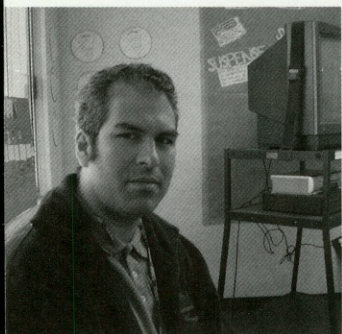


## After the Election: An Interview with a City Council Candidate *Serving God at City Hall* | BY JOHNNY RAMIREZ



**Above: Candidate Fabian Carballo, who felt a calling to “expand my territory in Colton”; he appears at the far right with interviewer Johnny Ramirez.**

**D**oes serving God include getting elected? Here are the thoughts of one candidate from the 2006 election.

**JR** Hello Fabian! How are you today?

**FC** I'm doing great. I just celebrated my birthday on the twenty-first and get to celebrate my kids' birthdays on the twenty-second and twenty-third [of November]. It was great timing and it was great planning.

**JR** You are a La Sierra University graduate—what was your major? Any memorable teachers or personalities from your time there?

**FC** I double-majored in communication and history and political science. I remember the late Dr. Jacques, who was tragically shot at his home, and the late Clark Davis, who talked me into studying history and asking pertinent questions. I also appreciated everything that Dr. Dupee did for me.

**JR** Why did you decide to run for the fourth council seat?

**FC** As the Word says, “Many are called but few are chosen.” I live in a very diverse part of Colton [California] that includes the historical downtown and the downtrodden South Colton. I felt a calling to “expand my territory” because I was dissatisfied with my church’s current nonexistent outreach to the community. I was also dissatisfied with

myself and the fact that I wasn’t living a service-centered lifestyle.

**JR** What church are you a member of? How did it respond to your political activity?

**FC** I belong to the Inland Spanish Church located in Colton. I was baptized there as a child and served as an elder, director of religious liberty, director of education, youth leader, and so forth.... The reactions were mixed. Some members were taken aback because they never knew anyone who was involved in politics and they weren't sure if it was kosher with Ellen G. White's writings. Others, because of their education or open-mindedness, were very excited, and some even offered to contribute to the campaign financially.

**JR** Do you feel that Adventists should be involved in the political process?

**FC** Of course, it goes with the mission and vision to proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ. Are we making any headway preaching to the choir, to our congregations? I just feel that God wants to call men and women who have a deep desire to serve to go out on a limb and become the policy makers and the decision makers that will affect the thousands who live in their communities. It was a joyous day for God when the king of Nineveh decided that all his people should repent and seek a better path. Likewise, God wants his people to personally involve themselves in the betterment of society as a whole.

**JR** *How much has this race cost you personally and fiscally?*

**FC** Like everything I do, I gave it my all. I am in a lot of debt right now and my wife has been great about it. I used thousands of dollars that I didn't have. Physically, I was mostly overwhelmed by my full-time job and my own kids at home, who are turning one and three this week. I praise the Lord for his Sabbath and for soccer, which allowed me to rest and replenish my energy. People kept telling me, "Are you crazy? You should campaign on Saturdays, that's when people are at home." I am glad that I knew better, and that my life experiences taught me to be loyal. How could voters trust me to be loyal to them if I can't even be loyal to my Lord?

**JR** *How close was your race exactly?*

**FC** Very close on election night, I was only down by two votes. What messed everything up was that it was a three-way race. One candidate didn't come close but he took away enough votes to make it awfully close for the rest of us. It was one of the closest races in the entire county of San Bernardino, if not the whole state.

**JR** *How did you do in the final result?*

**FC** Once the votes were certified by the registrar of voters, I accepted the defeat by three votes. Three mere votes! I congratulated my opponent and decided not to recount because it would have divided the city even more.

**JR** *How has the community reacted to the results?*

**FC** I wouldn't call it a loss. I came in second place in a pool of three candidates. My church has been really supportive, and many residents have reached out to congratulate me or encourage me to stay involved. Also, many area politicians have reached out to me and offered to help me get elected the next time around.

**JR** *Are you satisfied?*

**FC** I had some time to reflect and feel very good about the outcome. Since God is in control of my life, I feel relieved that he has bigger and better plans for me.

