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During Bob Hill's first week in the Missouri Senate, he had gone to the office of each member of the Senate to introduce himself. To his surprise, the warmest reception he received was from Senator Richard Fairfield, a Republican, and the senior member of the Senate. First elected 34 years earlier from a strong Republican district in Missouri's Ozarks, Richard Fairfield had been routinely re-elected every 4 years since. Although a member of the minority party, his understanding of politics and government, and his many friends in both parties, made him one of the most powerful men in Missouri state government.

Senator Fairfield had recognized Bob Hill as an honest, sincere young man, and had liked him from their first meeting. So he had taken Bob under his wing, spending hours counseling him in the fine art of being a senator. "Bob," he said, "The Senate has written rules and it has unwritten rules. On occasion the written rules may be suspended. But the un-

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written rules are never suspended. If you are to be a successful senator; if you are to be accepted into this exclusive club; you must always observe these unwritten rules.”

So, in addition to all he learned from his careful study of the manual containing the written rules of the Missouri Senate, Bob learned that he must never say anything that could be construed as a personal attack on another senator; that he must never cross the center aisle of the Senate chamber, or walk down that aisle except to be sworn in after election or re-election; that he must never walk across the front of the Senate chamber; that he must never walk between two senators when one is interrogating the other; and that he must never go into another senator’s district to make a speech or attend any public function without first getting the other senator’s permission.

Of course, Bob also had friends among the Democrats, and on political matters he normally conferred with members of his own party. But even on political issues, Bob often sought the advice of Senator Fairfield, and found that his Republican friend never tried to lead him astray or take partisan advantage. So, Richard Fairfield was not surprised when Bob asked if he could talk to him about HB 160.

The Senate was scheduled to reconvene at 10 a.m. on Tuesday, and Bob had stopped to speak to Senator Fairfield on his way to his own desk. Unlike the House of Representatives, whose members were seated according to party, the Senate allocated seating, as well as offices, parking spaces, and other prerogatives, strictly on the basis of seniority. Thus, Richard Fairfield, even though a member of the minority, got first choice of a desk in the Senate chamber. He had chosen a position over to the extreme side of the chamber, about half way back. Senate rules required that a senator face the Chair when speaking, and from his position, Senator Fairfield could

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face both the presiding officer and his real audience, which was the rest of the Senate and most of the gallery, whereas the senators in the front of the chamber had to speak with their backs to the rest of the Senate and to the gallery, and the senators in the back of the chamber had to speak with their backs to the gallery and with the backs of the rest of the senators to the speaker. Furthermore, anytime Senator Fairfield wanted to leave the chamber, he could get up and walk out, whereas senators in other parts of the chamber were sometimes unable to leave without violating the unwritten rules of the Senate.

Being the newest member of the Senate, Bob Hill was left with a desk on the front row over near the center of the chamber. So Bob had stopped on his way to his desk to see if Senator Fairfield had any free time that week when they could talk about HB 160.

"That could be a long discussion," Fairfield replied, "If you could stop by my office a little before five, we could have sandwiches sent in and talk as long as you want."

Senator Fairfield's secretary called that afternoon to see what kind of sandwich Bob wanted, so when he descended to the third floor to the Fairfield office, the sandwiches had just arrived. Bob said, "Richard, I really appreciate your giving up an evening to talk to me about this. I do need your help."

"Bob, I would much rather do this than go back to my apartment and watch television. I'm glad to talk about HB 160, because I have some strong opinions about it. And I'm glad you have finally started calling me by my first name. It makes me feel good, even if I am twice your age."

"What I need," Bob said, "is some background on this whole abortion issue. I haven't kept up with it too well, and I know that you have."

"It's my daughter who has gotten me informed on the sub-

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ject. She is really active in the pro-life movement, and has made me into a strong pro-lifer. So keep in mind that you are talking to a biased witness. I am against abortion for any reason except to save the mother's life."

"I know the stand you have taken," Bob said. "I am against abortion too, but I haven't taken a public stand yet. Of course, that will come with my vote on HB 160. What bothers me is that abortion seems to be more and more of a party issue, and I hate to be out of step with my own party. I have always thought of the Democratic Party as the great party of compassion; as the great defender of the defenseless. Yet here we are condoning the killing of the most defenseless humans of all — the little unborn babies. What is driving my party in this direction? Who are these powerful constituencies behind the drive for abortion?"

