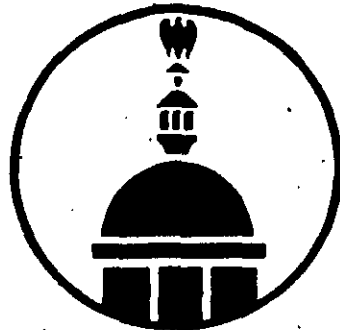


ABORTION

CONCORD



MONITOR

Concord, New Hampshire

176th Year, No. 168

36 Pages — 30¢

Thursday, July 21, 1983

Single, Poor, Worried, She'll Still Have Baby

By JEAN HEILPRIN
and DAVID OLINGER
Monitor Staff Writers

In six months, Debbie will give birth to her first child. Keeping the baby was not an easy decision, and her choice is getting no easier.

She is 28 years old, unmarried and unemployed. The father of her child is also unemployed, and she has not seen him in weeks. Her apartment has been rented to someone else, and she doesn't know where she will be living next month.

In similar circumstances, many women would have chosen to have an abortion. Her sister, who is unmarried and has a little boy, advised her to do that. "If you had money and you were married and set-

led," her sister said, "then I'd say have the child."

Her mother and her boyfriend told her not to have an abortion. "I don't want to even hear you say that word," her boyfriend said. "You're not going to kill my kid."

Debbie almost took her sister's advice. She went to the New Hampshire Feminist Health Center and talked with a counselor for an hour. Everything she said seemed to point to an abortion, and the counselor agreed that she seemed like a good candidate. She scheduled the day: Friday, June 10.

"But after I left there," she said, "I thought, how can I do this? It might be a fetus, but it's living inside me."

She thought about the time she worked at a day-care center, and how much she loved the children. She

remembered how much it bothered her to put puppies to sleep when she worked for the Humane Society. She knows she couldn't shoot a wild animal. How could she put her baby to sleep?

She canceled the appointment, and on June 9 visited the Birthright office in Concord. Ann Rodgers, the president of the Concord chapter, showed Debbie a pamphlet with photographs of tiny fetuses. She saw that the 2-month-old fetus had a head, and arms and legs, and little fingers and toes.

"The pamphlets were really — that got me right there," she said. "I feel that once there's a conception, then that's a life. That's how I feel. There's a life."

Choosing to bring that life into the world has not made her pregnancy happier. She worries about her

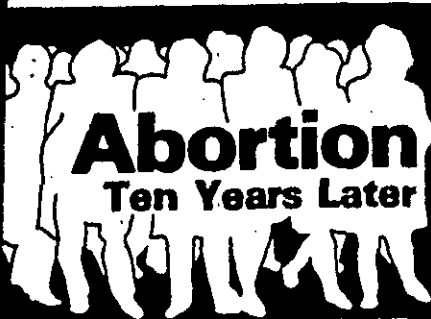
poverty, about being homeless, about what people will say when her pregnancy grows obvious.

Asked what she liked best about being pregnant, she replied: "Right now, I can't see anything good about it. It's not like I'm a 16-year-old girl, but I am alone out there."

She glanced around the Birthright office. "This is my only friend, really," she said.

The sign in the window says "Birthright — A Positive Choice." Visitors descend five concrete steps, past peeling gray paint, into the one-room basement office of a private agency that has given itself the task of assisting needy, anxious, pregnant women from 30

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Fourth Of Five Parts

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towns in central New Hampshire.

Well-to-do women rarely come to Birthright. The average client is about 19. She is unmarried. She may have a steady relationship with a boyfriend but, particularly among younger teens, the boyfriend may feel no responsibility to her or her child.

"A really typical thing is no job, no food, no place to live," Rodgers said. "She's staying on somebody's floor for a couple of nights, but she has to leave. It's really overwhelming when people hit you with this stuff."

Those who are married may be just as destitute. One couple showed up at the Birthright office when the woman was five months pregnant and hungry. Her husband had a minimum-wage job that gave them medical insurance, but they were living in a tent and had nothing left to eat but a sack of potatoes. Their baby was born small and needed extended hospital care.

The Concord office of Birthright, one of three in New Hampshire, depends mainly on the work of a half dozen volunteers. Rodgers works as a reporter at the Monitor. Trudy Wheeler is a social worker who took time off to raise a family. Audrey Dwyer, a widow in her 60s, is getting a degree in human services at the New Hampshire Technical Institute.

