I’M NOT HERE TO FIGHT ABORTION. I’M HERE TO END IT. —A THEIST, FEMINIST, AND PRO-LIFE ADVOCATE TERRISA BUROVINC, P. 67

THE RISING EVIL OF ANTI-SEMITISM P. 38
For the last twenty-five years, Samaritan Ministries members have been sharing medical costs while praying for and encouraging one another — all without health insurance. Faithful. Affordable. Biblical.

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Finding life in a life sentence

Serial killer David Berkowitz tries to finish well in a circumstance that drives many to despair

38

TROUBLING TREND
The rise in American anti-Semitism has varying roots, and many Jews feel afraid in places they haven’t feared before

by Emily Belz

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A STONE’S THROW FROM HOME
As fleeing Hong Kong protesters arrive in Taiwan, the Taipei government walks a fine line between helping them and placating Beijing

by June Cheng

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FREE AT LAST
Sudan’s era of Islamic dictatorship has ended, and the hard work toward achieving democracy has just begun

by Mindy Belz
WE SEE THAT ACKNOWLEDGING THE VALOR AND VIRTUE OF THE PAST CAN CHANGE THE HEARTS AND LIVES OF THOSE LIVING IN THE PRESENT.
Pornography is sweeping through our churches like a tsunami leaving families torn apart in its wake. Many churchgoers who are struggling to break free from porn use feel isolated and completely helpless. A recent study revealed that 68% of church-going men view porn on a regular basis. When you watch porn, powerful neurotransmitters such as dopamine are released, which bond you to the images.

According to neuropsychologist, Dr. Tim Jennings, “Any type of repetitive behavior will create trails in our brain that are going to fire on an automatic sequence.” The result is years of bondage. This is how 68% of Christian men can love the Lord, but be in bondage to porn. The repeated viewing of porn literally changes the physical structure of their brain. Over 1,000,000 men who are hooked on porn are following the strategies taught in the Conquer Series which is designed to give them the tools to break free.

Church Approach Doesn’t Work
According to Dr. Roberts, host of the Conquer Series, churches often treat this issue as a moral one, but fail to recognize it’s mainly a brain problem, “We tell men to try harder, pray harder, love Jesus more.” Dr. Roberts adds, “But, what starts off as a moral problem, quickly becomes a brain problem. Telling a man to try harder is only tightening the ‘noose’ of bondage.” This is not an excuse for their behavior. Their mind has to be renewed and that is a process.

That freedom, I wouldn’t exchange it for anything. It’s what God has for me for the rest of my life.
James Craft

Let’s Cut the Noose
The Conquer Series is the first of its kind to show men how to retrain a brain that is hooked on porn, using biblical strategies as well as powerful insights. “I’ve never met a man who wanted to be in bondage to porn,” says director, Jeremy Wiles. They all hate it. But they have all attempted to find freedom the wrong way. They just keep trying harder not to watch it, but that doesn’t work. So, we spent two years developing a 10-week discipleship series, interviewing top Christian experts on this subject and shooting battle reenactments to illustrate the war that every man faces with sexual temptation. I wanted to give men proven principles on how to find freedom,” adds Wiles.

The team recruited Dr. Ted Roberts, a former U.S. Marine fighter pilot, to be the host of the Conquer Series. As a former Pastor and Founder of Pure Desire Ministries, Dr. Roberts counseled men for over 30 years and helped thousands cut the noose of bondage.

“Our goal with the Conquer Series is to give men the battle plan for purity. We’ve got a great tool here that’s changing lives, but we need more pastors and men of courage to partner with us to fight this battle,” Dr. Roberts said. The enemy is destroying families with porn.

Over 1,000,000 Strong
According to Paul Cole, President of Christian Men’s Network, the Conquer Series is “one of the most important tools any church, pastor or leader can get.” Over 1,000,000 men have gone through the Conquer Series 10-WEEK course.

The Conquer Series is a 12-disc DVD set, which also includes a leader’s DVD. Try it out for 14-days risk free. When will you cut the noose of bondage in your life?
“THE EARTH IS THE LORD’S AND THE FULLNESS THEREOF; THE WORLD AND THOSE WHO DWELL THEREIN.” —PSALM 24:1
2019 DEATHS
DEC. 28, P. 81—STEPHEN LEONARD/VIDALIA, GA.
It is quite dramatic, to say the least, to envision the host of personalities listed and pictured in this article coming face to face with truth upon their last breath.

CHRISTIAN AND DEMOCRAT
DEC. 28, P. 30—ANDREW WONG ON FACEBOOK
Thank you so much for this interview. The black community is strongly Christian and overwhelmingly Democrat, and it’s not because they’re all deceived.

TINA HOLLENBECK ON FACEBOOK
Justin Giboney sees his position in the Democratic Party as a way to support human flourishing and human dignity? Really? Tell that to all the babies Democrats delight in aborting, not to mention all the blatant sexual sin the party actively promotes.

DENNIS W. LAUVER/CLINTON, IOWA
Our faith should not be in politicians, and we shouldn’t allow ourselves to be caught up in the hype and the hysteria.

DEAD LIFT SERIOUS
DEC. 28, P. 99—SANDRA JEPSON JOHANSEN ON FACEBOOK
I wonder how men who compete as women live with themselves, cheating as they do. Stelzer is taking on this battle, and we can support her through prayer.

RICH ASPER ON WNG.ORG
For those who think men should compete as women, apparently 2 plus 2 equals 5. We are living in the United States of Orwell.

ETERNITY OF OBLIVION?
DEC. 28, P. 26—JANET JOHNSON ON WNG.ORG
To live without hope would truly be a miserable existence. May atheist Michael Ruse continue searching until he finds the answer to his question: Jesus Christ as Savior.

2019 NEWS OF THE YEAR
The photos in the 2019 News of the Year issue were stunning.

DEC. 28, P. 46—STEPHEN KEMP/AMES, IOWA

BIG PLANS
DEC. 28, P. 8—DARREN RENNER ON WNG.ORG
As a middle-school teacher, I’m very happy about the prospect of WORLD Watch! I would definitely use it in the classroom to help with current events.

IN THE MOMENT
DEC. 28, P. 103—BARBARA DEVAULT/LAKELAND, FLA.
At times I’m tempted to eat dessert first, but I always save Andrée Seu Peterson’s column for the last treat of each issue. Well said.

ONE-CHILD NATION
DEC. 28, P. 24—KAREN DAVIS/EXTON, PA.
I found this documentary insightful, deeply disturbing, and heart-wrenching. I pray we will one day soon extend to human babies the same merciful compassion that we shower upon animals.

MUSCLING IN
DEC. 7, P. 58—JOHN WIESTER/BUELLTON, CALIF.
Thank you for Ray Hacke’s article on biological men winning women’s sports. We don’t tell anorexia patients that their feeling of being overweight is real; the same should be true for the mental illness of transgenderism. The goal should be to restore the person to physical reality through counseling rather than reinforcing gender dysphoria.

IN THE HOUSE OF MOURNING
DEC. 7, P. 28—BECKY RUBIO/OAK PARK, ILL.
I was very moved by Mindy Belz’s column regarding the Nov. 11 bombing in Syria, and by her compassionate response in reaching out to Amer Mohamed Said Berlan’s family. I find it difficult to follow Middle East events and greatly appreciate your balanced and thoughtful reporting, both in WORLD and on The World and Everything in It.

LETTERS AND COMMENTS
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Notes from the CEO  KEVIN MARTIN

Taking a rest from the news

The Sabbath is for reporters too, but how should news consumers view Sundays?

The Dec. 7, 1941, attack on Pearl Harbor came on a Sunday morning and presented some unusual challenges to news organizations in the continental United States. One was the time-zone differential that complicated afternoon print deadlines, but the bigger challenge was that newsrooms weren’t set up to report big news on Sundays.

Some big-city newspapers had Sunday afternoon editions, but they generally were light on news. A few papers, The New York Times, for example, included early details of the attack in their afternoon editions. Smaller newspapers were prepared to cover extraordinary events any day of the week with special late editions.

Radio news—and to a lesser extent, television—provided more opportunities for same-day reports. CBS included a brief report in its regular 2:30 p.m. news, while other networks and local stations broke into regularly scheduled Sunday programming.

Things are different now.

News programming, from both large and small organizations, is 24/7. Immediacy is everything. Add social media to the mix and news coverage, along with everybody’s comments on the coverage, becomes inescapable.

Coverage of the tragic Sunday morning death of Kobe Bryant offers a useful point of comparison. My friend, who was preaching in his church that Sunday, told me he began seeing bits of information on his phone the moment he sat down after the sermon, even before the service had ended. By the time I arrived home that afternoon the story had exploded on social media. I soaked it all in, and looked for more. It’s pretty safe to say that it dominated my Sunday.

Sunday reporting is something we think and talk about a good bit around here. In the past, we’ve referred to WORLD as a “24/6” news organization, and we try to hold to that. We believe the Sabbath is for reporters too. But we also take seriously our task of serving WORLD’s members and our broader audience by keeping you informed. Occasionally, that involves reporting an important story on a Sunday. Almost always, it involves reporting important stories early Monday morning, which requires some Sunday work.

While we think often about how to observe the Sabbath while serving the needs of our members, I am a little embarrassed to tell you how I personally consume news on the Sabbath. It’s sadly not much different than my everyday news consumption. I pick up my phone early and often, I try not to look at it during church, and I’m usually eager to keep up with what people on social media are saying about the stories I’m following. Sometimes, as happened on that recent Sunday, it dominates my day.

I wonder what would happen if I decided not to keep up with the news on a Sunday? I’m pretty sure I would not miss a Pearl Harbor–level event. Would it matter if I didn’t hear about less important events until Monday morning? Should I be resting from the news? And would resting from the news make the Sabbath more of a Sabbath?

KEVIN MARTIN

EMAIL kevin@wng.org
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Voices JOEL BELZ

It’s a fight for free-exercise rights

Tax-supported scholarship programs are about supporting parents and students, not schools

F ALL THE PEOPLE in the world, the folks at the Associated Press should have gotten it right. AP’s January report on the so-called “Stillwater School” case, now being considered by the U.S. Supreme Court, was largely a helpful and even-handed piece of reporting. For the most part, they got the five “w’s” of traditional news reporting right (who, what, when, where, and why).

But AP reporter Mark Sherman missed his opportunity to highlight and clarify the first “w” in the story. Eligibility by nonpublic schools for governmental financial aid is only a minor aspect of this very important debate. The argument is ultimately more about students and their families—and their constitutional right to enroll at a school of their choice.

It’s true that Stillwater Christian School of Kalispell, Mont., is a player in this drama. But the real focus belongs not on the school but on a couple of students at Stillwater and their parents.

When the Montana Legislature five years ago passed a measure providing modest scholarship assistance for all students—regardless of the school they were enrolled in—these parents signed on. But it didn’t take long for Montana’s Supreme Court to negate the scholarship program, ruling that it countered long-standing provisions of Montana’s constitution. The parents appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which heard oral arguments in the case on Jan. 22.

AP reporter Sherman said: “Advocates on both

sides say the outcome could be momentous because it could lead to efforts in other states to funnel taxpayer money to religious schools.” The bogeyman is always the “schools”—even though the Montana plan specifically designated the parents, not the schools, as recipients of the scholarship benefit.

The impediment to that scenario is that 37 states—including Montana—have provisions in their state constitutions that say religious schools aren’t eligible for state aid. Many of those provisions are so-called “Blaine Amendments,” described by The Wall Street Journal as “late 19th century language, amid that era’s anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic fervor.” A federal version of the measures was pushed (although unsuccessfully) in 1875 by Maine Congressman James Blaine. But the string of state measures pretty much all said bluntly what Montana’s spelled out: Public funds can’t be spent for “any sectarian purpose.”

Most efforts to dilute that prohibition for much of the last century have ended up heightening the “wall of separation” between church and state. It’s been only in the last 20 years that a few cases have begun emphasizing the “free exercise” side of our First Amendment rights instead of the “no establishment” side. In doing so, they’ve moved the focus from institutions to people.

The Stillwater parents who heard their case argued before the Supreme Court want the point made in simple, human terms. They’re encouraged by a 2017 case—one of the most recent having to do with state support of a religious school. In that case, Trinity Lutheran v. Comer, the high court ruled 7-2 that a Missouri ban on financial aid to a school like Trinity couldn’t stand. The issue: If public money was being made available to secular schools to resurface their playgrounds, it had to be available to all other schools as well, including Trinity.

Thoughtful observers of the Supreme Court weren’t sure how to read the questioning by the justices in the Stillwater case—and especially the queries of Chief Justice John Roberts, who that day was splitting his duties between the court in the morning and his role across the street that afternoon overseeing the Senate in its Trump impeachment trial.

On religious liberty issues, Roberts has tended to be an incrementalist more than a trailblazer. If he chooses to move slowly, families hoping for more than a resurfaced playground may be disappointed. If, however, he boldly backs the Stillwater parents, and gets four other justices to join him, it could be a signal that other parents across the country—including hundreds of thousands of Catholics—can warmly welcome.
I was hungry
and you gave me
something to eat
Matthew 25:35

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According to a 2017 Stanford University study, the average American walks about 4,774 steps daily. That’s fewer than people in China walk—6,189 steps per day—but it still means the 330 million Americans collectively take around 1.6 trillion steps a day. Some are productive, some are playful, and some are merely ceremonial.

The U.S. Capitol witnessed ceremonial steps on Jan. 15. Members of the House of Representatives walked across the Capitol Building to announce the delivery of the articles of President Donald Trump’s impeachment. With solemn faces, seven House Democrats chosen as impeachment managers paraded through the...
Capitol rotunda to the Senate. The following day, the same seven made the same trip, this time carrying blue folders as they walked, the sound of their shoes striking the floor and the rapid shutter clicks of reporters’ cameras reverberating in the halls.

The following week, Democrats laid out their case for impeachment, but in the absence of any bombshells, it all seemed as scripted as a ceremony 5,000 miles to the east, where Russian lawmakers approved constitutional changes that will likely extend President Vladimir Putin’s rule even after his current term ends in 2024. This came a week after Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev and his entire Cabinet walked out—a move that also seemed targeted toward securing Putin’s rule. Putin is Russia’s longest-ruling leader since Josef Stalin.

In China, the outbreak of a mysterious pneumonia-like coronavirus kept at least 25 million people cooped up during the Lunar New Year—generally a big travel season for the country. The virus, which appeared at a seafood market in now-quarantined Wuhan, spread to nearly 6,000 people and killed at least 132 by Jan. 28. As the deadly virus spread geographically, the shutdown affected China’s already-troubled economy: Fears of contracting the virus have squelched the Chinese film industry during its biggest money-making season.

As the coronavirus death toll rose, Hollywood watched the fall of film producer Harvey Weinstein, whose trial began in New York on Jan. 22. The 67-year-old man stepped into the courthouse without the aid of the walker he had pushed during the jury selection process. But the walker with the yellow tennis balls made a reappearance as Weinstein shuffled out following the opening statements. His team said the walker is necessary since he’s recovering from back surgery, but accusers sensed a ploy to present himself as a pitiful old man—a weak defense against the 80 accusations of sexual misconduct that helped kick-start the #MeToo movement in 2017.

Just days earlier, on Jan. 18, some of Weinstein’s accusers spoke at the Los Angeles Women’s March. Other marches occurred in New York, Philadelphia (see p. 70), Chicago, and Washington, D.C. The Women’s March started in 2017 as a reaction to Donald Trump’s inauguration. Weinstein accuser Rosanna Arquette told the magazine Variety, “We are not going to stop. No matter how much you try to shut down our voices. It’s like a whack-a-mole. There will just be more and more.” But numbers dwindled this year. In 2017, an estimated 3 million to 5 million walkers turned out nationwide, and nearly 500,000 of those were in Washington, D.C. This year, only around 10,000 marched in Washington.

