

THE DRUMS OF MOLOCH

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CHAPTER — † ONE † —

About six p.m. Bob Hill turned out the lights and stepped out into the fourth floor hallway of the Missouri State Capitol. He rattled the office door to be sure it was locked, and glanced at the lettering by his hand — Senator Robert M. Hill. Although he was in the third year of his first term, that title still seemed strange — somehow too grand for a 33 year old lawyer, not quite 8 years out of law school.

The hallway was empty, as was the elevator that responded to his summons. Alone he descended to the basement and crossed the basement parking area. Only eight senators, by virtue of age, seniority, or disability, rated parking spaces in the Capitol basement, and these spaces were all empty. It was Thursday, and the weekend exodus was nearly complete.

Bob walked rapidly through the tunnel to the large underground parking garage just northeast of the Capitol. He tossed his briefcase in the back seat of his car and drove up the ramp and out onto the circular drive around the north

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side of the Capitol. The late February snow was mostly gone, but, despite his hurry, Bob drove cautiously, alert for icy spots. Perched on the precipitous Missouri River bluffs, Jefferson City's streets are treacherous when slick. As he exited onto Broadway, he thought of the steep grade from High Street down to McCarty. Should he detour around it? The streets seemed to be in good shape, so he decided to continue straight south on Broadway to the expressway.

Once on the highway, he relaxed and let his mind go back to that afternoon phone call. The caller said he was David Mullins with the Democratic National Committee, and he wanted to come from Washington out to Adamsville to talk to Bob. Bob suggested that it would be easier for him to come to Jefferson City, because he could fly into the Columbia-Jefferson City airport. But, Mullins said he wanted to come to Adamsville because he wanted to talk to Maria too, and would like to meet their children and see their home. So it was left that Mullins would fly into St. Louis, rent a car, and be in Adamsville late Friday afternoon.

As soon as he had hung up, Bob asked Catherine if she knew a David Mullins. Catherine McFadden had been secretary for Bob's predecessor for sixteen years and knew just about everybody. After Bob had defeated the incumbent in a close, hard-fought, Democratic primary, it was assumed he would look for a new secretary to run his senatorial office. But Catherine came to Adamsville a few days after the election and applied for the job. She said, "Mr. Hill, I supported your opponent who has been my boss all these years. I was loyal to him, and if you hire me, I will be loyal to you. I have learned a lot about the Missouri state government and about Democratic politics. If I work for you I will do my best to help you be a successful state senator. All of the information I have accumulated will be available to you except confidential in-

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formation that I have received from my present employer.”

Catherine was the ideal secretary for a freshman senator. She was a widow in her mid-fifties with two grown children. Bob had been impressed by her apparent honesty at their first meeting, and he had never found reason to change that judgment. Her keen insight into human nature gave Bob a reliable guide as to whom to trust and what to expect from almost anybody in state government. She listened to the State House gossip and picked up helpful information, but never contributed any gossip herself. So it was standard procedure for Bob to consult with Catherine about anything pertaining to politics or government.

And she had heard of David Mullins. “You might call him a talent scout for the National Committee. They must have their eye on you Bob, and well they should. You’re young, handsome, honest, and black — just what they need. Listen to what Mullins has to say, don’t make any hasty decisions, but don’t pass up any real opportunities. And be sure Maria agrees with the final decision. You can’t be happy with an unhappy wife.”

Certainly Maria would have equal input, as she had throughout their marriage. They had met when they were both third year students at the University of Missouri, Bob in pre-law and Maria in journalism. Her home was in San Antonio, and she had come to Missouri for its School of Journalism. Both of her parents were born in Mexico where her father had worked for an American corporation. Maria was born in San Antonio after her father had been transferred up there by his employer.

For Bob it had been love at first sight. To him, she was the most beautiful woman in the world, the perfect product of her Spanish and Aztec ancestors. Bob had immediately quit dating anyone but Maria, but it was about a year before her

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other suitors dropped out and Bob felt confident enough to propose marriage. They were married in June after Maria had graduated from the Journalism School and Bob had finished his pre-law. They rented an apartment in Columbia and Maria got a job as a roving reporter for a local television station to help put Bob through the three years of law school. Bob was a salesman in a men's clothing store until his senior year in law school, when he was employed by a law firm to do research and investigations. Before they left Columbia, Maria had become a very popular anchor-woman for the television station.

They stayed in Columbia until Bob passed the bar examination, on his first try, and was licensed to practice law in Missouri. Then they moved to Adamsville, Bob's home town and the county seat of Adams County. They had spent many weekends there with Bob's parents, because Bob wanted to be sure that Maria would be happy in a town of eight thousand. Maria liked the small town atmosphere, found the people to be friendly, and loved Bob's parents. So they came to Adamsville, and Bob opened his own office, hung a sign announcing that he was an attorney at law, and waited for clients. They had expected a slow start, so Maria got a job as reporter and announcer for the Adamsville radio station, there being no television station in Adams County.

A career in politics had never entered their plans, but the Adams County prosecuting attorney was less than vigorous in his duties, and several citizens had suggested to Bob that he run for the office. Bob and Maria had been married more than four years and had delayed having children because Maria needed to work. They were both twenty-six and were anxious to start their family. The prosecuting attorney's salary would make it possible for Maria to quit her job, and the publicity that went with the office would help Bob's civil practice. So

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they decided to run.

Adams County has a decidedly white electorate. Out of a total population of twenty-two thousand, there are slightly over two hundred blacks — about one percent. The conventional wisdom was that Bob didn't stand a chance. Nobody expected that many whites to vote for a black lawyer, especially since he had been practicing in Adamsville only about a year. True, he had grown up in Adamsville; had gone through twelve years in the local schools; had been on the high school debate team for two years and the football team for three years; and had been active in the youth groups at the largest Adamsville church. But he had been up at the university for seven years, and many of his old friends had moved on.

What the conventional wisdom overlooked was the immense popularity of Bob's parents. Matthew Hill can best be described as a black Will Rogers. He had never met a person that he didn't like. He had served as custodian of the Adamsville High School for forty years and, possessing a rare ability to remember names and faces, he knew everybody who had attended that school during those years, which included about half of the population of Adams County. Hardly anyone went through Adamsville High without, at some time, going to Matthew Hill for counsel and advice. He always had time to listen and his advice was always sound.

If Matthew didn't know an Adams County voter, there was a good chance that Hannah Hill did. A deeply religious woman, she had been active in church work since childhood. Her knowledge of the Bible and her natural teaching ability made her much in demand as a speaker and teacher throughout the area. Since Matthew's retirement, they had lived comfortably on his pension, their Social Security, and the income from their modest savings. Both Matthew and

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Hannah were in good health, and they campaigned vigorously in Bob's behalf. There is no doubt that Bob owed his first political victory to his parents.

During the months that Bob had practiced law before becoming prosecuting attorney, he had spent a good deal of time at the county courthouse observing courtroom procedure. He was often appalled by the laxity of law enforcement. He saw clear-cut cases of drunken driving reduced to careless driving for no reason other than to enable the defendant to keep his driver's license. He saw felony stealing reduced to misdemeanor stealing when the amount involved was clearly in excess of \$150. He listened to plea agreements calling for probation for defendants with two and even three prior convictions. He observed that most defense attorneys tried to delay cases as much as possible, and that the prosecutor usually agreed to the continuance.

Bob was especially concerned about the lack of consideration shown to the victims of crimes. The prosecuting attorney seemed to be oblivious to the stress and inconvenience he placed on the victims by allowing cases to be delayed. Sometimes he even neglected to inform the victims of continuances, causing them to make unnecessary court appearances. And he made matters worse by agreeing to the release of defendants on little or no bond pending trial, thereby exposing the victims to possible threats and harassment. None of this, Bob felt, resulted from any dishonesty on the prosecutor's part, but rather from his easy going nature, from his tendency to be lazy, and from his desire to get along with the other lawyers in the county.

Bob took office determined to make some changes. He wanted to get along with the other attorneys, but resolved that he would not let his desire for popularity override his duty as a prosecutor. He was vigorous in his opposition to unneces-

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sary continuances and to unduly low bonds. When the evidence clearly supported the offense as charged, he refused to reduce it to a lesser offense, and he took a much tougher stance on plea agreements. And he was careful to be considerate of the victims and to keep them advised of the progress of their cases.

At first the other lawyers in the county grumbled about the "new broom" and the "lack of cooperation," but, because Bob was open with them and because he always kept his word, he soon won their respect. Because, during his campaign for prosecutor, Bob had promised to make these changes, the people of Adams County were watching to see if he would produce. When it became obvious that he was doing what he had said he would do, his re-election to a second term was assured.

But Bob and Maria had something else in mind. From the prosecution of drunken driving cases, Bob had concluded that the Missouri statute needed to be strengthened, and had asked the state senator from his district to sponsor the changes. However, the senator was not interested in Bob's suggestions and had declined to take any action. Bob expressed his frustration to Maria and she said, "Bob, there are several loopholes in the law that you believe should be closed. Why don't you run for the state Senate and do something about it?"

At first, neither of them had taken the idea seriously. But the seed had been planted and had found fertile soil. Both Bob and Maria were fascinated by the Missouri State Capitol. During their years in Columbia, their favorite outing on a nice day had been to drive down to Jefferson City where they had spent many hours admiring the Capitol building and enjoying the works of art and historic displays which it contains. The previous building had burned in 1911, and the voters

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had approved a bond issue of \$3,500,000 to rebuild. Amazingly, construction costs were less than expected, and the tax levy for retiring the bonds produced more than expected. So the state ended up with an extra million dollars, which the Attorney General ruled could be used only on the Capitol. The result was a building blessed with a truly remarkable collection of statuary, stained-glass, murals, carvings, and castings.

Outside the building, Bob and Maria's favorite place was near the great relief commemorating the signing of the treaty by which the United States acquired the Louisiana Purchase from France. The beautiful bronze relief shows James Monroe seated at the table, Robert Livingston standing behind him, and Marbois, Napoleon's treasurer, leaning forward to sign the document which, in Bob's opinion, had made this great nation possible. Bob and Maria were always thrilled and inspired when they stood on this spot, on the brow of the bluff overlooking the mighty river which drains a large part of the land included in the treaty.

Inside the building, their favorite place was the Senate Chamber, and they often sat in the visitor's gallery watching the Senate in session. In front of them, behind the President's chair, was the beautiful stained-glass window showing De Soto's landing in Missouri. To their right were the murals of Daniel Boone at the Judgment Tree, and of Lewis and Clark reporting to President Jefferson upon returning from their famous expedition. To their left were the murals of Thomas Hart Benton, the great champion of westward expansion, speaking at St. Louis, and of Frank P. Blair's courageous speech at Louisiana, Missouri. Bob was always fascinated by the dignity and courtesy and serious formality with which the Senate conducted its business. These thirty-four men and women, here in modern America, were still observing rules

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and customs that originated in the Senate of ancient Rome. The feeling of importance and stability thrilled Bob to his very soul. Surely this was the way the great business of Democracy should be conducted. That he might one day be part of that august body, was beyond his fondest dream.

For several days, when they were alone, Bob and Maria reviewed the pros and cons of a senate race, and the more they talked the more excited they became. A senator's salary was considerably less than a prosecutor's, but Bob would have more time for his private practice. They had worked out a budget that would enable them to pay off their college loans by the end of Bob's term as prosecutor. They had purchased their first house and had the payments well covered. And they now had two sons, Jacob, age 2, and Joseph, age 2 months, and in another month would have the deductible portion of the medical expense for Joseph all paid. Finally they decided to confide in Bob's parents. Hannah said, "Son, you have done good things for this county as prosecuting attorney. You may be able to do better things as state senator. You pray about this and if you feel this is something God wants you to do, then you do it." Within a week the decision was made. Bob was going to run for the Missouri State Senate.

It was decided that Bob would wait and file on the last day of filing, which was about one year away. In the meantime no one would know his plans but Maria, Matthew, and Hannah. His opponent would have the advantage of incumbency, which meant he was better known and would be better able to raise campaign funds. However, Bob would have the advantage of knowing that he was going to run and would have a year to be getting ready. His opponent had been unopposed in the primary the last two times he had run, and had no reason to expect opposition now. The senatorial district consisted of eight rural counties, and was designed to be a safe

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Democratic seat. So the primary should decide who would be the next senator.

About two months before he decided to run for the Senate, Bob had tried a case involving an unusually brutal murder. The sensational nature of the case, plus the novelty of a young, black, prosecuting attorney, had attracted a great deal of media attention. For two weeks, Bob had been a regular feature on the evening television news and on the front pages of the area newspapers. When the jury returned a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree and assessed the death penalty, the editorial writers were lavish in their praise of this "brilliant, young, black, prosecutor."

As a result, Bob had at least some name recognition in every county in the senatorial district, and he soon began receiving invitations to speak to various groups. After the decision to run for the Senate was made, Bob discreetly let it be known that he was available as a speaker anywhere in the area. Program chairmen always have a problem filling their schedule, and Bob, being a good speaker, and being somewhat unique because of his blackness, was soon speaking to civic clubs, church groups, schools, and political groups all over the district. He was especially anxious to talk to Democratic women's clubs in every county in the district, knowing that these are the people who do the most work in a primary election.

Bob turned off the highway onto the Adamsville business route. He was glad to see that the snow was nearly gone here. Maybe it would be warm enough to take the boys on a hike this weekend. He smiled as he thought back to that primary election night. It had been close and nerve-racking, but he had won. His opponent's over-confidence had been his main asset in that race. Bob resolved never to make that mistake. Being in the State Senate had been all that he had dreamed of.

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Whatever David Mullins had in mind, Bob couldn't believe it would be good enough to cause him to make a change.

Maria met him at the door. The boys were already in bed. He kissed her and then said, "Honey, I haven't eaten yet, but first I have to tell you about a visitor we are going to have tomorrow."

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From Bob and Maria's home, it is only six blocks to the law offices of Miller and Hill. After a brisk Friday morning walk, Bob arrived a little before seven. He left the door locked behind him. It would be at least an hour before anyone else arrived, which would give him time to get through some of the papers piled on his desk.

Sherman Miller had approached Bob about forming a law partnership shortly after Bob was elected to the Senate. Sherman was an Adamsville native, about 20 years older than Bob. He was a careful, knowledgeable, lawyer with an excellent reputation for honesty. But he had a dread of courtrooms that had become almost a phobia. He had a sizeable probate practice, and appeared in circuit court on uncontested matters, but, because he was too conscientious to represent a client unless he could do a good job, he referred to other lawyers cases that were contested or might be contested. So he had a good office practice, but was handicapped by his inability to

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carry matters on to court when necessary.

Because of Bob's tough stance on plea bargains, he had tried an unusually large number of jury cases — 86 during his four years as prosecutor. He had developed a good courtroom manner, always serious, always courteous, and intense enough to show his sincerity. He had developed good rapport with the juries and had won the respect of the judges and other lawyers. So the partnership of Miller and Hill proved to be a natural fit and their clientele grew steadily. Because of Sherman's greater experience in the law, and because Bob would be in Jefferson City part of the time, they had agreed that Sherman would receive 65% of the profits and Bob 35%. Bob was happy with this arrangement. His share plus his senator's salary provided a comfortable and growing income.

Bob read through his mail, dictating replies as needed, and then turned to the case files on his desk. Sherman Miller arrived a little after eight and stuck his head in Bob's door. "Good morning, Senator. What atrocities did our state Senate perpetrate against its constituents this week?"

Bob laughed. "We're still in the preliminaries. The atrocious part of our session comes later. I hope the firm of Miller and Hill has had a prosperous week."

"As a matter of fact we have. Our fee in the Goss estate has been approved and paid, and a Mrs. Clark came in with what appears to be a very good automobile case. She has a serious back injury, the liability is there, and the insurance company has failed to make her a decent offer. So she wisely decided that she needs a lawyer. We made an appointment for her to see you at one today."

"That's fine. I have a hearing set before Judge Nichols at ten this morning but it shouldn't take more than an hour. A man named Mullins is coming out from Washington to see me late this afternoon. I don't know what he wants, but I do

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want to talk to him. He is from the Democratic National Committee.”

Sherman whistled, “Hey, don’t go running off to Washington just to be president or something. Things are going too good here.”

Bob laughed again. “He probably wants me to do some kind of leg work for them out here. But Sherm, I won’t make any promises without consulting you first.”

Sherman retired to his office and Bob resumed his dictating. At nine o’clock, Virginia North arrived. She had worked for Sherm Miller for twenty years before the partnership was formed, and knew all the ins and outs of running a law office. She was the only full time secretary the firm had, but they had hired a young married woman who worked as a part time typist. She would be in at ten to type Bob’s letters and pleadings.

Bob’s hearing before Judge Nichols involved Bob’s objections to some interrogatories, and took longer than expected, but he finished before noon, walked home for lunch, and then drove back for the one o’clock appointment with Mrs. Clark, thinking that he might need his car if any investigation was called for. As it turned out, it was nearly twenty miles to the scene of the accident, and Mrs. Clark wasn’t able to ride that far, and Bob didn’t have the time, so it was agreed that he would pick up her husband and go out there Saturday afternoon. Sherm had already obtained a copy of the Highway Patrol report, and with that plus Mr. Clark’s knowledge of the scene, Bob would be able to get the measurements and photographs that he wanted. The Clarks left about three and Virginia sent in a client in a dissolution case who claimed he was being denied visitation rights with his children. Bob called the opposing counsel and obtained her promise to meet with Bob and Bob’s client Saturday morning at eight to

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pick-up the children. David Mullins arrived a little after four.

He was a stocky man of medium height, mid-forties, and partially bald. He had an easy smile and an outgoing personality. He looked around the office, and seemed to like what he saw. The typist had gone home at four, but he visited briefly with Virginia, talked to Sherman for several minutes, and then suggested they go to Bob's home. From the conversation with Sherm, Bob got the impression that Mullins had already checked the background of Sherman Miller and that he even knew something about their secretaries. Bob felt sure that Mullins' friendly eyes had not missed anything of importance in the offices of Miller and Hill.

Maria was wearing a pretty but simple red and black dress; the house was spotless; and she had gotten a baby sitter to keep the boys in the play room so they could talk undisturbed. Mullins wanted to meet the boys first. Six year old Jacob and four year old Joseph stopped playing to be introduced. They were handsome, well-mannered, little boys and remembered to thank Mr. Mullins for the Washington Redskins T-shirts he had brought to them, and remembered to call him "Sir" when answering his questions.

After Maria, Bob, and their guest had retired to Bob's study, and Maria had served hot tea, Mullins stood up, closed the door, and resumed his seat. "I don't want the baby sitter to hear what we say. First, please call me David. Second, let me get right to the point. This is not as yet for publication, but your good old congressman, who has been there since before you were born, has finally decided to retire. He will not be running again next year. Bob, we want you to run."

"Why David there must be dozens of people in this district who are better qualified to"

"Wait a minute, Bob. Wait until you hear the rest of it. Let me explain our reasoning. As you well know, the black vote is

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absolutely vital to the Democratic Party. Except for a few old timers who are still loyal to Abraham Lincoln, it has been all ours. But we are beginning to see some slippage. Some younger blacks are getting tired of being taken for granted. A small but growing number are taking a look at the Republicans. If this trend continues, we Democrats could well end up as a permanent minority. We have got to give more recognition to the vital role that blacks play in our party and in our nation. We have got to have a black on our national ticket.

“Now, of course, you are thinking, ‘What about Jesse, what about all those black mayors and congressmen?’ Bob, our problem is this. We need a black man on our ticket, but it has got to be a black who will not scare away the white voters. It has got to be someone who has never embraced Fidel Castro or endorsed Jane Fonda or taken any kind of extreme position that will turn off the whites. We need a black who can do well with the whites. That is why you caught our eye. Almost every black in public office was elected from a district with heavy black population. But you are different. Your votes were nearly all white votes, and basically conservative, mainstream whites at that.

“Bob and Maria, it is obvious that you are both sharp enough to know the score, so I am simply laying all of our cards on the table. We have checked you out every way we can. We have checked your families, your friends, your business associates. If you have any skeletons in your closet, we sure can’t find them. Most importantly, we know Bob was elected prosecuting attorney in a county that is 99% white and was so well liked that these same voters would have re-elected him almost unanimously. We know that he was elected to the state Senate in a district that is over 98% white, and has done a good job in the Senate, especially on the

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Criminal Jurisprudence Committee. What I am saying is this. After about three terms in the United States Congress, and that is just six years, Bob would be a prime candidate for vice-president. And eight years later, who knows, maybe the first black president of the United States.”

Bob shook his head in wonder. “David, that’s crazy. Maria, what did you put in that tea?”

Maria raised her hand. “Wait a minute, honey. I can have dinner on the table in five minutes. Let’s eat on this, let it all soak in, and talk some more later.”

David protested. “I shouldn’t impose on you. I’ll go get something to eat and come back after supper.”

“Everything is ready. You won’t be imposing one bit. Besides you need to check out our table manners, don’t you?”

David laughed. “Okay Maria, you win. Let’s eat.”

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After dinner, Maria put the boys to bed, and they settled comfortably in the living room. David said, "I notice you haven't served any alcoholic beverages, which confirms our report that you are both teetotalers. That is a plus. We won't make a big deal of it, because some people would think you were being too narrow. Nevertheless, we will let the word out, and there are many areas of the country where that will be a big help."

Maria said, "David we don't make a big show of it, but during the four years that Bob was prosecutor, we saw too much crime, death, and heartache, caused by alcohol, for us to be drinkers. We don't want our boys to use it, and the only way we can be credible about it, is not to use it ourselves. After all it is just another mind-altering drug. We don't need it."

Bob smiled. "If I may interrupt this sermon, let me point out that David is sitting here planning our campaign for vice-president, just as though I were already a candidate."

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“You’re right, Bob. Let me back up to where we were before dinner. When you get to Congress, we can arrange for you to be made chairman of some sub-committee that will be investigating some aspect of the drug problem. This is a matter of great concern to the public right now and it isn’t going to go away. With your law and order background as a prosecutor and your experience on the Criminal Jurisprudence Committee of the Missouri Senate, you are a natural. We can also arrange for extensive television coverage of your sub-committee hearings. A few years of that will make the name of Robert M. Hill into a household phrase. Everyone will know about this young, smart, 100% loyal American, law and order, black Congressman. Not only will white voters be willing to vote for you for vice-president, they will be glad to. And think how you could cement the black voters back into our party.

“And I haven’t even mentioned Maria yet. Think what she could do with the Hispanic vote — the fastest growing segment of our population. An expert, experienced, television performer — think what your beautiful, articulate wife could do for the party in Texas, California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Florida, to say nothing of Illinois, New York, and New Jersey. She would be as much in demand as a speaker as you would be.”

“David, you need to back up a little farther. Here you are running me for vice-president again and I am not even in Congress. How do we jump that hurdle?”

“Bob, I am talking about this vice-presidency thing because I want you and Maria to see that there can be a lot more involved here than just a seat in Congress. Now of course, we can’t guarantee you the nomination for vice-president. A lot would depend on your performance in Congress, and, of course, the nominee for president has the final say, although he would pay attention to the National Com-

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mittee. But we can almost guarantee you the seat in Congress. Of course, you will have opposition. Any nut with the filing fee can get his name on the ballot. But we can do a pretty good job of keeping any really credible opposition out of the Democratic primary. We can offer good appointments, whatever it takes. Now the National Committee will not publicly endorse you in the primary. But behind the scenes we can see that you get all the money you need and all the expert public relations help you need for a top notch campaign. We can see that you get all the workers you need from various friendly organizations, such as the teacher's union, and we can see that you get plenty of favorable coverage in the news media. Since the incumbent is retiring, the Republicans will probably put up a stronger candidate than usual, but we can give you even more help in the general election than we can in the primary. And this is a strong Democratic district. The odds are at least 10 to 1 that we can get you in Congress."

Maria put her arm around Bob. "Honey, this is the most exciting thing I ever heard. What do you think?" Then turning to David, "What are the draw-backs?"

"Not too much really. You both would have to be very careful about what you say and do. Once the spot light is turned on you, you have to watch every step. We can give you some tutoring on that. And Bob, your voting record needs to veer more and more toward the liberal side. There are some issues that are absolutely critical. On these litmus test issues you have to be on the right side — strike that — you have to be on the correct side. One of those will be coming up in the Missouri Senate in a few weeks. I refer to House Bill 160."

