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Surviving the "Woke" Church

Christianity is being Even as attacked by non-believers, many church leaders are rewriting what it means to be Christian, in order to be politically correct. (December 21, 2020, 48pp) TNA201221

Lockdown Madness

Presently, a remedy for an illness is

more dangerous than the disease

itself. The lockdowns for COVID-19

have meant more suicides and drug

abuse, and less cancer and heart

care, meaning many deaths are

being caused from the lockdowns.

They also cause economic disaster.

(October 19, 2020, 48pp)TNA201019

CHRISTIANITY TODAY urviving the "Woke"

Stopping the Steal

There has been a flood of

evidence showing that the

2020 presidential election

was stolen via rampant fraud.

The question is now: Can

Trump prove it to a court and

change the election results?

(December 7, 2020, 48pp)

TNA201207



Violence, Inc. a

Leftist Enterprise

Leftists are not embarrassed

by other leftists who are

lying, rioting, vandalizing,

attacking, and murdering.

Rather, to them, those

are accomplishments.

(November 9, 2020, 48pp)

TNA201109

OUR OTHER ISSUES!

The War on Local Police

CHECK OUT

Lately, police have routinely been vilified for brutality and systemic racism against blacks, but the claims are misleading at best and lies at worst. We tell what's true and what's not — and reveal the shady goals of those making the claims. (October 5, 2020, 48pp) TNA201005

How to Fight World Hunger (Hint: It's not more foreign aid)

Global development economists have largely come to the conclusion that the many decades of foreign aid to reduce poverty have utterly failed. So what can kindhearted people do to help? (September 7, 2020, 48pp) TNA200907



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New American

Printed in the U.S.A. • ISSN 0885-6540 P.O. Box 8040 • Appleton, WI 54912 920-749-3784 • 920-749-5062 (fax) www.thenewamerican.com editorial@thenewamerican.com

Rates are \$49 per year (Canada, add \$9; foreign, add \$27) Copyright ©2020 by American Opinion Publishing, Inc. Periodicals postage paid at Appleton, WI and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send any address changes to THE NEW AMERICAN, P.O. Box 8040, Appleton, WI 54912.



THE NEW AMERICAN is published twice monthly by American Opinion Publishing Inc., a wholly

owned subsidiary of The John Birch Society.

Safeguards of the Electoral College

The disingenuous and dishonest arguments for the national popular vote should not even be something we need to consider.

First look at the numbers. If the United States of America were in a one-world government and each person could vote and there were no worldwide electoral college, China at 1.44 billion and India at 1.38 billion would run the show, as the USA has only 331 million.

That is the same logic that needs to be applied to the Electoral College. Do you want New York, California, and a couple of other eastern states dictating all that goes on in the United States? The founding documents had a real purpose. New York is not the same as Nebraska; Pennsylvania is not the same as Montana; and so forth. The Electoral College serves the purpose of balancing out the states and their sometimes significant differences.

Stating that the national popular vote makes every vote count is not a valid statement. It actually makes votes from the smaller states, with different needs, different geography, and different people, even more insignificant. Without balance, some of the smaller states would never have joined the union. Eliminating the Electoral College will cause unrest, as policy would be dictated to the smaller states by the larger states. Do not doubt it.

> WILLIAM F. HINESER, DPM Arvada, Colorado

Who Orchestrated the COVID Quarantine?

Data show that the reason so many people came to believe that the COVID shutdown was necessary, when it was not, was because for decades the population had been fed false data about epidemics through movies. This new thesis explains how the liberal media, despite being at war with the Trump administration, managed to convince nearly the entire U.S. economy to shut down even with an absence of scientific data to back that measure.

There were no precedents anywhere in the world to suggest that quarantining the whole country was the right way to proceed, yet politicians on the right of the political spectrum did it in the same way as those on the left.

September 2020 CDC data show that of the 180,000 COVID-19 deaths that had been classified as such up to August of 2020, only six percent of those were real COVID deaths, dying only of COVID. Does 10,000 COVID deaths during a sixmonth period for a population of 330 million sounds like a justified figure to shut down an entire economy, when the influenza virus causes more deaths every year?

So, how did the people interested in shutting down the economy dupe politicians and populations of the world into believing that their lives were in mortal danger if they did not quarantine in their homes?

Analysis suggests that people were instilled with images that made them believe that a massive epidemic that could kill a large share of the world population was a real possibility. With hundreds of Hollywood movies and thousands of TV shows about disease outbreaks, apocalyptic pandemic disasters, and virally caused horrible dystopian worlds, the population was duped.

In the 2013 horror movie *World War Z*, the response to events is identical to the response to COVID-19. From the origins of the virus in East Asia, to the worldwide spread of it via airlines, to the role of the UN and the World Health Organization, to the quarantining of the whole world, to the infection of the U.S. president with the virus, to ending the apocalypse via a vaccine, it occurred in the same way in the film as it did in 2020.

Using film, Hollywood subliminally implanted in people's minds the idea that sooner or later a horrendous viral pandemic would occur. In psychology that is called priming, and whenever a person sees images, those images and ideas get automatically and involuntarily deposited in the subconscious. Once in the subconscious, those images unknowingly mix with nonfiction information from the real world, inducing entire nations to behave in ways that are contrary to logic and science.

> DR. CARLOS SABILLON Sent via e-mail

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INSIDE TRACK

Shame White Children and Get Rich in the Process

How "can we in any of our minds conclude that whites are alright?" The preceding was found in a letter, reports journalist Megyn Kelly, circulated by someone who helps devise school curricula.

Welcome to the United States' real "systemic racism."

It's no wonder that "Kelly — along with her kids — has decided to escape New York," wrote A.J. Rice at BPR on November 25. "A place where her kids are the object of official race vitriol produced by Nahliah Webber, the executive of something called the Orleans Public Education Network (OPEN). It sounds bland but it's as radical — and *racial* — as it gets."

It's as profitable as it gets, too. Another race hustler, Sharroky Hollie, had a contract with the Sarasota, Florida, school system to give seven 30-minute lectures on white badness for \$115,000, according to Rice.

Kelly made news recently when she announced that, after the aforementioned letter was sent to her and other parents in a school "diversity group," she was pulling her boys out of their "exclusive" Manhattan institution, the Collegiate School — tuition: \$55,900 a year.

This racial propaganda isn't just found in posh private schools. The Pacific Educational Group (PEG), which believes in "collectivism" for blacks, peddles "white privilege" theory in government schools. Those schools paid PEG \$1.56 million in just 2014-15 alone.

While the earlier-cited Sharroky Hollie did have her contract terminated after parents learned what she was peddling, there are plenty more where she came from. And those who made the decision to retain her are, no doubt, still in the Sarasota school system — and like-minded others are in school districts nationwide.

The only way this will end is if parents don't just pull their kids from the offending schools, but do so en masse. The market talks, whining walks — and people get the schools they deserve.



President Trump Issues "Pardon of Innocence" for General Michael Flynn

President Trump granted a full pardon to former National Security Advisor General Michael Flynn on the day before Thanksgiving.

Flynn's family responded:

For four long years our family and millions of American patriots stood arm-in-arm with our brother, General Mi-



chael T. Flynn, fighting the vicious, deep-rooted corruption of government institutions and vengeful individuals intent on destroying General Flynn and our country in shameful defiance of justice and the Rule of Law.

Those individuals have disgraced the United States of America. The perpetuation of this political persecution of General Flynn was further fomented by Judge Emmet Sullivan's refusal to dismiss the fraudulent prosecution. Judge Sullivan's inactions are a reprehensible assault against the Constitution and will live in infamy the world over and is his legacy.

Flynn's lead attorney, Sidney Powell, welcomed the pardon of her client, adding, "The FBI and DOJ have been a national embarrassment for more than 15 years. It was my fervent hope to make our judicial system work to exonerate an innocent man ... but enough is enough."

Flynn, on bad advice given him by his previous law firm, was urged to admit to lying under the terms of a plea deal. Prosecutors threatened Flynn's son with charges unless he agreed to the deal.

As Powell noted in her motion to dismiss the case against her client, "There was no case against General Flynn. There was no crime. The FBI and the prosecutors knew that. This American hero and his entire family have suffered for four years from public abuse, slander, libel, and all means of defamation at the hands of the very government he pledged his life to defend."

INSIDE TRACK

Despite Predictions of Sea Level Rise, Maldives Is Investing in Its Future

Back in 2012, the former president of the Maldives, Mohamed Nasheed, sounded climate alarm bells, saying, "If carbon emissions continue at the rate they are climbing today, my country will be under water in seven years." However, as of 2020, the Republic of Maldives remains above water and has become a popular tourist destination. Instead of fleeing to higher ground, the island nation is investing millions in infrastructure meant to attract even more tourists.

Since 2019, no fewer than five new airports featuring 2,200meter runways suitable for Boeing 737s and the Airbus A320s have opened on the island nation. Dozens of new resorts have opened on the tiny nation in the past seven years, all of this to accommodate the more than 1.5 million tourists expected each year.

The investors, mainly from Abu Dhabi, have poured more than \$52 million into the airport projects and are banking that the airports and the island nation itself will stay above sea level for at least another 50 years. Why would supposedly savvy investors throw money away on a nation that climate-change experts assure won't be here soon due to undeniable sea level rise?

Perhaps it's because the people of the island nation and the investors have heard the same scare tactics before. In 1988, French news agency AFP reported that a gradual rise in sea level due to global warming threatened to destroy most of the island nation by 2018. This disaster, of course, never occurred. Nor did the drinking water emergency they were supposed to have faced "by 1992."

A University of Plymouth study released earlier this year may explain this: "The results show that islands composed of gravel material can evolve in the face of overtopping waves, with sediment from the beach face being transferred to the island's surface," wrote Plymouth University's Alan Williams.

In other words, the archipelago's inhabitants as well as the archipelago itself are capable of adapting to the circumstances that climate alarmists insist will lead to its demise.



Australian Airline Qantas Will Require COVID-19 Vaccine to Board

Australian airline Qantas announced that it will require that passengers produce proof of having received a COVID-19 vaccination as soon as an inoculation becomes widely available. Qantas CEO Alan Joyce made the announcement November 23 in an interview with the Australian news program *A Current Affair*.

Initially, the airline will require international passengers to have the vaccination, although that could quickly become a necessity for domestic travel as well.

"We are looking at changing our terms and conditions to say



for international travelers, that we will ask people to have a vaccination before they can get on the aircraft," Joyce said. "Whether you need that domestically, we'll have to see what happens with COVID-19 in the market, but certainly for international visitors coming out and people leaving the country, we think that's a necessity."

While Qantas is the first major airline to publicly say that they will require a vaccination in order to fly, it's not likely they'll be the only one.

"I'm talking to my colleagues in other airlines around the globe and I think it's going to be a common theme across the board," Joyce said. "There's a lot of logistics, a lot of technology that'll be needed to put in place to make this happen, but the airlines and the governments are working on this as we speak."

Currently, Qantas is in the process of updating its terms and conditions to reflect the upcoming change, but Joyce suspects that soon, such new policies could be enforced by giving fliers a new digital "vaccination passport," which will show exactly which vaccinations the traveler has received.

While Qantas may have been the first to announce such a measure, the entire worldwide airline industry has been investigating the issue of vaccine restrictions on travel. The International Air Transport Association (IATA) has been working on its own travel pass, such as the one Joyce described. They hope to launch the product early next year.

QUICKQUOTES

Senate Majority Leader Acknowledges President's Right to Question Election Results

"President Trump is 100 percent within his rights to look into allegations of irregularities and weigh his legal options. Let's not have any lectures about how the president should immediately and cheerfully accept preliminary election results from the same characters who just spent four years refusing to accept the validity of the last election."

In a November 9 speech delivered while on the Senate floor, Senate Majority Leader **Mitch McConnell** (*R-Ky.*) pointed to the hypocrisy of some Democrats who have never fully accepted Donald Trump winning the presidency in 2016.



Outside Money for Her Opponent Led to Victory for Maine's Veteran GOP Senator

"When it first started, the race was exciting and fun. But by the end, it was muddy and dirty. My guess is that there were diminishing returns by September."

Pointing to more than \$100 million pumped into the state from afar and the resulting negative ads targeting 24-year incumbent Senator Susan Collins, Colby College Professor **Dan Shea** gave his view of how Collins handily defeated Democrat Sara Gideon, the speaker of Maine's House of Representatives.



Now Promoting Vaccination, Veteran Federal Health Official Insists He Won't Quit

"For me to think about quitting is so completely out of the realm of reality that there isn't a chance in the world that I would do that." *The longtime leader of the National Institute for Allergy and Infectious Diseases, Dr.* **Anthony Fauci** has been criticized for opposing and then endorsing the use of masks, and for supporting lockdowns.

Doubt Grows About Effectiveness of Wearing Masks to Combat COVID-19

"Our study gives an indication of how much you gain from wearing a mask. The conclusion: Not a lot."

In a study conducted in Denmark from April to June 2020, 4,860 participants showed that the number of mask-wearers who contracted the COVID infection differed little from the number who never relied on a mask. Dr. Henning Bundgaard, the study's leader, is a cardiologist at the University of Copenhagen.

Supreme Court Terminates Restrictions on Attendance at Religious Services

"Even if the Constitution has taken a holiday during this pandemic, it cannot become a sabbatical. Rather than apply a nonbinding and expired concurrence from South Bay, courts must resume applying the Free Exercise Clause [in the First Amendment]. We may not shelter in place when the Constitution is under attack."

The restrictions being discussed were those imposed by New York Governor Andrew Cuomo and others. In the 5-4 decision, Justice **Neil Gorsuch** led the conservative majority that included the court's newest member, Justice Amy Coney Barrett.



"The reality is that the Democratic Party is very far left, and a lot of our people in Miami fled that kind of policy."

As the chairman of the Miami-Dade Republican Party, Nelson Diaz explained that the shift in the attitude of many Latin Americans away from Democrats occurred because of the extreme leftist stance of an increasing number of Democratic Party elected officials.

— Compiled by John F. McManus





CHRISTIANITY TODAY Surviving the "Woke" Church

With its promises of equality for all, socialist mania is overcoming churches and recasting what it means to be Christian, dispensing with the words of Christ and biblical teachings.

by Duke Pesta

strong case can be made that the Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821-1881) is the most significant and prescient Christian apologist to emerge since the Enlightenment. Four decades before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Dostoevsky not only anticipated the communist takeover of Russia, but also saw the inevitable persecution of the Russian Orthodox Church and the subsequent driving of Russian Christianity underground. More than any other thinker of his age — or indeed any age since — Dostoevsky recognized that the church and her teachings were not being out-argued by a superior form of socialist dialectic: rather, the Christian narrative was being slyly coopted by a new breed of socialist evangelism that methodically confused and replaced the ideals and aims of Christianity with those of socialism.

To paraphrase G. K. Chesterton, it was not that the verities of Christian thought had been tried and found wanting. They were deemed difficult and therefore left untried in the wake of a new set of quasi-religious doctrines that promised the redemptive salvation and atonement of Christianity without the need to affirm individual free will or acknowledge a world or a Creator that transcended material reality.

The apogee of Dostoevsky's thinking on these issues comes in his magnum opus, The Brothers Karamazov, published in 1881, less than four months before his death. As in his earlier novels, Dostoevsky engages with questions of faith and doubt, existence and negation, and salvation and damnation, but in ways that dramatically supersede his previous works. Originally titled "Atheism," The Brothers Karamazov marks Dostoevsky's most direct link between socialism and disbelief: "For socialism is not merely the labor question, it is before all things the atheistic question, the question of the form taken by atheism today, the question of the tower of Babel built without God, not to mount to Heaven from Earth, but to set up Heaven on Earth."

