

# Refocusing the Pro-Life Movement for Victory

A Strategy Proposal from  
Pro-Life Nation





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Shifting the focus from weak  
Pro-Life arguments  
to the strong Anti-Abortion ground  
that will guarantee future victory



A Strategy Proposal from  
**Pro-Life Nation**  
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# Preface

Like many of you, we went to bed on November the 6th wondering what had happened to the United States. So much of what the pro-life movement represents was lost in the election. The following days were a time of soul-searching. We spent many hours in research and pondering what our movement has done, both right and wrong, over the past decade, and how we can get back on track. This work is a result of that effort.

Our goal is not to offend, but to give an honest and systematic evaluation of the facts that have brought us to our logical conclusions. These are our opinions, and we hope you will thoughtfully consider them as such.

We hope that by sharing our thoughts with you who are leaders that make up the heart and soul of the Pro-Life Movement, we can begin together a conversation that could lead us into a place where victory for the pre-born is not only possible, but inevitable.

## Introduction

At this juncture, 40 years after *Roe v. Wade*, it is time to objectively re-evaluate our strategy to end abortion in America.

The Pro-Life Movement was stunned by the devastating losses at the polls on November 6, 2012. For the first time in United States history, the two presidential candidates stood publically and vocally on starkly opposing positions on abortion. President Obama doubled down on abortion funding and support for Planned Parenthood. He was unequivocally pro-choice. GOP nominee Mitt Romney was pro-life, promising to de-fund Planned Parenthood and nominate pro-life Supreme Court justices. While Governor Romney was less vocal and engaging on the issue of abortion than his Democratic opponent, he was endorsed by all major pro-life organizations.

To the surprise of many who expected increased pro-life public sentiment to translate into political victory, Obama won the election. More startling was the result of the exit polls that showed an overwhelming 58% of voters identified themselves as pro-choice as opposed to only 38% who claimed to be pro-life. Those exit polls were in direct contradiction of other pre-election day polling data.

Since then, the Pro-Life Movement has found itself in need of deep soul-searching to find a path forward that would include

ultimate victory for the children whose lives are endangered by abortion.

In the wake of the election, some former presuppositions and assumptions may not hold true. The increasingly “pro-life” electorate, contrary to our beliefs and polling data, are not translating their “pro-life” identification into concurrent votes for pro-life candidates, legislation, and amendments. While many of the constituents would call themselves pro-life, the majority voted contrary to the true pro-life position.

Why that has happened, especially after the convincing victories of pro-life candidates in the 2010 mid-term elections, is a matter open for debate. It is our position that the facts show one major cause for the Election Day defection was because the pro-abortion side was allowed to frame the debate on “wedge” issues such as contraception and rape. Pro-life supporters took the bait, and flooded to the field of battle on ground that was not of



*Obama doubled-down on abortion in 2012*

our choosing and waged war with our weakest and most unpopular arguments. The high ground of the social issue of abortion, such as the documentable fact that abortion hurts women, was abandoned for the quagmire of debate on inconsequential issues such as “legitimate rape” where, depending on the exception for abortion, the polls show as much as 88% of the public disagrees.

The result was to alienate those who would self-identify as pro-life and drive them into the camp of those who stand diametrically opposed to the life position. The fact is that the general public either does not understand the intricate biology and facts surrounding conception due to rape, or they are swayed by the compassionate-sounding rhetoric espoused by the pro-choice crowd.

It may also be that “pro-life” has become too generic of a term if those who identify as such can cast their votes without hesitation for radical pro-abortion candidates. We have heard absurd claims in various articles that Planned Parenthood is pro-life and abortion itself is pro-life. If the term “pro-life” can be adopted by abortion clinics and pro-abortion politicians, then maybe it is

time we refocus our arguments to be more “anti-abortion.”

It has been said numerous times that the definition of insanity is to repeat the same actions over and over again expecting a different outcome. If that axiom is true, the pro-life movement may be standing at the precipice of a mental illness. Time and again we gravitate to defend issues that the vast majority of Americans oppose. We want to force them to accept a ban on abortions for rape and incest, which account for less than one percent of all abortions, while we have yet to convince them that the vast majority of abortions, which are done for the unpopular sake of convenience, should end. The movement cannot continue to fight the battle of rhetoric on the thinnest of ice in a manner that alienates our natural supporters and expect to accomplish our goal to crush abortion.

The cases that comprise one percent of all abortions need to be vigorously opposed in a way that will not endanger our ability to save the ninety-nine percent. We, as a movement, will never abandon the child conceived in rape and incest; however, when we lead with the argument against abortions in these difficult circumstances, we face a head wind of 83-88 percent<sup>1</sup> of the electorate blowing in our face.

When a pro-life leader or candidate for political office looks in the camera and says the baby conceived in brutal rape is “God’s will,” they just lost 83%-88% of the electorate that support those exceptions – a good percentage of which would otherwise agree that abortion should be dramatically limited. This has the effect of handing a club to our adversaries so they can beat us over the head with it. It only drives our public support into the waiting arms of the enemies of Life.

Therefore, we suggest a paradigm shift in our tactics. Our movement needs to take the public past the point of being “sentimentally pro-life” to being aggressively against abortion.

There are many winning topics in our struggle for the protection of the pre-born child, and we must refocus the bulk of our efforts there in order to win back support that was alienated by the wedge issues in this past election cycle.

There are certain abortion-related topics that are virtually indefensible by the radical pro-abortion left. For instance, both Senator Barbara Boxer and Operation Rescue issued concurrent press releases condemning California abortionist Laurence Reich, who was caught raping young women who went to him for abortions. Both of us called for – and received – the revocation of his privileges

to practice medicine.

While that sounds like an anomalous occurrence, sex abuse at abortion clinics is far more widespread than people might think, and we could easily list about a dozen abortionists off the top of our heads that have been involved in this kind of documented perversion.

When searching for “common ground,” it’s hard to find anyone – pro-life or pro-choice – who supports so-called “doctors” raping vulnerable women who are drugged up for abortion procedures. If we are going to talk about the matter of rape, this winning position is where our focus should lie.

Another point on which we have massive public support is in the area of abortion negligence and malpractice. Abortionists routinely injure women then dump them at the local emergency rooms where they expect the hospital staff to figure out what happened and clean up their messes. Even groups such as the National Abortion Federation, an association of some of the dirtiest abortionists in the country, have thrown many an abortionist under the bus after a botched abortion garnered too much negative publicity.

These sorts of situations present themselves almost daily, and if we capitalize on them, we can flip the argument from a position of weakness to the winning arguments that focus on abortionists, most of which are engaged in every seedy behavior from gross incompetence to the wholesale operation of criminal enterprises.

