

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION AND THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST  
CHURCH: DIALOGUE SINCE 1973 IN *THE ADVENTIST*  
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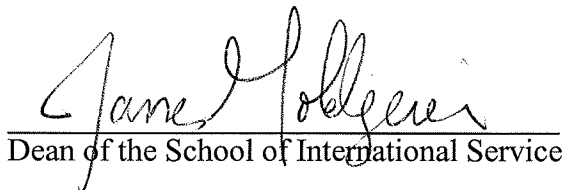
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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to examine the Seventh-day Adventists Church's discourse on conscientious objection since the United States of America implemented the All-Volunteer Force military in 1973. While this topic has received some academic attention, not much has focused on the dialogue present in two of the church's leading magazines: *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine. This study collected articles from these two magazines concerning conscientious objection and analyzed them for different variables, such as what aspect of conscientious objection the article addressed and what type of article it was. The results show that while the Seventh-day Adventist Church's dialogue on conscientious objection is small, it has been consistent since 1973 and is largely leader initiated. This can impact international peace by allowing the Seventh-day Adventist Church to lend its experience to citizens and leaders of different states, helping to strengthen religious liberty, as well as by keeping the conscientious objection discussion active.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In any democratic country, the political dialogue leading up to a decision to go to war is very complex with many different dynamics. Among the issues often debated are: legitimate causes, depth and breadth of support from the populace and their elected officials, the budget to carry out a war, production of resources needed for war, impact on trade, and the number of military personnel available to deploy. While all of these subjects significantly impact the citizens of a given state, the one that can most personally affect the population at large is the last one—the number of military personnel available. If this number is deemed too low, either at the beginning of an assured conflict or anywhere throughout one, the government may begin the process of conscription, whereby private citizens are required to join the armed forces, to secure the necessary human capital to fight, and hopefully win, the conflict.

In the United States of America (US), the Military Selective Service Act (MSSA) (50 United States Code App. 451 *et seq.*) has assigned the responsibility for leading and managing the process of conscription to the Selective Service System (SSS).<sup>1</sup> The MSSA describes in considerable detail how the process of conscription shall occur and who is eligible to be conscripted. For example, 50 U.S.C. 456 describes “deferments and

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<sup>1</sup> "United States Code: Title 50a, 451 Short Title; Congressional Declaration of Policy," Cornell University Law School, [http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/html/uscode50a/usc\\_sec\\_50a\\_00000451----000-.html](http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/html/uscode50a/usc_sec_50a_00000451----000-.html).

exemptions from training and service”; in particular, sub- section 456.j. provides an exemption for anyone who is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form.<sup>2</sup> The process of conscription is often referred to colloquially as “the draft.”

The SSS has not drafted anyone since 1973, when the USA began an All-Volunteer Armed Forces (AVF). However, male citizens are still required by MSSA to *register* with the SSS on turning 18 years of age.<sup>3</sup> Despite the shift to an All-Volunteer Force, whether to reinstitute the draft is still heavily debated whenever the US enters a large-scale war or conflict.<sup>4</sup>

With this registration process, the idea of conscientious objection, defined as the refusal to bear arms or participate in war, seems to disappear as well.<sup>5</sup> Logic would dictate that if the military is an All-Volunteer Force, then there are two ways for persons to exercise their right of conscience: 1) register as a conscientious objector, or 2) simply not join the military. But this latter option only applies if there is no mandatory draft in place, such as today.

However, the problem for an individual is not as clear cut as it may seem.

People’s attitudes about military service are complex. Their attitudes and beliefs develop and change as they age and as new experiences shape them. An individual may not see

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<sup>2</sup> "United States Code: Title 50a 456. Deferments and Exemptions from Training and Service," Cornell University Law School, [http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/html/uscode50a/usc\\_sec\\_50a\\_00000456----000-.html](http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/html/uscode50a/usc_sec_50a_00000456----000-.html).

<sup>3</sup> John Whiteclay Chambers II, “Conscientious Objectors and the American State from Colonial Times to the Present,” The New Conscientious Objection: From Sacred to Secular Resistance, eds. Charles C. Moskos and John Whiteclay Chambers II, Oxford University Press: New York, 1993, 43.

<sup>4</sup> Chambers II, 43.

<sup>5</sup> Charles C. Moskos and John Whiteclay Chambers II, “The Secularization of Conscience,” The New Conscientious Objection: From Sacred to Secular Resistance, eds. Charles C. Moskos and John Whiteclay Chambers II, Oxford University Press: New York, 1993, 5.

any issue with serving in the military when he or she is in his or her twenties, but as they mature, issues of conscience may arise.

With the decision to join the military left solely to the individual with the All-Volunteer Armed Forces, an individual considering military service often turns to his or her religion or moral beliefs to help make the decision whether to enlist in the military. Thus, religions have the potential to affect both the content of a democratic society's political dialogue leading up to the decision to go to war and also individual people's decisions about whether to serve their country, and if so, how.

While religion is often cited as a cause of conflict, it can also be a strong resource for peace. One way it is a resource for peace is its position towards military service. By discouraging military service or advocating for alternative public service, churches may become pacifist and help diminish support for conflict. If a religion does support military service, or at the very least does not condemn it, it can also be at the forefront of advocating for human rights—both as a body within civil society as well as through its individual members who serve in the military. It can do so by monitoring how a government's institutions address and accommodate different religious beliefs and provide for the free practice of those beliefs. Since different religions address different issues, when they each monitor something specific, their combined effect is to push the government to be more accommodating in specific areas. Combined, religions have the potential to influence the society, government institutions, and the military to be more accommodating to their members' religious beliefs, and thus human rights, as freedom of religious belief can be considered a basic human right. This helps to educate not only individual denomination members but other denominations' members about the

challenges they may face in the military and what resources are available to them to mitigate these challenges.

### Statement of the Problem

Because religious faith can stress allegiance to a higher power above the state, there can be a tension between religion and military service, even with All-Voluntary Armed Forces. For example, if a denomination holds that war is wrong under any circumstances, they will resist any government coercion to participate in any war. The state can perceive this as a threat to its power to decide when and under what conditions to go to war. Left unaddressed, one denomination's opposition can serve as an example to other groups that may wish to oppose the government's policies or actions. Thus, the call to the higher power can create tension between the state and the group who holds those beliefs.

This study focuses in on the Seventh-day Adventist, or Adventist, denomination and military service, analyzing its traditional stance of noncombatancy as a form of conscientious objection (CO). As an international church with roots in the historic peace churches in the United States, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has not received much academic attention concerning its position on military service since the end of the draft in 1973.<sup>6</sup> Further, the majority of the academic writing on the Adventist church and military service focuses on the time period from the Civil War to World War II and has not taken into account the dynamic nature of military service as it exists today. This means that the peace studies literature on CO is missing in its analysis one of the

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<sup>6</sup> There is little mention of it in the peace studies literature reviewed in Chapter 2.

churches that was key in CO evolution, from the time its members were first noticed as objectors to the when Adventists COs were some of the main participants in military noncombatant roles, such as with the military medical experiment Project Whitecoat.<sup>7</sup>

### An Introduction to the Seventh-day Adventist Church

The Seventh-day Adventist Church (SDA or Adventist) is a Protestant Christian denomination. It grew out of a revivalist movement started by William Miller, dubbed the Millerite movement, in the mid-1800s in the United States of America.<sup>8</sup> The focus of the Millerite movement was the pending return of Jesus Christ, which they believed would happen within their lifetime. However, after the “Great Disappointment” in October 1844, when the Millerites erroneously calculated that Jesus Christ would return, many Millerites left the faith. Others reexamined the Biblical rationale of William Miller and reached several different conclusions justifying the mistake.<sup>9</sup> These, groups branched out to form different Christian denominations.

One such group consisted most notably of James White, Ellen Harmon, John Nevins Andrews, Hiram Edson, and Uriah Smith—all of whom became cornerstone leaders of the SDA church. While all were (and still are) important, Ellen G. Harmon, who later married James White, was perhaps the most influential. Ellen G. White purposed to have visions from God, and the SDA church views her as a prophet and as a

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<sup>7</sup> John Whiteclay Chambers II, *Conscientious Objectors and the American State from Colonial Times to the Present*, ed. Charles C. Moskos and John Whiteclay Chambers II, The New Conscientious Objection: From Sacred to Secular Resistance (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 34, 37. ; Jeffery E Stephenson and Arthur O Anderson, ed. *Ethical and Legal Dilemmas in Biodefense Research*, Medical Aspects of Biological Warfare, 565.

<sup>8</sup> Earle E Cairns, Christianity Through the Centuries: A History of the Christian Church, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed, Zondervan: Grand Rapids, MI, 1996, 435.

<sup>9</sup> Cairns, 435.

fulfillment of the Book of Revelation, Chapter Twelve, verse 17. This verse asserts that during the end times, a remnant of Christian believers will have the testimony of Jesus Christ, which Revelation Chapter Nineteen equates to the spirit of prophecy.

Adventists heavily emphasize two things: the seventh-day Sabbath (Saturday) and Jesus Christ's second coming, or advent. Hence, they called themselves Seventh-day Adventist. These two beliefs are extremely important to both Adventists and those seeking to understand the Seventh-day Adventist faith. Douglas Morgan, a historian who studies the development of the current SDA position on war, points out that the apocalyptic mindset is a cornerstone of SDA identity and influences how they relate to the political, religious, and even social atmosphere around them.<sup>10</sup> Seventh-day Adventists are premillennialists, meaning they believe in an apocalyptic world ending that culminates with the second coming of Jesus Christ. Natural disasters and violence will only increase as the end time approaches and no positive human intervention can change this downward spiral.<sup>11</sup> This belief has caused many Seventh-day Adventists to put a greater emphasis on evangelizing to others about God's love and desire to save them from the end of time, rather than on involvement in current world issues, such as human rights.<sup>12</sup> This is not to say that Adventists do not have any interest in social issues or human rights. A key church organization—the Adventist Development and Relief Agency—specializes in international development work and disaster relief.<sup>13</sup> However,

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<sup>10</sup> Douglas Morgan, "Adventism, Apocalyptic, and the Cause of Liberty," *Church History*, Vol 63 No 2, Jun 1994, 235-249.

<sup>11</sup> Zdravko Plantak, *The Silent Church: Human Rights and Adventist Social Ethics* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1998), 42-43.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 38-40.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 67-68.

the importance of proclaiming the good news of Christ and His return remain a central and pressing theme within Adventism.

The two above themes also heavily influence the SDA outlook on war and the ability of its members to actively participate in it. Active Adventist participation in war in the past has been seen as compromising “their prophetic message” and “witness to the fourth and six commandments.”<sup>14</sup> In other words, an Adventist involved in war could be seen as violating the commandments to not kill and keep the Sabbath, to which God called them. During the Civil War, when this mindset first began to develop, the SDA Church was solidifying its identity and that war affected this development. One of the largest concerns for the emerging church was appearing disloyal to the Union government and supportive of the Southern states.<sup>15</sup> SDA members worried that this could cause the federal government to repress the church, thus significantly hindering their ability to proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ and his immanent return.<sup>16</sup> Despite this very real fear, their distaste for slavery, and the view that the war was a Southern rebellion, Mrs. White stated that members of the church could not fight in the Civil War, as it went against their faith and would not allow members to do what Christ commanded of them, which primarily pertained to keeping the Sabbath.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Douglas Morgan, "Between Pacifism and Patriotism: Helping Students Think About Military Options," *Journal of Adventist Education* 65, no. 5 (Summer 2003): 16.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.: 16-17.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Douglas Morgan, "Peacemaking: Exploring Adventism's roots and heritage," *Dialogue*, Vol 20 No 1, 8-10, 22, [http://dialogue.adventist.org/articles/20\\_1\\_morgan\\_e.htm](http://dialogue.adventist.org/articles/20_1_morgan_e.htm) ; Ronald Lawson, "Onward Christian Soldiers? Seventh-Day Adventist and the Issue of Military Service," *Review of Religious Research*, Vol 37 No 3, Mar 1996, 197.

As the war progressed and the draft was enforced, Adventist representatives pleaded the cause of religious liberty and conscientious objection before Congress.<sup>18</sup> Even after the war, the church's pacifistic stance continued to develop. In 1867-68, the General Conference declared that fighting in a war went against the nature of what Christ has called the church to do.<sup>19</sup> Throughout the remainder of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Adventists held staunchly to their pacifist ideology and it became more passionately entrenched.<sup>20</sup> Though not all scholars view the SDA Church as an historic peace church such as the Quakers or Mennonites, the SDA Church shares some similar characteristics with them, such as the strong noncombatant history.<sup>21</sup> For example, SDAs joined the traditional peace churches as contributing some of the most numerous COs for both World War I and World War II.<sup>22</sup> Morgan cites this and other evidence as proof that the SDA Church did originally develop as a peace church.<sup>23</sup>

However, as the new century approached, Adventist mindset seemed to change regarding participation in the military. As World War I and World War II erupted across Europe, the SDA world church had many different dynamics to contend with, such as different state structures, rules, and cultures. By this time, the denomination's emphasis on evangelism in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century had led to establishment of Adventist churches in many European and Asian countries. In North America, medical training

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<sup>18</sup> Morgan, "Adventism, Apocalyptic, and the Cause of Liberty," 242-43.

<sup>19</sup> Morgan, "Peacemaking: Exploring Adventism's roots and heritage," 8-10, 22.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 8-10, 22.

<sup>21</sup> Douglas Morgan, *The Beginnings of a Peace Church: Eschatology, Ethics, and Expedience in Adventist Responses to the American Civil War*, ed. Barry W. Bussey, *Should I Fight? Essays on Conscientious Objection and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church* (Belleville, Ontario, Canada: Guardian Books, 2011), 33-34.

<sup>22</sup> Chambers II, 34, 37.

<sup>23</sup> Morgan, *The Beginnings of a Peace Church: Eschatology, Ethics, and Expedience in Adventist Responses to the American Civil War*, 47-48.



camps were established to allow Adventists who were drafted to train to save lives as an alternative to bearing arms, which the church still considered wrong.<sup>24</sup> In addition, “more than 2,000 Adventist draftees fulfilled their military duty between 1954 and 1973 by participating in a program testing defenses against biological weapons” at Fort Detrick, Maryland with Project Whitecoat.<sup>25</sup> Notwithstanding these alternate forms of military service available for American Adventists, Adventists in other countries were forced to join the military or be imprisoned.<sup>26</sup> Thus despite their pacifistic beginning, the SDA church developed closer ties to the military after World War II, mainly because those members who did participate in the military—even as noncombatants—invested themselves in the military and government, leading them as individuals and the church organization in North America as a body to a sense of national pride.<sup>27</sup> This mindset has led Adventists to view themselves as “conscientious co-operators” rather than conscientious objectors, as they are willing to serve the government but not in a way that compromise their religious convictions. The SDA Church has much rooted in both its heritage as a self-viewed peace church and one that cooperates with the military, which makes it unique in its approach.

In light of the increased participation in the military and the challenges faced by other Adventists worldwide, the SDA attitudes on war had thus shifted from one of

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<sup>24</sup> Ronald Lawson, “Onward Christian Soldiers? Seventh-Day Adventist and the Issue of Military Service,” 198-199.

<sup>25</sup> Morgan, “Between Pacifism and Patriotism: Helping Students Think About Military Options,” 27.; Ronald Osborn, *A Brief History of Seventh-Day Adventist in Time of War*, ed. Douglas Morgan, *The Peacemaking Remnant: Essays and Historical Documents* (Silver Spring, MD: Adventist Peace Fellowship, 2005), 74-75.

<sup>26</sup> Lawson, “Onward Christian Soldiers? Seventh-Day Adventist and the Issue of Military Service,” 199.

