

So, the notion that States will somehow allow women to have reasonable access to safe abortion is really fantasy and is not reflected by the evidence of history. I think it will once again be a time in which abortion will largely be unavailable to women and that the first to suffer will be poor women and minority women, and affluent women will face the humiliation of engaging in underground and illegal activities, but perhaps they will escape with their lives and their bodies intact.

Ms. KUNIN. Senator, as I try to envision a post-*Roe v. Wade* world, I think the clock would not just go back to pre-*Roe v. Wade*, because before *Roe v. Wade*, while there were many courageous people who had to seek abortions by whatever ways they could, basically, the law of the land did not permit it.

What we have had for the last almost 20 years is that the law within the limited guidelines of *Roe v. Wade* make abortion legal and safe, so you have really had to see change in our society that is very, very profound and has affected women's lives in every possible way, with a true ability to decide when and how many children to have. Women could make other decisions as to their economic standing, their equality as human beings in general, and by eroding or reversing *Roe v. Wade*, I think it will create a kind of tension, a kind of anger, a kind of explosion that we do not fully appreciate.

I do not think this country has in the past taken away rights that it has once previously granted, and to push the clock back I think will create an internal battlefield that will be very, very painful.

Now, in addition to that, I believe the practical impact from the States level will be that you will probably have violence of opportunity to have illegal abortion and you will have islands where it is impossible to have an abortion.

Vermont, I am quite confident, would maintain that right. In fact, we had a case even before *Roe v. Wade*, that Senator Leahy is very familiar with, that made abortion within certain limitations legal.

Louisiana we certainly know today would not. Massachusetts might or might not. Pennsylvania will not, as indicated by the laws they have passed. So, you are going to have tremendous confusion, you are going to have a tremendous distraction in this country from some of the other issues that we should be dealing with, the poverty issues, the housing issues, the other domestic issues. I think there will be a very wrenching and unfair time.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. My time is up.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Thurmond.

Senator THURMOND. I welcome the distinguished ladies here today. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Leahy.

Senator LEAHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I was not here when the testimony began. I was at another matter involving Senate duties and was unable to be here, but I listened to every word of the testimony right up to seconds of the time I came through the door, and I was quite moved by it.