Ultimately, the pro-life movement needs to reshape the public’s opinion into being more anti-abortion. For the public, there is certainly there is nothing wrong, and perhaps something noble in opposing what amounts to human rights abuses at our nation’s abortion clinics. We must build the case again and again, that abortion is a terrible evil that must be abolished for the good of women in particular and society in general. By focusing on our areas of strength, such as sex selection abortions, gruesome late-term abortions, the sexual deviancy of the cartel, and the too-numerous-to-count botched abortions and deaths occurring at an epidemic rate, we will drive the electorate to conclude that abortion is neither safe nor needed. The pro-life movement ought to refocus its attention on building the case against a predatory abortion cartel, and in so doing, we may finally see public support for the “sanctity of human life” finally translate into true and lasting social and political change, even in the hard cases.



# When the Pro-Life Movement leads with its chin, we get knocked out!

While the conservatives in the Federal government have worked to keep tax money from directly funding abortion and prompted great national debate on subjects such as Partial-Birth Abortion, our greatest political accomplishments as a Pro-Life Movement have occurred at the state level. Given the outcome of the November, 2012, election, the state level is where we can best concentrate our efforts and where we can expect continued victories for the foreseeable future.

Americans United for Life has well documented the significant political shift in state legislatures, and how many formerly pro-abortion bodies are now passing pro-life legislation that is being used to hold abortionists accountable, close abortion clinics, and save lives. Many of these victories can be seen at the AUL website, <http://www.aul.org/state-legislative-report-2012/>.

However, there is a history of failure in political endeavors that focus on the weak and unpopular issues related to abortion. When we allow the abortion crowd to define us and our positions in light of issues that drive wedges between us and our public support base, we lose every time. The fact that we have done the same thing over and over perhaps is an indicator that the pro-life movement is not learning from mistakes. It is time to change that.

## **2012 Initiatives**

### **South Dakota lost by 12 and 10 percent**



In 2006, South Dakota enacted a law effectively banning all abortions. The law was challenged by abortion-supporting organizations and placed on the ballot for a public vote. The abortion ban lost 56 to 44 percent. Exit polls indicated it had a better chance of winning had it included exceptions for rape and life of the mother, i.e. the hard cases.

In 2008, pro-lifers put forth another amendment, but this

time it included the exceptions. To their surprise, the initiative again failed 55 to 45 percent.

During both elections, the pro-life side was vastly out-spent by pro-abortion forces focusing on the extreme cases, calling it “a dangerous government intrusion into the private medical decisions that affect how doctors treat women.”<sup>2</sup>

Both ballot measures were also opposed by a minority in the pro-life movement who might be called “hyper-purists” -- well-intentioned but misguided people who think that it is immoral to stop 99% of the abortions if one percent is still allowed.

### **California lost by 4, 8 and 6 percent**



Three successive ballot initiatives were proposed in California in 2005, 2006, and 2008. The most recent was Proposition 4, the Abortion Waiting Period

and Parental Notification Initiative, which was also known to its supporters as Sarah’s Law. It was on the November 4, 2008, ballot in California as a citizen-initiated constitutional amendment, where it was defeated 52 to 48 percent.<sup>3</sup> The detractors once again out-spent the pro-life forces by a wide margin, and focused their arguments on wedge issues to bolster their arguments that abortion should be completely unrestricted. Those issues drove away support that rightfully should have been ours.

The previous measures met with identical opposition as Prop 4. Proposition 85 (2006) lost 54 to 46 percent and Proposition 73 (2005) failed 53 to 47 percent. The votes over the three election cycles only varied a meager two percentage points.

### **Colorado lost by 46 and 41 percent**

Amendment 48, the Colorado Definition of Person Amendment, appeared on the November 2008 ballot in Colorado as an initiated constitutional amendment, where it was defeated 73 to 27.<sup>4</sup> In 2010, Colorado Fetal Personhood Amendment 62 was placed on the state ballot as another initiated constitutional amendment where it was defeated, 71 to 30.<sup>5</sup> Both amendments were opposed and out-spent

by Planned Parenthood and the abortion industry. The opposition arguments targeted the “hard cases” and the “extreme” position of the amendment.

### **Mississippi lost by 16 percent**

A “Life Begins at the Moment of Fertilization Amendment,” also known as Initiative 26, appeared on the November 8, 2011, general election ballot in the state of Mississippi as an indirect initiated constitutional amendment where it was defeated 58 to 42 percent.<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that nearly every state-wide office holder supported this initiative in a state that has the fewest abortions and remains one of only a handful of states with only one active abortion clinic.

Opponents, led by Planned Parenthood, attacked the amendment as “too extreme” and focused on the wedge issues of access to abortion for rape and incest victims. In addition, they launched a frontal assault on how the initiative would adversely affect access to birth control and In Vitro Fertilization. The attacks swayed the majority of the vote. Initiative 26 enjoyed the most favorable of all conditions that any pro-life initiative campaign could ever have desired. It was presented in a very conservative state during an off-year election with major celebrity endorsements and millions of dollars to spend. Nevertheless, the Personhood Amendment failed by 16%.

### **Florida lost by 10 percent**

Amendment 6, also known as the Florida Abortion Amendment, was on the November 6, 2012, state ballot in Florida as a legislatively-referred constitutional amendment where it was defeated 55%-45%.

The proposed measure would have prohibited the use of public funds for abortions, except as required by federal law and to save the mother’s life. Additionally, the measure stipulated that the state constitution cannot be interpreted to include broader rights to abortion than those contained in the United States Constitution.<sup>7</sup>

Laws that deprive abortion clinics of tax dollars mean that



the clinics must financially stand on their own. With the shrinking number of abortions every year, abortion clinics are artificially kept open with the aid of outside financing. Without that money, many would be forced to close, and closed clinics mean fewer abortions and more lives saved.

Opponents to Amendment 6 stressed that halting funding to abortion services would hinder women who are impregnated as a result of rape and incest, and would impede or prevent vital health care options for women in life-threatening situations. In other words, the hard cases were once again trotted out to defeat pro-life legislation by 10 points.

Amendment 6 was also quietly opposed by the “hyper-purist” minority in the pro-life movement, for which the defunding of abortion -- which -- would have closed a number of abortion clinics -- did not meet their standards of legislative perfection.

## **2012 Senate Seats**

### **Missouri: a 26% swing against Pro-Life**



*This Esquire Magazine image is an example of how the pro-abortion media seized on the Akin rape comments to paint a negative picture of pro-life conservatives.*

In 2012, Democrat Claire McCaskill's Senate seat was deemed vulnerable by early polling and likely to switch to Republican. McCaskill is a hard-core pro-choice advocate. She voted for every pro-abortion bill that came her way, including a vote to approve ObamaCare with all its abortion funding provisions.