That was probably only one-tenth the size of the huge crowd that walked through the capital city a week later for the 47th annual March for Life. President Trump became the first sitting president to speak at the pro-life rally. Other Republican presidents had phoned in their weak regards, inching forward as if on a tightrope, but pro-lifers cheered as Trump touted his specific pro-life presidential actions and celebrated “the majesty of God’s creation” in the unborn. After 47 years of legalized abortion, these marchers hope for an overturn of Roe v. Wade during the next several years—but the Christians among them knew they would have to continue walking by faith, not by sight.

Two days after pro-lifers remembered the deaths of millions killed in abortion, basketball fans mourned Kobe Bryant, who died with his daughter and seven others in a helicopter crash on Jan. 26. At age 17, Bryant became the first guard to go directly from high school to the NBA. He ranks fourth on the NBA’s list of all-time leading scorers. After his basketball career, fans looked forward to all Bryant planned to do off the court. Now they mourn in shock at his unexpected death. But it serves as a reminder that, despite human plans, it’s God who establishes our steps.
THE DECLINE IN ENERGY-RELATED U.S. carbon dioxide emissions during 2019. The drop was mainly the result of less use of coal for electricity generation. The U.S. Energy Information Administration forecasts that emissions will fall 2 percent in 2020 and 1.5 percent in 2021. With the exception of 2018, when a cold winter prompted more energy consumption, American carbon dioxide emissions have fallen consistently since a small increase recorded in 2014.

DISPATCHES By the Numbers

12.9M
The number of barrels of oil the United States produced per day in January. The number has risen—largely due to fracking—from 3.8 million per day in September 2005.

114.8M
The amount of cubic feet per day of natural gas withdrawals in the United States in October 2019, a record high.

89,000
The number of net exports per day of barrels of petroleum in September. Ten years ago, the United States had net imports of 10 million barrels of petroleum per day.

18%
The U.S. share of global oil production. This makes the United States the world’s top oil producer ahead of Saudi Arabia, Russia, Canada, and China.

2.1%
THE DECLINE IN ENERGY-RELATED U.S. carbon dioxide emissions during 2019. The drop was mainly the result of less use of coal for electricity generation. The U.S. Energy Information Administration forecasts that emissions will fall 2 percent in 2020 and 1.5 percent in 2021. With the exception of 2018, when a cold winter prompted more energy consumption, American carbon dioxide emissions have fallen consistently since a small increase recorded in 2014.
THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION on Jan. 23 published new visa rules to restrict pregnant women traveling to the United States to give birth so their children would gain U.S. citizenship. The State Department “does not believe that visiting the United States for the primary purpose of obtaining U.S. citizenship for a child, by giving birth in the United States—an activity commonly referred to as ‘birth tourism’—is a legitimate activity for pleasure or of a recreational nature,” according to the new rules. Consular officers will deny tourist visas if they determine a woman is coming to the country primarily to give birth. Women can still travel to the United States to give birth for medical reasons but must prove they can pay for any expenses.

ANNOUNCED

White House: No more birth tourism to the United States

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DISPATCHES

Human Race

PROPOSED

UTAH GOV. GARY HERBERT, a Republican, called on state regulators to make a rule against so-called conversion therapy for minors after a legislative proposal failed. Officials confirmed that they finalized the rule on Jan. 21, making Utah the 19th state to prohibit therapy aimed at changing minors’ sexual orientation, even if they ask for it. Mormon leaders opposed the proposed legislation because it didn’t include certain exceptions for clergy, so the state worked out new compromises in the regulation version. The rule won the support of Mormon leadership with assurances that religious leaders and LDS therapists could still provide spiritual counseling for members.

DIED

JIM LEHRER, longtime host of the PBS NewsHour, died on Jan. 23 at age 85. In addition to anchoring NewsHour, Lehrer moderated 12 presidential debates, including all of the debates in 1996 and 2000. After service in the U.S. Marine Corps, Lehrer worked 11 years at The Dallas Morning News and other newspapers before making the jump to television. “Jim reported the news with a clear sense of purpose and integrity—even as the world of media changed around him,” NewsHour journalist Anne Azzi Davenport wrote.

WARNING

RESIDENTS OF SOUTH Florida received an unusual warning from the National Weather Service in Miami on Jan. 21: “This isn’t something we usually forecast, but don’t be surprised if you see iguanas falling from the trees tonight as lows drop into the 30s and 40s. Brrr!” Low temperatures stun the lizards, causing them to fall from the trees, but they won’t necessarily die. Many of them woke up as temperatures rose the next day. Male iguanas can weigh nearly 20 pounds.

EVERY YEAR, HUNDREDS OF PREGNANT RUSSIAN WOMEN TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES TO GIVE BIRTH SO THAT THEIR CHILDREN CAN ACQUIRE ALL THE PRIVILEGES OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

IULIA STASHEVSKA/AP
“Nobody knows. This is impossible to predict.”
Democratic presidential candidate Bernie Sanders when asked by CBS News correspondent Norah O’Donnell about the costs of his healthcare and education plans, which some analysts estimate will run $60 trillion over 10 years.

“I know that the world hasn’t learned from our experience. It’s forgetting.”
Renee Salt, a 90-year-old Auschwitz survivor, on the persistent acts of terror and violence still targeting minorities, including Jews. She made the comment during the 75th anniversary of the Red Army’s liberation of the concentration camp. (For more on anti-Semitism, see p. 38.)

“The days of Noah’s Ark in the air are hopefully coming to an end.”
Sara Nelson, president of the Association of Flight Attendants, on a proposed rule by the U.S. Department of Transportation to allow only specially trained service animals—rather than passenger-certified “emotional support animals”—to accompany airline passengers free of charge. Southwest Airlines handles more than 190,000 emotional support animals per year. American Airlines carried 155,790 emotional support animals in 2017.

“That’s a trick question.”
Unidentified woman, on camera, at the 2020 Women’s March in Washington, D.C., when the Colson Center’s Joseph Backholm asked, “How would you define what a woman is?” One marcher said, “I think it’s a choice.” Another said, “We’re selling uterus pins, but that doesn’t mean that if you have a uterus, you’re a woman, or if you don’t have one, you’re not a woman.”

“Oh, my precious.”
U.S. Sen. Pat Leahy, D-Vt., doing his best Gollum impression while stroking his phone on Jan. 21, during the first break in the impeachment trial against President Donald Trump. During the trial, senators were not allowed to have any electronic devices.
LATE-NIGHT LOCK-IN It could have been the longest workout of his life. Utah resident Dan Hill said he was surprised when workers at a 24 Hour Fitness gym locked the doors at midnight on Jan. 11. “I am literally locked inside 24 Hour Fitness right now,” Hill posted on his Facebook page. “They closed the doors and went home while I was swimming my laps in the pool. Doesn’t the name suggest that they stay open 24 hours?” Apparently not. According to a statement by the fitness chain, some locations close between midnight and 4 a.m. Hill told KTVX he called his wife—who told him to take a nap. He also phoned police, and officers arrived more than an hour later to unlock the facility.

BREAKING AND ENTERING AND SLEEPING Police in suburban Atlanta are looking for a burglar so bold as to take a nap during a break-in. Surveillance footage from a Gwinnett County, Ga., Taco Bell from just after midnight on Christmas morning showed a man breaking into the restaurant, using fryers to make a meal, and then eating it. The footage later shows the burglar taking a nap on the floor for three hours before stealing a laptop and tablet device and departing. Based on his familiarity with the

SCARING THE CROWS A small group of Rochester, Minn., municipal employees have been tasked with stopping an invasion. Armed with lasers, starter pistols, and bird calls, the Crow Patrol stands between a massive flock of crows and downtown Rochester. By December, the patrol had pinned the flock in the treetops of Oakwood Cemetery just north of downtown. In winters past, crows have flocked to Rochester and slicked her streets with their waste. With a $40,000 price tag every year, the city sends employees to gather tools and head out at dusk nightly to train the birds to stay out of downtown by annoying them with alarms and lasers. “All together it’s just funny,” said local filmmaker Tyler Aug, who is making a documentary about the birds. “It’s all about curb appeal.”
kitchen equipment, police believe the burglar was a former employee.

4 **DRINK ON DELIVERY** Cut off from civilization by devastating brush fires, Mallacoota, Australia, received a cache of relief supplies on Jan. 9. HMAS *Choules* delivered food and water to the besieged community—and also nearly 800 gallons of beer. Melbourne-based Carlton & United Breweries organized the beer run after reports that the pub in the community of 1,000 was running low on suds. “After what Mallacoota residents and firefighters have been through the least we would do is make sure they could enjoy a beer,” CEO Peter Filipovic told CNN.

5 **EARLY DISCOVERY** Three days into a summer internship with NASA, 17-year-old Wolf Cukier did what many NASA scientists spend a career trying to do: He found a new planet. The Scarsdale, NY, student discovered the planet—which orbits two stars—last summer, during his internship at NASA’s Goddard Space Flight Center in Greenbelt, Md. Cukier had been tasked with looking over images collected from the agency’s Transiting Exoplanet Survey Satellite. NASA announced the discovery on Jan. 6.

6 **SURVIVAL OF THE STUDIOUS** A pair of 16-year-old students had a pretty good excuse when they returned to school without their homework. In order to survive, the boys burned it. The pair became lost while snowboarding at the Whitewater Ski Resort in Nelson, British Columbia, on Jan. 5. Worsening weather forced rescuers to call off the search until the next morning. According to a Royal Canadian Mounted Police spokesman, the boys survived the frigid night by making a shelter and sparking a fire by using as kindling the homework one teen brought in his backpack. Rescuers discovered the teens on Jan. 6 without injury.

7 **A SLIMY SITUATION** Officials in the Welsh town of Wrexham have found the culprits who broke into a control panel and sabotaged a set of traffic lights. City officials, while investigating why the lights at a pedestrian crossing had failed, discovered evidence that slugs had oozed their way into the control panel and shorted out the electrical power supply in December. Without a ready spare part, Wrexham councilor Marc Jones said, the repairs could only be completed after delivery of a new part. In 2016, mollusks broke another set of traffic signals near Manchester, U.K.

8 **A CRY FOR HELP?** On Dec. 29, officers responded to a Lake Worth Beach, Fla., home after a neighbor said she heard a woman screaming, “Help, help, let me out.” When four Palm Beach County Sheriff’s deputies approached the homeowner, he said, “I’ll bring the screamer out to you.” After a few seconds, the man returned with his 40-year-old green parrot named Rambo who seemed the officers. “We all had a good laugh,” the owner says. He also introduced Rambo to the neighbor: “She too had a good laugh.”
The post’s headline read, “Polyamory Is Growing—And We Need To Get Serious About It.” I clicked, expecting a serious breakdown of a serious issue that everyone should consider seriously.

Surprise! What the writer believes we all need to get serious about is overcoming our biases against polyamory because, well, it’s growing. The source was no left-wing fringe blog but a respected online libertarian publication. The writer is a university psychology professor but also, as it turns out, a cheerleader for all forms of open marriage, consensual nonmonogamy, and other preferential arrangements he lumps under the heading of “poly.” In the article he tips his hand, identifying himself as a partner in an open relationship: “and we’re getting married.” He did not reveal how many individuals that includes.

I appreciate full disclosure, but his advocacy threw some doubt on the stats he cited—that 4 percent to 5 percent of all adults are currently in consensually nonmonogamous relationships, for example. Or that almost 30 percent of adults under 44 see no problem with them. Maybe, maybe not.

But the writer’s breezy disregard of marital norms is anything but serious: While granting that monogamy has the most successful track record of any social institution, we must keep up with the times. Science, Social Security, and changing gender roles have relaxed some of the old necessities, like producing children to support our old age. Shifting norms have washed out the stigma of nontraditional domestic arrangements. Poly marriages provide more interest and variety to a relationship, plus incentives to stay attractive to multiple partners, plus opportunities to build character, like learning to control natural jealousy.

Judging by the comments, no one was convinced. They questioned the professor’s stats and his casual dismissal of the unique problems polyamory would present to child-rearing. And is jealousy of a rival partner a character flaw, or a hard-wired accessory to any stable marriage? To my mind, though, the most devastating critique from the comments was this: “You can have some space for deviance but you can’t make deviance the norm.”

Picture a triangle. Any structural engineer will tell you there is no more stable figure. Bridges, roads, and skyscrapers would not exist without a sound underpinning of countless triangles. Picture a family: A man and woman become husband and wife, and in the normal course of events they produce and nurture one child, or two, or eight. Father, mother, and offspring make a triad, on which the children go on to make further triads, generation after generation, row upon row. This firm foundation builds a civilization.

Many of those relationships falter and many break, to the detriment of the children. Many are less than blissful, and some are downright miserable. But if enough triangles are sound, society as a whole will keep building on top of them. A free society can even tolerate a certain number of squares or parallelograms or trapezoids, as long as there are enough triangles to maintain its structural integrity. It may look like a mess, but it won’t fall down.

I suspect there’s a deeper reason for the triadic structure of marriage, beyond providing a functional means to populate the earth. As Augustine observed, triadic structures form the foundation of the universe, built upon the creative dynamic of Father, Son, and Spirit. Peer into any corner of the natural world and you’re likely to find two distinctives held in tension by some sort of indispensable relationship: particle and wave, brain and mind, one and many. Reality can break down into smaller pieces, but the bond of three is irreducible.

Attempts to get creative with relationships are really about individual preference. Decide what you want, and what fulfills you, and any arrangement will hold as long as all participants feel the same. But individuals can’t hold society up; that’s a deviation. And you can’t make deviance the norm.
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HELPFUL TOOLS?

By What Standard examines controversial social theories and the Southern Baptist Convention

by Megan Basham

RE CRITICAL RACE THEORY AND INTERSECTIONALITY (CRT/I) the kind of “hollow and deceptive philosophy, which depends on human tradition,” that Colossians 2:8 warns us about? Or are they useful secular tools by which we can explain Biblical principles, akin to Paul quoting pagan teachers to reason with the Epicureans?

That’s the question at the heart of a fraught debate within the largest Protestant denomination in the United States. It’s also the subject of a new documentary from Founders Ministries, By What Standard.
The film begins with the vote on a controversial resolution at the 2019 annual meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC). Resolution 9 passed, so the SBC adopted CRT/I as “analytical tools [that] can aid in evaluating a variety of human experiences.”

In the first moments of By What Standard, we see pastor and president of the doctrinally conservative Founders Ministries, Tom Ascol, slump in defeat outside the convention hall. “What happened?” the cameraman asks. “I’ll tell you what happened,” Ascol sighs. “We’ve been played, that’s what happened.”

From there, the film fills in context for what critical race theory and intersectionality are, arguing all Christians should mourn their introduction into the Southern Baptist toolbox.

Ascol told me he and his team originally intended to produce an update and response to the well-known 1997 PBS documentary Battle for the Minds, about feminism in the SBC. But in their last half-hour of shooting, Resolution 9 came to the floor. It ironically illustrated Founders’ thesis that forces within the Church are using legitimate dialogue about racial division and sexual abuse to move it in a liberal direction, undermining its work and witness.

As the film successfully demonstrates, CRT/I touches on the most hotly contested topics in our culture, including white privilege, LGBT identity, and feminism. Their adoption by a denomination so traditionally minded as the SBC proves all Christians need to grapple with how the Bible expects us to respond.

