

Reproductive Rights Bibliography

(Primary Sources)

Books

Andrusko, Dave, ed. *To Rescue the Future: the Pro-Life Movement in the 1980's*. Harrison, NY: Life Cycle Books, 1987.

A review of the achievements of the “pro-life” movement in the decade of the ‘80s from the editor of similar annual reviews.

Beckwith, Francis J. *Politically Correct Death: Answering the Arguments for Abortion Rights*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1993.

A conservative’s collection of debate responses to pro-choice arguments.

Bohan, James F. *The House of Atreus: Abortion as a Human Rights Issue*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999.

An attempt to present the conflicting claims of women, fetuses and society.

Brennan, William. *The Abortion Holocaust: Today's Final Solution*. St. Louis, MO: Landmark Press, 1983.

A comparison between the Third Reich and “*Roe v. Wade* America,” arguing that abortion is a modern resurrection of “one of history’s most monstrous chapters.”

Crutcher, Mark. *Access: The Key to Pro-life Victory*. Denton, TX: Life Dynamics Publications, n.d.

A Life Dynamics, Inc. pamphlet that suggests that limited access to abortion services will be the single most effective way to end abortion in the US.

_____. *Lime 5: Exploited by Choice*. Denton, TX: Life Dynamics Publications, 1996.

A “behind-the-scenes” look at abortion providers and the women they serve from one of the most vocal, hard-Right, anti-choice activists.

_____. *Quack the Ripper: News from the Red Light District of Medicine*. Denton, TX: Life Dynamics Publications, n.d.

This is the latest format of a cartoon book that is part of a direct mail campaign to medical students

that vilifies abortion providers and pro-choice activists.

Gilder, George F. *Sexual Suicide*. New York, NY: Bantam, 1975.

The author explains traditional family and sex role differences among men and women as a necessary balance between aggressive “maleness” and the civilizing force of “femaleness.”

Grant, George. *Immaculate Deception*. Chicago, IL: Northfield Publishing, 1996.

This indictment of Planned Parenthood focuses on the author’s claim that the organization’s broad impact on health care, legal services, abortion and contraceptive services is vulnerable and declining.

McCorvey, Norma with Gary Thomas. *Won by Love*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1997.

The second book by the Jane Roe of *Roe v. Wade*, describing her born-again process at the hands of Operation Rescue leader Flip Benham.

Nathanson, Barnard N. with Richard N. Ostling. *Aborting America: A Case Against Abortion*. New York, NY: Pinnacle Books, 1979.

The autobiography of a former abortion provider turned anti-choice spokesperson.

O’Leary, Dale. *The Gender Agenda: Redefining Equality*. Lafayette, LA: Vital Issues Press, 1997.

A conservative journalist’s analysis of the hidden agenda of feminism as an attempt to ruin traditional sex roles by creating absolute equity between men and women.

Powell, John, S.J. *Abortion: The Silent Holocaust*. Allen, TX: Argis Communications, 1981.

Half autobiography, half Catholic version of *Whatever Happened to the Human Race* (see Schaeffer entry below), this back-pocket-sized book follows a pro-life spokesman through his spiritual and political development.

Rae, Scott B. *Brave New Technologies: Biblical Ethics and Reproductive Technologies*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1996.

An investigation of the moral issues involved in several reproductive technologies from a Christian ethicist who struggled as a member of an infertile couple himself. Includes advice for other couples in similar situations.

Ruff, Robert H. *Aborting Planned Parenthood: Documented Proof of Planned Parenthood's Systematic Exploitation of Teenagers and Taxpayers.* Lewiston, NY: Life Cycle Books, 1988.

Ruff's criticism of Planned Parenthood addresses such topics as "the tragedy of 'safe sex'," "the failure of sex education," and "the scandal of government funding."

Schaeffer, Francis A. and C. Everett Koop, MD *Whatever Happened to the Human Race?* Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1979.

The source for much of the anti-choice strategists' thinking. Schaeffer the "prophet" who led Protestants into active opposition to abortion. Surgeon General Koop's early anti-choice roots.

Scheidler, Joseph M. *Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion.* Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1985.

The classic text on how to harass and close down abortion clinics by the father of anti-choice direct action.