The office charges nothing for its services; it functions on a shoestring budget from donations. A makeshift rack of maternity clothes, a table and pictures of Birthright clients' newborn babies line one wall. Baby clothes are kept in one large chest of drawers, pregnancy test kits in a small refrigerator. Cribs are stored in the basement area behind the office.

Volunteers keep the office open six hours a week. They also give pregnancy tests, raise money, make baby clothes, drive women to doctors' offices, round up clothes and cribs, talk with lonely mothers and plug clients into the social services network for food, fuel assistance, legal assistance, alcohol counseling, lessons on becoming parents, advice on adoption. They never refer a client to an abortion clinic.

New Hampshire's governors and legislators have not blazed a comfortable trail for the 19-year-old who decides to keep her baby. New Hampshire is one of the few states that refuse medical assistance before childbirth to women who are poor, single and pregnant. State welfare assistance is also ruled out until childbirth. Married couples do not qualify for Medicaid no matter how poor they are.

If the woman remains alone and unemployed after the baby is born, she faces continued poverty. The maximum state welfare payment for a single woman with a child remains well below the cost of a typical apartment. Three weeks ago, the Legislature raised that payment for the first time in four years — from \$292 to \$305 a month.

In Concord, a pregnant woman faces a \$500 medical bill for a normal childbirth at

the Birthing Center or \$700 to \$1,350 at Concord Hospital, plus \$700 to \$900 for an obstetrician. To be reimbursed by Medicaid for seeing pregnant women, New Hampshire obstetricians must be willing to hold the bill for all prenatal services until the final month before childbirth. The doctor who agrees to do so also accepts the risk that the woman may disqualify herself for state assistance by getting married.

"Some doctors have to have an almost absolute guarantee that you are going to go on welfare," Wheeler said. "Lots of them have gotten stung."

"The problem is, if a woman is pregnant and planning to get married, where's she going to get prenatal care? Suppose her boyfriend's making just over minimum wage, they don't have medical insurance — what do they do?"

Three years ago, the only physician near Concord who regularly took destitute pregnant women was Dr. John Argue, a general practitioner in Pittsfield. Gynecologists at Concord Hospital now maintain a rotating list of doctors willing to serve women from the Concord area who are unable to pay for obstetrical services. However, the Birthright office continues to get calls from pregnant women in the Laconia area who cannot get a doctor.

Birthright regards childbirth and adoption, but not abortion, as positive choices. The organization, started in Canada 15 years ago, was founded on the motto, "It is the right of every pregnant woman to give birth and the right of every child to be born."

"We tell them that we don't provide abortions," Rodgers said. "We believe here that human life begins at conception."

"If I found out tomorrow morning I was pregnant, I would want to have an abortion — it's a very understandable feeling. But I wouldn't."

People who called Birthright when the office was closed used to hear a telephone message that urged them to "think carefully before taking the life of your baby." The recorded voice told them that by the time a woman knew she was pregnant, her baby's heart was already beating, that brain activity could be detected in a fetus six weeks old, that a fetus 12 weeks old is already moving but too small to feel.

Workers at the New Hampshire Feminist Health Center, a regular target of right-to-life picketers, responded to the Birthright message by picketing its office. They carried signs declaring, "Women are not baby factories," and, "A woman's life is a human life."

The appearance of picketers angered Birthright members, who are prohibited by their organization's charter from lobbying on the issue of abortion. "We're not a covert right-to-life group," Wheeler said. "Women have come to us, talked to us and left to have abortions."

The Birthright office keeps a supply of illustrated pamphlets entitled "When You Were Formed In Secret" and "The First Days of Human Life" which proclaim the

wonders of childbirth and the horrors of abortion. But its telephone message no longer speaks of the heartbeat in a 3-week-old fetus.

The old message, which came from the national office, has been discarded in favor of a gentler offer of assistance.

"Perhaps you are wondering how to tell if you are pregnant, how you can afford a doctor or midwife, or how you will break the news to the people you care about. Perhaps you would like to know how adoption works or learn how to become a responsible parent," Rodgers' voice tells the caller. "Birthright is here to help you."

Debbie lost her job about a month ago. Being pregnant was making her ill, and her supervisor got tired of hearing Debbie call in sick. She was told to quit or be fired, and she quit. Except for parttime work that pays her about \$100 a month, she has no income now.

Her immediate worry is finding a place to live. Her landlords were unhappy to see Debbie's boyfriend staying in their one-tenant apartment, and they rented it to another tenant who will be moving in next month.