Despite persuasive interviews with theologians and academics, less time hearing opinions and more time investigating what happened behind the scenes with Resolution 9 would better serve the film’s audience. How did a resolution that went into committee with language condemning the use of CRT/I come out tacitly endorsing them as a lens through which to view sin?

Tracking that development would likely have given greater insight into the methods and motives of those that Founders wants to warn other believers about.

By What Standard is most effective when it allows those arguing for more liberal doctrine to speak for themselves, as when Beth Moore links long-established beliefs about women preaching to sexual abuse within the SBC.

It seems a pretty far bridge to argue that believing the pulpit is reserved for men—a position endorsed by countless pastors and theologians never embroiled in an abuse scandal—is responsible for abuse. So when the film cuts to Al Mohler pointing out that having plenty of women in powerful positions didn’t prevent abuse in Hollywood or in the media, a pithy line, not a lecture, makes his point.

Even those who aren’t inclined to agree with Founders Ministries—and judging from the uproar that ensued after a controversial trailer ran last July, that’s plenty of people—can benefit from viewing By What Standard. Because, as the American church at large will likely soon discover, this is only the beginning of the conversation.
THE TURNING IS A DEAD END

Somewhat scary movie goes nowhere fast

by Bob Brown

SOMEbody HAD to KNOW WHAT WAS GOING ON. It wasn’t poor Kate (played by Mackenzie Davis), the nanny in the new film The Turning taking care of two children on an expansive estate haunted by mysterious apparitions.

It wasn’t this reviewer, either, confounded by the film’s abrupt ending. One assumes that “somebody” was Hollywood veteran Steven Spielberg, the film’s executive producer.

He oversaw an update of The Turn of the Screw, an 1898 novella by Henry James, to a 1990s setting. But there’s no updating of thriller tricks: Doors creak, mannequins twitch, and ghoulish faces fog mirrors. Been there, jumped at that. (The Turning is rated PG-13 for terror, violence, brief strong language, and suggestive content.)

If nothing else, kudos to Kate, who perseveres at a new job most people would resign after the first night’s weird whispers. But she promised the children she’d stay, so she tiptoes down dark halls and peeks into unexplored rooms searching for answers. The sweet little girl and unruly teen boy in Kate’s charge say little about the previous nanny’s sudden departure and the riding instructor’s death. Creepy housekeeper Mrs. Grose (Barbara Marten) isn’t an ideal workplace colleague, either.

Stylishly shot, passably scary, but ultimately unsatisfying: Everybody knows a thriller should wrap up like a whodunit, with the source of the mystery revealed, or give viewers a puzzle to ponder. A film called The Turning should have at least one good twist.

CELEBRITIES LOVE the independent film Parasite despite its less-than-flattering portrayal of the rich. Actors like Leonardo DiCaprio and Laura Dern and directors like Jay Roach and Rian Johnson have shown up at awards season parties to meet Bong Joon-ho, the movie’s South Korean director.

Bong’s latest Korean-language film (rated R for language, themes, violence, and one sex scene) tells of the collision of two families, one effortlessly affluent and the other exhausted and poor. It opens on a Dickensian note with the young adult Kim Ki-woo going to work as a tutor for the wealthy Park family.

But unlike in a Charles Dickens novel, poverty does not make one a saint in Parasite, nor do riches make one a sinner. Many reviewers have described Parasite as a story of class struggles, but the movie goes deeper than the conflict between “haves” and “have-nots.”

In a pivotal scene, the impoverished Kim family lounges in the living room of their employers, the wealthy Parks, who are on vacation. While sipping their bosses’ expensive liquor, Mr. Kim sizes up Mrs. Park, saying, “She’s rich but still nice.”

“Not ‘rich but still nice,’” his wife responds. “Nice because she’s rich, you know? … If I had all this money, I’d be nice too!”

The rest of the movie dives deeper into the question of how much one’s circumstances define one’s character and vice versa. Each character in Parasite shares the flaw of being unable to see the inherent value in others. Their relationships fall apart as soon as one person stops being useful to the other one.

Maybe that is why the movie’s indictment of selfishness and greed sails over the heads of some celebrities. The transactional culture of Parasite is so familiar to them that they don’t view it with a critical eye.

But the conflict in the movie is more than just a cute game of cat and mouse. Parasite shows the horror that can happen when people stop treating each other like people and start treating each other like things.

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But the conflict in the movie is more than just a cute game of cat and mouse. Parasite shows the horror that can happen when people stop treating each other like people and start treating each other like things.
NEVER THOUGHT I’D have much reason to review a preschool cartoon, but that was before I found my husband and our 5-year-old daughter parked in front of the TV, giggling away at a little blue dog.

“Sit down,” my husband said as he wiped laughter tears from his eyes, “You’ve got to see this.” Thus, I met Disney’s newest international star, Bluey.

The series debuted in Australia in 2018 and immediately became the most popular children’s show in the country’s history. The BBC soon started airing it in the U.K. to similar acclaim, prompting Disney to get in on the action. The show premiered stateside on Disney Jr. in October and hit Disney Plus on Jan. 22. To that this American mum says, “Good on ya, mate.”

That’s because the little blue heeler puppy and her lovable family manage to incorporate modern realities while still respecting traditional family structure. As one Aussie TV personality pointed out, nothing “woke” is smuggled into the show.

Given that parents are, or largely should be, the center of a preschoofer’s world, it’s strange how few popular children’s shows include them. Bluey creator Joseph Brumm especially wanted to address that with depictions of family life that feel realistic. In an interview with an Australian newspaper, he noted that it was important to him to explore the way kids really learn about life. As such, each seven- to eight-minute episode shows 6-year-old Bluey and her 4-year-old sister, Bingo, engaging more with their parents and each other than the wider world.

This focus on realism is why, though the show is comical, it’s truly enjoyable for adults as well.

While never inappropriate, Bluey’s mom and dad are flirtatious with one another, and the show goes to great lengths to highlight how much children benefit from seeing parental affection. Even when the neighborhood children play, the girls see the value in pretending to be “moms and dads” with boys who demonstrate a protective streak.

Valuing what men uniquely offer pervades the series. Rather than the lazy, dimwit stereotype common to cartoons, Bandit Heeler is a model dad. An archaeologist who often works from home, he takes on the care of Bluey and Bingo when Chilli is at her part-time job. While that’s definitely a different model from Leave It to Beaver, his parenting style is distinctly fatherly, meaning more rambunctious and hands-off.

That said, it might be a good time to mention the one thing about Bluey that could give some parents pause—Bandit’s occasional, let’s say, gaseous jokes. Now, as I’m married to a man given to similar comedy stylings, the Basham family finds that element pretty authentic too. However, if you prefer your kids not be exposed to the whoopee cushion brand of humor, Bluey might be a little too real for you.
LONG TIME COMING  Director Todd Robinson had the idea for The Last Full Measure more than 20 years ago. He and producer Sidney Sherman wrote a script, raised funding, and began production in 2017.

FINDING HOPE IN THE PAST

The Last Full Measure honors a fallen hero of the Vietnam War

By Collin Garbarino

A new film about the Vietnam War reminds us that even though we can’t change the past, sometimes it can change us.

The Last Full Measure is based on the true story of William H. Pitsenbarger, an Air Force pararescueman in the Vietnam War who died saving soldiers he didn’t know during Operation Abilene, one of the war’s bloodiest engagements. The soldiers he saved spent 30 years asking the government to award Pitsenbarger the Medal of Honor—the highest U.S. military decoration. The veterans believed Pitsenbarger had been denied the Medal of Honor out of either bureaucratic incompetence or snobbery, since Pitsenbarger was an enlisted man and not an officer.

Sebastian Stan, most famous for playing Bucky Barnes/the Winter Soldier in the Avengers franchise, plays Scott Huffman, an ambitious and somewhat unlikable Pentagon staffer whose boss tasks him with reviewing the Pitsenbarger file to placate the insistent vets. Huffman feels the job is beneath him but reluctantly begins putting the review together. The movie proceeds through a series of interviews with the veterans paired with flashbacks to the action in Vietnam.

A couple of scenes in The Last Full Measure feel contrived, but the movie features an all-star cast of actors from Hollywood’s yesteryear. Christopher Plummer, William Hurt, and Samuel L. Jackson give particularly moving performances as men Pitsenbarger touched in various ways. I wept openly more than once during the film.

The Last Full Measure is rated R for war violence and repeated bad language, and some of the brokenness the war’s survivors experience is hard to watch. But there’s a story of redemption to be found in the ugliness of war and politics. The film reminds us “justice delayed is justice denied,” and we see that acknowledging the valor and virtue of the past can change the hearts and lives of those living in the present.

Christians will even catch glimpses of Christ in the story of Pitsenbarger, a man who sacrificed himself to save others.

More and more, Americans look back on our country’s past with shame and judgment. But The Last Full Measure reminds viewers that in the midst of this world’s evil, goodness still shines from time to time. When it does, we should do our best to acknowledge it and provide hope for others.
The Scottsboro Boys, nine African Americans ages 13 to 20, suffered a miscarriage of justice when they were accused in 1931 of raping two white women on a train. The bad news is that they received death sentences. The good news is that the U.S. Supreme Court heard their appeals, which led to charges being dropped for four of them, and none of the other five was executed. The sad news is that those five languished in prison, some until 1946. That story is known, but what’s less known is how the U.S. Communist Party turned the prisoners into mascots in an attempt to build African American support. Soviet Communists found the case a useful way to turn attention from their intentional starvation of at least 4 million Ukrainians. Meredith Roman’s Opposing Jim Crow: African Americans and the Soviet Indictment of U.S. Racism, 1928-1937 (University of Nebraska, 2012) shows how Soviets hyped American racism to make those they were turning into serfs feel that others had it worse. Roman’s thorough research shows Communist Party propagandists proclaiming, “Throughout the whole of the Soviet Union, from Leningrad to Vladivostok, from Minsk to Tiflis, the mighty voices of millions thunder ‘Freedom for the Scottsboro Prisoners.’” Captive journalists made up statistics about protest meetings in Ukraine: “How could its inhabitants be starving and discontented … when they supposedly donated more funds, labor, and resources than their fellow citizens to the project of building socialism and to improving the welfare of the Scottsboro prisoners and their relatives?”
New or recent novels from Christian publishers

by Sandy Barwick

Collision of Lies by Tom Threadgill: A busload of schoolchildren collides with a freight train, leaving no survivors. Three years later—long after the investigation is closed—the mother of one of those children receives a text that reads, “Help me, Mom.” Is her son still alive? Where has he been? Most everyone discounts the message as a prank except for spunky San Antonio detective Amara Alvarez. She’s compelled to unravel the mystery no matter how far she has to go to find the truth. The plot flows at breathtaking speed as the clues become more bizarre.

A Long Time Comin’ by Robin W. Pearson: Beatrice Agnew, aka Granny B, raised seven children on her own. Although she’s endured plenty of hardships, including a recent leukemia diagnosis, she allows no time for complaining or regrets. But when granddaughter Evelyn—who inherited Granny B’s stubborn tendencies—shows up on her doorstep with her own issues, they challenge each other to face the past and future head-on. This debut novel features the complex dynamics of a large, Southern, God-fearing family. Each character—from ex-con Little Ed to pious Ruthena—strives for joy in this life while anticipating eternal reward in the next.

An Uncommon Woman by Laura Frantz: In 18th-century western Virginia, Tessa Swan’s fear of Indians is justified. Her father had been killed by Indians and her best friend, Keturah, taken captive by them when they were children. Many years later, Commander Clay Tygart returns Tessa’s best friend after a prisoner swap. Clay’s duties leave no time for romantic entanglements, despite his attraction to the lovely Tessa. He’s determined to ignore her charm until she’s taken by a band of Lenape Indians. Then he’s forced to admit his feelings and vows to rescue her.

Collateral Damage by Lynette Eason: Military psychologist Brooke Adams survives a bomb blast in an Afghanistan café. When a dying soldier in the café gives her a bracelet, she becomes the unwitting target of an unseen foe. Back in the United States and working in private practice, Brooke’s newest client is former Special Ops Sgt. Asher James. When he arrives at her office, he finds a dead body—but not Brooke. From there, it’s a race to find out who’s out to get Brooke and why. Book 1 in the Danger Never Sleeps series, this romantic suspense novel largely focuses on PTSD.

Afterword

Tessa Afshar once again brings the New Testament to life. In Daughter of Rome (Tyndale, 2020) she features Priscilla and Aquila, first-century Christians mentioned several times in the Bible—mostly in Acts. Afshar creates a fascinating backstory to their courtship and includes their friendship with the Apostle Paul, incorporating a spirited scene when they risk their lives for him (see Romans 16:3-4). Priscilla and Aquila grapple with feelings to which modern Christians can relate: guilt, shame, insecurity, doubt, and unforgiveness.
Faith-building books

Five books from Christian publishers
by Kristin Chapman

Foundations by Ruth Chou Simons and Troy Simons: Ruth and Troy Simons write passionately in Foundations (which releases March 3) about the importance of cultivating family worship in the home: “Everything we desire for our families...begins with heeding the instruction given to the Israelites in Deuteronomy 6 to remember and declare the faithful works of God.” With Ruth’s nature-inspired watercolor artwork as the backdrop, Ruth and Troy lead readers through 12 Biblical foundations that they say anchor their family. Each foundation has five short devotionals with discussion questions and a suggested memory verse. This lovely book will inspire families to ponder more deeply what foundations are guiding their homes. (Ages 8 and up)

Jesus and the Lions’ Den by Alison Mitchell: Mitchell opens her latest Tales That Tell the Truth picture book by explaining to children that when we look carefully we can find Jesus moments in Old Testament Bible stories like Daniel in the lions’ den. To help children spot the moments when Daniel “is a little bit like Jesus,” artist Catalina Echeverri incorporates four special lion faces in her illustrations. After telling Daniel’s story, Mitchell then goes back through the plot to identify and explain the significance of the moments when Daniel prefigures Jesus. The endpapers suggest additional Old Testament stories families can read to learn about other Bible figures who point to Jesus. (Ages 4-8)

Far From Home by Sarah Parker Rubio: A young boy’s parents awaken him in the night and tell him they must flee their home immediately. On the long journey the boy complains until a woman tells him a story about another refugee boy, Jesus, who fled with his parents to Egypt. Rubio’s story sensitively handles the plight of modern-day refugee children, showing how hope and comfort can spring even out of deep loss. Two disappointments: The illustrations portray Jesus as older than a toddler when he flees to Egypt, and the text tells how Jesus would grow up to help, heal, and feed people but overlooks his ultimate sacrifice on the cross. (Ages 4-8)

Epic Devotions by Aaron Armstrong: This graphic-novel-inspired book offers devotions for 52 Weeks in the Story That Changed the World. The devotional builds upon the Bible storybook Epic and chronologically goes through key Bible stories to show how the whole of God’s Word points us to Jesus and God’s rescue plan. Each entry gives a key Scripture verse, a suggested Scripture reading, thoughts and questions for discussion, action steps to apply the lesson, and a memory verse. The devotional, which families can use together or children can read individually, features bright, appealing illustrations by Heath McPherson. (Ages 8-14)

In Jesus and the Very Big Surprise (The Good Book Company, 2020), singer-songwriter Randall Goodgame uses the parable of the master and servants in Luke 12 to help children understand Jesus’ future return and what they can do to be ready while they wait. The story emphasizes the many ways Jesus has surprised us—from His arrival as a baby born in a stable to His death and resurrection: “Like the master in the story, Jesus surprised everyone by using His power to serve.” Catalina Echeverri returns to illustrate this ninth book in the Tales That Tell the Truth series.

Art Rainer’s The Secret Slide Money Club (B&H, 2019) is a zany, early-reader series that teaches kids the key principles of Biblical financial freedom. The Great Lemonade Stand Stand-off explores wise spending.

