

Liberty

Silencing the Bishops

Abortion Is a Four-Letter Word

Abortion and Christian Principles

Anti-Semitism in Japan

Court Buries Indian Rights



**Abortion:
To Be or
Not To Be**



Silencing the Bishops



That abortion is murder and that society is morally obligated to protect the unborn by prohibiting abortion has thundered from church pulpits throughout this land for more than 15 years. Nowhere has the thunder been louder than from Roman Catholic pulpits, although Catholics have been by no means alone. Some Americans have determined to muffle this pro-life witness; whether they succeed is a question being argued in our federal courts.

Although the current debate is often framed around the emotion-charged question of whether ending a pregnancy is solely the private right of the mother, the deeper question of law goes to the right of any church to speak out when public policy comes into direct conflict with the church's view of moral duties. In our fast-changing society, the moral dimensions of public policy are reframed with ever-increasing urgency as we confront a mounting tide of social problems manifested by drug abuse, violence, child abuse, and family disintegration. Do churches have the right to speak out on the moral dimensions of basic public policies? Do they have the duty to speak out? Should they be penalized if they choose to speak out?

Mobilized Opposition

Abortion Rights Mobilization, one of hundreds of small organizations advocating unrestricted access to abortion, was obviously bruised by the preaching of churches of all denominations, but especially by the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church. Mobilization decided to put a damper on that voice by filing a lawsuit against the secretary of the treasury, the commissioner of Internal Revenue, and the bishops of the Catholic Church, demanding that the IRS revoke the church's tax exemption. To be tax-exempt, a church must qualify and remain qualified under 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. The same requirements extend to charitable organizations in general. For the

Will the Proponents for Abortion Succeed in Muzzling the New York Catholic Diocese?

By John P. Hale

church to retain its tax exemption, no *substantial* part of its activities shall consist of attempting to influence legislation, and it shall not participate in any political campaign on behalf of, or in opposition to, a candidate for public office.

The restrictions do not outlaw all lobbying by use of church resources. The restrictions do outlaw all use of church resources to promote a particular candidate. They apply to the church itself and not to individual clergy or individual church members. Thus gifts to priests, ministers, and other clergy are not tax-exempt, and no restriction is placed on priests, ministers, and other clergy insofar as their individual legislative or political activities are concerned. Indeed, in the history of the United States, members of the clergy have frequently taken active roles in political life. In the past presidential election clergymen Pat Robertson and Jesse Jackson sought their party's nomination for the presidency.

By its action in a federal court, Mobilization avowedly sought to force the Internal Revenue Service to cancel the tax exemption of the Roman Catholic Church. The IRS, of course, is knowledgeable of its own regulations and of its obligation to monitor churches to ensure that they comply with IRS restrictions on legislative lobbying or electioneering. The IRS resisted the suit, arguing that Mobilization had no basis for moving against the tax status of the Roman

Catholic Church, and challenging the right of Mobilization even to bring the suit.

Standing to Sue

A citizen who disagrees with actions of the executive branch of government may go into court and seek to compel the government to take a particular action. However, if every citizen were allowed an unrestricted right to file a lawsuit challenging government, the government would soon find itself primarily engaged in defending itself against lawsuits. To forestall such a consequence, a citizen must, to have standing to sue, establish that he is adversely affected by the challenged policy in a substantial way.

Shortly after the suit commenced against the bishops and the IRS, a federal judge dismissed the claim against the bishops, leaving, as parties to the suit, Mobilization and the IRS. The court held that the plaintiffs did have standing to sue and directed that the case proceed. Under federal court practice, an appeal on Mobilization's standing to sue would have to await completion of the trial. Thus the bishops found themselves merely onlookers, but not for long. Mobilization promptly issued subpoenas for the bishops to produce voluminous documents concerning their church's activities. The bishops balked.

To understand the implications in the subpoenas calls for a broad understanding of the discovery process in federal court lawsuits. If Mobilization had proof that the Catholic Church was violating the IRS restrictions by devoting a substantial part of its

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activities to influencing legislation or by intervening in political campaigns for individual candidates, one would expect Mobilization simply to announce itself ready for trial so that it could lay its proof before the court. But it was obvious that Mobilization had no proof and was using the lawsuit as a vehicle to rummage through the records of the bishops in hope that it could find some.

Tools of Discovery

The tools of discovery in federal court lawsuits are quite liberal. Attorneys for any party may request and review not only documents that may be material but also documents that may be immaterial but give a clue to material documents. In addition, attorneys for a party to a federal court lawsuit have the right to interrogate witnesses in an attempt to develop information to support their complaint. The freedom with which discovery can be used in federal court lawsuits is so broad that document production and witness interrogation frequently are more time consuming than the trial itself. Every lawsuit becomes a game of chess with move and countermove.

With their subpoena, Mobilization had the bishops in check. The issue no longer focused on whether Mobilization could prove that the Catholic Church had ceased to qualify for tax exemption. Rather, Mobilization, as a private and unfriendly party under the protection of the federal court, was going to rummage through the bishops' records. It was as if the local sheriff had given the town's militant atheists the right to poke through the parsonage, while the parson was restrained by the sheriff as the unfriendly search went on.

The bishops advised the court that they would not honor the subpoena; in their respectful opinion, they said, Mobilization had no standing to start the lawsuit. The trial court sustained the subpoena and fined the bishops \$50,000 for each day that they failed to produce the requested documentation.

Judicial Social Policy

The past 20 years have seen a major change in the manner in which social policy is formed, and that change is illustrated in a negative fashion by the Internal Revenue Code restrictions on tax-exempt religious organizations. The restrictions relate to the legislature and the election of public office holders. No restrictions are directed at the courts because, when the code was originally adopted, the judiciary was not thought to be the maker of public policy. Of course, over the past 30 years, starting with the Warren Court and the upsurge of judicial activism, the judiciary, in a string of sweeping decisions, has overruled legislative and executive action to make its own views public policy.

Roe v. Wade was the Court's 1973 public

policy decision on abortion. In *Roe v. Wade* the Supreme Court set aside all contrary state legislation to proclaim that, as a matter of law, a woman has the right to abort, reserving to the states some control over the manner in which the abortion is performed during the second and third trimesters. To the Catholic Church, *Roe v. Wade* was morally wrong, and the church called for its reversal.

The Moral Dimension

Do public policy questions have moral dimensions to which churches should speak? We are so accustomed to having penal law in our society that we may forget that all penal law is grounded on moral principles. Is it wrong to steal, to murder, to defraud, to damage another person's property? All are prohibited by the penal law because of a consensus that those actions are morally wrong. Not only wrong in themselves, but wrong because they do harm to other members of society.

Just as murder and theft have victims, so too does abortion. The victim is the unborn child. And those who oppose abortion call for society to protect the unborn child by making abortion unlawful.

No one would seriously contest the right of churches to publicly assert that our citizens are morally obligated to outlaw—through the penal law—steal, murder, fraud, and malicious destruction of property so as to protect all members of society. Until approximately 20 years ago, abortion was a crime because the majority of citizens believed it to be morally wrong. What took place was not a change in the views of citizens but rather a change in the views of the judiciary.

Does a society have the moral duty to legally prohibit that which does violence to members of society, including the unborn child? Mobilization seemingly argues that churches should have no right to speak publicly to the question. Why? Because such preaching is political and not within the protected right of free exercise of religion, as set forth in the First Amendment to our Constitution.

If Mobilization's theory had been accepted in the early 1800s, U.S. history would be profoundly different. Imagine, if you can, Henry Ward Beecher mounting his pulpit to demand that slavery be abolished by law. His deacon tugs at his sleeve to remind him that it is not the churchman's role to call for a change in the law on slavery. Beecher, he insists, should limit his sermon to reminding slaveowners that owning another human being is morally wrong. Would Beecher have been content to denounce the individual moral wrong and to avoid reminding the citizenry of their moral obligation to outlaw slavery?

George Washington would not have

shared such a limited view of the role of religion. In his Farewell Address he charged religion to serve as the conscience of the nation:

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. . . . And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

The Right to Question

But back to our century and the plight of the bishops. Faced with the fine of \$50,000 a day, the Catholic bishops hurried to the court of appeals and argued that the subpoena should be quashed because Mobilization had no standing to start the court action. The court of appeals told the bishops that since they were simply witnesses, they had no power to challenge the right of Mobilization to bring the suit. If such an issue were to be argued, said the court, it would have to be after the case was completed. The court of appeals directed that the documents be produced and discovery go forward.

The bishops obtained a stay of the daily fine and appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which in June 1988 reversed the court of appeals 8 to 1. Notwithstanding the status of the bishops as witnesses, the Court said, the bishops did have the right to raise the question of standing and to receive an answer prior to trial. The case was returned to the court of appeals, where it awaits decision.

The Fishing License

No one seriously challenges the limitations on tax-exempt churches set forth in Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. There have been, however, instances of heavy-handed proceedings by government that some churches feel have placed undue restraints on their freedom to teach and preach in accordance with their view of the moral law. Recourse to the courts is available, if deemed necessary, to protect churches from the excesses of the executive branch of government. In the Mobilization case the roles are reversed. The Internal Revenue Service denies it has evidence justifying a challenge to the Catholic Church's tax exemption. The aggressor becomes the courts, which permit an openly hostile pri-

vate party to go fishing in the private files of a church, hoping in the process to locate what at minimum would cause embarrassment and at maximum would justify loss of tax exemption.

Quite clearly the trial court attempted to turn over to a private interested party a function given by the legislature to the Internal Revenue Service. And even more wor-

risome, the trial court would permit that unfriendly private party to use a discovery process that the law would not permit the IRS to use.

Mobilization's objective in the lawsuit is to mute a voice with which it disagrees. So far they have not succeeded. But they have forced expenditure of large amounts of money for the defense of the lawsuit, money

that would be much better applied to the religious and charitable activities in which all churches are engaged. The outcome of the lawsuit clearly will have a profound effect on every church's freedom to preach in accordance with its own conscience—without having the judiciary permit those who disagree to bludgeon the preacher into silence. L

Roe v. Wade

Constitutional Measurement

"We forthwith acknowledge our awareness of the sensitive and emotional nature of the abortion controversy, of the vigorous opposing views, even among physicians, and of the deep and seemingly absolute convictions that the subject inspires. One's philosophy, one's experiences, one's exposure to the raw edges of human existence, one's religious training, one's attitudes toward life and family and their values, and the moral standards one establishes and seeks to observe, are all likely to influence and to color one's thinking and conclusions about abortion.

"In addition, population growth, pollution, poverty, and racial overtones tend to complicate and not to simplify the problem.

"Our task, of course, is to resolve the issue by constitutional measurement, free of emotion and of predilection. We seek earnestly to do this, and, because we do, we have inquired into, and in this opinion place some emphasis upon, medical and medical-legal history and what that history reveals about man's attitudes toward the abortion procedure over the centuries. We bear in mind, too, Mr. Justice Holmes' admonition in his now-vindicated dissent in *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45, 76, 25 S.Ct. 539, 547, 49 L.Ed. 937 (1905):

"[The Constitution] is made for people of fundamentally differing views, and the accident of our finding certain opinions natural and familiar or novel and even shocking ought not to conclude our judgment upon the question whether statutes embodying them conflict with the Constitution of the United States."—*Roe v. Wade*, 93 S.Ct. 708, 709 (1973).

Personhood

"The appellee and certain *amici* argue that the fetus is a 'person' within the language and meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. In support of this, they outline at length and in detail the well-known facts of fetal development. If this suggestion of personhood is established, the appellant's case, of course, collapses, for the fetus' right to life would then be guaranteed specifically by the Amendment. The appellant conceded as much on reargument. On the other hand, the appellee conceded on reargument that no case could be cited that holds that a fetus is a person within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment.

"The Constitution does not define 'person' in so many words. Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment contains three references to 'person.' The first, in defining 'citizens,' speaks of 'persons born or naturalized in the United States.' The word also appears both in the Due Process Clause and

in the Equal Protection Clause. 'Person' is used in other places in the Constitution. But in nearly all... instances, the use of the word is such that it has application only postnatally. None indicates, with any assurance, that it has any possible prenatal application.

"All this, together with our observation, *supra*, that throughout the major portion of the 19th century prevailing legal abortion practices were far freer than they are today, persuades us that the word 'person,' as used in the Fourteenth Amendment, does not include the unborn."—*Roe v. Wade*, 93 S.Ct. 728, 729 (1973).

Potential Life

"In areas other than criminal abortion, the law has been reluctant to endorse any theory that life, as we recognize it, begins before live birth or to accord legal rights to the unborn except in narrowly defined situations and except when the rights are contingent upon live birth. For example, the traditional rule of tort law denied recovery for prenatal injuries even though the child was born alive. That rule has been changed in almost every jurisdiction. In most states, recovery is said to be permitted only if the fetus was viable, or at least quick, when the injuries were sustained, though few courts have squarely so held. In a recent development, generally opposed by the commentators, some States permit the parents of a stillborn child to maintain an action for wrongful death because of prenatal injuries. Such an action, however, would appear to be one to vindicate the parents' interest and is thus consistent with the view that the fetus, at most, represents only the potentiality of life. Similarly, unborn children have been recognized as acquiring rights or interests by way of inheritance or other devolution of property, and have been represented by guardians *ad litem*. Perfection of the interests involved, again, has generally been contingent upon live birth. In short, the unborn have never been recognized in the law as persons in the whole sense."—*Roe v. Wade*, 93 S.Ct. 731 (1973).

When Does Life Begin?

"Texas urges that, apart from the Fourteenth Amendment, life begins at conception and is present throughout pregnancy, and that, therefore, the state has a compelling interest in protecting that life from and after conception. We need not resolve the difficult question of when life begins. When those trained in the respective disciplines of medicine, philosophy, and theology are unable to arrive at any consensus, the judiciary, at this point in the development of man's knowledge, is not in a position to speculate as to the answer."—*Roe v. Wade*, 93 S.Ct. 730 (1973).

Abortion Is a Four-Letter Word

Here's Why
You'll Be
Seeing It in
LIBERTY

By Roland R. Hegstad

Abortion is a four-letter word—times two. Mention it at a church social or a bridge party and choose your side. So before we consider what my church thinks about abortion and line up for war masks, I'd like to tell you what I like most about my church. It has no pope on the Potomac. It has no creed. The Bible is enough, and there's room to exercise your conscience. You join my church when you're old enough to know what you're doing; you leave if you change your mind.