"Oh, the informed consent bill?"

David frowned. "We don't call it that. Try to think of it as an anti-freedom of choice bill. Bob, you must vote against HB

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160. Believe me, that is absolutely vital.”

“But it’s a good bill, David. All it does is require that a woman understand what she is doing before she has an abortion. She is given printed material that does three things; it shows her the stage of her baby’s development; it describes the method to be used to kill the baby; and it informs her of the alternative of adoption. Then there is a 24 hour waiting period for her to consider the material.”

“For heavens sake, Bob, you have got to use the right words. Never refer to the occupant of the womb as a baby — it is a fetus. And never, never say that anything is being killed — it is simply the termination of a pregnancy. I can sympathize with you, Bob, but those are the rules of the game . You played some football. You know you have to follow the rules whether you agree with them or not, and even when the rules don’t make sense. Using the right words is a very important rule. Remember what happened to poor old John Glenn. He is a good man — probably one of our best, but he made the mistake of saying ‘man and wife’ when he should have said ‘husband and wife.’ I know it sounds crazy, but it really hurt him.”

Maria nodded her head. “I have dealt with some of these people myself. David is right, honey, one wrong word could brand you forever as a hopelessly crude, male, chauvinist pig — even though anyone who knows you, knows that is not true.”

Bob shrugged his shoulders. “So what if I am branded. I don’t see why I have to be pro-abortion in order to run on the Democratic ticket. I know lots of Democrats who are anti-abortion. I would bet that the majority of people in this congressional district are pro-life. Why our present congressman is pro-life, and certainly he is a good Democrat.”

David leaned forward. “Bob, you are absolutely right. There

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are many good Democrats who are anti-abortion, and a good many Republicans who are pro-abortion. But unfortunately, this has become more and more a party line issue. There are certain constituencies that are vital to the Democratic Party, who are rabidly pro-abortion, just as there are certain groups that are vital to the Republicans, who are rabidly anti-abortion. The result has been to pull the two parties in opposite directions. An anti-abortion Democrat can still be elected on the local level, although, since the Webster decision, that is going to become more and more difficult. But I will guarantee you that, for as far as we can see into the future, no Democratic National Convention is going to nominate an anti-abortion candidate, just as no Republican Convention is going to nominate anyone who is pro-abortion.

“You say that your present congressman is pro-life and still a good Democrat, and that’s true. He is so firmly entrenched that they have left him alone. But since the Webster Case, even that has changed. They were planning to go after him in next year’s primary, and that is part of the reason he decided to retire. This Webster Case has really opened a can of worms. Before it, the pro-choice people could pretty much ignore the state legislatures and even Congress to some extent, because they could count on the Federal Courts to carry the ball for them. But Webster changes all that. The Supreme Court has let the legislative branch know that they can pass some laws that won’t be thrown out. So now the legislative races are very important, both local and national. Bob, even if you end up running for re-election to the Missouri Senate next year, if you vote for HB 160, you will have strong opposition. You may win but it won’t be easy.

“Right now, Bob, you are in a great position. Dozens of ambitious politicians all over the country wish they were in the same position. You have never had to take a public stand on

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this abortion thing. The right-to-life people didn't endorse either side in your senate race. Apparently the question didn't even come up, but believe me it is going to come up in all future races. No anti-abortion bills have come before the Missouri Senate during your term, so you are still clean. You can take the pro-choice side without breaking any commitments and without looking like an opportunist. Pity poor Dick Gephardt. When he got presidential ambitions he had to change sides, and believe me it has hurt him, and that's too bad because he has a lot going for him. Don't let that happen to you, Bob."

Maria asked, "David, just who are these constituencies who are so vital to the Democratic Party that we have to let them dictate our position on abortion?"

David said, "Well, you have heard a lot about the gender gap. We have been stronger with the women voters than we have with the men. The abortion issue must be at least part of the reason."

"But most of the women I know are against abortion," Maria answered. "In fact the right-to-life movement is mostly women, at least it is around here. Our party is strong with Hispanics, but I think that is more in spite of the abortion issue, than because of it. My people love children and I think the same is true of black people. David, I just don't see any constituency that is so big that our party has to yield to them on the abortion issue."

David looked uncomfortable. "Maria, it is not that they are so big. Sometimes the size of a constituency is not what makes it important. I think you know what I mean."

"Yes, David, I think I do. And I am sorry if I sounded like a prosecuting attorney." She smiled at Bob. "I just wanted to see if you confirmed the opinion that I have come to from my news work. We have to yield to these people, not because of

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their numbers, but because of their influence as opinion makers. In other words, the drive to legalize abortion was not a grass-roots movement at all. It came from the top down. I have even heard that the case involving the Connecticut contraceptive statute was cooked up by some law professors and others for the specific purpose of laying the ground-work for *Roe v. Wade*."

Bob broke in, "Maria and I have not been active in the pro-life movement, but we have talked about it a good deal and have considered getting active. As you say, I could take a pro-choice (see I'm learning the right words) stand right now without breaking any commitments. But the trouble is, Maria doesn't believe in abortion and neither do I. How can we go against our conscience?"

"Bob, you don't have to go against your conscience. You are entitled to your own personal, religious convictions, but, as a state senator, you are not entitled to impose those convictions on other people. You are not entitled to tell the women of Missouri that they cannot control their own bodies."

"But what about the bodies of the little babies? Don't I owe some obligation to them?"

David stood up and turned in front of the fireplace. "Bob and Maria, look at it this way. When I read the reports about you, I was excited. Now that I have met you and talked to you, I am even more excited. I think you have what it takes — both of you. I said the odds are 10 to 1 you can be elected to Congress. Let me change that. It is my professional opinion that the odds are 50 to 1 that Bob can be elected to the United States Congress next year. And from what I have seen of the two of you, I am firmly convinced that Congress would just be the first step. Bob, you could go all the way.

"Now you have won two tough elections. You two have proven that you have a talent for politics. Look at it as a God-

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given talent that you should use and not bury in the ground. Politics is an honorable profession. Democracy can't work without it. I'm sure you agree with that. Basically, there are two kinds of politicians — the practical ones and the ideologues. I believe the practical ones make the better rulers. The trouble with the ideologues is that they see everything through the colored glasses of their own ideology, and forget they are supposed to serve all the people and not just those who agree with them. It has been said that politics is the art of the possible. The practical politician accomplishes what he can. The ideologue tries for too much and ends up with nothing. Thus, the practical one does a better job for the people he serves.

“I am a professional politician working for the Democratic National Committee. It is my job to look for men and women who will make good candidates and who will do a good job when they get into office. In selecting candidates I have to consider all the different voting blocks and influence groups who make up the party, because it doesn't do any good to come up with a candidate who cannot be elected. I don't agree with all these groups. I don't even like some of them. Let me make a confession. I don't like abortion either. But I can't let my personal feelings mess up the job I have to do.

“Remember, politics is the art of the possible. You and I are not going to stop abortion. The pro-abortion people have too much power. As Maria said, the opinion makers have decided that we need legalized abortion. I don't know all of their reasons, but I do know that the national news media, the academic community, and the entertainment industry are busy selling abortion to the American people, and they are making a good deal of progress. You can't stop them, Bob. If you try to fight them, all you will accomplish is the abortion of your own career. Even if the Supreme Court reverses *Roe v.*

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Wade outright, that will just throw it back to the 50 state legislatures. The right-to-life people may be able to get some states to outlaw abortion, but with all the power they will have working against them, they for sure will not get all 50 states to do that. I would wager, that after the dust settles, the big majority of the American women would still be able to get an abortion by driving less than 200 miles. So you would just be throwing your career away for no purpose at all.

“Bob, we will not ask you to speak against HB 160. All we ask is that you vote against it. The Governor of Florida brought up one of these ‘informed consent’ bills, and we were able to kill it in committee; thus very few of our people had to take a stand on it. We can’t do that here in Missouri because you still have too many pro-life Democrats. For your sake, I am actually glad that we can’t kill it in committee because it enables you to establish the necessary credentials, quietly but firmly. We won’t make a big issue of it, but the right people will know how you voted, and your career on the national level will be launched.

“Think of all the good you two could do if Bob were to become the vice-president of the United States. Consider what perfect role models you would be for millions of blacks and Hispanics. You two could provide the inspiration that would lift thousands of young people out of the grip of poverty. And think what you could do for race relations in this country. By showing that you could reach that high office strictly on your own merit, and by showing that you are there to serve not just your own race, but all of the American people, you could strike one of the greatest blows against racism in all our history. And if Bob should go all the way, and become president, then you could multiply all I have said about 10 times.”

David returned to his chair. “Well, that is about all I have

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to say. I have tried to be as open with you as I know how. I honestly believe that everything I have said is well within the realm of possibility. I honestly believe that you two are in a unique position to perform a great service for your people and for your country. Remember what old Mordecai said to Queen Esther when she was in a similar position to help her people: 'And who knows whether you have not come to the kingdom for such a time as this?' "

Bob and Maria looked at each other in silence. Then Maria said, "David, you make a very plausible and persuasive case. Perhaps you are the one who should be running for Congress. Seriously, this whole thing just takes my breath away. But it is obvious that you know what you are talking about, and it is obvious that you really believe this could all happen."

Bob added, "Needless to say, we are flattered and taken back by all the nice things you have said about us and by the interest shown in us by the National Committee. This is a decision that Maria and I will make together and we need time to talk about it and pray about it. How soon must you have our answer?"

David said, "We want you to think about it carefully. I certainly don't want you to get into something that you will later regret, although I do not believe you would ever regret doing this. Your congressman is going to announce his retirement in about 30 days. When he does, several good Democrats in this district will be interested in the job. It would help if you could be the first to announce. That would help us to keep out any strong opposition in the primary. It is easier to keep people from running than it is to get them to withdraw after they have taken the plunge."

"That should give us plenty of time. Now one more thing; I assume all this should be kept confidential. However, I do have a great deal of respect for my parents' opinion, and I

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would want to talk it over with them. Also, I would need to talk to my law partner before making a decision. Sherm has always been more than fair with me and I couldn't take a step such as this without his knowledge. However, all three of these can be trusted to keep it quiet."

David nodded his head. "There is no problem with any of them, and by all means you should get their input. In fact, if there is anyone else that you want to talk to and can trust, go ahead and get his advice. On an important decision such as this you should look at all your options and be sure you are doing the right thing."

"In other words what you want is my 'informed consent'."

David laughed. "Touche. Bob, I appreciate your sense of humor. But a word of caution here. If you get into this thing, you will be dealing with people who will not appreciate your sense of humor. Many politicians have gotten into trouble trying to be funny. Remember what happened to James Watt. He kept trying to be a comedian and ended up out of a job."

"Okay, David, I understand what you mean and I promise to save my bright remarks for Maria in the privacy of our little home."

"And I promise to keep all your jokes confidential, honey. David, it is getting late. We have a spare bedroom. You are welcome to spend the night."

David shook his head. "You are very kind, but I have an 8 o'clock plane out of St. Louis in the morning, and I need to drive back at least part way tonight. And you are right, it is getting late, and if neither of you have any more questions, I will be on my way. Here is my card. Call me any time, and I will be in touch with you." He moved to the door and put on his coat. "I have really enjoyed meeting you both. Thanks for the dinner, Maria. Think about all we have said, and I hope your answer is 'yes.'"

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As the door closed behind David Mullins, Maria turned to Bob, and put her arms around him. "Honey, this whole thing is just too fantastic to take in. Let's sleep on it and then start talking about it tomorrow."

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When the Missouri Senate was not in session, Bob Hill tried to limit his work week to Monday through Friday, from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. Of course, when he was engaged in a trial, his hours were set by the judge, and in emergencies he had to work at night and on Saturday. But he placed a high priority on the time he could spend with Jacob and Joseph, and the two boys practically lived for the time they could be with their father.

However, when the Senate was in session, Bob worked nearly every Saturday. He would drive to Jefferson City on Monday morning, come home on Thursday afternoon or evening, and devote Friday and Saturday to his law practice. Late in the session, when the rush was on to complete its work before adjournment, the Senate's work-week would be expanded to include Friday, and Bob's law practice would be limited to Saturday. Sherman Miller rarely worked on Saturday. He owned a 240 acre stock farm near Adamsville, where

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he raised crossbreed Angus and Hereford cattle, and Saturdays found him out there in Western shirt and jeans, boots and hat, astride his favorite horse, fulfilling his boyhood dream of being a cowboy.

So on this Saturday, Bob came to the office again at 7 a.m. and worked at his desk until Victor Stark arrived 15 minutes before eight. Victor was the respondent in a dissolution case filed by his wife, Wilma. Wilma was living in the marital home and had temporary custody of their two daughters, ages 9 and 6. Judge Nichols had ordered Victor to pay temporary child support of \$60 per week and had awarded him temporary visitation from 8 a.m. each Saturday until 4 p.m. Sunday.

The previous Saturday, when Victor had gone to pick-up his daughters, Wilma had said that the girls wanted to visit their grandmother instead of going with Victor, so she had let them go to the grandmother's home. On the Saturday before that, Wilma claimed that both girls had the flu and couldn't go with him, although later in the day Victor had seen the girls riding with Wilma in her car. Wilma claimed that Victor had been late bringing the girls back from visits; that he had been late with his support payments; and that he was trying to win the girls away from her by buying them candy and gifts.

Bob had agreed to go with Victor on this Saturday morning. He had arranged for Wilma's attorney, Ruth Zern, to meet them at Wilma's house. Bob had some instructions for his client.

"Remember, Victor, that anything you say or do out there can be used against you in court. Be calm and courteous, and except for greeting your daughters and saying hello to the others, let me do all of the talking. You and Wilma are both suitable parents, and I plan to ask Judge Nichols to approve a joint custody arrangement. This is the best we can hope for

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because, unless Wilma does something foolish, there is little chance the judge will give you full custody. But we are going to have to show the judge that you and Wilma can cooperate for the best interests of the girls. Now I will have some things to say out there and you may not agree with everything I say. But don't say anything. I have good reasons for saying what I will say and we can talk about it later, in private. Remember *there is no attorney-client privilege when other persons are present*. So let me do all of the talking."

They drove to the marital home in separate cars. Ruth Zern's car was parked in the driveway, so they went directly to the front door and knocked. Ruth opened the door and she and Wilma stepped out on the porch. The two girls followed, wearing their coats and carrying their little suitcases. Victor hugged his daughters, and then Bob said, "Lisa, please take your sister and get in your father's car. He will be along in just a few minutes."

When the girls were gone, Bob said, "Victor and Wilma, I have some things to say to you and I am sure that Mrs. Zern will agree and perhaps have something to add herself. It is obvious that there is some bitterness between you two. Now I don't even want to talk about who is to blame. All I want to talk about is how this is affecting your two daughters. Believe me, this whole thing is a terrible experience for them. If you two can't stay together and give them a normal home, the least you can do is to make the break-up as easy on them as possible."

Ruth Zern broke in. "Bob is absolutely right. I would like to see a reconciliation so these children could live with both a mother and a father. But if you can't do that, you must start thinking about the welfare of the girls. If you don't, you can leave scars on them that will last the rest of their lives."

Bob continued, "I am sure you both love your daughters

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and would not want to do anything to hurt them. So please do your best to shield them from any bitterness. Neither of you should ever run-down the other in the presence of the girls. Remember, after this dissolution is over, Victor will still be their father, and Wilma will be their mother. It is important to the girls to have a good, healthy relationship with both parents. So don't do anything to poison that relationship on either side. From now on let us all try putting the welfare of the girls first."

Ruth added, "I appreciate all you have said Bob. Rest assured that we will do all we can to help the little girls." Wilma said nothing. It was obvious to Bob that Ruth had given her the same lecture that he had given to Victor.

Bob walked with Victor to his car. "Victor, remember all we said up there. Do your best to help your daughters through this thing. Have a good weekend, and be sure to have them back on time."

It was after nine when Bob got back to his office. The part-time typist was there, busy with Bob's letters. Although Virginia North did not work on Saturdays, the typist came in on Saturday mornings, during the months when the Senate was in session, to handle Bob's dictation. A middle aged couple and a teenaged boy were waiting to see Bob. The boy, who was the couple's 18 year old son, had been arrested the previous afternoon on a charge of burglary in the second degree. The parents had made bond for their son and wanted Bob to represent him. After interviewing the boy, Bob accepted the case, was paid a retainer, and dictated an entry of appearance and an application to have the arraignment continued until the Senate should be in recess so he could be present. The typist left at noon, and Bob went to lunch, taking with him the Clark file, the firm's camera, and a steel tape.

After lunch Bob picked up Mr. Clark, and together they

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drove out to the scene of the automobile accident. The Clarks had been proceeding to the south on County Road D, a two-lane, black-top road with no shoulders. Their speed was approximately 45 miles per hour; it was daylight; the roadway was straight and level; and the road surface was dry. Mr. Clark was driving and Mrs. Clark was a passenger in the front seat. A pickup truck was behind them and had been following them for about a mile. Mr. Clark noticed a herd of cattle in a pasture ahead of them and saw that three or four calves had gotten through the fence and were along the roadway. Knowing that young calves tend to be unpredictable, he applied his brakes and the Clark car was struck from the rear by the pickup truck. At the moment of impact, Mrs. Clark was leaning forward to tune the radio, and was thrown violently backward, injuring her back and neck. Mr. Clark received no injuries.

According to the highway patrolman's report, the pickup left 20 feet of skid marks north of the point of impact, and the Clark car left 15 feet of skid marks to the south as it was knocked forward by the impact. The skid marks were still faintly visible, enabling Bob to locate the point of impact.

"Mr. Clark, can you tell me where those calves were?"

Clark walked down the road a short distance. "I remember this black locust tree. The calves were right about here, just beyond this tree. The cattle were across the fence in this pasture, all along here."

"Now, I want you to look at this fence along here. Did you notice the fence on the day of the accident? Was it in the same condition that it is now?"

Clark nodded his head. "The fence is just like it was. While we were waiting for the ambulance, the farmer came out and I helped him put the calves back in the pasture. We just crowded them up here and they crawled through these

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loose wires. His wife stayed with my wife while we did it.”

Bob said, “I am going to take a lot of pictures of this fence, and when we get to court you will have to identify them as being photos of the fence and as showing the fence in the same condition as it was on the day of the accident. So watch me as I do this and be sure and remember what you just told me.”

After photographing the fence, Bob said, “Mr. Clark, let’s walk back up the road and I want you to show me, as best you can, where you were when you first noticed the calves along the road, and where you were when you first applied your brakes. Also, I want to know where the pickup was the last time you saw it before the impact. Then I want you to help me measure all these distances with my steel tape, and to watch while I take a lot of photos. You take this yellow pad and write down all of our measurements. I will write them down too, but I want you to have your own notes that you can use later when you testify.

“I know some of this may seem unnecessary to you. But it is all very important. This case is more complicated than you might think. We will have to bring suit against not only the pickup driver, but also the farmer who owns the calves.”

Clark interrupted, “But I don’t want to sue the farmer. He is probably having hard enough time as it is, and he and his wife were very nice to us the day of the accident.”

“Well, we know the pickup was covered by insurance because the company has already been to see you. Probably the farmer has insurance too. We will be able to find out when we get to pre-trial discovery. But suppose we just sued the pickup driver. He would argue that it was the farmer’s fault for not keeping his cattle in, and the jury might agree. Then we sue the farmer and the next jury decides it was the pickup driver’s fault. See where we would end up?”

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Bob continued, "We have a doctrine in Missouri known as comparative negligence. The jury is asked to assign a percentage of the fault to each person involved. Of course, what we want is for them to assign zero percent of the fault against you. Now times and distances are very important in this case. The lawyers for the other side will try to show that you made a sudden, unexpected stop, and therefore are at least partly to blame. Many people have a very inaccurate concept of time and distance. This seems to be especially true of women because they don't deal with such things as much as men. When your wife is able, we will bring her out here and go over all this with her.

"To show what I mean, suppose you are on the witness stand, and you are asked, 'how far from the calves were you when you first noticed them?', and you answer, 'about 200 feet.' Now we have already measured that it is 110 feet from the point of impact to the calves, and suppose you have already testified that you were going about 10 miles per hour when the pickup hit you. So that leaves just 90 feet in which to slow from 45 down to 10. The other lawyer will be able to show that at 45 miles per hour, you were going 66 feet per second. He can also show that even in an emergency situation, it takes about three quarters of a second just to get the brake on. The bottom line is that using your own testimony he could show that you slowed suddenly and unexpectedly, and thus are at least partly to blame.

"Please understand that I do not want you to testify to anything that is not true. I just want you to be as accurate as you honestly can be. The trouble is that when a witness says something like '200 feet' that is really just an uneducated guess, but the other lawyer will try to hold him to it in the eyes of the jury. It may sound like a lot, but when you are in a moving automobile, 200 feet isn't much at all. So we are mak-

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ing these measurements to help you get a fair and accurate picture of just what the true distances are out here. Well, let's get started."

It was after four when they got back to Clark's house in Adamsville. Bob said, "I'll see you and Mrs. Clark at my office on Friday at 3 p.m. We will have the photos back by then and I hope to have the medical reports. Thanks for going out there with me."

Bob went directly home, and Jacob and Joseph met him at the front door. "Shaggy, Shaggy," they shouted, "Let's go see Shaggy." Shaggy was the boys' Shetland pony, which they kept out at Sherman Miller's farm.

Maria laughed. "These guys have been pacing the floor all afternoon waiting for you to get home. There is at least an hour of daylight left. Why don't you take them on out there? Maybe they can ride for a little while, and then go in the barn and play on the hay. Be back for supper at 6:30."

Bob knelt and put an arm around each boy. "Okay, guys, let's go. But wrap up good. It will be cold out there."

That evening, as Maria cleared the supper table, she said, "Your big outing worked up three good appetites. I thought we would have some of this roast beef left for tomorrow."

Bob leaned back from the table. "If I know anything about growing boys, our grocery situation is going to get worse before it gets better."

Maria laughed. "I hope we just have two growing boys and not three — that is, two growing up and one growing out."

Bob stood up and patted his stomach. "Well, I really do need to get more exercise. Guys, I'll tell you what. It is supposed to be warmer tomorrow. Let's go in and study your Sunday School lessons for tomorrow, and if you both learn your memory verses, then tomorrow afternoon we can all go out to Sherm's place and hike back into the woods. Maybe we

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will see a deer or even a wild turkey.”

Jacob jumped excitedly. “Can we take our cameras and take pictures of the deer? Can we, please?”

“Take our cameras, please, please,” echoed Joseph.

“Sure, you can take your cameras, but you will have to be very quiet if you want to take a picture of a deer. Now let’s get busy on those Sunday School lessons.”

The boys’ memory verse was Matthew 5:16. “Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your father which is in heaven.”

“Jacob, do you and Joseph understand what that verse means?”

Jacob nodded his head vigorously. “It means we should set a good example for other people.”

“That’s very good. Do you know why we should set a good example for other people?”

“Because it will help them to do good things too.”

“That’s a good reason, and I think there is another reason too. Christians are God’s special people. So when Christians do something bad it makes God look bad, but when Christians do something good it makes God look good. That’s what it means when it says that people will see your good works and glorify your father in heaven.”

Joseph spoke up. “I don’t want to do anything that would hurt God.”

“Of course you don’t Joseph. That’s very good. You boys have a good understanding of what this verse means. Now let’s get it memorized so you will never forget to let your light shine.”

By the time Maria came to put the boys to bed, they both had the verse memorized and ready to recite the next morning. Bob picked up a magazine and tried to read, but soon put it down and sat in deep thought. Maria came in and sat beside

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him. "Why so serious, honey?"

"Sweetheart, we have a mighty problem to solve. I have been awfully busy today, but every chance I have had I have thought about it and prayed about it. I am just overwhelmed by the whole idea. It seems like a fairy tale come true. Yet down deep I have some gnawing doubts. What's wrong with me?"

"Bob, I know what you mean. I haven't been able to think of anything else all day, and I still don't have the answer."

"Have you reached any conclusions?"

