

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

08/11/95

Nancy or Betty,

We would like to respond to
the attached letter, but are
not absolutely sure of the
writer's name. Could you help
us out?

Is this from
Dr. Jim French
Suite 490
3299 Woodburn Road
Annandale, VA 22003 ???

Sharon/
Staff Secy's ofc.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/7/95

Mihir Sanyal
um on 8/5 -

Friday PM

Dear Mr President

I cannot thank you
enough for visiting with
Mihir tomorrow. I truly
appreciate the innumerable
kindnesses you have shown
to Mihir & thank you to his
family & friends. Your
generosity warms my heart
I hope to see you soon
Best
Truly yours.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 8-9-95

TO: Bruce Reed

FROM: Staff Secretary

Can you coordinate handling of this?
When it gets to point of doing a
letter back to Weld, Jim Dorskind's
shop will provide any assistance you
need.

Todd 

cc: Leon Panetta
Rahm Emanuel
Kitty Higgins
Jim Dorskind



The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

WILLIAM F. WELD
GOVERNOR

ARGEO PAUL CELLUCCI
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

FAX TRANSMISSION

To: The President
The White House

Fax: (202)456-6703

Voice:

From: William F. Weld
Governor

Date: August 9, 1995

1 page(s) will follow this cover sheet.



THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

STATE HOUSE • BOSTON 02133

(617) 727-3600

WILLIAM F. WELD
GOVERNORARGEO PAUL CELLUCCI
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

August 9, 1995

Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

*Staff Secy
Pres. has
not seen yet*

Dear Mr. President:

It should be no surprise that the discussions between our administrations related to our pending welfare reform waivers have been challenging, since no state has ever implemented a reform of this breadth.

I am writing to ask that you reconsider the Administration's decision to close negotiations with the Commonwealth. It would be a shame if such a key reform is held up over a single issue. We are pushing the envelope some. You permitted Wisconsin to experiment in two counties with a straightforward time limit; our statute calls for a statewide demonstration -- but a time limit only for able-bodied individuals and in the state with the highest per capita commitment to child care.

You joined with Oregon in cutting new ground in approving their rationing model in Medicaid. In that spirit, I am asking you and Secretary Shalala to move back from the view she enunciated in her recent letter that exceptions approved in other states should fit Massachusetts as well. It just doesn't mesh with our statute.

It is not unreasonable for the federal government to share with a state the business of defining the safety net -- especially if the state has demonstrated the kind of strong commitment to assisting the poor that has been true for so long in Massachusetts.

If our statute is approved, you will have our commitment to make this program work through a careful and sensitive implementation.

Thank you, in advance, for your consideration.

Respectfully,

William F. Weld

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 11, 1995

TO: Kitty Higgins
FROM: Todd Stern

For appropriate handling.

cc: Trey Schroeder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 9, 1995

Hays T. Sullivan
Post Office Box 206
Burdette, Arkansas 72321

Dear Hays:

Thanks for your letter of July 17. It was great to see you at the recent helicopter departure and to have a chance to visit briefly. I'm sorry we didn't have longer!

I appreciate your letting me know about how much Hilary Jones enjoyed his recent trip here. It was certainly nice to see him and to have an opportunity to visit.

Thanks, too, for sending the copy of your earlier letter about the Burdette sewer. I've asked my staff to look into it for you.

See you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 4, 1995

Hays T. Sullivan
Post Office Box 206
Burdette, Arkansas 72321

TO
TREY

Dear Hays:

Thanks for your letter of July 17. It was good to hear from you and to hear how much Hilary Jones enjoyed his recent trip here. It was certainly nice to see him and to catch up on everything.

Thanks, too, for sending the copy of your earlier letter about the Burdette sewer. I've asked my staff to look into it for you.

I'm looking forward to another pound cake!

See you soon.

Sincerely,

cc: M. McLarty
cc: Kitty Higgins
re: EPA

FYI - Hays saw
POTUS 7/31 @
Marine One
departure. Do you
want to mention that?
Rebecca

yes - redo letter
PH

'93 letter

Trey

*show
in checked
no*
Hayes Sullivan- He talked with Hilary Jones who loved his visit
to the White House. He enclosed a copy of his letter regarding
the Burdette sewer lagoon and hopes to see you next week.

P.O. Box 206
Burdette, Arkansas 72321
July 17, 1995

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Bill:

I talked to Hilary Jones for over an hour last night. He told me of every detail of his visit to The White House, staying in the Lincoln bedroom, and going around town with you. Bill, I know his visit was very enjoyable to both of you. You and I both realize how important it is to keep in touch with friends.

Enclosed you will find a copy of my letter on the Burdette sewer lagoon. I just wanted to keep you up to date on what is happening.

I hope to see you next week. The fish and pound cake offer is still good!

Your friend,



Hays T. Sullivan

*run
asap
Cc Mack
not
for work
in mind
Sign
yes
reply*

August 23, 1993

President Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington D.C. 20001-2000

Dear President Clinton:

I am writing to express my great concern about the Environmental Protection Agency forcing the city of Burdette to make unnecessary changes to the city's sewer ponds.

Mr. President, you have been in my home in Burdette many times and you have known me personally as a sportsman and as a conservationist for over 17 years. I would never be a part of, or knowingly allow anyone to damage our environment in any way, especially ditch #24 that runs behind my 82 year old mother's house.

The city sewer has been in operation for 13 years. It was built with FmHA loan and grant funds to the EPA specification with permits to discharge into ditch #24. According to the 1980 census, Burdette had a population of 328 which included an elementary school with an average daily attendance of 260. According to the 1990 U. S. census, Burdette's population has declined to 183 and the Burdette Elementary school's average daily attendance has declined to 160. This population loss has reduced the city's water discharge by 1/3. Many months during the year there is no discharge whatsoever.

EPA and the ADPC&E, because of new regulations, say we must construct a third sewage pond, then pump the effluent (there is none most months) 1 1/2 miles to ditch #31, a free flowing stream, at a cost of approximately \$300,000. This will mandate an increase of \$12 to \$15 per month on every households' monthly sewer bill for the next 40 years.

As you know, Burdette is a rural farming community, with many retired and fixed income families. The 1990 census yearly per capita income is \$5459, well below the poverty level. In most cases, the 12 to 15 dollars additional sewage charges each month will reduce the amount of money Burdette residents have for food, clothes and shelter.

I would like for you to make an appointment for me with your Secretary of EPA, Ms. Carol Browner on the 13th, 14th or 15th of September, to discuss this problem. I will bring pictures and maps to explore ideas for solving this problem.

President Bill Clinton
August 23, 1993
Page 2

Lastly, Mr. President, our friend Sam Kitadai will be in Washington on the 14th and 15th of September. I talked to Melvin Lapidés this morning and if your busy schedule would permit, his daughter Eva Lubin, will bring him to Washington to see his President, and possibly all have dinner at Blackies. Eva would need Sam and me to push Melvin's wheelchair, unfortunately to which he is totally confined.

Best Regards,

Hays

Enclosures:
Labeled pictures enclosed
1990 Census for Burdette

December 20, 1989

**The Honorable Dale Bumpers
United States Senator
Room 3229
Darken Building
Washington, D.C. 20510**

Dear Dale:

I am writing to express my great concern about the federal Government and the EPA forcing the city of Burdette to make unnecessary alterations to the city sewer ponds. New EPA regulations simply state that we cannot discharge any effluent from our ponds into a non free flowing stream (or agricultural drainage ditch in our case).

Dale, as a lifelong sportsman and conservationist, I would never be a part of, or knowingly allow anyone to damage our environment in any way.

The city sewer has been in operation for 10 to 12 years and was constructed to EPA specification with permission to discharge in this drainage ditch, which we have done all these years. No water has been discharged from this pond since last May or June. I drive around this ditch everyday in my farming operation. This ditch is located only 1/2 mile south of my office.

I killed my first rabbit and first duck on this ditch. I have gigged frogs and trapped on this ditch. I have hunted rabbits as recently as last week on this ditch. My mother still lives in our home place on the bank of this ditch only three quarters of a mile east of the discharge point. Just last spring, I took little 11 year old Harold Sudbury, Jr. frog gigging on this ditch; we gigged 12 frogs, saw two beavers, one muskrat, and several snakes until little Hal was ready to go home. My daughter Susanne, gave birth to my first grandson (only boy for us after raising four daughters) who I feel will also hunt and trap this same ditch for many years to come.

Senator Bumpers
December 20, 1989
Page 2

You know I am not opposed to government regulations; they are as necessary to life as the air we breathe. I strongly approve of them when they stop excessive pollution that destroys our environment; but that is not the situation in this case. The only time our pond discharges into this ditch is after a three or four inch rain over a short period of time. When we get this much rain in a short period of time, not only are the man holes covered with water, but so is the entire county. The wheat, soybeans, cotton plus the roads are under water. Water backs up into my mother's garage for eight to ten hours until the drainage ditches run down. The only time our sewer pond overflows is during these cloud bursts when this rain water gets into the sewer system. If the EPA used a little common sense, they would realize that for ten to twelve hours this ditch is certainly free flowing.

EPA and PC&E have approved plans which would allow the city to pump this excess rainwater 1 1/2 miles to Ditch Number 31 or to National Ditch (our ditch runs into National Ditch 1 1/2 miles from the present discharge point). Both ditches are declared by CEPA to be free flowing ditching. If the city of Burdette has to construct a pumping station at a cost of more than \$250,000, it will be the most totally ridiculous waste of money I have ever seen, except perhaps the \$250 toilet seats, the \$500 hammers, and the \$200 bolts.

The residents of Burdette, composed mostly of retired, low income persons can not afford an additional \$4.50 added to their water and sewer bill each month from now on to pump rainwater away from Burdette. Each dollar they spend on their water and sewer bill is less dollars they have for food and shelter for their families.

Dale, please ask one of your staff to research this; perhaps they can help us. I will be willing to meet with EPA and/or PC&E in Washington or Little Rock. I can bring pictures, maps or any other information we might need.

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year to your and Betty.

Sincerely yours,

Hays T. Sullivan

P.O. Box 206
Burdette, AR 72321
July 17, 1995

REGISTERED - RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Randall Mathis, Director
Pollution Control and Ecology
8001 National Drive
Little Rock, AR 72209

Dear Randall:

Blankenship Construction started construction on the "not needed" third cell sewer pond for the city of Burdette on July 13th.

As a concerned citizen and taxpayer, I would like a few questions answered.

- 1) If this new ten acre pond never fills, who will be responsible for expensive maintenance such as cutting the Johnson grass, cockleburrs, willow and cottonwood trees, that will take it over?
- 2) Why was the former Eaker AFB, located in Blytheville, Arkansas, fined \$138,000 for non-compliance, and did not pay as Burdette, Corning, and many other cities did pay? The U. S. Government recently closed Eaker AFB and did absolutely nothing to rehabilitate the sewer system that was not working and out of compliance and now is trying to give the mess to the city of Blytheville for them to pay for the clean-up.
- 3) Why couldn't the city of Burdette install a hydrographic control device to discharge when Ditch #24 is at flood stage?
- 4) Why couldn't the city of Burdette install a new type chlorinator to meet EPA and ADPC&E guidelines?
- 5) Can the city of Burdette wait to install the expensive pumps and back-up diesel generator (we know the pumps will never be used in our lifetime) until the new pond is within one foot of discharge? (It will take approximately six to eight months for one foot of rise.)

**Mr. Mathis
July 17, 1995
Page 2**

We had 11.55 inches of rain between the afternoon of June 29, 1995 and July 10, 1995. Before the 29th, the pond was dry at the discharge outlet. On the 13th of July, after 11.55 inches of rain, it was still 4" below the discharge outlet. Ditch #24 was dry on the morning of the 29th; it was at flood stage that same afternoon after the rain.

With 11.55 inches of rain in two weeks and 500,000 gallons of water being pumped from the Mississippi County Jail, the three acre pond still has not discharged since April, 1995. How can anyone ever expect this ten acres to fill?

I tried to ask these questions last March 21st when Mayor Tompkins, Dave Gill, Captain Stovall and I were asked to come to your office for a meeting with top members of your staff. We were told that our engineer, Dave Gill could ask questions and for me to shut up.

I once served as a Commissioner of the ADPC&E, the Arkansas Game & Fish Commission, and the State Board of Vocational Education and have never witnessed nor been a part of a more rudely "set-up" meeting in my life of public service. After 29 minutes, we were each given an already prepared policy statement, with no exception but to do what your policy was ... start construction, or else.

Sincerely yours,

Hays T. Sullivan

cc:

**President Bill Clinton
Senator David Pryor
Congresswoman Blanche Lincoln
Carol Browner, EPA
Shelia Hershaw, Producer-Director Prime Time Live
Sam Donaldson, Prime Time Live
Dave Gill, Engineer, EOCR**

Letter
1. OPPOSE DOLE
PACKWOOD WELFARE
REFORM

2. Letter 2 ON
% OF KIDS # IN
POVERTY FROM
2 PARENT HOUSES.

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

As I was on the verge of sending the enclosed letter about your recent Georgetown speech, I had the opportunity to read the text of your NGA speech on welfare. Your comments on the importance of maintaining state investments in welfare programs and on the need for child care to move families from welfare to work were wonderful. Your role in explaining that we can provide far greater flexibility to states while preserving the basic AFDC entitlement continues to be tremendously important.

I cannot overstate once again how crucial it is for you to speak out forcefully this next week in opposition to the Dole-Packwood welfare plan moving forward in the Senate. As you have so eloquently explained in the context of food stamps and Medicaid, block grants simply shift responsibilities and risks to the states without assuring that they have the resources necessary to do the job of getting parents into the workforce while protecting children. In AFDC as well as these other areas, your leadership now is essential to prevent the shredding of the federal guaranteed safety net for children.

Sincerely yours,

M. W. Edelman

Marian Wright Edelman

Enclosure

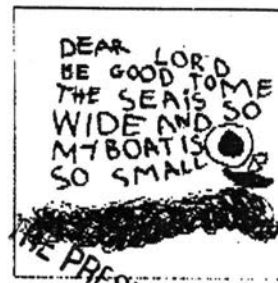
cc Jim
Dorskind

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate
the reply.

8/8/1. on
NA
2. Pres.

August 3, 1995



Children's Defense Fund

THIS SEEN
8-11-95

CP
8/11/95
2:44
8/11/95

25 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
Telephone 202 628 8787
Fax 202 662 3510

August 3, 1995



President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I greatly enjoyed reading your July 6th speech at Georgetown University. Your efforts to weave together the themes of personal responsibility and community responsibility are exactly on point. Your leadership in articulating a basis for making family well-being central to both public and private life in this nation is very welcome.

I would like, however, to take the liberty of arguing one point. In the speech you said that "[t]he truth is that if every child in this country [had] both parents contributing to his support and nourishment and emotional stability and education and future, we'd have almost no poor kids, instead of having over 20 percent of our children born in poverty".

Single-parent families do face enormous challenges, and as a society we should take far-reaching measures to assure that far fewer children live in single-parent families. But single-parent families are not the cause of most childhood poverty, according to the evidence we have seen. Even in married-couple homes, about one in nine children (12 percent) is poor. Nearly six million children--more than one-third of America's poor children--lived in such a two-parent family in 1993. And many other poor children come from single-parent families that are so far down the economic ladder that they would be poor even if the mother were married to the (often low-income) father.

• Donald J. Hernandez, head of the Census Bureau's Marriage and Family Statistics branch, estimates overall child poverty rates would be about two-thirds as large as they are now even if all fathers who do not live with their wives and children were reunited with them.

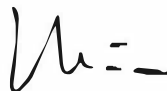
Because so much child poverty is being driven by the low incomes of both parents and by the broader job and wage problems of our society, your minimum wage, earned income credit, welfare reform, education and training and other initiatives aimed at raising the incomes of the bottom third of American workers have been and remain crucial to children's well-being. The marriage rates of young adults are driven down by economic as

25 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
Telephone 202 628 8787
Fax 202 662 3510

President William Jefferson Clinton
August 3, 1995
Page Two

well as cultural factors. Ben Franklin correctly remarked a long time ago that "The number of marriages...is greater in proportion to the ease and convenience of supporting a family. When families can be easily supported, more persons marry, and earlier in life."

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Marian' followed by a stylized flourish.

Marian Wright Edelman

THE CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND
25 E STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
202/628-8787

TO: President Clinton

FROM: Marian Wright Edelman

FAX: 395-4198

DATE: August 4, 1995

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER: 4

IF ANY PROBLEM WITH TRANSMISSION, PLEASE CALL: 202-662-3506

COMMENTS:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-11-95

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: RBR *for*

*cc: Leon / Rubin / Icker
Bullock*

Date: August 8, 1995

RE: Medicare

I understand the strategic importance of putting Republicans on the defensive over Medicare, particularly in September and October when they have to square the circle of their plan for reducing Medicare costs with their promises to balance the budget and to cut taxes. But I want to register my concern about putting all or most of your eggs in the Medicare basket.

1. At some point, you'll have to compromise on Medicare. The compromise will be more difficult to justify to the public to the extent that you have committed yourself not to cut Medicare benefits.
2. The Republicans are likely to finesse the issue. If they find they can't possibly cut \$270 billion from Medicare without cutting benefits, they'll change their economic assumptions (use the OMB baseline, among other things), reduce their tax cut, and/or come up with a scheme that puts more financial burden on providers and obfuscates the extra costs to beneficiaries.
3. The Medicare debate has little relevance to your upcoming campaign and to the mandate you need post 1996. You know better than anyone that there has been a huge shift in federal spending, from children to the elderly. According to a 1991 study by the House Ways and Means Committee, for every \$13 spent by the federal government on those over 65, only \$1 is spent on those under 18. The ratio is probably much more out of line today than in 1991.
4. There are other, equally or more telling points of contrast between your budget priorities and those of the Republicans. Particularly on the wage front: Their refusal to raise the minimum wage, their aim to reduce the EITC, their cuts by one-third in education and job training, their regressive tax proposals, their attacks on worker health and safety -- taken together provide a coherent picture which is especially relevant to the blue-collar voters we lost in 1994. (Note: In the weeks following Labor Day, several Senate Democrats would like to push hard for a minimum wage increase. Kennedy's time amendment on minimum wage last week got 48 votes--more than anyone expected, especially without any work put in to line up the votes!)



Wyoming Alliance

For Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-11-95

1. Ce NH for
WY. FILE

July, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-11-95
ON ALTITUDE ADJUST-
MENT IN WYOMING.

CE HURC
Fyl - B.

Dear President Clinton,

I hope you are training smart in the heat and humidity that has plagued you our East this summer. I haven't noticed any articles or comments so I will assume that you are indeed training smart in those conditions.

I would like to be among the first to welcome you to Wyoming for your vacation in the Tetons. You have chosen one of "God's places" and I am sure that the setting and its natural serenity will bring you and yours a much deserved respite and a chance to commune and recharge. The time you have chosen is about the best time of year - so all should be great!

As a means of extending a practical welcome, I would like to share a few things to consider to make your running, walking, hiking, and biking more enjoyable. Just as you consider your environment in Washington, so should you do likewise in Wyoming. As heat and humidity are key environmental factors out there, altitude is the key factor out here.

Here are a few practical pointers to consider:

1. Altitude presents a hypobaric environment i.e. air pressure is reduced causing a dramatic increase in breathing - rate and volume...In Jackson, at approximately 6,000 feet - this will be very noticeable. START SLOWLY - hold back intensity...
2. Air temperature drops as altitude ^{increases} decreases. Colder air holds less water. In the morning in the Tetons, you may need to have on a long-sleeved, wicking, T-shirt for a run, a sweatshirt or jacket and long pants and gloves for a walk. You will also need to rehydrate frequently. Please have water available at all times to fight off dehydration.
3. Altitude increases the exposure to a greater range of solar radiation. I strongly suggest you all wear hats and sunblock. Long-sleeved, appropriately weighted shirts; light in color, also can be very beneficial.



