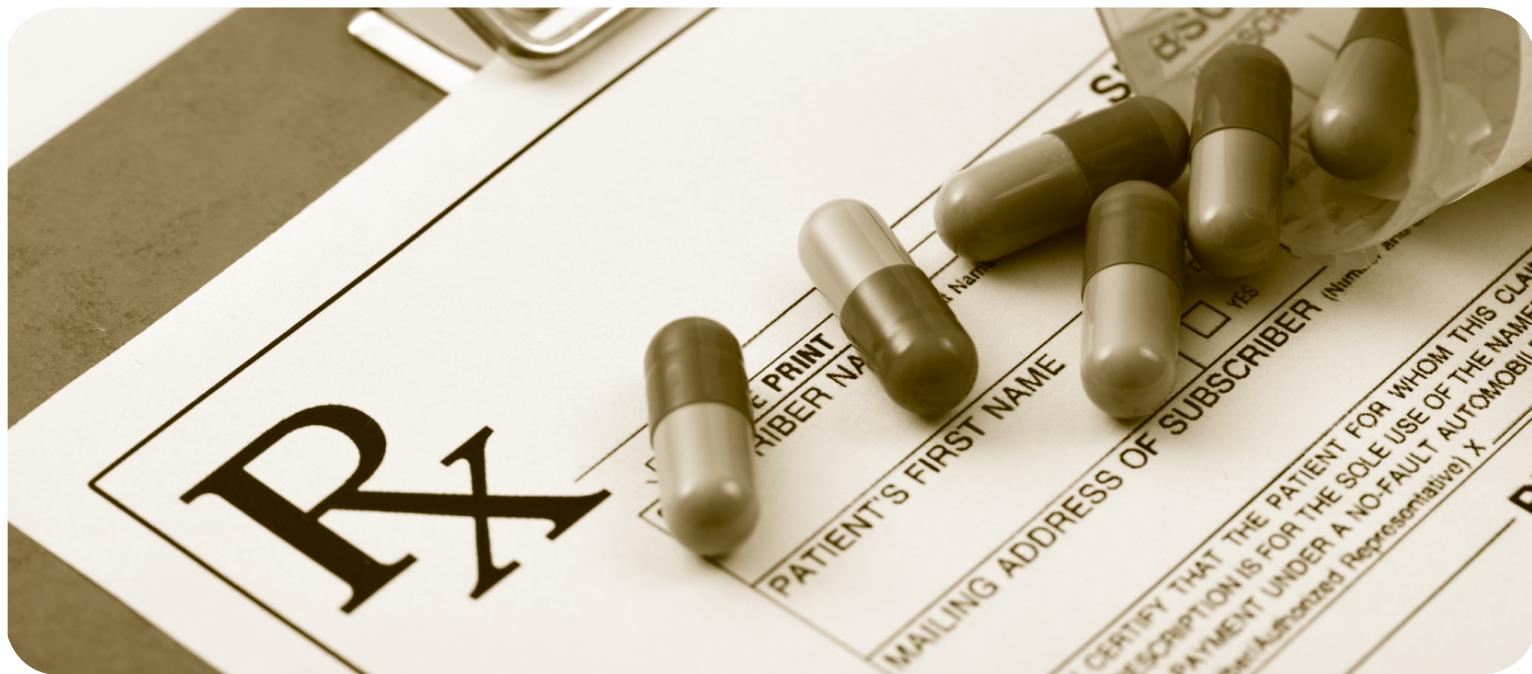


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What's at Stake in the HHS Mandate?



Cover Story

When the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) announced last year that almost all employers would have to pay for insurance coverage for abortions, companies like Hobby Lobby filed lawsuits challenging the federal government's self-anointed role as arbiter of religion. After being slammed with criticism on all fronts, HHS decided to invoke a phony accommodation — an accounting trick — and claim it was respecting religious liberty. More than a year later, the federal government is still insisting on forcing religious employers — profit and nonprofit — to provide something they contend is murder. It's as if the government is saying, "You don't have to hold the knife, but you have to pay for it."

It's clear that the federal government, in enforcing what has become known as the HHS contraception mandate, is propping up a

secularist worldview at the expense of religious freedom. In effect, it's doing this by coercive strong-arming and — in a move right out of the postmodernist's playbook — engaging in disingenuous arguments to make its case seem more reasonable.

The net effect is the establishment of state-controlled religion in which the federal government attempts to define what the true practice of religion is, who may practice it in the public square, and what punishments are appropriate for organizations and leaders who assert their rights of conscience.

The HHS Mandate Establishes a State Religion: Secularism

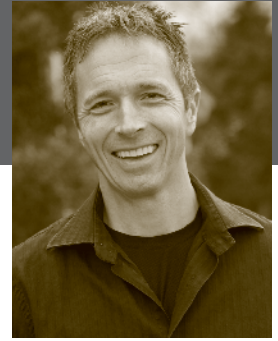
When the regulation was originally introduced as part of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA), known popularly as Obamacare, the goal of the administration and Health and Human

Services Secretary Kathleen Sebelius was to force all employers to provide abortifacient drugs — chemicals that halt the implantation of a fertilized egg (a human life) into the uterine wall. The Food and Drug Administration does not consider a fertilized egg to be a viable life; its threshold is implantation, when the fertilized egg successfully implants into the uterus. This distinction is not scientific, but arbitrary. Thus, abortifacient treatments such as Plan B, Ella, and the Copper IUD are not considered by the FDA to be abortive.¹ A fertilized egg is a very tiny thing, but as Summit instructor Scott Klusendorf teaches our students, whether something counts as a life worth protecting does not depend on its Size, Level of Development, Environment, or Degree of Dependency (S.L.E.D.).

This mandate affects three kinds of orga-

from the president's desk

a word from dr. jeff myers



It's Time to Draw the Line

As we reach the end of a phenomenal summer with full-house programs and exciting life change in our students, we're turning our attention to a pressing religious freedom issue: the ongoing fight surrounding the contraceptive mandate in the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA), popularly known as Obamacare.

“... we would be forced to contract with third party to do something on our behalf which we have the strongest moral objection to.”

Dr. Jeff Myers

I fully expected President Obama's administration to be pro-abortion, but never in my life did I imagine that it would implement rules requiring ministries like Summit to become abortion providers. But this is what has happened. The PPACA includes a very broad “contraceptive mandate” that requires employers to offer healthcare coverage for many drugs that go far beyond contraception and actually cause chemical abortion. And this provision — which the Obama administration calls a “compromise” — is written in such a way that surgical abortion and even partial-birth

abortion could someday become required coverage as well.

Obviously, many businesses, churches, and other ministries see this provision as morally objectionable and also a blatant attack on religious freedom in the service of leftist political goals. In the ensuing legal battles, churches have won exemption from the provision while businesses have not (the administration thinks businesses cannot have a religious conscience, though this is being hotly contested in the courts).

Unfortunately, religious groups have fallen through the cracks. Organizations like Summit are called “accommodated ministries,” a category that includes non-church ministries and schools. Health and Human Services (HHS) Secretary Kathleen Sebelius has decided that organizations like Summit

do not have to provide abortifacient drugs but they are required to hire a third party administrator (TPA) to provide them on their behalf. In other words, we would be forced to contract with a third party to do something on our behalf against which we have the strongest moral objection to.



Kathleen Sebelius

Summit Ministries has always opposed abortion-on-demand. David Noebel's hard-hitting booklet *Slaughter of the Innocent* (published in 1977) was one of the first pro-life resources available, and Summit has always taken a strong stand, even in the 1970s when it was common for Christians to be neutral or even favorable toward abortion.¹

So, President Obama, our conscience and long-standing convictions compel us to oppose as strongly as we can what we believe is an attack on religious freedom, free speech, and ultimately the lives of those most vulnerable among us. Mr. President, we implore you to change your mind and change the law. These attacks on ministries like Summit are not worth the long-term damage they will do.