Birthright has been introducing her to the social services network. The Concord welfare office has offered to help with the rent if she can find a place to live. She has qualified for food stamps. The Women Infants and Children program, a nutrition program at the state Division of Public Health Services, is supplying her with eggs, milk and cheese.

The food has little appeal to her. She has gained 15 pounds and worries about looking fat. Soon her belly will grow round, and people who see her will know she is alone and pregnant. "That bothers me a lot," she said.

She said she still loves the father of her baby, but she doubts their relationship will last. She is considering whether to give the baby away for adoption. If she has an adoption, she would want the baby taken away while she was unconscious, so she would never see it.

"In my situation, I don't see how a person can keep a child," she said. "A couple should have a baby, not one person."

"I think the only thing that gets me by each day is that I'm bringing a live person into this world. I gave it a chance. That's the only thing that's keeping me up. Being alone like this, it's a nightmare sometimes. I wake up at night and think, am I really pregnant?"

"It's just not knowing where I'm going to be that frightens me. Where am I going, you know? What's going to happen to me?"

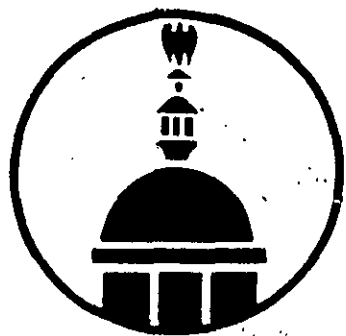
Postscript: Birthright found Debbie a place to live for the month of August. She is considering whether to enter a home for unwed mothers in another state.

TOMORROW: Deciding on abortion: One couple's story.

ABORTION

that a new agency is in charge. They also believe dust-

CONCORD MONITOR



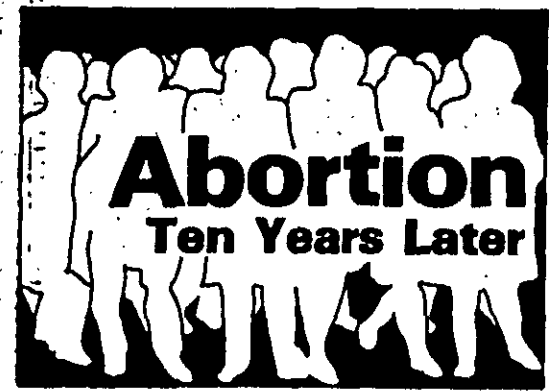
Concord, New Hampshire 176th Year, No. 165

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Then And Now: A Woman's Story Of Abortion



First In A Series

By JEAN HEILPRIN and DAVID OLINGER
Monitor Staff Writers

She sat in a crowded train station in Philadelphia, 400 miles from school, awaiting a stranger who would recognize her as the one wearing a blue coat with a white flower in the lapel. Her boyfriend, who had arranged everything, waited beside her.

She had lied to her parents to get permission for a weekend away from the dormitory. They thought she was visiting her boyfriend's parents. How could she tell them she was pregnant?

The man walked up while she was looking at the floor. Today, she cannot recall his face, only his black shiny shoes and black overcoat. He called her by name and said, "Come with me." Her boyfriend had to stay behind.

It has been 10 years since the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. Two Monitor reporters have spent the last several weeks looking into what the decision has meant to people in New Hampshire. This is the first of five stories about the people who perform abortions, the people who oppose them and the women who have them.

The stranger led her out of the station. When they reached his car, she took \$500 out of her boot and gave it to him. She sat alone in the car, hidden by the night, while he returned to the station. He reappeared with another woman and collected another \$500. After collecting five passengers and \$2,500, he drove her and the other young women to a house

they would never see again.

She remembers it well. On a December night in 1964, she paid \$500 for the most painful experience of her life.

The woman is in her late 30s now. She lives in Concord and works as a counselor. In a recent interview, she described the differences between one illegal and one legal abortion.

The legal abortion was performed six years ago, in midday, at the New Hampshire Feminist Health Center in Concord. She arranged it herself with a phone call.

The woman asked not to be identified in this story. She has not told her parents or her son about either abortion.

□□□

She became pregnant sometime before Christmas vacation in her senior year. The father

was a boy she had been dating for six months.

She did not consider motherhood. It was 1964. The Beatles were singing *I Want to Hold Your Hand*. Sex was something you didn't discuss publicly, and birth control devices were unavailable to single women. At her college, pregnant students had to drop out. One of her friends had been expelled for spending one night outside the dormitory.