Her opponent, Republican Congressman

Todd Akin, was McCaskill's polar opposite. He was as conservative and pro-life as they come. After a hard-fought primary election, Todd Akin emerged the victor much to the dismay of the Republican establishment, which preferred more moderate candidates.

Furthering the divide between Akin and McCaskill was the media's obsession with his “legitimate rape” comment which defined the entire Senate race. Embarrassed by Akin, the Republican Party

threw him under the bus, withholding crucial funding and support. In spite of the fact that Mitt Romney carried the state of Missouri with a ten point margin, Akin was soundly defeated 55 to 39 percent. The media fixation over the wedge issues of rape and incest abortions persuaded a full 26% of voters to swing to the other side and cast their ballots for the pro-choice McCaskill, whose abortion views were diametrically opposed to those held by Romney, their presidential selection.

### **Indiana: a 10% swing against Pro-Life**

The 2012 Indiana Senate race followed a very similar track as Missouri. Pro-choice Joe Donnelly ran head-to-head with staunch pro-life advocate Richard Mourdock. Indiana leaned pro-life, electing pro-life stalwart Mike Pence to the Governor's office. Indiana flipped in the presidential election, switching their 2008 Obama vote to solid support for Romney (54 to 44 percent).



*Indiana's Richard Mourdock*

However the Senate race in Indiana, as in Missouri, was defined by the hard cases in the matter of abortion. The remarks made by Mourdock, that the child conceived in rape was “part of God’s plan,” were played repeatedly by the press making this another race defined by the hard cases of abortion. Again, the Republican establishment ran from Mourdock and he lost 50 to 44 percent. A convincing ten percent of voters cast their ballots for both pro-life Romney and pro-abortion Donnelly, splitting on the issue of abortions in the hard case of rape.

### **2012 Presidential Election: 16% Pro-Life Defeat**

President Obama won reelection over Mitt Romney 50.6 to 47.8 percent - a mere 2.8% difference. While the presidential campaign was dominated by the economy and foreign policy issues, abortion played an ever-present and influential role in the election outcome. President Obama clearly ran the first openly pro-choice presidential campaign, often mentioning his support for continued

tax-funding of Planned Parenthood. This was a radical change from Obama's 2008 campaign position that abortion was "above my pay-grade", which many people mistook for a pro-life position.

Mitt Romney ran as a pro-life candidate, but was pigeonholed by the attacks from Obama and Planned Parenthood as the leader in the "War on Women." Similar to the other ballot measures, amendments, and candidates, Romney was never able to defend himself adequately from these attacks, nor did he go on the offensive by detailing the legal and moral problems with abortion.

Exit polls showed 36% of the vote was cast by pro-lifers, opposed to 59% of voters who identified as pro-choice. Moreover, Rasmussen Reports released a survey<sup>8</sup> one week following the election that seemed to back up the exit polls, indicating that among actual voters only 38% were pro-life whereas 54% were pro-choice. These numbers are strikingly similar to the margins of defeat in several of the statewide races.

## **Political Conclusions**

Whether the votes are cast for an amendment, legislation, or candidates, the abortion crowd has been successful at distracting the public with wedge issues that tend to vilify the pro-life position as radical and even cruel. While pro-life politicians were reticent to fight on the delicate wedge issues, the pro-abortion crowd evoked fear in the minds of the electorate by leading them to think that they would be stripped of their birth control, denied access to fertility treatments, and that little girls will be heartlessly forced to carry their rapist's children. This tactic by the pro-abortion crowd worked exceedingly well. Even President Obama's 2012 presidential election manufactured the "war on women" to put forward the same arguments to successfully defeat Governor Romney.

As pro-lifers, all too often we take the bait and run headlong onto the battlefield on ground of the enemy's choosing. The hard truth is that during the course of a political campaign, we will not successfully change the minds of the public on the topic of rape and incest abortions or any other aspect of the abortion issue where there is general public disagreement with our positions, at least not under the current conditions where the mainstream media jumps in to manipulate public opinion with their non-stop abortion apologetics tailor-made for the 83 to 88 percent<sup>9</sup> of the population.

Major pro-life initiatives have consistently failed to win a

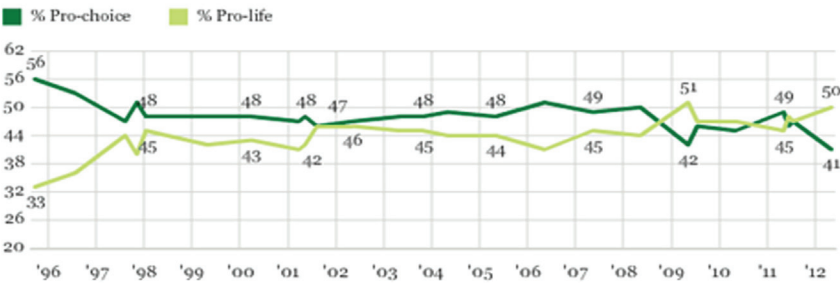
majority at the ballot box, even in the staunchest of pro-life states like Mississippi and South Dakota, where the campaigns allowed the abortion side to frame the political debate. Voters are never really afforded an up or down vote on abortion. Instead, the vote becomes about the extreme cases of abortion where the pro-life side lacks its strongest support. Clearly, the pro-abortion advocates are better at tailoring their ads to achieve their desired results, with little, if any, push-back from our side. As Austin Ruse of CFAM, said “The hard cases are exactly where our enemies want to fight this battle.”<sup>10</sup> But that is exactly where we must decline the invitation to engage, at least during the election cycle.

## Pro-life Vs. Pro-Choice

Since 1996, Gallup has consistently polled people on how they self-identify with the terms pro-choice and pro-life (Chart 1). Other than the anomalous time period between 1989 and 1996 where the Rescue Movement polarized American politics, the term pro-life has steadily gained ground and has been the sole term that has topped the fifty percentile. The pro-choice designation, on the other hand, is losing ground. The most recent data has the “pro-choice” identifier polling at 41% while “pro-life” is polling at 50% of the population. Taken on its own, the shift toward pro-life support is a positive sign that the Pro-Life Movement is taking ground with the American people while support for abortion is slipping. There is certainly more public support for the pro-life position, which is more accepted today than just 10 or 15 years ago.

