

European countries were then doing, protracted conflicts over welfare and healthcare policy in the years since in the United States might well have been avoided. Where she went wrong was only in failing to anticipate the force of the opposition her proposal would generate from a coalition of religious conservatives of her own day, including urban Catholics and rural fundamentalist Protestants to whom Roosevelt Democrats became captive, much as Republicans have become in recent years.

What is a good deal harder to deconstruct and understand is Sanger's engagement with eugenics during these years, the then still widely respectable and popular intellectual movement that addressed the manner in which biology and heredity affect human intelligence and ability. Like many well-intentioned secularists and social reformers of her day, Sanger took away from Charles Darwin the essentially optimistic lesson that men and women's common descent in the animal kingdom makes us all capable of improvement, if only we apply the right tools. Eugenics, in the view of most prominent progressive thinkers of this era, from university presidents, to physicians and scientists, to public officials, held the promise that merit would replace birthright and social status as the standard for mobility in a democratic society.

In this respect, the most enduring bequest of eugenics is standard IQ testing. Its most damning and unfathomable legacy is a series of state laws upheld by a 9 to 1 progressive majority of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1929, including Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis Brandeis, who in the landmark decision of *Buck v. Bell* authorized the compulsory sterilization of a poor young white woman with an illegitimate child, on grounds of feeble-mindedness that were never clearly established. This decision, incidentally, was also endorsed by civil libertarians such as Roger Baldwin and civil rights advocates, including W.E.B. Dubois of the NAACP, both of whom Sanger counted among her supporters and friends.

For Sanger eugenics was meant to begin with the voluntary use of birth control, but many conservative eugenicists of the day actually opposed the practice on the grounds that the fit should procreate. Sanger countered by disdaining what she called a 'cradle competition' of class, race or ethnicity. She publicly opposed immigration restrictions which grew out of conservative interpretations of a eugenics that reinforced racial and ethnic stereotypes she opposed. She framed poverty as a matter of differential access to resources, including birth control, not as the immutable consequence of low inherent ability or poor character, a view some conservative eugenicists embraced. She argued for broad government safety nets for social welfare and public health, including access to safe and reliable contraception. And she proudly marshalled clinical data to demonstrate that most women, even among the poorest and least educated populations, embraced and eagerly used birth control voluntarily, when it was provided them.

At the same time, however, Sanger did on occasion engage in shrill rhetoric about the growing burden of large families among individuals of low intelligence and defective heredity. Her language had no intended racial, ethnic, or class content. She argued that all women, no matter where they are situated, should be encouraged to bear fewer, healthier children, but her words have since been lifted out of context and tragically misquoted to provoke exactly the kind of intolerance she opposed. Moreover, in endorsing the Supreme Court's decision about compulsory sterilization, and also on several occasions the payment of pensions or bonuses to

women of low intelligence who would with this inducement agree to the procedure, Sanger quite clearly failed to consider the fundamental rights questions raised by such practices or the validity of the aptitude assessments on which determinations of low intelligence were based. Living in an era indifferent to the firm obligation to respect and protect the rights of individuals whose behaviours do not always conform to prevailing mores, she did not always fulfil it.

The challenge for historians has been to reconcile these apparent contradictions in her views. Sanger was actually an unusually advanced thinker on race for her day, one who condemned discrimination and encouraged reconciliation between blacks and whites. She opened an integrated clinic in Harlem in the early 1930s and then facilitated birth control and maternal health programs for rural black women in the south, when local white health officials denied them access to the New Deal's first federally funded services . . . She worked on this project with the behind the scenes support of Eleanor Roosevelt, whose progressive views on race were well known but whose support for birth control was silenced by her husband's Catholic political handlers, at least until he was safely ensconced in the White House for a third term. Historically specific circumstances of this complexity, however, are hard to untangle and convey, and this in large part explains why Sanger's legacy has been so easily distorted by contemporary abortion opponents who believe they can advance their own ideological and political agendas by undermining her motives and her character.

America's intensely complicated politics of reproduction has long ensnared Margaret Sanger and all others who have tried to discipline it. Birth control has fundamentally altered private and public life over the past century. No other issue has for so long captivated our attention or polarized our thinking. As the psychologist Erik Erikson once provocatively suggested, no idea of modern times, save perhaps for arms control, more directly challenges human destiny, which alone may account for the profound social conflict it tends to inspire.

As many scholars of the subject in recent years have also observed, much of the controversy around birth control proceeds as well from the plain fact that reproduction is by its very nature experienced individually and socially at the same time. In claiming women's fundamental right to control their own bodies, Sanger always remained mindful of the dense fabric of cultural, political, and economic relationships in which those rights are exercised. And almost, if obviously not always, the policies she advocated were intended to facilitate the necessary obligation of public policy to balance individual rights of self-expression with the sometimes contrary social and political obligation to promulgate and enforce common mores, rule, and laws.

