

Randy Alcorn

*"Must reading for every citizen
in our nation—Prolife or Prochoice."*

—CAROL EVERETT

ProLife

Answers to
ProChoice

Arguments

Randy Alcorn

Pro*Life*
Answers to
Pro*Choice*
Arguments



Multnomah Books

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To my parents,
Arthur Loren Alcorn and Lucille Vivian Alcorn,
who, by the hand of God, gave me the gift of life,
and never made me feel they regretted it.

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Part One: Arguments Concerning Life, Humanity, and Personhood

1. “It is uncertain when human life begins; that’s a religious question that cannot be answered by science.” 51

- 1a. If there *is* uncertainty about when human life begins, the benefit of the doubt should go to preserving life.
- 1b. Medical textbooks and scientific reference works consistently agree that human life begins at conception.
- 1c. Some of the world’s most prominent scientists and physicians testified to a U.S. Senate committee that human life begins at conception.
- 1d. Many other prominent scientists and physicians have likewise affirmed with certainty that human life begins at conception.
- 1e. The possibility of human cloning does nothing to discredit the fact that all humans conceived in the conventional manner began their lives at conception.

2. "The fetus is just a part of the pregnant woman's body, like her tonsils or appendix. You can't seriously believe a frozen embryo is an actual person." 56

- 2a. A body part is defined by the common genetic code it shares with the rest of its body; the unborn's genetic code differs from his mother's.
- 2b. The child may die and the mother live, or the mother may die and the child live, proving they are two separate individuals.
- 2c. The unborn child takes an active role in his own development, controlling the course of the pregnancy and the time of birth.
- 2d. Being inside something is not the same as being part of something.
- 2e. Human beings should not be discriminated against because of their place of residence.
- 2f. There is substantial scientific reason to believe that frozen embryos are persons and should be granted the same rights as older, larger, and less vulnerable persons.

3. "The unborn is an embryo or a fetus—just a simple blob of tissue, a product of conception—not a baby. Abortion is terminating a pregnancy, not killing a child." 63

- 3a. Like *toddler* and *adolescent*, the terms *embryo* and *fetus* do not refer to nonhumans, but to humans at particular stages of development.
- 3b. Semantics affect perceptions, but they do not change realities; a baby is a baby no matter what we call her.
- 3c. From the moment of conception, the unborn is not simple, but very complex.
- 3d. Prior to the earliest abortions, the unborn already has every body part she will ever have.
- 3e. Every abortion stops a beating heart and terminates measurable brain waves.
- 3f. Even in the earliest surgical abortions, the unborn child is clearly human in appearance.
- 3g. Even before the unborn is obviously human in appearance, she is what she is—a human being.
- 3h. No matter how much better it sounds, "terminating a pregnancy" is still terminating a life.

4. "The fetus may be alive, but so are eggs and sperm. The fetus is a potential human being, not an actual one; it's like a blueprint, not a house; an acorn, not an oak tree." 71

- 4a. The ovum and sperm are each a product of another's body; unlike the conceptus, neither is an independent entity.
- 4b. The physical remains after an abortion indicate the end not of a potential life, but of an actual life.
- 4c. Something nonhuman does not become human by getting older and bigger; whatever is human must be human from the beginning.
- 4d. Comparing preborns and adults to acorns and oaks is dehumanizing and misleading.
- 4e. Even if the analogy were valid, scientifically speaking an acorn is simply a little oak tree, just as an embryo is a little person.

5. "The unborn isn't a person, with meaningful life. It's only inches in size and can't even think; it's less advanced than an animal, and anyway, who says people have a greater right to live than animals?" 74

- 5a. Personhood is properly defined by membership in the human species, not by stage of development within that species.
- 5b. Personhood is not a matter of size, skill, or degree of intelligence.
- 5c. The unborn's status should be determined on an objective basis, not on subjective or self-serving definitions of personhood.
- 5d. It is a scientific fact that there are thought processes at work in unborn babies.
- 5e. If the unborn's value can be compared to that of an animal, there is no reason not to also compare the value of born people to animals.
- 5f. Even if someone believes that people are no better than animals, why would they abhor the killing of young animals, while advocating the killing of young children?
- 5g. It is dangerous when people in power are free to determine whether other, less powerful lives are meaningful.
- 5h. Arguments against the personhood of the unborn are shrouded in rationalization and denial.

6. "A fetus isn't a person until implantation...or until quickening or viability or when it first breathes." 83

- 6a. Implantation is a gauge of personhood only if location, nutrition, and interfacing with others make us human.
- 6b. Quickening is a gauge of personhood only if someone's reality or value depends upon being noticed by another.
- 6c. Viability is an arbitrary concept. Why not associate personhood with heartbeat, brain waves, or something else?
- 6d. The point of viability changes because it depends on technology, not the unborn herself. Eventually babies may be viable from the point of conception.
- 6e. In a broad sense, many born people are not viable because they are incapable of surviving without depending on others.
- 6f. A child's "breathing," her intake of oxygen, begins long before birth.
- 6g. Someone's helplessness or dependency should motivate us to protect her, not to destroy her.

7. "Obviously life begins at birth. That's why we celebrate birthdays, not conception days, and why we don't have funerals following miscarriages." 89

- 7a. Our recognition of birthdays is cultural, not scientific.
- 7b. Some people *do* have funerals after a miscarriage.
- 7c. Funerals are an expression of our subjective attachment to those who have died, not a measurement of their true worth.
- 7d. There is nothing about birth that makes a baby essentially different than he was before birth.

8. "No one can really know that human life begins before birth." 91

- 8a. Children know that human life begins before birth.
- 8b. Pregnant women know that human life begins before birth.
- 8c. Doctors know that human life begins before birth.
- 8d. Abortionists know that human life begins before birth.
- 8e. Prochoice feminists know that human life begins before birth.
- 8f. Society knows that human life begins before birth.
- 8g. The media know that human life begins before birth.
- 8h. Prochoice advocates know that human life begins before birth.
- 8i. If we can't know that human life begins before birth, how can we know whether it begins at birth or later?

Part Two: Arguments Concerning Rights and Fairness

9. "Even if the unborn are human beings, they have fewer rights than the woman. No one should be expected to donate her body as a life-support system for someone else." 103

- 9a. Once we grant that the unborn are human beings, it should settle the question of their right to live.
- 9b. The right to live doesn't increase with age and size; otherwise toddlers and adolescents have less right to live than adults.
- 9c. The comparison between a baby's rights and a mother's rights is unequal. What is at stake in abortion is the mother's lifestyle, as opposed to the baby's life.
- 9d. It is reasonable for society to expect an adult to live temporarily with an inconvenience if the only alternative is killing a child.

10. "Every person has the right to choose. It would be unfair to restrict a woman's choice by prohibiting abortion." 110

- 10a. Any civilized society restricts the individual's freedom to choose whenever that choice would harm an innocent person.
- 10b. "Freedom to choose" is too vague for meaningful discussion; we must always ask, "Freedom to choose *what?*"
- 10c. People who are prochoice about abortion are often not prochoice about other issues with less at stake.
- 10d. The one-time choice of abortion robs someone else of a lifetime of choices and prevents him from ever exercising his rights.
- 10e. Everyone is prochoice when it comes to the choices prior to pregnancy and after birth.
- 10f. Nearly all violations of human rights have been defended on the grounds of the right to choose.

11. "Every woman should have control over her own body. Reproductive freedom is a basic right." 113

- 11a. Abortion assures that 650,000 females each year do *not* have control over their bodies.

- 11b. Not all things done with a person's body are right, nor should they all be legally protected.
- 11c. Prolifers consistently affirm true reproductive rights.
- 11d. Even prochoicers must acknowledge that the "right to control one's body" argument has no validity if the unborn is a human being.
- 11e. Too often "the right to control my life" becomes the right to hurt and oppress others for my own advantage.
- 11f. Control over the body can be exercised to prevent pregnancy in the first place.
- 11g. It is demeaning to a woman's body and self-esteem to regard pregnancy as an unnatural, negative, and "out of control" condition.

12. "Abortion is a decision between a woman and her doctor. It's no one else's business. Everyone has a constitutional right to privacy." 116

- 12a. The Constitution does not contain a right to privacy.
- 12b. Privacy is never an absolute right, but is always governed by other rights.
- 12c. The encouragement or assistance of a doctor does not change the nature, consequences, or morality of abortion.
- 12d. The father of the child is also responsible for the child and should have a part in this decision.
- 12e. The father will often face serious grief and guilt as a result of abortion. Since his life will be significantly affected, shouldn't he have something to say about it?

13. "It's unfair for an unmarried woman to have to face the embarrassment of pregnancy or the pain of giving up a child for adoption." 120

- 13a. Pregnancy is not a sin. Society should not condemn and pressure an unmarried mother into abortion, but should help and support her.
- 13b. The poor choice of premarital sex is never compensated for by the far worse choice of killing an innocent human being.
- 13c. One person's unfair or embarrassing circumstances do not justify violating the rights of another person.
- 13d. Adoption is a fine alternative that avoids the burden of child raising, while saving a life and making a family happy; it is tragic that adoption is so infrequently chosen as an alternative to abortion.
- 13e. The reason that adoption may be painful is the same reason that abortion is wrong—a human life is involved.

14. "Abortion rights are fundamental for the advancement of women. They are essential to having equal rights with men." 124

- 14a. Early feminists were prolife, not prochoice.
- 14b. Some active feminists still vigorously oppose abortion.
- 14c. Women's rights are not inherently linked to the right to abortion.
- 14d. The basic premises of the abortion-rights movement are demeaning to women.
- 14e. Many of the assumptions that connect women's welfare with abortion, the pill, and free sex have proven faulty.
- 14f. Some of the abortion-rights strategies assume female incompetence and subject women to ignorance and exploitation.
- 14g. Abortion has become the most effective means of sexism ever devised, ridding the world of multitudes of unwanted females.