For Christian churches over the last 50 years, the consequences of atheistic socialism have been devastating, however neatly it has been repackaged and commercialized. Whether it is labeled liberation theology, or democratic socialism, or social justice, or Black Lives Matter, or Antifa, the results are always the same: the calculated erosion of values and traditions linked to the practice and celebration of faith-based liberties and freedoms. Dostoevsky identifies the origins of this destructive worldview in the story of the Tower of Babel in the book of Genesis, where a massed humanity, independent of God, come together to build a mighty tower "whose top is in the heavens" and to "make a name" for themselves, all without any consideration for the will of their Creator. As punishment for this presumption, God scatters them and confounds their speech so they can no longer communicate

Dr. Duke Pesta is academic director at FreedomProject Academy, a classical school that offers online classes in real time for kindergarten through high school. Whether socialist doctrine is labeled liberation theology, or democratic socialism, or social justice, or Black Lives Matter, or Antifa, the results are always the same: the calculated erosion of values and traditions linked to the practice and celebration of faith-based liberties and freedoms.



Storming Heaven: The biblical story of the Tower of Babel tells of humans' direct challenge to God and His word. Nowadays, churches themselves are flouting God's word. (The Tower of Babel, Lucas van Valckenborch, 1594)

and act as one. God's rebuke forces them back to a radical state of individuality the state in which they were conceived — and from whence they are left with no choice but to confront their collective hubris in an exclusively personal manner.

Over the past few decades, the Western church — or better to say Western churches of all denominations — has been especially susceptible to the influence of socialist recasting of Christian doctrine. Like the story of the Tower of Babel, this modern apostasy — for it is the primary heresy of post-medieval Christianity seeks to remove from Christian thought and practice the idea of the transcendent, the idea that this material world is a broken and frail shadow of the eternal and immutable life that awaits us beyond death.

According to the socialists and their cultural allies, not only is this material world our original home and ultimate destiny, it is a limitlessly perfectible world that can one day become a terrestrial utopia. Worship of a transcendent God, then, is the opiate that fixes our attention on other-worldly fairy tales that distract us from radical social change now. And the implication that Christ's death and resurrection were necessary to "redeem" us, to unbelievers, is nothing more than a demeaning slur against our supposed innate rationality and inherent moral goodness. As Dostoevsky insightfully explains above, it is the aim of utopian socialism to create Heaven on Earth, despite the impossibility of the task owing to our flawed human nature.

Surrendering God and Heaven for Social Change

Early Christianity grew in prestige and power by boldly and unapologetically COVER

Unlike the pre-Woke days — when virtue was first and foremost an individual attainment, earned through personal self-denial and voluntary suffering — today's concept of virtue is wholly collective, attained without sacrifice simply by espousing the "correct" ideas and opinions.



Sometime Christian: Rowan Williams, former archbishop of Canterbury, claims that for Christians to get along with Muslims, Christians must give up beliefs that contradict or offend Muslims, though Muslims don't have to give up anything.

preaching the Gospel of Christ. What separated Christianity from the Judaism out of which it emerged was the same thing that ultimately allowed Christian thought to make inroads with the pagan cultures of Greece and Rome. Christ's message of salvation and redemption was first and foremost an individual responsibility and an individual blessing. The God of the Old Testament made His covenant with the Hebrew/Jewish people as a group. They were collectively "His people" and He was collectively "their God." Down through the centuries, the collective nature of this relationship was guaranteed by contractual (covenantal) decree that applied to all as to one. But the promises of Christ offered that covenantal promise on much more personal terms. Simply belonging to some favored group no longer guaranteed anything — consider Christ's incessant calling out of the Pharisees — and eternal salvation was predicated on individual choice and conviction, not conformity and contractual obligation. In the new covenant as Christ formulated it, mother and daughter, father and son, might be saved or severed without regard to the other depending on what they chose and how they lived.

And in the pagan cultures of Greece and Rome, the afterworld was a collectively bleak affair where the overwhelming majority of the dead received neither reward nor punishment. Ultimately, forgetfulness and eventual loss of individual identity was their fate, regardless of how they had lived on Earth. For many, the profoundly personalized and individualistic promises, obligations, and rewards of a monotheistic God — in whose image they were individually created — resounded deeply. And the idea that the God of that individualistic philosophy once entered the material world *as an individual* to definitively reject materialism and worldliness was both moving and authentic. In short, at the core of Christian expansion was evangelism, a missionary compulsion to convince potential converts about their absolute value to God as individuals. Each of them was called to enter a deeply personal and intimate relationship with a God who was both accessible and responsive.

It's hard to believe that we are just one generation removed from the great crusades of Billy Graham and Fulton Sheen. In that short span of time, Western Christianity has all but entirely rejected evangelism, opting instead for a frail and scripturally unjustifiable form of multicultural ecumenism. Not ecumenism in the sense of a call for all Christian peoples and denominations to unite, but rather a multicultural mandate to downplay any aspect of Christian thought or practice that suggests Christianity might be true or exclusively in possession of truth. Christian priests, ministers, and theologians of almost every stripe not only reject evangelism, but often exhibit shame and embarrassment at the prospect of preaching the particularity of Christ or the idea that salvation comes through him alone.

In 2008, for instance, then-Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams insisted that Christian doctrine was inherently offensive to Muslims, suggesting the possibility that key aspects of Christian belief might be on the negotiation table as a means of bringing the two faiths closer together in a materialist alliance. Among the offending aspects of Christianity that Williams was willing to barter in the name of multicultural understanding was the very idea of the Trinity itself, which, Williams fussed, was "difficult" and "sometimes offensive to Muslims." Williams also informed Muslims without any sense of irony that "Christianity has been promoted at the point of the sword and legally supported by extreme sanctions," despite Islam being guilty of that very thing. Islam was not required to alter or reject any tenets of its faith or worldview to bring about this new partnership, predicated on demystifying Christianity from all that transcendent blather about Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The very socialist idea behind this transactional theology is that the foundational Christian mysteries — i.e., those aspects of the faith that engage the transcendent, spiritual aspects of belief — can easily be traded away if the result is the implementation of left-wing social-justice measures in the materialist here and now.

This socialist mania for stripping away the sacred and the spiritual from the altars of faith to promote a purely materialist and political form of social-justice activism one that jettisons the unique metaphysical rites and transcendent responsibilities of traditional belief — has given rise to the latest iteration of Marxist erasure: The Woke Church. As Rowan Williams demonstrates, the Woke Church takes that first pivotal leap required of all socialist appropriations by rejecting the supernatural order while striving to make the "natural" super. As far back as the 1940s, C. S. Lewis anticipated this development and tied it to the rise of "the Historical Jesus" in his own day, the idea that while Jesus might have been a good and sincere moral teacher, we must not confuse his historically bound decency — which we may honor — with all that embarrassing nonsense about "the Son of God."

Across the denominational landscape of modern Christianity, we see this fevered drive to awaken the faith from the nightmare of transcendence, subordinating it instead to the imperatives of materialism. A critical aspect of this "Wokening" is virtue signaling. Unlike the pre-Woke days — when virtue was first and foremost an individual attainment, earned through personal self-denial and voluntary suffering — today's concept of virtue is wholly collective, attained without sacrifice simply by espousing the "correct" ideas and opinions. Claims to "inclusivity" are the hallmark of virtue signaling: the eager willingness to reject any deeply held belief, break any longstanding vow, or abandon any moral precept that doesn't also embrace and promote its opposite. A Catholic diocese in Australia, for instance, has adopted a new religious curriculum that introduces young students to LGBT studies, gender fluidity, identity politics, and even atheism in an attempt "to make religion more relevant to students' lives." These students will be asked to "recognize sexuality as an exploration in form-



Methodist madness: The New Testament of the Bible repeatedly states that homosexuality is wrong (sinful), yet mainline Methodist churches are surrendering the faith to political correctness, even ordaining homosexual pastors.

ing personal identity" and will consider if the church's teaching on sexuality has "any value or relevance to modern life." This is a sharp reversal from pre-Woke times, when the purpose of Christian education was not to make religion relevant for students, but to show students how the eternal truths of Christianity necessitated a change and accommodation in their own hearts and minds.

The Church of Iceland, meanwhile, released an advertisement for Sunday School that depicts Jesus prancing and leaping while sporting a long beard and a pair of flamboyant, bouncing female breasts. Petor Georg Markan, the church's media representative, defended the image in the face of criticism: "In this ad, we see a Jesus who has breasts and a beard. We're trying to embrace society as it is. We have all sorts of people and we need to train ourselves to talk about Jesus as being 'all sorts' in this context." No one bothered to ask if "embracing society as it is" aligns with the teachings of Christ, who repeatedly called for a rejection of worldliness and any embrace of secular moral values outside of scriptural contexts. The church, loosely defined as Evangelical Lutheran, also produced minister Guorun Karls-og Helgudottir to defend the ad. Helgudottir said, "Each person interprets something in this picture. Some people interpret it as a trans Jesus, others as a woman. Some see Mary with a beard, and others see a genderqueer person. Views within the church are just as diverse as elsewhere." Right, so everyone is encouraged to see Christ exclusively as if He was them - and not Himself - and you're only doing it correctly if the self-modeled Jesus represents something markedly different from what scripture tells us He was.

This approach, which you will find in almost every university religious studies classroom, enshrines diversity for diversity's sake, not Christ, at the heart of Christianity, projecting Christ's divinity onto ourselves in ways that align perfectly with socialist understandings of human nature. Eventually, the pressure against bosomy Christ caused the Church of Iceland to back down and remove the image, but only after warning the world that they were just beginning their experiments in de-Christifying Christ in the name of worldly inclusion. CULTURE

Fleecing the Flock While Courting Globalists

In tracing the evolution of these materialist trends in Western churches, it is impossible not to mention the role of the Roman Catholic Church, whose primate is for all intents and purposes the most highly placed socialist ever to hold the Chair of Saint Peter, his Jesuit bona fides earned in the Latin-American fever swamps of liberation theology. Pope Francis has repeatedly compared migrants to Jesus, suggesting that the harsh welcome Christ received is very much like the reception many migrants experience: "Jesus knows well the pain of not being welcomed," the pope said in a tweet for International Migrants' Day. "May our hearts not be closed as were the houses in Bethlehem." Francis has made immigration a major feature of his papal platform, encouraging nations to be more inviting to migrants - legal or illegal while insisting that a failure to welcome them is rooted in selfishness and greed and fueled by "populist rhetoric." Not surprisingly, given this pope's oft-documented soft spot for communist regimes, there has been no direct papal condemnation of China's highly restrictive border policies, let alone its infamous treatment of over one million Muslim Uighurs. Incidentally, Justin Welby — the current archbishop of Canterbury and leader of the second largest denomination of Christians — has also failed to condemn the Chinese Communist regime. Both men, however, have been eager to criticize American, British, and European efforts to deal with unauthorized, large-scale refugee border-crossings.

The pope's tenure has been marked by repeated papal attacks on populist movements across the world, including here in the United States where a wave of populist enthusiasm swept Donald Trump to the presidency. He is also critical of Brexit, where the democratic process led to a free people rejecting globalism rather than furthering ties with emerging globalist agendas. And it is something more alarming than mere irony that Francis seems unaware that in every respect the movement and call to action of Christ's own ministry is lock-step in line with traditional notions of populism.

And while it is fine for a Christian religious leader such as Francis to support immigrants and call on host countries to treat them as children of God, it is altogether hypocritical that he has nothing to say about the responsibilities of immigrants seeking asylum in foreign countries. Hence, no word from Francis about burgeoning instances of rape at the hands of immigrants in Sweden,



Woke pope: Pope Francis has chastised all elements of freedom: Over the years, he has condemned free markets, gun owners and gun makers, capitalism, and more.

no censure for the much-ballyhooed carbon footprint of such migratory endeavors, and no call to peaceable assimilation on the part of refugees to the cultural and religious norms of their new host countries. In a newly released encyclical letter, *Fratelli Tutti* (Brothers All), Francis goes so far down the socialist path as to insist that "we can then say that each country also belongs to the foreigner, inasmuch as a territory's goods must not be denied to a needy person coming from elsewhere."

The pope also calls for globalist reforms that would confer more power and control onto international agencies such as the United Nations: "It is essential to devise stronger and more efficiently organized international institutions, with functionaries who are appointed fairly by agreement among national governments, and empowered to impose sanctions." Writing specifically about the United Nations, the pope continues: "Needless to say, this calls for clear legal limits to avoid power being coopted only by a few countries and to prevent cultural impositions or a restriction of the basic freedoms of weaker nations on the basis of ideological differences." He goes on to insist that "the work of the United Nations can be seen as the development and promotion of the rule of law, based on the realization that justice is an essential condition for achieving the ideal of universal fraternity." Ah yes, a universal fraternity of nations under the bootheel regime of blue helmets. It's almost enough to make you long for the era of the Renaissance warrior popes, who were content to check Islamic aggression while limiting their lust for dominion to Europe and a few overseas papal enclaves.

Francis then asserts that the Charter of the United Nations is "an obligatory reference point of justice and a channel of peace," and thus "there can be no room for disguising false intentions or placing the partisan interests of one country or group above the global common good." Note the language progression — "The rule of law," "justice," "universal fraternity," and "the global common good" - it's as if the leader of almost two and a half billion Roman Catholics is more comfortable addressing some UN undersecretary for emerging regions than zealously shepherding the flock and assiduously protecting and promoting salvation in the name of Christ.



Socialists can do no wrong: Influenced by "woke" thinking, even as Chinese communists bulldoze Christian churches, they bask in the approval of the Vatican. At the same time, Pope Francis castigates every effort in Western countries to uphold laws against rioting, border jumping, and more.

It was just this past August that Pope Francis told pilgrims that, according to the Bible, "The life of Christians is a military undertaking: fighting against the evil spirit, fighting against Evil.... In this way, the task of 'taking up the cross' becomes a participation with Christ in the salvation of the world." Over the years, Francis has condemned free markets, gun owners and gun makers, and even the allies during World War II, those "great powers" who had the pictures of the railway lines that brought the trains to the concentration camps like Auschwitz to kill Jews, Christians, homosexuals, everybody. Why didn't they bomb those rails? So, for Francis, guerrilla warfare to save lives is of course acceptable, but the idea that gun manufacturers might have armed defenseless Jews prior to the outbreak of violence would be a non-starter.

Don't Judge Their Words, but Their Actions

Certainly, if in the pope's description Christianity is a "military undertaking" to combat evil — onward Christian soldiers, marching as to war — then a key aspect of this martial commission is the protection of persecuted Christians and Christian institutions across the globe. And here is where we see just how far socialist ideas have undermined Christian churches across Western culture. For the socialist-inspired Woke Church, immigrants from non-Western cultures and non-Christian religions must be allowed borderless access to citizenship in North American and European countries. They must also be granted unfettered access to the wealth and opportunities enjoyed by citizens of Western civilization. And all of this must be offered with no expectation of assimilation, no mandate to learn the native language, and no call to leave behind the prejudices and dysfunctions of their previous homelands.