The threats to religious liberty for all Americans are very real. Please pray that justice will be done and that those opposing the HHS mandate will be able to make a strong case on behalf of religious freedom in this tumultuous time.

Notes

1. Shortly after the *Roe v. Wade* decision, the Southern Baptist Convention's Baptist Press went so far as to celebrate the decision for having “advanced the cause of religious liberty, human equality and justice.” Today, the Southern Baptist Convention is strongly pro-life, as is the larger evangelical Christian community. David Noebel and Summit were a large part of the awakening. For more information see <http://spectator.org/archives/2013/01/31/protestants-and-abortion>.

mandate

continued from page one

nizations: for-profit corporations, churches (brick and mortar churches and denominations), and nonprofit religious corporations (like Summit). Let's look at each in turn.

For-profit corporations. It is the Obama administration's position that for-profit corporations cannot have a religious conscience. Therefore, neither the PPACA nor HHS regulations provide an exemption for companies like Hobby Lobby. Unless the Supreme Court rules otherwise, this means that Christian owners of a for-profit business have no legal right to refuse to provide abortifacient drugs as part of their company's health plan.²

Churches. After vocal protests by a large swath of religious organizations, the Obama administration announced it would exempt brick-and-mortar churches, denominations, and religious orders from the mandate. In addition, the PPACA is written in such a way that Anabaptists (e.g., Amish and Mennonites) and members of two health care sharing ministries are not subject to the mandate.³

Nonprofit religious corporations. HHS offered religious nonprofits like Summit, Christian colleges, and religious charities what it deemed an "accommodation," which in reality is little more than an accounting gimmick. Instead of paying for abortifacients outright, such organizations instead have to pass on that responsibility to insurance providers or third party administrators (TPAs). Following the logic that abortion is murder, organizations like Summit aren't being forced to provide abortion services, but are being forced to outsource those services to someone else.

Through these dictates, HHS has created religious classes subject to different regulations: those fully subject to the mandate, those exempt, and those "accom-

modated." This violates the constitutional prohibition against the establishment of religion. As Summit's attorneys L. Martin Nussbaum and Ian Speir put it in a recent memo to Dr. Jeff Myers:

*The very heart of Establishment Cause jurisprudence is that Caesar cannot pick religious winners and losers. . . . Such an elaborate religious gerrymander is unprecedented in American religious liberty history and cannot withstand Establishment Clause scrutiny.*⁴

Secularists frequently accuse Christians of wanting to violate church/state separation. Ironically, this is exactly what the HHS mandate does. When Thomas Jefferson wrote to the Danbury Baptists in 1802 and invoked the phrase "a wall of separation between Church & State," he was not telling Christians to stay out of the public square; rather, he was encouraging the young republic not to let the state interfere with how churches practice their religion.⁵

The HHS mandate shows how right Jefferson was to encourage Christians to be leery of state coercion in religious matters. The HHS mandate explicitly attempts to pick religious winners and losers, the very thing Jefferson was so exercised about.

Feds Are Strong-Arming Religious Organizations

The chief means through which the federal government enforces the HHS mandate are coercion and bullying that are themselves unconstitutional.

The mandate restricts First Amendment rights. Some religious organizations have self-funded insurance policies, meaning instead of employees' policies being grouped into a plan with other companies' employees, a particular organization might be a group in itself. In such cases,

Online Religious Freedom Resources from Summit

» **Wondering if you're subject to similar state mandates? Go here:** <http://goo.gl/Pm7cJr>

» **Want more info on how you can stand against the HHS mandate? Go here:** <http://goo.gl/iuj0xv>

» **Why is religious liberty such an important issue? Go here to learn why:** <http://goo.gl/UTzCrR>

the organization typically contracts a third party administrator (TPA) to administer the insurance plan. The HHS mandate "accommodation" forces self-insured religious organizations that object to providing abortifacients to authorize their TPAs to pay for the abortifacients. As Summit's attorneys note, "The employer, in effect, must tell the TPA, 'We will not cover abortifacients or contraceptives, but you must.'" This forced authorization is compelled speech, and because it forces the organization to foster an idea it finds morally repugnant, it violates the First Amendment.

Furthermore, TPAs that have to foot the bill for their customers will be reimbursed by the federally funded insurance

See **mandate**, page 4

exchanges; federal dollars will finance abortion.⁷

Finally, HHS regulations prohibit an “accommodated” organization from communicating with its TPA about providing abortifacients, lest the TPA be swayed not to do so. In other words, employers can’t even talk with their insurance administrators about restructuring their health care plans. “The Final Regulations contain no explanation for this provision,” Nussbaum and Speir wrote. “The purpose and effect, however, are clear: to cow religious organizations into silence and to foreclose discussion with their TPA as to any remaining moral option that avoids the mandate.”⁸ Restricting speech in this way is also a clear violation of the Constitution.

Punitive fines for violating the mandate are discriminatory and would force most organizations to close their doors. If employers like Summit fail to comply with what our conscience tells us is a morally objectionable mandate, we would be subject to fines of \$36,500 per employee per year. The fine for companies not providing insurance at all is just \$2,000 per employee per year. In effect, the administration is saying either stop providing insurance for your employees and pay a hefty but affordable fine, or follow your conscience and be destroyed.

Needless to say, when the administration makes the cost of not providing abortion-inducing drugs 18 times that of not providing insurance at all, it seems as if the Affordable Care Act is less about health care and more about imposing a political agenda regardless of the effect on religious freedom and free speech.

The Government’s Case Rests on Word Games

Popular Summit faculty member Dr.

Michael Bauman has a favorite saying: “When words lose their meaning, people lose their lives.” Some accuse Bauman of exaggerating. But the HHS mandate is a sobering example of how the ability to manipulate language results in death.

As Summit’s attorneys put it, the HHS mandate and the PPACA in general are littered with “morally deceptive terminology.” Words which mean one thing in popular speech now take on new meanings in these regulations for the sake of covering abortion. In the HHS mandate:

- » “**Conception**” now means “**implantation**.”
- » **Contraception now includes drugs that prevent implantation (read: “conception”), destroying a conceived human life.**
- » “**Abortion**” is thus reduced only to surgical abortion and excludes drugs that accomplish the same.

As Nussbaum and Speir point out, “The Final Regulations create a lexical mishmash so confusing and so deceptive that it compromises the ability of ministries to educate their adherents and the public about the grave moral issues implicated by these regulations.”⁹

So Where Do Religious Employers Go from Here?

Many people think organizations like Summit are overreacting. “It’s a good enough compromise — let’s just move on,” they say. But the structure of the HHS mandate opens the door for the administration to later amend its directive to require employers to provide surgical abortion or even partial-birth abortion. Those who do

not draw the line now will have no credibility in resisting even further intrusion.

The religious classes created by the PPACA force ministries and businesses run by Christians to choose between shutting their doors or taking part in what they consider to be a clear moral evil. Many have

decided it’s time to act. Those organizations need the support of Christians as they move forward, most notably prayer.

Protecting religious liberty is a task for us all, and we can start by keeping a close eye on these cases and holding our elected and unelected officials accountable.

As usual, Summit will keep you updated as these important cases progress.

