

THREE VIEWS OF DEATH AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR LIFE

by

Arthur S. Berger

Director of the International Institute for the Study of Death
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(International Institute for the Study of Death)

This paper will attempt to clarify and sort out just three commonly held views of what happens at death and to show some, although not necessarily all, possible ways the three concepts may color our lives, affect our thoughts and impinge upon some of the problems confronting us. Although the paper will give the sources in fact and thought for these three views, my intention is not to play the role of advocate. I will not try to prove with metaphysical arguments, ethical premises or empirical evidence that any particular view is right or wrong or that there is or is not life after death. It will be up to readers to consult other writings - David Lorimer's recent book (1), for example, my book presenting new findings (2) or the critical review I made of the most recent types of survival evidence (3) - for these arguments and data. They must make their own determinations of which concepts seem valid and acceptable and which do not.

Finalistic View

What will happen after our coming deaths? The first view - and probably the one most prevalent among humanists and materialists, among academics, scientists, medical people, some theologians, all sceptics, who read or heard somewhere

that science has already disproved life after death - is that nothing at all happens. "When you're dead, you're dead." At and after death it is time to collect the hymn books. All is over. We perish and simply cease to be. Death is absolutely final. The survival beyond physical death of any component of the human being is inconceivable.

There are several sources for the Finalistic View. First, there is what Professor Flew calls the "enormous initial obstacle" (4). We are the same as our physical bodies. These decompose along with us and become skeletons in a casket. If our bodies are cremated, we become ashes. Death simply finishes us and there is no way of getting around the obstacle it presents. Any idea of the survival of human consciousness cannot get off the ground.

Common experience also shows that the existence of consciousness is entwined with the existence of a living body. When people are still alive, a solid knockout blow to the chin or head will erase every sign of consciousness. When they are dead, they are unresponsive, unmoving and give no evidence of consciousness.

In support of our experience and the linkage of consciousness with the living organism is the doctrine of monism built on our sciences of biology and physiology. Meaning single or alone, this doctrine holds that the human consciousness or mind is but an epiphenomenon or by-product

of the functions of the brain and nervous system and so completely dependent on them as to be incapable of existence after their functions have stopped and the brain and nervous system have disintegrated.

Another enormous obstacle is thrown up by this crushing philosophical consideration: It is impossible to conceive of any post-mortem existence in the absence of a physical body interacting through its sense organs with an environment. And even if some etheric body were to be provided, how could a post-mortem person in a radically different body be the same as the ante-mortem person?

Implications

Today we wrestle with many problems and debate many issues. In 1973, for example, the United States Supreme Court ruled in *Roe vs. Wade* that a woman has the absolute right to abortion. But that decision did not resolve the ethical and moral problems, and the issue of abortion continues now, as it has for a long time, to cause deep rifts of opinions among philosophers and theologians. The main issue, however, is whether or not a fetus is or is not a human being, at least in the first four months after conception. Until this question is settled, I do not see how the Finalistic View or any other can give any support either to those opposing or those advocating abortion. The

"Right to Life" people believe that human life begins at the moment of conception. For them, abortion is murder, whether or not that murder brings extinction or some sort of continuance. For those who believe the fetus is not human, there is neither murder nor the problem of extinction or continuance.

The connection of the Finalistic View to the problem of evil in society is much clearer. When there is no future, no concern need be felt for evil deeds done, no responsibility for repressing desires, no restraint placed on present conduct regardless of what harm it may inflict. On the other side, when continuance beyond death is not conceived possible, the Finalistic View may produce an opposite effect. For there can be no peace of mind, no easy conscience, in the realization that evil deeds can never be undone and injustices committed can never be put right. Death ends all possible redress.

The greatest public health problem today is suicide which, in 1985, was the eighth leading cause of death in the United States. The Finalistic View may provide a deterrent to suicide by raising in the would-be suicide's mind a doubt whether it would not be more desirable to endure life's frustrations a while longer than to be extinguished absolutely as the flame of a candle is put out. the Finalistic View unmaskes death as annihilator. There is no

golden hereafter. There is only nonbeing. Yet for some this nonbeing is exactly what is wanted. And if one is convinced, unlike Shakespeare, that there is no "something after death," suicide may be eagerly sought.