But for Christian minorities living in non-Christian (or post-Christian) cultures, there is very little sympathy and support emanating from Western churches. When it comes to persecuted Christians around the globe, the churches are largely silent, as if Christians living and suffering abroad are viewed through Marxist lenses as interloping colonialists and parasites causing trouble and hardship for mistreated indigenous peoples. For instance, Chinese communist officials forcibly removed more than 900 crosses from Christian churches in the eastern province of Anhui during the first half of 2020. Anhui is home to

the second-largest Christian population in China, and local authorities zealously implement Beijing's order to eliminate crosses from church buildings, threatening sanctions to those who fail to comply: "If a church refuses to remove its cross, congregation members may lose their social benefits, like pensions and povertyalleviation subsidies, and possibilities for their children's future employment will be affected," explained one member of a Three-Self church in Yingdong. Crossremoval is part of Xi Jinping's broader Sinicization program to cleanse China of Western symbols and values, including those of Christianity.

The challenges faced by Christians can be equally daunting in Western nations that have rejected their own Christian heritage. Over the course of one week in July 2020, Catholic churches across the United States and Canada suffered a shocking wave of arson and vandalism in conjunction with Black Lives Matter and Antifa protests. The week-long spree included the desecration of statues of Jesus and Mary, one of which was beheaded and another spray-painted. Someone tried to burn down the Queen of Peace church in Ocala, Florida. Another arsonist set fire to a statue of the Virgin Mary in the Dorchester neighborhood of Boston. Yet another fire broke out at Mission San Gabriel Arcángel in Los Angeles, destroying the building's roof and interior. Vandals beheaded a statue of the Virgin Mary and knocked the monument off its pedestal at Saint Stephen Church in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Marauders desecrated a statue of Jesus at Sacred Heart Church in Calgary, Canada, and at the Grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes in Ontario intruders cut the heads off several statues with a power saw.

If these were black churches or synagogues or mosques that were targeted, the fallout would be immediate and prolonged, a symptom no doubt of rampant white supremacy. But because of the leftwing politics of the anarchists, these incidents were largely overlooked — if not romanticized — by the legacy media.

In Cremona, Italy, Satanists disfigured and toppled a wooden statue of Jesus, leaving behind a piece of cardboard with the inscription "Satan." In Malmö, Swedish vandals desecrated the Evangelical Lutheran Church seven days in a row, break-



Churches under assault: A common theme of the "woke" demonstrations and riots by Antifa and Black Lives Matter, both Marxist groups, is that when "protests" happen, Christians and their buildings and symbols get attacked, yet churches often give wholehearted support to the groups.

ing windows and demolishing a statue of Jesus. Northern Ireland has registered over 600 attacks on churches and other places of worship over the past five years, an average of one attack every three days. And a leading atheist in Scotland has hailed a proposed hate-crime bill as an opportunity to target Christians for prosecution. The left-separatist Scottish National Party (SNP) proposed the Hate Crime and Public Order Bill, which is set to criminalize speech that is likely to "stir up hatred" against "marginalized" groups. According to atheist activist Ian Stewart, the bill "will enable the prosecution of all Scotland's religions and their Holy Books for spreading hatred."

In *The Screwtape Letters*, C. S. Lewis explained in stark terms the problems and dangers associated with the church, and the ways to exploit them. The book is an ongoing conversation between a senior devil (Screwtape), who instructs his young nephew (Wormwood) about the best ways to lead human souls into damnation. The advice Screwtape offers Wormwood about the church neatly encapsulates the ideas put forth in this article about the socialist coopting of faith:

One of our great allies at present is the Church itself. Do not misunder-

stand me. I do not mean the Church as we see her spread out through all time and space and rooted in eternity, terrible as an army with banners. That, I confess, is a spectacle which makes our boldest tempters uneasy. But fortunately it is quite invisible to these humans. All your patient sees is the half-finished, sham Gothic erection on the new building estate. Work hard, then, on the disappointment or anticlimax which is certainly coming to the patient during his first few weeks as a churchman.

The Church Universal — the body of believers from age to age — is the greatest long-term threat to the evil machinations of those such as Screwtape who would seek to divorce the church from its transcendent and metaphysical origins. This church ultimately cannot be defeated and

strikes fear into the hearts of the stoutest tempters, demons and socialists alike. Screwtape's only strategy for defeating this church is indeed the strategy of contemporary atheistic socialism: Get a person to forget the transcendent nature of the Church that leads directly back to Christ, its founder, and refocus him instead on the purely material aspects of the "church," from the dilapidated structure to the shabby worshippers inside. On his death bed, G.K. Chesterton finally achieved absolute clarity on this very question as well. His last words: The issue is now clear. It is between light and darkness and everyone must choose his side.

Hurrah for Karamazov!

Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* also chronicled a world in which atheistic socialism was undermining the churches and corrupting the youth. And even though he saw clearly the difficult times that were fast approaching, he chose to end his novel on a note of hope. Sooner than anyone else, Dostoevsky recognized that it was a certain type of socialist that free societies must fear:

We are not particularly afraid of all these socialists, anarchists, atheists, and revolutionaries.... But there are a few particular men among them who believe in God and are Christians, but at the same time are socialists. Those are people we are most afraid of. They are terrible people! The socialist who is a Christian is more to be feared than the socialist who is an atheist.

The socialist "Christian" is especially dangerous — perhaps the only type of socialist who is truly dangerous at all — precisely because as a Christian he has replaced the transcendent nature God with an utterly fictional narrative about materialist limits and boundaries. The last words of Dostoevsky's final novel were "Hurrah for Karamazov!" Hurrah for human faith and the power of hope to raise us beyond the base world of materialism. ■



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Critical Race Theory and "wokeness" mean demanding social justice for some identity groups, while attacking others, in the name of fairness.



Color-blind society? Mass demonstrations and riots have taken place since the death of George Floyd, with "woke" people claiming that cops target blacks. However, studies show that police not only shoot more whites than blacks relative to the number of crimes they commit, but are more willing to do so.

by John Eidsmoe

A world in which faceless masked people scream slogans that seemingly make no sense? A world in which faceless masked people scream slogans that seemingly make no sense? A world in which racial neutrality is denounced as racism, while overt racism — provided it is for the right race

John A. Eidsmoe is professor of Constitutional Law for the Oak Brook College of Law and senior counsel for the Foundation for Moral Law. and against the wrong race — is politically correct?

Then welcome to the "woke" ideology of 2020 and its "social justice"!

Welcome to a world that uses terminology that ordinary Americans weren't brought up with and don't understand, and often gives language the opposite meaning from common understanding.

Welcome to a world that proclaims tolerance and respect for all religions, except Christianity.

It's been coming for awhile. But when the COVID-19 crisis hit, social-justice warriors saw their opportunity. The media and the Left (am I being redundant?) used the fear of dying, and the lockdowns resulting from that fear, to drive popular public opinion to demand federal aid. The administration pushed for stimulus packages, but the new funds for COVID spending were created out of thin air — and didn't come as a result of taxing real wealth — meaning that there are now more U.S. dollars in the economic chasing the same amount of goods. This drove up the price of goods (inflation) and thereby caused great hardship, especially to low-income people.

The Left went a few steps (miles) further, following Rahm Emanuel's mantra, "Never let a good crisis go to waste." The radical Left actually resisted and delayed the stimulus agreed to by Republicans unless the bill included key elements of the Left's agenda: making corporations reveal pay statistics by race and race statistics for corporate boards, bailing out Post Office debt, requiring early voting, requiring same-day voter registration, bailing out student loans, requiring that one-third of board members of companies seeking assistance must be chosen by the workers, provisions on official time for union collective bargaining, fully offsetting airline emissions, releasing greenhouse gas statistics for individual flights, providing for retirement plans for community newspaper employees, and instituting a \$15 minimum wage and permanent paid leave at companies seeking assistance. Most of these conditions were utterly unrelated to the pandemic or to economic recovery, but House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and the Left were willing to hold the country hostage unless their radical wish list was granted. Fortunately, saner minds prevailed and the Left was forced to back down - this time.

And so, the country hunkered down and hoped for recovery. But retaining the

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The goal of the Left is massive changes in American society, changes that would unravel the American constitutional republic.



One fear above all others: Socialists have used fear generated by COVID deaths to demand more governmental control over all facets of Americans' lives, even to the point of not allowing people out of their residences. Socialists intend to keep and expand the new powers.

status quo was not an option for the Left: just putting people in masks and making them stay home wasn't enough. The movement needed a "trigger" to start the agitation for radical change.

And they found that trigger in the tragic death of George Floyd in Minneapolis on May 25, 2020.

Almost overnight, George Floyd became a household name. The Left and its supporters took to the streets in anger. Some may have intended peaceful protest, but the demonstrations quickly degenerated into rioting, looting, vandalism, and violence, consistently underreported by sympathetic media, while the cowed public remained quiet, compliant, masked, and confined to their homes.

The goal of the Left is massive changes in American society, changes that would unravel the American constitutional republic. The goal is "social justice" as the Left defines the term: massive shifts of wealth and power from "oppressors" to the "oppressed."

The present social-justice movement has Marxist roots: Black Lives Matter founder Patrisse Cullors openly proclaimed that she and her fellow organizers are "trained Marxists." Marxism teaches that the central fact of history and human existence is one of economic class struggle, with oppressed classes working for the violent overthrow of their so-called oppressors. And despite Marxist promises of equality and a classless society in a workers' paradise via revolution and strict socialism, Marxism has universally led to totalitarian thought control, starvation, and mass extermination of those whom the Communist Party regards as suspect.

In the early 1900s, an offshoot of Marxism, often called Cultural Marxism, stressed that the class struggle is not just economic warfare between the poor and the rich. Rather, it is a much broader struggle between races, sexes, cultures, ideologies, and all types of identity groups, and it must be spread not just by overt Marxist indoctrination but by influencing culture, media, entertainment, music, literature, schools, labor unions, and even churches. At first centered in the Frankfurt School in Germany, Cultural Marxism spread to Geneva and other parts of Europe, and to American universities. The movement's students became the New Left radicals of the 1960s, led by the Students for a Democratic Society, the Weather Underground, the Youth International Party (Yippies), and other groups. The streets and campuses erupted into demonstrations and, sometimes, violence. The Vietnam War was the central catalyst that ignited the movement, but ending the war was only one of their goals. Racism, police brutality, economic injustice, and "authority" in general were targets, and America was portrayed as an oppressive country that exploited other nations and its own oppressed classes. Professors urged students to question and challenge authority (unless a student challenged the professor's authority; then they went ballistic!).

The '60s faded into the '70s, and then came the Reagan era of the '80s. Many of the hippies and yippies became yuppies, their radicalism faded, and they decided that working and earning a living wasn't so bad after all. But many became teachers, professors, and school administrators; others went to work for foundations. And they spent the next several decades training a new generation of radicals. We've seen the fruit of their labor on the streets and campuses this past summer. The year 2020 has been replay of the 1960s, with an important difference: In the 1960s, local government officials and law enforcement stood against the radicals, but in 2020, local officials (often themselves products of 1960s radicalism) have often supported the radicals and have ordered law enforcement to stand down.

To understand the mind-set of the Cultural Marxism of the 2020s, we need to clarify several key concepts:

Woke: Becoming aware of injustice and oppression, whether real or perceived, and becoming motivated to act to end these evils. **Raising Consciousness**: Educating/ indoctrinating people about racism and injustice, especially making them aware of "white privilege."

White Privilege: The inherent advantages of being white: greater accumulated wealth, prestige, credibility. Many concepts that we think necessary for success today (punctuality, work ethic, logical consistency) are supposedly the product of white privilege. To prove a white person is a racist, a Cultural Marxist need only ask this simple question: "Are you a racist?" If a person's answer is no, that's all the proof needed to determine that the person is so imbued with white privilege he doesn't even recognize his racism.

Subjectivity: Truth is subjective, not objective. Cultural Marxists arrive at truth by feeling and identifying, not by logic and evidence. In "woke" thinking, logic itself is often belittled as a Western white male construct.

Critical Theory: This is the heart of Cultural Marxism: reinterpreting all areas of study in terms of oppressors and oppressed, and gaming the system to favor the oppressed. Critical Legal Studies, a movement in law schools, seeks ways of reshaping the legal system to produce outcomes to favor oppressed groups and disfavor oppressors. Critical Race Theory tries to demonstrate that the legal/political/economic system is racist and must be changed. Critical Feminism sees the system as sexist; Queer Theory applies the same reasoning to sexual orientation and identity, and more.

Identity Group: Classifying people, not as individuals, but as groups identified by race, sex, orientation, identification, wealth, health, religion, citizenship, and more. Curiously, often one's identity group is determined by who you identify with, not who you actually are. Former Democratic presidential candidate Robert Francis O'Rourke is neither poor nor Hispanic, but by taking on the name "Beto" he tried to cast his identity with poor Hispanics, with some success. Recently on national news a young white woman was filmed yelling at black police officers, "You're traitors to your race!" (One wonders what the officers were thinking. And does the young woman really want the black officers to resign and make the police force all white? The movement to defund the police is utterly irrational, as minorities are the primary victims of crime. And if the thought of police officers acting as social workers is scary, the



Not just clowning around: In the 1960s, the Youth International Party, known as Yippies (shown here), was just one Marxist offshoot group that portrayed America as an oppressive society and worked to change the culture by fomenting discord between races, sexes, beliefs, and more.

thought of social workers acting as police officers is even scarier.)

According to woke thinking, some of these identity groups are oppressors, and some are oppressed. Whites oppress blacks and Hispanics; Jews and Asians may be either oppressed or oppressors, depending upon what wokesters want to call them at any particular time. Wealthy people (defined as anyone who isn't destitute) oppress the poor. Males oppress females. Citizens oppress non-citizens. Healthy people oppress those who are disabled. Christians oppress, well, just about everybody. Fostering conflict between identity groups is a primary tactic of Cultural Marxists.

Zero-Sum Game: In simplistic woke thinking, economics is a zero-sum game in which no new wealth is generated or destroyed. Therefore, every time you gain a dollar, that's one dollar less for someone else. If you've become rich, you've done so either by making another person very poor or making a lot of people a little poor. Businesses do not employ people and give them opportunities; they exploit people. (So according to these people, America really has the same amount of wealth as when the Pilgrims moved here — no more was created — and it keeps getting divided further and further.)

Social Justice: Justice, in the view of Cultural Marxists, is not justice in the sense of rendering a verdict that is in accord with the evidence and the law, but is attained when there is a massive shift of power from oppressors to the oppressed. According to woke thinking, oppression (whatever that is) is the ultimate sin, and fighting oppression is the ultimate virtue. Those committed to social justice often call themselves social-justice warriors, or SJWs.

Intersectionality: This term brings it all together. Obviously, no one belongs to just one identity group. Because of your race, sex, economic status, nationality, etc., you belong to many identity groups, some of which may be oppressors and some of which may be oppressed. One may be a wealthy gay white female Buddhist, belonging to two oppressor groups and three oppressed groups (gay, female, Buddhist).

And that person's moral authority to speak out on issues of oppression depends on the intersectionality of your identity groups, because only the oppressed can know what oppression feels like. A poor

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To prove a white person is a racist, a Cultural Marxist need only ask this simple question: "Are you a racist?" If a person's answer is no, that's all the proof needed to determine that the person is so imbued with white privilege he doesn't even recognize his racism.



Redefining definitions: Under woke ideology, groups such as blacks that have suffered historic oppression are allowed to vandalize property and attack others as a means of attaining social justice. Such behavior isn't considered racist or a hate crime.

gay black disabled undocumented immigrant (read: illegal alien) pagan female has great moral authority to speak about oppression. A wealthy straight white healthy American Christian male has none at all. Even though you and your wife may think alike and consider yourselves soul mates, females automatically have more moral authority than males do, because they belong to at least one oppressed identity group.