<sup>27</sup> Lawson, “Onward Christian Soldiers? Seventh-Day Adventist and the Issue of Military Service,” 203-204.

pacifism to one of non-combatancy.<sup>28</sup> In 1972, the Adventist Church released its most recent statement on Adventist participation in war:

Genuine Christianity manifests itself in good citizenship and loyalty to civil government. The breaking out of war among men, however, in no way alters the Christian's supreme allegiance and responsibility to God or modifies his obligation to practice his beliefs and put God first. This partnership with God through Jesus Christ, who came into this world not to destroy men's lives but to save them causes Seventh-day Adventists *to advocate* a noncombatant position, following their divine Master in not taking human life, but rendering all possible service to save it. *As they accept* the obligation of citizenship, as well as its benefits, their loyalty to government requires them *willingly* to serve the state in any noncombatant capacity, civil or military, in war or peace, in uniform or out of it, which will contribute to saving life, asking only that they may serve in those capacities which do not violate their conscientious convictions.<sup>29</sup>

Today, there are about six thousand Adventists serving in combatant roles in the military.<sup>30</sup> Given the church's official stance of noncombatancy and its history with conscientious objection, this indicates that there may have been a shift in Adventist thinking toward military service since the end of the draft. In the mid-2000s, a US Marine Corporal, who had recently converted to Adventism, refused to bear arms and requested to be transferred to a noncombatant role within the military.<sup>31</sup> His request was

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<sup>28</sup> Elizabeth Lechleitner, "Young Adventists in a World of War: A Look At Adventists and Noncombatancy," Adventist Review Online, accessed 7 January 2010, <http://www.adventistreview.org/article.php?id=1191>, para 6; "Noncombatancy and conscientious Objection—A Timeline, Adventist Review Online, accessed 7 January 2010, <http://www.adventistreview.org/article.php?id=1193>, para 9-12.

<sup>29</sup> Jose McLaughlin, *Conscientious Objection, Non-Combatancy, and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church's Position from 1954 until Today*, ed. Barry W. Bussey, Should I Fight? Essays on Conscientious Objection and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church (Belleville, Ontario, Canada: Guardian Books, 2011), 79.

<sup>30</sup> David Hamstra, "To Fight or Not to Fight: An Adventist ex-Marine on non-combatancy, pacifism and the role of the military, Spectrum Online, November 2008, accessed 14 September 2010, para 30, [http://www.spectrummagazine.org/articles/spectrum\\_interview/2008/11/13/fight\\_or\\_not\\_fight](http://www.spectrummagazine.org/articles/spectrum_interview/2008/11/13/fight_or_not_fight).

<sup>31</sup> Mark Stricherz, "Adventist Marine Under Fire: Pacifist court-martialed for refusing to pick up his weapon," Christianity Today Online, November 2, 2005, accessed 9 September 2010, para 1-4, <http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2005/march/7.20.html>.

denied and he was sentenced to seven months in a military prison.<sup>32</sup> The SDA General Conference Office of General Counsel and Chaplaincy Departments came to his aid and the decision was eventually overturned.<sup>33</sup> Given this event, it is evident that the historical positions, such as not bearing weapons, still run deep within individual members, even from members currently serving in the military. Thus an analysis of the SDA Church's position in guiding members in choosing or not choosing to serve their country is warranted.

### Purpose of the Study

This thesis examines the position of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church on conscientious objection, with special focus on its position since 1973. More specifically, the thesis investigates the Adventist view on conscientious objection and military service and how it has evolved over the past forty years. This research proposes to explore the following primary questions:

- What is the current Adventist position on military conscientious objection?
- How has the Adventist discourse on the position or practice around military conscientious objection changed in the last thirty-seven?

It will explore this latter question specifically through examining what has been published on the subject in two major Adventist publications: *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine.

The research will also explore the following sub-question in order to place the Adventist experience of CO claims in comparative perspective: What does the Adventist

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<sup>32</sup> Stricherz, para 1.

<sup>33</sup> Hamstra, para 17 and 22.

experience in CO add to our larger understanding of CO issues in the peace studies literature?

### Definitions of Terms

Though terms such as “conscientious” and “objection” are in circulation enough in day-to-day life throughout the academic and lay communities, these words can have many different meanings. For the purpose of this thesis, conscientious objection will include “individuals who refuse to participate in war or bear arms on the basis of religious beliefs (i.e. members of historic peace churches or other religions traditions).”<sup>34</sup> In addition, according to the SDA Chaplaincy Department’s website noncombatant is defined as:

1. The term “noncombatant service” shall mean (a) service in any unit of the armed forces which is unarmed at all times; (b) service in the medical department of any of the armed forces, wherever performed; or (c) any other assignment of the primary function of which does not require the use of arms in combat; provided that such other assignment is acceptable to the individual concerned and does not require them to bear arms or to be trained in their use.
2. The term “noncombatant training” shall mean any training which is not concerned with the study, use, or handling of arms or weapons.<sup>35</sup>

Situations in which an individual refuses to use a certain weapon will be considered as selective or discretionary CO and thus, for this study, a form of conscientious objection.

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<sup>34</sup> Charles C. Moskos and John Whiteclay Chambers II, 5.

<sup>35</sup> “Noncombatancy,” Adventist Chaplaincy Ministries: World Church, Accessed 14 September 2010, <http://www.adventistchaplains.org/article.php?id=112>.

### Organization of Thesis

The Introduction has provided background of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and its history of military involvement. It has also outlined the research questions that will guide this investigation. Chapter Two, the literature review, will lay out the background on religious pacifism and conscientious objection. Adventist literature on the SDA position will also be included. Chapter Three will discuss the methodology for this paper, listing the pool of individuals interviewed and magazines examined. Chapter Four will cover the findings and analysis, going deeper into the analysis already done on Seventh-day Adventists and conscientious objection. Chapter Five will discuss the findings, relating them to the thesis questions and placing them in the context of present-day debates concerning military service and conscientious objection. Chapter Six will summarize the main points of the thesis and conclude the paper.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Wars are dynamic, as evident in the media reports on different battles, escalations and negotiation talks. There are also changes in weapons, tactics, positions of countries and their leaders. In response to these almost constant changes, positions against war, or pacifism, are also shifting to accommodate newer ways to fight wars.<sup>36</sup> This shifting means that there is no one pacifist position but several evolving positions. Some may share concepts for a time, some may run parallel, while others may diverge into two or more distinct ideologies. Moreover, pacifism is a general heading under which many other concepts are clustered. These concepts, such as secular pacifism, religious pacifism, conscientious objection, and selective conscientious objections, are terms that require separate explanations in order to fully grasp them, their similarities and differences, and the form of pacifism to which they relate.

Given this very diverse picture of pacifism, it can help to graph various “points” within pacifism—much like mathematics does in tracing a segment, line or curve connecting a set of points—to describe a framework for better understanding pacifism and the interrelationships and differences among the different viewpoints about pacifism. This chapter is presents an ideological graph for this thesis. It touches on

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<sup>36</sup> John H. Yoder, *Nevertheless: The Varieties and Shortcomings of Religious Pacifism* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1971), 44-47.

religious pacifism and conscientious objection, bringing out the main points in academic thought as well as the Seventh-day Adventist Church's position on these concepts.

Because the Seventh-day Adventist Church is a Christian denomination, a majority of the discourse on religious pacifism presented here will be from a Christian standpoint.

Consequently, this chapter outlines and explains concepts and positions that place the study of SDA military conscientious objection (CO) positions and practices within the broader context of the peace studies literature on CO and research on SDA pacifism to date.

### Christian Pacifism

Pacifism, in the most general sense, is “opposition to war.”<sup>37</sup> Opposition that originates from religious ideology—such as a religious book, mythic story, religious leader, or religious teaching—is religious pacifism. Secular pacifism, in contrast, emanates from non-religious roots, such politics or a non-religious respect for human rights.

Religious pacifism is very diverse. Generally speaking, there are two ways to establish Christian pacifism in light of the New Testament.<sup>38</sup> The first, dubbed the “Sermon on the Mount pacifism,” “is that of the literalist, who bases his pacifism on an exegesis of a particular teachings of Jesus.”<sup>39</sup> A literalist view holds that a believer must follow Christ's words exactly, renouncing force and violence altogether, even in self-defense. The second way is based on upholding the spirit of certain teachings and laws,

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> James Finn, *Protest: Pacifism and Politics--Some Passionate Views on War and Nonviolence* (New York, NY: Random House, 1967), 416.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

such as Christian love and charity, and realizing that religious dogma can change over time as long as the spirit behind them remains intact.<sup>40</sup> Out of this line of thought the ideology developed that in order to uphold Christian charity it is sometimes necessary for the Christian to use force in order to defend a weaker neighbor.<sup>41</sup> This second way encourages the Christian believer to be nonviolent, yet it acknowledges that specific situations may arise where it may seem more “Christian” to use force or violence than to stand inactive on the sidelines. Both sides offer a template for opposing war, but lead to very different understandings.

Religious pacifist ideologies run the gamut between these two general perspectives. At least twenty-five different forms have been identified.<sup>42</sup> These stances can overlap, meaning that one person, or group, can be classified in two or more categories and those positions may change over time.<sup>43</sup> Some of the different configurations are:

- “Pacifism of Christian Cosmopolitanism”—a “catholic” or “pastoral” peace in which a church leader does not judge opposing parties in a conflict but calls for a positive end to the conflict for the good of the community.<sup>44</sup>
- “Pacifism of the Honest Study of Cases”—“just war pacifism” or “selective pacifism” where each war or conflict is analyzed separately from others, with the mindset that sometimes war is needed; evaluation is based on examining

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 416-17.

<sup>42</sup> John K. Stoner, *Introduction*, ed. John H. Yoder, *Nevertheless: The Varieties and Shortcomings of Religious Pacifism* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1971), 3.

<sup>43</sup> Yoder, *Nevertheless: The Varieties and Shortcomings of Religious Pacifism*, 10-11.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 13-19.



the opposing sides, their motivations for going to war, and the weapons they will use.<sup>45</sup>

- “Pacifism of Nonviolent Social Change”—associated with Mohandas K. Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. where the oppressed in a society respond with nonviolence in an attempt to establish a greater world justice and show the oppressors their faults while still allowing them to save face.<sup>46</sup>
- “Pacifism of Proclamation”—associated with Protestantism and states that obedience to God is proclaiming His coming kingdom and a significant way to proclaim Him is to treat enemies with the same love that God show towards them; this means not taking their lives or using excessive force.<sup>47</sup>
- “Pacifism of the Virtuous Minority”—associated more with the Roman Catholic Church and not Protestantism; holds that everyone cannot be held to the same standards (for race, education, or religious reasons) and thus only those held to the higher standards of nonviolence need not participate in war.<sup>48</sup>
- “Pacifism of the Cultic Law”—Maintains that honoring the letter of the law, without interpretation, is the most important thing. An example of this is the Seventh-day Adventist Church and its noncombatant stance that stipulates as long as an individual is not killing, they are upholding the sixth

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 20-27.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 48-52.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 59-69.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 75-82.

commandment, which is to not kill, and are allowed to participate in war in a non-killing role.<sup>49</sup>

These examples demonstrate the wide-range of pacifism's definitions. They are also connected with familiar figures—Gandhi and King—and concepts—only spiritual leaders are not allowed to engage in war. This familiarity has led to those positions becoming more commonly known and identified. In this list, the Seventh-day Adventist Church is included under the “Pacifism of the Cultic Law” classification.

Despite this grouping, pacifism in general asserts that an individual or group is not required to blindly follow the state, whether because they believe in a higher power which they must follow first, or because the government ideology calls for individual decisions (as is the case in a democracy).<sup>50</sup> It is with this viewpoint that pacifists propose to establish and defend conscientious objection. All forms of pacifism, no matter how diverse, adhere to, even if unconsciously, the premise that the government can be challenged and provisions should be made so the challenge and challenger is legally protected.

In addition to mapping out the types of pacifism, this list considers just war ideology to be a pacifist stance. Just war is considered a type of “Pacifism of the Honest Study of Cases” where an individual or group examines a conflict and decides if it is necessary or ethically correct to undertake. That decision dictates if the individual or the

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 95-97.

<sup>50</sup> David A. Martin, *Pacifism: A Historical and Sociological Study* (London, England: Routledge & Keagon Paul, 1965), 7.; Herman A. Hoyt, *A Nonresistance Response*, ed. Robert G. Clouse, New Edition ed., War: Four Christian Views (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991), 103.; Myron S. Augsburger, *Christian Pacifism*, ed. Robert G. Clouse, War: Four Christian Views (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991), 85, 89-90.

group can and will participate in the war. This viewpoint recognizes that not all conflicts are the same and thus each one needs to be analyzed individually to determine if they are worthy to fight or not. For example, a group may have determined that World War II was worthy of fighting because it was a war of aggression by Nazi Germany, not defense, and it involved mass genocide against particular ethnic and ideological groups. However, the same group might have ruled that the Korean War was not worthy to participate in because it was undertaken against a perceived and not actualized threat in addition to being in another state—i.e. imperialistic—rather than the state where the group's members are citizens.

In light of this, just war theory can be viewed as a significant sub-heading under pacifism, rather than a challenging ideology. Operationally speaking, many may not differentiate between wars and thus not exercise that latent but inherent opposition to war within the just war stance, yet that ability is still present. However, many hold that just war is distinct from pacifism.

### Just War Theory

Just war theory is a Christian theory that attempts to reconcile the Biblical imperative to be peaceful with the world in which humanity lives in. It was developed from Greek and Roman ideologies and expounded upon by Christian theorists such as Augustine and Thomas Aquinas.<sup>51</sup> In later centuries, it was developed further by

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<sup>51</sup> Kent Greenawalt, "All or Nothing at All: The Defeat of Selective Conscientious Objection," *The Supreme Court Review* 1971 (1971), 50-51; Michael Walzer, "The Triumph of Just War Theory (and the Dangers of Success)," *Social Research* 69, no. 4 (Winter 2002), 1-2; Jeffery P. Whitman, "Just War Theory and the War on Terrorism: A Utilitarian Perspective," *Public Integrity* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2006-2007), 26.

philosophers including Francisco de Vitoria and Hugo Grotius.<sup>52</sup> The objective of just war theory is to be a middle ground between pacifists, who refuse to engage in war for religious matters, and holy warriors, who use religion as a rationale to wage war on their enemies or unbelievers.<sup>53</sup> Just war theory has three main guidelines: *just ad bellum*, *just in bello*, and *just post bellum*.<sup>54</sup> These guidelines seek to, respectively, “(1) limit the frequency of war, (2) limit the brutality and suffering of war, and (3) limit the possibility of war recurring once an ongoing war is concluded by securing a just peace.”<sup>55</sup> While just war theory has been vigorously debated, the basic tenets that operationalize the three main guidelines are as follows:

- Just cause. All aggression is condemned; only defensive war is legitimate.
- Just intention. The only legitimate intention is to secure a just peace for all involved. Neither revenge nor conquest nor economic gain nor ideological supremacy are justified.
- Last resort. War may only be entered upon when negotiations and compromise have been tried and failed.
- Formal declaration. Because the use of military force is the prerogative of governments, not of private individuals, a state of war must be officially declared by the highest authority.

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<sup>52</sup> Greenawalt, "All or Nothing at All: The Defeat of Selective Conscientious Objection."; Walzer, "The Triumph of Just War Theory (and the Dangers of Success)," 50-51; Whitman, "Just War Theory and the War on Terrorism: A Utilitarian Perspective," 26.

<sup>53</sup> Walzer, "The Triumph of Just War Theory (and the Dangers of Success)," 1-3.

<sup>54</sup> Whitman, "Just War Theory and the War on Terrorism: A Utilitarian Perspective," 26.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 26.

- Limited objectives. If the purpose is peace, then unconditional surrender or the destruction of a nation's economic or political institutions is an unwarranted objective.
- Proportionate means. The weaponry and the force used should be limited to what is needed to repel the aggression and deter future attacks; that is to say, to secure a just peace. Total or unlimited war is ruled out.
- Noncombatant immunity. Because war is an official act of government, only those who are officially agents of government may fight, and individuals not actively contributing to the conflict (including POW's and casualties as well as civilian nonparticipants) should be immune from attack.<sup>56</sup>

Different scholars include other guidelines, such as the good must outweigh the evil, there must be a reasonable chance of success, obeys all international laws, and no reprisals.<sup>57</sup>

While just war theory and pacifism may have similar foundational beliefs—they are against war and killing—they both address these fundamental beliefs in a different manner.<sup>58</sup> Pacifism rejects violence while just war theory holds that violence is sometimes necessary and utilizes just war tenets to determine when such circumstances exist.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, just war theory and pacifism “hold fundamentally divergent

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<sup>56</sup> Arthur F. Holmes, *A Just War Response*, ed. Robert G. Clouse, New edition ed., War: Four Christian Views (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991), 120-21.