These same considerations are pertinent in cases of the right to die and of euthanasia. They may keep some patients from refusing life-saving treatment and some families and doctors from deciding to allow such treatment to be withdrawn from patients. At least, the Finalistic View forces questions to be raised: Does a patient want nonbeing more than suffering? Do health care personnel and the families of patients want to destroy patients, even those who are terminally ill, comatose or senile? These questions may give pause.

A salute is in order to all who hold the Finalistic View for it cannot be easy to embrace it. We have always been alive, able to think of a tomorrow in which to love, play, work, to plan for the future. The Finalistic View deprives us of the ability to anticipate, to make plans. It takes away the future. To accept it and the inevitable requires a combination of stoicism and courage.

The manly attitude requires us to accept our mortality. This acceptance may produce a whole new attitude toward life by forcing us to recognize that there is just this life and, if potentialities are to be realized, work done, a better

world made for future generations, these things must be done now.

If we accept the argument made in Martin Heidegger's Being and Time, acceptance of human mortality is how we experience and preserve our individualities. In this work, Heidegger does not take up the question of a post-mortem life. He defines death as "the end of Dasein" - his term for human existence - and so places his existentialist philosophy in the Finalistic View category. It is the facing and knowledge of our own deaths that makes life meaningful, gives us uniqueness and allows the Dasein to attain an authentic existence.

The manly attitude may be accompanied by a new maturity, insight and freedom in which, in Russell's words, "...enunciation, wisdom, and charity are born; and with their birth a new life begins....To abandon the struggle for private happiness, to expel all eagerness of temporary desire, to burn with passion for eternal things - this is emancipation" (5).

Yet the same attitude of resignation may father things less beautiful. Jean Paul Sartre's philosophy, like Heidegger's, was independent of the question of what happens at death and so is considered a Finalistic View. But he rejects Heidegger's optimism. Death comes unexpectedly. We never know when we are going to die. Chance is at the bottom

of life and death and so is annihilation of all our possibilities. Death does not make life meaningful. On the contrary, it deprives life of meaning.

Another example of pessimism comes from Bertrand Russell. For him, the world is purposeless and void of meaning:

no heroism, no intensity of thought and feeling can preserve an individual life beyond the grave;... all the labours of the ages, all the devotion, all the inspiration, all the noonday brightness of human genius, are destined to extinction in the vast death of the solar system,...the whole temple of Man's achievement must inevitably be buried beneath the debris of a universe in ruins...(6).

Because all personal and human values must perish and what is called "life" is meaningless with a capital "M", it is small wonder that many of us do everything possible to repress the idea of death. In Tolstoi's The Death of Ivan Ilyitch the characters never confront their own deaths: It is always someone else who will die. In Western society, death is feared. The main focus of that fear is given by Choron: "It is the prospect of not being any more that makes most men abhor death" (7). The Finalistic View colors inner life with the fear of absolute annihilation of the value of the personality along with its hopes and prospects. The mighty God of Physical Science has been able to do

nothing to remove this fear of total obliteration because, with all its conquests, it has never been able to conquer death. Medical technology still can do nothing to prevent death. Psychoanalysts find that the fear of it remains universal (8), at the bottom of all human anxiety (9) and every other human fear (10). Becker believed that the fear of death haunts us and "is a mainspring of human activity - activity designed largely to avoid the fatality of death" (11). Such activities may be merrily hedonistic - "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die" (12), may be behind the move toward greater sexual promiscuity, or even the trend toward the body beautiful.

On the other hand, when Finalistic Viewers understand that death is an entirely natural event that is essential to allow the evolutionary process to go on as it forces out the old to make room for the new, the fear of death as annihilation may be lessened to some degree. After all, the dead do not suffer, do not grieve, know no disappointments, have no regrets. The dead experience nothing.

And death is shared by all of us. It is a universal tie that binds us all and should make us aware of the true fellowship of humanity. As John Donne wrote in Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions (1624): "Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind, and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

Survival Views

One of the commonest ways to try to deal with death and the view that it is final extinction is to hope, imagine or believe that death need not be the "enormous obstacle" it is pictured to be but may be instead only the springboard for another life beyond the grave. These hopes, imaginings or beliefs can be called "survival views." But what does "survival after death" mean? It is a phrase which, like death, has many different meanings for different people.

