

Chyon

—

Dear Federico's kids

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4-21-97

No min reply

RC

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate
the reply.

3-16-97

Dear President Clinton,

sorry to hear you hurt your leg.

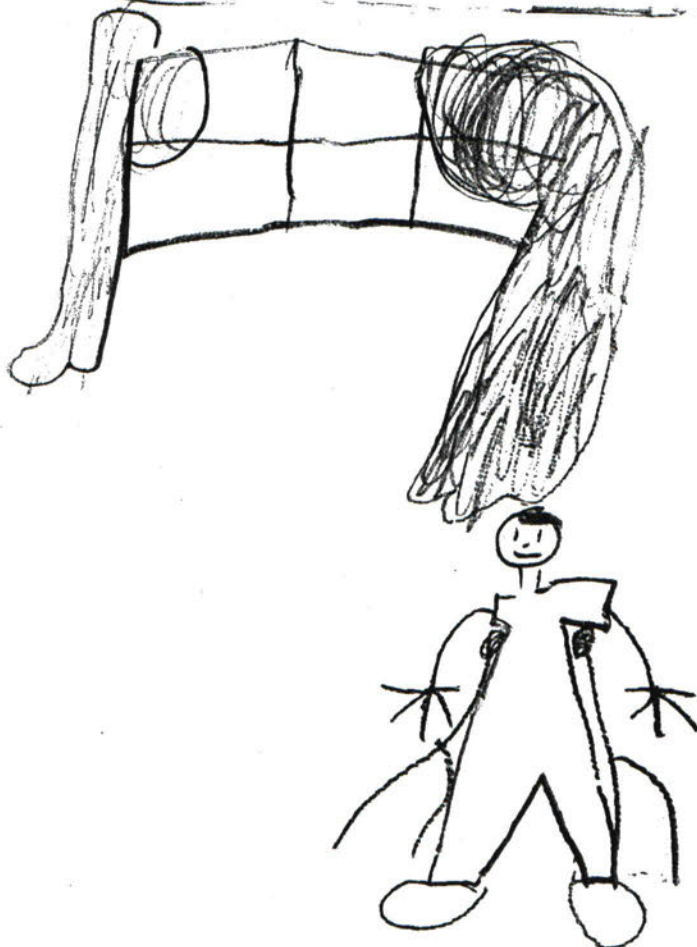
hope your leg gets

better soon.

love from

Nellia and Cristina

Reñco



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4-21-97

March 21, 1997

Handwritten: 4/21/97
Can't work on this

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Gil Gallegos, President of the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP).

DATE: By Friday, March 28.

RECOMMENDED BY: Rahm Emanuel
Bruce Reed

PURPOSE: To demonstrate the President's commitment to law enforcement and to touch base with Gil and thank the FOP for their continued support -- particularly for their recent support of your juvenile justice proposals.

BACKGROUND:

The FOP State President's and Trustees met at their bi-annual conference in St. Louis on March 21-22. At this meeting the FOP discussed support the certification of Mexico, trigger locks, cop-killer bullet legislation and other criminal justice issues. You should know that Gil is disappointed that there has been no action by the White House to grant the Uniform Division of the Secret Service Collective Bargaining.

Andy Fois, Director of Legislative Affairs at the Department of Justice, and Joe Brann, Director of the COPS office, represented the Administration at this meeting.

This would be your first contact with the FOP in your second term. You last met with Gil and the Executive Board in September in the Roosevelt Room and in Columbus, Ohio for their endorsement.

REMARKS: See attached talking points.

Todd,

4/21/97

CONTACT PERSON: Gil Gallegos, FOP President
(Home) 505-344-9511
(FOP office) 505-344-3159
(Task Force Office) 505-344-7169

I will send to Jim once you have seen.

DATE OF SUBMISSION: March 26, 1997

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate the reply.

Handwritten: Copied
Emanuel
Reed
COS

Phone Call to Gilbert Gallegos, President of the Fraternal Order of Police
Talking Points
March 25, 1997

- I am sorry that I was unable to be with you in St. Louis for your conference, but unfortunately I was just returning from Helsinki.
- As you know, I am very proud of the relationship we have established over the last four years. I want to thank you for your strong support for me. It has meant a great deal to me. And I just want you to know that it has not been forgotten.
- Over the next four years, I want to continue the strong relationship that my Administration has had with your organization.
- I also want to personally thank you for your support of my Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Strategy. There is no reason why Congress can't move forward on this legislation this year. They should also pass my budget proposal, which will provide for a balanced budget while still insuring that we reach our 100,000 new police officer commitment and continue to expand our anti-drug efforts.
- We also need to ensure that public employees are given the rights and protections that they deserve. As I have said to you before, I strongly believe that the men and women of law enforcement should be afforded adequate and meaningful employment rights. And we will do what we can to help you on this issue.
- I greatly appreciate your strong support for my Administration's initiatives. I look forward to building upon our relationship and continuing to work together with you to reduce further crime in America.

