

WORLD

NOVEMBER 1, 2014

Return of the security moms?

VOTER CONCERNS:
foreign policy, judges, Islam, Ebola, terrorism, jobs

- ▶ Heartland toss-ups: Iowa, Kansas, Colorado
- ▶ Abortion-funded campaigns
- ▶ State legislatures



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WORLD

“The earth is the LORD’s and the fullness thereof; the world and those who dwell therein.” –Psalm 24:1

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A test of true diversity

A controversy over discrimination is coming to an institution near and dear to you

» GORDON COLLEGE of Wenham, Mass. (a north-east Boston suburb), has never been known in the evangelical community as a right-wing or super-conservative institution. Pretty solidly biblical, most observers would say. And pretty balanced. Now and then, perhaps, a bit more daring than some of us found comfortable—but not by much.

So it wasn't exactly as if Gordon College was out looking for trouble early this past summer when its president, **Michael Lindsay**, joined more than



100 other Christian leaders in signing a modest appeal to President Obama. Word was out that the president was about to issue an executive order (actually signed on July 21) to the effect that any entity doing business with the federal government was required to comply with all rules banning discrimination against homosexuals.

With his colleagues, Lindsay asked for an exception for organizations like Gordon College. Their religious liberty was at stake, stressed those who signed the appeal. At Gordon, the appeal was simply that the college wanted to preserve this statement in its conduct policy: "Those acts which are expressly forbidden in Scripture, including but not limited to blasphemy, profanity, dishonesty, theft, drunkenness, sexual relations outside of marriage, and homosexual practice, will not be tolerated in the lives of Gordon community members, either on or off campus."

But Lindsay and his college were hardly prepared for the vigor and outrage of the response—from a variety of directions—to his joining what seemed to be a most reasonable appeal. From *The Boston Globe*, the regional accrediting association, local civic leaders, and other power centers came protests with the combined potential for sinking the college. Intensely watching that whole scenario, with understandable concern and even alarm, were leaders of other educational, charitable, relief, and miscellaneous other organizations. I know, because in the last two weeks I've sat in on board meetings of four different Christian enterprises where that concern and alarm were acute. Quite naturally, folks are watching Gordon College.

You and I should join them in that sober vigil and analysis. What's happening at Gordon College is all but certain to happen sometime soon, in some form, at other institutions we all love and support. Accrediting agreements might be modified, affecting the standing of even first-rate schools. Evangelical

colleges could face the disappearance of federal scholarship and loan programs—typically affecting from one-third to half of all students. Generous donors who might step up to help cover those scholarships and loans could easily be denied tax exemption for their gifts. Sales taxes on purchases and property taxes on attractive campuses might be imposed.

As we watch, anticipate, and analyze, it's critical to keep several thoughts in sharp perspective.

First: Institutional and organizational life is always discriminatory. So what else is new? Ivy League schools discriminate against students with low SAT scores. Biology departments across the country discriminate against professors who don't believe in Darwinian evolution. NFL football franchises discriminate against linemen who weigh less than 150 pounds. What some people angrily term "discrimination," others accept as constructive "choice." It's the very diversity of such a society that gives it its color and character.

Second: Don't expect everyone's response to be the same—even on your side of this disagreement. It's likely to be messy. It won't be as simple as "us" against "them." Already, the Gordon College community has been divided and subdivided. Some folks are quietly thankful the issue dropped right in the college's lap, forcing a stand to be taken. Others have called on President Lindsay and the board of directors to drop the prohibition against homosexual practice from the college's policy statement.

My guess is that the scattered response at Gordon is fairly typical of the response we'll see in the months ahead in the much larger evangelical community. Some will argue simply on the basis of historic traditional values and practice. Some will appeal to "religious freedom." Some will make a distinction between institutions (like Gordon) that are Christian but independent and those dozens of institutions that are church-related. (For the record, I think that's a shallow and unwise distinction. Freedom to hire should be as broad and unfettered as possible.)

Most troubling of all, don't be surprised if large numbers of evangelical students line up on the more permissive side of the issue. The generational divide so visible in our culture at large may show up just as painfully on traditionally Christian campuses and within Christian groups on secular campuses.

Don't expect this issue to go away soon—and don't expect it to be a tidy debate. ☹

—See p. 65 for reporting on Gordon College and accreditation



CLASSIC READINGS FOR CHRISTMAS

Each of us is searching for peace. During this season, we enjoy traditions and comforts that hint at a much greater peace in the distance. Thankfully, the good news of Christmas is not our traditions and comforts, but that Jesus is our peace (Eph. 2:14a). In this heirloom book, *Peace: Classic Readings for Christmas*, Dr. Stephen J. Nichols reminds us of the real meaning of Christmas, a world-changing event that reaches beyond a single day and affects our lives—every day—for all of time. Meditations on Scripture, Bible passages, and hymns join beautiful illustrations, and invite you and your family to behold the true peace of Christmas. **Available wherever books are sold.**



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Dispatches

News › Quotables › Quick Takes

Decisive moment

As protesters demand democracy in Hong Kong, churches there are divided over whether to support the marchers

BY JUNE CHENG PHOTO BY LUCAS SCHIFRES/GETTY IMAGES

» WHEN WU CHI WAI attended seminary in then-British colony Hong Kong in 1980, he took part in passionate discussions about universal suffrage, the ideals of a one-man-one-vote system, and the opportunities for democracy to take root in Hong Kong. More than 30 years later, those ideals are still dreams for the university students at Pastor Wu's church.

Starting Sept. 26 tens of thousands of dreamers, both young and old, inundated the island's main thoroughways to protest Beijing's tightening control over the region. Police response varied throughout the weeks-long protests, yet standoffs between police in riot gear and protesters shielding themselves with umbrellas gave the protests the name "The Umbrella Revolution."

Amid the undulating crowd, Wu and about 50 other pastors and seminary students took shifts standing with a 20-foot-tall white cross. They offer prayer, spiritual counsel, and advice to the protesters "to demonstrate God's presence among them." Groups of Christians holding signs saying "Lord give us peace" gathered to read the Bible and sing hymns. Some churches opened their doors as support centers, allowing protesters—regardless of their political persuasions—a place to pray, rest, and use bathrooms.

Christians make up about one-fifth of Hong Kong's population and play a significant role in the democracy movement, yet churches remain divided about how to respond to the restive political climate.

» WHILE THE COMMUNIST REGIME in mainland China ostentatiously quashed Christianity in the late 1940s, Christianity flourished in Hong Kong under British rule. Churches and missionaries provided much-needed education and social services to a stream of refugees fleeing from mainland China. Even today Christian groups run about half of all public schools.

In 1997 Britain handed Hong Kong over to China, raising fears among Hong Kong Christians that Beijing would clamp down on their freedoms. But



instead the Chinese government allowed Christians to continue meeting, evangelizing, and serving the community. With tensions eased, Beijing presented Hong Kong pastors an offer many couldn't refuse: access to mainland China's expansive mission field through a partnership with the government-sanctioned Three-Self church.

Francis Yip, a professor at Chung Chi Divinity School of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), said before the handover Christians didn't know how they could evangelize on the mainland: "But the success of the befriending policy of the Communist Party toward the evangelical church means that they now have ... opportunities to do their work in China." Hong Kong pastors have developed relationships with Three-Self church pastors, met with officials, trained pastors, and even built a harmony theme park in Northeast China.

In return for access, those pastors stopped criticizing the central government, kept politics out of the pulpit, and overall became pro-establishment. They enjoyed a high level of religious freedom and didn't want to rock the boat and lose access to what Yip calls "the great opportunity of spreading the gospel in mainland China."

Some Christians saw worrisome changes after the 1997 handover, especially related to church-run schools. Yip said the government required schools to establish management boards to keep them independent from their sponsoring bodies, and limited to

60 percent the number of board members who could come from the church.

Last year tensions between Hong Kong and China ramped up again. China-backed companies strong-armed newspapers that spoke out against the government. Pro-democracy journalists faced knife attacks. In June, Beijing released a white paper reminding Hong Kong that the central government has "comprehensive jurisdiction" over Hong Kong, and that the "high degree of autonomy enjoyed by Hong Kong is subject to the central government's authorization." On July 1, Occupy Central with Love and Peace, whose leadership includes Rev. Chu Yiu-Ming and outspoken Christian Benny Tai, staged a peaceful sit-in to commemorate the 17th anniversary of Hong Kong's handover. Half a million people jammed the roads, and police arrested 500 protesters who refused to leave.

The precipitating event of the current protests occurred on August 31, when China announced that a committee filled with Beijing loyalists would determine how many and which names appear on the 2017 ballot for chief executive. While some pragmatic Hong Kong residents resigned themselves to that development, Occupy Central saw the move as the beginning of a long fight.

On Sept. 22, about 13,000 college students started a week-long boycott. Secondary-school students joined them for a one-day protest at the end of the week. Unwilling to leave the protesting to students, Hong Kongers from both



“HONG KONG PEOPLE”: Riot police launch tear gas into the crowd as thousands of protesters surround the government headquarters Sept. 28 (left); from right, founder of the Occupy Central civil disobedience movement Benny Tai and student leaders Joshua Wong, Alex Chow, and Lester Shum speak during a rally (center); people listen as pro-democracy demonstrators address a crowd at a barricade (right).

sides of the Victoria Harbor joined them on the streets. A sea of protesters washed over the main roads in the financial district, calling themselves “Hong Kong People,” rather than Chinese people, and demanding the removal of Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying: They saw him as a puppet of Beijing.

After first responding with tear gas and pepper spray, the police backed down as Leung acknowledged the protests will “last for quite a long period of time.” In the ensuing weeks, scuffles broke out between protesters and masked groups of anti-Occupy Central activists, some linked to the infamous Hong Kong triad gangs. Government officials backed out of promises to meet with protest leaders, shattering hopes of a speedy resolution.

» AT THE HELM of the student movement is the bespectacled 17-year-old Joshua Wong, whose group Scholarism stopped China from slipping communist propaganda into Hong Kong schools in 2012. In a Facebook post, Wong said his Christian faith was the motivation behind his pro-democracy activism. He

mentions how his father taught him from a young age to care for the “forgotten ones in the community” who had never heard the gospel, as well as Christians in China who were oppressed for their faith: “Without faith, I wouldn’t have realized that we have to search for the value of life, to respect every individual as equal.”

The heavy involvement of college students and young people in the current democracy movement is reminiscent of China’s own student protests a quarter century ago that led to the infamous crackdown at Tiananmen Square. Back then, the Hong Kong church united in protesting mainland China’s brutal actions, and Occupy Central’s own Rev. Chu and other church leaders helped Chinese student leaders escape into Hong Kong.

This time, churches are more varied in their responses. The Catholic and Methodist churches have offered the most vocal support to Occupy Central, with the Anglican church at the other end of the spectrum. In July, Anglican Archbishop Paul Kwong accused protesters of having a herd mentality and urged Christians to stay quiet as Jesus was quiet before his crucifixion. Critics note that Kwong is a member of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, an unelected advisory group for the Chinese Communist Party.

Some Christians cite chapter 13 of Romans to discredit the civil disobedience strategy of Occupy Central. Others question the movement’s effectiveness,

since the Chinese government has already decided on the law. Still others argue that churches should focus on ministry and evangelism and not get entrenched in politics. Most churches do not take an official position, but a growing number are opening their doors to weary protesters and praying for peace in the city.

» PROFESSOR YIP says Christians need to be involved in the debate. He’s written a confession signed by more than 4,000 Christians that calls for the church to take an active stand against things that are wrong while respecting both supporters and opponents of Occupy Central. He doesn’t think China will come tearing down church crosses in Hong Kong, as it has in Zhejiang province, but he can imagine Beijing undercutting churches that have been more outspoken against the government.

Pastor Wu isn’t as optimistic. He believes the Hong Kong church will eventually be treated exactly like the churches in mainland China: “Now we have to face the oppressive Chinese government, and so when we say that we fight for democracy, we fight for our human dignity.”

Wu, who works with Hong Kong Church Renewal Movement, says that as God loved the world, so Christians must love the world and be involved with it: “We should engage in the public affairs, and we should not leave this to other people. If we retreat, we can see more evil or sins in the public area.” ☉



Wednesday, Oct. 1

Open doors

A day after the announcement that a Liberian national had brought the Ebola virus to Dallas, Texas, the White House said it will not institute travel restrictions on visitors from West African nations where Ebola is widespread. Presidential spokesman **Josh Earnest** said screening at West African and U.S. airports is enough to prevent the “wide spread” of the deadly virus. On Oct. 2, government officials said the Liberian national, Thomas Eric Duncan, may have exposed up to 100 people. He died on Oct. 8, and by Oct. 15 two of the hospital workers who tended to Duncan had tested positive for the disease.



Fatal plays

Tom Cutinella of Shoreham-Wading River High School on Long Island, N.Y., became the third American high-school football player to die in less than a week. Cutinella, 16, died at a hospital after undergoing surgery related to a head injury sustained in the third quarter of a varsity game against John Glenn High School. Two players died following Sept. 26 games: Demario Harris Jr. of Charles Henderson High School in Troy, Ala., and Isaiah Langston of Rolesville High School in North Carolina.

Thursday, Oct. 2

Chase hacked

JPMorgan Chase, the nation’s largest bank, revealed that a cyber attack over the summer had compromised the information of tens of millions of customers. The data breach began in June and the bank discovered it in August, but spokeswoman Patricia Wexler said the hackers had not stolen account numbers, passwords, Social Security numbers, or dates of birth. They had, however, stolen names, addresses, phone numbers, and email addresses. The breach reportedly affected the accounts of 76 million households and 7 million small businesses.



Death penalty sought

Prosecutors in Oklahoma filed a motion seeking the death penalty against Alton Nolen, the convert to Islam who allegedly beheaded former co-worker **Colleen Hufford** at the Vaughan Foods plant in Moore, Okla., on Sept. 25. Nolen also allegedly tried to behead a second co-worker before plant manager Mark Vaughan, a reserve deputy, shot him with a rifle. Cleveland County District Attorney Greg Mashburn told *The Oklahoman* that he met with Hufford’s family, who approved of the death penalty motion: “I let them know it was my ultimate decision, but I wanted to know their feelings.”



HUMAN RACE

Born A woman who in 2013 received an experimental womb transplant gave birth to a healthy baby boy in September, according to the Swedish doctors who performed the radical procedure. The 36-year-old woman, who wants to remain anonymous, received a uterus from a 61-year-old friend. Doctors say it can be used for one or two pregnancies before they will have to remove it. The woman named the baby Vincent, which means “to conquer.”



EARNEST: JACQUELYN MARTIN/AP; CUTINELLA: KATHY WILLENS/AP; CHASE: KATHY WILLENS/AP; HUFFORD: HUFFORD FAMILY/AP; TRANSPLANT: JOHAN WINDBORG/UNIVERSITY OF SOTHEBY'S/AP



Friday, Oct. 3

Murder in Iraq

ISIS said it beheaded a fourth Western hostage in less than two months, this time murdering Briton **Alan Henning** in what it said was retaliation for airstrikes. Henning, 47, was a former taxi driver and an aid worker captured at a warehouse in Syria. ISIS previously beheaded American journalists James Foley and Steven Sotloff on Aug. 19 and Sept. 2, and Scottish aid worker David Haines on Sept. 13.

Saturday & Sunday, Oct. 4-5

'Baby Doc' dies

Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier, former brutal dictator of Haiti, died of a heart attack at his home in Haiti at the age of 63. The son of Haitian dictator Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier, Jean-Claude was "elected" president for life by a vote of 2,391,916 to zero near the end of his father's life in 1971. Once in power, he began extorting foreign aid to finance a lavish lifestyle, including a \$3 million wedding. Exiled to France in 1986, he returned in 2011, was arrested for embezzlement and other crimes, but lived the rest of his life in luxury.



Drawn to terror

FBI counterterrorism agents arrested 19-year-old **Mohammed Hamzah Khan** of suburban Chicago at O'Hare International Airport, where the teen allegedly planned to fly to Vienna and then Turkey in order to meet an



ISIS contact and join the terrorist group. He reportedly had left a letter to his parents explaining his decision to join ISIS. Neighbors in Bollingbrook, Ill., expressed surprise at Khan's alleged actions: "The kid was polite," said Steve Moore. "I didn't expect anything like that in the least bit."

American givers

A study from *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* found the recession put a dent in the charitable giving of wealthy Americans even as middle- and lower-income Americans increased their giving. Americans earning more than \$200,000 per year gave 4.6 percent less of their income in 2012 than in 2006. Americans earning less than \$100,000 per year gave 4.5 percent more of their income over the same period.

Other findings: Americans overall gave away only 3 percent of their income in 2012, and the top 17 states for highest charitable giving as a share of income all voted for Mitt Romney in 2012.



Settled The Council for Christian Colleges and Universities reached an undisclosed agreement with its former president, **Edward O. Blews Jr.**, to settle a contractual dispute, almost a year after it fired him 10 months into a five-year contract. Internal turmoil marked Blews' tenure (see "Long search, short tenure," Feb. 8, 2014), but in its announcement the council said it found "no legal or financial wrongdoing nor any moral turpitude." The council cited philosophical differences in priorities and leadership style as the reason for the change.



HENNING: HANDOUT · BABY DOC: RAMON ESPINOSA/AP · KHAN: HANDOUT · PHILANTHROPY: ZERBOR/SHUTTERSTOCK · BLEWS: HANDOUT



Monday, Oct. 6

ISIS advances

Kurdish fighters in the Syrian city of Kobani waged a fierce battle to hold back ISIS militants as they advanced on the city near the Turkish border. While Turkey said that the United States should do more than send airstrikes against ISIS, U.S. officials said it was Turkey's role to help on the ground and pressed the country to do more. "You've got to have willing partners on the ground," Pentagon spokesman Rear Adm. John Kirby told Fox News. "You've got to have ground forces."

Nonruling ruling

The U.S. Supreme Court without comment refused to hear appeals from five states seeking to protect marriage as between one man and one woman. Appeals courts

had struck down the marriage laws of Indiana, Oklahoma, Utah, Virginia, and Wisconsin, and with the Supreme Court's inaction those rulings stand. Within four hours of the announcement, same-sex couples in those states began applying for licenses. The high court's nonruling could affect marriage laws in six other states.

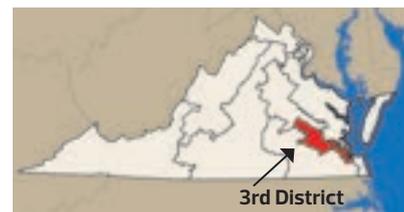


Sued Descendants of the woman who allegedly served as the model for the Aunt Jemima breakfast products have sued Quaker Oats for \$2 billion. Anna Short Harrington's great-grandchildren claim the company stole recipes from her in the 1930s and broke a contract to pay her a portion of the profits from their pancake and syrup products. The company says no contract ever existed and insists the "Aunt Jemima" character was never based on any one person but on a compilation of people and personalities.

Tuesday, Oct. 7

Actor abuse

Actor **Stephen Collins**, best known for portraying Rev. Eric Camden on the TV show *7th Heaven* from 1996 to 2007, faces allegations that he molested one young girl and exposed himself to two others. The revelations came from his estranged wife, who secretly recorded sessions the couple had with a therapist in which she says Collins admitted to the abuse. Authorities in California and New York, where the abuse allegedly happened, are investigating. Meanwhile, ABC announced that Collins will no longer appear in any season four episodes of the show *Scandal*, and he will no longer appear in the film *Ted 2*.



District down

A federal court rejected a congressional map in Virginia that concentrated African-Americans into one district, ruling the Virginia legislature unconstitutionally used racial factors to create the district.

The overruled map will remain in place for November's election, but lawmakers must create a new one by April.



MARRIAGE: RICK BOWMER/AP - ISIS: ARIS MESSINIS/AP/GETTY IMAGES · COLLINS: FREDERICK M. BROWN/GETTY IMAGES · MAP: CENSUS BUREAU/CONGRESSIONAL MAP · AUNT JEMIMA: HANDOUT

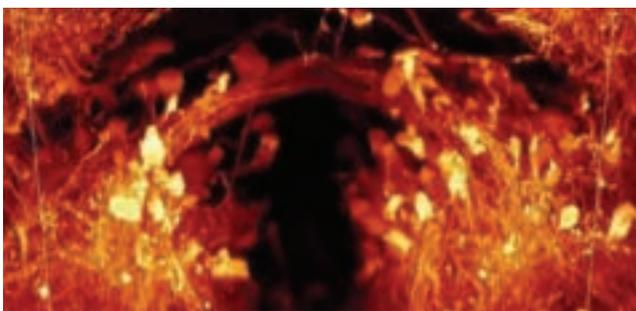
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Wednesday, Oct. 8

View finders

Two Americans were among the three scientists who won this year's Nobel Prize in chemistry. The winners, announced by the Nobel Committee in Sweden, were Americans Eric Betzig and William E. Moerner and German Stefan W. Hell for their work on optical microscopy that has allowed scientists to track proteins in the nanoworld.

Neurons in the brain of a living zebrafish embryo, imaged using nanoscopy



Betzig



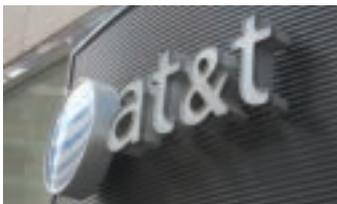
Moerner



Hell

Bad bills

AT&T will pay \$105 million to settle a “cramming” case brought against it by the federal government and all 50 states and the District of Columbia. The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) said AT&T billed wireless customers for unauthorized charges by third-party companies. AT&T will pay \$80 million to mobile customers and the rest in fees and fines. The FTC has brought seven cramming cases since 2013.



Friday, Oct. 10

Dictator disappears

North Korean dictator **Kim Jong Un** missed the celebration of the 69th anniversary of the country's ruling party, after being absent from public view for more than a month. Analysts speculated that Kim had a serious illness or had been deposed in a coup. Photos released on Oct. 14 showed Kim using a walking stick while touring the newly built Wisong Scientists Residential District and another new institute in Pyongyang, although officials didn't say when the tour occurred.

Another scandal

The Obama White House faced questions about a possible cover-up after *The Washington Post* revealed records that showed a volunteer member of the White House advance team's involvement in the prostitution scandal in 2012. (It resulted in the firing or discipline of about two dozen Secret Service agents and military members.) At the time the White House cleared Jonathan Dach, son of a major Democratic donor, without revealing his name. The *Post*'s report came nine days after Secret Service Director Julia Pierson resigned in the wake of revelations about security lapses.