My church expects its members to study God's Word and to make up their own minds on many issues—with the aid of the Holy Spirit, of course. And it recognizes that its members might not agree on everything. Some reside in the one-plus-one stage of spiritual mathematics, while others comprehend algebra and calculus. Some insist that two plus two always equals four, while for others the answer is sometimes five. Some look at the sky from their well-ordered little universes and see stars; others perceive spiraling nebulas and flaming galaxies. Whatever the perspective, my church suggests members not put black holes in a brother's (or sister's) pathway to the stars.

My church keenly respects religious liberty. Each person may go to hell in his own way—or seek the way to heaven. And that brings me back to abortion. I believe it's important that you know Seventh-day Adventists respect religious liberty even in regard to abortion. To be sure, we also respect life—but in pro-life circles that assurance may seem a copout linked to compassion for victims of rape and incest, and 14-year-old mothers-to-be. On the other hand, pro-choicers are going to be very unhappy with our lack of respect for some of the reasons they give for their choices.

The Tough Questions

Through the years LIBERTY has dealt with abortion only as it relates to religious freedom. But now we're going to the mat with the tough questions. Why? For one reason, because the kitchen

(or is it the bathroom?) is no longer the most dangerous place in the house. Mother's womb is. Never does a person face a higher percentage danger of death than prior to birth. (Is the fetus indeed a person? That's one of the tough questions.)

Even many ardent pro-lifers concede the right to abort in cases of rape and incest, and when the mother's life is at stake. But less than 3 percent of all abortions are for rape, incest, serious defects, or danger to the mother!* A woman need only state that her unborn child is somehow detrimental to her health—or wealth, for that matter—and there's that four-letter-word times two again.

In the United States one out of every four pregnancies ends in abortion. In 14 metropolitan areas, abortions outnumber live births. Three abortions each minute—4,320 a day. More than 1.5 million a year—more than 22 million since *Roe v. Wade* (1973). Since 1975 the "war on the unborn" has produced twice as many casualties *each year* as have all the wars in U.S. history, from the Revolutionary War through Vietnam.

It's important, however, to remind you that abortion happened before 1973. But in the "coat hanger" days no one was counting. More *mothers* died then. Or, more specifically, more poor, unmarried teenagers.

The Adventist Health System

Another reason for our coverage: The Seventh-day Adventist Church operates a large health system, 284 clinics and 147 hospitals worldwide. More than 50 of those hospitals are in the North America. And though the church has an institutional policy on abortions, not all our hospitals interpret it alike. Of course, not all Adventist hospitals are alike: a few are essentially community hospitals, subsidized by the community and staffed largely by non-Adventists. Should this distinction make a difference in application of policy? What about the religious liberty I espoused in earlier paragraphs? Or can even religious liberty be carried too

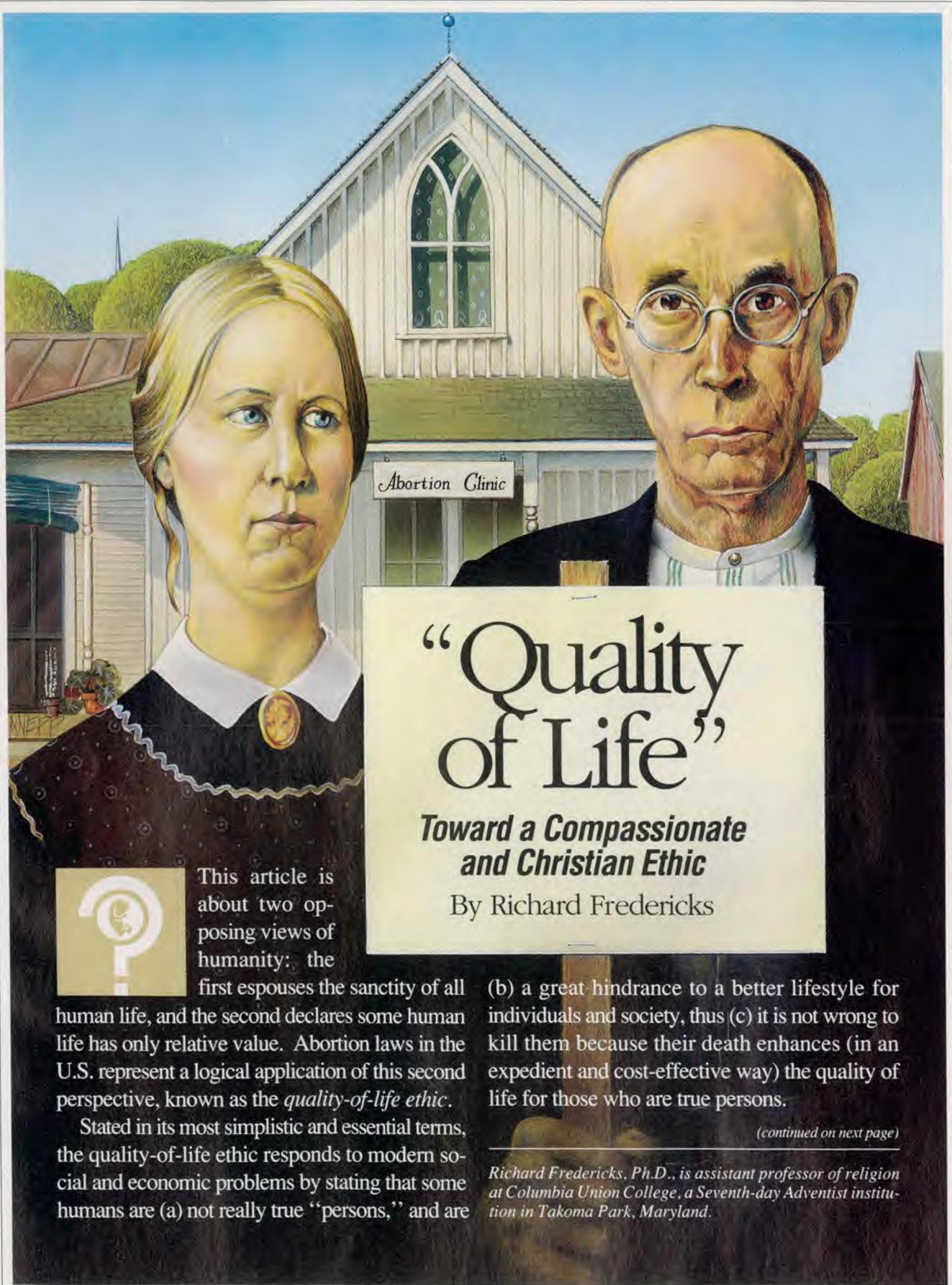
far—along with abortions? And what about our hospitals in other countries? They of course respect the laws of the land. But is there not a higher law?

These are among the many questions to be addressed by the Christian View of Human Life Committee set up July 28, 1988, by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. In November the Loma Linda University Center for Christian Bioethics sponsored a three-day discussion on abortion. From that session come the spokesmen who share their views in this issue of LIBERTY. One is Dr. Richard Fredericks, assistant professor of religion at Columbia Union College, Takoma Park, Maryland. The other is Dr. Gerald Winslow, professor of Christian Ethics at Loma Linda University Center for Christian Bioethics. (Remember Baby Faye?) You'll notice that they speak without stuttering. You'll also notice that their perspectives differ somewhat. My guess is that almost all Adventist perspectives on abortion can be fitted between their viewpoints.

The discussion that my church will be engaged in during the next months is my last reason for printing these—and subsequent—articles. Please don't assume that LIBERTY or the Seventh-day Adventist Church agrees with all that is printed (even by Adventist authors). For example, some views of Mr. Hale's, a Roman Catholic attorney who has represented the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York in litigation (see page 3), are disputed by attorneys on our staff. But we're giving him his say—as we shall give others their say. In responding to our authors and committee—and through LIBERTY with others still—please write with the same spirit of openness and respect for religious liberty, and life, that characterized the Loma Linda meeting.

*This statistic and those that follow are taken from a paper by Dr. Richard Fredericks, author of the following article.

Roland R. Hegstad is the editor of LIBERTY.



Abortion Clinic

“Quality of Life”

Toward a Compassionate and Christian Ethic

By Richard Fredericks



This article is about two opposing views of humanity: the

first espouses the sanctity of all human life, and the second declares some human life has only relative value. Abortion laws in the U.S. represent a logical application of this second perspective, known as the *quality-of-life ethic*.

Stated in its most simplistic and essential terms, the quality-of-life ethic responds to modern social and economic problems by stating that some humans are (a) not really true “persons,” and are

(b) a great hindrance to a better lifestyle for individuals and society, thus (c) it is not wrong to kill them because their death enhances (in an expedient and cost-effective way) the quality of life for those who are true persons.

(continued on next page)

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If personhood is based on capabilities or achievements, then who has authority to distinguish between mere entities and genuine persons?

How Did We Get Here?

Does the quality-of-life ethic violate the sixth commandment? If 97 percent of all abortions are performed for matters of personal convenience, is not the result murder—the violent killing of innocent human life? The answer depends on how one views the fetus. The term *fetus* is simply a Latin word that means “unborn child.” Is the fetus really a child, a member of the human family and thus deserving of protection? Or is it only tissue, a part of the woman’s body, whose sole right to survival is based on whether the mother feels she wants it?¹

In their 1973 decision the Supreme Court justices answered by ruling that while the unborn *are* human, they *are not* persons. The fetus is only a “potential life” and therefore does not have legal right of protection. Basic to the quality-of-life ethic is the concept that all human beings do not necessarily have *intrinsic* value nor even *equal* value. Indeed, many *Homo sapiens* should not be seen as persons at all. Rather “personhood” is assigned according to various levels of physical and mental development. One must attain and then maintain these qualities in order to have a life worth living—or protecting. Simply put, personhood is based on achievement, and unless a human achieves a certain level of intellectual or physical performance, he/she is not a person, and therefore is disposable if seen as a threat to a full person.

Abortion is the first application of this ethic. Its logic legitimizes further questions: “Are all post-fetal humans truly persons? If not, who are not? Who should decide?” The unborn, because they are at an early developmental stage, are denied personhood and placed in a free-fire zone. They are dependent, nonproductive, not able to defend themselves, and a potential economic burden. Why should other problematic humans be treated differently if they also fit into similar categories? In his widely used college textbook on ethics, Vincent Barry illustrates the dilemma well:

“What conditions should be used as the criteria of personhood? Can an entity [a human] be considered a person merely because it possesses certain biological properties? Or should other factors be introduced, such as consciousness, self-consciousness, rationality, and the capacities for communication and moral judgment? . . . For example, if we believe it is the capacity to think and reason that makes one human, we will likely associate the loss of personhood with the loss of rationality. If we consider consciousness as the defining characteristic, we will be more inclined to consider a person to have lost that status when a number of characteristics such as the capacities to remember, enjoy, worry, and will are gone. . . . This doesn’t mean that a death decision necessarily follows when an entity is determined to be a nonperson. But it does mean that whatever is inherently objectionable about allowing or causing a person to die dissolves, because the entity is no longer a person.²

Recent developments demonstrate that this ethic has extended beyond the question of abortion. Euthanasia, the medically induced “good death” for those deemed no longer fit to live, has become more acceptable³—and active euthanasia is practiced increasingly by members of the medical profession.⁴ And there already have been several instances of infanticide, cases in which newborns with some type of genetic deficiency were placed in a hospital nursery crib marked “Do Not Feed” and allowed to die of dehydration—a process that took six days in the case of Bloomington, Indiana’s “Baby Doe” in April 1982.⁵

All arguments that support this ethic recognize a hierarchical structuring of the value of individual humans based on relative worth. So, for example, the *mother’s happiness* may be considered more important than the *child’s life*, or society’s financial well-being than extended care of the terminally ill. This is a dramatic shift away from the biblical view of human life as sacred.

An article that appeared in

California Medicine three years before *Roe v. Wade* legalized abortion illustrates the need to repudiate the old ethic based upon the sanctity of life in order to be comfortable with abortion:

“The process of eroding the old ethic and substituting the new has already begun. It may be seen most clearly in changing attitudes toward human abortion. . . . Since the old ethic has not yet been fully displaced, it has been necessary to separate the idea of abortion from the idea of killing, which continues to be socially abhorrent. The results have been a curious avoidance of the scientific fact, which everyone really knows, that human life begins at conception, and is continuous whether intra- or extra-uterine until death. . . . This schizophrenic subterfuge is necessary because while the new ethic is being accepted the old one has not been rejected.”⁶

If personhood is based on capabilities or achievements, then who has authority to distinguish between mere entities and genuine persons? What will keep those who hold power in society from categorizing as nonpersons those whom they consider a threat to their happiness? One who believes in the fallen condition of humanity finds the potential terrifying.

Thus the quality of life ethic radically alters the moral mandate against murder. It is no longer a species-centered injunction against killing *humans*, but a more selective prohibition against killing *persons*—as defined by society at any given moment. It allows society to adjust to the idea of solving social and economic problems by killing problem people. The ethical argument then becomes: Who is worthy of life, and who decides?

Classifying Humans as Nonpersons

The questions just raised are not idle ones. The 1973 abortion decision was not the first time that, based on economic considerations and the supposedly superior rights of others, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled a certain class of humans to be non-

persons.

In 1857 the Supreme Court ruled in the *Dred Scott* case that the Black race was less than human and that a slave was the property of the owner. To free a slave would violate the Fifth Amendment by causing an undue financial hardship to those who were truly human [White slave owners]. Listen to the reasoning of Chief Justice Taney (himself a slave owner):

"They [Blacks] had for more than a century been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the White race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the White man was bound to respect; and that the Negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his own benefit. He was bought and sold, and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever a profit could be made by it."⁷

Taney's decision was "pro-choice," in this case the choice of the slave owner that enabled one human to treat another as personal property to be kept or disposed of at will—especially if a profit could be made. Like the unborn children of the late twentieth century, Black men, women, and children in the nineteenth century were denied the rights and protection that come with personhood. The basis of that tragic decision was a narrow view of humanity that arbitrarily limited personhood to a particular skin color.⁸

This century contains a more direct analogy to America's increasing implementation of death laws as solutions to social and economic problems. That analogy began in the Weimar German Republic (1919-1933) and climaxed the Nazi Third Reich (1933-1945). Death as a solution gradually culminated in Hitler's Final Solution, in which the Jews (a religious group) were declared nonpersons, an unacceptable burden, and a threat to society. The result was the Holocaust, the extermination [termination] of 6 million Jews.