She was going to college in her home town, a small college in upstate New York with two sets of rules, one for females and one for males. As freshmen, women were locked into the dormitory at 8 p.m., and monitors came by to make sure they were studying in their rooms.

"Abortion" was not listed in any city's yellow pages then. It was a word whispered among clo-

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friends, a phone number passed between fraternity brothers, not a subject to be broached casually. Abortion was a crime.

At the time, she thought little of the danger involved. She did not contemplate when a fetus becomes a human being. She knew only that she wanted desperately not to be pregnant.

"I remember feeling very much like it wasn't anything. It wasn't a baby. There was no joy in being pregnant, there was nothing ambivalent about it. It was just — I had this problem, I had to get rid of this problem."

Her roommate had gone for an abortion, and it sounded easy enough. The doctor had used general anesthesia and removed the fetus while her roommate slept.

The first problem was finding a doctor. Her boyfriend took that responsibility. He tried Canada first. One weekend he and a friend drove to Montreal in a snowstorm and tramped around the city, getting doors banged in their faces.

Next he turned to fraternity brothers who had procured illegal abortions for their girlfriends. One gave him a phone number in Philadelphia.

"Arrangements were made over the phone. We were to show up on a certain evening in a certain train station wearing certain clothing.

"That was how things were done: If you know somebody that'll do it, you don't question their competence or their credentials. You grab what you can get."

The price in 1964 was \$500 cash, in advance. Her boyfriend borrowed the money from a friend and promised to repay it as soon as he could. She secured a weekend pass by saying she would be at her boyfriend's house, never wondering what would happen if her parents called there. They drove to Syracuse, flew to Philadelphia and waited in a train station for a stranger.

As the driver filled his car with pregnant women, her fears about the arrangement grew. The women did not speak to each other.

"Then he started driving. I must have had some consciousness about the danger, because I do remember trying to memorize the sequence of street names so I would be able to retrace the route in case anything happened. The 'anything' I wasn't letting myself think about, but I wanted to know where I

was going. I was very nervous and it had become so obvious by then that it was sleazy.

"He pulled up at the side of a residential-looking street, a wide street, and said, 'Okay, wait here for a few minutes and watch where I go. Then follow me. Go in the door I go in, one at a time.'

"It was a big house. It was the kind of house that you often will see a doctor's office or a dentist's office in now. And it may have been, during the day-time."

She heard her name called, walked into the doctor's office and saw that the doctor was black. That was a bit of a shock. To a college girl from upstate New York, black people were a rare sight, and none of them were doctors.

A woman in a nurse's outfit took her to a little dressing room. She undressed and changed into a patient's gown. The time had come.

The doctor started examining her, and she asked what kind of anesthesia he planned to use. "None," he replied.

"My heart just started to pound. I had assumed all along that I would get a little shot and I would be asleep, and he would do this, and I would wake up and I would be fine. I think I did ask him why, then and there, and he said, 'Because if the police come, we don't want you out on the table.'"

They were both vulnerable. In 1964, more than 260 women died from abortion complications in the United States. If the police interrupted the operation, he could lose his license and go to prison. If she died, he could be prosecuted for murder. If her uterus became infected, he could not help her. They would never see each other again.

She lay on the operating table, her legs in stirrups, conscious but ignorant of the tools he held, and ignorant about the hidden place in her body where an unwanted child had begun to grow.

He used a method called dilatation and curettage, which is rarely used for abortion today. It is done by opening the woman's cervix with metal rods, then using a curette, a long-handled instrument with a sharp-edged loop at one end, to scrape the uterine lining clean.

"Just scrape, scrape, scrape. I'm not sure how long it took, I think it was about 20 minutes. I thought I was going to die of the pain. It was horrible.

"I remember feeling extremely nauseous and saying I was going to be sick, and the nurse running

to get me a tablet of something to put on my tongue that she said would make it better, and it didn't. I remember at one point hearing the doctor say to her, 'No, not that one, that's not sterile,' and sending her out of the room to get something. I remember asking him how much longer it was going to be and he said, 'About 10 minutes,' and I thought my God, I can't go through this for 10 minutes more.

"I don't know how to describe that kind of pain. I have no words for it. I got to a point where I would just rather have died and got out of it that way, than to have to keep on feeling that pain."

When it was over, the woman in the nurse's uniform gave her a couple of pads to absorb the blood. The doctor told her he thought everything had been removed, and to get some penicillin if she developed an infection.