Terry, Randall A. *Accessory to Murder: The Enemies, Allies, and Accomplices to the Death of our Culture.* Brentwood, TN: Wolgemuth and Hyatt Publishers, 1991.

A diatribe not only against Planned Parenthood, NOW and other "hard core feminists" but against those parts of the Christian Right that do not agree with Terry's tactics.

_____. *Why Does a Nice Guy Like Me...Keep Getting Thrown in Jail?* Lafayette, LA: Huntington House Publishers, 1993.

A further development of Terry's theology from his 1991 book, clarifying why he disagrees with other Christians over his Operation Rescue activities.

Reagan, Ronald. *Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation.* New York: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1984. Afterwords by C. Everett Koop and Malcolm Muggeridge.

White House staffers produced this slim volume on behalf of Reagan as a demonstration of his commitment to the pro-life cause.

Articles

Family Policy. A magazine published by the Family Research Council. The September-October, 1999 issue is devoted to the issue of abortion.

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Articles

- Alvare, Helen, Marie C. Wilson and Naomi Wolf. "Abortion: Whose Values? Whose Rights?" A panel discussion on abortion. *Tikkun*, vol. 21, (January 11, 1997), p. 54.
- Barabak, Mark Z. "Some in GOP Suggest Softer Stand on Abortion—For Sake of Victory." *Los Angeles Times* (March 27, 1999), p. A5.
- Brodie, Ian. "Christian Right Tries the Gentle Touch." *The Times* (September 19, 1994).
- Carney, Eliza Newlin. "Abortion as a Wedge Issue." *The National Journal*, vol. 27, no. 9 (March 4, 1995), p. 575.
- Carney, Eliza Newlin. "Abortion Foes Fight the 'Speech Police.'" *The National Journal*, vol. 29, no. 47, p. 2783.
- Clarkson, Fred. "Anti-abortion Extremists, 'Patriots' and Racists Converge." *Intelligence Report*, Issue 91 (Summer 1998) pp. 8-16.
- Cook, P.J., A.M. Parnell, M.J. Moore and D. Pagnini. "The effects of short-term variation in abortion funding on pregnancy outcomes." *The Journal of Health Economics*, Vol. 18, no. 2 (April, 1999), pp. 241-257.
- Dart, Bob. "Roe v. Wade: 25 Years Later." *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (Sunday, January 18, 1998), p. 2E.
- English, Deirdre. "The War Against Choice: Inside the Antiabortion Movement." *Mother Jones* (Feb.-Mar. 1981), pp. 16-32.
- Fishman, Ted C. "Wrongful Death: a New Strategy in the War Against Abortion." *Playboy*, vol. 44, no. 7, p. 50.
- Fried, Marlene Gerber. "Abortion in the United States: Barriers to Access." *Health and Human Rights: an International Journal*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2000), pp. 174-194.
- Goldberg, Kim. "Neo-Nazis and Pro-lifers; Violence Against Abortion Clinics." *Canadian Dimension*, vol. 29, no. 2 (April, 1995), p. 30.
- Gordon, Linda and Allen Hunter. "Sex, Family and the New Right." *Radical America*, vol. 11, no. 6/ vol. 12, no. 1 (November, 1977-February 1978), pp. 9-25.
- Greene, Leonard. "Operation Rescue Makes Schools Next Battleground." *The Boston Herald* (February 14, 1997), p. 6.
- Hartmann, Betsy. "Reclaiming the Challenge: Claiming the Ground Between Anti-abortion Activism and Aggressive Population Control Programs." *Whole Earth Review* (December 22, 1995), p. 14.
- Himmelstein, Jerome L. "The Social Basis of Antifeminism: Religious Networks and Culture." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 25, no. 1 (March, 1986), pp. 1-15.
- Hopkins, Nick and Steve Richter. "Social Movement Rhetoric and the Social Psychology of Collective Action: A Case Study of Anti-abortion Mobilization." *Human Relations* (March 1997), p. 261.
- Hoyt, Mike. "Abortion: Partial Truths." *Columbia Journalism Review* (May/June 1997), p. 12.
- "Is Abortion the Issue?" Panel discussion held at the New School for Social Research. Judy Woodruff served as moderator. Participants: Linda Gordon, Sidney Callhan, Ellen Willis, Ellen Wilson Fielding. *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 273 (July, 1986), p. 35.
- Leahy, Peter James. "The Anti-Abortion Movement: Testing a Theory of Social Movements." Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University (September, 1975).
- Lewin, Tamar. "Malpractice Lawyers' New Target; Abortion Doctors." *Medical Economics*, vol. 72, no. 12 (June 26, 1995), p. 53.
- Luker, Kristin. "The War Between the Women." *Family Planning Perspectives*, vol. 16, no. 3 (May/June, 1984), pp. 105-110.
- Marshall, Susan E. "Rattle on the Right: Bridge Labor in Antifeminist Organizations." *No Middle Ground: Women and Radical Protest*, ed. Kathleen Blee, *op. cit.* In "Secondary Sources: Books," pp. 155-179.