Most people today know about Hitler's Final Solution, but few know its ethical and

medical precedents. In 1920 Felix Meiner published a small volume in Leipzig, Germany, titled *The Release of the Destruction of Life Devoid of Value*, which paved the way for German physicians to direct the Nazi killing program. In this volume German psychiatrist Alfred Hoche and lawyer Karl Binding declared the Hippocratic oath obsolete, denied that there is an absolute right to life, and decried the "wasted manpower, patience, and capital investment" needed to "keep life not worth living alive." Hoche and Binding forcefully argued that the terminally ill, the unproductive, the feeble minded, and all "useless eaters" have the "right to the complete relief of an unbearable life" and should be "given death with dignity."⁹

At the same time German schoolchildren were taught the Hegelian principle: "Whatever is useful is right." Mathematics problems were given in which students were asked to figure the costs of supporting "useless" old people versus building housing for productive newweds. They were taught that the handicapped represented an obstacle to their economic prosperity. Killing the "useless" for financial reasons became acceptable moral reasoning. Before the first Jews entered the gas chambers, the "Charitable Transport Company for the Sick" carried 250,000 German citizens deemed "unfit to live" to places where they were given "good deaths." Among those no longer fit to live were World War I veterans who were amputees, the incontinent elderly, and gypsies.¹⁰

Language propaganda was used in Germany. Jews became "bacteria." The vans that carried the people to their deaths were dubbed "the Charitable Transport Society." The killing centers were called "medical experimentation centers." This language propaganda has analogies to America's abortion industry as well, as Jean Staker Garton, a former abortion activist writes in her book *Who Broke the Baby?* She tells how counselors were taught to describe the baby as "interuterine tis-

sue" or "the blob" but never the baby. The "rights of the woman" and "her freedom to choose" were to be stressed, and childless couples were praised as "child free" at abortion clinics dubbed "centers for reproductive health." To further remove the idea of killing, verbal descriptions have become increasingly vague, until now most abortion literature refers to the "interruption of a pregnancy." This is a classic euphemism—couching a horrible reality in comfortable words. First it was "termination of the pregnancy" which of course really meant extermination of the developing child. But now we are only "interrupting" the pregnancy. Imagine saying to a history class, "Lee Harvey Oswald interrupted John F. Kennedy's presidency." This type of verbal conditioning in favor of abortion is blatant in a paper prepared for the Planned Parenthood Physician's Association by Dr. Willard Cates: "Abortion as a Treatment of Unwanted Pregnancy: The Number Two Sexually Transmitted Disease." Here the fetus is not even given the status "potential life," but is identified as a "disease." (Paper presented November 11, 12, 1976, Planned Parenthood Convention, Miami Beach, Florida.)

Finally, the Nuremberg Race Laws declared that Jews, gypsies, and "half-breeds" (children who were part Jewish by heritage) had lost all rights to legal protection because they were only "partial Germans" who were "less than human." Their extinction was called an economic "strengthening of the state" through the "cleansing of the race."

At the Nuremberg war crimes trials, psychiatrist Dr. Leo Alexander demonstrated that the people who participated and condoned the atrocities of those two decades were not demented monsters. They were ordinary people who chose to remain silent rather than risk losing their own prosperity, popularity, or positions. The majority of Christians in Germany continued to attend church regularly but remained silent. *Silent!*

To further remove the idea of killing, verbal descriptions have become increasingly vague, until now most abortion literature refers to the "interruption of a pregnancy."

(Continued on page 27)



Abortion and Christian Principles

Though Scripture neither explicitly permits nor forbids abortion, it is not devoid of a perspective on prenatal life.



Joan was six weeks into her first quarter of college when she learned that she was pregnant.¹ After her graduation from boarding academy, she had spent two years living on her own, during which time her relationship with her parents and with the church became strained. Considering her parents too “legalistic,” she rebelled, becoming involved with an older married man whose family included three children. Eventually Joan concluded that the relationship was leading nowhere and ended it.

About the same time, Joan returned to church and to a renewed religious experience. She decided to accept her parents’

offer to assist with school expenses, and entered college. Her plan was to take the preprofessional course for dentistry.

Though Joan began to worry about pregnancy even before she began her college work, when the first indications that she was pregnant appeared, she refused to believe

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By Gerald Winslow

that it could have happened to her. But there is a limit to how long pregnancy can remain unacknowledged. Test results from the local clinic verified her fear. By her own uncertain calculation, conception must have occurred nearly three months earlier.

From Joan's perspective, her alternatives were limited. She did not want to contact the man who shared responsibility for her pregnancy, and she had no hope that her parents would be sympathetic toward her plight. She considered continuing the pregnancy and putting the baby up for adoption, but saw no way of finding a place to live, supporting herself, and explaining her actions to family and friends. She considered her options to be either committing suicide, getting an abortion, or dropping out of school and "disappearing." Compounding her emotional distress were her mixed feelings about the morality of abortion.

As with most cases in which abortion is contemplated, Joan's story elicits feelings of both compassion and perplexity. Experience has convinced me that even those with prefabricated answers are likely to feel the tension of conflicting values if they become involved personally. The complexities of such cases bring us to the edge of our moral reasoning and demonstrate how impossible perfect solutions may be in a world broken by sin.

Abortion cases often present us with genuine moral dilemmas because they introduce conflicts between values we hold. The only easy way to resolve these conflicts is to deny, or at least underplay, one or more of our values. But the way of moral maturity would rather allow the conflict of values to deepen our understanding of our own firmly held moral convictions. This way is generally more complex and sometimes more painful, but it leads to a clearer enunciation of those Christian principles that should inform our decisions.

Of course, our work on abortion ethics would probably seem simpler if only God had chosen to inspire at least one of His messengers to speak explicitly on the matter. But in no passage does the Bible directly and clearly either prescribe or proscribe abortion. Its lack of specificity offers at least one benefit: the impetus for *principled* moral thought. It means that we must draw from the inspired sources those broad moral principles that will give us the guidance we need. Rather than telling us exactly what to do in a few specific situations, such principles provide moral guidance in a variety of cases.

It would be inaccurate, of course, to say that we can arrive at Christian decisions simply by consulting a set of principles. Moral responsibility also requires such virtues as insight, sensitivity, courage, and humility. And throughout the decision-

The absence of direct divine counsel regarding abortion makes necessary a principled approach.

making process, we must acknowledge and accept the guidance of the Holy Spirit, who came to guide us into all truth, including moral truth (John 16:1-15).

It is entirely probable that developments in both law and medicine will provide pregnant women with even more control over the decision to abort than they now have. New drugs, for example, may eventually make abortion a matter about which only the pregnant woman need know. But the arrival of that day will not make discussion of the morality of abortion obsolete. Indeed, increased responsibility should be accompanied by increased attention to relevant moral principles. I believe four principles should figure significantly in any Christian discussion of dilemmas such as Joan's.

1. The principle of forgiveness. God's grace composes the essential context for all Christian decision-making. God has "transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son, in whom we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins" (Col. 1:13, 14). The assurance of God's forgiveness should precede all discussion of moral principles. Separated from grace, ethics tends to degenerate into legalism. But with the acceptance of God's grace, it becomes the response of gratitude to God's forgiving love.

The principle of forgiveness calls for us to respond to God's love by forgiving others as He has forgiven us (see Matthew 5-7). As much as any other moral problem in this world, abortion reveals the need for forgiveness. That abortion is ever considered in itself witnesses to the brokenness of human life under the reign of sin. No woman ever becomes pregnant in order to have an abortion; somehow the meeting of human needs has gone awry. So a person like Joan needs first of all to have God's forgiveness made real through the forgiving attitudes and actions of those who take the name of Christ.

But it is not for Joan's sins alone that forgiveness is needed. Indeed, from God's perspective, it may be clear that Joan is more victim than victimizer. The father of the fetus is also in need of forgiveness. And so are Joan's parents, who must share some responsibility for her alienation.

Doubtless, the circle encompasses others as well. In the extended web of human

relationships, that anyone contemplates abortion indicates, to some extent, a failure of community. Social and economic deprivation and the lack of adequate helping institutions speak of social injustices in which we all participate. Those who mouth slogans on both extremes of this issue often overlook this fact.

Many who consider themselves prolife have neglected to consider what it really means to be *for* life. What sort of educational and health provisions might be necessary? Similarly, many who align themselves with the pro-choice forces leave the impression that the one condition necessary for freedom is the removal of restrictions on the procurement of abortion. But to have real freedom means to have real alternatives, including whatever is necessary to make feasible the option of completing the pregnancy.

Christians must never tire of asking what a community that knows forgiveness should be doing in the service of freedom and life.

2. The principle of respect for human life. Most systems of morality rank the duty to preserve human life high on the list of moral obligations. But the reasons for this ranking differ among the systems. For example, the right to life may be viewed as the result of a social compact. Or it may be thought to derive from some special capacity that distinguishes human beings. Among these systems, rationality, variously described, is often made the justifying trait.

But from a biblical perspective, human life is not respected because of some human agreement or some human capacity. Rather, it is respected and preserved because it is the gift of the Creator, because in His love He has given it value. We love because He loved us first (see 1 John 4:17-20). The right to life and the duty to preserve it are secured first of all by His love. Human contracts can always be broken or ignored, but God's love is steadfast. Human traits wax and wane, but God's love is unconditional.

We must ask, however, whether this love extends to prenatal life. Does this life of a human embryo or fetus deserve respect?

Though Scripture neither explicitly permits or forbids abortion, it is not devoid of a perspective on prenatal life. Through its symbols, stories, and poetry, it informs our sense of values in ways even deeper than mere commands can. The biblical imagery leads us to value prenatal life and to think of the fetus as one whom God has called by name. Scripture often portrays God's providence as being revealed in the conception of a child.² Moreover, it poetically pictures God as a participant in prenatal development, when fetal life is knit together (see Psalm 139:13). In one instance, prenatal

movements were interpreted as an earnest of later service (Luke 1:39-45). And more than once, divinely mandated naming, symbolic of God's power and care, took place prenatally (see verse 13). None of these biblical indicators of God's intentions leads straightway to a specific position on abortion. But in view of them, it can hardly be denied that the God pictured in Scripture cares about fetal life.

One text, however, is often cited as an exception: "When men strive together, and hurt a woman with child, so that there is miscarriage, and yet no harm follows, the one who hurt her shall be fined, according as the woman's husband shall lay upon him; and he shall pay as the judges determine. If any harm follows, then you shall give life for life" (Exodus 21:22, 23).

One reading of this text would appear to give a relatively low value to the life of the fetus. On this view, the "harm" that follows refers only to injury sustained by the pregnant woman. If the life of the fetus is lost, the punishment is merely a fine. If the woman dies, the punishment is death.

But this interpretation is debatable. A plausible case can be made for applying the provision about the "harm" to the fetus. On this alternative view, injury resulting in the death of the fetus is cause for capital punishment. The Septuagint offers yet a third interpretation, that the matter of capital punishment for causing a miscarriage depends on whether the fetus was fully formed.

We may not be able to determine which interpretation of this passage is correct, but certain facts are quite obvious. First, no interpretation of the passage leads to the conclusion that the fetus is entirely without value. And second, the text is not about intentional abortion at all; it is about an accidentally caused miscarriage. Jewish interpretation of the passage has been far from unanimous, but the argument has been over the appropriate penalties for accidentally causing miscarriage. All schools of Jewish thought, regardless of their view of the disputed passage, "condemned deliberate abortion as disrespect for life and as bloodshed."¹³

The principle of respect for human life calls into question the frequent attempts to determine when human life "really" begins. Ever since the Creator breathed life into Adam, human life has been the gift of earlier life. When conception occurs, human life is transmitted to a unique new form, a new genotype. To seek a time when this new individual life may be destroyed without regret is to miss the point of respect for the gift of human life.

Indeed, what takes place at each of the specific times that have been suggested as the real beginning of human life reminds us

We must be extremely cautious about letting our respect for human life vary according to our perception of the level of personhood achieved.

that something important is happening: the unique form of human life initiated at conception is becoming *personal*. Implantation of the embryo represents a significant shift in the probability that the life will go on to maturity. As the transition from embryo to fetus takes place during the first few weeks, the human body that is forming becomes apparent. The beginning of brain waves, by the seventh or eighth week of gestation, is the promise of future thought. "Quickening," the time when fetal movement is first detected, is an important social event that informs at least the mother that a little someone is really alive. Viability, the time when the fetus could live outside the womb, is also significant. The intentional destruction of a fetus after this time raises perplexing questions about whether there are morally relevant differences between the abortus and a premature baby. Finally, birth signals a new member of the human community.

It is obvious, of course, that this new member does not yet function as a *person*, in the fullest sense of the word. Nor will he or she do so for some considerable time after birth. The infant is unable to make plans, to say no, or to deliberate rationally. There is no doubt that most of what we value about human life is dependent on such traits, which make a human being a person. But we must never forget that we are all in search of our full personhood, that in this life complete personhood is always a quest, never an achievement. We must be extremely cautious about letting our respect for human life vary according to our perception of the level of personhood achieved. True, in tragic cases of conflict, prepersonal human life may have to yield to already established personal life. But such decisions should never be made without regret.

The principle of respect for human life establishes a strong moral presumption in favor of preserving life, including prenatal life. Exceptions such as abortion must always bear a heavy burden of proof. People such as Joan who are faced with unplanned and unwanted pregnancies cannot decide to

abort because one physician has characterized abortion as the "removal of some unwanted cells." To trivialize human life in this manner is to belittle the costly endowment of the Lifegiver.

3. The principle of respect for personal autonomy. If human life were the only value at stake in our consideration of abortion, little more would need to be said. Abortion would be wrong in all but those very rare cases in which the life of the fetus threatens the physical life of the mother. But abortion is more complicated than this. Christians know that life itself is not the only human good. Nor does it always take priority over all other values, such as loyalty to God, justice, integrity, and freedom.

Christian faith has fostered high regard for personal autonomy. God's people are liberated from all types of worldly bondage so that they may serve their Lord in a relationship of true freedom. When we value personal autonomy, we imitate God. "In matters of conscience the soul must be left untrammelled. No one is to control another's mind, to judge for another, or to prescribe his duty. God gives to every soul freedom to think, and to follow his own convictions." Indeed, God valued freedom so much that He chose to accept the consequences of its misuse rather than reduce human beings to robots. Generally, when we say that we respect a person, we are implying that we are willing to restrict that person's freedom by imposing our own values on him or her.