Wyoming Alliance

For Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance

4. The first 6 to 96 hours in Wyoming will be crucial to your group as far as initial acclimation is concerned. Altitude sickness, including headache, nausea, vomiting, labored breathing, and insomnia can be experienced during this time frame. Altitudes of approximately 9,000 feet can bring on these symptoms, but even at 4,000 to 6,00 feet, people can experience some of these symptoms. My advice - relax, take it easy at first, stay hydrated, and keep the ball in the fairway.

I know you and your family will really enjoy your visit. There is so much to see, so much to just experience. I'm sure you will be busy, but I hope you will take time to enjoy and just let the mountains speak to your soul.

As always, thank you for your example of active fitness and personal responsibility. I would also like to say that I found your comments about civility in and out of the political arena right on and very timely. All of us need to engage common sense and humane respect in our daily interaction with our world.

Enjoy yourself in Wyoming!

Sincerely,

Bob Matson
Physical Educator
Casper, Wyoming

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 11, 1995

TO: DOUG SOSNIK
FROM: TODD STERN *TS*

Nancy Hernreich would like to have the attached letters redone because they "sound awkward." Thank you.

8/11/95

Todd -

Should I return to
Doug Sosnik's shop?

With Yes ☒

note that
WH wants ☐

Redone because they
"sound awkward."

I think these
letters should be
re-done. It
sounds awkward

BILL CLINTON

August 9, 1995

Mr. Bill Guy
P.O. Box 509
McComb, Mississippi 39648

Dear Bill:

I heard about your loss in the Mississippi Lt. Governor's primary and I wanted to let you know that I'm thinking about you. I've been on the losing end too, so I know how you feel. What's important is that you worked hard and did your best. It takes courage to stand up and ask people for their votes.

I applaud your commitment to public service and hope you'll stay involved in the process. Mississippi needs folks like you.

I hope you're getting some much deserved rest. Hillary and I wish you the best.

Sincerely,

430 S. Capitol St., S.E.
Washington, DC 20003

[Paid for by the Democratic National Committee]

BILL CLINTON

August 9, 1995

Mr. Shawn O'Hara
P.O. Box 15275
Hattiesburg, Mississippi 39404

Dear Shawn:

I heard about your loss in the Mississippi Governor's primary and I wanted to let you know that I'm thinking about you. I've been on the losing end too, so I know how you feel. What's important is that you worked hard and did your best. It takes courage to stand up and ask people for their votes.

I applaud your commitment to public service and hope you'll stay involved in the process. Mississippi needs folks like you.

I hope you're getting some much deserved rest. Hillary and I wish you the best.

Sincerely,

430 S. Capitol St., S.E.
Washington, DC 20003

[Paid for by the Democratic National Committee]

BILL CLINTON

*The President does
not think he is
called Sam —*

August 10, 1995

Dr. C.J. Wang
Chairman
International Corporation of America
Apartment 408
1300 Army-Navy Drive
Arlington, Virginia 22202

Dear Sam:

Thank you for joining me at the White House for breakfast. I enjoyed our enlightening and interesting conversation.

Your support of my Administration and the Democratic National Committee has been critical to our efforts and will be increasingly important in the coming months. Thank you for being there when you are asked to help.

I deeply appreciate your candor in our discussion of the issues currently facing our nation. Your concerns are important to me, and I hope you will continue to share your advice and insight.

I send my best wishes and look forward to seeing you again soon.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

430 S. Capitol St., S.E.
Washington, DC 20003

[Paid for by the Democratic National Committee]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 AUG 17 12:43

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: THE HONORABLE ROBERT REICH

Fax Number: 219-7659

Phone Number:

FROM: Todd Stern

SUBJECT: CC of a letter/from the President

DATE: 08/10/95

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 2

MESSAGE:

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

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ANHEUSER-BUSCH COMPANIES

August A. Busch III
Chairman of the Board
and President

*Best
7/25/95
cc: [unclear]*

cc: Bob Reim

July 19, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-10-95

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It is always a pleasure to see you and participate in your round table discussions with other chief executives. I hope the input you received was helpful, as I know you face a difficult issue on diversity in the workplace.

Income polarization, which in part is caused by the lack of education and the breakdown of the family unit, is the root of the problem. Time can only make the situation worse.

Again, many thanks. I hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

August A. Busch III
August A. Busch III

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-10-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 10, 1995

check

complete original

pls went to card

MR. PRESIDENT:

Jack Gibbons seeks your approval of 30 nominees for the Presidential Faculty Fellowship (15 science, 15 engineering), which carries a \$100,000 award over five years to fund research and teaching projects. OSTP needs final signoff by August 15.

Unless you have any other thoughts about the list, I will let Jack know that he can move forward. The names have been cleared by White House Counsel and other relevant staff.

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐


Todd Stern

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8.10.95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 14, 1995

95 JUL 24 A 8:17

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JACK GIBBONS 

SUBJECT:

Proposed Awardees for the 1995 Presidential Faculty Fellows

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT: Annual Awards for 1995 Presidential Faculty Fellows.

II. ANALYSIS: The Presidential Faculty Fellows (PFFs) program (administered by the National Science Foundation) was announced on September 16, 1991 for initiation in FY 1992. The first awards were announced by the President of the United States on May 15, 1992. The PFF award recognizes and supports the scholarly activities of some of the Nation's most outstanding young science and engineering faculty members. The awards are intended to allow Fellows to undertake self-designed, innovative research and teaching projects; to establish research and teaching programs; and to pursue other appropriate faculty activities.

Thirty PFF awards are recommended: fifteen in the fields of engineering and fifteen in the fields of science plus six alternates (three for science and three for engineering). There is a monetary award of \$100,000 over a five year period to provide adequate funding for the Fellows to follow through on their scholarly activities.

Security name checks have been completed (Counsel's clearance attached). I am therefore, submitting the following recommended recipients (30 total) for the 1995 Presidential Faculty Fellowship.

III. Approve the following 30 nominees for the 1995 Presidential Faculty Fellowship.

Sciences

Carreiro, Margaret M.
Deng, Xing-Wang
Foltz, Kathleen R.
Gajdardziska-Josifovska, Marija
Gruber, Jonathan H.

Institution

Fordham University
Yale University
University of California, Santa Barbara
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Kling, George W.
Li, Jing
Nielson-Gammon, John W.
Nowick, James S.
O'Shea, Erin K.

Rockmore, Daniel N.
Saha, Margaret S.
Salzer, John J.
Selen, Mats A.
Songer, Nancy B.

Science Alternates

Abate, Cory
Mirkin, Chad A.
Barsony, Mary A.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Rutgers-The State University, New Jersey
Texas A&M University
University of California, Irvine
Regents of University of California, San Francisco
Dartmouth College
College of William and Mary
Wesleyan University
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
University of Colorado, Boulder

UMDNJ-RWJMS
Northwestern University
University of California, Riverside

Engineering

Bloebaum, Christina L.
Clemens, Noel T.
Coleman, Maria R.
Doumanidis, Charalabos C.
Goldberg, Kenneth Y.
Hering, Janet G.
Johnson, Christopher R.
Johnson, Peggy A.
Laurencin, Cato T.
Liu, Sheng
McKinley, Gareth H.
Ozturk, Mehmet C.
Petroplu, Athina P.
Salesin, David H.
Si, Jennie

Engineering Alternates

Pomeranz, Irith
Turner, Jay R.
Mikos, Antonios G.

Institution

University of Detroit, Michigan
University of Texas, Austin
University of Arkansas
Tufts University
University of Southern California
University of California, Los Angeles
University of Utah
University of Maryland, College Park
Medical College of Pennsylvania
Florida Institute of Technology
Harvard University
North Carolina State University, Raleigh
Drexel University
University of Washington
Arizona State University

University of Iowa
Washington University
William Marsh Rice University

IV. DECISION:

✓ Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Signature: B. Clinton Date: 8/10/95

Attachments: White House Counsel's Clearance

Edwin Yoder
The Washington Post Writers Group
1150 - 15th Street, NW
Washington, DC 2071-9200

TO NH
for per file



THE PRESIDENT

8/10/95

Dear Ed →

I loved you piece on
Burt Williams - He was a
great man and the perfect
person to be Warden during our
time

Burt, Bill

The Washington Post Writers Group

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-10-95

1150 15TH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20071-9200
TEL: (202) 334-6375 (800) 879-9794

^bc-yoder-column adv26<

^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(Advance for Wednesday, July 26, 1995, and thereafter)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

Please file

OXFORD, England--The ``great man'' theory of history--the theory that human personality and will shape events--has lately been out of fashion.

But you can't walk the streets of this ancient university city without suspecting that we have too rashly dismissed the force of great men. Their markers abound in every stone and cloister--from Halley, discoverer of the comet in his 20s, to Gladstone and Cardinal Newman and Lawrence of Arabia, and scores of others.

This happened to be my first visit to these scenes of my impressionable youth from which Bill Williams has vanished. And in his way, he represented for me the great man.

As Warden of Rhodes House, this donnish historian, still in his early 40s, served as adviser and mentor to a flock of green visitors from around the English-speaking world, none greener than I. In a reminiscence not long after leaving, I recalled some of his quips (``I am a very right-wing Tory,'' he would say, puffing puckishly at his pipe, ``much to the left of anything you have in the U.S.''). ``He is at his best with a glass of port and a good cigar,'' I wrote. He responded: ``I have seen a cutting of your article in which you portray me as an intoxicated reactionary. I am glad that my old mother will not see it, since she was a dedicated member of the Women's Christian Temperance movement.''

An Oxford patron of the 14th century, Bishop William of Wykeham, said that ``manners make the man.'' It was more than manner, however scintillating, that made Bill Williams who he was. The real truth spilled out in 1958, when Field Marshal Montgomery published his war memoirs. As great an egotist as he was a general, Montgomery

(more)

nonetheless credited Williams, the head of his intelligence staff, with devising the battle plan that won the great British victory at El Alamein in the Western Desert and turned the tide of the war for the Allies.

For those who grew up in the war years a documentary movie called ``Desert Victory'' about El Alamein was as familiar as the sound of Churchill's voice and the valor of the Spitfire pilots. To cross paths with a man who had planned a battle that had shaped history was a heady experience at the age of 22.

It remains heady after 40 years, although as I think back on Bill Williams' tutelage (and he was above all a teacher) I am impressed by my good luck in mentors. When one is young, mentors loom larger than life; and in that largeness their sterling example stretches our imaginations and ambitions. Bill Williams taught by example the British dedication to civility, law, freedom and the service of others that lay at the core of his own character. A leader, he did not shrink from the label ``elite,'' however scorned in our leveling age, so long as it is not, in his characteristic term, ``a sharp-elbowed elite.''

His letters, handwritten and personal, never missed an opening for teasing. When I asked a few years ago if it was true, as reported, that Margaret Thatcher was the first consequential British statesman to be denied an Oxford honorary degree since Edmund Burke, he replied: ``Yes, and you would have known so without asking if you had read the Burke article in the Dictionary of National Biography'' (of which, to the present point, he was for many years editor). He thought it was unfortunate to slight Mrs. Thatcher, but speculated that ``the scientists (whose government subsidies Thatcher had cut) found their way to the Sheidonian'' (the Wren masterpiece where faculty votes on such matters are held).

Our last exchange of letters started with my search for a print of a drawing of him I had seen in a book and liked. The pursuit of this ``graven image'' was rebuffed, as was my suggestion, based on an

(more)

eloquently reminiscent passage in his reply, that he might be writing his memoirs.

Indeed, his exit had about it a wholly characteristic understatement. Bill Williams, the ``Warden'' of my youth, by then Sir Edgar Williams, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., died quietly in his sleep here June 28. He left his body to medicine and admonished his family by word and will to avoid memorial services.

I suppose Bill Williams didn't want his life distorted by the usual commemorative mendacities, and I have tried to avoid them. But a discerning obituary in The Times of London, a mark of the mark he made, covered some 60 column inches. He was an endearing man and a force in my life; and even this city, so haunted by greatness, will miss him.

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^bc-yoder-column advIMMEDIATE<

^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, Normally Advance for Monday, July 31, 1995)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

76 Sandy
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8.10.95

WASHINGTON--When the Senate finished inserting fine print, its bill to end the Bosnian arms embargo was as full of loopholes as a tricky insurance policy. But that's not necessarily bad, since all the options in Bosnia--including the Senate's false heroics--are bad ones. But it runs against the grain of American optimism to accept that some situations are tragic.

President Clinton has repented his rash criticism of the Bush administration's non-interventionist policy. He now supports the maintenance on the scene of the U.N. Protective Force (UNPROFOR), to which our NATO allies have committed thousands of ground troops.

But UNPROFOR has been made a joke on American network television. It is caricatured in grossly simplistic terms as a force that promises havens to Bosnian refugees and then reneges. In the storybook world of network television, there is no room for the United Nation's less spectacular but genuine successes in humanitarian relief. Congress is reacting, as usual, to a televised calamity whose history it does not understand--just as the Bush administration did in late 1992 to the scenes of mass starvation in Somalia.

The premise of the Senate bill is that the arms embargo imposed in late 1991 by the United Nations on the warring successor states in Yugoslavia has put the Bosnian government at a disadvantage. That government certainly thinks so. The actual impact of the embargo, and the effect of lifting it, are hard to determine. However feeble the U.N. effort has appeared--and U.N. hands are tied by the mandate to stand impartial--Congress should not undermine its effort unilaterally.

(more)

If the arms embargo is lifted and the U.N. force withdraws and Bosnia is wiped off the map, while the war spreads to the rest of Yugoslavia, what will Bob Dole say then? Not, "Send the Marines," presumably. The most striking aspect of the miserable affair in Bosnia all along has been the lame effort of the United States to assert NATO "leadership" without anteing up what the late Harold Macmillan called "the price of admiralty"--the willingness to endure casualties.

Two administrations have made the prudential judgment that U.S. opinion would not support intervention. As usual, we turn to the false alternative of bombing, as in Lebanon 11 years ago when the Reagan administration scuttled the Marine operation. If we do it again in Bosnia, our NATO allies have said they will get their forces out. No situation is so bad that it can't be made worse.

The evils in Bosnia are many, but one of the worst is the tendency to frame the tragic conflict there as a holy war between Muslims and Orthodox Christians. In some quarters in the Muslim world, it is said that if the Serb victims were Christian or Jewish, the West would have intervened decisively.

This is poisonous nonsense. Religion is rarely not an element in such struggles, rooted in old history. But the United States and its European allies have never hesitated to assist a "Muslim" cause when appropriate, as in Afghanistan and in the Persian Gulf. The effort to stay out of Bosnia rests, again, on the judgment that American public opinion would not support a bolder policy--and beyond that, on the principle that it is a bad idea to meddle in other people's civil wars.

Bosnia's strength is not in the sectarian or religious identity of its majority. Sarajevo, in particular, is an international city whose spirit is assertively urbane, ecumenical and transethnic; the religious identity of the victims is largely beside the point. In certain African conflicts in Nigeria and the Sudan Muslim-Christian tensions have overlain tribal hostilities; but no one has thought of

(more)

them as holy wars. If it is bad in principle to weigh into civil wars, it is triply bad when they are regarded here and there as holy wars.

If Bosnia is as important as the inflated senatorial oratory suggests, the honorable course would be a declaration of war, backed by the introduction of a massive NATO fighting force. ``Lift and strike'' is a hollow slogan. Heavy bombing (the ``no more pinpricks'' approach) may intimidate the Serbs for a time, but if it meanwhile puts Bosnia at risk, makes the UNPROFOR role untenable and widens the war, what will have been gained?

When the president vetoes this bill, those who voted for it will have a chance for sober second thought. They might well recall the maxim that to will the act is to will the consequences of the act, which in this instance are imponderable.

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8-8-95

✓ Ickes memo on "Jesse's Right" by Tom Friedman. The *New York Times* has rescinded its permission to reprint this op-ed for distribution to contributors and supporters. The paper does not allow such reprints of articles that contain political content since that could give the appearance that it endorses a particular candidate or issue.

OK ✓ Ickes memo on DNC direct mail. According to Don Fowler, the direct mail program will result in approximately 250,000 new donors by the last week of August. Fowler would like to get "good media coverage" including a picture of you with the 250,000th donor. Harold would like to discuss this with you.

3. ✓ Ickes memo on meeting with Mayor Daley. Harold met with Daley last week in Chicago and he was very positive about the Convention. Daley wants to make the Convention interesting so people will watch. He suggests limiting the number of speakers and stressing entertainment. He also (i) urged you to consider a series of events over the next several months announcing a reduction in rules and regulations as he thinks most Americans feel they are over-regulated; (ii) suggested moving the White House operations out of Washington to specific cities on a one-week basis three or four times before '96 to show that you want to make close contact with the American people; (iii) was critical of the "transaction tax" imposed on the Chicago Board of Commodities; and (iv) stressed the economic importance of O'Hare.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-8-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 AUG 14 P5:33

31 July 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Harold Ickes (12)

SUBJECT: Mayor Daley

On 26 July, I met with Mayor Daley at his office in Chicago. he was very positive about the Convention.

He thinks the most important thing is to figure out how to make the Convention something that people will want to watch in order to get the President's message out. The traditional Convention format is too boring and people won't watch it.

He would stress a positive story, and have as few speakers as possible. He would also stress entertainment.

He urged that the President think about a series of events over the next number of months in which every month he would announce the reduction or elimination in rules and regulations that directly effect Americans and American business. He thinks most Americans feel they are way over regulated and that this is a very key issue with the American public and American business.

He also suggested moving the White House operations out of Washington to specific cities on a one week basis. He suggests doing this 3 or 4 times before the 1996 general election, although he admits it is probably very difficult to implement. This would show, however, that the President wants to make closer contact with the American people.

He is highly critical of the "transaction tax" imposed on the Chicago Board of Commodities.

He stressed the importance of O'Hare Airport. He estimates that some 500,000 people are working directly at or in connection with the airport.

Interagency
Chicago
Regg.
12

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

08/09/95

LEON PANETTA:

I need to talk to you about
this.

Todd Stern



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410-0001

95 AUG 9 P7:05

August 9, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR: President Bill Clinton

FROM: Henry G. Cisneros / *Henry Cisneros*

SUBJECT: President's Urban Strategy

At our first Cabinet meeting, you said that if Cabinet Officers ever had an urgent message which we felt you should see that we should put it in a memo and you would review it. Knowing of the immense demands on your attentions I have tried not to abuse that privilege, but I want now to convey to you in the strongest terms that the time is now or never for a Presidential urban strategy.

I am not making a self-serving plea for budget or programs; this is not a call for a HUD urban strategy. I believe it is time for a Presidential strategy which either takes the form of a definable White House effort or which combines the urban initiatives of several Departments in a cohesive way. I am acutely aware of budget and Congressional barriers, but there are overarching reasons why a Presidential initiative is urgent:

1. The cities are hurting badly and the nation will pay the consequences for many years:

The effects of the Congressional budget cuts further erode urban conditions that were already dangerously deteriorated. Economic vitality and jobs have been sapped from city after city. Daily we lose more of our inner city children to drugs, gangs, and guns. We must draw deeply on our experiences and determine the two or three most important things that can make a difference. I have outlined some suggestions herein.

2. We are about to be flanked by the Speaker:

As hard as it may be to believe in light of the unconscionable House cuts, Speaker Gingrich, on the sheer strength of rhetorical flourish, publicity gymnastics, and the energy to start a dialogue with unlikely activists, is working to end run our agenda. What he has done in the District of Columbia is a foretaste of what he can do nationally and is in fact preparing to do.

His think tank, the Progress and Freedom Foundation, is now meeting with Democratic Mayors concerning a Contract with Americas Cities. It will have attractive ideas and could capture the high ground of the public's imagination even as his Congressional allies decimate urban programs.

3. We are running out of time:

The 1997 budget you will prepare this Fall is the last one this term in which you can offer a credible urban package.