15. "The circumstances of many women leave them no choice but to have an abortion." 129

- 15a. Saying they have no choice is not being prochoice, but proabortion.
- 15b. Those who are truly prochoice must present a woman with a number of possible choices instead of just selling the choice of abortion.
- 15c. "Abortion or misery" is a false portrayal of the options; it keeps women from pursuing—and society from providing—positive alternatives.

16. "I'm personally against abortion, but I'm still prochoice. It's a legal alternative and we don't have the right to keep it from anyone. Everyone's free to believe what they want, but we shouldn't try to impose it on others." 132

- 16a. To be prochoice about abortion is to be proabortion.
- 16b. The only good reason for being personally against abortion is a reason that demands we be against other people choosing to have abortions.
- 16c. What is legal is not always right.
- 16d. How can we tell people that they are perfectly free to believe abortion is the killing of children but that they are not free to act as if what they believe is really true?

Part Three: Arguments Concerning Social Issues

17. “‘Every child a wanted child.’ It’s unfair to children to bring them into a world where they’re not wanted.” 139

- 17a. Every child is wanted by someone; there is no such thing as an unwanted child.
- 17b. There is a difference between an unwanted pregnancy and an unwanted child.
- 17c. “Unwanted” describes not a condition of the child, but an attitude of adults.
- 17d. The problem of unwantedness is a good argument for wanting children, but a poor argument for eliminating them.
- 17e. What is most unfair to unwanted children is to kill them.

18. “Having more unwanted children results in more child abuse.” 142

- 18a. Most abused children were wanted by their parents.
- 18b. Child abuse has not decreased since abortion was legalized, but has dramatically increased.
- 18c. If children are viewed as expendable before birth, they will be viewed as expendable after birth.
- 18d. It is illogical to argue that a child is protected from abuse through abortion since abortion *is* child abuse.

19. “Restricting abortion would be unfair to the poor and minorities, who need it most.” 146

- 19a. It is not unfair for some people to have less opportunity than others to kill the innocent.
- 19b. The rich and white, not the poor and minorities, are most committed to unrestricted abortion.
- 19c. Prochoice advocates want the poor and minorities to have abortions, but oppose requirements that abortion risks and alternatives be explained to them.

- 19d. Planned Parenthood's abortion advocacy was rooted in the eugenics movement and its bias against the mentally and physically handicapped and minorities.

20. "Abortion helps solve the problem of overpopulation and raises the quality of life." 150

- 20a. The current birthrate in America is less than what is needed to maintain our population level.
- 20b. The dramatic decline in our birthrate will have a disturbing economic effect on America.
- 20c. Overpopulation is frequently blamed for problems with other causes.
- 20d. If there is a population problem that threatens our standard of living, the solution is not to kill off part of the population.
- 20e. Sterilization and abortion as cures to overpopulation could eventually lead to mandatory sterilization and abortion.
- 20f. The "quality of life" concept is breeding a sense of human expendability that has far-reaching social implications.

21. "Even if abortion were made illegal, there would still be many abortions." 157

- 21a. That harmful acts against the innocent will take place regardless of the law is a poor argument for having no law.
- 21b. The law can guide and educate people to choose better alternatives.
- 21c. Laws concerning abortion have significantly influenced whether women choose to have abortions.

22. "The antiabortion beliefs of the minority shouldn't be imposed on the majority." 159

- 22a. Major polls clearly indicate that the majority, not the minority, believes that there should be greater restrictions on abortion.
- 22b. Many people's apparent agreement with abortion law stems from their ignorance of what the law really is.
- 22c. Beliefs that abortion should be restricted are embraced by a majority in each major political party.
- 22d. In 1973 the Supreme Court imposed a minority morality on the nation, ignoring the votes of citizens and the decisions of state legislatures.

23. “The antiabortion position is a religious belief that threatens the vital separation of church and state.” 165

- 23a. Many nonreligious people believe that abortion kills children and that it is wrong.
- 23b. Morality must not be rejected just because it is supported by religion.
- 23c. America was founded on a moral base dependent upon principles of the Bible and the Christian religion.
- 23d. Laws related to church and state were intended to assure freedom *for* religion, not freedom *from* religion.
- 23e. Religion’s waning influence on our society directly accounts for the moral deterioration threatening our future.

**Part Four: Arguments Concerning
Health and Safety**

24. “If abortion is made illegal, tens of thousands of women will again die from back-alley and clothes-hanger abortions.” 173

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- 24b. It is not true that tens of thousands of women were dying from illegal abortions before abortion was legalized.
- 24c. The history of abortion in Poland invalidates claims that making abortion illegal would bring harm to women.
- 24d. Women still die from *legal* abortions in America.
- 24e. If abortion became illegal, abortions would be done with medical equipment, not clothes hangers.
- 24f. We must not legalize procedures that kill the innocent just to make the killing process less hazardous.
- 24g. The central horror of illegal abortion remains the central horror of legal abortion.

25. “Abortion is a safe medical procedure—safer than full-term pregnancy and childbirth.” 178

- 25a. Abortion is not safer than full-term pregnancy and childbirth.

- 25b. Though the chances of a woman's safe abortion are now greater, the number of suffering women is also greater because of the huge increase in abortions.
- 25c. Even if abortion were safer for the mother than childbirth, it would still remain fatal for the innocent child.
- 25d. Abortion can produce many serious medical problems.
- 25e. Abortion significantly raises the rate of breast cancer.
- 25f. The statistics on abortion complications and risks are often understated due to the inadequate means of gathering data.
- 25g. The true risks of abortion are rarely explained to women by those who perform abortions.

26. "Abortion is an easy and painless procedure." 184

- 26a. The various abortion procedures are often both difficult and painful for women.
- 26b. Abortion is often difficult and painful for fathers, grandparents, and siblings of the aborted child.
- 26c. Abortion is often difficult and painful for clinic workers.
- 26d. Abortion is difficult and painful for the unborn child.
- 26e. Even if abortion were made easy or painless for everyone, it wouldn't change the bottom-line problem that abortion kills children.

27. "Abortion relieves women of stress and responsibility, and thereby enhances their psychological well-being." 192

- 27a. Research demonstrates abortion's adverse psychological effects on women.
- 27b. The many postabortion therapy and support groups testify to the reality of abortion's potentially harmful psychological effects.
- 27c. The suicide rate is significantly higher among women who have had abortions than among those who haven't.
- 27d. Postabortion syndrome is a diagnosable psychological affliction.
- 27e. Many professional studies document the reality of abortion's adverse psychological consequences on a large number of women.
- 27f. Abortion can produce both short- and longer-term psychological damage, especially a sense of personal guilt.
- 27g. Most women have not been warned about and are completely unprepared for the psychological consequences of abortion.

28. "Abortion providers are respected medical professionals working in the woman's best interests." 201

- 28a. Abortion clinics do not have to maintain the high standards of health, safety, and professionalism required of hospitals.
- 28b. Many clinics are in the abortion industry because of the vast amounts of money involved.
- 28c. Clinic workers commonly prey on fear, pain, and confusion to manipulate women into getting abortions.
- 28d. Clinic workers regularly mislead or deceive women about the nature and development of their babies.
- 28e. Abortionists engage in acts so offensive to the public that most media outlets refuse to describe them even in the abortionist's own words.
- 28f. Abortionists, feminists, a past president of the United States, many congressmen, and the Supreme Court have defended partial-birth abortion, one of the most chilling medical atrocities in human history.
- 28g. Abortion clinics often exploit the feminist connection, making it appear that their motive is to stand up for women.
- 28h. Doctors doing abortions violate the fundamental oaths of the medical profession.

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- 29d. Abortion to save the mother's life was legal before convenience abortion was legalized and would continue to be if abortion were made illegal again.

30. "What about a woman whose unborn baby is diagnosed as deformed or handicapped?" 223

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- 30b. The child's deformity is often minor.
- 30c. Medical tests for deformity may cause as many problems as they detect.
- 30d. Handicapped children are often happy, always precious, and usually delighted to be alive.
- 30e. Handicapped children are not social liabilities, and bright and "normal" people are not always social assets.
- 30f. Using dehumanizing language may change our thinking, but not the child's nature or value.
- 30g. Our society is hypocritical in its attitude toward handicapped children.
- 30h. The adverse psychological effects of abortion are significantly more traumatic for those who abort because of deformity.
- 30i. The arguments for killing a handicapped unborn child are valid only if they also apply to killing born people who are handicapped.
- 30j. Abortions due to probable handicaps rob the world of unique human beings who would significantly contribute to society.
- 30k. Abortions due to imperfections have no logical stopping place; they will lead to designer babies, commercial products to be bred and marketed, leaving other people to be regarded as inferior and disposable.

31. "What about a woman who is pregnant due to rape or incest?" 231

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- 31c. The violence of abortion parallels the violence of rape.
- 31d. Abortion does not bring healing to a rape victim.
- 31e. A child is a child regardless of the circumstances of his conception.
- 31f. What about already-born people who are "products of rape"?
- 31g. All that is true of children conceived in rape is true of those conceived in incest.

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1. No adverse circumstance for one human being changes the nature and worth of another human being.
2. Laws must not be built on exceptional cases.

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32. “Antiabortionists are so cruel that they insist on showing hideous pictures of dead babies.” 239

- 32a. What is hideous is not the pictures themselves, but the reality they depict.
- 32b. Pictures challenge our denial of the horrors of abortion. If something is too horrible to look at, perhaps it is too horrible to condone.
- 32c. Nothing could be more relevant to the discussion of something than that which shows what it really is.
- 32d. It is the prochoice position, not the prolife position, that is cruel.