Fundamental to the concept of personal autonomy is a person's freedom to decide what happens to his or her own body. One side of the abortion debate has focused on this aspect of freedom: the right of the pregnant woman to determine what she does with her own body. Even if a fetus is accorded *full* human rights, we may still argue that the decision to continue or terminate the pregnancy properly belongs to the pregnant woman. Ordinarily, we do not force a person to use his or her body for the good of another, even if that good is life. We have not drafted kidney donors, for example, even though the lives of many people could thus be saved. We do not even insist that people agree to donate their organs following death. Nor do we consider it permissible to force people to be subjects of experimentation without their consent. We do not even require anyone to give a pint of blood in order to save the life of another. While we may encourage such actions, because of our high regard for personal autonomy we do not make them mandatory. So important in our culture is this sense of the inviolability of a person's body that even unconsented touching is a legal offense.

On what grounds, then, should a woman

be enjoined to provide her body to preserve the life of another? One possible answer is that she chose to initiate the incipient human life through the act of procreation. But this answer generally lacks force. Most women who consider having an abortion did not *choose* pregnancy in the meaningful sense of the word. In most instances, they were probably hoping to avoid pregnancy.

Of course, we may wish that all pregnant women would always value prenatal life and accept the obligation to protect that life unless there were sufficiently strong reasons not to do so. But hoping for such a conviction and insisting on it are two different matters.

The principle of respect for personal autonomy establishes a moral presumption in favor of the pregnant woman's rights to determine whether to continue pregnancy. The principle calls into question all paternalistic attempts to make continuation of the pregnancy mandatory. We should encourage people like Joan to consult with those whose convictions they respect—we are all members of communities and our autonomy is very largely the gift of personal interaction. But in the end, one of the chief purposes of community should be to empower the individual to make his or her own personal decision.

4. The principle of justice. Everyone concerned with abortion needs to remember that at least two lives must be concerned. When human lives and interests are in conflict, the moral decision-maker generally must make some appeal to the concept of justice.

According to Scripture, God loves His children impartially. Everyone counts. God gives the dignity with which He endows human life without gradation or qualification. God loves those who, from a human standpoint, appear unworthy as well as those who seem worthy (Matt. 5:43-48). His love is not influenced by what humans call excellence, nor can His favor be purchased. He is fair: "For the Lord your God is God of gods and Lord of lords, the great, the mighty, and the terrible God, who is not partial and takes no bribe. He executes justice for the fatherless and the widow, and loves the sojourner" (Deut. 10:17, 18).

Biblical justice reflects God's impartial love. It establishes a presumption in favor of treating all God's children impartially, on the basis of their needs. It requires that the weak and the vulnerable be given special attention not as a denial of impartiality but precisely because they are most in need and least likely to be treated fairly. Justice is thus the instrument of love in the social setting.

If we seek justice of this sort, we must be prepared to relate to human conflicts by

Biblical justice establishes a presumption in favor of treating all God's children impartially, on the basis of their needs.

relinquishing personal biases and adopting the perspective of impartiality. In the case of abortion, we must be willing to imagine ourselves in the position of all those, including the fetus, who are substantially affected by the decision. And we must ask ourselves what we would consider a just or fair decision.

Obviously, we will have the most difficult time adopting this impartial perspective when we are among those who will be substantially affected by the issue involved. This difficulty reveals the importance of the balancing guidance of a community of faith and virtue. Moreover, this difficulty should emphasize the importance of carefully thinking through moral dilemmas such as abortion *before* we have to face those dilemmas ourselves.

Some Conclusions

Neither the principle of justice nor the others I have discussed will eliminate what James Londs has called the "agony of decision."⁴ The nature of the Christian values at stake in abortion—grace, life, freedom, and justice—and the depth of our convictions about them preclude easy solutions. We should be unwilling to relinquish or diminish our commitment to any of these values; but we should also realize that in the case of difficult moral problems such as abortion neither these values nor the principles that grow from them can fully erase our sense of conflict and loss. Cases like Joan's should make this obvious.

Still, the principles I have stated do lead to some reasonably clear conclusions:

1. The reasons of convenience and expedience that appear to characterize many abortion decisions could be deemed adequate only if a very low value were attached to prenatal life. Such abortions are morally unacceptable.

2. As much as we respect the developing human life of the fetus, the claims and interests of the established personal life of the pregnant woman, including the likelihood of responsibility to other persons, must be

given priority in cases of conflict. The most obvious of such cases occurs when the physical life or health of the mother is seriously threatened. Another obvious example is a pregnancy resulting from rape. We must also realize that an unwanted pregnancy may jeopardize the personhood of the woman in many ways, some evident and some hidden.

3. We should forego the paternalism that insists others know better than the pregnant woman how to assess the many factors affecting the abortion decision. We may *encourage* her to seek the counsel of her community and we may *offer* our own perspective, but attempting to coerce her to make what we consider an acceptable decision in a matter so deeply personal would be a wrongful restriction of her autonomy. The church should not support efforts aimed at restricting the personal autonomy of the pregnant woman.

4. The principle of autonomy should be extended to medical care providers. No institution or individual should be required to participate in an abortion that is contrary to conviction.

5. The community of faith that respects human life should support those social changes that would lessen the need for abortion. We should seek ways to assist those women who elect to continue their pregnancies, making that choice an achievable option. Doing so is one of the clearest instances in which work for social justice serves the cause of life.

I can think of no nice way to end an article on abortion. The conclusion to Joan's story will not help—her story has no fairy tale ending. After much indecision, Joan finally elected to leave school and confront her parents with her problem. She also decided to continue the pregnancy and relinquish the infant for adoption. But when the baby was born, she changed her mind and chose to keep it. She felt so little understanding or acceptance by her parents and her church that she sought public assistance and now lives alone with her child. She has not returned to college and has no hope of doing so at this time. She, her child, and all whose lives touch theirs will continue to need a special measure of God's forgiving and redeeming love. L

Footnotes

¹ This story has been altered in ways significant enough to protect the identity of those involved.

² For examples, see Genesis 15:1ff (Abraham and Sarah); Genesis 25:21ff (Isaac and Rebecca); 1 Samuel 1:10ff (Elkanah and Hannah).

³ Michael J. Gorman, *Abortion and the Early Church* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1982), p. 35.

⁴ James Londs, *Abortion: Mercy or Murder?* (Nashville: Southern Pub. Assn., 1980), p. 30.



Two events this past summer crystallize the differences between factions within the prolife movement. Both sides say they are working toward the same goal: making abortion illegal. In Philadelphia, more than 800 demonstrators were arrested last July for blocking the entrances to two abortion clinics. They believe social upheaval is necessary to effect change.

Barely a week earlier, the Supreme Court handed down a decision allowing religious groups that receive federal funds to continue counseling teenagers to seek alternatives to abortion. The traditional prolife movement, shunning illegal demonstrations, regards this victory as evidence that working within the law will eventually bear the desired fruit.

Protest '80s Style

"No babies were killed at this clinic today," Randall Terry shouted to the remaining demonstrators in front of Philadelphia's Northeast Women's Center. The founder of

Operation Rescue represents a growing segment of the prolife movement unwilling to wait for politicians to change abortion laws. They say they must obey God's law when it conflicts with earthly law, which for them means breaking U.S. laws to prevent abortions.

Though abortion clinic protesters usually face only a small fine, some pay the price of freedom. From a telephone in the District of Columbia jail, ChristyAnne Collins, director of Sanctity of Life, told *Christianity Today* of being arrested, handcuffed, and sentenced to nine months for refusing to leave a public hallway in front of an abortion clinic. "I may be released early with the provision I refrain from further activities outside abortion clinics," she said, "but I cannot do that. I'll use whatever nonviolent means I can to help save the babies."

Some, however, go further than Collins. "Philosophically, blowing up an abortion machine can't be wrong, because it's a machine used for killing innocent human

A Movement

D I V I D E D

By Lyn Cryderman

Prolife activists are at odds over the best strategy for bringing about a change in abortion law.

Operation Rescue, which to date has sponsored "rescues" in three major cities, Terry believes the prolife movement must add civil disobedience to its arsenal in order to win its battle against abortion.

Unlike the sit-ins of the sixties, which often drew violent responses from police, leaders of last month's effort worked closely with the Philadelphia police to ensure an orderly protest. The predominantly white, evangelical demonstrators sat in 100-degree heat, some for nine hours, waiting to be arrested. Leaders used bullhorns to urge protesters to delay the arrest process so the clinic would stay closed as long as possible. After a short bus ride to a makeshift processing center, demonstrators were charged with trespassing (a misdemeanor), then released.

"Every major political change in our society has been preceded by social upheaval," explained Terry. "The prolife movement has failed to learn the lessons of history, which show how the labor movement, the civil rights movement, Vietnam protest, and gay liberation all occurred because a group of people created social tension."

beings," said Richard Traynor, an attorney and president of New Jersey Right to Life. "However, I would not do it myself. Instead, I choose to put my body between the machine and the innocent victim."

Faith in the System

Meanwhile, others in the prolife movement hailed the June 29, 1988 Supreme Court Decision in *Bowen v. Kendrick* as evidence that working through the legislative process is the most effective way to make abortion illegal, even though the case is only indirectly related to abortion. "In the past 15 years we have seen the Court move from 7 to 2 in favor of abortion to a probable 5 to 4 opposed," said Jack Wilke, president of the National Right to Life Committee (NRLC). The nation's largest prolife organization, the NRLC has consistently opposed illegal activity.

Wilke was careful not to criticize those

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who break laws to fight abortion, but he said he feels their actions are misguided. The NRLC advocates working within the law as the quickest route to reversing *Roe v. Wade*, the historic 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. Willke cites a string of legislative victories that have cut federal funds for abortion.

"Moral Calculus"

Although both groups agree that the ultimate goal is to change the law, convictions about how to do it are firm on both sides. "If we believe abortion is murder, the logical response is physical intervention, not writing letters to congressmen," says Operation Rescue's Terry. "We've been working on a political solution for 15 years, and it's failed. Our ranks are growing because people are realizing we have missed the boat. Instead of trying to fill the halls of Congress, we should have been filling the abortion clinics with people who want to stop the killing."

Willke, however, questions the wisdom of breaking the law. "We will want people to obey the new abortion law we are working form, so it is important we let the nation know we are responsible people ourselves." Willke is especially critical of violence. "We will not win with violence. That is the tactic of the abortionist."

Willke maintains further that proponents of illegal activities may actually be postponing the reversal of *Roe v. Wade*. "Generally, the kind of publicity they receive when they demonstrate is bad for the movement. In the sixties, the media were behind the civil rights movement. They are not behind the prolife movement. They portray those demonstrators as a bunch of kooks, religious fanatics."

Willke said the sit-ins may stop a few babies from being killed, "but if it postpones the reversal of *Roe v. Wade* for just one day by turning people off to the cause, that's 4,000 babies."

The debate over strategy is a question of what Michigan prolife activist Charles White says is referred to by ethicists as "moral calculus." White asks, "Do you close or destroy an abortion clinic to stop the killing for a short time, or do you use the legislative process to try and stop it forever?" In White's view, proliferators face the same decision faced by European Christians sympathetic with Jews facing the Holocaust: "Is it right to blow up a bridge to stop the train carrying Jews to the gas chambers?"

Terry indicates there is little chance that his branch of the prolife movement will alter its course. "Our numbers are increasing, especially among evangelicals," he said. "The National Right to Life Committee does not represent the whole prolife movement. We want a new law too, but in the meantime, we can no longer stand by while babies are being killed." 



“To Pitch or Not to Pitch”

*The Beastly Question: Why does the contract of a Texas Rangers pitcher read like a page from the book of Revelation?**

By Jon Paulien

Edwin Correa, 22, a hot pitching prospect for the Texas Rangers, may soon face a beastly question. Correa, a Seventh-day Adventist with a major league fastball (at the age of 19 he struck out more batters than any other rookie in the American League), would prefer not to exercise his talent on the Sabbath, from sundown Friday to sundown Saturday. But the typical major league team plays several dozen games on the Sabbath.

In an unusual arrangement the Texas Rangers have agreed that Correa need not go to the mound on the Sabbath unless the team is “in a pinch.” “I respect his position,” says Rangers manager Bobby Valentine. “He respects our position. We’re going to do everything we can to make it work.” According to Larry Kelly, a representative of the Rangers front office, Correa’s beliefs will be honored “whenever possible.” It will be the manager’s job to plan around Friday nights and Saturday afternoons for his Sabbathkeeping Christian pitcher. However, injuries, the weather, or an extra-inning game will sometime put the Rangers “in a pinch.” When that time comes Correa may have to decide how his contract with the Rangers relates to his contract with God. The matter has been on hold, however, since an injured Correa missed the last half of the 1987 season and all of 1988.¹

Correa’s employment dilemma is not unique. Many baseball buffs remember that

Sandy Koufax, the Dodger great, avoided pitching on Jewish holidays. Nearly as problematic as professional sports is the United States Postal Service, where a combination of company contracts and union rules makes it nearly impossible for Sabbathkeepers to gain full-time employment or hold even part-time jobs. In fact, hundreds of Sabbath work cases are on appeal with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or in the courts.

Sabbathkeepers face even greater problems overseas. In many countries children are required to attend school on Saturday, regardless of religious belief. Classes and examinations scheduled on Sabbath keep youth from becoming doctors and nurses, or even entering college (this is also true in the United States, with the exception that alter-

*Readers of this series will recognize the presence of an allusion to Shakespeare here! Those who aren’t aware of the significance of allusions for the study of Revelation are encouraged to read the third article in this series (published in the September-October, 1988 LIBERTY). Sixth and final in a series on the book of Revelation’s relevancy in a secular world.

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natives are offered in selected locations for those who prefer them).

Such issues of conscience and coercion pervade the book of Revelation. Chapters 12-14 anticipate a worldwide religious polarization achieved by means of fantastic deceptions, which God permits (2 Thessalonians 2:7-12) in order to expose those who love falsehood more than truth.² According to the apocalypses of the New Testament (2 Thessalonians 2:1-12 and Revelation), being sincerely religious is not enough.

The Two Camps

Revelation reveals that a climactic confrontation will divide all humanity into two camps. The first clue to its nature is given in Revelation 12:17, where the final battle is summarized:

Then the dragon was enraged
at the woman
and went off to make war
against the rest of her offspring—
those who obey God's
commandments
and hold to the testimony of Jesus.³

Crucial to identifying the dragon's opponents are two points: they hold to the testimony of Jesus and obey God's commandments. These characteristics are repeated in Revelation 14:12:

This calls for patient endurance
on the part of the saints
who obey God's commandments
and remain faithful to Jesus.