Sally Michael’s The World Created, Fallen, Redeemed, and Restored (Truth78, 2019) outlines God’s gospel plan as a framework to help children build a stronger understanding of the Bible’s unified message.

Marc Olson’s The World of the Old Testament (Beaming Books, 2019) looks promising with its offer to help children discover “more about the Bible by exploring the ancient world.” But Olson alludes on pages 6 and 7 that both historical and mythic storytelling are in the Bible: “Many of the stories in the first chapters of Genesis contain mythic elements.” Parents seeking a sound Biblical resource should look elsewhere.
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MICHAEL BARONE, A RESIDENT FELLOW at the American Enterprise Institute, has been an author of the annual Almanac of American Politics ever since its first edition in 1971. When I was a child, I had a teacher who had memorized every word of the Old Testament in Hebrew: Give him the first few words of a verse and he’d be off and running, page after page. Michael’s granular knowledge of American politics is like that: Give him a congressional district and he’ll give you a street-level description of its politics. His new book is titled How America’s Political Parties Change (and How They Don’t). Here are edited excerpts of our conversation.
The parties flipped geographically several decades ago: The Democratic-solid South became the Republican-solid South, and the Northeast became mostly Democratic. Are the parties flipping by class now, with blue-collar voters becoming the GOP base?

These parties have changed their positions on issues for years, but retained a certain basic DNA. The Republican Party has always centered on a core constituency of people who thought of themselves and were thought of by others as typical Americans. The Democratic Party has always been a collation of out-groups, not typical Americans, but who taken together in a diverse country can summon up a majority if they can agree among themselves on platforms and policies.

How did Northern urban bosses and Southern segregationists get along?

The Democrats until Franklin Roosevelt were not for a strong federal government: They were for state autonomy. Different groups could have their way: segregation in the South, saloons in the North. You go back before the Civil War and the Democratic Party is made up of Catholic immigrants in Northern cities and slave owners in the South. What are the leading Democratic voter groups today? Black Americans and gentry liberals, very rich people.

They differ on same-sex marriage.

Gentry liberals favor same-sex marriage almost unanimously. Black voters have been reluctant to back it: We’ve seen that in the nonsupport of black voters for Pete Buttigieg, who is in a same-sex marriage. One of the problems for the Democratic Party is reconciling all those groups.

African Americans were heavily Republican a century ago.

Black Americans stuck with the GOP from the 1860s to the 1930s, when their experiences in the Great Depression made them marginally Democratic. After the debate over the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Barry Goldwater’s vote against it, they become very heavily Democratic and have stayed that way now for more than 50 years.

Can that change?

My observation over time is that identifiable groups tend to regress toward the mean, which means they’re more like the average. Unemployment among black and Hispanic voters is the lowest ever recorded. The gains in income are clustered not at the top of the economic scale, but among people who are down at the bottom.

So the class basis of the parties is changing?

The Democratic Party has picked up support among affluent voters and college graduates. The Republican Party has picked up among nonaffluent voters and non-college graduates. It’s been a gradual process, but it accelerated in 2016. We’ve been hearing for many years from Democratic politicians and some Republicans that “the rich get richer, the poor get poorer.” That happened in the Clinton, Bush, and Obama administrations. It’s not happening during the Trump administration.

No matter what happens, though, elections for president seem to be close. Anything 55 percent and over is a landslide.

The things that attract one group to a party may repel another group from that party. It tends to balance out. If the working-class people in eastern Kentucky, the coal mine area, see affluent people heavily voting Democratic and being concerned about climate change, they may not vote Democratic anymore.

You write about “the out-state.” What’s that?

You can divide America into two countries: major metro areas with 1 million population or more, and outside those areas—what I call the out-state. That’s about a 50-50 division in the country.

How does that help us to think about what to expect from the crucial Midwest in 2020?

The only Midwestern state that will be heavily Democratic is Illinois, because of Chicago. Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa are up for grabs, and the other Midwestern states look safely Republican. So, we’ll see. The problem with really close elections like 2016’s is that it’s easy to predict which states
will be close. It’s hard to predict which candidate will win.

**Did race help Obama in 2008?**

Some Republican voters remember the Republican Party started as an anti-slavery party. Some Democratic voters remember that the industrial labor unions of the Midwest strongly believed in equal rights for black people. The idea of electing the first black president was attractive to many people in the out-state Midwest.

**Honesty was an issue in 2016 …**

“Crooked Hillary,” the email scandal, lying—that was unpopular. Out-state Midwesterners went against the Republican Party during the Watergate crisis. They don’t like dishonesty. While you can attack Donald Trump for making dishonest statements, the honesty issue hurt Hillary Clinton in 2016.

**You’re not a fan of electing presidents by popular vote.**

How would they decide the election if it’s very close? Conduct recounts in 3,141 counties the way we did in 67 Florida counties in 2000? Can they compel recounts or recanvassing under state laws? And, we have slightly different voting qualifications in each of the states.

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**WE NEED DISCUSSION ON WHAT YOU’RE REALLY TALKING ABOUT WHEN YOU SAY FREE COLLEGE, FREE MEDICAL CARE. WHEN THOSE ISSUES GET AIRED WITH SOME THOROUGHNESS AS THEY’RE LIKELY TO IN A PRESIDENTIAL RACE, I THINK PEOPLE WILL SEE SOME OF THE PROBLEMS.**

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The U.S. has certainly resisted socialism. You note that in 1932 we had 25 percent unemployment, yet the two socialist candidates received only 2.5 percent of the vote. Now, with little unemployment and much greater wealth, half of millennials tell pollsters they like socialism. What’s happened?

They’ve had high-school education where the only American history they get is in anti-American volumes. Socialism sounds like free stuff. Candidates say I’ll give you free college, free rent, and free Ben and Jerry’s ice cream, and I’ll wipe away your college debt. The two candidates who have raised the most money in the Democratic Party are Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren, the two leftmost economic candidates. Democratic contributors tend to be white college grads, not necessarily rich, but affluent enough to send $50 or $100 without thinking much about it.

**How do you fight that?**

They will come to see they really don’t want to move to Venezuela. They’ve had their university indoctrination, but I hope events will teach them. We need discussion on what you’re really talking about when you say free college, free medical care. When those issues get aired with some thoroughness as they’re likely to in a presidential race, I think people will see some of the problems.

**You know the joke from the 1930s: The lower class is Democratic, the middle class is Republican, the upper class is Communist.**

Something to that. People who are heirs to a lot of money tend to be way off to the left.

**Last question, from page 11 of your new book.**

You write, “The selection of Abraham Lincoln, together with the penetrating intelligence and sublime prudence of the Founders, provides the strongest evidence for the argument that a divine providence had a hand in shaping this nation.” That’s a great sentence. Do you believe it?

Yeah, well, I was raised to be a capital “A” atheist, and I now describe myself as a small “a” agnostic. Do I believe there was divine providence? No, I don’t, but I think there’s strong evidence contrary to my beliefs.

Amen.
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“I love these pieces... it just glowed... so beautiful!”
— S.S., Salem, OR
Silly ad jingles of the past should inoculate listeners to today’s commercials
by Arsenio Orteza

With the arrival of the Super Bowl, attention turns to that art form known as the advertisement, expensive new examples of which punctuate the contest and often end up generating almost as much comment as the game itself.

Spectators feeling the need for inoculation against the power of these or any other ads should avail themselves of The Jingle Workshop: Midcentury Musical Miniatures 1951-1965 (Modern Harmonic), a two-disc compilation of musical TV and radio commercials (and demos, outtakes, alternate versions, “instrumental beds,” and guide tracks) composed and overseen by the late electronic-music pioneer Raymond Scott.

Over the course of the collection’s 81 minutes, 82 jingles flit past like a golden-age-of-Broadway musical for the short of attention, evoking memories of the cars (Fords, Plymouths, Mercurys, Chryslers), the fun food (Russell’s ice cream, 5th Avenue candy bars, My-T-Fine pudding, Krystal burgers), the status symbols (the Bulova Accutron, RCA Victor televisions and hi-fis), and the vices (Tareyton and Lucky Strike cigarettes; Schlitz, Duquesne, and Hamm’s beer) of yore.

And, whether sung by the already extremely popular Mel Tormé (four tracks) or by Scott’s then-wife, the ebullient Dorothy Collins (19), the through line couldn’t be clearer: Money can too buy happiness.

The problem with such a philosophy is that commodified happiness has a way of becoming addicting. And what starts out as a relatively innocent exercise in simply keeping the wolf as far away from one’s door as possible gradually turns into a kind of wolf itself, and a hungry one at that.

On The Jingle Workshop, this transformation is most apparent in the ads for instant Fels-Naptha laundry detergent (“Do the products you use / leave residues / of hangover dirt?”) and Listerine (“more active ingredients to stop bad breath instantly”), ads that created then preyed upon an unhealthy self-consciousness, making it increasingly difficult for the materialistically inclined to feel at home in their own skin or clothes, and which made the elimination of dirt and germs a worthier use of one’s time than the cultivation of virtue.

Perhaps it’s no coincidence that The Jingle Workshop’s 28-second teaser for Look magazine concludes by alerting listeners to the publication’s “report on the rising tide of nudity in today’s movies.” (Whether the report concludes with a cheer or a jeer the ad doesn’t say.)

What gives The Jingle Workshop its inoculating power is the age of its contents. Like Gulliver looking down at the Lilliputians and finding it impossible to take their vanity seriously, any 21st-century observer wading through these vintage sales pitches will find most of them silly.

And just as Gulliver’s adventures in remote lands opened his eyes to the foolishness of his own society, a few rounds with The Jingle Workshop will be all that most people need to realize that, 60 years from now, the foolishness of today’s commercial propaganda will be every bit as obvious.
much to its having appeared two days before Bowie's death: Speaking ill of the dying is never more impolite than when the dying's death throes or something like them can be discerned in his singing and lyrics. The advantage of this Blackstar is that it places the lyrics and singing on hold, freeing the cellist Maya Beiser and Evan Ziporyn's Ambient Orchestra to liberate Bowie's songs from their original context and thus giving Bowie's many fans a chance to assess the music objectively. What they'll notice, among other mini-revelations, is a sound and vision that enliven the spirit of their hero's "Berlin Trilogy" instrumentals with a palpably rock 'n' roll heart.

Chang Ping: Oriental Wash Painting by China National Symphony Orchestra feat. Tao Lin: On one level, the four concertos comprised in this monumental orchestral work are showcases for the guzheng (a Chinese zither), the erhu (a Chinese violin), the pipa (a Chinese lute), and the zhudi (a Chinese bamboo flute). In each, the orchestra drops out for long stretches, allowing the featured soloist to demonstrate his or her instrument's expressive capacity. But on a more important level, the concertos proceed like a slow-motion Big Bang, one to which listeners can trace the genesis of a new East-meets-West musical language. There's no denying the influence of Rimsky-Korsakov's bumblebee on Yu Hongmei's erhu in The Noble Fragrance. What she and the orchestra achieve on the whole, however, feels more like a butterfly effect.

Stravinsky: Symphony of Psalms (1948 Revision) by San Francisco Symphony, Michael Tilson Thomas: This 20-minute, 30-second album is significant for several reasons. First, it represents the inverse of the heretofore dominant practice of reserving digital-only formats for oversized collections whose hard-copy release would be financially unremunerative. Previously, recordings featuring the Symphony of Psalms would've also included other Stravinsky fare, pushing their lengths to 40 minutes (vinyl) if not 80 (CD) and their prices into double digits. Now, listeners wanting only the Symphony of Psalms can have it for $2.99. Second, any recording that increases the accessibility of this intensely brooding music and, by extension, the three psalms at its core slows the slouching toward Gomorrah. Third, as anyone familiar with Tilson Thomas' conductorial standards might expect, this isn't just any recording.

To the extent that music plays a role in preventing the gates of hell from prevailing against Christ's Church, Sir Stephen Cleobury did yeoman's work. For 37 years, he led the all-male, 30-voice Choir of King's College, Cambridge, and in so doing earned a reputation as a champion of sacred music in general and of Christmas music in particular: To anyone within earshot of the BBC, his annual introduction of a newly commissioned carol during his Christmas Eve service was a holiday tradition.

Cancer claimed Cleobury in November. He was 70 years old. Three days later, King's College Cambridge, the label that he'd established to document and disseminate his choir's achievements, released A Requiem for Stephen: Into a Greater Light, a four-hour, 55-track compilation drawn from Cleobury's last seven years of recording. The material ranges from the familiar (three movements from Fauré's Requiem, two from Mozart's, one from Bach's St. John's Passion) to the not familiar enough (Peter Tranchell's "If Ye Would Hear the Angels Sing," two movements from Benjamin Britten's Saint Nicolas, Poulenc's entire Quatre motets pour le temps de Noël), all of it rendered with reverence, grace, and precision.

Somewhat surprisingly, those qualities are on even greater display in the two pieces devoted solely to Cleobury the organist: Simon Preston's fierce Alleluyas and the third movement of Herbert Howells' Six Pieces for Organ. Together, they suggest that, despite his intimate association with the human voice, Cleobury may actually have brought forth his most powerful "singing" with his hands.
S
OMEDAY THE POSTGRADUATE students will study the protest movements underway in the Middle East the way students a generation ago dissected Africa’s independence movements or South America’s guerrilla warlords.

The streets in Lebanon and Iraq each marked 100 continuous days of protest in January. Lebanon’s prime minister, Saad Hariri, resigned in mid-October, and on day 97 the government named a new head of state and cabinet. Iraq Prime Minister Adil Abdul Mahdi resigned in November, but he has stayed on as caretaker head of state.

Future students will find these uprisings, along with the sporadic marches in Iran, amply documented via Facebook, Twitter, TikTok, and other platforms (on Twitter, you can subscribe to my Middle East list to follow along). They’ll have less to work with in the archives of U.S. news media. Consumed these 100 days with impeachment proceedings, those sites have dedicated few reporting resources to anything that can’t be branded “Trump.”

And that’s precisely what’s most remarkable about the ongoing turmoil: It seems no part of any power broker’s plan. If anything, protesters have continued to denounce ruling parties, and in particular interference from Iran, even as the cost of doing so has mounted.

In each country the protests’ leaders are professionals, technocrats, and working-class men and women—ordinary people untethered to the outside forces, including the United States, that for too long have made the region their battlefield. The protesters include Muslims, Christians, and secularists, people who long ago determined that the Sunni and Shiite clerics calling down jihad and the government officers lining their own pockets did not speak for them.

THE PROTESTERS HAVE taken to the streets, day after day, with banners and songs for weapons. They have persisted through violent counterattacks and mass arrests—and, in Iraq, threat of war.

By the time a U.S. drone strike outside the Baghdad airport killed Iranian Gen. Qassem Soleimani on Jan. 3, more than 500 Iraqi protesters had been killed by state forces. Yet Iraqis took to the street before dawn to celebrate Soleimani’s demise. The next day, organizers defied tension and retaliation threats to stand with their megaphones in Basra and Nasiriyah—cities dominated by Shiite clerics closely linked to Tehran.

Each time the theocrats—Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr in Iraq and Hezbollah leaders in Lebanon—have tried to hijack the protest movement, the organizers have outmaneuvered them.

In Karbala, a majority Shiite city in southern Iraq closely allied with Tehran, the demonstrators climbed the Iranian Consulate’s walls to plant an Iraqi flag on its roof. In Tehran, where 300 protesters have been killed in recent months and the internet gets shut down, the demonstrators persist—even though shouting a slogan against the government is a capital crime.