Won Seventeen-year-old activist **Malala Yousafzai** on Oct. 10 became the first teenager ever to win a Nobel Peace Prize. She was in chemistry class when she received the news. Yousafzai, a Pakistani now living in England, became an international sensation after Taliban militants shot her in the head because she publicly advocated for girls' education. The attempt on her life has only amplified her message. Yousafzai shared the award—and the \$1.1 million prize money—with 60-year-old **Kailash Satyarthi** of India, an activist against child slavery.



Sunday, Oct. 12

Wind power

A powerful cyclone hit the eastern coast of India, bringing down trees and buildings and destroying electricity and telephone lines. By Oct. 14, the death toll had risen to 25, a figure that would have been higher except the government had evacuated 400,000 people from their homes in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Odisha.

Ordered by the court

Alaska District Judge Timothy Burgess overturned the state's law protecting marriage as between a man and a woman. The ruling came less than a week after the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, which includes **Alaska**, ruled that similar laws in Idaho and Nevada were unconstitutional in Idaho and Nevada. Same-sex couples the next day began applying for marriage licenses.



Monday, Oct. 13

Back in business

The FAA's air traffic control center in Aurora, Ill., reopened after being out of operation for more than two weeks. The Chicago Air Route Traffic Control Center, which controls the air traffic of both **O'Hare** and Midway airports, had been closed since Sept. 26 due to damage from a fire set in an apparent suicide attempt by an FAA employee.



Stock slide

Stock prices suffered through their worst three-day performance in two years. The Dow Jones industrial average slumped 222 points, or 1.4 percent, to close at 16,321 on Oct. 12. That came after two days of sharp drops to close out the previous week on Oct. 9 and 10.

Named A North Carolina woman gave birth to six of seven septuplets, but the babies only lived about two hours after she went into premature labor at 21 weeks. Former NFL player Steve Justice and his wife Lindsey turned down medical advice to selectively abort some of the babies, saying they believed all of them were a gift from God. Lindsey miscarried one baby, whom they named Isaac, at 12 weeks, and the other six, all girls, received names with first letters that spell the word *Messiah*. The couple said they are in deep mourning but have no regrets about their decision.



INDIA: BISWARANJAN ROUT/AP · O'HARE: PAUL BEATY/AP · NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE: RICHARD DREW/AP · ALASKA: MARK THIESSEN/AP · JUSTICE: HANDOUT

Catholic quake

A committee of bishops selected and convened by **Pope Francis** released a preliminary report urging the Roman Catholic Church to recognize “positive aspects of civil unions and cohabitation” and



see “constructive elements” in those relationships. While the report said the church’s marriage sacrament should not change, the church should with regard to homosexuals be “accepting and valuing their sexual orientation.” Forty-one bishops objected to the shift toward acceptance of unbiblical sexuality, worrying the report would give “the impression of a positive evaluation” of homosexuality and cohabitation. They pointed out that one word barely appeared in the document: *sin*.

READ MORE AT WNG.ORG

Find the latest election news, keep up with threats from ISIS to Ebola, and read commentary from Marvin Olasky, Andrée Seu Peterson, Janie B. Cheaney, and Cal Thomas.



Oct. 26 The **European Central Bank** should publish today the results of its stress test on euro-zone banks. Central bankers are seeking to purge banks too weak to make loans from participating countries as European officials aim to jump-start the region’s faltering economy.

LOOKING AHEAD



Oct. 31 Microsoft will stop providing most versions of the popular **Windows 7** operating system to computer manufacturers today in another attempt to move computer users into Windows 8. The tech giant said it will cease offering free tech support for the 5-year-old Windows 7 software in January.



Nov. 4

Americans head to the polls today to elect members to the 114th Congress as well as to a bevy of state and local bodies across the country. In all, 36 states will elect governors. But most political watchers will be focusing on the 34 U.S. Senate seats up for grabs. Republicans need to add six seats to gain a majority in the next Congress.



Oct. 30 For the first time since 2010, basketball star **LeBron James** will don a Cleveland jersey as the Cavaliers open their 2014-15 NBA season with a home game against New York. After leaving Cleveland in 2010, James played four seasons in Miami. The NBA season kicks off Oct. 28 when the defending champion San Antonio hosts Dallas.

Nov. 7 Tech insiders expect Apple’s new digital wallet service, **Apple Pay**, to go live today. The tech giant announced the service in September, indicating that Apple Pay users could replace plastic card payments by simply swiping a few buttons on their **IPHONES** in the checkout aisle.



Denied The Hannah Overton saga is not finished. The Texas Court of Criminal Appeals in September overturned Overton’s 2007 conviction and life sentence for the salt poisoning death of her adoptive son, but on Oct. 8 the court denied her motion for early release on bail. The court did not issue an opinion to explain its decision. The ruling means Overton, a 37-year-old mother of five, will remain in prison until the Nueces County (Texas) district attorney decides to prosecute her for a lesser charge, drop all charges, or retry the capital murder charge.





REOPENING THE DEBATE: Wendi Morgan (left) wears a “Yes on 1” T-shirt as she holds her daughter at a Hamilton County Commission meeting in Chattanooga, Tenn. The commission voted to pass a resolution in support of Amendment 1.

hand and planned an aggressive get-out-the-vote and television ad campaign.

The list of anti-Amendment-1 contributions is heavy with Planned Parenthood affiliates. The April/May/June published statement, for example, included \$189,500 from Planned Parenthood of Middle and Eastern Tennessee, \$50,000 from Planned Parenthood of the Great Northwest (Seattle),

and other large contributions from Planned Parenthood groups in southern California, Massachusetts, Kansas/Missouri, and Southern states.

Referendum opponents portray themselves as defending an Alamo of abortion liberty against hordes of fanatics—but along with their television buys they benefit from free publicity in magazines such as *Mother Jones*, which headlined a recent article, “The Nation’s Biggest Abortion Battle Is Playing Out in Tennessee.” In reality, they look more like Santa Anna.

Another reality check: Passage of Amendment 1 would bring about nothing radical, since the U.S. Supreme Court allows only minor changes in the abortion regime. Some lives would be saved, though, through likely legislation such as a 24-hour waiting period to reduce abortion coercion, informed consent requirements so that women have accurate information regarding fetal development, and inspection of abortion facilities that would reduce the number of southern fried Gosnells. 🌐

Abortion battleground

A modest pro-life amendment in Tennessee has galvanized pro-abortion forces nationwide **BY MARVIN OLASKY**

ON NOV. 1, 1835, Davy Crockett left his Tennessee home and headed to Texas, where four months later he died at the Alamo. This Nov. 4, the eyes of pro-lifers and pro-aborts throughout the United States will be on Tennessee, as Volunteer State residents decide whether to allow the state’s legislature to debate passage of laws protecting unborn children.

Fourteen years ago, the Tennessee Supreme Court tried to cut off such debate by declaring that the state’s constitution demands a “right to abortion.” With neighboring states such as Alabama and Mississippi increasing their protection of some unborn children during those years, Tennessee has become an abortion destination: One

out of four abortions in Tennessee now kills an out-of-state baby.

The Tennessee ballot this November features “Amendment 1,” which would reopen the debate. The amendment declares that “nothing in this Constitution secures or protects a right to abortion or requires the funding of an abortion,” and asserts that the legislature is free to pass laws concerning abortion.

At least 20 county governments have approved resolutions backing Amendment 1, but the pro-abortion side is out-fundraising pro-lifers. The campaign to defeat Amendment 1 took in more than \$1.5 million in July, August, and September, while proponents raised \$631,576. On Oct. 10 the pro-abortion side had \$1.6 million on



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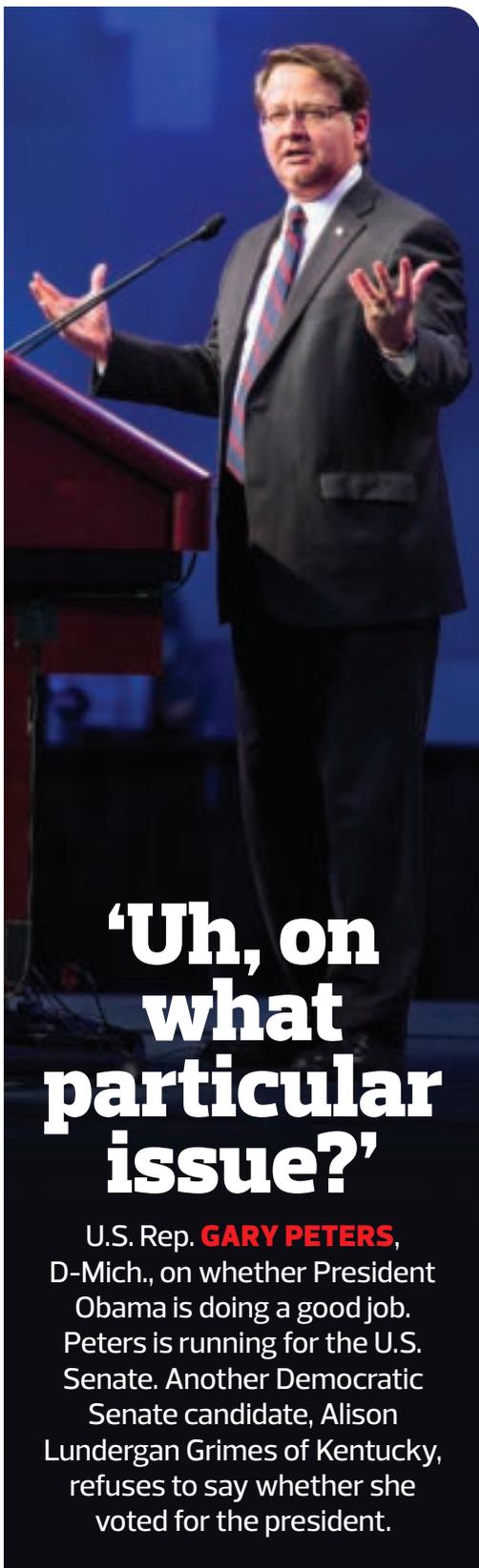


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‘Uh, on what particular issue?’

U.S. Rep. **GARY PETERS**, D-Mich., on whether President Obama is doing a good job. Peters is running for the U.S. Senate. Another Democratic Senate candidate, Alison Lundergan Grimes of Kentucky, refuses to say whether she voted for the president.

‘Those on our side viewed the White House as so eager to rid itself of Iraq that it was willing to withdraw rather than lock in arrangements that would preserve our influence and interests.’

Former Defense Secretary **LEON PANETTA**, in his new book *Worthy Fights*. He blames the president for fumbling negotiations that could have left a small force of U.S. troops in Iraq: “To my frustration, the White House coordinated the negotiations but never really led them.”

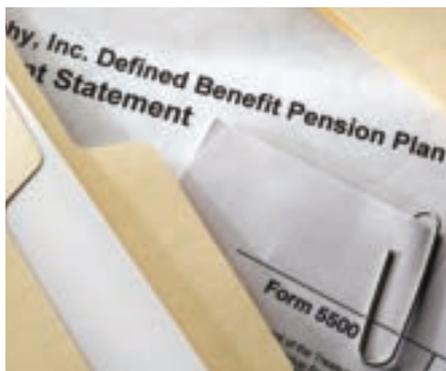


‘161,000 brothers, sisters, mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, grandparents lost.’

Vice President **JOE BIDEN**, speaking in Joplin, Mo., on the death toll from the tornado that hit Joplin on May 22, 2011. The true death toll was 161.

‘The preaching of the church of God does not belong to Caesar, and we will not hand it over to him.’

RUSSELL MOORE, president of the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, on revelations that city attorneys in Houston, Texas, as part of a lawsuit issued subpoenas to many of the city’s pastors for “all speeches, presentations, or sermons related to HERO, the Petition, Mayor Annise Parker, homosexuality, or gender identity prepared by, delivered by, revised by, or approved by you or in your possession.” Many of the pastors have been part of an effort to put a city gay rights measure to a vote by city residents.



‘\$561,286’

Annual New York City pension for retired Queens College history professor **EDGAR J. MCMANUS**, according to the Empire Center for Public Policy in Albany, N.Y. Sixteen other city pensioners received more than \$200,000 per year, and 1,796 retirees received more than \$100,000 per year.

PANETTA: CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES · PETERS: KATIE BAILEY | MLIVE.COM/LANDOV · BIDEN: AP PHOTO/ELANE THOMPSON · HERO: ABC NEWS · PENSION: DNY59/ISTOCK



SAND SHOTS

Using panoramic **Trekker cameras** mounted on top of cars, Google has photographed much of the developed world by driving up and down streets taking pictures. The images are part of Google's map application, but when the tech giant turned its attention to the desert, it couldn't depend on cars—so to get breathtaking photos of Abu Dhabi's Liwa Oasis, Google employed a camera-bearing camel.



WATER FIGHT

A few nature-hating residents of Bellano, Italy, filed a complaint with a regional environmental authority protesting the noise pollution emanating from a natural waterfall in the middle of the town. The environmental regulators judged the town responsible for the **waterfall** and fined Bellano \$830. The mayor of the city said he will refuse to pay the fine.

PAINTING PUTIN

Young men who operate a Facebook fan group created an art show entitled “**12 Labors of Putin**” to celebrate Russian President Vladimir Putin's 62nd birthday on Oct. 7. The 12 paintings portray Putin as Heracles, the divine hero of Greek mythology, and mirror the mythical “12 Labors of Hercules.” Putin himself fastidiously cultivates his rugged, outdoorsy image. Embattled abroad, the Russian president enjoys an approval rating above 80 percent at home.



DANGEROUS DRAPE

It's the sort of massage that most people won't find relaxing. Still, one zoo in the Philippines hopes that customers will be lining up for its newly featured snake massages. **Cebu City Zoo** manager Giovanni Romarate announced earlier this year his zoo would be offering one-of-a-kind massages delivered to patrons by massive and dangerous pythons. Called “therapeutic” and “calming” by zoo officials, the service begins when a customer lies down and has zoo workers drape more than 500 pounds of pythons across his or her body. From there, the pythons are in charge, slithering and tightening their grip around the human customer as they see fit. Romarate insists the practice is safe and notes that each python is fed 10 chickens (to diminish hunger) before starting a shift as a reptile masseuse.

GOOGLE: HANDOUT · BELLANO: CORDANEI/ISTOCK · ZOO: HANDOUT · PUTIN: VASILY MAKIMOV/PHOTGETTY IMAGES

BUBBLE RUN

Only the United States Coast Guard would be so nice. A man endeavoring to run from Miami to Bermuda in an inflatable **floating bubble** needed rescue when he ran out of energy just days into his trip. The scheme was the brain-child of Reza Baluchi, an ultramarathoner who grew up in Iran but recently lived in Los Angeles. Baluchi had planned to pilot what amounted to a floating hamster wheel up the Florida coast and out to sea toward Bermuda. But on Oct. 4, just days into the journey, Baluchi radioed the Coast Guard for a rescue. Despite giving Baluchi previous warnings, the Coast Guard dutifully plucked the exhausted daredevil from the Atlantic Ocean 70 miles off the coast of St. Augustine, Fla. The most disturbing detail: Baluchi says he plans to try again soon.



TEACHABLE MOMENT

Dwayne Perry sure wishes Georgia drug enforcement agents had paid more attention to their botany lessons. Agents with the state's drug suppression task force raided the Bartow County man's home on Oct. 1 after officials in a police helicopter thought they had spotted marijuana growing in his backyard—but it was okra. When heavily armed officers arrived with a K9 unit, Perry taught the agents that okra and marijuana plants have similar but distinct leaf patterns.

LETHAL CORONER

Having taken advantage of a maligned Department of Defense program, Doug Wortham may be the most well-equipped coroner in the Natural State. Wortham, the official coroner for Sharp County, Ark., in the Ozarks foothills, tapped into the federal government's 1033 program that distributes surplus military gear to local police departments and other local government entities. A recent review of the program revealed Wortham had secured a **Humvee** armored vehicle, a .45-caliber pistol, an M-16 rifle, and a military kayak through the program in 2010 and 2012.



KOSARA LIVES

It only took a few keystrokes to declare **Kosara Mladenovic** dead. Sadly, it will take much more work on her part to prove to the federal government that she's still alive. The New York woman's family recently received a condolence letter in the mail from the Social Security Administration sympathizing with their loss and informing the relatives that Mladenovic's benefits would be discontinued. When the family protested, officials with the bureaucratic agency confessed that a simple clerical error had probably caused the accident. Now, to get her benefits back, the family must prove the elderly woman is still alive by sending in a picture of Mladenovic holding a current newspaper and a signed letter from her nursing home saying she resides there. According to a CNN study, SSA erroneously marks 14,000 Americans as deceased every year.



SWING AWAY

Children at Richland Elementary School won't be happy: Swing sets may be going the way of merry-go-rounds. Local school officials have recently banned swing sets from school property.

According to a school district spokesman for the Richland, Wash., school, the swings posed a grave risk of bodily injury to students enrolled at the school, and also left the school vulnerable to legal liability lawsuits. "It's just really a safety issue," spokesman Steve Aagard told local CBS affiliate KEPR. "Swings have been determined to be the most unsafe of all the playground equipment."





Faulty connections

Technology gives us only the illusion of the relationships we need



» A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO I was standing in front of the “Departures” board at **Chicago O’Hare airport**, searching for my flight—delayed, like many others. “Why are so many flights canceled?” asked the lady standing next to me. Now that she mentioned it, I noticed all the blue “Canceled” notices, several in every column.

My questioner had been in Ecuador for the last month and was a little behind in the news. I had heard the news about the sabotage of air traffic control in Chicago but had failed to apply it. Now the implications of the news were right in front of us: canceled and re-scheduled flights. Almost a week after the sabotage incident, O’Hare and Midway airports were scrambling to get back to normal, hoping “normal” would take no more than two or three weeks to achieve.

The next day, I arrived home but my luggage didn’t—including the notes for this very column, which I had to reconstruct from memory. All this inconvenience happened because of one very upset individual: Brian Howard, an FAA contract worker, employed by Harris Corp. His latest job was modernizing equipment for the air traffic control system in Chicago. On Sept. 26, at about 5 a.m., he entered the Air Route Control Center in Aurora, Ill. (about 40 miles west of downtown Chicago). In the basement of the facility, he apparently smoked a joint, posted a Facebook message, and poured gasoline in strategic places.

Once the fire was blazing, he tried to cut his own throat but didn’t quite succeed; rescue workers found him by following a trail of blood in the facility. The fires were out by a little after 7 a.m., but the damage

was done, exposing not only the saboteur but also the failure of the backup system—if, indeed, there ever was a workable backup system.

We hear all the time that “everything is connected,” a popular saying among social reformers and New Age spiritualists. The latter mean it in a vague, pantheistic way; the former in a more utilitarian way, especially when trying to get taxes raised to fund government programs. But the statement is profoundly true—incidents like the air traffic control debacle are both symbolic and emblematic.

God, as a relational being of three persons, created the world to be relational, where things are not just themselves but

relationships of other things. Molecular structure, where the bonds are as vital to identity as the particles, is just one example. In the social realm, individuals are not merely themselves, but also siblings, spouses, parents, citizens. “No man is an island,” wrote John Donne. “It is not good for a man to be alone,” said the Lord. Not natural, even; He made us to relate.

In the old days we related primarily through families, but the family has come apart in the last 50 years. There are several reasons why; one reason is that technology has made it possible to feel connected through grids, wires, and signals. It’s an illusion—first, because connectedness is not the same as relationship. Second, because technology is even more vulnerable than human love, as we see whenever someone throws a monkey wrench into the works.

The arsonist Brian Howard was “disgruntled,” apparently because of a pending transfer to Hawaii. Since news like that would send most of us gleefully packing for the beach instead of looking around for matches, there were obviously deeper issues with him—the point is, he couldn’t see beyond himself. He dramatized himself on Facebook, signing off with a suicide note that turned out to be premature. Kind of pathetic, and yet—it’s the same kind of self-idolization that leads the transgender male to sue for the right to play on girls’ sports teams, or the lesbian to insist that her “true self” requires abandoning her husband for another woman. It’s all destructive, pulling apart the web of mutual obligations in order to stand alone. But no one really stands alone, and as the wires cross madly, we’ll be putting out more fires. ☉

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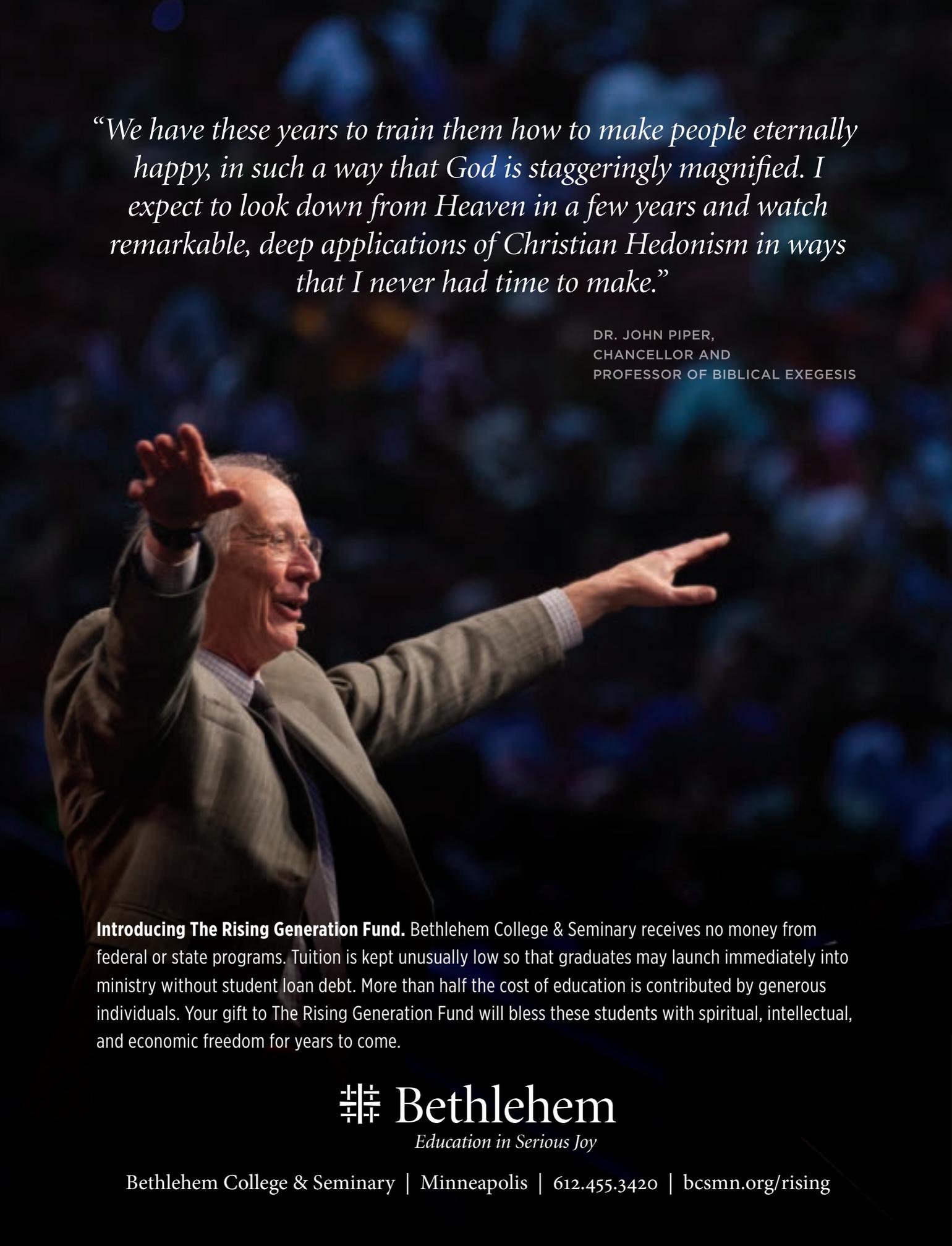
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Reviews

Movies & TV › Books › Q&A › Music



Fire and Fury

MOVIE:
New Brad Pitt movie provides a harrowing look at what, and who, it takes to win a war

BY MEGAN BASHAM

PERHAPS NOT since *Saving Private Ryan* has a war film featured such harrowing, realistic scenes of bloodshed as Brad Pitt's latest, *Fury*. Yet while the carnage is frequent and unrelenting (along with regular profanity, it earns the film a strong R rating), with the exception of one brief scene, it doesn't feel gratuitous. This is what wars require, writer/director David Ayer (who served in the U.S. Navy and is the grandson of two decorated World War II officers) seems to be saying. And these are the kind of men required to win them.