Notes

1. Memorandum by L. Martin Nussbaum and Ian S. Speir, Lewis Roca Rothgerber LLP to Jeff Myers and Eric Smith, Summit Ministries, 5 September 2013.
2. Hobby Lobby has won a preliminary victory at the federal appellate level. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit held that for-profit companies like Hobby Lobby can exercise religion, and that the mandate unlawfully coerces Hobby Lobby into violating its religious conscience. Other federal appellate courts, however, have disagreed, and the Supreme Court is expected to take up the issue soon.
3. Memorandum, 6-7.
4. Ibid, 18.
5. “Jefferson’s Letter to the Danbury Baptists,” Heritage Foundation, <http://www.heritage.org/initiatives/first-principles/primary-sources/jefferson-s-letter-to-the-danbury-baptists>.
6. Memorandum, 11.
7. Ibid, 13.
8. Ibid, 14.
9. Ibid, 16.

a look at our world

news and commentary



Editor's Note: Our President Emeritus, Dr. David Noebel, helps us with research by sending 20-30 pages of clippings of each month's news. To see the complete list of Doc's clippings, go to www.summit.org/resources/the-journal/, open the PDF, and scroll to page 9, or call us at 866.786.6483.

Religious Liberty

Christian retailer Hobby Lobby has won its second legal decision in a month in its ongoing battle against the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) contraception mandate, which requires employers to provide their employees with health insurance that includes free contraception — including drugs that can cause abortion.

“The tide has turned against the HHS mandate.”

Kyle Duncan

On July 19 a federal judge in Oklahoma City granted the retailer and its sister business, the Mardel Christian book chain, a preliminary injunction preventing the federal government from enforcing the mandate against the businesses. The ruling follows on the heels of a landmark decision by the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals, which ruled June 27 that Hobby Lobby's owners are free to follow their religious convictions under the First Amendment, and are likely to win their case against the mandate.

Hobby Lobby's owners, led by company founder and CEO David Green, filed suit to stop the mandate in September 2011, arguing that forcing them to provide their thousands of employees with contraceptives like the RU-486 “abortion pill” would cause them to violate their convictions that life begins at conception. The company faced as much as \$1.3 million in fines per day for their refusal to knuckle under to the mandate.

“By being required to make a choice between sacrificing our faith or paying millions of dollars in fines, we essentially must choose which poison pill to swallow,” Green said as the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty, which is representing the company in the case, announced the suit last year. “We simply cannot abandon our religious beliefs to comply with this mandate.”

“The tide has turned against the HHS mandate,” declared Kyle Duncan, general counsel with the Becket Fund, following the July 19 ruling by federal judge Joe Heaton, who wrote in his decision that there is “a substantial public interest in ensuring that no individual or corporation has their legs cut out from under them while these difficult issues are resolved.”

Heaton had originally refused to grant the company an injunction, but the decision by the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals prompted him to reconsider. The appeals court ruled that Hobby Lobby and Mardel had demonstrated the probability that their religious-freedom argument would prevail in the lawsuit.

Lori Windham, senior counsel for the Becket Fund, said in an interview that Heaton's ruling demonstrates that “companies can be protected from the mandate and can continue to exercise their religious beliefs in the way they run their businesses.”

On its website Hobby Lobby explains that one of the main purposes of the business is to honor God “by operating the company in a manner consistent with Biblical principles.” The company's over 500 retail outlets are closed on Sundays, and its owners contribute generously to ministries and outreaches that seek “to share the Good News of Jesus Christ to all the world,” the Hobby Lobby website reads.

While churches and select faith-based religious non-profits have been exempted from the mandate, countless religious based non-profits and private companies owned by Christians would be required to follow the mandate, requiring a violation of deeply held beliefs in the sanctity of life.

Thus far, according to the Becket Fund, more than 60 federal lawsuits have been filed against the HHS mandate, and courts have granted injunctions to nearly two dozen for-profit corporations while refusing to issue injunctions or restraining orders for seven companies.

— *The New American*
August 19, 2013, p. 7

Lieutenant Colonel Kenneth Reyes came under fire from the Mili-

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tary Religious Freedom Foundation recently for posting a column titled “No Atheists in Foxholes: Chaplains Gave All in World War II” in the “Chaplain’s Corner” of the website of an Air Force base. Serving at the Joint Base Elmendorf-Richardson in Alaska, Reyes was ordered to take down his column because it allegedly offended atheist servicemen. The MRFF sent a letter to the base commander on behalf of 42 airmen complaining about the chaplain’s failure to uphold military regulations with his “anti-secular diatribe” and “faith-based hate.” Reyes’s essay, whose title was drawn from a famous utterance made by a priest during a siege in World War II and mentioned in a 1954 speech by President Eisenhower, was removed from the website after the MRFF contacted his superiors. The Foundation, apparently not content with infringing upon his First Amendment rights, is now seeking to have the Christian chaplain punished for using religious language in his religious column. The Foundation seems to have its own first commandment: “Thou shalt have no gods, period.”

— *The National Review*
August 19, 2013, p. 10

Sociology

Following the Supreme Court’s rulings on gay marriage, the American Civil Liberties Union has begun filing lawsuits — many lawsuits.

With a swell from the legal victory in the *United States v. Windsor* under its wings, the ACLU has filed suits against traditional marriage laws in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. It also recently celebrated legal victories in Michigan as two cases go forward

there. And the group is pursuing cases in New Mexico and Illinois.

The ACLU said it is working to “improve the map of the country,” and hopes by the end of 2016 to add seven states to the 13 that currently allow gay marriage.

When Justice Anthony Kennedy issued his ruling in *Windsor* at the end of June, striking Section 3 of the Defense of Marriage Act, he based his argument in part on state sovereignty. But he talked enough about DOMA as a discriminatory law to give lower judges reasons to strike state laws on that basis.

The seemingly contradictory opinion caused Justice Antonin Scalia to complain in his dissent, “If this is meant to be an equal protection opinion, it is a confusing one.” Scalia — perhaps correctly — predicted that courts would begin tossing out state laws using Kennedy’s line of reasoning.

“The real rationale of today’s opinion, whatever disappearing trail of its legalistic argle-bargle one chooses to follow, is that DOMA is motivated by ‘bare ... desire to harm’ couples in same-sex marriages,” he wrote. “How easy it is, indeed how inevitable, to reach the same conclusion with regard to state laws denying same-sex couples marital status.”

Lower judges are likely to continue to disagree about the interpretation of Kennedy’s ruling: Did he mean his opinion to be more an affirmation of states’ rights or gay rights? The high court could hear other state-level cases if they are challenged on constitutional grounds. Otherwise challenges to state laws will end in state supreme courts.

A Michigan judge in early July issued a preliminary injunction against the state’s policy that provides benefits to heterosexual married spouses, based in part on the DOMA decision. Another judge allowed a lawsuit to proceed against the state’s constitutional amendment that defines marriage as between a man and a woman, also based in part on DOMA. In Illinois, the ACLU asked a court to expedite its ruling on a pending case, also citing DOMA.

Peter Breen, a lawyer with the Thomas More Society, has been defending the Illinois law, but his firm is using the DOMA decision as an argument in favor of the state’s traditional marriage law. He said the ruling “reaffirms strongly that states have the right to define marriage as they see fit.” He points out that Kennedy was clear that his opinion only applied to states that had already legalized same-sex marriage.

“If Justice Kennedy was ready to overturn the marriage laws in 40 states, this would have been the case to do it,” Breen said. “If the court wanted to force same-sex marriage on the states, it could have done so through the *Windsor* decision. If there were five votes for that, it would have happened. Period.”

Breen acknowledges, “Look, it’s not a good decision,” but said it doesn’t mean state laws are invalid. He’s defending the Illinois law because the state attorney general has refused to defend it. Pennsylvania’s attorney general also recently decided she wouldn’t defend the state’s traditional marriage law.

