

M Life Matters Journal

Being Pregnant in College Just Got Easier

Having a child doesn't have to put a damper on your dreams. The Pregnant on Campus Initiative is making it easier for parenting students to find the resources they need.

But God, He Did It First!

The ethics of justice and retribution are far more complicated than the traditional "good guy, bad guy" dichotomy, particularly when it comes to torture and terrorism.

Mercy as the Highest Form of Patriotism

Something so grave as ending another human's life ought be more responsible to morality than public opinion.



LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Dear Readers,

Recently, I had the opportunity to go see The Sound of Music (1965) on the big screen. Watching the movie as an adult starkly contrasted with the several times I had seen it as a child. I noticed different, more serious themes. I more fully understood why Maria felt



the need to leave the children and Captain Von Trapp and return to the abbey after her talk with the Baroness. I also realized the historical setting of why Captain Von Trapp didn't want to accept the position in the German Navy and the courageous countercultural use of the song "Edelweiss," even in front of German sympathizers and officers. The willingness of the family to run away over the mountains was a daring choice that could have had dreadful consequences. Though the movie portrays these countercultural thoughts and actions to serious situations in European history, it maintains its joy. The combination makes the film relevant and enjoyable for all ages. Just like the pro-life movement can and ought to be (and often is!)

In this issue of Life Matters Journal, many of the articles touch on this countercultural theme. They all call for just actions, reflection, or both. These two elements are integral to the pro-life, consistent ethic of life movement.

On a related note, our social media coordinator Lisa Twigg and executive director Aimee Murphy are fundraising their salaries to be able to make this work in the consistent ethic of life movement a full-time commitment. I ask you to keep them in mind, to pray for them, or even to consider how you might be able to contribute to their goals. The entire Life Matters Journal team wholeheartedly appreciates your interest, support and commitment to the pro-life movement.

For peace and all life,

Mary Stroka

Life Matters Journal

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This journal is dedicated to the aborted, the bombed, the executed, the euthanized, the abused, the raped. and all other victims of violence, whether legal or illegal.

We have been told by our society and our culture wars that those of use who oppose these acts of violence must be divided. We have been told to take a lukewarm, half-way attitude toward the victims of violence. We have been told to embrace some with love while endorsing the killing of others.

We reject that conventional attitude, whether it's called Left or Right, and instead embrace a consistent ethic of life toward all victims of violence. We are Life Matters Journal, and we are here because politics kills.

Disclaimer: the views presented in this journal do not necessarily represent the views of all members, contributors, or donors. We exist to present a forum for discussion within the consistent life ethic, to promote discourse and present an opportunity for peer-review and dialogue.

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Have a letter for the editor here at Life Matters Journal? Please write us at info@lifemattersjournal.org and let us know what you think. Make the subject line of your email "Letter," and we will publish it in our next issue along with our responses.





Physician-Assisted Suicide:

Contrary to human dignity, promises of medicine

By Claire Chretien

rittany Maynard, an attractive and vivacious 29-yearold, spent the last few months of her life campaigning for the cause of "death with dignity." She killed herself in November 2014 with drugs a doctor prescribed to her.

"Right-to-die" legislation has emerged in a handful of states, and physician-assisted suicide has come to the fore-front of debates about life and death. Those who value the life and rights of every human being must be ready for the coming battle over whether doctors should be able to help patients kill themselves.

Physician-assisted suicide changes the essence of the patient-doctor relationship. If physician-assisted suicide were to become accepted in law—as it already is in some American states—patients could no longer count on their doctors to keep medicine's principal promise, "First, do no harm."

Language in support of physician-assisted suicide is deceptive and disingenuous. Groups like Compassion & Choices—the Planned Parenthood of the euthanasia and physician-assisted suicide movement—use euphemisms such as "aid in dying" and "end-of-life options."

But no amount of money spent on slick public relations campaigns and dishonest messaging can change the reality that physician-assisted suicide entails a doctor helping to kill a patient.

There is a significant difference between aiding someone as he or she is dying and helping him or her to commit suicide. The former seeks to eliminate the suffering, not the sufferer. The latter embraces the notion that weak or sick humans are less valuable than strong or healthy ones.

Consider, too, the cultural and media double standards when it comes to suicide. When a beloved celebrity commits suicide, America collectively mourns his or her death. But when it comes to terminal illnesses instead of mental illnesses, our culture suddenly embraces death as a solution to suffering.

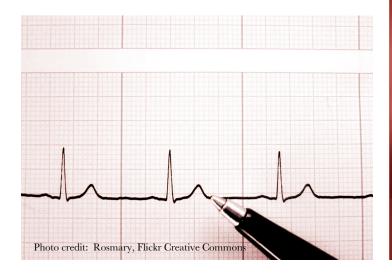
When similar cocktails of drugs are administered to prisoners on death row, many rightly recoil at the inhumanity of it. We should recoil at the inhumanity of giving lethal drugs to any human being, particularly those who face difficult illnesses.

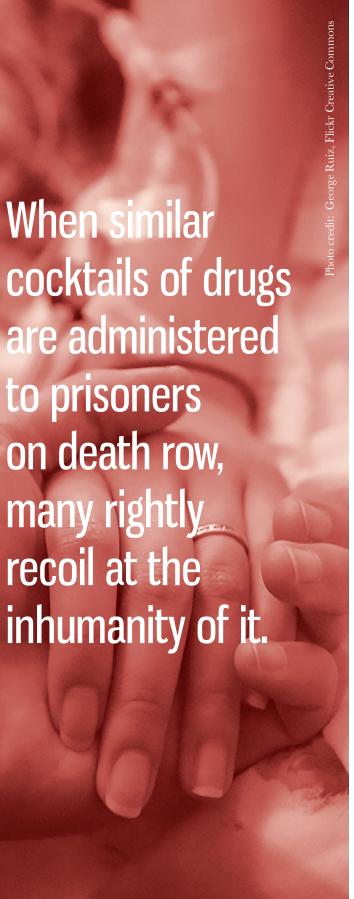
For now, the "right to die" movement seems fairly content to use terminally ill patients to advance its agenda. But the movement's standard for who deserves the right to access lethal drugs is arbitrary at best. In the Netherlands, mental anguish is justification for euthanasia. Babies whose lives are expected to be of poor quality are also eligible to die at the hands of their doctors. In Belgium, it is now legal for doctors to speed up the death of terminally ill children.

Palliative and hospice care are both alternatives to helping sick people to kill themselves. Families and communities must support the sick, vulnerable, and elderly instead of actively working to hasten their deaths.

Improving palliative and hospice care and ensuring that doctors, patients, and the public know about these options could be a powerful force in halting the imposition of physician-assisted suicide. So could strengthening bonds between older patients and their families so the former never worry that they are a burden to the latter.

Improved care, not killing, is the proper response to suffering.









Students for Life: Pregnant on Campus Initiative

By Margot Loza
Director of Students for Life at the University of Idaho

he girl touches a growing bump under her violetcolored shirt and furrows her eyebrows. She is 18 years old and just started college, doing her undergrad in biology with an emphasis in healthcare. Since vol-

unteering at her local hospital in the summer of her freshman year in high school, she's been set on getting a medical degree. The Pregnant on Campus Initiative supports women like this and affirms that their dreams do not have to be sacrificed when they become mothers. Being pregnant and a college student is possible.

The Pregnant on Campus Initiative (PonC) was launched on September 2011 by Students for Life of Amer-

ica (SFLA), a nonprofit organization that has started and strengthened over 800 prolife clubs around the nation. These pro-life clubs, equipped with PonC resources, are ready to help pregnant or parenting students through emotional upheaval, financial crises, housing needs, and more.

Students for Life of America's mission statement declares: We will abolish abortion in our lifetime, but they are focusing their game plan with this initiative.

> "[...]Not just telling women to choose life, but also providing them with the resources in the end to walk them through it every step of the way," Lisa Atkins, the Northwest Regional Coordinator for SFLA, said.

Portland Community College's SFLA Club, or PCC, in Oregon took up the initiative in the fall of 2014. They are now able to display available resources across

campus, posting flyers, and hosting a table for parenting students weekly. Already, with these resources available, two documented young mothers have chosen life instead of abortion.

"We want to empower women, give them the maximum tools to let them know that pregnancy doesn't have to change their goals. 'You're strong and all you need is a little help'--and that's what we're here for," PCC Students for Life president Caleb Knezevich said.

Other clubs are handing out kits for resident advisors (RAs), customized to their location with resources from pregnancy crisis centers, educational material on adoption, parenting, pregnancy, health and more. "They [the RAs] have no idea what to do when girls who are pregnant talk to them so when we gave it to them they were like 'yay! now we know what to do!" Western Washington Students for Life president Katie Lodjic said.

Boise State Abolitionists for Life just began the PonC Initiative and completed a survey to find out what resources their campus provided and how their campus could be improved. They found out that there are available parking spots for pregnant women with a physician's note, maternity coverage in the student healthcare plan, designated nursing rooms as well as scholarships and loans for mothers.

"We want to expand and pass out our information cards to students passing by so that they can give these resources to a friend who might have found she was pregnant," Abolitionists for Life president Danielle Leon Guerrero said.

SFLA provides a survey to any interested student pro-life groups that allows them to understand what options their institution offers, and what it lacks when it comes to parenting students. After pro-life groups finish their surveys, they submit them online so that their regional coordinator can assist them in planning goals to fill needs, promote available resources, and overall promote a friendlier campus for women who are pregnant.