<sup>57</sup> Hugh C. Macgill, “Selective Conscientious Objection: Divine Will and Legislative Grace,” *Virginia Law Review* 54, no. 7 (Nov 1968), 1374-1375; Christopher Toner, “The Logical Structure of Just War Theory,” *J Ethics* 14 (2010), 82-83.

<sup>58</sup> Helmut David Baer, and Joseph E Capizzi, “Just War Theories Reconsidered: Problems with Prima Facie Duties and the Need for a Political Ethic,” *Journal of Religious Ethics* 33, no. 1 (2005), 121.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

judgments about the nature of government and the proper exercise of political power. Thus, any effort to achieve ecumenical convergence between the two traditions must necessarily address those fundamental differences.”<sup>60</sup> The two different ideologies challenge each other, making the other better by revealing logical flaws and forcing each ideology to address them.<sup>61</sup> This allows just war theory and Christian pacifism to realistically address actual problems facing Christians and the world today. The same interaction between the necessity of violence to prevent more violence and the necessity to be peaceful is present within the Seventh-day Adventist Church, as will be presented later.

Personal and religious positions on pacifism and just war can affect individuals when they are considering enlisting in the military or when facing the possibility of being drafted. Religious communities exert influence over members’ decisions. Some discourage members from enlisting, such as by disfellowshipping them if they enlist. Others may encourage members to enlist and celebrate their enlistment. The discourse within religious communities can then influence the larger society on matters of conscientious objection and military service, providing the religious community is either large enough or driven enough to be heard. Traditionally, conscientious objection has been an option for only pacifists and it remains the main route people choose to exercise their objection to a government policy.

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 135.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 121-122.

### Conscientious Objection

Christian pacifism is rooted in the belief that God has called His followers to live peaceful lives themselves and be active peacemakers in society. This belief can run the gamut from praying for peace to rejecting any type of force. However, pacifism remains only a belief. It is often operationalized in wartime through conscientious objection. Conscientious objection, in the Christian context, is following a “moral imperative” against what an individual may see as morally wrong, even if such disobedience is against the law.<sup>62</sup> As with pacifism, there are many debates concerning conscientious objection. One of the discussions questions if conscientious objection strengthens or weakens society. Some scholars hold that it can strengthen society because individual consciences are more sensitive than group consciences and the former can strengthen the latter.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, conscientious objection is not just about the individual but about making society better as a whole through pointing out objectionable behavior, as a conscientious objector is a “serious and sincere person,” who emphasizes “not only an ethic of ‘absolute ends,’ but also a simultaneous ethic of ‘responsibility.’”<sup>64</sup>

Because conscientious objection marks where the individual’s beliefs conflict with the state’s belief embodied in laws and regulations, CO is addressed in all three sections of the US government—executive, legislative, and judicial. Within the US legislative branch, CO claims have traditionally been religious in nature, thus falling

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<sup>62</sup> Alfred J. Sciarrino, and Kenneth L. Deutsch, "Conscientious Objection to War: Heroes to Human Shields," *B.Y.U. Journal of Public Law* XVIII, no. 59 (2003-2004)., 75.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 76-77

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 76-77.

under the First Amendment.<sup>65</sup> CO provisions were also stipulated in a draft of the Second Amendment, which would have read, “The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed; a well armed and well regulated militia being the best security of a free country; but no person religiously scrupulous shall be compelled to bear arms in person.”<sup>66</sup> While the Senate did not approve this specific wording, religious liberty, which conscientious objection has traditionally been based on in the United States, was protected in the First Amendment.<sup>67</sup> Even today, despite the secularization of conscientious objection, these specific amendments still establish conscientious objection legally.

Even with these implied legal and traditional bases, the definition and legal support of conscientious objection in the judicial branch has changed. New cases and situations make for a dynamic legal definition of conscientious objection. Conscientious objection was primarily reserved for members of traditional religions up until the middle of the twentieth century.<sup>68</sup> The Selective Training and Service Act (1948) stipulated that a conscientious objector was an individual “who, by reason of religious training and belief, is consciously opposed to participation in war in any form.”<sup>69</sup> Religious training and belief was defined as “an individual’s belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relations, but does not include

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<sup>65</sup> Norman Redlich, and Kenneth R. Feinberg, "Individual Conscience and the Selective Conscientious Objector: The Right Not to Kill," *New York University Law Review* 44, no. 5 (Nov 1969), 876.

<sup>66</sup> Sciarrino, "Conscientious Objection to War: Heroes to Human Shields." 80.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-81.

<sup>68</sup> Greenawalt, "All or Nothing at All: The Defeat of Selective Conscientious Objection." 35.

<sup>69</sup> Martha A. Field, "Problems of Proof in Conscientious Objector Cases," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 120, no. 5 (May 1972), 889.



essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal code.”<sup>70</sup>

These limits meant only members of established churches or congregations, essentially, could apply for and eventually achieve conscientious objector status.

However, two key Supreme Court rulings changed this religious orientation. They did so by expanding the definitions of certain terms to be more all-encompassing. In 1965 the Supreme Court case *United States v. Seeger* expanded ‘Supreme Being’ and included the statement that “all sincere religious beliefs which are based upon a power or being, or upon a faith, to which all else is subordinate or upon which all else is ultimately dependent.”<sup>71</sup> Thus, the definition was expanded from the belief in a higher deity, such as a god, to a concept or ideology that dictated all that an individual did or believed. Yet there were still qualifications placed on this broader definition. The key is that the belief is “sincere and meaningful[ly] occupies a place in the life of its possessor parallel to that filled by the orthodox religious belief in God.”<sup>72</sup> With this ruling widening the definition of religion, the courts ruled that sincerity would be crucial in determining conscientious objection status.<sup>73</sup> Thus conscientious objector status would rest on the belief in some higher power, sincerity, and the belief holding the same position in the claimant’s life as would religion.

Six years later, the Supreme Court, in *United States v. Welsh*, ruled that the ‘Supreme Being’ clause could be extended to include “all those whose consciences, spurred by deeply held moral, ethical, or religious beliefs, would give them no rest or

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 889-890.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 890; "United States V. Seeger," [http://religiousfreedom.lib.virginia.edu/court/us\\_v\\_seeg.html](http://religiousfreedom.lib.virginia.edu/court/us_v_seeg.html).

<sup>72</sup> Field, "Problems of Proof in Conscientious Objector Cases." 890.

<sup>73</sup> Sciarrino, "Conscientious Objection to War: Heroes to Human Shields." 87.

peace if they allowed themselves to become a part of an instrument of war.”<sup>74</sup> Thus, within the United States conscientious objection has evolved from a strict religious classification to a more general and individualized classification. This shift suggests that people view religion as developing from conscience rather than conscience from religion and sets religious conscientious objection as a subheading of a more general conscientious objection, as opposed the only conscientious objection.<sup>75</sup>

While still appearing to center around religion as a motivator, this broad definition of religion for CO purposes can include many different individuals and scenarios. This worries some scholars and religious liberty advocates because it broadens what can be considered religious and how much a secular government can regulate such matters.<sup>76</sup> It may also infringe on the non-establishment clause, depending on how the free exercise and non-establishment clause are interpreted.<sup>77</sup> Despite these concerns, the broadening of conscientious objector status has allowed for more individuals to legally claim it. Even the Department of Defense has allowed individuals within the military to claim CO status and be discharged.<sup>78</sup> The challenge surrounding CO status is establishing guidelines to address both secular and religious cases without endangering the claimants or religious rights.

In addition to the debate concerning the scope of conscientious objection, many question whether it is a constitutional right or a concession by the government. Some

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<sup>74</sup> Douglas Sturm, "Constitutionalism and Conscientiousness: The Dignity of Objection to Military Service," *Journal of Law and Religion* 1, no. 2 (1983)., 269.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 267-269.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* 271-272.

<sup>78</sup> Greenawalt, "All or Nothing at All: The Defeat of Selective Conscientious Objection." 42.

scholars assert that conscientious objection is a constitutional right.<sup>79</sup> As stated before, a provision was made in the draft of the Second Amendment to account for conscientious objectors, but that clause never made it to the final draft. Others hold that it is a peripheral right which has been implied in the First Amendment.<sup>80</sup> However, conscientious objection can also be seen as a concession by the state and federal government, rather than a constitutional right as it is not explicitly outlined in the Bill of Rights or Constitution.<sup>81</sup> Those who advocate against conscientious objection assert that it “weakens the force of law and detract[s] from the depth of loyalty required for the government to get on with its business.”<sup>82</sup> Yet others hold that conscientious objection can assist society in that it allows for a certain amount of “self-determination” that individuals are entitled to in democracies and considers not only the individual but greater society and can help reform the government and its actions by calling them into question.<sup>83</sup>

Moreover, the debate that conscientious objection is a constitutional right has expanded to the international community and some are claiming it is a human right. Traditionally, conscientious objection has been a state issue, since only states have weight in the international community.<sup>84</sup> For many, including the state, obedience to the state and mandatory participation in war is part of a “social contract” between the state

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<sup>79</sup> Frederick L. Brown, Stephen M. Kohn, and Michael D. Kohn, “Conscientious Objection: A Constitutional Right,” *New England Law Review* 21, no. 3, (1985-1986), 547.

<sup>80</sup> Sturm, “Constitutionalism and Conscientiousness: The Dignity of Objection to Military Service.” 273.

<sup>81</sup> Redlich, “Individual Conscience and the Selective Conscientious Objector: The Right Not to Kill.” 876.

<sup>82</sup> Sturm, “Constitutionalism and Conscientiousness: The Dignity of Objection to Military Service.” 276.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 276-272.

<sup>84</sup> Emily N. Marcus, “Conscientious Objection as an Emerging Human Right,” *Virginia Journal of International Law* 38(1997-1998), 510-511.

and its citizens, and thus only a state issue.<sup>85</sup> However, the international community is slowly beginning to view conscientious objection as a human right. Due to the increasing interdependence of states at the current time, what was once just a state issue is becoming an international issue.<sup>86</sup>

While international law does not formally recognize conscientious objection as a human right, there are many provisions that support conscientious objection as such.<sup>87</sup> For example, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) holds that “[e]veryone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.”<sup>88</sup> While the ICCPR does stipulate how an individual expresses his or her religion is not protected under the law, the United Nations Human Rights Committee stated that protection of conscientious objection as a human right can be derived from Article 18 of the ICCPR.<sup>89</sup> Other supporting international laws that indirectly support conscientious objection internationally, is the right to life (that of the conscientious objector and whoever he or she would be killing), the right to liberty, freedom of association, freedom of expression, the right to peace, and international customary law.<sup>90</sup> Some hold that conscientious objection status should be honored as international, individual right that protects the individual’s conscience from state force.

Because of the above debates, decisions, and discourse, “conscientious objector” is no longer one classification. It can mean many different things. Many different

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid. 510-511.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. 511.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid. 511-512.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. 514.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. 515-517.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid. 518-525.

concepts are grouped under the CO heading, and it is important to recognize and define them. Charles C. Moskos and John Whiteclay Chambers II in their book, The New Conscientious Objection: From Sacred to Secular Resistance define the different types of COs in the following way:

- religious COs—individuals who refuse to participate in war or bear arms on the basis of religious beliefs (i.e. members of historic peace churches or other religions traditions).
- secular COs—individuals who refuse to participate in war or bear arms on political or non-religious reasons.
- universalistic COs—individuals who are opposed to all types of wars.
- selective COs—individuals who refuse to participate in a particular conflict.
- discretionary COs—individuals who refuse to use certain weapons, such as nuclear weapons.
- noncombatant COs—individuals who will participate in war, but not bear arms; they usually request or choose to serve in an area such as the medical corps to keep from killing others.
- activist COs—individuals who choose to participate in civilian jobs or pay a fine as a substitution for military service.

- absolutist COs—individuals who refuse interact with the government in any way concerning conscription.<sup>91</sup>

According to the authors, these different classifications can overlap (i.e. an individual can be a religious, selective and discretionary CO or a secular, universalistic CO). An individual can also move from one classification to another.

Though conscientious objection is very broad, its general precept is that the individual has the right to object to particular institutions or bodies of authority. In the US, CO is grounded in the Constitution, either as a peripheral right or a direct right. Although many have found it to be beneficial, some stipulate that it can threaten an entity by breaking down its power and influence over a community.

Though framed in a different manner, similar arguments concerning conscientious objection are present within the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The underlying dynamic in those discussions is that conscientious objection can be seen as a challenge to the state and the church does not want to appear as a challenger. Thus, conscientious objection has evolved into a different form within the SDA Church, leaving many members and some scholars questioning whether or not the SDA church actually supports conscientious objection anymore.

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<sup>91</sup> Charles C. and John Whiteclay Chambers II Moskos, *The Secularization of Conscience*, ed. Charles C. Moskos and John Whiteclay Chambers II, *The New Conscientious Objection: From Sacred to Secular Resistance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 5.

### The Seventh-day Adventist Church and Conscientious Objection

The Civil War had a tremendous effect on the evolution of Seventh-day Adventist Church beliefs, specifically in the area of military service. When the federal government began to draft men into the military in 1863, a provision was in place that allowed individuals to avoid military service if they paid a “\$300 commutation fee.”<sup>92</sup> The Adventist Church opted to pay the fee for its members, raising as much money as it could for those who could not afford to pay the fee.<sup>93</sup> However, in 1864, “Congress...restricted these options to conscientious objectors with membership in a recognized pacifist church.”<sup>94</sup> The church applied for such recognition and received it, giving its members the option to serve in a noncombatant role or to pay the fee.<sup>95</sup> Any church member who served in a combatant role was disfellowshipped, meaning that their home church voted them out of membership and thereafter they were no longer official members of the church.<sup>96</sup>

These events are one of the cornerstones of the Adventist discourse on conscientious objection, although scholars disagree that the church was truly pacifistic during the Civil War. Ronald Lawson, who writes extensively on Adventist and the military states that the “Adventists fudged the record by declaring that their membership

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<sup>92</sup> Morgan, "Between Pacifism and Patriotism: Helping Students Think About Military Options," 17.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ronald Lawson, *Adventists, Military Service and War*, ed. Barry W. Bussey, *Should I Fight? Essays on Conscientious Objection and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church* (Belleville, Ontario, Canada: Guardian Books, 2011), 52.

has always been united in believing that war was wrong.”<sup>97</sup> Moreover, other authors agree with this, stating that the Adventist Church felt the need to gain recognition as a pacifistic church in order to keep its members from military service and thus moved ahead with their declaration of homogenous, pacifistic ideology.<sup>98</sup> In light of this, the Adventist church only feigned their beliefs in pure pacifism and noncombatancy. While some individual members may have been true conscientious objectors, to label the church as a whole as such was to over-generalize.

However, Douglas Morgan, an Adventist church historian, states that this is not true.<sup>99</sup> The early Adventists were pacifistic and did support conscientious objection but they disagreed on how to: 1) apply that belief to the current violent crisis; and, 2) establish clear, biblical justification for these beliefs.<sup>100</sup> Morgan holds that these attitudes guided the church through the rest of the nineteenth century, causing Adventists to speak out against what they viewed as imperialistic wars.<sup>101</sup> Thus, according to Morgan, conscientious objection was a unifying principle for the early church, rather than something they hastily embraced.

Morgan also makes the argument that a spectrum of positions on military service—such as war on one side, just war in the middle, and pacifism on the other

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<sup>97</sup> Ronald Lawson, “Church and State Home and Abroad: The Evolution of the Seventh-Day Adventist Relations with Governments,” *Journal of American Academy of Religion* 64, no. 2 (1996), 285.