In woke minds, only members of oppressor identity groups can commit oppression. Only oppressor races can be guilty of racism. Only the oppressive sex can be guilty of sexism.

Hating white people, or using racist epithets against Caucasians, or looting white businesses, is not, then, racism, because an oppressed race cannot be guilty of racism. So there are lots of actions that some sub-groups can get away with that other groups can't. Serving as a poll watcher in a predominantly black precinct, I observed a black man say loudly to those around him, "I'm not for the Democrats, I'm not for the Republicans; I'm for whatever is good for the black man." No one seemed to think anything was wrong with this. But if a white voter had made the exact same speech but had said "white man," instead of "black man," he would have been denounced as a racist or worse.

Snide put-downs of women are in very bad taste and can bring charges of sexual harassment. But the same comments about men are considered clever and can even bring applause, because an oppressed sex cannot be guilty of sexism. Venomous attacks upon Christianity are ignored, while the same types of attacks upon non-Christians are condemned as bigotry. Why? Because according to wokesters, Christians are an oppressor group, even though there have been more Christian martyrs in the past century than in all other centuries of Christian history combined.

Likewise, if oppressed people (whether due to race, or economic status, or just because they identify with the oppressed) loot, vandalize, and burn business establishments, they've done nothing wrong. After all, they're oppressed, and they're just taking back what is rightfully theirs. That's social justice!

As long as groups are deemed "oppressed," they are given a pass for disagreeable behaviors. That is why Muslims and LGBTQ people seem to tolerate one another, even though their beliefs and practices are anathema to one another. They (at least in America) both perceive themselves as oppressed identity groups. It's likely that when they no longer perceive themselves as victims of a common enemy, one will attack the other.

Countering Woke Thinking

Countering woke thinking is difficult. First, it is hard to reason with people for whom truth is subjective and logic is a "construct" of the oppresser. And it is impossible to awaken someone who is only pretending to be asleep. Pointing out that proportionately more blacks than whites are killed by police officers because blacks (especially young black males), proportionately, commit more violent crimes than whites, and that in 2015, 89 percent of black murder victims were killed by other blacks will probably not persuade a person who has concluded, based on feelings, that "the police victimize black people."

But you might help a person understand that he doesn't run his life by feeling. He (we hope) doesn't buy a car, plan a diet, or obtain healthcare based on what "feels right." So why build a worldview on that kind of thinking?

And if truth is subjective and there are no absolutes, then why is the oppression that the Cultural Marxists always harp against always absolutely wrong?

Second, if a woke person believes op-

pression is always wrong because it violates the fundamental principle of equality, you might then ask, "Why do you believe in equality, especially considering people have varying levels of abilities, physical attributes, effort, and more? Why do Americans in general believe all people are equal, and why is this principle so fundamental? As he fumbles for an answer, point out to him that equality is a uniquely Judeo-Christian concept, and that as Joshua Berman of Bar-Ilan University observes in his book *Created Equal: How the Bible Broke With Ancient Political Thought*,

If there was one truth the ancients held to be self-evident it was that all men were not created equal. If we maintain today, that in fact, they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, then it is because we have inherited as part of our cultural heritage notions of equality that were deeply entrenched in the ancient passages of the Pentateuch.

Darwinian evolution, secular humanism, and atheism provide no basis for equality. In his book *Mein Kampf*, Hitler relied on Darwinism for his belief that the Aryan nation had evolved into a master race. The only firm basis for a belief in equality is that expressed by our Founders in the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal," and that they are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." Once we form common ground with our belief in equality and establish that equality is a biblical, Judeo-Christian concept — which is very anti-woke — the door may open to other areas of dialogue as well.

Third, even if we could classify the white race (or the male sex, etc.) as an oppressor identity group, does that mean every interaction between a white person and a black person is white oppression? Are there no acts of benevolence? And could there not be some circumstances in which a black person oppresses a white, or a poor person oppresses a person who is not poor? We need to take off the blinders of identity groups, and instead look to the actions and interactions of individuals.

Fourth, we could point out that economics, unlike gambling and theft, is not a zero-sum game. One does not necessarily become rich at the expense of someone else. If Sam invents a product, establishes a factory, and hires workers to manufacture and sell a product, he is not taking wealth from others. He is creating new wealth,



Equal is as equal does: Many religious figures have backed woke culture, believing they are promoting equality. But real equality is the state of being treated equally, which is true in this country on a societal level, meaning that the religious people are really backing racial preferences/racism.

providing new jobs, and providing consumers with a product they want to buy.

And people benefit from economic transactions. I recently sold a horse to a rancher for \$900. We made the deal because I needed the \$900 more than I needed the horse, and the rancher needed the horse more than he needed the \$900. So we both came away with something we wanted and needed more than what we had before. The same is true when you exchange money for a loaf of bread, or when you exchange your time and labor for a wage.

The rancher wanted that horse because he believed he could train him to become a good cutting horse. If he is successful, he would increase the value of that horse to several thousand dollars. Good for him!

But remember, the woke person is not primarily persuaded by reason and evidence. You can explain the classic Aristotelian arguments for the existence of God, some of which are very sound, but don't be surprised if the woke person is not moved by them. You can present the compelling evidence for the resurrection of Jesus Christ, as Paul eloquently does in I Corinthians 15, but the woke person doesn't base his conclusions on evidence.

But if you are a Christian, and you share in very personal terms what Jesus Christ has done for you and how He has changed your life, then he might listen. And if you can establish a long-term relationship in which you show him that you are his friend, then you are likely to gain a convert.

Then we can be truly awakened, but not "woke": "Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." (Ephesians 5:14).

And finally, churches and synagogues must "contend earnestly for the faith that was once delivered unto the saints." (Jude 3). Too many religious leaders today either have rejected orthodox theology, do not understand woke thinking, or actively buy into it and promote it to their congregations. They need to be like the men of Issachar, "who understood the times and knew what Israel should do." (I Chronicles 12:32). And they must actively take a stand for the truth: "For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?" (I Corinthians 14:8). ■

Lawsuits Give Proof of Massive Vote-machine Fraud

While the controlled Deep State media keep bleating "NO EVIDENCE!," Trump's legal advocates have amassed overwhelming proof of enormous, widespread fraud.



Digital ballot treachery: America is being criminally attacked by enemies foreign and domestic through voter machines and software developed by Dominion, Smartmatic, Scytl, and Edison, experts warn.

by Alex Newman

v oting machines and software used across dozens of key jurisdictions in the 2020 election were literally designed to rig elections, according to evidence presented in federal lawsuits by powerhouse attorneys Sidney Powell and Lin Wood. Using these compromised systems secured a phony victory for Joe Biden in ways that would have been "impossible" without the widespread fraud, the suits show. Legal experts said the cases exposing the coordinated vote fraud could en-

Alex Newman is senior editor of THE NEW AMERI-CAN, author of the new book Deep State: The Invisible Government Behind the Scenes, and co-author (with the late Sam Blumenfeld) of Crimes of the Educators. sure another four years for Trump in the White House.

In her suit filed in Georgia in the last week of November, Powell explained that the ultimate objective of the vote riggers was to "illegally and fraudulently" manipulate the vote count so that Biden could appear to be the winner. And this fraud was accomplished through various means, including lies, computer rigging, "old-fashioned ballot-stuffing," and more that were all covered up using computer software programs created and run by foreign and domestic enemies.

Experts and Whistleblowers

Among the many pieces of evidence: a damning affidavit by a whistleblower who helped the late mass-murdering socialist dictator Hugo Chavez of Venezuela create voting systems that could be rigged to favor a chosen candidate. Indeed, according to the suit, the software by Smartmatic was literally created for the purpose of rigging elections in a manner that would be impossible to prove or detect. And Smartmatic is closely linked to Dominion Voting Systems and other firms that were key in the 2020 election.

"Chavez was most insistent that Smartmatic design the system in a way that the system could change the vote of each voter without being detected," the whistleblower explained under penalty of perjury. "He wanted the software itself to function in such a manner that if the voter were to place their thumb print or fingerprint on a scanner, then the thumbprint would be tied to a record of the voter's name and identity as having voted, but that voter would not be tracked to the changed vote."

The brutal Venezuelan dictator, the affidavit continues, "made it clear that the system would have to be setup to not leave any evidence of the changed vote for a specific voter and that there would be no evidence to show and nothing to contradict that the name or the fingerprint or thumb print was going with a changed vote." The company in question, Smartmatic, which operates through an international network of companies spread across multiple nations, "agreed to create such a system and produced the software and hardware that accomplished that result for President Chavez."

As the lawsuit points out, Dominion's software was literally designed to prevent simple audits that would reveal the "misallocation, redistribution, or deletion of votes." And under the law, that makes it all invalid. "There is incontrovertible physical evidence that the standards of physical security of the voting machines and the software were breached, and machines were connected to the internet in violation of professional standards and state and federal laws," the suit continues.

Under the law and previous court rulings, Powell's lawsuit only needs to show that a "preponderance of evidence" reveals that "there were enough irregular ballots to place in doubt the result." There appears to be far more than that, despite the establishment media refusing to even mention it.

Although the identities of some of the affiants have been redacted, others are fully identified, including highly credentialed technical experts. One such expert is Dr. Navid Keshavarz-Nia, a famed cyber security engineer and consultant who has assisted the FBI, CIA, NSA, DIA, and DHS in law enforcement and counterintelligence. (See the bombshell revelations in his sworn declaration on page 25.)

Another affidavit filed on November 25 in the case by a military-intelligence analyst also revealed how vote tabulation software with operations in Serbia and other nations was critical in rigging the numbers sent to Decision HQ. The systems were accessible — and were accessed — from Communist China and other nations, the affidavit explains. Dominion, Edison Research, Scytl, and

Smartmatic were all implicated, according to the sworn document.

"In my professional opinion, this affidavit presents unambiguous evidence that Dominion Voter Systems and Edison Research have been accessible and were certainly compromised by rogue actors, such as Iran and China," the military-intelligence official said. "By using servers and employees connected with rogue actors and hostile foreign influences combined with numerous easily discoverable leaked credentials, these organizations neglectfully allowed foreign adversaries to access data and intentionally provided access to their infrastructure in order to monitor and manipulate elections, including the most recent one in 2020."

"This represents a complete failure of their duty to provide basic cyber-security," added the U.S. government official, whose name was redacted for security purposes. "This is not a technological issue, but rather a governance and basic security issue: if it is not corrected, future elections in the United States and beyond will not be secure and citizens will not have confidence in the results."

The document also mentions former Dominion vice president of security Eric Coomer, a fringe anti-Trump extremist with a vicious and very public hatred for



Resolute heroine: Super-lawyer Sidney Powell, despite vicious media attacks and betrayals by RINOs and "conservatives," has steadfastly kept up the fight to expose and oppose the 2020 election steal.

the president. According to journalist Joe Oltmann, who infiltrated Antifa meetings online, Coomer even promised his fellow Antifa revolutionaries that he had ensured Trump would not be able to win the 2020 election.

Yet another sworn affidavit filed in federal court in a separate but related case by a cybersecurity expert explains how the compromised voting machines were able to rig the election in Michigan. The document, signed under penalty of perjury by Russell Ramsland of Allied Security Operations Group, outlines the findings of an 18-month investigation into Dominion and other elections management systems.

"These systems contain a large number of vulnerabilities to hacking and tampering, both at the front end where Americans cast their votes, and also on the back end where votes are stored, tabulated, and reported," the affidavit explains, specifically calling out major deficiencies and problems with Dominion. These are some of the reasons states such as Texas refused to use such technologies, according to the document filed in the case *Wood v. Raffensperger* involving superstar attorney Lin Wood.

"Impossible" Anomalies

Official data and analysis of Michigan's election "pinpoints a statistical anomaly so far outside of every statistical norm as to be virtually impossible," the sworn statement explains. "There are a stunning 3,276 precincts where the Presidential Votes Cast compared to the Estimated Voters based on Reported Statistics ranges from 84% to 350%." Since normal voter turnout for a presidential race fluctuates between 50 to 60 percent, even the lower estimate of 84 percent is wildly improbable. But 350 percent? That means, of course, that a lot more votes were cast than there are legal voters.

Breaking down the numbers, the document explains that this pattern "strongly suggests the additive algorithm ... was activated in the code." Indeed, the User Guide for the EMS (Election Management System) specifically outlines the function that allows a method of tabulating votes to elect a winner.

"The final red flag is perhaps the greatest," the affidavit continues. "Something occurred in Michigan that is physically impossible, indicating the results were manipAmong the many pieces of evidence: a damning affidavit by a whistleblower who helped the late massmurdering socialist dictator Hugo Chavez of Venezuela create voting systems that could be rigged to favor a chosen candidate.

ulated on election night within EMS." That red flag, the affidavit explains, consists of four spikes totaling almost 400,000 ballots that were allegedly processed in less than three hours. "This is physically impossible given the equipment available at the 4 reference locations," the document points out.

The affidavit, which has been entered into evidence, offers further proof of establishment media dishonesty in falsely claiming that there is no evidence of fraud — a claim later altered to "no evidence of widespread fraud."

Patriots vs. Sellouts

At least some Republican members of Congress are not playing along with the establishment effort to ignore the evidence and pretend it does not exist. "We know what is documented here is impossible as the Maricopa County [Arizona] Supervisors told us everything is fine and go back to sleep and pay your taxes and wear a mask," said Congressman Paul Gosar (R-Ariz.) in a sarcastic social-media comment shared by President Trump. "And leftist reporters told us to move on."

As recently as last year, top Democrats expressed serious concerns about election integrity using voting machines, specifically calling out Dominion. Just weeks before the 2020 election, a federal judge in Georgia also sounded the alarm about Dominion's systems and their vulnerability to fraud.

Wood, the attorney leading this particular case, vowed that the truth about election fraud would be exposed, and the perpetrators jailed. Powell has similarly explained that exposing the fraud and prosecuting the perpetrators is essential to the survival of America's constitutional Republic, and therefore, it will be done.

Courts in various battleground states have issued rulings both favorable and unfavorable to the Trump campaign, though media have focused on the latter, while ignoring the substance of the cases. For instance, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's unfavorable decision was based on a technicality, not on any lack of evidence by the Trump team. Eventually, the Trump campaign and other lawyers litigating the fraud in courts expect to land at the U.S. Supreme Court. And as Trump's attorneys have explained, the president still has multiple paths to another victory. ■



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"The Smartest Person in the Room" VS.THE ELECTION FRAUDSTERS

Super cybersleuth Dr. Navid Keshavarz-Nia has assisted the FBI, CIA, NSA, DHS, and other alphabet agencies in tough cases, and he says fraud happened.

by Bob Adelmann

hen attorney Sidney Powell promised to "unleash the Kraken," most assumed she was simply referring to a lawsuit.

But along with that lawsuit, there is a person: Dr. Navid Keshavarz-Nia, and his resume is beyond impressive. In his affidavit filed with Powell's Georgia lawsuit on Wednesday, he noted a few of his remarkable qualifications, including "a Bachelor's degree in Electrical and Computer Engineering and a Master's degree in Electronics and Computer Engineering from George Mason University, a Ph.D. degree in Management of Engineering and Technology from CalSouthern University and a Doctoral (Ed.D) degree in Education from George Washington University." In addition, he has "advanced training from the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), National Security Agency (NSA), DHS office of Intelligence & Analysis (I&A) and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)."