— Emily Belz
WORLD Magazine

Summit Key in Gilliland's Remarkable Testimony

Most Christians' testimonies about being found by Christ aren't as dramatic as Paul's on the Damascus Road. But Peter Gilliland's comes pretty close.

A recent college graduate, Gilliland had been a Christian only a few weeks when he came to Summit in Manitou Springs for this year's first session. "Everything's so new to me, it's hard to describe," he confessed.

Gilliland stumbled on Summit's website earlier this spring while searching for answers to questions he had only recently realized he had. A self-described agnostic until his conversion, Gilliland was raised in a Christian home by Christian parents. By the time he made it to high school, his main focus was himself, he says. It wasn't a faith crisis that pushed him away from Christianity; it was his own ambivalence. "It was something I never really thought about explicitly," he recalls. "I just didn't want anything to do with it and thought it was irrational. My life was just me living for myself." As Gilliland puts it, he spent his time in high school and at MIT drinking at parties and smoking marijuana.

"I want to live a life that's more fulfilling."

Peter Gilliland

Then, after graduating from MIT in February 2013, Gilliland experienced his Damascus Road moment. Slated to start working a full-time job in June, he spent



Peter Gilliland the spring living with his parents and enjoying a responsibility-free life. One night when watching TV before bed, an irrational fear gripped him. His heart rate accelerated. He began trembling. He couldn't pinpoint why. "This sounds ridiculous," he said. "I can't think of a word to describe how I felt." He began pacing his living room and walked by his father's Bible on the dining room table. Inexplicably, he sat down and began reading from the very beginning, and the fear dissipated. As soon as he stopped a few minutes later, the fear returned, so he continued reading. He read straight through for a couple of hours that night, and the fear left. He went to bed without the fear while listening to Christian music — a first for him. Gilliland awoke the next day puz-

zled, but he knew it hadn't been a dream. The same thing happened that night, and again he turned to his dad's Bible for comfort. It was then that he realized if there were a God, this would be the way God would grab his attention. "I realized this is something I couldn't really ignore."

He spent the next several weeks trying to track down answers. Steeped in scientific naturalism, he sought medical reasons for his severe anxiety attacks.

"There was nothing I would have had anxiety about," he said.

While searching for answers, he only found other questions: where did the universe come from? If there were no God, life really is meaningless — did that make sense with his experience of reality? Each new question pointed him toward God and the faith he had forsaken as an adolescent until finally he accepted Christ.

In searching for answers, he wound up at Summit's website watching lectures. After snagging the last available seat in session 1 in 2013, he sat in the front row as one of the oldest students in the room and found his faith bolstered by what he heard. He still can't pinpoint his favorite lectures: "I was just eating up all of them."

Gilliland, who now trades U.S. Treasury futures for Asian markets out of Chicago, says he's still trying to answer his questions. But he's enjoying the excitement of a newfound faith and isn't sure where it will take him. "My long-term aspirations have changed dramatically since becoming a Christian," he said. "I want to live a life that's more fulfilling."



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INSIDE: Don't let America's religious liberty be destroyed by a technicality.



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a look at our world

from the desk of dr. david noebel

Marriage

Great Britain legalized gay marriage, with Queen Elizabeth II giving her approval—a formality—one day after Parliament passed the bill, clearing the way for same-sex weddings, likely by next summer. The law, introduced in January, allows gay couples to get married in both civil and religious ceremonies in England and Wales, but only if the religious institution consents. The Church of England, the state church, says it will not perform such ceremonies, at least for now. Prime Minister David Cameron backed the legislation, which has divided his Conservative Party.

— *WORLD Magazine*
August 10, 2013, p. 10

When we focus on opportunity, there is much that speaks to traditional conservative concerns. We've known for a while that family breakdown inhibits mobility, and the Chetty study provides further evidence that two-parent households produce children who are more upwardly mobile than those from broken homes. Dig a little deeper, however, and it's clear that the solution — if one exists at all — is not obvious. Conservatives have argued (rightly) for years that the tax code is littered with counterproductive marriage penalties. These make little sense, and we ought to get rid of them. But the reason many young working-class women aren't getting married isn't that the tax code gives them incentives to stay single. It's that too many of their male counterparts aren't worth marrying.

When Nordic researchers compared their own countries with the United States, they found that while

American men were much less mobile than their Nordic counterparts, there was no significant difference between American girls and Nordic girls. American daughters, it turns out, are doing much better than American sons. In poll after poll, young women indicate their wish to marry, but they're having trouble finding suitable men. Those who do marry find themselves working just as much outside the home as do their husbands, who do significantly less of the cooking, cleaning, and caretaking. Our marriage crisis, then, is as much about the inadequacies of American men as it is about family values or economic incentives. And that's a problem you can't fix with tax reform.

— J.D. Vance
National Review
September 2, 2013, p. 31

The liberal media could not contain their pro-gay bias (and joy!) when the Supreme Court ruled that the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) was unconstitutional. The Court's 5-4 decision in late June requires the federal government to legally recognize — and bestow benefits upon — homosexual couples.

Adam and Steve are now viewed the same as Adam and Eve at the federal level.

Gays, of course, were deliriously happy about the ruling and so were their stenographers in the left-wing media. The decision was hailed by some journalists as one of the greatest “civil rights” advances in history and some liberal dunces even likened it to the Emancipation Proclamation.

We documented, exposed, and neutralized that liberal — and so often

lunatic left — media bias through News-Busters, CMI, BMI, the News Analysis Division, CNSNews.com, MRCTV, our press releases, e-mail alerts, and during numerous radio and TV interviews of our expert staff, including yours truly.

It's no overstatement to say that the pro-homosexual bias in the media was nauseating, as it has been for decades and unbearably so since Barack Obama became president. With the DOMA ruling, all pretense of neutrality or balance was discarded.

Let's look at how the liberal media bias truly came out of the closet.

On June 26, as the court ruling was announced, ABC's Bill Weir reported that “for those who believe equality for gay Americans is the civil rights struggle for our time, this was a day on par with the Emancipation Proclamation, with women marching to the polls for the first time.”

Weir's Nightline colleague, Terry Moran, was outside the Supreme Court. In an ABC News Special Report, Moran — with a never-ending smile and giddy demeanor — gushed that “this decision, which I have just gotten, is a declaration of equal rights for gay Americans under the federal law. It is big.”

Moran wasn't done. Concerning Justice Anthony Kennedy's majority opinion, Moran swooned “there is ringing language in here ... language that is almost poetic in its embrace and affirmation of equal status.”

Over at NBC, legal analyst Lisa Bloom couldn't contain her enthusiasm over the defeat of DOMA and breathlessly reported, “There is no question that this is a sweeping historic decision for gay rights.” As for the leftist justices,

a look at our world

from the desk of dr. david noebel, continued from page 9

Bloom cheered that “all three women on the Court voted with the majority, they tend to be the pro-civil rights bloc,” adding that the case is among the “biggest civil rights issues of our time.”

On ABC’s Good Morning America, reporting live (Pacific Coast time), host George Stephanopoulos tossed the story to openly gay weatherman Sam Champion, telling him, “You and Rubem [Robierb] married in December. I can only imagine what this day feels like to you.”

Champion, almost dancing, enthused, “My heart is pounding, like really thumping in my chest. ... It’s very easy to discount this into a legal brief or to say that they are theories. But this is about people’s lives. And there are people all over this country just looking to know that they’re equal and that their feelings for someone that they love can be legitimized and is just as right as their neighbors’. And so to me, it’s a true affirmation.”