EB / Ralun / Wtstt
Wendy - Bx

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-21-97



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20306

Copied
Bowles
Emanuel
Nash
1

THE CHAIRMAN

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
White House

April 18, 1997

Dear President Clinton:

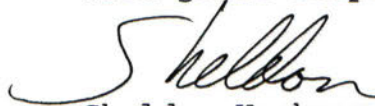
My term as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities expires on August 4, 1997. Lucy and I have decided that we will return to Philadelphia and reestablish our lives there. Serving the federal government during your presidency has been satisfying beyond anything I have experienced in my professional life. I will always remain grateful to you for giving me the opportunity to serve my country.

These last four years have not been exactly what I anticipated when I came to Washington to lead an agency that I still regard as critically important to the wholesome cultural life of our nation. If we do not claim and share and examine our cultural heritage, we will never be able to realize our highest ideals as a people. Without a vital NEH, those tasks will never be adequately done.

I appreciate your support for me and the National Endowment for the Humanities during my term as Chairman. There are still struggles ahead, but I will leave a strong and determined agency. Though we have been dramatically curtailed in the size of our staff and in the amount of program funds available, we are still providing crucial support for educational programs, preservation, scholarship, and public programs in the humanities that would not be available without the NEH.

I wish you every success as you face the great challenges of our time.

With great respect,


Sheldon Hackney

4-21-97

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate
the reply.

cc: Executive *done*
Clerk *Wtstt*

Todd,

I will send to Jim once
you have seen.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2609

4-21-97

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 21, 1997

'97 APR 21 PM6:16

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT:

Senator Mitchell Resigns as Special Advisor on
Economic Initiatives in Ireland

Attached is Senator Mitchell's letter resigning as Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives in Ireland. He has held that unpaid position since 1994. The Senator's decision does not affect his role as chairman of the peace talks; he has told me privately that, while he will remain for the resumption of the talks, he would like us to begin looking for a replacement, which I am doing. (Lake?) We should be quiet about this fact since George has become about the only glue holding the talks together. When he gives up this economic portfolio, he will make it clear that he will retain his role for the resumption of the Belfast talks.

Presidential Personnel has already begun the process of identifying a successor to Mitchell to oversee our economic initiatives for Ireland. We suggest you send a letter to Senator Mitchell thanking him for his service.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Senator Mitchell at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Senator Mitchell

Tab B Senator Mitchell's Letter of Resignation

WTF about
Ben Lyons

Copied
Berger
COS

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

TAB A

7471

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear George:

I want to extend my deepest thanks for your extraordinary service as Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives in Ireland. The White House Conference on Trade and Investment you led in May 1995 brought together leaders from both communities to pursue their common goal of a prosperous future. Since then, the momentum you created has brought new trade and investment to Ireland, creating jobs and a stake in the future for the young people there.

You continue to have my full support for your work as chairman of the Belfast peace talks. You are doing a great service for the cause of peace.

Sincerely,



The Honorable
George J. Mitchell
124 West 67th Street
Apartment 42D
New York, New York 10023

TAB B

VERNER · LIPFERT
BERNHARD · MCPHERSON & HAND
CHARTERED

901 - 15TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-2301
(202) 371-6000
FAX: (202) 371-6279

GEORGE J. MITCHELL
(202) 371-6155

April 15, 1997

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

Dear Mr. President:

I hereby resign as Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State for Economic Initiatives in Ireland, effective immediately.

It has been an honor to serve as your Special Adviser since January, 1995. Your leadership had made an important difference in the peace process in Northern Ireland and in the economic growth needed to support the peace process.

However, as you know, as an outgrowth of my activities in this capacity, I have become involved in other ways in Northern Ireland. In late 1995 and early 1996, at the request of the British and Irish Governments, I served as Chairman of the International Body on Decommissioning in Northern Ireland.