<sup>98</sup> Morgan, *The Beginnings of a Peace Church: Eschatology, Ethics, and Expedience in Adventist Responses to the American Civil War*, 36-37.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 41-45.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Douglas Morgan, *Adventism's Peacemaking Heritage*, ed. Douglas Morgan, The Peacemaking Remnant: Essays and Historical Documents (Silver Spring, MD: Adventist Peace Fellowship, 2005), 85-86.



side—did not exist within the Adventist church in the 1860s.<sup>102</sup> During this time, J.N. Andrews, an early pioneer and missionary for the church, was asked to conduct research into biblical support for both pacifism and just war, however he was unable to finish his research in light of the time it required and his other responsibilities.<sup>103</sup> In a letter from G.I. Butler, a future General Conference President, to Andrews, Morgan states that Butler commissioned Andrews to find a solid, biblical basis for the church's position on war, knowing he would adequately research both, conflicting views.<sup>104</sup> However, since Andrews never completed his research, the Adventist Church had neither a definitive analysis of warfare nor a position on just war theory.

During World War I the Adventist church began to stress its objection to only bearing weapons in war and by 1939 had established a Medical Cadet Corps that would train Adventists draftees in medicine, allowing them to participate in the war but not carry a weapon.<sup>105</sup> In 1940, the leader of the General Conference Religious Liberty Department told the United States House of Representatives' Military Affairs Committee that Adventists were "not pacifists nor militarists nor conscientious objectors, but noncombatants."<sup>106</sup> The next year, the church was labeled as "conscientious cooperators" by a newspaper and it has since preferred that term.<sup>107</sup> Conscientious cooperation allowed Adventists to serve their country as noncombatants but still follow their religious

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<sup>102</sup> Morgan, *The Beginnings of a Peace Church: Eschatology, Ethics, and Expedience in Adventist Responses to the American Civil War*, 44.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 44-46.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Lawson, "Church and State at Home and Abroad: The Evolution of the Seventh-Day Adventist Relations with Governments," 288-91.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.: 291.

<sup>107</sup> Morgan, "Between Pacifism and Patriotism: Helping Students Think About Military Options," 23.

beliefs against taking lives.<sup>108</sup> Since this has historically meant service as a medic, which is seen as an act of care and healing, it allows Adventists to work on Saturdays.<sup>109</sup>

However, not every Adventist scholar supports the official position of noncombatancy. One scholar views noncombatancy as invalid because, while it does not require an individual to kill or carry arms, it involves healing those who do and then allowing them to return to the battlefield.<sup>110</sup> Though noncombatant, it is complicit in killing and thus not really noncombatant. Thus, although noncombatancy is the official position of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, not all members may accept it as legitimate and the church should support these members' right to be conscientious objectors.<sup>111</sup>

While the Adventist noncombatant position developed during World War I and World War II, during the next two conflicts—Korea and Vietnam—Adventists overall embraced noncombatancy and conscientiously cooperated with the United States government whenever Adventist draftees requested a noncombatant role in the conflicts. Some served in the Medical Cadet Corps while others served as test subjects for biological warfare; the latter took place from 1955 to 1973.<sup>112</sup>

This historical progression from pacifistic to conscientious cooperator is significant in the development of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Citing Stark and Brainbridge's definition of religious groups, Ronald Lawson stipulates that the Adventist

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<sup>108</sup> Douglas Morgan, *The Beginnings of a Peace Church: Eschatology, Ethics, and Expedience in Adventist Responses to the American Civil War*, 34.

<sup>109</sup> Ellen G. White, *The Story of Patriarchs and Prophets: As Illustrated in the Lives of Holy Men of Old* (Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1958), 307.

<sup>110</sup> Emanuel G. Fenz, "The Case for Conscientious Objection," *Spectrum* 1, no. 1 (Winter 1969), 54.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> Lawson, "Church and State at Home and Abroad: The Evolution of the Seventh-Day Adventist Relations with Governments," 292-93.

Church has developed from a sect, which opposed the state, to a denomination, or church, which accepts and supports the existing social and government structures.<sup>113</sup> He also notes that there are no noncombatant roles in the United States' current, All-Volunteer Military—save for a chaplain.<sup>114</sup> Thus, the church's noncombatant position, which was reaffirmed in 1972, is "blurred and confusing."<sup>115</sup>

Conscientious objection within the Seventh-day Adventist Church is an interesting dynamic, mainly because it is unclear if it is present throughout the history of the Adventist Church. Some argue that the Adventist Church's need to be identified as an ally of the government has led it to reject conscientious objection and accept a more positive ideology. Members still object to certain activities but negotiate with the government on what other things they are able to do. Yet this negotiation is not accepted by all Adventist scholars as beneficial for the denomination. It can be seen as compromising with the government on key issues within the Adventist belief system.

### Conclusion

Conscientious objection, just war theory, and religious pacifism have all experienced considerable debate and undergone vast changes in the past century, even within the Seventh-day Adventist Church. They have had to evolve to fit a changing world, which not only has defensive operations but humanitarian as well. Moreover, the level at which they are practiced, namely the state, has had to expand to be useful to the new international communities that are mindful of human rights. Arguments against

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<sup>113</sup> Ronald Lawson, "Onward Christian Soldiers? Seventh-Day Adventist and the Issue of Military Service," *Review of Religious Research* 37, no. 3 (Mar 1996): 193-94.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*: 205.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*: 208.

these issues can spur debate, which it has, and create a dialogue between the religious and secular, governmental and private sectors that allow human rights to develop more clearly.

This development is the focus of this research. How the Seventh-day Adventist Church has been involved in the development can indicate how it can affect the larger conscientious objection debate. The shift to an All-Volunteer Force is a significant factor that has influenced the development of religious pacifism and religious conscientious objection. By examining the Adventist Church's experience with military service in an All-Volunteer Force, this paper hopes to contribute to the existing literature concerning military conscientious objection and help provide a trajectory for its evolution.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

The Seventh-day Adventist Church's position and experience with conscientious objection and military service has received some academic attention, with a majority focusing on the pre-Vietnam era. Given this fact, this study is exploratory in nature to determine how the church has addressed the concept of conscientious objection within the past thirty-seven years by examining what has been published on the subject in two major Adventist publications: *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine.

#### The Adventist Review and Liberty Magazine

This study focuses on the articles of two main magazines for the Seventh-day Adventist Church, *The Adventist Review*, also called *The Review*, and *Liberty* magazine. *The Adventist Review* was established in 1849 is a weekly periodical with a paid circulation of 30,000.<sup>116</sup> In addition free copies are handed out in some churches. As the most prominent and oldest magazine for the denomination, it identifies itself as “the flagship journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.”<sup>117</sup> Its editorial offices are at the church's world headquarters in Silver Spring, MD, USA. *Liberty* magazine, on the other

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<sup>116</sup> "Welcome," Simple Updates, <http://www.adventistreview.org/article.php?id=2>.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

hand, is “the preeminent resource for matters of religious freedom” within the Seventh-day Adventist Church.<sup>118</sup> Established in 1906, it is also run out of the General Conference offices located in Silver Spring, MD, USA and has a circulation of about 200,000.<sup>119</sup> It is published every two months and “distributed to political leaders, judiciary, lawyers and other thought leaders in North America and, through the International Religious liberty Association, to a larger international audience.”<sup>120</sup> The editors and associated editors for both magazines are chosen or reconfirmed every five years by a General Conference Committee consisting of elected church leaders at the Annual Council. As such, they are considered part of the church leadership and representation.

### Data Collection

Digital copies of both magazines are available online in PDF file form on the Adventist Archive website.<sup>121</sup> Search engines enable searches for specific phrases or words that appear within each issue of the magazine. For both magazines, a search was conducted for the phrases “conscientious objection,” “noncombatant,” “conscientious cooperator,” and “military service.” The first three were chosen because they deal directly with the focus of this study and the latter one would capture all talk of military service, allowing identification of any article discussing the first three terms without using them explicitly. The search engine brought up any magazine issue that had both

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<sup>118</sup> "History," 316 Creative, <http://www.libertymagazine.org/index.php?id=15>.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> "Subscribe to *Liberty*," <http://www.libertymagazine.org/index.php?id=47>. ; "Speakers: Lincoln Steed," <http://legal.sdacc.org/cos/speakers.php>.

<sup>121</sup> <http://www.adventistarchives.org/DocArchives.asp>

words in it, whether they were paired together or not. In order to see which magazine issues were pertinent for this study, each document in the database was searched for the four words and phrases. Later on, the “View Hits” link was used so and the website would automatically bring up the instances in the file where the word or phrases were used. Issues that were not related to Adventist conscientious objection, noncombatancy, or the draft were discarded.

The dates of both magazines that have been digitized and posted vary. The dates for *The Adventist Review*, which is listed under the magazine’s original name of *Review and Herald*, are January 1850 to June 1998. Within this time period, there are 7,714 individual files. To search the remaining time-period outlined for this thesis, *The Adventist Review* website was searched for articles containing the same key words or phrases mentioned above.<sup>122</sup> In addition, the “Print Index” on the website was used, which covers July-December 1996 through July-December 2010.<sup>123</sup> These PDF index files divide each year into two parts, with one file covering the first six months of the year and the other file covering that latter six months of the year—two files for every year.

For *Liberty* magazine, the dates available on the Adventist Archive website are April 1906 through June 2009. Within this time period, there are 523 individual files. To cover the remaining time period stipulated for this thesis, searches were conducted of the

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<sup>122</sup> <http://www.adventistreview.org/>

<sup>123</sup> <http://www.adventistreview.org/article.php?id=10>

*Liberty* magazine website for the same above four key words and phrases.<sup>124</sup> There are no print indexes available for *Liberty* magazine as there are for *The Review*.

### Data Selection

“Conscientious objection,” “noncombatant,” “conscientious cooperator,” and “military service” were used in the search. They deal directly with the subject matter of this thesis, and they also allow for articles to be collected that address this subject but do not use the vocabulary. For example, an article may address whether an Adventist should serve in the military and bear arms, never using the phrases “conscientious objection” or “noncombatancy” even though it clearly deals with similar subject matter that is pertinent to this study. For the print indexes, the words “war” and “peace” were also used because the only information available through these files is the article title. Once pertinent titles were identified, the actual articles themselves were located in paper copies of the magazines, which were available at an area library. Those articles that were pertinent to this study were documented and recorded.

The search was designed and conducted so that the search engine would cite every usage of each word, whether it was paired with another key word or not. For example, the search engine would find every usage of the word “conscientious” even if it was not paired with “objector.” Thus, each file identified was read to see if it was related to the Adventist position on military service. Occurrences that clearly did not deal with the subject—such as being a conscientious person when it comes to health, years in denominational service, or the increase in military armament around the world—were

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<sup>124</sup> <http://www.libertymagazine.org/>



discarded. Articles that either directly addressed the Adventist position on military service or may address it were saved and read in detail later.

Those articles that dealt with or addressed the Adventist conscientious objection to military service were coded and put into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet for further analysis. The information was coded based on: (1) article classification—what dynamic of the Adventist position on military service it addressed; (2) the overall subject of the article; (3) the geographic origin or state cited the article; (4) the originality of the article—if it was a reaction to another article or writing; (5) the magazine that published the article; (6) the religious group the article addressed; and (7) how the article was distributed to the public.

#### Article Classification

For analysis, each article was classified according to what aspect of the Adventist position on military service that it addressed. Seven possible options were used: no classification apparent; conscientious objection; noncombatant; conscientious cooperation; other; conscientious objection and noncombatant; and conscientious objection, noncombatant, and conscientious cooperator. While the church and its publications often use the terms conscientious objection, noncombatant, and conscientious cooperation interchangeably, this study classifies an article based on what word or phrase was used in the article.

When classifying the articles, the *Conscientious Objection* classification was defined as usage of the words “conscientious objection” and “conscientious objector,” as well as the concept of avoiding military service altogether. The *Conscientious*

*Cooperation* classification was defined as the usage of the specific phrases “conscientious cooperation” and “conscientious cooperator.” The *Noncombatant* classification included the phrases “noncombatant,” “alternate civilian service,” “bearing arms,” and “combat.” The *Other* classification is the largest one, serving as a safety net for articles that do not use the specific words or terminology but that clearly address military service. *Other* included references to the draft, military conscription, all-volunteer army, military exemptions, the church’s historic position on military service, or pacifism. The key with this classification is that it is clear an article drawing attention to conscientious objection, noncombatancy, or conscientious cooperation but not using those specific phrases. The fifth classification, *Conscientious Objection and Noncombatant*, is defined as an article that that meets both the criteria of conscientious objection and noncombatant classification. The sixth classification—*Conscientious Objection, Noncombatant, and Conscientious Cooperation*—is defined as simultaneously meeting the criteria of the first three classifications.

#### Article Subject

When reviewing the articles found by the searches, it became apparent that they were not all the same type of article. They ranged from editorials to letters to the editor, from feature articles to informational new articles. Therefore, the articles were classified according to type of article. Eight categories were used: history of the Christian and/or SDA position on military service, personal experience, analysis/report, news, informational on SDA position, chaplains/chaplaincy, feature of SDA position, and no subject.

Articles that address the development of the military service positions, whether in the general Christian religion or the specific SDA denomination, and cite key dates in this development were classified under the heading *History of Christian and/or SDA Position on Military Service*. The *Personal Experience* classification was used to classify articles that address an individual's personal story of being a conscientious objector, noncombatant, or conscientious cooperator. Articles that reported information or took apart the article subject, leading the reader to ask critical questions were labeled as *Analysis/Report* and articles that reported in a news fashion or were listed under the news section in the magazines were grouped as *News Article*.

Letters written in to the magazine or pieces labeled as written by the magazine editors were classified as *Editorials/Letters*. Because the magazines are used to disseminate information to the Adventist community, some articles provide basic information on the infrastructure of the church, processes the church follows in addressing military service issues, the current policies and programs of the SDA Church and military service, and whom members should contact if they have questions on military service. These articles were classified as *Informational on SDA Position*. If an article addressed military chaplains or military chaplaincy, it was labeled *Chaplains/Chaplaincy* and if an article simply stated that conscientious objection, noncombatancy, or conscientious cooperation was associated with the Adventist Church it was classified as *Feature of SDA Position*. The *No Subject* classification means that an article could not fit in to the other seven categories.

## State

Because the Seventh-day Adventist Church is a world church, the articles also focused on different countries around the world. A majority of articles dealing with countries other than the United States were news articles, detailing different updates for Adventists in the specified country. Despite the fact that they do not deal directly the Adventists in the United States, they were included because they are aimed at informing Adventists of the happenings around the world in regard to Adventist military service. Further, evolving conditions in other countries can influence Adventist thinking in the United States.

The locations chosen were those that were stipulated in the articles, even if the state cited no longer exists, such as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR). For example, Canada was included because one article addressed Adventists and conscientious objection to military service in Canada; Egypt was not included because no article addressed Adventists and conscientious objection to military service in Egypt. If a state was not mentioned in an article, it was not included in the list. Three entries, however, were not states but listed as they appear in the article and defined. For example, one location was the Trans-European Division, which is an internal division of the Adventist Church, covering all European countries and most of the Middle Eastern countries as far as Pakistan. On the Article Code Key in Appendix A, the states defined in the division were identified.

Moreover, many articles dealt with the subject of Adventist conscientious objection in a broad manner, meaning they either cited the history of the position's development or provided other general information on military service. Because these

articles did not deal with a specific region, they were classified as *No State Specified*. In total, 43 states were identified.

### Reaction

While a significant portion of the data is feature and news articles, some are responses to feature articles. This was noted in the coding because it indicated whether the article was a continuing dialogue about Adventists and military service and their part in an ongoing discussion. Articles were classified as either not directly linked to an earlier article, coded (0), or as a reaction to an earlier article, coded (1).

### Magazine

To assess whether a specific theme was present more in one magazine than the other, a magazine classification was added to track which magazine the article was in. The three classifications in this category are no magazine, meaning it could not be determined what magazine from which the article came (0); *Review and Herald/The Adventist Review* (1); and *Liberty* magazine (2).