Online at pregnantoncampus.studentsforlife.org, people are also able to locate their school, find outside local and national resources, and get the facts on their legal rights guaranteed under Title IX. "Basically it has all the work that all the students have done. It's campus specific. So that's one way that (pro-life club) students have been very successful because they get the link from the website to their school website," Atkins said.

Pregnant students are not alone. SFLA has embraced their responsibility of providing the support that pregnant or parenting women need. Atkins says, "I think it's just really important, whether you're pro-choice or pro-life, that women get the resources they need."







Photo credit: Students for Life of America



But Golf It First Bird Only Coulor Strict Common and a series of the common

By Beth Hersom

In war, there is not always a clear-cut bad guy and good guy.

People fight for all kinds of reasons. In this story, there is an obvious bad guy: terrorists. They hate. They embrace evil. They will use any method imaginable and some unimaginable to achieve their end. Killing children? Rape? Nothing is beneath them. A terrorist is a bad guy pretty much by definition.

That makes us the good guys. If only it were that simple and we were four-year-olds on a playground!

Every time the issue of torture comes up, it is only a matter of time before someone mentions some awful thing terrorists are doing somewhere. They ask, "So why aren't you upset about that?"

I am upset. Having terrorists terrorize is, well, terrible. It is hard to imagine people acting so utterly inhumane. There is extraordinary violence committed against innocents.

So terrorists, by definition, must be bad guys; they attack and hurt the innocent. In a storybook, that makes the people fighting them good guys. But in real life, the presence of a bad guy and a guy opposing a bad guy might not guarantee the opposition is good. Opposing him does not make us good. Good is harder.

Let's talk about being the good guy. Here are a few of the things the "good guy" is saying.

How can you complain about splashing a little water?

In December of last year, the Senate Intelligence Committee released about 500 pages of a 6,000-page report documenting specifics of the "enhanced interrogation techniques" used in the War on Terror. As a nation, we had already been arguing about the ethics of waterboarding for several years.

The question reduces torture to waterboarding and waterboarding to a prank you might pull at camp. This is a reductive lie. Waterboarding is a form of torture. The design of the torture is to trick the body into thinking it is submerged by pouring water over a thin cloth placed over the prisoner who is bound at an angle with his head down. It may not sound awful, but only because it is hard to imagine. The prisoner feels as though he is drowning, and sometimes he does. Vomiting is a risk because the body's instinctive response is to gag. Bound at an angle, vomiting comes with a risk for aspiration. Setting aside the psychological damage and the risk of death, other complications from this technique include damage to the lung or brain.

Furthermore, we learned in the report that waterboarding was only one of many awful techniques used. The report exposed gruesome events. If you are still trivializing what happened I encourage you to read about it in more depth. I cannot argue with ignorance. I will not go into more graphic specifics about what we did because it gets much, much worse. But you can easily find them. Please do.

The report was partisan.

If you think December's Senate report, when much of the information came out to the public for the first time, shouldn't have been done and was only done as a partisan power-play,

set aside the question for long enough to decide whether or not the report was true. To my knowledge, no one is seriously arguing its veracity. If it was a partisan power grab, the way to diffuse that would be universal repudiation. Don't corner yourself. Don't dodge the question of fact. Truth does not belong to either party.

But, what constitutes torture?

If you are quibbling about the line between "not very nice" and "torture," your questions are understandable, but wrong.

When you talk to teens about sex, they inevitably ask how far they can go. It is an inevitable question, but one that you cannot answer directly. It is easy to find examples to frame the question, but then there is an enormous gray area. Wandering around blindly in that gray area, aiming for just this side of mortal sin is probably not wise. You cannot answer the question because what they are really asking is, "I really, really want to commit a mortal sin. How close to that can I get without being separating myself from God?" The question itself will lead you in exactly the wrong direction. If you are looking for wiggle room around something you know is wrong, you aren't trying to avoid evil, you're trying to justify it.

If you are looking for wiggle room around something you know is wrong, you aren't trying to avoid evil, you're trying to justify it.

To be clear, I am comfortable asserting that what we did was well outside of the gray area. What we did was, in fact, the dictionary definition of torture. Borrowing phrasing from Merriam Webster, we subjected prisoners to "severe physical



pain as a form of punishment or as a way to force someone to do or say something" and intended to cause "mental or physical suffering." It was torture.

Move ahead. We accept that what we did was torture. Why did we do it? Was it justified? This is not loose moralizing from a borderline pacifist. These are pragmatic questions because it will come up again. Can we do it again? Can torture ever be justified?

Don't you know what they are doing?

This is an old argument. When do the ends justify the means? Usefully, it has been answered explicitly for Catholics.

"It is therefore an error to judge the morality of human acts by considering only the intention that inspires them or the circumstances (environment, social pressure, duress or emergency, etc.) which supply their context. There are acts which, in and of themselves, independently of circumstances and intentions, are always gravely illicit by reason of their object; such as blasphemy and perjury, murder and adultery. One may not do evil so that good may result from it" (1756).

Even if we are responding to gruesome violence we cannot resort to intrinsically evil acts. When we face judgment and are called to account for what we have done, we cannot point



and whine and say, "But Go-od... He did it first."

It bears repeating, "One may not do evil so that good may result from it."

Isn't it covered by just war theory?

No. Just War Doctrine is limited, though theories abound. Again, looking to the Catechism:

The strict conditions for legitimate defense by military force require rigorous consideration. The gravity of such a decision makes it subject to rigorous conditions of moral legitimacy. At one and the same time:

- the damage inflicted by the aggressor on the nation or community of nations must be lasting, grave, and certain;
- all other means of putting an end to it must have been shown to be impractical or ineffective;
- there must be serious prospects of success;
- the use of arms must not produce evils and disorders graver than the evil to be eliminated. The power of modern means of destruction weighs very heavily in evaluating this condition.

That sounds like we have to weigh our actions against theirs. We do. But it goes on:

"The Church and human reason both assert the permanent validity of the moral law during armed conflict. "The mere fact that war has regrettably broken out does not mean that everything becomes licit between the warring parties." (2312)

"Non-combatants, wounded soldiers, and prisoners must

be respected and treated humanely." (2313)

It cannot be justified. That is what intrinsically evil means. War is evil, but not intrinsically because it can be justified under certain very limited circumstances. Abortion is intrinsically evil. Torture is intrinsically evil.

Okay. So, maybe what we did was bad. But why are you more upset about our response than the crimes we were addressing?

What are we doing? We are becoming the bad guy! When we decide we hate our enemy and there is no action off limits to stop him, we are indistinguishable from him. We set his actions as a standard. See that line, that line they keep

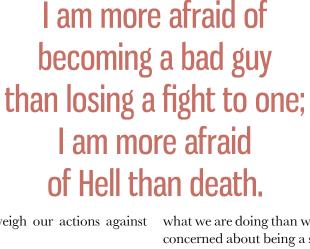
moving? We are running full speed toward it.

The good guy doesn't aim for the worst thing he can imagine and try to stop just short of it. He aims for the good. Even when he misses, he is justified. If we become the bad guy, it doesn't matter anymore if we win or lose.

I am angry -- livid -- because these are evils done in my name. Why am I more upset about

what we are doing than what they are doing? Why am I more concerned about being a sinner than stopping a sinner? I am more afraid of becoming a bad guy than losing a fight to one; I am more afraid of Hell than death.

Catechism of the Catholic Church - Latin text copyright (c) Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Citta del Vaticano 1993







Why the Campaign Against ISIS Must End: A Just War Analysis

By John Whitehead

he myriad atrocities committed by the organization known variously as the Islamic State, the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, or the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) have filled the news for over a year now. ISIS' activities have prompted a military response by the United States, which has bombed ISIS forces in Iraq and Syria and sent troops back into Iraq in support of the Iraqi military. Earlier this year, the Obama administration sent a request to Congress for an explicit three-year authorization to use military force against ISIS.

Given ISIS' brutality, American military intervention to stop them might seem justified. Current military operations might even appear inadequate and escalating the intervention might seem necessary. Nevertheless, for the United States to continue to use force or to escalate the use of force against ISIS would be a grave mistake. American military force is unlikely to ensure the peace and security that those currently menaced by ISIS need.

Opposing a military response to ISIS does not mean dismissing the group's barbarity. The organization has gained worldwide notoriety for its publicly broadcast killings of people by beheading and immolation, and these are only the most infamous of ISIS' activities. The group has reportedly carried out massacres and kidnapping and raped women as young as 11 years old. According to a recent United Nations report, ISIS assaults on the Yazidi religious minority in Iraq might even constitute genocide. ISIS has also attacked Iraqis' cultural heritage by destroying priceless antiquities such as the ancient city of Nimrud. If a just reason or cause were all that were necessary to justify military action, the cause of protecting Iraqis, Syrians, and others from ISIS' cruelty would eminently justify such action.

If we evaluate the current American military intervention—or any future, expanded one—according to the principles laid out in the school of ethics known as Just War Theory, however, more than a just cause is required. Just War Theory lays out numerous requirements for justifying military action, but one requirement is particularly worth considering in the case

of a campaign against ISIS: a reasonable chance of success.

The requirement of a reasonable chance of success holds that if a war or military action is to be justified, it must have a reasonable chance of realizing its goal. Given the history of past American military interventions, success in a campaign against ISIS is dubious.

US military action might well have a reasonable chance of "succeeding" in a narrow sense—through bombing, ground troops, support for Iraqi or Syrian proxies, or some combination of all three, the United States might succeed in destroying ISIS as an effective fighting force. Because the goal that justifies military action is protecting the people

The current military

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threatened by ISIS, however, a broader understanding of success is needed. A military campaign must be likely to improve the well-being of Iraqis, Syrians, and other victims of ISIS if it is to be considered a success.