4. There is always room in the budget for Presidential priorities of reasonable size:

If you decide early in the budget process that an urban program is needed, it will be a factor throughout the entire budget process instead of an afterthought that cannot be accommodated because it would push out other spending late in the game.

5. We do not have enough to stand on in the cities:

Empowerment Zones in 12 cities are simply not a broad enough program to stand on. We have to have something cooking that is more broadly based and hopeful to more cities.

6. We can be caught flat-footed by the violent outbreaks which will stem from the anger in the cities:

There have been three contained outbreaks of civil unrest in recent weeks - Indianapolis, Coconut Grove outside Miami, and Los Angeles (see attached descriptions and a column from the Boston Globe.) Many local leaders are worried that it won't take much to set off wider disturbances. We do not want to be caught flat-footed if civil unrest occurs, which increasing numbers of local leaders feel is inevitable.

7. Chronically depressed inner cities act as a drag on the national economy:

As you have pointed out in several recent speeches, this is why we will never be able to solve the nation's principal economic problem of slow economic growth, stagnant wages, and growing income inequality without addressing the problems of our cities.

A. Building Competitive Cities: Connecting People to Work

1. Draw private investment to the cities by lowering the business tax burden:

The challenge is to get the capital markets to respond to the cities. A commercial revitalization tax credit for distressed communities would replicate the success of the low-income housing tax credits. Tax credits could spur private investment to generate jobs as well as provide needed community amenities, such as neighborhood shopping districts.

One approach would be to pursue a second round of empowerment zones matched to tax strategies, such as:

- capital gains relief to businesses that reinvest gains in an EZ business asset;
- a portable tax credit, allowing businesses outside the zones credit for hiring residents who live in these communities; and
- a welfare-to-work credit for businesses who hire EZ residents who currently receive AFDC benefits.

The Vice President's involved leadership on the first round of zones has spurred an unprecedented level of community organization and strategic planning. The zones are proving their ability to leverage substantial private capital. (Lead Agency: Treasury)

OR

2. Prime the pump with smart public investment:

The most flexible and successful tools available to local officials for local economic development are HUD's Section 108 and Economic Development Initiative. In FY 1995 alone, the combination of these two programs has helped 70 communities create or retain over 70,000 jobs. The assistance has leveraged billions in public and private investment and has supported such key efforts as the creation of small business revolving funds and the location of inner-city supermarkets. The Mayors describe it as the most effective federal money to use for local economic development, though Commerce's EDA funds are also very effective.

The House Appropriations bill drastically curtails these programs, reducing the limitation on Section 108 loan guarantees from \$2.05 billion to \$1 billion and eliminating the \$350 million Economic Development Initiative completely. These were the kind of funds used to make possible the Los Angeles CD bank. A wide variety of local job generation strategies can be built on expansion of these programs. (Lead Agencies: HUD and Commerce)

OR

3. Spur Community Development Banks modeled on the Los Angeles Community Development Bank:

This initiative deals with a critical linkage connecting people to work -- increasing access to job-creating debt capital in the inner city through the creation of CD banks. It builds upon a successful model pioneered in Los Angeles by Mayor Riordan. Vice President Gore has called the Los Angeles community development bank "a model of innovation and creativity for the rest of the nation." If the CDFI appropriation remains mired (it was reduced to \$50 million as a result of the FY 1995 rescissions bill and receives no funding in the FY 1996 appropriations bill) it should be remembered that the Los Angeles bank was the result of HUD's Economic Development Initiative and Section 108 programs. They can be a vehicle for putting some banks in place now. (Lead Agency: Treasury and HUD)

OR

4. Reclaim environmentally unsafe central city land and provide training and jobs in clean-up and redevelopment:

One of the most challenging problems facing cities is the clean-up and clearance of old industrial sites that in their existing condition are barriers to redevelopment. Contaminated land represents more than 40 percent of Cleveland, more than 20 square miles of Philadelphia, and thousands of acres of Detroit.

Cities need land that is cleared and free of environmental hazards before they can begin to make businesses or housing strategies work. Capital grants to clean-up "brownfields" can be matched to training funds to employ central city residents in environmental clean-up activities. Available land and ready capital will form a powerful combination to help cities exploit their competitive economic advantages and attract back middle-income homeowners. The scale of this effort should be to clear sites of hundreds of acres so that large scale business developments and subdivisions of up to a

thousand homes for homeownership can be built. (Lead Agencies: EPA and Labor).

OR

5. Expand the Bridges-to-Work Demonstration to a National Scale:

"As I try to show in my own work, decades of poverty concentration and job suburbanization have isolated the poor residents of many inner cities from the areas of greatest employment opportunity in their metropolitan regions. While efforts to reduce poverty concentration and to reverse job suburbanization remain important national priorities (e.g. fair housing enforcement and empowerment zones, respectively), Bridges-to-Work would test a third and complementary approach: directly connecting inner city residents to job opportunities outside their local communities." (William Julius Wilson, in letter to Secretary Cisneros, June 15, 1995.)

The Bridges-to-Work demonstration (BtW) is an exciting initiative that directly connects inner-city residents to job opportunities outside their local communities. Five national foundations (Ford, Rockefeller, MacArthur, Casey and Pew) are supporting Public/Private Ventures (PP/V) to design this 8-site national demonstration. During the course of two years of intensive development work, PP/V has assembled an impressive set of eight potential sites including metropolitan Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Baltimore, Denver, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Newark. These eight partner sites have formed planning collaboratives representing interests from throughout their regions and have developed detailed Bridges-to-Work projects that are ready to be implemented.

William Julius Wilson calls Bridges-to-Work the "single most important anti-poverty R+D initiative underway in the Administration." FY 1997 is the time to expand Bridges-to-Work to a national scale by providing modest federal planning grants to metropolitan planning collaboratives across the country, enabling them to replicate the accomplishments of the demonstration sites. (Lead Agency: Labor)

B. Express Our Commitment to our Children and Youth

1. Create a Network of "Empowerment Schools" and "Fresh Start Academies"

Despite all our current efforts, we stand in jeopardy of losing a large proportion of inner-city youth to the streets. The statistics are grim and unrelenting. Drop-out rates in inner-city high schools typically approach 50 percent. One-half of all African-American male school dropouts under age 25 are now under criminal justice supervision. The employment rate of such dropouts is less than 40 percent.

If any urban strategy is to be successful, we need to address these problems head-on, building upon the lessons of the efforts to date. Two ideas have emerged which, I believe, hold great promise.

The first is to create a network of "empowerment schools" that would stimulate community-wide collaborations and comprehensive strategies for supporting parents, children and youth. As in the successful empowerment zones, communities (including private business) would be challenged to offer integrated solutions that cross agencies and disciplines. Communities would be given the latitude and flexibility to combine existing programs as well as compete for new funding. The possibilities for marrying what are now disparate and unconnected federal funding streams -- public housing, Head Start, school-to-work, summer jobs -- are endless.

The second idea, which is complementary, is to offer a fresh start to troubled youth by providing them with disciplined, structured environments. One approach is to support a network of "Fresh Start Academies" that could offer four years of quality education and vocational training in an environment of character-building discipline. Graduates could be guaranteed college scholarships. There is great potential for the use of retired military personnel in such an effort. (Lead Agency: Education)

C. Linking the Cities to the Momentum of the Information Age

1. Convert public housing complexes to campuses for learners:

Public housing complexes can be restructured as learning campuses, as universities for the residents, as homes to communities of learners. The housing units become dormitories which support the classrooms and computer rooms nearby for residents of all ages - developmental day care for children, public schools adjacent to the campus for youth, training and college curricula for adults, and self-improvement classes for seniors.

Classes are held everyday on-campus, given by faculty who commute there or live there.

Every residential apartment can be wired to offer the computer connections necessary to make self-paced learning possible at all hours. The information highway need not bypass distressed neighborhoods or poor people.

The psychological difference between public housing as it is and this concept of communities of learners is that, like at a university, residence at the "learning campus" is not viewed as permanent but for as long as the educational program takes. The ever-present expectation is self-improvement and the quest for eventual self-sufficiency. For all but seniors, residential tenure is limited to no more than four years, consistent with the duration of the curriculum. (Lead Agency: HUD)

OR

2. Seed inner cities with a network of "electronic villages":

In the same way that the interstate highway system bypassed poor and disadvantaged communities, accelerating their economic and social decline, the information superhighway could bypass and further isolate distressed communities and their residents from the social and economic mainstream.

The theory behind this initiative is that by providing residents of lower income neighborhoods with the primary tools of access to today's information economy, barriers will fall and positive economic results will begin to accrue. This initiative would help fund a network of learning-oriented inner-city neighborhood centers which connect residents, businesses, service providers, and government in a community network. It would build upon and expand FHA's current initiative in the Edgewood community in NE Washington, and upon efforts to train residents in computer literacy and create resident-owned businesses based upon computer technology. Tremendous economic gains would result, for example, by amending CRA to give lenders CRA credit for subcontracting a small fraction of their back-office data processing operations to resident-owned firms.

Pushing the envelope on electronic villages and the broader concept of electronic community development would require the close coordination of HUD, Commerce, Education and Labor -- each of which is experimenting with how to bring the benefits of 21st century technology to inner cities. This initiative builds on the Vice President's interests in the information super highway and is a win-win initiative for all concerned.

CONCLUSION

Mr. President, it is obvious that government alone cannot solve the problem of the cities' youth. We will change the course of inner city life only if the nation commits both private and public energies, talents and resources. Churches, family, involved adults, volunteerism, boys and girls clubs -- these are the real means for reweaving the social fabric in our distressed communities. (Lead Agencies: Labor, Education, Commerce and HUD)

This issue offers you an opportunity to have a sober conversation with the nation on the American future and potential. It places you in a position above party and above individual gain. You are at your best -- national service, the Memphis speech, the Affirmative Action decisions -- when you lift the national dialogue to a higher, even spiritual, level where you encourage and exhort individuals and communities to fulfill a higher purpose.

Again, I am not advocating for any one of these proposals individually so much as making the case that you and the nation need an urban message. I would like to back-up this case with the opportunity to speak to you and expand upon the urgency of the nation's urban condition.

Indianapolis, Indiana

A protest against alleged police brutality turned into a four square block "mini-riot" as termed by Indianapolis, Indiana Mayor Stephen Goldsmith on July 26, 1995. The incident involved approximately 90-100 protestors and more than 100 police. Twelve people were arrested on this first night of problems and eleven people were injured including one police officer and a television cameraman. At least a dozen police cars were damaged by rocks and bottles.

The incident stemmed from arrest by a white Indianapolis Police Department (IPD) Sergeant of a black individual as a part of a narcotics investigation. The Subject sustained injuries some of which were alleged to have been inflicted by the police officer during the arrest. According to the Police Sergeant, the Subject ran from police and was later located and arrested. The Subject allegedly ran again and was then knocked to the ground by the officer. The Subject was charged with resisting and fleeing arrest. After being released, the subject was joined by several neighborhood residents in an "informal protest" regarding his arrest outside the Northside District station of the Indianapolis Police Department. As a disturbance developed, IPD called in available officers to manage the disturbance. Over a three hour period, approximately 100 police officers used tear gas, K-9 units, and armored riot vehicles to disperse the crowd.

On the following day, July 28, 1995, another disturbance occurred in the same vicinity resulting in the looting of a drug store and the attempted looting of a pawn shop. This rally began as a protest of IPD's handling of the recent arrest and the previous night's confrontation with protestors. At least 100 police officers used tear gas and arrested 27 people for disorderly and other unlawful behavior. Approximately two to three dozen cars were attacked with stones, bricks, and glass bottles.

Police agencies involved include IPD, Marion County Sheriff's Department, and the Indiana State Police.

Indianapolis Police Chief James Toler has ordered an internal investigation into allegations the IPD officer beat the Subject while handcuffed. Toler also requested a separate U.S. Justice Department investigation. No problems have occurred in the following days since the two consecutive nights of disturbances noted above.

The disturbances did not involve Public Housing property or occur in close proximity to such property. The neighborhood involved is the near North side of Indianapolis, and economically poor neighborhood. Residents of this neighborhood have recently requested additional police help to combat drug trafficking problems.

Coconut Grove, Florida

On the night of July 27, 1995, in Coconut Grove, Florida, police responded at 10:15 p.m. to a large crowd gathered for a block party at Douglas Road and Day Avenue. The police told the Disc Jockey he needed a permit for the party which was broken up. Dozens of young people, as a group, began breaking windows, setting fires, attacking motorists and flipping dumpsters. One hour later white police officers arrested two black robbery suspects in the 3500 block of Day Avenue and at that time, two blocks away, the first rocks and bottles were thrown.

In Coconut Grove on July 18, 1995, a white police officer stopped Torrey Jacobs, a black male, for questioning. Jacobs was wearing a ski mask and had a replica pistol. Jacobs tried to flee and dropped the replica pistol. When Jacobs tried to pick up the replica pistol the police officer shot and killed him. The individuals in the disturbance on July 27, 1995, were wearing pillow cases and t-shirts over their faces with the eyes cut out, similar to what Jacobs was wearing.

That was the second disturbance in Coconut grove since May 1995 when white police officers arrested 17 year old Jimmy Tucker, a black male, on charges that he threw a rock through the window of a car. Witnesses claimed the police roughed up Tucker and people took to the streets to protest. That disturbance was larger than the one on July 27, 1995.

The residents have requested police sweeps of drug dealers and a police substation at the corner of Douglas and Grand. There is a history of drug activity in this area of Coconut Grove based on conversations with Metro Dade Police Department. These incidents occurred near public housing developments.

Los Angeles, CA

On Saturday, July 29, 1995, two uniformed Los Angeles Police, assigned to "gang" investigations, responded to a call in the Lincoln Heights area, and spotted Antonio Gutierrez, 14, crossing the street with a pistol. When officers confronted the youth, at Eastlake Avenue and George Street in the Lincoln Heights area of Los Angeles, he allegedly turned his weapon upon the officers. Before the youth had an opportunity to fire, the officers fired, killing the youth. Allegedly, officers recovered a TEC-9, (9mm semiautomatic pistol) from the body. Friends of Gutierrez, who witnessed the shooting, contend that he was carrying a flashlight, or was in fact carrying the weapon but tossed it away when confronted by the officers. Within an hour of the incident, a crowd, demanding "justice", gathered and became unruly.

Approximately 100 officers were called in to control the crowd, with three men subsequently being arrested. There were no subsequent injuries.

On Sunday, July 30, friends of Gutierrez confronted police to show that they believed the shooting incident was wrong. Police and Gutierrez's friends reached an agreement in order that a "carwash" could be held in order to raise funds for his funeral. However, at about 5 p.m., police returned after local motorists complained that youths were disrupting traffic and throwing rocks at passing cars. Police responded and arrested about 10 teenagers who were sitting on curbs awaiting transport when a crowd began to grow. The crowd became unruly, throwing bottles and setting fires while shouting at police.

Approximately 100 officers were dispatched to the area and began to chase down protesters, who kept running into local stores and returning to throw bottles. A total of about 25 people were arrested on assault and disturbing the peace charges.

The area of disturbance was North Broadway Street and Eastlake Avenue. None of the locations of the violence are in or close to any public housing development.

Los Angeles Police are investigating the incidents, including the shooting of Antonio Gutierrez.

Program-gutting Congress tosses fuel on inner-city fires

DERRICK Z. JACKSON

The smoke of rage was all too visible last week. Three cities had disturbances. All started with a charge of police brutality.

In Indianapolis, 39 people were arrested in two nights of unrest. At one point, police fired tear gas into a crowd to stop some minor looting. The trouble began, witnesses said, after a handcuffed Danny Sales, 21, an African-American, was knocked to the ground and had a racial epithet shouted at him by a white narcotics officer as he was being dragged into custody. Sales was charged with resisting and fleeing arrest.

In the Coconut Grove section of Miami, a band of about 30 youths wearing pillowcases over their heads threw rocks and bottles at cars. There were no arrests or major injuries. The incident came a week and a half after Torrey Dovan Jacobs, 17, was shot and killed by police. Police said Jacobs ran when he was approached by an officer, who said Jacobs was acting suspiciously. Jacobs

dropped a chrome-plated object.

When Jacobs tried to pick it up, Officer Chris Griffin opened fire. Jacobs was fatally wounded in the chest. The object was a cigarette lighter shaped like a gun. Police said Jacobs wore a ski mask and carried marijuana. Neighbors described him as a church-going junior deacon. At a candlelight vigil for Jacobs, Rev. Willie Sims, assistant director of the Metro-Dade office of black affairs, said he saw young men crying and fainting.

"They're hurt," Rev. Sims said. "I've never seen young men act like that before. I perceive a sense of hopelessness that's starting to build."

In Los Angeles, youths and young adults threw bottles for two nights in Lincoln Heights. The disturbance was triggered by the fatal police shooting of 14-year-old Antonio Gutierrez. The police said they fired six shots at Gutierrez when the boy pointed a gun at them. Police said they recovered a Tec-9 semiautomatic pistol at the scene.

Gutierrez, according to an 18-year-old friend, had earlier agreed to carry the Tec-9 to another teen-ager. "He didn't even know how to use it," the teen said. "Yet."

But the friend said Gutierrez threw away the gun when he saw police. At the moment of the shooting, friends and relatives said Gutierrez was only carrying a flashlight.

"The police should be around to protect us, not to shoot us," said resident Mario Sanchez, 21. "They're always pointing guns at

With this gasoline, the only question is which city will be lit up next.

us. They want this kind of thing to happen."

Julie Noriega, 23, said, "It takes one shot in the leg, maybe two shots, to get a little boy down. It doesn't take nine shots.... They didn't even say 'Freeze.'"

It is hard to say "Freeze" when the streets are hot. These are the streets created by two decades of noninvestment and being squashed even further by an education-cutting, social-program-gutting Republican majority and a go-along White House. While

the white youth unemployment rate is 17.1 percent, African-American youth unemployment is the same as it was when Martin Luther King was marching: about 40 percent. The Latino youth unemployment rate is 27.5 percent.

Then add the illegal drug trade, which the United States has never seriously tried to stop. Then add guns, which, thanks to our gun-loving popular culture, flood our streets. With this gasoline, the only question to ponder is which city will be lit up next.

Since most education and job proposals in peaceful political channels have been rejected as too costly, the discouraged appear to be desperate enough to once again risk their lives in costly, attention-seeking behavior. Anyone will tell you that the daily riot of black folks killing black folks claims far more lives than the cops do. But rebellions against police brutality remain important to the restless because they are the only time the white world asks why they are so restless.

No one wants to see a rebellion. They do not do much to beautify the neighborhood. But neither does the inner city deserve the assault on its aspirations by our politics and

economy. For young people to be so thoughtless as to provoke police fire by reaching for objects of any kind indicates the ultimate hopelessness of having nothing to lose.

In Miami, Police Chief Donald Warshaw tried to downplay the connection of the bottle-throwing to the Jacobs shooting. "They probably did it because they had nothing better to do," he said. That is precisely the problem. Miami social worker Sylvia Jordan, who may face cuts for her federally funded crime prevention program, said, "Kids here feel pretty shafted."

The smoke is rising up the shaft. The kids of the inner city cry for water. They get only gasoline. The only time the nation pays attention to them is when there is a fire. Three separate disturbances, all within a week, ought to tell you that they are tired of being ignored. Think about it. They were nice this time. They threw only bottles and rocks. They did not spray passing motorists with a Tec-9. Yet.

