilda Joslyn Gage.



Eastward on the Trail to memorials for Amelia Bloomer, Harriet Tubman, Emma Willard, Elizabeth Blackwell, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Inez Mulholland, and Carrie Chapman Catt, among others.



The Feminist Case Against Abortion

Landmark Speech Outlines Why a True Feminist Respects Life

THE ABORTION DEBATE is full of horror stories on both sides of the issue. Coercive and unethical counselors lie to vulnerable women and pressure them. This has happened in some abortion clinics as well as some pregnancy care centers. Women have died from botched abortions, both before abortion was legalized and after, when it is supposed to be safe. Fanatics resort to violence on both extremes of the pro-choice/pro-life spectrum.

Focusing on these isolated incidents and extreme cases makes for effective fund-raising. What it does not do is help women—which was what the original feminist movement set out to do. In the 1960's, certain factions of the women's movement made a drastic about-face.

The feminist movement was born more than two hundred years ago when Mary Wollstonecraft wrote "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman." After decrying the sexual exploitation of women, she condemned those who would "either destroy the embryo in the womb, or cast it off when born." Shortly thereafter, abortion became illegal in Great Britain.

The now revered feminists of the 19th century were also strongly opposed to abortion because of their belief in the worth of all humans. Like many women in developing countries today, they opposed abortion even though they were acutely aware of the damage done to women through constant child-bearing. They opposed abortion despite knowing that half of all children born died before the age of five. They knew that women had virtually no rights within the family or the political sphere. But they did not believe abortion was the answer.

Without known exception, the early American feminists condemned abortion in the strongest possible terms. In Susan B. Anthony's newspaper, *The Revolution*, abortion was described as "child murder," "infanticide" and "foeticide." Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who in 1848 organized the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, classified abortion as a form of infanticide and said, "When you consider that women have been treated as property, it is degrading to women that we should treat our children as property to be disposed of as we see fit."

Anti-abortion laws enacted in the latter half of the 19th century were a result of advocacy efforts by feminists who worked in an uneasy alliance with the male-dominated medical profession and the mainstream media. The early feminists understood that, much like today, women resorted to abortion



At left, Foster speaks at the University of Buffalo in front of a quilt depicting Elizabeth Cady Stanton's celebratory flag-raising on the birth of another child, a bold declaration in Stanton's era.

—Photo courtesy of Buffalo News

Dozens of pro-choice students protested Foster's speech at a rally on Sproul steps at the University of California, Berkeley, but many agreed with her on the need for better support and resources for pregnant women and parents. "Abortion is a reflection that we have failed women," the *Berkeley Daily Californian* quoted Foster.

Hundreds of students hear FFL's message at the University of San Diego in April 2002. Students called it "amazing" and a "mind-blowing experience." One student told reporters that she came "pro-choice and defensive," but left thinking she is pro-life. The Fox News affiliate, *The Southern Cross* and campus newspaper *The Vista* covered the event.



because they were abandoned or pressured by boyfriends, husbands and parents and lacked financial resources to have a baby on their own.

Ironically, the anti-abortion laws that early feminists worked so hard to enact to protect women and children were the very ones destroyed by the *Roe v. Wade* decision 100 years later—a decision hailed by the National Organization for Women (NOW) as the “emancipation of women.”

The goals of the more recent NOW-led women's movement with respect to abortion would have outraged the early feminists. What Elizabeth Cady Stanton called a “disgusting and degrading crime” has been heralded by Eleanor Smeal, former president of NOW and current president of the Fund for a Feminist Majority, as a “most fundamental right.”

Betty Friedan, credited with reawakening feminism in the 1960's with her landmark book, *The Feminine Mystique*, did not even mention abortion in the early edition. It was not until 1966 that NOW included abortion in its list of goals. Even then abortion was a low priority. It was a man—abortion rights activist Larry Lader, who remains active today—who credits himself with guiding a reluctant Friedan to make abortion an issue for NOW. Lader had been working to repeal the abortion laws based on population growth concerns, but state legislators were horrified by his ideas. (Immigration and improved longevity were fueling America's population growth—not reproduction, which in fact had declined dramatically.)