Naturalistic Continuance View

First, there is the Natural Continuance View which declares that we are able to persist past death in naturalistic or indirect ways. There may be plasmic or biological continuation through one's children and their children.

We may also persist as a force among the living by the work we did, the art we created, the literature we wrote, the influence of our thoughts, spirit and of all social, scientific, artistic or spiritual work.

Or we may continue after death, although childless, simply by being remembered by family and friends whom we love and who love us.

The biological information system within us is the source for the first of these forms of continuance. If we have children, our genes and characteristics will be transmitted

through generations of our descendants even as the genes and characteristics of our ancestors are in us. Even our experiences may continue. They may be genetically coded in deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) so that our descendants will be able to recall our experiences. In support of this interesting possibility is a case in the annals of parapsychology which suggests that a descendant be able to remember what transpired in the life of an ancestor (13).

When Walt Whitman said of his Leaves of Grass "who touches this touches a man," he was expressing the fervent wish to "hold on" through work and influence.

The fundamental hope for continuance through loving memories also is no better expressed than by R.D.Laing:

"We wish to die leaving our imprints burned into the hearts of others. What would life be if there were no one left to remember us, to think of us when we are absent, to keep us alive when we are dead?...Of such stuff is our hope and our despair" (14).

Implications

The Naturalistic Continuance View may have considerable consequences for our lives and our conduct of them. To "keep us alive when we are dead," we may keep diaries, take out life insurance, have home movies, video tapes or photographs made of ourselves, leave our voices on electronic tape or even write epitaphs for our tombstones. We may wish to

procreate instead of dying childless, and, if we procreate, hope to produce male children who will continue our names. Biological continuance may lessen protest against one's mortality. Thus wrote one thinker: "I have loved and been loved. I have passed on a genetic endowment to posterity - there are now two great grandchildren - and so have ensured continuance" (15).

A similar satisfaction and calm surfaces at the end of a life which has added in some way to the riches of the human race. Arnold Toynbee, who was not called up for military service in World War I and so lived on instead of being killed in action as were half his friends, is an example of such calm:

The tale of my bonus life has now mounted up to more than half a century. This time-bonus has been particularly valuable for me, because I have been an historian.... I shall therefore have no excuse if, when my turn comes to die...I fail to face death readily and cheerfully (16).

From a force for pessimism about life engendered by the Finalistic View, death may be converted by the idea of "holding on" though scientific or artistic or other work into "a galvanizing force...pushing [us] forward toward creativity and accomplishment" (17). The power of this force was attested by Michelangelo: "No

thought is born in me that has not 'Death' engraved upon it" (18). The importance of creating and contributing was described by Unamuno who was obsessed by immortality: "For the sake of a name man is ready to sacrifice not only life but happiness - life as a matter of course. 'Let me die, but let my fame live!'...[D]eath is bitter, but fame eternal!" (19).

Personal Continuance View

Next is the familiar concept that the human personality survives for an indefinite or infinite time after physical death with all its memories, intellectual capacities and skill. Something in us separates itself from the dead physical body to go its way eternally. In my latest book (20), I suggest that this something may be those mental or psychological aspects of the individual summarized by the pronoun "I": memories, thoughts, skills, emotions, attitudes and intellectual capacities.

The first source for the idea of discarnate survival must lie in our own consciousness which cannot conceive of its own obliteration from the universe. It is as if each of us, when we try to perceive inward, find that what is at the heart of every thought and act and all knowledge, is inextinguishable.

The second source, probably arising from the first, is

that the notion of discarnate survival appears in every culture as a belief in a future life. A third source for the idea of personal continuance is the Egyptian belief in the future life of the eternal soul or "Ba". But nowhere are better arguments for the idea of personal continuance put forward than in its fourth source: Plato's *Phaedo*. With death, the soul is freed and exists by itself apart, he said, like a tune that exists after the harp and the strings on which it is played have been destroyed.

Some phenomena investigated by parapsychology provide an evidential source for the idea. They include: 1) some cases of xenoglossy - in which sensitives speak in a foreign language they have never studied or spoken; 2) cases of possession - when an alien personality appears to influence or control the organism of the primary personality; 3) electronic voices - allegedly those of people who have died and are using electronic equipment to communicate; 4) some evidential communications in mental mediumship - in which the spirit of a dead person seems to establish contact through an intermediary. In *Aristocracy of the Dead* (21), I have devoted a chapter to showing the inconclusive nature of the present evidence, and, indeed, my book spells out an experimental strategy for strengthening the evidence. Nevertheless, although none of these categories of phenomena individually necessarily indicates personal continuance, yet

all categories are in line with it and may point to it.