To judge how likely US military intervention is to improve the well-being of ISIS' victims, we have ample historical precedents

to consider. Three times within the last 14 years the United States has used military force against repressive and violent regimes, and the results in all three cases have been far from beneficial to the people threatened by those regimes:

- The United States overthrew the Taliban's rule in Afghanistan in 2001, in the aftermath of the September 11th attacks. Prior to their overthrow, the Taliban was a kind of outlaw regime, recognized by only a handful of other nations, notorious for their treatment of women, whom they segregated from men, forced to wear burkas, and otherwise repressed and marginalized. The Taliban also carried out massacres of ethnic minorities and meted out various draconian punishments: adultery and samesex relationships were punished with death by stoning; theft with the loss of a hand. They even foreshadowed ISIS' attacks on cultural heritage with their destruction of ancient carvings of Buddha. Despite the just cause of protecting Afghans from the Taliban—and preventing future terrorist attacks against the United States—however, intervention in Afghanistan has not greatly improved the Afghans' condition. After almost 14 years and over 2,000 American lives spent, Afghanistan remains a chaotic, violent place with an uncertain future once US forces finally leave.
- The United States overthrew Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003. Hussein's regime was an extremely brutal one, guilty of using poison gas against Iraqi Kurds, of torture and mass executions, and of the very ISIS-like punishment

of public beheadings. Nevertheless, the just cause of liberating Iraqis from Hussein did not translate into a better life for that oppressed people. Intervention led to near civil war in Iraq, with a great cost in Iraqi and American lives—over 4,000 US troops were killed in Iraq—and left Iraq a greatly weakened country that soon fell prey to ISIS.

 The United States overthrew Moammar Qaddafi's regime in Libya in 2011. The campaign against Qaddafi was prompted by the Libyan dictator's repression of an insurgency against his rule. The humanitarian goal of protecting Libyans for Qaddafi's was explicitly invoked by American policymakers and was indeed a just cause for

> intervention. The just cause was factions—including ISIS.

not realized in a meaningful way, however: Qaddafi's overthrow was followed by Libya degenerating into violent conflict among American lives were lost—the United States relied on air power and Libyan proxies—but the intervention still cannot be judged a success.

With such recent history, what grounds do American policymakers or the public have for believing that intervention in Iraq and Syria against ISIS will lead to more satisfactory results? The likely outcome of a sustained or escalated campaign against ISIS is that the countries currently prey to ISIS will remain violent, chaotic, and unstable—and more people will have died because of American actions, including, in a possible escalated intervention, more American troops.

The current military campaign against ISIS does not have a reasonable chance of success. A military intervention, even for the most just of causes—and stopping ISIS is definitely a just cause—that does not have a likelihood of realizing that cause cannot be considered justified. American military action against ISIS must end.





A Mormon condemnation of the atom bomb

By Tanner Matthews

any beliefs and practices of early Mormonism such as polygamy, theo-democracy, the Order of Enoch, and the hope for Zion were profoundly counter-cultural and critical of aspects of the American order. However, the painful reconciliation with monogamy and mammon that followed on the heels of Utah statehood and the Second Manifesto dramatically transformed the Mormon ethos. From former Church President Ezra Taft Benson's vociferous denunciations of socialism, to the Church's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment of the 1970s, to its more recent orchestration of California's Proposition 8, the rhetoric and public positions of the 20th and 21st century Mormon hierarchy seem to adhere to conservative orthodoxy. Nevertheless, there have been some exceptions to this rule. As the 70th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki approaches, a look back at a long-forgotten message on these bombings from a beloved Mormon leader of the past seems apropos.

At the October 1946 General Conference, J. Reuben Clark, First Counselor in the First Presidency of the Church, stepped up to the pulpit and vigorously condemned the use of the

atomic bomb against Japan the previous year. The following is an excerpt from his remarks:

"...Then as the crowning savagery of the war, we Americans wiped out hundreds of thousands of civilian population [sic] with the atom bomb in Japan, few if any of the ordinary civilians being any more responsible for the war than were we, and perhaps most of them no more aiding Japan in the war than we were aiding America.

"Military men are now saying that the atom bomb was a mistake. It was more than that: it was a world tragedy. Thus we have lost all that we gained during the years from [Hugo Grotius, a scholar of international law] (1625) to 1912. And the worst of this atomic bomb tragedy is not that not only did the people of the United States not rise up in protest against this savagery, not only did it not shock us to read of this wholesale destruction of men, women, and children, and cripples, but that it actually drew from the nation at large a general approval of this fiendish butchery.

"[W]e in America are now deliberately searching out and developing the most savage, murderous means of exterminating peoples that Satan can plant in our minds. We do it not only shamelessly, but with a boast. God will not forgive us for this.

"If we are to avoid extermination, if the world is not to be wiped out, we must find some way to curb the fiendish ingenuity of men who have apparently no fear of God, man, or the devil, and who are willing to plot and plan and invent instrumentalities that will wipe out all the flesh of the earth. And, as one American citizen of one hundred thirty millions, as one in [the] one billion population of the world, I protest with all of the energy I possess against this fiendish activity, and as an American citizen, I call upon our government and its agencies to see that these unholy experimentations are stopped, and that somehow we get into the minds of our war-minded general staff and its satellites, and into the general staffs of all the world, a proper respect for human life."

"If we are to avoid extermination...we must find some way to curb the fiendish ingenuity of men..."

Clark was a respected attorney, public servant, and religious leader who graduated from Columbia Law School, served as Under Secretary of State during the presidency of Calvin Coolidge, and was a member of the Church's First Presidency for 28 years. Brigham Young University's J. Reuben Clark Law School bears his name. But notwithstanding his stature both within and without the Church, his was the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Like many Americans then and now, Mormons believed their nation's participation in the war to have been honorable and found the utilitarian justifications for what happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki acceptable. His views did not find wide acceptance among the Saints.

Nearly 70 years removed from the events that he was addressing, what are we to make of Clark's jeremiad? Mormonism has never been a clearly pacifist movement, but passages in the Mormon scriptures condemn preemptive war and present pacifism as an admirable, though not a prescriptive, expression of Christian discipleship (see Alma 24:16, Mormon 3:9-17, Mormon 4:4-5, Doctrine & Covenants 98:16).

The Old and New Testaments and the revelations of Joseph Smith are frequently enigmatic, paradoxical, pregnant with meaning. In their pages, ideologues of all stripes, conservative and progressive, authoritarian and egalitarian, patriot and pacifist, are liable to encounter hard sayings, stumbling blocks, and rocks of offense. They push and prod us to reex-

amine our presuppositions and reconsider our prejudices, for their message subsumes each of our ideologies and transcends them all.

It follows that one needn't fully subscribe to Clark's brand of pacifism nor his characterization of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in order to find value in his words. The stark assessment of America's conduct in World War II is debatable, but the underlying premise—that we ought not conflate the gospel of American exceptionalism with the gospel of Jesus Christ—is as incisive today as it was then.





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Editor's Note: In an article for the Daily Mail, Gillian Relf described her experience of caring for her 47-year-old son, Stephen, who has Down's Syndrome. The experience has been so difficult that Relf said she wishes she had had an abortion rather than give birth to Stephen. (Gillian Relf, "'I wish I'd aborted the son I've spent 47 years caring for': It's a shocking admission-but read on before you judge," Daily Mail, October 22, 2014.) Here, Penny Singleton offers her comments on the article.

By Penny Singleton

t the young age of twenty I was married, and at twenty-three, I gave birth to a healthy baby boy. My next pregnancy was difficult as there were anomalies that were seen during the first and second ultrasounds by twenty weeks. I was recommended by the high-risk OB/GYN to have an amniocentesis, which a few weeks later resulted in me having pre-ruptured membranes at twenty-two weeks. We discovered through the amniocentesis that the child would have Down syndrome. The OB/GYN on call at the time at the Baptist Medical Center in Jacksonville, Florida recommended that I terminate the pregnancy as soon as possible instead of suffering through labor and losing him at twenty-two weeks.

I felt awkward about having my unborn baby taken from me like he was a cancerous growth or some unwanted, unlovable thing. At the time, it did not seem the right decision to make because even though I was devastated, the day the results came back confirming that he had Trisomy 21, I still—after reading literature about the disability and physical condition that often accompany it—desired to get to know this new human life inside of me. I wanted to

see, touch, hold, love, and care for a warm baby that was both an expression of mine and my husband's love for one another and of a belief that hoping for good in life is what makes life worth living.

What do you think I did? I made a decision to let Mother Nature take her course and I decided to go through the painful process of natural, non-induced labor and delivery without any pain medication. I wanted to be awake and ready to hold my twenty-two-week-old baby in my arms as he died. I wanted to be completely cognizant of what was going on so I could be all that I could be in those short moments of his life with me. When I made this decision with my husband, I was in the earliest of mild labor pains. I knew we had a tough emotional next few days ahead of us. The most amazing thing happened though: my labor pains stopped, and because we had decided to let Mother Nature take her course, I was released from the hospital and remained on bed rest for an additional seven and a half weeks. During that time, I had intervals of small amounts of amniotic fluid seeping from my uterus but I remained healthy and the unborn baby grew.

Jeremiah was born on January 7, 1994 around 4:30 am. Within a few weeks, he had cardiac surgery to correct a small hole in the interior of his heart and an abdominal surgery to correct a duodenal



atresia. He never came off life support. He lived his two and a half months in the hospital. I pumped breast milk for his entire short life but he was not able to process it through his bowels because shortly after his abdominal surgery, he tested positive for Hirschsprung's syndrome. He would need to undergo another surgery to install a colostomy bag which no surgeon would agree to perform on such an unstable infant who was needing 100% ventilator support.