Lebanon’s protests, notable for their songs, dancing, and poetry readings, continue with a new government the protesters say is captive to the old interests—chiefly, Iranian-backed Hezbollah. They too have turned violent, with more than 400 demonstrators injured in late January clashes.

“Something’s coming undone in the region,” said Lebanese author and journalist Kim Ghattas.

Revolutions are tricky things. Chaos is the last thing this region needs. Yet the months of protests have given rise to new leaders, to robust coordination of marches and strikes among cities, and to a nearly unstoppable will to prevail. Protesters are galvanized by Soleimani’s death, bolstered by their own success, and watchful of others’ mistakes and triumphs.

The four-month protest movement that toppled Sudan’s government (see p. 50) is perhaps the unlikeliest success story of all. Organizers overcame violent crackdowns and a 30-year dictatorship to win seats in a transitional government. Importantly, they seized the moment for compromise, agreeing to govern alongside the same commanders who ordered their tear-gassing.

They are realists who’ve managed to hold on to ideals, foremost a state that’s looking out for the interests of the people. What’s next is far from obvious, but with courage and perseverance the protesters have earned a right to be heard.
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TROUBLING TREND

The rise in American anti-Semitism has varying roots, and many Jews feel afraid in places they haven’t feared before.

BY EMILY BELZ IN YONKERS, N.Y.
JEWISH TOMBSTONES LIE VANDALIZED AT MOUNT CARMEL CEMETERY IN PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MARK MAKELA/GETTY IMAGES
On a Saturday in January,
just north of New York City, members of the Lincoln Park Jewish Center had a prayer
service followed by lunch. They filled paper plates with egg salad, pasta, gefilte
fish, rolls, and fruit, so no one would have to wash dishes on Shabbat, the Sabbath.
Nothing unusual in that for a “modern Orthodox” synagogue whose members try
to observe Jewish law while still participating in American culture.

The congregants celebrated a young girl’s birthday, toasting her with “l’chaims”
and each saying what they loved about her. It was chaotic and fun: People interrupt-
ed each other. One child tried to do the floss dance (a 2016 Instagram sensation)
while another child corrected his form. Someone sang a birthday song in Spanish.
Someone else poured tequila for the toasts. Also nothing unusual for the synagogue.

But one topic of conversation was different: What would they do if an attacker
entered? Ismaila Geraldino, a Dominican Jew, was sitting at a table near the door
and thought to herself that she would be the first in line.

“OK, what do I have to do … go under the table?” she asked.

“You can prepare and prepare, but when it happens, who knows,” replied Sally
Barest, from the Bronx, whose 100-year-old uncle is a Holocaust survivor. The
women said they never expected to feel this kind of fear in New York.

Incidents of anti-Semitism are at historic highs nationally, according to the
Anti-Defamation League, and in New York City last year, police recorded a 21 percent
rise in anti-Semitic hate crimes.

While this congregation does not use electronics on Shabbat, the president, Jack
Schweizer, pulled out a panic button he carries in his pocket to press if anything
happens. A police station sits not too far down the road, which gives a sense of safety,
but Schweizer ruefully notes that the police would still take a few minutes to arrive.
They were planning a drill soon.

Lincoln Park’s rabbi, Levi Welton, a chaplain in the Air Force, added a can of
pepper spray to his keychain and has begun the process to get a pistol permit. After
the machete attacks on a Shabbat dinner in New York City, he propped a large sword
up in the corner of his dining room, which he acknowledges is a little ridiculous. But
if someone drives by his home on Shabbat, his curtains are open, and as Orthodox
Jews his family would clearly be having a Shabbat dinner.

Daniel Delman, who wears glasses and states his age as 11½, recently asked the
rabbi whether he could carry a pocketknife on his way to shul, the synagogue.
Delman reads Jewish news outlets and noticed that a man in New York, spouting
anti-Semitic language, recently tried to enter a yeshiva.
Swastikas drawn on Jewish buildings have escalated to strings of assaults on Orthodox Jews, whose religion is obvious in their clothing and hair. In August in Brooklyn, someone lobbed a brick at a Jewish man’s face, breaking his nose and teeth. Then it got worse: In December two shooters killed a police detective, then two Jews and an employee at a kosher deli in Jersey City, N.J. Two other Jews also suffered injuries.

At the end of December, an assailant rushed into a rabbi’s home in Monsey, N.Y., just north of the city, where Jews were gathered to celebrate Hanukkah. Armed with a machete, he stabbed five and critically injured two—one remains in a coma and may have permanent brain damage. According to court

“Things can really happen, you have to be prepared,” the boy said matter-of-factly. “One of their big targets is kids.”

Delman wears a kippa and is the only Jew on his football team. People treated him differently at first, but “now they know I’m the same, it’s just a different religion.” But the walk to his synagogue is scarier.

“People have screamed anti-Semitic things at me and my dad walking to shul,” he said.

New York City, where the metro area has about 1.7 million Jews, was supposed to be a safe place. Jews first came in 1654. Nearly three centuries later it provided refuge from the Holocaust. Massive paintings by Marc Chagall, a Jew who in 1941 escaped Nazis in France to come to New York, cover the Metropolitan Opera’s lobby.

In this Yonkers congregation are Jews with roots all over the world: a Sri Lankan Jew who traced his heritage to Portuguese Jews ousted by the Portuguese Inquisition, a Yemenite Jew (only a few dozen, if any, remain in Yemen), and an Egyptian Jew. At another table in the back corner sat Chaim Grossman, 89, who has concentration camp numbers tattooed on his arm. He survived Buchenwald and is in a famous photo from the liberation of that camp, as one of the skeletons on a bunk next to Elie Wiesel.

But the American refuge doesn’t feel like a refuge now.
filings, the suspect had anti-Semitic journal entries and references to the Black Hebrew Israelite movement, as did the kosher deli shooters.

Synagogues, yeshivas, and Jewish community centers in the city already have security, and often a police presence outside. But as more crimes happen, they’re beefing up security further. New York officials have taken action: Gov. Andrew Cuomo set aside $45 million in grants for increased security for houses of worship, and the Lincoln Park congregation plans to apply for a grant to improve its entrances and exits. Cuomo and Mayor Bill de Blasio both ordered additional patrols for Orthodox Jewish neighborhoods. After the Monsey stabbing, the mayor and governor joined tens of thousands for a solidarity march in downtown Manhattan.

The crimes against Jews in the United States have many roots. Two white supremacists (including a member of an Orthodox Presbyterian Church) allegedly carried out the deadly attacks in Pittsburgh and Poway, while three African Americans with purported ties to the anti-Semitic Black Hebrew Israelite movement allegedly carried out the Jersey City and Monsey attacks. Jews in New York expressed the feeling that there was equal opportunity bigotry.

The solidarity march encouraged the Jews at the Lincoln Park synagogue, but some also felt it took too long for officials to realize how serious the situation was. On this particular Shabbat in January, after the lunch plates emptied but while the scent of gefilte fish and tequila still lingered, the Lincoln Park congregants discussed the hate against Jews in the United States.

Jack Schweizer, whose parents are Holocaust survivors, pulled out his cellphone: “Maybe it’s this. Because of this, there’s all kinds of stuff out there that is false.”

Rosalyn Avigad, who lives a few blocks from the synagogue, pointed out that anti-Semitism comes from both the political left and the right. She added that “political correctness” prevented anyone discussing perpetrators who weren’t white.

Avigad felt the anxiety closely; one of her sons lives in Pittsburgh, so when the synagogue shooting happened there, she panicked until he called to say he was fine. Her daughter-in-law’s parents live in Poway, Calif., the site of another fatal shooting last year.

Some of the older Jews at Lincoln Park say the city wasn’t a paradise for Jews in the past, but anti-Semitism was more subtle. Schweizer, who grew up in Manhattan’s Inwood, would wear a Yankees baseball cap over his kippa, wanting to hide his Jewishness. But congregants at Lincoln Park said they never expected to feel this afraid in New York.

Josh Turnil is Jewish and grew up in Queens, but now is a Messianic Jew and lives in Paris, where he heads up the local Jews for Jesus office. His family in New York is “freaked out,” he said, because “it’s not something they’re used to in America.” Jews in Paris have already experienced this fear.
Anti-Semitic incidents continue to proliferate in France. In December, someone desecrated more than 100 graves in a Jewish cemetery using swastikas. The same month, a French appeals court decided not to try a man who admitted brutally murdering an Orthodox Jewish woman, because the man had marijuana in his system at the time of the crime that made him “delirious.”

The Jews for Jesus office in Paris is on a list of terror targets, and police have barricaded it. Turnil said workers regularly get threats and hate mail. Some anti-Semites try to justify their bigotry with arguments about Palestine or income inequality, but typically their hatred comes first and they latch on to purported “reasons.” Turnil said the hatred or distrust toward Jews is more pervasive than people will admit.

“There’s a shortcut people want to make,” he said. “They want to make it extremists. It was neo-Nazis, or it was Muslim extremists, or it was psychologically imbalanced. People feel comfortable with that answer because it exculpates them. It makes it all of a sudden not our problem.”

Turnil recalled talking to a friend who works in one of France’s elite police forces. The friend was happy the force finally had a recruit who spoke Hebrew but wasn’t Jewish—because, the friend said, the police couldn’t depend on the loyalty of a Jewish recruit. Jews having dual loyalties is an old anti-Semitic trope. Turnil couldn’t believe that his educated, intelligent friend said that to him.

French politicians and police have been united in speaking out against anti-Semitism. But Turnil said the problem is “of a spiritual nature,” so police and politicians are limited in what they can accomplish. Evangelical church leaders in France have been responsive to the rise in anti-Semitism. They have come to solidarity marches with Jews and invited Jewish leaders to speak to churches. But church leaders have found less traction among the people in the pews.

“Jewish people are not perceived as people who need help,” Turnil said. “But Jewish people do need help ... a lot of that anti-Semitic history comes from Christian civilization. So it’s a unique opportunity for Christians to say, “This is not what Christianity is about.”
A STONE’S THROW FROM HOME

As fleeing Hong Kong protesters arrive in Taiwan, the Taipei government walks a fine line between helping them and placating Beijing

by June Cheng in Taipei, Taiwan

PHOTO BY ANTHONY WALLACE/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES
FRONT-LINE PROTESTER LUCAS YU knew after storming Hong Kong’s Legislative Council building on July 1 that he would need to flee his home of Hong Kong. Police had rounded him up at a previous protest, and he knew they would be hunting down protesters who had broken into and briefly occupied the government building. So, heeding advice shared online, Yu boarded a flight to Taiwan, which protesters view as a haven.

Arriving in Taipei, the 22-year-old college student received help with expenses from nonprofit groups and churches. Most days he had little to do except watch livestreams of protests in Hong Kong and yearn to return home. But after hearing that police had arrested his friends and searched his house, he realized he couldn’t go back. Instead he’s applied to finish college in Taiwan later this year.

Yu (WORLD changed his name for his safety) struggles with feelings of guilt and regret over abandoning his comrades in their fight for freedom. He’s been diagnosed with PTSD, and his weary eyes reveal the heavy weight upon him. “It’s hard to watch the livestreams and see others get hurt instead of you,” Yu said. “It feels too peaceful here. What I experienced and saw in Hong Kong feels like a dream.”

The protests in Hong Kong began in June in opposition to a controversial extradition bill and have resulted in more than 7,000 arrests. Protesters engaged in “riots” could face up to 10 years in prison. An estimated 200 Hong Kongers have come to Taiwan, some for a short-term break from the protests, while others like Yu would likely face jail time if they returned.

Many who had taken part in the protest suffer trauma from intense clashes with riot police. Some say they can’t sleep at night, eyes glued to their smartphones to keep up to date on events back home. C.H. Kong, who helps manage Chi-nan Presbyterian Church’s aid to protesters, recalled one girl who woke up at 2 a.m. claiming she smelled tear gas in the air.

Recently reelected President Tsai Ing-wen (see p. 49) has repeatedly declared the democratic island’s support of the protest movement and welcomed Hong Kong protesters. Yet because Taiwan does not have a refugee law and is not part of the United Nations—so the UN refugee agency, UNHCR, can’t operate there—it can only deal with them on a case-by-case basis. So far, the government has helped 60 protesters temporarily extend their visas, according to the Reuters news service. Taiwan’s precarious political situation makes it difficult for a refugee law to pass, although some believe now is the time as the Taiwanese public strongly supports the protests.

In the government’s absence, a network of groups has sprung up to assist Hong Kong protesters in Taiwan with weekly stipends, housing, medical care, legal aid, counseling, and gatherings with other Hong Kongers. With no end in sight for the 7-month-old protests, others are thinking about long-term opportunities: opening Hong Kong businesses and Cantonese churches and creating a base for the Hong Kong democracy movement in Taiwan.

BEHIND THE HISTORIC red-brick Chi-nan Presbyterian Church, boxes of hardhats, gas masks, and goggles are stacked next to a building under construction. A black flag reads, “Liberate Hong Kong, Revolution
of Our Times.” Kong said supporters had donated $500,000 worth of gear that they ship to Hong Kong to help protesters, along with cards of encouragement.

Kong said the church, led by Pastor Huang Chun-sen, first began collecting gear after holding a prayer meeting for the protests in June. Some of the young people who attended asked if they could send over motorcycle helmets to protect protesters as the clashes were becoming increasingly violent. The church posted a call for donations online and within a week received 800 helmets, Kong said.

As police violence escalated, so did the need for more protective gear: surgical face masks gave way to gas masks, air filters, and safety goggles. Wet wipes were added to help protesters wipe off stinging blue dye sprayed from water cannons. As the weather dropped in the winter, some donated long-sleeve thermal undershirts.

More than 30 protesters escaped to Taiwan after the storming of the Legislative Council, according to Apple Daily, and Chi-nan Church provided some of them with places to stay and help with medical needs. Some knew of the church because it had donated gear, while others heard of the church through other protesters. Since then, the church has helped about 100 Hong Kongers who have come to its doors.

Churches in Hong Kong have also set up a Cantonese-speaking church that meets at Chi-nan’s building. About 20-30 people attend the service, a few of whom were protesters. Around Christmas, Chi-nan held a Christmas lunch for a few dozen Hong Kongers in Taiwan.

“The Bible says you should love your neighbor,” Kong said. “Hong Kong is of course our neighbor, and they are facing persecution, so we should help them.”

The Hong Kong protests have garnered large support from Taiwanese citizens, especially young people who see in Hong Kong a picture of Taiwan’s future should it accept China’s offer of “one country, two systems.” The fear of such a future propelled voters to reelect Tsai in the Jan. 11 presidential elections, as she has strongly rejected China’s advances and supported the protests. In July, after the first protesters began arriving in Taiwan, she said these “friends from Hong Kong will be properly treated, based on humanitarian grounds.”

Yet Taiwan still does not have a refugee law that can provide asylum to Hong Kongers in Taiwan. Instead, protesters enter Taiwan with a 30-day visa that they can extend for up to six months. After that, if they wish to stay in Taiwan, they can enroll in a local university to receive a student visa or find a job to receive a work visa. Those with means can invest $192,000 or set up a business to apply for residency.

A group of Taiwanese lawyers—TW-HK Legal Help—has provided legal aid to about 120 newly arrived Hong Kongers. The group worked with the government to grant protesters greater leeway in missing documents, as some had left in great haste, and to allow protesters to extend their visas without leaving Taiwan.

Chen Yu-fan, spokesperson for the group, says it’s moving to see Hong Kong
Residents send notes and clothing to the protesters in Taiwan. One handwritten note from a 70-year-old man urged the young people to be safe and study. “Don’t worry, we will take care of Hong Kong,” he wrote.