33. “Prolifers don’t care about women, and they don’t care about babies once they’re born. They have no right to speak against abortion unless they are willing to care for these children.” 245

- 33a. Prolifers are actively involved in caring for women in crisis pregnancies and difficult child-raising situations.
- 33b. Prolifers are actively involved in caring for unwanted children and the other “disposable people” in society.
- 33c. It is abortion providers who do not provide support for women choosing anything other than abortion.

34. “The antiabortionists are a bunch of men telling women what to do.” 250

- 34a. There is no substantial difference between men and women’s views of abortion.
- 34b. Some polls suggest that more women than men oppose abortion.
- 34c. The great majority of prolife workers are women.
- 34d. If men are disqualified from the abortion issue, they should be disqualified on both sides.

- 34e. Men are entitled to take a position on abortion.
- 34f. There are many more women in prolife organizations than there are in proabortion organizations.
- 34g. Of women who have had abortions, far more are prolife activists than pro-choice activists.

35. “Antiabortionists talk about the sanctity of human life, yet they favor capital punishment.” 253

- 35a. Not all proliferers favor capital punishment.
- 35b. Capital punishment is rooted in a respect for innocent human life.
- 35c. There is a vast difference between punishing a convicted murderer and killing an innocent child.

36. “Antiabortion fanatics break the law, are violent, and bomb abortion clinics.” 255

- 36a. Media coverage of prolife civil disobedience often bears little resemblance to what actually happens.
- 36b. Prolife civil disobedience should not be condemned without understanding the reasons behind it.
- 36c. Peaceful civil disobedience is consistent with the belief that the unborn are human beings.
- 36d. Prolife protests have been remarkably nonviolent, and even when there has been violence, it has often been committed by clinic employees and escorts.
- 36e. Abortion clinic bombing and violence are rare, and are neither done nor endorsed by prolife organizations.

37. “The antiabortionists distort the facts and resort to emotionalism to deceive the public.” 261

- 37a. The facts themselves make abortion an emotional issue.
- 37b. It is not the prolife position, but the prochoice position that relies on emotionalism more than truth and logic.
- 37c. The prolife position is based on documented facts and empirical evidence, which many prochoice advocates ignore or distort.
- 37d. The prochoice movement consistently caricatures and misrepresents proliferers and their agenda.
- 37e. The prochoice movement, from its beginnings, has lied to and exploited women, including the “Roe” of *Roe v. Wade* and the “Doe” of *Doe v. Bolton*.

38. "Antiabortion groups hide behind a profamily facade, while groups such as Planned Parenthood are truly profamily because they assist in family planning." 266

- 38a. The prochoice movement's imposition of "family planning" on teenagers has substantially contributed to the actual cause of teen pregnancy.
- 38b. Through its opposition to parental notification and consent, Planned Parenthood consistently undermines the value and authority of the family.
- 38c. Planned Parenthood makes huge financial profits from persuading people to get abortions.
- 38d. Planned Parenthood has been directly involved in the scandals of trafficking baby body parts.
- 38e. As demonstrated in the case of Becky Bell, the prochoice movement is willing to distort and exploit family tragedies to promote its agenda.
- 38f. Planned Parenthood, the prochoice movement, and the media ignore family tragedies that do not support the prochoice agenda.

Summary Argument

39. "The last three decades of abortion rights have helped make our society a better place to live." 275

- 39a. Abortion has left terrible holes in our society.
- 39b. Abortion has made us a nation of schizophrenics concerning our children.
- 39c. Abortion is a modern holocaust which is breeding unparalleled violence and to which we are accomplices.
- 39d. Abortion is taking us in a direction from which we might never return.
- 39e. Abortion has ushered in the brave new world of human pesticides.
- 39f. Abortion has led us into complete moral subjectivism in which we are prone to justify as ethical whatever it is we want to do.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE REVISED EDITION

When I wrote the first edition of this book in the early 1990s, I wanted to supply people with a carefully researched, highly useable resource. I had no idea the impact it would have. The book sold over 75,000 copies, a huge number for a book on this subject. Most importantly, it has been repeatedly used by thousands of people in their attempts to speak up for those who cannot speak for themselves.

Many prolife groups use the book to train their volunteers and their speakers. College ethics classes use it as a textbook. I have received letters from hundreds of high school and college students who've used the book to help them prepare speeches or write term papers and editorials for their school newspapers. I've spoken to three thousand public high school students at a single convention, distributing free copies of the book, which they eagerly snatched up.¹ Pastors have asked to use it in their sermons; people write and ask if they can use it to construct letters to newspapers, family members, and representatives. (The answer is always yes.)

One church took out full-page ads in its city's daily newspaper, each ad presenting the answers to various prochoice arguments. Internet groups have posted portions of the book, and discussion groups have systematically gone over its logic. Individuals have bought hundreds of copies and donated them to public libraries across the country. *ProLife Answers to ProChoice Arguments* has been translated into several languages and won a national book award in Italy.²

Some readers have completely changed their mind about abortion. While working on this revision I received an e-mail from a young woman saying, "After reading your prolife book, I went through a belief change. I used to be strongly prochoice. Now, I'm strongly prolife." (She then asked for a recommendation of a local prolife group where she could volunteer.)

A large number of nominally prolife readers have picked up the book to discover that they have never understood the issues, arguments, and strength of the prolife case. They had been intimidated by the prochoice assumptions in the media, on campuses, and in workplaces. Many have written to say that, for the first time, they've been equipped to defend the prolife position. They say they are now speaking up for those who cannot speak for themselves.

For the last four years, I've been acutely aware of the need for a new edition of this resource. While the overall structure of the book remains the same, updates

and revisions have been made on virtually every page. Dated materials have been removed and treatment of current issues added. About three hundred of the nearly eight hundred endnotes are brand new, from more current sources, many of those in the 2000s.

Because of all the speaking opportunities, radio interviews, panel discussions, and personal conversations that came as a result of the first edition, I felt much more prepared to write this revision. Having received a steady stream of input from people about what is most helpful in the book, I know what people are looking for and what they can use. This book is a tool, a resource not only to be read and contemplated, but to be *used*. As I complete the exhausting process involved in this extensive revision, I honestly believe it is a more helpful resource than ever, perhaps the most thorough and useable prolife resource available. In any case, I hope readers will make frequent use of it.

How Has the Book Changed?

Statistics have been updated and new charts have been added. The resource materials in Appendix K have all been double-checked and corrected, with many new additions, including Internet web sites. The four appendices from the original book are now accompanied by seven new ones, and the old ones have been revised. Some people may find the appendices to be the most useable resources in this book. (See additional resources at www.epm.org.)

New subjects have been added, including partial-birth abortion, fetal tissue research, and frozen embryos. I've included significant material on the Hippocratic Oath. I've included the remarkable court testimony of abortionist Leroy Carhart. I've added the accounts of Norma McCorvey (Jane Roe of *Roe v. Wade*) and Sandra Cano (Mary Doe of *Doe v. Bolton*), who in 1995 both came forward to tell their stories of having been deceived and used by their attorneys and abortion advocates (see answer 37e). I've quoted from the unforgettable speech the late Mother Teresa made in 1994 at the annual Prayer Breakfast in Washington, D.C. Standing tiny and hunched over before some of the most powerful political figures in America, including the president and many members of Congress who pride themselves on their pro-choice viewpoint, she rebuked them for their callousness to the unborn and called upon them to change their hearts and actions and reach out their arms to embrace our tiniest children (see answer 20f). It was a breath of fresh air, one of the finest messages of hope in the recent history of a nation's capital that has been under a shroud of darkness on both sides of the political aisle.³

In stark contrast to Mother Teresa's words, a year later Jocelyn Elders, then Surgeon General of the United States, said, "America needs to get over its love affair with the fetus." The two women held up to the country two different visions of our moral obligation to our weak and small citizens.

Several significant books and articles have been written since the first edition of this book, among them philosophy professor Francis J. Beckwith's *Politically Correct Death*⁴ and Mark Crutcher's *Lime* 5⁵, a startling exposé of abortion clinics in America. What may be the most significant essay on abortion ever written is feminist Naomi Wolf's 1995 article in the *New Republic*, acknowledging that pro-choice advocates such as herself must finally admit truths about the unborn they have long denied.⁶ I quote from each of these writings in this book.

How Has the Nation Changed in Regard to Life Issues?

Every day news clippings remind us of our moral decline in the respect for human life:

Doorsteps and trash bins are more suitable for daily newspapers than what many Houston residents found in those places last year—abandoned babies. Residents found thirteen discarded babies over a period of ten months in the nation's fourth largest city. Three of the thirteen were found dead. The sheer number of abandonments left citizens and city officials stunned.⁷

In November 1996 a teenage girl delivered a child in a Delaware motel, then she and her boyfriend allegedly put the living baby in a plastic bag and dropped it in a dumpster.⁸

In June 1997 a New Jersey teenager gave birth in a bathroom stall at her high school prom. She dropped the baby in the trash, then returned to the dance floor and asked the band to play her favorite song, "The Unforgiven."⁹

In June 2000 a seventeen-year-old mother who was attending night school hurled her baby into the Passaic River after she couldn't find a baby sitter.¹⁰

In the wake of the school shootings and a generation of violent and self-absorbed children, many Americans have become less flippant about the moral reference points offered by the Christian faith and are taking them more seriously than ever. Some are realizing that we are facing the terrible consequences of a generation that has grown up under abortion on demand.