Lader teamed up with a gynecologist, Bernard Nathanson, to co-found the National Alliance to Repeal Abortion Laws, the forerunner of today's National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL). Lader suggested to the NOW leadership that all feminist demands (equal

education, jobs, pay, etc.) hinged on a woman's ability to control her own body and procreation. After all, employers did not want to pay for maternity benefits or lose productivity when a mother took time off to care for a newborn or sick child. Lader convinced the NOW leadership that legalized abortion was the key to the workplace.

Dr. Nathanson, who later became a pro-life activist, states in his book, *Aborting America*, that the two were able to convince Friedan that abortion was a civil rights issue. Later he admitted that they simply made up the numbers of women dying from illegal abortions, which had been a major point in their argument.

Lader's and Nathanson's strategy was highly effective. NOW has made the preservation of legal abortion its number one priority. Its literature repeatedly states that access to abortion is “the most fundamental right of women, without which all other rights are meaningless.”

With this drastic change, a highly visible faction of the women's movement abandoned the vision of the early feminists: a world where women would be accepted and respected as women. There are now 1.3 million surgical abortions per year in the United States. The Alan Guttmacher Institute (the research arm of Planned Parenthood) reports that women have abortions for two primary reasons: lack of financial resources and lack of emotional support.

Feminists for Life of America recognizes that abortion is a symptom of, not a solution to, the continuing struggles women face in the workplace, at home and in society. Our emphasis is on addressing root causes and promoting solutions—from prevention to practical resources.

The first step is to empower young women and men to make life-affirming choices. No compassionate person, pro-choice or pro-life, wants to see a teenage

girl drop out of school and face a lifetime of poverty because she became pregnant. Nor do we want her to suffer the pain and anguish of abortion. Public and private funding for comprehensive programs that emphasize teen pregnancy prevention must be increased dramatically.

We need honest and unbiased evaluation and replication of effective programs that include proven strategies such as life-planning skills, training and mentoring. Boys, as well as girls, should be included in the remedy. Groups like Feminists for Life and pregnancy resource centers regularly get calls from women who are pressured by partners who say they will pay \$300 for an abortion but won't pay a dime in child support. Men and boys need to know that, thanks to legislation supported by Feminists for Life and other women's organizations that strengthens child support enforcement and paternity establishment, they can no longer coerce women into having an abortion by threatening to abandon their children if they are born. But fathers need to do more than make payments. Their presence is needed in their child's life. For women whose partners are absent and who are unable to provide for their children, assistance must come from both private and public sources to protect children by providing the basics, including affordable, quality child care, and education and employment opportunities for the mother.

If we are serious as a nation about significantly reducing the number of abortions, then established, credible pregnancy resource centers should be eligible for federal funding. Nearly 4,000 pregnancy care centers and maternity homes guide women in crisis through the maze of available support services—food, clothing, housing, furniture, medical care including high risk pregnancies, legal assistance, help with employment and education, drug abuse and domestic violence counseling, childbirth, breast-feeding and parenting classes—all at no charge. Some specialize in bilingual/bicultural services, adoption and/or post-abortion counseling. These centers are where many pro-lifers “walk their

talk” to help women in need. They leverage financial and in-kind resources from individuals, businesses, churches and communities across the country, yet they cannot consistently meet the demand for services.