Richard finished his sandwich and leaned back in his chair. "Well this is just my thinking on the matter, but I have thought about it a lot. *Roe v. Wade* was no accident. It was the culmination of a well thought-out strategy. But the roots go back probably as far as history. Bob, are you familiar with the humanist creed?"

"I guess it is basically atheism. They deny the existence of God, and supposedly exalt human beings."

"You hit the nail on the head when you said atheism 'supposedly' exalts human beings. When you eliminate God, and make man the highest thing in the universe, you really rob man of any value — as Hitler, Stalin, Pol Pot, *Roe v. Wade*, and many others have repeatedly proven. But I am getting ahead of myself. Humanists don't intend to be evil. In fact, I would guess that most of them are decent people, with feelings of good will toward others. Humanism goes back to ancient times, but in the last century or so there seems to have been more impetus to its intellectual under-pinning. Of

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course, Darwin gave it a big boost. Are you familiar with the Humanist Manifestos?"

Bob shook his head. "I have heard of them, but have never read them."

"They attempt to codify the humanistic creed. Manifesto I is dated 1933, and Manifesto II is dated 1973. Back in 1933, they referred to their creed as "religious humanism", but today, since the Supreme Court has ruled that we can't have religion in our public life, they call it "secular humanism". I have a copy of Manifesto II here in my desk. Let me read you some excerpts to give you an idea of where they are coming from.

"Modern science discredits such historic concepts as the "ghost in the machine" and the "separable soul". Rather, science affirms that the human species is an emergence from natural evolutionary forces.

"No deity will save us; we must save ourselves.

"We strive for the good life, here and now.

"In the area of sexuality, we believe that intolerant attitudes, often cultivated by orthodox religious and puritanical cultures, unduly repress sexual conduct. The right to birth control, abortion, and divorce should be recognized.

"We affirm that moral values derive their source from human experience. Ethics is autonomous and situational, needing no theological or ideological sanction. Ethics stems from human need and interest.

"The future is, however, filled with dangers. In learning to apply the scientific method to nature and human life, we have opened the door to ecological damage, overpopulation, dehumanizing institutions, totalitarian repression, and nuclear and biochemical disaster."

Richard laid the pamphlet down. "There is a good deal more along the same line. For example, they go on to endorse

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euthanasia. But you get the idea. This is the product of an intellectual elite who really believe they can bring about a man-made utopia. These are highly educated men and women, and yet they are unbelievably naive about human nature. They visualize a society where everyone voluntarily cooperates for the common good. Of course, the intellectual elite would rule this new society, and when people failed to act the way the planners had planned, totalitarian repression would soon follow. The great crimes of the twentieth century have been committed by men wearing white shirts and tailored suits, sitting around polished tables in air-conditioned conference rooms.”

Richard paused. “Bob, forgive an old man for rambling. The point you are interested in is this — humanism provided the original intellectual basis for abortion on demand. The law professors, the social planners, the politicians, who made the push for *Roe v. Wade*, surely had this humanistic vision of the good life, here and now. They must have visualized this man-made utopia where ethics is autonomous and situational, where sexual conduct is not repressed by religious values, and where everyone is free to pursue his own desires and to fulfill his own potential. It is a life that must be lived to the fullest here and now, because there is no hereafter. Such a life must not be hampered by unwanted pregnancies and inconvenient children. Thus, abortion on demand is essential.

“The elitist nature of the movement is shown by the fact that they disdained the democratic process, and aimed instead for the unelected, life-tenured, justices of the United States Supreme Court. As Justice White said, the majority opinion in *Roe v. Wade* was ‘an exercise of raw judicial power’. It was an affront to our democratic way of life. And the resulting slaughter of the innocents just breaks your heart. Think of it, Bob, since *Roe v. Wade* we have killed about one

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third of the boys and girls in America.”

Bob shook his head. “It is really more than the mind can grasp. Like Hitler’s six million Jews and Stalin’s twelve million Ukrainians, it is impossible to comprehend. But I had never considered this humanistic connection before. Is that still the driving force behind abortion?”