Remember, that was just the weatherman for ABC. As Champion carried on, news reader Josh Elliott stood up and gave him a big hug. Back in 2012, Elliott, a rabid pro-gay advocate, declared, “I’m proud to work at a place that believes in advocacy journalism!”

Over at MSNBC, uber-liberal Chris Matthews interviewed Gavin Newsom, the former mayor of San Francisco and long-time pro-gay activist, and actually compared him to abolitionist John Brown who, prior to the Civil War, was hanged for leading an armed insurrection to free the slaves.

Carrying his abolition = gay rights history lesson further, Matthews wondered, “What are we going to do if we have a country that ends up being

divided this way, like almost half-slave and half-free?”

Matthews honestly said that. But does any sane person think current laws in 37 states prohibiting men from “marrying” each other is tantamount to the North-South racial divide and the subsequent Civil War that killed 700,000 Americans? Only in the MSNBC mind.

Matthews’ colleague Chris Hayes was equally fantastic. In his All In show, Hayes was all smiles. He enthused, “This is a watershed moment in the centuries-long struggle for equality in this country. It is a sweet, sweet victory, and it is important in this life to savor those.”

The liberal media could not stop celebrating the defeat of DOMA. It was like watching a journalistic Studio 54. On NBC’s Today, Gabe Gutierrez reported live from San Francisco, “In one of the country’s oldest and largest gay neighborhoods, vindication. It was the day San Francisco’s Castro District had been waiting for.” The next day, ABC’s Robin Roberts chattered on about “wonderful pictures” of “jubilation” and “people dancing in the streets in cities all around the country.” On-screen was a picture of San Francisco City Hall illuminated by rainbow-colored lights.

Examples of the pro-homosexual bias of the liberal media on DOMA in particular and “gay rights” in general are endless. Search the MRC website and you’ll find page after page of documentation. Needless to say, few critics of the court’s ruling or opponents of “gay marriage” were given much air-time by the liberal media.

In his dissent, Justice Scalia wrote that the ruling against DOMA means that traditional marriage supporters will

be tarred as “enemies of the human race.” After all, how dare anyone object to two people of the same sex loving each other? (Or 3 or more people?)

There will be no tolerance for conservatives or tradition or the natural order. This is already apparent in the leftist media’s long-time smearing of conservatives as racists or worse.

— L. Brent Bozell
The Watchdog
August 2013

Islam

In 2010, the bestselling atheist Richard Dawkins, in the “On Faith” section of the Washington Post, called the pope “a leering old villain in a frock” perfectly suited to “the evil corrupt organization” and “child-raping institution” that is the Catholic Church. Nobody seemed to mind very much.

Three years later, in a throwaway Tweet, Professor Dawkins observed that “all the world’s Muslims have fewer Nobel Prizes than Trinity College, Cambridge. They did great things in the Middle Ages, though.” This time round, the old provocateur managed to get a rise out of folks. Almost every London paper ran at least one story on the “controversy.” The Independent’s Owen Jones fumed, “How dare you dress your bigotry up as atheism. You are now beyond an embarrassment.” The best-selling author Caitlin Moran sneered, “It’s time someone turned Richard Dawkins off and then on again. Something’s gone weird.” The Daily Telegraph’s Tom Chivers beseeched him, “Please be quiet, Richard Dawkins, I’m begging.”

None of the above is Muslim. Indeed, they are, to one degree or another, members of the same secular liberal

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media elite as Professor Dawkins. Yet all felt that, unlike Dawkins's routine jeers at Christians, his Tweet had gone too far. It's factually unarguable: Trinity graduates have amassed 32 Nobel prizes, the entire Muslim world a mere 10. If you remove Yasser Arafat, Mohamed ElBaradei, and the other winners of the Nobel Peace Prize, Islam can claim just four laureates against Trinity's 31 (the college's only peace-prize recipient was Austen Chamberlain, brother of Neville). Yet simply to make the observation was enough to have the Guardian compare him to the loonier imams and conclude that "we must consign Dawkins to this very same pile of the irrational and the dishonest."

Full disclosure: Five years ago, when I was battling Canada's "human rights" commissions to restore free speech to my native land, Richard Dawkins was one of the few prominent figures in Her Majesty's dominions to lend unequivocal support. He put it this way: "I have over the years developed a dislike for Mark Steyn, although I've always admired his forceful writing. On this issue, however, he is clearly 1000% in the right and should receive all the support anybody can give him."

Let me return the compliment: I have over the years developed a dislike for Richard Dawkins's forceful writing (the God of the Torah is "the most unpleasant character in all fiction," etc.), but I am coming round rather to admire him personally. It's creepy and unnerving how swiftly the West's chattering classes have accepted that the peculiar sensitivities of Islam require a deference extended to no other identity group. I doubt The Satanic Verses would be

accepted for publication today, but, if it were, I'm certain no major author would come out swinging on Salman Rushdie's behalf the way his fellow novelist Fay Weldon did: The Koran, she declared, "is food for no-thought ... It gives weapons and strength to the thought-police."

That was a remarkably prescient observation in the London of 1989. Even a decade ago, it would have been left to the usual fire-breathing imams to denounce remarks like Dawkins's. In those days, Islam was still, like Christianity, insultable. Fleet Street cartoonists offered variations on the ladies' changing-room line "Does my bum look big in this?" One burqa-clad woman to another: "Does my bomb look big in this?" Not anymore. "There are no jokes in Islam," pronounced the Ayatollah Khomeini, and so, in a bawdy Hogarthian society endlessly hooting at everyone from the Queen down, Islam uniquely is no laughing matter. Ten years back, even the United Nations Human Development Program was happy to sound off like an incendiary Dawkins Tweet: Its famous 2002 report blandly noted that more books are translated by Spain in a single year than have been translated into Arabic in the last thousand years.

What Dawkins is getting at is more fundamental than bombs or burqas. Whatever its virtues, Islam is not a culture of inquiry, of innovation. You can coast for a while on the accumulated inheritance of a pre-Muslim past — as, indeed, much of the Dar al-Islam did in those Middle Ages Dawkins so admires — but it's not unreasonable to posit that the more Muslim a society becomes the smaller a role Nobel prizes and translated books will play in its future.

According to a new report from Britain's Office of National Statistics, "Mohammed," in its various spellings, is now the second most popular baby boy's name in England and Wales, and Number One in the capital. It seems likely that an ever more Islamic London will, for a while, still have a West End theater scene for tourists, but it will have ever less need not just for Oscar Wilde and Noël Coward and eventually Shakespeare but for drama of any kind. Maybe I'm wrong, maybe Dawkins is wrong, maybe the U.N. Human Development chaps are wrong. But the ferocious objections even to raising the subject suggest we're not.

A quarter-century on, Fay Weldon's "thought police" are everywhere. Notice the general line on Dawkins: Please be quiet. Turn him off. You can't say that. What was once the London Left's principal objection to the ayatollah's Rushdie fatwa is now its reflexive response to even the mildest poke at Islam. Their reasoning seems to be that, if you can just insulate this one corner of the multicultural scene from criticism, elsewhere rude, raucous life — with free speech and all the other ancient liberties — will go on. Miss Weldon's craven successors seem intent on making her point: In London, Islam is food for no thought.

— Mark Steyn
National Review

September 2, 2013, p. 44

Gunmen killed six Christians from one church in an early morning attack in southern Plateau State, a month after Muslim Fulanis killed more than 30 Christian men, women, and children in three nearby Plateau villages. Mark

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Lipido, director of the Stefanos Foundation in Jos, the Plateau capital, said thousands of Christians have fled the area, and the overall death toll may be as high as 70.