**Chart 1**

*With respect to the abortion issue, would you consider yourself to be pro-choice or pro-life?*  
Trend from polls where pro-life/pro-choice was asked after question on legality of abortion



GALLUP

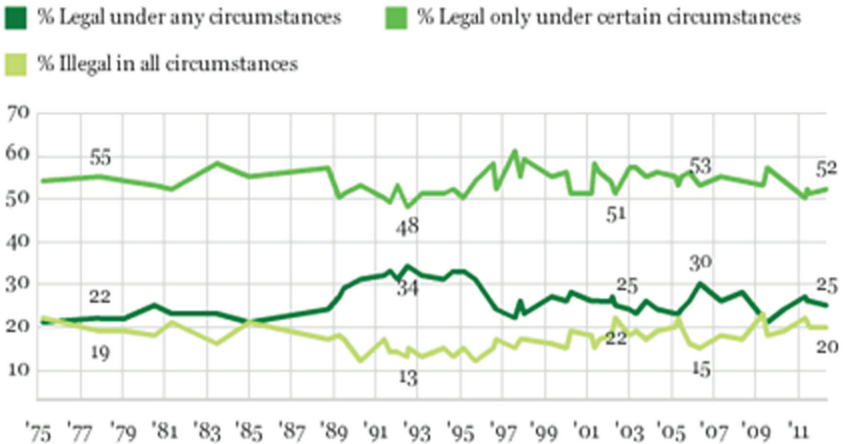
However, when you dig down just a little further, there is considerable cross-over from the pro-life side of the equation to the pro-choice side.

Both sides of the debate have their hard-core advocates, and interestingly enough, there has been little movement in these “absolutist” positions over the last 36 years, (other than the during the anomalous Rescue Movement years). The people who say abortion should be “illegal in all circumstances” and those who say abortion should be “legal under any circumstance”, have not varied more than 2 or 3 points and currently stand at 20% and 25% respectively. (Chart 2)

Those who think abortion ought to be legal “only under certain circumstances” have remained virtually unchanged and are in a clear majority by a two to one margin. *It is this demographic group that tends to lean “pro-life” in terminology, but votes pro-choice for a number of reasons that abortion promoters successfully exploit.*

Chart 2

*Do you think abortions should be legal under any circumstances, legal only under certain circumstances, or illegal in all circumstances?*



GALLUP®

In analyzing the two charts, an interesting fact emerges. When we add people who believe abortion should be “illegal in all circumstances” to those who think it should be “legal only under certain circumstances” we see that a full 72% of the public want significant changes to the law that would dramatically restrict



abortion.

Clearly, the pro-life movement is doing a good job at branding pro-life as the most acceptable term with which to be associated. Life is better than death. Compassion is better than abortion.

However, there remains a terrible amount of confusion as to what exactly “pro-life” means. A true pro-life position holds every child, no matter of the conception circumstances, is a unique human being deserving the same human rights and dignity as born individuals. The true pro-life position is to end abortion—all abortion – without exception. Yet, many who say they are “pro-life” are willing to allow abortions in limited circumstances.

This means that a good deal of pro-life rhetoric is being lost on the electorate.

Steven Ertelt argues in his November 8, 2012, LifeNews.com opinion piece, “Exit Polling Data Shows Pro-Lifers Failed to Vote Pro-Life”<sup>11</sup>, that 41% of Americans call themselves pro-choice and 51% identify as pro-life. His observations are instructive.

“Despite the breakdown, exit polling data shows just 36 percent of voters who showed up to the polls took a pro-life position supporting making all or most abortions illegal while 59 percent took a pro-abortion position favoring keeping all or most abortions legal.”

Ertelt continued, “The disconnect in the numbers mean one of a number of things happened: a) pro-life voters did not turn out in the same numbers as abortion advocates, b) pro-life voters went to the polls and either voted for a third-party candidate or did not vote in the presidential election, or c) pro-life voters supported the most pro-abortion president in history.”

Judging from the polling data above, the answer to Ertelt’s question is clearly “c”. Americans who identify themselves as pro-life are being successfully targeted by pro-choice advertising on the hard case exceptions that comprise a miniscule number of abortions each year. This targeting of pro-life supporters on wedge issues has convinced a huge percentage to vote pro-choice.

The sad fact is that when a voter casts a ballot for someone like the rabidly pro-abortion Clair McCaskill over staunchly pro-life Todd Akin because they want abortion legal in the case of rape, we end up getting not only a rape exception, but every other abortion as well. In this way, the pro-abortion political tactics of forcing pro-life campaigns to defend unpopular positions has thwarted the pro-life movement from capitalizing on its growing public support.

Worse yet, some abortion advocates are stealing the pro-life term and applying it to the defense of abortion services. An article posted on LiberationNews.org led with the headline, Defending Access to Abortion is Pro-life<sup>12</sup>. The first sentence said, “The life of a child is precious. The life of a woman is equally precious.” The authors then went on in an 833-word rant supporting abortion. Even Peter Brownlee, the CEO at Planned Parenthood of Kansas and Mid-Missouri once quipped at a press conference that everything Planned Parenthood does is “pro-life”.

Identifying oneself as “pro-life” does not translate into an effort to abolish abortion. Pro-choice and pro-abortion advocacy groups continue to exploit the confusion to our detriment, turning well-intentioned “pro-life” people into a pro-choice voting bloc that have doled out defeats that have stunned the pro-life community.

## Issues that Guarantee Victory

Despite the fact that the pro-abortion/pro-choice supporters have been recently successful at neutralizing our positions and manipulating otherwise pro-life supporters into voting pro-choice, there are many reasons to believe that being pro-life can succeed on its own merits. While “pro-choice” may sound compassionate, abortion itself is not popular. Even Hillary Clinton, a staunch abortion advocate and participant, said abortion is “a sad, even tragic choice to many, many women.”<sup>13</sup> The SBA List memo sent out in November that contained an insightful statement.

“The abortion lobby and their allies know from hard polling data and polling trends that abortion is not a winning issue for them. They have figured out how to win the abortion debate: Don’t make it about abortion.”

Abortion itself is an ugly and painful stain on the lives of every person it touches and that is why the pro-choice crowd uses every euphemism possible to define it in ways that deflect attention from its barbarity. The painfulness of abortion is also why the cartel uses every extreme “hard case”, fictitious or otherwise, to support continued unregulated abortion.

It has been said that hard cases make bad laws. Roe vs. Wade was decided on hard cases and continues to be propped up using the same worn-out rhetoric. But when the argument shifts from the hard cases that comprise just 1-2% of all abortions to the unpopular reality of the 98-99% of all abortions that are done for the sake of

convenience, pro-life advocates prevail.