In both texts God's followers clearly are faithful to Jesus⁴ and obedient to God's commandments. Did the author have particular commandments in mind or was he merely referring to commandments in general?

The Critical Issue

Chapters 13 and 14 indicate that the issue in the final battle is worship:

Men *worshiped* the dragon
because he had given authority
to the beast,
and they also *worshiped* the beast
(Rev. 13:4).

All inhabitants of the earth
will *worship* the beast—
all whose names have not been
written in the book of life
(Rev. 13:8).

Then I saw another beast,
coming out of the earth.
He had two horns like a lamb,
but he spoke like a dragon.

He exercised all the authority
of the first beast on his behalf,
and made the earth and its
inhabitants
worship the first beast,
whose fatal wound had been
healed
(Rev. 13: 11, 12)

He was given power
to give breath
to the image of the first beast,
so that it could speak
and cause all who refused
to *worship* the image to be killed
(Rev. 13:15).

Then I saw another angel flying
in midair,
and he had the eternal gospel
to proclaim to those who live
on the earth. . . .
He said in a loud voice,
"Fear God and give him glory,
because the hour of his judgment
has come.
Worship him
(Rev. 14:6, 7).

A third angel followed them
and said in a loud voice:
"If anyone *worships* the beast
and his image
and receives his mark
on the forehead or on the hand,
he, too, will drink of the wine
of God's fury. . . .
There is no rest day or night
for those who *worship* the beast
and his image
(Rev. 14:9, 11).

The word *worship* or a form of it appears eight times in these passages. The sea and land beasts of Revelation 13 demand that the whole world worship the beast and his image. Angels of God proclaim His opposition to this demand, and His corresponding call to worship Him instead. Power against power!

The first four of the Ten Commandments specifically concern worship (the last six relate to how human beings are expected to treat each other). Notice them in their original settings:⁵

(1) "I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of Egypt, out of the land of slavery. You shall have no other gods before me."

(2) "You shall not make for yourself an idol in the form of anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the waters below. You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I, the Lord your God, am

a jealous God, punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me, but showing love to the thousands who love me and keep my commandments."

(3) "You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God, for the Lord will not hold anyone guiltless who misuses his name."

(4) "Remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy. Six days you shall labor and do all your work, but the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God. On it you shall not do any work. . . . For in six days the Lord made the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all that is in them, but he rested on the seventh day. Therefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and made it holy" (Exodus 20:1-11).

Counterfeit Commandments

Each of these commandments concerns one's relationship to God, which is what worship is all about. And each is counterfeited by the unholy beasts of Revelation 13. Instead of God alone being worshiped, the dragon and the beast are worshiped (verses 4, 8, 12). In defiance of the second commandment, an image is set up to be worshiped (verses 14, 15). The beast freely blasphemes God in defiance of the third commandment (verses 1, 5, 6). And the mark of the beast is a direct counterfeit of the seal of God (Revelation 14:1-5). In Deuteronomy 6:4-8, the first four commandments of the law are enjoined upon the ancient Israelites and were to be worn on the forehead and the hand. In contrast is the activity of the second beast, which

forced everyone,
small and great,
rich and poor,
free and slave,
to receive a mark
on his right hand
or on his forehead,
so that no one could buy or sell
unless he had the mark
(Rev. 13:16, 17).

Described here is not some form of secular humanism but a tyranny of the righteous. The unholy trinity does not seek to stifle all expressions of religion, only those other than its own. History demonstrates that the worst tyrannies are perpetrated not by bad people trying to make other people bad, but by good people trying to make other people good.

Mark of Defiance

In speaking of the mark on the forehead and the hand, the revelator accomplishes two other objectives as well. First, the allusion to the forehead and the hand of Deuter-

onomy 6 indicates that this mark is in defiance of the first four commandments. Second, and on a more practical level, the use of forehead and hand indicates a distinction between two types of people who obey the commands of the second beast. Those marked on the forehead believe that the beasts are speaking for God. They are "deceived" by the signs that the beast performs (Revelation 13:13, 14; 16:13, 14). Those marked on the hand are not convinced but yield because they don't want to lose economic opportunities. Thus John portrays a time when people will have to choose between conscience and job.

In Revelation 14 attention turns to those who refuse to worship the beast or his image even under threat of death. A corresponding call to worship is offered:

Then I saw another angel
flying in midair,
and he had the eternal gospel
to proclaim
to those who live on the earth—
to every nation, tribe,
language and people.
He said in a loud voice,
"Fear God
and give him glory,
because the hour of his judgment
has come.
Worship him
who made the heavens,
the earth, the sea
and the springs of water"
Rev. 14:6, 7).

Revelation establishes, then, that the great issue in earth's final crisis is worship. Will inhabitants of the world worship God or those powers symbolized by the dragon, the sea beast, and the land beast? Thus, Revelation 13 and 14 focus on the first section of the Ten Commandments.

Mark of Allegiance

Does my introduction to this article imply that the battle over worship centers in the fourth commandment, which enjoins the observance of the Sabbath? The book of Revelation never specifically quotes the Old Testament, it only alludes to it by means of a word or phrase here, an idea or person there. Only in rare instances do we find more than two or three words paralleling a specific Old Testament context. One of those rare instances occurs in Revelation 14:7, where the first angel calls on all to "worship him who made the heavens, the earth, the sea and the springs of water." The allusion is to the Sabbath commandment of Exodus 20:8-11. "The seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God . . . for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is" (KJV).

Of the eight times worship is mentioned

in Revelation 13 and 14, seven have to do with the unholy trinity's desire to be worshiped, and only one, this one, is a call to worship God. This call is the central appeal in this section of Revelation.

That the author of an ancient book might believe God cares whether people observe one day of the week rather than another is certainly possible, but in our tolerant, secular society it seems to make little sense, except to unusual individuals like Edwin Correa. What difference does it make on what day of the week one worships? What kind of God plays favorites on such flimsy grounds? In a way this test in the last book of the Bible corresponds to a test in the first, the book of Genesis: the forbidden fruit (the variety is not mentioned in the text, although the apple is traditional). Earth's parents are told that they can eat of the beautiful fruit of one tree but not the equally beautiful fruit of another. What kind of God would make distinctions among people based on so trivial a matter as a bite of fruit?

The matter is not as trivial as it seems. The ultimate test of loyalty comes in matters where no self-interest is involved. The last six commandments make a great deal of sense. "Thou shalt not kill" is logical to anyone who does not wish to be killed. "Thou shalt not steal" is logical to anyone who wants to protect his or her hard-earned possessions. Even the first three commandments contain a certain logic. If God is who He claims to be, one would be foolish to worship substitutes or to blaspheme His name.

The Illogical Commandment

Only one commandment is truly illogical, the fourth, the Sabbath commandment. No one has demonstrated scientifically that there is any significant difference between Saturday and any other day of the week. The sun shines and the rain falls in the usual amounts. The earth continues to spin and to revolve around the sun. The only difference between the Sabbath and other days is that God Himself made a distinction between them. To keep the Sabbath is to take God at His word, though the five senses can perceive no evidence that to do so is logical.

The Sabbath command in Revelation 14:7 is the purposeful counterpart to the deceptions described in article 5 of this series. Those deceptions are so severe that the senses perceive the unholy trinity to be correct and God's people to be wrong. In a time of great deception a seemingly arbitrary test of loyalty such as that offered in Revelation has particular force. Only those totally committed to God and His commandments would obey Him despite the evidence of their senses. Such obedience does not come out of self-interest. It reflects the desire to be loyal to God's word at whatever cost to one's self.

"To Pitch or Not to Pitch"

The dilemma of Edwin Correa, therefore, reads like a page out of the book of Revelation. Whenever the Texas Rangers are "in a pinch," Correa is coerced to do that which he would not choose to do were his job not at stake. The Texas Rangers are to be commended for going further than most professional teams to accommodate a ball-player's loyalty to his God. Nevertheless, Correa's situation makes clear that even in the freest of societies, loyalty to God may conflict with the requirements of one's employment. His dilemma illustrates the kind of test that could become widespread in an age where global unity is considered a desirable goal.

It is remarkable how much the book of Revelation has in common with the concerns that motivate the editors of LIBERTY. The beasts may be gruesome, the images fantastic, and the whole rather frightening. But underlying the fantastic imagery is a throbbing indictment against all forms of tyranny, particularly the tyranny of the righteous. There is an equally powerful plea for liberty of conscience, a goal Revelation shares with our secular, tolerant age. The reason religious liberty is so crucial is that liberty tends to be most threatened not by secular expediency, but by religious fervor. The need to worship something or someone is a natural consequence of being human. Corresponding to that is the tendency to impose one's own worship forms on others.

As we look with foreboding to a future that seems filled with apocalyptic images of mushroom clouds and ever more sophisticated forms of tyranny over mind and conscience, the author of Revelation reminds us that we can never afford to be slack in our vigilance to preserve the precious freedoms that God intended all humanity to enjoy.



Footnotes

¹ According to Kelly, the Rangers stand by their agreement with Correa. As of November 1988, Correa, rehabilitating from his injury, was to play winter league ball in preparation for the 1989 season. Kelly sounded hopeful that Correa could return to the mound for the Rangers this spring.

² See "Truth or Consequences," LIBERTY, January-February, 1989.

³ All biblical quotations in this article not otherwise indicated are drawn from the *Holy Bible, New International Version*. Copyright © 1973, 1978, International Bible Society. Used by permission of Zondervan Bible Publishers.

⁴ Holding to the testimony of Jesus evidently refers to their willingness to accept whatever Jesus reveals to them through His prophets (see Revelation 22:6-10; 19:10; 1:2).

⁵ Readers may notice that the biblical wording of the Ten Commandments differs somewhat from those they learned in Sunday school. Some churches have altered versions of the commandments in their catechisms.

The editors of LIBERTY felt that the responses to the series of articles on Revelation were worthy of some comment, so I went through them and interacted with some positive and negative responses to the first three articles.

The most stimulating letter I received came from attorney **Lee R. McNair** of Seattle, Washington (see *From Our Readers*, January-February 1989, p. 29). He was intrigued by the comparison between Revelation and "Through the Looking Glass," by Lewis Carroll, in the second article. His reflections on the comparison were most insightful.

Attorney **Rex Downie**, of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, kindly comments that the method outlined in the third article is "the only game in town." He suggests that *A Rebirth of Images*, by Austin Farrar (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1970) would be of interest to readers of LIBERTY. I agree that Farrar's book offers many unique insights into the symbolism of Revelation, but scholars generally agree that Farrar often went too far, so the book needs to be read critically.

While we are on the subject of book recommendations, I hope that it would not be too self-serving to mention that Andrews University Press has just published (1988) my book on Revelation entitled *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets*. It contains a more detailed explanation of method than is possible in a popular series of articles. If not available in local areas, it can be ordered from the Andrews University Bookstore, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104 for \$15.

Naturally, not everyone who read the articles was pleased. Some misunderstood my point, others understood all too well and disagreed vigorously anyway. Such readers have helped me to clarify what I was saying in a way that would be helpful to other readers of the series.

Pastor **David Downie**, of Seattle, Washington (no relation to attorney Downie, of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, as far as I know), complained about my "taking a cut" at Hal Lindsey in suggesting that he thought the world would come to an end by the year 1988. He pointed out that on page 54 of *The Late Great Planet Earth* Lindsey is more tentative than I imply in the article. I agree that the language I use with refer-

A Dialogue With Readers

By Jon Paulien

ence to Lindsey there is stronger than warranted by the footnoted passage. I noticed that problem in the editorial process, but somehow the language slipped through. I should probably point out that while Lindsey's "suggestion" is carefully worded in his book, many who heard him speak in the 1970s came away believing that he was setting a date. I have the highest respect for all who honestly search the book of Revelation, even if I think their conclusions are mistaken. The purpose of the articles is to encourage more careful study of the book.

Pastor **Leonard Robinson** (see *From Our Readers*, November-December 1989, p. 30) felt that I "know very little about my subject." His basis for that assertion was my comment that "the movement known as dispensationalism originated in the early 1800s in Great Britain, the leading thinker being John Nelson Darby." He considers this statement historically inaccurate since Matthew Poole in the seventeenth century refers to "old chiliasts" who divide earth's history into periods or dispensations, thereby predating the time of Darby. I have no dispute with Pastor Robinson's statement. In fact, the Epistle of Barnabas (written in the second century) and the Babylonian Talmud (no later than the fifth century) share such a "dispensational" view, so in that sense "dispensationalism" goes back to the beginning of the Judeo-Christian era.

The problem here is that Pastor Robinson and I don't mean the same thing by the term *dispensationalism*. Pastor Robinson uses it in the general sense of the term as a theory of how God orders His administration of various eras of earth's history (see *Webster's Unabridged*). I use the term, as do most scholars (see, for example, the book *End-Times*, by Duke University scholar James E. Fird [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1986]), as a reference to the movement that coalesced under the guidance of Darby, teaching not only dispensations but a literalistic method

of interpretation resulting in the rapture idea, which I was critiquing in this series of articles. Dispensationalism as Robinson defines it goes back to the earliest period of the Christian era; Darby's rapture teaching does not.

Paul Frenkel, of Studio City, California, an avid fan of LIBERTY, was puzzled by my comment in the third article that the word for grasshopper appears only five times in the Hebrew Bible. He noted many more references to the term in his Jewish Bible. The problem is that the Hebrew uses several words for locust, or grasshopper. An English translation such as the Jewish Bible doesn't always reflect these distinctions. Since Shamir's comment, mentioned in the article, was made in Hebrew we must limit the discussion of a biblical source for his comment to passages containing the same Hebrew word that he used.

Donald E. Casebolt (who was a seminary classmate of mine, I think) is unhappy with me for picking on Hal Lindsey when "Seventh-day Adventist history is littered with numerous examples of failed prophecies" (see *From Our Readers*, November-December 1988, p. 29). I am aware of many examples in addition to the ones he cites. It was not my intention in the series of articles to suggest that Seventh-day Adventists are all right and dispensationalists are all wrong. I was rather calling on all who desire to understand Revelation, of whatever background, to apply sober, analytical principles to the task rather than to rework the book into the image of their own time, place, and circumstances. I featured Lindsey, by way of illustration, because his views are widely known, having influenced tens of millions of Americans. Seventh-day Adventist views of prophecy, by contrast, are virtually unknown to most Americans. When I get a chance to speak to Seventh-day Adventist audiences about these matters I use illustrations from Seventh-day Adventist history.