### Religious Group

Though these articles are in magazines produced by the Seventh-day Adventist Church, they do not report solely on Seventh-day Adventists. They also discuss other religions, whether in main articles or news reports.

As with the state classifications, the religions cited in this study are specifically mentioned in the articles. If a religion is not mentioned in one of the recorded articles, it

was not included in the list. Therefore, an individual classification only includes the religion it mentions. For example, (1) is Seventh-day Adventism, (2) is Jehovah Witness, and (3) is Quakers. Where more than one religion is mentioned, a different classification was created to include all religions mentioned. For example, number (10) is Quakers and Anabaptists. In all, there are seventeen classifications under this category, including *No group specified/General*. This means that either no specific denomination or religion was specified or the article addressed religion as a general concept. For a complete listing of the different religious group classifications, see the Code Key in Appendix A.

### Distribution

Given that this study focuses on magazine articles from 1973 to 2010, it was necessary to address how the magazine was distributed to the general Adventist population. Initially, *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine were published and sent to homes and offices via the postal mail. With the development of the Internet, webpages and PDF files became a secondary way to publish their material.

For this study, six different distribution classifications were used: online, print, online webpage and print, print and online PDF files, and print index online but unknown if the full article is online.

### Data Processing

Once the data were compiled and entered it into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, they were analyzed using the statistical software SPSS. Variables were the author's name, year, article classification, article subject, state, magazine title, religious group, article distribution, and if the article was a reaction to an earlier article.

Both frequencies and cross tabulations were run on all of the variables except the author's name and article distribution. Frequencies showed which categories within the variables were more common, thus tracking any patterns present. Cross tabulations tracked correlations between the different variables, such as between article classification and year, or religious group and state. The SPSS output were analyzed, seeking to understand the main thematic issues.

### Limitations

There are two limitations in this study. The search engines are efficient in searching text for words, but not for every usage of the search terms the desired context. For example, an obituary may have used the words "military service" but it was clear when the article was read that it was not germane to this study. This example of a false positive result occurred often, pointing out the limitation of a search engine approach.

Secondly, it is difficult to classify information within the articles, especially if it is discussing military service but through implications and wording not directly related to conscientious objection. To account for this limitation of interpretation, articles were only included that explicitly state the key words or phrases mentioned above, or any derivative of them, such as noncombatant or alternate civilian service. Some articles were excluded after being read, for example an article that discussed Project Whitecoat— a military medical experiment in which many Adventists participated, allowing them to be noncombatants—if the article did not specifically state that Project Whitecoat was a noncombatant military option. Adventists familiar with this experiment may know that it

was noncombatant, but it is impossible to tell which readers would know this and which would not.

### Conclusion

This study compiled a list of articles published by *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine from 1973 to the present that address conscientious objection to military service in the post-Vietnam era. These articles were then classified according to the author's name, year, article classification, article subject, state, magazine title, religious group, article distribution, and if the article was a reaction to an earlier article. The classifications were then analyzed using SPSS. Using this methodological approach, this study tracked any changes in the Adventist discourse on their position on conscientious objection since the implementation of the All-Volunteer Force.



## CHAPTER 4

### FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Over the past thirty-seven years, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has addressed the concept of conscientious objection to military service within *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine, but not in a large numbers of articles. Despite the small set of articles, certain patterns arise and are discussed in this chapter, focusing specifically on the Year, Article Classification, Article Subject, State, and Religious Group. These five classes of information yielded the most interesting results. Findings for the other classes of data are interwoven into the discussion of these five classes.

#### Findings

Overall, the most common type of article was news articles on Seventh-day Adventist noncombatancy, published by *The Adventist Review*. Despite this, other types of articles, religious groups, and subject matter were common as well.

#### Year

Between 1973 and 2010, *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine published 292 articles on conscientious objection to military service out of the estimated 105,000 articles published in total in the two magazines in that thirty-seven year period. Thus, articles on conscientious objection to military service are about 0.3% of the total articles published. Within this 0.3%, a majority (83%) of the articles were not a reaction to a

article published in their magazine. In addition, *The Adventist Review* published three times the number articles concerning Adventists and military service—77% compared to *Liberty* magazine's 23%.

While this 0.3% of the overall total is not a significant portion of the articles published in these two magazines, these articles appeared consistent over the thirty-seven year period. Every year, articles on Adventist military service appeared. However, two years stood out as having the most articles: 2003 with 8% and 1983 had 6% of the articles published. In addition to these two years, 2007, 1974, and 1984 each had 5% of the articles published; 1991, 1976, 1979, 1985, and 2008 had 4% of the articles published; and 1973, 1978, 1982, 1989, and undated had 3%. The remaining years had fewer than 2% of the articles published. The below chart demonstrates this.

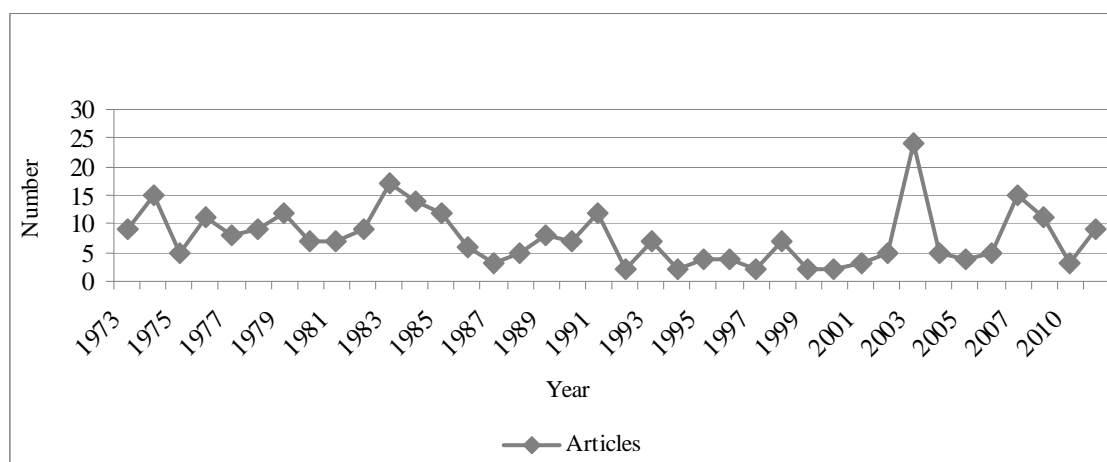


Figure 1. Article frequency by year in both *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine.

Since the move to an All-Volunteer Force, the United States has participated in multiple military campaigns and actions. According to the data, the highest number of articles published corresponds with the US led invasion of Iraq, 2003, and the invasion of Grenada, 1983, which was the first military invasion of another country after the end of

the Vietnam War.<sup>125</sup> In addition, in 2003, conscientious objection by active military members was small but growing according to two articles in *The Chicago Tribune* and *The New York Times*.<sup>126</sup> However, other key dates in US military history—such as Operation Desert Storm (1990-1991), the Balkan conflict (1991-1995), and the invasion of Afghanistan (2001)—do not show the same spike in the number of articles on Adventists and conscientious objection to military service. It is important to note, though, that 1991—the second year of the Persian Gulf War—is one of the fourth highest years in number of articles published. This could be due to the smaller scale of the previous military campaigns or because other national or international events overshadowed the military operation, such as in the case of the Afghanistan invasion and the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. Overall, the articles published by *The Review* and *Liberty* magazine do not seem to follow US military operations, with the exception of major invasions.

It is evident that Adventist concern for conscientious objection to military service has stayed relatively steady over the past thirty-seven years, indicating that discussion has not increased or decreased significantly since the move to an All-Volunteer Force. However, it is necessary to examine what relation to military service is discussed in what circumstances in order to examine if there may have been a shift from focusing on one type of conscientious objection to another.

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<sup>125</sup> Paul Boyer, *Boyer's the American Nation* (Austin, TX: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1998), 932.

<sup>126</sup> Laurie Goodstein, "A Nation at War: Missionaries; Groups Critical of Islam Are Now Waiting to Take Aid to Iraq," *The New York Times* (April 04, 2003), <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/04/us/nation-war-missionaries-groups-critical-islam-are-now-waiting-take-aid-iraq.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>. ; Anthony DeBartolo, "Conscientious Objectors in a Volunteer Army," *The Chicago Tribune* (June 10, 2003), [http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2003-06-10/features/0306100054\\_1\\_conscientious-objectors-conscientious-objector-guard-and-reserves](http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2003-06-10/features/0306100054_1_conscientious-objectors-conscientious-objector-guard-and-reserves).

### Article Classification

While patterns can be identified in contentious objection history through the years articles are published, the most important category within this study is Article Classification, as it details what subject Adventists authors were focusing on relating to conscientious objection and military service.

No specific classification was used in the articles a majority of the time. Combined, Conscientious Objection, Noncombatant, and Other were used 80% of the time. More specifically, Noncombatant was used one third of the time (34%), Other was used 27% of the time, and Conscientious Objection was used 20%. The classification Conscientious Objection and Noncombatant was used in 13% of the articles. Both Conscientious Cooperation and the sixth category—Conscientious Objection, Noncombatant, and Conscientious Cooperation—were used under 5% (1.4% and 4.1%, respectively).

The different categories of article classification are spread out over the different types of articles, meaning, for example, that Conscientious Objection could be found in News Articles, Editorials, Analysis Articles, *et.al*. Article Subject is addressed later on. However, the highest number of cross-tabulated articles by subject was News Articles using the Noncombatant classification. News Articles concerning the Other classification was the second highest. The third highest was Noncombatant Editorials/Letters, the fourth highest was Conscientious Objection News Articles, the fifth highest was on Noncombatant, Feature of the SDA Position. Conscientious Objection Analysis/Report, Noncombatant Analysis/Report, Conscientious Objection and Noncombatant News, Other Editorials/Letters, and Other as a Feature of the SDA Position all had between ten

and fourteen articles in them and ranking them sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth in terms of the number of articles. All other classifications had fewer than nine articles.

In addition to associations between article classification and article subject, there are also associations between article classification and state, which is documented in the table below. Seventy percent of the articles either mentioned No State Specified or the United States of America (USA). Of those that mentioned No State Specified, sixteen articles discussed Conscientious Objection, thirty-seven articles discussed Noncombatant, twenty-eight articles discussed Other, and thirteen articles discussed Conscientious Objection and Noncombatant. Within those that mentioned the United States, seventeen articles discussed Conscientious Objection, thirty-seven discussed Noncombatant, thirty-three discussed Other, and fifteen were on Conscientious Objection and Noncombatant.

Table 1. Article Classification and State cross tabulation.

	No State Specified	USA	Spain	USSR/GDR	Greece	Russia	South Korea	Italy
Conscientious Objection	16	17	4	1	3	2	3	0
Conscientious Cooperation	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Noncombatant	37	37	0	1	1	2	1	4
Other	28	33	0	1	2	2	3	1
Conscientious Objection and Noncombatant	13	15	1	3	0	0	1	0
Conscientious Objection, Noncombatant, and Conscientious Cooperation	4	8	0	0	0	0	0	0

Besides No State Specified and the USA, the only other states that had five or more articles that addressed them were Spain, the USSR/GDR, Greece, Russia, South Korea, and Italy. There were different article classifications for the different states. For those articles on Spain, four addressed Conscientious Objection and one was about Conscientious Objection and Noncombatant. For the USSR/GDR, there was one article on Conscientious Objection, Noncombatant, and Other, individually, and three articles on Conscientious Objection and Noncombatant. For Greece, three articles discussed Conscientious Objection, one discussed Noncombatant, and two discussed Other. Concerning Russia, there were two articles for each of the following classifications: Conscientious Objection, Noncombatant, and Other. Three articles discussed both Conscientious Objection and Other, and one discussed Noncombatant for South Korean while, for Italy, four articles discussed Noncombatant and one on Other.

These descriptions indicate which forms of conscientious objection Seventh-day Adventists address and in which parts of the world they occur. For example, within the USA, the most common subject discussed is noncombatancy however in Spain, conscientious objection is more common. This difference could indicate where the state governments are in terms of negotiating religious rights. The USA has had time to refine their religious liberty laws, adjust them and encourage healthy intercourse between its citizens and the courts. However, Spain, especially during the nineteen seventies and eighties, was transitioning to a different form of democratic government, meaning its citizens and lawmakers had not had the time to focus on and refine religious liberty

legislation and enforcement. Today, Spain has no enforced conscription.<sup>127</sup> This difference could also be due to the fact that the USA does not have a strong national presence of a specific religious denomination as Spain does.

In addition, it is interesting that the USSR/GDR and Russia—which were essentially the same state government, with the former encompassing more geographical territory—both have six articles. In total, this makes Eastern Europe the third highest area addressed in these articles, as both categories have six articles. In this case, it would seem that the cases were redistributed after the breakup of the Soviet Union. Both states have articles that address Conscientious Objection, Noncombatant, and Other but the USSR/GDR has three that address Conscientious Objection and Noncombatant. This latter category is not present in articles mentioning Russia but the three categories present for this state have one more article in them, meaning the number of categories decreased but the number of articles stayed constant, overall, in both categories. After the government shift, it would appear as if conscientious objection was still addressed.

The common use of the category Other also provides an interesting indication on how the Adventist Church writes about conscientious objection to military service. *The Review* and *Liberty* magazine may not always cite something as conscientious objection or noncombatancy but they will indicate there is a conflict over military service and allude to what conflict entails. This could be because the situation is not completely clear to the authors or there are different opinions as to what is really happening. It could also be that, as leaders of an official publication of the Seventh-day Adventists Church,

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<sup>127</sup> Emma Daly, "Charitable Army Lost as Spain Ends Conscription," *The Observer*(2000), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2000/nov/12/theobserver2>.

editors carefully choose how to phrase concepts and design articles. For example, discussing “the church’s historical position on military service” allows members familiar with church history to read and understand the implication, but not others. This does one of two things: 1) decreases the amount of conflict the article could instigate because it allows the reader to impose his or her own meaning on the article; or 2) provides that if the article becomes known to a government where conscientious objection is a problem, that government may not be able to quickly identify what that phrase means, causing the Adventist Church and its members in that country to encounter fewer complications in dealing with the governments. In other words, cryptic writing can help these cases of conscientious objection to military service by not using common phrases that could inflame a government’s reaction to a particular situation at hand.

In the relationships between article classification and state, little nuances, such as indications of state government transition, can be determined. This also allows researchers to track what issues are common in what states and identify if there is any situation in which conscientious objection to military service can be hindered or helped.

Moreover, 83% of the articles published by *The Review* and *Liberty* magazine were not direct reactions to prior articles, meaning that it was not clear that the articles were written as a response any other article published in the magazines. Of that percentage, the highest three article classifications addressed were Noncombatant, Other, and Conscientious Objection. However, among the articles that were a direct reaction to previous articles, the most common classification cited was Noncombatant. The second highest, which came in fifteen articles behind the first, was on Other and the third highest was on Conscientious Objection. This indicates that a majority of reactions are



concerned with noncombatancy as opposed to conscientious objection in general. Also, the top three article classifications for both non-reaction and reaction are the same even if the proportionality is not.

In addition to the above relationships, cross tabulations indicated that there was also a relationship between article classification and the religious group addressed in the article. A majority of the articles, 75% to be more exact, mentioned Seventh-day Adventists. Of that 75%, 42% discussed Noncombatant while 26% discussed Other. The classification Conscientious Objection and Noncombatant was addressed in 15% of the articles and 11% were on Conscientious Objection. Both articles on Conscientious Objection, Conscientious Cooperation, and Noncombatant as well as articles on Conscientious Cooperation were 5% of the articles or less.

The second highest religious group classification besides the Seventh-day Adventist religion was No Group Specified/General. Within these articles, 47% discussed Conscientious Objection and 28% were on the classification Other. Also, Conscientious Objection and Noncombatant was 13% of the No Group Specified/General article published and Noncombatant was 11%. Once again, the classifications Conscientious Objection, Conscientious Cooperation, and Noncombatant and Conscientious Cooperation were the least mentioned classifications, with less than 2% of the articles.