The story centers on tank commander Sgt. Don "Wardaddy" Collier (Pitt) and his embattled crew. They are in the final days of World War II, deep in German territory, in a Sherman tank that is far inferior to the ones they're up against. They have just lost a long-time brother-in-arms and discover that his replacement is a young typist with no battlefield experience. Outgunned and outnumbered, with no time to train the new recruit, they set out on a crucial mission.

Introducing a rookie into a group of grizzled, been-everywhere-seen-everything veterans is a common war-film setup, but it's still gripping to watch the green, erudite Norman (Logan Lerman) learn what service and honor are really about. He's appalled by what he considers Collier's unethical actions, but that's because

he's had the luxury of assigning ethics without consequences. "Ideals are peaceful. History is violent," Collier informs him.

Many tepid mainstream reviews of *Fury* seem to miss Ayer's point, which, along with the actual content of the movie, he's made abundantly clear in interviews. "I drew a lot of parallels between the fanaticism of Nazi Germany and the fanaticism of Al-Qaeda," he told one outlet. "That was something that I wanted to communicate with people. Even though it was literally a fight of good against evil and it had an incredibly positive outcome, the individual man fighting was just as tired, scared and freaked out as a guy operating a base in Afghanistan."

Throughout the film Collier and his men joke that being a soldier is "the best job I ever had." They don't mean it merely sarcastically, though there is an edge of that in the line. The greater meaning is that it is the best job despite the risk of life and the trauma of taking life because it holds *significance*. There is a moral purpose in what they do. Though they will bear the physical and psychological scars of their time in the fight for the rest of their lives, the fight is worthy. This is especially evidenced by the character of Boyd "Bible" Swan (played by a phenomenal Shia LaBeouf).

This may go down hard with some readers, but I actually like that the evangelical Boyd drinks, smokes, and swears with the rest of the crew, though he does not join them in soliciting sex or stealing. He is a real,

flesh-and-blood proselytizer who sometimes makes light of his Christian persona but never makes light of his Christianity. Yes, at times Boyd's fleshly fear and grief win out over his reborn spirit (as it would with anyone in his situation), yet his faith is deeper than superficial rule-keeping. When other soldiers are stripping dying German combatants of their valuables, Boyd holds their hands and whispers into their ears, urging them in their last moments to call on the name of Christ and be saved. He offers an affecting image of an unconflicted heart carrying out the duties of country and Creator simultaneously.

The American soldiers of World War II were hard men. Violent men. But they were good men, and we are wrong—childish, even—to think the two things mutually exclusive. Indeed, you can't help wondering as you watch *Fury* how long our double-minded American culture will be capable of producing leaders like Sgt. Don Collier. And what will become of us when it isn't? ☉



DOCUMENTARY

The Green Prince

BY DANIEL JAMES DEVINE

OF ALL UNLIKELY PEOPLE to feel brotherly love, the unlikeliest might be an Israeli intelligence agent and the son of a Hamas leader. Israel and Hamas have been at war since the birth of the Palestinian terrorist group in 1986. This summer they bombed one another with renewed vigor.

Yusef (left) and ben Yitzhak

The Green Prince tells the true story of Mosab Hassan Yusef, eldest son of a Hamas co-founder and an informant for Shin Bet, Israel's intelligence agency, since he was 18. For a decade he lived a double life, pretending to support his father's friends while thwarting their terror plots. Along the way he became a Christian and inadvertently befriended his Israeli Shin Bet handler, Gonen ben Yitzhak.

When you hear the James Bond-like activities they coordinated—bombing Yusef's house to convince Hamas he wasn't a spy, arranging for his father to be jailed to protect him from assassination—you have to remind yourself it isn't fiction.

Yusef moved to the United States in 2007. His life story, revealed in his 2010 bestseller, *Son of Hamas*, is so thrilling director Nadav Schirman only needed to ensure his documentary didn't ruin it. It doesn't: Schirman builds convincing tension with re-enacted and simulated military and drone scenes, along with authentic footage of terror attacks (including gruesome injuries that, along with a mention of sexual abuse, earn the film its PG-13 rating).

Yusef and ben Yitzhak narrate on camera, revealing how a psychological tug of war between them evolved into mutual trust (and ruined ben Yitzhak's career). When Yusef later faced U.S. deportation and death threats, ben Yitzhak aided him unexpectedly, risking his own reputation. "Gonen is a brother today and I wouldn't hesitate to sacrifice my life to save his," Yusef says. "I owe him."

The film misfires once by inadequately describing what secretly motivated Yusef to prevent violence: his journey from Islam to Christianity. For that aspect, see Yusef's book, where he explains how "the message of Jesus—love your enemies" freed him from a prison of revenge.

BOX OFFICE TOP 10

FOR THE WEEKEND OF OCTOBER 10-12 according to Box Office Mojo

CAUTIONS: Quantity of sexual (S), violent (V), and foul-language (L) content on a 0-10 scale, with 10 high, from kids-in-mind.com

S V L

- 1 **Gone Girl** R 8 6 9
- 2 **Dracula Untold** PG-13 3 6 1
- 3 **Alexander and the Terrible, Horrible, No Good, Very Bad Day** PG 3 4 3
- 4 **Annabelle** R 2 7 2
- 5 **The Judge** R 5 4 7
- 6 **The Equalizer** R 4 8 10
- 7 **Addicted** R not rated
- 8 **The Maze Runner** PG-13 1 6 4
- 9 **The Boxtrolls** PG 1 4 2
- 10 **Left Behind*** PG-13 2 6 2

TELEVISION

Gracepoint

BY MEGAN BASHAM

» THE PRIMARY DIFFERENCE between the brilliant British series *Broadchurch* that aired on BBC America last year and the Americanized remake *Gracepoint* that premiered on Fox a few weeks ago is the faint and faintly off-putting Hollywood sheen.

In the first few episodes, *Gracepoint*'s storyline is almost identical to the one that had Anglophile TV lovers riveted last year. Once again we have a small coastal town (this time Northern California rather than South West England) rocked by the murder of 10-year-old local boy Danny Solano. Danny's parents struggle to hold their marriage together, and the townspeople's secret sins are brought into the light as weeks drag on without a prime suspect and neighbor begins to mistrust neighbor. Through it all, detectives Emmett Carver (David Tennant, reprising his role in the original with an American accent) and Ellie Miller (Anna Gunn) must work through their clashing investigative styles to try to catch the killer.

All of this was good storytelling in the U.K., and it's still good storytelling here. The problem is that Fox's producers seem less dedicated to the quiet authenticity that made the British version more than just a murder mystery.

Anna Gunn, best known for her role as Skylar White on *Breaking Bad*, is a lovely woman. Rather *uncommonly* lovely for a 46-year-old. Her dewy, lineless face, obviously



enhanced lips, and glossy blond locks would seem out of place on a small-town cop even if a viewer hadn't had the pleasure of seeing Olivia Colman's worn-out-yet-witty and, above all, totally credible rendition first.

Other female roles seem likewise cast more for visual appeal than for acting ability. Worse though are the small but ham-handed changes made to appease American political correctness. A character whose sexuality was not relevant and therefore never defined in the British version here immediately makes an obnoxious and utterly immaterial proclamation that she's a lesbian.

Gracepoint isn't bad as a generic whodunit, but you don't have to be an Anglophile to see that the original, which was more interested in accurately representing small-town people and values, was far superior.

TELEVISION

Gotham

BY SAMUEL JAMES

» BATMAN FANS bemoaning the current gap between Christopher Nolan's *Dark Knight* trilogy and the upcoming Ben Affleck-powered *Superman v Batman* film will take interest in *Gotham*, a new series from Fox. Similar to what *Smallville* did for the Superman universe, *Gotham* takes an intimate look at the world of Bruce Wayne before he became the caped crusader.

The series opens with a familiar event: the back alley murder of Bruce's parents. Future police commissioner Jim Gordon (Ben McKenzie) is only a detective here but vows to Bruce that he will bring the murderer to justice. Gordon's quest to deliver on his promise drives *Gotham*'s narrative and brings Gordon and his acerbic partner Harvey Bullock (Donal Logue)

into contact with Gotham's most infamous (future) criminals.

Most interesting among them are Oswald Cobblepot, the future Penguin, and his boss Fish Mooney. Jada Pinkett Smith has a great time as Mooney, an ambitious crime underboss created by *Gotham*'s writers. She has a freewheeling relationship with the detectives, giving them valuable information one scene then ordering their deaths the next. Robin Lord Taylor is also excellent

as the neurotic and vicious Cobblepot. His villainy has a Cormac McCarthy-esque flavor about it; he stammers out continuous gratitude at being picked up while hitchhiking, only to cut the driver's throat when he jokes that Cobblepot walks "like a penguin."

Though its production values are high and its cinematography arresting, *Gotham* has trouble escaping the conventions of a typical network detective series. Most of the Gotham police force outside of Gordon and Bullock are stereotypes, from the overweight, bumbling beat cops to the masochistic lieutenant. An unexpected lesbian subtext involving Gordon's fiancée feels like typical faux-edginess from the suits at Fox to make up for an otherwise dull character. All this makes *Gotham* more likely to be embraced by fans of prime time crime drama than the Batman faithful, who may be spoiled on Nolan's powerful films.

There's fun to be had in *Gotham*; just keep the expectations TV-high.



Taylor (left) and McKenzie

Poet perspective

Christians and Shakespeare: Blame him or claim him?

BY MARVIN OLASKY

THREE-FOURTHS FULL or one-fourth empty? I recently read one new

Christian book that blasts **William Shakespeare** for sub-Christian thinking, but then received Leland Ryken's *Shakespeare's Hamlet* (Crossway, 2014), an 83-page analysis that high-school and college students should consume. He notes that Shakespeare's plays "assume the same kind of reality the Bible does with such Christian beliefs as the existence of God and Satan, heaven and hell, good and evil, and punishment for sin."

Ryken, for more than 45 years a Wheaton professor of English, lists the providential events that happen in the second half of *Hamlet*: a traveling troupe of players visits so Hamlet can get them to perform the mousetrap



scene; he passes by the door of Claudius as the murderer is kneeling in prayer; Polonius rather than Claudius is behind the curtain; Gertrude happens to grab the poisoned chalice. Ryken says another author could have made these all chance occurrences, but "Shakespeare (as

always) shows his theological allegiance by turning the chain of events in the direction of Christian faith in God's providence."

Ryken points out that when Hamlet's friend Horatio entreats him to back out of the Act V duel, Hamlet replies, "we defy augury. There is special providence in the fall of a sparrow. If [death] ... be not now, yet it will come. The readiness is all." Hamlet rejects pagan notions of fortunetelling, alludes to Jesus' famous



remark about God's care even for sparrows, and becomes, in Ryken's words, "an example of Christian courage."

Ryken also notes that *Hamlet* declares "the existence of an unseen spiritual world ... in addition to the physical world in which we live." And for those who want to see the play as well as read it, Ryken says the 1987 BBC production of *Hamlet*, with Derek Jacobi and Claire Bloom, is the best film version.

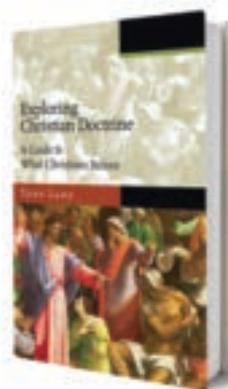
Short stops Sean McDowell and John Stonestreet's *Same-Sex Marriage: A Thoughtful Approach to God's Design for Marriage* (Baker, 2014) displays truth-in-subtitled: The authors thoughtfully show us how to be both bold and compassionate. They are thoroughly biblical in opposing sin but not declaring homosexuals the worst of sinners or pretending the rest of us are pure.

If your church seems to be falling into legalism, read Douglas Bond's *Grace Works!* (P&R, 2014). He shows that an emphasis on grace differentiates Christianity from all the works religions invented by man. Bond also explains well what happens when we decide the cake God gives us needs our own frosting: We get a sugar rush now and a stomachache later.

Tony Lane's *Exploring Christian Doctrine: A Guide to What Christians Believe* (IVP, 2014) is a good textbook for a comparative religion or intro to Christianity course. Anthony Cavaliere's *Bible Meditations for Busy People* (WestBow, 2013) is a succinct chapter-by-chapter introduction to the Pentateuch. Jonathan Sarfati's *Refuting Compromise* (Creation, 2014) critiques "progressive creationism."

John Frame's *Selected Shorter Writings* (P&R, 2014, vol. 1) is ideal for those wanting an introduction to perspectivalism: Frame also explains "Why I Vote Conservative" and how America is and is not a Christian country. James Sire's two new books—*Apologetics Beyond Reason* (IVP) and *Echoes of a Voice* (Cascade)—are fitting capstones to the career of the thinker who gave us *The Universe Next Door* (1976): *Echoes* provides acute profiles of some writers and thinkers who live intellectually in other universes, with dire results.

Ethan Gutmann's *The Slaughter* (Prometheus, 2014) looks at mass killing and organ harvesting in China and focuses on the rise and partial fall of the Falun Gong movement. Frank Miniter's *The Future of the Gun* (Regnery, 2014) provides useful information in a lively style for Second Amendment defenders. Greg Lukianoff's *Unlearning Liberty: Campus Censorship and the End of the American Debate* (Encounter, 2014, new edition) traces the development of campus speech codes and other restrictions on debate. —M.O.

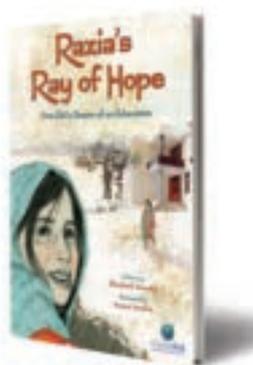


NOTABLE BOOKS

Four children's books about the Muslim experience reviewed by JANIE B. CHEANEY

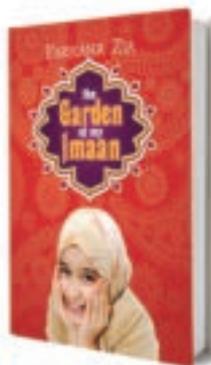
Razia's Ray of Hope Elizabeth Suneby

Razia Jan grew up in Afghanistan but moved to the United States in 1970 and became a successful businesswoman. After 9/11 the plight of her native land weighed on her conscience more and more, until she returned to Afghanistan in 2008 and started Razia's Ray of Hope Foundation for the purpose of making education available to girls. This picture book tells the story of a fictional Razia's struggle to learn in spite of the opposition of her village culture. The actual Razia Jan shows up toward the end of the book to encourage the building of a girls' school. The beautiful mixed-media illustrations add interest and depth to a simple story.



The Garden of My Imaan Farhana Zia

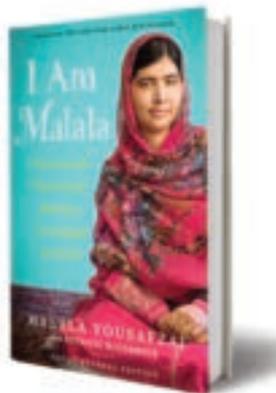
Aliya thinks of herself as a normal Indian-American girl, whose life revolves around cute boys, girlfriend gossip, and extended family, but then Marwa, a hijab-wearing student with Moroccan roots, transfers to Aliya's school. Marwa's rock-solid confidence in Islam shows up Aliya's own feeble *imaan* (faith). By the end of the novel, Aliya is thinking perhaps she should start wearing a hijab also. The story resolves standard middle-grade problems like snarky girls, mean boys, and difficult family members with a predictable ending, but it's an entertaining window into American Muslim life as well as Islamic piety.



I Am Malala (Young Readers Edition)

Malala Yousafzai and Patricia McCormick

I Am Malala: How One Girl Stood up for Education and Changed the World was a bestseller of 2012, and its author the youngest person ever nominated for a Nobel Prize. The youth edition is more visual, relatable, and emotional, but begins with the same incident: that morning in 2012 when armed revolutionaries stopped Malala's school van, asked for her by name, then shot her in the head. Her near-miraculous recovery and subsequent career as a crusader for women's rights are well-known, and worth knowing for young readers. Malala still considers herself a devout Muslim, and her story can provide interesting material for discussion.



Hidden Girl Shyima Hall, with Lisa Wysocky

When Shyima was 8, her parents sold her to a wealthy family in Cairo. She never forgave them, especially after her employers moved to California to escape legal problems, taking her along as their only servant. Twenty months later, an anonymous tip to Child Protective Services sent immigration officials. Eventually, due to the consistent efforts of a dedicated immigration agent, Shyima was free. Three foster homes, two Muslim and one Christian, provided a rocky introduction to American life. Now Shyima is extremely grateful to the "land of the free" for her new life. Though she's still on a spiritual pilgrimage, all human trafficking stories should end so happily.

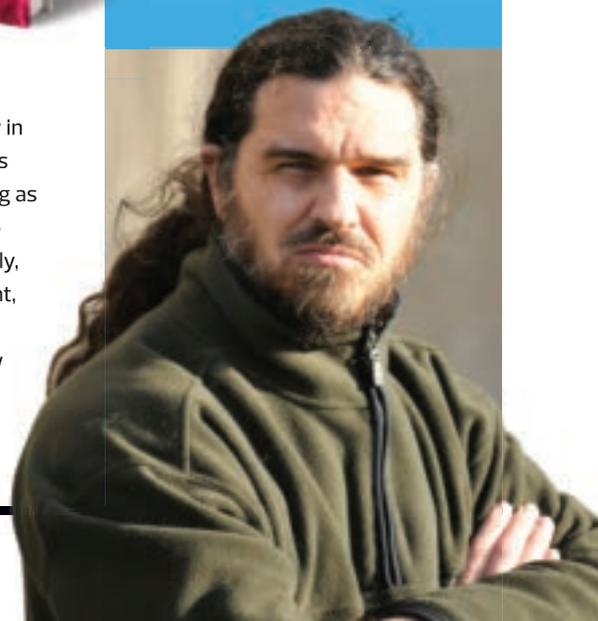


SPOTLIGHT

Paul Gosselin's *Flight from the Absolute: Cynical Observations on the Postmodern West* (Samizdat, 2012) reminds me of a brilliant book from three decades ago, Herbert Schlossberg's *Idols for Destruction* (Thomas Nelson, 1983). Schlossberg's book, the product of enormous reading, connected the dots of American politics, economics, culture, and philosophy. Quebec resident Gosselin does the same in two volumes originally written in French and more analytical of European writers than Schlossberg's American-based work.

Gosselin's work is loosely structured, so that reading it is like panning

for gold: You'll also see a lot of grime. But if you're interested in connecting a Smashing Pumpkins line—"Despite all my rage, I am still just a rat in a cage"—to Darwin's musings about how "an endless number of the lower races will have been eliminated by the higher civilized races throughout the world," *Flight from the Absolute* will provide critical thinking. —Marvin Olasky



Pilgrims passing through

Author CAROLYN McCULLEY says contentment can be elusive in singleness, or any area of life, because we are broken persons

BY MARVIN OLASKY



CAROLYN MCCULLEY went to college amid 1970s feminism and became a Bible-believing Christian in the 1980s. She is the author of *The Measure of Success*, *Radical Womanhood*, and *Did I Kiss Marriage Goodbye?*

When you were a women's studies major at the University of Maryland,

what were some of your beliefs? Women were oppressed due to patriarchy. Men were the problem. I was pro-abortion, pro-choice. By the grace of God I didn't have to make that decision for myself, but I never knew anybody who was pro-life.

What happened when you were 30? My younger sister had become a Christian

in college through Campus Crusade. She was faithful to share the gospel with me, and I was, like, "whatever." I just didn't care, but God set me up on a trip to South Africa to see her—she was studying there at a Bible college. On Easter I went to a church where I heard the gospel and knew that God had a claim on my life. I began to back into the kingdom of

God—it was "beep, beep, beep." It took about six months of being around people who were purposely discipling me and helping me walk through this change that I began to understand I needed to repent.

You write that, "sitting among people who had once despised each other for the color of their skin I learned that hope for

'All of us need to be gracious about where we are. You may feel slighted, but loneliness is an epidemic in this broken world.'

change was found in the life and death of Jesus Christ." Was it a particular sermon, or the lives of the people, that influenced you? All of it. The pastor was very clear and articulate in explaining the gospel from start to end in a way I'd never heard it before, making all the pieces come together. I could see the love of Jesus that these people had for

one another. In a country that had legitimized racial separation, the unifying effect of Christ's love spoke to me. I had never seen Christ's love worked out.

Once you started attending church regularly, did you feel a different type of pressure, with members coming to you and thinking, or asking, why you weren't married? I didn't value marriage before I became a Christian. I'd come through a system that said gender is just a social construct. To find out that there is a scriptural purpose in our gender was a revelation to me.

How do churches often treat unmarried women in their 30s? As a single person you could be seen as the piranha, the person who might intervene in a family. A lot of times I just wanted to say to people, "I'm sure you love your husband, there is no problem here, honey. I'm not attracted to your husband. Go ahead and love him." You can't say that because that's rude, but you're seen as, "If you're single we need to talk to you from 10 paces away."