That Margaret Sanger failed to get this balance quite right in one important respect is certainly worthy of respectful disagreement and commentary, but it is no reason to poison her reputation or to abandon the noble cause of reproductive freedom to which she so courageously and indefatigably dedicated her life.

## EARMARK DECLARATION

**HON. DAVID G. REICHERT**

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 21, 2009*

Mr. REICHERT. Madam Speaker, pursuant to the Republican Leadership standards on earmarks, I am submitting the following information regarding earmarks I received as part of the Fiscal Year 2010 Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act.

(1) \$750,000 for the M Street SE Grade Separation Project Requesting Entity: City of Auburn, 25 West Main Street, Auburn, WA 98001

Agency: Federal Highway Administration  
Account: Surface Transportation Priorities  
Funding Requested by: Rep. DAVE REICHERT

Project Summary: This request will allow the City to complete right of way acquisition. Once completed, the grade separation will provide indirect economic benefits to the regional Ports of Seattle and Tacoma, and the BNSF railroad; it will also allow continued growth and increased economic impact, which will proportionally increase the number of jobs in the region.

### FINANCE PLAN:

Funding Source	Tracking (million)	Anticipated (million)	Secured (million)
City of Auburn .....			2.2
FY08 Appropriations .....			0.12
City of Auburn—PWFF .....	\$2.00		
2010 Appropriations .....	4.60		
FMSIB—State Funds .....			6.00
City of Auburn .....		\$1.20	
BNSF .....		1.10	
Ports .....		1.50	
TIB .....	2.00		
Federal STP Grant .....	1.70		
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>10.3</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>8.3</b>

### Funding Need per Phase:

Phase	Dates	Projected cost (million)
Design and Environmental .....	10/8 to 1/10 .....	\$2.4
Right-of-Way Acquisition .....	2/10 to 2/11 .....	4.6
Construction .....	5/11 to 10/12 .....	15.4
<b>Total .....</b>		<b>22.4 million</b>

(2) \$360,000 for the SE King County Commuter Rail and Transit Centers Feasibility Study

Requesting Entity: City of Covington, 16720 SE 271st St., Suite 100, Covington, WA 98042, and

City of Maple Valley, 22035 SE Wax Road, Maple Valley, WA 98038

Agency: Federal Transit Administration  
Account: Alternatives Analysis  
Funding Requested by: Rep. DAVE REICHERT

Project Summary: This project is a feasibility study for bringing commuter rail to one of the fastest growing areas in Southeast King County, Washington. A five-city coalition has formed to study the feasibility of utilizing existing infrastructure to handle the expected traffic growth, and to explore whether small commuter trains could run between Maple Valley-Covington-Auburn on the Burlington Northern Stampede Pass Line. Arriving in Auburn, commuters could connect with the Sounder trains and Metro bus service into Kent, Seattle, and Bellevue. The feasibility study will examine the

capital and operating costs of such a service, design a business model, and examine rider-ship demand.

FINANCIAL PLAN

The funding source is the FY10 Appropriations request, as this public entity can only fund the feasibility study at this time with federal support. Depending upon the amount of funding received, the cities involved will seek submittals of qualifications from consultants experienced in multi-modal (particularly rail), inter-city transportation alternatives.

(3) \$150,000 for the Boys and Girls Clubs of Bellevue, Bellevue Community Center renovations

Requesting Entity: Boys and Girls Clubs of Bellevue, 209 100th Avenue NE, Bellevue, WA 98004

Agency: Housing and Urban Development (HUD)

Account: Economic Development Initiatives (EDI)

Funding Requested by: Rep. DAVE REICHERT

Project Summary:

This project will enable the Bellevue Boys and Girls Club to serve more children in three targeted low-income communities in Bellevue. Adding to the size, utility, and safety of these sites will not only increase the educational and recreational opportunities of youth living in these communities, but will also allow adults access to basic education, employment training and language skills that lead to increased

self-sufficiency, self-esteem and economic wellbeing. Existing community facilities have been used extensively, are outdated, and simply too small to accommodate the growing number of youth that want to use the facilities at each site.

BELLEVUE COMMUNITY CENTER UPGRADE PROJECT  
FINANCE PLAN

Hidden Village Cost Estimate		
Building Renovation	\$171,000	
Site work	17,100	
Demo for Addition	7,500	
Subtotal	195,600	
Permits	3,912	
Contractor G.C.	29,340	
Total	228,852	
Eastside Terrace Cost Estimate		
Building Renovation	192,500	
Site work	19,250	
Demo for Addition	7,500	
Subtotal	219,250	
Permits	4,385	
Contractor G.C.	32,888	
Total	256,523	
Spirit wood Manor Cost Estimate		
Building Renovation	284,000	
Site work	28,400	
Demo for Addition	7,500	
Subtotal	319,900	
Permits	6,398	
Contractor G.C.	47,985	
Total	374,283	
Total Community Center Upgrade Project Cost	859,658	
Requested EDI	750,000	87%