Our only option was to wait to see if his lungs would grow healthy tissue, but without the nutrition of breast milk or even infant formula, there was no way short of a miracle that he could grow healthy lungs. We asked our family and church friends to pray and waited a few weeks to see if his lungs could rebound, but they didn't. We tried an ounce of breast milk, and he loved eating it, to see if that could improve the growth of his lung tissue, but his abdomen swelled up horribly. We had a baby that could not process food to grow healthy lungs and could not have a surgery for a colostomy bag until his lungs were stronger. Without a colostomy bag, his abdomen would swell and his intestines would become sickened. What were we to do? I don't believe in prolonging life for purely selfish reasons. No one would deny that me or my husband desperately loved Jeremiah and wanted him to be with us the rest of our lives. We made the difficult decision of lowering the airway pressure that was blowing into his lungs by 50% and lowering the amount of pure oxygen to a reasonable level just to see if possibly he could maintain lower rates on the ventilator. Maybe, just maybe, we hoped and prayed that he would be able to maintain life at lower airway pressures and lower oxygen purity and then if he showed strength and ability to breathe, then maybe he could undergo the needed surgery to install a colostomy bag. Jeremiah passed away around 10:00 am on March 21st with us holding him and talking to him and loving on him. He died peacefully and very much loved. One could argue that it was all a waste of time, effort, and mon-

ey to go the route we did, but I would not change it for anything. I know that we gave Jeremiah all the help and support that he needed to make it in life, but

it was just not meant to be. More than 20 years later, I am glad that we gave it all we had for our baby and that he gave it all he had, too; I think in the end, that's what counts. We didn't throw in the towel and call it quits on a life that

had significant issues just because it was difficult on us. I would much rather

go through something like that than to experience the horrors of watching a child starve to death (as still happens in many countries today), watch a child mutilated or murdered before my eyes, or to have given up on ideals and beliefs that even in the midst of tragic circumstances, goodness and human achievement can be born in the hearts of those who suffer or see the suffering.

I am only human and of course I have thoughts of what if? What if we (I say we because it would have been a decision co-decided with my husband) had terminated Jeremiah? What would my life have been like? Would I have gone on to become a professional counselor for women forced to make choices about termination? Out of a sense of guilt and obligation to my fellow hurting moms, would I recommend making the choice to terminate if I had done so myself? Would I have gone on to become a successful neonatal nurse motivated by my inability to accept the reality of my choice? Would I have tried to make up for all that inward mess of second-guessing a choice of termination by being a proactive, professional nurse fighting daily to save the lives of the premature? No one will ever know because those are "what ifs" and I rarely speculate on "what ifs". My reality is on the "what is"; our choices in life shape our "what is".

I will share with you now about my "What is" is as I have so eloquently coined it. What is my life today over twenty years later? I had another son, Joshua, two years after Jeremiah passed away and another daughter one year after Josh was born. When I was pregnant with Joshua around twenty weeks along, I was told by the OB/GYN that they were beginning to notice through the ultrasounds that Joshua had shortened limbs and a small rib cage. They suspected a skeletal dysplasia class of dwarfism of some kind. I asked if dwarfism was related to trisomy 21 and physicians said, "No, not that is known." When I researched about dwarfism, I realized that about 1 out of 40,000 persons are born with dwarfism. Not long before I found out that our son was going to be a dwarf, I had watched a documentary on PBS about Little People, and I thought it was very interesting, but I really did not grasp from the program how many physical difficulties that many dwarfs experience. It is not that they are just shorter, smaller people; there are

a whole slew of physical issues that they must overcome or live with.

When I initially received the news, my husband and I rejected it. I thought, "There is no way that we are having another genetically altered child." I mean that would put the odds for us having two children with different genetic problems at about 1 out of 120 million chances. It just does not happen, and yet it happened to us. Joshua was not only born with dwarfism, he was one out of

1 million live births born with a very rare form of dwarfism called Kniest dysplasia syndrome. That pushes those odds even greater for those of you who are mathematicians, go have some fun with a calculator figuring the odds! It really boils down to this: "What is" was not supposed to happen... but it did. I point this all out to say

I am glad that we gave it all we had for our baby...he gave it all he had, too.

that there are things and choices we make in life that we can control and there are things that are out of our control. This was one of those out-of-control things.

Again, I was given the choice to terminate and this time, I really broke down and cried and cried and cried. I will be honest, I felt suicidal at the choice being posed before me again. I did not then nor do I want now to suffer or have my children suffer... ever. The choice posed before me gave me the option of avoiding the heartache associated with caring for a child who may or may not ultimately make it with multiple health issues along the way versus caring for and loving a child who may never be able to run or play or do the things that other children are able to do. It is my choice to love, to believe that good comes out of and through dark situations, and that hope is born in a man or woman which keeps him or her going during the difficult trials of life. Joshua has been with us for

almost 19 years now. He has had multiple surgeries and nearly died on more than one occasion. Joshua has the best attitude of any young man ever born on this earth. He is as humble as Moses, courageous as King David, and as solid as Joshua in the Old Testament. Well, he is Joshua; his name means salvation.

What can I say about Joshua to help a person understand? He cannot walk; he can barely get from his wheelchair to the toilet. He is sometimes very forgetful. He is often covered with eczema. It is hard to find clothes that fit him and he is as slow as molasses when getting

dressed since he needs help buttoning and zipping and struggles when putting on his shoes. He has muscle fatigue and stiff joints. He has difficulty hearing, cannot fix his meals easily, and struggles to brush his teeth correctly. He cannot get into or out of a car by himself, and may not ever be able to drive. He has had so many hospitalizations and surgeries that I have lost count, and he has more doctors than I care to keep up with. He wears glasses that he doesn't want to wear. There are many things wrong with Joshua... but there are many things right with Joshua.

He's a great person to talk to. He is by nature a fairly happy person even with all that is wrong with him. He has a good mind and is a senior in high school. He approaches life every day with a fifteen- to twenty-minute struggle to get from his bed into his wheelchair. Some might ask me as a mom—why don't I put him in his wheelchair for him? Wouldn't it be easier? Every time that I watch him do this in the morning (and some mornings it is emotionally painful for me to watch, I admit), I think about what we all learned as kids about the butterfly struggling to escape the cocoon. That's how I see Josh. As every day he struggles to make it out of bed, he still has the human hope and fighting will within him to take on a new day and whatever challenges it brings. I have learned from Josh that each day is worth struggling to live through. Each day is a chance to be part of the human experience, to be part of a family, to love and be loved, and to hope that good will one day replace suffering. Each day is not brighter than the day before but each day we can be stronger mentally and emotionally than we were the day before. Each day is a breath of air that we breathe, and whether it is a fresh breath or a foul breath is our choice.

I've made my choices, and I can truly live with them. 75% of marriages end in divorce when the couple loses a child to death and 95% of couples divorce when there is a moderately to severely handicapped child. I am still having my life story written so I don't know how it will end, but I can honestly say that for many years now, it has felt like our marriage has more stacked against it than for it and that we have only a shred of hope to make it any further. I think we have been running on that last tank of gas (or grace) for a long time. Who knows if or when it will run out? I only know what I can do today to make a difference in my husband's life, my kid's lives, and my community's life. I only know that we have today to

Each day is a breath of air

it is a fresh breath or a

foul breath is our choice.

I've made my choices,

and I can truly live with them.

make it right. I don't like to put off until tomorrow if there is anything

cause a person to deteriorate in the joints, eyes, and ears over a long period of time. When Joshua was around five, he was finally diagnosed. He has the potential to go blind or deaf or both with his condition. On top of all the tragic issues he experiences with his body,

he could in the future be facing a

good that I can say or do today to make a difference in the lives of those around me. If you get a chance to look up Kniest dysplasia syndrome, please do so. It is a condition that can

situation as a wheelchair bound blind and/or deaf person. His condition could potentially be as a Helen Keller in a wheel chair. I have known this for over 10 years now, but when I found out, I wanted to die. I wanted to give up in so many ways. I did give up on my marriage for a season of my life, but my husband was gracious to ask for me back after all the heartache I put him through. I nearly suffered a nervous breakdown but never was hospitalized. I would look into the faces of my three precious children, grit my mental teeth, and push forward. Never look back is my motto. There's not a whole lot I want to remember, to be honest. What's done is my past reality. "What is" is my now. What is to be, I will deal with tomorrow. Who knows, my husband may tell me tomorrow he's found another woman to live with and love and spend the rest of his life with. Or man.... Anything can happen tomorrow. Anything can happen today. I'm ok. I love all my kids and would sacrifice my life for them. I love my grandson just as much. I love my husband, too, and would sacrifice my life for him. He will tell you I have made plenty of mistakes. He would tell you I am not worth living with at times and he would be telling the truth. But that is what makes the human experience so great. We all struggle; we all fail; we all give up on each other sometimes; we all give up on hope at some time or other. Let's face it, we're not God. We are not perfect. None of us are. So my answer is: I choose LIFE—whatever it throws my way, I embrace.