I would be the last person to suggest that I have Revelation all figured out. This dialogue emphasizes how easy it is to overstate things or to be misunderstood even when you don't. But a fruitful dialogue, particularly with those who disagree, is the best way to learn where your weaknesses are. To all who responded to my articles so far, a hearty thank-you!

Anti-Semitism infects nations with sizeable Jewish populations. The question is, Can it also contaminate a nation with virtually no Jews?

Circumstances in Japan would seem to call for a resounding Yes.

"Japan is in the midst of an unprecedented wave of anti-Semitism," writes James D. Bresser of the Baltimore *Jewish Times*. "In a society almost devoid of Jews, blatantly anti-Semitic literature has achieved best-selling status in Japanese bookstores and newstands."¹

Also reporting on anti-Semitism have been United Press International, the *New York Times*, the Associated Press and *Newsweek*.

However, David Goodman, associate professor of Japanese and comparative literature at the University of Illinois, writes that "the Japanese are not actively anti-Semitic." Says Goodman, "Jews are not treated differently from other foreigners in Japan."²

Itaru Umeza, director of the Japan Information Center of the Consulate General of Japan in New York City, says that anti-Semitic views "should not be interpreted as being representative of those of the Japanese people, much less the government of Japan."

Financial Conspiracies

Whatever the attitude of most Japanese, identification of Jews with financial conspiracies is rampant. Writes

Hobart Rowen in the *Washington Post*: There has been an astonishing spread of anti-Jewish literature in Japan. It blames Japan's current economic problems—including the high yen—on Jews working behind the scenes to control world events."³

Theories of Jewish financial conspiracies are not new. But that they exist in Japan, whose Jewish presence is almost nonexistent, is startling. Among 120 million Japanese live some 150 Jewish families. Most are em-

ployees of multinational corporations, people who reside in Japan only two or three years.

Nevertheless, so many anti-Jewish books have been published (currently at least 82 with the name Jew in the title) that some bookstores have special "Jewish corners" to display their wares. Among the titles: *If You Can Understand the Jews*, *You Can Understand the World*; *The Jewish Plot to Take Over the World*; *The Secrets of Jewish Power to Control the World*; and *Japan—Blueprint of Jewish*

Conspiracy, as well as a new edition of the granddaddy of the Jewish-conspiracy-theory genre, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Undisputed superstar of the Japanese anti-Semitic jet set is Masami Uno, the 46-year-old director of the Osaka-based Middle East Problems Research Center. Uno, a professed fundamentalist Christian minister, is a best-selling author of anti-Semitic books. His latest two, which blame the Jews for Japan's economic problems, have sold more than 650,000 copies.

According to Uno, the precipitous rise of the yen in the 1980s is part of a Jewish plot to destroy Japan. The Jews, whom he believes engineered the stock market crash of 1929, are planning another crash for 1990. After luring all liquid Japanese assets into U.S. markets, the Jews will stage an international economic crisis to destroy Japanese investments. Japan, now destitute, will be bought up by Jews, who will import hordes of Blacks and Hispanics to not only take Japanese jobs, but rape their women and pollute their culture.

America is a "Jewish nation," writes Uno, run by the Jews. Ronald Reagan was nothing but a "robot president" controlled by Jewish advisors such as George Shultz and Caspar Weinburger (neither is Jewish). Uno warns that America is in the hands of a few Jewish



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Anti-Semitism in Japan

*Is it the product of race, religion
or economics—or symbolic
of frustration at Western values
and institutions?*

By Clifford Goldstein

families: the Mellons, Du Ponts, Morgans, and Rockefellers (none are Jewish either). Uno sees Jews everywhere: Commodore Matthew Perry, Christopher Columbus, Lenin, Franklin Roosevelt and even former Saudi oil minister Sheikh Ahmad Zaki Yamani are supposedly closet Hebrews.

Uno's theory blends typical Western Jewish conspiracy theories with fundamentalist eschatology. According to Uno, the Jews' goal is to bring on World War III, which they believe will usher in the Messianic Age when a Jewish autocrat will rule the world from a rebuilt Temple in Jerusalem. Fortunately, Uno claims, this anti-christ will reign only three and a half years because the real Messiah, Jesus, will appear on the

tizing, and Nazism." The book won two major Japanese literary prizes.

Another book of the same genre, *The Secrets of Jewish Power to Control the World*, was written by Aisaburo Saito, a member of the Japanese parliament.

Journalist Akifuma Ikeda, of the Tokyo Institute of Developing Economies, has warned that circulation of anti-Jewish literature in Japan is not a fad but a dangerous phenomenon that needs to be stopped. However, former Japanese foreign minister Tadashi Kuranari told the Japanese Diet on September 4, 1987: "It is undesirable, in my view, that [these] publications, . . . which are based on an extremely one-sided point of view, are in wide circulation. Of

nese. In 1979, the annual meeting of Japanese-Germanists had papers on numerous Jewish writers, including Heinrich Heine and Franz Kafka.⁵ Even Prince Mikasa of the imperial family has taken Jewish studies. One of Japan's richest men, 88-year-old Ryoichi Saskawa, chairman of the Japan Shipbuilding Industry, has started an "era of friendship" between Israel and Japan. Saskawa has donated \$1.4 million for a wing of the Tikotin Museum of Japanese Art on Mount Carmel.⁶

Japanese Diary

Japan has no tradition of religious or cultural anti-Semitism, even if traces, like faint scars, can be found. Jews have lived in Japan since the mid-nineteenth century, but in numbers so minuscule that Japanese learned about Jews mostly from Christian missionaries whose portrayal was generally unflattering. Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, with its miserly Shylock—translated into Japanese in 1887 and still used in high schools there—has not been helpful either. Anti-Jewish sentiment rose after World War I when Japanese soldiers stationed in Russia contracted anti-Semitism from the Russians and carried it home. The Japanese alliance with Germany in World War II helped foster these attitudes. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and Alfred Rosenberg's *Myths of the Twentieth Century* were translated into Japanese. One Japanese correspondent who had interviewed Hitler wrote: "Japan, which has extended the hand of friendship to Germany, a nation of anti-Semites, must naturally devote some study to anti-Semitism."⁷

Though extending the "hand of friendship" to Germany, the Japanese government never cooperated with the Nazis' Final Solution. The official policy was to treat Jews as any other ethnic group. Some Japanese aided Jews escaping the Nazis. Before the war the Japanese envisioned the Fugu Plan, an attempt to settle 50,000 persecuted European Jews in Manchuria to act as a buffer against the Russians, as well as attract American sympathy and invest-

ment. Though the colony never materialized, "20,000 to 30,000 Jews managed to get to Japan under the plan and 99 percent of them survived the war."⁸

After the war, horrified by revelations of the Holocaust, the Japanese became sympathetic to the Jews and Israel. Ann Frank's *Diary of a Young Girl* became a best-seller, and the Japanese established a Kibbutz Institute, which sent young people to live on Kibbutzim in Israel for a year. After the Six-Day War, and then the 1973 war and the oil embargo, attitudes changed, mostly because pragmatic Japan is crippling dependent upon Arab oil. Even now it has not barred compliance with Arab economic boycotts, as have the United States and Western Europe. "Many leading U.S. and European countries called the Arab bluff by continuing to trade with Israel," said a Tokyo business magazine, *Business Tokyo*. "They have not, in most cases, suffered because of the decision. Japanese companies, however, have not even tried."⁹

Economic and Symbolic

Indeed, the motivation behind Japanese anti-Semitism is not race or religion, but economics. One of the first anti-Jewish books to come to public attention in the early 1970s—*Jewish Business Methods: Controlling the Economy of the World*, by Den Fujita, president of McDonald's Japan Ltd.—blamed the Jews for disrupting the Japanese economy. "Japan," he warned, "was being ravaged by a pack of Jews."

"The Japanese are victims of their own success," said *Newsweek*. "Their exports have sold so well that the value of the yen soared, making their products more expensive and forcing record layoffs. To many Japanese, it is both unfair and puzzling—and a simple explanation is sweeping the country: it's all the fault of the Jews."¹⁰

Some, however, like David Goodman, see the problem as not just economic but symbolic of the struggle between East and West. "The Jews are a synecdoche for the West," he writes. "In attacking the Jews, Japanese authors are in fact attacking

"...circulation of anti-Jewish literature in Japan is not a fad but a dangerous phenomenon that needs to be stopped."

Journalist Akifuma Ikeda, of the Tokyo Institute of Developing Economies

Mount of Olives and usher in the millennium of peace.

Uno books are widely read, as their sales prove. "According to the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, a leading Japanese newspaper, Uno's books are given respectful attention within the Bank of Japan, the country's equivalent of the Federal Reserve Board."⁴ On January 17, 1987, the *Yomiuri*, Japan's most widely read daily newspaper, presented as credible Uno's theory that the Jews plotted the revaluation of the yen in order to punish the Japanese.

A Dangerous Phenomenon

Another anti-Semitic bard is Fumiko Kometani, whose novella *Passover* (1985) is filled with derogatory stereotypes of the Jews, culminating with the charge that the Jews are responsible for all Western evils, including "colonialism, prosely-

course, freedom of thought and speech must be guaranteed, but I must say that views such as the one that attributes various problems facing Japan to a worldwide Jewish conspiracy are totally groundless and irresponsible. I would like to make it very clear that our government opposes anti-Semitism and any other racial or religious discrimination or prejudice."

Positive Indicators

Despite long-term political and economic attempts to establish close ties with Arab oil producers (Japan gets 70 percent of its oil from the Middle East), Japan maintains full diplomatic relations with Israel. Japanese scholars continue to produce valuable books on Jews and Judaism. Jewish writers like Gershom Scholem, Martin Buber, Isaac Singer, and Elie Wiesel are published in Japa-

Hirohito's Death Brings New Church Concerns

Will Emperor Hirohito's death bring a resurgence of Shintoism? Christian spokesmen in Japan fear the answer may be yes.

Robert W. Northup, the National Council of Churches Japan officer, said Christians in Japan are trying to ensure that new emperor Akihito will be perceived as "a representative of the people rather than one who is . . . a deified, real embodiment of the state in the culture."

Ever since Hirohito became ill more than a year ago, the United Church of Christ in Japan, the nation's largest Protestant body with 196,000 members, and other Christian organizations have focused on fears that the emperor's death may provide an avenue for nationalistic groups that favor a return to a more powerful monarchy and the Shinto elements identified with the emperor that were diminished after World War II.

From the time Hirohito ascended the throne in 1926 until the end of World War II, he was revered as divine, and Shinto was the state religion. Shinto, the indigenous religion of Japan, is best known for its veneration of antiquity, the forces of nature and ancestors.

After the war Hirohito renounced his divinity, and under the constitution imposed on Japan by the United States at the end of the war, church and state are separated. But the emperor is still viewed as the chief priest of the Shinto religion.

Many questions will be answered, Christian spokesmen say, by how Emperor Akihito is enthroned under a constitution that says the emperor is merely a symbol and no longer divine. Another important issue is how Hirohito will be buried.

Indications are that two burial ceremonies will be conducted on February 24, one by the Imperial Household with Shinto traditions and a state funeral without religious overtones.

According to Northup, dialogue with Shinto worshipers has been increasingly difficult as nationalistic groups identified with the Shinto religion engage in tactics such as driving trucks with loudspeakers through the streets.

Northup said some Christians are hopeful that the background of the new emperor may diminish the emphasis on Shinto rites.

Emperor Akihito was tutored by a Quaker. And his wife, Michiko, attended the Sacred Heart Roman Catholic school in Tokyo.

However, Northup suggested that it is probably more realistic to believe members of the Imperial Household who direct the emperor's affairs and represent continuity with the past will succeed in sustaining at least some Shinto traditions.

Both the United Church and the Japan Evangelical Alliance Church have set up information centers for discussion of the ramifications of Emperor Hirohito's death.

Not only church leaders, but cultural and community leaders as well, have expressed concerns about the emperor's death. In October a group of 64 such leaders issued a statement that accused nationalist groups of using the emperor's death as a way to "revive imperial authority and its Shinto ideological buttress."

Out of a population of 221 million, only 1.5 million persons identify themselves as Christian, while more than half the population considers itself Shinto and 87 million are Buddhist.

Among Christians are about 411,000 Roman Catholics.

the West and Japanese political institutions patterned after Western models. The Jews provide a convenient target for Japanese rage and frustration with the West, with Western values, and with Western institutions, because Jews are a minority with few defenders."¹¹

Whatever the reasons, besides being accused of causing Japan's economic troubles, the Jews are blamed for Watergate and the Lockheed Aircraft scandals. They are accused of starting the Bolshevik revolution, of financing Hitler, of exaggerating their deaths during the Holocaust (one book says that only 200,000 Jews died), and of controlling the world's food and energy supply, the world's capital, and the media. "President Reagan's 1985 surgery for cancer is alleged by Uno to have been Jewish retaliation for his advocacy of school prayer and his visit to the Bitburg cemetery in West Germany."¹²

Complaints by American Jews, alarmed at the situation, have resulted in no specific actions. Some talk of countering anti-Semitism by establishing a Jewish cultural center in Tokyo.

One thing seems certain: as long as Japan is rocked by financial woes, the Jews—who have been a scapegoat for economic aches in other lands—will remain one in Japan as well. 

Footnotes

¹ James D. Besser, "The Mystery of Anti-Semitism in a Land Without Jews," *Baltimore Jewish Times*, Mar. 18, 1987.

² David Goodman, "Japanese Anti-Semitism," *The World and I*, p. 405.

³ Hobart Rowen, "An Astonishing Spread of Anti-Jewish Literature in Japan," *Washington Post*, July 16, 1987.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *The Jewish Week*, Jan. 1, 1988.

⁷ Masanori Miyazawa, "Japanese Anti-Semitism in the Thirties," *Midstream*, March 1987.

⁸ "Japan and Anti-Semitism: The Proliferation of Anti-Jewish Literature," *ADL International Report*, April 1987 p. 8.

⁹ *In The Jewish Week*, Mar. 18, 1988.

¹⁰ In "Japan and Anti-Semitism."

¹¹ Goodman, p. 407.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 402.

Court Buries Indian Rights

*A "cruelly surreal"
U.S. Supreme Court decision
permits government to
"virtually destroy a religion."*

By Robert W. Nixon

A

recent Supreme Court decision little reported in the media may indicate the growing conservative majority is moving either to scale back our right to free exercise of religion or to establish a new test by which courts will decide cases involving conflicts between religious practices and government action.