"Well, I liked David Mullins. My woman's intuition tells me that we can trust him. He knows a lot about politics, and he really believes that you could go all the way to the top. And there is another conclusion that I reached years ago. You would make a good congressman, a good vice-president, and a good president of the United States."

Bob put his arm around her. "I'm afraid you are a biased witness, but I love you very much. While we are on the subject, I have concluded that you would make a better first lady than I would president."

She snuggled close to him. "Oh, Bob, if it actually happened, think of all the good we could do. Maybe David is right. Maybe God has given us some talents that we shouldn't just bury in the ground."

Bob kissed her. "Yes, I have been having those thoughts too. Yet the boys said some things this evening that bother me. Jacob said we should set a good example for other people so they will do good things too, and Joseph said he would never want to do anything that would hurt God. How does that apply to my vote on HB 160?"

"I don't know, Bob, I just don't know. My mind is still in a whirl. You have had a hard day. We have plenty of time to think this through. Let's go to bed."

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“Okay, honey, we’ll call it a day. And since we ate up all of the roast beef, I will take us all out to eat after church tomorrow. I like to show off my good looking family anyway.”

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By Bob's standards, the next day was perfect — an entire, uninterrupted day with his wife and children. After Sunday School and church, they ate at the John Adams Cafe, and then changed clothes and went to Sherman's farm for a family hike. They even saw a deer, although Jacob and Joseph were too excited to take a picture until the deer had disappeared among the trees. By 8 p.m., the two exhausted little boys were in bed and Maria had joined Bob in the study.

The day had been far too busy for any discussion of the David Mullins interview. "Now" said Maria, "We need to do some talking. What conclusions have you reached?"

"Well, I agree with you that David Mullins is on the level. All the things he said really are possible. Incredible as it may seem, it is really possible that we could one day be living in the White House. But that doesn't mean that I agree with everything he said. I give him credit for being sincere, but I am not sure that I go along with all of his thinking."

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“Just where do you disagree?”

Bob thought a moment. “I guess one place is what he said about practical politicians and what he called ideologues. He said that practical politicians make better rulers because they are not influenced in their decisions by any ideology, whereas the ideologues are always trying to impose their own ideology on other people. Something about that bothers me. Looking at it another way, we could say that the so-called practical politicians are those who have no convictions, except the conviction that they want to be re-elected. They seek to rule by doing not what they believe to be right, but what they believe to be popular.”

Maria nodded. “I see what you mean, and I think I agree. In my news work, I learned many politicians spend big money on public opinion experts and pollsters, just to find out where most people stand on any issue. In other words, they find out which way the public is going, and then jump in front. Surely real leadership is something more than that.”

“Maria, I suppose the correct position is somewhere in the middle. Certainly a public official should respect public opinion, but he should not be a slave to it. He should try to lead in the direction that he believes to be right, but should have enough humility to realize that the collective opinion of his constituents may be better than his own. I guess a pure democracy would be mob rule. We don't have that and we don't want that. We have representative government. We try to elect intelligent, honest men and women and trust them to do their best, with due regard, of course, for the convictions of the people they represent. But I am getting off the subject. The point is, I hope I am not a wild, raving, ideologue, but I do have convictions, and I don't think that disqualifies me for public office.”

Bob continued, “Another point along the same line, that

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David made, is what he said about me being entitled to my own personal, religious beliefs, but that as a state senator I am not entitled to impose my beliefs on other people. That sounds alright the way he said it, but if you carry that far enough, I am not qualified to be a senator at all. When he said that it made me think of a court case I read about a year or so back. It seems that the school board in some little town down in the Southwest part of the state would not permit dances in the school gymnasium. Believe it or not, some parents actually took it to Federal court, and the district court actually ruled that the students' constitutional rights had been violated because the voters in electing the school board, and the school board in adopting the rule, had been influenced by their Christian religion. I guess the judge believed that religion should be confined to Sunday and should not affect what you do the rest of the week. By his reasoning, Christians should be treated like convicted felons — disqualified from voting, or holding public office, or serving on juries. Fortunately, the appellate court reversed that judgment.

“Anyway, Jesus made it clear that our religion should affect and, in fact, dominate, every aspect of our lives. I hope that everything I do as a state senator is influenced by my Christian faith.”

Maria patted his arm. “Your faith does show in everything you do, and I think the people of this district appreciate it. But what do you think about David’s argument that we may be butting our heads against a stone wall? He is convinced that the ruling establishment wants abortion and that it is useless to try to stop them. If we really have the opportunity to do so much good for our country and our people, is it foolish to throw it away over an issue that we are going to lose anyway?”

Bob shook his head. “I don’t know what to think. David has me convinced that we do have at least some chance at the

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vice-presidency, and maybe even the presidency. All day long I have been thinking of all the things we could do if we were in one of those high offices. Maria, you haven't been around St. Louis very much. It just breaks your heart to see the way those kids' lives are being wasted. I know you have seen the same thing with your people in San Antonio, and there are a hundred other cities just as bad. I know we can't work miracles, but even if we could reach only 10 percent, or even just 5 percent, of these children, it could be the beginning of something big. The educational opportunities are there; the way of escape is within their reach; but there is no motivation. Instead they are caught in the web of drugs, crime, and welfare. Surely we could help hundreds, maybe even thousands, of these kids to break out of there, and they could help others, and it could really snowball into a great thing. Other minority groups have broken out of the slums, and my people can do it too."

"I agree, Bob. Surely we could do something to motivate some of these street kids to get off the streets and into the classrooms. And I believe we could strike a real blow against racism. As you said, we can't work miracles, and I don't want to sound conceited, but, if you were the first black vice-president, what we did would be noticed, and we could be examples not only to blacks and Hispanics, but also to whites and Asians, and really to all Americans. We would work to help all of them, and we could show that no matter what the color of the skin, we are all Americans, and it is possible for any of us to hold high office and serve everyone. I am sure we could help people of all races to get rid of some of their chip on the shoulder attitude, and to start having more respect for each other."

Bob said, "Maria, we haven't even mentioned the most important thing we could do. Remember the boys' memory

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verse this morning? 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.' Just two verses before that the Bible says, 'Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.' In effect, we would be on the highest hill in America. I would hope we could encourage others in their Christian faith, and maybe even lead some to Christ. That would be the greatest thing we could do. And I thought this morning while my mother was teaching her Bible class, as the vice-president's mother, I could see her teaching a weekly Bible class on national television. She would win thousands to Christ, even if we couldn't. And I haven't even started to think of all the good things my father could do, let alone your family."

They sat in silence for several minutes. Finally, Maria whispered, "And who knows whether you have not come to the kingdom for such a time as this."

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By seven a.m. Monday, Bob was at his desk in the offices of Miller and Hill. Sherman Miller came in earlier than usual and sat down in Bob's office. Bob said, "Sherm, I know you are wondering about the David Mullins visit. It is all very confidential, but I have his permission to tell you. Our congressman is going to retire and the National Committee is encouraging me to run. But there is more to it than that, and it gets pretty complicated. I have made no commitments, and before I do I will want to sit down with you for several hours and get your advice. But first I need to get the pros and cons sorted out in my own mind."

Sherman said, "Bob it sounds like a great opportunity for you. Don't feel that you have any obligation to me that would stand in your way. You certainly have what it takes to be a congressman, and I will help you any way I can, even though you are a Democrat. When you are ready to talk, let me know. Meanwhile I'll keep it under my hat."

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“Thanks, Sherm, I really appreciate your attitude. I couldn’t ask for a better law partner, even though you are a Republican.”

At eleven a.m., Bob left for Jefferson City. The Senate usually convened at two p.m. on Mondays, although sometimes Bob had to be there on Monday morning for committee meetings. Maria had packed a lunch which he could eat in the car, so by driving straight through he could be there by two p.m. Bob had found a retired couple living in a large older home, who had agreed to rent him a spare bedroom with private bath and to serve him breakfast, all for \$15.00 per night. He ate his noon and evening meals at restaurants. It had been agreed that Bob would move to a motel when any of the couple’s children or grandchildren came for a visit and needed his room. Each senator was paid \$35.00 per day for expenses for those days he was required by his senatorial duties to be in Jefferson City. Some senators rented apartments and spent a good deal more than \$35.00 per day, but Bob was able to get by on his allowance. It helped when Maria packed his lunch.

When Bob reached Jefferson City, he went straight to the Capitol and took the elevator to the fourth floor. Catherine was alone in her office. Bob said, “David Mullins made it to Adamsville, and we had our talk. If you can clear out some time late this afternoon, I will tell you about it.”

The Senate convened at 2 p.m., with the President Pro Tem in the Chair. The Chaplain offered the opening prayer, and the roll was called. Several messages from the Governor were received announcing appointments to various state boards and requesting the advice and consent of the Senate. Each of these requests was referred to the Committee on Gubernatorial Appointments. Senator Harris offered Senate Resolution No. 64, regarding the death of one of his constit-

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uents, which was unanimously adopted, and a copy ordered sent to the family. The Chairman of the Committee on Gubernatorial Appointments reported that said committee had considered the appointment of Perry Sells to the Board of Regents, Missouri Southern State College, and recommends "that the Senate do give its advice and consent to said appointment." Senator Fairfield moved that the committee report be adopted, which motion prevailed.

Bob made it a point to listen carefully to each of these routine matters, and he always knew what vote was being taken — one of the few senators who did. However, the unusually large volume of routine business on this afternoon, taxed even Bob's power of concentration. Finally the Chair announced that the following message had been received from the House of Representatives through its Chief Clerk:

"Mr. President: I am instructed by the House of Representatives to inform the Senate that the House has taken up and passed HB 160, entitled: An Act requiring that no person shall perform an abortion upon any woman in this state until at least 24 hours after furnishing to said woman certain printed material as specified herein, and providing the punishment for failure to comply herewith. Mr. President, the concurrence of the Senate is respectfully requested."

HB 160 was read the first time. On motion of Senator Pinzino, the Senate adjourned under the rules.

Back at his office, Bob found a delegation from the Missouri Dairymen's Association waiting to see him. It was nearly five p.m. when these gentlemen left. Catherine said, "I'm sorry, Bob, but these men were in town just for today, so I couldn't change their appointment. But I can stay after five if you want to talk about Mr. Mullins."

Bob said, "Okay, lock the door and have a chair. Mullins said I could confide in anyone whose advice I needed and

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who could be trusted to keep it confidential. You qualify on both counts, so here goes." Catherine listened without interruption as Bob related from beginning to end, his interview with David Mullins.

Then she said, "I am not too surprised. Knowing what I do about David Mullins, and being well aware of your potential, this was about what I expected. First, I believe your election to the United States Congress would be almost a sure thing. You would make a strong candidate in your own right, and with the National Committee helping you behind the scenes, you would be able to raise the money and get the media help you would need to win. And even if you went no higher than Congress, that is no small thing. After all there are only 435 congressmen in this whole country, and you would be in a position to make a real difference and do a lot of good.

"Furthermore, I believe there is a good chance you could go higher — maybe senator, governor, cabinet member, vice-president, or even president. I base this on what I know about your own character and ability. You would make an outstanding congressman, and you would deserve to go higher. But that next step would be far less certain and far more difficult, for two reasons. In the first place, when you come to that next step up, the competition will be much tougher. David Mullins, and others like him, are constantly on the lookout for good potential candidates — white, black, Hispanic, Asiatic, and whatever. The National Committee's interest in you is sincere, but they certainly are not going to put all their eggs in one basket. Virginia has a new black governor; New York City has a new black mayor; all over the country there are more and more black mayors and congressmen. And the potential is not limited to those in public office. We have more black television and movie stars, more black college professors and scientists, and more successful black

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businessmen. Of course, the same is true of Hispanics and Asiatics and other minority groups. Attractive candidates will come forth from all these groups, and the competition will be tough."

Catherine paused and Bob asked, "What is your other reason why it will be difficult for me to advance beyond congressman?"

"Bob, I said that my belief that you can go on up, even to the top, is based on what I know about your character and ability. Yet these same qualities can work against you. For more than two years I have watched the way you operate. I have seen the way you stand by your honest convictions. Our conversations these past two years have given me a good insight as to what your convictions are. Now we both know that some of your convictions do not agree with our party's national platform. Can you go to Congress and vote against your convictions? I have my doubts. Yet if you take the wrong stand on some of these issues, you will have little chance of moving up on the national level."

Bob said, "That's the big problem. That is what Maria and I are struggling with now. HB 160 came over to the Senate today. The word is that it will be assigned to the Committee on Public Health and Welfare, so I will not have to deal with it until it is reported out to the Senate. David Mullins said this is a litmus test issue — one that I must vote against. He says that if I vote for it, not only would I not be electable to Congress, but also I might not be electable to the State Senate for a second term."

Catherine shook her head. "He is probably right about Congress, but I believe he is wrong about the State Senate. You have done a good job up here, and the people of the district know it. They will re-elect you regardless of how you vote on HB 160. So it is the congressional seat that you are

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concerned about. Can you bring yourself to vote against HB 160?"

Bob frowned. "It is a good bill. In fact, I do not see why even the pro-abortion people object to a woman being fully informed as to what she is doing when she has an abortion. But they do object, and apparently consider this to be a crucial test. Should I vote for HB 160 and forget about Congress? David believes that the fight against abortion is futile. He says that powerful interests in this country have decided that we need abortion, and that there is no way to stop them. Should I throw away my chance to do some really worthwhile things for my people and my country, by sticking stubbornly to a lost cause?"

Catherine said, "Mullins may be right about the futility of the pro-life cause, although I am not fully convinced. But regardless of that, there will be other litmus test issues that will not involve lost causes. For example, you regard the traditional family to be a God-given institution, far superior to anything man can devise. Congress will be considering many bills that would weaken the family and get the Federal Government into the business of raising the children. If you are to advance to higher office, you must support these bills. What will you do? I know that you believe in a strong national defense, but you may have to vote against defense bills in order to pass the litmus test. I am sure you can think of several other issues that would be a problem to you. Once you get into this, your problems will go far beyond the abortion issue.

"Bob, you and Maria will have to make the final decision, and knowing you both as I do, I understand just how difficult this is for you. For about 99% of the politicians in this country, it would be no problem. They would just vote the way that was necessary to advance their careers, and not worry

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about it. But you two are different. It is too bad that the quality that makes you most suited for high office, is the very thing that makes it most difficult for you to get there.”

“Catherine, you have helped me clarify my thinking, as you always do, and I appreciate all the kind things you have said about me, even though I don’t deserve them. You are right, I do disagree with the party platform on several important issues. At least, according to my present thinking I disagree. I certainly hope that my mind is open enough to listen to the other side, and to change my position if I am shown to be wrong. But in the end, on the important issues, at least, I would have to vote my conscience, and if that disqualifies me for higher office, then so be it. So I think it all comes down to the seat in Congress. Maria and I must decide if going to Congress is worth giving up my favorable vote on HB 160. We may go higher than Congress, but that is such a long shot that we must not let it become a critical factor in our decision on HB 160.”

Catherine nodded in agreement. “That narrows it down to the real issue — is the congressional seat worth it? Only you and Maria can decide that.”

“Catherine, I believe I will talk to Senator Fairfield about this. I won’t tell him about my interview with David Mullins, not because I don’t trust him, but because I don’t want to put him in the position of knowing the inter-councils of the opposing party, and yet having to keep it confidential. I want to talk to him about this whole abortion issue.”

Catherine said, “You will not find anyone with keener political insight than Richard Fairfield. He likes you, Bob, and has helped you even in ways you may not be aware of. By all means, talk to him.”

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During Bob Hill's first week in the Missouri Senate, he had gone to the office of each member of the Senate to introduce himself. To his surprise, the warmest reception he received was from Senator Richard Fairfield, a Republican, and the senior member of the Senate. First elected 34 years earlier from a strong Republican district in Missouri's Ozarks, Richard Fairfield had been routinely re-elected every 4 years since. Although a member of the minority party, his understanding of politics and government, and his many friends in both parties, made him one of the most powerful men in Missouri state government.

Senator Fairfield had recognized Bob Hill as an honest, sincere young man, and had liked him from their first meeting. So he had taken Bob under his wing, spending hours counseling him in the fine art of being a senator. "Bob," he said, "The Senate has written rules and it has unwritten rules. On occasion the written rules may be suspended. But the un-

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written rules are never suspended. If you are to be a successful senator; if you are to be accepted into this exclusive club; you must always observe these unwritten rules.”

So, in addition to all he learned from his careful study of the manual containing the written rules of the Missouri Senate, Bob learned that he must never say anything that could be construed as a personal attack on another senator; that he must never cross the center aisle of the Senate chamber, or walk down that aisle except to be sworn in after election or re-election; that he must never walk across the front of the Senate chamber; that he must never walk between two senators when one is interrogating the other; and that he must never go into another senator’s district to make a speech or attend any public function without first getting the other senator’s permission.

Of course, Bob also had friends among the Democrats, and on political matters he normally conferred with members of his own party. But even on political issues, Bob often sought the advice of Senator Fairfield, and found that his Republican friend never tried to lead him astray or take partisan advantage. So, Richard Fairfield was not surprised when Bob asked if he could talk to him about HB 160.

The Senate was scheduled to reconvene at 10 a.m. on Tuesday, and Bob had stopped to speak to Senator Fairfield on his way to his own desk. Unlike the House of Representatives, whose members were seated according to party, the Senate allocated seating, as well as offices, parking spaces, and other prerogatives, strictly on the basis of seniority. Thus, Richard Fairfield, even though a member of the minority, got first choice of a desk in the Senate chamber. He had chosen a position over to the extreme side of the chamber, about half way back. Senate rules required that a senator face the Chair when speaking, and from his position, Senator Fairfield could

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face both the presiding officer and his real audience, which was the rest of the Senate and most of the gallery, whereas the senators in the front of the chamber had to speak with their backs to the rest of the Senate and to the gallery, and the senators in the back of the chamber had to speak with their backs to the gallery and with the backs of the rest of the senators to the speaker. Furthermore, anytime Senator Fairfield wanted to leave the chamber, he could get up and walk out, whereas senators in other parts of the chamber were sometimes unable to leave without violating the unwritten rules of the Senate.

Being the newest member of the Senate, Bob Hill was left with a desk on the front row over near the center of the chamber. So Bob had stopped on his way to his desk to see if Senator Fairfield had any free time that week when they could talk about HB 160.

"That could be a long discussion," Fairfield replied, "If you could stop by my office a little before five, we could have sandwiches sent in and talk as long as you want."

Senator Fairfield's secretary called that afternoon to see what kind of sandwich Bob wanted, so when he descended to the third floor to the Fairfield office, the sandwiches had just arrived. Bob said, "Richard, I really appreciate your giving up an evening to talk to me about this. I do need your help."

"Bob, I would much rather do this than go back to my apartment and watch television. I'm glad to talk about HB 160, because I have some strong opinions about it. And I'm glad you have finally started calling me by my first name. It makes me feel good, even if I am twice your age."

"What I need," Bob said, "is some background on this whole abortion issue. I haven't kept up with it too well, and I know that you have."

"It's my daughter who has gotten me informed on the sub-

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ject. She is really active in the pro-life movement, and has made me into a strong pro-lifer. So keep in mind that you are talking to a biased witness. I am against abortion for any reason except to save the mother's life."

"I know the stand you have taken," Bob said. "I am against abortion too, but I haven't taken a public stand yet. Of course, that will come with my vote on HB 160. What bothers me is that abortion seems to be more and more of a party issue, and I hate to be out of step with my own party. I have always thought of the Democratic Party as the great party of compassion; as the great defender of the defenseless. Yet here we are condoning the killing of the most defenseless humans of all — the little unborn babies. What is driving my party in this direction? Who are these powerful constituencies behind the drive for abortion?"

Richard finished his sandwich and leaned back in his chair. "Well this is just my thinking on the matter, but I have thought about it a lot. *Roe v. Wade* was no accident. It was the culmination of a well thought-out strategy. But the roots go back probably as far as history. Bob, are you familiar with the humanist creed?"

"I guess it is basically atheism. They deny the existence of God, and supposedly exalt human beings."

"You hit the nail on the head when you said atheism 'supposedly' exalts human beings. When you eliminate God, and make man the highest thing in the universe, you really rob man of any value — as Hitler, Stalin, Pol Pot, *Roe v. Wade*, and many others have repeatedly proven. But I am getting ahead of myself. Humanists don't intend to be evil. In fact, I would guess that most of them are decent people, with feelings of good will toward others. Humanism goes back to ancient times, but in the last century or so there seems to have been more impetus to its intellectual under-pinning. Of

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course, Darwin gave it a big boost. Are you familiar with the Humanist Manifestos?"

Bob shook his head. "I have heard of them, but have never read them."

"They attempt to codify the humanistic creed. Manifesto I is dated 1933, and Manifesto II is dated 1973. Back in 1933, they referred to their creed as "religious humanism", but today, since the Supreme Court has ruled that we can't have religion in our public life, they call it "secular humanism". I have a copy of Manifesto II here in my desk. Let me read you some excerpts to give you an idea of where they are coming from.

"Modern science discredits such historic concepts as the "ghost in the machine" and the "separable soul". Rather, science affirms that the human species is an emergence from natural evolutionary forces.

"No deity will save us; we must save ourselves.

"We strive for the good life, here and now.

"In the area of sexuality, we believe that intolerant attitudes, often cultivated by orthodox religious and puritanical cultures, unduly repress sexual conduct. The right to birth control, abortion, and divorce should be recognized.

"We affirm that moral values derive their source from human experience. Ethics is autonomous and situational, needing no theological or ideological sanction. Ethics stems from human need and interest.

"The future is, however, filled with dangers. In learning to apply the scientific method to nature and human life, we have opened the door to ecological damage, overpopulation, dehumanizing institutions, totalitarian repression, and nuclear and biochemical disaster."

Richard laid the pamphlet down. "There is a good deal more along the same line. For example, they go on to endorse

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euthanasia. But you get the idea. This is the product of an intellectual elite who really believe they can bring about a man-made utopia. These are highly educated men and women, and yet they are unbelievably naive about human nature. They visualize a society where everyone voluntarily cooperates for the common good. Of course, the intellectual elite would rule this new society, and when people failed to act the way the planners had planned, totalitarian repression would soon follow. The great crimes of the twentieth century have been committed by men wearing white shirts and tailored suits, sitting around polished tables in air-conditioned conference rooms.”

Richard paused. “Bob, forgive an old man for rambling. The point you are interested in is this — humanism provided the original intellectual basis for abortion on demand. The law professors, the social planners, the politicians, who made the push for *Roe v. Wade*, surely had this humanistic vision of the good life, here and now. They must have visualized this man-made utopia where ethics is autonomous and situational, where sexual conduct is not repressed by religious values, and where everyone is free to pursue his own desires and to fulfill his own potential. It is a life that must be lived to the fullest here and now, because there is no hereafter. Such a life must not be hampered by unwanted pregnancies and inconvenient children. Thus, abortion on demand is essential.

“The elitist nature of the movement is shown by the fact that they disdained the democratic process, and aimed instead for the unelected, life-tenured, justices of the United States Supreme Court. As Justice White said, the majority opinion in *Roe v. Wade* was ‘an exercise of raw judicial power’. It was an affront to our democratic way of life. And the resulting slaughter of the innocents just breaks your heart. Think of it, Bob, since *Roe v. Wade* we have killed about one

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third of the boys and girls in America.”

Bob shook his head. “It is really more than the mind can grasp. Like Hitler’s six million Jews and Stalin’s twelve million Ukrainians, it is impossible to comprehend. But I had never considered this humanistic connection before. Is that still the driving force behind abortion?”

“Well a good many of the people pushing for abortion are influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by humanistic thinking. But I doubt if active, practicing, humanists constitute a very large percent of those who are out demonstrating for abortion today. The point I wanted to make is that humanism provided the intellectual base for abortion. There is another group that is at least related to humanism — the population control group. These people think we have too many people on this planet and they favor abortion as a means of controlling it. And Bob, I think you should know that there is an element of racism in this. Through the years I have been lobbied by numerous pro-abortion groups, and more than once I have heard the remark that I really should get behind this, especially government funded abortions, because this is a way to slow the growth of the black population. I doubt if they have mentioned that to you.”