Additionally, there are numerous strong arguments against abortion that can be made, which the public overwhelmingly supports. These same strong arguments often leave the abortion crowd either stunned into silence, or at a place where they are forced to echo our concerns and ally themselves with our position.

## Late-term Abortions



*Steven Chase Brigham in his recent mug shot*

One example is the case of Steven Chase Brigham, a late-term abortionist from New Jersey, who was caught operating a secret and very shady bi-state abortion enterprise with his cohort, Nicola Riley. That was discovered when the pair nearly killed a patient during a late-term abortion in Maryland where Brigham has never

held a medical license. Police raided the secret Elkton clinic and discovered the bodies of several late-term, viable babies in a bloody freezer. The pair were charged with murder and jailed for weeks. Eventually, the prosecution was forced to drop the charges after a key witness declined to testify. However, Brigham's grisly practices could not be defended.

Even Nancy Saporta of the National Abortion Federation, which has been known to embrace and defend some of the worst abortionists in the country, threw Brigham under the bus.

"Steve Brigham is a substandard provider and should not be practicing medicine or running an abortion clinic anywhere in the United States," Saporta said. "He should definitely be put out of business. No question about that."<sup>14</sup>

Polls show that an overwhelming majority of 64% of the American people oppose abortions after the first trimester, especially if the grisly Partial-Birth Abortion procedure is involved.<sup>15</sup>

When we talk about late-term abortions, illegal abortion, botched abortions, and other abortion abuses that are rampant throughout the abortion cartel, we win the argument in a resounding fashion.

## Abortion injuries and deaths

Botched abortions are more common than the average person thinks. Abortion clinics are landing women in hospital emergency rooms as well as their morgues at an alarming rate. There is little defense that can be made for this kind of carnage.



*Tonya Reaves*

Just in 2012, Operation Rescue documented 32 medical emergencies at abortion clinics around the nation, and that is only a peek through the keyhole. We can only see a small fraction of what really goes on in an industry that conducts its chronically abusive practices under the shroud of secrecy.

From January 2011 through November, 2012, Operation Rescue documented 18 medical emergencies<sup>16</sup> at Planned Parenthood abortion clinics alone. Almost all were related to life-threatening abortion complications, including one very avoidable abortion-

related death in Chicago.

In addition, the Center for Disease Control has reported<sup>17</sup> that the number of abortion-related deaths in 2009, the most recent year for which abortion statistics are available, doubled over the previous year.

Among the 18 documented medical emergencies was the death of Tonya Reaves on July 20, 2012, as the result of a botched second-trimester abortion at a Chicago Planned Parenthood. Just days after Reaves' tragic death, President Barack Obama hit the campaign trail and told the American people that defunding Planned Parenthood was a "bad idea." He mentioned that Planned Parenthood offered mammograms to poor women, which is simply not true, diverting attention away from Reaves' tragic death and shifting the pro-lifers working to defund Planned Parenthood to the defense. Pro-lifers never fully seized the opportunity to blast Obama for his heartless unconcern for the plight of Ms. Reaves or for the child left orphaned after Planned Parenthood was finished with her. It was a golden opportunity squandered.

In contrast, a 19-year old Texas teen named Christin Gilbert<sup>18</sup> died in 2005 from a botched third-trimester abortion in Wichita,

Kansas, with a very different response. Pro-life groups led by Operation Rescue successfully publicized Gilbert's death and demanded accountability for those responsible, even to the point of convening a citizen-called grand jury to investigate any criminal conduct. Even Bill O'Reilly took up the cause, commenting frequently on the subject of late-term abortions on his popular Fox News program.

While those responsible for Gilbert's death eluded justice, her death helped vilify late-term abortions and turn public opinion against the abortion clinic. It laid the groundwork for a stream of pro-life legislation that flooded the Kansas Statehouse once the political conditions became favorable after the mid-term elections in 2010.

Recently, autopsy photographs depicting 18-year old Marla Cardamone's dead body splayed out on a coroner's table were released by Life Dynamics, Inc.<sup>19</sup> She had been killed at a Pennsylvania abortion clinic during a botched procedure. The photos are heart-wrenching. We predict utter silence from the abortion cartel in response to the public outrage these photos are sure to elicit.

The public does not take kindly to women being maimed and killed at substandard abortion mills, but these are facts that the abortion cartel was successfully able to keep from the public during the last election cycle by focusing the public debate on issues that were more akin to a tempest in a teapot.

## **Criminal Activity by Abortion Providers**

Much has surfaced lately regarding the criminal conduct of abortion providers.

In 2008, the shocking story broke of unlicensed California abortionist Bertha Bugarin's arrest<sup>20</sup> in Los Angeles and San Diego



*Life Dynamic, Inc's new brochure contains autopsy photos of Marla Cardomone, who died of a botched abortion, and her pre-born baby*

Counties for illegal abortions and practicing medicine without a license. Bugarin ran what one reporter called a “house of horrors,” where she would personally perform abortions in her six Southern California abortion clinics when no other abortionist was available, even though she had no medical training or background. Bugarin employed the worst of the worst abortionists in the field, many of which lost their medical licenses amid a spate of botched abortions and abortion deaths. Upon Bugarin’s conviction, her abortion clinic chain collapsed.

San Diego District Attorney Bonnie Dumanis, an openly avowed lesbian and staunch supporter of abortion rights stated regarding Bugarin, “This criminal preyed on women in the Hispanic community and has now been held accountable. By passing herself off as a doctor, she put these women’s lives in serious danger.”<sup>21</sup>



*Pro-abortion District Attorney  
Bonnie Dumanis*

In Hyannis, Massachusetts, abortionist Rapin Osathanondh<sup>22</sup> was sentenced to jail for killing Laura Hope Smith during an abortion in a facility with inadequate emergency equipment and staffing. Osathanondh later purchased a crash cart and backdated the paperwork to make it appear that he had it on hand at the time of Smith’s abortion.

District Attorney Michael O’Keefe noted that Osathanondh’s actions amounted to “willful, wanton, and reckless conduct.”<sup>23</sup>

Perhaps the most egregious case was that against Philladelphia abortionist Kermit Gosnell, who was arrested and charged with first degree murder for killing a patient and several babies<sup>24</sup> that had been born alive during his horrific abortion procedures. Nine of his employees were also arrested and three others were also charged with murder.

Conditions and practices at his Women’s Medical Society were so appalling that a voluminous 281-page Grand Jury report described Gosnell’s operation as a “criminal enterprise” and petitioned for the death penalty as a possible sentence.<sup>25</sup>

The gruesomeness of Gosnell’s heinous late-term abortion business shocked America. The National Abortion Federation put as much distance as it could between it and Gosnell. It rescinded the membership of two Delaware clinics associated with him, which were later forced to close.<sup>25</sup>

When talking about the criminal conduct of abortionists and their abuses of women, the pro-life movement stands on solid ground. The abortion cartel’s degenerate conduct is impeccably documented. There is no defense or excuse or hard case that can justify the crimes perpetrated by abortionists. This is an issue where we win, hands down.