Mason, Carol. "Cracked Babies and the Partial Birth of a Nation: Millennialism and Fetal Citizenship." *Cultural Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1, (2000), pp. 35-60.

_____. "From Protest to Retribution: The Guerrilla Politics of Pro-life Violence." *New Political Science*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2000), pp. 11-29.

_____. "Minority Unborn." In *Fetal Subjects: Feminist Positions*, eds. Lynn Morgan and Meredith Michaels, op. cit. in "Secondary Sources: Books", pp. 159-174.

Monaghan, Peter. "Making Babies with New Technologies: New Books Examine the Evolving Political Status of the Fetus." *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (July 30, 1999), A10.

"New Catholic Group Promotes Right to Life." *The Toronto Star* (October 1, 1994), p. K16.

Olsson, Karen. "Abortion Rights." *The Texas Observer* (April 2, 1999), pp. 10-12.

Petchesky, Rosalind Pollack. "Fetal Images: The Power of Visual Culture in the Politics of Reproduction." *Feminist Studies*, vol. 13, no. 2 (Summer, 1987), pp. 263-288.

"Preachers of Hate." *The Progressive* (December 1998), p. 8.

"Pro-life Terrorism: A How-to." Excerpt from "The Army of God." *Harper's Magazine* (January, 1995), vol. 289, no. 1736, p. 19.

Puga, Ana. "Radicalizing Right to Life." *The Boston Globe* (October 30, 1994), p. 26.

Rodriguez, Lori. "Rightist Minorities Open First Conference." *The Houston Chronicle* (October 1, 1994), p. 34.

Rome, Nik. "What Life Expectancy for Abortion Pep?" *Money Marketing* (October 1, 1998), p. 48.

Ross, Loretta J. "Anti-abortionists and White Supremacists Make Common Cause." *The Progressive*, vol. 58, no. 10 (October, 1994), p. 24.

Samuels, David. "The Making of a Fugitive." *The New York Times Magazine* (March 21, 1999), p. 47.

"Some Antiabortion Activists Question Consequences of GOP Welfare Reform." *The Washington Post* (February, 1, 1995), p. A4.

Swomley, John M. "Catholics and the Religious Right." *The Humanist*, vol. 56, no. 2 (March, 1996), p. 36.

Swope, Christopher. "Abortion: Chapter II." *Governing Magazine* (May 1998), p. 44.

Tannenbaum, Leora. "The Abortionist: A Woman Against the Law." *The Nation*, vol. 260, no. 4 (January 30, 1995), p. 142.

Turque, Bill. "Aborted Revolution?" *Newsweek* (December 12, 1994), p. 38.

Wills, Garry. "Evangelists of Abortion." *New York Review of Books* (June 15, 1989), pp. 15-21.

Wolf, Naomi. "Our Bodies, Our Souls: Rethinking Pro-Choice Rhetoric." *The New Republic* (October 16, 1995), pp. 26-35.

Wyatt, Sarah. "Late-term Abortion Bar Upheld in Wisconsin." *The Boston Globe* (May 29, 1999), p. A3.

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Books

Blanchard, Dallas A. *The Anti-Abortion Movement and the Rise of the Religious Right: From Polite to Fiery Protest.* New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994.

A concise history of how and why the anti-abortion movement arose and what its philosophies and inner workings consist of today.

Blee, Kathleen M. ed. *No Middle Ground: Women and Radical Protest.* New York: New York University Press, 1998.

A collection of articles about radical women on both the right and the left, including anti-feminists.

Center for Reproductive Law & Policy. *Tipping the Scales: The Christian Right's Legal Crusade Against Choice.* New York: Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, 1998.