**JR** *Any other thoughts?*

**FC** I just want to encourage people to answer to God's call even if it seems unfeasible. Also, I want to thank my pastors, my family, and my supporters. It was great to find out that there are non-Adventist Christians in my district who have prayed relentlessly for me and for our city. Praise the Lord if even one life was changed through this whole process. ■

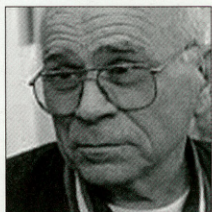


A graduate of La Sierra University, **Fabian Carballo** teaches at Bloomington, California, High School. He also directs the Religious Liberty Department of the Inland Spanish Seventh-day Adventist Church, in Colton, California.

**Johnny Ramirez** is a student at Azusa Pacific University, a pastoral intern at the Hollywood, California, Seventh-day Adventist Church, and a frequent contributor to the *Spectrum Blog*.

# Remembering the Whitecoats

*Service led to vaccines not germ warfare* | BY RAYMOND J. WEST



**Wendell Cole** (served 1954–56): “Yeah, and when I check out I’m going to have an American flag, a military funeral, and all of those other things they want to give you. I’m proud.”



**Gene Crosby** (served 1964–66): “I asked him, Major Dangerfield, when I drank that stuff, was it going to last any longer than two weeks? ‘Oh no, got the antidote, it will be all over in two weeks,’ and it isn’t over yet today.”

When “The Living Weapon” was broadcast in February 2007, by the American Public Broadcasting System, many Adventists tuned in to watch what would be said about Project Whitecoat, the 1954–73 era Army program that used Seventh-day Adventist noncombatant conscientious objectors as subjects for medical experiments. I watched and enjoyed the program; however, I was disappointed that the producers failed to admit that defensive measures were a product of the studies. They were bent on a germ warfare theme.

As I understand it, at least two new vaccines were developed from the studies, and a total of twelve were evaluated and refined in some way. Although I know that there were meetings held at the Beltsville, Maryland, SDA church after the airing of the PBS program to discuss the disgruntled feelings of some, none of the participants that I have spoken to or corresponded with have had negative comments concerning their Whitecoat experiences.

These young men were not unwitting dupes for germ warfare. Rather, they were well-informed volunteers who arguably assumed as much or more risk than if they had served in Korea or Viet Nam. I think of them as apostles of the legendary Dr. Walter Reed. He it was who subdued the yellow fever plague in America. Had he known them, Reed would have been really proud of the Whitecoats.

The saga of the Whitecoats goes back to the early 1950s and the days of the Cold War. United States intelligence was informing the

country that alien nations were culturing exotic viruses and brewing lethal chemicals. Not to be left behind in the war of the microbes and nerve gasses, American scientists manned the bioramparts. They cut to the chase, eager to begin life-and-death experiments on humans.

Desperately needed was a brigade or two of healthy young men who used no tobacco or alcohol. So how to find a gang of healthy young men who would volunteer as guinea pigs for groundbreaking research? Someone came up with the notion to make good use of army draftees. Fortunately, GIs were plentiful. Someone else offered that Seventh-day Adventist draftees were a temperate crowd, were dependable when it came to clean and healthy living. These were the unique

## Also of Interest:

“The Living Weapon,” aired on public television.

The complete program can be viewed online at [www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/weapon/](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/weapon/).

“Operation Whitecoat,” *Religion and Ethics*, Oct. 24, 2003, episode 708, [www.pbs.org/wnet/religionandethics/week708/cover.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/religionandethics/week708/cover.html).

## From the Spectrum magazine archives

at [www.spectrummagazine.org](http://www.spectrummagazine.org)

Comments on Project Whitecoat, 25.5 (September 1996):59–61.

Krista Thompson Smith, “Adventists and Biological Warfare,” 25.3 (March 1996):35–50.

Martin D. Turner, “Project Whitecoat,” 2.3 (summer 1970):55–70.

ones, the foot soldiers who honored their commitment to "God and Country."

Army medic Ken Jones was among the first draftees who volunteered in 1954 for the Whitecoat adventures. Plucked from Houston and sent to Fort Detrick, Maryland, he promptly agreed to risk the angst and miseries of Q Fever. Fortunately, Jones, like all the men who followed him, was attended by a personal physician and a private nurse. A good thing, for Q Fever is no dish of pabulum when it comes to illnesses.