Amicus Curiae

By Michael Jezewak

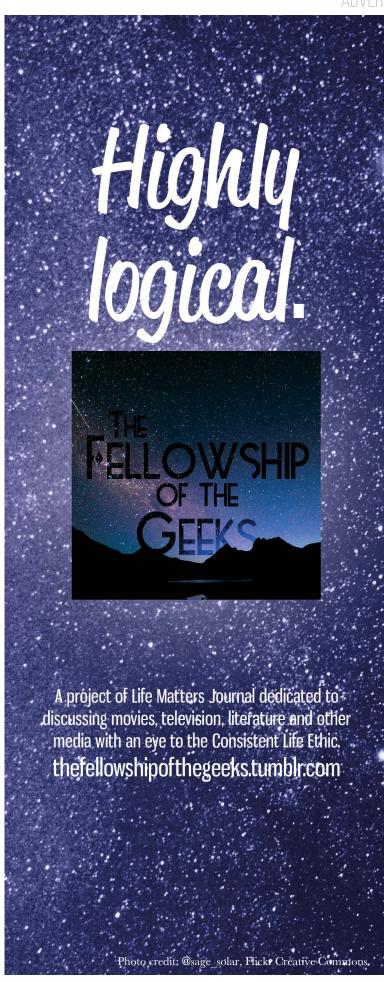
A Physician at a women's clinic in the daylight,
A Hit Man by night,
Tells clients other options exist
But sees money and accepts it.

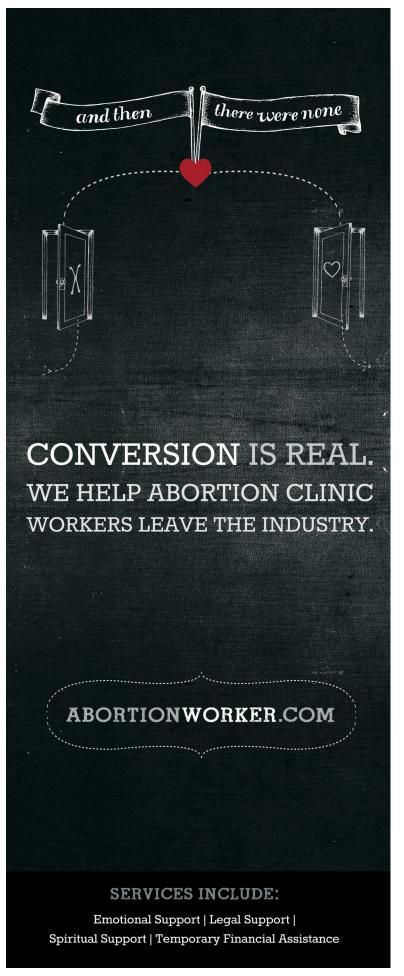
"A job's a job; it's not my choice to decide. Frightened? Unsure? Here you should hide. The price, we'll say, is only financial—

The value of life, only circumstantial.

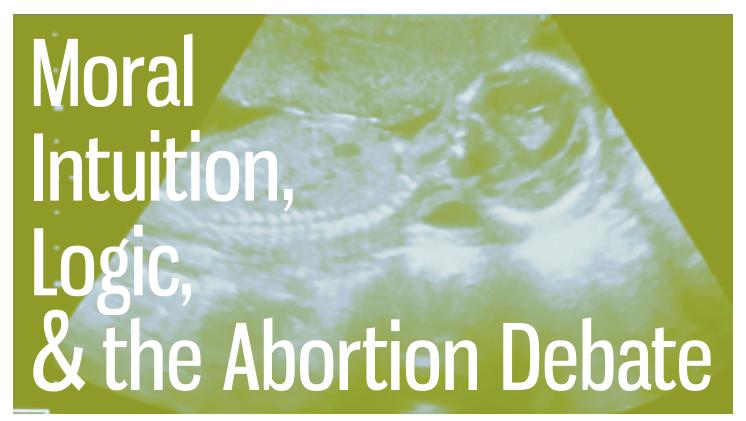
"Your situation is tough but there's a resolution, A magic bullet to the brain or a solvent solution. Unrestrained by the Other, your life starts anew." Rebirth—a job, a procedure, no need for the pew.

The Law says we're committing a crime,
But "Justice! Equality!" according to the Times.
"All done, Ms. Fantine, thanks for stopping by.
If you have any more jobs for me, I'll happily oblige."









I would like to thank Jake Earl, who created the "John" thought experiment. The probing questions of various people, but most definitively of Earl, helped me to better think things through.

By Acyutananda

oral principles must be based on pre-logical moral intuitions and laws should be based on those moral principles. (Of course, to say that "laws should be based on those moral principles" is not to say that every moral principle should automatically be enacted into law.)

Though everyone I have talked to agrees that moral principles must be based on pre-logical moral intuitions, I have heard an intelligent person or two contend that the correctness of such moral intuitions can still be logically proved or disproved—as if moral inquiries were a hard science like math. More importantly, many people who would not explicitly make this contention nevertheless present their arguments about moral issues as if this were the case. So while some philosopher probably demonstrated centuries ago the impossibility of logically proving the correctness of moral intuitions, the relationship of logic and intuition still deserves to be examined. And I think the insights gained in the process of examining it might change how we converse, including how we converse about abortion.

First of all, for moral principles to be based on moral intuitions really means that moral principles are the verbalized form of moral intuitions. Therefore, correct moral principles will follow from correct moral intuitions. And if the correctness of a moral intuition could be logically proved, then it would be possible to construct a correct moral principle through logic alone, with no recourse to intuition—since the process of constructing would be the same as the process of proving.

To say that it would be possible to construct a correct moral principle through logic alone but at the same time to agree that moral intuitions (of which moral principles are the verbalized forms) are pre-logical—as everyone seems to agree—would be contradictory. Nevertheless, as mentioned, some people do present their arguments about moral issues as if the correctness of a moral intuition could be logically proved (that is, as if it would be possible to construct a correct moral principle through logic alone). So let's continue to address that contention.

"The correctness of a moral intuition can be logically proved" and "a correct moral principle can be constructed through logic alone" seem to me like two different formulations of the same thing. But in case there's any doubt,

as I continue I'll address the former, which is the one I've actually heard.

Is there such a thing as a correct moral intuition, and if so, can its correctness be logically proved or disproved? Though I am arguing no to the second question, I will argue yes to the first.

Moral Intuitions and Moral Principles

As an example of a moral principle—a generalized moral principle, but basically a sound one, I feel—let's use "Thou shalt not kill." I would say that that principle did not come from God but rather is based on a pre-logical and pre-verbal human revulsion at most killing of the innocent. A pre-logical and pre-verbal sense of right or wrong is how I would define a moral intuition.

Psychology professor Paul Bloom, author of the recent book Just Babies: The Origins of Good and Evil, said in an interview that while some moral ideals "are the product of culture and society" and "not in the genes," "there also exist hardwired moral universals—moral principles that we all possess. And even those aspects of morality . . . that vary across cultures are ultimately grounded in these moral foundations."

Even if Bloom overestimates the role of the genes in the "hardwired" moral senses and underestimates the role of culture in those moral senses and also overestimates how universal those moral senses are across cultures, it would be safe to say that most of us do have senses of right or wrong that come out of our unconscious in ways we cannot understand. I am calling those senses moral intuitions.

I would say that the pre-logical and pre-verbal human revulsion at most killing of the innocent is an example of a correct moral intuition. I call it "correct" in that I think that deference to that intuition is necessary to the psychological health of human beings. I think that humans will sacrifice some of their psychological health (their conscience will trouble them, if you will, and they will carry around guilt, sometimes at a subconscious level) if they go against that intuition. I think that such psychological health could be measured, but let's call the idea of measuring it just my idea, for now.

If we can accept that we are born with at least the seeds of some moral intuitions in us, then clearly those seeds are in each of us before we begin thinking logically, just as the emotions of babies are. Moral intuitions and emotions develop in us before logic and continue to function in us pre-logically; science and logic develop in us later.

Moral intuitions and emotions are both forms of caring. Science and logic operate under certain rules, one of which, for both, is a commitment to dispassion. So science and logic can tell us, in their different ways, what is, but they cannot tell us the meaning of life or convince us to care about any-

thing. And since they cannot convince us to care or convince us that anything matters, they cannot tell us what should be. Only moral intuitions, which are a form of caring, can tell us what should be—can give us moral principles.

Logic cannot even prove to us that right or wrong exists, much less that any action is right or wrong. So of course it cannot prove that the moral intuition that told us how to act is right or wrong, correct or incorrect. Logical thought aimed at setting moral principles is impossible without basing it on something pre-logical.

Logic can be applied to intuitions, but as a dispassionate science, it can only demonstrate the correctness of any moral intuition, if at all, with reference to some already-existing moral intuition. Tracing back in this way, we will eventually come to some moral intuition that was not arrived at through logic. It came out of our unconscious in some way we cannot understand.

Finally, the medium of logic is either words or math, while an intuition is by definition something pre-logical (and pre-verbal and pre-mathematical). Since an intuition is not framed in words or math, words and math cannot completely describe it, much less prove it right or wrong. Logic may lead us close to the door of intuition—with luck very close—but in order to pass through and feel the intuition, feel that something matters, we have to leave logic behind. As mentioned, it is only the intuition that says, "Something matters," not the logic.

We should never say, "I believe in XYZ principle for ABC reasons," but rather, "I intuit that XYZ principle is correct, and A, B and C are likely the factors that brought me to that intuition."

The foregoing means that all of us involved on any side of the abortion issue, as with many issues, are out advocating or marching or voting for policies that mean life or death for others, without completely knowing why we are doing so. (This does not mean that we should fail to proceed as best we can, however.)