BELLEVUE COMMUNITY CENTER UPGRADE PROJECT  
FINANCE PLAN—Continued

King County Housing Authority Matching Funds	109,658	13%
Total	859,658	

(4) \$250,000 for the City of Snoqualmie Historic Downtown Main Street infrastructure improvements

Requesting Entity: City of Snoqualmie, P.O. Box 987, Snoqualmie, WA 98065

Agency: Housing and Urban Development (HUD)

Account: Economic Development Initiatives (EDI)

Funding Requested by: Rep. DAVE REICHERT

Project Summary: This project is for improvements to SR 202/Railroad Avenue, three adjacent streets and four intersections within a two-block area of Snoqualmie's historic downtown business district. The project will: improve pedestrian safety and comfort by providing complete, wider sidewalks with curb bulbs and marked crosswalks at intersections; calm traffic by narrowing travel lanes; improve on-street parking for business livelihood; repair and upgrade utilities to support infill and expansion; improve access to transit.

FINANCE PLAN

A. Project Funding and Budget.

	Appropriation	Local funds	Total project
Design Engineering	\$385,000	\$475,000	\$860,000
Right of Way	100,000	120,000	220,000
Construction Management	190,000	445,000	635,000
Construction	2,325,000	2,660,000	4,985,000
Total	3,000,000	3,700,000	6,700,000

B. Local Funding Sources

Source	Public/private	Amount.
City of Snoqualmie	Public	\$1,800,000
Washington State Department of Transportation	Public	200,000
Developer Mitigation Funds	Private	300,000
Federal Economic Development Administration	Public	1,400,000
Total		3,700,000

(5) \$9,368,193 for the Bellevue-Redmond Bus Rapid Transit (BRT)

Requesting Entity: King County, King County Courthouse, 516 Third Ave., Rm. 1200, Seattle, WA 98104

Agency: Federal Transit Administration

Account: Capital Investment Grants

Funding Requested by: Rep. DAVE REICHERT

This project will construct and operate a 9.25-mile long street-running Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) line connecting downtown Bellevue, Crossroads Mall, the Overlake urban center, and downtown Redmond. The corridor already features substantial existing transit investment including three regional transit transfer centers. The Bellevue-Redmond BRT project is intended to complement these facilities. The scope of work includes 12 new stations, real-time bus arrival information, signal prioritization, and 18 low-floor hybrid vehicles. The Bellevue to Redmond RapidRide Bus Rapid Transit corridor will provide frequent all day service and faster travel times.

FINANCE PLAN

Phase	Federal	Local	Total
BRT Corridor	\$2,400,000	\$2,584,369	\$4,984,369
Rapid Ride Passenger Facilities	2,000,000	689,024	2,689,024
Real Time Information System	500,000	107,500	607,500
Bus Acquisition	15,300,000	4,230,676	19,530,676
Total	20,200,000	7,611,569	27,811,569

This office conducted site visits to meet with representatives from all five of the projects listed above.

THE BLAME GAME CONTINUES  
WITH REGARD TO CYPRUS

HON. DAN BURTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 21, 2009

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Madam Speaker, Monday July 20, 2009 marked the 35th anniversary of the day in 1974 that Turkey intervened to stop an ethnic cleansing campaign against Turkish Cypriots by militant Greek Cypriots. And as usual, a number of my colleagues have come to the floor of this Chamber over the last few days and weeks to lament the so-called "invasion" of Cyprus by Turkey. For many years I have taken to the Floor to no avail to respectfully ask my colleagues to lay aside the inflammatory rhetoric and stop throwing barbs at the Turkish Cypriots and Turkey in an attempt to lay all the blame for this complicated issue at their door-

step. This year my call takes on an even more urgent ring. All of us in this chamber, Republicans and Democrats, want to see peace and prosperity come to all the people of Cyprus. We may be closer to peace on Cyprus today than at any time since 2004 when the U.N. plan for a settlement (the Annan Plan) won the support of Turkish Cypriots—by a clear majority of 65%—but failed to win the support of Greek Cypriots—who led by their leadership rejected it by even a larger majority of 76%. By continuing to distort the facts though we are potentially undermining our good faith efforts to see this conflict resolved.

Since the rejection of the Annan Plan, the Greek Cypriot side has been trying to argue that the plan "did not meet the interests of the country" and that "it did not provide for guarantees to ensure the complete implementation of commitments under the plan". However, the fact is that impartial European Union diplomats, closely associated with the reconciliation effort, have said publicly and very undiplomatically, that the Greek Cypriot people had been "lied to" by the Greek Cypriot government as to the details of the Annan plan.

As public servants I think the members of this House understand that no compromise worth its salt ever fully meets all of the demands of either side, nor could it do so or it wouldn't be much of a compromise. The fact is that the Annan Plan was a carefully balanced compromise that certainly from the Turkish Cypriot perspective represented immense sacrifices on the part of the Turkish