Of the other religions mentioned, only two had been mentioned in five or more articles: Jehovah Witness and Jew. Within the articles that mentioned Jehovah Witnesses, 83% discussed Conscientious Objection and 17% discussed Noncombatant. Within the articles that mentioned Jews, 60% addressed Conscientious Objection and

40% addressed the Other classification. These numbers suggest that, once again, Adventists are more concerned with noncombatancy as opposed to other religions commonly addressed in the articles. Despite this, these Adventist publications still report on conscientious objection in general, but in this case in other religions. Thus, while the church may focus in on noncombatancy in specific, it still does remain aware of general conscientious objection conflicts and viewpoints of other faiths.

While *The Adventist Review* published more articles overall, the breakdown of the types of articles each magazine was different. The highest number of articles *The Review* published addressed the classification Noncombatant (41%). The second highest classification was Other (28%). Articles on Conscientious Objection, and Conscientious Objection and Noncombatant both came in third with 12% of the articles published by *The Review*. The classification Conscientious Objection, Conscientious Cooperation, and Noncombatant—as well as the classification Conscientious Cooperation—were both under 5% of the articles published.

*Liberty* magazine, on the other hand, published more articles discussing Conscientious Objection (47%). The second highest number of articles it published addressed the Other category (24%). The classification Conscientious Objection and Noncombatant constituted 18% of the articles published, while Noncombatant comprised 10%. The two classifications Conscientious Cooperation and Conscientious Objection, Conscientious Cooperation, and Noncombatant were less than 1% of the articles published in *Liberty*. The article classifications frequency for the magazines is graphed below.

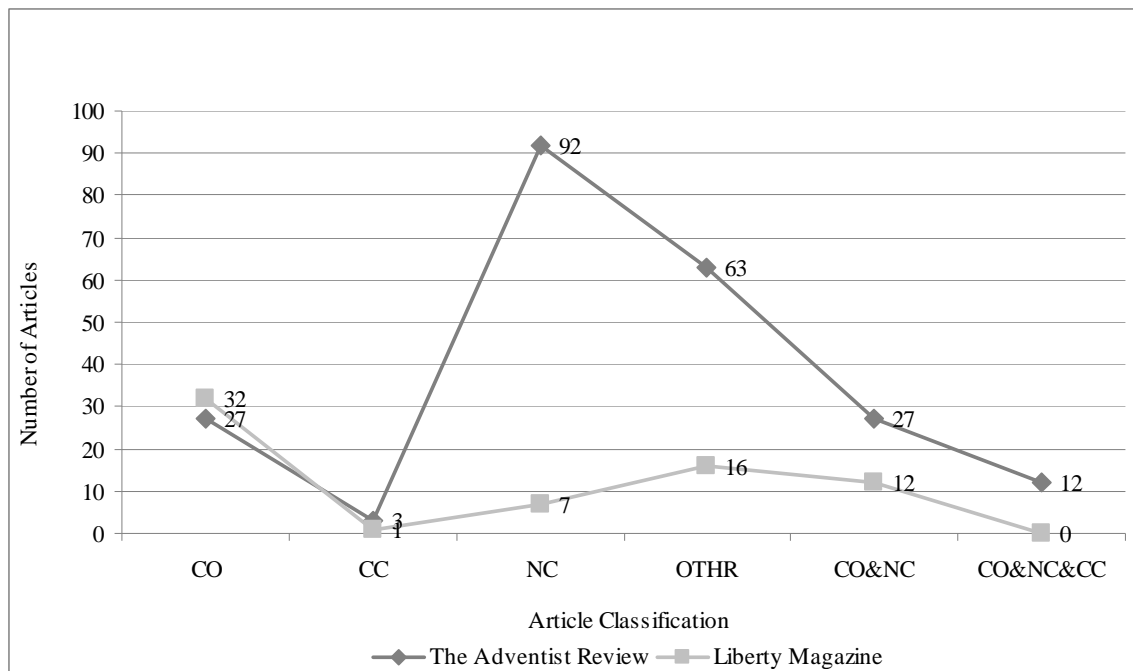


Figure 2. Article Classification frequency for *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine.

When comparing the two magazines, the data suggest that *The Review* focuses in on noncombatancy while *Liberty* magazine examines conscientious objection in a general sense rather than honing in on specific types of conscientious objection. In addition, it is interesting to note that, although the primary, secondary, and tertiary classifications differ in each magazine, the ratios remain the similar. In other words, *The Review* and *Liberty* magazine have different classifications as the highest number mentioned but how many times the magazine addresses the highest classification is between forty and fifty percent. In addition, each magazine's second most mentioned classification is between twenty and thirty percent. Thus, though each magazine focuses on a different classification most of the time, they are balancing the coverage of the other classifications as well. It could also

mean that *The Review* and *Liberty* are working closely on article information, although the data suggests that the articles from the two magazines do not overlap.

However, the audience of the two periodicals can account for some differences. The primary audiences of *Liberty* magazine are the legal professionals and the judicial community.<sup>128</sup> In contrast, *The Adventist Review's* audience is a very general one, drawn from the entire church membership. Because *Liberty* magazine has a specific focus on lawyers and judges, it appears to focus its articles on conscientious objection, which is a more of a legal term, recognized in the Selective Service System.

It is interesting to note that articles on conscientious cooperation are very rare in both magazines, despite the fact that the Adventist Church appeared to appreciate this phrasing better than conscientious objection. Rather than using conscientious cooperation, the article authors seemed to prefer to use noncombatant, which is more of a neutral term, implying neither resistance nor cooperation to the government.

The article classification indicates that noncombatancy is the greatest concern to Adventists in the United States. However, other issues, such as conscientious objectors in Spain or Jewish conscientious objectors, are also something on which Seventh-day Adventists focus. Overall, the Other classification and Noncombatant classification are the largest categories cited in the articles collected from *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine, whether they were explicitly stated or implied. A majority of these categories were cited along with the USA or No Group Specified/General, suggesting that the articles either discussed these concepts in general or focused on instances within

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<sup>128</sup> "Speakers: Lincoln Steed."

the USA. The articles also focused on Adventists or no specific religions, once again indicating that the magazines may be discussing conscientious objection to military service in general terms or how it specifically relates to Adventists. Despite this, other states and other religions are mentioned within the articles.

### Article Subject

From 1973 to 1983, News Articles were either the highest number of articles published or tied with another category for the highest number of articles published for all but one year (1975). About the mid-1980s, other article types surpassed News Articles in number of articles published (the highest article type published changed from year to year). However, beginning in 2001, News Articles once again became the highest number or tied for highest number of articles published. This suggests that within two periods—the 1970s to the early 1980s and then the 2000s—there were more situations involving conscientious objection to military service than in the late 1980s and all of the 1990s. These two spikes encompass but do not match perfectly the two spikes in the number of articles per year, which were 1983 and 2003. During these latter time periods, the magazines focused on conscientious objection to military service in other ways, such as in analysis articles or articles that simply stated where to go for more information military service.

In addition to year, the state mentioned the most in the different articles subject classifications was the United States. Within those that mentioned the US, 32% were News Articles. Analysis/Report, Editorial/Letters, Feature of SDA Position, History, and Personal Experience were, individually, between 10% and 20% of the articles. Articles

that were Information on SDA Position and Chaplains/Chaplaincy were both lower than 5% of the articles published. After the US, No State Specified was the second highest state classification. Within these articles, 30% were Editorials/Letters; 26% were Feature of SDA Position; 12% were Analysis/Report; 11% were News Articles; 10% were History; 8% were Informational on SDA Position; 3% were on Personal Experience; and 1% was on Chaplains/Chaplaincy.

Besides the US and No State Specified there were six states that the articles mentioned with more frequency than the others: Spain, USSR/GDR, Greece, Russia, South Korea, and Italy. All of the five articles that mentioned Spain were News Articles. For the six articles on the USSR/GDR, 67% were Analysis/Report and 33% were News Articles. Reversing the pattern of the USSR/GDR, the six articles on Greece were 83% News Articles and 17% Analysis/Report. Eighty-three percent of the six articles on Russia were News Articles, while 33% were Analysis/Report and 17% were Editorials/Letters. For the eight articles on South Korea, 75% were News reports, 13% were History, and 13% were Feature of SDA Position. Once again, a majority of the five articles that mentioned Italy were News Articles (60%) and 40% were Information on SDA Position.

The magazines seem to primarily be reporting on different happenings around the world in reference to conscientious objection to military service, keeping those who read both magazines aware of the events surrounding this subject. However, they also appear to be analyzing the possible ramifications of these different developments. Occasionally readers would write in about certain states or the magazine would explain pertinent historical information, but the underlying pattern is still report and then occasionally

analyze. Moreover, the most common type of article for No State Specified is Editorials/Letters, meaning the magazines readers are either discussing the US and assume others will do the same so they do not explicitly mention the US or they are distancing themselves from any specific state in order to address Christianity and conscientious objection to military service, internationally and historically, as a whole.

As the different states mentioned can give an overview of conscientious objection thought in Adventism, so too can the different articles published by the different magazines. *The Review* published over ten articles in each article subject heading except Chaplains/Chaplaincy, in which it did not publish in any articles. However, the top three article subject classifications *The Review* published was News Articles (38% of the articles), Feature of SDA Position (18% of the articles), and Editorials/Letters (17% of the articles).

*Liberty* magazine, on the other hand, did not publish as many articles as did *The Review*. Seventy-one percent of its articles were Analysis/Reports (32% of the total *Liberty* articles), News Articles (22% of the total *Liberty* articles), or Editorials/Letters (16% of the total *Liberty* articles).

This pattern fits the different purposes for each magazine. *The Adventist Review* is a weekly magazine that is similar to a weekly update, primarily informing US Adventists on the different events that have occurred or will occur. Its second purpose is to nurture the lives, spiritual and otherwise, of its readers and its third purpose it to feature articles on theology or controversial topics, serving as discussion board for readers. *Liberty* magazine's primary purpose, though, is to report solely on issues regarding religious liberty—of which military service is a prominent topic—and to

analyze these developments and allow readers to discuss these events through letters to the editor. Because *Liberty* magazine's audience is the legal and judicial communities, it does not concern itself as much with connecting noncombatancy to Adventism. Instead, it prefers to look at all conscientious objection to military service in general, with respect to laws and processes.

Moreover, the different types of article subjects address, at times, different religions. Both magazines published at least thirteen articles in all categories except Chaplains/Chaplaincy that address the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Within those that addressed Adventists, the highest three were News Articles (34% of the articles), Editorials/Letters (19% of the articles), and Feature of SDA Position (19% of the articles).

The second highest religious group mentioned in the article subject classification was No Group Specified/General. For these articles, 34% are Analysis/Report, 30% are News Articles, and 15% are Editorials/Letters. The third and fourth most mentioned religious groups were Jehovah's Witness and Jews, respectively. For the articles that address Jehovah Witnesses, 67% are News Articles, and History and Analysis/Report both tied at 17%. Within those that address Jews, 60% are News Articles and 40% are Analysis/Report.

This indicates that the two magazines do discuss religious conscientious objection to military service as a whole, not necessarily indicating Adventist or otherwise in the discussion. It is unclear whether this is because they assume, but do not explicitly state, it is Adventist, or because they really are discussing religious belief as a whole. However, *The Review* and *Liberty* magazine did not publish virtually any letters or



editorials on other religions—there was one Editorial/Letter on Quakers—besides Adventism or No Group Specified/General, meaning ongoing discussion on conscientious objection to military service is essentially limited to these two areas.

Overall, these numbers suggest that a majority of the time the Adventist Church, through these two magazines, is not directly engaging in the discussion on conscientious objection to military service. Though it has not disregarded this discussion, the church is simply reporting on any new events, occasionally analyzing them, and giving what it deems as the pertinent information to members and readers. However, different parameters affect this blueprint. For example, the state in which an event is occurring can affect how the church and magazines relate to it. All of the articles relating to Spain were News Articles yet a majority of those dealing with the USSR/GDR were Analysis/Report, designating that the church may have been more concerned with what conscientious objection to military service, or even religious liberty, means in the USSR/GDR than what it means in Spain. In addition, the presence of Editorials/Letters does indicate that some discussion is taking place on conscientious objection but the numbers indicate it is not a substantial discussion and is limited to Adventists or religion in general. The discussion is not growing past the occasional article and letters written in reaction to that article. Despite this, the Adventist Church has not disregarded conscientious objection, maintaining interest in it across state and religious borders.

State

In addition to article classification and article subject, the state an article mentioned gives insight into the Adventist Church's discussion on conscientious objection to military service. Thirty-one of the states cited in the articles were used mentioned only once, making them used under 1% of the time. The state most mentioned was the USA (38%). No State Specified occurred in 35% of the articles. South Korea was used 12% of the time. Spain, the USSR/GDR, Greece, Russia, and Italy were used 2% of the time. France, Brazil, the United Kingdom, Israel, New Zealand, and the Philippines were used 1% of the time.

*The Review* published a majority of the articles that cited the US or No State Specified (73% and 83% respectively). It also published 60% of the articles on Spain and 100% of the articles on both South Korea on Italy. However, *Liberty* magazine published 67% of the articles on the USSR/GDR and Greece. Both *The Review* and *Liberty* published the same percentage of articles on Russia.

Besides the states already mentioned, *Liberty* magazine only addressed five other states: Canada, Israel, Sweden, the first century Roman government, and West Germany. *The Review* addressed the other twenty-nine states. There is no overlap on any state other than the eight mentioned in the first paragraph. This indicated, as mentioned before, that *The Review* is reporting more generally on conscientious objection and *Liberty* magazine appears to be focusing on states that have a continued conflict over conscientious objection, such as the USSR/GDR.

Moreover, the religions mentioned the most in the most commonly cited states were Adventist. Within the No State Specified classification, 79% address SDAs and 17% addresses No Group Specified/General. For articles that address the US, 79% are on

SDAs and 14% are on No Group Specified/General. All of the articles that mention South Korea and Italy are on Seventh-day Adventists. In articles that address Russia, 50% are on Adventists. However, Spain and the USSR/GDR have No Group Specified/General as the highest religious classification (80% and 50% respectively).

Overall, this information shows that *The Review* and *Liberty* magazine mainly focus on Adventists in the United States. Nevertheless, both magazines do focus on other states, indicating that Adventists in the USA are still keeping connected with international conscientious objection issues.

### Religious Group

This final section addresses the occurrences of other religious groups within the published articles. The Seventh-day Adventist denomination was the religious group discussed in 75% of the time in the articles cited for this study, as demonstrated in the graph below.

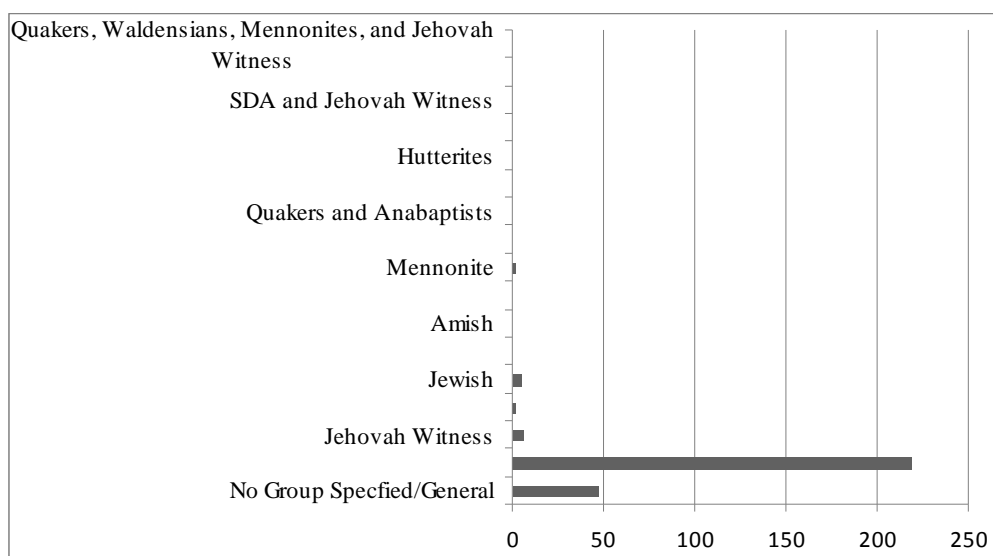


Figure 3. Religious Group frequency.