## **Financial Malfeasance**

It has been said that no one really cares if abortion clinics are killing babies or if they are clean, safe places, but if clinics are engaged in financial malfeasance, all of a sudden, they have everyone’s attention.

There are plenty of cases that can be referred to, especially regarding Planned Parenthood.

Whistleblower suits filed by former Planned Parenthood employees in California<sup>27</sup>, Texas<sup>28</sup>, and Iowa<sup>29</sup> allege massive billing fraud. According to



these cases, Planned Parenthood is bilking taxpayers out of millions of dollars per year in over-billing and billing for services never rendered.

Planned Parenthood Federation of America disaffiliated its entire Golden Gate operation after evidence of financial mismanagement and malfeasance reached the mainstream media.<sup>30</sup>

A 2009 Zogby Poll indicated that 71% of Americans opposed tax-funding for abortion clinics.<sup>31</sup> That number surely rises when the intentional bilking of taxpayers is added to the mix. This is another winning issue just waiting for the pro-life movement to exploit.

## Sexual Deviancy within the Abortion Cartel

Abortion clinics seem to be magnets for the sexual predator. They provide an environment where abusers can access vulnerable victims where a cloak of secrecy already exists. Sexual predation and abuse at abortion clinics is more widespread than most people realize. This is the abortion cartel's dirty little secret.



*Abortionist and rapist Brian Finkel does the perp walk.*

Perhaps the poster boy for sexual deviancy was Arizona abortionist Brian Finkel<sup>32</sup>. In 2004 he was sentenced to 35 years in prison for raping and otherwise sexually abusing his patients. During his trial, nearly 90 women came forward with 53 testifying of their abuse at his clinic which he openly referred to as the “Vaginal Vault.” Thankfully in 2006, Finkel lost an appeal and will not be eligible for parole until he has served 20 years.

Finkel is certainly not the only abortionist to have crossed sexual boundaries.

California abortionist Laurence Reich<sup>33</sup> was convicted of sexually abusing his abortion patients in the 1980's. He resurfaced in the 1990's, working for illegal abortionist Bertha Bugarin. Pleas to the Board of Osteopathy to ban him from the practice of medicine fell on deaf ears. As predicted, Reich was again caught and convicted of sex abuse against his abortion patients in 2005, and was forced to surrender his license in April 2006. During a 2007 raid on Bugarin's abortion chain in Los Angeles County, Reich was discovered defiantly working as an abortionist even though he had not had a medical license for over a year.

Maryland abortionist Harold O. Alexander was suspended from the practice of medicine on July 31, 2012 for a number of violations, including making “sexually inappropriate comments” about patients' breasts during their abortion procedures and prescribing Viagra to several friends who were not his patients.



In Portland, Registered Nurse Evett Gradwohl was ordered to stop practicing<sup>34</sup> after another employee filed a suit<sup>35</sup> against the Lovejoy Surgical Center where Gradwohl reportedly fondled patients' breasts while they were under anesthesia and sexually harassed other employees. Gradwohl's case has been referred to the Portland Police Department for investigation into her criminal conduct.

Operation Rescue has received numerous reports from former clinic workers that sexual deviancy, harassment, and abuse are commonplace in America's abortion clinics. There is currently an investigation underway against an abortionist whose identity we cannot yet disclose that only adds validity to the argument that all too many abortionists prey on women at abortion clinics where there is less chance that their abusive behavior will be reported to the authorities. This is yet another issue that could build public outrage against the abortion cartel that has not yet been fully exploited by the pro-life movement.

### **Concealment of Child Sex Abuse**

Robert Estrada raped his two step daughters nearly every night from the time they were 11 and 12 years old. When one of the girls became pregnant at the age of 12, he brought her to Central Women's Services, a run-down abortion mill in Wichita, Kansas, for an abortion by Sherman Zaremski. Zaremski gave the girl an abortion, then handed her back to Estrada, who continued raping them for another four long years – all because Zaremski never reported the suspected sex abuse.<sup>36</sup> Estrada was eventually caught after the girls were referred to a pro-life pregnancy crisis center next door to the abortion clinic where one had gone seeking yet another abortion. The pro-life center did report the abuse, and as a result Estrada is now serving a 35-year sentence. Zaremski later sued the state Attorney General to challenge the mandatory child abuse reporting laws, claiming that such reporting should be discretionary.<sup>37</sup>



*Abortionist Sherman Zaremski, like most abortionists, refused to report child rape*

This is just one of hundreds of accounts of abortion businesses covering up for child rapists. In 2002, Life Dynamics, Inc. conducted an undercover telephone investigation of over 900 Planned Parenthood and National Abortion Federation abortion clinics. Nearly all of the clinics told a caller, who identified herself as a 13-year old, that they would not have to tell anyone if she wanted an abortion, even though her boyfriend was said to be 24; or they coached the caller on how to avoid having the clinic report the suspected abuse.<sup>38</sup>

More recently, Live Action's Mona Lisa Project<sup>39</sup> has conducted a series of undercover stings where they were able to record Planned Parenthood clinics covering up child sex abuse. This project gained national attention and helped turn public opinion -- at least temporarily -- against Planned Parenthood.

There is plenty of evidence gathered over many years to show a pattern of violations and make the case that abortion clinics do not report child sex abuse. Other than claim that they were the victims of a "Gotcha" campaign, the abortion clinics have no defense for this chronic misbehavior. The non-reporting of abuse is a hill the pro-life movement can successfully fight on during political campaigns when discussing tax funding for abortion clinics, which is opposed by 71% of the people,<sup>40</sup> and Informed Consent laws, which are supported by 87% of the public.<sup>41</sup>

## Taking the offensive

The problems listed above are systemic to the entire abortion cartel. Taken as a whole or individually, these talking points are devastating to the proponents of abortion on demand. Furthermore, when these facts are brought up in debates or public discourse, it silences the opposition.

Shifting focus away from the wedge issues to successfully debate the harm caused by abortion is what some pro-lifer leaders are already doing in clever ways. Charmaine Yoest, President and CEO of American's United for Life was highlighted in a November 2, 2012, *New York Times* article titled "Charmaine Yoest's Cheerful War on Abortion." The article noted where Mrs. Yoest refused answer the reporters load question regarding Todd Akin because it would "carry water for the other side to redefine the issue."<sup>42</sup> When the reporter pressed her, Yoest said rightly, "I'm not going to answer that...The minutiae of the rape exception is not where it's

at all.” She continued, “[The hard cases are] a distraction. It’s not relevant to the discussion.”