“Well a good many of the people pushing for abortion are influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by humanistic thinking. But I doubt if active, practicing, humanists constitute a very large percent of those who are out demonstrating for abortion today. The point I wanted to make is that humanism provided the intellectual base for abortion. There is another group that is at least related to humanism — the population control group. These people think we have too many people on this planet and they favor abortion as a means of controlling it. And Bob, I think you should know that there is an element of racism in this. Through the years I have been lobbied by numerous pro-abortion groups, and more than once I have heard the remark that I really should get behind this, especially government funded abortions, because this is a way to slow the growth of the black population. I doubt if they have mentioned that to you.”

Bob smiled. “No that hasn’t been used as an argument for me, but I have suspected that something like that was going on.”

Richard continued, “There is another group that seems to be jumping aboard the abortion bandwagon — the radical environmentalists. When you think about it, it makes sense. These are people who like to hike around in an undisturbed wilderness, so they don’t want too many little feet tramping on the grass. They have a lot in common with the population control group. Don’t get me wrong. Not all environmentalists are in the abortion camp. In fact, I am strongly in favor of all

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reasonable measures to protect our environment, as I know you are. But there is a radical fringe that favors killing babies as a means of holding down the population and thus holding down pollution.

“So far, Bob, the groups I have mentioned probably contain more men than women. I think one of the fallacies fostered upon the American people is that the push for abortion is coming almost entirely from freedom seeking women. And this next group is mostly women. These are the ambitious ladies who want money, power, and prestige. To them, motherhood is a great handicap — a serious setback in their careers. Closely related are the radical feminists who resent the fact that God gave the womb to womankind. I suppose there is a great deal of overlapping in all these groups.

“Then there is the group that has probably grown the most. This group had nothing to do with bringing about *Roe v. Wade*, but they have jumped in and taken advantage of it. I refer to the swinging group, the sexually liberated, the hedonists. These are mainly young people, college students, yuppies, divorcees, etc., but ranging from teenagers on up to second childhood. Again, this group has more men than women. These are the guys who figure that if they get the girl friend pregnant, they can just have her vacuumed out and ready for use again. You would be shocked at how many abortions some of these women have had.”

Bob interrupted. “One thing I do not understand is this. Every pro-abortion rally I have observed has contained a contingent of gays and lesbians. If anyone does not have to worry about unwanted pregnancies, it would seem to be them. Why are they so active in the pro-abortion movement?”

“Bob, I have wondered about that too. All I can figure out is this. They resent the fact that the traditional family, that is, one man married to one woman, together raising children, is

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the favored institution in our society. They want to see our laws changed, and our whole outlook changed, so that the so-called non-traditional family is put on equal footing. Of course, abortion tends to undermine the traditional family concept. So they are for it. Also, they are very interested in this newly discovered, constitutional right of privacy which was used as a basis for *Roe v. Wade*. They hope to use that same doctrine to invalidate state laws against sodomy. That gives them common ground with the abortion crowd."

"Richard, you have named some very diverse groups here. Why did they all end up in my party? Why has abortion become a party issue?"

"Bob, these groups are not as diverse as you might think. With the possible exception of the hedonists, they all want more intervention in something or other by the Federal government. They want Uncle Sam to force people to accept their life-style, or force companies to give them promotions they can't get on their own, or force people to stop cutting trees or drilling for oil, and so-forth. Now for the last fifty years, at least, your party has favored more government intervention than has my party, so it is natural that these groups come to you. It so happens that these groups are also pro-abortion, so you got that too."

"Well, government intervention isn't always bad," Bob replied. "I am glad that the Federal government stepped in and did something about civil rights, and I am glad that we Democrats took the lead in that. If I had been born a few years sooner it would have been against the law for me to go to school with white children."

Richard smiled. "Don't forget, Bob, that Missouri was run by Democrats back in those segregation years. But you are right. I am sorry that my party didn't do more about civil rights back then. I do think we are catching up now."

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“But getting back to abortion,” Bob continued, “I can see how some of these groups ended up as Democrats, but I don’t see why they have so much to do with running things. Take all these you have named and add them together, and still they surely would not be more than 10 or 15 percent of the whole party.”