The power of the strong to determine the fate of the weak has been inbred through laws and policies and classroom discussions on abortion. What would have been repellant to previous generations simply seems normal to them—and it is we who have made it seem normal. In August 2000 a Florida mother made headlines by pulling a gun on her sixteen-year-old and forcing her to an abortion clinic.

But there is good news. Among both the young and the old, a backlash is taking place. People are sensing that something is desperately wrong when the strong dehumanize and kill the weak, inventing sanctimonious slogans to justify it. Included in this backlash is a reexamination of the possibility that prolife advocates, many of them Christians, may have been correct to defend the rights of unborn children and to warn that if we fail to do so, our society will lose its soul.

In 1994 my home state of Oregon became the first jurisdiction on the planet to officially legalize physician assisted suicide.¹¹ In 1997 it reaffirmed the decision by another popular vote. The warnings of Francis Schaeffer in the 1970s—that abortion was part of a slippery slope that would surely lead to the legalization of killing adults—were fulfilled right before our eyes. For the moment, this killing remains voluntary. But we have already seen cases where family members are coercing elderly parents to agree to be killed by their doctors.

A recent Oregon case involved an eighty-five-year-old woman with growing dementia. She was originally denied eligibility for assisted suicide by the psychiatrist who evaluated her, due to her cognitive impairments and the fact that her family appeared to be pressuring her. A second opinion was sought, and although this psychologist admitted that the patient's "choices may be influenced by her family's wishes and her daughter, Erika, may be somewhat coercive" she nevertheless approved the suicide.¹² The final call came down to a single hospital administrator. He approved the lethal overdose for this elderly woman.¹³

Some states have passed special laws against partial-birth abortion and fetal tissue research. State laws requiring twenty-four-hour waiting periods, informed consent, and parental consent for abortion have made limited strides in reducing the numbers of children killed. Beginning in May 1998 the Genocide Awareness Project (GAP) brought to twenty-three college campuses a startling depiction of abortion that visually connected it with the holocaust, the killing fields, and the racial atrocities in American history (see answer 32b). The revival of moral discourse has encouraged the Center for Bio-Ethical Reform to bring GAP off the college campus and into mainstream America. A new project is in the formative stage, "The Reproductive Choice Campaign," which involves semitrucks displaying large

graphic abortion billboards and traveling on densely populated freeways in an effort to reach larger numbers of people and “make it impossible to ignore and impossible to trivialize the horror of abortion.”¹⁴

Feminists for Life has provided pregnancy resource kits to college health clinics, advisors, and counselors across the country and is leading a discussion on developing practical resources for pregnant and parenting students on college campuses—including housing, child care, and maternity coverage in health care. Planned Parenthood’s *Insider* calls Feminists for Life’s College Outreach Program the “newest and most challenging concept” in student organizing and predicts that it “could have a profound impact” on colleges “as well as on Planned Parenthood’s education and advocacy efforts.”¹⁵

In the midst of an ethic dominated by Darwinian thought, one of the most significant recent developments is the intelligent design movement within the field of biochemistry. Scientists who include Michael Behe are arguing that Darwinian evolution simply cannot begin to account for the extreme complexity of the machinery within cells, which is now visible at the subatomic level.¹⁶ A number of mainstream scientists have now gone on record as rejecting the randomness of evolution in favor of intelligent design.¹⁷

This movement away from Darwinian evolution may serve at the very least to challenge people to rethink their fatalistic and nihilistic assumptions about human behavior. The unspoken but underlying premise of abortion is survival of the fittest. That dogma is being challenged as people reconsider whether there is in fact an intelligent Designer behind our intelligent design. By acknowledging a Creator some are beginning to return to the concept of a moral Judge who will hold us accountable for our actions toward the youngest and weakest of our kind.

In the first edition of this book I quoted several times from Peter Singer, who was then still a fringe figure in bioethics. I cite him a number of times in the revised edition, now that he has become bioethics professor at Princeton University, a platform he is using to give credibility to beliefs that the unborn and many infants and handicapped people don’t deserve to live and should be eliminated. (The scariest thing about Singer is not that he is so far “out there,” but that he is one of the few people willing to honestly take the abortion mentality to its logical conclusions.)

There are some positive developments related to the status of the unborn. A 2000 Gallup poll indicated that 19 percent of Americans believe that abortion should be “illegal in all circumstances.”¹⁸ That is the highest percentage in the previous fifteen years. While the same Gallup poll indicated that Americans are evenly split on

the issue, it said that “two-thirds of those who hold the prolife view say they feel very strongly about it compared to just over half of prochoice adherents.”¹⁹

States are routinely allowing prosecutions for acts that result in the death of the unborn. Kentucky’s House of Representatives Judiciary Committee approved a 2000 bill giving legal status to unborn children. It will allow parents to sue for the wrongful deaths of babies in the womb. Under the bill, the unborn would be recognized as a “person” from the moment of conception, “without regard to age, health, or condition of dependency.”²⁰ The proposal would allow parents to file lawsuits claiming that wrongful acts by others led to their unborn babies’ deaths. Significantly, abortionists would be specifically exempted from liability! But surely some people will begin to see the moral schizophrenia reflected in this exemption.

On a national level, a bill called the Unborn Victims of Violence Act would dictate that if an unborn child is injured or killed during an act of violence, the attacker could be charged for both harm to the mother and to the unborn child. This means that an assailant who kills a pregnant woman and her unborn child would be guilty of two murders, not one. The House passed this bill by a 254–172 margin and as this book goes to press, it is scheduled to appear before the Senate.²¹ In July 2000 the House also unanimously passed a bill prohibiting states from executing a pregnant woman.

Every day about eight thousand American young people are infected with a sexually transmitted disease.²² Despite this fact, there is some very good news. A third of all school districts now require abstinence-only sex education programs, and more than 80 percent require that their programs emphasize abstinence. Only 14 percent still require comprehensive safer-sex programs.

“Abstinence has exploded over the last ten years,” says Peter Brandt, who serves as acting director of the National Coalition for Abstinence Education. The new emphasis comes alongside a drop in teen pregnancy and sexual activity rates, which have fallen for the first time in two decades. The Centers for Disease Control report a 9 percent decrease in teen pregnancy and 28 percent decrease in teen abortions during the 1990s. According to the CDC, the percentage of teens abstaining from sex rose from 46 to 52 percent from 1995 to 1997.²³

Adults tend to underestimate young people’s ability to stand up for what’s right and to hold to high standards. We tend to lower the bar, but many of them want to raise it. The extreme popularity of Joshua Harris’s *I Kissed Dating Goodbye* (over 800,000 copies sold) testifies to this fact.

Fetal Tissue Research

In 2000 paralyzed actor Christopher Reeve asked a Senate subcommittee hearing, “Is it more ethical for a woman to donate unused embryos that will never become human beings, or to let them be tossed away as so much garbage when they could help save thousands of lives?”²⁴

Reeve’s question supplies a noble-sounding reason for aborting babies, one which will likely persuade many women wrestling with their consciences that abortion, after all, will really help save other lives. It appears to take the moral high ground by making it sound as if one side in the debate wanted embryos to “be tossed away as so much garbage,” while his side wants to save thousands of lives.

The logic was reminiscent of those who justified the Nazi doctors’ experimentation on prisoners by saying that people were being killed anyway, so why not help others by benefiting from the research and remains?

Stem cells are versatile master cells from which a variety of tissues and organs develop. They are considered prime prospects for effective biomedical research. They are available from a variety of benign human sources, including consenting adults, umbilical cord blood, and placentas.

But government scientists in the National Institute of Health are determined to use stem cells from embryonic human babies who lose their lives in the harvesting. As I write, debate is raging, and the NIH is forging new policy on use of the unborn in stem cell research.²⁵ The NIH promises that federally funded human embryonic stem cell research will be “conducted in an ethical and legal manner.” It also claims that it “understands and respects the ethical, legal, and social issues” associated with it.²⁶ The question is whether it is possible to deliberately destroy a human embryo—meaning a small young human being—in an ethical manner.

Frozen People

In February 2000, Dr. Bernard Nathanson testified before Congress on reproductive technologies. He said:

There is a very large market in frozen embryos. There are about 50,000 embryos in various cryobanks across the country. What are we to do? Freezing can only preserve an embryo five or six years. Some entrepreneurs have the answer: Sell them. One enterprising reporter showed that if you go to Columbia University, you can tell them what kind of baby

you want, matching your physique, your ethnic background and your educational background, and they will pick out a frozen embryo that perfectly matches what you want and sell it to you and implant the embryo in the womb of your wife or girlfriend for all of \$2,750....

There is technology such as posthumous sperm removal. If a man dies and the widow wants to become pregnant, within a reasonable period of time, the urologist puts a needle into the testes, pulls out some sperm and fertilizes her egg. So the dead man is a new father, reversing all normal familial relationships and procedures.²⁷

Gonads are being sold for \$550 each, and research has been done to extract ova from aborted girls and use them for in vitro fertilization.²⁸ How would you like to explain to a child that his biological mother was an aborted baby?

The much-heralded two hundred fifty million dollar Human Genome Project has sequenced over 90 percent of the human genetic code.²⁹ In March 2000, the British government announced that it will begin conducting routine genetic testing on pregnant women. Health authorities have been instructed to offer a range of genetic tests to pregnant women who could be carrying a disorder. They have also been advised that proabortion counseling should be given as a matter of course if the unborn child is found to be abnormal.³⁰ Bioethics professor C. Ben Mitchell says that prenatal genetic screening “targets fetuses for destruction, since we don’t have cures or treatments for most genetic anomalies.”³¹

Genetic manipulation and the abortion mentality are combining to pave the way to designer babies, commercial products to be bred and marketed, leaving other people—both unborn and born—to be regarded as inferior and disposable.