“In order to gain basic rights, they are fighting and sacrificing themselves,” Chen said. “After coming to Taiwan, they want to keep going. It’s Taiwan’s responsibility to help them.”

Still, Taiwan’s ability to help is constrained due to the lack of a refugee law. Article 18 of Taiwan’s Laws and Regulations Regarding Hong Kong and Macao Affairs states, “Necessary assistance shall be provided to Hong Kong or Macao residents whose safety and liberty are immediately threatened for political reasons.” The vague wording makes it unclear if this includes providing asylum to Hong Kongers.

Chen noted that on the plus side, this gives the current administration room to maneuver without touching on sensitive sovereignty issues with China. Yet a more Beijing-friendly government in the future could reinterpret the law, jeopardizing the safety of the Hong Kong exiles. She hopes the government can at least pass an administrative regulation to specify what Article 18 entails.

Yang Sen-hong, chairman of Taiwan Association for China Human Rights (TACHR) and a radio talk show host, believes the plight of Hong Kong protesters could finally push the government to pass a refugee law that would settle refugees in either Taiwan or a third country.

But such a law has many hurdles to overcome. Some fear that passage of the law would bring heavy retribution from Beijing. Refugees by definition are those fleeing to another country. Would accepting refugees from Hong Kong and mainland China thus mean that Taiwan sees itself as a separate entity from China? Others argue that by opening up Taiwan to refugees, Chinese Communist spies could come over as fake refugees.

But Chen says the law wouldn’t have to apply to Hong Kong protesters or Chinese dissidents but could still help them if the government applies the law’s rules and regulations to more vague laws such as Article 18. Yang argues that the screening process would be strict and that spies could already enter through other legal avenues.

Resettled refugees could also provide a needed human resource as Taiwan, with one of the lowest birthrates in the world, faces a shrinking workforce.

As the debate continues, some activists hope to convince Hong Kong activists targeted by Beijing to move to Taiwan and work in opposition to the Chinese regime there.

“I persuade youngsters to start over in Taiwan rather than spend years in jail,” said Andrew To, a longtime Hong Kong democracy activist. He noted that in the earlier days, activists engaging in civil disobedience went to jail to let people see how repressive mainland China was. But today, he argues, the situation has changed: Everyone can see the repression of the government and the injustice of society.

“I would tell them they don’t have to spend a day in jail to be a political prisoner, there’s no use at all,” To said. “You don’t need to awaken the people in Hong Kong. We have all woken up already.”

That’s a plan the exiled protester Yu has taken to heart, although not by choice.

Although he is stuck in Taiwan for the time being, Yu plans to help the movement any way he can, including by working with Taiwanese nongovernmental organizations to help other Hong Kong exiles and tell the world what is happening in Hong Kong. He believes he may be able to do more in Taiwan as a spokesperson even though he wishes he were back home.

“From a macro view, what we are doing is fighting against totalitarian governments,” Yu said. “Hong Kong is a small place. We can’t keep going if we don’t have other people’s support.”
SIGNAL TO CHINA

AT NANMEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN TAIPEI, young and old lined up on Jan. 11 to cast their ballots inside classrooms, with ID cards and personalized chops (or stamps) in hand. Outside in the schoolyard, 62-year-old Chiu Yueh-fang and her two daughters sat on a bench waiting for her husband to finish voting. They voted for incumbent President Tsai Ing-wen because they believed she would protect Taiwan from China’s encroachment.

“We are at a crossroads in terms of Taiwan’s freedom, human rights, and the protection of our country’s sovereignty,” Chiu said.

After polls closed at 4 p.m., it quickly became clear that like Chiu, Taiwanese citizens had turned out in record numbers to reelect Tsai, rejecting Beijing’s overtures to pull Taiwan under its control.

More than 8 million voters—57 percent of the turnout—chose Tsai, who has long been critical of China’s growing authoritarianism. Opposition Kuomintang (KMT) candidate Han Kuo-yu won 38.6 percent, while third-party candidate James Soong Chu-yu won 4.2 percent. Tsai’s Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) also kept control of the legislature.

“With each presidential election, Taiwan is showing the world how much we cherish our democratic way of life,” Tsai said in her victory speech. “We must work to keep our country safe and defend our sovereignty.”

Although Taiwan has a separate government, judiciary, military, and currency from China, Beijing maintains Taiwan is part of its territory and has long threatened force to unify the island with the mainland.

Taiwan’s two main political parties disagree on how it should respond to Beijing’s aggression: The KMT advocates a closer economic relationship with China, and the DPP leans more toward independence.

Though Tsai had been leading in recent polls, a little over a year ago it seemed unlikely she would win. The DPP lost control of major cities in 2018 elections, including longtime stronghold Kaohsiung, where voters elected Han as mayor.

Yet in the past year, Beijing’s hardening approach to Taiwan, as well as the Hong Kong protests, helped Tsai become a champion for Taiwan’s sovereignty and democracy. When Chinese President Xi Jinping gave a New Year’s speech in 2019 insisting that Taiwan would be unified with China through a “one country, two systems” policy like Hong Kong, Tsai rejected the idea.

Tsai’s support for the Hong Kong protests also boosted her appeal. Scenes of young people facing off against well-armed police for a chance to vote have shown Taiwanese, especially the younger generation, what could happen to Taiwan should it accept “one country, two systems.”

Lisa Chen, 28, is studying in New Mexico to be a nutritionist. But she flew back to Taipei to vote for Tsai because of what she saw happening in Hong Kong.

“It helped me understand that I don’t want to be a Chinese citizen,” Chen said. “Like how it is now with our rights and policies. … [Hong Kong] helps us see the reality of what will happen if we give up our identity.” —Angela Lu Fulton
SUDAN’S ERA OF ISLAMIC DICTATORSHIP HAS ENDED, AND THE HARD WORK TOWARD ACHIEVING DEMOCRACY HAS JUST BEGUN

BY MINDY BELZ
THEY SAID IT WAS THE BEST CHRISTMAS IN 30 YEARS.

On Dec. 25 thousands of Sudanese filled the streets of Khartoum, welcoming not only the birth of Christ but also news that they could celebrate it openly.

President Omar al-Bashir outlawed public Christmas celebrations in 2011. Throughout a 30-year dictatorship, his Islamist-led government cracked down on Christian worship, confiscated church property, and jailed, tortured, and killed Christian believers. A civil war waged under Bashir’s command against the predominantly Christian south killed more than 2 million people.

This Christmas, church bells rang in the capital, businesses closed, and Muslims joined Christians in the streets after Sudan’s new leaders declared it a public holiday—a first since Bashir was ousted from power last April.

At St. Matthew’s Cathedral Church, the oldest church in Khartoum, a choir sang traditional African hymns before a sanctuary filled with worshippers of all ages. Many of them packed wooden pews facing the altar while others stood along balcony railings above. Outside, rows of chairs arranged by the entrance seated an overflow crowd.

Amna Azhari, an 18-year-old student at Khartoum University, told a reporter it was her first time to visit a church. She said, “I’m very optimistic and I feel not just the political change but I also feel that we as Sudanese, we are all changing positively.”

The holidays highlighted the seismic political changes for Sudan, the third-largest country in Africa and one of the largest in the Arab world. While other protest movements have risen only to falter, a street movement that began one year ago in Khartoum succeeded in overturning one of Africa’s longest-ruling dictators. A year later, a new transitional government is on the move to undo a restrictive Islamic government and replace it with a potentially secular democracy.

Risks and reversals loom for a ruling council that’s divided between civilians drawn out of the protest movement and military commanders who compose Bashir’s old guard. But for now, progress and cooperation—along with important new steps toward religious freedom—appear like morning gifts waiting under a tree.

“This is the Sudan we dream of,” said the country’s new prime minister, Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, on Christmas Day, “one that respects diversity and enables all Sudanese citizens to practice their faith in a safe and dignified environment.”

That dream seemed but fantasy in December 2018. Soaring bread prices and empty ATMs—signs of an economy in crisis—drew daily protests that widened from Khartoum across the country and lengthened into spring, when the military in April toppled and jailed the 75-year-old Bashir.

In calling for the president’s ouster, protesters did not have in mind a military takeover. They pressed for civilian rule, forcing a standoff that culminated in a military crackdown on June 3, now memorialized as the Khartoum Massacre. That cleared the streets and forced the movement underground, where organizers launched general strikes and continued to demand talks with military leaders, including those who opposed them with force. An estimated 250 protesters died during the uprising.

A massive sit-in on June 30 and international pressure triggered the military’s capitulation. In July both sides signed a power-sharing agreement creating a joint civilian-military Sovereignty Council currently headed by Lt. Gen. Abdel Fattah al-Burhan. Hamdok is the head of government. The agreement
sets a timetable for general elections in 2022, offering the Sudanese people their first hope of democracy. Skeptics fear the continued authority of Bashir’s military commanders, who are linked to the country’s past and its very recent brutalities. In particular, Burhan’s deputy on the council is Gen. Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, known as Hemeti, a former janjaweed leader from Darfur widely implicated in atrocities carried out under Bashir. But, for an Islamic dictatorship dominated by the military since independence from the United Kingdom and Egypt in 1956, the joint government represents a leap forward.

“I would describe myself as mildly optimistic and hopeful about the new civilian government. I think they are people who will try to do the right thing,” said Alberto Fernandez, a career diplomat who served as chargé d’affaires of the U.S. Embassy in Sudan from 2007 to 2009 and now heads the Middle East Broadcasting Networks.

The reason for caution, Fernandez said, “is they don’t have all the power, and it’s the other half who have the guns.” The presence in leadership of armed forces once aligned with Bashir, he said, is a “basic contradiction.”

Prime Minister Hamdok is at the center of change, with only a window of time to demonstrate civilians can lead the country. To do that requires rescuing a collapsing economy, restoring individual freedoms, and quelling hot spots of violent conflict.

The 64-year-old economist was born in one of the country’s current conflict zones, South Kordofan state. He earned his doctorate in Britain and took up posts with the African Development Bank, the International Labor Organization, and the United Nations’ Economic Commission for Africa, where he served as deputy secretary. When Hamdok left that position, a staff-written tribute described him as “a diplomat, a humble man, and a brilliant and disciplined mind.”

Hamdok Cabinet appointments are diverse, and he has handed key responsibilities to Minister of Religious Affairs Nasreddine
Mufreh. A young human rights lawyer who rose through the protest ranks, Mufreh in turn has appointed for the first time Christians to senior positions. That includes the new head of the ministry’s Bureau of Churches, once a hotbed for hardcore Islamists.

Mufreh already has taken steps to address past misdeeds, pledging to return confiscated churches and compensate Christians for destroyed property. During a December visit to Washington, Mufreh told WORLD, “The last government stole everything and it all went to them. Our duty is to get it back. The people know now we have a state looking out for their interests.”

Such statements were unimaginable a decade ago when a peace accord allowed South Sudan, where most Christians were based, to secede and become its own country. “It was expected that all the brakes were off with the Muslim government officials in the north, that they would gradually become more radicalized than they were already,” said John Evans, an American pastor and former faculty member at Kenya’s Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology.

Evans expected the Sudanese pastors he trained would face more and more hostility and threats. “But God’s resurrection power can restrain evil among those most hostile to our faith and even convert them,” he said.

Mufreh emphasizes that Christians have the right to worship freely, and he spearheaded the effort to make Christmas a public holiday. He also has reached out to Sudanese Jews, sending invitations to those forced out of the country “to return to Sudan and participate in its reconstruction.”

Mufreh acknowledged it will take more than pledges to make meaningful change: “So we are not talking about secularism, Islamism, or any religious mission. We talk instead about a civilian state, democratic, with diversity, respecting all the people with freedom, justice, and equality.”

Among its first steps, the council adopted a draft constitution with Sudan no longer defined as an Islamic republic subject to Shariah, or Islamic law. In November it abolished a public order law used to regulate women’s dress and behavior. Mufreh has called for education reforms, which may include ending compulsory teaching of the Quran.

Mufreh’s office also is tackling corruption and Islamic groups with possible ties to terrorism. The government closed Khartoum offices of Iranian-backed Hezbollah, and it has
launched investigations into sham charities, including those laundering money to terror groups.

Islamic Relief Agency (ISRA) is one, an aid front whose U.S. office was closed after it was used to raise funds for al-Qaeda. The group came under scrutiny last year after documents revealed it received U.S. funding in violation of sanctions (see “Checking it twice,” Dec. 13, 2018). ISRA’s website is now defunct, and the group has not posted updates to its Facebook page since September, but government officials were unable to confirm whether it formally had been closed.

“It’s endemic through everything, Bashir using the charities to funnel money, and the sheer number of these charities is overwhelming,” said a movement organizer with ties to the new government, whom WORLD isn’t naming for security reasons.

The law also requires compensation for victims of terrorism—specifically, to families and survivors of the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings in Africa and the 2000 bombing of the USS Cole off the coast of Yemen. The attacks took place while Bashir gave aid and protection to Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda training camps, before bin Laden moved to Afghanistan.

As a first step, the Trump administration in December received a Hamdok-led delegation in Washington and restored diplomatic relations—appointing a U.S. ambassador to Khartoum for the first time in 23 years. It also upgraded Sudan’s standing under the International Religious Freedom Act, where since 1999 it was ranked among the worst violators of freedom.

For the United States, the terror designation provides leverage for continuing and lasting reform, while halting internal conflict remains one of the Sudanese government’s greatest challenges.

In Darfur fighting between Arab and African tribes persists, along with concerns about Hemeti and his entanglements. Hamdok visited Darfur last year, launching formal peace talks. He pledged to return civilians to their homes as he walked through displacement camps where more than 1 million Sudanese still live.

Hamdok also signed an agreement with the UN, opening access for humanitarian aid to all parts of the country. That is bringing to an end decades of “no-go” zones where the Bashir regime attacked and then starved its enemies, most notably in Darfur, the Nuba Mountains, and Blue Nile.

Last month Hamdok made a historic visit to the Nuba Mountains, a predominantly Christian area at the border with South Sudan. The regime for years has besieged Nuba with aerial bombardments and repeated clashes affecting more than half a million people.

Hamdok arrived by plane in the Nuba town of Kauda on Jan. 9 with David Beasley, executive director of the UN’s World Food Program, and a team that included U.S. Special Envoy to Sudan Donald Booth and numerous European diplomats. With blankets spread on the ground near a school and displaced Nuba seated, the UN team distributed cooked meals—a symbolic end to decades of blocked aid.

Receiving the visitors from the north was Abdelaziz al-Hilu, one of the longest-serving commanders in the rebel SPLM army, a veteran of the 30-year civil war against the government. Beasley called the moment “a major international breakthrough, with the prime minister of Sudan and the opposition leader here today coming together.”

Hamdok and Hilu embraced. Hilu said the visit “affirms the seriousness of the transitional government to achieve peace in Sudan.” He noted that cooperation between the country’s new civilian and military leaders is what made it possible, and he told the gathering, “The more we invest and sweat in search of peace, the less we bleed in war.” —with reporting by Harvest Prude in Washington, D.C.
FINDING LIFE IN A LIFE SENTENCE

Serial killer David Berkowitz tries to finish well in a circumstance that drives many to despair

by Emily Belz in Wallkill, N.Y.

photo by Christopher Capozziello/Genesis
ON A DECEMBER MORNING, the Shawangunk Correctional Facility, a maximum security prison in the Hudson Valley, was covered in a crunchy layer of snow. Guards counted heads first thing, which included that of inmate David Berkowitz, once known as the “Son of Sam,” a serial killer who terrorized New York City for months in 1976 and 1977 when the city initiated the largest manhunt in its history.