He has even been mentioned favorably in, of all places, the *New York Times*. In the article "How One Man Conned the Beltway," the *Times* noted in September the exceptional work done by Keshavarz-Nia in helping expose Garrison Kenneth Courtney, who ran a scam called Alpha214 to rake in high salaries from industries by promising government contracts. Wrote the *Times*, "In doing cybersecurity and



Experts' expert: Dr. Navid Keshavarz-Nia provides stunning testimony of the astounding levels of criminal activity by "nefarious operators" who have hijacked our voting system.

technical counterintelligence work for the C.I.A., N.S.A. and F.B.I., he had spent decades connecting top-secret dots. After several months of working [in the present investigation] he began connecting the dots." The *Times* added that the people working with him considered him "the smartest person in the room."

Courtney, 44, is now spending seven years in jail thanks in part to the sleuthing of Keshavarz-Nia. And the good doctor is connecting the dots once again, this time exposing the massive fraud that allegedly gave Biden the victory over President Trump in the presidential election.

In his nine-page affidavit, Keshavarz-Nia stated he has "high confidence that the election 2020 data were altered in all battleground states, resulting in hundreds of thousands of votes that were cast for President Trump to be transferred to [former] Vice President [Joe] Biden." "These alterations," he averred, "were the result of systemic and widespread exploitable vulnerabilities in [the Dominion Voting System and related systems and software] that enabled operators to achieve the desired results. In my view, the evidence is overwhelming and incontrovertible."

His expert evaluation in this matter stems from his unique talents, education, and experience. "My experience," Dr. Keshavarz-Nia noted, "spans 35 years performing technical assessment, math-

Bob Adelmann, an Ivy League graduate and former investment advisor, is a regular contributor to THE NEW AMERICAN, writing primarily on economics and politics.



ematical modeling, cyber-attack pattern analysis, and security counterintelligence linked to FIS operators, including China, Iran, North Korea, and Russia. I have worked as a consultant and subject-matter expert supporting the Department of Defense, FBI and US Intelligence Community (USIC) agencies such as the DIA, CIA, NSA, NGA, and the DHS I&A supporting counterintelligence, including supporting law enforcement investigations."

Hammer and Scorecard: Facts, Not Myths

What he has uncovered confirms evidence found by other experts:

The Hammer and Scorecard capabilities are tradecrafts used by US intelligence analysts to conduct MITM [Man In The Middle] attacks on foreign voting systems, including the Dominion Voting System (DVS) Democracy Suite and Systems and Software (ES&S) voting machines without leaving an electronic fingerprint.

As such, these tools are used by nefarious operators to influence voting systems by covertly accessing DVS and altering the results in realtime and without leaving an electronic fingerprint.

Not only is DVS designed not to leave

a fingerprint behind, it is also structured so that its owners cannot readily be determined. Keshavarz-Nia discovered that "DVS is comprised of several companies which obfuscate its true organizational and ownership structures. The DVS companies include: 1) Dominion Voting Systems International Corporation, a Barbados corporation; 2) Dominion Voting Systems, Inc., a Delaware corporation; and 3) Dominion Voting Systems Corporation, a Canadian corporation." He continued:

Based on my counterintelligence experience in USIC, I conclude that corporate structures were partially designed to obfuscate their complex relationships, especially with Venezuela, China and Cuba; and impede discovery by investigators....

DVS has acknowledged that Chinese made parts are used in its voting machines. However, the company is unwilling to share details on its supply chains, foreign ownership, or its relationship with China, Venezuela and Cuba. In particular, I have seen USIC intelligence reports showing China's espionage activities in the United States and efforts to infiltrate elections.

Since these countries are our enemies, I conclude that FIS [Foreign Intelligence Service employees] and other operators were involved to influence the outcome of the 2020 election.

"I have conducted detailed analysis of the NY Times data sets," he reports, "and have discovered significant anomalies are caused by fraudulent manipulation of the results. In my expert judgment, the evidence is widespread and throughout all battleground states I have studied." This deliberate and intentional fraud is plainly evident in the vote counts that unfolded on November 4 and the following days. "The data variance favoring Vice President Biden continues to accelerate after 4:30 AM EST on November 4, 2020 and continues its momentum through November 9, 2020," Keshavarz-Nia observed. "This abnormality in variance is evident by the unusually steep slope for Vice President Biden in all battleground states on November 4, 2020. A sudden rise in slope is not normal and demonstrates data manipulation by artificial means."

"For example," he notes, "in PA, President Trump's lead of more than 700,000 count advantage was reduced to less than 300,000 in a few short hours, which does not occur in the real world without an external influence. I conclude that manually feeding more than 400,000 mostly absentee ballots cannot be accomplished in a short time frame (i.e., 2-3 hours) without illegal vote count alteration."

He added this: "In my expert opinion, the DVS Democracy Suite, Scytl/SOE Software/eClarity and Smartmatic have not produced auditable results in the 2020 election."

"It is evident," he continues, "that ballots were not properly validated, system records were not kept, and the system experienced considerable instability even several days prior to November 4, 2020 that required DVS to implement software changes at the last minute."

Keshavarz-Nia's affidavit is just one limb of the mythical Kraken sea-monster unleashed by Sidney Powell. But for the Democrats and their media echo chamber (ABC, NBC, MSNBC, CBS, CNN, *New York Times, Washington Post*, etc.), his testimony presents an insurmountable problem. He has already been vetted by one of their own — the *Times* — and so they have no opening to attack the credibility of the man or his testimony. ■

ELECTORAL COLLEGE VITAL TO NATION'S FUTURE

Many Americans believe that the electoral college is undemocratic — and it is — but the purpose of government is to protect rights, not institute democratic rule.



by Steve Byas

Why We Must Defend the Electoral College, by Trent England, New York: Encounter Books, 2020, 38 pages, paperback.

uthor Trent England has been an informed supporter of the Electoral College system of choosing the president of the United States since his undergraduate days at Claremont McKenna College in the late 1990s, inspired by his professor Michael Uhlmann. "He started me down this path," England told me.

England, the founder and executive di-

Steve Byas is a university instructor in history and government and the author of History's Greatest Libels. rector of Save Our States and the executive vice president of the Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs, has written a slim volume that should serve as a handy reference book for patriots desirous of saving the system conceived by our Founding Fathers at the 1787 Constitutional Convention.

In a convention marked by disagreements on how best to implement the limited-government vision of the Constitution's framers, the Electoral College was perhaps the least controversial creation of those 55 men, who were learned in history and political philosophy. Alexander Hamilton said it might not be perfect, but it was "excellent."

Perhaps the biggest problem in defending the Electoral College in today's America is the abysmal ignorance of much of the American public as to what exactly is the very purpose of government. Most detractors of the electoral vote system of electing the president of the United States argue that it is undemocratic, and that the national popular vote should determine who is selected as president. England notes that this thinking is a result of the misconception that "democracy is an end in itself." On the contrary, the purpose of government is to protect the life, the liberty, and the property of its citizens.

England makes the strong case that choosing the president via the system that the Founders created serves that purpose much better than simply giving the office to the person who has the most popular votes nationally. Besides that, England writes, "The president did not need to represent the people but to put into effect the decisions of the people's representatives in Congress."

In their discussions on the creation of the office of president (partly to provide a check on the power of that Congress), delegate George Mason dismissed the idea of direct, popular election of the president as "impracticable." Almost all of the delegates agreed with Mason's conclusion, but finding an alternative presented its own problems.

Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts proposed an interesting method — have the states' governors elect the president. That didn't go over well; neither did having Congress choose the president. The latter idea would defeat the idea of having a chief executive provide a check on the Congress, and the delegates did not want the president picked by politicians, either governors or members of Congress.

After many ideas had been put forth and rejected, the delegates finally created a system where the states would choose electors, and the electors would then choose the president. Article II, Section I of the Constitution states, "Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress."

This formula followed, and was similar in intent to the compromise that resolved the dispute as to how many votes each state would have in Congress. While in the House of Representatives states would be awarded a number of representatives based on their population, the sovereignty of the states would be protected by giving two senators to every state, regardless of its population. By giving each state a number of electoral votes determined by adding together its membership in the House and the Senate, the delegates were able to produce the system we have today, popularly known as the Electoral College (although that term never appeared in the Constitution itself).

BOOK REVIEW



England notes that, in practice, the Electoral College has operated somewhat differently than the Founders anticipated, but that was because state legislatures were left to choose how their state's electors would be selected. Over time, all the states adopted a method whereby electors would be chosen by the state's popular vote. In 48 states and in the District of Columbia, it is "winner take all," in which the candidate who runs first in the state's popular vote gets all that state's electoral votes. Two states Nebraska and Maine — award two of their state's electoral votes to the winner of the state popular vote, but then give the winner of each congressional district one electoral vote.

A complaint about the Electoral College that England expertly dismisses is the concern about "faithless electors." England explains, "They [the electors] are partisans, well vetted by their own party, and often bound by an oath to their party to support its nominee. When electors do go rogue, they are usually on the losing side and are simply trying to wage some sort of protest rather than throw an election."

An argument for the Electoral College, England says, is, "Disputes over mistakes or fraud are contained within individual states rather than spilling over into a need for nationwide recounts or greater federal control."

England cites the "powerful incentive" the Electoral College "creates against regionalism" as another reason to retain the Electoral College system. He notes that in 1888, Grover Cleveland won the popular vote by 94,350 votes, but that was due to his strong support in one region of the country, the Deep South. In six Southern states, Cleveland won by more than 30 percent of the vote, and his margin of victory in Texas alone — 146,461 — was enough to win him the popular vote. But because Cleveland was unable to win his home state of New York, and he failed to garner more support in the Midwest and New England, as well as in some of the Western states, he lost. Four years later, Cleveland did get broader support, and was returned to the White House in the election of 1892.

"Swing states get a lot of attention," England writes, "and other voters feel left out." Rather than conceding that this is somehow an argument against the Electoral College, England contends that this is rather an argument *for* the Electoral College, saying that a political party must reach out beyond its "safe states" to win. "Would we really prefer it if the path to the presidency was driving up the vote total in the deepest red or the deepest blue states?"

The United States is not the only coun-

try to elect its chief executive indirectly, England notes, citing the example of the United Kingdom and other countries.

Because it is almost impossible for the enemies of the Electoral College to ever muster enough votes in Congress to eliminate it (two-thirds of each house) and in the states (three-fourths of the legislatures), the anti-Electoral College crowd has turned to a devious method of overturning the Electoral College by making an end-run around the Constitution.

It is known as the National Popular Vote (NPV). The plan is the creation of a compact of states who would agree to award their state's electoral votes to the "winner" of the national popular vote, rather than the winner of their state's popular vote. The "trigger" for it to go into effect is the particiaption of states totaling 270 electoral votes or more (the number needed to make a majority of the electoral vote, as required by the Constitution).

England contends that the NPV has multiple problems. One is that fraud in one state would affect every other state, and would result in more power in the hands of the federal government. "An especially close election would require a nationwide recount," England explains. "Candidates could win based on intense support from a narrow region or a small collection of big cities."

Despite its name, England argues, "the plan cannot actually create a national popular vote." He adds, "Finally, each NPV state would certify its own national vote total."

The likelihood of fraud in one state would inevitably lead to more federal control over elections. A national popular vote to determine the winner of a presidential election would shift power toward urban centers of the country.

England writes that interstate compacts, such as NPV, require congressional consent, according to the U.S. Constitution. Thus, the NPV is unconstitutional, but considering that judges regularly ignore the clear wording of the Constitution, he cautions against depending on federal judges to save the Constitution. England told me, "I never put my faith in federal judges. Hopefully, all conservatives have learned that lesson by now."

England's passion for saving the Electoral College is summed up in his book: "The very idea of a constitutional republic is at stake."



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Young Father of Five Adopted Children

A single man in Hamilton County, Ohio, adopted five siblings out of the foster care system on October 30 to ensure that they are not separated, as he was from his siblings as a child in the system.

Robert Carter, 29, was in the foster care system at age 12 and was not reunited with his own siblings until years later, when he was emancipated and was able to gain guardianship of his younger brother and custody of his younger sister. He was all too familiar with the heartache of separation.

Carter was already fostering three of the five siblings — brothers Robert, Giovanni, and Kiontae — but had made arrangements with the families fostering the two sisters — Marionna and Makayla — to get the children together for a visit. It was the first time the five children had seen each other in six months. At the end of the visit, the children became very distressed at having to separate, and Carter was moved to act.

"I understand how they feel," Carter said. "I understand what they went through, so it really touched me. I was already thinking about adopting all of the kids but when I saw them crying, I was like, 'Ok, I'm going to take all five to keep them together.""

Caseworker Stacey Barton told WCVB-5 TV that Carter was the only foster parent who was willing to take in all five of the children. "His childhood background has made him aware of the importance of keeping siblings together," she explained.

Carter acknowledges it will take a while for the children to fully trust him and think of him as a father figure, but he is working hard to make them feel safe and loved.

"[I'm] making memories to replace a lot of the bad ones," Carter said. "Every night, I talk to them and let them know, 'I'm your dad forever. I know what it's like, and I'm always here for you.""

Carter said he is already seeing progress.

One of the girls, Marionna, took some time to warm up to him, he said. But she recently told him, "I just want to say thanks for taking us in and taking care of us when our real mom couldn't."

Carter has made it a point to serve as a positive role model to children in his community. In addition to his wonderful deed of adopting the five siblings, he also mentors and volunteers at South Avondale Elementary.

Politics Aside

A Trump supporter in Wisconsin showed his neighbor that politics do not have to be ugly, even during one of the most contentious elections in recent history.

Tim Place of Washington County is a rare Biden supporter in a largely Republican stronghold, Fox 9 News reported. "You look around the neighborhood, I think there's one other Biden sign," he joked.

Still, Place was surprised when his sign went missing.

Enter Josh Schoemann, a fervent Trump supporter. Schoemann was upset when he learned what happened to his neighbor and wanted to show him that despite their political differences, humanity continues to be the great unifier. "Although we are Trump supporters," Josh told Fox, "we love our neighbors and want them to be able to exercise their freedom of speech just like everybody else."

Though Schoemann and Place had not formally met, Schoemann decided to replace Place's sign himself. He took his son with him so that he could learn from his positive example.

When Schoemann introduced himself and handed Place the replacement sign, Place was moved by Schoemann's kindness: "I was very appreciative and said thank you, and said it's amazing, in these times, you could do something like that."

Toys Galore

An anonymous California donor teamed up with a local toy store to purchase \$60,000 worth of toys for children in need.

The San Diego Union-Tribune reported the man purchased more than 2,300 gifts at Geppetto's toy store in Del Mar on November 5 to donate to the U.S. Marine Toys for Tots campaign. And if that wasn't enough, Geppetto's gave a 10-percent discount and donated an additional 500 gifts, Breitbart News reported. The total retail value of the entire lot came out to more than \$70,000. It took two U-Haul trucks and a van to carry the toys to their location. Geppetto's shared on its Facebook page a photo of the 25-foot-long receipt from the purchase.

Facebook users also acknowledged the donor's decision to shop locally rather than at a big-box chain.

"How wonderful that the toys were bought from an independent toy store that is so special to our city! Good done twice!" one Facebook user commented.

The donor sent an assistant to make the purchases to protect his anonymity. The assistant reportedly sent photos and videos of the items to his boss so that he could make his selections, MSN reported. This year's items included art kits, Barbies, Legos, puzzles, Hot Wheels, electric train sets, scooters, and more.

"He wants things kids can have fun with — active toys — things they can move, games that help kids learn skills and bring smiles to their faces," said Brian Miller, who is president of Geppetto's Inc.

This is not the first year this donor has done this, either. According to Breitbart News, the same man bought \$50,000 worth of toys in 2018 and 2019.