In 2000 an Ohio couple filed suit against their two doctors because the doctors allegedly did not warn them of their daughter’s spina bifida, for which they would have aborted her:

“They are saying the child should be dead,” attorney Michael Lyon stated. “What would have avoided the damages to this child? Death, termination. I can’t imagine the child standing here ten years from now saying, ‘I want to be dead.’” Ann Ruley Combs, lawyer for the other doctor, Leela Dwivedi, warned that if the family wins its suit, “we’re creating an expectation that every child has a right to be born perfect.”³²

Baby Sarah and Baby Samuel

In 1999 an unborn child named Sarah Marie Switzer, twenty-four weeks after conception, was operated on for spina bifida. A photograph published in *Life* magazine captured the world's attention. That photograph appears on the back cover of this book. It won *Life's* award for picture of the year in science and technology. Sarah was put back inside her mother and was born two months later, nine weeks premature.

In 1999 another unborn child, Samuel Armas, was operated on for spina bifida at twenty-one weeks. When he saw a picture similar to the one on the back cover, family advocate James Dobson called it "the photograph of the decade."

Chuck Colson described it this way:

As the surgeon was closing the womb, the miracle happened. Baby Samuel pushed his hand out of the womb and grabbed the surgeon's finger. Photographer Michael Clancy caught this astonishing act on film. And in that instant, Clancy went from being prochoice to being prolife. As he put it, "I was totally in shock for two hours after the surgery. . . . I know abortion is wrong now—it's absolutely wrong."³³

Samuel Armas was sewn back into his mother's womb, then born nearly four months later in December 1999. Unfortunately, many people have not looked at these pictures. Nor have they considered the implications of what it means for physicians to be treating a patient, giving him anesthetics to dull the pain, performing a lifesaving or life-enhancing surgery on him, watching him grasp the surgeon's finger, then turning around and saying it is perfectly acceptable to kill that same patient during the remaining four months until he is born.

The good news is that some people are finally starting to see the self-evident moral inconsistency of this position. The bad news is, other people remain blind. A stunning example of this (as I point out under answer 8d, "Abortionists know that human life begins before birth") is that the surgeon whose finger both Baby Samuel and Baby Sarah were grasping in the pictures performs abortions on spina bifida children of the same age!

It is not just abortionists who prefer not to deal with this evidence. Journalist Matt Drudge, author of the "Drudge Report," attempted to use Baby Samuel's photo on his Fox News Network television show, but was forbidden to do so by network management. They feared he might use the photo as "a jumping-off point to

talk about partial-birth abortion.”³⁴ Due to the network’s censorship of the photograph, Drudge resigned.

20/20’s Exposé on the Illegal Sale of Fetal Body Parts

One story provides an example of the good news/bad news aspects of the current discussions concerning abortion. The television news program *20/20* conducted a three-month investigation on the fetal body parts industry, and revealed their findings on the March 8, 2000 telecast. They reported that a black market industry has grown up around tissue and organs from aborted unborn children, donated “to help medical research,” then marketed for hundreds or thousands of dollars.

Correspondent Chris Wallace interviewed a Missouri medical technician, Dean Alberty, who said that two tissue-retrieval companies he worked for encouraged him to take fetal tissue obtained from women who had not consented to donate their unborn children to medical research.

20/20 found that some companies are charging very high fees and showed price lists charging \$325 for a spinal cord, \$550 for a reproductive organ, and \$999 for a brain.

How are these prices determined? One *20/20* producer went undercover as a potential investor to meet Dr. Miles Jones, a Missouri pathologist whose company, Opening Lines, obtains fetal tissue from clinics and ships it to research labs. “It’s market force,” Dr. Jones told the producer, explaining how he sets his prices. “It’s what you can sell it for.” He says that he hopes to run his own abortion facility in Mexico so he can get a greater supply of fetal tissue by offering cheaper abortions: “If you control the flow, it’s probably the equivalent of the invention of the assembly line.”

“That’s trading in body parts. There’s no doubt about it,” said Arthur Caplan, director of the University of Pennsylvania’s Center for Bioethics.³⁵

While ABC’s program was an eye-opener for many, it failed to air Alberty’s eyewitness accounts of babies who were dissected and their organs harvested while still functioning. In these cases, according to the eyewitness, abortions were not performed—instead, babies were born alive in order to procure undamaged fetal specimens. ABC shed no light on the connection between partial-birth abortion and fetal tissue mar-

keting, though evidence points to a direct connection between the late term abortion method that delivers a whole and unfragmented child for the intended procurement of limbs and organs...³⁶

ABC also ignored other significant allegations brought to its attention by Life Dynamics, and chose not to identify Planned Parenthood's direct involvement in the scandal.³⁷

Ironically, the report expressed no concern whatsoever that children were being brutally murdered and dismembered, only the concern that some people are improperly making money off donated body parts. This is equivalent to being upset not that Holocaust victims were dying to provide lampshades made of human skin, but only that entrepreneurs were making too much money from the sale of the lamps. As Life Dynamics put it, "20/20's focus on the money trail is like pointing out that smoke from the ovens at Auschwitz violated Germany's Clean Air Act."³⁸

On the one hand, we must be grateful the abortion industry is finally being exposed. On the other hand, those exposing it are focusing on secondary issues which pale in comparison to the primary issue of what's being done to children.

Where Are We Going?

In his monumental work *How Now Shall We Live?* Chuck Colson points to indicators that the secularization of America is grinding to a halt. He suggests that despite many of our alarming social problems, "some of the most destructive pathologies are beginning to decline." These include the decline in birthrate among unmarried teens, the decline in surgical abortions, and the reductions in the number of people on welfare. Colson asks,

Why are cultural trends shifting? Because modernity has played out its destructive logical consequences. All the ideologies, all the utopian promises that have marked this century have proven utterly bankrupt. Americans have achieved what modernism presented as life's greatest shining purpose: individual autonomy, the right to do what one chooses. Yet this has not produced the promised freedom; instead, it has led to the loss of community and civility, to kids shooting kids in schoolyards, to citizens huddling in gated communities for protection.

We have discovered that we cannot live with the chaos that inevitably results from choice divorced from morality.

As a result, Americans are groping for something that will restore the shattered bonds of family and community, something that will make sense of life.³⁹

My hope and prayer is that this book, in its new and improved form, will be a tool in the hands of both church and culture. May it, by God's grace, help us restore the respect for human life that resides near the core of any good nation.

WHY THIS BOOK IS NECESSARY

“Do we really need another book on abortion? What could be said that hasn’t been said already?”

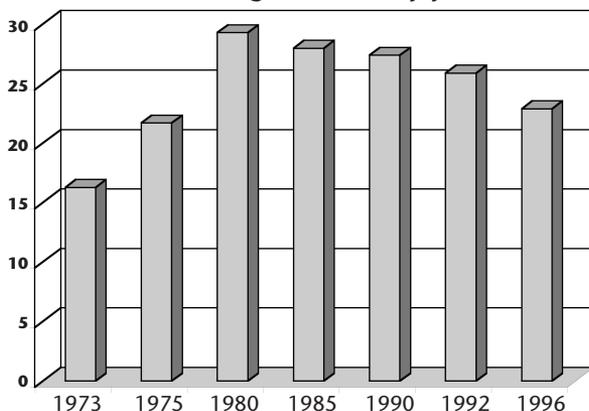
Given the number of books on abortion, why have I written yet another one, and why should you bother to read it?

This book is necessary because the stakes are so high in the abortion debate.

Abortion is the most frequently performed surgery on adults in America.⁴⁰ One out of four babies conceived in the United States is surgically aborted (with an unknown but growing number of chemical abortions).⁴¹ Since about 49 percent of all pregnancies are unplanned,⁴² this means about half of unplanned pregnancies are terminated by abortion. Abortions outnumber live births in fourteen major metropolitan areas.⁴³ There are about 1.37 million reported abortions in this country every year (down from 1.61 in 1990).⁴⁴ There have been nearly 40 million U.S. surgical abortions since abortion was legalized in 1973.

The abortion rate is the number of induced abortions per 1000 women aged 15 through 44 years. For 1996, the rate was 20.⁴⁵ That means 2 percent of all women of reproductive age in the United States had an induced abortion in 1996.

The number of abortions per 1,000 women aged 15–44, by year



The 1996 abortion ratio (the number of induced abortions per 1000 live births) was 314.⁴⁶ More than 30 million U.S. women have had induced abortions since nationwide legalization of abortion in 1973.⁴⁷

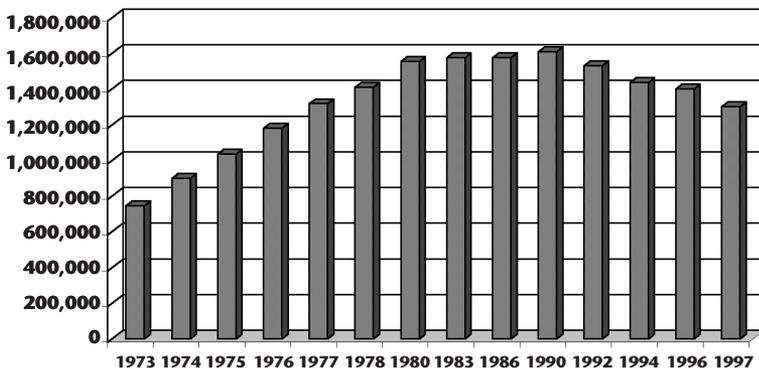
The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that each day between 100,000 and 150,000 induced abortions occur, or about 36 to 53 million worldwide each year.

If the prochoice position is correct, the freedom to choose abortion is an expression of equal rights, fairness, and justice. Abortion is a necessity, making society a better place for all. If we ever went back to a society in which abortion was not freely available, it would be a gigantic step backward in the history of human rights.