Although these centers are clearly listed in the yellow pages as “abortion alternatives,” some abortion advocates have resorted to calling them “fake clinics” to discredit their efforts to give women choices other than abortion. Coercive techniques, lies, and other unethical practices should not be tolerated in abortion clinics or in pregnancy resource centers. While the vast majority of pregnancy resource centers, such as those affiliated with Catholic Charities and Birthright, and the vast majority of not-for-profit abortion providers do not engage in these unethical practices—some for-profit abortion clinics and unaffiliated pregnancy care centers may stray from the ethical path. NARAL is currently working to expose those anti-abortion centers that resort to lies and lurid pictures; NARAL should also expose those abortion clinics that try to convince women they have no choices other than abortion.

One model program is First Resort of California. Founder Shari Plunkett approached HMO Kaiser Permanente with a plan to reduce the number of abortions in the Bay area. After thoroughly reviewing the program—even editing brochures—Kaiser agreed to refer clients who were unsure about having an abortion to First Resort. Kaiser's client satisfaction rate was 99.3%. When NARAL's California affiliate (CARAL) succeeded in pressuring Kaiser to terminate the program, women lost the ability to make an informed choice. CARAL ignored an invitation to meet with staff and tour First Resort.

Across the country, Americans on both sides of the abortion debate agree that women have a right to make informed decisions about their pregnancies. We can empower women to exercise this right by passing “Right to Know” legislation. As with any other medical procedure, women have a right to full

Feminists for Life of America recognizes that abortion is a symptom of, not a solution to, the continuing struggles women face in the workplace, at home and in society.

disclosure of the nature of the abortion procedure, risks and potential complications, and alternative support services, as well as the father's responsibility. A woman has the right to know her doctor's name, whether he/she will be available if a medical emergency occurs, any history of malpractice or revocation of a medical license in any state; she has the right to a fully equipped clinic and/or ambulance nearby in case of complications, and the right to redress if she is hurt by the abortion. Even veterinary clinics are better regulated than abortion clinics, for which there are no uniform inspections or reporting requirements. Doctors who have botched abortions, caused infertility or death and lost their medical licenses have been known to jump state lines to continue providing abortions and even to open new clinics. There are no regulations to stop them.

Employers and educational institutions can also implement policies that ensure meaningful options for pregnant and parenting women (as well as parenting men). Women in the workplace should not have to choose between their child and their job. That is no choice at all. Employers who have not already done so should consider flex time, job sharing, on-site child care and telecommuting. Women need maternity coverage in health care; men and women need parental leave. Living wages would enable parents to support their children.

Similarly, women should not be forced to choose between their education and life plans and their children. As Feminists for Life has expanded its College Outreach Program in recent years, a number of college counselors have told us the only choice they are aware of is between various abortion clinics—as if women are not capable of reading or thinking while they are pregnant or parenting. Feminists for Life is leading forums on college campuses that challenge university officials to provide housing, on-site child care, and maternity coverage within student health care plans, and to inform women about their hard-won right to child support. We have developed comprehensive Pregnancy Resources Kits with the input of those on both sides of the debate—including abortion doctors, pro-choice clinic staff, attorneys and students—to give women the “rest of the choices.”

Even though Feminists for Life has reached out to pro-choice activists to help provide more choices for women, ironically, Planned Parenthood, the nation's largest abortion provider, has called Feminists for Life's solution-oriented program “anti-choice.”

If providing practical resources that help women can be called “anti-choice,” something has gone terribly wrong. It is time to set aside the rhetoric and horror stories and fund-raising tactics and think again about how we can help women in need. ○

FFL president Serrin Foster's lecture, “The Feminist Case Against Abortion,” has been included in the anthology Women's Rights, edited by Jennifer Hurley. Women's Rights is one volume in a series, Great Speeches in History. Other volumes include The Founding of America, The Great Depression and Human Rights. It will be distributed to high school and public libraries across the country.

Speeches on women's rights from 21 women in history were chosen for the anthology including pioneers of the suffragist movement Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Sojourner Truth; “second wave” women's rights advocates Betty Friedan, the late Rep. Bella Abzug, Rep. Shirley Chisholm, Gloria Steinem and Sarah Weddington; and contemporary feminists former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Angela Davis, Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, Kate Michelman and Serrin Foster.