Early on, it masquerades with flu-like symptoms—fever, headache, and malaise. But it can go on to pneumonia, heart failure, and liver destruction. No doubt, Jones's nurse and physician were busy enough with their young patient as he weathered the grim Q Fever storms. After that came the payoff, a vaccine fit to knock the props from under "Query" Fever, courtesy of Jones and his Whitecoat GI pals.

Still not quite satisfied that Q Fever could be carried on benign breezes from infected cow to unsuspecting cowhand, the scientists sought another volunteer. This time it would be a medic buddy of Jones, Lloyd Long. Long was assigned to sleep on the sands of a barren Utah desert wrapped in an army blanket. His instructions: "When you hear the blast of the siren, get up, sit on the stool and face into the wind."

Just a kid in his late teens, Private Long breathed deeply of an infectious Q Fever bomb on the soft desert airs. All too soon, he was felled with headache, fever, blurred vision. Never had this army youngster been so sick.

With a shake of the head, Jones and Long could have refused to sit in as Q Fever guinea pigs. And so might all of their fellow volunteers (a few years later) when induced to man an Apollo space capsule. They would make a virtual flight to the moon while flogged with yet another fever, this time dengue.

President John F. Kennedy had set the United States off on a race to the moon. And what disasters awaited the crew should they be felled with illness one hundred thousand miles out in space? It was high time to answer that gnarly question.

So the mosquito-vectored virus of "Break Bone Fever" (dengue) was injected into the veins of Whitecoat volunteers. Wretched and ill, they sweated out a simulated earth to moon flight, and return. They performed with aplomb and made space age history.

Yet another triumph for the research done on the Whitecoat volunteers came years later during the presidency of Jimmy Carter. In 1977, when the Rift Valley Fever, a skulking sibling of West Nile virus, plagued the Middle East, Carter was brokering a peace deal between Egypt and Israel. An offer by Carter to furnish an effective vaccine sealed the agreement. Thus, a group of young American boys had played a smash hit role in Middle East peace.

Abram Benenson, a founding Whitecoat scientist said, "We told them we were going to make them sick and even though we could take good care of them, you never know for sure. They were fully conscious of the risks they were taking." His words rang true for the group of medics who volunteered for the tularemia ("rabbit fever") project. One man jotted the following:

*We were placed in the hospital ward for two weeks before being injected with the virus... During the four weeks of the project, we were given measured amounts of fruits, charcoal, and other foods to eat. We were also required to drink a prescribed amount [either one half or one gallon] of an oily liquid-drink-mix each day. The six who were injected at the end of the first two weeks got really sick with nausea, vomiting, aches, and cramps. One man got so sick that even on his leave time after the initial project testing, he was readmitted to a hospital in Indianapolis and spent much of his four weeks leave there.*

So where are they now, these Whitecoat warriors? They are managers, administrators, educators, dentists, physicians, and more. A recent survey revealed that almost 50 percent completed college, and close to one-third had master's or doctor's degrees. Appropriately enough, they have collected their kudos: a certificate of appreciation from the U.S. Congress, a medallion from the U.S. Army, a splendid memorial erected by the members of the Seventh-day Adventist church close by Fort Detrick, where they served, in Fredrick, Maryland.

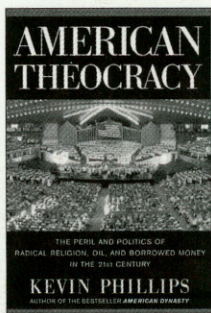
Operation Whitecoat ended, along with the draft, in 1973. President Richard Nixon closed down the American bioweapons research. The men and the army they served hold pride in their mission as accomplished. Vaccines, a variety of treatments, along with protective gear have saved thousands of lives, both human and animal, because these young warriors willingly took a walk on the wild side. ■

**Physician Raymond D. West** resides in Belfair, Washington.

## BOOK REVIEWS

## American Imperialism

Reflections on religion and American policy | A REVIEW ESSAY BY TERRIE AAMODT



Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy: The Peril and Politics of Radical Religion, Oil, and Borrowed Money in the 21st Century* (New York: Viking, 2006).