If the prolife position is correct, the 3,753 abortions occurring every day represent 3,753 human casualties. And though none of these deaths is reported on the evening news (though the same unborn child killed by a bullet would be), each aborted child is just as real and just as valuable as older children. If these unborn are really babies, then America has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world.

If abortion does *not* kill children, the prolife mentality is at best a nuisance and at worst a serious threat to women's rights and personal liberty. If abortion *does* kill children, the prochoice mentality is responsible for the deaths of 1.3 million innocent people each year, more than the combined total of Americans who have died in all wars in our history. This is not a case where "it doesn't make a difference who's right and who's wrong." No matter who is right or wrong, the stakes are enormously high.

How many abortions are performed in the U.S. each year?



This book is necessary because there is so much tension and uncertainty about abortion.

In their extensive surveys of Americans, James Patterson and Peter Kim discovered that among issues people feel strongly about, abortion was number one—even above such hot issues as anti-Semitism, alcohol abuse, homelessness, the death penalty, pornography, and flag burning. A full 75 percent felt strongly about abortion one way or another.⁴⁸

That many Americans feel strongly about abortion does not mean they have solid reasons for their feelings. A *Newsweek* poll asked, “Do you ever wonder whether your own position on abortion is the right one or not?” Significantly, 38 percent said yes and 7 percent didn’t know, which indicates uncertainty as well.⁴⁹ Isn’t it remarkable that an issue that is so important and that people feel so strongly about, is nonetheless so uncertain in the minds of so many? This book is written in part for that large number of uncertain people, in the hope that their uncertainty reflects openness to another point of view and to facts and logic that they may never have heard before.

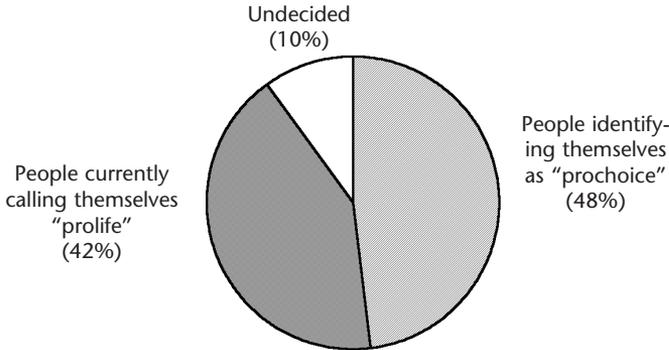
This book is necessary because no single issue divides Americans as sharply as the issue of abortion.

In 1999 the Gallup News Service released a summary of current beliefs on the subject of abortion, with slightly different results than some of the information cited above:

Three decades of extensive polling on the abortion issue have shown that Americans hold a complex set of opinions about the morality and legality of terminating a woman’s pregnancy. However, when asked in a new Gallup poll to sum up their abortion views according to the labels favored by activists on each side, the public is almost evenly split on the issue, with 48% currently calling themselves “prochoice” and 42% identifying themselves as “pro-life.” More than half of Americans in each group say they feel very strongly about their position, but just 19% insist they will support only candidates for major offices who share their abortion views.

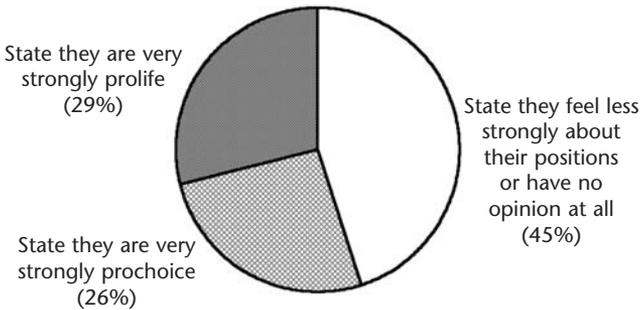
While adherence to the abortion labels tilts slightly in the pro-choice direction, a follow-up question in the latest Gallup poll finds

1999 Gallup poll summing up people's views on the issue of abortion



greater intensity of feeling on the part of prolife respondents. Two-thirds of those who hold the prolife view say they feel very strongly about it compared to just over half of prochoice adherents. The net result of these patterns is a nearly even division of Americans who feel very strongly on both sides of the issue, with a slight tilt in the prolife direction: 29% say they are very strongly prolife, while nearly as many, 26%, say they are very strongly prochoice. Taken together, 55% of Americans hold a very strong view on abortion. The rest indicate they feel less strongly about their positions on abortion, or have no opinion at all.⁵⁰

The intensity of feeling on the part of the respondents



Many of us have seen what happens when those who have strong opinions one way or the other try to discuss this issue. Sometimes the discussions are rational and productive. Sometimes they become quickly heated and accusatory. Many family gatherings have fallen into stone-cold silence when this issue has come up. It divides people not only on the streets and in workplaces, but in homes and churches. So, while abortion is hard to talk about, it is important to provide accurate information and a context in which that information can be discussed.

This book is necessary because the educational system does not present both sides of the abortion issue.

A representative of the National Abortion Rights Action League spoke in a high school social science class on the merits of abortion. Afterward, a student in the class asked the teacher if she could invite me to present a different view. When I arrived, the instructor, himself firmly prochoice, informed me that he had polled the students the day before and they had voted twenty-three to one for the prochoice position. Of course, they had made up their minds based on the information they'd been given. Unfortunately, that information was entirely one sided. It was certainly not complete, and much of it was not even accurate.

I presented the scientific, logical, and commonsense case for the humanity, value, and rights of unborn children. I showed the students intrauterine pictures demonstrating the development of the unborn at even the earliest stage that abortions occur. Some of the students were visibly shocked. Though these were objective and accessible scientific facts, no one had ever told them such things before. All they had ever heard were slogans and clichés about rights and privacy and choice, never tangible facts on which to build an accurate position.

After the presentation, the teacher said to me, "If we were to vote again, it would be different. Minds were changed today." Then he added something amazing: "You know, until now I had never heard the prolife position."

We must not miss this colossal irony. We live in what is supposed to be the most open-minded society in human history. We pride ourselves on giving our children an education that is broad, objective, and fact oriented. Yet here we have an intelligent, well-read social science teacher with a master's degree and decades of experience in the classroom, *who had never once heard a presentation of the prolife position.* Having never heard an alternative, how could he believe anything other than what he did? The poll of his students showed that just as he had accepted the prochoice position uncritically from others, they had done the same from him.

I, too, have never heard an accurate representation of the prolife position from any of the sources this teacher has relied upon for information, including public education and the media. Like most Americans, he has never studied the scientific evidence. He has never researched the nature and development of the unborn. He has not watched the movies of the unborn child in his mother's uterus. He has not looked thoughtfully at the pictures of aborted babies. He has not talked at length with women scarred by abortion.

The beliefs most people have about abortion do not come from research. They come indirectly, from hearing oft-repeated slogans and seeing movies such as the Oscar-winning *The Cider House Rules*:

The Cider House Rules was billed as a tender coming-of-age saga about a young man who grew up in an orphanage. This institution was run by a kindly abortionist—back before abortion was even legal—a doctor who helped others by either caring for unwanted children in his orphanage or aborting them. “This man was to me the most compassionate creature I’ve ever played,” said Michael Caine, who won best supporting actor for his role. When novelist John Irving, who wrote the script based on his book, won the Oscar for best adapted screenplay, his acceptance speech included a grandiose thank you to Planned Parenthood and the National Abortion Rights Action League—names that inspired roaring applause from the crowd.⁵¹

This is the nature of effective propaganda. Concepts that thinking citizens would find repugnant (such as cutting a little child to pieces) are wrapped in tender and compassionate packages. *The Cider House Rules* audiences walked away feeling warm about the work of an abortionist. This would never have occurred, of course, if the movie had shown what actually happens to a child in an abortion. The only way to make people feel good about abortion is to ignore or disguise what it actually is. Because the media and educational systems do this, most people never come to terms with the true nature of abortion.

But some will object, “I’ve heard what the antiabortionists think.” In fact, the majority have heard at best a caricature of the prolife position—what prochoice advocates *say* is the prolife position.

This violates a fundamental rule of objective research. It’s like listening to the Republican candidate for president explain the Democratic candidate’s views, then

thinking you've given the Democrat a fair hearing. It's like having a Ford dealer tell you about the difference between Ford and Toyota trucks, then saying you know all about Toyota trucks. *You will never get an accurate view of any position until you hear it directly from a person who actually holds that position.*

I have listened at length to prochoice advocates. I have heard and understood their position. Have you ever listened at length to a prolife advocate and really heard his or her position? Heard it to the point of understanding, even if you disagree? If not, this book is your opportunity.

This book is necessary because the media are biased against the prolife position.

For years the prochoice position has had a hot line to our brains. By reading newspapers and magazines and watching television, we have all earned the equivalent of a doctorate in prochoice thinking.

On some issues it's possible to get a balanced view. Given the variety of positions reflected in different media sources, we can compare and sift through the information from both sides. But in the case of abortion, the two sides are not represented to most Americans. A person who reads the newspaper, subscribes to one of the newsweeklies, listens to the radio, and watches national and local news programs may appear to be well informed. But when it comes to the abortion issue, in most cases he receives input from only one side.

Interviews with 240 journalists and editors in the media elite indicate that a full 90 percent of them approve of abortion for almost any reason, a much higher percentage than in the general public.⁵² Numbers of these are prochoice activists, and one of their means of activism is the news service for which they work. Because they approve of abortion rights—often with a passion—they want viewers and readers to approve, too. Consequently they tell us things that make us approve and don't tell us things that would make us disapprove. Bias is a fact of life. I have it, and so do you. But most Americans don't get their information from you or me. Most get it from the popular media. Because of the extreme dominance of the prochoice position, the media is out of balance, and most Americans have not even begun to hear a fair representation of both sides in the abortion debate.