Berkowitz, 66, is now a little more hunched than when he entered prison, and his head is shaved bald. He feels free of the demons he said drove him to murder and describes himself as a Messianic Jew—a faith he considers the only way he has survived a life sentence that began with despair, suicidal thoughts, and fear of attacks. That despair is common among lifers, as others who have faced similar sentences shared. Though Berkowitz still has crushing days behind bars, he wants to spend his remaining years well.

Steve Nash, a Wesleyan pastor in New Jersey and friend of Berkowitz’s who has visited him for the last 25 years, said the inmates call Berkowitz “pastor,” which he doesn’t like, “but inmates label you one way or the other,” he said with a chuckle.

“There’s a lot of skepticism even from Christians about Berkowitz,” said Nash.
“God chooses people that we would not choose.”

For my interview with Berkowitz, two guards brought me into an empty visiting room, covered in murals painted by another long-term inmate. Entering in a forest-green jumpsuit and carrying a worn copy of the New Testament and some handwritten notes about the Bible, Berkowitz sat down and began nervously when talking about himself. But he quickly relaxed when talking about the Bible. Leaving his New Testament unopened, he called up from memory Mark 5 and Luke 8, which recount the story of the demon-possessed man who lived among the tombs, cutting himself, screaming, and breaking apart his restraining chains.

“He was the Lord coming into this extreme situation and saving this man’s life and delivering him from the demons that had him in such a grip. I love that story,” said Berkowitz. It reminds him of himself. Berkowitz remembered even as a child craving the darkness and spending hours under his bed or tunneled into a closet.

At the end of the Biblical story, the once-demon-possessed man begs to join Jesus. But Jesus tells the man to go back to his community to share what God has done for him, Berkowitz recalled: “What an irony that the man who once terrorized that community is going back there to talk about the redemption and the hope and the goodness of God.... I don’t deserve anything, any goodness from the Lord, but I’m telling you, God has delivered me.”

Young people may not know who David Berkowitz is, but he drew national attention over a year of attacks in New York City. After his capture in 1977, Berkowitz pleaded guilty to six murders and the wounding of seven others. He left one victim a paraplegic and another blind.

His publicity added to the fear around the crimes. At one crime scene he left a note declaring himself “the son of Sam” and Beelzebub. Sam was for Samhain, a Druidic demon he had been praying to as part of a Satanic cult. Berkowitz maintains he was demon-possessed when he committed the crimes. Court psychiatrists diagnosed him with schizophrenia, though he told me he had never been treated.

Another disturbing letter he sent to New York Daily News columnist Jimmy Breslin in the midst of the crimes—stating, “I am still here. Like a spirit roaming the night,” and threatening more murders—resulted in the most paper sales in Daily News history.

Women cut, bleached, or tied back their hair to avoid the look of the string of victims with long, brown hair. New York Mayor Ed Koch attributed his 1977 election victory in part to the “palpable” fear over Berkowitz that spread across the city.

 Judges sentenced Berkowitz to more than 300 years in prison in 1978. At the time of sentencing, a state Supreme Court justice in the case said he would have sent Berkowitz to the electric chair if it had been an option. Another wounded victim at the sentencing said she’d “rather see him dead.”

But the victims faded into the background, while his fame as a criminal continued after he went behind bars. The apartment building where Berkowitz lived during the crimes changed its address from 35 Pine Street to 42 Pine Street to escape the spotlight, but visitors and camera crews kept coming.

As a result of the media frenzy, the New York Legislature passed a “Son of Sam” law preventing criminals from profiting off their stories. Director Spike Lee made a movie about the murders in 1999, and Berkowitz is featured as a character in the latest season of Netflix’s series Mindhunter. In that episode, a detective says to Berkowitz, “A hundred years from now, people will still know the name ‘Son of Sam.’”

Berkowitz doesn’t want to see any of the movies or hear any of the true-crime podcasts; he can hardly bear to talk about the crimes except as a dark time in his life. Berkowitz’s blog, Arise and Shine, has a page for an apology to his victims: “Not a day goes by that I do not think about the suffering I have brought to so many.”

Some of his friends, detectives, and even the Queens district attorney at the time proffered the theory that others (perhaps from the cult he was a member of) helped commit the crimes. But Berkowitz pleaded guilty to all the killings, and he wouldn’t talk about it when I asked.

“If you come from a background where there’s a lot of tragedy, sordid tales, the Lord says to forget those things which are...
behind—not that you need to completely forget—but you don’t have to keep revisiting that,” he said. “Because the Lord has taken all my sins and thrown them into the depths of the sea, as the Scripture says, never to be remembered anymore. So why should I go fishing there and pull those things up?”

Scott Larson, head of Massachusetts prison ministry Straight Ahead, has worked with a number of lifers. He said once a criminal discusses a crime he or she committed, it's hard ever to say the right thing: “It almost trivializes it or glorifies it—anything you say about it is not really remorseful.”

Berkowitz already relives the crimes when he goes to parole hearings every couple of years, which he says he attends only to “apologize and take responsibility.” Do you think about parole? I asked Berkowitz. “All the time,” he said.

He says he doesn’t deserve parole, “but at the same time I’m thinking, ‘Wow, if I was ever granted parole, all the good things I could do out there.’” Outside friends push him to pursue it, thinking of his potential ministry. But he wouldn’t ask anyone to advocate on his behalf at parole hearings, so he is torn. Other friends like Nash insist that he would never accept parole.

Prison minister Larson understands Berkowitz’s contradictory feelings: “Of course you’re going to say, ‘I don’t deserve parole,’ and of course, ‘Wow, what if I got parole.’ It makes sense that they would both be there.”

As decades pass, Berkowitz feels more and more isolated. No one in his family has spoken to him since his arrest. A search of “David Berkowitz” in The New York Times archives yields a litany of obituaries for people connected to the case in the last few years. One of his close friends died last year. Fellow cult members he was close to have also died.

Neysa Moskowitz, the mother of one murder victim, corresponded with Berkowitz and at one point talked about meeting in order to forgive him. But she couldn’t bring herself to do it. She died in 2006, but a close friend said she died forgiving “everyone.” Other victims don’t feel that way. One of Berkowitz’s shooting attacks blinded Robert Violante and killed his girlfriend. In a 2016 interview with the New York Post, he said, “I never got over the anger and bitterness.”

But Berkowitz lives on, surviving an attempt on his life at Attica early in his sentence that left him with a long scar across his neck. He had quadruple bypass surgery two years ago. The state has moved him to different prisons for security reasons, as it does for most long-term inmates. Berkowitz names a few Christians who come to visit him—one comes once a month, the others once or twice a year—but his community appears to be mostly within the prison walls.

Berkowitz didn’t want to talk about the specific heaviness of serving a life sentence, though he said he has “bad days” and is sometimes depressed. Others can attest to the despair that comes with a life sentence. Darryl Woods served almost 30 years of a life sentence for a drug-related murder in Michigan before receiving a commutation from Michigan Gov. Rick Snyder last year (Woods maintains he had no direct involvement in the murder). He began his sentence as a teenager at a prison with a reputation for stabbings and rapes.

“I was afraid at first. ... I couldn’t believe I had found myself in this place,” said Woods. “Prison is a dream killer, and it’s a soul breaker. I watched it destroy and dismantle families. I’ve seen guys kill themselves.”

A year into his sentence, Woods found relief in Christian faith after his grandmother sent him audio tapes of sermons: “It was because of [God’s] mercy that I was not consumed,” he says now. But Christianity doesn’t win you points in prison: Other inmates ridiculed him as “soft” or giving in to a “white man’s religion.”

Larson added: “The culture in prison is who you’re going to align with, and if you align with God, it doesn’t get you a lot, at least in the beginning.”

Inside prison, Woods missed his children’s childhoods and funerals for his mother and grandmother. When we talked, he had just gotten off the phone with a 16-year-old facing a life sentence: “It’s almost like you’re on death row. You’re just waiting to die. If you don’t have that relationship with the Lord, it’s really a life of misery.”
Berkowitz grew up in a Jewish family that practiced Jewish traditions but wasn’t particularly religious. About 10 years into his sentence, a fellow inmate urged him to read the Psalms. Berkowitz resonated with the anguish and depression the ancient David expressed. One night he was reading Psalm 34:6, which he can quote by heart now (“This poor man cried, and the LORD heard him and saved him out of all his troubles”), and Berkowitz began to cry, turning off his cell light so other inmates wouldn’t see him.

“I got down by my bunk, like a little kid in the dark,” he recalls. “I said, ‘Jesus, God, I don’t know who You are, I don’t know if You have any interest in me. I don’t know if You hate me or what, but I just want You to know how sorry I am for the things that I’ve done wrong, how I hurt people, how I hurt my family.’ I just cried and cried.”

Days later he told the inmate who urged him to read the Psalms that he had asked Jesus to forgive him. The inmate, Rick, jumped for joy: “Oh, you don’t understand what that means … take my word for it, your life will never be the same.” Berkowitz shrugged it off, but he started going to chapel. A few months later Rick transferred out of the prison. “I never got to see him again, but Rick was right,” Berkowitz said.

His days at Shawangunk are difficult—having each aspect of life controlled, submitting to invasive searches, being on alert for other inmates with ill motives. But the days are meaningful too. Berkowitz works as a clerk for the prison chaplain, cleaning up the room before worship services or filling out paperwork. He prays for an eclectic group: youths in gangs, Native Americans, and an enclave of persecuted Jews in Tunisia.

He reads Scripture and writes for several hours a day on a special translucent typewriter approved for prisons, which he finds “therapeutic.” On this particular evening he will go out to the yard if he gets the chance, see the snow, trees in the distance, and perhaps some deer.

“No one can go back and fix things,” said Berkowitz. “You can ask for forgiveness and do as much as you can to try to have reconciliation. Sometimes it happens, sometimes it doesn’t. But the Lord wants us going forward with thankful hearts, you know? I feel I have a thankful heart because God has had mercy on me. My situation could be a lot worse.”
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AUSTIN, TEXAS, STYLES ITSELF “the live music capital of the world” and a haven for painters and sculptors as well. So do other aspirational cities that have followed a New Urbanism script: gain an artsy reputation so the talented, young, and beautiful will follow. But what about those left behind yet also made in God’s image, including the blind, the disabled, and the homeless?

We visited three Austin institutions: The 164-year-old Texas School for Art in Unexpected Places.

Music and art programs offer creative outlets to the blind, disabled, and homeless

by Marvin Olasky and World Journalism Institute mid-career students in Austin, Texas
Teacher Jeremy Coleman then grabbed a classical guitar and played softly to complement the student voices. Their faces showed intense focus, with two students rocking gently back and forth. Creating sound without sight demands special training. Sighted persons see how musicians hold and finger instruments, but blind students at first need teachers to position them physically and move their fingers the right way.

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People who were historically perceived as unemployable, non-viable citizens, are today creating visual evidence of the depth and wealth of the creative human spirit.

Would-be pianists do best after they have explored the insides of a piano and felt the strings and the hammers.

But sometimes it’s an advantage to go to school with students who can’t see you. One TSBVI teen, Zaid Garcia, is not only blind but has skin horribly burned after a candle started a fire. Zaid has no nose, eyes, hair, or hands, but as he made his way slowly down the hall, no one recoiled. One student said he’s the most popular student in the school.

Paintings and drawings cover the walls at Imagine Art. The pieces created by more than 80 artists, most with various physical and mental disabilities, range from what proud parents would post on refrigerators to fine works worth gallery display. Monthly shows help the artists sell their creations.

One of the regulars, Larin, is a Hispanic man in his 30s who wore a baseball cap with the bill tilted off his forehead. Larin is blind, deaf, and autistic, but he makes ceramic cars that resemble the old Ford Model Ts. He sat at a table wedging the clay to thump out the bubbles. His instructor, Owen Moon, talks to Larin by tracing letters on his hand, the way Anne Sullivan taught Helen Keller.

In another room a volunteer showed Tasha, who has Down syndrome, how to use a sewing machine. AmeriCorps worker Kat Cunningham said Tasha, who is in her 30s and had never learned to use a ruler, was forming her own micro business. Tasha’s most popular product is a felted bag called the Everything Pocket.

Founder and CEO Debbie Kizer, 52, a former drug addict and now a Christian, envisions Imagine Art as an “integrated community” for both the disabled and nondisabled. She won’t say “students”: Everyone is an “artist.”

The atmosphere in Art From the Streets is calm and relaxed—radically different from life in the streets. One regular, Dennis Milecki, has painted there for three months. Asked how long he’s been an artist, Milecki responded: “Several lifetimes maybe, who knows?” He only draws faces, mostly mugshot-style, since he wants to show people at their lowest point: “They’ve been arrested and don’t know if they’ll ever see the outside

Blue car by Larin (ceramic), courtesy of Imagine Art
of a cell again. Yet, there’s hope in each face. Fortitude. Perseverance.”

Jack Hurd, a 65-year-old veteran who paints vivid watercolors, said he was destitute and addicted five years ago. After doing drugs in Cambodia, Hurd used cocaine and heroin, ruined his family, and moved from city to city as a “bum. … I was the person other people step over to cross the street.” A Veterans Affairs program helped him, and he had a VA administrative job from 1999 to 2009. Hurd remarried, but “I was prideful so I drifted out of the marriage.” Back on crack, he went through a rehab program and started painting, which helps him “stay clean and love other people.”

Kerensa, 40, lives in a tent under a bridge and mourns the loss of her parental rights to a son who’s now 3. She was drawing a self-portrait that displays a bleeding mouth, face and neck sutures, and other wounds. Jerry Hurta, 64, told stories of selling a painting to Lyndon Johnson and smoking marijuana with John Denver. He met his wife at a Bible study run by Church Under the Bridge.

Art From the Streets calls its homeless regulars “artists” and hosts public art shows by which gifted amateurs become professionals: One artist made $1,400 last year.

**AUSTIN IS NOT THE ONLY CITY** where organizations use art and music to help those with distinctive challenges. For at least two centuries music has played a large part in teaching the blind. The 1837 report of the Perkins School for the Blind in Massachusetts noted that pupils devoted four hours daily to intellectual labor, four hours to manual labor, four hours to recreation and eating—and four hours to music. In 2018 *The Journal of Visual Impairment & Blindness* reported on 29 schools with music classes for students with multiple impairments.

Art studios for those with disabilities emerged in the 20th century. For example, since 1973 Gateway Arts studio in Brookline, Mass., has helped young people with cerebral palsy, spinal cord and head injuries, and visual and hearing impairments. Passion Works Studio in Athens, Ohio, reports: “People who were historically perceived as unemployable, non-viable citizens, are today creating visual evidence of the depth and wealth of the creative human spirit.”

The names of many other programs evoke their mission: Art Unbound in New Jersey, Art Enables in Washington, D.C., Claraty Arts in California, Enrichment Center in North Carolina, Paint a Miracle in Michigan, and Pure Vision Arts and Starlight Studio in New York.

Most art programs for the homeless are 21st-century innovations. In the San Francisco Bay area, DrawBridge offers expressive art programs for children in homeless shelters and safe houses. In Oakland, the elderly and homeless learn to sculpt in a “Healing Through Clay” program. Boston-based ArtLifting sells the creations of homeless or disabled artists to corporations and the general public.

In Oklahoma City, Fresh stART provides studio time at a homeless shelter. In Charlotte, the Urban Ministry Center’s ArtWorks 945 provides studio space to homeless individuals with the goal of creating “mutually transformative relationships.” In Illinois, the Winnetka Public Library hosts “Art for the Homeless” exhibitions.