Suppose someone handed you three books in plain brown wrappers. They are, you are told, reflections on the relationship between religion and American policy written by a Republican pol, an evangelical, and a cabinet official from a Democratic administration. Suppose the book on the top of the stack has singed pages and is smoking around the edges. You might guess it would be the book written by the Democrat. If the books were the three illustrated on these pages, though, you would be wrong. But of course there is more to the story.

Kevin Phillips, the number-crunching political analyst who engineered the Nixon majority, identified the impending resurgence in conservative values and named the Sun Belt, is no longer a Republican. Now registered as an independent, he is hopping mad about what has happened to the political party he helped to refashion. Randall Balmer, although he describes himself as an evangelical, is a political liberal who was propelled by the bitter taste left in his mouth after the 2004 presidential election to research and write *Thy Kingdom Come*. He expects the book will make him a pariah among most of his evangelical friends and family members.

Ballmer describes his relationship to American evangelicalism as that of a "jilted lover." Phillips appears to feel that way about the Republican party. With the kind of exhaustive research that characterized Phillips's pathbreaking 1969 book, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, he demolishes his target in *American Theocracy* with a barrage of statistical analysis and coolly calculated arguments that have impressed most reviewers. Ballmer, wielding

the fierce sorrow of a lover's quarrel, weaves a polemic that leads to a set of conclusions unlikely to ingratiate him with conservative evangelicals.

Madeline Albright's book grew out of a speech of the same title she made at the Yale Divinity School in the spring of 2004. The speech led her to additional research and to this volume, which combines history, diplomatic analysis, and her personal experiences as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, secretary of state during Bill Clinton's second term, and a continuing participant in bipartisan symposia on American foreign policy. Although clearly concerned about the present relationship between religion and foreign policy in the United States, Albright is less harsh on the current regime and more optimistic than the other two authors.

Before peering between the covers of these three books, a few definitions are in order. Aware that the growing presence of evangelical religion in American public spaces has created more alarm than understanding, Walter Russell Mead, who is Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow for U.S. Policy at the Council on Foreign Relations, wrote an article titled "God's Country," a tutorial on the current state of American Protestantism and politics that appeared in the September/October 2006 issue of *Foreign Affairs* (24-43).

The liberal Protestants Mead describes are most at home discussing the ethics of Christianity and believe that every religion has some truth. He identifies "separatist" funda-

mentalists as those who seek to withdraw from American politics and culture and contrasts them with "neo-evangelical" fundamentalists who claim the label "evangelical" and seek continual engagement with the world. In spite of the elevated concern about where Christian conservatism will take the United States, Mead faces the future with "measured optimism" that these groups and secular society will be capable of achieving constructive dialogue.

Kevin Phillips does not partake of "measured optimism." He identifies an incipient theocracy brewing in the United States, and he believes it is likely to strengthen. Phillips is impressed by the tenacity and pervasiveness of conservative American Protestantism within the American religious experience. He notes that while 92 percent of Americans believe in God, 60 percent also believe in Noah's Ark, and 61 percent in a literal six-day creation. He notes as well that 83 percent of Evangelical Protestants in America believe the Bible is literally accurate and 77 percent expect the events in the book of Revelation to be fulfilled in the future (102).

The extent of these attitudes, Phillips contends, is owed to a religious mindset that sprang out of the post-Civil War South. He describes how southern Protestants redirected their literalistic Bible-reading habits from the topic of slavery to a host of other issues. The eleven former Confederate states, plus Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland, are home to religious-political groups ranging from the League of the South to Christian Reconstructionism.

The dominant force in this regional powerhouse, Phillips asserts, is the Southern Baptist Convention, "an eight-hundred-ton dinosaur in the parlor of American Protestantism" (149). Southern Baptists led in drafting "The Fundamentals" from 1910 to 1915 that gave fundamentalism its name. They promoted Prohibition, led the anti-evolution movement, and became an important part of the Republican Party base.

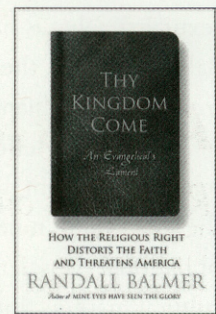
The fundamentalist takeover of the SBC began in 1979 when denominational conserva-

tives turned their scrutiny on the Old Testament classes at Baylor University in Waco, Texas. What resulted, says Phillips, is that the "church of the Southern Cultural Memory" became a "Church of Biblical Inerrancy and Republican Ascendancy...and, perhaps, the closest approximation to an official church in the United States" since eighteenth-century Congregationalism (156). It provides a well-organized power base for an eventual theocracy.