Derrick Z. Jackson is a Globe columnist.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 8-9

*original to
Doriskind*

TO: *Jim Doriskind*

FROM: Staff Secretary

*Please coordinate
with Bob Nash on
this. Needs some
prompt attention.*

Will

JIMMY L. GLENN
415 NORTH ERROL COURT
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30327

Staff

Secy -

Polus
meeting
w/MTV

August 7, 1995

Betty Currie
Personal Secretary for the President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

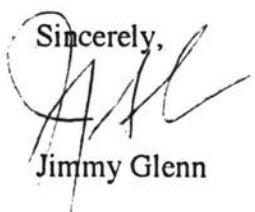
Dear Ms. Currie:

As indicated on the attached letter to President Clinton, it was sent March 31st of this year. When I did not receive a response after two months I called the White House and attempted to speak to someone concerning this matter. The switchboard operator referred me to a recording for comments from the public. I called back and attempted to explain why that would not be the appropriate response for my call but the operator again put me through to the same line. When I called back for a third time and requested to speak to a human being I was again put through to the same recording. When I called back the forth time and strongly requested that I speak to a live person the operator hung up on me.

I am taking one last stab at contacting President Clinton concerning this situation. It is absolutely unbelievable that under the circumstances described in the attached letter that I would not receive a response of some kind. President Clinton often refers to the positive influence that President Kennedy had on him; I wonder how Bill Clinton would have felt if President Kennedy and his staff used him and then handled the matter like you have done.

What has happened is that a situation that I had assumed was an oversight now appears to be administration policy to use young people for political purposes and then get rid of them. I hope my assumption is wrong and that this is somehow a series of unintentional screw-ups. As I said I am making one last effort by contacting you.

Sincerely,


Jimmy Glenn

JG/sl

JIMMY L. GLENN
415 NORTH ERROL COURT
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30327

March 31, 1995

President Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Several years ago my son, Marc, was elected as a delegate to the democratic convention. At that time he was eighteen years old and was the youngest delegate to the convention. As the youngest delegate Marc received a substantial amount of media attention and was always very positive about supporting you.

MTV and the youth vote was obviously a very important element in your campaign. When it became known that MTV had arranged to do a feature on Marc your people became very involved to make sure that Marc properly promoted your candidacy. He was promised the moon by your people and was told how important what he was doing was for your campaign. Marc was told that you would like to have him involved in some facet of your administration because, as a representative of young people, you would want him to be an example of your involving the constituency that Marc represents.

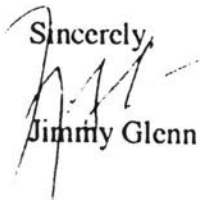
After several months Marc was very disappointed because he never heard from anyone in your transition team. In spite of his disappointment Marc decided to contact some of the people who had directed him relating to the MTV program and the convention. He could not contact any of these people and his disappointment turned into disillusionment when he repeatedly was given a cold shoulder by people from your transition team.

At this point I too became upset with Marc's treatment. I am sure that you are not aware of this situation but as someone who campaigned strongly to get young people involved in government I think you should be aware of how people who represent you have acted. As you were impacted by President Kennedy, Marc was impacted by you. He got involved, succeeded beyond his wildest dreams, and then took pride in representing you to the youth of America as requested by your people. As soon as Marc's usefulness to your campaign was finished he was abandoned and forgotten in spite of promises to the contrary. I do not think you would like someone doing this to Chelsea and I do not appreciate it being done to my son.

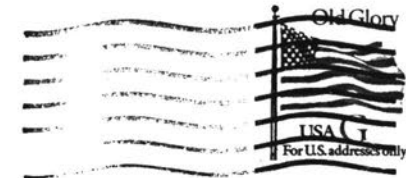
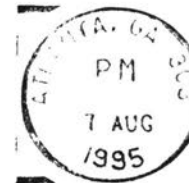
After Marc was shunned by your transition team I made several calls and finally reached someone who was sensitive to this problem. She was a very nice person and seemed to represent what your administration wanted to be. She contacted others in the transition team and secured a job for Marc.

When I saw that you were going to be in Atlanta the other day I decided to write to let you know about the handling of this situation. Marc does not need me to be his advocate because all of the success that he has achieved has been a result of his hard work. However as a father and a supporter of yours I feel that you would want to follow through with the representations made to Marc by your people during the campaign.

Sincerely,


Jimmy Glenn

JIMMY L. GLENN
415 NORTH ERROL COURT
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30327



Betty Currie
Personal Secretary for the President of the United
States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500



PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION ON SMOKING
OVAL OFFICE
AUGUST 10, 1995

95 AUG 9 P6:03

Today, I have brought together medical experts and children who have taken a pledge against smoking to talk about my commitment to ending youth smoking. This issue is critical to our efforts to improve the health of our nation. According to the CDC, of the two million Americans who will die in 1995, approximately 420,000 will die of conditions associated with tobacco. I am proud that later today I will announce my strategy for combatting this problem.

Right now, I'd like to hear from a young person [TBD] from a successful program that teaches students how and why they should stay smoke-free.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

08/09/95

HAROLD ICKES
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

This is what we have received
from Speechwriting, per Jennifer
O'Connor, for the President's
roundtable tomorrow.

Comments?

Please let me know ASAP.

Phil Caplan

George S.
Ickes

This is what we have received
from Speechwriting, per Jennifer O'Connor,
for the President's ^{roundtable} ~~best~~ tomorrow.

Comments? PLS let me know ASAP

Please let — Phil Caplan

THE TRINITY FORUM

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION SHEET

TO: The President
ATTENTION: Nancy Hemreich
ORGANIZATION: The White House
FAX NUMBER: 456-6703

DATE: August 7, 1995

PAGES: 3

FROM: Os Guinness

REMARKS: Dear Nancy,

I was asked how the President might think of following up his major substantive addresses of last month. Here are my thoughts, which you might pass on to the President if he is interested.

Warm regards,
Sincerely,

Os Guinness

Dr. Os Guinness

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8.8.95

GS/Action
some good ideas
and can pass,
Chief. stop →

BC

CC to
Benami
8/9/95 done

SENDER'S NAME: Debi Siler

THE TRINITY FORUM

2. President

Follow up by
OS GUINNESS TO
YOUR
"COMMON GROUND"
SPEECHES.

August 7, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your letter and the copies of your other recent major speeches. It was a privilege to be at both Georgetown University and James Madison High School and especially to hear you articulate your positions on religious liberty. It was quite simply the fullest and best presidential speech on religious liberty in the past generation—though cynics might say the competition is thin!

It has been particularly heartening to watch the speeches being slowly recognized as a statesmanlike definition rather than a mere political exercise. The passenger next to me on a flight to San Francisco last Saturday put another positive angle: "Finally, someone is standing up to the bullies."

May I offer some suggestions as the White House staff considers ways to follow-up on these speeches?

First, ensure that from here onward all your major speeches have a common component—articulating American first principles on the topic at hand, heeding the framers' vision of the subject and setting out your own position in light of contemporary challenges (and all this as a matter of genuine reflection rather than rhetorical quotations).

Second, have op-ed pieces in your name drafted beforehand on major defining addresses, such as affirmative action and religious liberty, so that these hit the press at the same time as news reports of the speeches.

Third, create a list of 50-100 opinion leaders to whom the full texts of major speeches go with a personal letter from you, setting out why you raise this important topic and inviting their thoughtful response. These conversation partners should be recognized American leaders and opinion makers from diverse spheres of life. An underlying goal of this exercise should be to restore the role of intellectuals from being adversaries of American culture to being pioneers and custodians as they were once.

Fourth, plan to give a second speech on religious liberty that takes the argument to a higher level yet. If I had one reservation about the speech at James Madison High School, it was that it failed to capitalize on the excellent foundational thinking you had laid. In four or five areas it could have "gone for the gold." If this were of interest, I could specify what I mean. But I would recommend that you make such a "Son of James Madison" speech before a strongly

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train out
for 155 call
dry -

Q₃

Dr. Os Guinness
Senior Fellow

To: Carolyn Curriel

From: Phil Caplan

FYI

8/9/95



Minority Enterprise Development Week, 1995

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

For citizens throughout the Nation, entrepreneurship is a proven gateway to economic empowerment. At its best, our free enterprise system works to ensure that all of our citizens have the opportunity to contribute fully to America's economic growth and to benefit fully from our economy's success. However, the road to entrepreneurial achievement is seldom easy. Those who undertake the journey must be talented, determined, and brave. But America has a history of rewarding risk-takers, and there is much to be gained in the attempt.

If this country is to continue to prosper in the years ahead, we must hold fast to the promise of minority enterprise development. Business growth in our minority communities creates wealth, encourages self-sufficiency, and generates jobs where they are needed. My Administration is working hard to strengthen all of our Nation's businesses, opening new domestic and international markets, stimulating the efficient use of developed but underutilized land in older cities and towns, and reducing the cost of borrowing for business start-ups and expansions. These innovative efforts are making an impact, and people throughout America are stepping forward to take advantage of the possibilities of investment.

This week plays an important part in our work to promote the growth of the minority business community. As we recognize America's outstanding minority business men and women, we honor their accomplishments and help spur them on to greater heights. Highlighting their success, this occasion touches even those who have not yet dreamed of starting their own businesses. We are all inspired by the example our entrepreneurs have set.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim September 24 through September 30, 1995, as "Minority Enterprise Development Week." I call on all Americans to commemorate this event with appropriate ceremonies and activities, joining together to recognize the contributions that minority entrepreneurs make every day to our national economic security.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this seventh day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twentieth.

William Clinton

(E) Rescue response to your note on food stamp fraud. Carol reports that USDA is taking a number of steps to reduce fraud -- last year's rate was 7.65%, down from 8.29% in 1993. In May, USDA sent a food stamp reform proposal to the Hill that includes incentives to states to reduce errors and sanctions on the highest error rates. To date, the House and Senate have adopted only a portion of the USDA proposals. The House welfare bill would increase sanctions on states with above-average error rates, though it isn't clear whether Dole's bill will include these provisions. USDA is also working on administrative action to reduce the error rate.

(F) Gibbons memo on PCAST report on magnetic fusion energy. PAST has completed its review of the U.S. Magnetic Fusion Energy program, emphasizing the importance of fusion as an environmentally attractive and perhaps essential energy source for the nation by the middle of the 21st century. The panel recommends funding the program at \$320 million/year for the next ten years -- a retrenchment from current Administration plans, but adequate to keep the program going in a meaningful way. The panel also found that the cuts Congress is now considering would be so damaging as to halt progress toward the fusion goal.

(G) Response from Secretary Riley: private management of public schools and charter schools. Private management: limited experimentation shows some improvement in the physical operation of schools, but mixed results in student performance. Substantial criticism of EAI (Education Alternatives Inc.) by teacher's unions, though teachers in EAI schools respond more positively. Charter schools: no information on effectiveness yet, though research on other public schools providing choice and greater autonomy suggests that sense of ownership by staff, students and parents helps galvanize efforts toward common goal. Charter schools are growing rapidly in popularity; degree of autonomy differs among charter schools; while teachers unions support the idea, their role in protecting employees leads to advocating more limited flexibility for the schools.

(H) Letter from Secretary Glickman on Oklahoma City. Secretary Glickman draws your attention to the outstanding service of USDA's National Finance Center in the wake of the bombing. NFC processes the paychecks and renders other financial services for over 40 government agencies, and maintains the record keeping for the government's Thrift Savings Plan. NFC ensured that salary payments to surviving federal employees in the Murrah building were not delayed, re-routing electronic transfers where necessary. NFC provided immediate assistance to rescue personnel to assist in identification efforts and waived requirements for death cases so that benefits to survivors were paid quickly as possible.

(I) Roswell Gilpatric's paper on U.S. defense strategy for 21st century. Arthur Schlesinger sent this and you asked to see it.

(J) Note from Secretary Reich. Bob forwards a note from Douglas Millin along with obituaries from the *London Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* on Sir Edgar Williams.

Put in my pers. file



THE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/7/95

August 2, 1995 95 AUG 14 P3:48

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your recent note inquiring about the private management of public schools and charter schools. I am pleased to enclose a one-page summary on these subjects prepared by my staff that I think will be of interest. I hope you will let us know if you would like additional information.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Dick", is written over the typed name.

Richard W. Riley

Enclosure

Summary: Private Management of Public Schools

Limited experimentation with private management of public schools has shown some improvement in the physical operation of schools but mixed results in student performance. While the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) initially supported Baltimore's contract with Education Alternatives, Inc. (EAI), they became vocal opponents after EAI replaced union-represented teacher aides with non-unionized recent college graduates. Drawing on a wider range of observers suggests a more ambiguous picture:

- Private management has shown mixed results in student performance, but it is probably too soon to conclude whether the experiment is a success or failure. A 1995 evaluation conducted by the University of Maryland-Baltimore County (UMBC) found that test scores declined during the first two years of the EAI contract but recovered the lost ground by the end of the third year. The researchers concluded that EAI's program had proved harder to implement than expected but that the early problems have been largely resolved.
- EAI has improved the physical appearance and operation of school buildings, as well as the availability of instructional materials and computers.
- Although EAI vowed to raise student achievement without charging more than school districts already spend, it has in fact spent more in both Miami and Baltimore.
- The union's criticisms of EAI's proposed budget cuts in Hartford may be unfair, as EAI appears to be trying to carry out the school board's reform agenda.
- Although the teachers union strongly criticizes EAI's performance, teachers in EAI schools appear to respond more positively.

Summary: Charter Schools

No information is currently available on the effectiveness of charter schools, as they have been operating for too short a time. Evaluations are in progress, and research on other public schools that provide choice and greater school autonomy suggests that the sense of ownership by school staff, students, and parents helps to galvanize efforts towards common goals. For now, we do know:

- Charter schools are rapidly gaining in popularity. Seven states have enacted charter school laws in 1995, bringing the total to 19 states. About 200 schools have been granted charters to date, roughly double the number of charter schools in operation last year.
- State charter school laws differ significantly in the degree of autonomy provided to charter schools and other important features. Limitations on the autonomy of charter schools may hinder their ability to implement innovative ways of increasing student achievement.
- The national teachers unions tentatively support the concept of charter schools, but their role of protecting employees leads them to advocate limiting the flexibility of charter schools, particularly with respect to hiring and firing decisions.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 8-9-95

TO: Bruce Reed

FROM: Staff Secretary

Can you coordinate handling of this?
When it gets to point of doing a
letter back to Weld, Jim Dorskind's
shop will provide any assistance you
need.

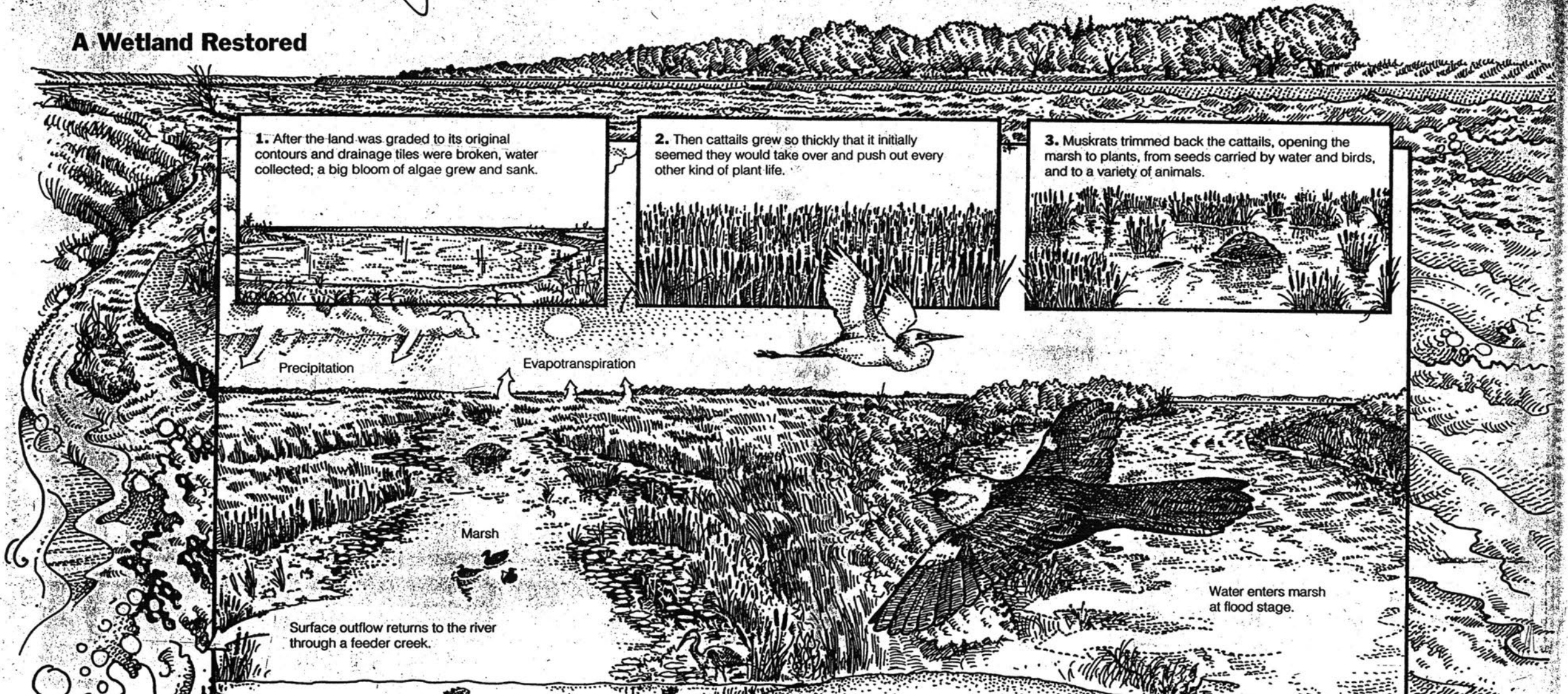
Todd 

cc: Leon Panetta
Rahm Emanuel
Kitty Higgins
Jim Dorskind

De K. McGuffy
Ryl
Be.

Restored Wetlands Could Ease Threat of Mississippi Floods

A Wetland Restored



A Wetland Restored

1. After the land was graded to its original contours and drainage tiles were broken, water collected; a big bloom of algae grew and sank.

2. Then cattails grew so thickly that it initially seemed they would take over and push out every other kind of plant life.

3. Muskrats trimmed back the cattails, opening the marsh to plants, from seeds carried by water and birds, and to a variety of animals.