Bob smiled. “No that hasn’t been used as an argument for me, but I have suspected that something like that was going on.”

Richard continued, “There is another group that seems to be jumping aboard the abortion bandwagon — the radical environmentalists. When you think about it, it makes sense. These are people who like to hike around in an undisturbed wilderness, so they don’t want too many little feet tramping on the grass. They have a lot in common with the population control group. Don’t get me wrong. Not all environmentalists are in the abortion camp. In fact, I am strongly in favor of all

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reasonable measures to protect our environment, as I know you are. But there is a radical fringe that favors killing babies as a means of holding down the population and thus holding down pollution.

“So far, Bob, the groups I have mentioned probably contain more men than women. I think one of the fallacies fostered upon the American people is that the push for abortion is coming almost entirely from freedom seeking women. And this next group is mostly women. These are the ambitious ladies who want money, power, and prestige. To them, motherhood is a great handicap — a serious setback in their careers. Closely related are the radical feminists who resent the fact that God gave the womb to womankind. I suppose there is a great deal of overlapping in all these groups.

“Then there is the group that has probably grown the most. This group had nothing to do with bringing about *Roe v. Wade*, but they have jumped in and taken advantage of it. I refer to the swinging group, the sexually liberated, the hedonists. These are mainly young people, college students, yuppies, divorcees, etc., but ranging from teenagers on up to second childhood. Again, this group has more men than women. These are the guys who figure that if they get the girl friend pregnant, they can just have her vacuumed out and ready for use again. You would be shocked at how many abortions some of these women have had.”

Bob interrupted. “One thing I do not understand is this. Every pro-abortion rally I have observed has contained a contingent of gays and lesbians. If anyone does not have to worry about unwanted pregnancies, it would seem to be them. Why are they so active in the pro-abortion movement?”

“Bob, I have wondered about that too. All I can figure out is this. They resent the fact that the traditional family, that is, one man married to one woman, together raising children, is

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the favored institution in our society. They want to see our laws changed, and our whole outlook changed, so that the so-called non-traditional family is put on equal footing. Of course, abortion tends to undermine the traditional family concept. So they are for it. Also, they are very interested in this newly discovered, constitutional right of privacy which was used as a basis for *Roe v. Wade*. They hope to use that same doctrine to invalidate state laws against sodomy. That gives them common ground with the abortion crowd."

"Richard, you have named some very diverse groups here. Why did they all end up in my party? Why has abortion become a party issue?"

"Bob, these groups are not as diverse as you might think. With the possible exception of the hedonists, they all want more intervention in something or other by the Federal government. They want Uncle Sam to force people to accept their life-style, or force companies to give them promotions they can't get on their own, or force people to stop cutting trees or drilling for oil, and so-forth. Now for the last fifty years, at least, your party has favored more government intervention than has my party, so it is natural that these groups come to you. It so happens that these groups are also pro-abortion, so you got that too."

"Well, government intervention isn't always bad," Bob replied. "I am glad that the Federal government stepped in and did something about civil rights, and I am glad that we Democrats took the lead in that. If I had been born a few years sooner it would have been against the law for me to go to school with white children."

Richard smiled. "Don't forget, Bob, that Missouri was run by Democrats back in those segregation years. But you are right. I am sorry that my party didn't do more about civil rights back then. I do think we are catching up now."

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“But getting back to abortion,” Bob continued, “I can see how some of these groups ended up as Democrats, but I don’t see why they have so much to do with running things. Take all these you have named and add them together, and still they surely would not be more than 10 or 15 percent of the whole party.”

Richard nodded. “That may be true. But stop and think where these people are situated. The nucleus of the whole pro-abortion movement is an intellectual elite, and the first place to look for intellectual elites is in the academic community. Never under-estimate the power and influence of those who teach in our colleges and universities. They send their disciples out into the news media, into the public schools, into the think-tanks and foundations, into the entertainment industry, into government bureaus, and so forth. These are the opinion makers. These are the people who decide what is fed into the minds of the American people. Bob, read the Humanist Manifestos, and then watch a few evenings of television, and then tell me what diet the American people are being fed.”

Bob shook his head. “That would be cruel and unusual punishment. I watch the Tigers, the Cardinals, the Royals, and the Chiefs, and that is about all, except for the news. But I have seen enough to know what you mean.”

“Okay, forget the pro-abortion movies, sit-coms, and mini-series, and just consider the national news. You have witnessed both pro-life and pro-choice demonstrations in person and you have seen them on the news. Have you noticed any difference?”

“Yes I have noticed some difference,” Bob answered. “Pro-choice demonstrations in real life seem to include more far-out types than are shown on television. Also there are more men in the actual demonstrations.”

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"Exactly," said Richard. "From what you see on the television news, you would think that pro-choice demonstrations are made up of dear little old ladies and poor women with lots of kids. The pro-life crowds, however, are made up of mean looking men and abrasive women. Now remember, they can go out and take 3 hours worth of film, and then pick 3 minutes of it to use on the evening news. So it is possible to make a basically unattractive crowd look reasonably good, and vice versa. Of course, it is even easier for the big newspapers and news magazines to slant their coverage for the favored group. There is no doubt that this is going on.

"Bob, ever since *Roe v. Wade*, the national news organizations have been trying to sell abortion to the American people. The pro-life people have been consistently pictured as religious fanatics or as men who want to enslave women. Now I know young women who love babies so much that they can't even talk about abortion without weeping. But from our news media, you would never know that such people exist. In fact, they have actually tried to picture the pro-life people as children haters, claiming that they want to bring unwanted children into the world just so they can be abused."

Bob said, "I read an article along that line recently, and I couldn't believe it. They seemed to be implying that it was kindness to the baby to kill it."

Richard nodded. "Some of what they write is really absurd, but by and large they have done an effective job of selling abortion. Remember they have picked the tough side of the issue. It is not an easy thing to convince the American people that it is okay to kill our babies. Just think how much easier it would have been to sell the anti-abortion side of the case. To get some idea of just how effective they have been, stop and consider how strong would be the feeling against abortion in this country if we were getting balanced coverage by the news

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media.

“Suppose, for example, they gave us the tragic stories of some of the thousands of women who have had abortions and now are devastated by guilt and regret. I have a doctor friend back home who would supply them plenty of material. He tells of the many women who have had abortions and then decide they want a baby but are unable to get pregnant. You can imagine their anguish. And even those who are able to get pregnant are overwhelmed by guilt when they hold their new baby, and feel how sweet she is, and then realize they killed her big brother or sister. I tell you, Bob, guilt such as that can break a woman’s health and lead to an early grave.

“And consider the brutal treatment that anti-abortion protestors have received from the police and courts all over the country. If they had been protesting the slaughter of baby seals, or goats, or rabbits, or kangaroos, or most any species but human beings, the news media would have moved in full force and stirred up a national outrage over the police brutality. But since it is human babies they are trying to save, the police are free to twist arms, break bones, beat and bruise, and the cameras just look away. Counter demonstrators from the pro-abortion camp can curse them, shove them, and spit upon them, and the public never knows because the film is never shown. I know, because it has happened to my daughter and her friends.

“And suppose some enterprising reporter did an expose of some of these so-called ‘women’s health clinics’ that encourage and even pressure girls into abortion. This is big business and the profits must be enormous. Justice Blackmun is always talking about how the woman makes this decision together with her physician. We all know that in most cases the only doctor she sees is the abortionist and when she sees him she is probably already on the table ready for the abor-

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tion.”

Richard stood up and paced angrily about the office. “Think, Bob, how the American people would react if they could see on their television screens the garbage cans full of little babies; if they could see the little arms and legs torn off by the suction machines; if they could see the little boys and girls, some even born alive, but scalded by the saline solution. With ultrasound scanning we can see into the womb and see the baby writhing in agony as he or she is being cruelly put to death. I tell you the abortionists are lucky that all this is being concealed from the American people or some of them would be run out of the country.”

Richard sat down and smiled at Bob. “Sorry, but I told you that I feel strongly about this thing. The point is that the pro-abortion people have clout with your party and with the country as a whole, because they control the opinion makers. Since *Roe v. Wade*, they have been busy selling abortion to the American people. I don’t doubt that they have converted quite a few, or at least gotten them used to the idea. Since the Webster Case, the big drive has been to convince everybody that a big majority favors abortion, and that all politicians had better jump on the abortion bandwagon or face defeat.

“Shortly after Webster we had a special election to fill a House seat in a district out east of Kansas City. It was a race between a pro-abortion Democrat and an anti-abortion Republican. It is a district that had been Democratic for 12 or 14 years. I know for a fact that the big news organizations were watching the election closely, and were prepared to make a big story out of it, until the anti-abortion Republican won. Then they dropped it like a hot potato. They play up the pro-abortion victories and play down the pro-abortion defeats. I am not saying it is a conspiracy. They just all think alike.”

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Bob said, "Richard, we are faced with an issue that is really unique in American politics. There just doesn't seem to be much precedent for this thing. What do you think the final fall out will be for both parties and for our country?"

Richard nodded his agreement. "The abortion issue is different because it involves millions of human lives. So naturally people feel more deeply about it than they do about farm subsidies or foreign aid. But it is not entirely unique. Once before in our history we had an issue that people felt this deeply about. I refer to the slavery issue. Both issues turned on the question of what is a human being. Are you aware of the similarity between *Roe v. Wade* and the *Dred Scott* case? Did you know that Justice Taney held that slaves and their descendants were not persons within the meaning of the Constitution, just as Justice Blackmun held that 'person' as used in the 14th Amendment does not include the unborn?"

"I did know that," Bob answered, "and it is hard for me to believe that the court held that babies have no constitutional protection right up to the time of birth."

Richard continued. "Well, the slavery issue didn't just fade away, and I don't believe the abortion issue is just going to fade away either. You asked how this is going to affect the two major parties. Most experts, at least back East, think it will help the Democrats. The Webster Case has stirred up a lot of frenzied activity in the pro-abortion camp. Since they can't rely on the courts to further their agenda any more, they have taken a sudden interest in the democratic process. The pro-abortionists have some important advantages. They can raise a lot more money than the pro-life people. After all, the big money is made by killing babies, not by saving their lives. And, since they are favored by the news media, they will be presented to the public in a favorable light, and the pro-life people will continue to get unfavorable coverage. But, the

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Webster Case isn't all milk and honey for you Democrats. It could threaten your control of some state legislatures and even Congress."

"How do you figure that," Bob asked?

"Well take your situation here in Missouri. You have a lot of pro-life Democrats in both the House and the Senate. With the advantage of the incumbency, you have had little to fear from the Republicans. But, since most of the pro-abortion people are in the Democratic Party, that means they can swing more weight in the Democratic primary than they can in the general election. Thus, pro-abortion candidates may defeat some of your pro-life incumbents in the primary, and then, without the advantage of the incumbency, lose to a Republican in the general election."

Bob nodded. "I see how that could happen. Richard, when it comes to politics, you sure don't miss a thing. But, in the long run, do you think this whole thing will work to the advantage of the Democrats."

"As I said, most of the so-called experts think it will, but I am not so sure. A lot depends on how the Republicans play it. I see signs that some Republicans are beginning to waver on their pro-life position, and I think that is a bad mistake. They won't gain the pro-abortion vote. All they will do is lose the pro-life support, and convince everybody that they are unprincipled opportunists. What they need to do is focus attention on the baby. The pro-abortion camp has been successful in focusing attention on the woman. They never mention the baby. The Republicans need to bring the baby into the public eye. And it can be done, despite the hostility of the news media. After all nothing is more attractive, more adorable, more deserving of compassion than a little baby.

"Bob, I may be the only one who thinks this way, but I see real danger for the Democratic Party in this abortion issue.

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Right now, public opinion seems to be swinging toward the abortion side, but remember that the public really has heard only one side of the issue. In effect, the public has been subjected to a big propaganda blitz. But truth crushed to earth, has a way of rising up again. A lot of people haven't really thought this thing through. When they do, you Democrats could be in trouble, that is, if you get yourselves completely tied in with the abortion camp.

"And Bob, consider the 'single-issue' people. I know they are looked upon with contempt by all 'proper persons'. But some single issues are important enough to control the way you vote. If I had lived in Germany during Hitler's reign, I would hope that even if I agreed with everything else he did, the single issue of his treatment of the Jews would have been enough to turn me against him. Well, we have snuffed out about four times as many lives in our abortion clinics as Hitler did in his death camps. Now which party do you think will gain the most from single-issue people? No doubt there are some people who are so strong for abortion that this one issue could decide their vote. But who are they? Mostly radical feminists who are already Democrats. The only way the single issue can affect them, is to cause them to vote for an occasional pro-abortion Republican.

"But, Bob, since people are more likely to be deeply devoted to saving babies than they are to killing babies, there are a whole lot more single-issue people in the pro-life camp. Now, who are these people? Well, they are people who love babies, people who respect human life, conservative Christians and Jews, childless couples who want to adopt, adopted people who know they might have died in their mother's womb if *Roe v. Wade* had been decided sooner, and we could go on and on. But the thing to notice is that a lot of them are Democrats. If your party gets completely identified with the

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pro-abortion cause, then a lot of these single issue people will leave you and become Republicans. That is, unless the Republicans blow their chance by vacillating on the whole issue.

“Now, I think the Democrats will gain some from the yuppies and the young swinging set. But these aren’t single-issue people. Abortion has been convenient for them, and they will vote for the pro-abortion candidate if there are no other issues more important to them. So the pro-life candidate shouldn’t just run on the abortion issue alone. He or she needs to stress all the issues but not waver on the pro-life position. So, Bob, my conclusion is, and I may be the only one who thinks this way, that the abortion issue will work for the Republicans if they play it right.”

Bob frowned. “As usual, I find your views on practical politics very convincing. Where does this leave me? Your course is clear, but it seems that I have a real dilemma.”

Richard nodded. “My course is clear. At my age, I have no ambitions higher than the Missouri Senate. If the Good Lord is willing, I will run one more time, maybe two. I plan to be even more outspoken on the pro-life issue than before. I have been unopposed the last three times, and, while I don’t expect that to happen again, I am not worried. As you can imagine, I am well known in every part of my district, and it is a pro-life district anyway. But for you it is an entirely different story. You have great potential, and that is fact, not flattery. You have what it takes to go a lot higher than the state Senate, and you deserve to go higher. For you, this abortion issue has come at exactly the wrong time. I think you will be re-elected to the state Senate, but with the money and the media against you, it will be hard for you to go any higher. Unless, of course, you decide to vote against HB 160, and take the pro-choice side.”

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“That would be hard for me to do,” Bob said unhappily. “As you know, I do not believe in abortion on demand. But I have heard knowledgeable people say that the pro-abortion movement can’t be stopped. There is too much money and power behind it. Some states are going to have legal abortions regardless of what happens, so women wanting abortions will just go there. Should I throw away my career on a lost cause?”

“Bob, I agree that we probably will never go back to the days before *Roe v. Wade*. But at least we can go part way. We can slow down this wholesale slaughter. And every baby we save is worthwhile. We can’t stop all child abuse; we can’t cure all mental disease; we can’t eliminate all poverty; just as we can’t stop all abortion; but we have to do what we can. We can’t just give up and let evil have its way.”

Bob was silent for a moment and then said, “You have given me a lot to think about and to pray about. The hour is late, and I have to go back upstairs before I can call it a day. Thanks for taking the time to talk to me.”

“Bob, I am glad to talk with you any time. You always help me clarify my own thinking. Good night, and I’ll see you in the morning.”

CHAPTER —✦ EIGHT ✦—

At twelve noon on Thursday, the Senate adjourned until 2 p.m. the following Monday. Bob called Maria, “Honey, I expect to be home in plenty of time for supper. See if you can get my parents to eat with us. I think it is time we talked to them.”

That evening Hannah finished her dessert, turned to Bob, and said, “Son, it is obvious you have something on your mind. Are you going to tell us about it?”

Bob laughed. “How do you always read my mind? It reminds me of the time I broke the basement window. The difference is that this time I want to talk to you. Maria and I have some big decisions to make and we want you two to tell us what you think. I’ll put the boys to bed while Maria clears the table, and we will meet you in the living room.”

Matthew helped Bob with the boys while Maria and Hannah cleared the table and loaded the dishwasher. Then in the living room, Bob and Maria recounted their visit with David

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Mullins. "Now we want to consider all sides of this," Bob concluded. "We want your input. What happens to us will affect you. If we become famous, you will become famous too. You might have to change the way you live, but you would be in a position to do a lot of good. So your future is involved in whatever we decide. But mainly, we just want your advice."

Matthew shook his head in astonishment. "Here I am, just an old retired janitor, and some big expert from Washington comes out here talking about my son being president."

Maria patted his arm. "Well I can't think of anyone better qualified to be the father of a president. What surprises me is that anyone in Washington would show that much good sense."

"I certainly agree as to Dad's qualifications," Bob said smiling, "but we need to keep this in perspective. The whole thing about president and vice-president is an extremely long shot. As Catherine pointed out to me, the Democratic National Committee will be grooming a whole stable full of prospective candidates, and I would be only one of many."

"Yes, but you would be the best," Maria insisted.

Bob laughed. "I'm glad I married you. But seriously, the main thing we have to consider is the seat in Congress. Both David and Catherine feel sure that I can be elected to Congress next year, and it would be hard to find two people better qualified to give that opinion. So this is something we can really do, and it is no small thing. Congress would be a big step upward, and would give all of us the potential for doing a lot of good. All I have to do is compromise on one thing — I have to vote against HB 160."

"But once you get to Congress, there is the potential for greater things," Maria maintained. "And I certainly think we should take that potential into account in making our decision."

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"I agree," Bob said, "but remember that potential for higher things would involve more compromises. More litmus test issues will come along. So the big decision now is, which is more important — Congress or HB 160? If we decide that I should go to Congress, then we will have more big decisions to make later."

Hannah said, "Son, if HB 160 becomes the law of this state, do you think it will save the lives of any babies?"

Bob was silent for a moment. "Mom you have a way of going to the heart of things. Yes, I believe it would save some lives. Before a doctor could perform an abortion, he would have to give the woman certain information in writing and explain it to her if necessary. This would include illustrations showing the stages of the baby's development, detailed information as to how the operation is to be performed, and information concerning the help that is available to the woman if she decides to let the baby live, including the alternative of adoption. The woman would have to state in writing that she has received and understands the information, and there would be a 24 hour wait for her to think it over. Yes, I believe some women would change their minds if this were done, and some babies would be saved."

"Then that answers your question doesn't it," Hannah said. "I would like to be the mother of the president of the United States, or the vice-president, or even a congressman. It would open many wonderful doors for us all. I am sure we could do many good things. But I don't want it if it is going to cost the lives of some innocent babies."

Matthew said, "Son, what chance does HB 160 have of passing?"

Bob shook his head. "I don't think anyone really knows. It has already passed the House, and the Governor will sign it. The big test is the Senate. The pro-abortion groups are putting

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on a lot of pressure. Senators who are up for re-election next year are being threatened with well financed opposition if they vote wrong. I understand some of them are wavering, both Democrats and Republicans. The best information that I have is that HB 160 is a couple of votes short right now. Of course, the pro-life people are working too, so the situation can change from day to day.”

“In other words, son, the stand you take will make a difference.”

“Yes, Dad, I suppose that is right.”

Matthew continued. “If the law would save the lives of little babies, then you should support it even if it were doomed to fail. But, the fact that your support of the bill might well be all that is needed for it to pass, certainly brings the whole issue home to us, doesn’t it? It sort of puts all those little lives right here in our hands.”

Hannah shook her head sadly. “I feel terrible about this. I can only imagine how excited you two must be to have a key man from the National Committee come clear out here to offer you a seat in Congress and even hold out the prospect of the most important office on earth. And here we are throwing a wet blanket on the whole plan — and without even being very tactful about it.”

Bob said, “It is alright, Mom. We want you to tell us exactly how you feel.”

“I do want you to know how I feel and why I feel the way I do,” Hannah replied. “I have given a lot of thought, study, and prayer to this whole abortion issue, and I am convinced that the central issue is simply this — what is a human being? The way a person answers that question should determine his or her position on abortion.

“Now as a Christian,” Hannah continued, “I believe that each person is of infinite worth, because each of us is created

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in the image of God. Nothing else could give us such value. I have never understood how unbelievers can ascribe great value to the individual person, when they don't even believe in God. How so many of them can be for abortion but against the death penalty is more than I can comprehend. But I don't want to get off on that. The point is that we are created in the image of God. The book of Genesis tells us that after God created all the other animals, He then did something different — He created another creature in His own image. So human beings are something special, something different from all the other animals. Now what is it that makes us different? What does it mean to be in God's image?"

Hannah picked up a Bible from the coffee table. "Here in John, chapter 4, we find Jesus telling the woman at the well that God is Spirit. Thus if we are in His image, we must be spiritual beings also. And the Bible makes it clear from beginning to end that the real person is the spirit. For example, back in Genesis 49:33, in describing Jacob's death, the Bible says 'he drew up his feet into the bed, and breathed his last, and was gathered to his people.' So Jacob's body died, but Jacob went on living and was gathered to his people. Over in I Timothy, chapter 6, in talking about material possessions, the Bible says 'we brought nothing into the world, and we cannot take anything out of the world.' That certainly makes it clear that we came into this world from some place else, and we are going back there. Jesus really nailed it down in Luke 12:4,5, when He told us not to fear those who can kill the body and then can do no more to us, but to fear Him who, after the body is killed, has power to cast into hell."

She laid the Bible on the table. "All this makes it clear that the real person is not the physical body. The real person is the spirit that dwells in the body. Where does the spirit come from? From God, of course. When does an unborn baby

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become a human being? When God puts the spirit in his or her little body. When does this happen? I do not know; the doctors do not know; even the mother does not know. It could happen anytime from conception to birth. Thus, I cannot condone abortion at any stage of pregnancy.”

Bob interrupted. “Of course, all the abortionist can do is kill the body. He can’t kill the spirit.”

“Very true,” Hannah replied. “I suppose it could be argued that we should do away with the laws against murder, because the physical body is all that is killed anyway. But God puts each human here for a purpose and He forbids murder. He forbids the taking of innocent human life.”

She picked up the Bible again. “Here at Revelation 22:15, almost at the end of the Bible, we are told that murderers are among those who will be excluded from heaven. And I think that Genesis 9:6 is a very significant verse. Let me read it. ‘Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed; for God made man in his own image.’ Note here that human life is so important that God commands us to impose the death penalty for murder, and the reason human life is that important is that we are made in the image of God. Now the Law of Moses allowed the death penalty for other crimes. But that was only for the Israelites. But Genesis 9:6 goes back long before the Law of Moses. This was a command given to the whole human race.”

Bob smiled. “Mom, it is obvious why you are in such demand as a Bible teacher. But these are your religious convictions, and I agree with you, as you well know. I believe that humans are spiritual beings, created in the image of God. But do we have the right to impose our religious beliefs on others?”

“You told us that David Mullins asked that same question of you,” Hannah replied, “and I am sure you know the

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answer. Everyone's conduct is influenced by his religious beliefs — not just Christians, but everyone, including the followers of the humanist religion. So let's put the question this way; do the humanists have the right to impose their religious beliefs on the unborn babies? That is the really important question, isn't it? Remember, the opposition to slavery was mainly religious. The anti-slavery people believed it was wrong for one human to own another, since both were created in the image of God. So they were imposing their religious beliefs on the pro-slavery people, but remember that the pro-slavery people were imposing their beliefs on the black people. I wish some of your great-great-grandparents had lived long enough to tell you what that was like.

"But I don't want you to think that my belief that humans are spiritual beings is based solely on the Bible," Hannah continued. "Of course, that is the best authority, and sufficient for me, but also we can see our spiritual nature just by looking at ourselves. Consider the position taken by the humanists, or atheists, or materialists, or whatever you want to call them. They claim that man is the product of evolution, coming forth by accident from an organic soup. In other words, they regard humans as nothing but chance combinations of chemicals. Now how does that fit with what you can see in yourself and in others? Do you feel like nothing but chemicals?"

"Of course not," said Bob. "I feel like a person."

"So does everyone else," Hannah continued. "Deep down inside, we all know we are more than just chemicals. We not only live, we can see ourselves living, that is, we are self-conscious. And we can do more than just react to our environment. We don't just have thoughts — we can think. And we have this sense of oughtness which we call our conscience. How could chemicals have such a thing as that?"