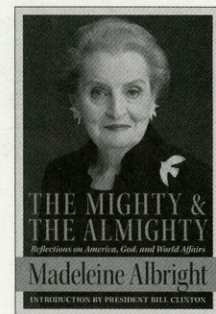
The new religio-political border between secular and sacred, between North and South, runs from southern Pennsylvania across Ohio, through southern Indiana and Illinois, to Iowa. Not surprisingly, in 2000 and 2004, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Iowa were all battlegrounds. And conservative Protestants in all those states, according to Phillips, partook of five fundamentalist tendencies: "claiming absolute truth...seizing upon an 'ideal time,' as in claims for imminent cataclysms or fast-approaching end times; fostering blind obedience; using ends to justify means; pursuing 'holy war'" (205). These forces enable the Republican Party to have a religious base, a condition unprecedented in American politics.

Although Phillips never discloses his own religious orientation, or even whether he has one, he sounds pretty apocalyptic himself as he connects his disturbing portrait of the Religious Right with his thoughts on the United States' dependence on oil and a deficit-driven economy, points that occupy two-thirds of his book. Phillips clearly takes these perceived threats very seriously and thinks there is a good chance they will lead the United States to disaster. He assumes a prophetic role as he warns that the current trajectory of the United States seems to be tracking the path of other great powers that have collapsed.

**R**andall Ballmer is every bit as upset as Kevin Phillips about the Religious Right, but his response is more personal and autobiographical. The son of an evangelical minister who deviated from the family occupational path to become a religious historian at Barnard College, Columbia University,



Randall Balmer, *Thy Kingdom Come: How the Religious Right Distorts the Faith and Threatens America; an Evangelical's Lament* (New York: Basic Books, 2006).



Madeleine Albright with Bill Woodward, *The Mighty and the Almighty: Reflections on America, God, and World Affairs* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006).

Ballmer asserts that the evangelical stream of American religion has forsaken him and its nineteenth-century roots.

Whereas Phillips delves into European history to contextualize what is happening in the United States today, Ballmer reviews the history of American Protestantism, from Roger Williams, "the founder of the Baptist tradition in America," to Jefferson and Madison's concerns about religious freedom, to the creation of the Bill of Rights, to the function of nineteenth-century evangelicals as a voice of national conscience, speaking truth to power from the cultural margins. He tweaks the tendency of the Religious Right to celebrate capitalist economics by referring to the "free market" of religious expression in the nineteenth century that enabled evangelical faiths to flourish.

Like Phillips, Ballmer sees the Religious Right striving to create a theocratic America, a place where the free market of religious pluralism is devalued, a place "where public prayer is mandated in public schools, where school vouchers support religious rather than secular public education, and where religious texts, such as the Ten Commandments, are prominently displayed in government-funded spaces such as courts and schools" (49).

Ballmer describes the activities of Judge Roy S. Moore, who was forced from his seat on the Alabama Supreme Court because he refused to remove "Roy's Rock," his Ten Commandment monument, from the state Supreme Court building in 2003. The rock, says Ballmer, "represents an utter repudiation of Baptist principles," which preferred religion to function without state endorsement.

Ballmer is puzzled by what he terms the "selective literalism" of the religious right, which allows its practitioners to hear the silent screams of the unborn but to support capital punishment and torture. He puzzles over the tendency of many evangelicals to highlight the few biblical references to homosexuality while overlooking the many texts related to divorce. (He thinks evangelicals pretend that abortion and homosexuality happen to others, while they treat divorce with a lighter hand because it permeates their own ranks.) He marvels at the easy acceptance conservatives give ideas that seem inconsistent with the teachings of Jesus Christ.

In order to make theocracy a reality, its adherents must transmit their values to each new generation. According to Ballmer, conservative Christians hope to defeat secularism by obtaining government support in the form of tuition vouchers to attend private Christian schools, a practice that has been underway in Cleveland, Ohio, for several years.

Rather than making private education affordable to the poor, however, vouchers appear to benefit disproportionately the people who were wealthy enough to send their children to private school already. Furthermore, Ballmer is also disturbed by the way vouchers blur church-state lines.