Richard nodded. “That may be true. But stop and think where these people are situated. The nucleus of the whole pro-abortion movement is an intellectual elite, and the first place to look for intellectual elites is in the academic community. Never under-estimate the power and influence of those who teach in our colleges and universities. They send their disciples out into the news media, into the public schools, into the think-tanks and foundations, into the entertainment industry, into government bureaus, and so forth. These are the opinion makers. These are the people who decide what is fed into the minds of the American people. Bob, read the Humanist Manifestos, and then watch a few evenings of television, and then tell me what diet the American people are being fed.”

Bob shook his head. “That would be cruel and unusual punishment. I watch the Tigers, the Cardinals, the Royals, and the Chiefs, and that is about all, except for the news. But I have seen enough to know what you mean.”

“Okay, forget the pro-abortion movies, sit-coms, and mini-series, and just consider the national news. You have witnessed both pro-life and pro-choice demonstrations in person and you have seen them on the news. Have you noticed any difference?”

“Yes I have noticed some difference,” Bob answered. “Pro-choice demonstrations in real life seem to include more far-out types than are shown on television. Also there are more men in the actual demonstrations.”

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“Exactly,” said Richard. “From what you see on the television news, you would think that pro-choice demonstrations are made up of dear little old ladies and poor women with lots of kids. The pro-life crowds, however, are made up of mean looking men and abrasive women. Now remember, they can go out and take 3 hours worth of film, and then pick 3 minutes of it to use on the evening news. So it is possible to make a basically unattractive crowd look reasonably good, and vice versa. Of course, it is even easier for the big newspapers and news magazines to slant their coverage for the favored group. There is no doubt that this is going on.

“Bob, ever since *Roe v. Wade*, the national news organizations have been trying to sell abortion to the American people. The pro-life people have been consistently pictured as religious fanatics or as men who want to enslave women. Now I know young women who love babies so much that they can’t even talk about abortion without weeping. But from our news media, you would never know that such people exist. In fact, they have actually tried to picture the pro-life people as children haters, claiming that they want to bring unwanted children into the world just so they can be abused.”

Bob said, “I read an article along that line recently, and I couldn’t believe it. They seemed to be implying that it was kindness to the baby to kill it.”

Richard nodded. “Some of what they write is really absurd, but by and large they have done an effective job of selling abortion. Remember they have picked the tough side of the issue. It is not an easy thing to convince the American people that it is okay to kill our babies. Just think how much easier it would have been to sell the anti-abortion side of the case. To get some idea of just how effective they have been, stop and consider how strong would be the feeling against abortion in this country if we were getting balanced coverage by the news

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media.

“Suppose, for example, they gave us the tragic stories of some of the thousands of women who have had abortions and now are devastated by guilt and regret. I have a doctor friend back home who would supply them plenty of material. He tells of the many women who have had abortions and then decide they want a baby but are unable to get pregnant. You can imagine their anguish. And even those who are able to get pregnant are overwhelmed by guilt when they hold their new baby, and feel how sweet she is, and then realize they killed her big brother or sister. I tell you, Bob, guilt such as that can break a woman’s health and lead to an early grave.

“And consider the brutal treatment that anti-abortion protestors have received from the police and courts all over the country. If they had been protesting the slaughter of baby seals, or goats, or rabbits, or kangaroos, or most any species but human beings, the news media would have moved in full force and stirred up a national outrage over the police brutality. But since it is human babies they are trying to save, the police are free to twist arms, break bones, beat and bruise, and the cameras just look away. Counter demonstrators from the pro-abortion camp can curse them, shove them, and spit upon them, and the public never knows because the film is never shown. I know, because it has happened to my daughter and her friends.

“And suppose some enterprising reporter did an expose of some of these so-called ‘women’s health clinics’ that encourage and even pressure girls into abortion. This is big business and the profits must be enormous. Justice Blackmun is always talking about how the woman makes this decision together with her physician. We all know that in most cases the only doctor she sees is the abortionist and when she sees him she is probably already on the table ready for the abor-

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tion.”