The donation is incredibly special this year, according to Marine Sergeant Federico Sanchez, given the difficulties created by the pandemic.

For that reason, Miller is especially grateful that the donor has selected his store for the third year in a row.

Unfortunately, the donor's anonymity has made it so that Miller cannot thank him personally. But he found a work-around. "I write a thank-you note to a P.O. Box in San Diego County every year," he said.

And while the donor wants to remain anonymous, he was happy for his story to be publicized in the hopes of inspiring others to be generous.

It appears the donor intends to maintain this tradition. When the assistant left the store on November 5, he told Miller, "See you next year." ■

— RAVEN CLABOUGH

EMANCIPATION BY EXAMPLE Born in obscurity, poverty, and slavery, Booker T.

Born in obscurity, poverty, and slavery, Booker T. Washington became the first widely recognized leader of black Americans.

There is no question that there are injustices in the world, and that all of us, over our lifetimes, should hope to leave the world a better place than it would otherwise have been without us — no matter how small that difference may be. But how best to accomplish this? Through violent and bloody revolution? Or through patiently doing our duty in all aspects of our lives to the best of our abilities?

Booker T. Washington, the subject of this essay, chose the latter path, and through his hard work, persistence, and genius, he not only rose "up from slavery" in the wake of the Civil War, he also became an emancipator by example, one who left the world a far better place than it otherwise would have been. His way for achieving social justice is not the way of today's Black Lives Matter revolutionaries who never experienced the slavery or racial discrimination that Booker T. Washington did. But it is the correct way, both during his time and today.

This article originally appeared in the November 22, 1999 issue of THE NEW AMERICAN. Will Grigg, who passed away in 2017, was a senior editor of THE NEW AMERICAN from 1995-2006.

by William Norman Grigg

Ithough his most significant accomplishments took place in the late 19th century, Booker Taliaferro Washington (who died in 1915) committed his public life to an issue that has been particularly nettlesome in the 20th century — the question of race relations. Born into slavery on April 5, 1856 on the plantation of James Burroughs near Hale's Ford, Virginia, Washington's origins were so obscure that he knew neither his specific date of birth, nor the identity of his father. On one occasion, alluding to the skimpy knowledge of his origins, Washington wryly noted that he "felt assured that his birth was a certainty," but could attest with reasonable certainty of little else in his background.

Well into adulthood, Washington was unsure even of the name with which he was born. "From the time when I could remember anything, I had simply been called 'Booker,' " recalled Washington in his 1901 memoir *Up From Slavery*. "Before going to school it had never occurred to me that it was needful or appropriate to have an additional name. When I heard the school-roll called, I noticed that all of the children had at least two names, and some of them indulged in what seemed to me the extravagance of having three." Knowing that a surname would be demanded of him, the youngster quickly improvised: When the teacher "asked me what my full name was, I calmly told him, 'Booker Washington'



as if I had been called by that name all my life; and by that name I have since been known."

After learning later in life that his mother had named him Booker Taliaferro, Washington adapted the long-lost surname as a middle name. With his characteristic gentle wit, Washington described what for many would be an unpleasant reflection upon illegitimacy and uncertain identity as an ironic blessing: "I think there are not many men in our country who have had the privilege of naming themselves in the way that I have." Despite the fact that he was born onto a pile of rags on the dirt floor of a slave's shack, Washington never expressed anything but gratitude for being born in America. While he acknowledged the "cruelty and moral wrong of slavery," he reflected that "Providence so often uses men and institutions to accomplish his purpose."

"I have never seen [a former slave] who did not want to be free, or one who would return to slavery," observed Washington. He

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maintained that "the ten million Negroes inhabiting this country, who themselves or whose ancestors went through the school of American slavery, are in a stronger and more hopeful condition, materially, intellectually, morally, and religiously, than is true of an equal number of black people in any other portion of the globe.... When persons ask me in these days how, in the midst of what sometimes seem hopelessly discouraging conditions, I can have such faith in the future of my race in this country, I remind them of the wilderness through which and out of which, a good Providence has already led us."

Propelled by an insatiable appetite for learning, blessed with personal discipline and a love of honest work, and guided by Christian principles, Washington ascended from the abysm of poverty, slavery, and ignorance to become the first widely recognized leader of black Americans. In that role, Washington championed racial reconciliation, equality of all Americans be-

fore the law, and ordered social progress for black Americans through thrift, industry, and education. "The great human love that in the end recognizes and rewards merit is elevating and universal," opined Washington. "In the long run, the world is going to have the best, and any difference in race, religion, or previous history will not long keep the world from what it wants."

For the first nine years of his life, Washington lived as "a slave among slaves," in the words of biographer Louis R. Harlan. He was constantly barefoot until the age of eight, at which time he was given a pair of uncomfortable wooden shoes. Aside from a single pair of breeches, his only clothing was a flax shirt that scourged his skin like "a dozen or more chestnut burrs." During his time as a slave, Washington recalled, he never once ate a regular sit-down meal. Harlan points out that the young Booker and his older brother John "ate what they could snatch from the kitchen fire, the Burroughs' leftovers, or the livestock."

While Washington did not

minimize the "cruel wrongs" inflicted upon the slave population, he maintained that the harmful influence of the peculiar institution was "not by any means confined to the Negro.... The whole machinery of slavery was so constructed as to cause labor, as a rule, to be looked upon as a badge of degradation, of inferiority. Hence labor was something that both races on the slave plantation sought to escape. The slave system on our place, in a large measure, took the spirit of self-reliance and self-help out of the white people. My old master had many boys and girls, but not one, so far as I know, ever mastered a single trade or special line of productive industry."

Washington wrote of his mother "kneeling over her children and fervently praying ... that one day she and her children might be free." With the collapse of the South, the nine-year-old Booker was gathered along with the rest of Burroughs' servants to the master's house, where a military officer read the Emancipation Proclama-



At the bottom: At 10 years old, Booker T. Washington couldn't read or figure numbers, and he was only reluctantly allowed to go to school. From this humble beginning, he eventually ran a university.

tion. Despite the fact that when the Proclamation was issued it was a cynical act of war propaganda, the Union's victory did bring liberty to Washington and his fellow slaves, and the moment was a poignant one for the youngster and his family. "My mother, who was standing by my side, leaned over and kissed her children, while tears of joy ran down her cheeks," recalled Washington. "She explained to us what it all meant, that this was the day for which she had been so long praying, but fearing she would never live to see."

The ecstasy of the newly liberated slaves was short-lived, Washington recalled, as a sobering sense of the responsibilities of freedom descended upon them. "The great responsibility of being free, of having charge of themselves, of having to think and plan for themselves and their children, seemed to take possession of them," wrote Washington. "It was very much like suddenly turning a youth of ten or twelve years out into the world to provide for himself. In a

> few hours the great question with which the Anglo-Saxon race had been grappling for centuries had been thrown upon these people to be solved. These were questions of a home, a living, the rearing of children, education, citizenship, and the establishment and support of churches. Was it any wonder that within a few hours the wild rejoicing ceased and a feeling of deep gloom seemed to pervade the slave quarters?" As Washington wisely concluded, to many of the newly liberated slaves, "it seemed that, now that they were in actual possession of it, freedom was a more serious thing than they had expected to find it."

Shortly after receiving his freedom, Booker, along with his mother and older brother, traveled to Malden, West Virginia, where Booker's stepfather was working in the local salt furnaces. The ten-year-old was unceremoniously rousted from bed one morning and brought to work as a salt packer, shoveling crystallized salt into barrels and pounding it vigorously until the container



He made time for family: Though Booker Washington was extremely busy, he made time for his family. He is shown here with his third wife, Margaret, and his two sons: Ernest on the left and Booker T. Jr. on the right.

held the required weight. From four in the morning until well after dark the youngster toiled at this task, and as he did so his curiosity was piqued by the figure used to mark his barrel — the number 18. Untutored as yet in either letters or numbers, Washington was nonetheless intrigued by the figure. "I soon learned to recognize that figure wherever I saw it, and after a while got to the point where I could make that figure, though I knew nothing about any other figures or letters," he recalled in his memoir.

Washington had always longed to learn how to read, and determined as a small child that, "if I accomplished nothing else in life, I would in some way get enough education to enable me to read common books and newspapers." Immediately upon settling in West Virginia, Booker prevailed upon his mother to get him a book — "an old copy of Webster's 'blue-back' spelling book, which contained the alphabet I began at once to devour this book, and I think that it was the first one I ever had in my hands." Since none of his black friends or co-workers could read, and because he was afraid of approaching any of the white population for help, Booker was required to teach himself. Within a few weeks, the young autodidact had "mastered the greater portion of the alphabet." In this effort he had the constant support of his mother, who despite her illiteracy "had high ambitions for her children, and a large fund of good, hard, common sense."

Booker also came to an early understanding of his spiritual needs and responsibilities. Given to playing marbles in the streets of Malden with his friends on Sundays, which offered the youngster his only respite from hard labor, Booker found himself one Sabbath morning being rebuked by an elderly man for failing to attend church. The account of the spiritual benefits of worship "so impressed Booker that he gave up his game and followed the old man," recalls Louis Harlan. In short order, Booker was baptized by Elder Lewis Rice, pastor of the Tinkersville African Zion Baptist Church, where he was soon regarded as a pillar of the congregation.

As an adult, Washington reflected upon the spiritual benefits that flowed from the old man's gentle rebuke. As a noted educator whose oratorical skills commanded audiences throughout the United States and Europe, Washington readily acknowledged that his eloquence was a divine gift: "I make it a rule never to go before an audience, on any occasion, without asking the blessing of God upon what I want to say." He also wrote of his great love for the Bible, stating that "when I am at home, no matter how busy I am, I always make it a rule to read a chapter or a portion in the morning, before beginning the work of the day."

The old man's rebuke led to terrestrial benefits as well: Had Booker not been invited to church in Tinkersville that Sunday morning, he may not have had the opportunity to attend the Tinkersville school, which was established in Elder Rice's home. "Father Rice," as he was fondly known in West Virginia's Kanawha Valley, was besieged with requests from black residents to start a school. In September 1865, a teacher materialized in the person of an 18-year-old Union veteran named William Davis, who had obtained a basic education shortly before enlisting in 1863. The Tinkersville school was a self-help project funded entirely by the poor black people of the village, without so much as a penny from the federal Freedmen's Bureau or either county or local governments.

Unfortunately for Booker, his stepfather initially refused to allow him to attend school, insisting that the family was too poor to allow the youngster to live at home without working. "Booker's disappointment at missing school became keener when he looked out from the saltpacking shed and saw other children passing happily to and from the school," notes Louis Harlan. However, "I determined that I would learn something, anyway," wrote Washington. "I applied myself with greater earnestness than ever to the mastering of what was in the 'blue-black' speller." He also enrolled in a night-school class that Davis had primarily organized for adults. Through determination and discipline, and because he genuinely coveted any opportunity to learn, Booker learned much more at night - despite the rigors of his schedule — than more fortunate children were learning during the day.

"Finally I won," recalled Washington, "and was permitted to go to the school in the day for a few months, with the understanding that I was to rise early in the morning and work in the furnace till nine o'clock, and return immediately after school closed in the afternoon for at least two more hours of work." This posed a predicament, since school began at nine o'clock as well, and Booker resented the fact that his forced tardiness was cheating him of precious learning time. In order to solve this problem, the ingenuous youngster would move up the hands of the clock

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Despite the fact that he was born onto a pile of rags on a dirt floor of a slave's shack, Washington never expressed anything but gratitude for being born in America. While he acknowledged the "cruelty and moral wrong of slavery," he reflected that "Providence so often uses men and institutions to accomplish his purpose."



Grit, determination, and private backers: Booker T. Washington built the fledgling Tuskegee Institute from a couple of shoddy buildings into a thriving, expanding center of learning through hard work and the aid of good-hearted people. This is a path that he wanted other blacks to follow.

used by workers and supervisors to regulate their shifts. "I got the idea that the way for me to reach school on time was to move the clock hands from half-past eight up to the nine o'clock mark," Washington ruefully confessed. Once his subterfuge was discovered by the furnace boss, the clock was safely locked away in a glass case. "I did not mean to inconvenience anybody," wrote Washington. "I simply meant to reach that schoolhouse on time."

Washington's innocent ruse was born not out of an aversion to work, or an intent to defraud his employer, but out of a desire to learn. When, in his justly famous 1895 Atlanta Exposition address, he would admonish black Americans that "it is at the bottom of life we must begin, not at the top," and urge them to find "as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem," he was speaking with the earned moral authority of one whose life exemplified the self-help ethic.

In 1867, after spending a stint working in a West Virginia coal mine, Booker learned of an employment opening for a houseboy (at a wage of five dollars a month) in the household of General Lewis Ruffner and his wife, Viola. Mrs. Ruffner, a formidable matron of Vermont Yankee extraction, was noted for her granite disposition and exacting nature, and she had put to flight several houseboys who couldn't measure up to her expectations. Shortly after being hired by the Ruffners, young Booker fled as well - only to return, chastened and willing to resume his labors. The young ex-slave and the Yankee aristocrat soon became close friends.

"From fearing Mrs. Ruffner I soon learned to look upon her as one of my best friends," wrote Washington. "When she found that she could trust me she did so implicitly." She also encouraged his efforts to educate himself, granting him daily leave during the winter months to attend a few hours of school and helping him acquire a private tutor to study at night. While living in the Ruffner household, Booker also began to assemble his first private library: He obtained a large, empty dry-goods box, placed some shelves in it, "and began putting into it every kind of book that I could get my hands upon, and called it my 'library.""

Mrs. Ruffner's demanding personality also helped refine Booker's work habits, and taught him the value of tidiness and order — traits that would serve him well as an educator and administrator. "I soon began to learn that, first of all, she wanted everything kept clean about her, that she wanted things done promptly and systematically, and that at [the] bottom of everything she wanted absolute honesty and frankness," recalled Washington. "Nothing must be sloven or slipshod; every door, every fence, must be kept in repair." From his perspective, "the lessons that I learned in the home of Mrs. Ruffner were as valuable to me as any education I have ever gotten anywhere since."

Just as important was the genuine friendship that grew between Booker and his employer. Viola Ruffner, a shy and melancholy woman married to a man 20 years her senior, had few close friends, and according to one close relative knew "nothing of domestic happiness." At the time that Booker was hired as a houseboy, Viola Ruffner's son was a cadet at West Point and her daughter was away at boarding school. Louis Harlan comments that Booker was "a godsend" to Mrs. Ruffner. "The black youth became the chief beneficiary of the energy, intellectual vigor, and sense of purpose of a frustrated New England schoolmarm." It is likely that Mrs. Ruffner took an almost maternal interest in the bright, eager, hardworking boy.

"A remarkable bond of affection and trust grew up between the gentle-spoken black boy and the sharp-tongued white woman," continues Harlan. "The lonely woman even may have made a confidant of the boy and poured out to him all of her loneliness and bitterness." After Booker obtained renown for his work as an educator
and social activist, Mrs. Ruffner fondly recalled that Booker was "quiet, determined to make good, and never wasteful of time": "His conduct has always been without fault, and what more can you wish? He seemed peculiarly determined to emerge from his obscurity. He was ever restless, uneasy, as if knowing that contentment would mean inaction. 'Am I getting on?' — that was his principal question."