In areas where vouchers are unavailable, what is a conservative parent to do? Home school, say a growing number of religious conservatives. Ballmer doesn't like that option either, particularly since a conservative group, called the Home School Legal Defense Association and headed by educator Michael Farris, has succeeded in exempting home schoolers from most state educational requirements.

Fundamentalist parents of home schooled children are particularly concerned about how their offspring will transition to a college setting. The Religious Right has produced an array of Bible colleges to meet these needs, but Ballmer particularly examines another Farris creation, Patrick Henry College, in Purcellville, Virginia. Designed primarily for children who were home schooled until college, Patrick Henry College was created with a goal of training an elite group of young leaders for the conservative-friendly American government they hope to help create.

Ballmer contrasts the education offered at Patrick Henry College with his alma mater, Trinity College, in Chicago. The small Christian college Ballmer attended was, he says, "a kind of halfway house between the sectarianism of my childhood and the wider world. It provided a safe harbor for my tentative forays into the sea of pluralism and secularism; I was seldom beyond the reach of a life buoy in the hands of someone who was learning to navigate the same waters, someone seeking to remain faithful to his evangelical religious convictions while at the same time engaging the larger culture critically" (105).

Patrick Henry College, in Ballmer's view, seems to offer no such challenges; students are affirmed in things they were taught since childhood, including biblical inerrancy and the supposed Christian origins of the United States. "Such an environment," says Ballmer, "produces ideologues, and ideologues, sadly, are in great demand these days" (106).

What would the United States look like if the religious right got its way? Ballmer asks. His answer resonates with Kevin Phillips: "the kind of homogeneous theocracy that the Puritans tried to establish in seventeenth-century Massachusetts" (181). A better path, he asserts, would put churches back at the margins, outside

the circles of power and uncorrupted by them. They would emphasize care for the earth and for God's creation, denounce torture, and accompany their concerns about abortion with caring for the poor, feeding the hungry, advocating human rights, and opposing capital punishment. Creationism and intelligent design would be taught at Sunday school or at home.

Randall Ballmer, like Kevin Phillips, offers a prophetic voice calling on Christian conservatives to re-examine some foundational beliefs and practices and turn away from them. Whether it is realistic to expect a large group of spiritually committed, politically powerful people to give up defining characteristics remains to be seen.

**M**adeleine Albright has more modest goals and seems hopeful of achieving some of them; in fact, some of them have already been accomplished, such as the bipartisan work that has created friendships between her and a Republican senator, Sam Brownback of Kansas, and a widely respected former congressman, Republican Vin Weber.

Although Albright criticizes actions of the Religious Right that she feels are unhelpful, her primary task is to outline a positive description of the way she thinks the United States ought to operate. She asserts that Americans, religious or not, need to know more about the religions of the nations they deal with. Current textbooks have "no place where a sophisticated understanding of religion as a public force in the world is dealt with" (66). (Hence the decision of *Foreign Affairs* to publish the Walter Russell Mead article cited above.)

Albright quotes a Harvard professor, Joseph Nye, who describes a country's moral reputation as an asset, a source of "soft power" that makes the country stronger and more secure. She also urges government officials to resist painting issues in stark contrasts of black and white, good and evil. The moral issues she describes can sometimes be murky, and the choices available tend to be mixed. She believes good and evil are not often separately packaged or easy to isolate.

*The Mighty and the Almighty* creates a primer on the history of American international relations, the development of the just-war theory, and the history and characteristics of Islam. Albright intersperses these tutorials with narrations of recent events and passages of personal memoir. An example of less-than-helpful involvement from the

religious right occurred in 1998, when President Clinton invited Benjamin Netanyahu and Yasser Arafat to the White House. Leaders of the Christian right bestowed the honorific "Ronald Reagan of Israel" on Netanyahu "and encouraged him—irresponsibly, in my view—not to compromise" (137). Such anecdotes dovetail with descriptions from all three authors on the relationship between the Jewish state and certain American Protestants.