Reprinted with permission from the author and The Commonwealth Club, September 13, 1999



FFL President Serrin Foster (left) presented “The Feminist Case Against Abortion” for the first time on Capitol Hill in July. Actor and Honorary Co-Chair Margaret Colin (center) asked Members of Congress and legislative staff to “remember the woman” as they consider legislation. From left to right: Serrin, FFL Communications Director Lisa Toscani, Rep. Chris Smith, Margaret Colin, FFL Vice President Sally Winn, San Diego Life Resource Network Executive Director Michaelene Jenkins, and Pro-Life Caucus Staff Director John Cusey.

30 Ways To Celebrate FFL's 30th Birthday



Financial

The best way to celebrate and support FFL is financially. Without money, we don't have the resources to coordinate volunteers and spread the word!

STRENGTHEN FFL

- 1** Support FFL with a tax-deductible gift—better yet, help to provide core support by contributing monthly through an electronic fund transfer or through secure online monthly gifts from your credit card. Go to www.feministsforlife.org and click on “Contribute Now!”
- 2** Take advantage of your employer's matching-gift programs to double your gift to FFL.
- 3** Donate computers (especially laptops), office equipment, printing services and frequent flier miles.
- 4** Join the growing ranks of the FFL Giving Circles or challenge yourself and others to make it to the next giving level.
- 5** Pay your dues. More members means more impact on Capitol Hill and the media.

EDUCATE OTHERS

- 6** Buy FFL's Feminist History Kit for your nearby public library.
- 7** Buy FFL brochures, “What Women Really Want” and “You Have Choices,” and pass them out at pro-life and women's events.
- 8** Forward your e-mail invitation to others so they can join you at a local FFL lecture or Pregnancy Resources Forum.

ADOPT A COLLEGE

- 9** Sponsor a Pro-life Student Kit, College Health Clinic Kit or Feminist History Kit.
- 10** Sponsor FFL's College Outreach Program ads.
- 11** Make a donation to FFL for staff support so we can better meet the ever-increasing needs of college students.
- 12** Adopt a student by purchasing a gift membership.

REMEMBER FFL

- 13** Leave a legacy—remember FFL in your will, or as a beneficiary or secondary beneficiary of your insurance policies, retirement programs, and other investments so we may continue to serve the women at highest risk of abortion.



FFL Posters for Sale

Set of eight 25" x 38" posters of FFL's provocative, eye-catching College Outreach Program ads in black and white for \$50, shipping and handling included.

To preview the ads, go to www.feministsforlife.org and click on the College Outreach Program.



30 Ways To Celebrate FFL's 30th Birthday

Activism

There are many ways to help spread the pro-woman, pro-life message.

INCREASE FFL'S INFLUENCE

14 Tell a friend! E-mail your family, friends and colleagues the link to FFL's new "Refuse to Choose" brochure: www.feministsforlife.org/who/.

- 15** Tell a stranger!
- Keep brochures in your car and distribute to people with bumper stickers on related issues.
 - Hang FFL brochures and ads on bulletin boards in dorms and community centers.
 - Give brochures to campus health clinics or counseling centers.
 - Tell the world — Put FFL's Pro-Woman, Pro-Life bumper sticker on your car.

16 Be a friend! Give the gift of membership for special occasions—birthdays, Christmas, Hanukkah, etc.

EDUCATE OTHERS

17 Share FFL's Pro-Woman message within the pro-life movement that Women Deserve BetterSM.

18 Download FFL's 8 ads from our Web site and/or purchase our "Voices of Our Feminist Foremothers" poster and post them at schools, community centers, churches, grocery stores, and libraries.