Imagine if Congressman Todd Akin answered the question on pregnancy due to rape like this: “Based on the evidence that Planned Parenthood covers for pedophiles and the fact that we have documented evidence that some abortion providers are convicted rapists, I would demand a full investigation into the circumstances of the conception and the abortion providers’ cover-up.”

It is doubtful that a quote like that would have made any newspaper, and we might have seen different results in the Missouri Senate race.

The entire pro-life movement agrees with Congressman Mourdock’s position that every pre-born child, no matter the events surrounding the conception, is created in the image of God and deserves protection. But rather than give an answer that can be manipulated by the press, why not go on the attack? Like Yoest, Mourdock could have refused to answer the reporter directly and said instead, “The reality is that 98% of all the abortions are done on healthy women with healthy babies, and I’m concerned that too many of these are done by ill-trained and shoddy physicians who are breaking the law. Women deserve better than Planned Parenthood and its troubling track record of killing and maiming women.”



*These filthy conditions were found at a Muskegon, Michigan abortion clinic on December 26, 2012. Conditions like this are common and indefensible by the abortion cartel.*

Refocusing the messaging of the pro-life movement from defense to offense is not difficult, but the end result is the difference between continued failures and victory. The abortion cartel and its proponents have no defense for the death of Tonya Reaves. They sit in stone silence when confronted with the reality of ghastly late-

term abortions used as “birth control.” None of the abortion pundits can defend the lowering of health standards for abortionists only, as they have attempted to do in a recent Mississippi court case challenging the requirement that abortionists have local hospital privileges just like any other ambulatory surgical physician. Based on the reams of documentation that substantiates the argument that abortionists hurt women on an all-too-frequent basis, who can defend an effort to keep abortion dangerous?

When we stand on our strengths, and refuse to be distracted by straw man arguments and red herrings, the other side simply cannot prevail. Additional “winning issues” can be found in the Susan B. Anthony List’s November 16, 2012, Memorandum on page 2.

## Case Studies in "Anti" successes

It is a long-held axiom in the pro-life movement that we need to emphasize what we are for and not focus on what we are against. The abortion crowd uses the term anti-abortion as a pejorative and the pro-life side has always attempted to shift the debate away from this “anti” attack to being “pro”-life, “pro”-woman, and “pro”-baby. While this branding has worked to an extent, those who identify as “pro-life” have not necessarily taken the next logical step from simply liking cuddly babies in receiving blankets to voting to end abortion.

We posit that it is acceptable to keep the pro-life terminology and begin an anti-abortion campaign to re-shape the public’s opinion on abortion. The pro-life movement must always uphold a high standard for the sanctity of human life and be ever better equipped to support women in difficult pregnancies while caring for every aspect of expectant mother care.

Nevertheless, it is equally essential to detail explicitly what the pro-life movement wants and what its main goal actually is: the abolition of abortion. We must articulate a focused anti-abortion agenda without the nuances of the wide-focusing and often confusing pro-life philosophy. We are more than pro-baby. To be truly pro-life, we are, at our core, anti-abortion.

History shows that an “anti” campaign is not always a wrongheaded objective. In fact, defining what we are against clarifies exactly what we desire to achieve. Successful examples of “anti” campaigns are far ranging throughout history.

## Anti-Drunk Driving

Anti-drinking and driving campaigns have flourished in recent



**MADD**  
Activism | Victim Services | Education®

years. One such organization is Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD), an organization that seeks to stop drunk driving and push for stricter alcohol legislation. The organization was founded in 1980 by a woman after her daughter was killed by a drunk driver. MADD has successfully help shape anti-drinking and driving laws such as the lowering the minimum blood alcohol levels and increased sobriety check points. But perhaps the single most important triumph has been to radically change public opinion against drinking and driving. It is no longer socially acceptable to “have one for the road.” As public perception and societal behaviors changed, legislative change followed.

Note: The anti-drinking and driving campaign is not a pro-sobriety crusade. MADD’s name says it all. They are against drunk driving.

## Anti-Smoking



The anti-smoking campaign might be one of the most successful of all American “anti” campaigns. Smoking was once something in which nearly everyone participated. In our founding era, it was common practice for clergymen to be paid in tobacco. More recently, super stars and sports heroes advertized it. The likes of Phillip Morris and R.J. Reynolds once sold cigarettes as safe, luxurious, and sexy. What boy didn’t want to be the Marlboro Man when he grew up? Cigarettes were smoked on airplanes, in hospitals, and in restaurants. Newscasters smoked as they piped the news.

But what was once mainstream behavior is nearly taboo today. Cigarettes are banned in nearly all public places. Smokers are regularly vilified. Even the Center for Disease Control has stepped up to use grotesque pictures of smoking fatalities to discourage smokers from lighting up.

The anti-smoking campaign was ignited by thousands of documented tobacco-related deaths and illnesses. Smoking killed people. It was a revelation for the public.

The campaign fought uphill against multi-national, multi-billion dollar corporate conglomerates deeply imbedded within the government. In the end, the anti-smoking crusade has ultimately won most of what it has fought for, and is gaining a head of steam to push for a complete ban on tobacco.

Note: Obviously, the anti-smoking campaign was not cast as a “pro-clean air” issue. It was not a sterile lung strategy. That “Anti” crusade is quickly running a heavily regulated tobacco industry out of business.

## Anti-Meat Campaign



In an effort to buck a six-thousand-year tradition of human consumption of animal flesh, the anti-meat crusade has achieved remarkable results. The anti-meat coalition includes PETA, Earth First, Greenpeace, and many others. Although they regularly argue that mankind needs to treat animal more humanely, (pro-animal life), their mainstay reasoning is that meat is bad for the human body. Even the

Beatles’ superstar, Sir Paul McCartney, said recently that we ought to forgo our Thanksgiving turkey for the more healthy option of fruits and vegetables.

PETA, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, argue against animal cruelty. PETA has mainstreamed the graphic images of dogs and monkeys being used for medical experiments. You can hardly pick up your shampoo today without seeing a disclaimer that “no animals were harmed in the making of this product.”

Note: The anti-meat crowd is “pro” the humane treatment of animals, but is equally and unashamedly “anti” animal cruelty, and their success is something of which the pro-life movement should take note.