No Group Specified/General was stipulated 16% of the time. The other two most common religions cited were Jehovah's Witness, and Jews (both 2%). The other religions were cited less than 1% of the time.

In addition, 77% of the articles on Adventists address either No State Specified or the US. Out of the forty-two states included on the Code Key (see Appendix A), there are articles on Adventists for all states but nine. For the articles that mention Jehovah's Witness, 67% mention Greece and 60% of the articles on Jews mention Israel.

Moreover, from 1973 to 2010, the religious groups addressed the most are Seventh-day Adventists and No Group Specified/General. The highest number of articles per year for No Group Specified/General is six, and this appears both in 1973 and 1974 at the very beginning of the post-Vietnam era. After this, the numbers for No Group Specified/General stays consistent but low, with a lull appearing in the mid-1990s. However, the number picks up again in the early 2000s.

Articles addressing Seventh-day Adventists are also present in every year. The number of articles per year tends to stay above five articles per year, except for in the mid-1990s to early 2000s. However, this number rises in the early 2000s.

In addition to these two religious groups, Jehovah's Witnesses and Jews are the third and fourth most mentioned religious groups. All of the articles that mention Jehovah's Witnesses occur from 1973 to 1979. However, only 80% of the articles addressing Jews appear in that time period. One article addressing Jews appears in 1992. Only ten other years have articles that address non-Adventists and five of those years mention more than one non-Adventist, religious group (1975, 1978, 1979, 1985, and 1998). This indicates that a majority of issues concerning conscientious objection to

military service occurred right after the end of the Vietnam War and the shift to an US All-Volunteer Force. For both these religions and No Group Specified/General, the late nineteen-seventies was when the highest number of articles per year were published, indicating that this conscientious objection received more attention during the seventies.

Continuing on, although *The Review* published 77% of the articles, 99% of *The Review*'s articles are on Seventh-day Adventists. Only three of *Review* articles address non-SDAs. However, only 66% (45 articles) of *Liberty* magazine's articles address Adventists, meaning 34% (23 articles) address other religions. Thus, while *The Review* publishes more articles, *Liberty* magazine focuses more on other religions and military service than does *The Review*.

The mid to late nineteen seventies were the years of highest publication for three out of the four most cited religions, although No Group Specified/General and Adventism were consistent over the entire period studied. It is also apparent that *Liberty* magazine focused more on non-Adventists than did *The Review*. The two magazines each focus on a slightly different area and thus providing wider coverage of events within conscientious objection.

It is different perspectives and angles, such as the one the different magazines give, which makes it possible to track Adventist thought on conscientious objection to military service over the past thirty-seven years. Each variable, and sub-category of the variable, indicates different aspects of this discourse. For example, even though these magazines are not writing many articles on conscientious objection, they are not ignoring it altogether. Instead, they are addressing it in a separate way that informs, and sometimes analyzes, and is a small discussion board for conscientious objection.

### Conclusion

It is evident through the articles published in *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine that the Seventh-day Adventist Church has not disregarded conscientious objection to military service since the US All-Volunteer Force was established in 1973. Coverage of conscientious objection tended to peak in years where the United States invaded other countries, although not every invasion produced an increase in discussion.

As would be expected from an Adventist publication from the United States, a majority of the articles mentioned both Adventists and the US, however other states and other religions were covered as well, but not in as high percentages. The prominent role these magazines took in the discourse on conscience objection to military service is to report on any cases of conflict or changes in its status among leaders or members. Occasionally, the magazines would analyze the events, with *Liberty* magazine analyzing more than *The Review*, but the overall purpose was to inform readers of these news events. The magazines are also an avenue for church leadership to inform members of their rights and options in the new military system. In other words, with no draft in place and military membership strictly voluntary, the magazines outline what current church policies are and who individuals should contact if they have any questions on military service. In this pattern of reporting, informing, and sometimes analyzing, the magazines serve as a discussion board, allowing readers to carry on the discussion through letters to the editor.

A majority of the articles examined noncombatancy, conscientious objection, or other terms used to refer to these two concepts. In a good portion of articles covering different article subjects, the other terms were used more than conscientious objection

was, meaning that the dialogue on this subject may have shifted from clearly defined subjects such as noncombatancy and conscientious objection to more opaque concepts that represent these ideas but do not state them outright. On the whole, however, there is discourse on conscientious objection to military service, even if it is not large or growing.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION

Although many of the associations between the data in cross tabulations have already been clarified in the Findings section, additional analysis is necessary.

Throughout the analysis of the data, four discussion points surfaced: 1) the apparent discrepancy in the choice of states the magazines cited; 2) the role of these magazines in supporting what John H. Yoder calls the Pacifism of Cultic Law;<sup>129</sup> 3) the meaning of the Other article classification on the Adventist discourse on conscientious objection; and 4) the position church leadership has in the discussions.

#### Geographic Coverage Discrepancy

*The Review* and *Liberty* magazine focused the most on the USA or European states and other states established or maintained by these two areas. For example, out of the thirteen most commonly mentioned states, ten were either a part of Europe or connected to the USA or Europe.<sup>130</sup> In addition, seven of the thirteen underwent significant constitutional

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<sup>129</sup> Yoder, *Nevertheless: The Varieties and Shortcomings of Religious Pacifism*, 95-97.

<sup>130</sup> Note: The No State Specified classification was not included in this count because it is not a state.



changes in the nineteen seventies, eighties, and nineties.<sup>131</sup> This suggests that the magazines' authors and editors kept an eye on changing or newly forming democracies in Europe. They states may have found themselves in a similar situation that the US did from the nineteen forties to the nineteen sixties, at least where conscientious objection was concerned. These are forging ideas on what constitutes conscientious objection, such as the US did in the US Supreme Court case *United States v. Welsh*, and grappling with concepts such as religious, secular, selective, noncombatant, and alternative conscientious objection.<sup>132</sup>

This could explain why there are very few articles on African or former Soviet Union states. In the early 1990s, when many of these states would have been forming their own constitutions, they were not yet focusing on conscientious objection but on their constitution and country as a whole. The nuances in the legal language on conscientious objection had yet to surface and be addressed. In the years since their independence, these newly formed states may have not been able to address conscientious objection, whether because it is an unusual concept in their culture or because the international atmosphere since 1990 has been dominated by wars, genocides, and nuclear arms, to name a few things.

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<sup>131</sup> "Government," Background Note: Spain, Office of Electronic Information, Bureau of Public Affairs, US State Department, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2878.htm>; "Government," Background Note: Greece, Office of Electronic Information, Bureau of Public Affairs, US State Department, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3395.htm>; "Government," Background Note: Russia, Office of Electronic Information, Bureau of Public Affairs, US State Department, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3183.htm>; "Government," Background Note: South Korea, Office of Electronic Information, Bureau of Public Affairs, US State Department, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2800.htm>; "Government," Background Note: Brazil, Office of Electronic Information, Bureau of Public Affairs, US State Department, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35640.htm>; "Government," Background Note: Philippines, Office of Electronic Information, Bureau of Public Affairs, US State Department, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2794.htm>.

<sup>132</sup> Moskos, *The Secularization of Conscience*, 5.

It is difficult to identify why *The Review* and *Liberty* magazine included certain states and not others. However, if the states they included are following the pattern of the United States, questions concerning conscientious objection laws or religious liberty laws can take time to develop and are usually addressed only in times of conflict or conscription. Though there has been a fair amount of conflict since the end of the 1990s, not all states have had to address war or conscription and as of yet have yet to develop their laws on conscientious objection.

#### Pacifism of the Cultic Law

In the literature review, John H. Yoder described the Seventh-day Adventist Church as adhering to pacifism that supports what the law says without any regard for the meaning or interpretation behind the law. The main way the church does this is by supporting noncombatancy. This seems to be true given that noncombatancy is the most common article classification discussed in this study. Further, noncombatancy is the highest article classification cited in the United States. The two states in which the articles address only Adventists were Italy and South Korea; the former addressed noncombatant more than conscientious objection but the latter, conscientious objection more than noncombatant. Sixty- seven percent of articles on the USSR/GDR address conscientious objection and half of the USSR/GDR mention Adventists. Though these states are two of the many non-US states mentioned, it does suggest that noncombatancy may be more cemented in Adventist living in the United States where as conscientious objection may still be an issue for Adventists in other countries.

In addition, conversation with church leaders reveals that there is a call to reexamine the official church position on conscientious objection to military service, as the official position does not, as Yoder states, seem to truly capture the Biblical meaning. The director of Adventist Chaplaincy Ministries has recommended that the Biblical Research Institute (BRI), which “promotes the study and practice of Adventist theology and lifestyle as understood by the world church,” to revisit the subject of military participation and approach it as objectively as possible.<sup>133</sup> Barry Bussey, former Associate Director for the GC Public Affairs and Religious Liberty Department, observes that smaller discussions concerning conscientious objection to military service and religious freedom can cause the church to make wrong decisions.<sup>134</sup> According to Bussey, the church needs to have more symposiums and opportunities to discuss these issues and analyze where the denomination is as a church, where they have been, and where they want to go.<sup>135</sup> Thus, while Yoder’s classification of Adventist noncombatancy may be true to real life, it may not universally apply to all Adventists and may soon change.

### Rise of the *Other* Category

While there is no prominent type of article in either magazine, news articles on noncombatancy in the United States are a majority of what *The Review* and *Liberty* magazine published. However, the second most common type of article fell into the

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<sup>133</sup> Biblical Research Institute, "About Us," [http://biblicalresearch.gc.adventist.org/aboutus.htm#purpose](http://biblicalresearch.gc.adventist.org/aboutus.htm#purpose;).; "Interview with Gary Councill," Adventist Chaplaincy Ministries (Silver Spring, MD: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist, 2011), 6.

<sup>134</sup> "Interview with Barry Bussey," Public Affairs and Religious Liberty (Silver Spring, MD: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2011), 2-3.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 2-3.

Other article classification. This indicates that much of what the magazines have published within the past thirty-seven years regarding Adventist conscientious objection to military service is vague or ambiguous as it clearly does not fit into either conscientious objection or noncombatancy. Yet, this might not be due to the church being vague or ambiguous. Since the implementation of the All-Volunteer Force, the primary practical way to relate to military service as a conscientious objector is to not join the military.

Although an individual could join the military as a noncombatant there is only one noncombatant position: chaplain.<sup>136</sup> While there may be positions that may not directly involve day-to-day patrol, such as a cook or a medical corpsmen, every individual must be trained as a combatant.<sup>137</sup> This includes the traditional SDA noncombatant positions in the medical corps.<sup>138</sup> Nevertheless, the option to become a military chaplain is not always available or plausible. The competition to be a chaplain is very rigorous and financial debt is a key determinant in evaluating chaplain applicants.<sup>139</sup> The church must approve a candidate in order for that individual to claim that he or she is an SDA military chaplain.<sup>140</sup> Individuals with a significant amount of debt, even if it is from student loans, are considered a security risk, vulnerable to financial blackmail, and must be turned down by the church.<sup>141</sup> These circumstances, in essence, make it almost impossible for a Seventh-day Adventist to voluntarily enlist as a noncombatant in today's

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<sup>136</sup> McLaughlin, *Conscientious Objection, Non-Combatancy, and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church's Position from 1954 until Today*, 80-81.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> "Interview with Gary Councell," 14.

<sup>140</sup> "About Acm: Purpose," <http://www.adventistchaplains.org/article.php?id=95>.

<sup>141</sup> "Interview with Gary Councell," 14.

military. Thus, while the church advocates a noncombatant position, those options do not practically exist in an All-Volunteer Force. An individual expressing her or his conscientious objection, then, has two options: join the military and serve as ordered with very limited noncombatancy opportunities or do not join the military.<sup>142</sup> While this is a type of conscientious objection, it does not fit the Adventist paradigm of conscientiously serving their country.

The only caveat is that an individual can enlist in the Army as an IAO, which is a noncombatant.<sup>143</sup> In other words they can enlist as a noncombatant but only if the individual receives “prior wavers from the Deputy Chief of Staff of Personnel, which is a three star general in the Pentagon.”<sup>144</sup> Many individuals, including Army recruiters, may not be aware of this.<sup>145</sup> However, this option is only available in the Army; the Air Force, Navy and Marines do not allow this. Also, if an individual enlists as an IAO, they cannot re-enlist and the maximum time they can serve is three years.<sup>146</sup>

Thus, it is difficult to be a noncombatant in the All-Volunteer Force. It is almost as if, since the demise of conscription, choosing noncombatant military service is no longer an option. The high number of Other articles reflect the reality of this situation. The Adventist Church has not necessarily withdrawn from its previous position but has had to change how it talks about military service. Thus, ideas such as conscientious objection and noncombatancy are no longer found like they may have been before

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<sup>142</sup> "Reality: A Primer for Adventists Considering Military Service and Those Currently Serving," (USA: Adventist Chaplaincy Ministries and the National Service Organization of Seventh-day Adventists, 2009), Todd McFarland.

<sup>143</sup> "Interview with Gary Councill," 10.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

because they are less relevant in the face of voluntary military enlistment so and other phrases and less well-defined ideas are discussed.

#### Discussion Initiated Largely by Church Leadership

Another indication that the Adventist Church has not completely disregarded conscientious objection is that over seventy-five percent of the articles included in this study were not a reaction to a previous article. They were original articles that the writers individually chose to construct and the editors decided to publish, giving them almost full control of these official church publications and their content. This means that editors were exercising leadership by initiating a good portion of the discussion on conscientious objection and military service. While it is not a large segment of the entire articles published—point three percent—magazine leadership was still key in choosing what to publish. If church leaders truly did not care about conscientious objection, they would not commit their time reporting and analyzing it. Moreover, more studies would be needed in order to adequately prove that 293 of 105,000 articles is not an insignificant portion of the articles these two magazines on one subject.

Moreover, this study indicates that other states as well as other religions are more concerned, on the whole, with conscientious objection than are Adventists in the USA. Yet the fact that Adventist publications in the US report on these other instances denote that the denomination is, at the very least, watching other religions and states in their dealings with conscientious objection. Though more focused on what is important to the SDA denomination, the church is not completely ignoring other circumstances and events.

### Conclusion

There has been a change in how the Seventh-day Adventist church discusses conscientious objection to military service. It has shifted from talking about noncombatancy and conscientious objection to examining and conversing over ideas that are based on these two concepts but may appear vague, as is the relationship between an Adventist and the US military. Leadership is significant in this conversation, as they are composing news articles and accepting manuscripts for publication in *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine that discuss these vague and specific concepts relating to military service. The basic discussion pattern is that a church leader initiates the conversation and church members, through the magazines, respond with their ideas, experiences, and research.

As the debate on the role of religion in the military grows and changes in response to the new situations other states encounter, how Adventists approach and discuss conscientious objection and noncombatancy is expected to shift too. Already church leaders have called for such a move. *The Adventists Review* and *Liberty* magazine will perform a crucial part in this conversation by tracking new issues on conscientious objection and providing a space for Adventists and leaders to discuss these new developments, as they have done in the past.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

Conscientious objection has undergone many changes within the past century. As the operationalization of pacifism, it can take many different forms and mean many different things to people, just as pacifism itself does. Within the United States of America, conscientious objection has been legally defined as an objection based on “reason of religious training and belief [that] is consciously opposed to participation in war in any form.”<sup>147</sup> In the wake of two Supreme Court cases—*United States v. Seeger* and *United States v. Welsh*—the meaning of Supreme Being has been expanded to mean “all those whose consciences, spurred by deeply held moral, ethical, or religious beliefs, would give them no rest or peace if they allowed themselves to become a part of an instrument of war.”<sup>148</sup> With these court decisions, what constitutes conscientious objection was transformed as well.