A lot of churches have singles ministries, but is that creating a form of apartheid? You will never get an answer where people will agree on this. If you don't pay attention to singles, then "Nobody is paying attention to us." If you get single ministries, it's "Don't single me out." But singleness is not a monolithic experience: Being single in your 20s is very different from your singleness in your 30s, which is different from your 40s, from your 50s and beyond. In a large church I can see the pastoral efficiency of ministering to people by season of life.

No one-size-fits-all? All of us need to be gracious about

where we are. You may feel slighted, but loneliness is an epidemic in this broken world. You may think that marriage would solve it, or having kids would solve it, or having this kind of job solves it; but everyone who has those things is also experiencing loneliness because we are broken.

Some of that distinction between singleness and marriage is breaking down, as even in churches we face an epidemic of cohabiting.

What do you ask young women involved in that? Do you know you are a pilgrim, a pilgrim on a battlefield, a pilgrim on the way home? Are you trading joy for some lesser shiny bauble that is crumbling with death and decay as you look at it? Remember, when we die our prize is Him looking at us with intense love and saying, "Well done good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of your Master."

How do young persons respond to that? I feel for my nieces and nephews and my friends who are young adults now. It would have been much, much harder for me now had I become a Christian in this culture than 25 years ago.

As you age, is singleness harder or easier for you? It's different. You go through the first wave of friends getting married and babies, and now you're in the second wave of those babies getting married. It's a fear shift. When you're younger it's, "I'm not going to have the life I want." When older you get tempted with, "There's nothing left to look forward to." But no matter where you are in life it's the same battle because the enemy hasn't changed since the beginning of time. "Has God really said?" Does He

really care? Does He have a good plan for you? It feels different in different seasons, but it's essentially the same thing: trusting Him. The answer is always the same: We aren't meant for this life. We're passing through the land of the dying into the land of the living.

How does your new book, *The Measure of Success*, fit with your writing about singleness?

We can have a default idea at times: If you don't get married and have children, then "Ta da! You can have the really great career." Then you find out that you have the really mediocre career, and you think, "What happened?" For young adults now the great questions of the ages—"Who am I? Why am I here?"—have been pressed into your work. You are supposed to find your satisfaction: "I am called to do this. This is my fulfillment." That puts even more pressure on productivity, especially for women.

Women who do get married and have children face career pressures as well.

I was alive at a time in the culture when feminism was talking about sequences—that if we want to be radical we should say that women's lifestyles and window of fertility are so different from men's that women could get educated, start a career, drop off to have children, rear families, and come back on when they were finished having children. But others thought the difference between men and women is a social construct—and they won. Had the sequencers won, our general culture would be better off, because we have seen that our biologies are varied, and not a social construct. 🌐

Joyful noise

U2 pans for wisdom in *Songs of Innocence* **BY ARSENIO ORTEZA**

“THERE IS ONLY ONE thing ... worse than being talked about,” says a character in Oscar Wilde’s *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, “and that is not being talked about.”

The Irish rockers U2 and their partners at Apple tested that idea by placing free copies of U2’s latest album, *Songs of Innocence* (Island), in the accounts of iTunes subscribers on Sept. 9—a date, coincidentally, that also marked the 124th birthday of Colonel Harland Sanders and the 48th anniversary of Elvis Presley’s debut on *The Ed Sullivan Show*.

Verifying whether *Songs of Innocence* causes cultural convulsions as seismic as secret-recipe chicken and wiggling hips won’t be easy. *Billboard* and NARAS will only recognize sales of the bonus-track-enhanced version that went on sale in October, not the acceptance or the streaming of the 11-track freebie by 33 million iTunesers. But *Songs of*

Innocence did get people talking.

Some of the talk was silly, especially accusations that Bono, The Edge, Adam Clayton, and Larry Mullen Jr. had “devalued” music. If anything, by selling the album to Apple for \$100 million, they’d done the opposite. A pro-bono effort (pun intended) the album definitely was not.

But there was serious talk too. Many critics commended in particular the way the songs pan for wisdom among their nostalgic subjects rather than merely wallowing in remembrance of things past.

And *The New Yorker*’s Joshua Rothman noted Bono’s continuing to “sing about religious subjects with ... unfussy directness,” adding that in “Every

Breaking Wave” one encounters the “paradoxical idea that, to really sink into faith, you have to stop questing after new experiences of it.” Such talk, let alone the song on which it’s based, should give would-be apostates pause.

By now, of course, the touch-and-go relationship with Christianity that U2 has been exploring for over 40 years is no secret. What’s new is the humility with which Bono, and through him the group as a whole, approaches the sacred. “I’m a long way / from your hill of Calvary,” he sings in “Song for Someone,” “and I’m a long way / from where I was and

where I need to be.” Such sentiments echo those of the group’s 1987 hit “I Still Haven’t Found What I’m Looking For.” But now Bono seems aware that the fault lies more within himself than in his stars.

His fellow joyful noise-makers do too. Somehow, while only slightly modernizing their trademark arena-sized hooks and sound (i.e., without succumbing to a full-scale sonic overhaul like the one that characterized their ’90s output), they’ve managed to convey the need to remove one’s shoes when rocking on holy ground—and to get people talking about it.



STILL HAVEN'T FOUND IT: The Edge, Bono, Adam Clayton, and Larry Mullen (from left).



Foggy dream

The rock hotlines have also been abuzz with talk about the American indie band The War on Drugs. Its third album *Lost in the Dream* (Secretly Canadian) peaked at a relatively unimpressive 26 on *Billboard*, but it’s been lighting up critics too young to identify the secondhand nature of its charms. If, for instance, the rhythmic, two-chord nature of *Lost in the Dream*’s catchiest songs recalls New Order’s 31-year-old post-punk classic “Age of Consent,” the reverberant mysteriousness of the guitars and Adam Granduciel’s keening vocals recall U2 even more. Unfortunately, unlike Bono, lost in a dream is how Adam Granduciel often sounds. Even deciphering his lyrics, as the competing versions posted online by War on Drugs fans prove, requires effort. The wake-up call, in other words, that the band will have to deliver to keep tongues wagging remains on its bucket list. —A.O.

NOTABLE CDs

New and recent country albums › reviewed by ARSENIO ORTEZA

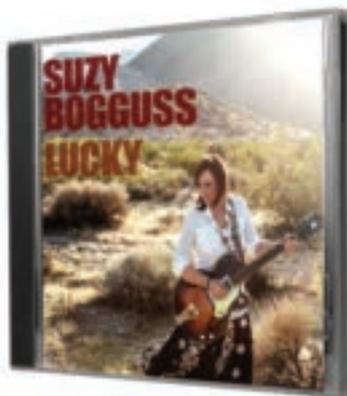


Gravity *Big & Rich*

"Lovin' Lately," featuring Tim McGraw, will remind anyone who still needs reminding that, at its best, self-consciously contemporary 21st-century country can yield songs that would've improved any Eagles album (the mega-platinum *Their Greatest Hits* included). The other 10 songs demonstrate the pitfalls of trusting overmuch in a formula. It's not that they're not occasionally thoughtful. (See "Thank God for Pain.") It's that predictable unthoughtfulness predominates, bringing out the by-numbers nature of vocal harmonies and country-rock instrumentation that already sound rote enough to begin with.

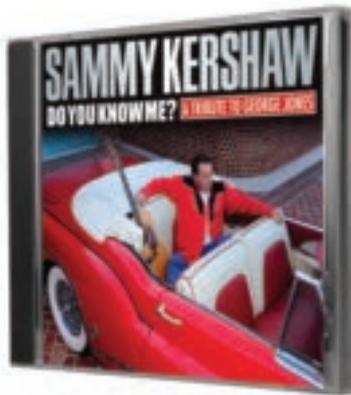
Lucky *Suzy Bogguss*

Lucky is not a typical tribute album in that the subject is Merle Haggard, a man not necessarily known for being in touch with his feminine side, and the singer is a woman—and that the subjects (drinking, making it through December, chasing each other around the room) survive the woman's touch. *Lucky* is typical in that Haggard's originals are still what jukebox patrons will select nine times out of 10. *Lucky* is not typical in that it will make that 10th time seem well worth the wait.



Do You Know Me? A Tribute to George Jones *Sammy Kershaw*

Louisiana Republicans disappointed by Kershaw's ballot-box failures can console themselves by pondering the likelihood that if he'd become a politician, he wouldn't have had time to record this uncannily faithful tribute to the Greatest Country Singer of All Time. That Kershaw always sounded at least a little like Jones was what made even his slickest albums tolerable. That Kershaw sounds a lot like Jones now that he's singing only Jones' (or Jones-centric) material is what makes one hope for a second (and maybe a third) installment.



747 *Lady Antebellum*

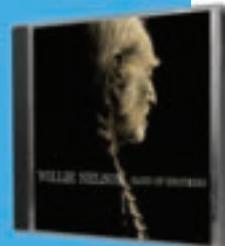
Just when it seemed that nobody would ever mistake Lady Antebellum for the country-pop Fleetwood Mac again, the trio kicks off with the Mac-ish "Long Stretch of Love," replete with a Hillary Scott shout-out to "The Chain." Then there's the song about teetering on the edge of 17 (if solo Stevie Nicks shout-outs count). True, it's hard to imagine Fleetwood Mac's vocalists claiming to "love [their] maker" as Scott does in "Down South." But the remaining melodies might remind them of their B-sides.



SPOTLIGHT



That at 81 and 75 respectively **Willie Nelson** (left) and **Billy Joe Shaver** are still writing and recording songs worthy of their ruggedly individual orneriness should encourage anyone who'd rather laugh than cry in the face of impending mortality. Among the nine that Nelson wrote for the 14-song *Band of Brothers* (Legacy), only "Wives and Girlfriends" and "Used to Her" abound in punch lines. But the covers "Crazy Like Me" and "The Songwriters" glint with wit and/or sardonicism. Shaver, meanwhile, wrote all 10 songs on *Long in the Tooth* (Lightning Rod), the title and the title track of which join "Last Call for Alcohol" in extracting comic blood from grave stones.



Two Shaver compositions appear on both albums: "Hard to Be an Outlaw" and "The Git Go."



The former uses self-pity as a feint while landing ruggedly individual body blows. The latter's feint is an Ecclesiastes-worthy resignation, its knockout punch an entire stanza that ponders Christ crucified. —A.O.

NELSON: OWEN SWEENEY/INVISION/AP · SHAVER: RICK DIAMOND/GETTY IMAGES FOR THE COUNTRY MUSIC HALL OF FAME & MUSEUM

Small wonders

Abounding in love means embracing daily grace

Editor's note: Kara Tippetts has stage 4 (terminal) cancer.

» FOR YEARS I SOUGHT TO EMBRACE the season of young children rather than just survive it, but I was continually meeting my limitations. I saw the high calling of mothering, but I felt every edge and frustration. Living within the confines of my own strength, I could not see the big love of God ready to meet me as I shepherded my children.

Having my guy in seminary for years and years helped us to embrace living in the little moments. We learned the art of swinging for hours, cooking together, and living simply. I joke that we couldn't afford baby sitters so we decided to raise children we enjoyed being near. We have done all of life with our four children, and that life has been rich.

We decided early that ministry would happen with them, too. We would pray for discernment, but we wanted our children to see life lived honestly around our dinner table. We often shared our meals with the desperately brokenhearted, and my children learned the beauty of the broken. They understood our favorite meals could be salted by the tears of our guests. Sometimes they entered the conversations, sometimes they sat quietly and ate the meal before them.

Then one July day, we became the broken family that needed to be captured and cared for. We had just lived through the Waldo Canyon Fire near Colorado Springs, thinking we were ready to begin building our ministry from the literal ashes of so much destruction, when the destruction entered our home. Two weeks after the fire, I was diagnosed with breast cancer.

We thought my pastor-husband and I would help the broken, but Jesus planned for us to be the broken. We opened our hands to our strength and grasped the weakness handed to us. From the despair, beauty was born. We were invited to dine at the table of those

who came with us and salt our every meal with our own tears.

Two years have passed since that original diagnosis. The news has not gotten better. Cancer has found new corners of my body in which to take up residence. But so has God's grace. From the place of being broken and needy, we looked for Jesus to walk with us. And He did.

I have asked God to make my love abound more and more as my outward body fades (Philippians 1:9-11). I have asked this for my life and for the lives around us. I have seen God grow kindness in grumpy hearts, renew love where love was dry, and pour out grace—such grace into a community that understands we wake each morning needy. Our neediness has become our strength. We wake needing God's grace, Jesus' presence, and to walk in a way that allows our love to abound more and more. It's stunning, absolutely stunning, to see a community of the beautifully broken seek daily bread to survive.

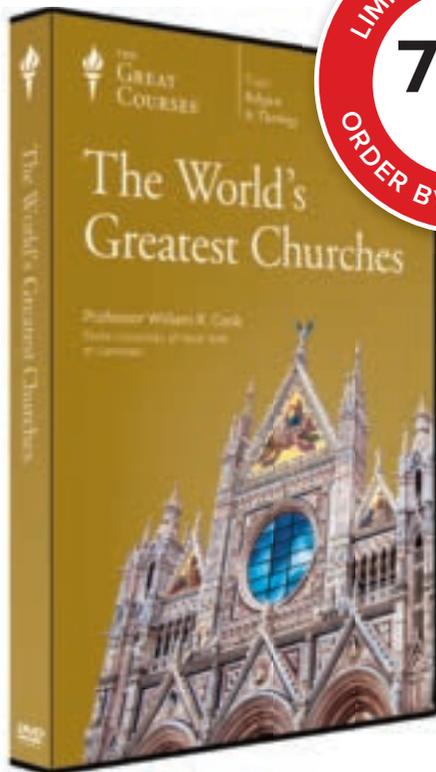
I used to wake anxious when I heard the patter of feet coming toward my side of the bed, not wanting my sleep interrupted. Now, I hear the gentle patter and rejoice in the opportunity to smother one of my little loves in kisses and snuggles, praying that my love will carry them long past my last breath.

I get to love my children and my guy with this abounding love that comes from Jesus. But I also get to meet my last breath knowing a

much greater love will meet my family. The abounding love I know from Jesus will love them long past my last moment on this side of eternity—and that love will be breathtaking. More and more, abundance and grace meet us where my body is becoming less and less. That is grace. I never deserved to know such abounding love, but it is ours in Jesus. Can you ask Jesus for the same? ☺

—Kara Tippetts, author of *The Hardest Peace* (David C. Cook, 2014), writes regularly on her blog, *Mundane Faithfulness*





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The return of SECURITY

*National security concerns
are an election force after
a decade-long absence*

by J.C. DERRICK

PHOTOS BY ASSOCIATED PRESS & MARK DUNCAN/AP



momms

COLORADO RESIDENT Kristin Johnson names healthcare, Ebola, and marijuana legalization as important issues in the 2014 election, but she says foreign policy is more than important—it's personal. Johnson's son and daughter-in-law were missionaries in eastern Ukraine until the State Department evacuated them earlier this year amid Russian aggression in the region. "Putin is taking such advantage of our indifference," said Johnson, 55, who

regularly traveled to Ukraine with her husband before the unrest. "I'm disappointed the administration has not made it more of a priority."

Johnson's personal story is unusual, but her concerns are not: As countries on nearly every continent experience some kind of deadly chaos, national security and foreign policy are among the most important voter issues for the first time since the 2002 and 2004 elections—when "security moms" carried Republicans to victory. Following

the publicized beheadings of two American journalists in August and September, a Pew Research survey found 78 percent of Americans were either somewhat or very concerned

IMPORTANT ISSUES:

Iraqi Shiite militiamen clash with ISIS militants 43 miles southwest of Baghdad, Iraq, on Oct. 7 (facing page); voting booths in Cleveland, Ohio, on Oct. 7 (above).

about the rise of Islamic extremism in the United States. An NBC/Wall Street Journal

poll showed 47 percent—a plurality—believe the country is less safe than before 9/11.

Those numbers are affecting races as Republicans try to add to their 34-seat House majority and win at least six seats to take control of the Senate. It's hard to say how many votes may actually swing on security issues, but at the very least it provides more wind beneath Republican wings and creates one more problem for Democrats who are desperate to distance themselves from an unpopular president.

In North Carolina, Republican Thom Tillis made national security a cornerstone of his October television barrage against incumbent Sen. Kay Hagan. Tillis rolled out an ad featuring an Air Force veteran frustrated with “the president’s weakness” and attacked Hagan for missing half of all Senate Armed Services Committee hearings: “While ISIS grew, Obama kept waiting—and Kay Hagan kept quiet,” one ad said. “The price for their failure is danger.” Hagan responded by presenting an Iraq War veteran’s wife who said she trusted Hagan to represent the best interests of military families.

In Colorado, Republican Rep. Cory Gardner overtook Democratic Sen. Mark Udall in September polling—the same time national security rose in significance. Gardner hit Udall for his tepid response to Islamic State savagery in the Middle East and cited a Colorado woman who in September pleaded guilty to aiding ISIS. “The only person who doesn’t believe [ISIS] is an imminent threat is Mark Udall,” Gardner told *The Denver Post*.

Udall, a member of the Intelligence and Armed Services committees who voted against the Iraq War, acknowledged the Islamic State as a “serious” threat, but said it wasn’t yet a danger to the United States. During a debate Udall said

Steven Sotloff and James Foley, the two beheaded Americans, would urge the United States not to be impulsive. He later apologized for the comment. (See p. 40.)

No single member of Congress, especially a new one, is going to play a major role in U.S. foreign policy, but the resurgence of security concerns underscores an important point: The majority of Americans disapprove of

commercial that opens with the scene of an Islamic State militant about to behead Foley.

Some said the Arizona ad was out of bounds, but Oklahomans might disagree: In late September, Alton Nolen, an ex-con who converted to Islam while incarcerated, allegedly beheaded a woman and injured another at a food processing plant outside Oklahoma City. Rep. James

Lankford, a Republican running for U.S. Senate in Oklahoma, told me foreign policy issues are now “far and away” the top concern of voters in the state. He said in January occasional foreign policy questions were about how long the U.S. engagement in Afghanistan might last, but in October voters are thinking about Iraq, Syria, and terrorism threats at home

and abroad: “If we can’t keep Americans safe, the other stuff doesn’t matter.”

Americans are concerned with other threats. The West Africa Ebola outbreak has stoked fears of a state-side epidemic and the sense that the world is spinning out of control. On immigration, candidates are not discussing immigrant work permits as much as border security and the potential threat of a terrorist attack.

Back in Colorado, Kristin Johnson is acutely aware that security issues aren’t going away. After her missionary children moved to Uganda from Ukraine, Ugandan authorities in September

foiled a terror plot by the Islamic group al-Shabaab, an al-Qaeda affiliate trying to avenge the death of its leader in U.S. airstrikes. That’s part of the reason she has a Cory Gardner sign in her front yard: “I trust a conservative would respond more appropriately on national security than a liberal.”

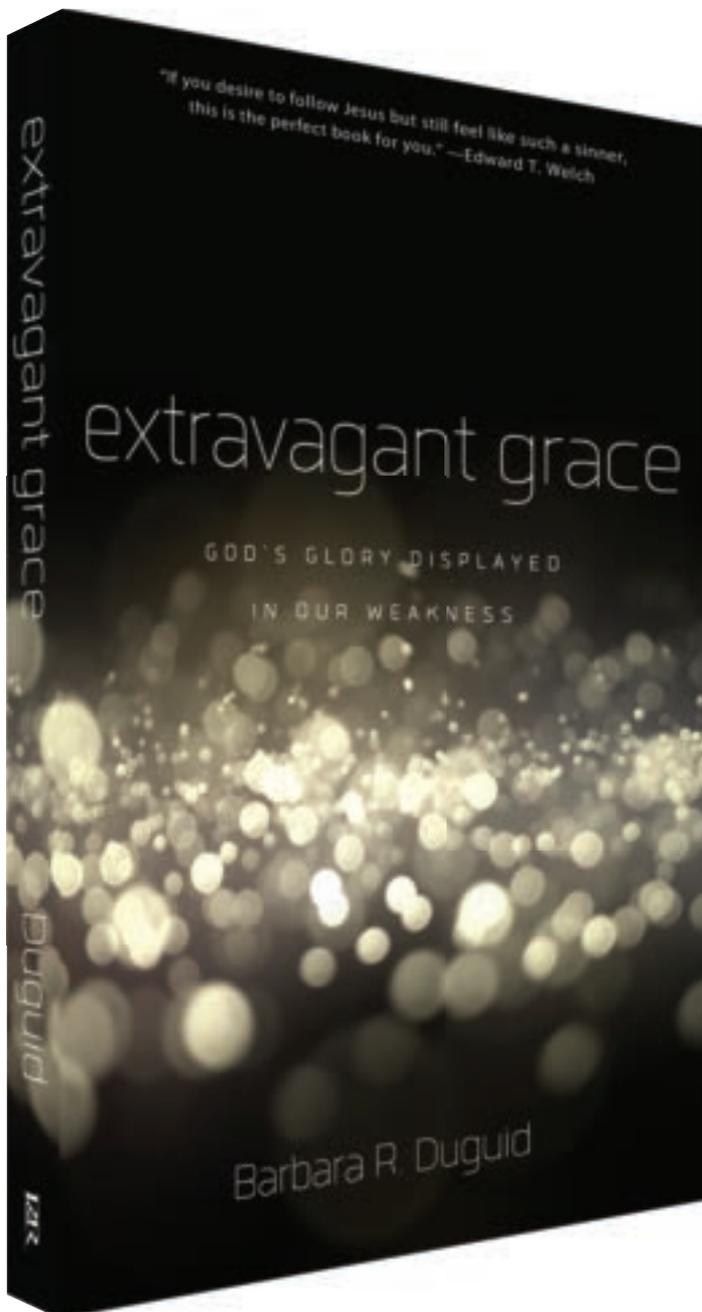


CONCERNING: Islamic State supporters in Mosul, Iraq; soldiers set to deploy to Liberia put on protective clothing during a training session at Fort Hood, Texas; Kristin Johnson (from top to bottom).

the way President Obama has handled world affairs, and they want a change. That means even candidates for obscure House seats have developed talking points and op-eds designed to assure voters they would protect the homeland. Retired Air Force Lt. Col. Wendy Rogers, running for Congress in Arizona, even aired a



P&R BEST-SELLER



Why do Christians— even mature Christians— still sin so often?

Why doesn't God set us free? We seem to notice more sin in our lives all the time, and we wonder if our progress is a constant disappointment to God. Where is the joy and peace we read about in the Bible?

Speaking from her own struggles, Barbara Duguid turns to the writings of John Newton to teach us God's purpose for our failure and guilt—and to help us adjust our expectations of ourselves. Her empathetic, honest approach lifts our focus from our own performance back to the God who is bigger than our failures—and who uses them for his glory. Rediscover how God's extravagant grace makes the gospel once again feel like the good news it truly is!