In this idea of personal continuance, a surviving intelligence in discarnate or quasi-carnate form goes on and on indefinitely never to appear on earth in material form. But in the next idea, that of reincarnation, the intelligence leaves the physical body at death, remains for a time in limbo when it may be active or completely dormant, and then returns to earth by entering the physical body of an infant.

The idea of reincarnation is fundamental in Hindu philosophy. It is also found in Buddhism except that Buddhism rejects the atman idea and replaces it with anatta or the "no soul" doctrine. But reincarnation is not confined to Asia. Orphic theology, too, adopted the idea of reincarnation according to past actions.

Reincarnation is also the belief of the Chassidic Jews and appears in the Kabbala and in the New Testament. Jesus, for example, says in the Gospel according to St. Matthew that John the Baptist was Elijah returned (22).

Evidence collected by Ian Stevenson of the Division of Behavioral Medicine (formerly of Parapsychology), Department of Psychiatry, University of Virginia, supports the idea of reincarnation. From India, Sri Lanka, Lebanon, Thailand, Turkey, Alaska and Burma, cases have been gathered and investigated of young children, generally between 2 and 4

years of age, who claim to remember past lives. Stevenson has tried to verify all the details of the lives of the dead persons the children seem to remember and claim to have been.

A third form of the concept of personal continuance is resurrection. Some Christians believe that they will be raised from death by God and their decomposed corpses literally reconstituted. Many liberal Christians believe such a resurrection to be impossible. Instead, their souls will enjoy a disembodied state after the death of the body but will be called back at some future day to a different spiritual, not physical, body which will operate in the new resurrected life.

References to the idea of resurrection are very old. In Homer's Iliad, there are several references to rising from the dead. In the dramas of Aeschylus there are references to resurrection. When we turn to religious sources, we find the idea prevailing in Zoroastrianism and among the ancient Hebrews. The Pharisees who were the spiritualists of their day believed in resurrection; the Sadducees or materialists did not. Today, the conception of resurrection is one of the Thirteen Articles of Faith for the pious Jew who believes that, during the Messianic era, when the Kingdom of God is established on earth, souls will return to the bodies of all the dead and the dead will rise. In Christian doctrine

resurrection is the fundamental and principal theme. The emphasis is not on the soul's immortality but on the immortality of the whole person. "The trumpet will sound," says St. Paul, "and the dead will rise again, free from corruption" (23).

Implications

Some of the values and effects claimed for the Personal Continuance View seem to me greatly overrated. For example, one of the claims is that, without a belief in personal continuance, life is meaningless and all is despair. "If there is no immortality," cried Tennyson, "I shall hurl myself into the sea!" (24) If "meaning," however, includes all the enjoyments and beauties of life, then the claim that life is meaningless without personal continuance is baseless, for in this sense life has not lost any of its meaning or beauty. Finalistic Viewers still savor fine wine and food, love and respond to love, appreciate sunsets, songs of birds and flowers.

Much weight is attached sometimes to the Personal Continuance View on the supposition that it helps people overcome or, at least, control their terrible fear of death. It is considered more comforting to believe that death is a starting-point than to view it as extinction. In my judgment, however, the case for the argument that the Personal Continuance View overcomes fear is weak in one

respect, doubtful in another and strong in a third.

It is weak because among the Hindus and Buddhists where Personal Continuance in the form of reincarnation is dominant, death is feared as the start of another existence of pain, misery and despair followed by another death and still another existence. In Indian and Buddhist thought, the prospect of being caught in the wheel of samsara - the cycle of unwanted births and deaths - is repugnant. The hope is to be liberated from this round of births and deaths and to enter the Void or Nirvana and extinction.