— *WORLD Magazine*
August 10, 2013, p. 10

There are no words adequate to the horrific attack on a group of school-children in Nigeria carried out by the jihadist Boko Haram outfit — a partner to the Algeria-based al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb — which claimed the lives of about 40 children and teachers in July. The jihadists set fire to the school and then shot children as they tried to escape; many were burned alive. It was the third attack by the group, whose name means “Western education is forbidden,” on a school this summer. Boko Haram’s leader, Abubakar Shekau, released a video after the attacks promising that they would continue. “We are going to burn down the schools if they are not Islamic religious schools for Allah,” he warned. “The Koran teaches that we must shun democracy, we must shun Western education, we must shun the constitution.” President Bush was relentlessly mocked for saying, of al-Qaeda et al., “They hate our freedoms.” But he was right.

— *National Review*
August 15 2013, p. 12

On November 5, 2009, Major Nidal Hasan shot and killed 13 adults and an unborn child, wounding 32 others. In carnage, the Fort Hood rampage is surpassed only by 9/11 among Islamic terrorist attacks on U.S. soil, with twice as many Americans killed as in the 1993

World Trade Center bombing. Yet, in the spectacle that is the ongoing court-martial, which took longer to convene than it took for the U.S. to defeat imperial Japan, the defendant is the only participant willing to say what Hasan is: an anti-American jihadist. Hasan, who carried a “Soldier of Allah” business card, consulted frequently with al-Qaeda operative Anwar al-Awlaki. He screamed “Allahu Akbar” as he mowed down U.S. soldiers, and started the trial by telling the jury, “The evidence will clearly show that I am the shooter.” For government officials and the media, though, “Allahu Akbar” is — as Mark Steyn has observed — Arabic for “Nothing to see here.”

— *National Review*
September 2, 2013, p. 4

Before Egypt’s President Muhammad Morsi was ousted, April was one of the worst months for Christian Copts there. On April 5 near Cairo, when a longstanding feud between a Christian family and a Muslim family—based on male Muslims sexually harassing Christian girls—culminated in the violent deaths of six Christians, including two of the participants, a Christian and a Muslim, being set on fire, and local Muslims went on another “collective punishment” spree. It resulted in the injury of at least 20 other Copts, an Evangelical church being set on fire, and an attack on a Coptic church. Two days later, after Copts had mourned their dead in the St. Mark Cathedral—Coptic Christianity’s holiest site and home to the Coptic pope—Muslim mobs, who had waited outside, launched yet another attack—aided by state security forces. Eyewit-

nesses said as many as 40-50 tear gas canisters targeted the mourners, many of whom were women and children hiding in the cathedral. Two more Copts were killed and many dozens wounded as other officers stood by while the Muslim mob tried to destroy the cathedral.

On one Friday after prayers, the Bilal Ibn Rabah Mosque in Cairo was turned into a “torture chamber” for Egyptians, many of whom were Christians, protesting the Muslim Brotherhood. One of the victims, Amir Ayad, a Christian, said he was severely beaten before being left for dead at the side of the road. He suffered a fractured skull, a broken arm, bleeding in his right eye and pellet wounds. Coptic Christian children, mostly boys, were targeted for kidnapping and held for ransom; one 6-year-old, after his family had paid the Muslim kidnapper, was killed. And a video appeared on Arabic-language websites showing a crowd of Muslims in Egypt assaulting and raping two Christian women on a crowded street and in broad daylight. Throughout, the women scream in terror as the men shout Islamic slogans such as “Allahu Akbar!” “[Allah is Greater!]” None of the many passersby intervenes in any way.

Also in April, during Easter week in Nigeria, Muslim herdsmen launched a series of raids on Christian villages, killing at least 80 Christians. Most of those slain were either children or the elderly. Over 200 Christian homes were destroyed, eight churches burned, and 4,500 Christians displaced. According to a pastor present at the time, “It was a helpless situation, as no Christians had any weapon to fight back. Women, children, and the elderly who were not able

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to escape were shot and killed. Luckily, all my children are in school, so this made it easier for our escape from the Muslim attackers. We sneaked away in the midst of the confusion and trekked for more than 20 kilometers [12 miles] to find a place to stay.”

— Raymond Ibrahim
FrontPage Magazine
July 26, 2013

North Carolina legislators passed a bill July 24 prohibiting courts from considering “foreign law” in marriage, child custody, and other family-related cases. Although it does not mention Islamic Sharia law, critics and supporters agree that the measure mainly targets the Muslim legal code and its possible role in courts. Earlier state attempts to ban Sharia by name raised constitutional concerns. A federal court struck down an Oklahoma anti-Sharia law in 2012, saying it discriminated against Muslims.

Defenders of the North Carolina statute hope that its more expansive ban of foreign law will pass constitutional muster. The bill’s sponsor, Republican state representative Chris Whitmire, says that it will force judges to consider only U.S. statutes, and protect “constitutional rights, especially of women and minorities.” But critics call the bill “a ban in search of a problem,” and note that it would also prohibit recognition of other religious groups’ procedures, such as Orthodox Jews’ internal handling of divorce cases.

Religion News Service reports that while the U.S. Muslim community has no Islamic courts, American judges do occasionally have to deal with Sharia-based foreign law, such as marriage con-

tracts granted by Muslim courts overseas. Some Muslim-majority countries, such as Saudi Arabia, enforce notoriously harsh versions of Sharia, which critics see as discriminating against non-Muslims and women. Other Muslim nations, such as Turkey, maintain secular courts and do not recognize Sharia.

— *WORLD Magazine*
August 24, 2013, p. 64

Was Muhammad a force of good or evil? That’s the question British author, broadcaster, and professing Muslim Rageh Omaar promises to investigate in the early moments of the new documentary, *The Life of Muhammad*, airing on PBS beginning August 20. If Omaar seems to have a conflict of journalistic interest regarding the subject, it’s no more so than the film’s director Faris Kermani, writer Ziauddin Sardar, or executive producer Aaqil Ahmed (also the Head of Religion & Ethics at the BBC, and the man who originally commissioned the project). All are Muslims.

This isn’t to suggest that those who follow Islam shouldn’t have had roles—even major roles—in a documentary aimed at the general public about Islam’s founder. It’s only to point out that almost no one associated with the movie seems to have been in a position to approach the question with much skepticism. Even the name of the production company—Crescent Films—betrays a marked partiality. (It’s hard to imagine, for example, public broadcasting airing an investigative series into the life of Christ from an outfit called *Ichthys Productions*.)

There’s no doubt, from the outset, that the filmmakers are partial. Within

the first few minutes Omaar explains that out of deference to Muslim standards, the three-part series will avoid depicting any images of Muhammad—whether in artwork or in dramatic reenactments. It shows the same sensitivity to his wives. We see paintings of the women, but their faces are carefully whited out.

The Life of Muhammad is well-paced and visually arresting, thanks to locations in Mecca and Medina, but a pall of propaganda hangs over the entire production. With the exception of a few brief appearances by Jihad Watch’s Robert Spencer, whose sound bites are limited to what must be the least critical things he’s ever said about Islam, most of the experts Omaar consults display a sympathy for the religion as naked as his own.

Nearly every element of modern Islam that Westerners find troubling is, the array of talking heads assure us, the result of either a misunderstanding or a misrepresentation of the Quran. Muhammad never intended for anyone to be coerced into converting to Islam, and Sharia was by no means intended to rule civil societies. By his own example, Muhammad meant for women to be equal to men, and he never required them to cover their heads or faces. Nor did he view Jews with enmity, considering them, instead, brothers of an earlier branch of his own belief system. And he certainly never intended for Muslims to prosecute a war of religion by targeting innocents. “The Quran says that if the enemy asks for peace, you must lay down your arms immediately and accept any terms however disadvantageous,” author Karen Armstrong informs us.