I recently came across a thought experiment created by Jake Earl that offers an analogy to pregnancy and abortion:

While on a hike one morning in the Appalachian wilderness, John hears the screams of a child coming from the nearby river. He sees the child is clinging to a rock in the middle of the river, and will surely die without his assistance, since nobody else is around to help and John does not have the means to call emergency services. John is a decent swimmer, so he will almost certainly survive the rescue attempt, but there are still risks: the polluted water threatens to worsen John's health in the near- and long-term, he will likely experience significant pain and discomfort in getting the child out of the river and getting him to safety, and the whole experience might be so traumatic as to send John into depression, and might

damage his overall quality of life. Also, even though John is a swimmer, the river is tricky, and he faces a fundamentally unknown risk to his life if he embarks on the mission.

Now, is it obvious that John is morally obligated to do everything in his power to keep the child alive? Perhaps he [is], but I think it is in no way obvious, precisely because common sense tells us that the duty to rescue others is mitigated by certain risk factors.

Now let's change Earl's word "morally" to "legally"—is it obvious that John is, or rather under ideal laws should be, legally obligated?

And now suppose there is a pro-lifer, PL. PL feels sincerely that a pregnant woman should be legally prevented from aborting, so long as the woman's risk of grave loss of well-being appears small. PL feels this deeply, but let's say that PL's logical powers are not strong.

A pro-choicer, PC, asks PL: Should John be legally obligated to do everything in his power to keep the child alive?

PL: Maybe not.

PC: Isn't requiring a pregnant woman to keep her child alive parallel to requiring John to keep the child alive?

PL: I guess so, I don't know.

PC: Then maybe a pregnant woman shouldn't be legally required to keep her child alive?

PL: No, I think she should.

PL's "I guess so" betrays logical inconsistency: at the same time that PL guesses—within the limits of his/her logical abilities—that two situations are morally parallel, s/he holds differing intuitions about the respective moral principles that should apply and be translated into law.

But that doesn't necessarily mean

that either intuition—the intuition about legal obligation in pregnancy or the intuition about legal obligation in the "John situation" that at least seems analogous to pregnancy—is incorrect. Let's assume they are both correct. If they are, PL's ineptness at debate wouldn't make either one incorrect.

PL may not be very smart, but then no human being's logical power is infinite. It's quite possible that there is some subtle disanalogy (failure of analogy) between the "John situation" and the pregnancy situation, such that PL's intuitions about both situations are correct; yet even if Judith Thomson, Don Marquis and Aristotle were all combined into one, they might not be able to figure out what that disanalogy between the "John situation" and the pregnancy situation is.

It might also be that PL's moral intuitions about many other situations are incorrect, yet his/her intuitions about the

"John situation" and about pregnancy are correct.

It might be that all the logical power of the human race (which is pretty puny in absolute terms, after all) may never be able to figure out what that disanalogy is (most likely, there is a combination of disanalogies working in different directions to shift the intuitive balance one way or another). That inability would not mean that PL's intuitions were incorrect. Indeed, PL's "John" intuition and pregnancy intuition are both correct.

If all the logical power of the human race cannot figure out what the disanalogy is, then there is only one way to arrive at both correct intuitions—the direct intuitive way, not requiring logic—and there is no foolproof way to convince anyone who holds incorrect intuitions that PL's intuitions are both correct, though in fact they are both correct.

I mentioned earlier, "Logic may lead us close to the door of intuition—with luck very close—but in order to pass through we have to leave logic behind." Trying with his/her logic to compare the situation of pregnancy (in which PL feels that a pregnant woman should normally be obliged to accept the

degree of risk necessary to "help" her unborn child), with the "John situation" above (in which PL feels that a hiker should not normally be obliged to take a risk to help a child), PL could not immediately find any morally relevant difference. The "John" analogy did not radically change PL's intuition about pregnancy, but it may have nudged PL in the direction of a different intuition.

If two people have differing intuitions about situation A, but one of them posits a somewhat

similar situation B and another somewhat similar situation C which elicit in him the same intuition he had about A, and the other person agrees with the first person's intuition about B and C, then the logic of the similarities/parallels may lead the second person close to the door of the same intuition on A as the first person. But that logic cannot take the second person through the door into a pre-logical realm. And if there is no situation very similar to A, then such comparison of situations may not even lead that second person very close to that particular door.

A corollary to the above would be: Everyone in the world might be logically convinced of the validity of an intuition—say PL's intuition, on which the principle "a pregnant woman should, in many cases, be legally prevented from aborting" is based—yet the intuition could nevertheless (due to the

finite nature of our logical power) be incorrect.

I think it would be true to say that you could arrive at a correct moral principle through intuition alone, without logic, but you could not arrive at a correct moral principle through logic that is not based on intuition. To take Judith Thomson's famous thought experiment as an example, what causes most people to say that the kidnapped person is not obliged to lend their body for the use of a severely ill violinist? It is not logic, but simply a direct moral intuition about that particular situation. We do not need to be told another story, a story about a trombone player, in order to have the intuition that we have about the violinist. This shows the primacy, in moral investigations, of direct intuition about a specific situation. We do not need to be told a story about a violinist in order to have a basic intuition about pregnancy.

Logic and analogies do seem to resonate somehow in our unconscious minds whence intuitions come, but by definition we do not experience what the unconscious is thinking. As PL's example showed us, the unconscious may disagree with the best of a person's conscious logic. It could even be that the unconscious is employing a superior logical power, but we don't know.

In "De Facto Guardian and Abortion," Steve Wagner, Timothy Brahm and the other authors find their pre-logical moral intuitions that someone should be legally obligated to feed a hungry child that is dependent on them to survive. They then proceed, in a section called "Making Sense of Our Intuitions," to cogitate logically about the morally relevant factors and to develop the category of "de facto guardian" to characterize someone with this relationship with a hungry child.¹

While I agree with them on most details and am grateful for what they have done, I would like to explore the rationale for this section: If there were no plausible logical way to "make sense of their intuitions," would that mean that the intuitions were wrong? If there were a way, but no logical power on earth could find that way, would that mean that the intuitions were wrong? If there were a way, but these particular individuals could not find the way, should they moderate the degree of their conviction about the matter? And is there ever really any need for intuition—could these authors, for instance, have come to the same moral principles through logic alone?

The opinion on this that I expressed above is "you could arrive at a correct moral principle through intuition alone, without logic, but you could not arrive at a correct moral principle through logic that is not based on intuition." Logic can nudge me toward a certain moral intuition, correct or incorrect, but that moral intuition I have found is pre-logical and pre-verbal. It cannot be said that I have simply come to a logical conclusion.

The Practical Implications

Now let us see whether all my academic moral philosophy has any practical importance, particularly for the abortion debate. The origins of correct moral principles, or (if the idea of moral absolutes is not accepted) at least valuable moral principles, and the role of logic in the development of such principles, are certainly at the foundation of moral philosophy. But apart from academic moral philosophy, do the views I have stated, even if they are correct, matter?

Moral principles certainly have practical implications—in the case of the abortion issue, such principles, as translated into law or even simply as influential social norms, determine every day whether unborn babies will live and whether their mothers will have to accept unwished-for changes in their lives. So moral principles have practical implications, and I think that my views above have some practical implications as well that will help us determine the best moral principles.

Some of the practical implications are as follows:

1. It is well-known that people tailor their logic to their intuitions to a large extent, and I think that much of this occurs unconsciously. If people begin to think that intuitions are not always disrespectable and logic (on moral issues) is not always sacred, they will become more motivated to look within at their intuitions and to try to grasp what those intuitions are and how those intuitions interact with their more conscious mental processes. The workings of their minds will become clearer to them; they will be following the adage "Know thyself."

We are all out advocating policies that mean life or death for others, without completely knowing why we are doing so. I don't think it is possible to know completely, but it is possible to know better and knowing may catalyze change in





the right direction.

- 2. If we become aware that our exploration of thought experiments and the like is an exercise in experimenting with logic to help us find a moral intuition already existing in our unconscious—rather than an exercise in deriving a moral intuition or moral principle through logic itself—this also will motivate us to look within at our intuitions. That is, we will assign a higher priority than before to the kind of contemplative approach that can move us most directly toward the deep-seated intuition.
- 3. If the representatives of both sides on any issue—say a pro-lifer and a pro-choicer on the abortion issue—can agree that the debate is really a matter of one intuition versus another, I think that this will work in two ways. On the one hand, each of the two will admit to himself that his intuition comes out of his unconscious in ways he cannot understand, and this should produce greater humility about those intuitions—not a direct weakening of the two people's intuitions in the intuition area of their brains/minds, but rather greater humility in the pride/humility area of their brains/minds. This will reduce the ego clutter and make changes of intuition easier. Yet on the other hand, the debaters will develop greater trust in their intuitions relative to their logic, recognizing that, for better or worse, there cannot be any moral truth unsupported by intuition.
- 4. I think that people's egos are more wrapped up with their logical powers than with their intuitions. If people come to realize that that which involves their egos—logic—will not ultimately prove anything or bring a discussion about a moral issue to any final conclusion, then each party in a debate might become emotionally less defensive about their logical powers, leading them to relax their egos. This also would very much reduce the clutter in their thinking processes.
- 5. I referred above to looking "within at their intuitions." I would like to see a discussion between the parties on both sides of any issue—say between a pro-choicer and a pro-lifer—that begins with each party examining their own intu-

itions and related feelings (feelings being not exactly the same as intuitions). How does the thought of an unborn child dying in an abortion make me feel? Do I feel the pain in my body? If not, where does that feeling come from? Is it necessarily valid? How do I know it's valid?

Then each party would try to describe those intuitions and physical-emotional feelings to the other party. A pro-lifer might say: "It pains me here [pointing probably to the chest region] to think of my innocent little unborn sister or brother, just beginning their life, being ripped apart." A pro-choicer might say on the other hand: "It pains me here [also pointing to somewhere in the chest region] to think of my pregnant sister, already under such a burden, being told what she can or cannot do within her body." (In this scenario, they are using "sisters" and "brothers" in a spiritual or humanistic sense.)