While this transformation applies to all Americans, it poses a more significant change for religions that have had a long history of pacifism as a core denominational tenet and claimed conscientious objector status prior to these changes. Although conscientious objection is not a static concept, these changes have raised more questions about how a denomination relates to conscientious objection. Moreover, the U.S.

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<sup>147</sup> Field, "Problems of Proof in Conscientious Objector Cases," 889.

<sup>148</sup> Sturm, "Constitutionalism and Conscientiousness: The Dignity of Objection to Military Service," 269.



government's policy shift in 1973 to stop using a lottery-based conscription process to augment volunteers to achieve desired manpower levels and instead become an All-Volunteer Force added another complicated layer to this debate, restricting conscientious objection to not joining the military. The Seventh-day Adventist Church, which from its origins in the mid-1840s and its initial foray into pacifism during the Civil War, has chosen the option of conscientious objector status, is one of the denominations that has had to deal with these latest developments.

This study has examined the Adventist discourse on conscientious objection in two significant Adventist publications, *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine, from 1973 to 2010. Within this time period, 292 out of about 105,000 articles—roughly 0.3%—discussed conscientious objection consistently across the thirty-seven year period, with only two significant spikes in 1983 and 2003 in the number of articles from year to year. These articles covered different aspects of conscientious objection—such as noncombatancy, conscientious objection itself, and words and phrases that implied conscientious objection—and were spread out over many different types of articles, including news articles, letters to the editor, analysis articles, and historical articles. In addition these 292 articles mentioned 42 different states and other religions beside Seventh-day Adventism.

A majority of the articles were news articles on Adventist noncombatancy. The dialogue followed a predictable pattern—editors of the publications would either choose to publish a manuscript submitted on conscientious objection or write one of their own, and then magazine readers would respond to it with letters to the editor. Despite this conversational appearance, a majority of the articles were not responses to prior articles.

Thus, what dialogue occurred was limited to immediate reactions—pro and con—to what were essentially news bulletins. This created many short and unconnected threads of dialogue, rather than long, on-going, connected dialogues.

While a majority of articles simply reported news events from around the world, some did analyze conscientious objection to military service, both within the Adventist Church as well as in other denominations. The United States was the most mentioned state, but many articles did not address a specific state, making the No State Specified/General classification common as well. The articles also mentioned other states such as Spain, Russia, Italy and South Korea. The main religion cited was the Seventh-day Adventist Church, although other religions such as Judaism and Jehovah Witnesses were mentioned as well.

The overall results of this study indicate that Adventist conversation about conscientious objection, as represented in *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine, has stayed low but consistent over the past thirty-seven years. However, the subjects discussed have shifted. The Other classification is a significant portion of the articles, indicating that the church is discussing conscientious objection but perhaps not using those exact words. In addition, a majority of the conversation was top-down, meaning leadership was initiating it. Church leaders were helping to feed the dialogue and members were positively responding to that. But while eight or so articles and news bulletins a year between both magazines kept the issue before their audiences, this continued attention with the top-down leadership did not appear to provide the in-depth public discourse needed to revisit or revise the denominational position.

However, this dialogue open may help Adventists respond to another conscription era, should one occur. If there is a need to draft young men again into the US military, the Adventist Church would be prepared—as it was during World War II, Korea, and Vietnam—to instruct young church members on their rights and options concerning military service, and through *Liberty* magazine to keep Adventist and non-Adventist lawyers, judges, and elected officials informed about legal and policy developments. A stronger and more pro-active stance on conscientious objection by the Seventh-day Adventist church would also assist others claiming conscientious objection by keeping the issue alive in legal settings and constantly in development. However, given today's global membership of the Adventist church and the internet, this ongoing discussion can affect other countries and faith communities as well. It can also affect conflict zones where the church is working or present. Further, by keeping this issue alive in the minds of readers, the periodicals can also influence Adventists and others to be more active in religious liberty in areas such as constitution construction.

### Influence over Conflict

As a missionary-minded and education-focused church, Seventh-day Adventists may be able to help reduce the number and effects of violent conflict internationally. Currently the Adventist Church—along with most Christian churches—is intent on evangelizing the “10/40 Window”, which includes Northern Africa, Western Africa, Eastern Africa, the Middle East, and all of Asia.<sup>149</sup> These areas are where a majority of current conflicts either are taking place or have taken place the past two decades. In

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<sup>149</sup> "What Is the 10/40 Window?," [http://1040window.org/what\\_is.htm](http://1040window.org/what_is.htm).

addition, the church has “7,804 schools, colleges and universities” throughout the world, ranging from pre-school to post-graduate.<sup>150</sup> These two characteristics, working together, create denominational capacity to influence peace and human rights wherever the Adventist church is present.

Ongoing discussion on Adventist conscientious objection can impact this influence. If the discussion wanes, Adventists may begin to place less importance on following the dictates of their consciences in searching for ways to live within or work with a state government. If the conversation increases, a greater emphasis may be placed on this and Adventists will not be compliant in any situation that they cannot conscientiously agree with, such as war or genocide.

What the Seventh-day Adventist church stands for, in terms of peace-making and conscientious objection seems muddled in recent years.<sup>151</sup> As pointed out in the Literature Review, some scholars state the church is a traditional peace church, but has strayed away from these roots by embracing noncombatant conscientious objection. Others hold that the church quickly embraced conscientious objection without member or leader consensus and that there is no Biblical or traditional evidence to support that participation in the military is wrong. If the conversation between the two sides leads the church, or at least a majority of its leaders and members, to embrace the pacifistic interpretation of Adventists and military service, the world church would become, over time, more pacifistic. Through the highly evolved and intricate Adventist education system, these ideas would be disseminated to the larger member population—especially

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<sup>150</sup> "About Us: The General Conference Education Team," Department of Education of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, <http://education.gc.adventist.org/about.html>.

<sup>151</sup> Lawson, "Onward Christian Soldiers? Seventh-Day Adventist and the Issue of Military Service," 208.

to young people as they approach the age of military service. After one or two generations, these ideas would be more cemented in the international church mindset. In conflict situations—whether before, during, or after—Adventists would be able to provide a counter-active influence to the violent atmosphere.

### Constructing Constitutions

A continuing conversation on conscientious objection can also strengthen how the Adventist Church works for religious liberty, both in democratic and non-democratic state settings. Within democratic states, a constitution is usually the foundation for the rights of citizens and limitations of government powers. Constitutions form the backbone of the justice system, guiding relationships between citizens and the government. Within the past twenty years, many state constitutions have been amended and new democratic countries have formed, each needing a new constitution to govern the state. Thus, constitution construction is a dynamic field. In these situations, governments, both individually and collectively at the regional or global levels, and non-governmental organizations can work together to compose a constitution that is both strong and cemented in liberty. This can ensure that citizens have adequate liberties, the option to practice these liberties, and the ability to non-violently challenge any imposition to their rights or their abilities to practice them.

These liberties can vary from the right to practice one's religion to the right to adequate economic compensation for services one provides. Given the large gamut of liberties that constitution constructors need to address, non-governmental organizations that specialize in these different areas can aid this process by bringing their knowledge,

experience, and expertise to the state leaders. Here is another venue where the Seventh-day Adventist Church could provide valuable assistance on conscientious objection in particular and religious liberty more generally.

As a church that has a long history with conscientious objection, and a global presence within democratic states as well as those with other governance frameworks, Adventist representatives would be able to give state leaders different perspectives on how to establish and preserve religious liberty, and conscientious objection. It would also be able to work with other denominations with similar interests to bring greater influence to bear to guarantee a more persuasive voice for these values to budding democratic states. Through this process of advocating religious liberty, working with other denominations, and assisting constitution writers, the church would be able to help reduce the number of potentially violent conflicts by helping to establish important liberties before the outbreak of violence. Interdenominational cooperation would also help to serve as a template for cooperation after violent conflict.

### Conclusion

Though just one participant in the international peace process, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has the resources and potential to be a beneficial contributor. However, internal church discussion that guides church policy and behavior is necessary to promote further effectiveness. Conscientious objection is one of these discussions that could be strengthened, and in turn, expand the church's leadership influence. To do so requires the church to reexamine their history and theology, as well as the world around them in order to create a stance that will assist global church members in military service

questions. This in turn affects ordinary citizens Adventists live with as well as governments in which they interact.

The steady conversation concerning conscientious objection present in both *The Adventist Review* and *Liberty* magazine indicates that the Seventh-day Adventist Church has not forgotten the issue and is trying to address it in the new atmosphere that the All-Volunteer Military created. But because this atmosphere is more abstruse, so is the Adventist conversation. Although the current dialogue in these two magazines is somewhat hazy and limited, keeping dialogue on conscientious objection alive is important. These two church magazines are endeavoring to do this, helping to strengthen the voice of conscientious objectors in the United States and world-wide.

## APPENDIX A

### ARTICLE CODE KEY

#### Article Classification:

0. No classification—the article could not fit one of the following five classifications.
1. Conscientious objection (CO)—the article uses the terms or phrases: conscientious objection or avoiding military service.
2. Conscientious cooperation (CC)—the article uses the specific phrase “conscientious cooperation.”
3. Noncombatant (NC)—the article uses the terms or phrases: noncombatant, alternate civilian service, bearing arms, 1-A-O, in combat but not fighting or combat.
4. Other—the article uses the terms or phrases: the draft, military conscription, all-volunteer army, military exemptions, church’s historic position on military service, or pacifism. The key is that it refers to military service but there is no indication as to whether or not the subject is CO, CC, or NC.
5. Conscientious objection and noncombatant—the article has a combination of #1 classification and #3 classifications.
6. Conscientious objection, noncombatant, and conscientious cooperation—the article has a combination of #1, #2, and #3 classifications.

#### Article Subject:

0. No classification—the article could not fit one of the seven following classifications.
1. History of Christian and/or SDA position on military service—the article addressed the development and /or key dates of the article classification within early Christianity or the Seventh-day Adventist Church.
2. Personal experience—the article addressed an individual’s personal story of being a conscientious objector, noncombatant, or conscientious cooperator.



3. Analysis/Report—the article reported information or takes apart the article subject and leads the reader to as critical questions.
4. News—the article reported on the latest concerning the article subject world-wide; an article under the heading “News” in the magazines.
5. Editorials/Letters—the article was written by the editor or were letters/opinions written by readers and published in the magazines.
6. Informational on SDA position—the article informed the reader who they can contact within the Church if they have questions on military service or the process the church follow for conscientious objection and/or noncombatancy; an article that reports on infrastructure or process or are informational on a policy or program; an article that describes the current stance and condition of the Adventist Church and state governments on military service.
7. Chaplains/Chaplaincy—the article mentioned chaplaincy as a noncombatant position in the military; an article that does not mention chaplaincy in this context is not included.
8. Feature of SDA position—the article did not report, analyze, or inform on the subject article but simply stated they it is associated with the SDA Church.

State:

0. No state specified—it was not possible to determine the state where the article was centered.
1. Spain—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Spain.
2. France—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned France.
3. Australia—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Australia.
4. USSR/GDR—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned the USSR/GDR.
5. USA—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned the USA.
6. Greece—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Greece.
7. Canada—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Canada.
8. Brazil—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Brazil.
9. United Kingdom—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned the United Kingdom.

10. Russia—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Russia.
11. Japan—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Japan.
12. South Korea—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned South Korea.
13. Portugal—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Portugal.
14. Solomon Islands and Fiji—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned the Solomon Islands and Fiji.
15. Finland—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Finland.
16. Romania—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Romania.
17. Croatia—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Croatia.
18. Germany/Austria (Nazi Germany)—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Nazi Germany and Austria.
19. Israel—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Israel.
20. Singapore—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Singapore.
21. Italy—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Italy.
22. Austria—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Austria.
23. South Africa—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned South Africa.
24. Cameroon—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Cameroon.
25. Swiss Federation—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned the Swiss Federation.
26. Germany—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Germany.
27. New Zealand—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned New Zealand.
28. Sweden—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Sweden.

29. Korea (unclear if it is North or South)—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Korea, but it was unclear if it was North or South.
30. Philippines—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned the Philippines.
31. Virgin Islands—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned the Virgin Islands.
32. Roman Government (historical from the first century)—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned the Roman state from the first century.
33. West Germany—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned West Germany.
34. Australia and New Zealand—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Australia and New Zealand.
35. Rhodesia—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Rhodesia.
36. Peru and Bolivia—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Peru and Bolivia.
37. Undisclosed Middle Eastern State—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned and undisclosed Middle Eastern state.
38. Trans-European Division—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned the Trans-European Division, an internal SDA Church classification which administers: “Aland Islands, Albania, Bahrain, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Channel Islands, Croatia, Cyprus, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Faeroe Islands, Finland, Greece, Greenland, Hungary, Iceland, Iraq, Ireland, Isle of Man, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Montenegro, Netherlands, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Serbia, Slovenia, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, and Yemen.”<sup>152</sup>
39. Trans-African Division—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned the Trans-African Division, an internal SDA Church classification, from the 1970s, which administered: Burundi,

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<sup>152</sup> "Trans-European Division," General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, <http://www.adventistyearbook.org/default.aspx?page=ViewAdmField&AdmFieldID=TED>.

Rwanda, Zaire, Zambia, Malawi, Rhodesia, South West Africa, Botswana, South Africa (including Swaziland and Lesotho). Note: this division no longer exists.<sup>153</sup>

40. Czech Republic—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned the Czech Republic.
41. East Germany—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned East Germany.
42. Iraq—the article or section of the article pertaining to the subject classification specifically mentioned Iraq.

#### Reaction

0. No—the article is not directly linked to an earlier article.
1. Yes—the article is a reaction to an earlier article.

#### Magazine

0. No magazine—it could not be determined what magazine the article came from.
1. Review and Harold/Adventist Review—the article was from *The Review and Harold*, later known as *The Adventist Review*.
2. Liberty magazine—the article was from *Liberty Magazine*.

#### Religious Group

0. No group specified/General—no religious group was specified in the article; the article addressed religion as a whole rather than citing a specific group or denomination.
1. SDA—the article addressed Seventh-Day Adventists.
2. Jehovah Witness—the article addressed Jehovah Witnesses.
3. Quaker—the article addressed Quakers.
4. Jewish—the article addressed Jews.
5. Jehovah Witness and Pentecostal—the article addressed and Jehovah Witnesses and Pentecostals.
6. Amish—the article addressed the Amish.
7. Roman Catholic—the article addressed Roman Catholics.
8. Mennonite—the article addressed Mennonites.
9. Jehovah Witness and Quaker—the article addressed Jehovah Witnesses and Quakers.
10. Quakers and Anabaptists—the article addressed Quakers and Anabaptists.
11. First Century Christians—the article addressed Christians in the first century.

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<sup>153</sup> "Trans-African Division," Review and Harold Publishing,  
[http://www.adventistarchives.org/docs/YB/YB1977\\_\\_B.pdf#view=fit](http://www.adventistarchives.org/docs/YB/YB1977__B.pdf#view=fit).

12. Hutterites—the article addressed Hutterites.
13. SDA and Mennonites—the article addressed Seventh-day Adventists and Mennonites.
14. SDA and Jehovah Witness—the article addressed Seventh-day Adventists and Jehovah Witnesses.
15. Lutherans and Roman Catholics—the article addressed Lutherans and Roman Catholics.
16. Quakers, Waldensians, Mennonites, and Jehovah Witnesses—the article addressed Quakers, Waldensians, Mennonites, and Jehovah Witnesses.

#### Distribution

0. Online—the article is only online.
1. Print—the article is only in print.
2. Online Webpage and Print—the article is an online webpage and in print.
3. Print and Online PDF—the article is in print and in an online PDF.
4. Online Webpage but Unknown if in Print—the article is online but it is unknown whether it is in print.
5. Print and Indexed Online, but Unknown if full article is online—the article is on the magazine's print index but it is unknown if the full article is unknown.

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