## Anti-slavery

Notably, the abolitionist movement has impacted the direction of America more than any other grassroots advocacy group. Abolitionists fought against thousands of years of generational slavery. The anti-slavery movement used every possible tactic, including graphic images, books and opinion editorials, petitions, marches, songs and so forth. The abolitionist heroes are too many to mention, yet each one of them decried the revolting practice of slavery.



Today slavery is practiced only in secret and is against the law around the globe, the fruit of a very successful “anti” movement.

Note: Abolitionism was an expressly “anti” movement; it was not a celebration of personal liberty, or the propagation of free societies.

## “Anti” campaigns demonstrate that it’s *good* to be against evil

Today we are seeing a rise in the numbers of those who consider themselves “Abortion Abolitionists.” There is something appealing, especially to the younger generations, about working and sacrificing to alleviate human suffering by abolishing an evil in our world.

Being for something is nice, but it is completely acceptable and even noble to be against something as intrinsically wicked as abortion. Opposing an evil will not doom a movement to failure, but actually defines the depraved behavior and assists the opponents in eradicating the conduct.

## Path to Victory Found in Learning from Defeats

Recently a well-intentioned pro-life group put out a year-end email that made justifications for why they did not accomplish the goals they set out for themselves at the beginning of the year. In short, they declared that they “stood up boldly for Truth, we were an

unwavering voice for the voiceless. In the words of Mother Teresa of Calcutta, we are called to be faithful, not to be successful. Success is God's alone."

With all due respect for this fine organization, after 40 years of unabated child-killing in America, we can no longer settle for being "right" while the failure of our efforts result in the slaughter of innocent lives. Our mission is not to be morally superior; our mission is to be successful in saving every baby and ending all abortion.

Abortion is a brutal act of violence that kills a child. We simply do not have the liberty to settle for our piety when it comes to the matter of abortion. As a movement, we have a moral duty to end this holocaust. Every moment we delay means another child dead. We can no longer resign ourselves to excuses for our lack of success or waste our time on rabbit-trails and failed strategies.

Pro-life defeats and delays cannot be ignored if the pro-life movement is to obtain legal protection for every pre-born child. The movement must learn from its losses and improve the messaging. The movement has done a stellar job of improving the pro-life brand while diminishing what it means to be pro-choice. Frances Kissling, former president of Catholic for Choice said, "The pro-choice brand has eroded considerably."<sup>43</sup>

Nevertheless, in the last election, many self-identified pro-life voters cast their ballots for pro-choice positions. The abortion lobby successfully hammered a wedge between us and our supporters through the constant drumming that abortions for rape, incest, and life of the mother, are more the rule than the exception in the abortion debate.

When the pro-life side leads with their chin on the weakest of possible battle fronts, the pro-life arguments get knocked out every time. Current polling data from CNN on August 22, 2012<sup>44</sup> shows the extreme headwind the pro-life community faces on the wedge issue "hard cases." Anywhere between 83% and 88% percent of Americans believe that abortion should be legal for the "hard cases." This number is simply insurmountable at this time. Depending on which "hard case" you choose only 9 to 14 percent stand with the true pro-life position. Is it any wonder that the abortion cartel and far-left Democrats focus on the extreme cases and come out the victor every time?



CNN Poll				
Please say whether you think abortion should be legal in that <u>situation</u> , or illegal.				
	Legal %	Illegal %	Depends (vol.) %	Unsure %
"When the woman's life is endangered"				
8/22-23/12	88	9	1	2
"When the woman's physical health is endangered"				
8/22-23/12	83	12	2	2
"When the pregnancy was caused by rape or incest"				
8/22-23/12	83	14	1	3

Therefore, a shift in tactics must be undertaken to ensure future victories for the pre-born children. We certainly are not suggesting that the pro-life movement adopt an “exception” mentality. Those “hard issues” require more education, but not during a critical election cycle when it is guaranteed the other side will dramatically outspend us to ensure that their voice is the loudest and most persuasive.

What we are suggesting is that we realign our arguments to reflect our strengths upon which the vast majority of Americans can agree. That is the way we will win the most voters.

There are 20% of the people who believe that abortion should always be illegal. They will almost always vote pro-life. We must aggressively court the 52% of the people who believe that abortion should only be legal in certain circumstances. These people are already mostly with us, but we have lost them on the pro-abortion wedge issues. If we can gain their votes by appealing to strong positions on which have commonalities, we have a convincing margin for victory.

Let's face it: Outlawing 98% of abortion will close 100% of the abortion mills, just as William Wilberforce's political strategy, which never actually abolished slavery, decimated the slave trade in 1807.

When the pro-life movement combines the case of compassion for the mother and child with a compelling case against abortion by using the available facts and evidence in ways that resonate with the majority of the people, it will be an unstoppable power at the polls. We have the evidence, the messaging, the proper tools, and the moral high ground to win this fight. The only thing standing in our way from victory is not using these to our greatest advantage.

As mentioned before, we cannot insanely continue to do the same things over and over and expect different results. We cannot chase after the wedge issues where we face a headwind of 88% of voters who are against us. We must remain focused on our strengths. Abortion is generally unpopular because it kills innocent babies and hurts women. Only a sliver of the population thinks that is a good thing. Abortion hurts people, and the vast majority of Americans do not want people hurt. When we focus there, we win.

We must work closer than ever with candidates that share our basic views and help them craft winning rhetoric on the issue of abortion. When there are gaffes, as there will always be, we must stand ready to jump in with support and refocus the public debate with a unified voice.

We must be willing to work with like-minded groups who want to push forward with a strategy to stop abortion. Unfortunately, a few groups and individuals have proven themselves to be obstructions to the process, or believe that their way is the only one that is right and righteous. We cannot compromise our goals of stopping abortion to cater to the obstructionists or naysayers, and we cannot allow successful tactics to be sidelined in order to kowtow to those who think that theirs is the only way.

We view pro-life groups that do not share our views and goals as being simply different members of the same body – not the enemy. We must cease from publicly and personally attacking those with whom we may disagree, or those who do not agree with us. As we extend grace to each other, we may actually find that the work of those with whom we may tactically disagree actually has merit.

But we are weary of those who can only bite and devour the brother next to them in the fox-hole with such vigor that they have little energy left to actually be productive in the real battle. If those who insist on sowing discord and division are, in the end, ignored and isolated, it may encourage them to amend their ways.

Therefore, we propose a “coalition of the willing” of sorts. We seek cooperation and community with those who share our vision to work a unified plan to end abortion now, at this momentous time in history. We seek those who will help the movement refocus on our strengths in both the public square and the political realm. We seek to build a pro-life nation that is ultimately anti-abortion enough to take meaningful action to ensure our country ultimately becomes abortion-free. That is the path toward ultimate victory for every baby.

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