("Appeals to emotion" have a bad name. Appeals to emotion can be manipulative, but I think that an expression of one's genuine emotion is likely to better represent one's moral intuition than an attempt to represent it logically.)

Then the two proceed to discuss the violinist, the Cabin in the Blizzard, the "John" thought experiment, and so on, at each point reporting "This makes me feel such-and-such deep inside." If the two wish, they can logically examine the relative extents of all the analogies and disanalogies of the thought experiments as well.

At the end, each will again examine and report their direct intuition about pregnancy itself—not about any analogy with pregnancy, but about pregnancy itself. Perhaps their intuition will have changed, or will be on a slow road toward change.

Through a better understanding of the roles of intuition and logic in moral investigations, I think that those participating in any discussion will be able more quickly to identify the differences in intuition that separate them and think also that each person will better realize that she cannot fully explain the origins of her own intuitions, even to herself.

The Evolution of Moral Intuitions

In the build-up to the abolition of slavery in the United States, many people intuited that slavery was wrong; but the fact that slavery was ultimately abolished doesn't mean that it was ever proved logically to be wrong. The abolitionist intuition was not proven; it prevailed. There is now a consensus, which I agree with, that slavery is wrong—that what prevailed, in other words, was the correct intuition—but even today, if someone were to advance a logical argument saying that slavery is right, that argument could not be conclusively defeated on its own terms. What our moral intuitions regarding slavery have undergone has been a process of evolution, and our moral intuitions regarding abortion will undergo the same. The question of the morality of slavery is ultimately intractable to a logical approach and so are questions of the morality of abortion and of abortion law.

Though I don't know if he would agree with me about the limited role of logic, I will quote Paul Bloom again: "Good moral ideas can spread through the world in much the same way that good scientific ideas can, and once they are established, people marvel that they could ever have thought differently."

Sam Harris' The Moral Landscape presents an argument—

which I am open to, with a few exceptions—that the neuroscience of the future could measure the well-being of a population, and see how that well-being responds to variations in the moral principles of the population, accurately enough to determine scientifically which moral principles are best. This all presupposes a consequentialist definition of "best," which I'm open to. In any case, the reality of this approach lies too far in the future to be useful to us now. For now we can only try to find our best moral intuitions.

Someone on the pro-choice side will likely say that my arguments, coming as they do from a pro-lifer, confess to a weakness of logic on the pro-life side. Fine. Such an assertion would not diminish the power of any good logic or good intuitions on any side.

Acyutananda has a pro-life blog at http://www.NoTerminationWithoutRepresentation.org/ .

1.Stephen Wagner, for the Justice for All Philosophy Team, "De Facto Guardian and Abortion," Life Report, accessed April 13, 2015, HYPERLINK "http://www.jfaweb.org/Training/DeFactoGuardian-v03.pdf"



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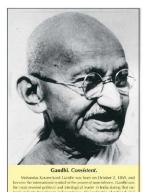
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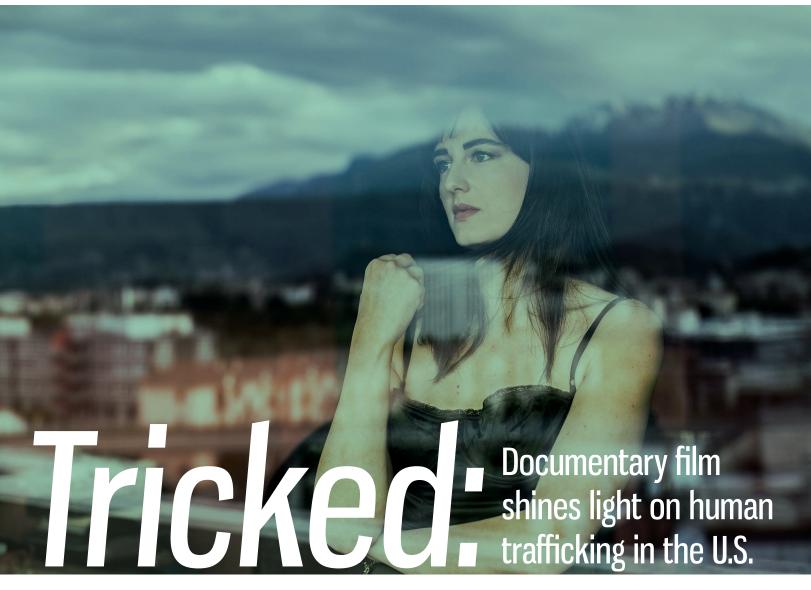
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http://www.consistent-life.org/join.html





By Kristen Hatten

"I just knew that sex got me attention and attention got me something that I thought was close to love."

These are the words of Danielle, a victim of human trafficking who began having sex for money at age seventeen. She tells her story in the documentary film *Tricked*, currently available to view on Netflix. *Tricked* is an eye-opening look inside human trafficking in the United States, and how public perception of prostitution is not grounded in reality.

Danielle's story is gut-wrenching, but typical. Recently accepted to Northeastern University, the teenage Danielle thought she was dating a nice young man. He turned out to be a trafficker of young women. This is called "boyfriending in": when a pimp courts a young woman as though he

is a potential lover, then gradually convinces, manipulates, coerces, intimidates, or threatens her into earning him money as a prostitute.

Danielle started at an advanced age; most of the women her pimp was "running" began turning tricks at around age twelve, or younger.

"I started when I was eleven," claimed another girl, who did not want her face shown. "I used to make like \$1,500 a night because I was young and I rocked the real petite body..."

"My pimp took my virginity and I fell in love with him," she continued. "He was my first love. He was my everything. I called him 'Daddy Daycare' because [he] had like nothing but minors in there."

Many viewers who begin watching *Tricked* will quickly realize they, too, have been tricked. A pragmatic view of prostitution is common, thanks to the myth that women choose the profession willingly to earn money and quit whenever they want. This is sadly not the case.

In April of 2011, a Washington Times article analyzed a

newly released Justice Department report finding that 80 percent of human trafficking cases investigated by law enforcement between 2008 and 2010 involved prostitution.

"Any commercial sex act performed by a person under age 18 is considered human trafficking, regardless of whether force, fraud or coercion is involved," explained the Times. 1 Just as any sex act with a minor is a form of rape because they cannot legally consent, a minor working as a prostitute is by definition a victim of human trafficking.

Ninety-four percent of trafficking victims are female. Eighty percent of suspects are male. And while blacks make up only about 12 percent of the U.S. population, they make up 40 percent of human trafficking victims. Also, 40 percent of human trafficking victims are children.

Journalist Nicholas Kristof explains the nature of a pimpprostitute relationship in *Tricked*:

There is no business partnership. The pimps exploit these girls and control them and use violence in every city around the country....I think we sometimes have a kind of gilded view about what prostitution involves. One study found that workplace murder risk is 51 times greater [for prostitutes] than for the next most dangerous profession which is operating a liquor store. It's hard to square that picture with this notion of prostitution as female empowerment.

The only potential benefit of having sex for money—the money itself—goes directly to the pimp.

"The girl keeps nothing," said Cindy, a former trafficking victim. "Absolutely zero." Cindy was considered a "high-class escort," working in Las Vegas for large sums of money.

"It's a lot safer to sell women than to sell drugs," explained one trafficker.

Danielle agrees. "My pimp was never arrested. The johns are never arrested. I was arrested too many times to count.... Nobody said to me, 'Do you need to talk? Do you want to be put in a program?'...And then my pimp would come pick me up and I would be working again within a few hours."

"I don't worry about it," said one john, a man named Hugh who proudly displays his PhD diploma on his office wall. "It's evolution. It goes all the way back. It's very, very common. So if you ask me why do I pay for sex, it's because I'm being human."

"The advantage of paying for sex," adds Hugh, "is I don't have to worry about being charming."

Though it's difficult to come to a john's defense, it's true that part of the prostitute's sales pitch is making their customers believe they enjoy their "work."

"Honestly the johns believe everything you say," said Danielle. "They believe you're having a good time. They believe

that you love what you do, that you love having sex for money, that I was a college student just trying to work through school or get some extra cash...that you're just having a great time and really you're, like, in hell."

"They believe that you love what you do...and really you're, like, in hell."

"They don't look unhappy at all," said Marc, another john, who hid his face from the camera to avoid his wife recognizing him.

Unfortunately the trafficking of minors is not on the wane but growing continuously. One vice detective says, "When I first got to vice, it was few and far between that you would run across a teenage girl...and now it seems like it's all the time."

The filmmakers go on to explore law enforcement's role in fighting the exploitation of women and minors in the human trafficking capitol of the U.S., Las Vegas. One undercover vice cop at the Las Vegas Police Department told the story of a pregnant teenage prostitute whose pimp "made her douche with bleach. It was very painful and when that didn't work he beat her which caused the miscarriage....She had to undergo a full hysterectomy." The girl was about sixteen at the time.

Robert Money, a pimp, explained why pregnancy was a problem for men in his profession. "Who want to buy [sex from a prostitute] and the belly stickin' out like this?...It has to be in selling condition, selling order, you know?...You have to make sure the commodity is sellable."

"I got every major credit card," continued Money, producing a stack of cards and a bag of jewelry. "And I got a lot of problems, but money is not one of them."

"Sometimes if I didn't make the right amount of money I'd get beat with, like, extensions cords, bats, hammers," said the young woman who began prostituting at age eleven. "He used to threaten me about my family like he'll go kill them, he'll kill me if I go back, he'll blow my house up."