Since June, 1996, I have served, also at the request of the British and Irish Governments, as Chairman of Multi-Party Political Talks in Northern Ireland. The Talks, now adjourned during the British election campaign, are scheduled to resume in Belfast, Northern Ireland, on June 3.

My role as Chairman of the Talks has taken an increasing share of my time, and has made it impossible for me to devote sufficient time to my role as your Special Adviser for Economic Initiatives. Accordingly, I have concluded that the only fair and appropriate thing to do is to resign that position, to give you the opportunity to appoint someone who can devote the time the position deserves.

It has been a pleasure to be of service in this matter.

With best regards,


George J. Mitchell

Marilyn Horne hopes you are coming along fine with knee recovery and therapy. She encloses letter from David Kuehn, President, Music Academy of the West, which will be celebrating his 50th anniversary this summer. He asks that you send letter of commendation to be included in their Summer Festival Book. Marilyn Horne has been appointed director of the Voice Program.

Bollen
4/12
97 APR 21 11:57
Miller
Denskind
4/12

4-21-97
Send to Denskind?
Yes ☒
No ☐ Need to do message
(this came in mail - per
not from Oral)
DONS
instructions
PMA

MARILYN HORNE

cc: merrill
Schaumburg

Apr. 2nd 1971

Dear Mr. President,

I hope this finds you coming along fine with your knee, re & control & therapy. You know that I can fully understand what you are undergoing. Here's a speedy time of it. I had thought of you after as I have seen you on crutches not easy.

Would you be kind enough to read this letter from David Luehn. We would appreciate greatly your consideration of this request.

I look forward enormously to seeing you again, & I hope Mrs. Clinton at the Library of Congress the end of the month. Ever warmest greetings,
Marilyn



1070 Fairway Road
Santa Barbara
California 93108-2899
Tel: 805 . 969 . 8773
Fax: 805 . 969 . 0686
email: sbmauw@callamer.com
web: www.callamer.com/sbmauw

April 1, 1997

**50th Anniversary
National Honorary
Committee**

Peter Hemmings
James Levine
Itzhak Perlman
Jacqueline Piatigorsky
Leontyne Price
Esa-Pekka Salonen
Joan Sutherland
Michael Tilson Thomas
Frederica von Stade
André Watts
John Williams

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

Dear President Clinton:

This summer the Music Academy of the West (Santa Barbara, CA) will be celebrating its 50th Anniversary. Coinciding with our 50th Anniversary is the recent appointment of Marilyn Horne as director of our Voice Program. Miss Horne, in recital with soprano Benita Valente and pianist Warren Jones, opens our 50th Summer Festival season June 27, 1997.

The Music Academy of the West, founded in 1947 as a summer training academy and festival, was greatly benefited in its early years by the commitment and dedication of Lotte Lehmann, the legendary German lieder and opera singer, whose international influence with artists such as Otto Klemperer and Bruno Walter, among others, was the impetus for bringing so many outstanding artists and students to the Academy. The appointment of Miss Horne, who studied with Lehmann at the Academy in 1953, brings full circle the legacy of vocal excellence established by Lehmann at the Academy's inception.

Celebrated guest artists participating in the 50th Anniversary Summer Festival include Academy alumnus and Metropolitan Opera baritone Thomas Hampson, conductor Jeffrey Tate, the mesmerizing Bobby McFerrin, and A Prairie Home Companion's Garrison Keillor. A major presentation of the 1997 season will be a fully staged production of Rossini's comic opera *Il viaggio à Reims*.

It would be a great honor and inspiration for us if we could include a letter of commendation from you in our Summer Festival Program Book. Enclosed please find our 50th Anniversary press kit which includes a history of the Music Academy of the West and our Summer Festival schedule.

Very sincerely,

David L. Kuehn
President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 4-21-97

NOTE FOR:  Taylor Branch

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

4/22/97
Phil - Okay
to dispatch?
C. dk

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:

Taylor Branch
1806 South Road
Baltimore, MD 21209

Copied
Emanuel
Taylor
WS

out China and its spies.
West's struggle against
spionage has a history
Chinese civilization itself
y have been a beautiful
Shi (pronounced shyes

In 1949, Mao's Communists took power with the help
of master spies like Li Kenong and Qian Zhuangfei, who
had penetrated Chiang Kai-shek's "wireless administra-
tion bureau" in Shanghai, where they could read the
Nationalists' mail and protect the Communist cause.
Once in power, Mao created a new society based on a

that he was a contender last year for Mayor of Beijing,
one of the most visible political jobs in the country.
China doesn't have the high-tech overhead satellites
that have made the United States and Russia pre-
eminent in global surveillance, but thousands of Chinese

Continued on Page 16

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4-21-97

A Short History of Scandal

To Bealm
Taylor
BS

Supreme Leader, Pigeon in Chief

George Washington

Womanizing;
illegitimate
children; land
theft; bribery in
his Cabinet.