"But, son, I don't need to tell you all this. I know you are

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well aware of the absurdity of the humanist view of man. The point here is how this shapes their view on abortion. If human beings are nothing but chemicals, then it is foolish to talk about the infinite worth of each individual. Certainly, there is no shortage of people. And if we are nothing but chemicals, and our behavior is nothing but chemical reactions, then it is foolish to talk about moral and immoral behavior. So, if you have the power to do it, why not get rid of inconvenient people, such as unwanted babies?"

Maria said, "I remember reading Jack London's novel about the brutal, atheistic sea captain, Wolf Larson. He argued that all life is nothing but a 'yeasty ferment', and that the lives of other people meant nothing to him. It reminds you of the evolutionist's 'organic soup', and of the abortionist's 'blob of protoplasm'."

"If you take the humanistic view of man to its logical conclusion, then Wolf Larson was right," Hannah replied. "Once you reduce humans to chemicals, then you have cheapened all human life and it is easy to justify abortion. But it doesn't stop there. If there is nothing wrong with killing inconvenient people, then the ruling elite can justify the elimination of any group that is in the way. Already they are accepting euthanasia. Who is next — the elderly, the permanently disabled, the mentally ill — then maybe the blacks, the Jews, the Christians? It has happened many times in history, and recent history at that."

"Hannah, what do you think of these politicians who say that they are personally opposed to abortion, but don't want to impose their beliefs on others?" Maria asked.

"Well, Pilate was personally opposed to crucifying Jesus, but when he saw which way the political winds were blowing, he decided he could not impose his beliefs on others. I wouldn't give two cents for a man or woman who believes

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that millions of innocent babies are being slaughtered, but refuses to lift one finger to help them. It is a phony, fence-straddling, position. It makes as much sense to say, I am personally opposed to rape, but don't want to impose my beliefs on the rapists."

Matthew took the Bible and said, "Let me read a passage from my favorite book in the Bible — Matthew naturally. Here it is in the fourth chapter. 'Again, the devil took Him to a very high mountain and showed Him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and he said to Him, "All these I will give You, if You will fall down and worship me." Then Jesus said to him, "Begone, Satan! for it is written, You shall worship the Lord your God and Him only shall you serve." ' Son, you have been offered some great things. I am very proud of you, to think that you have attracted attention all the way to our nation's capital. But it seems to me that in order to accept this offer you have to go against your Christian faith. Neither you nor Maria could be happy doing that."

Hannah nodded her agreement. "Stay true to God and He will bless you. I am sure that God has some plan for using both of you in a way that is better than any of this."

They were silent for a moment, then Maria said, "Bob, your parents are right, of course. There go my plans for re-decorating the White House."

Bob laughed. "Honey, I am glad you can joke about it. I know how excited you have been. But really, there is only one answer — we can't do it. Mom and Dad, thanks for helping us to see that. Tomorrow morning I will call David Mullins and tell him I must vote for HB 160. I need to call Senator Fairfield too. He is the Senate sponsor for HB 160, and he is anxious to know where I stand. I'll tell him that I will vote yes."

CHAPTER —✦ NINE ✦—

Bob reached the top of the hill on Jefferson Street and turned west on High. Miniature leaves, sprouting under the warm April sun, gave the Capitol lawn a delicate green hue. His walk to work that morning had been a time of meditation and prayer. Just voting for HB 160, he had decided, was not enough. Babies' lives were at stake, and he had to do all he could to help pass that bill. So he had decided that he must take the floor of the Senate and speak in the bill's behalf, knowing that this would assure strong opposition in next year's campaign for re-election.

He paused in front of the Supreme Court building and faced the Capitol. The view lifted his spirits as he crossed High Street and walked slowly up the central approach between the two stately fountains, the one on his left representing the Arts, and the one on his right representing the Sciences. To his front was the commanding bronze statue of Thomas Jefferson, standing in the center of the great stairway

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that leads to the main entrance of the Capitol. On either side of the stairway were the reclining bronze figures, representing Missouri's two great rivers — the female figure being the Missouri, and the male figure being the Mississippi.

Bob stopped in front of the Jefferson statue. In making this likeness, the artist had used Gilbert Stuart's full length portrait, C.W. Peale's head portrait, and the life mask of Jefferson by Brower. The result was magnificent. Dignified, powerful, and meditative, yet charged with vital energy, the statue dominated the entire scene. Bob felt a sense of pride at being a part of the great political party that Jefferson had helped found. Was Bob's stand on abortion an act of disloyalty? No, Bob thought, nothing in the historic principles of the Democratic Party required him to support abortion on demand. Still, he felt a vague sense of dread about today's session, for today the Senate would vote on HB 160.

Entering the Senate chamber, Bob stopped at Senator Fairfield's desk. "How does it look," he asked?

Richard Fairfield shook his head. "Not too good. We have 15 'yes' votes, and 14 are definitely 'no'. That leaves 5 who say they are undecided, but I fear most of them are leaning 'no'. We have to have 3 of these undecideds. It's an uphill battle."

"I have decided to speak in favor of the bill," Bob said.

"Bob, I am glad to hear that. You can help."

After the Chaplain's opening prayer, the President announced that debate on HB 160, which had begun the previous day, would resume. Bob listened intently as each senator spoke. His experience on the Adamsville High School debate team had taught him the value of knowing exactly what his opponents had said.

Following the noon recess, the debate continued. Senator Barbara Bickel of New Dresden, a leader of the pro-abortion camp, had the floor. Her senatorial district adjoins Bob's

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district on the north, and is included in the same congressional district. Simultaneously with the present congressman's announcement that he would not seek reelection, Barbara Bickel had announced that she would seek the Democratic nomination for Congress. Bob felt sure that Barbara was a David Mullins recruit.

She was saying, "In conclusion, Mr. President, let me quote the words of that distinguished justice of the United States Supreme Court, the Honorable Harry Blackmun. He wrote these words in a case before that court involving a so-called 'informed consent' statute that had been adopted by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and which contained provisions similar to those in HB 160.

"Justice Blackmun wrote as follows: 'The printed materials required seem to us to be nothing less than an outright attempt to wedge the Commonwealth's message discouraging abortion into the privacy of the informed-consent dialogue between the woman and her physician. The mandated description of fetal characteristics at 2-week intervals, no matter how objective, is plainly over-inclusive. This is not medical information that it is always relevant to the woman's decision, and it may serve only to confuse and punish her and to heighten her anxiety, contrary to accepted medical practice.'

"Mr. President," Barbara Bickel continued, "these wise and compassionate words by Justice Blackmun, go to the very heart of our issue here today. HB 160 is nothing less than an attempt to thrust the overbearing arm of state government into the intensely personal and private decision that should be made by the woman and her physician. It is nothing less than an attempt to bully and intimidate the woman at a very difficult time in her life, and to keep her from exercising her right to control her own body. The people of this state are over-

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whelmingly opposed to such cruel intrusion into the lives of the women of Missouri. I must warn those who vote for this bill that they will be called to account by the voters of their district. Let us give HB 160 the firm rejection that it deserves. Thank you.”

Senator Bickel sat down and Bob Hill rose to his feet. The Presiding Officer looked about the chamber, and then said, “The chair recognizes the senator from Adamsville.”

“Mr. President,” Bob began, “honorable members of this Senate. The language you have just heard quoted is from Mr. Justice Blackmun’s opinion in *Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists*. My colleagues, I am sure, will be interested in knowing that the Pennsylvania statute in question, contained a provision requiring the attending physician to make an effort to save the baby’s life. Those who have not read this case will, no doubt, be shocked to learn that this provision too was declared to be unconstitutional. In other words, Mr. President, this judge, to whom we are referred as a shining example of wisdom and compassion, actually declared that our constitution forbids a law requiring a doctor to attempt to save a little baby’s life.

“Fortunately, the *Thornburgh* case no longer controls. *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* is now our guide, and we have every reason to believe that HB 160 will be upheld by the Federal Courts.

“Mr. President, I have listened carefully to the words spoken these last two days by the opponents of this bill, and I have noted certain common threads that run through them all. While they have rarely mentioned the word ‘abortion’, they have made frequent use of the word ‘choice’. It appears that they are absolutely devoted to freedom of choice. With such a noble objective as this, one wonders why they are opposed to HB 160. The purpose of this bill is simply to assure

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that any woman seeking an abortion in this state, is fully informed as to the nature of the procedure she is about to undergo, the consequences of her procedure, and the alternatives she may choose. It is unthinkable that a doctor would perform a hysterectomy, or an appendectomy, or even pierce a woman's ears, without furnishing her with this information. All of these medical procedures require the woman's informed consent. Why do the honorable senators object to a requirement that such information be furnished to a woman who is considering an abortion? Certainly a free choice must be an informed choice.

"And then, Mr. President, I have noticed that the opponents of this bill have avoided all mention of the baby. Apparently they believe that no one is involved in an abortion but the woman. Alright, let us talk about the woman for a moment. Only God knows how many thousands of women in this country today are bearing a burden of guilt and remorse because of an abortion. A woman who chooses abortion without being fully informed of the nature and consequences of her act, will some day realize what she has done, and may have her life ruined by a devastating load of guilt. How much better for her to have this information before she takes that fatal step.

"But, Mr. President, the woman is not the only one involved in this choice. She is not even the one who is the most deeply involved. For the little boy or girl in her womb, it is a matter of life or death. It is my hope and my prayer that HB 160 will save the lives of some of these precious little children. It is my hope and my prayer that HB 160 will cause some women to choose life. Surely the opponents of this bill do not object to that.

"Yet, Mr. President, it seems almost that they do object. Perhaps the strangest thing about this whole abortion contro-

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versy is the definite impression which one gets that the pro-choice people consider it a defeat for their cause every time a woman chooses to let her baby live. If they are so committed and devoted to freedom of choice, why do they object to a woman choosing life? Why do they object to a woman being fully informed before she makes her choice?

“A most revealing incident occurred a few years back involving a newspaper published in North Carolina. This newspaper had, since *Roe v. Wade*, consistently taken a stand in favor of abortion on demand. One day it published a picture of an unborn baby. The result was astonishing. The pro-choice readers deluged the paper with letters and phone calls, furiously denouncing the paper's action, and canceling many subscriptions. No one claimed that the picture was inaccurate. No one claimed that it did not fairly show that tiny, helpless, human being. No, Mr. President, the objection was just to the publication of the picture at all. The objection was to letting the people of North Carolina see what a little, unborn, human being looks like.

“Can't we see something like this in the opposition to HB 160? No one contends that the information furnished to the woman is inaccurate. The objection is just to the furnishing of the information at all. I keep asking myself, why should anyone object to a bill that simply requires that a woman be fully informed before she consents to an abortion? Why should anyone object to a newspaper publishing a picture that fairly and accurately shows an unborn baby? I am forced to this conclusion — the pro-choice people don't want to see the babies, they don't want to hear the babies, and especially they do not want the mothers to know about their babies.

“Mr. President, when God directed the Children of Israel to go in and conquer the Promised Land, He told them to destroy the peoples who lived there. This command was

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necessary because of the vileness of the pagan religions practiced in that good land. The most brutal worship of all was that demanded by Moloch. This cruel demon was represented by an iron idol with hollow belly and with both arms bent in front in a cradling position. A fire was built in the hollow belly, and each mother was required to sacrifice her first-born by placing him in the idol's arms to be burned alive. During this horrible ceremony, the priests and priestesses of Moloch beat drums which reached a deafening crescendo as the mother laid her baby in the idol's arms. The purpose, of course, was to keep the mother from hearing her baby's screams.

"Just as the priests and priestesses of Moloch knew that once the mothers of ancient Canaan heard their babies' screams, they would abandon that pagan god in droves, so the priests and priestesses of abortion know that once the mothers of modern Missouri are fully informed about the helpless babies in their wombs, they will abandon the abortion camp by the thousands. And so they beat the drums of choice, choice, freedom of choice, and drown out the knowledge that makes a real choice possible. Mr. President, we must silence those pounding drums. For the sake of those helpless babies, the school children of tomorrow, the very future of our state, we must pass this bill and let the mothers of Missouri hear their babies scream.

"One more brief point, Mr. President, and then I am through. I know that the members of this Senate have been subjected to great pressure. I know they have been warned, yes even threatened, that a vote in favor of this bill will bring them powerful, well-financed, opposition in their next election. All over this nation, a great campaign is underway to scare lawmakers away from their pro-life convictions. But I say stand fast. Be true to your convictions. And if you will let the voters know where you stand, and why you take that

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stand, the good people of Missouri will rally to your cause. I cannot say it nearly as well as that inspiring inscription to our left front, upon the wall of this chamber; 'Nothing Is Politically Right That Is Morally Wrong'. Thank you."

Bob returned to his seat. The Senate chamber was silent, Barbara Bickel started to rise, changed her mind, and sank back into her chair. Finally the President said, "It appearing that no other senator wishes to speak to this bill, the sponsor of the bill, Senator Richard Fairfield, may close."

Deliberately Richard Fairfield rose to his feet, looked about the chamber, and then said, "I have nothing to add to the eloquent words of our young colleague from Adamsville. I close."

Senator Fairfield sat down, and the President said, "The Clerk shall call the roll to determine the sense of this Senate on HB 160."

All 34 senators were present, and as the Clerk called the names in alphabetical order, Bob kept a running tally of his own. The lead shifted back and forth between the "yeas" and the "nays", until finally the magic number of 18 was reached and passed. The President announced, "The Chair is informed by the Clerk that the yeas are 19 and the nays are 15. I therefore declare that HB 160 has passed this Senate."

The Senate adjourned until Monday at 2 p.m. Richard Fairfield was waiting by the door. He shook Bob's hand and said, "Young man you made the difference. I think I know how much that cost you."

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Bob returned to his office, told Catherine what had taken place, returned several phone calls, and then left for Adamsville. Maria met him at the door, obviously excited. “Oh, Bob, wait until you hear the local news. They are giving you the credit for the passing of HB 160. You are famous.”

Bob smiled. “Famous with some, but infamous with a lot of others. It isn’t every day that you make several million enemies. I can’t help feeling a little sad about that. Yet I would do it again.”

Maria answered the phone and said, “Your mother wants to talk to you.”

Hannah said, “Son, I know you must be feeling a little numb and shaken up. I am sure you will be getting some unpleasant phone calls and a lot of hate mail. Don’t be discouraged. All that counts is that you did what God wanted you to do. He has used you as His man, and no human honor can equal that. So have no regrets about what you have given

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up. In a few years hundreds of little boys and girls will be experiencing the joys of life because of that law that was passed today. Nothing you could have done in Washington would have been more important than that."

"Thanks, Mom. That was just what I needed to hear. I feel better."

Bob hung up and turned to Maria. "Honey, we may get some nasty phone calls. I'll take them tonight, and tomorrow I will get us an unlisted number. Let them call the offices. Catherine and Virginia will know how to handle them."

On his way to the law office the next morning, Bob picked up the Kansas City and St. Louis papers as well as the Adamsville daily. The wire services carried only a brief announcement that HB 160 had passed the Missouri Senate and was expected to be signed into law by the Governor. However, one St. Louis paper, and the Adamsville paper, had lengthy accounts of the Senate action, and quoted extensively from Bob's speech. Both papers referred to it as the "Drums of Moloch" speech, and gave Bob credit for turning the tide in favor of the bill.

The phone started ringing about 8 o'clock, and when Virginia arrived at nine, Bob said, "Please screen my calls. If a call is about HB 160, take the message for me. Otherwise I will get nothing done today."

Virginia was tied up with the telephone the rest of the day. Bob told Sherman, "I am sorry to bring all this down upon our law office."

Sherman said, "Don't worry about it, Bob. In the first place, this kind of publicity never hurts a law firm. We may pick up some good clients from this. In the second place, you did the right thing yesterday and I am proud of you. I don't care if it does cause us some trouble."

About two thirds of the calls were from people who

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favored Bob's position, and Virginia took their names and addresses for Bob's political mailing list. On a separate list, she kept the names and addresses of those unfavorable callers who were willing to give that information. Bob planned extensive use of direct mail in his campaign for re-election, and the most effective mailing lists were those oriented to important issues.

When Bob returned to Jefferson City on Monday morning, he found Catherine opening a stack of mail. She said, "The phone rang all day Friday and has kept it up this morning. Both the calls and the letters are running about 2 to 1 in your favor. I am getting a lot of names for your mailing list, but at least half of them are outside your district."

"We can sort them out later. Even those outside the district can be helpful if I have to send out a fund raising letter."

Catherine nodded. "If the anti-calls and letters are any guide, you will need all the financial help you can get. Most of them are vowing to see that you are defeated, including giving money to your opponent, whoever he may be. And that is just the nicest thing they are saying about you."

Bob laughed. "Well, as Harry Truman said, if you can't stand the heat, stay out of the kitchen. I am afraid I built a really hot fire this time, and I admit that it makes me a little uncomfortable. But I am glad I did it. If I had just sat there and said nothing and HB 160 had been defeated, I would be ashamed to hold up my head. However, I am sorry that you are having to take all this heat and abuse."

"Don't waste any time worrying about me," Catherine replied. "I have been in politics too long to have a thin skin. The only time I feel any regret is when I think of all you gave up for this. But knowing you as I do, I realize that you had to do what you did. Incidentally, Senator Fairfield called and wants to get together with you. He has someone he wants you

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to meet.”

“Tell him I am available any time this week that suits his convenience.”

When the Senate adjourned that afternoon, Richard Fairfield came over to Bob’s desk. “I got your message from Catherine and I have set up our meeting for Wednesday at 5 p.m. at my office. I don’t want to spring any surprises on you. The person I want you to meet is Shirley Russo. She works for the Republican National Committee. I asked her to come out here to talk to you about switching parties. Now, Bob, I know that is a shocker, but keep an open mind. She is a real sharp gal and I want you to hear what she has to say. At the very least, you will learn a little more about national politics.”

Bob raised his hands in mock horror. “Richard, you are talking blasphemy to a good Democrat like me. But I will be there on Wednesday and I promise to listen.”

A little before five on Wednesday afternoon, Bob told Catherine “Good night” and walked down to Senator Fairfield’s third floor office. Shirley Russo was already there. She was a small, attractive woman in her early forties.

After the introductions she said, “Bob, Richard has probably told you that I live in Washington and work for the Republican National Committee. My husband works for the Department of Defense and both of my children are in college, so I am able to do some traveling for the National Committee. Richard has called us about you, but we had heard about you even before he called. There are few secrets in Washington. We had heard that David Mullins had been to see you about running for Congress, but that you had refused to cave-in on the abortion issue. That attracted some attention because it isn’t often you see that kind of a stand on principle, at least in our business. So when Richard called I was glad to come out here to talk to you.”

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Shirley continued, "I do the same work for the Republicans that David Mullins does for the Democrats. To get right to the point, we want you to switch parties, but we want you to do more than that. We want you to run for Congress on the Republican ticket."

Bob shook his head. "I can't believe what I am hearing. I am just an ordinary, small-town lawyer, but here in just the space of the last two months I have been asked to run for the high office of United States Congressman by both of the major political parties."

Richard interrupted. "Bob, you are a small-town lawyer, but you are not an ordinary, small-town lawyer."

"Ordinary or extra-ordinary, it still doesn't make sense for me to run for Congress as a Republican. In the first place, there are a lot of pro-life Republicans in our district who are much more deserving of the office than I am. In the second place, if I switched parties people would look upon me as an unprincipled turncoat and refuse to vote for me."

"I disagree, Bob," Shirley said. "Switching parties for the right reason does not show lack of principle. It shows that you place principle above blind loyalty. Back in Civil War times, many good Democrats switched parties because of the slavery issue. That didn't show lack of conviction. It proved that they had the courage to follow their honest convictions. Bob, you have that kind of conviction about abortion. And believe me, you will not be the only one who switches. This abortion issue is a vital, life and death matter, and more and more it is becoming a party issue. There are still many pro-life Democrats in public office, but they are a dying breed. Some of them will retire, some will be defeated, some will switch parties. If you remain a Democrat, your career will run into a dead end. You can go no higher than your present office, and, as the make-up of your party changes, you will be isolated

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and eventually defeated. We don't want that to happen because we think you have a lot to offer to your country, to your people, and also to the Republican party. So we want you to come over to our side."

"Still, Shirley, I do not see how I could be elected to Congress. My district is a Democratic district. Barbara Bickel is sure to get the Democratic nomination, and she is a smart politician and a skillful campaigner. I just can't see any Republican beating her, especially one who has just switched parties. And remember my term expires next year, so I would have to give up my seat in the state Senate in order to run for Congress."

Richard Fairfield said, "Bob, your district is not nearly as safe a Democratic district as it used to be and most people still think it is. Missouri's political complexion has undergone a vast change in the last 30 years or so. Party loyalties are not as strong as they used to be. If we could poll that district today, I would guess we would find about 30% who say that they are Democrats; about 20% who say they are Republicans; and about 50% who say they are Independents. Sure, as long as the incumbent congressman was running for re-election, it looked like a strong Democratic district. He did a good job for the district and they kept sending him back. But he is out of the picture now, so it is a whole new ball game. Remember, that district voted for the Republican candidate for president in 2 out of the last 3 elections."

"Okay, maybe a Republican does have a chance in my district," Bob replied. "I still don't see why you want me to be your candidate. Surely you have some attractive Republicans who would have a better chance than I."

Shirley said, "Bob, let me give you our thinking. From your voting record in the state Senate and from various speeches you have made, we believe that your principles are very close

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to those set out in our party platform. Even more important, we believe you can be trusted to stand by your honest convictions. Your college record and all that you have accomplished since college are evidence of your ability and intelligence. You are an outstanding speaker, you have personal charisma, you have an attractive family, and your record is free from any hint of scandal. In other words, you have everything it takes to make a good candidate. But I will be honest with you. The single most important reason why we want you is because you are black."

Bob frowned. "Of course, I suspected that, and it really bothers me. I don't want preferential treatment just because I am black. And I don't want my blackness to be capitalized on. I don't like the idea of being the Republican's 'token' black."

"Bob, I have watched you closely for nearly two and a half years, and I think I know you as well as anybody in the Senate. I can't imagine you being anybody's 'token' anything." Richard slapped his hand on his desk. "The very reason we want you is because you are not looking for preferential treatment. We want young, honest, capable leadership, regardless of race. The fact that you are black makes you doubly attractive to the Republicans, simply because we are weak with that part of the population and you could give us help. We want to be more sensitive to the interests of the black population. We want them to know that there is a place for them in the Republican Party. There is nothing wrong with that."

Shirley said, "Bob, our party has been accused of ignoring the blacks. If that is true, then we want to correct it. We don't want the Republican Party to be lily white. I am sure you will agree that it is not good for the country for the political parties to split along racial lines. It certainly is not good for your people. The Democrats have had the black vote locked up for so long that they just take you for granted. They have little to of-

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fer but more welfare. You know what a dead end street that has been. We Republicans believe that the great need of our black population is economic betterment through the free enterprise system. What they need is better education and more opportunity. As the blacks take their rightful place intellectually and economically, they will also take their rightful place socially and culturally. Bob, I believe you are in basic agreement with what I have said. If your convictions are more in harmony with the Republican platform than with your party, why shouldn't you switch parties?"

Bob smiled. "I will admit that you have hit a sensitive point with me. My parents tell me that the blacks were making good progress economically during the 1940s and 1950s, until they were side-tracked by the Great Society in the mid 60s. Dad and Mom were Republicans until the Democrats took the lead on civil rights issues."

Shirley nodded. "I admit that the Republicans fumbled the ball on civil rights. It wasn't that we favored discrimination. We just didn't do enough to stop it. But if you could check the records, I think you will find that most Republicans did vote for the civil rights legislation, and often provided the winning margin. Anyway it is law now, and we support it. What we need now is not more laws, but more tolerance and respect in the hearts of individual Americans. And this is where Republican Congressman Robert M. Hill could have a tremendous impact."

"Just what do you mean?"