Richard stood up and paced angrily about the office. “Think, Bob, how the American people would react if they could see on their television screens the garbage cans full of little babies; if they could see the little arms and legs torn off by the suction machines; if they could see the little boys and girls, some even born alive, but scalded by the saline solution. With ultrasound scanning we can see into the womb and see the baby writhing in agony as he or she is being cruelly put to death. I tell you the abortionists are lucky that all this is being concealed from the American people or some of them would be run out of the country.”

Richard sat down and smiled at Bob. “Sorry, but I told you that I feel strongly about this thing. The point is that the pro-abortion people have clout with your party and with the country as a whole, because they control the opinion makers. Since *Roe v. Wade*, they have been busy selling abortion to the American people. I don’t doubt that they have converted quite a few, or at least gotten them used to the idea. Since the Webster Case, the big drive has been to convince everybody that a big majority favors abortion, and that all politicians had better jump on the abortion bandwagon or face defeat.

“Shortly after Webster we had a special election to fill a House seat in a district out east of Kansas City. It was a race between a pro-abortion Democrat and an anti-abortion Republican. It is a district that had been Democratic for 12 or 14 years. I know for a fact that the big news organizations were watching the election closely, and were prepared to make a big story out of it, until the anti-abortion Republican won. Then they dropped it like a hot potato. They play up the pro-abortion victories and play down the pro-abortion defeats. I am not saying it is a conspiracy. They just all think alike.”

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Bob said, "Richard, we are faced with an issue that is really unique in American politics. There just doesn't seem to be much precedent for this thing. What do you think the final fall out will be for both parties and for our country?"

Richard nodded his agreement. "The abortion issue is different because it involves millions of human lives. So naturally people feel more deeply about it than they do about farm subsidies or foreign aid. But it is not entirely unique. Once before in our history we had an issue that people felt this deeply about. I refer to the slavery issue. Both issues turned on the question of what is a human being. Are you aware of the similarity between *Roe v. Wade* and the *Dred Scott* case? Did you know that Justice Taney held that slaves and their descendants were not persons within the meaning of the Constitution, just as Justice Blackmun held that 'person' as used in the 14th Amendment does not include the unborn?"

"I did know that," Bob answered, "and it is hard for me to believe that the court held that babies have no constitutional protection right up to the time of birth."

Richard continued. "Well, the slavery issue didn't just fade away, and I don't believe the abortion issue is just going to fade away either. You asked how this is going to affect the two major parties. Most experts, at least back East, think it will help the Democrats. The Webster Case has stirred up a lot of frenzied activity in the pro-abortion camp. Since they can't rely on the courts to further their agenda any more, they have taken a sudden interest in the democratic process. The pro-abortionists have some important advantages. They can raise a lot more money than the pro-life people. After all, the big money is made by killing babies, not by saving their lives. And, since they are favored by the news media, they will be presented to the public in a favorable light, and the pro-life people will continue to get unfavorable coverage. But, the

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Webster Case isn't all milk and honey for you Democrats. It could threaten your control of some state legislatures and even Congress."

"How do you figure that," Bob asked?

"Well take your situation here in Missouri. You have a lot of pro-life Democrats in both the House and the Senate. With the advantage of the incumbency, you have had little to fear from the Republicans. But, since most of the pro-abortion people are in the Democratic Party, that means they can swing more weight in the Democratic primary than they can in the general election. Thus, pro-abortion candidates may defeat some of your pro-life incumbents in the primary, and then, without the advantage of the incumbency, lose to a Republican in the general election."

Bob nodded. "I see how that could happen. Richard, when it comes to politics, you sure don't miss a thing. But, in the long run, do you think this whole thing will work to the advantage of the Democrats."

"As I said, most of the so-called experts think it will, but I am not so sure. A lot depends on how the Republicans play it. I see signs that some Republicans are beginning to waver on their pro-life position, and I think that is a bad mistake. They won't gain the pro-abortion vote. All they will do is lose the pro-life support, and convince everybody that they are unprincipled opportunists. What they need to do is focus attention on the baby. The pro-abortion camp has been successful in focusing attention on the woman. They never mention the baby. The Republicans need to bring the baby into the public eye. And it can be done, despite the hostility of the news media. After all nothing is more attractive, more adorable, more deserving of compassion than a little baby.