For example, the *Los Angeles Times* has required its writers to use the terms *prochoice* and *antiabortion*.⁵³ This lets one group start with the crucial semantic edge of sounding positive and the other with the deadly disadvantage of sounding negative. The *Times* gives editors, reporters, and readers no choice but prochoice.

Consider the comparative coverage of two demonstrations, one prochoice and one prolife, both in Washington, D.C., almost exactly one year apart. According to the park police, a prochoice rally had about 125,000 people. Nevertheless, the figure consistently used by the media was 300,000. The prolife rally a year later was attended by an estimated 300,000 people. It was at least twice as large as the prochoice event. Yet a major news network reported the crowd at 60,000 until it was embarrassed into raising the figure.

The day after the prochoice rally, the *Washington Post* gave it front page coverage. Every conceivable angle of the rally was featured in no less than a dozen separate stories, including the lead story that went more than fifteen columns. The *Post* had also printed a map and schedule for the march in its Sunday edition, which was the equivalent of tens of thousands of dollars in free advertising and recruiting.⁵⁴ Likewise, *USA Today* had run a front-page, full-color picture the Friday before.

A year later, the day after the much larger prolife rally, the *Washington Post* devoted to that event a grand total of one story and one photograph on page B3. *Time*, which gave a five-page cover story to the smaller rally, devoted no coverage whatsoever to the prolife rally.

The bias has been so blatant that people have begun to complain. To their credit, some in the media are listening. Lisa Myers of NBC said, "Some of the stories I have read or seen have almost seemed like cheerleading for the prochoice side."⁵⁵ Ethan Bronner of the *Boston Globe* said, "I think that when abortion opponents complain about a bias in newsrooms against their cause, they're absolutely right."⁵⁶ Richard Harwood of the *Washington Post* said that his paper's coverage of a prolife event was "shabby" and admitted, "This affair has left a blot on the paper's professional reputation."⁵⁷ David Shaw of the *Los Angeles Times* gave many illustrations of media bias on abortion, including this: "Abortion opponents are often described as 'militant' or 'strident.' Such characterizations are seldom used to describe abortion-rights advocates, many of whom can be militant or strident—or both."⁵⁸

What happens when a reporter goes against the grain of the prochoice bias? Susan Okie of the *Washington Post* wrote a story that wasn't even about abortion—it concerned new procedures for saving premature babies. She was warned by colleagues that this kind of story was not good for the abortion rights movement. That the story was true and accurate was beside the point. When corrected, she said she felt like she was "being herded back into line."⁵⁹

Susan Okie's experience is by no means unique. *Newsweek* warns us that the "thought police" are now everywhere, teaching us to be "politically correct."⁶⁰ PC

has been called the “New McCarthyism” because it labels and punishes people who use terminology or take positions out of line with the progressive liberal establishment of education (which is normally mirrored by the media). *Newsweek* included a photograph of forty buttons with politically correct slogans; nine were abortion related, and every one was a prochoice slogan. As anyone in higher education and the media will tell you, it is PC to be prochoice and it isn’t PC to be prolife.

It is not just the fault of the media and education establishments that they have been dominated by one perspective on abortion. Prolifers have, for the most part, failed to speak up with clarity and reason. They have let the other side frame the debate rather than taking care to frame it themselves. My hope is that this book will help another side—one based on facts and established ethical standards—to at last be heard.

This book is necessary because it is a comprehensive, documented, and accurate presentation of the prolife position.

Is this book biased? Of course it is. The question is not bias, the question is which bias is most solidly based on the facts. Which bias is the most reasonable and defensible?

I have tried to be fair. I have tried not to quote people out of context, and I have sought to accurately represent the prochoice position. I know many prochoice people whom I love and respect. I do not believe they are plotting to destroy society. I think they honestly believe that abortion is a necessary option that is ultimately best for women and for society.

Are the interactions between prochoicers and prolifers destined to be dialogues of the deaf? Or is there a common ground upon which they can meet? I believe there is at least a threefold common ground.

First, there is the common ground of empirical data—of scientific and psychological evidence that we need not and should not deny. Second, we share the ability (though it’s hard to hold to in the face of our prejudices) to be logical and rational in applying this truth. Third, though it is not as large or solid as it was even two decades ago, most people still share a common ground of morality and some sense of justice, fairness, and compassion.

Francis Beckwith, formerly philosophy professor at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, has long experience in this debate. He maintains that there is considerable common ground shared by prochoicers and prolifers:

First, both sides of the abortion debate believe that all human persons possess certain inalienable rights regardless of whether their governments protect these rights. That is why both sides appeal to what each believes is a fundamental right. The prolife advocate appeals to “life.” The abortion-rights advocate appeals to “liberty”...

It is apparent then that the main dispute in the abortion debate does not involve differing values, but disagreement about both the application of these values and the truth of certain facts. The abortion-rights advocate does not deny that human beings have a fundamental right to life. He just believes that this right to life is not extended to the unborn since they are not fully human and/or their existence demands that another [the pregnant woman] is asked to make significant nonobligatory sacrifices. The prolife advocate does not deny that human persons have the liberty to make choices that they believe are in their best interests. He believes that this liberty does not entail the right to choose abortion since such a choice conflicts with the life, liberty, and interests of another human person [the unborn entity].

In summary, since there is a common ground between two moral positions that are often depicted as absolutely polarized, we can coherently reason and argue about this issue. And since there is a common ground of values, the question as to which position is correct rests on which one is best established by the facts and is consistent with our common values.⁶¹

Some readers will also share a confidence in the Bible as the Word of God and see it as the basis upon which morality must be built. Yet I have found that even among those who do not accept the Bible’s authority, there is often enough common ground to discuss the abortion issue and to arrive at similar conclusions because of a mutual respect for the social justice and compassion reflected in the Scriptures, embodied in Jesus Christ, and traditionally respected throughout our nation’s history. (Several of the appendices appeal to the teachings of Scriptures.)

I do not ask anyone to accept the prolife position without thinking. On the contrary, I ask that readers look at the evidence and weigh it on its own merit. I ask that stereotypes of the prolife position be set aside. I further ask the reader to be intellectually honest and resist the temptation to be politically correct by holding to the prochoice position even if it turns out that the evidence contradicts it.

I also ask that you not buy into ad hominem arguments. Many false accusations have been brought against prolife (some of which are dealt with under arguments 32–38). However, I have certainly known some prolife jerks, just as I've known some very decent prochoice people. If you think some prolife people are out to lunch, you are no doubt correct. That has nothing to do, however, with whether or not the prolife position is accurate. Truth and winsomeness are not the same thing, and issues should be decided on the basis of truth, not personalities.

Do I encourage people to study the prochoice as well as the prolife position? Of course! Go to the prochoice sources and decide for yourself whether I'm stating their arguments accurately. I'm completely anticensorship on the abortion issue. Let's put all the cards on the table. Let's not hold back any of the evidence. Let's bring out the statistics, study the intrauterine pictures, show pictures of aborted unborns, hear from women who have had abortions, both prochoicers and prolife. Let's listen to geneticists and biologists, as well as abortionists who are prochoice and former abortionists who are now prolife. Let each side present its case, and may the best case win. Truth is always served by a full disclosure of the facts. Error has good reason to fear such disclosure.

This book is necessary because it is an organized, logical, and easily referenced resource offering answers to every major prochoice argument.

This book presents prolife answers to the most frequently used prochoice arguments. Most readers will recognize these arguments, but many readers will never have heard answers to them.

This book is written in a clear, concise, and easily referenced format. I have designed it to be user-friendly, with the busy reader in mind. I use an outline style, with highlighted features that allow the reader to scan major points and subpoints. It is meant to be used and reused as a ready reference. The detailed table of contents allows you to locate any argument and response quickly. It is designed to help you find a quick answer to what the teacher, television personality, or secretary at work said earlier today.

If you are prochoice, I ask you to read this book with the open mind our society claims to value so highly. If the prolife side proves to be as senseless and irrational as you have been led to believe, fine. You can give it the firsthand rejection it deserves. But if the prolife position proves to be sensible and accurate, then

you must rethink your position even if doing so is not politically correct or popular in your circles of influence. Fair enough?

If you are one of those “on the fence,” I ask you to make this book part of a quest for truth. You can hear the prochoice position anywhere—just turn on a TV or read the paper. But this book may be your first opportunity to examine the pro-life position. Please examine it carefully.

If you are prolife, I ask you to think through the foundations for the position you hold so that you will be able to hold to it more firmly in the face of continuous attack. It is not enough to say, “I know I’m right, though I’m not sure why.” We must know how to defend our position intelligently and to educate others about the truth. If you already know what you believe, look in these pages for documentation as well as fresh and readily understandable ways to communicate that belief to others.

If the prolife position is wrong, we should abandon it immediately. If it is right, then innocent human lives depend on our ability and willingness at every opportunity to persuade others of the truth about the value, dignity, and rights of unborn children. I hope this book will serve you well in the task of education and communication as you speak up for those who cannot speak for themselves.

Part One



Arguments Concerning

*Life, Humanity,
& Personhood*

1. **“It is uncertain when human life begins; that’s a religious question that cannot be answered by science.”**

A 2000 Harris poll of 15,000 people revealed that among those who describe themselves as prolife, 88 percent say that life begins at conception, while among those who describe themselves as prochoice, only 23 percent believe life begins at conception.⁶²

An article printed and distributed by the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) describes as “antichoice” the position that “human life begins at conception.” It says the prochoice position is, “Personhood at conception is a religious belief, not a provable biological fact.”⁶³

1a. If there is uncertainty about when human life begins, the benefit of the doubt should go to preserving life.