Thomas Jefferson

Extramarital
affairs;
illegitimate
children;
atheism.

Andrew Jackson

Marriage to
a not-yet-
divorced
woman.

Martin Van Buren

Aaron Burr's
illegitimate son.

John Tyler

Appointing
relatives; secret
and corrupt
dealings with
Texas; then a
foreign
government.

Zachary Taylor

Inflated
payments to a
Cabinet officer
from Government
lands.

By MICHAEL WINES

LYING in bed at night, eyes wide open, his busted knee throbbing, having just clicked off Letterman after the umpteenth pasty-white-thigh joke and tossed aside the Washington Post's latest smoldering editorial about his ethics, President Clinton surely must be asking himself: Did I really want to be President this bad?

Richard Nixon was the father of special prosecutors, and he only picked up two of them during his Presidency. Mr. Clinton already has four, one short of a royal flush, and the Senate last week urged Attorney General Janet Reno to complete the hand by demanding another one, this time to poke into Democratic fund-raising. Congress is gearing up for more hearings. The Lincoln Bedroom is a national joke.

The Supreme Court is pondering when Mr. Clinton should be sued for supposedly dropping his pants.

Even some people who normally enjoy tormenting him are wondering aloud whether the scandal machine has lost its speed governor. When did it become standard procedure to subject the President of the United States to gossip about womanizing? Or bumper-to-bumper corruption inquiries by the Republicans in Congress? Or endless accusations about some land deal everyone else forgot years ago? What sane leader would put up with such swill?

Those are good questions. The answers are (a) 1789 and (b) George Washington.

Modern political memory does not extend much beyond Watergate, so it is tempting to conclude that the Presidency went from supreme honor to hideous personal embarrassment and potential criminal liability after Mr. Nixon brought his special brand of meanness to the job.

History suggests otherwise. Washington probably lay in bed too, gums throbbing from his ill-fitting false teeth, and wondered why he ever took the lousy job. Ditto Andrew Jackson and his throbbing bullet

wound from an old duel. Zachary Taylor and his Mexican War flesh wound. Rutherford B. Hayes and his brace of Civil War scars, and so on. All these pigeons went into office beloved and respected and, innocently or deservedly, got caught in the scandal meat-grinder.

"Certainly there have been White House scandals throughout American history," said Suzanne Garment, an American Enterprise Institute scholar who wrote the book on the topic ("Scandal: The Culture of Mistrust in American Politics," Times Books, 1991). "It's very hard to say how you compare these things across time, because the means of communication have changed so much and there have been huge shifts in the nature of partisanship — in both directions."

George Washington, for example, seems to have come off far better than Bill Clinton has so far, even

They threw the book at George Washington, too.

though contemporaries linked the first President to perfidies that make The American Spectator read like Reader's Digest. Mr. Clinton is merely accused of old extramarital dalliances; Washington was widely said to have illegitimately fathered dozens of children, including his own Treasury Secretary (Alexander Hamilton, as a youth, during a sojourn in Barbados, but that wasn't true). Whitewater was just a money-losing subdivision deal to Mr. Clinton; Washington was charged — wrongly, of course — with swindling Shenandoah Valley farmland from Lord Fairfax and then evicting the poor families who farmed it.

Mr. Clinton lost an Agriculture Secretary to corruption charges. Washington lost one Secretary of

Franklin Pierce
Drunkenness.

Abraham Lincoln

Husband of a Confederate spy.

Andrew Johnson

In addition to political offenses (he was impeached for defying Congress) known as a drunk.

Ulysses S. Grant

Drunkenness; widespread corruption among his associates.

Rutherford B. Hayes

Election fraud.

James A. Garfield

Accepting kickbacks as a Congressman.

The Presidents and the accusations, supported and unsupported.

Continued on Page 5

and-raising scandals
ence the National Security
on Mr. Lake headed.
at analyzing the rights and wrongs
every confirmation battle — Mr.
Strauss's haughty manner offended a Sen-
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legal pa-
way to con-
Anita Hill, who out-
assment. Mr. Thomas prevailed, he
deeply wounded.

and it is
even George
ine Court nomina-
ley Peter Dunne's Mr.
observed, "Politics ain't beanbag."