Buy this book. Buy one for a friend and live in the freedom that only the good news of the gospel can bring.

—ELYSE FITZPATRICK, *Author of Idols of the Heart*

NEW DEVOTIONAL FROM BARBARA DUGUID:

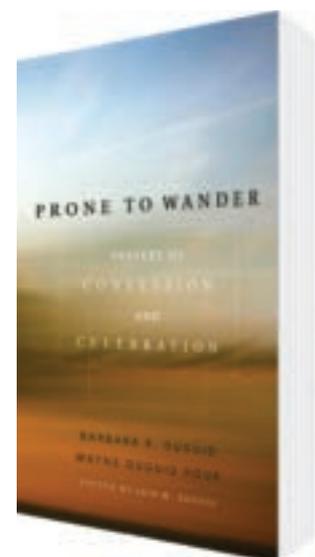
Prone to Wander: Prayers of Confession and Celebration

These prayers open with a scriptural call of confession, confess specific sins, thank the Father for Jesus' perfect life and death in our place, ask for the help of the Spirit in pursuing holiness, and close with an assurance of pardon.

Inspired by the Puritan classic *The Valley of Vision*, these prayers were developed for both personal devotions and church use.

Duguid and Houk show how the heart longing for reconciliation with God can find peace and beauty in biblical confession. Long ago, another wrote that grace is not sweet if sin is not bitter. Duguid and Houk help us to face the bitter to taste the sweet.

—BRYAN CHAPELL, Senior Pastor, Grace Presbyterian Church



Election night

These races will determine

ALASKA
CURRENTLY DEMOCRAT
**Mark Begich (D) vs.
Dan Sullivan (R)**

ALASKA: A mid-August primary gave Sullivan little time to unite the party against Begich, who has served six nondescript years after winning an odd 2008 election in a deep red state. Buoyed by a controversial ad Begich later pulled, Sullivan took a modest but consistent polling lead into the campaign's final month.

ARKANSAS: The conservative Cotton, a Harvard Law School graduate who fought in Iraq and Afghanistan, is tailor-made to take out Pryor, a Democrat representing a deep red state. As the race progressed into October, Cotton's biggest weakness, his perceived stiffness on the campaign trail, became less of an issue, and Pryor's battle against Obama's 31 percent Arkansas approval rating became a bigger one.

LOUISIANA: Another Democrat running in a deep red state, incumbent Landrieu will blame President Obama's unpopularity if she loses, but her biggest blows have been self-inflicted: Landrieu has faced dogged criticism (and a lawsuit) over her residency and in September repaid \$33,727 for campaign flights she made at taxpayer expense. She ousted her campaign manager less than a month before Election Day. If neither Landrieu nor Republican Rep. Bill Cassidy receives a majority of the votes, Cassidy will be in good position to win a December runoff.

MICHIGAN: Although Republican hopes of retaking the Senate don't hinge on Michigan, Land managed an early lead in the left-leaning state—before minor gaffes put Peters in the driver's seat to replace six-term Democratic Sen. Carl Levin. Land, Michigan's former secretary of state, will need to win big among the 15-plus percent of undecided voters to pull off an upset.

SOUTH DAKOTA
CURRENTLY DEMOCRAT
**Rick Weiland (D) vs.
Larry Pressler (I) vs.
Mike Rounds (R)**

MONTANA
CURRENTLY DEMOCRAT
**Amanda Curtis (D) vs.
Steve Daines (R)**

IOWA
CURRENTLY DEMOCRAT
**Bruce Braley (D) vs.
Joni Ernst (R)**

COLORADO
CURRENTLY DEMOCRAT
**Mark Udall (D) vs.
Cory Gardner (R)**

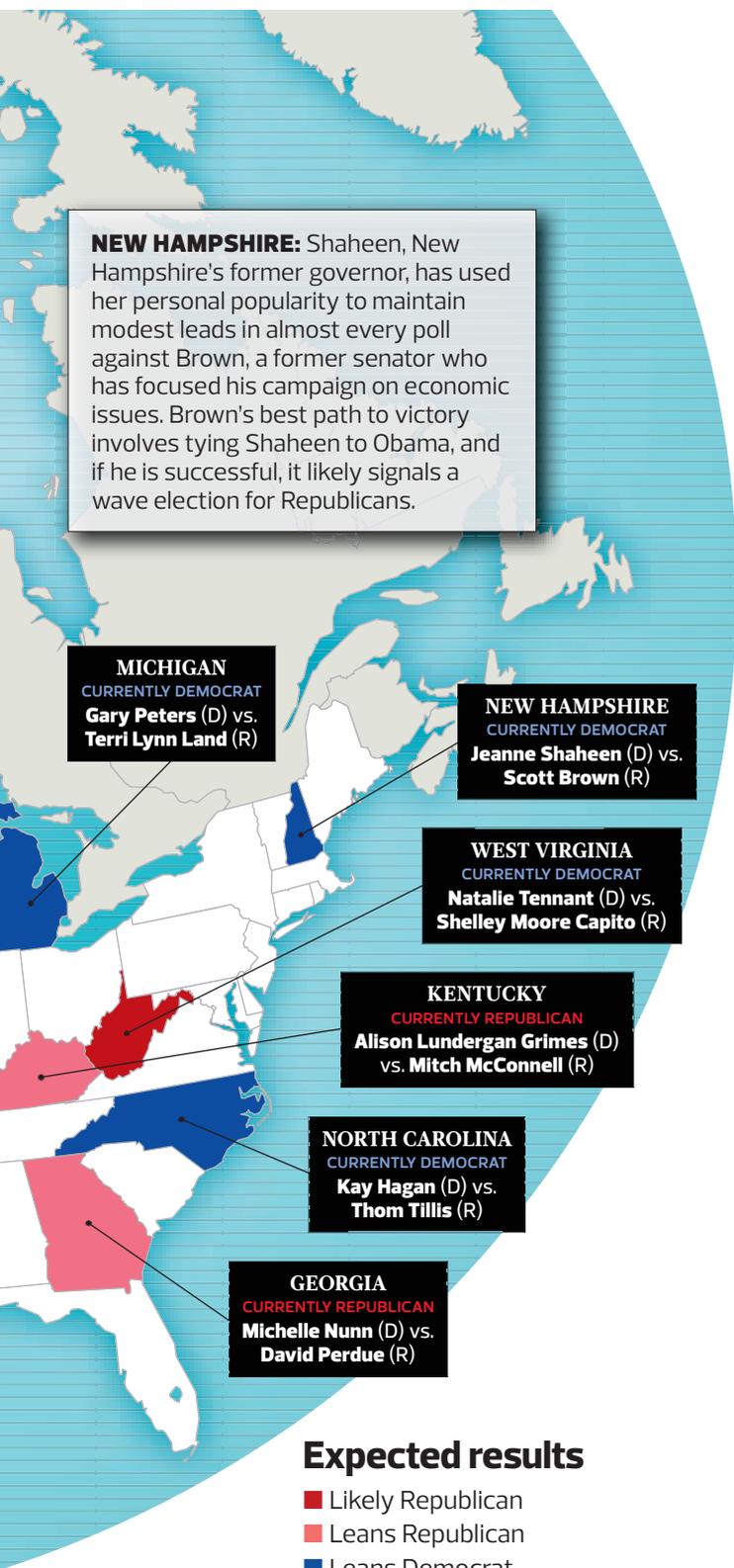
KANSAS
CURRENTLY REPUBLICAN
**Greg Orman (I) vs.
Pat Roberts (R)**

ARKANSAS
CURRENTLY DEMOCRAT
**Mark Pryor (D) vs.
Tom Cotton (R)**

LOUISIANA
CURRENTLY DEMOCRAT
**Mary Landrieu (D) vs.
Bill Cassidy (R) and
Rob Maness (R)**

Hot suspense

control of the U.S. Senate



Timeline of troubling events

Jan. 3: ISIS militants take over Fallujah, declare an Islamic state.



Jan. 7: President Obama refers to ISIS as "a JV team" in an interview with *The New Yorker*.

« **May 10:** Michelle Obama uses president's weekly radio address to condemn Boko Haram's kidnapping of almost 300 Nigerian schoolgirls. The girls were never found, and

the increased scrutiny led to criticism over administration passivity toward Boko Haram.

June: Thousands of unaccompanied Central American minors continue to arrive in the U.S. A media frenzy stokes fears of terrorists crossing the southern border and reveals administration inaction when warned of surge in 2012.

June: ISIS militants take control in Tikrit and Mosul, Iraq's second largest city, and eventually capture a swath of territory the size of Great Britain.



July 17: Pro-Russian » rebels in Ukraine shoot down Malaysia Flight 17, killing all 298 persons on board.

July 26: The State Department evacuates 150 personnel from the U.S. Embassy in Tripoli, Libya, as Islamic militants battle for control—three years after a U.S.-led coalition toppled dictator Muammar Gaddafi, destabilizing the country.



« **Aug. 19:** ISIS releases video showing beheading of U.S. journalist James Foley.

Sept. 2: ISIS releases video showing beheading of U.S. journalist Steven Sotloff.

Sept. 26: Obama acknowledges U.S. underestimated ISIS.

Sept. 26: Alton Nolen, a Muslim who had been trying to convert his co-workers, allegedly beheaded a Moore, Okla., food processing plant employee and repeatedly stabbed another worker.

FROM TOP: KIRSTY WIGGLESWORTH/AP; IVAN SEKRETAREV/AP; EYEPRESS NEWS/SIPA/AP



Independents' day

Voters from neither party will likely decide the close Senate race in Colorado

by KILEY CROSSLAND in Jefferson County, Colo.

IN COLORADO, with its mix of Wild West libertarians, family-value conservatives, urban-hipster liberals, and mountain-dwelling environmentalists, early October polls showed Cory Gardner, an underdog Republican candidate, taking the lead over incumbent Democrat Mark Udall.

Trim and greying, the 64-year-old Udall is from Boulder, a bastion of liberal thinking and environmental passion. A former Outward Bound instructor, Udall summited the last of the 100 highest peaks in Colorado this summer. He is a Colorado transplant with political roots: two cousins in the U.S. Senate and a former-congressman dad who ran for the presidential nomination.

Gardner, 40, is from Yuma, a flat, 3,500-person farm town 50 miles from the Nebraska border. Gardner, a fifth-generation Coloradan, went to law school at the University of Colorado and worked in state-level politics before running for office. Gardner's father and grandfather sell tractors in Yuma.

I watched Gardner campaigning at the Jefferson County Fairgrounds west of Denver. Wearing jeans and a big smile, he looked about 20 years younger than the average person in his audience. Ronald Reagan's 1984 campaign had a theme of "Morning in America," and Gardner 30 years later, as the sun set into the dark outline of the Rocky Mountains, complained that Democrats were bringing an evening of "managed decline."

With one poll showing 56 percent of Coloradans disapproving of President Barack Obama's job performance, Udall in his campaign appearances tried to distance himself from the White House, even to the point of making a campaign

disappearance: He stayed in Washington when Obama came to Colorado to campaign on his behalf. Republicans, though, said Udall is still an Obama rubber stamp, voting for the president's position 99 percent of the time in 2013, according to a *Congressional Quarterly* report.

In October attack ads and critical editorials were flying in all directions. Both candidates addressed women in attack ads and podium time: Udall portrayed pro-life Gardner as anti-women and backward, and Gardner claimed Udall's support of Obamacare

placed bureaucrats between women and contraception.

Gardner took heat from pro-life groups in March when he withdrew his support from

Amendment 67,

a Colorado state personhood measure to include "unborn human beings" in the definition of "person" and "child" in state law. He said he stepped back because it was too restrictive on contraception. In June, Gardner wrote an editorial in *The Denver Post* announcing his support for over-the-counter contraception.

Critics hit Udall for refusing to do a live TV debate with Gardner and backtracking on his earlier statement that the Islamic State does not pose an "imminent threat" to America. Udall also apologized for invoking beheaded journalists James Foley and Steve Sotloff in comments arguing the United States should not be impulsive in responding

to the Islamic State. Democrats and Republicans each claim about 30 percent of Colorado voters, so whoever gathers in the 36 percent of unaffiliated voters is likely to win.

When asked if she aligns with a political party, Kymberli Nyberg, a college graduate who recently moved back to her roots in Colorado for work, says "tying yourself too strongly to either one is bad." Her parents are solid Republicans, but she says she doesn't like all the "bashing" in ads and debates. Last week she registered to vote in Colorado but hasn't decided whom to vote for.

"There are issues where I lean more conservative, and issues where I lean more liberal," says Liz Lindow, a Denver resident who works in the oil and gas industry. Originally from Texas, Lindow says Colorado's independent spirit means more open political conversations among friends. She says she registered as unaffiliated because of a "growing dissatisfaction" with either party: "I wanted the freedom to be able to vote for a Democrat or a Republican if I felt they were the best person for the job." She admits that TV attack ads are influential—and she's leaning toward Udall.

Larry Queen, a Republican candidate for the state Senate, knocks on the doors of Colorado's unaffiliated voters almost every day. The first-time state Senate candidate is ringing the doorbells of 15,000 independents and hearing their view that "the Democrats have two gas pedals and no brake." He's asking them, "If I tell you I'm a Republican, will you sic the dog on me?" He says more are saying they've voted Democratic for the last eight or 10 years, but "this is the year that I vote Republican." ☉

The importance of being Ernst

In Iowa, the charm and farm-girl persona of GOP candidate Joni Ernst could win a U.S. Senate seat

by **DANIEL JAMES DEVINE** in Iowa



JONI ERNST, the Republican candidate in Iowa's fiercely contested U.S. Senate race, walks from table to table, greeting supporters inside Millers' Kitchen, a restaurant in Onawa in rural western Iowa. Ernst, 44, is a lieutenant colonel in the Iowa National Guard and an Iraq War veteran, but you wouldn't guess that by her soft-spoken tone, motherly demeanor, and the way she hugs and poses for pictures with restaurant visitors, most of whom are middle-aged or seniors.

Lorraine Davis, a 93-year-old former kindergarten teacher on her way to volunteer at the charity consignment shop across the street, emerges from an Ernst hug and smartphone photo op with a glow, saying outside the restaurant, "She's A-plus! She's down to earth!"

Politicians can peddle congeniality while vote fishing, but supporters of Ernst say her friendly manner is genuine. As a strong conservative campaigning at a time when Iowans are fed up with the Obama administration, Ernst has a political advantage over her Democratic opponent, four-term U.S. Rep. Bruce Braley. But her personality and ability to connect with farmers and small-town folks is what could tip the state's November election in her favor.

IOWA BASICS:

Ernst at a campaign stop in Davenport, Iowa.

Ernst and Braley are battling over the U.S. Senate seat held by Tom Harkin, a

Democrat retiring after representing Iowa in Congress since 1974. Iowa is a swing state that supported Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012. It tends to be culturally conservative but fiscally liberal: Many Iowans are farmers concerned about agricultural subsidies and many more depend on entitlements like Social Security and Medicare. The state has one of the highest proportions of people over 64 in the nation.

Ernst, a state senator since 2011, grew up weeding beans and feeding hogs in rural Iowa. Today she and her husband and three daughters live in the southwest town of Red Oak, where she has taught Sunday school in the same Lutheran church in which she was married and baptized. She

hopes her down-home background will convince Iowans to trust her like a neighbor.

In February, during the primary race, Ernst trailed wealthy GOP front-runner Mark Jacobs by 7 percentage points. That changed a month later after Ernst released a pivotal television ad. "I grew up castrating hogs on an Iowa farm, so when I get to Washington, I'll know how to cut pork," she smiled in the video, between camera shots of pigs. "Washington is full of big spenders. Let's make 'em squeal!"

"It's the most effective political ad I've ever seen in Iowa," and it ultimately won Ernst the primary, says Steve Deace, who hosts a conservative radio talk show in West Des Moines.

By contrast, Braley has committed several gaffes: He got into a silly dispute over a neighbor's chickens wandering onto his vacation property; he complained about losing towel service in the House gym during the government shutdown; and he derided popular Iowa Sen. Chuck Grassley as "a farmer from Iowa who never went to law school."

"He just sort of feeds that limousine liberal, elitist stereotype," says Deace. Barring any gaffes of her own, the election is in Ernst's hands, Deace says. "Braley's not likeable, and he's on the wrong side of every issue people are the angriest about this November."

Like Obamacare. Ernst wants to repeal the healthcare law and even close the Department of Education and the Environmental Protection Agency. She has a strong pro-life record in the Iowa Senate, and co-sponsored a "personhood" amendment last year.

"I do support contraception, but not at the taxpayers' expense," Ernst told me when I caught up with her at Millers' Kitchen. She said businesses with religious objections to abortifacients or contraceptives should not be "forced to provide those types of services to the women that work for them."

At the restaurant, prospective voters named a variety of issues worrying them: the debt crisis, national defense, abortion, illegal immigration, Social Security. Another concern: Muslim extremism at home and abroad.

Ernst, who served in both Iraq and Kuwait, said that when President Obama withdrew all U.S. troops from Iraq, it left a void for terrorist groups like ISIS. "They're killing innocent Iraqis, they're killing Christians over there, they're murdering Americans. And that type of extremist group has to be stopped."

Deryl and Joan Hennings, retired farmers who oppose abortion, sipped coffee after meeting Ernst in Millers' Kitchen. "I like that she's a veteran," said Joan. "She has the same values we do. She comes from a small town like we did."

A September poll found rural voters favoring Ernst over Braley by a margin of 4-to-1. But her appeal is broader. Three-quarters of Iowans say they would vote for a candidate on the basis of personal qualifications rather than party.

"I always vote for the person I think's the nicest. This last time I put Obama in," said 81-year-old Clarence McKee, who sells old coins at his shop in Oskaloosa and described himself as a Republican.

Will Rogers heads up the Polk County GOP, which includes Des Moines. He says Iowans need to be able to look a candidate in the eye and "know that this is somebody, when they go to Washington, they can trust them to do what they say they're going to do."

More and more Iowans apparently are deciding they can trust Ernst: Larry J. Sabato's Crystal Ball, a non-partisan political forecast, from July to October changed its rating of the Iowa Senate race from "Leans Democratic" to "Toss-up" to "Leans Republican."

The September poll, conducted by Iowa pollster J. Ann Selzer for *The Des Moines Register*, found Ernst leading Braley by 6 percentage points—and tied with him in his own typically Democratic congressional district. (The race remains tight, though—an October poll showed Braley trailing by 1 point.) Selzer told me Ernst has presented herself to voters as a credible candidate: "She seems very calm, she seems very poised."

As Iowa City Democrat Dianna Fuhrmeister told the *Register*, Ernst "seems to have common sense" and would get her vote. ☺

Hijacking the plains

Independent Greg Orman is giving incumbent Sen. Pat Roberts the race of his life—and the national Republican Party headaches

by **LYNDE LANGDON** in Wichita, Kan.

PHOTO BY TOM WILLIAMS/CQ ROLL CALL/GETTY IMAGES

REPUBLICAN U.S. Sen. Pat Roberts has never had to fight as he's fighting now to win an election in Kansas. The GOP holds the Kansas governorship, both Senate seats, and every congressional district in the state. The seat Roberts holds has belonged to a Republican since 1920.

In 2012, a representative from the Republican National Committee came to Kansas to visit with state party executive Clay Barker. After picking up the bill, the official joked with Barker that the lunch tab was the most money the RNC would have to send to Kansas that year.

"Kansas is usually a state that the Republican National Committee doesn't need to help," Barker said. But now, the RNC is sending funds and staff to try to buoy Roberts' foundering campaign against independent candidate Greg Orman. Depending on the poll, Orman is either behind by five points or leading by 10 against the incumbent Roberts, a three-term senator who has never

garnered less than 60 percent of the vote in Kansas.

How did Kansas turn unexpectedly from deep red to watery pink? The nationwide fracture of the Republican Party between the tea party and establishment factions played a role. "I just felt the Republican Party was drifting way too far to the right," said Jim Yonally, who leads a group of former Kansas elected officials called Traditional Republicans for Common Sense. The group's more than 70 members are among many in Kansas who think Republican Gov. Sam Brownback went too far in his conservative reforms.

According to a poll released Oct. 1 by Suffolk University and *USA Today*, President Barack Obama has a higher approval rating among Kansans than Brownback—41 percent favorable for Obama versus Brownback's 38.4 percent.

Roberts' similarly low approval rating of 38.8 percent could be due to guilt-by-association with Brownback. While establishment Republicans

think the senator drifts too far right, there is not much love between Roberts and the tea party, either. Instead, the conservative wing of the GOP supported Roberts' primary opponent, Milton Wolf, a physician from Kansas City. Wolf took 40 percent of the primary vote by portraying Roberts as a tired establishmentarian out of touch with Kansans after 47 years in Washington. (Roberts began working there in 1967 on the staff of Kansas Sen. Frank Carlson.)

Just three weeks out from the general election, Wolf had made no move to mend fences between Kansas Republicans by endorsing Roberts. (The national Tea Party Express group stepped in Oct. 13 and endorsed Roberts after having supported Wolf in the primaries.)

Roberts still had a solid lead in Kansas, though, until Sept. 3, when Democrat Chad Taylor, a Kansas City-area district attorney, dropped out of the race, handing the liberal vote to Orman. Between Taylor's supporters and Republicans who are disgruntled



with Roberts, Orman picked up enough support to genuinely threaten the GOP in Kansas.

Barker with the Kansas Republicans said he has no doubt the national Democrats orchestrated Taylor's withdrawal when they realized Taylor couldn't win the election, but Orman could. U.S. Sen. Claire McCaskill, D-Mo., reportedly met with Taylor personally and pushed him to resign. McCaskill confirmed to McClatchy News that the conversation took place, but declined to comment on what she told Taylor.

"Until the day he resigned, he was telling everyone he was in it to the end," Barker said. Since withdrawing, Taylor has refused to comment on the race or the reason he resigned. He did successfully sue to get his name off the ballot, ensuring the race would be a showdown between Orman and Roberts.

Orman is a wealthy entrepreneur from the Kansas City area who has never held political office. He started up a Senate campaign as a Democrat in 2008, but dropped out before the primaries. He's campaigning as a Washington out-

sider who thinks neither party is doing a good job. He says he will likely caucus with whichever party wins the majority in the election, but he also denounced leaders of both parties and said he would vote for either Sen. Heidi Heitkamp, D-N.D., or Sen. Lisa Murkowski, R-Alaska, for majority leader.

Orman has made his fair share of campaign contributions in the past, most of them to Democrats. His beneficiaries include both Hillary Clinton and Barack

INDEPENDENT'S DAY: Orman (left) debates Roberts in Overland Park, Kan.

Obama during their presidential races, Sen. Al Franken, and one \$1,000 contribution to Sen.