The argument that belief in personal continuance overcomes fear is partly right and partly questionable in the case of people who hold the Personal Continuance View on religious grounds. For some of them, death has no sting because of their faith. The early Christians, for example, although flogged and brutalized by the Romans in their arenas, were able to accept cruel deaths because of the future life promised them. Many Christians today still feel the same way. When Elisabeth Kubler-Ross made her studies of the dying she found that religious people passed through the stages of denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance with less turmoil and faced death with more equanimity than non-religious people (25). Yet Feifel collected data on religious and non-religious people and concluded that, compared to the non-religious, the religious

have a greater fear of death because of a concern with afterlife matters - "I may go to hell," "I have sins to expiate yet" (26).

But in sharp contrast to the fear that is felt when death is seen as extinction or when some religious people have eschatological worries over it is the anticipation and hope that is felt when the Personal Continuance View is rational and based on empirical grounds. In this context, the contention that the view reduces fear is valid and can be confirmed by the research with those who have been declared clinically dead, or because of injury or serious illness have come close to death, but have recovered. Their autoscopic and transcendental experiences, first introduced by Moody (27) and later researched by Ring (28) and Sabom (29), resulted in a marked reduction or elimination of their fear of death. Ring's research findings were that, after the near death experience, a "huge effect here - one of the strongest of the entire investigation" (30) was a conviction that the Personal Continuance View was valid.

In spite of my misgivings about several of the claims for some values of the Personal Continuance View, I believe it has important implications for religion, medicine, politics, society, ethics and has personal implicatons as well for the individual.

The Finality concept contradicts absolutely the Christian

belief in the love of God. What loving God would permit beings he had created to be annihilated after they had just begun to feel, think, reason, love, hope, develop capacities for understanding and knowledge? On the other hand, the Personal Continuance View, in all its forms (except possibly reincarnation) supports the Christian belief in the benevolence of God and sustains that faith with which Christians turn to God in prayer and expectation. We may go further than that and declare that on the Personal Continuance View depends the very idea of God. So did the Spanish philosopher, Unamuno, write: "Talking to a peasant one day, I proposed to him the hypothesis that there might indeed be a God...but that for all that the soul of every man may not be immortal in the traditional and concrete sense. He replied: 'Then wherefore God?'" (31). William James wrote: "Religion, in fact, for the great majority of our race means immortality, and nothing else. God is the producer of immortality" (32).

In medicine, the entire doctor-patient-hospital relationship, and cases of euthanasia and the "right-to-die" might be affected radically if there were a general acceptance of the Personal Continuance View. Patients' decisions to die, or family-doctor decisions to allow death in peace and dignity instead of prolonging life through medical technology, might be made more easily and with less

emotional turmoil if patients, family and health care professionals were able to view death as a transition to a new existence instead of a sentence to nothingness.

The Personal Continuance View, however, may not always have humane implications, especially in military and political areas. The belief in an afterlife may make it easier to kill or be killed. Holy wars have been fought because fanatic soldiers and their leaders believe that to slay their enemies meant dispatching them the sooner to a future life and that to fight and die in such wars means an immediate journey to paradise as a reward for martyrdom. If the same belief were to motivate today's leaders - an American President, an English Prime Minister or a third world demagogue - could it not also lead to decisions to wage bloody new wars or to push buttons controlling nuclear devices in order to gain for themselves and their followers some post-mortem reward?

The Personal Continuance View may have other undesirable consequences. Unlike the Finalistic View which should make one pause, say, before taking poison, the Personal Continuance View may remove the obstacles to ending life. For hundreds of years the poets of the West have glorified death. "Death is the end of woes" (Edmund Spenser); "Dear, beauteous death!" (Henry Vaughan); Death, the consoler" (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow); "How wonderful is death"

(Percy Bysshe Shelley). But now the near death experiences, a modern and increasingly widespread phenomenon because of medical technology, have added an entirely new and darker dimension to these poetic praises and have held out to all the sorrowing, rejected and weary people among us tickets to a permanent, fun-filled vacation from all the ills of life. For all who have survived near death crises and are ardent propagandists for the Personal Continuance View have made dying and death more appealing than life. To Moody and Ring they described the total peace they felt (33) and the beautiful new world filled with color, lakes and flowers which they saw (34). It seems legitimate to infer that the effects of these romantic accounts of dying and death on a variety of suggestible groups - those who are contemplating the intentional bringing about of their own deaths, who are willing to dare death by taking great risks as by driving at high speeds; who carelessly abuse their bodies with drugs or alcohol or omit using prescribed medications - cannot be inconsiderable in abetting decisions or conduct leading to premature death.

