

as “thoroughly woman-affirming and life-affirming.”

These priorities of being both pro-women and pro-life have today been made enemies instead of allies. Today, the right to abortion and even its actual incidence have, for many, become signs or symbols of progress instead of oppression. This idea that the act of killing a living human being should be held up as a step forward, as a light to guide our way, strikes me as deeply misguided and as something to mourn rather than celebrate. We should instead deepen the conviction that all human beings have inherent dignity and worth. That once was, and should be again, the foundation for our culture, society, and, yes, even our politics.

The Supreme Court not only degraded human life in its *Roe v. Wade* decision but did so by degrading the Constitution. The Court found a right to abortion not in the real Constitution but in a constitution of its own making. The real Constitution would not allow the Court to impose its own values on the Nation, and so the Court simply created a different constitution that would. By claiming to find an unwritten right in our written Constitution, the Justices seized control of the Constitution that is supposed to control them.

If it is possible, I urge my colleagues to set aside the particular subject of abortion and consider what this really means. All public officials, including Supreme Court Justices, take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. That Constitution, the real Constitution, is supposed to be the primary way that the American people impose limits on govern-

ment. In fact, as the Supreme Court recognized in the 1803 *Marbury v. Madison* decision, the Constitution is written down so that those limits on government will be neither mistaken nor forgotten. In his farewell address of 1796, President George Washington said that the people’s control over the Constitution is the heart of our system of government. Our freedom depends on it.

With decisions like *Roe v. Wade*, however, the Supreme Court takes control of the Constitution away from the people, distorts our way of government, and compromises the freedom the system makes possible. Thomas Jefferson warned against allowing the Supreme Court to twist and shape the Constitution into any form it pleased. Yet that is exactly what the Court does in *Roe v. Wade*. Instead of conforming their decisions to the real Constitution, the Justices conform the Constitution to their own preferences, values, and agenda. They turn their oath to support and defend the Constitution into an oath to support and defend themselves.

January 22 is known for the decision in which the Supreme Court degraded human life by degrading the Constitution. The Court used judicially tragic means to achieve a morally and culturally tragic end. Thankfully, however, January 22 is also known for another, radically different, event known as the March for Life. Every year for decades, hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens have come here to Washington to do just that—march for life. They represent what once was the norm: the belief that life itself is precious and that each human being has inherent dignity and worth. By coming

to Washington year after year, they stake their claim that those principles can once again prevail.

There is reason for hope. More than 70 percent of Americans believe that abortion should be illegal in most or all circumstances. That figure has not changed in more than 40 years. What has changed is that more Americans today identify themselves as pro-life than as pro-choice. Large majorities favor a range of limitations on abortion and in 2014 elected scores of new pro-life legislators at both the State and Federal level. Perhaps most encouraging of all, the percentage of young people who believe that abortion should not be permitted in most or all circumstances has risen steadily and significantly. The number of abortions reported each year to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has dropped by 50 percent in the last 25 years.

The organization Feminists for Life was founded in 1972 before *Roe v. Wade* sent us into this tailspin. They have said for years that women deserve better than abortion. Life, not death, should be our priority.

I hope and pray that more and more of us will be—in large and small ways each and every day—marching for life.

I yield the floor.

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ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M.  
TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 2:30 p.m., adjourned until Friday, January 22, 2016, at 10 a.m.