Threats against family are par for the course for human traffickers. These threats, plus the intense shame felt by victims once they begin having sex for money, plays a large role in keeping trafficked women and girls from fleeing their captors and returning home.

Brooke, like many teenage trafficking victims, met her pimp on Mocospace.com. She agreed to meet him in Las Vegas, imagining a whirlwind getaway with a new boyfriend. "The third morning, that's when s**t got real," she said. "He started talking to me like I wasn't a person."

Her captor forced Brooke to call her family and say she was safe and having a good time. "I really, really, really didn't want to get hit. That's all I was trying to do was not get hit."

"I felt so ashamed because I knew on that third day what he was trying to make me do," said Brooke. "'You're gonna be a whore, you're gonna be my ho...and you don't have any [expletive] say in it because I've already got you here.'"

"I just wanted my daddy."

Eventually Brooke was able to leave her trafficker and return home to her father. Many young women are not so lucky.

Las Vegas Vice Detective Chris Baughman cautions parents against allowing their children unrestricted access to the Internet. "The days of the daughter...being a runaway, being a drug addict, being a neglected child, we're past that. They're going after people's daughters from every walk of life." In other words: most young women being trafficked today, especially in Vegas, were trafficked before they ever hit the street, thanks to the Internet. "You needed a key to get out," recalled Cindy, the former "high-class" escort, of her captivity. "He took all our phones."

Most young women being trafficked today...were trafficked before they ever hit the street, thanks to the Internet.

"These traffickers," Baughman adds, "wherever there is a link, wherever there is a way for them, get in and meet your child, they're doing it."

According to the film, many factors contribute to the growing problem of human trafficking in this country, from former victims too scared to speak out to an increase in Internet access for younger children. One vice cop said, "We're arresting the wrong people, quite frankly," pointing to an unfortunate emphasis on criminalizing the victim rather than focusing on pimps and johns.

Fortunately, films like *Tricked* are part of the solution. Its presence on Netflix is helping make a largely clueless public aware that behind the facade of "the world's oldest profession" we do not find much of the stereotype: hard-bitten,

pragmatic, tough-minded working girls plying a distasteful trade so they can reap the financial benefits. Instead, we find victims. We find, in large part, female minors and minorities who have been tricked, beaten, intimidated, manipulated, and forced into selling their bodies not for money—that goes to their traffickers—but for a few more hours of respite from harm.

Danielle, though she was raped, sliced open with a knife, and beaten repeatedly, is one of the lucky ones who was able to escape her trafficker and move forward. Jamie, Danielle's mother, articulates her rage and horror at her daughter's abuser: "There's no difference in my mind between somebody who murders and somebody who kills someone's soul. And that's what he did. He stole that from a child."

The indelible scars on her psyche are apparent as Danielle tells the horrific stories of her days as a victim of human trafficking. "I feel sad for that person," she says, "but that person is me."

1. Chuck Neubauer, "Most Human Trafficking Related to Prostitution: Forced Labor Makes Up Remainder, Report Says," Washington Times, April 28, 2011, http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2011/apr/28/most-human-trafficking-related-to-prostitution/.

This review originally appeared on Live Action News (http://liveactionnews.org/tricked-documentary-film-shines-light-human-trafficking-u-s/).





Mercy as the Highest Form of Patriotism: Thoughts on the Tsarnaev sentence

By Ismail Smith-Wade-El

rystle Marie Campbell, Lu Lingzi, and Martin William Richard, an 8-year-old boy, were killed by Tamerlan Tsarnaev, and his younger brother, Dzhokhar, just over two years ago. Three days later, the brothers killed Sean Collier, an MIT police officer. They injured 280 others between those injured in the bombings and the police officers who hunted them down.

Now, two years later, Dzhokhar Tsarnaev has been convicted on all 30 counts levied against him, 17 of which are punishable by death. On May 15, 2015, the same jury that convicted him recommended that he be sentenced to death for six of those counts. His formal sentencing will take place at 9:30 am on June 24, 2015.

The arguments to kill the younger Tsarnaev could not be plainer; he engaged in terrorism against the United States, he killed innocent people in cold blood, and it seems that he is unrepentant. With no conceivable possibility of freedom or reform for Dzhokhar, it seems that the most expedient thing to do would be to take his life. Moreover, grave crimes have been committed and he must be held accountable for the blood he spilled.

Knowing all of these things, I reject the notion that killing him is the right thing to do.

My argument therein cannot be reduced to doubt; Tsarnaev's guilt is clear. It should not be attributed to faith, though the Catholic Church's opposition to the death penalty is absolute and unshy.

My argument does not overlap with that of Bill and Denise Richard, whose son was killed and whose daughter lost a leg. Their claim, echoed by the Boston Bar Association, is that the appeals process associated with the death penalty may draw out his punishment over years and force him back into the public eye is likely accurate. More compelling still is their desire that their other children not grow up amidst the media circus of those appeals.

I do not concern myself here with whether his execution

will make him a martyr among extremists or whether it will dissuade other would-be terrorists. I do not concern myself with whether his execution is satisfying to a constituency or whether Americans favor the penalty (they do). Something so grave ought be more responsible to morality than public opinion.

It comes, ultimately, to this: Does he deserve to die? Probably. Does anyone possess the moral authority to kill him? No. Jessica Kensky and Patrick Downes, newlyweds maimed in the bombing, admit in a public statement to The Boston

Something so grave ought be more responsible to morality than public opinion.

Globe that "in [their] darkest moments and deepest sadness, [they] think of inflicting the same types of harm on him." However, they continue, "We must overcome the impulse for vengeance."

Vengeance is exactly that: an act of darkness, sadness, and rage. There is no nobility in it; it produces nothing, brings back no one, and whether it provides closure is in serious doubt. This is not about his soul, but ours.

It is not about killing a single murderer, however unapologetic. It is about whether we want our government to continue a practice whose morality is more Babylonian than modern. The death penalty provides no opportunity for reform, obviously, and has never been demonstrated to deter crime. It is nothing more than very expensive revenge.

Everywhere, the death penalty is retreating, as an ever-growing number of nations reject the death penalty in law or in practice. According to Amnesty International, those nations number 140. Excluding China, which is believed to carry out more executions than the rest of the world combined, and does so in secret, 607 people were known to have been executed worldwide in 2014, down from 778 in 2013.

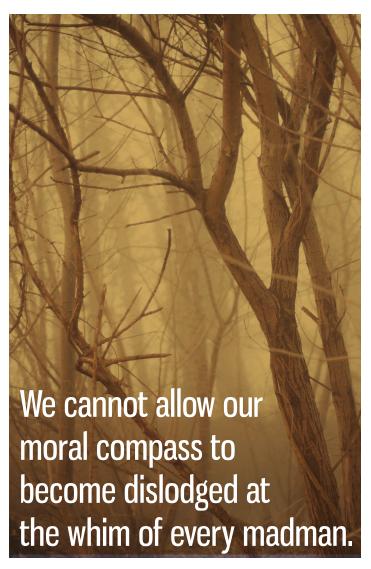
That more than two-thirds of the world's nations reject civilian executions signals increasing recognition that state-sanctioned peacetime killing is a barbarous act.

I will not waste your time with platitudes about eyes for eyes and blindness. Instead, I will ask you to recognize that we cannot return savagery for savagery. I will ask you to envision a world in which taking the life of another human being is unimaginable. We do not yet live in that world, but governments should form the vanguard of responsible citizenship. We entrust them to lead, and to what end if not peace and humanity? If we are to achieve a world without

murder, who better to lead us there than those entrusted with our collective will and power? When the government engages in cold-blood killing, this is a submission to our basest instincts, indistinguishable from mob rule. Government should be a forum for aspiration where each of us comes together for the good of all of us.

During the Cold War, it became fashionable to refer to America "leading the free world." But American exceptionalism is at odds with the death penalty. We cannot lead in a meaningful sense unless we renounce vengeance as a tool and as a mindset. If the American ethos is about striving to be better, about ingenuity, why do we still resort to medieval violence and call it justice?

Dzhokhar Tsarnaev committed terrible crimes, and he should be punished, locked away for the rest of his life with no hope of freedom, but not killed. We cannot allow our moral compass to become dislodged at the whim of every madman. They don't deserve to hold that kind of power. The survivors of their madness deserve better than that.





In Memoriam: Rose Evans (1928-2015)



Rose Evans, an advocate for the consistent ethic of life and contributor to Life Matters Journal, passed away on April 13 at the age of 87. She was part of the organization Consistent Life for most of its history, participating in the organization as it evolved from Pro-Lifers for Survival, an anti-nuclear pro-life group, into its current form as a group working to promote a broad spectrum of life issues united by the consistent ethic of life. Rose served at different times as president and secretary of Consistent Life and published the magazine Harmony, a publication similar to Life Matters Journal.

A teacher for people with developmental disabilities, Rose helped to create housing for developmentally disabled adults and co-founded the Susan Snyder Center, a program for such adults "which emphasized respect and empowerment." In addition to her work for Harmony and later Life Matters Journal, Rose wrote a children's book, Friends of All Creatures, on animal rights advocacy from the time of Buddha to the present day.

An Episcopalian, Rose cited Jesus' statement that "Whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me" (Matthew 25: 40, New International Version) as a guiding principle. As she said, "Put it any way you want—all people are of value. We must come together and work to protect life."

Of those who worked to uphold a consistent ethic of life, Rose commented, "I think this movement is the hope of our country and hope for the world—where all of us, from all political sides, will become good servants of peace, justice and life."

Written by John Whitehead

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