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All of this leaves the viewer with one glaring and glaringly unanswered question—if all this is true, why are so many of this religion's adherents getting it so publicly wrong?

The film's characterization of Muhammad as a prophet of peace—indeed a prophet of outright self-abnegation—might be more persuasive if those who espouse a very different sort of Muhammad were also given a full hearing. But *The Life of Muhammad* doesn't bother with the “extremists” who hold more hard-line views of jihad until the last five minutes of the last episode. Then, though they only have approximately 30 seconds to express their views, two young Muslim radicals sound (though certainly disturbing), intelligent, consistent, and not at all as if they're ignorant of what their faith teaches.

Omaar and his scholars speak often throughout the three hours about how the “enemies of Islam” distort the tenets of its founder in order to attack it, and that Muslims have never elected anyone who advocates extremism to represent them. The filmmakers might think about mentioning that to the Egyptians, Iranians, and Turks, to name a few recent examples.

— *WORLD Magazine*
August 24, 2013, p. 64

Secularism

“They had come by the hundreds,” writes Samuel Freedman in a recent *New York Times* article characterizing an event as an “invasion.” He wasn't describing a swarm of locusts, but rather a group of Evangelical Christians in Portland, Ore. For the past four summers, they have volunteered to clean, weed, paint, and repair the public Roo-

sevelt High School. Freedman writes in disbelief that the Evangelicals were only there to help. This is the usual attitude of the *Times* toward Christians. In 2011, Nicholas Kristof wrote a backhanded complimentary article that was headlined “Evangelicals without Blowhards.” That same year saw an op-ed titled “The Evangelical Rejection of Reason,” which said that “when the faith of so many Americans [meaning Evangelicals] becomes an occasion to embrace discredited, ridiculous and even dangerous ideas, we must not be afraid to speak out.” And a recent *Times* article by scholar/author T.M. Luhrman worries about the danger that people could become “addicted to prayer.” The *Times* examines Evangelicals like an anthropologist studying a newly discovered culture.

— *National Review*
September 2, 2013, p. 13

Christianity

A Kenyan lawyer has asked the International Court of Justice to overturn Jesus Christ's death sentence. This effort seems nearly as unnecessary as the ICJ itself. To begin with, there is the question of standing: Since Christ's death enabled the salvation of all mankind, it is unclear who was harmed by his conviction, however unjust it may have been. Moreover, the Gospels agree that Pontius Pilate thought Christ was innocent, and only reluctantly delivered him to the mob. If God's revealed truth says Christ was railroaded, not even Harold Koh could think an ICJ decision will make it any truer. So it seems unlikely that ICJ will find this case within its jurisdiction—although, since doing so would provide another chance to blame the Jewish state for a human-rights violation, you

never know.

— *National Review*
September 2, 2013, p. 13

“For though they knew God, they did not glorify Him as God or show gratitude. Instead, their thinking became nonsense, and their senseless minds were darkened . . . Therefore God delivered them over in their cravings of their hearts to sexual impurity, so that their bodies were degraded among themselves. They exchanged the truth of God for a lie, and worshipped and served something created instead of the Creator, who is blessed forever.”

— Paul, Romans 1:21, 24

“Husbands, in the same way, live with your wives with understanding of their weaker nature yet showing them honor as co-heirs of the grace of life, so that your prayers will not be hindered.”

— Peter, 1 Peter 3:7

Sexuality

Public statements from the Pentagon since it removed the ban on direct ground combat jobs for women signal that the armed services plan to change their physical standards to ensure integration of the sexes, analysts say.

A review of news conferences and congressional testimony shows that the top brass repeatedly use the word “validate” — not necessarily “retain” — when talking about ongoing studies of tasks to qualify for infantry, armored and special operations jobs.

In other words, some physical standards would be lowered for men and women on the argument that certain tasks are outdated or irrelevant.

A compilation of the studies' results

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will play a major role in late 2015, when the services decide which combat jobs to open or keep closed to women.

Senior officers for the first time also are stressing the mental aspect of ground combat, not just physical strength and endurance. Analysts say that is another sign that the military is looking at different ways to ensure that women qualify.

“There will be a move to create a critical mass of young women in certain ground combat units,” said Robert L. Maginnis, a former Army officer with a new book, *Deadly Consequences: How Cowards Are Pushing Women Into Combat*.

“It will begin as an ‘experiment,’ and meanwhile there will be a whittling away of standards — gender-norming — regarding what is required to graduate from certain schools, such as Army Rangers,” Mr. Maginnis said. “The administration and its ideological radical feminist soul mates are willing to accept less effectiveness at the point of the spear in order to put women into every last military occupational specialty.”

A sample of how the Pentagon is leaving the door open to lowering, or jettisoning, standards:

- Juliet Beyler, the Pentagon’s director of officer and enlisted personnel management, told a House Armed Services subcommittee in July that “each service and [U.S. Special Operations Command] intends to execute the guidance to review and validate all occupational standards to ensure that they are occupationally and operationally relevant.”

- Army Maj. Gen. Bennet S. Sacolik of Special Operations Command told the same panel that commando

standards must be “decisively tied to an operational requirement.”

- Lt. Gen. Howard B. Bromberg, deputy chief of staff for Army personnel, told reporters in June: “Whatever you want to pick, you’ve got to be absolutely certain that that performance can be understood and then applied in a combat situation because this isn’t to set anybody up for failure. This is all about success.”

- Army Gen. Martin E. Dempsey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told reporters in January that if a standard keeps women out of a combat job, the military branch had better have a good argument for keeping it.

“If we do decide that a particular standard is so high that a woman couldn’t make it, the burden is now on the service to come back and explain to the secretary, ‘Why is it that high?’” Gen. Dempsey said. “Does it really have to be that high? With the direct combat exclusion provision in place, we never had to have that conversation.”

— Rowan Scarborough
The Washington Times
August 12, 2013, p.93

The New York Times regularly churns out columns celebrating progressive ideas about parenting, and *The Scrapbook* just as regularly marvels at the willingness of Times readers to consume their terrible advice. (For a classic of the genre, we refer you to a feature this past April on the trend in “elimination communication,” or diaper-free parenting. Per the Times, parents in trendy Brooklyn neighborhoods “exchange tips like how to get a baby to urinate on the street between parked cars.”)

But when it comes to advice that might actually mess up or even endanger your child’s life, we’re relieved to learn that even the writers for the Times draw the line somewhere. In an August 9 column, “Sex in a Teenager’s Room?” Henry Alford makes the case for setting some firm boundaries:

It started two summers ago when I read that Angelina Jolie told the British tabloid the Sun that her mother allowed the 14-year-old Miss Jolie to live with her boyfriend in her mother’s home “like a married couple.” I winced slightly. If I had, say, a 16-year-old who was having protected sex in a committed relationship, I would happily allow him to sleep with his partner in my house. But at 14?

The thought of letting 14-year-old children cohabit makes us wince more than “slightly.” It is also mystifying what grand physical and psychological transformation would happen in the next two years that would suddenly prepare teenagers to shack up under their parents’ roof. Further, the idea that parental supervision is either appropriate or even possible in these circumstances raises any number of questions.

Alford seems quite certain that his children will use condoms, presumably because teenagers never lie to their parents about risky behavior they might have engaged in. And although rebelling against your parents is a perfectly normal impulse at that age, Alford is strangely untroubled by the thought that sanctioning otherwise reckless acts might cause them to seek out ever more outré thrills.