A very useful collection of descriptions of legal organizations that support anti-choice efforts.

Conover, Pamela Johnston and Virginia Gray. *Feminism and the New Right: Conflict over the American Family.* New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983.

An early study of the pro-family movement and its impact on the ERA and abortion.

Diamond, Sara. *Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right.* Boston: South End Press, 1989.

The definitive critique of the spectrum of Christian Right politics, from televangelists and electoral politics within the Republican Party to millennialists and international missionary work. Includes an important chapter on right-wing women activists.

Dula, Annette and Sara Goering, eds. *"It Just Ain't Fair": The Ethics of Health Care for African Americans.* Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994.

A collection of articles on a wide range of topics relating to health care for the African American community.

Ehrenreich, Barbara and Deidre English. *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers.* Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1973.

The first feminist pamphlet to connect the decline of midwives with the rise of the medical establishment's control over women's reproductive rights.

Eisenstein, Zillah R. *Feminism and Sexual Equality: Crisis in Liberal America.* New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984.

In questioning the direction of liberal thought, this book critiques both conservatives like Phyllis Schlafly and her vision of family life and the gender politics of liberals, seeing both as fundamentally patriarchal and anti-feminist.

Feinman, Clarice, ed. *The Criminalization of a Woman's Body.* New York: Harrington Park Press, 1992.

A review of legal theories that intervene in women's reproductive choices from abortion, surrogate motherhood, and prenatal "child abuse," including crack babies. The focus is on how the law stigmatizes women who deviate from traditional sex-role norms.

Fried, Marlene Gerber, ed. *From Abortion to Reproductive Freedom: Transforming a Movement.* Boston: South End Press, 1990.

A comprehensive collection of essays, some valuable classics, that powerfully argues for expanding the abortion movement to make it more inclusive of race, class and cultural concerns.

Fried, Marlene and Loretta Ross. *Reproductive Freedom: Our Right to Decide,* Pamphlet no. 18. Westfield, NJ: Open Media, 1992.

A classic call for women's self determination in all areas of reproductive rights, not just abortion.

Ginsburg, Faye D. *Contested Lives: The Abortion Debate in an American Community.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

An updated edition of a 1987 study of Fargo, North Dakota and the pro-choice and pro-life narratives that evolved among its residents.

Gorney, Cynthia. *Articles of Faith: A Frontline History of the Abortion Wars.* New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1998.

A moving chronicle of the growth of partisan alignments around the issue of abortion using the stories of individuals deeply affected by abortion politics in Missouri from the '60s to the '90s.

Guttmacher, Alan, ed. *The Case for Legalized Abortion.* Berkeley: Diablo Press, 1967.

Written by a champion of women's reproductive rights in the pre-Roe era of state-level anti-abortion statutes, this book helped to repeal many of those restrictive laws.

Hartmann, Betsy. *Reproductive Rights and Wrongs: The Global Politics of Population Control.* Boston: South End Press, 1995.

A classic 1987 analysis of population policies and their effect on women's lives updated with an introduction by Helen Rodriguez-Trias.

Irvine, Janice. *Talk about Sex: The Cultural Politics of Sexuality Education.* New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2001.

A comprehensive history of the Right's assault on sexuality education with a focus on its attacks of Planned Parenthood and SIECUS.

Jacoby, Kerry. *Souls, Bodies, Spirits: The Drive to Abolish Abortion since 1973.* Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998.

A social history of the religious anti-abortion movement, interspersed with sociological theories that help explain the movement.

Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Explores the terrain of recent American racial politics by examining public opinion toward policies on race.

Luker, Kirsten. *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Based on extensive interviews on both sides of the abortion conflict in California, the author presents a convincing case that it is deeply rooted world view differences, not merely political disagreements, that define the positions.

MacWilliams, Cosgrove, Smith, Robinson. *An Exploration of Young Women's Attitudes Towards Pro-Choice.* Report Commissioned by the Pro-Choice Public Education Project. Mamaroneck, NY: self published, 1997.

This useful analysis of focus groups with young women reveals the extent to which anti-choice activists have affected their attitudes.

McKeegan, Michele. *Abortion Politics: Mutiny in the Ranks of the Right.* New York: Free Press, 1992.