Suppose there is uncertainty about when human life begins. If a hunter is uncertain whether a movement in the brush is caused by a person, does his uncertainty lead him to fire or not to fire? If you’re driving at night and you think the dark figure ahead on the road may be a child, but it may just be the shadow of a tree, do you drive into it, or do you put on the brakes? If we find someone who may be dead or alive, but we’re not sure, what is the best policy? To assume he is alive and try to save him, or to assume he is dead and walk away?

Shouldn’t we give the benefit of the doubt to life? Otherwise we are saying, “This may or may not be a child, therefore it’s all right to destroy it.”

1b. Medical textbooks and scientific reference works consistently agree that human life begins at conception.

Many people have been told that there is no medical or scientific consensus as to when human life begins. This is simply untrue. Among those scientists who have no vested interests in the abortion issue, there is an overwhelming consensus that human life begins at conception. (Conception is the moment when the egg is fertilized by the sperm, bringing into existence the zygote, which is a genetically distinct individual.)

Dr. Bradley M. Patten's textbook, *Human Embryology*, states, "It is the penetration of the ovum by a spermatozoan and the resultant mingling of the nuclear material each brings to the union that constitutes the culmination of the process of fertilization and *marks the initiation of the life of a new individual.*"⁶⁴ (Unless otherwise noted, quoted words in italics have been italicized by me, rather than the original author.)

Dr. Keith L. Moore's text on embryology, referring to the single-cell zygote, says, "The cell results from fertilization of an oocyte by a sperm and is *the beginning of a human being.*"⁶⁵ He also states, "Each of us started life as a cell called a zygote."⁶⁶

Doctors J. P. Greenhill and E. A. Friedman, in their work on biology and obstetrics, state, "The zygote thus formed represents *the beginning of a new life.*"⁶⁷

Dr. Louis Fridhandler, in the medical textbook *Biology of Gestation*, refers to fertilization as "that wondrous moment that marks the beginning of life for a new unique individual."⁶⁸

Doctors E. L. Potter and J. M. Craig write in *Pathology of the Fetus and the Infant*, "Every time a sperm cell and ovum unite a new being is created which is alive and will continue to live unless its death is brought about by some specific condition."⁶⁹

Popular scientific reference works reflect this same understanding of when human life begins. *Time* and Rand McNally's *Atlas of the Body* states, "In fusing together, the male and female gametes produce a fertilized single cell, the zygote, which is *the start of a new individual.*"⁷⁰ In an article on pregnancy, the *Encyclopedia Britannica* says, "*A new individual is created* when the elements of a potent sperm merge with those of a fertile ovum, or egg."⁷¹

These sources confidently affirm, with no hint of uncertainty, that life begins at conception. They state not a theory or hypothesis and certainly not a religious belief—every one is a secular source. Their conclusion is squarely based on the scientific and medical facts.

1c. Some of the world's most prominent scientists and physicians testified to a U.S. Senate committee that human life begins at conception.

A United States Senate judiciary subcommittee invited experts to testify on the question of when life begins. All of the quotes from the following experts come directly from the official government record of their testimony.⁷²

- Dr. Alfred M. Bongioanni, professor of pediatrics and obstetrics at the University of Pennsylvania, stated:

I have learned from my earliest medical education that human life begins at the time of conception. . . . I submit that *human life is present throughout this entire sequence from conception to adulthood* and that any interruption at any point throughout this time constitutes a termination of human life. . . .

I am no more prepared to say that these early stages [of development in the womb] represent an incomplete human being than I would be to say that the child prior to the dramatic effects of puberty. . . is not a human being. *This is human life at every stage.*

- Dr. Jerome LeJeune, professor of genetics at the University of Descartes in Paris, was the discoverer of the chromosome pattern of Down syndrome. Dr. LeJeune testified to the judiciary subcommittee, "*after fertilization has taken place a new human being has come into being.*" He stated that this "is no longer a matter of taste or opinion," and "not a metaphysical contention; it is plain experimental evidence." He added, "*Each individual has a very neat beginning, at conception.*"
- Professor Hymie Gordon, Mayo Clinic: "By all the criteria of modern molecular biology, life is present from the moment of conception."
- Professor Micheline Matthews-Roth, Harvard University Medical School: "It is incorrect to say that biological data cannot be decisive. . . . *It is scientifically correct to say that an individual human life begins at conception. . . .* Our laws, one function of which is to help preserve the lives of our people, should be based on accurate scientific data."
- Dr. Watson A. Bowes, University of Colorado Medical School: "The beginning of a single human life is from a biological point of view a simple and straightforward matter—*the beginning is conception.* This straightforward biological fact should not be distorted to serve sociological, political, or economic goals."

A prominent physician points out that at these Senate hearings, “Pro-abortionists, though invited to do so, failed to produce even a single expert witness who would specifically testify that life begins at any point other than conception or implantation. Only one witness said no one can tell when life begins.”⁷³

1d. Many other prominent scientists and physicians have likewise affirmed with certainty that human life begins at conception.

- Ashley Montague, a geneticist and professor at Harvard and Rutgers, is unsympathetic to the prolife cause. Nevertheless, he affirms unequivocally, “The basic fact is simple: *life begins not at birth, but conception.*”⁷⁴
- Dr. Bernard Nathanson, internationally known obstetrician and gynecologist, was a cofounder of what is now the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL). He owned and operated what was at the time the largest abortion clinic in the western hemisphere. He was directly involved in over sixty thousand abortions.

Dr. Nathanson’s study of developments in the science of fetology and his use of ultrasound to observe the unborn child in the womb led him to the conclusion that he had made a horrible mistake. Resigning from his lucrative position, Nathanson wrote in the *New England Journal of Medicine* that he was deeply troubled by his “increasing certainty that I had in fact presided over 60,000 deaths.”⁷⁵

In his film, *The Silent Scream*, Nathanson later stated, “Modern technologies have convinced us that *beyond question the unborn child is simply another human being*, another member of the human community, indistinguishable in every way from any of us.” Dr. Nathanson wrote *Aborting America* to inform the public of the realities behind the abortion rights movement of which he had been a primary leader.⁷⁶ At the time Dr. Nathanson was an atheist. His conclusions were not even remotely religious, but squarely based on the biological facts.

- Dr. Landrum Shettles was for twenty-seven years attending obstetrician-gynecologist at Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center in New York. Shettles was a pioneer in sperm biology, fertility, and sterility. He is internationally

famous for being the discoverer of male- and female-producing sperm. His intrauterine photographs of preborn children appear in over fifty medical textbooks. Dr. Shettles states:

I oppose abortion. I do so, first, because I accept what is biologically manifest—*that human life commences at the time of conception*—and, second, because I believe it is wrong to take innocent human life under any circumstances. My position is scientific, pragmatic, and humanitarian.⁷⁷

- The First International Symposium on Abortion came to the following conclusion:

The changes occurring between implantation, a six-week embryo, a six-month fetus, a one-week-old child, or a mature adult are merely stages of development and maturation. The majority of our group could find no point in time between the union of sperm and egg, or at least the blastocyst stage, and the birth of the infant at which point we could say that this was not a human life.⁷⁸

- The Official Senate report on Senate Bill 158, the “Human Life Bill,” summarized the issue this way:

Physicians, biologists, and other scientists agree that *conception marks the beginning of the life of a human being*—a being that is alive and is a member of the human species. There is overwhelming agreement on this point in countless medical, biological, and scientific writings.⁷⁹

1e. The possibility of human cloning does nothing to discredit the fact that all humans conceived in the conventional manner began their lives at conception.

Since the original version of this book, the issue of human cloning has led to a new discussion. Throughout human history, a person’s life in this world has always been a continuum which begins at conception and continues until death. But if human cloning is successful, it would bypass conception. A person created by cloning would enter the life continuum not at conception, but at another point.

This would do nothing, however, to change the person’s human status.

Obviously, if you are not conceived, then your life cannot begin at conception. But once you have a human being (*Homo sapiens*) existing on this life continuum, you have a person of equal value to all other persons. How a person arrives on the continuum is not pertinent to his or her value as a person. If you found a one-year-old under a tree, you would not have to know any of her history to determine her value as a human being. If you wished to put her to a scientific test, all you would need to do to be certain you had a person would be to check her DNA to see if she is a *Homo sapiens* and her vital signs to see if she is alive.⁸⁰

The possibility of clones does not alter in any way the reality that any person conceived in the conventional manner will have begun her life at the point of her conception. All human beings who *are* conceived begin precisely at that point.

Whether we *can* clone and whether we *should* are two very different matters. I believe this rightly resides within the prerogatives of God alone. But even if human cloning is ethically wrong, if it *can* be done by people, history demonstrates that it surely *will* be done. If it is, there would be no justification for considering the cloned person less valuable than the conceived person.

The ramifications of cloning are far-reaching and could have a profound effect on society. A *Time* article stated:

Having sex is too much fun for us to stop, but religious convictions aside, it will be more for recreation than for procreation. Many human beings, especially those who are rich, vain and ambitious, will be using test tubes—not just to get around infertility and the lack of suitable partners, but to clone themselves and tinker with their genes.⁸¹

2. “The fetus is just a part of the pregnant woman’s body, like her tonsils or appendix. You can’t seriously believe a frozen embryo is an actual person.”

Philosopher Mortimer Adler claimed that the unborn is “a part of the mother’s body, in the same sense that an individual’s arm or leg is a part of a living organ-



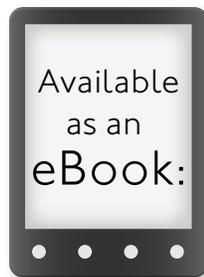
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