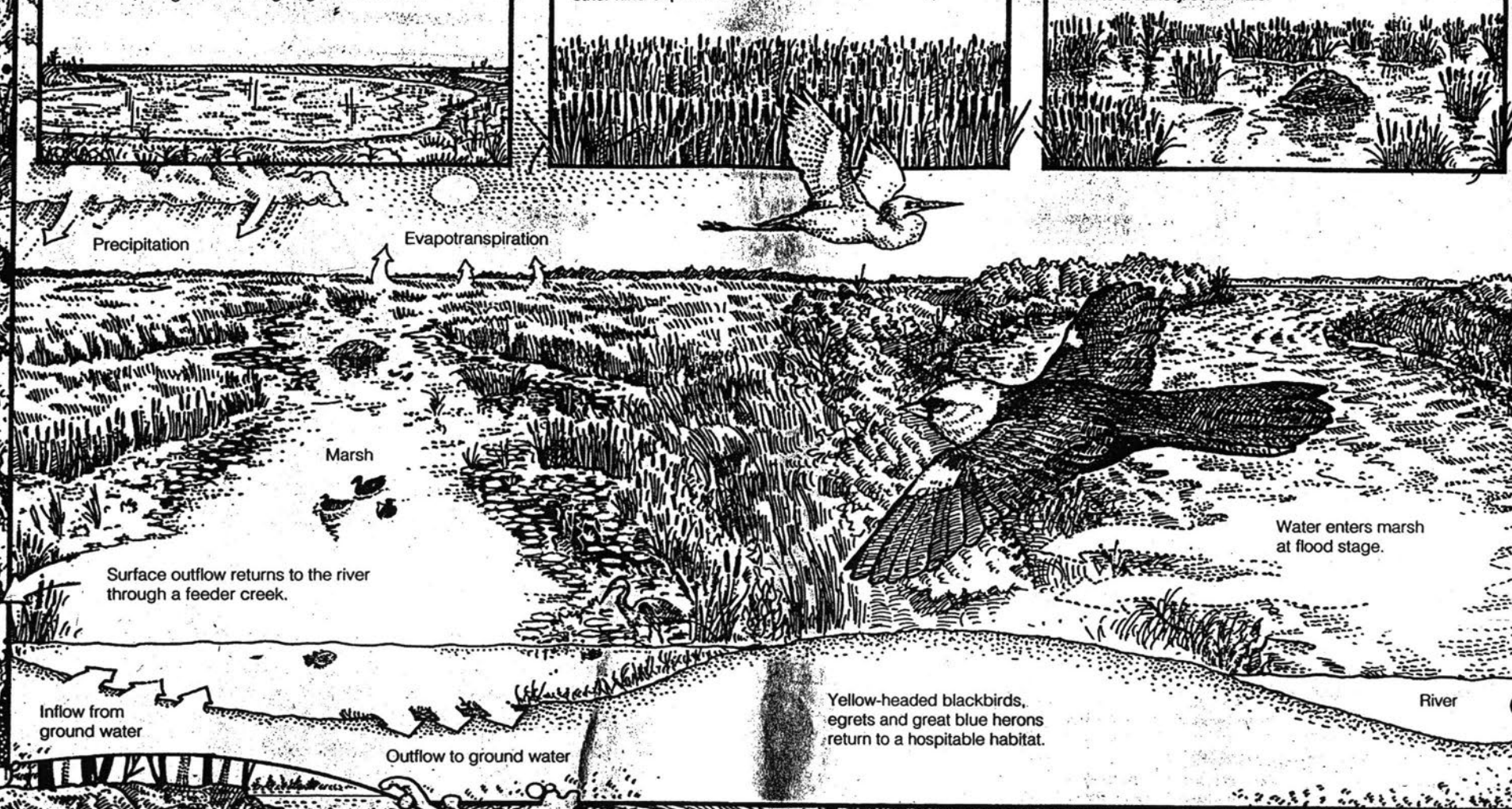


Illustration by Glenn Wolff for The New York Times

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

Drainage blocked,
wetland plants and

and are prone to catastrophic failure, as was demonstrated in the 1993 floods of the upper Mississippi Valley. But officials of the Army Corps of Engineers say that although wetlands may have some role, they will

ST. CHARLES, ILL.
JOHN RYAN is a pioneer in a brand



Beaver dams collect floodwaters and allow pollutants to dissipate or settle out.

Source: Dr. Donald L. Hey

An Efficient Sponge in Times of Flooding

One restored wetland of only 5.7 acres near the Des Plaines River is now a three-foot-deep marsh of clean water, home to a rich variety of plant and animal life. Waterflow measurements also found that it acts as a safety valve for a watershed of 410 acres, sponging up excess water at flood stage. Researchers calculate that 13 million acres of such marsh could have kept the Mississippi in its banks in 1993.

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

JOHN RYAN is a pioneer in a brand new business: recreating wetlands. A demand for restored swamps and marshes has been stimulated by the Clean Water Act, under which developers are required to create an acre or more of new wetland for each acre they drain. Mr. Ryan's wetland here is a rich refuge of birds and wildlife. And it has another property that some believe could be of vast importance to the land along the Mississippi River: it can absorb copious quantities of flood water.

This sometimes overlooked feature of wetlands, some hydrologists believe, could be the foundation for a quite different method of flood control, one based on restoring

Drainage blocked, wetland plants and animals quickly reappear.

enough wetlands to sponge up water naturally instead of relying so much on dikes and levees to contain it. New data suggest that in the upper Mississippi watershed, a mere 3 percent of the land could suffice, less than farmers already set aside from production.

Proponents note that wetlands, besides their biological richness and power to cleanse polluted waters, are surprisingly cheap and quick to recreate. Dikes and levees are expensive to build and maintain

and are prone to catastrophic failure, as was demonstrated in the 1993 floods of the upper Mississippi Valley. But officials of the Army Corps of Engineers say that although wetlands may have some role they will never suffice to contain a tremendous flood like that of 1993.

Some of the evidence for the value of restored wetlands in abating floods comes from recent work at a complex of experimental wetlands reclaimed from farm fields next to the Des Plaines River in Wadsworth, Ill., about 35 miles north of O'Hare International Airport in Chicago. One tract bears the prosaic title of Experimental Wetland No. 3, but the name belies its ecological beauty and vitality.

Where rows of corn stood until recently, there is now a three-foot-deep marsh, with clean, clear water filtered by marsh vegeta-

Continued on Page C4

Brain May Tag All Perceptions With a Value

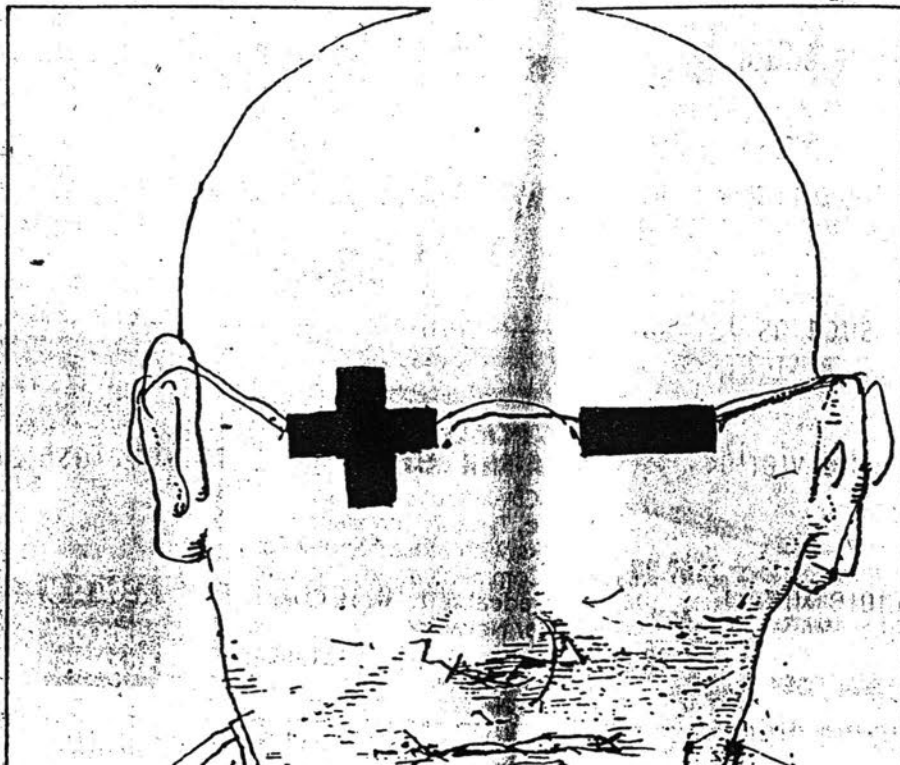
By DANIEL GOLEMAN

THE palette of sights and sounds that reach the conscious mind are not neutral perceptions that people then evaluate: they come with a value already tacked onto them by the brain's processing mechanisms.

This is the conclusion of psychologists who have developed a test for measuring the likes and dislikes created in the moment of perceiving a word, sound or picture.

The tests show that these evaluations are immediate and unconscious, and are applied even to things people have never encountered before, like nonsense words: "juvalamu" is intensely pleasing and "bargulum" moderately so, but "chakaka" is loathed by English-speakers.

The findings, if confirmed, have possibly unsettling implications for people's ability to think and behave objectively. While people are easily able to override these initial judgments if they then think about their opinions, the evalua-



New Survey of Sky Finds Most Quasars Are Equally Ancient

By JOHN NOBLE WILFORD

EVER since they were discovered more than 30 years ago, quasars have been a stunning enigma. Shining like faraway beacons, they are the most luminous objects in the universe, each one emitting energies hundreds of times greater than all the combined stars in the Milky Way galaxy. They are also among the most distant known objects, meaning that they provide glimpses of the early universe and must harbor clues to those primordial conditions.

Most astronomers suspect that quasars are fundamentally related

The strange objects may be an early stage of galaxy formation.

mers can now identify their heyday. Comprehensive sky surveys show that the bulk of quasar formation appears to have occurred about 2.5 billion years after the Big Bang, the theorized explosive moment of cosmic creation. Before about 1.9 billion years and after 3 billion, the creation of quasars was exceedingly rare.

The discovery of quasars

lands Could Ease ness to Flooding

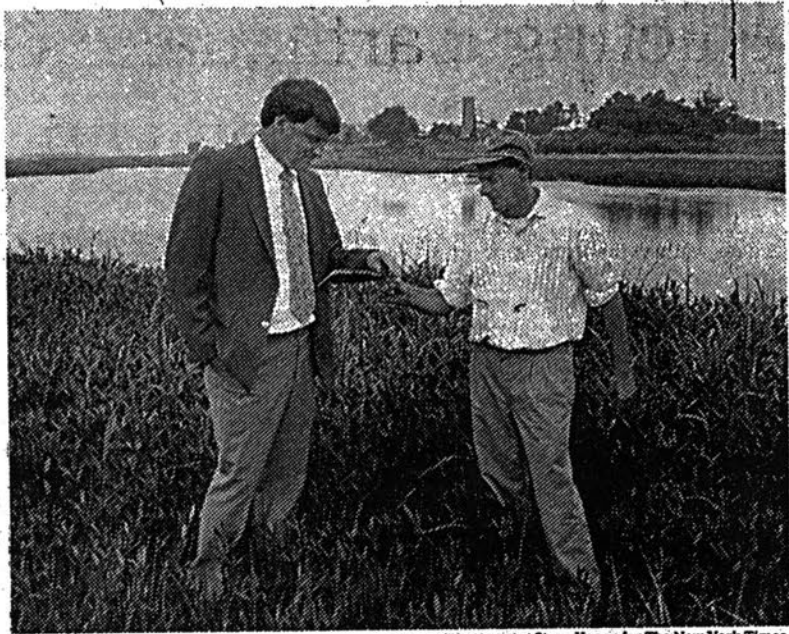
"cultural land," he Nancy S. Philippi, recent issue of the Restoration Ecology restored wetlands throughout the water-possible, unreasonable," they wrote, analytical work needs re such a strategy ed with confidence, cy makers remain e Des Plaines study presents an early at-ugh quantitative fix The core study "is le, but you've got to e," said Ms. Philippi, tant and former Illi- who headed a gov-

years ago has been transformed into a fully functioning oasis of green, lush marshland on the edge of Otter Creek, whose waters eventually flow into the Mississippi. Several times a year the creek spills over its banks, sometimes covering the entire site and then receding, to leave only a few sloughs and a large, clear, 2½-foot-deep marsh in the center. The site has become a magnet for wildlife, including muskrat, mink, fox, great blue heron, common egrets, painted turtle, Swainson's and red-tailed hawks and dozens of species of native plants, most of them planted by the restorationists. The dickcissel, a species of bird endangered in Illinois, has settled there.

The leader of this restoration effort is John Ryan, a businessman who, in what he describes as his "prior life," was a scion of the largest earthworks contracting family in America. He says he decided that "there's more to life than just moving dirt," and so he formed his own company, Land and Water Resources Inc., of Rosemont, Ill., and has become what might be called a wetlands entrepreneur.

His business is in assembling what have become known as wetlands mitigation banks. The process works this way: Mr. Ryan's company, usually in cooperation with a partner, assembles a tract of former wetland to be restored. Real estate developers pay to buy into this "bank"; their payments are where Mr. Ryan's profits ultimately come from. The developers choose to play because the Federal Government, under Section 404 of the Clean Water Act, requires them to compensate for any wetlands they destroy by creating new ones. (Not every developer qualifies; the Government can and does withhold approval for the destruction when the wetland in question is deemed too valuable.)

When a developer performs this "mitigation" on his own, it often results in a small, pitiful dab of wetland surrounded by concrete and typically too deep and poor in vegetation to perform its functions. The developer also must go through a lengthy approval process, and time costs money. By buying into the mitigation bank, the developer saves time and money; Mr. Ryan has already secured approval for the whole tract of land comprising the bank. At the same time, the developer's contribution to the bank, along with that of others like him, makes it



Steve Kagan for The New York Times

John Ryan, left, president of Land and Water Resources Inc., with Steven I. Apfelbaum, a consulting research ecologist, in the field.

possible to assemble a much larger tract of wetland that can then function properly.

The Otter Creek project is said to be the first private mitigation bank to be completed in the country, though others are under way and several publicly owned ones are operating in several states. In this case, the land was purchased from a developer by the St. Charles Park District, with a one-third contribution from Mr. Ryan's company. So far, seven developers have bought into the bank, which is about half subscribed. Once the break-even point is reached (Mr. Ryan has many up-front costs), the park district will share in the profits, some of which are to be placed in a permanent endowment to manage the site.

To maintain the project's eligibility under Federal rules, Mr. Ryan and his team of scientists and engineers must demonstrate quarterly that the bank is actually functioning as a wetland, especially its water flow. In one technique, microchips strategically placed in three locked standpipes continually monitor the fluctuating water level of the saturated ground; experts read the chip simply by plugging in a laptop computer.

The site has been dedicated in perpetuity to the St. Charles Park District, which is already making it a public attraction for nature-study and relaxation. Mr. Ryan's company will bow out when the bank has been fully subscribed and the site has achieved agreed-upon standards.

Both the Des Plaines and Otter Creek projects have demonstrated how rapidly a wetland can be restored once work actually begins. an

important consideration in putting a flood-control strategy to work. "You can do it amazingly fast," said Dr. Hey. In both cases, the restorationists began by excavating and grading the sites to re-create the contours of what had originally been wetlands before they were drained for farming. Then they destroyed the drainage tiles that the farmers had installed. "As soon as we broke the tiles, the water came back," said Steven I. Apfelbaum, a consulting ecologist based in Brodhead, Wis., who is a member of Mr. Ryan's team of experts at Otter Creek.

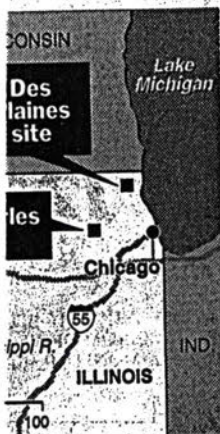
Dr. Hey and his colleagues operated on the hypothesis that once they pumped water into the Des Plaines wetlands, the ecosystem would reassemble itself rather spontaneously. That is indeed what happened, he says: at Experimental Wetland No. 3, for example, first came a big bloom of algae, which eventually coalesced and sank to the bottom. Then cattails came in so thickly that it seemed they would take over the site and push everything else out. But muskrats arrived and trimmed back the cattails, opening the marsh to a profusion of plants and animals — which arrived on their own, from the river and as seeds carried by birds, for instance.

Despite their differences in approach and mission — Otter Creek is perhaps ahead of Des Plaines in its vegetation, since the Ryan team has planted many more native species — both projects resulted in fully functioning wetlands within a year. "It is not even a growing season old, and it's performing tremendously based on the vegetation and the hydrology," Mr. Apfelbaum said of the Otter

Creek wetlands. The 1993 long-standing flood-control largely on flood walls, works to keep it away. There is tightly cored often force and increased structiveness last year up of Engineer for engine greater relief means But some restoring floods on watercourse monster flood just physical happen," senior hydro Corps of E Dr. Hey that" on the Ms. Philip models that aren't de lands." Mr. DiBlicate the lists now." not include be restore

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The New York Times

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John Ryan, left, president of Land and Water Resources Inc., with Steven I. Apfelbaum, a consulting research ecologist, in the field.

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Creek wetland.

The 1993 floods brought into focus longstanding criticisms of Federal flood-control policy, which has relied largely on the building of levees, flood walls, dams and other public works to channel flood water and keep it away from towns and farms. There is widespread agreement that tightly corseting a flood in this way often forces the water ever-higher and increases its velocity and destructiveness. A Federal task force last year urged that the Army Corps of Engineers abandon its preference for engineering solutions and that greater reliance be placed on natural means of flood control.

But some experts say that while restoring wetlands may control floods on small and medium-sized watercourses, it would not contain a monster flood like that of 1993. "It is just physically impossible for that to happen," said Richard DiBuono, the senior hydraulic engineer for the Corps of Engineers in Washington.

Dr. Hey says, "They don't know that" on the basis of hard data.

Ms. Philippi adds: "The analytical models they use are wrong; they aren't designed to include wetlands."

Mr. DiBuono said the models "replicate the actual landscape as it exists now." Presumably, that would not include idle farmland that might be restored to wetlands.

Even some who are committed to wetlands restoration point out ecological uncertainties. Forests, prairies and savannas, for instance, prevent much sediment and other water pollution from reaching rivers and streams. There is concern that if not enough of these upland areas remain near wetlands, or if not enough can be restored, wetlands inundated by floods may become saturated with pollutants to the detriment of wildlife. For this reason, says Mr. Apfelbaum, there may be a trade-off between flood control and biological quality as things stand now.

While the debate over flood control proceeds, mitigation projects like Mr. Ryan's appear to be caught up in another policy dispute. Mr. Ryan already has a second mitigation project in the works, but it has been slow in getting under way partly because of uncertainty over the fate of the Clean Water Act in Congress. A bill passed by the House could sharply limit the kinds of wetlands that qualify for mitigation banking under Section 404 of the act, thereby reducing the number of developers who might buy into a bank.

"If Washington with the stroke of a pen wipes out our buyers," said Mr. Ryan, "it could mean financial ruin." And a serious setback for a promising approach.

8/8/95 10:00 A.M.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-8-95

95 AUG 8 A10 : 08

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS ON POLLUTION DISCLOSURE EXECUTIVE ORDER
FORT ARMISTEAD PARK
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
AUGUST 8, 1995

8/9
Copy to
Don Baer

~~Stop Official, Bull. City Off~~ — ~~AG Green~~ ⁽³⁾ ~~Loan~~ ~~Over~~
⁽²⁾ Acknowledgments: Mayor Kurt Schmoke, ⁽¹⁾ Lieutenant
⁽⁴⁾ Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, Congressman
⁽⁵⁾ Wayne Gilchrest, EPA Administrator Browner, ⁽⁶⁾ Doris
McGuigan [Mc-GWEE-gan; community activist who
⁽⁷⁾ will introduce V.P.], Vice President Gore.

Thank you. What I have to say today won't take long.

It's pretty simple.

Every oath of office I have ever sworn to -- as an attorney general, as a governor, and now as your

President -- has included a solemn promise to protect the American people ~~to give every one of our citizens~~ to give every one of our citizens the security they need to make the most of their God-given potential.

Emp

Central to this security is the right of every community to know that the air we breathe, the food we eat, the water we drink won't make us sick.

Today, some want to jeopardize this basic security.

They want to strip away decades of public health protections.

I have come here to let you know that I will fight them every step of the way. And today I will take action to protect the health and safety of all Americans.

The battle over environmental protection is being fought in Washington, but it is in communities like this that we see what's at stake. Hard-working families get up every day, work hard, and play by the rules. They have a lot on their minds. One thing they shouldn't have to worry about is an environmental hazard in their own neighborhoods -- in parks like this one.

Fortunately, American families have an important law on their side: the Community Right to Know Act.

↳ As to know us in
4 for nearly 20 yrs since
there is an 800 town
explosion ver. 5 chem -

It requires manufacturers to tell the public how much they pollute. If, for example, you want to know what's coming out of those smokestacks across the water, all you have to do is go to your local library or call the E.P.A. It's all there.

This law is a common sense, flexible way to fight pollution. It was signed by President Reagan and expanded by President Bush. It doesn't tell companies what they can and can't produce. It doesn't require a massive bureaucracy. It doesn't affect every company --- just those in certain industries. And it's carefully focused on a specific list of 650 dangerous toxins, of which more than 100 cause cancer.