The Personal Continuance View might encourage rebellion in dictatorial regimes. The Yugoslav writer, Mihajlo Mihajlov, makes this interesting suggestion: "Never before has the question of personal immortality been posed as sharply before each man - not theoretically but practically

- as in the present totalitarian societies. If physical death is the end, then [submission to] slavery is justified. Then it is indeed better to be a living slave carrying out unquestioning the directions of the party than not to be. And vice versa - if the soul, the 'I' of each of us, is immortal, then worship of outside violence is loss of the soul, which is worse than the loss of life" (35).

Other significant effects of a widespread acceptance of the Personal Continuance View would include the virtual elimination of the corporeal approach and the doctrine of monism that mind is the function of the brain. The Personal Continuance View, therefore, would have great ethical importance by giving support to the argument that the human personality has a supreme value which will not be dissolved because the brain and body are.

The single most important thing that distinguishes the Finalistic View from the Personal Continuance View is that the former deprives us of any future. But it is the future, not the past or present, on which our eyes are fixed, to which our thoughts and actions and expectations are directed, and where our goals lie. "Meaning" in life consists not of the enjoyments or beauties of the present moment but of living and planning for the future. It is in this one area that the Personal Continuance View, which offers us a future, bestows meaning on life. Now we see why

Tennyson was ready to throw himself into the sea. Without a belief in personal continuance, his life lost its coherence and meaning.

Where the Finalistic View may have the drawback of encouraging lack of self-restraint because of the absence of future punishment, the Personal Continuance View is potentially an ethical force to alter the personal decisions and behavior of individuals and to bring about their moral regeneration. If the near death experience is a valid guide, the belief in personal continuance may be a force in shaping an individual's attitudes and aims regarding the present the present life. For intimately connected, if not causally related, to the conviction of life after death that was produced by the near death experience was another common effect: a major change in the philosophies and attitudes of the experiencers toward life. They were determined to live more fully, love more openly, with a sense of purpose, an awareness of the spiritual values of love and compassion and with greater religiousness (36). Sabom, however, found no alteration in goals or attitudes on the part of people who survived such events but had not had any accompanying autoscopic or transcendental experience (37). It is tempting to extrapolate from the near death research, but there is no evidence to support it, that a powerful belief in continuance after death possibly may generate similar

consequences for those who have not actually undergone near death crisis events. We do not know if, even for those who hold the Personal Continuance View, an actual peak experience is needed for a change in goals and attitudes. More research is needed to clarify this point.

If there is another existence as the View holds, it is reasonable to think that it is connected to this one, even as Chapter Two in a book is an extension of Chapter One. Should this be the case, we can look on our present decisions and behavior as extending beyond this life. It may have been this that Jacob, the learned rabbi, had in mind when he admonished the Hebrews:

"The world is like an anteroom before the World-to-Come; prepare yourself in the anteroom that you may enter the banquet hall".

We have to consider seriously the law of cause and effect, known to Brahmanists and Buddhists as the law of karma, and expressed in the New Testament as "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap" (38). If the next life is the time for reaping, this one is the time for being careful of what we sow and for getting ready.

Conclusion

It is the knowledge of death that distinguishes human beings from the animals. Of all the animals, we alone can think of death, of the several options for what may happen

to us after death and of the several meanings they have. This paper has given us the opportunity to think of post-mortem existence in different terms. These different options confront us like chocolates in a box. Since any selection we make and its meaning, in Feifel's words, "can serve as an important organizing principle in determining how [we conduct ourselves] in life" (39), it behooves us to think well and wisely before we make our choice or reconsider a choice already made.

NOTES

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33. Moody, Life after Life, p. 29; Ring, Life at Death, p. 41.
34. Moody, Life after Life, p. 73, Ring, Life at Death, p. 61.
35. Quoted in Michael Marsh, A Matter of Personal Survival: Life after Death (Wheaton, Ill.: Theosophical Publishing House, 1985), pp. 4-5.
36. Ring, Life at Death, pp. 203-204.
37. Sabom, Recollections of Death, p. 125.
38. Gal. 6:7.
39. Feifel, "Attitudes toward Death," p. 128.