"As a Democrat you are limited to the Missouri Senate. Even if you went higher, you would still be just one of hundreds of black Democratic office holders, and, because of your stand on abortion, you would have little influence in the party. But as a Republican you would be very important to the party. People would listen to what you had to say. You would

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be in great demand as a speaker at party meetings and conventions. You would be on television as a party spokesman. In other words you would rise rapidly to a position of party leadership. All this means that you would have a great impact not only on blacks but also on all Americans. And from all that that I know about you, I am convinced that your influence will be for more tolerance and respect, and for greater harmony between the races. Bob, the Republican Party is wide open for honest, capable, conservative, black leaders. You will rise faster and be able to do more for your people and for your country as a Republican. I firmly believe that our first black president will be a Republican."

Bob laughed. "Surely you don't mean me."

Shirley was serious. "Well it surely is possible. We know that the Democrats are anxious to have a black on their national ticket, but are having a hard time finding one who would be acceptable to white voters, and still would be acceptable to a Democratic National Convention. I would like to see the Republicans beat them to it. And we might do it, because the black leader who would be acceptable to a Republican convention is the very kind that would be acceptable to white voters."

"What do you mean 'acceptable to white voters'? Are you talking about some kind of an 'Uncle Tom'?"

"By no means," Shirley replied, "I am talking about a black candidate who is in tune with main-stream America. As you know, Bob, most of the black leaders in this country have positioned themselves over on the extreme left. A good many of them are avowed Socialists. Some of them have expressed anti-American sentiments. Some have even endorsed terrorist organizations like the PLO. I shouldn't have used the term 'white voters'. What I really mean is main-stream American voters, which includes white, black, Hispanic, Asiatic, and all

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others. You must appeal to these voters in order to win a nationwide race, and this has been the Democrats' problem in getting one of their black leaders on their national ticket. But they are working on it; which is why they were so interested in you."

Richard leaned across his desk. "Bob, there is no doubt in my mind, that you would have a great future in the Republican Party — provided we can get you elected to Congress. That would be the first problem and probably the most difficult. You are right about Barbara Bickel. She will be a strong candidate. But she is considerably more liberal than the average voter in your congressional district. Your convictions are much closer to those of your district. Your job would be to get that across to the voters."

Shirley said, "Bob, you may not realize what an impact your speech in the Senate has had nationwide. At first, the big media tried to ignore it. But after the St. Louis paper broke the story, some of them had to pick it up. The right to life people are ecstatic. They will carry your speech in full in all of their publications, and, if they haven't already, they will be contacting you for pictures and interviews. Of course, the pro-abortion people are furious. You hit them where it really hurt. Their whole strategy has been to concentrate all attention on the woman. Like the priests of Moloch, they have tried to draw attention away from the baby. You exposed that strategy in rather dramatic fashion, to say the least. From now on, everywhere they go, they will have "Drums of Moloch" thrown in their faces. Frankly, Bob, if words could kill, we would be here today attending your funeral."

"What this means," Shirley continued, "is that the race between Barbara Bickel and Robert Hill would be the most sensational, the most closely watched, congressional race in the whole country. The pro-abortion people would leave no

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stone unturned. You are their public enemy number one. They would examine your past, present, and future with a fine-toothed comb. They would bring in big-named speakers from all over the country. They would slant the news coverage to favor your opponent. And they would pour in the money like you wouldn't believe. But the very fact that they would be so anxious to beat you, could work to your advantage. I believe we could count on over-kill. At some point, the people of your district would start resenting the unfairness of it all; they would resent the outside interference; and it would all work to your favor."

Shirley went on. "I don't want to leave the impression that you would be facing them all alone. You are a national hero to the right to life people. They do not have the abortion clinics and the fat cats to come up with the big money, but you would receive thousands of five and ten dollar gifts from people all over the country. And more important than the money, you would have hundreds of workers, mostly women, who would ring doorbells and dial telephones in your behalf. Dedicated workers like that are priceless. They will influence their family, their friends, and their neighbors in your behalf, and they will see that they get out and vote. Of course, the pro-abortion people will have the workers too, but they will not be as many or as dedicated as the pro-lifers. The abortion clinic operators and the intellectual elite will give the money but they will not ring the doorbells. The rank and file abortionists will do some work. But it is hard to find people who are that enthusiastic about killing babies."

Richard broke in. "Bob, I believe the right to life position will be a winner for those Republicans who stand their ground, and who have the ability to focus some of the attention on the baby. You have proven that you can do that. But, while we must not let them put us on the defensive about

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abortion, we must not let them make abortion the only issue in the election. You and Barbara differ on just about every important issue there is. For example, take the question of law and order. You have proven your concern for the victims of crime, and your belief that criminals must be dealt with fairly but firmly. Barbara has proven just the opposite. She voted against the death penalty. She introduced a bill that would have replaced our prisons with 'treatment centers'. She believes that crime is the fault of society, not the criminals. And take national defense. Did you know that Barbara has been active in various 'unilateral disarmament' groups since her college days? In all this she is out of step with the voters in your district, and it would be your job to make that known."

Bob said, "I can't understand these people who want to pamper hardened criminals. Our government is failing in its very first duty — to provide for the reasonable safety of its citizens. I believe in all of the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, but when people can't be secure in their own homes, and are afraid to walk the streets of our cities, we have already lost a good part of our freedom. As for national defense, I am always amazed by these people who think we can have peace through weakness. History has proven time and again how false that is."

Richard nodded vigorously. "See what an interesting race you would have against Barbara. But it would be tough. Don't get into it unless you have the stomach for a real battle."

Bob laughed. "Now you are trying to stir up my fighting spirit. But I must admit that I am somewhat intrigued by the whole idea. It would be an interesting race."

"And you could do a lot for a cause you believe in very deeply," Richard added. "Your race against Barbara would be seen all over this nation as a clear cut battle between abortion

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and life, and your victory would be a tremendous boost to the right to life movement, and would strengthen a lot of weak backs all over the country.”

Shirley said, “If you switch parties and run for Congress, I can promise you all the help from the National Committee that we can legally give. We can supply some technical help, some mailing lists, and some big time speakers of our own, maybe even the President himself. And keep this in mind, with all the publicity and attention this race would receive, if you win, you would go to Washington already famous. You would already be one of the best known Republicans in town, and already a power within the party. You would have an excellent chance to advance on up the ladder from Congress.”

Bob was silent for a moment. “You two have given me a lot to think about. When I walked in here I didn’t think there was much chance I would consider changing parties. But now I am not so sure. This will take a lot of thought and a lot of prayer, and a lot of discussion with my wife, my parents, my law partner, and perhaps one or two others. Shirley, I appreciate the trouble you have gone to coming out here to talk to me, and I appreciate the kind things both of you have said about me, and the attention you have shown.”

They stood up and Richard put his hand on Bob’s shoulder. “Young man you have a God-given talent for leadership that you need to use for your country. Because of this abortion issue, a powerful re-alignment is shaking the foundations of both major parties. But out of the turmoil arises a great opportunity for you. Your future is in the Republican Party. The time to act is now. The great Bard of Avon said it this way:

There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which taken at the flood leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life

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Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat,
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures.”

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The next day Bob gave Catherine a full account of the Shirley Russo interview. “Now I want your reaction to this whole affair. Your opinion means a lot to me.”

Catherine said, “Switching parties is a mighty big step and it has ruined the careers of some who have done it. However, in your case it could work all right. Everyone would know that you were switching because of a matter of deeply held principle and not for personal gain. So I don’t think anyone would consider you to be a turncoat.”

“What do you think is right morally?”

“I am not sure it is a moral issue. Bob, there is no doubt that your convictions are more in keeping with the present Republican platform, but you could justify staying in the Democratic Party in order to change its position. And for that matter, the Republican platform could change — they might switch to the abortion side. But as a practical matter, we would have to admit these two points. One, for the fore-

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seeable future, your convictions will be closer to the Republicans than to the Democrats, and two, you will have no luck trying to change the Democratic platform. So, if there is a moral issue here, it must be in favor of switching.”

Bob said, “Okay let’s look at the practical side. Would I have a chance of beating Barbara Bickel for Congress?”

Catherine frowned. “That won’t be easy. Barbara is a smart, tough, energetic politician. But you are just as smart and just as tough, and I believe you could do it. You may be the only one in the district who could beat her. As Shirley said, the pro-abortion people would be so anxious to beat you that they may well engage in over-kill. The right-to-life people will be working their hearts out for you, but their effort will be less obvious, and thus less offensive, but more effective, because it will be mainly on a person to person basis.”

Catherine continued. “But the important thing to remember is that you would have a lot more to win than you would have to lose. The stakes are high and they are all in your favor. If you lose, you are out of the State Senate and you go back to Adamsville to a good law practice, which will be considerably better just because of your race for Congress. But if you win, you will be nationally known and will go to Washington as one of the brightest stars in the Republican Party. Bob, your ‘Drums of Moloch’ speech has already made you a national figure, so your race against Barbara would be the most closely watched congressional race in the whole country. If you win, the whole country will know that you beat a strong Democrat in a heavily Democratic district, and that you beat the whole pro-abortion organization. Richard Fairfield is right. You could very quickly become a leader in the Republican Party. If you could get re-elected two or three times, I really believe that you would have a better shot at the vice-president spot as a Republican than you would as a

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Democrat.”

“You make it sound mighty good, Catherine. Obviously you think I should switch. Tell me, will you join the Republicans too?”

Catherine laughed. “Since we don’t register by party in Missouri, the only people who have to make a public choice are elected officials and candidates. I have considered myself a Democrat all my life, but it has been at least 20 years since I have voted a straight ticket. I have been close enough to the action to know that there are Democrat bums and there are Republican bums. I have tried to avoid voting for bums. I have even voted in the Republican primary a few times. But I see no need for me to make a public switch at this time. Nobody would be interested anyway.

“I do have one request,” Catherine continued. “I have always been fascinated by Washington, D.C. If you do go up there, I would like to have any sort of a job in your Washington office.”

“Catherine, if I am elected to Congress, I want you to be in charge of my Washington office. In fact, I don’t think I would run unless I could count on you for that job.”

“Don’t worry. You can count on me — even if I have to become a dyed-in-the-wool Republican.”

Bob said, “I want to get this thing settled one way or the other, and I need to talk to my wife, my parents, and my law partner. And I need some time to pray about it. I believe I will take off for Adamsville. Call Maria and tell her that we have another big decision to make and that I am on my way home. Ask her to invite Mom and Dad over for supper tonight. Maria may be over at Jacob’s school, but should be home before long. Keep trying until you get her. Thanks Catherine. If the Lord is willing, I’ll see you Monday with the decision all made.”

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After supper that evening, Matthew, Hannah, and Maria listened as Bob related his conversations with Shirley Russo, Richard Fairfield, and Catherine.

“Well, that is the whole amazing story,” Bob concluded. “I thought of the verses in Proverbs, chapter 3, which say, ‘Trust in the Lord with all your heart, and do not rely on your own insight. In all your ways acknowledge Him and He will make straight your paths.’ I sure need some insight beyond my own and I sure need my path straightened out so I can see where I am going. Mom, I remembered your Bible School lesson a couple of weeks ago. You gave us four ways to know God’s will — like four lower lights we could line up to guide us into the harbor. You said God may speak to us through the Bible, through the trend of circumstances, through the advice of Godly friends, and through our own inner impulse. I prayed about this all the way home and now I want the advice of you three Godly friends.”

“Son, I am pleased by your whole approach to this problem,” Hannah said. “It is a big decision to make, and you must not make it for selfish reasons.”

“Changing sides always involves some risk,” Matthew said. “Some people may misunderstand. While we shouldn’t let our lives be controlled by what other people may or may not understand, we must remember that loyalty is important. We should show some loyalty to our political party, but it certainly doesn’t rise to the level of loyalty to God, country, or family. As you know, your mother and I switched to the Democratic Party back in the 1960s. Of course, there was no public announcement. It was just a private decision on our part. We admired the work of Dr. Martin Luther King, and appreciated the support he was getting from the Democrats. So we switched. We simply decided that the issues involved were more important than loyalty to any political party.”

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"Well there is good and bad in both parties," Hannah added. "I am glad we have both parties, because one party rule by either one would be bad for us all."

"Actually, your mother and I voted for the Republican in the last presidential race," Matthew continued. "We were concerned when it came out that the Democrat had vetoed a bill for the pledge of allegiance in the schools, and had authorized weekend passes for convicted murderers, and so forth. I know the news commentators kept saying this was negative campaigning, and that these things were not important, and that we should concentrate on the big issues, but as far as we were concerned these so-called trifling matters told us a lot about a man's character and convictions. We decided that here was a man who considered patriotism to be for the ignorant and unsophisticated, and considered crime to be the fault of society. The big issues may change from day to day, but the man's character and convictions stay the same, and this tells us how he will deal with those changing issues."

Maria said, "Bob and I have never put party loyalty above what we felt was the best interest of the country. I think the Democratic Party has done a lot of good for this country and I am truly sorry that the abortion issue is dividing up along party lines. But if that is the way it is going to be, then we may have to re-consider our party affiliation. It is hard to think of any issue more important to our country than the life or death of thousands of little babies."

Bob said, "Mom, you said I must not act from selfish motives, and I guess that is what is bothering me. Catherine and Richard have convinced me that I have much better opportunity for advancement with the Republicans than I have with the Democrats. They are right when they say I have hit a dead end. After that 'Drums of Moloch' speech I am not going anywhere with the Democrats. Now here are the Republicans

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dangling all of the kingdoms of the world before me again. Am I being tempted for the wrong reasons?"

Hannah shook her head. "The Republicans are not asking you to go against any of your convictions. As far as we can see now, there are no litmus tests that you have to pass. If that comes later, you can always say no."

Maria said, "Honey, we all know that you would not be acting from selfish motives or for personal gain. Your big concern is for the babies of America. If you had wanted to act selfishly, all you had to do was vote against HB 160, and you were practically guaranteed a seat in Congress and a great political future. When you made your 'Drums of Moloch' speech, you thought you were practically ending your political career. You didn't have the faintest idea that you might be promoting a career in the Republican Party. All that came later. Bob, you haven't made one selfish move throughout this whole affair.

"So let's look at where we are now," Maria continued. "I have been around the news business long enough to know that, in the eyes of the newsmen, you are a really hot item. After what you did up there on the floor of the Senate, they can't ignore you even if they want to. If you switch parties and run against Barbara Bickel, who was your main opponent in the big battle on the Senate floor, it will be a sensational story. The fact that they will expect Barbara to win, will cause them to give even more coverage to your race. They will want everyone to know about it because they will expect the outcome to be a great victory for the pro-abortion cause. And then when you win, and I believe you can win, think what a tremendous victory that will be for the unborn babies of America. Maybe some of these politicians, both Democrats and Republicans, who have been leaving the pro-life cause like rats deserting a sinking ship, will decide that the ship isn't

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sinking after all. Bob, your victory could refresh the whole pro-life movement."

Bob nodded his head. "Honey, as usual, what you say makes good sense. There would be a lot riding on a Hill v. Bickel race. To get in the race, and draw all that publicity, and then lose would be a small set-back for me, but it would be a great tragedy for the babies. So such a race would put a lot of pressure, not just on me, but on all of us."

Maria smiled. "I have never known you to run from pressure, or to get into anything without intending to win. And don't worry about me. I can take my share of the pressure. I have seen a little of it in the news rooms over the years. I'll be in this battle with you all the way."

Matthew said, "Son, this little wife of yours is just as smart as she is pretty. I believe she has about said it all. Let me add just a little more. I remember a couple of months back when you two were all excited about what you could do to help our people and to improve race relations and to help our country, if you could just reach some high government office. Well, all that still holds true. You could do it just as well as a Republican as you could as a Democrat, maybe better. So you may once again be in a position to perform a great public service. Now if this also advances your own career, there is nothing wrong with that. In fact you can't perform the public service unless you do advance your own career."

"I agree," said Hannah. "If God sees fit to bless you with high office, you should rejoice and you should use that office to serve Him. You are going about this in the right way — seeking God's will. If all the lower lights line up, then you should let them guide you in. If you do decide to switch parties and file for Congress, your father and I will help you all we can. I think I have made talks in just about every county in this district, and I am willing to make a lot more. Give this a

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lot of prayer. Don't get in a hurry and run ahead of God, but if you are convinced that you know His will, don't hesitate to act. Let's pray about this right now."

After the four of them knelt and prayed earnestly for several minutes, Matthew said, "Thanks for the good dinner, Maria, and thanks to both of you for including us in this big decision. We appreciate being made a part of this. Now it is time old folks were in bed, so we will say 'good night'."

The next day Bob told Sherman Miller that he needed his counsel and advice on a matter that would take some time to talk about. Sherm said, "Why don't you and Maria come over after supper? My wife has a club meeting, but the three of us can talk as long as you want."

That evening, Bob, Maria, and Sherm sat in the Miller living room as Bob brought Sherm up to date on the whole Shirley Russo proposal.

Sherm said, "Well, being your partner is exciting to say the least. I think it is a great idea. Bob, you should be a Republican and I think you would have a great future in the party."

Bob laughed. "Sherm, I appreciate your enthusiasm. But do you think you could be a little prejudiced?"

"Of course I am. I am prejudiced in favor of the Republican Party and I am prejudiced in favor of you. That is why I want you to switch. And I think you could win. Senator Fairfield is right. This district isn't as Democratic as most people think. You were away in college at the time, so you probably don't remember, but I was the Republican chairman of this district about 8 or 10 years ago. I know committee people in every county in the district, and I know a lot about the political complexion of the whole district. I can give you some help, especially in the primary."

"Do you know Barbara Bickel?" Bob asked. "She will make

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a strong candidate.”

“I just know her when I see her,” Sherm replied. “But I have heard a lot about her, and I would say that you and Barbara are on opposite sides of almost every issue. Abortion would be the biggest issue in your race, but by no means the only issue. I know this district well, and I can say that your convictions are more in line with what the voters believe than are hers. Your job would be to get that across to the voters. I think you can do it.”

Bob said, “As you say, abortion would be the big issue, and if I switch parties, that would be the main reason for it. But would I really help the abortion cause by switching parties? Suppose the next Republican convention adopted a pro-abortion plank in their platform? I would be right back where I started, in a pro-abortion party. If I stay where I am, I would still be in the state Senate and could help with more legislation restricting abortion.”

Sherm said, “It is true that we have plenty of pro-abortion Republicans — some of them recent deserters from the pro-life side. I am sure the next convention will see a strong move to water down the pro-life plank in our platform. But Republican Congressman Robert M. Hill would have a lot to say about that. Having just defeated the whole pro-abortion camp, in what is considered to be a strong Democratic district, you would be a powerful voice in favor of keeping our strong pro-life plank. And Bob, that could be extremely important. It is vital to the whole pro-life movement, that at least one of the major political parties stay on their side. If both the Republicans and the Democrats officially endorse abortion, there isn’t much hope for the unborn babies, is there? You could be the very man who keeps that from happening.”

Maria said, “I agree with Sherm. Helping to keep the

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Republican Party in the pro-life camp could be the very job that God has had in mind for you all along. Remember when David Mullins quoted old Mordecai from the book of Esther, 'And who knows whether you have not come to the kingdom for such a time as this?' Maybe David had it right, but was a little off in his timing."

Bob smiled. "Okay, you both are making good sense. But if I get in this race, with so much at stake for the pro-life cause, I will be duty bound to make a 100% effort to win. I won't be much help to the firm of Miller and Hill for most of next year. It doesn't seem fair to you, Sherm."

"We won't worry about that. In the first place, I know you well enough to know that some way or another you are going to keep your files up to date. In the second place, your well-publicized race for Congress will make our firm well-known all over the state and will bring us some good law business. But we will need more help. In fact we already need help, and I have been keeping my eyes open for a young lawyer that we can bring in on a straight salary basis. What do you think?"

"I agree," Bob replied. "We should get someone who is settled enough to stay with us, and not go running off to Washington."

Sherm laughed. "I'll keep that in mind."

On the way home Maria said, "Honey, this is more important than just Democrat-Republican politics. We are dealing with the lives of thousands of little babies. You are in a position to help save those lives. I believe God has been guiding us in this direction all along. I think you should run for Congress as a Republican."

Bob nodded his head slowly. "It does seem that Mom's 'lower lights' are lined up and leading in that direction. I agree that this is what God wants us to do. Yes, Maria, I am convinced that this is God's will for us. So let's remember what

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Jesus said. 'No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God.' "

Maria put her hand on his shoulder. "Honey, I know we are in for some tough times, but we will not look back. We'll give this our very best, and, with God's help, we will win."

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“**T**hat’s great news, Bob,” Richard Fairfield said when Bob stopped by his office on Monday morning to announce his decision. “You should call a press conference. Get Catherine to set one up, and, with your permission, I would like to attend and give my public endorsement of your candidacy for Congress. Over the next few weeks, we can get several prominent Republicans to give you their endorsement. That will keep your name in the news and maybe discourage serious opposition in the primary.”

“I appreciate that Richard. I will have Catherine check with you on the timing.”

Bob’s press conference was well attended, and his announcement that he was changing his party affiliation and would run for Congress on the Republican ticket, caused a sensation. News coverage was good, not only state wide, but also in the national media. The possibility of a show-down between Bob and Barbara Bickel was an intriguing prospect.

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As one national magazine put it, "Hill won the battle on the Senate floor, but now we will see who wins the war." Obviously, the writer expected the winner to be Barbara Bickel.

Within a few days after his press conference, Bob started receiving mail from right-to-life supporters all over the country. Many of the letters contained small checks or cash for his campaign. Sherman Miller agreed to serve as treasurer for Bob's campaign and the records were kept at the office of Miller and Hill. Sherman spent several days traveling around the district with Bob, introducing him to committee people and other party workers. Most of them had already heard of Bob because the "Drums of Moloch" speech and also because of his reputation as a tough prosecuting attorney.

On June 30th the Senate adjourned for the year, and Bob adopted a schedule of 4 days per week for the law practice, and 2 days per week, including Saturday, for his campaign. Sunday was reserved for church and family. The congressional district was made up of 30, basically rural counties, and included all 8 of the counties in Bob's senatorial district. The largest city was Barbara Bickel's home town of New Dresden. With help from Sherman, Richard Fairfield, several other Republican leaders, all of the right-to-life organizations, and numerous church groups, Bob had been able to schedule speaking engagements all over the district. During the summer and fall months he averaged at least 4 speeches per week, and in this way was able to meet hundreds of people and to get good publicity in the local news media.

In January, the Senate reconvened on the first Wednesday after the first Monday, and Bob made his formal filing for Congress. The early endorsements by Senator Fairfield and other Republican leaders had made Bob the favorite in the Republican primary and had discouraged opposition. Three other candidates did file, but none of them had a large follow-

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ing, and Bob appeared to be a certain winner in the four-way race. Nevertheless, Bob continued campaigning as much as his schedule would allow. He remembered that he had won his race for the state Senate because of his opponent's over confidence. Furthermore, he knew that the work he was doing now would payoff at the general election in November.

On May 15th, the Senate adjourned for the year, and Bob stepped up his campaigning to 3 days per week. Bob had much of his father's ability to remember names and faces, and, as he traveled over the district, he was able to greet by name many of the people he had met in the previous months. In the August primary, Bob received 56% of the vote and his 3 opponents shared 44%. Barbara Bickel was an easy winner in the Democratic primary.

Now at last the long awaited Bickel versus Hill battle was on and Bob was devoting almost full time to the campaign. The young lawyer hired by Miller and Hill the previous fall was doing a good job, and Bob merely checked by the office early each morning, and then hit the campaign trail. With the primary out of the way, the Republican organization, from the National Committee on down, was able to give him full support, including financial and technical help. The right-to-life people were busy registering voters, passing out pro-Hill literature, and preparing lists and workers for a get-out-the-vote drive on election day. Maria also had a heavy speaking schedule and had made several television spots for Bob. Matthew and Hannah often accompanied Bob on speaking tours, circulating among the crowd, greeting old friends, and making new ones.

In late September, Richard Fairfield came to Adamsville and spent the night with Bob and Maria. After supper, they sat in the living room and discussed the campaign.