↳ ~~about 200~~
almost 300 were
left up

This law works. Communities like this one have been given the power derived from knowledge. And that make companies think twice about the pollution they produce. In the decade the law has been on the books, companies have reported they have reduced toxic emissions by 43 percent. This law has kept millions of ~~hundreds of thousands~~ ^{hundreds of thousands} pounds of chemicals out of our lives. And it has helped & spur innovation, so business can work smarter and cleaner.

From Right to Know to the Clean Water Act, our environmental progress is the envy of the world and a source of bipartisan pride for twenty-five years. Yet some in Congress want to put all this at risk.

Last week, under intense pressure from lobbyists for polluters, the House voted to gut environmental and public health protections. The budget bill they passed would cut environmental enforcement by fifty percent. It would virtually bring to a halt federal enforcement of the Clean Water Act and toxic waste clean-ups.

That would be bad enough. But in a brazen display of special interest power, the House added 18 separate loopholes, giveaways, and stop-in-your-tracks orders, stripping away specific public safeguards.

One provision lets oil refineries spew benzene, a cancer-causing chemical, without stringent safeguards.

Another would allow factories to dump 15 million pounds of toxic chemicals into our nation's rivers, lakes, and streams next year alone.

Another permits cement-kilns and other incinerators to burn cancer-causing chemicals without effective controls.

And the House majority voted to gut Community Right to Know, literally rolling back protections that are already on the books.

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I won't let this happen. I have always made clear that I will side with the people, not the lobbyists. The minute these anti-environmental measures hit my desk, they're dead.

But I will do more than that. I will use all the authority of my office to preserve the right of parents to know what chemicals their children are being exposed to.

Just before I left for D.C.,

signed
I ~~am signing~~ an executive order that says: any

manufacturer that wants to do business with the government must tell its neighbors what dangerous chemicals it puts into the air, earth and water. No disclosure, no contract.

And I am directing our agencies to take the next steps, to act quickly and openly to continue strengthening right-to-know -- if appropriate, extending it to more industries in thousands more communities, and requiring companies to disclose more complete information.

~~[This is being discussed by Panetta/Bierlin/Browner.]~~

~~[And if Congress passes a specific provision that further~~

~~I want to continue~~

~~blocks our ability~~ to strengthen right to know through

an open and fair process, ^{but if Cong passes a provision to block proper means} I will issue a second

executive order to finish the job.]

Taken together, these steps mean that if Congress goes ahead with its current plans to undermine our pollution laws, it will go nowhere fast. Make no mistake: Community right to know is here to stay.

There is more at stake here than a single law.

Democracies depend on the free flow of information.

They survive only when citizens are given the facts they need to make informed decisions. If you have any doubt about this, consider the tragic environmental legacy left by the closed societies of the formerly communist East Bloc.

Take a moment to walk yourself through your day.

Think about the basic information that keeps you and your family safe and healthy. A stop sign. A label that tells you what's in the food you buy for your family.

The warning on a pack of cigarettes. These are simple precautions to keep you safe. Their cost is minimal but their value is priceless.

The silent threat posed by pollution is as real and as dangerous to your children as a speeding car. We've known for a long time now that what we can't see **can** hurt us.

Our health and safety laws are our last line of defense against these dangers. To abandon them would be nothing less than a violation of the fundamental promise that has sustained America for generations: to pass a better, safer world on to our children.

The Bible asks: If your child asks for bread, would you give him a stone? If he asks for fish, would you give him a serpent? If he asks for an egg, would you give him a scorpion? [This is a paraphrase of Luke 11, lines 10-12]

(Today, we must ask: would we give our children dirty air? Would we give them poisoned water? Would we keep our people from knowing what chemicals are being released into our neighborhoods? We all know the answer is no.

Let's get to work.

Thank you and God bless you.

Biography of Doris McGuigan

Doris McGuigan, and her two friends Delores Barnes, and Gloria Sites (both of whom are present today) have worked together as a team on public health and environmental issues within their South Baltimore community of Brooklyn.

Doris is a 65 year old volunteer community leader who has worked actively for years on Community Right-to-Know issues. She has also worked closely with her husband, a retired steelworker, on worker safety issues related to the Community Right-to-Know Law.

In the 1970s, Doris McGuigan, Delores Barnes, and Gloria Sites were young mothers living next to one of Baltimore's biggest industrial areas and the origin of a significant number of the state's chemical releases.

After learning that a nearby company was planning to deposit toxic waste in their neighborhood, the three women took action to protect the health and safety of their families. Lack of publicly available information made it almost impossible for them to accurately inform their community about the public health and environmental dangers facing Brooklyn.

In 1986, the Community Right-to-Know law gave Doris, Delores and Gloria the tools they needed to get accurate, accessible information so that industries and the community could work together to make informed decisions about how chemicals are managed in their Brooklyn neighborhood.

Their local neighborhood organization, Concerned Citizens for a Better Brooklyn, meets regularly with local chemical, steel, and oil companies to discuss the amount of pollution being released in their neighborhood and how to reduce health risks. Since 1986, toxic releases reported by the local chemical companies that Doris, Delores and Gloria have worked with have declined by 74%.

III. PARTICIPANTS

On-Stage

- YOU
- Vice President Gore
- Administrator Browner
- Doris McGuigan, 65 year old community volunteer
[Biography attached]

Pre-Program

- Mayor Kurt Schmoke (D-Baltimore)
- Congressman Wayne Gilchrist (R-MD)
Note: Congressman Gilchrist voted against the Environmental Riders
- Lt. Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend (D-MD)

Audience

- Baltimore Area Community Groups
- Maryland Environmental Groups
- National Public Health Groups
- Local Firefighters
- Local Steelworkers
- National Environment Groups
- State and Local Officials
- Maryland Department of the Environment
- EPA Officials

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- Offstage announcement of YOU, Vice President Gore, Administrator Browner, and Doris McGuigan.
- Administrator Browner makes brief remarks and introduces Doris McGuigan.
- Doris McGuigan makes brief remarks and introduces President Gore
- Vice President Gore makes remarks and introduces YOU
- YOU make remarks.
- YOU and Vice President Gore work ropeline and depart.

John -

The Pres. has not
seen & the copies
have been done -

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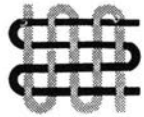
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TO NSC for

reply

yes -

S ASAP
TO LAKE



Middle East Policy Council

George McGovern
President

Innsbruck, Austria
July 31, 1995

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your thoughtful response to me of July 5 relative to the June 8 letter to you from Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic which I delivered to you on June 12.

I have enclosed a follow-up letter from him to you which was again sent on to me from my American (former Yugoslavian) friend Daniel Boyer. Communications are very difficult with Karadzic as you know; so he had not yet learned of your personal response to me when he drafted this second letter.

I pass it on to you for your consideration with my best personal regards.

Sincerely,

P.S. I'm lecturing here at the University of Innsbruck with no secretary in sight.

**РЕПУБЛИКА СРПСКА
ПРЕДСЕДНИК РЕПУБЛИКЕ
САРАЈЕВО**



**REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
SARAJEVO**

**MR BILL CLINTON,
PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A.**

Date: 24.07.1995

Dear Mr. President:

On June 8, 1995 I wrote you a letter clearly proposing peace negotiations along the lines of "Camp David". That letter was delivered to you personally on June 12, 1995. To date I have not received an answer.

I can understand that in view of the unprecedented public relations campaign with millions of dollars spent to mold American and European public opinion against the Serbs, you are reluctant to engage in a dialogue with us. Your staff, I am sure, warns you not to talk with "rebels" whose state is not recognized by the "international community" and who are probably "war criminals" as well. This high moral stance no doubt enables them to sleep well at night.

The unpleasant truth, however, is that people on all sides in former Yugoslavia are dying unnecessarily because of this refusal to communicate with us. There would have been no battles for Srebrenica and Zepa if peace negotiations had been called as I have been requesting for months before making my direct appeal to you six weeks ago. Your military advisors know quite well that the so-called "safe havens" are not demilitarized and that Muslim soldiers-- not all of them Bosnians-- are using them as bases to attack surrounding Serbian villages. Murdered Serbs do not count for the "international community", but they do for us and we will defend our people.

As I wrote you in my previous letter, we would prefer peace and I am sure so would the Muslim people, even if their leaders, eager to control all of Bosnia, are prepared to sacrifice thousands of lives in their hunger for power. Three years ago when Bosnia broke away from multi-ethnic Yugoslavia, we agreed to a plan of cantonization believing it was sufficient to preserve us from direct Muslim rule. It was the Muslim leadership, on the advice of the American Ambassador, who withdrew from the agreement.

The Bosnia recognized in 1992 was a fiction, its legitimacy contested by one-third of its population. The motives of those who rushed to recognize such a state are gravely suspect, as are the motives of those who today refuse genuine peace negotiations. Huge sums were spent last week for the representatives of 16 nations to come to London and issue a proclamation threatening to use the entire military might of NATO against a tiny group of people fighting for their independence and right to self-determination.

We do not want to rule the Bosnian Muslims, but their leaders want to rule us, just as their ancestors did during the Turkish occupation and again during the Second World War in collaboration with the Nazis. In those conditions we cannot live together. This separation could have effected peacefully three years ago except for outside pressure, and it is outside pressure that is maintaining the present state of war.

The Bosnian government and, to a large extent, the European community would like to see America enter this war. As you have realized, however, neither America nor you personally have anything to gain by waging war in Bosnia, risking its spread throughout the Balkans and beyond.

The American public has been hearing that the Serbs must be "bombed back to the negotiating table". I think they would be surprised to learn that our multiple requests, not only to you but to the leaders of other big powers, for a peace conference have been smothered by a resounding silence.

Once again, Mr. President, I respectfully request you to call for a peace conference, to which all the parties to the conflict, and not just outsiders, will come. I am convinced that with your encouragement, we can reach a solution acceptable to all and sign not a cease-fire, but a lasting peace.

With the highest appreciations,

Radovan Karadzic

Dr Radovan Karadzic
President, Republic of Srpska



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 4, 1995

Mr. Raymond R. Orie
18 Terrace Drive
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15205

Dear Raymond:

Thank you for your letter. I'm grateful for your warm words and the assurance of your prayers.

I believe we've made significant progress during the past two and a half years, and I look forward to building on our accomplishments. As we move ahead in our efforts, I'm glad I can count on your support.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

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Caring for - this
guy called
Ray of GGP/BC*

*Sample
one
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*Donald
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getting
these on
who's B.
for support
John*

Raymond R. Orie
18 Terrace Drive
Pittsburgh, PA 15205
U.S.A.

Sample

June 27, 1995

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I have been a registered Republican all my life, but I am not happy with what the Republican Congress is doing these days. I am particularly upset with the steps they have taken to thwart everything you have been trying to accomplish simply because they are the opposition party. I know that you only have the good of the country at heart, and it is deplorable that you have to work against such opposition.

I think you have done a great job as president and I sincerely hope that you will have the opportunity to do so for an additional four years. In the past there have been instances where due to poor advice from your advisors, mistakes have been made. But you are only human and nobody expects you to be perfect. If at the outset of your campaign you own up to the fact that mistakes have been made, the American people will respect you for it.

You have my pledge that I will vote for you in 1996, and I will do everything I can to convince others to do so as well.

In these very trying times the responsibilities you carry on your shoulders are tremendous. My best wishes and my prayers go with you.

Respectfully,



Raymond R. Orie

Attached
Send to Council's
office - might want
to forward to AG
BC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-8-95

July 28, 1995

MEMORANDUM

To: THE PRESIDENT
From: Jonathan Friebert
Re: Liz Robbins note

Consensus -

BC

Liz forwarded an article co-authored by her brother Thomas Robbins entitled "Sects and Violence: Factors Enhancing the Volatility of Marginal Religious Movements" for Stuart Wright's Armageddon in Waco book. She is very interested in what you think.

Robbins and Dick Anthony examine why violent episodes occur more frequently in fringe groups like the Branch Davidians and Jonestown rather than in "institutionalized churches." They feel that "exogenous and endogenous" factors combine to invoke these responses. The former is defined as "hostility, stigmatization and persecution" by "religious outsiders," while the latter involves the "properties of a movement: its leadership, beliefs, organization."

The paper focuses on three elements of endogenous factors that significantly impact these groups: apocalyptic beliefs, charismatic leadership, and communal-ideological systems. Apocalyptic tenets have historically characterized periphery groups. Group members are more prone to violence because in the interest of defending their "enclave" and in preparation of "inheriting" the world a "survivalist orientation" develops.

Robbins and Anthony feel "charismatic authority" is a more important element than apocalyptic beliefs because the leader's personality really drives the group. This position is "precarious" because the command rests on "subjective factors." Thus, challenges and threats to the leader are responded to in intense ways.

Finally, the "social system" of the group is an element that combines with "apocalypticism and charisma." These systems have "boundaries" that protect members from external threats. When there is "boundary tension" the likelihood of violence increases. There is also a great tendency for groupthink to occur because dissenting elements are suppressed.

8/8/95

POTUS note --

"Send to Council's
office - might want
to forward to AG
BC

BC

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-8-95

July 28, 1995

MEMORANDUM

To: THE PRESIDENT
From: Jonathan Friebert
Re: Liz Robbins note

Can we see this -

BC

Liz forwarded an article co-authored by her brother Thomas Robbins entitled "Sects and Violence: Factors Enhancing the Volatility of Marginal Religious Movements" for Stuart Wright's Armageddon in Waco book. She is very interested in what you think.

Robbins and Dick Anthony examine why violent episodes occur more frequently in fringe groups like the Branch Davidians and Jonestown rather than in "institutionalized churches." They feel that "exogenous and endogenous" factors combine to invoke these responses. The former is defined as "hostility, stigmatization and persecution" by "religious outsiders," while the latter involves the "properties of a movement: its leadership, beliefs, organization."

The paper focuses on three elements of endogenous factors that significantly impact these groups: apocalyptic beliefs, charismatic leadership, and communal-ideological systems. Apocalyptic tenets have historically characterized periphery groups. Group members are more prone to violence because in the interest of defending their "enclave" and in preparation of "inheriting" the world a "survivalist orientation" develops.

Robbins and Anthony feel "charismatic authority" is a more important element than apocalyptic beliefs because the leader's personality really drives the group. This position is "precarious" because the command rests on "subjective factors." Thus, challenges and threats to the leader are responded to in intense ways.

Finally, the "social system" of the group is an element that combines with "apocalypticism and charisma." These systems have "boundaries" that protect members from external threats. When there is "boundary tension" the likelihood of violence increases. There is also a great tendency for groupthink to occur because dissenting elements are suppressed.

From Stuart Wright (ed.) Armageddon in Waco, Univ. of
Chicago, Forthcoming, Aug or Sept. 1995.

- 11 -

SECTS AND VIOLENCE: FACTORS ENHANCING THE
VOLATILITY OF MARGINAL RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony

In the aftermath of the fiery deaths of the Branch Davidians in Texas, the issue of violence in marginal religions ("cults") has been highlighted in popular consciousness.¹ While spectacular mass violence such as exploded in Jonestown, Guyana and more recently in Waco, Texas is very rare, smaller scale instances of deadly violence have been associated with a variety of groups in recent decades. The Manson Family, Synanon, Hare Krishna, The House of Judah, several polygamous "fringe Mormon" groups, the Bhagawan movement of Sri Rajneesh and the followers of Lindberg "Black Jesus" Sanders are just some of the other religious groups which have experienced violent episodes and whose leaders have been accused of wrongdoing in this connection. This chapter explores the factors which operate to enhance the volatility of relatively new or marginal religious groups.

Why are marginal or non-institutionalized religious movements more volatile or potentially violent than institutionalized churches (assuming the validity of the premise)? What factors determine how much physical danger a group may pose to its members or others? There are indeed so many factors which may be identified as bearing upon these issues that the initial aim of this paper is to group as well as to list and briefly explore these factors.

We may initially list the factors pertinent to our inquiry under two headings: *exogenous* and *endogenous* factors. The former include factors related to the hostility, stigmatization and persecution which "religious outsiders" often

receive at the hands of forces in the social environment in which they operate. The latter category denotes properties of a movement: its leadership, beliefs, organization. Exogenous and endogenous variables are interrelated (Richardson 1985); indeed, the separation and mutual autonomy of these factors may ultimately seem illusory.² Nevertheless, in this paper we will focus primarily on the endogenous conditions and processes within religious movements which appear to enhance volatility and the potential for violence. We note, however, the importance of exogenous factors, which Melton (1985) emphasizes: "Given the high level of tension with society under which some nonconventional groups have been forced to operate, it is not surprising that the violent tendencies of some cult leaders have emerged" (p. 57). Violence generally erupts "only after a period of heightened conflict" in which "both sides" have contributed to escalation (Melton 1985, 58).

It is worth noting, however, that the relative weight or significance of the contribution of exogenous and endogenous factors may vary from one situated event to another. Thus to elicit a fatal violent response from Jim Jones' Peoples Temple it only required that a congressman and a press entourage visit Jonestown and attempt to return to the United States with a handful of defectors. In contrast, to set off the immolations in Waco (assuming the "cultists" were responsible for setting the fire), what had to transpire was not only the initial military-style raid on the "cult compound" by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) but also the subsequent breaking down of the walls of the compound by an armored vehicle and the insertion of tear gas. It may therefore be a viable thesis that the role or weight of exogenous factors was smaller at Jonestown compared to Waco. Or to put it another way, the Branch Davidian community at Waco was less internally volatile or violence prone than

the Peoples Temple settlement in Guyana.

Unfortunately evaluations of the relative salience of exogenous and endogenous contributions to particular explosive events are highly controversial and sometimes elicit accusations of "blaming the victim." Resolving these issues is beyond the scope of the present survey, which will try to identify and group the most salient characteristics of movements which often operate to enhance volatility and the likelihood of violence. It should be noted that no factor discussed below produces violence automatically or autonomously. The eruption of violence generally reflects the conjunction of various factors entailing the interaction of several endogenous conditions with exogenous ^{pressures} ~~variables~~.

Pertinent endogenous factors may be tentatively grouped under three headings: 1) factors related to the consequences of *apocalyptic beliefs* and fervent millennial expectations; 2) factors related to the nature and characteristic volatility of *charismatic leadership*, and 3) residual factors which are more loosely interrelated but which might be viewed as relating to the significance of some social movements as communal-ideological *systems* with "boundaries" and problems which may be given different priorities by ^{different} ~~the~~ groups and ^{their} ~~its~~ leaders and ^{are} ~~are~~ thus [^] resolved in different ways. These headings do not denote single variables but *ensembles* of variables. As with the distinction between endogenous and exogenous factors, the autonomy or separate identity of these groups of ~~less~~ variables is ultimately illusory. "Charismatic," "apocalyptic" and "communal-systemic" factors are often closely interrelated, moreover, the same condition or pattern may sometimes be classified under more than one heading.

This survey is written from a sociological perspective. Factors related to the alleged phenomenon of "mind control," to the degree to which they have any validity, may entail some of the conditions and patterns which will be discussed

under the headings delineated above. On the other hand, a partly autonomous and pertinent realm of factors may entail the predispositions and personality patterns of persons who are attracted to movements or ideologies of a certain kind, e.g., militant, authoritarian, apocalyptic, charismatically-led (Anthony and Robbins 1994; Jones 1989), although we cannot devote much space here to a discussion of individual psychodynamics. We will deal first with the impact of apocalyptic beliefs.

APOCALYPTICISM

Apocalyptic belief systems and millennial visions of the imminent "last days" appear to characterize almost all violent religious sects. Such notions certainly characterized the Branch Davidians at Waco led by David Koresh. Originally a Seventh Day Adventist, Vernon Howell (David Koresh) was initially captivated by the grim apocalyptic message of the church-sponsored revivalist "Revelation Seminars" featuring "dramatic, even frightening images in a multimedia portrayal of Armageddon" (McGee and Clairborne 1993, 10) conducted by evangelist Jim Gilley. In the Branch Davidians, Howell found a special attention and emphasis given to the culmination of the end-time, mystically represented in the Seven Seals which could only be opened by a new prophet (see Tabor, this volume).