In *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association*, the Court on April 19 held 5 to 3 that the free exercise clause of the First Amendment does *not* prohibit the federal government from permitting timber harvesting in, or constructing a road through, 25 square miles of Six Rivers National Forest traditionally used for religious purposes by Yurok, Karok, and Tolowa Indians of northwestern California.

Dissenting justices called the majority's decision "cruelly surreal" because it permits government action that "will virtually destroy a religion."

The facts seem quite simple.

The National Forest Service proposed to pave six miles of road through the Chimney Rock section of Six Rivers National Forest as part of a project to link the towns of Gasquet and Orleans.

In 1977 the Forest Service issued a draft environmental impact statement and, after receiving comments, commissioned a study of American Indian cultural and religious sites in the area. Hoopa Valley Indian reservation adjoins the national forest, and the Chimney Rock area historically has been used by Yurok, Karok, and Tolowa Indians for religious purposes.

The study said construction of roads along the proposed routes "would cause serious and irreparable damage to the

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Paul Jones

sacred areas" and recommended against construction.

However, in 1982 the Forest Service refused to adopt the recommendation and instead approved construction of a road that avoided archaeological sites and was located as far as possible from areas used by contemporary Indians for specific spiritual activities. The service also adopted a plan allowing timber harvests, though it established one-mile protective zones around specific Indian religious sites.

Indians, environmentalists, and the state of California challenged the Forest Service's plans in the United States District Court for the Northern District of California. They charged the plans violated several federal statutes and the rights of Indians to free exercise of religion.

The district court agreed and permanently enjoined the government from building the road and permitting the cutting of the timber. The court said "Intrusions on the sanctity of the Blue Creek high country are... potentially destructive of the very core of Northwest [Indian] religious beliefs and practices." It also ruled for the Indians on several statutory grounds.

The Forest Service took the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, which reversed or vacated several of the lower court's statutory rulings but affirmed that the proposed government action violated the rights of the Indians to free exercise of religion. The Ninth Circuit Court concluded the government plans "would virtually destroy the Indians' ability to practice their religion." Congress, meanwhile passed the California Wilderness Act, which prohibits timber harvesting in most of Six Rivers National Forest.

When the case reached the Supreme Court, a five-judge majority ruled that the Forest Service plans for road-building and timber-harvesting do not violate the religious rights of Indians.

Quoting from the Court's 1986 decision in *Bowen v. Roy*, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, joined by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Byron R. White, John Paul Stevens, and Antonin Scalia, said the "free exercise clause affords an individual protection from certain forms of government compulsion" but "does not afford an individual a right to dictate the conduct of the government's internal procedures."

Referring to earlier decisions upholding free exercise of religion, the Court explained, "It is true that this Court has repeatedly held that indirect coercion or penalties on the free exercise of religion, not just outright prohibitions, are subject to scrutiny under the First Amendment.... This does not and cannot imply that incidental effects of government programs, which may make it more difficult to practice certain religions but which have no tendency to coerce indi-

Doubtless the Forest Service will not soon propose building streets through Christian churches and cathedrals and synagogues, if only because it doesn't own many or any of them.

viduals into acting contrary to their religious beliefs, require government to bring forward a compelling justification for its otherwise lawful actions. The crucial word in the constitutional text is "prohibit."

Later the Court declared that the "First Amendment must apply to all citizens alike, and it can give to none...a veto over public programs that do not prohibit the free exercise of religion. The Constitution does not, and courts cannot, offer to reconcile the various competing demands on government, many of them rooted in sincere religious belief, that inevitably arise in so diverse a society as ours. That task...is for the legislatures and other institutions."

The majority added that "nothing in our opinion should be read to encourage governmental insensitivity to the religious needs of any citizen. The government's rights to the use of its own land...need not and should not discourage it from accommodating religious practices like those engaged in by the Indian respondents."

Dissenting Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., joined by Justices Thurgood Marshall and Harry A. Blackmun, claimed the majority's reading of the free exercise clause produces a "cruelly surreal result" because "governmental action that will virtually destroy a religion is nevertheless deemed not to 'burden' that religion."

Responding to the majority's seemingly limited application of the free exercise clause, the dissenting justices commented: "The constitutional guarantee we interpret today...draws no such fine distinctions between types of restraints on religious exercise, but rather is directed against any form of governmental action that frustrates or inhibits religious practice."

The dissenters pointed out differences between Indian and other religions: "Where dogma lies at the heart of Western religions,

Native American faith is inextricably bound to the use of land. The site-specific nature of Indian religious practice derives from the Native American perception that land is itself a sacred, living being." They added that for Indians the most sacred land is "high country," such as the land in question.

"Today, the Court holds that a federal land-use decision that promises to destroy an entire religion does not burden the practice of that faith in a manner recognized by the free exercise clause," the dissenters said. "Having thus stripped respondents and all other Native Americans of any constitutional protection against perhaps the most serious threat to their age-old religious practices, and indeed to their entire way of life, the Court assures us that nothing in its decision 'should be read to encourage governmental insensitivity to the religious needs of any citizen.'"

"Given today's ruling," the dissenting justices concluded, the right of Indians to maintain their religious beliefs "amounts to nothing more than the right to believe that their religion will be destroyed."

And so, with the 5 to 3 decision (newly appointed Justice Anthony M. Kennedy did not participate), the Yurok, Karok, and Tolowa Indians of California face grave challenges to their centuries-old religious practices.

And what effect will this decision have on the religious rights of other Americans?

Doubtless the Forest Service will not soon propose building streets through Christian churches and cathedrals and synagogues, if only because it doesn't own many or any of them.

But the vast majority of Americans with religious faith should be aware that the more conservative Supreme Court ever so gently may be whittling away at the right of every American to free exercise of religion. For gone from this decision was reliance on the Court's earlier, more liberal decisions that expanded the right of believers confronted by government obstacles.

Gone from the majority's discussion of the free exercise clause was consideration of the traditional "free exercise test" with its balancing of governmental and individual rights and accommodations that would be "least restrictive" of religion.

Gone was any apparent eagerness to uphold First Amendment rights.

Instead was well-drafted language about government property rights—and a suggestion that philosophical considerations about the role of the Court mean it will defer more religious freedom cases to legislatures and other institutions, whatever they may be.

And so the bottom line is Forest Service 5, Native Americans 3.

And for the rest of us, good reason to contemplate the future of religious liberty.



Christian Involvement: A Personal Analysis

The Christian role in this drama is what moved me from apathy to involvement. In Christian hospitals where abortions are done, the overwhelming percentage are *elective* abortions (no defect in the child or danger to the life of the mother). There would be no pro-life or pro-choice movement if the abortion question actually centered on the fraction of abortions involving rape, severe mental retardation, or danger to the mother. The real issue is two views of human value.

Next I saw pictures—real pictures of what happens in an abortion. What was being torn apart by a suction curette 10 to 13 weeks into a pregnancy was not a "blob" or "unwanted tissue" but a child with perfectly formed little arms, hands, fingers, and even fingernails; feet with toes and toenails; faces

with eyes and expression; a brain that had already emitted strong brainwaves for a month before the "termination." I was looking at a *human being with potential, and not at potential life.*

Then a young pediatrician told me of a late saline abortion in a Christian hospital in which the abortion failed. The baby was born alive and crying, but placed in a sealed bucket to suffocate. She was horrified by such an act of murder. Beyond the initial horror, she was stunned on two accounts; first, during her own training she had stated that because of her religious convictions she would withdraw from medical school (University of Virginia) rather than perform or participate in an abortion. After first saying she must assist in an abortion to graduate, the university backed down. She assumed that her church took a strong stand

against abortion. Then she found that abortions for convenience (nonmedical emergencies) were regular occurrences in her denomination's hospitals. I will never forget her tears as she looked at me and said, "How can we do this?"

And I met Patti McKinney, the president of one of the fastest growing organizations in America: Women Exploited by Abortion (WEBA). Started five years ago with two members, it currently has 36,000 members with chapters in 30 states. Patti introduced me to the "women's issue" in abortion from another angle—the incredible sense of betrayal and the equally tremendous physical, mental, spiritual, and emotional scars left with many who choose to abort.¹¹

Next to basic apathy ("I don't want to get involved" or "If the church is neutral, so am I"), the predominant response I have found among Christians,

especially clergy, is denial that the Scriptures have anything to say concerning this issue. This, to me, is a view that discredits Scripture and God Himself. Is God indifferent to the reality of 22 million abortions in 15 years? Has He really left everyone to do what is "right in his own eyes"?

If so, society and the church are left with a diminished view of humanity in which only those who are truly "persons"—as defined by society at any given moment—have a legal and moral right to life. The only barrier against killing humans for reasons of socio-economic expediency becomes nothing more than the subjective opinion of society or its power-elite; and history indicates that if social and economic pressures become severe enough, such a self-serving barrier will quickly give way to a quiet holocaust with the medical profession taking the lead. 

Footnotes

¹ With 3 million couples longing for a child to adopt, the phrase "unwanted child" is, in the truest sense, a misnomer.

² Vincent Barry, *Applying Ethics: A Text With Readings*, 2nd ed. (Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth Pub. Co., 1985): pp. 189, 190. Look carefully at the options Barry suggests for deciding when a human becomes a nonperson (an entity), and therefore can be exterminated without moral objection. Among the criteria are inadequate moral judgment (based on whose criteria of morality?); irrationality (based on what definition of rationality? Jesus was declared insane repeatedly by the most educated religious leaders of His day); or even the loss of the capacity to worry (ponder Matthew 6:24-31 in this light). The bottom line is one human deciding another is not worthy of life. The line of death is not fixed by any infallible or unchanging objective standards.

³ In March 1986 the American Medical Association's Council on Ethical and Judicial Affairs ruled that it is "not unethical" to kill selectively by withholding all food and water, patients who are in comas judged irreversible, even when death is not imminent. The bottom line again was economic—the rising cost of caring for such individuals. Dr. Nancy Dickey, the chairman of the AMA Council, said the judgment of

which patients were deemed irreversible would be left up to the individual doctors: "There will be no checklists."

⁴ See "The Doctor Decided on Death," *Time*, Feb. 15, 1988.

⁵ During those six days 10 couples came forward and offered to adopt the child, knowing that the majority of Down's syndrome children are not massively (and often not even moderately) retarded. A few days after Baby Doe died, Joseph Sobran in his syndicated Los Angeles *Times* column (Apr. 20, 1982) declared that "opposition to infanticide will soon be deplored as the dogma of a few religious sects who want to impose their views on everyone else."

The state of California currently is considering ratification of a bill that will require all pregnant women to have a test done to determine if their child has Down's syndrome or Spina bifida. If either situation is present, they will be required to go into counseling, emphasizing the trouble and cost to raise such children and offered state assistance if they decide for the option of abortion. Spina bifida children are not usually mentally retarded; they are crippled. But now their personhood is a matter of debate. Colorado governor Richard Lamm, speaking to a group of lawyers on the rising cost of caring for the elderly, declared the terminally ill had a "duty

to die," and posed the question concerning mentally retarded children: "In a world of limited resources, does it make sense to spend \$10,000 a year educating a [mentally retarded] child to roll over?" (reported in *National Right to Life News*, Vol. 11, No. 7: Apr. 19, 1984:1). Virginia Abernathy, a psychiatrist at Vanderbilt University School of Medicine advocates that an individual becomes a person only when he or she becomes a responsible moral agent—around age 3 or 4. Until then, infants and defective children, like fetuses, are nonpersons. Their only claim upon persons is compassion, they do not possess a moral right to life. Simply, she is seriously advocating that parents be allowed to make a checklist of required qualifications in a child and should be permitted to dispose of any infant or young child (nonperson) who fails to measure up.

⁶ *California Medicine* 113, No. 3 (September 1970):67, 68.

⁷ *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393 at 404-407.

⁸ For a detailed and documented treatment of the *Dred Scott* decision, see Curt Young, *The Least of These*, pp. 1-20.

⁹ Gary Bergle, "The Never Again Is Happening Now," *People of Destiny*, September-October 1984, p. 12, in Karl Binding and Alfred Hoche, *The Release of the Destruction of Life Devoid of Value*, English

reprint (Santa Ana, Calif: Robert L. Sassone, 1975), p. 76. For a far more complete treatment of the involvement and mindset of the medical profession in Hitler's extermination program see Robert Jay Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (Basic Books, 1986).

¹⁰ John Powell, *Abortion, The Silent Holocaust* (Allen, Tex.: Argus Communications, 1981), pp. 30-39; see also Bergle, p. 1.

¹¹ WEBA is not alone in this type of ministry. There are numerous organizations at the grass roots level for women suffering from what is medically termed "post-abortion syndrome" (PAS). Also at the national level is American Victims of Abortions (AVA), founded and directed by Dr. Olivia Gans. This organization seeks to help and educate the public concerning the physical, psychological and emotional effects abortion has, not only on women but on the fathers, siblings, grandparents, and other significant people. Research into PAS indicates frequent aftereffects, such as marital dysfunction, job dysfunction, sleep disorders, eating disorders, substance abuse, and chronic depression. I personally have had six women come to me who are experiencing severe emotional, and in several cases physical, aftereffects after their abortion.

Mother Sentenced: Taking Daughters to Church Violated Custody Order

A Catholic mother was given a 10-day suspended jail term November 17, 1988 for taking her daughters with her to mass in violation of a custody ruling that calls for them to be raised in the Jewish faith.

Denver district judge Nancy Rice suspended the sentence of Dorothy Boeke, 36, because of what the judge said would be "the terrible, terrible impact" it would have on Ms. Boeke's 7- and 5-year-old daughters.

In what legal officials called a "rare" decision, the mother had been given physical custody of the girls while religious custody was given to the father.

The girls had been raised in Judaism since birth, but Boeke converted back to Catholicism after her divorce last year.

Boeke's former husband, Gerald Sims, had sought the contempt ruling, charging that Boeke violated the custody order by taking the children with her to mass.

Boeke and the associate pastor of Denver's St. James Church, Terry Kissell, testified that, despite regular attendance at mass, the children were not being trained in Catholicism.

Judge Leslie Lawson had ruled in the divorce decree that it would be detrimental to the children to be raised in two faiths.

Sims testified that there was no prohibition about going to mass but said the order specified that the children could attend Catholic service only at Easter and Christmas.