Seriousness of purpose is the common denominator of programs for the blind, the disabled, and the homeless. Jefferson Bright at Art From the Streets said his art routine is key to his two years of sobriety: He comes to “socialize, not hibernate.” Bright recalled turning down a friend’s invitation to a barbecue—that night his friend killed himself. People with particular hardships might fall into dark thoughts, or they might paint luminous landscapes, as Bright does: “They aren’t places I’ve been. They’re in my imagination.”

—with reporting by Shayla Ashmore, Mark Closson, Maryrose Delahunty, Sarah Erdos, Jim Hill, Jeff Judson, Michael Malament, and Dustin Messer
**MACHEN’S MIRACLES, METHODISTS’ MORALITY**

J. Greshem Machen’s 20th-century take on liberalism could guide faithful Methodists today

by Russell St. John

**T IS NOT OFTEN THAT** a dead Presbyterian can offer a way forward to living Methodists, but J. Gresham Machen can.

In February 2019 the General Conference of the United Methodist Church (UMC) passed the “Traditional Plan,” which reaffirmed the church’s ban on ordaining LGBTQ clergy and forbade current clergy from officiating at or hosting same-sex marriages. The close vote (438-384) highlighted long-term divisions within the denomination.

Division seemed inevitable, and now the inevitable has come: Early this January, 16 Methodist bishops recommended dividing the UMC into two denominations. The current UMC would remain and pursue a more theologically liberal agenda, while conservative churches would form a “traditional Methodist” denomination and retain their property. Some form of this plan will likely come to a vote at the 2020 Methodist General Conference in May.

Although he has been dead for nearly 83 years, Machen can speak to Bible-believing Methodists today. Machen (1881-1937) taught New Testament at Princeton Theological Seminary, laboring for Biblical Christianity during the rise of theological liberalism in early 20th-century America. When Princeton embraced liberal theology, Machen left and founded Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia to carry on Biblical training for Presbyterian clergy. When the Northern Presbyterian Church later suspended Machen and others for supporting Biblical missions, Machen exited that denomination to form the Orthodox Presbyterian Church as a Biblically faithful alternative.

Methodists now stand at a crossroads not so different from the one Machen straddled. While the church in Machen's generation rejected Biblical miracles—repudiating the virgin birth, the deity of Christ, the substitutionary
Atonement, and the bodily resurrection—the present generation is rejecting Biblical morality, repudiating Biblical sexual ethics, redefining marriage, and categorizing sin as not sin.

In 1923, at the height of the controversy over theological liberalism, Machen published Christianity and Liberalism, which offered a theological justification for a separate, Bible-believing denomination a decade before it became necessary to form one. Addressing those who called for unity at all costs, Machen argued, “It is often said that the divided condition of Christendom is an evil, and so it is. But the evil consists in the existence of the errors which cause the divisions and not at all in the recognition of those errors when once they exist.”

In enumerating those errors, Machen defined theological liberalism not as the product of an alternate interpretation of the Bible, but as a repudiation of the Bible. He saw it not as a different Christian view but as a competing religion: “The chief modern rival of Christianity is ‘liberalism.’ An examination of the teachings of liberalism in comparison with those of Christianity will show that at every point the two movements are in direct opposition.”

Bible-believing Methodists are not dividing the Church today any more than Bible-believing Presbyterians were in Machen’s day. They are separating the true Church from a rival religion. Evangelical Christians should celebrate, not mourn, the impending split of Christian Methodism from a non-Christian rival religion that merely bears the name “Methodist.” As Machen observed, “Christianity is founded upon the Bible. ... Liberalism on the other hand is founded upon the shifting emotions of sinful men.”

If history offers any insight, evangelical Methodists have reason for optimism. Mainline Presbyterians, Lutherans, Congregationalists, and other adherents of theological liberalism have watched their denominational numbers fall for decades. Many of their evangelical, Bible-believing counterparts continue to thrive.

That should not surprise us. Christ is building His Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail.
In recent months, Bukovinac demonstrated outside the University of California, San Francisco, protesting its fetal tissue research program, one she noted relies on tissue from dismemberment abortions of live unborn babies. She also publicized pro-life activist David Daleiden’s court trials, held in San Francisco, in his high-profile legal fight against Planned Parenthood.

As a teenager, Bukovinac thought abortion was a simple procedure to remove a “clump of cells.” She grew up in Herbert Armstrong’s Worldwide Church of God, but when it unraveled, so did her parents’ marriage. After that, she says, she became a rebellious teenager and adopted liberal political views. In her 20s, her then-boyfriend, an agnostic, showed her pictures of unborn babies and abortion procedures: “I was completely shocked.”

Bukovinac eventually rejected belief in God, natural law, and the afterlife. But she couldn’t shake the pictures of aborted unborn babies. Since she no longer believed those babies went to heaven, she says, she felt “an extreme sense of urgency” to fight for their rights.

She began connecting online with a small network of other pro-life atheists. In 2009, she helped a friend start Secular Pro-Life, a Sacramento-based group that now has 30,000 Facebook followers. She has had leadership roles with other groups, including Rehumanize International, Consistent Life Network, and Democrats for Life of America. Last year, the March for Life organization featured Secular Pro-Life on its website with a picture of Bukovinac.

Despite the increased publicity, Bukovinac operates her own organization month-to-month, struggling to find financial support. Her views on God and sexuality turn away many Catholic and Christian supporters, even though she often links arms with them at protests and a few even sit on her board. Pro-Life San Francisco recently hosted its second annual conference at the University of California, Berkeley and included a transgender speaker along with Frank Pavone, a Catholic priest and national director of Priests for Life.

In our conversation, Bukovinac repeatedly referred to women as “people with wombs.”

But several pro-life advocates I spoke to emphasized the important role secular pro-lifers play in the movement. Pavone told me Bukovinac is “breaking stereotypes” in secular, urban cities: “Many of the young people she engages with might not otherwise give second thought to the issue.”

Faith Paull, executive director of Alpha Pregnancy Center in San Francisco, said Bukovinac recently toured her faith-based clinic, live-streaming the visit on social media so viewers could see the facility’s case management room, ultrasound technology, counseling room, and supply room for single mothers.

“She is this young, poppin’ millennial who doesn’t use the same rhetoric as most people in the movement,” Paull told me. “She’s willing to step up to the plate for pregnancy centers and use her platform to educate people with real, rational conversations about abortion.”

Still, Bukovinac admits that recent years have been tough. She suffers from Ménière’s disease, a disorder that causes debilitating vertigo, hearing loss, and nausea. She also battles loneliness: She has been married twice, and now lives alone with her two cats. “I don’t want to live my entire life on the edge of my seat, not able to sleep because ... babies are being dismembered,” she said. “I want something for myself in the end.”

What is it she wants? “To find true love. ... To give [my] best talents in a way that’s fulfilling and not stressful,” she said. Later, she added, “I’m not here to fight abortion. I’m here to end it.”
LONG TIME STAYING

Richard Hornok expected to spend his life in ministry—but not all at one small church in Texas

by Charissa Koh

FIRST IN AN OCCASIONAL SERIES ON LONG MINISTRY

ICHARD HORNOK ATTENDED Dallas Theological Seminary and planned to become a pastor. Before graduating, he heard about a tiny church plant on the border of Texas and Arkansas, in a city called Texarkana. “It was basically just a little Bible study meeting on Sunday mornings,” he said. Hornok arrived at the church with his newly pregnant wife, Vicki, expecting to stay three or four years before moving on to bigger and better things.

“We thought we were going to take on Texarkana and show them how it’s done,” he said. “We were as cocky as could be.” Three or four years turned into 35.

Ministry was harder than Hornok anticipated: The church grew slowly, and some congregants negatively compared him with other potential leaders. Some criticized personal decisions he’d made, such as financing a car and avoiding being alone with any woman not his wife.

But a few older church members loved and encouraged Hornok and his wife. Several times, when the couple wondered whether to leave, other pastoral positions simply did not open up. Ultimately, they always felt convinced God wanted them to stay.

Decades of preaching to the same people has kept him sharp. His wife takes meticulous notes in her study Bible, and Hornok said if he changes his position on a passage, she calls him out. He tries to preach new passages to deepen his Biblical knowledge: Last summer it was Obadiah.

Another benefit to staying at the church has been long, deep relationships. Hornok baptized one man, performed his wedding, attended his children’s births, then years later officiated his wife’s funeral when she died of cancer. Now Hornok meets with the man and his new fiancée to help them prepare for marriage. “If I’d bounced around to other churches, I would have maybe had the experience of doing one of those things,” he said. “I am getting to do all of life with him as his pastor.”

Staying in Texarkana has also earned Hornok the community’s respect. People ask his advice and value his opinion: Once, FBI agents consulted him as they strategized regarding local cult leader Tony Alamo.

But pastoring the same church for decades comes with challenges. Hornok can’t preach the same way he did in the 1980s: Society has changed, and he needs creativity to communicate and offer relevant applications. He sees people using their smartphones during sermons and knows if he bumbles a Greek term, someone will fact-check him.

Eight years ago, some disillusioned congregants became enamored with other local churches and asked, “Why can’t we be like them?” Their comments made Hornok wonder if it was time for a change. He interviewed with several churches, but none hired him.

To Hornok’s surprise, the process helped to reignite his passion for his own church. The other churches’ consideration affirmed his preaching and ministry skills, leading the 61-year-old pastor to conclude, “You can do this, and you can do this well all the way to the end.”
A GOOD TIME WAS HAD BY ALL at the fourth annual Women’s March in Philadelphia on Jan. 18.

Rip Van Winkle slept through the American Revolution and was much surprised upon awakening. If his nap had been during our century’s revolution, he’d have been more than a little befuddled at what women march for these days.

One sign said, “Sex work is real work.” Unless I’m daft, that is a positive-of-center remark on the validity of prostitution as a career choice. Old Rip might have wondered (if he were familiar only with the 1960s feminism that called prostitution exploitation) that the fairer sex is celebratory rather than appalled about that job market.

“The fairer sex” is sexist, of course. Sounds like a compliment to you, perhaps, but it’s just wrong! Woke women prefer to be called by the B-word that rhymes with itch and means female dog, judging by the signs I saw proudly bobbing in the gathering, about a tenth the size of your average Trump rally. No men (a few were in attendance) were brandishing those placards, only women. You have to know the rules, you know.

Two teenage girls in rainbow regalia asked my husband and me to snap their photo together. They were in good spirits and enjoying the event and their youth and all, and asked so sweetly that it killed me to say to them with a sweep of a hand (toward the skyline emblazoned with “[obscenity] Men” and “Support Matrarchy,” and “Stay Nasty,” and “The Future is Female”), “I don’t believe in any of this; I’m a Christian.” Their countenance changed and they slunk away, and my husband said he would have taken the photo and that now they’re thinking Christians are mean. Which made me feel bad for the rest of the day.

I said, in my defense, “If they posted that on Facebook, I would be part of the dark side.” But still I kept remembering their fresh young faces and wishing I had found a middle way between yes and no. Faces are a hard thing to say no to. That’s why God tells Ezekiel when dispatching him to an unpleasant confrontational task, “Be not afraid of their words, nor be dismayed at their looks [literally, ‘faces’]” (Ezekiel 2:6).

A man with homemade shoeshine box in tow was easier for my husband to say no to. We were suburbanites with bull’s-eyes on our backs, and the entrepreneur pursued till we stopped. And when my husband said we had very little money, he said, “This one’s a freebie. People will see me serving you and I’ll get business.”

But during the third application to the left shoe, he asked, without looking up, “How much do you think a shine like that is worth?”—and then himself suggested $20. As things got tense after that, I said, “David, let’s give him 10 and get out of here.” But David said no and extended a few singles, and we limped off with one shiny shoe and one dull shoe.

Wisdom! Give us wisdom, Lord! What would Jesus do in this parade? Would He even be here?

After the mayor’s cameo appearance, a woman of color took the mic on the makeshift stage before the Art Museum and said the word “God” a lot, but also interspersed her remarks with Arabic glossolalia. I strained to get the drift of her message, her sentences being disconnected bromides like a hatful of Chinese fortune-cookie sayings picked at random. She ended with an exhortation to be like the strong women in Conakry, Guinea, who endure hard lives.

Which rather seemed to undermine the point about how bad off women are in the United States. But as the senior tempter told the junior tempter in the Screw-tape book, “Keep everything hazy in their minds.” And so he does.

And on the train back home I wished I could just fold those two girls in my arms a while and hold them like a mother.
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It’s a dog’s life

A tale of cultural change

Some of you will be reading this on Feb. 12, Abraham Lincoln’s birthday in 1809. Lincoln is integral to the story I’m about to tell, but, first, some context.

Susan and I are the proud caretakers of our fourth dog, Greeley, named after famed newspaper editor Horace Greeley, whose birthday was Feb. 3, 1811. We liked our previous three dogs, but we like 5-year-old Greeley even more, so what I’m about to relate is no reflection on him: It’s a tale of cultural change.

We gave our three previous dogs carrots and bones to chew on. We took them to local veterinarians and made sure they had all their shots. Our third dog, Pokey, lived to be 17. But we did not buy them fancy toys, elegant sweaters, and “curated dog food,” such as “a perfect blend of nutrient-packed ingredients like carrots, pumpkin, and blueberries to provide antioxidants and phytonutrients,” whatever they are.

This brings me to a document we received from our local vet. It’s an estimate of what it would cost to clean Greeley’s teeth professionally: at least $429, maybe $537. He would need at least a pre-anesthetic profile and electrocardiogram for $70, a dental X-ray for $38, the “canine dental” itself for $216, and other touches for $105.

Our local vet is by no means extravagant. Anesthesia-based cleanings can cost up to $1,000. They are the most thorough and the only kind some dogs accept, since when they are unconscious they cannot complain.

But I can. One website says, “Veterinarians recommend a professional dental cleaning once or twice a year, depending on your dog’s needs.” So before whipping out a checkbook, I wrote for advice to my rancher friend John Erickson, author of Hank the Cowdog books, who has had great dogs with great teeth.

My email said, “Our vet would like to clean the teeth of our dog, Greeley, at a cost of $429. The vet’s note says, ‘Be assured that the health of Greeley is our highest concern.’ What’s your sense of this?”

John replied, “I have never heard of cleaning a dog’s teeth. For $429, you should get a liver transplant. Our local dental hygienist cleans my teeth for $130. She has never told me my health was her highest concern but she throws in a free toothbrush. I can give you her number if you wish.”

That brings me back to Lincoln. He gained his “Honest Abe” nickname as a young clerk in a small store when he failed to give a customer the correct change. The story goes that Lincoln walked for miles to return 2 cents. Yes, those 2 cents are worth a dollar now, given inflation, but it’s still an impressive making-things-right, and shows the importance of growing up with Ben Franklin’s “a penny saved is a penny earned” adage.

What would Lincoln say about turning savings into dog tooth-brushing? We know a bit about Lincoln’s dog sense from his decision to leave Fido, his yellow lab mix, in Springfield, Ill., when the master headed to the White House. Franklin Roosevelt famously took his dog, Fala, on trips in Sacred Cow, the president’s airplane, and Ferdinand Magellan, his train car, but Lincoln was sentimental regarding humans and not dogs.

We all want to be good stewards of the money God has given us. When I asked Nick Eicher, he recommended carrots. What’s your experience, and your advice to me?

P.S. I do need to mention what happened to Fido. Lincoln gave him to a carpenter, John Eddy Roll. In 1954 a Roll descendant, Johnny Roll, told a Time reporter what happened in 1866, a year after Lincoln’s death: “One day the dog, in a playful manner, put his dirty paws upon a drunken man sitting on the street curbing [who] in his drunken rage, thrust a knife into the body of poor old Fido. He was buried by loving hands. So Fido, just a poor yellow dog, met the fate of his illustrious master: assassination.”
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