Of course, the column sparked a lot of discussion online. Alford’s proposal

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to sanction teenage sex was immediately embraced by blogger Amanda Marcotte. Writing in *USA Today*, she argues that parental supervision of teenage sex will ameliorate the problems of our “hook-up” culture and encourage more familial stability, that is provided you don’t have a reliable definition of what a family is in the first place or acknowledge that sex in marital relationships is foundational to healthy families:

The evidence suggests that it’s a good thing. Researchers Wendy Manning and Jessica Cohen of Bowling Green State University found that as teenage cohabitation rates rose, teenage marriage rates declined. While it is true that some of the teenage cohabitants gave birth, getting married in your teens is still the surer route to having a baby very young. Yes, teenagers who cohabit are more likely to have unstable situations with their family of origin, but they were still using cohabitation the way adults in their 20s do, as a way to save money and spend time with a partner without having to commit to a marriage before they felt ready.

We hate to break it to Marcotte, but plenty of Americans marry as 18- and 19-year-olds. So it shouldn’t be surprising that marriage would be a catalyst for producing children. That’s how it’s supposed to work. She also dismisses the fact that teens who cohabit tend to be the product of troubled families, because, well, they’re just going to keep cohabiting into their twenties anyway. Rather than parse this circular reasoning, we might humbly suggest that it appears that teenagers who were allowed to cohabit were taught that sex could be divorced from commitment at an early age, and unsur-

prisingly, that lesson ended up shaping their lives as dysfunctional adults. The evidence does not suggest cohabitation is a “good thing”—far from it.

— *The Weekly Standard*
August 26, 2013, p.34

Education

Mitch Daniels, whom some Republicans would like to see president of something more than Purdue University, is under fire from academic critics over e-mails recently published by the Associated Press in which Daniels, then governor of Indiana, objected strongly to the use of Howard Zinn’s left-wing fantasy, *A People’s History of the United States*, in Indiana public school curricula. The plainspoken governor called the book “anti-American” and “crap,” in what was supposed to be a private e-mail. Language niceties aside, Governor Daniels is entirely right about Zinn’s work, the defects of which are apparent not only to conservative critics but to liberals as well: Arthur Schlesinger called Zinn “a polemicist, not a historian,” while Harvard’s Oscar Handlin described the book as a “deranged fairy tale.” It takes fictional episodes for fact, misrepresents everything from slavery in the early colonies to the Tet Offensive, omits such historical events as the Gettysburg address, D-Day invasion, and the Wright Brothers’ first flight, and presents what can only be called a “biased account.” Who said that? Howard Zinn. Governor Daniels was right to take him at his word and act accordingly.

— *National Review*
August 19, 2013, p. 6

Sociology

The question boils down to this: Are stereotypes generalizations drawn from

experience of actual behavior, or is that behavior a response to the stereotypes? In an unguarded moment, Jesse Jackson famously (or notoriously) revealed which side he came down on, what he really believed, when, rhetoric aside, he said: “There is nothing more painful to me at this stage in my life than to walk down the street and hear footsteps and start thinking about robbery. Then look around and see somebody white and feel relieved.” In other words, Jackson shared the stereotype that George Zimmerman is now so severely criticized for allegedly having had. (Actually, Jackson’s account of his own experience is inaccurate. What he was relieved at not seeing behind him was not a black person in general, but a young black man; a black woman or a middle-aged black man wouldn’t have worried him in the least.)

Stereotyping is inevitable in complex societies in which not everything can be known about every individual. It is a kind of mental shorthand, and like shorthand can be either accurate or inaccurate. The stereotype can be wrong in general or wrong in a particular case. Moreover, most people are apt to forget that from the mere fact that most a’s are b’s, it does not follow that most b’s are a’s — that is to say, from the fact that most people who get lung cancer smoke it does not follow that most people who smoke get lung cancer, any more than it follows from the fact that most white criminals are tattooed that all white tattooed people are criminals.

But stereotypes are useful as rough guides. It so happens that on the day before I wrote this, I appeared as an expert witness at a murder trial. There was a security check at the entrance to the

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courthouse but the security men gave me only the most cursory of inspections, on the grounds that 60-year-old men in business suits carrying bags full of documents are very unlikely to be bent on causing (physical) mayhem. But they searched very thoroughly the man behind me, more than 30 years my junior, tattooed, with a chunky gold chain around his neck and several rings that might have doubled as knuckledusters, a shaved head, scarred face and scalp, unnecessary gold dentistry, and eyes that sparkled with malignity. Lombroso would have had a field day with him.

In short, they profiled him, without necessarily knowing that that was what they were doing; and since violence and intimidation in public areas of the courthouse are far from unknown, it is difficult to see the different way in which we were treated as completely unreasonable. If you don't want to be taken for a thug, why go to such efforts to look like one? It is very unlikely that the man did not know that he looked like a thug.

Once inside the courthouse, it was not very difficult to distinguish, physically, between those on the wrong side of the law and their legal advisers. There were a lot of people present (all white, incidentally) to whom, on the basis of stereotyping, you would have given a wide berth on a dark night. Indeed, you would have been a fool not to. It was, however, far more difficult to distinguish, physically, the families of the perpetrators from the families of the victims. They looked, on the whole, very much the same types. And this was a timely reminder that the main victims of crimes are those who are close, geographically and socially, to the criminals

who commit them.

In other words, the main victims of crimes committed by blacks in the United States are blacks, not whites. And the statistical chance of a young black man's being killed by a white assailant is very slender (now that the dreadful days of lynching are over) by comparison with his chance of being killed by another young black man. Jesse Jackson's stereotyped thinking when he heard the footsteps behind him acknowledged this truth.

It is not wrong to stereotype; it is wrong — foolish and sometimes wicked — to allow stereotypes inflexibly to trump evidence. There is no reason to think that George Zimmerman did this. He must have known that not all black people in the gated community should be suspect, because he knew that 20 percent of the residents were black. Moreover, a few years earlier he had protested against the maltreatment of a black man by the police. His suspicion of Trayvon Martin was therefore specific to Martin, even if he thought that young blacks were more likely to be criminal than young whites. (Would he have reacted in the same way had Trayvon Martin been white? I cannot prove it, of course, but I think he would have.) If Zimmerman's conduct is to be reprehended, it is for foolishness or worse, not for acting unjustifiably on a stereotype.

President Obama's inelegant and imprecise impromptu remarks illustrate, however, the dangers of inflexible thinking in stereotypes (though also, possibly, the political usefulness to demagogues of such thinking). He said: "I think it is important to recognize that the African-American community is looking at this

issue through a set of experiences and a history that doesn't go away." Of course it doesn't go away if you believe, a priori, that everything that happens is a reenactment of it.

— Theodore Dalrymple
National Review
August 19, 2013, p. 29
Abortion

Planned Parenthood Gulf Coast, which operates a chain of abortion mills, announced in July that it was paying \$1.4 million to the state of Texas to settle claims that it fraudulently billed the state, under Medicaid for procedures that were entirely fictitious. Planned Parenthood's executives were defiant, calling the allegations in the complaint "baseless" and the settlement a "practical matter" to head off expensive litigation. Texas attorney general Greg Abbott's office sees things differently, saying that Planned Parenthood Gulf Coast intentionally falsified medical records in order to bilk the state out of Medicaid payments. The allegations are not an aberration. The Alliance Defending Freedom, which compiles data on state and federal audits of Planned Parenthood affiliates, reports that eleven other state audits have found nearly \$8 million in improper Medicaid payments made to the organizations. "Planned Parenthood's primary motivation appears not to be to provide quality health care to patients who seek family planning services, but rather to enhance its profits," the ADF report concludes. The federal government, which finances Planned Parenthood to the tune of \$542 million a year, seems only too happy to assist.

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