Harry Reid in 2007, according to *The Lawrence Journal-World*. He has also contributed to Republicans, including former Missouri congressman Todd Akin, whose comments about "legitimate rape" and pregnancy made him a pariah in the 2012 election.

Republicans have leveraged Orman's contributions history into the central message of Roberts' campaign: A vote

for Orman is a vote for Democrats. "If the Republican base turns out for Roberts, he's won," Barker said. Republicans from all factions of the party have turned up in Kansas to campaign for Roberts, from Mitt Romney and John McCain to Ted Cruz and Sarah Palin. Barker said that though Orman seems to have a wide base of supporters, they are not 100 percent committed to him.

"The people that are leaning for Orman are very soft support, they don't really know much about him," Barker said. Roberts campaign staffers, who knock on about 1,000 doors a day in Kansas, are finding that out firsthand. Orman supporters "can usually be convinced at the door to change their vote if they're willing to just talk for a few minutes."

A lot is riding on those minutes in the doorways of Kansas homes in the next few weeks. A victory for Orman would mean more than just a political coup in Kansas; it could ensure control of the Senate stays in the hands of Harry Reid and the Democrats. ●

Southern exposure

In a string of Senate races across the South, pro-abortion groups are spending big to promote a shaded agenda

by **JAMIE DEAN** in Charlotte, N.C.

WHEN THE North Carolina state legislature stripped Planned Parenthood's state funding during a midnight vote in 2012, the reaction from the nation's largest abortion provider was swift: Officials at Planned Parenthood bemoaned the loss of an estimated \$200,000.

When Planned Parenthood realized Sen. Kay Hagan—a Democrat from North Carolina—faced a close election that could tip the U.S. Senate into Republican control, the group's response was decisive: In an effort to support Hagan's reelection, Planned Parenthood's political action committees plan to spend at least \$3 million in North Carolina.

That's a fraction of what the group's political entities plan to spend overall in the 2014 midterm elections: Planned Parenthood officials say they expect to pass the \$18 million mark in one of their largest-ever campaign blitzes.

In North Carolina, the blitz aims to topple Thom Tillis—Hagan's Republican opponent and the state's House speaker, who supported the 2012 vote to defund Planned Parenthood.

In early October, the race was a toss-up, but the battle lines were

clear: Pro-abortion groups are spending enormous sums in North Carolina and a handful of other key Southern races to promote pro-abortion candidates, even if it often means avoiding the unpopular subject of abortion.

Take EMILY's List: The organization dedicated to electing pro-abortion women has dedicated at least \$3 million to the Senate race in North Carolina—a state where 500,000 more women are registered to vote than men.

Over the last three decades, EMILY's List has become a powerhouse of political activism for pro-abortion candidates: Since its founding 29 years ago, the group has raised more than \$405 million. In 2012 alone, the group raised more than \$51 million.

Less than eight weeks before the election, the group's political action committee had paid for two pro-Hagan advertisements in North Carolina, but neither ad mentioned abortion or contraception. Instead, they focused on education and equal pay.

Meanwhile, in Kentucky, EMILY's List was a top financial supporter of Alison Grimes, the Democratic candi-



date in a tight Senate race against Republican Sen. Mitch McConnell. In Georgia, where Democratic candidate Michelle Nunn is running against Republican David Perdue for an open Senate seat, EMILY's List spent \$1 million on a single television ad to run in the Atlanta market. (ABC News reported it was the largest single outside expenditure in the state to date.)

The Atlanta ad doesn't mention abortion: It focuses on a gender



FOLLOW THE MONEY:
Hagan speaking at an EMILY's List luncheon in Washington, D.C.; Alison Grimes campaigning with Bill Clinton in Hazard, Ky. (top left); Michelle Nunn and Michelle Obama at a voter registration rally in Atlanta (top right).



pro-life in some areas: For example, an NBC/ *Wall Street Journal* poll last year found a plurality of Americans support restricting abortions after 20 weeks.

For pro-abortion groups, highlighting abortion could galvanize voters for their opponents, especially in some Southern states, said Dannenfeler: “If you are a true believer in one of the [pro-abortion] organizations, you can’t be happy about the fact that your core issue has to be buried.”

If EMILY’s List is burying the abortion issue in some of its political advertising, the group is straightforward about its agenda on its website. A list of “the seven most common lies about abortion” posted on the site calls crisis pregnancy centers “fake clinics run by opponents of abortion,” and claims the centers are “well-known for lying to clients in order to convince them not to seek abortion care.” One of the purported “lies” on the list: “Abortion is psychologically damaging to women.”

Planned Parenthood has focused more of its efforts on a massive ground game: In North Carolina, the group aims to talk to more than 400,000 voters by Election Day through a combination of phone calls and door-to-door visits.

In a web posting for a political event in Raleigh, N.C., the regional organization told supporters: “The plight of women and LGBT people are one and the same. ... Join us to raise money to

punish lawmakers who supported Amendment 1 [which protected marriage as between a man and a woman] and anti-choice legislation.” The national organization—which receives more than \$540 million in federal funding each year—offers abortion services to women and hormone treatment for transgendered clients.

But Planned Parenthood isn’t the only group with a ground game. Dannenfeler of the Susan B. Anthony List says her group plans to spend \$10 million this year—much of it on the midterm elections. The group will spend at least \$3 million on races in North Carolina, Louisiana, and Arkansas. Dannenfeler knows pro-abortion groups outpace her organization’s funding abilities, but says SBA has 420 workers in the three states, and has already knocked on about 250,000 doors since April.

She’s optimistic about the success of pro-life candidates, and says a pro-life majority in the Senate could produce substantial results, such as banning most abortions after 20 weeks through the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act. “That would be the biggest policy change since *Roe v. Wade*,” she says.

In June, the group’s political action committee began rehearsing that message in North Carolina, with an ad featuring a couple talking about their premature daughter, who was born at 24 weeks. “These are babies,” the mother says. “This is human life. And we are their only voice.” ☺

discrimination suit female employees brought against Dollar General for claims of unequal pay during Perdue’s tenure as CEO of the company. (Dollar General settled the suit in 2011.)

Marjorie Dannenfeler, president of the pro-life Susan B. Anthony List, says the absence of abortion in the pro-abortion group’s ads is conspicuous: “This is a sign of a new reality for them.” That reality has emerged in polls showing Americans growing more



Lifetime achievements

The underestimated executive power: judicial appointments **by EMILY BELZ**

PHOTO BY MARK WILSON/GETTY IMAGES

U.S. PRESIDENTS serve a maximum of eight years, and their attorneys general come and go—but long after a president leaves office, the judges he nominates make decisions with wide-ranging consequences.

President Barack Obama has, without much notice, filled almost a third of the judiciary with his appointees—many of them controversial

because he didn't need Republican votes for Senate confirmation. When Obama took office, a majority of the nation's 11 circuit courts had Republican-nominated majorities. He has reversed that. Unless Republicans win control of the Senate, Obama will continue to reshape the judiciary through party-line confirmation votes.

The president appoints with Senate confirmation what are known as

Article III judges. They include members of the Supreme Court, the circuit courts, district courts, and the Court of International Trade—a total of 874 judgeships. Leaving out the nine-member international trade court, the Senate has confirmed 268 of Obama's nominees to the federal bench, according to a June report from the Congressional Research Service. That number has ballooned since Senate



HERE COME THE JUDGES: Obama in the White House Rose Garden announces the nomination of Robert L. Wilkins, Cornelia Nina Pillard, and Patricia Ann Millett (from left to right) to the D.C. Circuit Court.

and confirmation pace has gone into turbo-speed. Thus far Obama has the highest percentage of confirmed circuit court nominees of the last three presidencies, a huge accomplishment because of the power of circuit courts: They decide the vast majority of federal cases, while the Supreme Court hears only the tiniest sliver of appeals.

Most circuit cases appear before a three-judge panel, but when the full court decides to rehear a case, that's called rehearing en banc; and if a panel ruling doesn't go the way of the majority, the new

judge panel handling the case was made up of two Republican appointees and one Clinton appointee, and that panel granted *Priests for Life* a temporary injunction against the mandate, pending appeal. But then in March the court switched the makeup of the panel scheduled to hear the case to a different Clinton appointee and two new Obama appointees: One of them, Judge Nina Pillard, had previously written articles about women's fundamental right to contraception and abortion. The court should issue a ruling on the case soon.

By a simple majority the Senate confirmed Pillard—a former lawyer at the American Civil Liberties Union and NAACP, a Justice Department official, and Georgetown Law professor—to the D.C. Circuit Court in December 2013. Pillard has a controversial paper trail: In one law review article, which legal expert Ed Whelan from the Ethics and Public Policy Center highlighted, she wrote that the right to abortion frees women from “conscriptio into maternity.” She lambasted the “deceptive images of fetus-as-autonomous-being that the anti-choice movement has popularized since the advent of amniocentesis.” Senate Republicans and one Democrat, Sen. Mark Pryor of Arkansas, voted against her confirmation. Obama has now appointed four judges at the 11-member D.C. Circuit.

Pillard is just one of the controversial nominees confirmed because she didn't have to pass a 60-vote threshold. The Senate also confirmed to the 1st U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals Harvard Law professor David Barron, a former Justice Department official who wrote a memo creating the legal authority for drone strikes against American citizens. Republicans did not support his nomination, and two Democrats also voted against him. Now Obama is facing the first defeat of one of his nominees by members of his own party. Obama nominated Judge Michael Boggs to a district court, but Senate Democrats think Boggs—who voted for measures regulating abortion as a Democratic legislator in Georgia—is too conservative for a federal court. ☉

Majority Leader Harry Reid in 2013 jettisoned the 60-vote supermajority required for confirmation.

Even when Obama is merely swapping out one Democratic-appointed judge for another, he is extending Democratic hold on those judgeships for a decade and beyond. His appointments to circuit courts especially create a new raft of potential Supreme Court nominees. Legal experts don't like to acknowledge the political nature of judges, but Republican-appointed judges often rule differently than Democratic-appointed ones.

Obama is about on pace with President George W. Bush's appointments to the federal bench, although the Senate (then requiring 60 votes) rejected more Bush nominees, and rejected them at a higher rate than President Bill Clinton's or Obama's. Before Reid changed Senate rules, Senate Republicans had slowed down the confirmation of nominees. The Congressional Research Service also reported that Obama was slow to nominate judges compared to Bush or Clinton.

But since Reid deployed the so-called “nuclear option,” Obama's nomination

Democratic-majority circuit courts can order en banc hearings. The D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals, the most important circuit court because it oversees federal agencies, now has a majority of Democratic appointees.

Obama appointees have already had an influence at the circuit level. An Obama nominee authored the 4th Circuit ruling striking down Virginia's marriage law, a decision the Supreme Court upheld by declining to hear the appeal. The most striking case is at the D.C. Circuit, *Halbig v. Burwell*, where a three-judge panel ruled that Obamacare did not permit tax subsidies for insurance bought on a federal exchange. That ruling struck at the heart of the mechanisms that made the healthcare law work. But the federal government appealed to the full court, which with fresh Obama appointees now has a majority of Democratic-appointed judges. The court agreed to an extremely rare en banc hearing, which will likely go in the government's favor because of the court makeup.

One of the most advanced nonprofit cases against the contraceptive mandate, *Priests for Life v. HHS*, is pending at the D.C. Circuit as well. The initial three-



Augusta to Honolulu

The underestimated political engine: state legislatures

by **EMILY BELZ** in New York

PHOTO BY HANS PENNINK/AP

LITTLE-NOTICED state legislative races can be the horse-shoe that brings down the kingdom. In New York state, Democrats have been pushing a bill called the Women's Equality Act, a 10-point bill that includes one point to expand the legality of late-term abortion. The Democratic Assembly easily passed the bill, and Gov. Andrew Cuomo says he would sign it. But pro-life forces in the state Senate have in the last year kept the measure tabled—by one vote. Two Democrats have joined with Republicans to stop the measure, and the bill has become a hot topic on the campaign trail.

A two-seat gain in November would give Republicans in the New York Senate outright majority control and the ability to block legislation coming through a likely Democratic governor and Democratic Assembly. Republicans and outside conservative groups think the Senate majority is within reach, and are spending big on a few key races. Meanwhile Democrats are working toward the same kind of flip in barely Republican chambers like the Iowa House and the Pennsylvania Senate.

The stakes are high, even if state legislative elections don't get national headlines. With Congress at a standstill, donors are giving more

to state races where legislatures are enacting policy. The National Institute on Money in State Politics estimates that state-level campaign contributions in this cycle will top the last cycle's contributions, which were already a record-breaking \$2.1 billion. "With gridlock dominating Washington, true progressive reform depends on the states," said the Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee in a fundraising pitch.

Republicans are in a powerful position at the state level, holding most state chambers. They are likely to gain more seats given the historical trend that the sitting president's party loses legislative seats in midterm elections. In the last midterm in 2010, Republicans gained 725 legislative seats nationwide according to the National Conference of State Legislatures, the biggest sweep in 50 years. The takeover came right when many legislatures were redistricting, allowing Republicans in some cases to preserve their majorities by drawing more favorable district lines after decades of Democratic-controlled redistricting.

Now Republicans hold 59 of 98 legislative chambers (Nebraska has a unicameral, nonpartisan legislature), and they're working toward gaining 16 more chambers this fall. Matt





Walter, the president of the Republican State Leadership Committee, attributes the rosy forecast in part to Republicans' recruitment of more women and minority candidates. The legislative politics experts at the National Conference of State Legislatures, Tim Storey and Morgan Cullen, said the only problem Republicans might have this cycle is that "the low-hanging fruit is gone." After the 2010 sweep, gains will have to come from more solidly Democratic districts.

Abortion has become a big topic in state campaigns alongside more traditional state campaign fodder like the minimum wage and taxes. The 2010 Republican takeover of state legislatures boosted pro-life efforts in a way Republicans in Congress never have. Since 2010, Republicans in state legislatures have enacted more than 200 measures regulat-

STATE OF PLAY:

The New York State Senate at the Capitol in Albany, N.Y.

ing abortions, according to the pro-abortion Guttmacher Institute. Texas, for one, has

recently instituted surgical regulations for abortion centers, shuttering all but seven of the centers there.

In one of the New York Senate races where Republicans are working for an upset, Republican Assemblywoman Sue Serino is challenging incumbent Democratic Sen. Terry Gipson over his support for the abortion bill. Gipson defended himself by saying that the measure merely codified *Roe v. Wade*, a standard talking point Democrats have used about the bill. But the bill, in addition to legalizing abortion at any point in a pregnancy for the health of the mother, removes criminal penalties around abortion (like counting the murder of a pregnant woman as a double homicide).

Though state legislatures are now policymakers and campaign

money takers, federal courts have dulled some of their power. Most recently, the Supreme Court rejected seven petitions on state-level traditional marriage laws or constitutional amendments, leaving federal rulings against the laws in place. Though in several cases states had declined to defend their own laws, federalism advocates are watching the marriage cases intently.

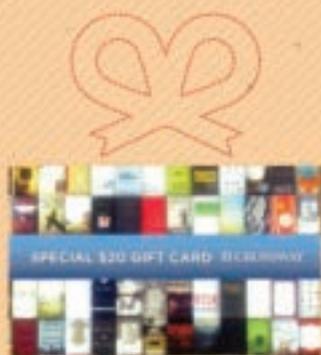
Justice Anthony Kennedy based his decision striking down the Defense of Marriage Act on the right of states to make their own marriage laws—but then he was likely one of the justices who refused to hear states' cases against gay marriage. States have won some power back in health-care: In 2012, the Supreme Court said Obamacare's Medicaid provision infringed on states' power. But more recently the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals looks ready to deal another blow to states in a case about healthcare subsidies for those who buy insurance on a federal exchange.

"There's an ebb and flow over time," said Scott Gaylord, a law professor at Elon University School of Law, about the relationship between state and federal power. He said the federal government's role has grown since the New Deal, although he said the Supreme Court under Chief Justice William Rehnquist tried to re-establish states' roles. "The courts have taken a larger role in resolving those disputes."

Some of the states' laws regulating abortions are likely to come before the Supreme Court soon. In the meantime, state legislatures are continuing seismic changes in laws regulating not just abortion but immigration and voting rights. "You know the saying, 'There oughta be a law.' Now we hear more of the mantra, 'There oughta be a constitutional right,'" said Gaylord. "People hear 'immigration,' 'same-sex marriage,' and they don't think about state power." ☉



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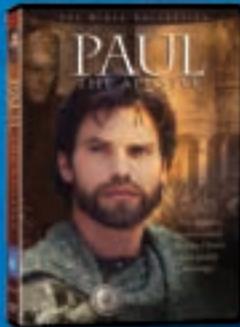
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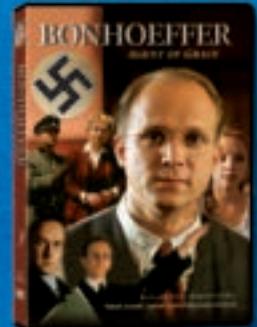
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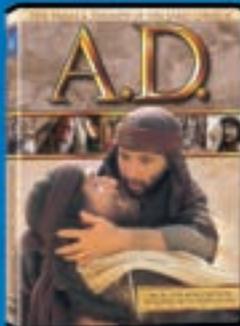


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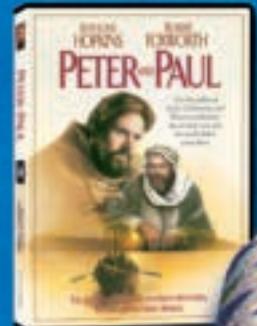
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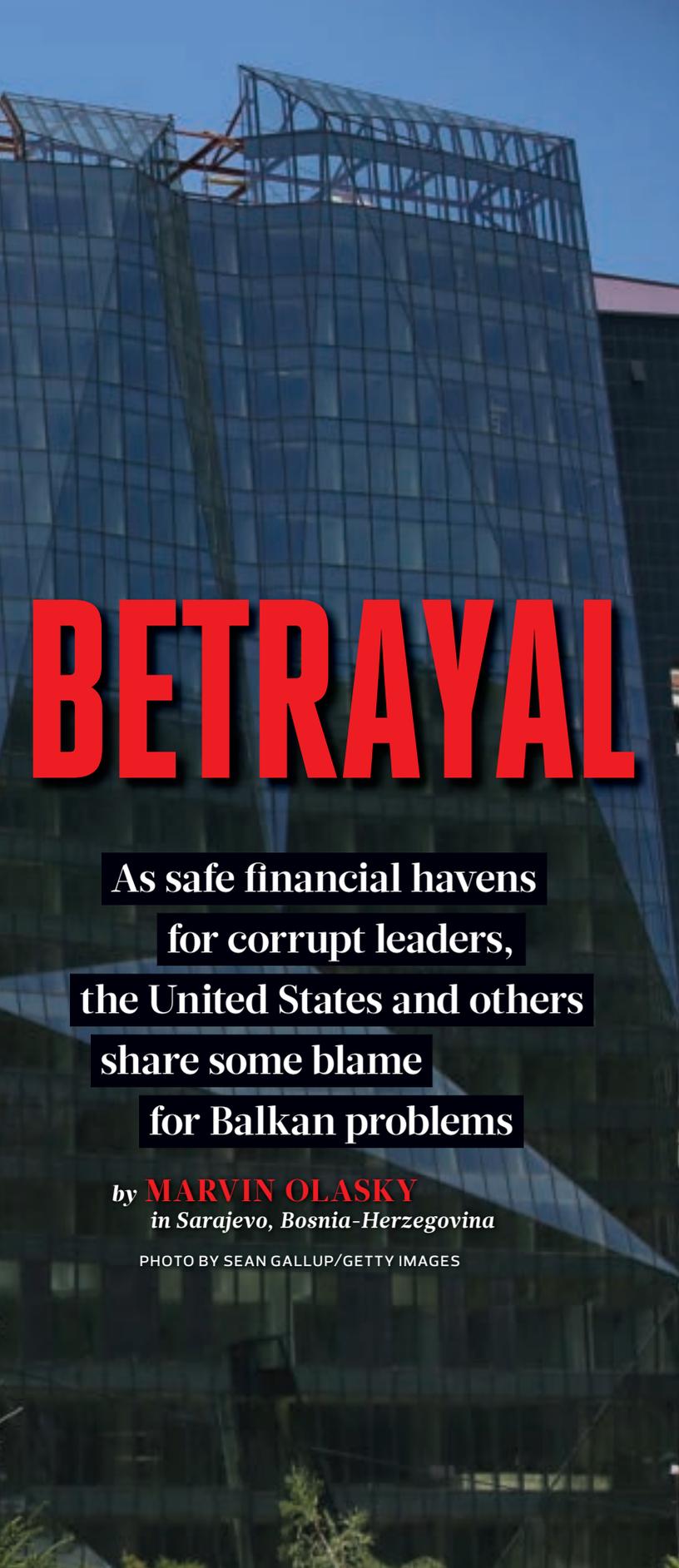
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THE 7TH



BETRAYAL

**As safe financial havens
for corrupt leaders,
the United States and others
share some blame
for Balkan problems**

by **MARVIN OLASKY**
in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina

PHOTO BY SEAN GALLUP/GETTY IMAGES

Second in a series. The first, in our Oct. 18 issue, told of six betrayals of small Balkan countries by big powers over the past two centuries.

SARAJEVO, SITE OF THE WINTER OLYMPICS

in 1984 and Sniper Alley 10 years later, stands amid a beautiful landscape of mountains and rivers, terra-cotta roofs and copper-domed mosques. Whistle-blower Irina Lovric sees none of that day after day, as she sits in a 6-foot-square room without natural light or fresh air. What keeps her going is family history and frustration: “My father died in 1992 fighting for this country. I can’t stand that those in need aren’t getting money and those who have a lot get more.”

Lovric chain-smoked at a hotel’s outdoor table as she told me her story: When five cigarettes filled an ashtray and a waiter took it away and returned with a new one, she began filling the second. She told of her life as a secretary at the Fund for Return, where refugees driven out during the 1991-1995 civil war sought money to go home. (For four years Serbian snipers on nearby hills had made a sport of shooting those zigzagging from homes to stores or running too slowly past the Holiday Inn.) She says her boss misappropriated \$6 million to \$7 million in all, and she says even money donated to remove land mines is stolen. Since the United States has been one of the donors, she reported abuses to the U.S. embassy in 2009.

Five years later officials still steal and she still gets a paycheck: A whistle-blower law protects her against firing but not against a boss uttering profanity and threats, not against a dead cat left on her doorstep, not against internal bleeding and stress-related ailments. What Lovric feels viscerally other Bosnians feel generally: Polls show more than three of four see their political parties and even their medical and health services as “corrupt” or “extremely corrupt.” Bosnians created an Anti-Corruption Agency to implement anti-corruption laws, but many feel that agency itself is corrupt.