19 Write a letter to the editor with a pro-life feminist message.

20 Mentor a pro-life group on a campus near you—contact the national office for details.

SHARE YOUR EXPERTISE & CONNECTIONS

21 Introduce a foundation or potential major donor to FFL.

22 Have experience writing grant proposals? Help FFL secure funding!

23 If you have computer knowledge or expertise as a lawyer, medical professional, CPA, researcher, photographer, fundraiser, writer, etc., then become an FFL volunteer by sending your contact information and background to info@feministsforlife.org.

BE AN ADVOCATE

24 Meet your U.S. Senator and Representative when you are in Washington or visit them at their home office.

25 E-mail or U.S. mail your legislators. Make sure to include your home address, be respectful and always let them know that you are an FFL member. Call your legislators when key votes are pending.

26 All politics are local. Call your state representatives and governor, too.

27 Be prepared to support women and children within the workplace as well as on college campuses.

28 Join our e-mail list by sending an email to join InfoList@lists.feministsforlife.org

29 Keep yourself informed—read and forward articles from the Hot Topics page of FFL's Web site www.feministsforlife.org/hot_topics to family, friends and colleagues.

30 Continue the tradition of our feminist foremothers—VOTE!

Send your current email address to us at info@feministsforlife.org.

All brochures and other materials are available from the national office by sending a request to info@feministsforlife.org.

WE REMEMBER



Linda Boom

1960 – 1995

Milwaukee, WI — A doctor's negligence caused the death of a Wisconsin high school teacher who was poisoned during an abortion at a Milwaukee hospital, a jury found Friday. The jury found Sinai Samaritan was not negligent when, as the suit claimed, chemicals that should have been injected into Boom's womb to abort her unborn child were instead injected into her bloodstream and eventually reached her heart.

Linda Boom, 35, died Sept. 22, 1995, after having undergone an "amnioinfusion termination of pregnancy." The abortion involves the injection of chemicals into the womb.

In the suit against the hospital and the Wisconsin Patients Compensation Fund by Boom's husband, Dennis, attorney Patrick Dunphy of Brookfield contended an ultrasound was not used before injecting the chemicals and they were injected into Boom's bloodstream. Daniel Gilman had initially been named as a defendant but was dismissed from the lawsuit because the claim was filed too late, according to court records.

However, the jury in Milwaukee County Circuit Judge Stanley Miller's courtroom determined that Gilman was negligent with respect to the lack of care and treatment he provided Boom and that his negligence was the cause of her death.

The jury said that \$500,000 would "fairly and reasonably" compensate Boom's estate for pain, suffering and disability and \$1.85 million would fairly and reasonably compensate her husband for loss of companionship and "pecuniary loss of value and loss of household services."

But it's an amount that cannot be recovered because Gilman had been dismissed as a defendant and the only remaining defendant in the case, Sinai Samaritan, was found not to be negligent, said Marquette University Law School Dean Howard Eisenberg.

Source: *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*; May 4, 2001



EXPRESS YOURSELF

Some say FFL's trademarked logo is reminiscent of a woman reaching out to a child, or a child to her mother. We all agree that it is a joyful interpretation of the classic women's symbol. FFL's stunning logo pin has been reintroduced in celebration of our 30th anniversary. Available in sterling silver or sterling silver plated in 24 karat gold, it measures 2-1/4 by 1-3/4 inches, and comes in a navy-blue gift box. It's a perfect gift for the dedicated volunteer, public servant—or treat yourself! Each is available for \$100. (See order form on pg. 27.) Please specify gold or silver. If you can't decide, get both!

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 semi-annual 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,
733 15th Street, N.W., Suite 1100, Washington, D.C. 20005.
Electronic fund transfers will begin immediately upon receipt.

Thank you!