"Bob, I may be the only one who thinks this way, but I see real danger for the Democratic Party in this abortion issue.

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Right now, public opinion seems to be swinging toward the abortion side, but remember that the public really has heard only one side of the issue. In effect, the public has been subjected to a big propaganda blitz. But truth crushed to earth, has a way of rising up again. A lot of people haven't really thought this thing through. When they do, you Democrats could be in trouble, that is, if you get yourselves completely tied in with the abortion camp.

"And Bob, consider the 'single-issue' people. I know they are looked upon with contempt by all 'proper persons'. But some single issues are important enough to control the way you vote. If I had lived in Germany during Hitler's reign, I would hope that even if I agreed with everything else he did, the single issue of his treatment of the Jews would have been enough to turn me against him. Well, we have snuffed out about four times as many lives in our abortion clinics as Hitler did in his death camps. Now which party do you think will gain the most from single-issue people? No doubt there are some people who are so strong for abortion that this one issue could decide their vote. But who are they? Mostly radical feminists who are already Democrats. The only way the single issue can affect them, is to cause them to vote for an occasional pro-abortion Republican.

"But, Bob, since people are more likely to be deeply devoted to saving babies than they are to killing babies, there are a whole lot more single-issue people in the pro-life camp. Now, who are these people? Well, they are people who love babies, people who respect human life, conservative Christians and Jews, childless couples who want to adopt, adopted people who know they might have died in their mother's womb if *Roe v. Wade* had been decided sooner, and we could go on and on. But the thing to notice is that a lot of them are Democrats. If your party gets completely identified with the

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pro-abortion cause, then a lot of these single issue people will leave you and become Republicans. That is, unless the Republicans blow their chance by vacillating on the whole issue.

“Now, I think the Democrats will gain some from the yuppies and the young swinging set. But these aren’t single-issue people. Abortion has been convenient for them, and they will vote for the pro-abortion candidate if there are no other issues more important to them. So the pro-life candidate shouldn’t just run on the abortion issue alone. He or she needs to stress all the issues but not waver on the pro-life position. So, Bob, my conclusion is, and I may be the only one who thinks this way, that the abortion issue will work for the Republicans if they play it right.”

Bob frowned. “As usual, I find your views on practical politics very convincing. Where does this leave me? Your course is clear, but it seems that I have a real dilemma.”

Richard nodded. “My course is clear. At my age, I have no ambitions higher than the Missouri Senate. If the Good Lord is willing, I will run one more time, maybe two. I plan to be even more outspoken on the pro-life issue than before. I have been unopposed the last three times, and, while I don’t expect that to happen again, I am not worried. As you can imagine, I am well known in every part of my district, and it is a pro-life district anyway. But for you it is an entirely different story. You have great potential, and that is fact, not flattery. You have what it takes to go a lot higher than the state Senate, and you deserve to go higher. For you, this abortion issue has come at exactly the wrong time. I think you will be re-elected to the state Senate, but with the money and the media against you, it will be hard for you to go any higher. Unless, of course, you decide to vote against HB 160, and take the pro-choice side.”

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“That would be hard for me to do,” Bob said unhappily. “As you know, I do not believe in abortion on demand. But I have heard knowledgeable people say that the pro-abortion movement can’t be stopped. There is too much money and power behind it. Some states are going to have legal abortions regardless of what happens, so women wanting abortions will just go there. Should I throw away my career on a lost cause?”

“Bob, I agree that we probably will never go back to the days before *Roe v. Wade*. But at least we can go part way. We can slow down this wholesale slaughter. And every baby we save is worthwhile. We can’t stop all child abuse; we can’t cure all mental disease; we can’t eliminate all poverty; just as we can’t stop all abortion; but we have to do what we can. We can’t just give up and let evil have its way.”

Bob was silent for a moment and then said, “You have given me a lot to think about and to pray about. The hour is late, and I have to go back upstairs before I can call it a day. Thanks for taking the time to talk to me.”

“Bob, I am glad to talk with you any time. You always help me clarify my own thinking. Good night, and I’ll see you in the morning.”