Jim Jones, prophet-leader of the ill-fated Peoples Temple, also developed a complex apocalyptic vision which was drawn from several sources. "With elements of socialism, messianism, and biblical prophecy, Jones crafted a worldview which made an impending apocalypse plausible." Jones "used biblical imagery to persuade his followers that they were on a divine pilgrimage through a wasteland to paradise" (Jones 1989, 212).

Distinctly apocalyptic and millennial worldviews have characterized a

number of religious groups which have experienced violent altercations with outsiders, including the early Mormons (Boyer 1992, 1993), early Anabaptists and radical Reformation Protestants (Boyer 1992, 1993; Cohn 1961; Palmer 1994), and groups involved in pre-Jonestown episodes of mass/collective suicide such as the Old Believers in early modern Russia who immolated themselves (Cherniavsky 1970; Robbins 1986) or the violent Circumcellion fringe of the Donatist "Church of Martyrs" in late antiquity in North Africa (Frend 1950; Knox 1950; Robbins 1989a).³

What is it about apocalyptic beliefs which may encourage volatility and enhance the likelihood of violence? The perceived imminence of the "last days" may be expected to relativize conventional norms and rules. Received arrangements are seen to be doomed. Apocalyptic visions thus have antinomian implications. More specifically, apocalyptic movements often anticipate that an environing climate of violence will pervade the "last days" and that, in particular, violence will be directed against "The Saints" or "The Elect," that is, against the spiritual vanguard which the movement represents. The latter must therefore prepare themselves to defend their enclave, to survive to inherit the world. A defensive ^{Survivalist} "~~survivalist~~" orientation may crystallize.

This was certainly the view of David Koresh, who frequently quoted the second Psalm, "The Kings of the Earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel against the Lord and against His Anointed..." (quoted in Boyer 1993, 30). Koresh clearly anticipated a government assault and the actual military-style raid which the ATF perpetrated against the Waco Davidian settlement in late February 1993, "seemed to those inside to validate at least part of Koresh's prophecy. The Branch Davidians and their leader began preparing for the end" (McGee and Clairborne 1993, 11). After the shoot-out began, Koresh may well have wished to find a peaceful resolution of the confrontation. He was probably inhibited

from surrendering to the ATF not only because his power would then be destroyed but also because his apocalyptic vision would be compromised if the confrontation ended "not with a bang but with a whimper."

Anticipation of ruthless persecution tends to be encouraged by beliefs which assign to the apocalyptic group a special sanctity and a special key role in the unfolding of end-times and/or in the birth of a new order. Such beliefs, however, do not necessarily follow from a commitment to an apocalyptic scenario (Sharot 1982).

Perhaps what renders apocalyptic spirituality potentially explosive is that it is often linked to something broader and deeper to which we may apply Ronald Knox' term *Enthusiasm* or "ultrasupernaturalism" (Knox 1950). The enthusiast "expects more evident results from the grace of God than we others." Faith must fully transform devotees. The enthusiast "will have no almost-Christians, no weaker brethren who plod and stumble..." The enthusiast prophet "insists that members of his society [movement], saved members of a perishing world, should live a life of angelic purity, of apostolic simplicity..." (Knox 1950, 2); although in practice what has historically resulted from this orientation is "strange oscillations of rigorism and antinomianism."

Enthusiasm, according to Knox, implies "a different Theology of Grace" whereby the "traditional doctrine" that "grace perfects nature" is supplanted by the "bolder and simpler" idea that "grace has destroyed nature and replaced it. The saved man has come out into a new order of being, with a new set of faculties appropriate to his state; David must not wear the panoply of Saul" (Knox 1950, 2). Enthusiasts need not be violent, indeed religious enthusiasm can motivate pacifism, as in early Quakerism, however, an antinomian volatility can sometimes proceed from the phenomenological condition of God's Elect, who,

"although they must perforce live cheek by jowl with the sons of perdition, *claim another citizenship and own another allegiance*" (Knox 1950, 2, our emphasis). When true religious enthusiasts submit themselves to public law and authority, which they may often readily do, it is "always under protest."

..Worldly governments, being of purely human institution, have no real mandate to exercise authority, and sinful folk have no real rights, although out of courtesy their fancied rights must be respected. Always the enthusiast hankers after a theocracy in which the anomalies of the present situation will be done away, and the righteous bear rule openly. Disappointed of this hope, a group of sectaries will sometimes go out into the wilderness and set up a little theocracy of their own, like Cato's senate at Utica. The American continent has more than once been the scene of such an adventure; in these days, it is the last refuge of the enthusiast (Knox 1950, 3).¹

Clearly, apocalypticism or apocalyptic enthusiasm is *not* inexorably violent. Indeed, apocalypticism is somewhat like religion writ large: it reflects and hypostatizes the moral duality of religion which can bind persons together and uplift them but can also provoke "paranoid" anxieties and fierce antipathy toward and dehumanization of the ungodly. Apocalyptic images of the future may often impart a particular volatile quality to a group. However, throughout history such volatile apocalypticism has often been elicited or intensified by the exogenous factor of persecution. Consider, for example, the violent Anabaptist chiliasm of the early sixteenth century which culminated in the seizure of Munster (or "New Jerusalem") by apocalyptic visionaries who eventually came to be led by Jon Bockelson, "a monomaniacal young tailor who, like David Koresh, anointed himself Messiah, imposed his absolute rule with the aid of loyal lieutenants and

demanded free access to his female followers" (Boyer 1993, 30). Bockelson's followers "saw Munster as the birthplace of Christ's new world order as foretold in the final chapter of the Book of Revelation" (Boyer 1993, 30). Yet, as Norman Cohn (1961, 274) notes, "most Anabaptists were peaceful folk who in practice were quite willing, except in matters of conscience and belief, to respect the authority of the state." Yet, "Even the most peaceful Anabaptists were ferociously persecuted and many thousands were killed." Anabaptist hostility to the state was thereby reinforced. Anabaptists "interpreted their sufferings in apocalyptic terms as the great onslaught of Satan and Antichrist against the Saints, as those 'messianic woes' which were to usher in the Millennium" (Cohn 1961, 275). In this context Anabaptists became obsessed by an expected "Day of Reckoning" when the mighty would be overthrown by the faithful and Christ would return to establish the Millennium and place the sword of retribution in the hands of the rebaptized and purified saints. Thus, alongside the persisting "tradition of peaceful and austere dissent" there emerged a new expression of "an equally ancient tradition of militant chiliasm..." (Cohn 1961, 275).⁵

The "exogenous" factor of persecution is only one limiting condition on any "explanation" of religious violence and sectarian volatility in terms of apocalyptic worldviews. Consideration must also be given to the fact that apocalyptic beliefs are increasingly common, and only a tiny minority of groups and movements expressing such ideologies appear to have violent proclivities or to pose a threat to civil peace. David Koresh may have engaged in deviant practices, "But his alienation and core doctrines are shared by millions of Americans, perhaps even a majority....the general contours of Koresh's beliefs were neither unique nor particularly unusual" (Boyer 1993, 30). Churches which embrace prophetic, millennial doctrines are presently experiencing rapid growth in the United States, where such currents have always run powerfully (Boyer 1992, 1993).

Are some varieties of apocalypticism more associated with violence and volatility than other varieties? We have already discussed "enthusiasm," as delineated by Ronald Knox (1950), however, it is clear that most apocalyptic religious enthusiasts are fairly peaceful. Some writers have identified *exemplary dualism* as an apocalyptic mystique which is particularly volatile (Anthony and Robbins 1978; Jones 1989). "Exemplary dualism" denotes an apocalyptic orientation in which contemporary sociopolitical or socioreligious forces are viewed as exemplifying absolute contrast categories in terms of not only moral virtue but also of eschatology and the millennial destiny of humankind. Exemplary dualism de-transcendentalises apocalypticism. It confers ultimacy on contemporary religiopolitical conflicts which are seen to have cosmic significance. Anthony and Robbins originally developed this concept in an analysis of the ideology of the Unification Church (Anthony and Robbins 1978) and it has been subsequently applied to Jim Jones and the Peoples Temple by Jones (1989). In Jim Jones' worldview:

Themes of destruction, redemption, flight and salvation taken from the book of Isaiah were used to justify a prophecy of the destruction of the fattened nations and escape of the righteous into a new nation..the United States, its institutions and even its standards of beauty were portrayed as the "beast"—totally irredeemable—to be overcome by the "redeeming remnant." Well-versed in both doctrinal and operational aspects of the conflict of opposing forces of absolute good and evil, members of the Peoples Temple were prepared for sacrifice, struggle and an apocalyptic "final showdown" (Jones 1989, 212).

Exemplary dualism is volatile because it confers deep eschatological significance

on the social and political conflicts of the day, thereby "raising the stakes" of victory or defeat in immediate worldly struggles. Thus communism, radical feminism, the Papacy and exotic cults have all been identified by some Protestant millenarians with the biblical "Beast" or the "Whore of Babylon." Yet there are surely many more groups with an "exemplary dualist" worldview than there are violent or highly volatile movements. Indeed, the arguably exemplary dualist Unification Church, though labeled a "destructive cult" by anti-cult crusaders, has not been shown to be violent or volatile.

As John Hall (1989, 1990) observes, the People Temple community at Jonestown represented the type of the "other-worldly apocalyptic sect." Such groups, "typically founded by charismatic leaders, establish a radical separation between themselves and the established social world, which they regard as hopelessly evil" (Hall 1989, 78). Yet as Hall (1990) notes in an analysis of the Jonestown tragedy, there have been many more world-rejecting apocalyptic sects than there have been violent (and particularly suicidal) movements. According to Hall, most apocalyptic sects conceptually situate themselves "on the other side of the apocalypse" in the sense that they define themselves as inexorably "saved"--the corrupt world will be destroyed but they will survive by God's grace--and thus they are "safe" and cannot be hurt by the hostility of outsiders. Thus they need not anticipate or prepare for violent conflict. However, a different kind of apocalyptic sect, a "warring sect," prosecutes a holy war "to vanquish the infidels from dominion over a world where they exercise their evil ways" (Hall 1989, 78). Jim Jones' problem was that under his leadership the Peoples Temple was unable to clearly opt for either pattern. The relocation to Guyana (from California) was a "retreatist" tactic and an attempt to insulate the group from outside pressure. But this strategy was undercut by

Jones' emphasis (somewhat similar to that of David Koresh) on the inescapability of conflict with an overpowering and relentless enemy. Although probably functional in terms of sustaining internal solidarity and control, Jones' (^{slightly} ~~somewhat~~ justified) "paranoid" themes undercut the insulated sanctuary conception which many world-rejecting sects construct and which enable them to condemn the surrounding society as hopelessly corrupt while making a partial *de facto* accommodation with the society. "Jones vacillated between an ethic of confrontation and an ethic of sanctuary" (Hall 1987, 298). Mass suicide, conceived as a vehicle for what Robert Lifton has called "revolutionary immortality," finally united "the divergent public threads of meaningful existence at Jonestown--those of political revolution and religious salvation" (Hall 1987, 300).

In an analysis of the Bishop Hill community, whose volatile charismatic leader, Eric Jansen, was murdered in 1850, Hall notes that his ideal typical conceptions of two different kinds of apocalyptic movements are often conflated in practice, "especially when believers who want to 'flee' this world find themselves embroiled in conflict with their own detractors" (Hall 1989, 78). Thus, as Hall emphasizes, the key to apocalyptic violence and suicide ultimately lies in the dynamics of tension between an apocalyptic community and an external political order. An apocalyptic sect may demonize the external order. The escalation of external pressure "thus forces a choice between the sacred and evil," which become "a question of honor, and it is the seedbed of martyrdom" (Hall 1987, 296).

It is possible to speculate as to what variety of apocalyptic or millenarian orientation is most conducive to volatility and violence.⁶ However, it would appear that millenarian-apocalyptic worldviews are most likely to be associated with volatility and violence when they are embodied in charismatic "messianic" leaders

who identify the millennial destiny of humankind with their own personal vicissitudes and vilify any opposition to their aspirations and personal aggrandizement. "Koresh, of course, identified *himself* as the Lord's anointed and saw the standoff at Waco as the literal fulfillment of an intensifying campaign by demonic earthly rulers to destroy the righteous remnant" (Boyer 1993, 30, emphasis in original). To the volatility and destructive potential associated with fervent apocalyptic-millenarian expectations is added the volatility and instability associated with charismatic "messianic" leadership. It is to the latter issue we now turn.

CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP

Charismatic authority is a factor (or embodies a number of conditions) which may impact upon the volatility and violent potential of religious movements. The importance of this factor probably exceeds that of apocalypticism. Charismatic authority is really a hallmark, almost by definition, of non-institutionalized movements, which therefore partake of whatever instability or volatility is associated with charismatic leadership. Apocalyptic beliefs, on the other hand, characterize many relatively institutionalized churches with stable bureaucratic structures with little destructive potential. Apocalyptic, even millenarian beliefs are not unique to marginal or non-institutionalized churches/movements, the Seventh Day Adventist Church and various fundamentalist churches ^{are} ~~being~~ examples of stable organizations which adhere to apocalyptic (e.g., premillennial) expectations.

Nevertheless, despite the existence of institutionalized churches with doctrinal commitments to apocalyptic visions, there may be a sense in which charismatic leaders and apocalyptic scenarios "go together." Prophecies

presuppose prophets, and apocalyptic beliefs are often associated with "world rejecting" sects whose stance of total rejection of, or opposition to, the broader environing society requires the legitimation of a revered charismatic prophet with a compelling vision (Wallis 1984: Wallis and Bruce 1986). Institutionalized or institutionalizing apocalyptic movements which are becoming more accommodating to "the world" appear to be prone to defections by volatile followers who become attracted to new prophets proclaiming new messages entailing new and non-accommodative extrapolations of the original millenarian vision. Non-accommodative apocalyptic sects often experience continual schisms entailing conflicts between competing leaders with differing extrapolations of an original vision. "Offbeat sects are composed of people who are fearful about the future, who hope that by placing their faith in some charismatic leader they will eradicate the past and protect their lives against unknown and unseen dangers" (Fogerty 1993, 486).

Ultimately the volatility of movements with charismatic leadership is related to the intrinsic volatility or *precariousness* of charismatic authority (Wallis 1984; Wallis and Bruce 1986a). As Wallis (1993, 176) notes, "Charismatic leadership is a fundamentally precarious status." This is largely because the charismatic leaders claim to authority "rests purely on subjective factors. The 'gift of grace' may evaporate in the eyes of the claimant or his followers in the face of failure." In this connection Johnson (1979) has published a perceptive analysis of how steps which Jim Jones took in response to threats to his authority created new situations with elements which potentially undercut his authority, which in turn required new responses such that Jones and his community became locked into a spiraling process of increasing authoritarianism, anxiety and volatility.

The responses which charismatic leaders make to perceived threats to their

authority will often tend to embellish this authority and extrapolate it in an increasingly authoritarian and absolutist direction. "Jim Jones required frequent tests of faith and commitment from his core followers: signing false confessions, suffering public humiliation, drinking unidentified fluids and then restraining expressions of fear or hysteria on being told they were being poisoned" (Wallis 1984, 117). Ofshe (1980) describes various dramatic and traumatic devices (e.g., male vasectomies, abortions, re-coupling of sexual dyads) whereby Chuck Dederich and the leadership of Synanon was able "to force out members who were a potential threat to the stability of the power structure" and/or had less intense commitment (Ofshe 1980, 125; see also Wallis 1984, 117). In this way the followers of a charismatic leader may be directly or indirectly prepared for future violence as the leader consolidates a disciplined cadre of devotees who have shed their inhibitions against taking extreme actions in behalf of the prophet's vision.

What is being said above is that the evolution of charismatic leadership too often operates to embellish or intensify a basic definitional quality of charismatic leadership: the absence of accountability and of inhibitions on the impulsivity and freedom of the leader. This inhibition of restraint is the other side of the precariousness of charismatic authority, that is, both institutional *restraints* and institutional *supports* are lacking. Both characteristics increase group volatility. Lacking both immediate restraints and long term supports, a charismatic leader will be tempted to use his authority to attempt to "simplify" the environment within the group by eliminating sources of dissension, normative diversity and alternative leadership. This will attenuate the cross-pressures which operate to inhibit followers from accepting extreme demands made on them by an eccentric leader (Mills 1982).

These institutional (or anti-institutional) processes interact with certain

social psychological patterns to enhance volatility. What Lifton (1979) calls the "deification of idiosyncrasy" refers to the tendency for the devotees of charismatic leaders to interpret in "deep" and legitimating terms actions on the part of a leader which might otherwise appear irresponsible, selfish or destructive. Continual repetition of this dynamic may in effect condition the followers to accept with enthusiasm increasingly bizarre behavior on the part of the leader. It can also encourage such behavior on the part of the charismatic leader, who becomes freer to innovate and act in an eccentric manner without eliciting disapprobation. The leader may also feel increasingly impelled to act forcefully to meet the expectations of the devotees.⁷

A key element of the precariousness of charisma is the uncertainty of *succession*, which cannot be routinized and institutionalized without threatening the subjective basis of charisma. The result is continual *factionalism* within movements pervaded by charismatic authority and a looming threat of a crisis of succession when the erstwhile leader departs. As analyzed by Rocheford (1985), the failure of the Hare Krishna sect to institutionalize the charisma of the deceased founding prophet, Sri Prahupada, interfaced with financial difficulties to enhance factionalism and dissidence in the movement in the early 1980s. Escalating internal conflict led to the murder of a dissident in 1986 (Huber and Gruson 1987).

An additional threat to the authority of a charismatic leader derives from tendencies toward *institutionalization*, which may be promoted by the administrative staff, and which have the effect of isolating the leader, restraining his freedom of action and sometimes leading to the leader's actual deposition (Wallis 1984, 109-118; Johnson 1992). To resist such tendencies charismatic leaders may engage in continual *crisis-mongering* whereby a movement is kept

in continual turmoil such that stable institutional structures and routines cannot be consolidated (Bird 1993; Hiller 1975; Wallis and Bruce 1986). "Routinization may be resisted by perpetual environmental change and the shifting of goals" (Hiller 1975, 344). Sudden policy shifts and a rapid succession of commitment rituals such as the vasectomies at Synanon are relevant here as are grand upheavals such as the Maoist "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in China in the late 1960s, by means of which Mao-Tse-Tung undermined the institutionalized Communist Party bureaucracy,⁷ but which ultimately degenerated into factional violence. Finally, a particularly precarious mode of crisis-mongering entails attempts to continually escalate tension between the movement and forces in the socio-organizational environment such that the external "threat" is continually thematized. The risk of this tactic may be illustrated by the lynching of the controversial Mormon prophet Joseph Smith, whose paramilitarist tendencies contributed significantly to the hostility his movement evoked in Missouri and Illinois.⁸

The nature and evolution of charisma can thus "provide opportunities for charismatic leaders to indulge the darker desires of their subconscious. Through effective resistance to the threat of institutionalization charismatic leaders may be able to render followers exclusively dependent upon them, eliminating constraints or inhibitions on their whims, leading to the possible emergence of unconventional sexual practices and violence" (Wallis 1993, 117).⁹ The absence of institutional restraints on charismatic leaders combines with the lack of structural supports (which renders charismatic leadership precarious) to enhance volatility.