Voices

OF WOMEN WHO MOURN

I HAD AN ABORTION ALMOST ONE YEAR AGO when I was 18 1/2 weeks along. This was one of the hardest things I have ever done in my life. I could already feel my child moving in me. When I went to have it done it was a 2-day procedure. The first day I almost walked out because I wasn't sure that I could do it. Well, when I went home that day I prayed and asked for the strength to finish what I had started. I almost didn't go the next day either except that I knew that it was too late. When I went in, and everything started, regardless of the pain medication they gave me, I was in soooo much pain that the nurses literally had to hold me down. I felt my child move in me while this was going on. All I could think was what do they see on the sonogram monitor when this is going on? What was the baby feeling? Was it in as much pain as I was in? My God, this was my child, not a thing but a baby, and I was destroying it!!!! After I left and went home, all I could do was cry. I don't think I really dealt with the effects though. I just put it away and went on with my life. Well, 6 months later I found myself pregnant again and the father and I were not ready again. We decided to have an abortion again even though I knew that I wasn't mentally able to do it. Well I was only 5 weeks at that time and though that one really doesn't hit me as much, it did break me mentally. This tore the father and I apart for a while. He had his own problems dealing with it and I resented him for not being there to help me. My best friend was there with me, but even she couldn't help me. It got so bad that I actually felt like ending my life. There were days where I didn't even want to get out of bed or go on. Well now 4 months later I am pregnant again and there is no way I am getting rid of this baby. We will make it some how but I can't go through that again. I just have such a feeling of guilt for what I did to that baby. I feel so empty and I am afraid of what I will do once I hit that stage with this baby I'm carrying. I can't even look at pictures of developing fetuses after the 3-month point because all I do is cry and actually get sick to my stomach. I hope that my little bit of a story will at least help someone else to know that they are not alone in the way that they may be feeling.

Signed, Angel

Reprinted with permission from Rachel's Vineyard

For more information about Rachel's Vineyard, please contact: Rachel's Vineyard, P.O. Box 195, Bridgeport, PA 19405, 1-877-HOPE-4-ME

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:

- September 12, 2002. University of Maine, Orono.
- September 14, 2002. Pro Life Education Association Luncheon honoring FFL Board member Marion Syverson among others, Bangor, Maine.
- September 23, 2002. Senate Briefing with model, actor and author Jennifer O'Neill, Washington, D.C.
- October 23, 2002. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland.
- November 4, 2002. University of California at Los Angeles. Special appearance by Honorary Co-chair Patricia Heaton.
- November 6 or 7, 2002. University of California at San Diego.
- November 16, 2002. Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Serrin Foster will moderate a Pregnancy Resources Forum November 6 or 7, 2002. University of San Diego, California.

FFL Vice President Sally A. Winn will present "Refuse to Choose: Reclaiming Feminism" at the following locations:

- September 7, 2002. Arizona Right to Life Conference, Phoenix.
- September 25, 2002. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- September 26, 2002. Michigan State, East Lansing.
- September 27, 2002. Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo.
- September 28, 2002. Right to Life of Michigan Conference, Kalamazoo.
- October 1-4, 2002. Kent State University, Ohio.
- October 1-4, 2002. Oberlin College, Ohio.
- October 1-4, 2002. Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
- October 5, 2002. Ohio Right to Life Conference, Columbus, Ohio.
- October 8, 2002. Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon.
- November 2, 2002. Moderate Women's Symposia at St. John's University, New York City, and Honorary Co-Chair Margaret Colin to present "Remember the Woman."
- December 4, 2002. University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, Illinois.

All dates are tentative and subject to change.

Announcements and invitations will go out by email, so please send us your email address to subscribe. You can also contact the national office at info@feministsforlife.org to schedule a lecture or Pregnancy Resources Forum.

Attention Federal Employees!

If you or a friend or relative is a federal employee or is in the military, you may make a donation to FFL through the Combined Federal Campaign. CFC donors provide essential support for FFL, including FFL's innovative College Outreach Program.

FFL is CFC #1907 (located in the Women's Charities of America section of the CFC directory).

Thank you!