An important history of the anti-choice movement, focusing on the Reagan administration. Includes a description of the widening splits among post-Reagan political strategists over how to use changes in public opinion about abortion effectively.

Melich, Tanya. *The Republican War Against Women: An Insider's Report From Behind the Lines.* New York, NY: Bantam Books, 1996.

This book discusses the changes in the Republican agenda, which sought to dismantle the gains made by women during the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Merton, Andrew. *Enemies of Choice: The Right-to-Life Movement and its Threat to Abortion.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1981.

A very readable, early expose of the anti-choice movement from a liberal journalist's perspective.

Mohr, James C. *Abortion in America: The Origins and Evolution of National Policy, 1800-1900.* New York: Summit Books, 1983.

A comprehensive history of the dramatic shift in abortion social policy in the United States during the nineteenth century.

Morgan, Lynn M. and Meredith W. Michaels, eds. *Fetal Subjects: Feminist Positions.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

This collection of feminist essays reflects on the developing field of fetal medical ethics and civil rights and dares to ask disquieting questions of the pro-choice movement. The introduction and afterword are especially challenging to our assumptions about what it means to be pro-choice and feminist.

Noonan, John T. *A Private Choice: Abortion in America in the Seventies.* New York: Free Press, 1979.

A description of immediately-post-Roe America by a Constitutional historian.

Novick, Michael. *White Lies White Power: The Fight Against White Supremacy and Reactionary Violence.* Munroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1995.

An overview of the white power movement's issues with a chapter on links between the Klan, neo-nazis and the anti-abortion movement.

O'Connor, Karen. *No Neutral Ground? Abortion Politics in an Age of Absolutes.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996.

Published as part of a "Dilemmas in American Politics" series, this book portrays the abortion politics as a polarized debate. Useful documentation of the history of abortion opposition in the U.S.

Paige, Connie. *The Right to Lifers: Who They Are, How They Operate, Where They Get Their Money.* New York: Summit Books, 1983.

An early, very readable book about anti-choice men and women and their relationships with the New Right.

Petchesky, Rosalind Pollack. *Abortion and Woman's Choice: The State, Sexuality, and Reproductive Freedom.* New York: Longman, 1984.

An important feminist analysis of sexual politics, reproductive freedom and the symbolism of abortion for both the Right and the Left.

Risen, James and Judy Thomas. *Wrath of Angels: The American Abortion War.* New York: Basic Books, 1998.

This highly readable account, written by two investigative journalists, chronicles twenty years in the lives of several key personalities in the abortion debate.

Roberts, Dorothy. *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty.* New York: Vintage Books, 1999.

A thorough, chilling summary of the systematic abuse of African American women's bodies.

Schroedel, Jean Ruth. *Is the Fetus a Person?: A Comparison of Policies Across the Fifty States.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell U. Press, 2000.

A comprehensive comparison of how each state responds to abortion and a range of child welfare issues concludes that states with stronger anti-choice laws have less support for children once they are born.

Silliman, Jael and Ynestra King, eds. *Dangerous Intersections: Feminist Perspectives on Population, Environment, and Development.* Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1999.

These articles, assembled by the Committee on Women, Population and the Environment, highlight the connections between population policy and women's lives, especially their reproductive rights. Useful reflections on the impact of conservative thinking on global policies affecting women.

Solinger, Rickie, ed. *Abortion Wars: A Half-Century of Struggle 1950-2000.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

An important collection of essays reflecting on the abortion controversy in the U.S. over the last fifty years.

Spelman, Elizabeth V. *Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1988.

A philosophical analysis of the limitations of feminism, with a section on gender and race.

Steinhoff, Patricia G., and Milton Diamond. *Abortion Politics: The Hawaii Experience.* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1977.

A description of the early electoral struggles for abortion rights in Hawaii, the first state to repeal its anti-abortion statute in 1970.

Swomley, John M. *Compulsory Pregnancy: The War Against American Women.* Amherst, NY: Humanist Press, 1999.

A collection of reprints from the President of Americans for Religious Liberty, these essays are reflections from a faith-based perspective on the moral issues related to abortion.

Tatalovich, Raymond and Byron W. Daynes. *The Politics of Abortion: A Study of Community Conflict in Public Policymaking.* New York: Praeger, 1981.

Through an historical review, the authors reflect on the abortion controversy from an objective, social sci-