"I went back out in the waiting room and — these other girls that had already had their abortions were sitting out there chatting and, you know, chewing gum, swinging their feet. They were fine. I couldn't believe it."

The women returned to the train station and their boyfriends. Her boyfriend looked green. He told her, "God, you look pale." They went to a hotel somewhere, and he rubbed her back to comfort her.

She does not recall feeling guilty or talking much with her boyfriend about the abortion. They continued sleeping together afterward and, other than an occasional condom, they used no method of birth control. A girlfriend gave her six birth control pills once and she took those, thinking they would keep her safe for six days. She told herself it couldn't happen twice.

Nine months after the abortion, she and her boyfriend were married. It took them years to pay off the \$500 loan.

She took birth control pills for three years, then quit using them because of their side effects. She and her husband had their only child, a boy, four years after they were married.

She had her second abortion four years after the U.S. Supreme Court legalized them. It was one of 1,827 abortions performed in 1977 at the New Hampshire Feminist Health Center in Concord, which was doing most of the abortions in the state.

"That was much more emotionally traumatic and much less physically traumatic. Having been a parent, I'd experienced that, experienced the good

stuff as well as the bad about that. I ended up with a lot more ambivalence about that pregnancy."

It happened while she was between intrauterine devices. In the interim, she had been using contraceptive foam — improperly, she learned.

Had abortion still been illegal, she would have kept the baby. She might have kept the baby if her husband had wanted her to. They were living together then, but their marriage was slowly dissolving. The pregnancy bothered him. Perhaps he thought she was trying to preserve their relationship with another child.

He wanted her to get an abortion, and he did not want to talk about her pregnancy. Whenever she brought up the subject, they fought. For the first time, being pregnant made her physically sick. She was crying a lot.

"On the one hand, I knew that there was absolutely no way that I could have that baby, and on the other hand, I just felt good about being pregnant. Even though it was a really sad thing, there was a little bit of thrill being pregnant again.

"The ambivalence that I was feeling, I think that was very threatening to him. I needed to tell him that I could feel a lot of sadness about terminating the pregnancy and a lot of good feelings about the pregnancy at the same time. Those two things weren't mutually exclusive. But I don't think he could understand that. I think he thought that if I was going to be weepy and sad, that meant I was going to back out."

She made the appointment herself. The fee was about \$150.

"Logistically, making the arrangement certainly was easier for me than it was for him the first time. I just had to call the Feminist Health Center and say, I want an abortion. And yet I was scared to death because I assumed it would be just as painful as before."

On the day she was scheduled for an abortion, a female friend accompanied her to the clinic. Memories of her first abortion returned, ruining her composure. In her nervousness she left the money at home, and her friend went back to get it. She sat in the waiting room and found she was clenching her chair. Her teeth were chattering.

A woman at the clinic explained how an abortion was done. The explanation was patient and thorough, but she was too jumpy to comprehend much of it.

"I remember sitting in this room and listening to her explain the procedure and just — nothing coming through. So then I went for my individual counseling and this woman asked me, was my husband being supportive? And that just broke dam. I must have used a whole box of Kleenex unburdening myself."

Her counselor promised to stay with her through the abortion.

She was given a Valium and a local anesthetic. The counselor placed a cool cloth on her forehead, held her hand and told her, "You're doing fine. You're doing fine." She waited for the pain to be gone.

"It took a couple of minutes. When I just got to the point when I was feeling that it was going that way again — it was over. It did hurt so much."

Afterward, she felt a mixture of relief and sadness. In the after-care room she cried. Then she came ravenously hungry and gobbled food.

Her friend took her home about an hour after the abortion. She slept and felt better when she awoke. In a few weeks, she went back to the clinic for a checkup and a new IUD. There were no complications.

She and her husband separated about months later and have since been divorced. Her son is a teenager now.

It is not easy for her to pinpoint a single factor that legality brought to having an abortion. Certainly, legality did not make the experience casual. It wasn't just the difference in physical pain, or money, or the distance she traveled. The danger was certainly a factor. And information.

"I want people to know what a precious thing information is. It gives them a sense of control and choice. I want people to know what a luxury it is to do a pregnancy test at home. To walk into an abortion clinic in broad daylight and know that when some people out there will disapprove on moral grounds, others will support them."

Despite the pain — the physical pain of her first abortion and the emotional pain of the second — she believes she would make the same choices again under the same circumstances. She leaves little doubt about that.