The late Roy Wallis was an outstanding contributor to the analysis of charismatic leadership in religious movements and its relationships with apocalyptic worldviews and with violence (Wallis 1982ab, 1984, 1993; Wallis and

Bruce 1986a & b). Wallis developed a tripartite typology of religious movements in terms of world-rejecting, world-accepting and world-accommodating orientations (Wallis 1984). Millenarian and apocalyptic beliefs are said to be intrinsic to world-rejecting movements, which see "themselves as islands of sanity or righteousness in a hostile and degenerate world" (Wallis and Bruce 1986, 122).¹⁰ Yet, "So great a break with prevailing society can only be justified by the authority of someone perceived to be truly extraordinary. Thus such extremes of world-rejection are normally founded or fostered by a *charismatic* leader" (Wallis and Bruce 1986, 122, emphasis in original), who may often resist institutionalization tendencies (which threaten to challenge his authority as well as mitigate the group's apocalyptic vision and world-rejecting stance) by continually shifting policies and practices within the movement and keeping the latter in turmoil. In the process the leader systematically "eliminates the sources of inhibition upon his translation of every new whim or inspiration into practice" (1986a, 123). The leader's power may thus become increasingly absolute. In increasing group volatility and the potential for violence, the defense of precarious charisma interfaces with the provocative quality of world-rejection. "Movements which sharply reject the world around them tend to provoke a reciprocal hostility which in turn creates anxiety, fear and paranoia and thus heightens the potential for violence as well as sex to be aspects of the leader's id which come to the fore" (Wallis and Bruce 1986a, 126).

It would appear logical that the tendencies described above will be more intense and strongly developed the more the leader exercises *direct, personal control* over a local, spatially concentrated community of believers (as opposed to a spatially dispersed or de-centralized movement). Peoples Temple communities in San Francisco and Los Angeles did not suicidally self-destruct and initially

denied reports that their vanguard community in Guyana, which was under Jim Jones' personal direction, had done so.¹¹ It also follows that the *degree of institutionalization* in a charismatically led movement may inhibit violence and volatility. In a comparison of the ill-fated Peoples Temple with the Unification Church, Galanter (1989, 121-125) notes that the latter, which experienced extreme conflict with forces in its environment in the early 1980s, was partly bureaucratized and spatially decentralized such that the individual devotee's relationship to the charismatic leader, "Father" Moon, was mediated by a "middle management" strata which imparted to the movement some insulation against possible impulsive reactions on the part of the exalted leader. Smaller communities of believers may thus be most susceptible to any violent and antinomian proclivities of the charismatic leader (Bird 1993). Thus, in the period from 1969-1985 violent explosions took place in connection with movements led by Charles Manson, Lindberg "Black Jesus" Sanders¹² and Jim Jones. In contrast, "the larger charismatic groups of the 1970s, on the other hand, were relatively free from violence...they were usually run by a reasonably well-organized bureaucratic structure that served to mute the impact of their leaders' idiosyncrasies." They were also less isolated. "In addition, they had considerable visibility so that local and state authorities were fairly aggressive in scrutinizing potential areas of illegal activity and intervening when signs of violent behavior appeared" (Galanter 1989, 192).

Finally it is worth noting that charismatic authority tends to be volatile not only in consequence of its intrinsic precariousness but also in terms of its lack of legitimacy in American culture. As Bryan Wilson (1975, 1987) and others have noted, charismatic authority is viewed in the modern North American and European setting as legitimate exclusively in the "unserious" realms of

entertainment and sports. In the area of religion, charismatic leaders are likely to be met with challenge and skepticism from the media.

MOVEMENTS AS SYSTEMS

Before concluding this paper we want to briefly explore some residual factors, that are somewhat related to both apocalypticism and charisma. According to Marc Galanter (1989) a "cult" or "charismatic group" operates as a *social system*. It has a "primary task" or basic *transformation* function, which entails transforming input from the environment into a form that meets system needs, e.g., converting and socializing recruits. A *monitoring* function monitors, regulates and coordinates the action of component parts of the system. A *feedback* function enables the system to obtain information on how effectively it is carrying out its primary task. *Negative* feedback is vital to long term self-regulation of the system but also poses a short term threat to the system by undermining participants' morale and sometimes challenging group beliefs. The suppression of negative feedback is a constant temptation which, however, may ultimately impair the system. Finally charismatic social systems have a dimension of *boundary control* or protecting the systems from external threats.

Most outbreaks of violence associated with religious movements entail escalating *boundary tension*. This possibility is accentuated when communal systems turn in upon themselves such that recruitment is de-emphasized and the system's "energies now come to focus primarily on close monitoring of its members" (Galanter 1989, 121). This occurred at Jonestown and coincided with intensified demands for commitment to the leader's increasingly bizarre beliefs. The theme of apocalyptic doom became increasingly prominent among the latter and "soon became intertwined with the group's monitoring function" (Galanter

1989, 122). Negative feedback was suppressed, which, together with the attenuation of outreach, increasingly isolated the group from "reality" outside of the community. In this context the imperative of preventing penetration of the system boundary was heightened. "The arrival of Congressman Ryan portended the imminent disruption of the group's control over its boundary, and thereby precipitated the final events at Jonestown" (Galanter 1989, 124). The integrity of the system was threatened in several ways: the exodus of some defectors with Ryan "posed a challenge to the group's monitoring of the membership"; the intrusion of the U.S. state via Ryan "meant that ^{The suppression of} negative feedback could no longer be absolute." "Once it became apparent that his cult's boundary could no longer be secured, Jones chose to preserve its identity in spirit if not in living membership" (Galanter 1989, 124).

Galanter also applies his model to an analysis of the destructive confrontation of the Philadelphia police with MOVE, which culminated in authorities dropping a bomb on the house containing the group and inadvertently destroying a whole neighborhood. In the years preceding the final showdown with authorities, the anarchic ecology movement stopped actively recruiting "and its energies were channeled into monitoring its members" (Galanter 1989, 126). The group "increasingly cut back on the feedback it would accept from the surrounding community, shielding its members from opposing views" (1989, 126). The group boarded up the house it occupied, ^{electronically} blasted obscenities at the neighborhood and refused to listen to the complaints of neighbors, which eventually elicited police intervention. Perhaps the police had to do something, but they tragically overreacted. Dr. Galanter concludes:

MOVE and the Peoples Temple can show how a hostile confrontation can ensue at the boundary between a charismatic group and the

surrounding community. Protective functions on both sides of the group's boundary may become intensified, leading to mutual provocation and paranoia. If neither party takes steps to defuse the situation, grave consequences can result. This vulnerability to escalating destructiveness across the boundary of charismatic groups should not go unnoticed in dealing with terrorists and nations that have turned to religious fundamentalism with a vengeance (Galanter 1989, 128).

An analysis of the tragedy of Waco in terms of Galanter's social system/boundary tension model cannot be undertaken here, but may indeed be a fruitful enterprise.

Two other factors or realms of factors should be mentioned. Crusaders against "cults" have put forward analyses in terms of "mind control" (brainwashing, coercive persuasion, thought reform). Our objections to these orientations need not be repeated here (see Anthony and Robbins 1991, 1994). The best formulation along these "anti-cult" lines is by Anderson (1983) who discusses dimensions of deception and "psychological coercion" in "cultic systems." Groups which score high on the multidimensional variables of deception and coercion may not necessarily be dangerous or volatile but the great power they exercise over the members renders them potentially destructive.

Finally it is worth considering whether certain kinds of movements--apocalyptic, militant, authoritarian--attract certain kinds of persons whose aggressiveness or submissiveness may accentuate the volatility of the group and the prerogatives of a wild leader. Recently the author and a colleague (Anthony and Robbins 1994) have re-evaluated the well-known work of Robert Lifton (1961), which is often considered to be an analysis^{formulated} in terms of brainwashing. However, in so much as Lifton is concerned with

(voluntary or coerced) *conversion* to a totalist perspective and not simply forced behavioral compliance, ^{he} ~~Lifton~~ sees adoption of a totalist worldview as a product of the interaction of the content of a totalist ideological milieu and personality patterns which predispose certain persons to ideological absolutism (Anthony and Robbins 1994). "Ideological totalitarianism" entails "the coming together of immoderate ideology with equally immoderate individual [totalist] character traits--an extremist meeting ground between people and ideas" (Lifton 1961, 419).

Lifton was strongly influenced by Erik Erikson's work on the constellation of psychological characteristics of people who convert to totalistic social movements, which Erikson had originally referred to as "totalism." Lifton's analysis of those few of his subjects who actually changed their attitudes significantly in a pro-Maoist direction when exposed to Maoist indoctrination is largely in terms of Erikson's totalism concept, which included notions of polarized identities and "negative external conscience" which Erikson had employed to analyze the psychological appeal of both fascism and communism (Anthony and Robbins 1994). To oversimplify, the proto-totalist personality escapes from an oppressively self-critical "negative identity" through immersion in an absolutist ideological totalitarianism. His/her polarized identity is reconstructed in an absolutist manner such that the devotee identifies with the group, the Cause or the leader as the embodiment of the highest standard of heroic virtue. Weaknesses and negative qualities, which the convert may once have perceived in himself, are projected onto "them," that is, the designated ideological scapegoats in an exemplary dualist worldview, e.g., Jews, counterrevolutionaries, occultists, etc. (Anthony and Robbins 1978, 1994).¹³ Such persons are available for militant and even violent action against "them," or will readily approve of such actions taken by the leader and his close associates. A concentration of such "totalistic" types in the movement will reduce the inhibitions against extreme measures.¹⁴

To sum up, the endogenous potential for violence is likely to be enhanced ^{when} ~~in~~ communal groups ~~which~~ are energized by a fervent millenarian vision, and when the membership has totalist psychological characteristics, and when the group is under the direct personal control of a charismatic leader with an exalted messianic self-conception and a determination to resist any encroachments on his authority or constraints upon his freedom of action. A proselytizing outreach to the broader society may inhibit volatility and promote a stabilizing reality-testing. Conversely, an absence of open communication and interaction with outsiders may disinhibit violence and heighten volatility. Of course much will depend upon the specific content of the apocalyptic worldview, particularly if there is an expectation of persecution and violence against the group, and if the group views itself as the exclusive vanguard of a new order or saved remnant. Volatility may also be encouraged if political elements mitigate the "other worldly" character of the apocalyptic scenario, if demonic qualities are attributed to socio-political forces and/or to opponents of the group, and if the ~~unsaved~~ or those bereft of grace are viewed as having sharply diminished claims to consideration. Much will also depend upon the particular personality of the leader, although his/her character might be expected to deteriorate somewhat over time to the degree that his authority is direct, absolute and legitimated in grandiose millenarian terms.¹⁵ The personality characteristics of members in these groups can also be important. Totalistic members who identify the grandiose elements of their polarized self-concepts with the personality of the leader, and who project their negative identities upon scapegoated contrast groups, tend to increase the volatility of the group. Finally the role of "exogenous" or environmental factors will always be crucial, e.g., many Branch Davidians might still be alive today if the ATF had initially exercised more restraint in dealing with a group which, notwithstanding its weapons stockpile, had no history of non-intramural violence.

POSTSCRIPT

Dangerous confrontations and "cult-related violence" are likely to continue in the future. As the year 2000 approaches, apocalyptic excitation may be expected to intensify. Returning from a conference at which an earlier draft of this paper was presented, the senior author, while making a connection at O'Hare Airport, read the following on the first page of the "Evening Update" to the late edition of the *Chicago Tribune* (Nov. 2, 1993):

Five hundred in suicide sect are detained

Ukrainian police have detained some 500 young followers of a religious sect in Kiev in a bid to prevent any possible suicides. The detentions were necessary, police said, because the sect, The White Brotherhood, which claims the world will come to an end Nov. 24, had called on its followers to take their own lives. The followers were in Kiev for a meeting of the sect led by former communist official, Marina Krivonogova-Zvigun, who now calls herself Maria Devi Christos. The sect members were detained for violations of passport and residency regulations. Many of them have rendered the identification papers illegible and defaced their photographs. Following orders from sect leaders, the detainees are refusing to tell police their names, ages and residence.

NOTES

1. "Cult-related violence" is very broadly defined by Melton (1985, p. 52) "as violent behavior which leads to the bodily harm or death of individuals or the significant destruction of property due to actions initiated within a nonconventional religion against either members of the general public and violent actions by the public against nonconventional religions' members and property" (see also Melton 1992). In this report we will focus primarily on confrontational violence involving conflict between factions within movements or more particularly, tension between a group and individuals, groups and authorities in the group's environment. Other modes of "cult-related violence" such as child abuse through corporal punishment or the withholding of modern medical treatment have specialized concomitants (e.g., "faith healing" doctrines or biblical literalism applied to corporal punishment, etc.). We will neglect these specialized subtypes of cult-related violence and probe instead the factors pertinent to violent confrontations, particularly violent actions which are seemingly perpetrated by a religious movement or its leadership.

2. This is particularly the case when a violent episode culminates a spiraling process of mutual antagonism and recrimination between a religious group and the broader community. The concept of "deviance amplification," which was developed by British sociologists to analyze the spiraling process of mutual escalation of conflict between deviants and authorities, was applied to conflicts involving the Church of Scientology by Wallis (1977) and has been critically evaluated as a tool for understanding sectarian tensions by Hampshire and Beckford (1983). Deviance amplification entails feedback processes between societal labeling and increased endogenous deviance. It can be applied in terms of both the short term unfolding of violent confrontation (Palmer 1994) and the long term escalation of conflict ultimately leading to violence (Robbins 1986).

3. The Russian "Old Believers," who experienced mass suicides through immolation at the end of the seventeenth century, thought that purification by fire would open the Seventh Seal (Robbins 1986, 1989).

4. Knox discusses the doctrine, which was articulated by John Wycliffe but which can be identified in later groups such as the Hussites, Anabaptists and early Quakers, that *Dominion is founded on grace* (Knox 1950, pp. 88, 108-109, 123-124, 133, 147-149, 585). The exercise of rule as well as rights to property and other values is *legitimately* vouch-safed only to the saints. Knox argues that the early Quaker principle of non-resistance, which condemns the bearing of arms, was grounded in the Anabaptist view of dominion. The doctrine of the latter "was not that nobody has a right to take the sword, but that no worldly person has a right to take the sword. Dominion is founded on grace; if you are not in a state of grace, you have, strictly speaking, no rights and therefore no authority either to govern or to make war—least of all on the saints" (Knox 1950, 148). George Fox, according to Knox, had originally been "apocalyptically-minded" and looked forward to a holy crusade against the Antichrist of Rome (early Friends fought in Roundhead armies but were weeded out). The persecution of the Friends, however, revealed to Fox that the Millennium was yet far off and the

unregenerate world with its vain appeal to the arm of flesh still prevailed, such that no attitude was now possible in this world of sin except to preach non-resistance (Knox 1950, 148-149). But "dominion" can refer to a number of things including the right to rule, to property, to possess women or to properly conduct sexual liaisons, and even to continue to live. Thus the sinister underside of the doctrine that dominion proceeds from grace is that "the worldling has no rights" (Knox 1950, 585). The principle thus converges with Robert Lifton's formulation of "the dispensing of existence" as a key element of "ideological totalitarianism" whereby "those who have not seen the light, have not embraced the truth, are in some way in the shadows—bound up with evil, tainted—and do not have a right to exist as full equals" (Lifton 1985, 64, see also Lifton 1961, 433-434). Finally, some recent examples of the principle that dominion presupposes grace might be found in the idea, imputed to the Unification Church, that all property rightfully belongs to "Father" (Rev. Moon) and must be emancipated from the realm of sin (Bromley 1985), or the reported revelation to David Koresh that all marriages and couplings except his were adulterous.

5. Robbins (1986, 1989) attempts to disentangle the interrelationship of apocalyptic fanaticism and fierce persecution in the deviance amplification process which produced immolative mass suicides in settlements of Old Believers in Russia at the end of the seventeenth century.

6. Sharot (1982, 13-14) defines millenarianism as an orientation which "seeks the destruction of the natural and social orders as a prelude to a perfect society and state of being." He reproduces a typology of millenarian variations initially formulated by Talmon (1962, 125-148; 1966, 159-200). On a partly *a priori* basis we can speculate that volatility is enhanced when a millenarian movement sees itself as surviving to enjoy (or rule) the Millennium and, moreover, having a part in bringing about the Millennium, and when there is an expectation that the advent of the Millennium will be preceded by an apocalypse of upheavals, calamities and wars. Wessinger (1994) identifies "pre-millennial" movements, which purvey the expectation that "collective terrestrial salvation will be accomplished in a catastrophic manner," as particularly prone to volatile authoritarian leadership. Wessinger has generalized the concept of pre-millennialism beyond the specific Protestant fundamentalist tradition of dispensational pre-millennialism, which envisions a Great Tribulation under the auspices of Antichrist preceding the Second Coming of the Messiah. The dominant "pre-tribulationist" variation expects true Christians to be "raptured" and spared the Tribulation. In contrast "post-tribulationist" perspectives expect Christians ^{to have} ~~having~~ to survive the rigors of the Tribulation. Post-tribulationist groups, which include Aryan supremacist groups associated with the Christian Identity movement, may be particularly susceptible to becoming involved in violent confrontations because their emphasis on emerging chaos and persecution "sometimes leads them toward a 'survivalist' lifestyle — retreat into defensible, self-sufficient rural settlements where they can, they believe, wait out the coming upheavals" (Barkun 1994, 47).

7. According to FBI advisor, psychiatrist Murray Miron, "The adulation of this confined group [the Waco Davidian community] works on this charismatic leader [Koresh] so that he in turn spirals into greater and greater paranoia...He's playing a role that his followers have cast him in" (quoted in *Time*, May 3, 1993, p. 35).

8. Moore (1986) argues that the founding Mormon prophet Joseph Smith pursued a risky strategy of advertising Mormon deviance and eliciting hostility and persecution in order to build commitment and solidarity within the Mormon movement.
9. An important analysis of "Sex, Violence and Religion" in religious movements has been published by Wallis and Bruce (1986). The analysis is based on four groups: the Manson Family, Synanon, the Peoples Temple (Jonestown) and the Children of God, all of which have been associated with deviant sexual patterns and all except the Children of God have been implicated in violent events (see also Wallis 1982a). The authors conclude that deviant sexual practices and violence often co-vary in religious movements because they are indirectly interrelated as consequences of the lack of institutional restraint on charismatic leaders. In attempting to prevent the emergence of rationalized structures and routines which would challenge inherently precarious charismatic authority, "the leader eliminates the sources of inhibition upon his translation of every new whim or inspiration into practice" (Wallis and Bruce 1986, 123). According to Wallis charisma is an essentially descriptive concept which can, however, be employed as an *explanatory* factor in the analysis of the development of deviant patterns in groups and in analyzing the actions of leaders (Wallis 1993).
10. Wallis (1993) refers to Wallis and Bruce (1986a) as "Wallis 1986a," although the article appears as a chapter in a volume by Wallis and Bruce (1986c).
11. In the late seventeenth century Russian Old Believers, who were divided between extremists and anti-suicidal moderates, were organized in terms of separate quasi-monastic communities (Crummey 1971). The dynamics of charismatic leadership within each community was probably a factor in determining which settlements experienced suicidal events. As the extremists were consumed by their own lethal frenzy, the moderates ultimately came to dominate the movement (Robbins 1986, 1989).
12. A small (six-person) quasi-Christian group met a cataclysmic end in Memphis in 1983. Led by Lindberg Sanders, self-proclaimed "Black Jesus," "The group had come to believe that an imminent lunar eclipse would lead to an Armageddon, and they acted on this deluded shared belief.." (Galanter 1989, 192). They took a local police official hostage and barricaded themselves in a small house, ultimately murdering the hostage and perishing to the last man in a shoot-out with police. Mr. Sanders had nearly been committed to a mental hospital a few days prior to the shoot-out (Galanter 1989).
13. Erikson's theory of totalism both influenced and was influenced by the better known work on the "Authoritarian Personality" (Adorno et al. 1950) which still inspires research in which "authoritarian" traits are correlated with religious fundamentalism and other variables (Altemeyer 1988).
14. The leaders of totalistic apocalyptic movements may be disproportionately recruited from persons exhibiting such traits.
15. These characteristics are likely indicators not only of intrinsic volatility and violent proclivities on the part of movements but also of those properties which

make certain religious movements appear particularly objectionable in the view of observers and which are most likely to *elicit* hostile reactions.

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