His lawyer said, "Mr. Sims feels uncomfortable putting Mrs. Boeke in jail. This is the mother of his children. But this has to be done. Anything short of jail is not going to teach her a lesson."

Judge Rice warned Mrs. Boeke that continuing to take her daughters to mass would likely result in her spending time in jail.—*R.N.S.*

White Ribbon: Woman's Idea Becomes National Symbol of War on Pornography

Norma Norris hopes to make the white ribbon a symbol of the war on pornography just like the yellow ribbon was a symbol of concern for the U.S. hostages in Iran nine years ago.

Through the efforts of the 41-year-old Butler, Pennsylvania, housewife and mother, linked with state and national offices of Morality in Media, the white ribbon has become the symbol of a campaign that is mobilizing people at the grassroots level throughout the nation.

"Through the WRAP (White Ribbon Against Pornography) campaign, a concerned public will use white ribbon to symbolically express community standards and thereby register support for the enforcement of obscenity laws against hard-core pornography," said Joseph J. Reilly, Jr., president of Morality in Media.

Norris got the idea after she heard Monsignor Francis Glenn of St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church preach a sermon last spring in which he expressed frustration about unsuccessful efforts to shut down the adult bookstore which had operated in Butler for eight years.

The Catholic priest, who is vice president of the Butler County Citizens for Decency, said local law enforcement officials were reluctant to take action against the bookstore because they felt local citizens weren't very concerned about it.

"You could just hear the frustration and the beaten feeling in his voice," Norris recalled of the sermon. Then she reread some materials she had received from James Dobson, the evangelical Christian psychologist who heads Focus on the Family.

"He said it's a winnable war," Norris remembers. "That is something that stuck with me."

Norris, who does radio commercials for a local station in Butler, put her communications and sales skills to work and came up with the idea of white ribbon as a symbol of her fight against pornography. She reasoned that it could be tied to car antennas, worn on clothing, and displayed on buildings and trees—something that everyone could use.

With the help of Monsignor Glenn and Citizens for Decency, Norris organized a four-week campaign during which 12,000 cars flew white ribbon from their antennae. The climax was a March 7, 1988 motorcade of more than 250 cars that resulted in court action against the bookstore, which was bulldozed four months later.

With the New York-based Morality in Media going national with the idea, white ribbon motorcades followed by rallies are being planned for cities around the country.—*R.N.S.*

Invitation to an Innovative Sabbath Conference

Scholars and clergy from Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and Seventh-day Adventist traditions will meet May 24-26, 1989 at the University of Denver to explore facets of the Sabbath. This ground-breaking conference/symposium is sponsored by the Center for Judaic Studies of the University of Denver and the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. One topic to be explored is the religious liberty implications of Sabbatarianism.

Clergy and interested lay persons are invited to attend. For more information please contact Dr. Tamara C. Eskenazi, director of the Institute for Interfaith Studies, Center for Judaic Studies, University of Denver, Denver, CO 80208-0292, phone (303) 871-3020, or Dr. B. B. Beach, LIBERTY Magazine, 6840 Eastern Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20012, phone (202) 722-6681.

FROM OUR READERS

"The Censored Valedictorian"

As a card-carrying member of the ACLU, I take strenuous issue with writer Nat Hentoff's attempt to make a free speech martyr out of "censored valedictorian" Angela Kaye Guidry of Moss Bluff, Louisiana.

While Ms. Guidry can preach to her heart's content in church, or hire her own pulpit for this purpose, I know of nothing in our federal charter which compels a school district to provide a tax-supported platform for students to proselytize captive audiences (of mixed faiths) at graduation ceremonies—no more so than it would subsidize sectarian clergymen at these events.

In fact, the indications are all to the contrary. As Justice Byron White wrote on behalf of the Court majority in *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier* (1988) 484 U.S. ___, 98 L. Ed 2d 592:

"A school need not tolerate student speech that is inconsistent with its 'basic educational mission,' even though the government could not censor similar speech outside the school. . . . We thus recognized (in *Bethel School District v. Fraser* (1986) 478 U.S. 675; 92 L. Ed 2d 549) that 'the determination of what manner of speech in the classroom or in school assembly is inappropriate properly rests with the school board,' rather than with the federal courts."

What is this "basic educational mission"? Justice White explains:

"The question whether the First Amendment requires a school to tolerate particular student speech . . . is different from the question whether the First Amendment requires a school affirmatively to promote particular student speech. . . . The latter question concerns educators' authority over school-sponsored publications, theatrical productions, and other expressive activities that students, parents, and members of the public might reasonably perceive to bear the imprimatur of the school. These activities may fairly be characterized as part of the school curriculum, whether or not they occur in a traditional classroom setting."

Educators are entitled to exercise greater control over this second form of expression, according to the Court in *Hazelwood*, to assure that "the views of the individual speaker are not erroneously attributed to the school." That is, a school must be able to set high standards for student speech that is disseminated under its auspices, "and may refuse to disseminate student speech that does not meet those standards." A school must also retain the authority to refuse to sponsor student speech that might reasonably be perceived to "associate the school with any position other than neutrality on matters of political controversy."

This standard, according to the Court, is consistent with its oft-expressed view that "the education of the nation's youth is primarily the responsibility of parents, teachers, and state and local school officials, and not of federal judges."

The foregoing dicta would apply as well to matters of religious controversy. Even those brief excerpts quoted from the would-be valedictorian's speech would be facially offensive to any religious person not owing to be a "born again" Christian—let alone a Jew, Buddhist, or Mohammedan, etc.; and one can well understand why the administration of Sam Houston High School would wish to disassociate itself from such remarks.

As for Angela's attorney in this quixotic lawsuit, win or lose, he should be encouraged in his efforts to see that all "school officials, teachers, and students in the district be taught the constitutional rights of students"—with a front row seat in the classroom reserved for Mr. Hentoff! F. TED LASKIN, Attorney
Angels Camp, California

"The Book Wars"

This article reminded me of similar misconceptions I encountered about life within the United States. After having been reared and educated in the South, I spent about three years in Syracuse, New

York, in the early 1960s. Even my new friends who had traveled in the South had a difficult time changing the impressions they had obtained in school: housing was either plantation houses or shacks, electricity consisted of naked bulbs hanging on a cord from the ceiling, the reason the people were mentally slow was because they went barefooted and got hookworms, etc.

The most surprising knowledge gap was political. Only after several discussions which made me think I was among aliens, did I discover that no one knew that the Constitution provided for a central government of limited, defined power with other powers belonging to the states. Of course, as a Southerner I knew about "state's rights."

LEONARD H. PONDER
Candler, North Carolina

LIBERTY's Treatment Superb!

I would be remiss if I did not tell you that your treatment of the issue of religion and government and state is superb! I find your publication stimulating and objective in its presentations and, in my opinion, there are thousands of individuals who should read Jon Paulien's articles on Revelation. I am a believer in freedom of the mind and spirit and that only through that hazardous process can there come some clarity and insight into our lives and, most hopefully a measure of wisdom which must be the objective of our total education efforts. . . . Beyond that I might add that at age 85 there is still "fire in the ashes."

SVEND A. GODFREDSEN
Minneapolis, Minn.

Cult Against Religious Freedom. . .

I have just received the most current issue of LIBERTY Magazine. I would like to thank you and express my gratitude for LIBERTY. Our religious liberty is a very precious thing and I'm fully behind anyone who stands up for and fights for these rights.

If you would care to look into who is actively working against religious freedoms you would do well to do a little

research on a group called the Cult Awareness Network. I have enclosed some data for you regarding this group. These people have been likened to a modern day KKK and after reading your article on the Ku Klux Klan it confirms that comparison.

GWEN MAYFIELD, President
Church of Scientology of Portland
Portland, Oregon

Appalled

I was appalled to see the pitiful picture of the Democratic party's candidate for president and the Republican party's candidate, who is now president, presented as infants on the cover of LIBERTY.

The Scripture clearly tells us by the example of Daniel, by the apostle Paul in Romans 13; Peter in 1 Peter 2; and, of course, our Lord with the Roman coin in Matthew 22:21 that we are to hold those who are in authority over us with deep respect.

DONALD E. GRADY, Pastor
First Presbyterian Church
Sevierville, Tennessee

"A Secular Government for a Religious People"

On the surface, Jim Castelli's proposition seems reasonable. But upon deeper reflection, the flaws of his argument and the error of his proposition become apparent.

The first problem of his article is internal inconsistency. After discounting the primary influence of Christianity on the framing of the Constitution, Castelli points out how the Puritan sense of original sin "led the Founders to devise a system of checks and balances within the government," one of the three (the other two are in Scripture) foundational principles of our political system!

Second, the author's attempt to discredit the Founders as Christians because of the treatment of slaves, Indians, women, and immigrants is a logical fallacy. The fact that some Founders owned slaves does not prove nor disprove that America was ever a "Christian nation." In the 1850s, some claimed that such actions by the Founders were proof of slavery's constitutionality, a similar fallacious conclusion.

The secularist views of People for the American Way are also historically inaccurate. As early as 1892, attempts to challenge the Christian foundations of our society raised similar questions about our philosophical roots. In *Church of the Holy Trinity v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court examined the evidence and concluded, "we find everywhere a clear recognition of the same truth . . . that this is a Christian nation."

Finally, the most important reason to reject the proposition of blindly embracing a totally secular government is found in the Bible itself. Since, according to Paul the apostle, all "the authorities that exist are appointed by God" (Romans 13:1), Christians have a responsibility to hold elected officials accountable to Biblical standards of decency and justice. If we abdicate or fail this charge, the secularization of our government will continue, though it will not be *for* a religious people. GEORGE N. THEBARGE
Falmouth, Maine

Usual Excellence

The September-October LIBERTY was up to your usual standard of excellence, especially the articles by Robert Nixon, Jim Castelli, and Eric Foner.

One wishes, however, that Mr. Nixon could have pointed to the Williamsburg Charter Foundation's bias against church-state separation, evident not only in its Charter but also in such poll questions as whether "the ACLU . . . files too many lawsuits regarding religion" (analogous to asking if the fire department responds to too many alarms) and those alluding to a "state monopoly over education" (a buzzword of the aid to parochial schools lobby) and "anti-religious activism" (insignificant compared with fundamentalist "moral majoritarian" activity).

Seventh-day Adventists are to be commended for being the only denomination to publish a journal on religious liberty, an example other faiths would do well to emulate.

EDD DOERR, Executive Director
Americans for Religious Liberty
Silver Spring, Maryland



Correction

The gentleman pictured on page 9 of the January-February 1989 LIBERTY is not Congressman Norman Mineta (D-San Jose) who sponsored the bill H. R. 442 which granted reparations to 120,000 Japanese-Americans interned in concentration camps during World War II. We have correctly identified the congressman above. Our apologies to Rep. Mineta—Eds.

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FROM THE EDITOR

The Stork Story

I like the stork story. No worries about abortion. No questions about when life begins. You marry, and one day the stork shows up. Instant personhood!

The biological scenario of life's beginning is, to the contrary, incredibly complex. Conception itself is not, as proliferers wish to believe, a single event producing instant personhood. Here's the way Washington *Post* writer Boyce Rensberger pictures it:

"Once every menstrual cycle, an egg leaves one of a woman's two ovaries and journeys down the Fallopian tube toward the uterus, emitting chemical signals to catch the attention of sperm cells.

"The human egg, though a thousand times bigger than most cells, does not travel alone. It is escorted by thousands of tiny cells enclosing it in a 'cumulus.'

"The egg, nestled within its retinue, and molecules of its chemical signal are wafted along by cells lining the Fallopian tube that lash their hair-like cilia in coordinated waves. . . .

"The head of each sperm contains a chemical 'warhead' that bursts open, releasing enzymes that break down the 'glue' holding the cumulus cells together.

As more sperm batter the cumulus and release enzymes, the cells of the cumulus come loose and expose a second protective barrier, a jellylike coating called the 'zona pellucida.'

"Still, fertilization is not a foregone conclusion. Sperm and egg must each verify that the other belongs to the same species. This is done by special molecules embedded in the egg's zona pellucida and the sperm's cell surface. These 'recognition factors,' or receptors, are proteins with attached sugars. The shape of the zona receptor fits only the shape of the molecule on the surface of sperm of the same species. They are like lock and key. If the egg's receptor fits the sperm's, the key opens the lock and the sperm is allowed to penetrate the zona."

All the above takes place in the time it takes to argue the merits of the morning-after pill or whether to scrape or vacuum a violated uterus. And so on to Day 9, on which, as the "blastocyst taps into the mother's blood supply and the uterine wall closes over it, the true embryo finally begins to develop."

I still prefer the stork story. In addition to the virtue of simplicity, it has the virtue of virtue. Nowhere on its trip to your chimney does the stork stop at an abortion clinic. —R.R.H.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The God-given right of religious liberty is best exercised when church and state are separate.

Government is God's agency to protect individual rights and to conduct civil affairs; in exercising these responsibilities, officials are entitled to respect and cooperation.

Religious liberty entails freedom of conscience: to worship or not to worship; to profess, practice and promulgate religious beliefs or to change them. In exercising these rights, however, one must respect the equivalent rights of all others.

Attempts to unite church and state are opposed to the interests of each, subversive of human rights and potentially persecuting in character; to oppose union, lawfully and honorably, is not only the citizen's duty but the essence of the Golden rule—to treat others as one wishes to be treated.

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LIBERTY is a publication of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the International Religious Liberty Association. Dedicated to the preservation of religious freedom through quiet diplomacy, the association advocates no political or economic theories. President, W.O. Coe; secretary general, B.B. Beach. LIBERTY is published and copyrighted © 1989 by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 6840 Eastern Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. 20012. Address corrections only: Liberty, 55 West Oak Ridge Drive, Hagerstown, Maryland 21740.

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LONDON, ENGLAND JULY 23-26, 1989

AND THE FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE



Man's reach for freedom is portrayed in this mosaic by Czech artist Karel Mezera

Urgent questions compel this Congress:

What does the worldwide rise of fundamentalism portend for religious freedom?

Does glasnost signal new believer rights in the U.S.S.R.?

Why do new religions fuel old hostilities?

Is church-state separation the best guarantor of freedom?

Among spokesmen expected to explore these and other issues:

- Giulio Andreotti, Foreign Minister of Italy
- Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan
- Samson Kisekka, Prime Minister of Uganda

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For complete information on the Congress and tour, write Mitchell A. Tyner, 6840 Eastern Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20012 or call (202) 722-6686.

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