ORDER FORM

Membership/Subscription

Indicate number of items:

- \$25 Annual Membership (new renewal)
includes a subscription to *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 (_____ graduation date)
(may not be anonymous to the recipient)
Name of recipient _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
- \$35 *The American Feminist* subscription only,
non-membership/institutional
- \$35 Annual Membership Outside U.S. (U.S. currency, please)

The American Feminist \$5.00 ea.

Indicate number of issues:

- Crimes Against Women Around the World*
Spring/Summer 2002
- Bold Faced Lies*
Winter 2001-2002
- Raising Kids Cheap*
Fall 2001
- Women Deserve Better*
Summer 2001
- Remarkable Pro-Life Women II*
Winter 2000-2001
- Human Commodities for Sale*
Summer 2000
- Embracing All Life: From Conception Until Its Natural End*
Winter 1999-2000
- What Will She Face?: Back on Campus*
Fall 1999
- Is Life Always Worth Living?: Assisted Suicide and Euthanasia*
Summer 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

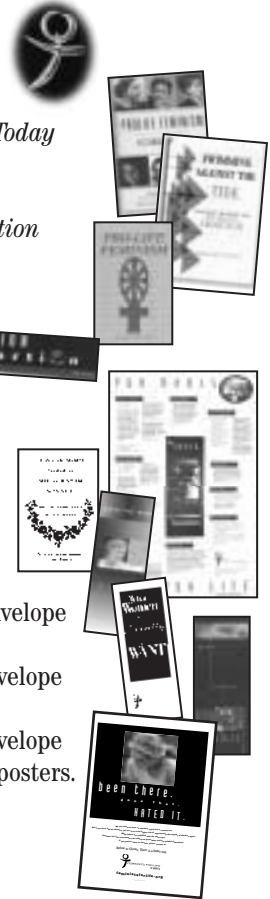
Indicate number of items:

- \$35 Health Clinic Kit \$55 Pro-life Feminist History Kit
- \$35 Pro-life Collegiate Kit \$35 Pro-life Advisor Kit
- \$35 Campus Counselor Kit \$250-500 range for ad placement
- 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:
- \$100 FFL Logo Pin
 sterling silver
 24K gold plate over sterling
 - \$16 *Pro-life Feminism Yesterday and Today*
(anthology of pro-life feminist essays)
 - \$18 *Swimming Against the Tide: Feminist Dissent on the Issue of Abortion*
 - \$15 *Different Voices*
(anthology of pro-life feminist essays)
 - \$2 "Question Abortion" bumper sticker
 - \$2 "Voices of Our Feminist Foremothers" poster
 - \$5 *Man's Inhumanity to Woman*
(essays by 19th-century feminists)
 - "You're Not Alone" brochures:
50 for \$5; 100 for \$10; 250 for \$20
 - "What Women Really Want" brochure:
Free with a self-addressed stamped envelope
 - "You Have Choices" brochure:
Free with a self-addressed stamped envelope
 - "College Outreach Program" brochure:
Free with a self-addressed stamped envelope
 - \$50 Set of 8 25" x 38" black and white posters.
S/H included in price.



Donations

- Monthly pledges
- Please send monthly donor envelopes
- Electronic transfer form; see page 25.
- 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: day(____) _____ eve.(____) _____
 E-mail address _____

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!



**A century ago we couldn't
get inside the White House.**

Happy 30th Birthday

**Honorary Chair
Patricia Heaton
(ctr.) and Co-chair
Margaret Colin
thank President
Bush for protecting
women from
exploitation by
researchers
seeking eggs for
human cloning
experimentation.**



Feminists for Life



**FEMINISTS FOR LIFE
OF AMERICA**

PO Box 2695
Springfield, VA 22152
www.feministsforlife.org

Address Correction Requested
Forwarding and Return Postage Guaranteed

NONPROFIT ORG.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Merrifield, VA
Permit No. 1112

PRO WOMAN ★ PRO LIFESM