"Both abortions were absolutely the right decision for me. Having my son was also the right decision. He's a wonderful child."

TOMORROW: Abortion in New Hampshire



Albaster

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CONCORD MONITOR, Wednesday, July 26, 1983

to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy."

Deborah Ruhe, a director of the New Hampshire Feminist Health Center, remembers the relief she felt when the Supreme Court made that ruling. If a contraceptive failed, "I knew I could do something that would be safe and legal," she said. "I imagine a lot of women felt that way."

"It's allowed literally millions of women to have some choice about what they're going to do with an unwanted pregnancy. Medically speaking, it's had a tremendous effect on women's health. It used to be that abortion was one of the greatest health risks for women. That's no longer the case."

Researchers have estimated that in the two decades before abortions became legal, between 200,000 and 1 million illegal abortions were performed each year in the United States. Some were done by doctors, some by untrained practitioners. In the 1960s, illegal abortionists arrested after the death of a client included a boatyard worker, a real estate salesman, a hospital orderly and an auto mechanic.

Some abortions were self-induced. The methods included lye, soap, Lysol and iodine douches and self-inserted catheters, knitting needles or goose quills.

In 1973, the year abortion became legal throughout the United States, 745,000 abortions were reported. Since then, the number has grown to about 1.8 million a year. In the last two decades, the number of women dying from abortion complications has declined from about 250 to 15 or 20 a year.

The knowledge that the operation is safer today provides small comfort to people who believe every abortion takes a human life. In the procedure rooms where licensed obstetricians terminate pregnancies, they envision a silent, unholy war on those too young to cry.

According to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, a human life begins when sperm and ovum join to form a genetically unique being.

"From the moment of conception, your individual history is written," said David Lamarre-Vincent, coordinator of pro-life activities for the Diocese of Manchester.

"At 10 weeks old, they're about the size of your thumb. But they're identifiable. They've got arms, legs, heads. They just get bigger."

"The principle behind it all is that from the moment a human being is there, it has all the rights of any other human being. To have an abortion is to take someone else's life."

The belief that the child is born at conception has led the Right to Life movement to seek a constitutional ban on abortions; it would allow exceptions only in the most extreme circumstance — to save the mother's life.

The Human Life Amendment favored by the National Right to Life Committee would deny legal abortions to women who are single, who tried birth control methods that didn't work or who simply feel unable or unwilling to carry and raise a child. It would also reject rape, incest and the prospect of a deformed child as reasons for abortion.

Right to Life Committee leaders in New Hampshire say that if a woman is impregnated by a rapist, she must be compelled to carry the developing fetus for nine months,



Deborah Ruhe says the Supreme Court ruling has eliminated a health risk.

assume the risks of childbirth and bring into being the child of the man who raped her.

"Two wrongs don't make a right," Guy Granger said. "If the mother does not want to keep the baby, she can put it up for adoption."

The Catholic Church also forbids abortions to rape victims. Its pastoral plan for pro-life activities does call for "special understanding, encouragement and support for victims of rape."

In New Hampshire, the abortion battle has been waged at rallies, on picket lines, in churches and at legislative hearings. Feminists, civil libertarians and the New Hampshire Medical Society have taken on the Catholic Church, the Moral Majority and various right-to-life groups.

In a state that has demonstrated its conservatism on other issues, the opponents of abortion have yet to score a legislative victory.

Explanations for their failure vary. Many legislators, particularly in the House, either support the Supreme Court's position on abortion or believe they have little power to change it. Some anti-abortion bills were ill-conceived. Sen. John P. H. Chandler's proposal to require names and burials for fetuses embarrassed people who agreed that abortions were immoral.

In the 1983 session, two of the three anti-abortion bills were killed by their sponsors. Rep. Matthew Locke submitted a bill to ban Medicaid payments for abortions, then withdrew it after learning that the state Medicaid program had not paid for an abortion in years.

Granger blames the legislative setbacks on the New Hampshire House. "The Senate's conservative, but the House isn't," he

said. "You have a lot of do-gooders who get in there. And it's a hot political issue, so many legislators like to duck it."

Other opponents of abortion blame leaders of the Right to Life movement for coloring their cause with a reactionary tinge.

When members of Birthright took part in a rally protesting violence against women, the New Hampshire Right to Life Committee denounced them for marching with the enemy. People who include day care centers, adequate welfare payments and a nuclear arms freeze in their concept of "pro-life" have been disturbed by the publicity given to right-to-lifers who embrace nuclear missile systems, grumble about welfare spending and refer to women who have abortions as baby killers.