While living with the Ruffners, recalled Washington, "I saw one open battle take place at Malden between some of the colored and white people." A payday altercation erupted between a white man named John Fewell and a black man named Tom Preston in which the latter "came out first best." Fewell swore vengeance upon Preston, prompting Preston to file assault charges. By seeking legal redress at court, Preston provoked a local Ku Klux Klan contingent called "Gideon's Band," who swore to prevent Preston from appearing in court.

On the day of the trial, narrates Harlan, "ten Negroes armed with revolvers surrounded Tom Preston as he walked from Tinkersville to Malden. Six white men, friends of the defendant John Fewell, ordered the black men to leave town." After a brief gun battle, Preston and his bodyguards ended up near the Ruffner home. General Ruffner, with the young Booker behind him, intervened to restore the peace. According to one account, the general told Preston and his defenders to accompany him to town, where "he would see that they should have a fair trial." As General Ruffner tried to act as a mediator between the contending factions, he was struck from behind with a "brick-bat," suffering an injury from which he never fully recovered, and the riot resumed.

"As a young man," wrote Washington later, "the acts of these lawless bands made a great impression upon me." Among the lessons he took away from this experience was the futility of violent agitation as a means of bringing about social progress for black Americans. Although as a young man he witnessed firsthand the hateful depredations of the Klan, he understood that reciprocal hatred was not only selfdefeating but sinful; he resolved that he "would permit no man, no matter what his color might be, to narrow and degrade my soul by making me hate him."

In 1872, Booker enrolled as a student at the Hampton, Virginia Normal and Agricultural Institute, where he worked as a janitor to earn his room and board. Upon arriving at Hampton, he recalled, he had "a surplus of exactly fifty cents with which to begin my education." Hungry, poorly dressed, and long unbathed when he presented himself before the head teacher, "I did not, of course, make a very favorable impression upon her, and I could see at once that there were doubts in her mind about the wisdom of admitting me as a student." After keeping Booker on tenterhooks while several other students were processed, the head teacher informed him that "the adjoining recitation-room needs sweeping. Take the broom and sweep it."

"It occurred to me that here was my chance," recalled Washington. He eagerly grabbed the broom and, with the fastidiousness he had learned from Viola Ruffner, "swept the recitation-room three times. Then I got a dusting-cloth and I dusted it four times." Having banished every speck of dust from the room, he invited an inspection by the head teacher. After surveying Booker's handiwork, the teacher calmly informed the anxious young man, "I guess you'll do to enter the institution." "I was one of the happiest souls on earth," recalled Washington. "The sweeping of that room was my college examination, and never did any youth pass an examination for entrance into Harvard or Yale that gave him more genuine satisfaction. I have passed several examinations since then, but I have always felt that this was the best one I ever passed."

During his three years at the Hampton Institute, Booker came to admire the school's superintendent, General Samuel C. Armstrong, whom he came to regard as "the noblest, rarest human being that it has ever been my privilege to meet." "The older I grow, the more I am convinced that there is no education which one can get from books and costly apparatus that is equal to that which can be gotten from contact with great men and women," wrote Washington, and in his view General Armstrong was such a man. The general was "Christlike" in his capacity for selfless service, Washington recalled: "I do not believe he ever had a selfish thought Although he fought the Southern white man in the Civil War, I never heard him utter a bitter word against him afterward. On the other hand, he was constantly seeking to find ways by which he could be of service to the Southern whites."

After his graduation from the Hampton Institute, Washington was offered an opportunity by General Armstrong to serve



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"When persons ask me in these days how, in the midst of what sometimes seem hopelessly discouraging conditions, I can have such faith in the future of my race in this country, I remind them of the wilderness through which and out of which, a good Providence has already led us." — Booker T. Washington



Sometimes you just have to speak up: Booker T. Washington was a widely sought-after speaker. Here he is shown at Carnegie Hall, spreading his message to a largely white audience. He spoke about unifying the races through mutual benefit and cooperation.

as a "house father" to 75 American Indians who were part of a special educational program. Although there were a few black students at Hampton who resented the presence of the Indians, recalled Washington, most of the Negro students "gladly took the Indians as roommates, in order that they might teach them to speak English and to acquire civilized habits."

It was while he worked with Indian students that Washington "had one or two experiences which illustrate the curious workings of caste in America." When one of the Indian students took ill, Booker was required to take him to Washington, D.C., where he would be taken under the care of the Interior Department. During the steamboat trip, Washington and his ailing Indian charge presented themselves at the dining saloon for dinner, only to be politely informed "that the Indian could be served, but I could not." Without rancor, but with a discernible note of cultured sarcasm, Washington commented: "I could never understand how he knew just where to draw the color line, since the Indian and I were about the same complexion. The steward, however, seemed to be an expert in this matter." The same useless expertise was displayed by the clerk at the Washington hotel to which the weary travelers repaired upon their arrival in the capital city.

Reflecting upon such incidents, Washington wrote that "the time to test a true gentleman is to observe him when he is in contact with individuals of a race that is less fortunate than his own. This is illustrated in no better way than by observing the conduct of the old-school type of Southern gentleman" in social settings involving black people. To illustrate, Booker referred to the familiar incident in which George Washington, meeting a black man who lifted his hat in greeting, reciprocated the polite tribute. When he was criticized by some of his friends for his gesture, Washington — artfully using against them their prejudices, which he did not share replied: "Do you suppose that I am going to permit a poor, ignorant, colored man to be more polite than I am?"

Despite occasional incidents of the kind he experienced during his first trip to Washington, Booker reported that "in all my contact with the white people of the South I have never received a single personal insult." After becoming head of Alabama's Tuskegee Institute, Washington found that white Southerners treated him with respect and appreciation. Thus it is not surprising that Washington was a critic of the policy of military occupation and social engineering known to history as the "Reconstruction" of the South.

"I think ... that the opportunity to freely exercise [the franchise and other] political rights will not come in any large degree through outside or artificial forcing, but will be accorded to the Negro by Southern white people themselves, and that they will protect him in the exercise of those rights," observed Washington at the dawn of the 20th century. "Just as soon as the South gets over the old feeling that it is being forced by 'foreigners,' or 'aliens,' to do something which it does not want to do, I believe that the change in the direction that I have indicated is going to begin. In fact, there are indications that it is already beginning."

Washington was also critical of the way in which "Reconstruction" cultivated dependence on the part of black Southerners. "I felt that the Reconstruction policy, so far as it related to my race, was in a large measure on a false foundation, which was artificial and forced. In many cases it seemed to me that the ignorance of my race was being used as a tool with which to help white men into office, and that there was an element in the North which wanted to punish the Southern white men by forcing the Negro into positions over the heads of the Southern whites. I felt that the Negro would be the one to suffer for this in the end."

Indeed, by becoming wards of the central government, contended Washington, blacks were as much victims of Reconstruction as were the whites who were being punished: "During the whole of the Reconstruction period our people throughout the South looked to the Federal Government for everything, very much as a child looks to its mother." This was intolerable to someone such as Washington, who fervently believed in the value and virtue of work and individual effort. From his perspective, the way to mitigate the South's racial predicament was for blacks and whites to engage in honorable and productive commerce, and thus create a society based upon merit. With regard to the franchise, Washington supported non-racial literacy requirements and insisted that "each state that finds it necessary to change the law bearing upon the franchise [must] make the law apply with absolute honesty, and without op-

portunity for double dealing or evasion, to both races alike."

Despite the fact that his labors consumed nearly all of his time, Washington made time for his family. Since he had never known his father or even known the pleasure of a sitdown meal, Washington strictly regulated his time in order to fulfill his duties as a husband and father to his four children. His home life was not without tragedy, however, as death claimed his first two wives at a very young age.

In 1881, after several years of teaching and a brief stint as a student at Wayland Seminary in Washington, D.C., Booker was selected to head the newly established Tuskegee Institute, which at the time boasted assets totaling two converted buildings (one of them an old hen-house) and almost no money. With the help of generous donors in both the North and South, and through the application of the industry for which he became properly famous, Booker built Tuskegee into a thriving, expanding center of learning. At the time of his death in 1915, Tuskegee encompassed over 100 well-equipped buildings, a teaching staff of 200, an enrollment of 1,500 black students studying 38 trades and professions, and an endowment of \$2 million. Washington also pointed out that although Tuskegee was strictly nondenominational, the education it provided was "thoroughly Christian and the spiritual training of students is not neglected."

As he traveled the country raising funds for Tuskegee, Washington found himself in demand as an orator. In September 1895, Washington was invited to attend the Atlanta Cotton States and Industrial Exposition, one of the most significant gatherings of political, religious, and industrial leaders in the post-war South. Although Washington was never deeply involved in partisan politics, he was acutely aware of the exposition's potential political fallout, and that the prospects for the Tuskegee Institute could depend upon



The great divider: Black leader W.E.B. DuBois, who lived a comfortable life and benefited greatly from white patronage, depised whites. Many blacks chose his vision over that of the unifier Booker T. Washington.

the reception that his speech received. He was also sensible of the potential impact his speech could have on race relations in a South that was still deeply injured from the war and Reconstruction.

As he strode to the dais at the exposition on September 18, 1895, Washington bore a burden he had not sought, and he dispatched it by speaking candidly about the need for black and white Southerners to join in the mutually enriching work of economic development. He urged Southern blacks to "cast down your bucket where you are": "Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery

> to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor and put our brains and skill into the common occupations of life."

He also admonished white Southerners to "cast down [their] bucket where [they] are" by encouraging blacks to seek education and productive employment, remembering that blacks have "tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South." Given the opportunity, black Southerners would be willing to "stand by [white Southerners] ... interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one." Washington's speech was greeted with a prolonged ovation, and earned laudatory notices from newspapers across the country.

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Clark Howell, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, expressed the view of millions of Americans in a telegram to Washington in which he referred to the address as "a platform upon which blacks and whites can stand with full justice to each other."

Within a few years, a far different approach to "social progress" would be championed by one of Washington's chief antagonists, William Edward Burghardt DuBois. Born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and raised in modest, if comfortable, middle-class surroundings, W.E.B. DuBois was one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which rejected Washington's vision of progress through industry, literacy, and racial conciliation. The NAACP's preferred strategy was political confrontation and social agitation, and its program reflected the Marxist worldview of DuBois and his comrades.

Where Washington resolved never to succumb to racial resentment, DuBois who had never known the privations and brutality of slave life, and whose career benefited from the patronage of wealthy white philanthropists - resolved at Harvard to "disdain and forget as far as possible that outer, whiter world." In a 1909 editorial for the NAACP organ Crisis, DuBois wrote that "the most ordinary Negro is a distinct gentleman, but it takes extraordinary training and opportunity to make the average white man anything but a hog." In 1911, DuBois joined the Socialist Party; a few years later — as DuBois recalled in a 1961 letter applying for membership in the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) - he "hailed the Russian Revolution of 1917." In that same letter, which was sent to Gus Hall, the Soviet quisling who headed the CPUSA, DuBois proclaimed that communism "is the only way of human life.... In the end Communism will triumph. I want to help bring that day."

W.E.B. DuBois despised Washington and execrated him as a tool of white capitalists. It is also not surprising that the modern "civil rights" movement drew from DuBois' vision — kept alive by the campus network of "W.E.B. DuBois Clubs," which were organized by the CPUSA as front groups in 1959 — rather than that of Booker T. Washington. In his introduction to the 1967 edition of *Up From Slavery*, Professor Clarence A. Andrews of the University of Iowa paid fealty to the prevailing prejudices of our unfortunate age: "I know where I stand — my heart is with Booker T. Washington but my brain is with DuBois." In 1991, the U.S. Postal Service issued a commemorative stamp featuring the likeness of DuBois, who died in 1963 in Ghana as an honored guest of Marxist dictator Kwame Nkrumah.

It is almost certain that black Americans, and the country as a whole, would have fared much better had the vision of Booker T. Washington prevailed. To the extent that the values he championed and personified are followed, those who do so find that America remains a land of opportunity for everyone, irrespective of race or color. Washington himself remained industrious until literally the last day that God gave him — November 14, 1915, when he expired at Tuskegee, a casualty, at age 59, of overwork. ■

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Biden's Gun Tax

Breitbart News reported on November 23 about some tax proposals from Joe Biden that might end up costing gun owners around \$34 billion in new taxes on firearms and ammunition they already own. Among Biden's proposal is a \$200 tax for each AR-15 that a gun owner possesses, as well as on other guns that Democrats identify as "assault weapons," and also a tax on gun owners of \$200 for every "high capacity" magazine in their collection. According to numbers provided by the National Shooting Sports Foundation, Americans own 434 million firearms, with around 20 million of them being so-called assault weapons. Running those numbers brings you to \$4 billion, and if you add the tax on the "high capacity" magazines, you'll get another \$30 billion. These numbers are stunning, but they show the depths to which anti-gun politicians might sink if they can't get the outright ban they've long sought and instead use these indirect measures. The anti-gun politicians might fail to ban your guns, but they could make the cost of owning them so prohibitively high that you voluntarily give them up because you can't afford them any longer.

2020 Was a Record Year for Gun Sales

The DailyWire reported on November 5 that "more guns were purchased in 2020 than at any other point in American history, with Americans buying more than 16.5 million guns, 1.6 million more than they purchased in 2016, the last record year." These numbers were driven in large part by the anxiety relating to the coronavirus and the lockdowns, as well as the societal unrest and riots that engulfed many cities across the country this year.

The DailyWire cited research done by Stephen Gutowski at the Washington Free Beacon, who wrote that the "National Shooting Sports Foundation, the gun industry's trade group, also estimated nearly seven million people purchased a gun for the first time between January and October.... The record sales come during a year in which Americans have faced a pandemic, economic downturn, prisoner releases, racial tension, and rioting. Those factors, as well as a contentious presidential election, have driven sales throughout the year, according to industry experts."

Because it now looks like Joe Biden has a good chance to assume the presidency in 2021, we can expect gun sales to continue to soar. Biden and Kamala Harris were both very outspoken during their campaign about their plans to enact strict gun control. The Democrats might struggle to enact legislative changes due to their slim hold on the House and a Senate that may stay under Republican control, but that doesn't mean that America won't see any new guncontrol measures under a Biden administration. After all. Biden can still use executive orders to unilaterally force through his antigun agenda despite the unconstitutionality of any such moves. Americans will most likely react to such anti-gun policies, or even the threat of such anti-gun policies, by rushing to buy what guns and ammo they can. It's a good bet that just as we witnessed record gun sales under the Obama presidency, we can expect new records to be set during a Biden presidency.

The Second Amendment Is Not a "Second-class Right"

Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito gave an online lecture to the Federalist Society on November 12 that made national news because he spoke frankly about the challenges facing our country and, more importantly, our Constitution. The SCO-TUSBlog wrote about Alito's online presentation and explained that Alito touched on many subjects in his address and lamented the increasing intolerance being exhibited by the American Left. Alito mentioned the attacks on religious liberty and free speech, but it was his remarks on the Second Amendment that were most relevant to the readers of this column. Justice Alito complained that "the ultimate second-class right in the minds of some is the Second Amendment." To drive home his point, Justice Alito discussed a recent case that challenged firearm restrictions

in New York City. When the case was up for consideration by the court, five Democratic senators filed a brief that criticized the court for its decision to take the case and even went so far as to threaten to "restructure" the court if they made the wrong ruling. The court voted to dismiss the case instead of making a ruling on the merits, and even though Alito stated that he was "not suggesting that the court's decision was influenced by the senators' threat," he did state that he was "concerned that it might be viewed that way" by partisans who want to "bully" the court into going along with their far-left agenda. Alito bemoaned these tactics of intimidation from the Left and stated that the "senators' brief was extraordinary.... It was an affront to the Constitution and the rule of law."