Richard said, "Folks, I picked up an interesting rumor in

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Jeff City this morning. The word is the Bickel camp has hired an expensive polling firm to do an in-depth survey, and they have found that you are several points ahead. If that is true, then they must be wild with frustration. They have thrown everything at you they can get their hands on. They have outspent you about 3 to 1. They have brought in big guns from all over the country. Barbara has worked her head off. I would say they are reaching the point of desperation.”

“I hope that rumor is true, but I am not going to count on it. I don’t plan to let up one bit until the polls are closed.”

“Of course, that is what you have to do, Bob. Keep at it until the race is won,” Richard replied. “But just in case the rumor is true, we have to consider what they might do next. Desperate people do desperate things, and you need to be ready. It might help to look at the situation up to this point. Barbara’s advantages are: there are more Democrats than Republicans in this district; the pro-abortion people have given her unlimited financial support; the news media are on her side; she has the endorsement of the labor unions, although a lot of the rank and file are supporting you; she has workers from various women’s organizations and pro-abortion groups; the largest city in your district is her home territory; she will get the votes of a few racial bigots; and Barbara herself is a good speaker and makes a good appearance on television.

“Now, Bob, here are your advantages: you are a better person to person campaigner — your ability to go around calling people by name has won you a lot of votes; you are really killing her on the law and order issue — no doubt Barbara regrets some of her criminal-coddling past; you are hurting her on the peace through strength issue; the right-to-life people are really beating the bushes for you; your church background, your attractive family, and your pro-family stand, have won

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you the support of most Christian groups; some people will vote for you just to prove that they aren't racial bigots; and you too are a good speaker and make a good appearance on television.

"Now what can they do?" Richard continued. "How can they use their assets more effectively, or how can they penetrate your armor? We know they have checked your background from the 2nd grade on, and haven't come up with anything useful. What can they do next?"

Maria said, "Barbara has 15 minutes coming up on television. Do you want to hear what she has to say?"

Richard nodded. "According to the rumor, their poll gives her 40%, Bob 44%, and 16% undecided. Barbara has had time to think that over. Let's see what she says."

Maria switched on one of the New Dresden television stations as the announcer was introducing Barbara. After expressing her deep appreciation for all the help and encouragement she was receiving from good people all over this congressional district, and after expressing her deep gratitude for this great country of ours where people have the freedom to make their own choices, Barbara said, "In just over 6 weeks this election will be over. The voters will have decided who will be their new congressman. While that choice is important to every citizen of this district, it is of special importance to the woman of this district and to the women of this whole great nation of ours.

"Because, friends, my opponent is determined to take away from the women of America their most basic, and most personal right of free choice. He would deny to the women of this great nation, the freedom to plan their own families as they choose. He would deny women the right to control their own bodies. For he has declared, my friends, that he would make it a criminal offense for a woman freely to choose to ter-

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minate her own pregnancy at any time from conception to birth, and for any reason except to save the woman's life. Now this means, dear friends, that my opponent would actually force a woman who had been brutally raped, to go ahead and bear the child of the rapist. Can you imagine what a cruel and traumatic ordeal that would be for the helpless victim of rape?

"Now my opponent doesn't like to talk about this. He prefers to go up and down the district talking about what a Rambo type, law and order man he is. He would rather talk about how we need to keep pouring money into the military-industrial complex, instead of using it to help the elderly and homeless. He likes to scare people by rattling the saber to distract their attention from the real issues. But we can't let him get away with this, can we? It's time we made him stand up and tell us how he plans to take away our freedom of choice, and our right to control our own lives.

"So, as a service to the voters of this district, I have arranged for one hour of time on this television station, at 9 p.m. on October 9th. I will pay all expenses. It won't cost my opponent one cent. I hereby challenge him to appear with me at that time to debate the sole issue of a woman's freedom of reproductive choice. This will be a real debate. We will talk directly to each other and ask each other direct questions on the subject. There will be a moderator whose only duty will be to keep us from getting off the subject, and to keep one candidate from monopolizing the time by talking more than 3 minutes on any question or answer. My friends, I am sure that you will agree that my offer is more than fair. I hope my opponent cares enough about the voters of this district to give them the opportunity to hear how we both stand on this important issue. I will be waiting to hear from him. Thank you, and good night."

Maria switched off the set and said, "She talked for 15

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minutes about abortion without once using the word and without once mentioning the baby. I can't help being angry."

"I don't blame you, Honey," Bob said. "It is the same old 'Drums of Moloch' technique they all use. Pound the drums of choice so loud that no one can hear the baby."

"Well, the rumor must be true," Richard said. "They must have an unfavorable poll, and this is their response. Obviously, they think Barbara can cut you to pieces. At least, they figure they have nothing to lose, and everything to gain. What do you think, Bob? Are you going to debate her?"

Bob nodded. "I think I have to. If I back down, she will ride that issue from now until November. But actually, I want to debate her. She thinks I am trying to avoid the abortion issue, but I am not. I don't want to run on that issue alone, but I am sure not ashamed of it. Yes, I will debate her. I'll be glad to get on television and talk about killing babies just as long as she wants."

"I agree," added Maria. "I believe Barbara will end up being sorry she brought this up."

"Well, we have to be careful," Richard cautioned. "Barbara is smart and she has a whole stable full of experienced political advisors. We know they have given this a lot of thought and have decided Barbara can gain some advantage from this. Obviously, they will hope to stack the deck against you some way. It appears that they have made the rules and they have chosen the moderator. But surely they wouldn't dare treat you unfairly right in front of the television audience. However, I think that you should insist on a moderator acceptable to both sides."

"They can hardly object to that," Bob replied. "How should I communicate my acceptance to her?"

The phone rang, Maria answered, and said, "Bob, Sherm wants to talk to you."

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Bob talked a few minutes and then hung up. "Sherm heard my worthy opponent and he thinks I should debate her. He thinks I can more than hold my own with Ms. Bickel."

Richard said, "Tomorrow, I would send Ms. Bickel a telegram of acceptance and at the same time release copies of it to all the news media. You might say something like this: Your challenge for a debate on October 9th is accepted with the understanding that we select a moderator acceptable to both sides and that the rules be reduced to writing and approved by both sides."

Bob smiled. "That sounds good to me. And Richard, you probably were debating before I was born. I will appreciate any advice you can give me."

"Bob, I will help any way I can. But I doubt if there is much that I can teach to you. Be sure you are ready for her. This could be the critical point of the whole campaign."

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Maria went to New Dresden with Bob on October 9th. They arrived in mid-afternoon and checked into a motel. They prayed together for about 30 minutes, asking God to give Bob the wisdom he would need to speak effectively on behalf of the unborn babies of America. Then Bob rested for an hour before going to the dining room for dinner.

After dinner, Bob dressed for the television cameras and went over his notes again. At 8:15 p.m., they left for the television station. Sherman was there waiting for them, having driven up at Bob's request to act as Bob's representative in case any last minute problems arose. Barbara Bickel arrived, and shortly before nine they were ushered into the studio.

The camera lights flicked on, and the moderator said, "On my left is Senator Barbara Bickel, Democratic candidate for Congress, and on my right is Senator Robert M. Hill, Republican candidate for Congress. This has been referred to as a debate, but actually it will be an informal discussion or

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argument between the parties, according to simple rules agreed upon by both sides. The discussion will be limited to the subject of abortion. The parties will talk directly to each other, asking each other questions and commenting on each other's answers. As moderator, I will not participate in the discussion, and will speak up only if I feel that a party is being repetitious or is taking too much time. There is no studio audience, so the parties will not be interrupted by laughter or applause. By the flip of a coin it has been determined that Senator Bickel will lead off with the first question. Senator Bickel."

Barbara said, "Senator Hill, you have stated your belief that it should be illegal to terminate a pregnancy at any time from the moment of conception on. We know that at the moment of conception, the fertilized ovum is a single cell, too small to be seen by the naked eye. Does this mean that you believe that one single cell is a human being?"

Bob answered. "It means that I believe that one single cell might be a human being. Your question is a good way to start this discussion, because it focuses our attention on the basic issue in the whole abortion controversy, which is — what is a human being? The way one answers that question should determine his or her whole position on abortion. So if we can get this matter out on the table right now, it should clarify all the rest of our discussion."

Bob continued. "With your permission, I will go ahead and give my answer, and then will listen while you give yours. I believe that a human being is created in the image of God. I believe that God created the physical universe, then plant life, then *animal life*, and then finally He did something very special and very different. He created man in His own image. Now what does this mean? Well, the Bible tells us that God is spirit, so if we human beings are in God's image, then we too

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are spiritual beings. The Bible makes it clear throughout that the physical body is just the temporary dwelling place of the real person, which is the spirit.

“Now the spirit comes from God. When He places the spirit in the body, then that is a human being. When does God give the spirit? Obviously it happens sometime during pregnancy, but it is impossible for us to know when. It could happen at any time from conception on. So in answer to your question, I must say that the single celled, fertilized ovum might be a human being. Since God forbids the taking of innocent human life, I must oppose the killing of the fertilized ovum. Now, Barbara, please give us your answer to the question, what is a human being?”

Barbara exclaimed, “Bob, do you actually believe that this spirit you talk about is placed in the tiny, invisible, fertilized ovum and that single cell becomes a human being?”

Bob smiled. “I said it might be a human being. I don’t know whether it is or not. I recall the 1984 Presidential Debates, when Vice-President Mondale was asked just when does an unborn baby become a human being. He finally admitted that he did not know. Yet he favored abortion, even though he admitted that he didn’t know whether or not he was killing little, helpless human beings. By that logic, if a pro-abortionist and an anti-abortionist were out deer hunting and saw a movement in the brush, but were unable to tell if it was a man or a deer, the anti-abortionist would refuse to shoot because he didn’t want to risk killing a human being, but the pro-abortionist would go ahead and shoot just on the chance that it might be a deer.”

Barbara laughed. “Well, I am not a deer hunter.”

“Neither am I, Barbara, but if I were, I would never take a chance on killing another human, even from the moment of conception on. But let’s get back to your answer to the ques-

tion, what is a human being?"

"My answer to that is simply that a human being is a member of the species, *Homo Sapiens*."

"Does that mean that you believe that human beings are different from other forms of animal life only in that we have advanced farther up the evolutionary scale?"

Barbara shrugged. "Well, I certainly believe that evolution is a scientific fact. But aren't we getting off the agreed subject? We are supposed to be talking about a woman's right to terminate her own pregnancy."

The moderator interrupted. "Senator Hill, don't you agree that a discussion of evolution is somewhat off the subject of abortion?"

"No sir," Bob replied, "I think it is very much on the subject. I am sure that everyone will agree that this thing in the mother's womb, whether you call it a fetus or a baby, is alive. Everyone must also agree that the very purpose of abortion is to kill this thing and remove it from the women's womb — not always in that order. Now, nothing could be more critical to this whole issue than this — just what is it that the abortionists are killing. Is it a spiritual being, created in the image of God, or is it just an accidental combination of chemicals? It makes all the difference in the world."

"Very well," the moderator said, "you may proceed."

Bob turned to Barbara. "You stated that you accept evolution as a scientific fact. Does that mean that you do not believe that human beings are eternal spirits, but instead that we are nothing but our physical bodies, nothing but accidental combinations of chemicals, destined to die and dissolve back into the ground, leaving nothing behind?"

Barbara frowned. "Human beings are very complex and there is much about them that we do not understand. But we are making progress and I am sure that some day we will

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understand more and science will be able to dispel the old myths about a 'ghost in machine' and all these spirits floating around."

Bob smiled. "Thank you, Barbara. Understanding your belief that humans are nothing but the chemicals which compose the body, helps me to understand your position on abortion, and I hope that you better understand my position on abortion, now that you know that I believe that humans are created in the image of God. I guess it is your turn to ask another question."

"Before we leave this interesting discussion about human beings," Barbara said, "let me ask you this. You say that for all you know, God may put this spirit in the fertilized egg at the moment of conception. Would you also say that for all we know, God may put this spirit in the unfertilized egg or even in the sperm cells?"

Bob smiled. "I assume you are preparing to ask me if I favor laws forbidding contraception. No Barbara, I do not favor such laws. The Bible makes clear that a human being is both body and spirit. The spirit is the more important because it is eternal, but to become human, it must have the physical body for a temporary dwelling place. Now one of the main attributes of a body is its ability to grow, change, repair itself, adjust, mature, and finally decline and die. The fertilized egg has all these attributes. It contains all the genetic material necessary to grow into one, unique individual. Thus, it is possible that God may place within it that individual's one, unique spirit.

"The unfertilized egg, however, has none of these attributes. It does not grow, change, and mature. It does not contain the necessary genetic material. Instead it quickly dies. The same is true of the sperm cell. It is not reasonable to believe that God places an eternal spirit in all these scores of

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eggs and millions of sperm cells, which do not contain the ingredients nor possess the attributes of a human body, and which very shortly will die. God places the spirit in the body, which means there must be a body, which means it must happen sometime after conception. So, Barbara, I do not support laws forbidding contraception. If that answers that question, I am ready for another.”

“Okay, Bob, do you believe that all these women who have been exercising their personal choice to terminate their own pregnancy should go to prison?”

Bob answered, “Of course those who have acted under the authority of *Roe v. Wade* should not go to prison. That case made bad law, but still it was the law and people were entitled to rely upon it. If *Roe v. Wade* is reversed and our state adopts a statute forbidding or limiting abortion, then women who violate that statute should be punished in the manner provided by the statute. I think the real issue is this — just at what point in a child’s life should it become illegal for his mother to kill him? Barbara, I assume you agree that at some point it should be against the law to kill little boys and girls. Just when do you think that point is reached?”

“Well I certainly agree that it is murder to kill a little baby after it has been born.”

Bob nodded. “I am glad we agree on that. Now should it be legal to kill the baby just before he is born? Suppose the mother is in the delivery room in labor, and decides she doesn’t want a baby after all. May she just tell the doctor to hurry up and kill her baby before he emerges from the womb and acquires a bunch of constitutional rights?”

Barbara shifted uncomfortably. “I think a better test is the one referred to in *Roe v. Wade* — that is, the test of viability. If the fetus has developed to the point that it could live and complete its growth and development outside the mother’s

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womb, then it may be proper for the state to place some restrictions on any action that might harm the fetus.”

Bob said, “Justice White in his dissent, I believe in the Thornburgh Case, said that ‘the possibility of fetal survival is contingent on the state of medical practice and technology, factors that are in essence morally and constitutionally irrelevant.’ Under the viability test, I assume that an unborn baby whose misfortune it was to live in a poor rural area where the most modern medical facilities were not available, could be killed right up to, say, the 25th week, whereas a baby whose mother lived in a city could be killed only up to the 21st week. Hardly seems fair does it? And then who decides viability? One doctor might say, ‘I think this baby is viable, so it would be murder for you to kill him,’ while another doctor may say, ‘He is not viable. Go ahead and kill him.’ Doesn’t seem like a very good way to decide the baby’s right to life or death, does it? And then, of course, medical science will keep advancing, pushing the murder line back with it. Some day it may be possible to remove the ovum from the mother immediately after fertilization and nourish it outside the mother. When that happens, would you agree that all abortion is murder?”

Bob could see anger rising in Barbara’s eyes. “Well I just suggested viability as one possible test because it was suggested by the United States Supreme Court. This problem needs a lot of study. Probably we should convene the best medical talent we have and just arrive at a definite cut off line at which the state acquires an interest in protecting the fetus. That would make it the same for everybody.”

“Suppose that was done,” Bob said. “Suppose it was determined that at 12 noon on the 180th day, the mother stopped having a constitutional right to kill her baby, and started being a murderer if she did it. Do you really believe that the lit-

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tle baby who is killed at 11:59 a.m. on day 180 is any less human than the baby who lived one minute longer? Is he any less deserving of our compassion? And then who is to decide when that fatal murder line is reached? Who can know just when it is 12 noon on the 180th day after conception? I know that the doctors were not able to establish such precise timing during my wife's two pregnancies."

Barbara's voice rose slightly. "All of this is nothing but idle speculation. This whole discussion is becoming rather absurd."

Bob's voice was calm. "It may be absurd to you, but it is not absurd to the unborn babies. To them it is a matter of life or death. Barbara, you indicated by your manner, that you think my opposition to abortion all the way back to the moment of conception is a ridiculous position to take. Yet I have tried to get you to draw the line at some other point, and you have failed to come up with anything at all fair and reasonable. Do you know why you have failed? It is because you have been trying to do something that we humans are not competent to do. We do not know when that baby becomes a human being. We are not qualified to make these life or death decisions. Only God can know these things. That is why we should leave it to Him."

"Well, since God is not a member of the Missouri Legislature," Barbara replied. "I guess we still have the job of making our laws. Do I understand that you reject any compromise? Are you opposed to any law that does not forbid a woman to terminate her pregnancy from the moment of conception on?"

Bob shook his head. "No, that is not my position. I will support any law that will help slow down this terrible plague of abortion. I realize that we may never return to the pre-Roe v. Wade days, but I will continue to work toward that goal. In

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the meantime, I will support any law that will save babies' lives, even if it does not go as far as I would like."

It was obvious that Barbara was not pleased with the way things were going. Somehow she had to take the offense. So she asked, "Senator Hill, you have stated that you are opposed to abortion for any reason except to save the mother's life. That, of course, means that you would force the victims of rape and incest to go ahead and bear the child of their abuser. Numerous polls show that the overwhelming majority of the American people disagree with you on this. Surely you must realize how terribly cruel it would be to force such a victim to carry the fetus for nine months and then give birth to the baby, knowing all the time that this is the child of the one who brutalized her. Do you still stand by that heartless position?"

"From the way the pro-abortion people talk," Bob answered, "one would think that rape and incest are the main reasons for abortion. The truth is, that even from their own figures, only 2 or 3 percent of abortions involve rape, and I am sure these figures are inflated. I assume if a woman comes in and says she was raped, they take her word for it. I served as prosecuting attorney of Adams county for four years. I recently checked my files and found that during that period I prosecuted 32 rape cases. From all that was reported to me, not a single one of those 32 victims became pregnant as a result of the rape. I am not sure of all the reasons for this. For one thing, I found that many rapists are jerks who are trying to be macho in order to cover up their own sexual insufficiency. Also, I think doctors will confirm that there is a psychological factor involved in getting pregnant, and, no doubt, this is not present in the victim of a rape. I do not question that some rape victims do become pregnant. But I do say that it is a fairly small percent.

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“Now as to incest, I have never prosecuted an incest case. If it is between consenting adults, it is not reported to the authorities. If it involves non-consenting adults, it is usually treated as rape. I did have several rape cases and sexual abuse cases involving children, in which incest had occurred. None of these children became pregnant. I believe the same factors that I mentioned in connection with rape would apply here too, plus the fact that the criminal who sexually abuses a child is usually a family member who hopes that his crime will not be discovered. For this reason he takes extra care to avoid getting the victim pregnant. Again, I do not deny that some incest victims become pregnant, but do believe it is a small percent. Now to hear the pro-abortion people talk you would think that helping the victims of incest and rape is the main business of the abortion clinics. In truth, that is only a tiny part of it.”

“But you admit that some victims of incest and rape do become pregnant. You haven’t answered my question. Are you still insisting that the victims of these terrible crimes should be forced to bear the criminal’s child?”

“I am getting to that,” Bob continued. “But first I wanted to point out what a small percent of abortions involve incest or rape. We all know that the vast majority of abortions are simply for the sake of convenience. The fact that pro-abortionists talk so much about incest and rape, is evidence that they feel guilty about all of the millions of babies that have been killed just because they were inconvenient.

“But to get to your question. Yes, I do believe that just because the mother has been subjected to the terrible experience of rape or incest, is no reason to kill the innocent child. I believe that God gives that child an eternal spirit, just as He does to any other child. Barbara, you oppose the death penalty for criminals who have committed the most cruel and

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brutal murders one can imagine. Why would you impose the death penalty on this little baby who has done nothing wrong?"

Again Bob could see anger in Barbara's eyes. "You know the answer to that, Senator Hill. There is a big difference between a human being and a fetus."

Bob smiled. "According to your beliefs, I do not see what the difference is. You have said that a human is just an accidental combination of chemicals. Your so-called fetus would have to be the same. But, to get back to the question of rape and incest, suppose the law forbid convenience abortions, but allowed those involving rape and incest. How would you apply this law? Surely we could not let any woman who claimed rape just go ahead and kill her baby. It has been suggested that we might require that the woman promptly report the alleged rape and a charge be filed. But if we waited for the case to be tried, it might be too late for the abortion. If we went ahead with the abortion, and later got a verdict of not guilty, it would certainly be too late for the baby. So, not only is it morally wrong to kill the innocent baby because of the crime committed against its mother, also it is practically impossible to carry out such a policy justly and fairly."

"It seems to me," Barbara said, "that you have very little concern for the women. Has it never occurred to you that women might want to control their own bodies? Since you are a man, I guess it is easy for you to be in favor of compulsory child bearing. Can't you in some small way understand a little of the anguish and fear and heartbreaking distress some of these poor women experience from an unexpected and unwanted pregnancy? Have you no compassion for the women?"

Bob answered, "Of course I have compassion for these women who are sick and worried about their condition. They

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need help, and help is available, but often they do not know where to get help. I am sure you recall my strong support for HB 160. One purpose of this bill was to require that these women be told where they can get help. And HB 160 had another purpose. It was to require that these women be informed as to the baby they were carrying and the consequences of their action if they chose abortion. I supported that because I wanted to be sure that every woman understood what she was doing and had time to think it over before she let her baby be killed. Barbara, you were very much opposed to giving women this information before they submitted to abortion.

“So when we talk about compassion,” Bob continued, “how about compassion for all those thousands of women who have had abortions and now regret it every day of their lives. Think of the poor woman who, every time she sees a little child, says to herself, ‘My little boy would be just about that age if only I had let him live.’ Think of the terrible guilt. Think of the grief and torment. How much better if these women had faced these things before the deed was done. You talk of compassion, but you opposed giving these poor women the information they needed to make an informed and intelligent decision as to what to do with their baby.”

“Senator Hill,” Barbara said angrily, “you know as well as I do that the real purpose of your so-called ‘informed consent’ bill was simply to put pressure on the woman and discourage her from terminating her pregnancy.”

“I agree,” Bob said. “Now that HB 160 has become law, I hope and pray that it causes thousands of women to decide to let their babies live. I can’t see why that bothers you, Barbara. Surely you don’t have a grudge against babies.”

“I resent your implication,” Barbara shot back. “I love babies as much as anyone else, but I think they should be

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wanted and properly cared for. Pressuring a woman into having a baby she doesn't want and can't care for is certainly no favor to the baby."

Bob said, "I take it that you think you are doing the baby a favor by tearing him apart with a suction tube. I believe that one of the strongest things in God's creation is mother's love. If these women who think they want an abortion will just let the baby live, they will have that love the moment they hold the baby in their arms. As I was campaigning just a few weeks ago, a woman approached me with perhaps the saddest story I have ever heard. She had been a nurse in an abortion clinic. A young woman had been given a saline injection and placed in a room for the baby to be aborted. The baby came while the woman was alone. It was a little girl, horribly scalded, but still alive. The mother had picked her up and, as the nurse walked into the room, the poor suffering thing was trying to put her tiny arms around her mother's neck, seeking comfort and protection. Just then the doctor rushed in and took the baby away. The nurse said she would never forget the look of horror on the mother's face as she realized how she had betrayed her little daughter, who trustingly had turned to her for protection. The nurse quit her job at the abortion clinic that same day. She said she still has nightmares about her experiences there."

Barbara was silent for a moment, then she said, "Well, everybody seems to have a horror story about some woman's clinic. It's a wonder any of us are left alive. But what about the real horror stories? What about all the thousands of women who died in back alley clinics back before *Roe v. Wade*? If you have your way, Senator, the women of America will be forced back into the back alleys, and then we will see some real suffering and death. Don't you have any qualms about this?"

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"I told the story just the way the nurse told it to me," Bob replied. "I know of no reason why she would have wanted to lie to me. But I do wonder about all these back alley statistics. To hear the pro-abortionists tell it, our graveyards must be full of women who died from illegal abortions, usually performed with a coat hanger. Now I was still a teenager at the time of *Roe v. Wade*, so I don't know a lot about what happened before. But I have talked to several older friends about this, and, you know, I haven't found a single one who knew anyone who died from an illegal abortion. I don't doubt that some did, but I do not believe it was quite the epidemic that the abortionists would have us believe.