Albright combines idealism and pragmatism in her remarks. Her own Roman Catholic upbringing has led her to share much of the ground occupied by liberal Protestants as defined by Mead. She deplors warfare but says that it is sometimes unavoidable: "Sometimes the only way to achieve peace is to fight for it" (61). She offers the U.S. intervention in Kosovo in 1999, when she was secretary of state, as an example of entering a conflict with the unanimous support of NATO, the public approval of the UN secretary general, and efforts to abide by the Geneva Conventions. According to Václav Havel, the intervention occurred "because no decent person can stand by and watch the systematic government-directed murder of other people.... This war places human rights above the rights of states" (64).

Albright identifies three areas where the Religious Right and the secular left could cooperate: support for the principle and practice of religious liberty, the fight to alleviate global poverty, and the prevention of genocide. She cites President George W. Bush's support for antipoverty statements at the 2005 G8 summit in Edinburgh and his "not on my watch" stance on Darfur as examples of where such constructive engagement can occur.

Albright praises certain actions by President Bush, particularly his statesmanship in the weeks after 9-11 and his calls for religious understanding during that time. Her catalogue of Bush's merits underscores her criticism of his subsequent actions, including the catastrophic change within Muslim countries that had initially been sympathetic to the United States. Within two years, opinions changed from 75 percent favorable to 83 percent negative in Indonesia. Positive perceptions of the United States sank to 16 percent in Pakistan, 12 percent in Jordan, and 17 percent in Turkey. Large majorities in Egypt, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia now view "George W. Bush as a greater threat to the world order than Osama bin Laden" (159).

Albright is concerned that, despite President Bush's insistence that the United States is not fighting a religious war, his



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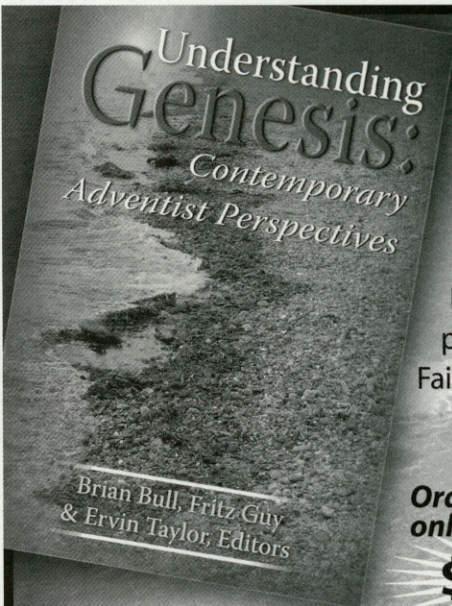
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rhetoric, steeped in religious imagery and calibrated to resonate with his political base within the Religious Right, has revived images of the Crusades in the minds of many people in the Muslim world. The rhetoric of the United States, she states, "has come close to justifying U.S. Policy in explicitly religious terms... These are precisely the grounds upon which Al Qaeda would prefer to fight... We will never unite anyone around the proposition that to disagree with the president of the United States is to pick a quarrel with God" (160–61).

Albright takes issue with the comments of the neoconservative writer William Kristol: "What's wrong with dominance, in the service of sound principles and high ideals?" She notes that this is the question Americans asked a hundred years ago while sweeping across the Philippines. President William McKinley, claiming to have acquired divine inspiration, said that Americans had a divine mandate to impose their will. "Whether or not that was the right reply then," says Albright, "it is the wrong answer today" (288).

Albright sees America as exceptional not because it is powerful but because it has usually exercised its power with restraint. For Albright, the best hope for the future lies in outreach efforts between faiths and between cultures: Bill Clinton's Global Initiative; the UN's Alliance of Civilizations High-Level Group; Meaden, an Arab entity that has created a series of online conversations; the Cordoba Initiative, a multifaith, multinational project named for the Spanish city that housed Muslims, Jews, and Christians in peaceful proximity. Yale University, in concert with evangelicals and the Moroccan government, has launched a Christian-Muslim dialogue.

Albright cautions that theological presuppositions are not good bases for conducting international relations: "It may be that Armageddon will settle all our accounts. It would be inexcusable, however, if our leaders relied on that supposition to justify their own inaction, only to be proved wrong, leaving us with all the destruction and none of the paradise. Setting the stage for Armageddon is not a defensible foreign policy. Peace is" (137).

All three of these authors may have to wait a long time for their preferred vision, or even a part of it, to unfold. Their thoughtfulness, depth of research, and passion, however, are bound to make an impact on the current debates about American religion. ■

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