

The United States indulged in “sanctions excess” in the 1990s, Cremer says, and the rest of the world was happy to capitalize on America’s actions. When Congress prohibited U.S. firms from doing business with Iran in 1993, French, Russian, Malaysian, and Chinese companies seized the opportunity.

Unilateral sanctions are almost always ineffective, but even multinational actions work no more than half the time, according to research cited by Cremer. Every relevant nation must be on board. Even then, sanctions often hurt the wrong people—the weak within the sanctioned nation, as well as nearby trading partners. When the United Nations imposed sanctions on Yugoslavia in the 1990s, neighboring Romania claimed that it suffered \$10 billion in damages.

Cremer advocates a “United Nations Sanctions Compensation

## EXCERPT

## Evangelical Foreign Policy

*Evangelical power is here to stay . . . and those concerned about U.S. foreign policy would do well to reach out. As more evangelical leaders acquire firsthand experience in foreign policy, they are likely to provide something now sadly lacking in the world of U.S. foreign policy: a trusted group of experts, well versed in the nuances and dilemmas of the international situation, who are able to persuade large numbers of Americans to support the complex and counterintuitive policies that are sometimes necessary in this wicked and frustrating—or, dare one say it, fallen—world.*

—WALTER RUSSELL MEAD, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, in *Foreign Affairs* (Sept.–Oct. 2006)

Fund” of about \$20 billion, underwritten by annual contributions from all UN members, to compensate legitimate trading partners and others and remove the economic imperative to cheat. He also calls for scrutinizing claims and ensuring that the

money is not siphoned off to the politically well-connected. In Iraq, where the nation’s own oil sales were used to finance a UN compensation fund between 1992 and 2000, a committee plowed through 2.6 million applications and reduced valid claims to only one percent of the requests, but “political approvals” increased final payouts above the original figures. Such massive corruption would have to be eliminated and the process made transparent for the initiative to succeed.

Since 1945, the UN has imposed sanctions on a rogue’s gallery of regimes, including ones in Angola, Cambodia, Liberia, Libya, Rhodesia, Sierra Leone,

and South Africa. Now Iran, with its vast oil wealth, is on the agenda unless it suspends moves toward developing nuclear weapons capability. Cremer argues that sanctions will work only if the UN first takes steps to head off the likely economic fallout.

## POLITICS &amp; GOVERNMENT

## Founding Skeptic

**THE SOURCE:** “Jefferson the Skeptic” by Brooke Allen, in *The Hudson Review*, Summer 2006.

THOMAS JEFFERSON WAS NO Christian, writes critic Brooke Allen. He revered Jesus Christ as a

philosopher and moral leader, but he described Christianity as “our particular superstition” and rejected the Immaculate Conception; Jesus’ deification, miracles, resurrection, and ascension; plus the Eucharist, original sin, and

atonement. He thought the Holy Trinity “hocus pocus,” and the God of the Old Testament to be “cruel, vindictive, capricious, and unjust.” In his day, he was as popular among the clergy as atheist Madalyn Murray O’Hair was after she won her case against prayer in public schools in 1963.

Yet when Jefferson sat down to write the Declaration of Independence, he cited the “Laws of Nature

and of Nature's God" in its first sentence and ended with the assertion of "a firm Reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence."

Jefferson said just enough good things about religion for the Moral Majority and throngs of born-again Christians to cite him in support of their claim that America was founded as a Christian nation. Former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich even included the Jefferson Memorial on his Christian tour of the District of Columbia, where he pointed out on the inner dome the inscription, "I have sworn upon

Jefferson tried harder than any other Founding Father to remove religion definitively from the political life of the new nation.

the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Reconciling Jefferson's words with his beliefs requires context, writes Allen, author of several books, including *Moral Minority: Our Skeptical Founding Fathers*. When Jefferson's polite nods to the prevailing religious beliefs of his day are examined in situ, they reveal his views to be consistent and supportive of a strict "wall of separation between Church and State" (in Jefferson's own phrase).

Jefferson introduced the "wall of separation" concept in a letter to a committee of the Danbury Baptist Association in 1802: "Believing with you that religion is

a matter which lies solely between man and his God. . . . I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should 'make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' thus building a wall of separation between Church and State."

Jefferson's phrase "upon the altar of God" actually came as part of a "characteristically Jeffersonian explosion against priests and clergymen," Allen writes. Mocking the clergy in his presidential campaign in 1800, Jefferson said they all hoped to have their own sect enshrined as the established church. But he said he had sworn eternal hostility upon the "altar of God" to religious tyrants who jockeyed for power and money.

Other religious-sounding invocations, such as the phrase "Laws of Nature and of Nature's God" in the Declaration of Independence, were standard language used, not by conventional Christians, but by deists in the 18th century. The declaration's phrase "firm Reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence" was added by Congress.

Allen says that the efforts of modern political figures to establish that Thomas Jefferson was a good Christian who really didn't mean what he said about the separation of church and state are flimsy and smack of desperation.

"Jefferson," Allen writes, "tried harder than any other Founding Father to remove religion definitively from the political life of the new nation."

## POLITICS &amp; GOVERNMENT

## Smart and Smarter

**THE SOURCE:** "Presidential IQ, Openness, Intellectual Brilliance, and Leadership: Estimates and Correlations for 42 U.S. Chief Executives" by Dean Keith Simonton, in *Political Psychology*, August 2006.

ANYBODY WHO HAS EVER been to an American high school knows that intelligence doesn't always equal success either in the adolescent world or in life. A new study of the intelligence quotients (IQs) of the 42 U.S. presidents is similarly confounding. Our smartest president, John Quincy Adams, was defeated after only one term and spent the rest of his life in the House of Representatives. Our dullest, Ulysses S. Grant, according to the study, won the Civil War.

Dean Keith Simonton, a psychologist at the University of California, Davis, estimated the IQs of the presidents based on their writings, early developmental milestones, openness to ideas, and other traits generally associated with intelligence. Simonton also drew on previous studies by other researchers. Biographical profiles of each president, stripped of identifying factors, were prepared, and traits such as "inventive," "curious," and "sophisticated" were assessed. Missing values were imputed using standard statistical techniques. All the presidents scored at least 130, in the top 2.2 percent of the population. The average IQ is 100.

Simonton found that John Quincy Adams, son of President