"The broad base of people who support the right to life aren't recognized," David Lamarre-Vincent said. "Those people publicly identified in the movement represent a thin segment of that base. It's easy then to caricature what it means to be pro-life."

Nationally, the anti-abortion movement suffered two serious defeats last month. First, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down several state laws and local ordinances intended to restrict the availability of abortions. Then the U.S. Senate voted 50-49 against a constitutional amendment to give the states the power to enact anti-abortion laws — 17 votes short of the two-thirds majority required.

Gordon Humphrey, a conservative Republican from New Hampshire, is among the senators who believe abortion should be permitted only to save a woman's life. He chose not to regard the Senate vote as a defeat.

"I think the vote is a step forward, but a very small step. This is the first time a vote on a constitutional amendment on

abortion has reached the floor of the Senate," he said.

"There was a difference of opinion within the Right to Life movement about whether vote should have been taken, though. Perceptions are important in politics. And when you lose on a cardinal issue and you lose by that margin, the perception is that you've been badly beaten, that you've lost momentum."

In 10 years, the one major restriction approved by Congress and allowed by the Supreme Court has been the withdrawal of federal money for poor women who have abortions, except when the woman's life is threatened by a pregnancy.

That restriction has had a telling effect in New Hampshire. In 1980, 53 women in the state had abortions financed by Medicaid. In the last two years, the state paid for none. The cost was absorbed partly by the New Hampshire Feminist Health Center, which includes money in its budget for women unable to afford its \$215 fee for an abortion.

Peg Dobbie, director of the National Abortion Rights Action League in New Hampshire, calls the ban on Medicaid-financed abortions "a very serious loss." The league hopes to reverse that loss after the 1984 elections. Humphrey is among the senators on its target list.

"At this point, we have been working very hard just to hold the line," Dobbie said.

Today, the confrontation over abortion is often viewed as a clash between religious leaders defending the sanctity of life in the womb and doctors defending their colleagues and patients. Historically, that view would be wrong.

The Catholic Church has always considered abortion a sin. But for centuries, it used Aristotelian notions of biology to distinguish between the "unformed" and "formed" child. The woman who aborted an "unformed" child — 40 days for a boy, 80 for a girl — was not subject to a penalty. Not until 1869, after abortion had already been outlawed in much of the United States, did the church impose excommunication for abortions performed at any time after conception.

In the early 19th century, abortions were legal in the United States and were often done by midwives and other lay practitioners. Women could buy mail-order remedies to induce abortions.

The successful 19th century crusade to outlaw abortion was led by the American Medical Association. The doctors' campaign was partly moral, partly competitive and partly a campaign against unsafe medical practices.

The laws against abortion in New Hampshire were adopted in 1848 and remain in the state statutes today. While the Legislature has not passed any new anti-abortion laws in the last decade, neither has it bothered to repeal the existing laws.

By statute, any person in New Hampshire who willfully administers "to a pregnant woman any medicine, drug, substance, or thing whatever" to cause a miscarriage may be fined \$1,000 and ordered to spend a year in prison. The maximum penalty for destroying a "quick" child — one that has begun to move inside its mother — is 10 years in prison. If the mother dies, the procurer "shall be deemed guilty of murder in the second degree, and shall be punished accordingly."

The statutes have not been enforced since 1973.

TOMORROW: Birthright.

ITOR

Concord
Monday, July 20, 1983 Monitor

Legalization Didn't Quell Their Furor

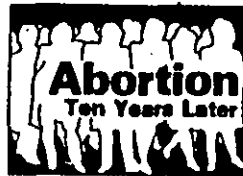
By JEAN HEILPRIN
and DAVID GLINGER
Monitor Staff Writers

Ten years and millions of legal abortions later, a nation still debates what seven men decided.

Each session of Congress brings new proposals to overturn or restrict the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that gave women the right to an abortion. Each time the New Hampshire Legislature gathers, the arguments for and against abortion are renewed.

On Jan. 22, the 10th anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling, 28,000 people demonstrated in Washington against abortion. The same day, an Ohio clinic commemorated the ruling by performing 20 free abortions.

It is not an issue that invites compromise. Supporters of legal abortion hail the Supreme Court decision as an historic victory for reproductive freedom. Opponents call it mass murder.