That’s the way it is throughout the Balkans, where I interviewed persons from many walks of life this summer.

Unemployment is usually more than 20 percent, and in Bosnia the rate has averaged 43 percent over the past seven years. Starting a business is bureaucratically hard.

WAR SCARS: An apartment building still heavily scarred by bullet holes from the 1992-1995 Bosnian War stands near a gleaming office building in Sarajevo.

(In Bosnia, it requires going through 14 levels of administration and obtaining 17 permits.) Bribery is a way of life for both CEOs and journeymen. One survey showed companies in Bosnia paid bribes an average of seven times per year. One lawsuit featured 20 employees of the national electricity supplier charged with taking bribes to install devices that made electric meters display consumption 70 percent below actual usage.

The youth unemployment rate throughout the Balkans is even worse: It reached 63 percent in Bosnia (officially called Bosnia and Herzegovina) this past winter, and is more than 50 percent in Serbia and Macedonia. Unemployment underlay violent protests in Sarajevo and the northern Bosnian town of Tuzla in February. As the BBC reported: “Demonstrators in Bosnia-Herzegovina have set fire to government buildings, in the worst unrest since the end of the 1992-95 war. Hundreds of people have been injured in three days of protests over high unemployment and the perceived inability of politicians to improve the situation. Police used rubber bullets and tear gas to quell unrest.”

But unrest is not quelled—many expect more rioting this winter—nor is corruption an internal matter only. Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Romania, and Slovenia are part of the European Union (EU). Montenegro, Serbia, and Macedonia are official candidates for EU membership. Albania, Bosnia, and Kosovo are candidate members. EU members and aspirants are required (on paper) to fight corruption, develop the rule of law, and take action against money laundering, smuggling, human trafficking, and other vices. In June, Europe’s Committee of Experts on the Evaluation of Anti-Money Laundering Measures and the Financing of Terrorism put Bosnia on its blacklist, alongside North Korea and Iran, for not fighting money laundering and terrorism financing.

THE UNITED STATES is also involved in the Balkans in many ways. The United States sends to Balkan lands about \$2 billion in foreign aid annually. Six Balkan countries are members of NATO, and others (such as Montenegro) want to be. The United States brokered the Dayton Accords that ended the Bosnian civil war, bombed Serbia in support of independence for Kosovo, and still has 700 or so soldiers stationed in Kosovo. Global Financial Integrity and other groups have shown that about \$10 billion each year flows illicitly from the Balkans into foreign accounts, and the United States is a repository for some of the wealth leaders steal from their countrymen. Balkan oligarchs have bought Manhattan condos or suddenly become collectors of expensive art. They have created shell companies with addresses in Delaware, Nevada, or Wyoming, the three easiest states in which to launder funds.

The U.S. government has supported and sometimes funded Balkan oligarchs if they stayed off the front pages of American newspapers and provided public relations benefits for administrations seeking to win foreign policy applause by building coalitions. For example, the Bush administration wanted to show a broad group of countries supporting U.S. efforts in Afghanistan, so when Montenegro sent 31 soldiers and medical workers, the White House reciprocated by applauding its corrupt leaders.

U.S.-based corporations have also been complicit. Philip Morris is still paying off \$1.25 billion it agreed to pay the EU in return for dropping lawsuits against the company for cigarette

smuggling. The maker of Marlboros and other brands allegedly sent hundreds of millions of cigarettes to the Balkans, from which they were smuggled into Italy and other EU countries that have high import duties. A yet-unresolved lawsuit makes similar allegations against Reynolds American, maker of Camels and other name brands, with revenue going to the company and criminal gangs.

Many in the Balkans now distrust not only communism and the ethnic hatred that roiled the region in the 20th century, but market systems that they now see as tools of “crony capitalism.” Many have sadly concluded what Bosnian columnist Zlatko Dizdarevic observed: “We are insignificant pawns in the great game played by Europe and the United States.”

SAW THAT FRUSTRATION in country after country. Croatian special forces Col. Sasha Radovic, now an anti-corruption author, told me how he fought for his country 20 years ago and saw \$10 billion worth of destruction, but Croatian oligarchs have now stolen \$30 billion and deposited it in foreign accounts. In October 2010, Radovic was riding his motorbike after reporting that the company of 1990s Croatian President Franjo Tudjman had received more than \$500 million for smuggling oil. A car came from behind and hit him. He went into a wall and had 16 fractures. The following year he spent two months in prison, and is now sentenced to two more for telling the truth. “I’m a pawn,” he concluded.

(Croatian seaport cities such as Rijeka and Split are major import centers for drugs. Bank owner Sandi Sola has allegedly embezzled more than \$13 million. One list shows 364 persons, many of them doctors, received financial inducements to prescribe expensive medications. Politicians have a great incentive to hold onto power, because, if their enemies take over, lawsuits can result: Former Prime Minister Ivo Sanadar is serving a nine-year prison sentence for taking \$14 million in bribes from Hypo Bank and a Hungarian oil company.)

In Serbia, dissident political leader Dusan Gamser explained how money from Western Europe and the United States enables profiteers at best and plunderers at worst. The difference: Profiteers build a road that’s more expensive than it should be, because politicians and crony companies have all taken their cut, but at least there’s a road. Plunderers (also known as parasites) take the money and build nothing. When I asked Gamser why he didn’t join the ruling party and get his cut, he hemmed, hawed, and finally said with a bitter laugh, “I’m a little bit ashamed to say that I’ve got some ideals. I’m a stupid guy. I’m a fool. I’m a bloody fool.”

(One recent survey showed 90 percent of Serbs called corruption routine in their country, and more than half said giving bribes is “the only way to overcome the extensive bureaucracy [or] unjust laws.” Serbia’s post-communist privatization law did not require buyers to disclose their identities, so use of shell companies was common: Some owners plucked all they could and then closed the doors, leaving workers unemployed. On the other hand, some that remained state-owned, such as the Kolubara coal mining company, offered more-than-full employment: Investigators alleged that the company issued salaries to more than 1,000 nonexistent employees and bought equipment for prices three to six times higher than normal.)

In Romania, Member of Parliament Florica Chereches spoke of a society filled with disincentives to work. It starts right after high school, where last year only 56 percent of students passed the standard finishing exams, and many of those who failed registered immediately for unemployment benefits: “In this way we support laziness and don’t create a culture of work.” Those who do go to work find that the tax rate on even low salaries is more than 50 percent, since someone has to pay for the unemployment benefits: Chereches says the high tax rate “encourages the black economy and under-the-table, unregistered sources of money.”

CITIZEN OUTRAGE:

Feb. 7 Sarajevo protest against unemployment and rampant corruption.

(More than three of four Romanians see political parties as corrupt or very corrupt, and nearly that many say the same about Parliament—but legislators over the past year have changed the country’s criminal code to exempt

years to get permission for startups that should require not more than a week to approve, economies suffer and unemployment grows.

This is all known within the U.S. State Department. A diplomatic cable released by WikiLeaks last year read, in part: “Organized crime has a corrupting influence on all Bulgarian institutions, including the government, parliament and judiciary. In an attempt to maintain their influence regardless of who is in power, OC [organized crime] figures donate to all the major political parties. As these figures have expanded into legitimate businesses, they have attempted—with some success—to buy their way into the corridors of power. ... OC ‘owns’ a number of municipalities and individual members of parliament.” As Bulgarian Parliament member (and former counterintelligence head) Atanas Atanasov put it, “Other countries have the mafia; in Bulgaria the mafia has the country.”

Clearly, Western Europe and the United States are not responsible for inefficiency and corruption at all levels of government and society: The conspiracy-minded speak about U.S. involvement in the assassination of a reform-minded Serbian prime minister a decade ago, but that’s a whisper, not a fact. Yet since Balkan oligarchs—and their counterparts in Africa, South America, and Asia—find safe havens for their ill-gotten gains in Switzerland, Austria, Luxembourg, Liechtenstein, the United States, and several offshore islands, these jurisdictions could readily make that process harder. The United States, with its financial power, has a great opportunity to bring about more transparency in international banking—and in the spidery world of secret bank accounts, does great power carry with it great responsibility?

Foreign policy “realists” might dismiss this concern as a search for compassionate conservatism in foreign policy, but some are worried about the growing number of

“mafia states.” The Carnegie Endowment’s Moises Naim, in a *Foreign Affairs* article two years ago, critiqued the “mistaken assumption ... that international crime is strictly a matter of law enforcement, best managed by police departments, prosecutors, and judges. In reality, international crime is better understood as a political problem with national security implications. The scale and scope of the most powerful criminal organizations now easily match those of the world’s largest multinational corporations. ... Illicit groups have never before managed to acquire the degree of political influence now enjoyed by criminals in a wide range of African, eastern European, and Latin American countries, not to mention China and Russia. ... Crime has become a significant source of global instability, especially with the emergence of mafia states.”

The third article in our series will detail the positive steps the United States is starting to take to avoid furthering a seventh betrayal of the Balkans, as well as betrayal of other poor people preyed upon by leaders with secret bank accounts. ☉

themselves from corruption charges and pardon many high-level officials under investigation. With one out of five county council heads arrested or under investigation for corruption, Parliament also passed laws allowing mayors and county council heads to delegate contract-signing to subordinates. That allowed them to dodge corruption charges by having their subordinates sign deals with the chiefs’ companies. The law also stipulated that prosecutors from the National Anti-Corruption Department could not investigate the subordinates of mayors and local officials: Only local authorities will have the opportunity to be shocked, shocked by what they discover.)

THOSE ARE PROBLEMS OF CROATIA, SERBIA, AND ROMANIA, and it would be easy to offer similar reports about other Balkan lands, country by country. Corruption has not only robbed countries of current revenues but stifled the development of new ones: Retired Croatian banker Goran Gazivoda notes that when it takes months or



STRINGER/REUTERS/LANDOV

Revealing Truths from the Worldview Clash of the Century

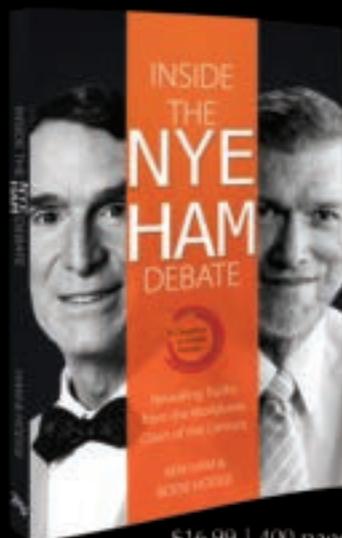


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Let it be seen in me

BOB FOSTER has lived in such a way that his lifestyle demands an explanation

BY SOPHIA LEE

» BOB FOSTER IS 94 YEARS OLD, stooped but still barrel-chested at 6 feet 2 inches, with neatly combed silver-white hair and crinkly blue eyes. He still keeps a miniature Bible that he received when he professed Christ at age 16. The Bible is now dog-eared with yellow highlights, particularly across passages in Romans. He can still read those flea-sized words—but he hardly needs to, because he's got all the key verses memorized, quoting Scriptures faster than he otherwise speaks.

Born in 1920 in Los Angeles, Foster was one of the movers in the early evangelical revival during World War II. He was college buddies with evangelists Billy and Ruth Graham, worked closely with Navigators founder Dawson Trotman, and was friends with other contemporaries such as Bill Bright and Howard Hendricks.

While his classmate Billy Graham preached in front of thousands at worldwide revival crusades and shook hands with famous political leaders, Foster was

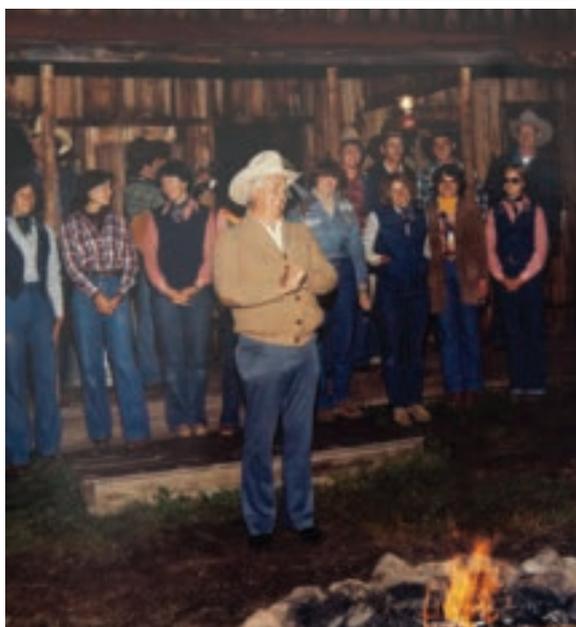
strolling the Colorado mountains in jeans and cowboy hat, soft-talking first-time riders into climbing on a horse at Lost Valley Ranch, a guest ranch he once operated near Colorado Springs.

Foster grew up in an evangelism-minded home in Chicago and Wheaton, Ill. His father taught personal evangelism at Moody for decades and instilled in his son a lifelong love for people, trees, horses, the outdoors, and God. Foster said his dad was his role model: “Monkey see, monkey do. I saw godliness in my father, and I wanted what he had.”

After graduating from Wheaton College in 1943 Foster worked for Youth for Christ and then Navigators, while his wife Marion raised their four children. In 1961, after much prayer, they sold an inherited plumbing business and bought Lost Valley (LVR) for \$238,000: It now has 65 staff members and is worth about \$12 million. LVR’s website advertises warm western hospitality and outdoorsy activities such as horseback riding, square dancing, and fly fishing—but it’s also a training ground for evangelistic Christian living.

Gaylen Hassman, a repeat guest at LVR, first visited the ranch in 1985 with his wife and two young kids. He was a busy lawyer at a small town in Iowa, and he wanted to treat his family to a western-style, resort vacation. He and his family were “smitten with how these people lived their lives.” He had viewed Christianity as “legalistic” with an “uncomfortable hardness to it,” but he liked it when Foster took a group of men on horseback up to the mountain peak. As they gazed at the splendor of God’s creation, Bob used his own story to talk about God.

Seeing how Christians relished life and showed love at LVR pinpointed “the sins, imperfections, brokenness, and



MINDFUL: Foster with his miniature Bible (above) and at a bonfire in his LVR days.

the soul of everyone who comes through—and ultimately move them closer to the Lord, Jesus Christ.”

When Foster left the ranch in 1995 to take care of his wife, who had Alzheimer’s, a group at LVR put together a scrapbook heavy with detailed, nostalgic letters and cards from previous guests and staff members. Many wrote that they “got saved” at the ranch, or soon after. Some kids grew up and came back to serve on LVR’s staff.

After Marion died in 1998, Bob met his second wife, Beverly. They married in 2000 and lived in Orange County, Calif., until Bev died in 2010. Today, though he lives alone, Bob still keeps busy teaching Sunday school, leading Bible studies, and mentoring men. When I met him, he had just returned from a speaking engagement in Seattle. Every night, he sings from an old hymnal so that his heart and mind are set on God as he turns off the light.

It’s a lifestyle that Bob has lived mindfully since the day he decided to lead “a life that counts for eternity” with “the sail set in the right direction.” When I asked him what that meant, he sang back an old hymn: “Let the beauty of Jesus be seen in me / All His wonderful passion and purity / Oh, Thou Spirit divine, all my nature refine / Till the beauty of Jesus be seen in me.” ☉

true nature” that he never realized he harbored: “I wasn’t interested in a sales pitch, and I probably would have tuned out had I heard it.” He left the ranch thinking, “Boy, this is something that I would like to have in my life. I would like to live that way too.” He came back to LVR in 1987 to further observe, question—and then profess faith in Christ.

Foster also taught young staff members, most of them 19 to 25 years of age, to exude Christ-likeness—an evangelism method that he calls “living a lifestyle that demands an explanation.” One former head wrangler, Dace Starkweather, now a 40-year-old recent Biola University graduate, said the “ranch ministry approach was more genius than most people recognized. ... Lost Valley has found a way to move



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Cold shoulder

Poll: Americans don't trust scientists

BY JULIE BORG



AMERICANS VIEW SCIENTISTS as highly competent but do not trust them, researchers at Princeton University concluded after conducting an online poll of adults.

Americans are particularly suspicious of researchers seeking grant funding or pushing particular agendas. “Rather than persuading, scientists may better serve citizens by discussing, teaching and sharing information to convey trustworthy intentions,” lead author and psychology professor Susan Fiske said.

Wesley J. Smith, a senior fellow at the Discovery Institute and consultant at the Center for Bioethics and Culture was more blunt: Scientists too often seek to “harness

our general support for science as the horses to pull their own political/ideological agenda carts.”

Participants in the study rated the most common American jobs according to public perceptions of competence and warmth, which was used as a measure of trustworthiness. Helping professionals such as teachers, doctors, and nurses rated high on both warmth/trust and competence. Prostitution rated low on both measures. Secretaries, writers, law enforcement officers, and bus drivers were among the professionals deemed neutral on both measures. Engineers, accountants, and attorneys joined scientists in ratings of high competence but low warmth/trust.

Mind over machines

Robots flying through the air and computers controlled merely by a human thought may sound like science fiction, but researchers at the University of Minnesota are turning the concept into reality. Last year professor **Bin He** and several students learned to use their thoughts to make a flying robot turn, rise, dip, and sail through a ring.

He found, however, that many people have difficulty learning the technique. More recent research shows that meditation training may be the secret. He discovered that people trained in meditation are twice as likely to achieve a brain-computer interface task within 30 trials and are three times faster at the task than those who have no meditation training.

The procedure is noninvasive. Brain waves are picked up by electrodes in a cap worn on the scalp. Merely thinking about a movement causes neurons in the brain's motor cortex to produce tiny electric currents that are picked up by the electrodes and used to power a robot or control a computer. Thinking about different types of movement activates different assortments of neurons.

The technology may someday allow people suffering from neurodegenerative diseases to control artificial limbs, wheelchairs, or other devices. —J.B.



EBOLA LONG SHOTS

The use of experimental drugs to treat or prevent Ebola in West Africa is ethical, the World Health Organization (WHO) concluded in August.

Preventive drugs and treatment vaccines show promising results in animal studies but are only in the beginning stages of human testing, which ordinarily takes at least two years to complete. Because the epidemic is so widespread and has such a high fatality rate, WHO endorses the use of these drugs even though they may be ineffective or have dangerous side effects.

The first vaccines may be used in West Africa as early as January, but ethical issues remain, including how to distribute the limited supply of drugs. Experts interviewed by the Reuters news service said the vaccines should be given first to frontline healthcare workers because they are vital in curbing the epidemic. Others argue that giving preferential treatment to professionals is inequitable to economically impoverished Africans.

Since many Africans distrust Western drug companies, they may not want to be used as guinea pigs, especially if the experimental drugs result in adverse side effects, Armand Sprecher, a physician with Doctors Without Borders, told *Science*. —J.B.

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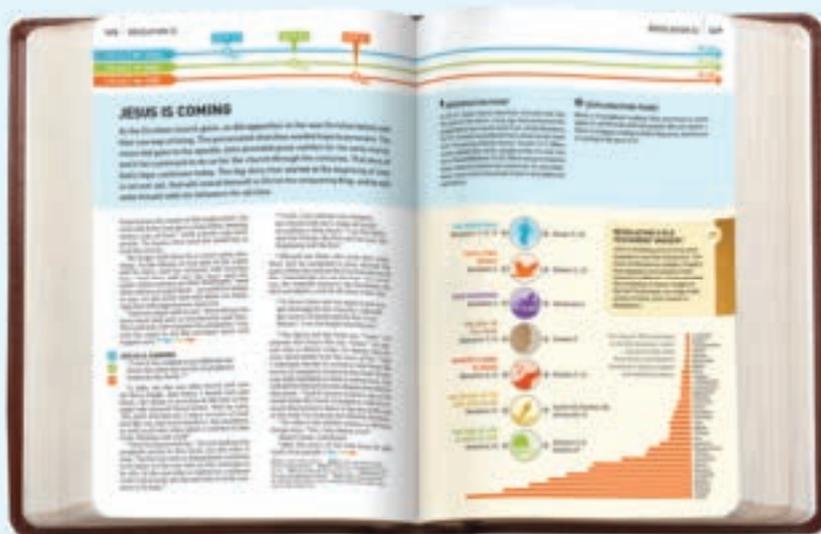
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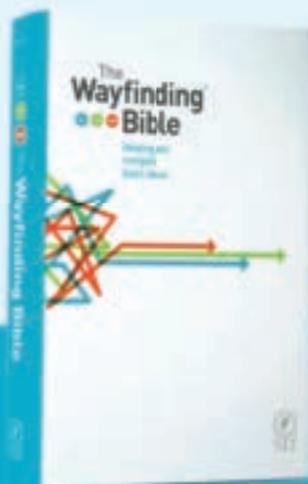


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Balls and Batts

The lack of a left arm hasn't kept young DAWSON BATTS from becoming a baseball All-Star **BY ANDREW BRANCH**

DAWSON BATTS, 13, born without his left arm, hopes to play college baseball for N.C. State University and get drafted by the Boston Red Sox. He's already achieved sports success: This summer he was the only North Carolina boy in his age group invited to New York as a National Youth Baseball Championships All-Star.

The Clinton, N.C., eighth-grader told me, "I can do with one arm what you can do with two." It's an advantage of sorts that his developing brain has never known a second arm. In both pitching and fielding, he's learned to transfer ball and glove fairly seamlessly. But this summer he separated his left shoulder sliding into third base. His mom, Erica Batts, recalls, "He pitched the rest of the game," and didn't let on he was injured.

The four- to six-hour surgery scheduled for Oct. 16 was Dawson's 10th lifetime procedure on that arm—and the most serious. It still could be dream-ending if it's not handled correctly. But after weeks of physical therapy, he hopes to be back to competitive baseball by January. Dawson and his dad, Shane Batts, have been playing since Dawson was 3. "If they're not actually at the field practicing,



they're out in the yard playing," mom Erica said. "Every. Single. Day."

Dawson also plays golf and basketball, and throws a mean football spiral, but baseball is No. 1. He wears a cap with his favorite Bible verse—Philippians 4:13: "I can do all things through him who strengthens me."

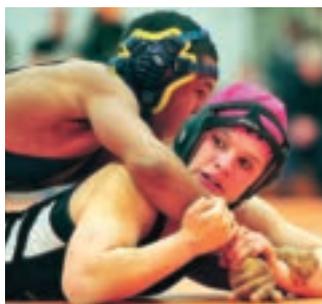


BENCH MY MENTOR

Goalkeeper **Hope Solo** was set to play Oct. 15 when the United States Women's National Team began its 2015 FIFA Women's World Cup qualifying campaign. But she also has a Nov. 4 trial date for an alleged domestic assault in which police say she repeatedly punched her sister and nephew.