"Now, Barbara, you seem to be convinced that, if we make some laws against abortion, the women of America will turn en masse to the illegal, back alley, variety. Well, I have more confidence in the women of America than you seem to have. I do not believe they are a bunch of law-breakers. Of course, some will break the law. Every law we have is being broken by someone. And, of course, law-breakers sometimes suffer adverse consequences. That has always been true. But I can see nothing fair or just about killing millions of innocent babies, just to accommodate a few thousand law-breakers."

Barbara said, "Senator, you seem to forget that this whole controversy is about freedom of choice. The women of America want to be free to live their lives, just as men are free to live theirs. Since you are a man, I suppose you just can't understand how women feel. Maybe I can help you. Suppose a large law firm has two young attorneys, both unmarried, both highly capable, both destined to rise to partnerships in the firm. At the annual office party, they have a few drinks, and the two young attorneys end up in bed together. The young woman becomes pregnant. Now if she can choose to terminate her pregnancy, she can continue with her career. If

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not, her career has suffered an enormous setback. The senior partners may feel that they cannot risk letting her go to court, because some judges or jurors may object to an obviously pregnant young single woman. She can't deal with important clients for the same reason. Yet the young male attorney, who was equally involved, suffers no setback at all. Why must the woman always pay the price?"

"In the first place it is not accurate to picture the abortion controversy as a man versus woman thing," Bob replied. "The most dedicated anti-abortionists that I know are women, and every pro-abortion rally that I have observed has included a large number of men. Both morally and legally, the father owes a heavy obligation to his child, and it is obvious that many men look to abortion as a means of escaping this. Many mothers are pressured into having abortions by fathers who want to escape their responsibility to the child.

"In the second place, I do not agree that this whole controversy is about freedom of choice. Recently a delegation appeared before our local school board. They were objecting to material that was used in our high school health classes, which they felt had a tendency to discourage girls from having abortions. Now they did not claim that the material in any way misinformed the students about their legal right to have an abortion. Their only objection was that the material might encourage the girls to let their babies live. It is hard to believe, yet one is forced to conclude that this group wants the girls to kill their babies. They called themselves pro-choice, but in reality that are pro-death."

Bob continued. "Lastly, you say that I would require that the woman suffer the consequences of sexual misconduct, and would let the man escape. Well, that is not true. As a prosecuting attorney, I was always vigorous in enforcing the law on fathers who did not support their children. And as a

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Senator, I have supported laws which improve the enforcement procedures against such fathers. But on this point, it seems to me that your real argument is not with me, but with your Creator. Are you angry with God because He gave women the womb? Most women that I know consider it an honor. They consider motherhood to be a privilege. Certainly the ability to propagate the race by bearing children, gives womankind great worth. Many times our hunting seasons permit the killing of males only, because the females are too valuable to kill. Perhaps our young female lawyer has her sense of values mixed up. Maybe she is putting too much value on money and power, and not enough on some of the things that really count."

"There you go talking about religion again," Barbara said. "Senator, I do not question your right to hold whatever religious beliefs you may choose. But I do object very strongly, to your attempts to impose your religious beliefs on others. Why can't you leave your religion in your private life where it belongs? Why should the women of America have to reorder their lives in order to conform to your personal faith? I believe that the most dangerous people in America are these religious fundamentalists who want to force everyone else into their mold. This is the biggest threat to our freedom today."

"You say I should leave my religion in my private life where it belongs," Bob replied. "Perhaps I should say something about the nature of Christianity. Paul wrote these words in his second letter to Corinth: 'Therefore, if any one is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold the new has come.' Jesus stated it very powerfully and very dramatically by saying, 'You must be born again.' So, unlike the pagan religions, the very purpose of Christianity is to change a person's whole life. It isn't something that you do just on Sunday, or that effects just your private life. Christ

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changes people, and you should be glad, Barbara, that He does. Because, when your ancestors were roaming around with the barbarian tribes of Northern Europe, women didn't have many rights. You should be glad that Christ changed some lives and brought the truth that women should have equal rights with men.

"Now to this matter of imposing religious beliefs on others. You may be surprised to know that many of our rights and freedoms today are based upon the Bible. Our whole system of law and government accords great respect to the individual, and the only logical basis for this is the Biblical truth, that man is created in the image of God. Yes, Barbara, my religious beliefs do affect my public acts. My religious beliefs do tell me that I should be diligent in protecting the innocent and helpless — even the little unborn babies."

Barbara interrupted. "Millions of people follow a religion that teaches that we should not kill animals. Do they have the right to impose that belief upon the rest of us?"

Bob answered, "They have a right to that belief, and they have the right to go to our legislature and try to get them to pass a law outlawing the killing of animals. I would oppose such a law, and, if it was passed, I would do all I could to get it repealed. But as long as it was the law of this state, I would obey it.

"But let's talk about your beliefs for a moment," Bob continued. "You have told us that you believe in evolution. That means that you believe that in some ancient sea, the right chemicals came together accidentally and produced living matter. Then, over a long period of time, a series of remarkable accidents kept producing new species, until finally there was man. There was no plan, no purpose, no meaning behind all this. The upshot of all this is that: one, we are nothing but chemicals; two, we are nothing but accidents;

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three, there is no real meaning to our lives; and four, there is no real worth to the individual beyond the value of the chemicals that make up his body. Given these beliefs, I must admit that there is nothing illogical about getting rid of inconvenient people. Of course, Hitler, Stalin, Pol Pot, and others have done this very thing. And, with the help of the Supreme Court, you pro-abortionists have succeeded in imposing your beliefs upon America. And millions of little babies have paid the price for being inconvenient. Having done that, it must take a bit of nerve for you to sit there and criticize me because I am acting according to my beliefs.”

Barbara’s voice rose noticeably. “It must take a lot of nerve for you to sit there and go on about how you value human life when we all know that you are a strong supporter of the death penalty.”

Bob smiled. “Yes, when a man kidnaps a woman; takes her to a deserted spot; beats her, tortures her, rapes her, and finally murders her; you may think it is society’s fault, but I think it is the man’s fault; you may think he needs treatment, but I think he needs to be executed. And I think this because I place great value on the woman’s life. It is my desire to protect innocent human life. And that certainly includes the innocent little babies. But let me ask you a question, Barbara. How do you justify your stand in favor of the death penalty for the unborn babies, but against the death penalty for convicted murderers?”

“I think I have made that clear,” Barbara snapped. “A fetus is not a human being.”

Bob replied, “I asked you earlier just when you think it becomes murder to kill a baby, that is just when does the baby become human, and you first said at the time of birth, and then you said at the time of viability, and then you said we need to get some doctors together and draw a line. But

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now it seems you are going back to saying the baby is not human until it is born. And this, despite the fact that modern ultrasound scanning has shown unborn babies yawning, stretching, blinking, sucking, grasping, making faces, and, Barbara, suffering pain. The unborn baby learns to recognize his mother's voice, and can play games with her, kicking back when she thumps her stomach. Yet you say he is not human. When I asked you to tell us just what is human, you said a human is a member of the species *Homo Sapiens*. Tell us, Barbara, just what species does the unborn baby belong to?"

Barbara said nothing, so Bob continued. "I have been thinking about this thing of killing inconvenient people. I can think of a lot of people who are more inconvenient than unborn babies. Many of our old people require a great deal of care. They are very inconvenient. Then we have the mentally retarded, the permanently disabled, all those who are crowding up our mental hospitals and prisons, maybe even those who have been on welfare too long. All these are expensive to maintain. If they are just accidental combinations of chemicals, why not kill them too?"

Barbara interrupted. "Senator, you know very well that I have never even remotely suggested such a thing. I have always worked to get increased benefits for all of these people. I have tried to help them every way I could."

"Of course you have, Barbara. I know that," Bob continued. "But the fact remains that the same logic that justifies killing unborn babies, justifies killing all these others. All of them are a heavy burden on someone. So where does the killing stop? Lately, I have been reading articles by pro-abortionists who are saying that the only human life with value is 'meaningful life'. May the Good Lord help us when the social planners start deciding whose life is meaningful and whose is not. Dear friends, all human life is valuable, because we are all created

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in the image of God. May we never forget that.”

Barbara said, “Senator, you have been rather harsh with me. You have pictured me as a very cruel person, when actually I have great compassion for the poor and unfortunate. I still resent the speech you made on the floor of the Senate in which you compared those who favor abortion to the pagan priests of Moloch who burned little children alive. Do you really think we are that bad?”

Bob said, “Barbara, I have done my best to avoid personalities, and just discuss the issues. I am sorry if you have understood differently. I will not attempt to judge the motives of anyone in the pro-abortion camp. Only God can do that. The purpose of my ‘Drums of Moloch’ speech was to compare the methods. The pagan priests pounded the drums to drown out the screams and draw attention away from the baby. The tactic used by the pro-abortion camp is also designed to draw attention away from the baby. You call yourselves ‘pro-choice’ for the very purpose of directing attention to the woman and away from the baby. You always refer to the baby as a ‘fetus’. I sometimes wonder if you even have the word ‘baby’ in your vocabulary. You even avoid the word ‘abortion’, preferring to talk of ‘terminating a pregnancy’ — again for the obvious purpose of directing attention to the woman and away from the baby. But I want the people of this district to know that a baby is very much involved in every single abortion, just as the baby was involved in every single sacrifice to Moloch.”

Again Barbara said nothing, so Bob continued. “We all need to stop and think and pray about the twenty-five million little boys and girls who have been smothered, scalded, poisoned, or torn apart, in the years since Roe v. Wade. Some of them would now be in college. Others would be laughing and playing in the yards and playgrounds of America. Think

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of the empty chairs and vacant desks. How many young geniuses have we killed? Perhaps the little girl who would have become the greatest president our country has seen; perhaps the little boy who would have discovered the cure for cancer; perhaps the composer or the poet who would have lifted our spirits and thrilled our hearts. Every day this slaughter continues, we are robbing our future and weakening the very foundations of our nation."

The moderator interrupted. "I am sorry but our time is up." Barbara looked relieved. The moderator continued, "A transcript of this discussion may be obtained by sending your name and address and one dollar to cover the cost of printing and mailing to this station. Thank you and good night."

Maria met Bob as he stepped out of the studio. As she hugged him, Barbara brushed by them without a word and left the station, followed by her manager.

"Honey, you won by a knockout," Maria said excitedly. "You beat her on every point."

Sherman stepped up. "Bob, you did a masterful job of focusing attention on the baby. Nobody watching could miss that."

Bob smiled. "It helps to have truth on your side. And a lot of the credit goes to you two for all the help and coaching you have given me. But let's give the real credit to God."

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Richard Fairfield called Bob from Jefferson City about a week after the television debate. "I hear that the Bickel camp has their first post-debate poll. It shows you with 54%; Barbara with 42%; and only 4% undecided. This could be a landslide, but don't let up."

"Don't worry about that, Richard. I learned all about the dangers of over-confidence back when I ran for the state Senate."

The Bickel-Hill race had become a real problem for the national news media. Through August and September, they had given the race heavy coverage, expecting Bickel to win, and preparing to feature the race as proof of the popularity of the pro-abortion cause. But by the end of September, national news coverage was declining noticeably, and after the television debate, it stopped almost completely. It was obvious that the reporters and editors now believed that Robert Hill would be the winner, and they were having trouble finding an ex-

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planation that would not give credit to the pro-life cause. Had Bob been white, and Barbara Bickel black, they would have been quick to blame Barbara's defeat on white racism. But, since the reverse was true, the issue of race had not been mentioned in the national coverage. A few stories were beginning to appear, to the effect that this was a fundamentalist "Bible-Belt" district and was not representative of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

Through October, Bob continued his exhaustive pace. He was able to spend most nights at home, but usually was gone by 6 a.m., and rarely returned before 9 or 10 p.m. He had put his law practice completely on hold. He had campaigned several times in every county in the district, and had spent a great deal of time in Senator Bickel's home town of New Dresden. Since the debate, his crowds had picked up noticeably and their response had become more enthusiastic. Also, the debate had encouraged and inspired the pro-life organizations, and they were campaigning for Bob with increased zeal. It was obvious to all observers that the race was going Bob's way.

On Tuesday, one week before the election, Bob campaigned all day through the small towns in the southern part of the district. He didn't have a speaking engagement that evening, so he was able to start for home about 5:45 p.m., expecting to be home before 8 for a late supper. He was tired, and had turned on a Chicago station with easy listening music, and thus did not hear the local news.

When Maria opened the front door, it was obvious to Bob that something was terribly wrong. She said, "Honey, I know it isn't true."

"What, Maria, what on earth has happened?"

"Oh, Honey, you haven't heard the news. The Jeff City television carried an interview on their 5 o'clock news with a

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young woman who claimed she had to give up her job at the state Capitol because of sexual harassment by you. She says she is going to sue you.”

“Who is she? Who made this claim?”

“Her name is Debbie Johnson, and she worked in some office there in the Capitol building. She says you kept after her with improper proposals until finally she was forced to quit.”

Bob sat down heavily. “Debbie Johnson, I can’t even remember who she is. She’s lying, Maria. I love you too much to even look at another woman.”

“I know that, Bob, I didn’t believe it for one minute.”

The phone rang. It was Richard Fairfield. “Bob, I am here in Jeff City. This Johnson woman worked for a few months in legislative research. She quit about 6 months ago and now is a clerk at a discount store. Her roommate came home just before 5 and saw Johnson leaving with a suitcase. She said she would be back in a few days. She got in a car with another woman and drove away. The roommate didn’t recognize the other woman.”

“Richard, her story is completely false. I can’t even remember who she is. I want to confront her, but if she is represented by an attorney, I guess that would be unethical.”

Richard replied, “Nobody knows where she is. She didn’t go to work today — called in sick. The interview was conducted at her apartment. Apparently someone called the television reporter to come to the apartment with her camera. This was done in mid-afternoon and was shown on the 5 o’clock news. Johnson left her apartment just before the news broke, and hasn’t been seen since. Another significant item — Johnson read a written statement to the camera and refused to answer any questions.”

Bob said, “It seems obvious that whoever is behind this has hidden her out and will keep her hidden until after the

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election. They can't risk letting anyone talk to her."

"Bob, everyone who knows you knows the Johnson woman is lying. But the general public won't know this. This thing is dynamite. Your greatest asset is your strong pro-family image. This hits at the very heart of that. And there is the ugly racism this will bring out. The black man mistreating a white woman thing. Whoever planned this knows how to hurt you in the very worst way."

Bob said, "Richard, I do not believe that Barbara Bickel has done this. I know she doesn't like me, and I know she wants to win, but she wouldn't stoop to something like this. Nor do I believe that anyone in the Democratic organization is responsible. Most likely it is some offshoot pro-abortion outfit. Maybe even someone who owns a big abortion clinic. But I don't blame Barbara, and I plan to say so publically."

"Well, you are probably right," Richard said. "But Barbara knows this Johnson woman's charges are not true. Let's see if she says that publically. Bob, how are you going to handle this whole thing?"

"Richard, I am not going to quit. I will cancel my regular schedule for tomorrow, and instead visit every newspaper, radio station, and television station in the district. I will tell them that Debbie Johnson's charges are completely false and will challenge her to come out of hiding and face the press. The weekly papers all come out on Thursday or Friday, so if I get to them tomorrow, I should get in this week's paper. Next week will be too late. I am scheduled for a speech in New Dresden tomorrow night, and I will keep that commitment. Thursday I will go back to my regular campaign schedule. With the Lord's help, I may win this yet."

"I admire your spirit, Bob," Richard said. "In the meantime I will do all I can up here. Good-bye and good luck."

Bob turned to Maria. "Honey, it is clearly a put-up job.

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Somebody has this Johnson woman hidden out. I intend to pound on that point and I will fight this all the way. I am sorry for what it puts you through. Have you talked to Mom and Dad?"

"Yes. Of course they are upset, but they know it isn't true. I have talked to Sherman too. He is furious, and said to call on him for anything he can do to help."

Bob dialed Catherine McFadden's home number in Jefferson City. "You have heard the news, of course, do I know this Johnson woman?"

Catherine said, "She is about 27, average size, not ugly, but not pretty, just plain looking. She has a college degree in political science. How she got it, I don't know. They hired her in legislative research, hoping to use her in research and drafting, but she couldn't handle it, so she ended up running errands. She used to bring documents up to our office, maybe once or twice a week. You rarely saw her. She finally got discouraged with her job and quit. They didn't want to fire her, but were glad when she quit. It was common knowledge among the women in the Capitol that Debbie had a crush on you, but, of course, you didn't have the faintest idea what was going on. It may be that she has started believing some of her own fantasies."

"Catherine, someone has put her up to all this. They have her hidden out somewhere. A woman was seen driving her away just before 5 p.m."

"Debbie would be easily led. She is definitely a follower. I will find out everything I can and let you know."

Bob left before daylight the next morning and was at the far corner of the district, waiting when the newspaper opened. He then worked his way back north toward New Dresden where he was scheduled for an evening speech. He could have contacted the newspapers and radio stations by

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telephone, but he knew that his denials would get better coverage if they were delivered face to face. At the television stations, by appearing in person, he was able to get on camera.

It was nearly ten when he got home that night. Maria could see weariness and discouragement in his face. "Honey, you got good coverage all day. I think your statement came across well and should convince a lot of people. The Adamsville paper has a wonderful article supporting you."

"I really appreciate the home town support I have received. I heard some of the radio statements, and I thought they were okay. The local news outlets in this district have been very fair with me. Right now I need all the help I can get."

"How did your speech go?"

Bob shook his head. "Not good at all. The crowd was only about half what we expected. And I had some hecklers. They kept shouting things like, 'Hey, nigger, tell us what a good family man you are.' "

"Oh Bob, I am so sorry you have to face that. I could scratch that Johnson woman's eyes out."

Bob laughed and put his arm around her. "Honey, I am glad I have you to stand up for me. But we must not feel too bad toward Debbie Johnson. She is just a dumb little thing who is being used by the real villain. But I am just sick about the racism that has come into this race. I wanted so much to prove that a black man can run in a white district, just like any other American. I didn't want any favors because of my race, nor did I want my race to be an obstacle. I wanted this to be a completely color blind campaign. Now all that seems to be out the window."

Maria said, "Honey, there are still thousands of people in this district who are taking you for just what you are — a fine,

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American gentleman. The racists are still a small minority, and you can rise above them and show them up for what they really are."

"Thank you, Maria. I feel better. I am going to campaign as hard as I can for three days, then spend Sunday with you and the boys, hit the campaign trail again on Monday, and then come home and leave it in the hands of God."

Bob spent Thursday in the northern part of the district where he had speeches scheduled before ladies groups and a noon Chamber of Commerce meeting. At every stop, he strongly affirmed that the charges made against him were false; that they had been made just one week before the election for obvious political reasons; and that Ms. Johnson was in hiding and would not come out to answer any questions about her claims. He always stated, however, that he did not believe that Senator Bickel had anything to do with the false charges. Bob believed that most of the people who heard him in person were convinced that he had been falsely accused. But for every person who heard him in person, there were at least fifty who did not. He hoped to reach some of these with several television spots and a fifteen minute speech scheduled for Friday evening.

David Mullins had called Bob late Wednesday evening to say that he knew that Debbie Johnson's charges were false, and to assure Bob that no one connected with the Democratic Party had anything to do with those charges. Bob stated that he was fully convinced that the Democratic organization had played no part in this, and thanked David for calling. David promised to call Barbara Bickel and suggest that she make a public statement that she believed the charges were false. So far, however, Barbara had made no mention of the Debbie Johnson affair.

When Bob got home Thursday night the house was empty.

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He found a note on the table. "We couldn't reach you by phone. Catherine has found Debbie. I have gone to Columbia to meet her. Pray for us and watch the 10 o'clock news on my old station. The boys are at your parents for the night. Much love, Maria."

It was only nine, so Bob went over to his parents' house so they could watch together. The boys were already in bed. Bob said, "Can anybody tell me what has happened?"

Matthew laughed. "Catherine, bless her heart, kept working on the Capitol grapevine until she found that the Johnson girl was in an apartment over at Columbia. Apparently the girl had gotten bored and made a call to one of her friends at the Capitol. I don't know how Catherine was able to worm it out of her. Anyway, Catherine closed your office and went to Columbia. Again I don't know how she did it, but somehow Catherine got the girl to break down and admit that she had lied. Then she didn't know what to do. She wanted it on the television cameras so everyone would know and so there would be no backing out. But she was afraid to call any of the stations because she didn't know who to trust. If it was leaked to the wrong persons, they might come and spirit Debbie away again before she could make a public confession."

Bob smiled. "Catherine is wonderful. She always thinks of all the angles."

"Well, Catherine called Maria. They couldn't locate you, so, at this point your sweet little wife took charge. She called one of her friends from the Columbia station, told her she had a really hot story for her, and arranged for her to bring her camera and meet her at the student union. We got the boys, Maria took off for Columbia, and I guess we must turn on our set for the final chapter of this real life 'who-dun-it'."

The Debbie Johnson story was the lead item on the local news. The announcer summarized the charges which Debbie

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had made; referred to Bob's denial; stated that Debbie had been located in a Columbia apartment; and then put on Debbie's filmed statement. The tearful girl stated that a woman with dark hair, whom she knew only as Martha, had come to her several days earlier, and told her that Senator Hill was trying to take away women's rights. She said that if Debbie would stop him, she would be doing a favor for all the women of America. Debbie wrote out the statement for the news in her own hand writing but the woman told her what to write. The woman told her not to answer any questions. The woman told her she would have to stay over at Columbia for a while, otherwise people would be bothering her with questions. She admitted that the charges she had made against Senator Hill were not true. Debbie denied getting any money for what she did other than the wages she lost and the rent for the apartment. She said she hadn't seen the woman since she came to Columbia. She said she was sorry for what she had done.

With tears in her eyes, Hannah hugged her son. "Bob, the Good Lord has seen us through this. This just teaches us once more that we can always trust Him."

Bob said, "I don't doubt that He has been with Catherine and Maria in all they have done. I want to call Catherine right now. Okay if I use your phone?"

"Of course, and be sure and give Catherine our love. And check on Maria."

Catherine answered at her home. Bob said, "How can I ever thank you enough, I don't know how you did it, but you are better than any private eye in the whole country. Catherine, you have saved my campaign, but more than that, you have stopped the ugly cancer of racism that was starting to grow in this district. A lot of people owe a lot to you for that. I thank you from the bottom of my heart."

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Catherine said, "My years of cultivating the Capitol grapevine have finally paid off. I am just glad I was in a position to help. Bob, do you plan to take any action against Debbie Johnson?"

"No, it appears to me that she was just a pawn in this whole thing."

"Well, I think there was a little of the 'woman scorned' element in this. She went along with the scheme partly because she was miffed because you never paid any attention to her."

"Nevertheless," Bob replied, "she is not the real culprit. If we could find this Martha person and whoever is behind her, then I would take legal action. But I am not going to worry about that now. Has Maria started home?"

"She started home about an hour ago, without waiting to see the broadcast. She should be there around midnight."

"Thanks again, Catherine, and good night. Oh yes, and Mom sends her love."

The rest of the campaign was anticlimactic. Bob continued his vigorous schedule through Monday. On Tuesday, he voted, and then spent the rest of the day behind his desk at the law office. He and Maria had decided against attending a big election night party in Jefferson City. Instead, they waited for the returns at home, in company with only Sherman and Bob's parents.

As the returns came in, it was soon apparent that Bob was winning easily. He lost New Dresden by a narrow margin, but carried several of the smaller counties in Barbara Bickel's senatorial district. Bob's own senatorial district went heavily in his favor. By midnight it was clear that Bob had carried the congressional district with about 56% of the vote — a truly remarkable victory for a Republican in that district.

Maria said, "Honey, you gave up a sure seat in Congress when you voted for HB 160. But God works in wonderful

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ways. You did what you knew to be right, and here you are in Congress anyway.”

Hannah said, “Son, I think of those words on the wall of your Senate chamber, ‘Nothing Is Politically Right That Is Morally Wrong.’ Jesus said it this way. ‘But seek first His kingdom and His righteousness, and all these things will be given to you as well.’ ”

The End