Reason Magazine also covered Alito's remarks on November 13 and wrote that Alito expressed concerns about the appearance created by the threats from the Democratic senators. "After receiving this warning ... the Court did exactly what the city and the senators wanted. It held that the case was moot, and it said nothing about the Second Amendment. Three of us protested, but to no avail.... I am concerned that the outcome might be viewed that way by the senators and others with thoughts of bullying the Court. This little episode, I'm afraid, may provide a foretaste of what the Supreme Court will face in the future, and therefore I don't think it can simply be brushed aside." Alito said. He added that the "Supreme Court was created by the Constitution, not by Congress. Under the Constitution, we exercise the judicial power of the United States. Congress has no right to interfere with that work any more than we have the right to legislate. Our obligation is to decide cases based on the law, period. And it is therefore wrong for anybody, including members of Congress, to try to influence our decisions by anything other than legal argumentation. That sort of thing has often happened in countries governed by power, not law." Justice Alito is correct to call out these heavy-handed tactics because it seems as if the Democrats are only getting bolder in their attempts at suppressing dissent to their agenda by any means necessary.

- PATRICK KREY



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Correction, Please!



Images

The "Great Reset" From Coronavirus to Climate Emergency

ITEM: Time magazine's print edition dated November 23, in an article entitled "Taking Climate Seriously," asserted that the "global crisis will be central to the new Administration's agenda." In hyperbolic language, the leftist publication insisted that Biden's climate policy "will not only dictate the future of U.S. emissions but also shape the 21st century geopolitical and economic landscape and help determine whether the world can stave off the worst effects of catastrophic climate change."

ITEM: Former New York Mayor and presidential candidate Michael Bloomberg, writing in Bloomberg Businessweek for November 16, declared that it is "imperative that President-elect Joe Biden take a whole government approach to climate action right from the get-go." This should include, he said, agencies and departments. Among the examples he cited was the Federal Reserve Board, commenting, "Monetary policy can be used to reduce the costs of borrowing for investments that help to cut emissions, increase resilience, and take climate change into account and to increase costs for those that don't." **ITEM:** Radical economist and commentator Paul Krugman is attempting to set the narrative for progressives. (He writes for the left-wing New York Times.) In a November 20 piece entitled "Covid, Climate and the Power of Denial," Krugman dismissed the concerns of "right-wingers" who claim that "taking climate seriously would doom the economy." The "truth," he maintained, "is that at this point the economics of climate action look remarkably benign. Spectacular progress in renewable energy technology makes it fairly easy to see how the economy can wean itself from fossil fuels. A recent analysis by the International Monetary Fund suggests that a 'green infrastructure push' would, if anything, lead to faster economic growth over the next few decades."

ITEM: MSNBC's Katy Tur, herself a climate activist, enthusiastically noted on November 12 that Joe Biden was "plan-



Tell them what they want to hear: Here Joe Biden says we have to do something about climate change to deal with the fires in the West, but other times he said that he would not interfere in such activities as fracking. Evidence suggests that he told the climate alarmists the truth.

ning a flurry of climate-focused executive actions on day one, including rejoining the Paris Accords, implementing the alreadyexisting Clean Air Act, and requiring public companies to disclose their operational climate risks and greenhouse gas emissions." She gushed that Biden's "transition team has a 300-page blueprint on how to quickly and holistically approach the climate crisis, gifted to them by a team of former Obama administration officials, scientists, and climate activists."

The anchor on the television cable channel got reinforcing comments from left-wing Penn State University professor Michael Mann, who said, as expected, that "we've got to undo first all of the damage that was done by four years of Trump."

CORRECTION: We are instructed repeatedly to believe the "scientists" — and change our lifestyles and overall economy because of what the climate might be in hundreds of years — though the experts can't even provide a correct forecast for next weekend.

Here is the revealed word from WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, who declared in August 2020 that "the Covid-19 pandemic has given new impetus to the need to accelerate efforts to respond to climate change." In June, Klaus Schwab, the chairman and founder of the World Economic Forum in Switzerland, similarly called for "a Great Reset of capitalism" because of COVID and to help in the effort against climate change.

UN Secretary-General António Guterres declared in mid-November — in a video message to the East Asia Summit 2020 — that the world must, for example, stop building new coal-fired power plants and "use the Covid-19 recovery effort to build green climate-resilient economies and work towards carbon neutrality by 2050."

Well, no. Like it or not, fossil fuels are an essential part of the U.S. (and world) economy. Consider that about 63 percent of all electricity being produced in the United States comes from coal and natural gas. Alternate fuels? It would be impossible to manufacture or install solar panels or wind turbines without major quantities of fossil fuels. Meanwhile, most climate activists disdain clean nuclear energy and hydropower.

Benjamin Zycher is a senior fellow at the Pacific Research Institute as well as a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute; at AEI, he works on energy and environmental policy, but you probably didn't see him on the network propaganda news. He recognizes that Biden's policies, while expensive, would do little to fight the presumed ills of global warming.

Zycher offers hard figures on RealClear Energy about various vaunted plans, build-



ing blocks for Biden's would-be policies:

Full implementation of the Obama administration climate action plan would reduce temperatures in 2100 by 0.015 degrees C. The same effect would [be obtained via] the most prominent recent proposals for a U.S. carbon tax. The entire Paris agreement, if implemented immediately and enforced strictly: 0.17 degrees C. Net zero U.S. GHG emissions by 2050: 0.104 degrees C. The electricity component of the Green New Deal: 0.028 degrees C. A net reduction of GHG emissions to zero by the entire Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development: 0.35 degrees C. An impossible 30 percent reduction by the entire world: about 0.6 degrees C.

Yet, even reaching such minuscule goals would be economically ruinous. Consider: One conservative study pegs the 10-year cost of the Green New Deal (GND) at a staggering \$93 trillion.

Apparently we need to keep the plebs in the dark from such news or all these wonderful programs would not get funded.

They must also be kept in the dark about

how little mandated and drastic lifestyle changes are predicted to have on the environment. As recently explained by the *Times* of London, a leading scientific journal warned about global warming being unstoppable; and it had to "clarify" when its account was accused of potentially causing "unnecessary despair." Said the paper:

Scientific Reports sought to publicise a study by Norwegian scientists with a doom-laden press release headlined: "Ending greenhouse gas emissions may not stop global warming."

After being strongly criticised by leading British scientists, the journal issued a revised press release which admitted that the prediction was based on a particular computer model and said the results should be tested by "alternative models."

Speaking of those fond of certain narratives — that is, making up stories, not dealing with facts — consider how Paul Krugman (cited above claiming that the effects of spending loads of money on green energy projects would be "remarkably benign") tried to make his case. He leaned on a similar tale by the International Monetary Fund.



Her deal: Squad member Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez says that she and other radicals will hold Joe Biden to spending many trillions on the Green New Deal, which is a political plan that would institute full-fledged socialism in this country through government spending and regulations.

Krugman's veracity, it turns out, is also quite flexible. Consider that in August, one of his pieces ("Coming Next: The Next Recession") warned that the "suspension of federal benefits would create damage almost as terrifying as the economic effects of the coronavirus." Yet, by November he claimed in the article "Making the Best of the Coming Biden Boom" that "the economic outlook is probably brighter than you think."

Despite the evident harm that would come with meeting green goals, multiple international bodies are pretty much in step. Economist John Cochrane (a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford, an adjunct scholar at the Cato Institute, and a former professor at the University of Chicago Booth School of Business) recently commented on this phenomenon. He is not delighted that the IMF "is now advocating, along with climate, a full range of policies including increased 'social spending,' progressive taxation, income redistribution, and social-justice policies far beyond anything traditionally monetary or financial."

In addition, the Bank for International Settlements and the Financial Stability Board, wrote Cochrane, "are advocating and the Bank of England is starting to implement climate policies. Central banks should demand extensive disclosures of 'climate risk' and contributions to 'sustainable investing.' Those lending to, say, fracking companies will have an army of regulators descend on them."

Biden's promised policies would bring a lot of pain, but little gain in terms of the climate.

The effects of the GND in action (or even a somewhat less extreme version of it) would, as summarized by the Heritage Foundation's Nicolas Loris, be expensive in terms of money and freedom:

Green New Deal-like policies would give the government far more control over the energy economy — and strip away choices that should be left to consumers. These policies would be harmful for taxpayers, ratepayers, families, and businesses across the



Getting rid of coal: Even as the West has gotten rid of many coal-fired power plants, China and India have been building the plants by the dozen, more than offsetting any reductions in carbon dioxide that the West achieves. So spending trillions on "green energy" will do no good.

country. Higher prices for goods and services would destroy far more jobs than any subsidized programs would create. In terms of climate effects, any unilateral reduction in emissions would barely affect global surface temperatures or sea levels.

When called out on this during his presidential run, Biden simply lied about his support for the goals of the Green New Deal. However, you don't need a detective to discover such support: The GND was praised on the Biden-Harris campaign website, and Kamala Harris was the first Senate co-sponsor for the Green New Deal.

The Green New Deal is more than an eco-tract, much more. It's broad, transformational — calling for "free healthcare, affordable housing, and guaranteed jobs paid at family-living wages, for all Americans," as summarized by Christopher Gage for "American Greatness."

Ignoring reality, the mainstream media have drawn a false "moderate" façade for Biden. It is a cover. As James Meigs, the former editor of *Popular Mechanics*, pointed out in the Autumn issue of *City Journal* (a publication of the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research):

A delighted Noam Chomsky calls

Biden's policy positions "farther to the left than any Democratic candidate in memory." And the party's hardliners are planning to hold the presumptive president-elect to these promises. The Warren-aligned Progressive Change Campaign Committee is working with allied groups to pack a Biden executive branch with activists. "The goal is to have people throughout the federal government who know how to exercise power," says PCCC cofounder Stephanie Taylor.

In mid-November, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-N.Y.), a radical progressive and prominent supporter of the GND, spoke before demonstrators in Washington, D.C., demanding that Biden take "bold action" on issues of climate change and perceived economic inequalities. According to this "Squad" member, widely nicknamed AOC, "We have worked with the Biden administration to secure commitment on a \$2 trillion climate plan. Two trillion dollars. But we're not gonna stop there. We're not gonna stop with a piece of paper. That's not what's gonna happen."

And globalists everywhere are on board. The World Economic Forum (WEF) is currently promoting what has been dubbed the Great Reset. This effort was discussed in "From Lockdowns to 'The Great Reset," by Antony P. Mueller; he wrote in August for Mises.org:

The plan for an overhaul of the world is the brainchild of an elite group of businessmen, politicians, and their intellectual entourage that used to meet in Davos, Switzerland, in January each year. Brought into existence in 1971, the World Economic Forum has become a megaglobal event since then. More than three thousand leaders from all over the world attended the meeting in 2020.

The announced theme of the WEF 2021 summit will be "The Great Reset." As the group's website says, it will be "taking place in the context of the United Nations General Assembly," and it will "tackle climate change and advance sustainable development."

Mueller, a German economics professor, quotes from the World Economic Forum program, saying it

calls for "a new social contract" that is centered on racial equality, social justice, and the protection of nature. Climate change requires us "to decarbonize the economy" and to bring human thinking and behavior "into harmony with nature." The aim is to build "more equal, inclusive and sustainable economies." This new world order must be "urgently" implemented, the promotors of the WEF claim, and they point out that the pandemic "has laid bare the unsustainability of our system," which lacks "social cohesion."

As Climate Depot's Marc Morano puts it: "If you like living under the coronavirus fears and government-mandated lockdowns, then you'll love living your life under a 'climate emergency." The ultimate objective, driven more by fears than facts, is control of national and global economies. ■

— WILLIAM P. HOAR

THE LAST WORD BY SELWYNE DUKE

Looking Toward the *Real* End of History

n his 1992 book The End of History and the Last Man, political scientist Francis Fukuyama argued that we have reached "the end-point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government." It's a very optimistic view, which could remind one of the naïve claim that WWI would be the "war to end all wars." Also optimistic, within the context of their "perspective," are those rather odd people we call leftists with their belief that



come? Well, whatever the current cultural trajectory, the proverb informs that a "lie has speed, but Truth has endurance." The Truth will out, and no fleet-footed lie can outrun the verdict of time — evil always, ultimately, destroys itself. Just consider its track

Whence does our hope

Just consider its track record against Christianity. The Caesars tried to destroy the faith, but the Roman Empire is gone and the church is still here. The French revolutionaries tried to destroy it, but they're gone and

the church is still here. Likewise, the Mexican revolutionaries (1920s), the Spanish Popular Front leftists (1930s), the Soviets, the Nazis, and others tried to suppress or destroy Christianity, and they've all passed on while the church has carried on. So also will our leftists, so defined by Christophobia, fade into the mists of time while the church endures. The newsmakers and news change; the Good News doesn't.

Moreover, though unwelcome, trials are clouds with silver linings. Author G. Michael Hopf has noted, "Hard times create strong men. Strong men create good times. Good times create weak men. And, weak men create hard times." Many are understandably concerned about what kind of world they'll leave their progeny, fearing a future of poverty and tyranny. But though we all want good times, they often leave our children in spiritual poverty and in the tyranny of sin. We will, unless the end of time comes first, be inspired by tribulation to cycle back to greater virtue and faith.

Speaking of the end and time, physicist Albert Einstein called the latter "a handy illusion," and sage theologians inform likewise. Though it's hard to wrap one's mind around, God is outside of time. Thus is our deepest source of hope this: It's not actually correct to say "God will win in the end" — it's that He has *already won*. When He died on the cross, Christians believe, He did so not only for the sins of mankind up to that time, but for all the sins throughout all time.

None of this means we should be "so full of heavenly thoughts that we're of no worldly good." We must fight the good fight, recognizing that we have a moral responsibility to do our duty. But we should remember, and rejoice, that the real verdict is rendered not by current events or even history, the latter of which is written by the victors, who too often are eternal losers. That judgment comes with the real, indisputable end of history, when evil is no more.

they're "on the right side of history."

Radio giant and conservative icon Rush Limbaugh would once express his optimism, too, repeatedly uttering in the 1990s a line that became a chapter in his 1993 book, *The Way Things Ought to Be.* To wit: "We are Winning." A July caller to his show pointed out that he hadn't "heard that in a long time." "I'm just curious," he continued, "but — are we still winning? I'm kind of worried." He has a lot of company.

Whether Fukuyama's theory is right or risible and Limbaugh prescient or passé, people do tend to be children of their age and not of the ageless. The epitome of this is the leftists, who currently are happy — insofar as the miserable can be so — for the same reason Limbaugh's caller was worried. But they're not, as they suppose, on the right side of history but only of current events, which themselves currently are on the wrong side of history.

History is a longer thing, of course, in terms of rendering judgments. History has its ebbs and flows, and our *seemingly natural* gravitation toward "leftism" manifests itself not because, as the "regressives" crow, man ever moves toward enlightenment and that's what they offer. It's because a civilization's moral foundation is as a house, car, or anything else: Left to itself and without a continual application of energy, it moves toward disorder. Yet to paraphrase economist Herb Stein, "If something can't go on, it won't." Leftism can't. Leftism won't.

This isn't reason for the "right" to be optimistic, though. This is only because, as Eternal Word Television Network personality Father George Rutler once put it, "A pessimist is a sad idiot; an optimist is a happy idiot." His point was that both types put a spin on reality, seeking to view things from, respectively, an unrealistically negative or positive perspective. In contrast, a Christian's happiness derives from realism, and thus he possesses that blessed theological virtue: *hope*.

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