Teammate Jillian Loyden wrote in *USA Today* that while Solo is her mentor, coaches should have benched her. "I cannot stand by as young fans receive the message that this behavior—even if the allegations proved to be inaccurate—can go unnoticed," she said.

Loyden's sister was murdered in 2012, allegedly by her fiancé. —A.B.



Boys wrestling girls

The Roman Catholic Diocese of Harrisburg, Pa., has formally banned girls from its contact sports teams. The mission of forming Christian adults and teaching "gospel values," Bishop Ronald Gainer said, is incompatible with co-ed sports that "involve substantial and potentially immodest physical contact."

BANNED: A girl wrestles with her male opponent at an Alabama high-school tournament.

Many of the diocese's schools already had similar policies, and they aren't rare, but the desire for "safety and modesty" has become controversial. Faced with a change.org campaign for a girl who wanted to play football, the Philadelphia Archdiocese last March, nudged by Title IX lawyers, made an exception for Catholic Youth Organizations. —A.B.

BATTS: ANDREW BRANCH · SOLO: JEN FULLER/GETTY IMAGES · WRESTLERS: ERIC SCHULTZ/THE HUNTSVILLE TIMES/AP

By whose standard?

Religious colleges face a new threat over their sexual policies **BY DAVE SWAVELY**

CHRISTIAN COLLEGES value accreditation from secular agencies as a quality assurance mechanism, but also because without it their students will lose federal financial aid and may have trouble gaining acceptance to graduate school. So accreditation is a potential weapon in the hands of agencies influenced by the agenda of gay rights activists. This worries some education leaders in the wake of news from Gordon College in Wenham, Mass., while others say there's nothing to fear.

The Gordon story, in brief: Gordon President Michael Lindsay bravely joined some other Christian leaders in signing a letter to President Barack Obama asking for religious exemptions to a proposed ban on federal funding for institutions that “discriminate” against LGBT employees. In September the Commission of the New England Association of Schools and Colleges (NEASC), one of six regional accrediting agencies, asked Gordon for a report about whether its conduct policy forbidding “homosexual practice” meets NEASC’s requirement for “nondiscriminatory policies and practices in recruitment, admissions, employment, evaluation, disciplinary action, and advancement.”

NEASC President Barbara Brittingham told me, “We didn’t have

any problem with any other part of the school’s policies,” which also include prohibitions of sex outside marriage, drunkenness, blasphemy, profanity, theft, and dishonesty. She also said, “We accredit Boston College, which is a Jesuit school, and they only want Jesuits to teach theology. We have no problem with that.”

When asked why Gordon should have to produce a special report regarding its opposition to homosexuality, Brittingham said, “How society thinks about LGBT people has changed drastically in the last 15 years or so, and Gordon seems to be saying that one group of people can do certain things, but another group of people cannot.” She also said NEASC has a good relationship with Gordon and that withdrawal of accreditation could not happen next September, when the report is due. She said the worst possibilities at that time would be some form of probation or a more formal inquiry. Later, she emailed me about the probation issue and said, “I was speaking hypothetically in the general sense, not about Gordon College.”

David Brown, a professor at Northland International University, says, “Leaders in Christian higher education are keeping a close watch on

what is happening at Gordon. ... They were anticipating this as a falling of the first domino, and they aren’t surprised it happened in Massachusetts.” Brown noted that NEASC “pinpointed one action of one leader on a topic on which good people differ, and threatened the entire future of a fine school.”

But a statement from the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities said, “NEASC has been clear in its communication that Gordon’s accreditation is not at risk. The Higher Education Opportunity Act requires accreditors to respect institutional mission, and in the case of religious institutions, their religious mission specifically.” Mary Ellen Petrisko, president of the Accrediting Commission for the Western Association of Schools and Colleges, told me, “I do not believe that the Gordon College situation is the beginning of a trend that will endanger the accreditation of religious schools.”

Withdrawal of accreditation is very rare and has been done only once by NEASC since 1988—in 2010, when a school had serious financial problems. But this is also the first time that an accrediting agency has demanded a report in relation to rules concerning homosexuality. So questions remain: Will Christian colleges be evaluated based on consistency with their own mission and values, or will they be judged by someone else’s? And if accrediting agencies demand changes, will those colleges give in? ☹

—Dave Swavely is a Pennsylvania pastor and author

HANDOUT

Gordon College



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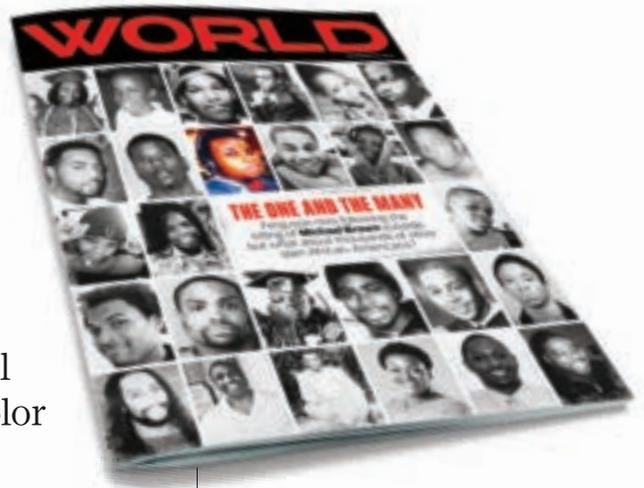
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Mailbag



'Houses divided'

Sept. 20 There is only one race of humans, all descended from Adam and Eve. The real issue is how people act and live, not the color of their skin. We must stop sustaining this divisive and irrelevant distinction based on appearance and not substance.

—LEE EDMONDS, Cooperstown, N.Y.

Racial activists such as Al Sharpton and Jesse Jackson place much emphasis on the Ferguson incident, but you hear little from them about the many innocent African-Americans of all ages being gunned down by other blacks.

—P. KLITORA, Waukegan, Ill.

Michael Brown reportedly had just robbed a convenience store and viciously attacked the police officer prior to the shooting. If that's true, this does not appear to be an unprovoked shooting of a black man by a white officer but instead a tragic death resulting from a criminal assault.

—MARYJO DAWSON, Trinidad, Colo.

'Eagle shot'

Sept. 20 When we left our Boy Scout troop for one that was changing to Trail Life, those we left behind cited tradition and opportunity to earn the Eagle award. But tradition is hollow or even destructive without Christ as its end, and we can do without an Eagle award from an organization that regards Christian morality as optional or outdated. I'm thankful that John Stemberger and others had the courage to realize that scouting was worth rescuing from BSA.

—BILL FERGUSON, Tulsa, Okla.

Some Christian families remained in BSA for reasons other than earning the Eagle award, such as the chance to

be loving examples for openly gay children. Who else will show Christ to these boys? And what are we teaching our sons about loving those whose lifestyles are not condoned by the Bible?

—CAROLYN WADLEY, Columbia, S.C.

'Worthy lives'

Sept. 20 It gives me solace that I will meet my mom again in Christ's presence, even though the person I knew and loved is gone, decimated by Alzheimer's. Watching my father fulfill his marriage promise to care for her is a great blessing. All of life is worth something, not just the parts we can stomach. God bless people like my parents who teach others the value of life with their blood, sweat, and tears.

—JOSEPH MCCOY, McAllen, Texas

I serve in a ministry where there is much darkness and sadness in children's lives, so I loved the reference to Augustine: "Evil is negation. Love and beauty are the realities." Thank you for reminding me that the power of God's goodness shall overtake the night.

—JOY MARTIN, French Camp, Miss.

Janie B. Cheaney's columns offer much spiritual insight. They are an invitation to reflect and a challenge, a deep reminder of the holiness of God and His desire to touch our lives.

—BOB FORE, Atwater, Calif.

Every believer should regularly consider Christ's measureless sacrifice on the cross, but I rarely take it further to ponder all it should mean to me. Thank you for the very insightful observation that "what your life means to you is secondary; the real issue is what it means to Christ."

—PAUL ZIERK, Blue Hill, Maine

"I will not settle"

Sept. 20 I loved Marvin Olasky's tribute to his grandfather. I plan to save it for inspiration in times of fear.

—JAN MANSFIELD, Buffalo, N.Y.

At a time when we read about children being used as shields, shunted across borders as illegal immigrants, and beheaded in a religious war, it is good to read about one child who was inspired by his very courageous grandfather.

—BARBARA DEVAULT, Lakeland, Fla.

This is a beautiful tribute. Thanks to Olasky for sharing some pre-World War I history, his grandfather's story, and most of all God's faithfulness.

—SANDY YKEMA, Parkesburg, Pa.

'True and necessary'

Sept. 20 Bravo for clearly explaining WORLD's reporting indicators. Thank you for your candor and willingness to address uncomfortable issues with grace and transparency.

—DAVID RASMUSSEN, Russellville, Ark.

I agree with Joel Belz. If we are to judge people by their fruit, someone has to inspect it; and so we must have publications like WORLD to inform us. Let's

Mailbag

put aside worries about being divisive and depend on God to lead us to those we should support.

—SANDY YERGER, Littlestown, Pa.

'A harvest of neglect'

Sept. 20 I too have a neglected garden due to a son's graduation, traveling, another son's marriage, and so on. I had planted cucumbers, tomatoes, eggplant, peppers, and some basil and parsley. But the rhubarb, oregano, dill, and cilantro volunteered from last year, we had sufficient rain, and so there is a harvest of bounty. Keeping a garden keeps me in step with the words of the Lord.

—SALLY DAWSON, Abingdon, Va.

Thanks for Mindy Belz's reminder to look for God's gifts in the midst of neglect, pain, and craziness. And her writing on world events is often a gracious glimpse into another perspective;



DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO submitted by Jon Cassel

she applies to journalism Christ's command to be "wise as serpents and innocent as doves."

—PETER KUBASEK, Loveland, Ohio

'Lost and found'

Sept. 20 If we could live every moment as if we're lost in a parking garage on

the edge of panic, maybe we'd be closer to where God wants us to be.

—PAMELA ROMANO, Garfield, N.J.

Dispatches

Sept. 20 You missed an opportunity. Even secular media noted that Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie finally tied the knot



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in response to urging from their children. In a society that doesn't revere marriage, out of the mouths of babes comes a statement that it's important to them.

—ELAINE NEUMEYER, *Big Canoe, Ga.*

'The new normal'

Sept. 20 I'm concerned that leading your reviews section with this item makes the movie seem more important than it is. What's more, by forcing readers to wade through the minutia of the show's plot, it stirs up empathy for the characters' plight before getting to the point, namely, that the show is "pushing and reflecting a cultural shift toward acceptance of homosexuality."

—DIANA SMITH, *Phoenix, Ariz.*

'A novel recommendation'

Sept. 6 I loved seeing Daniel Silva's new novel, *The Heist*, recommended for high-school students. However, while

this novel may be appropriate, Silva's earlier novels have, as you have noted in earlier reviews, very graphic depictions of sex and violence. Parents should be cautious about handing them to teenagers.

—JOAN NITSCHKE, *Billings, Mont.*

'A little religion'

Sept. 6 I have seen the same flaw in the Christian divorce statistic this article noted. In my counseling experience as a pastor, the divorce rate for committed believers is much lower than among other couples. Those who fail to date like disciples often reap the harvest of marital crisis.

—DAVID LUNSFORD, *Ferndale, Wash.*

'After the day'

Sept. 6 God used this essay to touch some long-standing angst in my heart. Sure, I've read Paul's words hundreds of times, but for some reason Robin

Williams' death, the *Dead Poets Society* movie, and Megan Basham's thoughts all came together to provide a lightbulb moment. Thank you.

—DOUGLAS MONK, *Monticello, Iowa*

'Books of the year'

June 28 I always enjoy the annual books issue, and this year I had my public library order two from the list. *The Great Debate* was so instructive that I ordered my own copy so I could write in the margins. Thanks to Janie B. Cheaney for the review.

—MEL RAAB, *Prosperity, S.C.*

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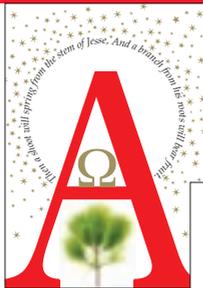


Which one of you, having a hundred sheep and losing one, does not leave the ninety-nine

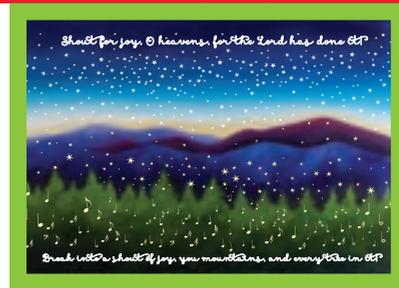
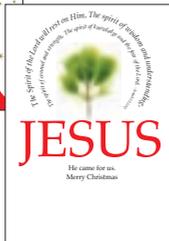


and go after the one that is lost until he finds it?

One Hundred Sheep
Luke 15:4
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If you'd like to further discuss options for including WORLD in your estate, contact Debra Meissner at dmeissner@wng.org, or call 828-232-5426.



Andrée Seu Peterson

Incident in Room 304

When giving food to a patient became a matter of great controversy

» ONE OF THE LESS SAVORY aspects of my mother's dying in September was the feeding tube war. To cut to the chase, I was for it and other loved ones were against it.

"On a feeding tube" is a bit of literary genius. No one who hears the phrase has a positive reaction. It conjures weak-minded people who will not face facts and who refuse to let go. It connotes unconscionable medical expenses (in reality, a feeding tube is cheap and low-tech, as things go) and the sapping of scarce resources. It is thrown into the mix with other bandied causes of contemporary social ills.

But when push came to shove, I had a hard time withdrawing what I considered ordinary care from someone inarguably sick but breathing on her own. The doctor corrected me, saying the U.S. Supreme Court has declared a feeding tube not "ordinary care." I responded that the Supreme Court gave us *Dred Scott v. Sandford* and *Roe v. Wade*.

We were united over DNR and DNI: where the heart or breathing has stopped, take no measures to revive. Some in my family saw not a dime's worth of difference between a breathing tube and a feeding tube and thought I was being selfish, religiously fundamentalist, and disgustingly casuistic, although they didn't say it so nicely. When I suggested that starvation might be painful, the doctor assured me it doesn't hurt much after a few days. Nice. When I let drop the word "euthanasia," he said it wasn't euthanasia because euthanasia is against the law in this country. (You may ponder that circularity yourself.)

A paper copy of the pre-expressed wishes of my mother was supposed to settle the matter. No such document was extant, but none was needed. My mother had often solemnly impressed on me her disdain for "heroic measures." Unfortunately, we had never got around to the part of the discussion unpacking whether feeding her was a heroic measure. Weighing in again, the doc said that if her

stroke had happened a few hundred years ago my mother would be dead already. I replied that it wasn't a few hundred years ago, it was now. God says, "Do not withhold good from those to whom it is due, when it is in your power to do it" (Proverbs 3:27). In A.D. 1420 it may not have been in our power to prevent starvation, but in 2014 it is.

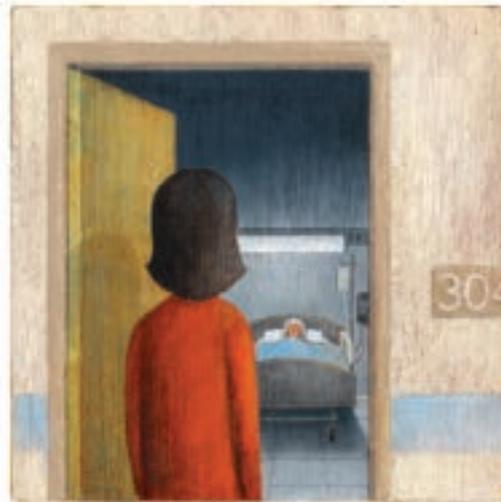
Moreover, even if my mother had it in black and white, with a barrister's signature upon it, that she should be "starved by withholding of nutrients until such time as she shall expire," does one honor every wish of a person, even if it is sinful? I am not saying the wish is sinful; for now all I am saying is that I am stuck on the philosophical meat hook of the rightness of acquiescing to any and every statement of a person's

desire for the treatment of her own body. I thought the whole crux of pro-life versus pro-choice was this very issue of a woman's absolute sovereignty and authority over her body. I thought we decided "No" on that. "You are not your own" (1 Corinthians 6:19).

"Persistent vegetative state" and "poor quality of life" were terms suggested for my consideration. I thought to myself, "Who made you gods?" and remembered Terri Schiavo.

When my husband was 10, he got a BB gun for his birthday and went into the woods behind his house to try it out. He spotted a rabbit and pulled the trigger before he could think. When he walked over to observe his handiwork, its little heart was beating fast, and one eye was looking up at him. Not able to bear the sight of it, my husband aimed, turned his head, and fired again. No one likes to watch prolonged suffering.

In the end, the debate was moot. The day after my order to feed, my mother began drowning in her own secretions, and my father and I reversed our decision, allowing the removal of sustenance. She was gone in two days. One relative said I had waffled and merely come late to reason. Me, I was just listening for the Holy Spirit to say when. ☉





An Election Day homily

In our intrinsically disordered condition, how much government do we need?

» IN HIS JUST-PUBLISHED *Republican Theology*, Benjamin Lynerd takes aim at “the ideology of American evangelicals—a libertarian ethos combined with restrictive public moralism” on issues such as abortion. Putting aside momentarily whether support for unborn babies is “restrictive” or protective, what about Lynerd’s basic point that limited government and biblical ethics are strange bedfellows?

He’s wrong. That’s because we can keep government small only when most persons honor their fathers and mothers while refraining from the practice of murder, adultery, theft, and false witness.

The reason for that is partly obvious. A high-crime society needs more police, more judges, more jails. Some effects are more subtle. When children don’t honor their parents by caring for them when poverty and illness strike, Social Security and Medicare expand. When children are born out of wedlock or marriages break apart, or when affluent persons don’t love their neighbors on the other side of the tracks, poverty (and demands for more governmental welfare) increases. When financial experts lie, economic losses and calls for more regulation grow.

Let’s dive deeper. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary President Al Mohler, in one of his daily “The Briefing” podcasts, which I highly recommend, praised the Catholic Catechism’s use of the term “intrinsically disordered” to describe some sexual practices. That’s a good phrase, and it goes beyond sex: Intrinsic disorder seems to me a synonym for original sin. Remembering either of those two-word sets is helpful when we’re tempted by either anarchy or socialism, both of which James Madison shot down in editorial 51 of *The Federalist Papers*.

Here’s what Madison (trained at college in Princeton by Presbyterian minister and Declaration of Independence signer John Witherspoon, now best known as an ancestor of actress Reese) wrote: “If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself.”

Summary: Since men aren’t angels, we need government. Since governors aren’t angels, we need tight controls over government. We are, in two words, intrinsically disordered.

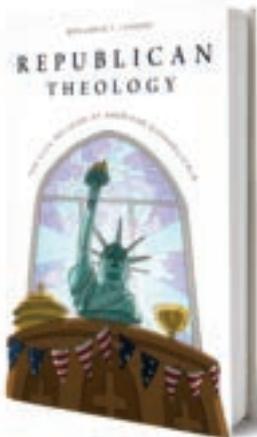
How much government do we need? Our Constitution’s preamble states that the federal government is to “provide for the common defense.” Given both radical Islam and the desire of oligarchs throughout the world to steal from others rather than build wealth through slow but steady work, we sometimes need to fight. The preamble then stipulates that the federal government should “promote the general welfare,” and that’s the great variable.

In America for three centuries strong families, churches, schools, and other civic organizations were the primary promoters of the general welfare. When those bulwarks splinter, government steps in, and power-seekers say they will bring order to our intrinsic disorder—but don’t trust such promises. School superintendents distrust homeschooling and say we should rely on professional educators, as if they are immune from the Fall. Just about every television show and artistic production is pretty bad, due to our intrinsic disorder, so politicians give us a Public Broadcasting System or a National Endowment for the Arts, as if those producers are immune from the Fall.

We have crucial electoral choices to make just after Halloween, so aren’t you tired of political commercials that proclaim one candidate will pass out candy to all, and the other is a ghoul? Let’s get serious, and instead ask: Which candidates will acknowledge that we are disordered? Which see the importance of promoting the institutions that fight intrinsic disorder and eliminating or at least reducing the government-imposed obstacles they face? Which senators will fight the appointment of judges who promote disorder?

A secondary question: Which candidates are leading biblically ordered lives? (If intrinsic disorder rules them, they are likely to make new laws in their own image.) I’ve written books with bad titles, but I still like the title of one I wrote about 18th-century America: *Fighting for Liberty and Virtue*.

That fight goes on in 2014. Vote, please, not because politics is the antidote to intrinsic disorder, but because we need leaders who realize that government, while necessary, can’t help us much—so they strive to protect groups that can. ☺

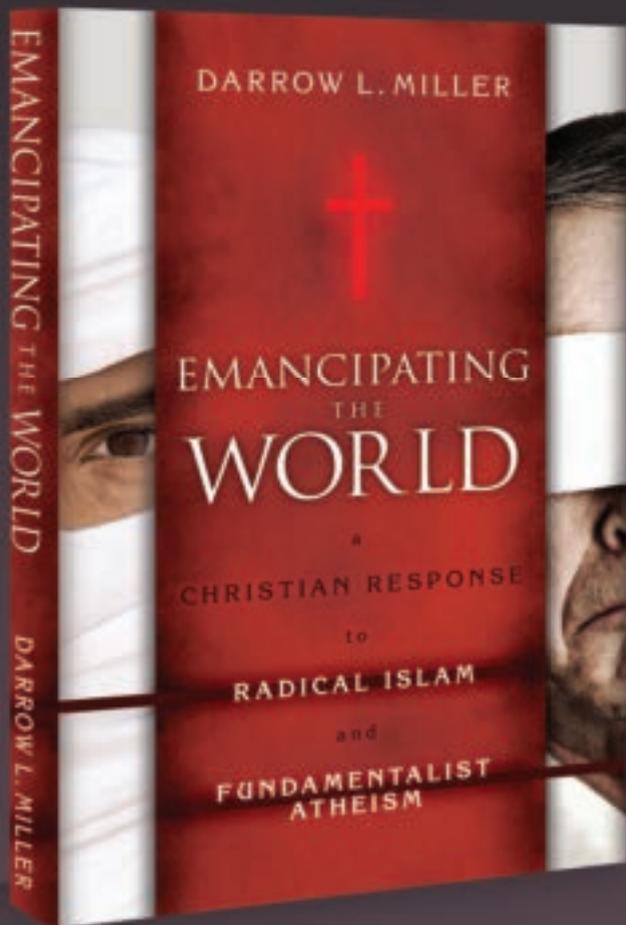


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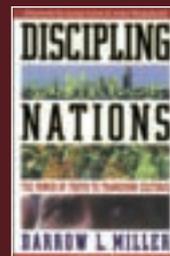
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