Third Of Five Parts

Guy Granger, president of the New Hampshire Right To Life Committee, sees supporters of legalized abortion as "people who are more concerned with making money than with human life. People who would rather have a car, a boat, to go on vacation than to support a baby."

"One million babies a year are being executed," he said. "Which is worse than what happened to the Jewish people at the hands of the Nazis."

Dr. Charles Winterling would agree that abortion is a life-and-death issue. A doctor of internal medicine in Concord, Winterling has never performed abortions but has defended them repeatedly at legislative hearings.

As a young doctor, Winterling saw 10 women who came to hospitals after having illegal abortions. "They usually had an infection in the uterus," he said. "Untreated, 80 to 90 percent of these people would die. Two of the 10 women I saw died. Some of them had hemorrhaged excessively and required transfusions. How many were sterile after that, I don't know."

Philosophically, he said, "I feel it's solely the decision of the woman as to whether she will or will not have children. What she chooses to do with her reproductive rights is her choice only."

Before 1973, nearly all states defined the legitimate reasons for an abortion, and most favored a narrow definition. Thirty-one states allowed abortions only to save the life of the mother. In a single 7-2 ruling, the Supreme Court discarded abortion laws in 46 states.

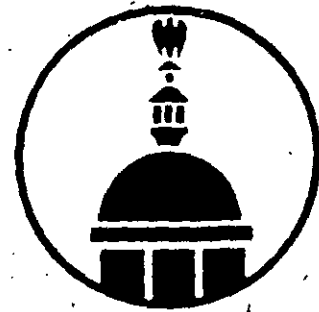
The court based its decision on the 14th Amendment, which forbids states to "deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." The court ruled that a fetus unable to survive outside its mother's body is not endowed with the rights of a person, and that the right of privacy embodied in the Constitution is "broad enough

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ABORTION

CONCORD



MONITOR

Concord, New Hampshire

176th Year, No. 169

28 Pages — 30¢

Friday, July 22, 1983

Inside



Emergencies Galore

Jim Moran of the Concord Police Department serves as operations officer during a series of training disasters yesterday. *Story, page 2.*

Not Standing Pat

Steve Grogan is slated to be the Patriots starting quarterback next season, leaving Matt Cavanaugh and Tony Eason fighting for the backup spot. *Story, page 17.*

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ABORTION

Even Together, The Choice Is Emotional

By JEAN HEILPRIN and DAVID OLINGER
Monitor Staff Writers

Ben leaned his head against Elaine's hand. He didn't want to watch. The best way to help her, he thought, was to appear calm.

The nurse talked on and on. She talked about the pain she'd been through delivering her two children. He wished she would shut up. This was Elaine's second abortion.

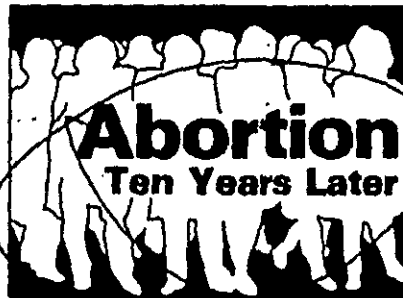
"Feeling better?" the doctor asked, returning to see if the anesthesia had taken effect. Ten minutes earlier he had injected xylocaine and an adrenal stimulant into Elaine's cervix. The stimulant made her shake for 10 minutes. Ben tried to humor her, telling her it was like when tigers chased you in a dream.

In some ways, what was happening did seem like a dream. Elaine's father had died only the week before. She and Ben had known each other little more than two months.

Now she lay in a Concord doctor's office, her feet in stirrups, about to have something painful and intimate done to her to keep her from having a child.

It was the first time Ben had been through the procedure, and he wasn't clear on all the details. The doctor had explained it in the consultation room, but Ben had been unable to concentrate.

Pictures flashed into his mind, pictures he had seen for days but would not think to



Last Of A Series

tell Elaine about until after the abortion. He saw a child inside her, all curled up, and Elaine looking more and more pregnant. He pictured the fetus at different stages and then a child at 2 years, an independent little kid. Definitely a boy. He imagined the boy at 10.

"I felt that it had one of those real survivor-type personalities. One of those kids who could be a pain in the neck because they're a little too independent," he said. "I pictured a survivor who was not afraid, somebody who was sort of fearless and reckless."

Elaine held Ben's hand tightly. He thought she looked uncomfortable. It was over in a minute.

(See ABORTION — Page 14)



Monitor/Linda Graham

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