The Pigeon in Chief

Continued From Page 1



Chester A. Arthur
Graft and patronage, mostly in earlier political posts.



Grover Cleveland
Fathering illegitimate child.



Woodrow Wilson
Adultery.



Warren G. Harding
Corruption in Cabinet, notably the Teapot Dome scandal.



Calvin Coolidge
Miscellaneous corruption, including ties to Teapot Dome.



F.D.R.
Adultery.



Harry S. Truman
Kickbacks and self-dealing among top aides.

State who tried to shake down the French. And the Republican Congress (no relation; these were different Republicans) twice investigated Treasury Secretary Hamilton, who was accused of pilfering the till.

The 42d President is alleged to have sidestepped the draft. The first one was accused not just of military incompetence but of stealing nearly \$5,000 from the Continental Army.

And this was the fellow who was first in war, in peace and in his countrymen's hearts.

Nineties America seems to believe that while momentous debates once drove politics, they have given way to smarminess and negativism, an obsession with laundered cash and Jennifer Flowers and tabloid sensationalism. Please tell this to Thomas Jefferson, who hired his own attack journalist to discredit Hamilton and other Federalists, was hit up for hush money to keep the relationship quiet, and became the target of a media barrage accusing him of trysts with a comely slave, Sally Hemings, when he refused to pay.

The Adultery Tradition

"Modern politics has it that adultery became a political issue when Gary Hart was caught with Donna Rice in 1988, or when the Clintons bared their marital problems on '60 Minutes.' President Jefferson knew better: his political nemesis, Henry (Light Horse Harry) Lee, forced him into a public confession of his attempts to seduce a good friend's wife.

Is the White House being unfairly tarred because a few — all right, a lot of — overzealous people at the Democratic National Committee tried to nail down the election with questionable cash from foreign zillionaires? President Hayes might know; it was said then — and assumed now — that Republican kingmakers bought the electoral votes that put him in the White House in 1876, which Ms. Garmet says cast a shadow over politics for the rest of the century.

The list goes on: President Jackson was judged amoral because his wife was not technically divorced from a previous marriage when she married him. President Andrew Johnson became known as a drunk, and all because he was too inebriated to deliver a coherent speech at his swearing-in as Lincoln's Vice President. (The whisky was for medicinal purposes, he said.) U. S. Grant became synonymous with scandal when it was really his loyal appointees who stole Federal whisky taxes and took kickbacks.

Maybe Mr. Clinton can take heart from the fact that others had it rougher. Either that, or he can be terrified by the prospect that things can still get worse.

Dwight D. Eisenhower
Influence-peddling by chief of staff.



John F. Kennedy
Election fraud.



Lyndon B. Johnson
Political corruption, fraud, theft and tax evasion by top aide.



Richard Nixon
In Watergate, myriad illegal abuses of office.



Jimmy Carter
Budget director's involvement in banking fraud; brother's ties to Libya.



Ronald Reagan
Corruption in Federal agencies and, in Iran-Contra, illegal foreign-policy decisions.



George H.W. Bush
Involvement in Iran-Contra and Iraqgate scandals.



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A LOOK AT...

Patterns of History

Think we're living in a unique time? Think again. Outlook invites you on a whirlwind tour of 300 years of American history, courtesy of two authors who suggest that each generation belongs to a repeating cycle with four distinct "turnings." Have a nice rip

The Future Is in Our Past

By Neil Howe and William Strauss

The mood of late-1990s America seems unlike any in living memory—a society entertained yet jaded, active yet aimless, satisfied yet cynical. A recent CNN/USA Today poll revealed Americans to be "optimistic about their own prospects" yet extraordinarily "suspicious of leaders and cynical about the future." Other surveys indicate that public confidence in many American institutions—from businesses and governments to churches and newspapers—is falling, but that confidence in ourselves as individuals is rising.

How can this be? Has there ever been a time in American history when Americans felt so positive about themselves and, at the same time, so disenchanted with the civic order? The answer is yes—several times.

In our recent book, "The Fourth Turning: An American Prophecy," we describe a cyclical rhythm that has governed modern history and reveals the nation's recent past to fit within a recognizable pattern. We see American history as a series of roughly 80-year cycles, each the length of a long human life (we call them the

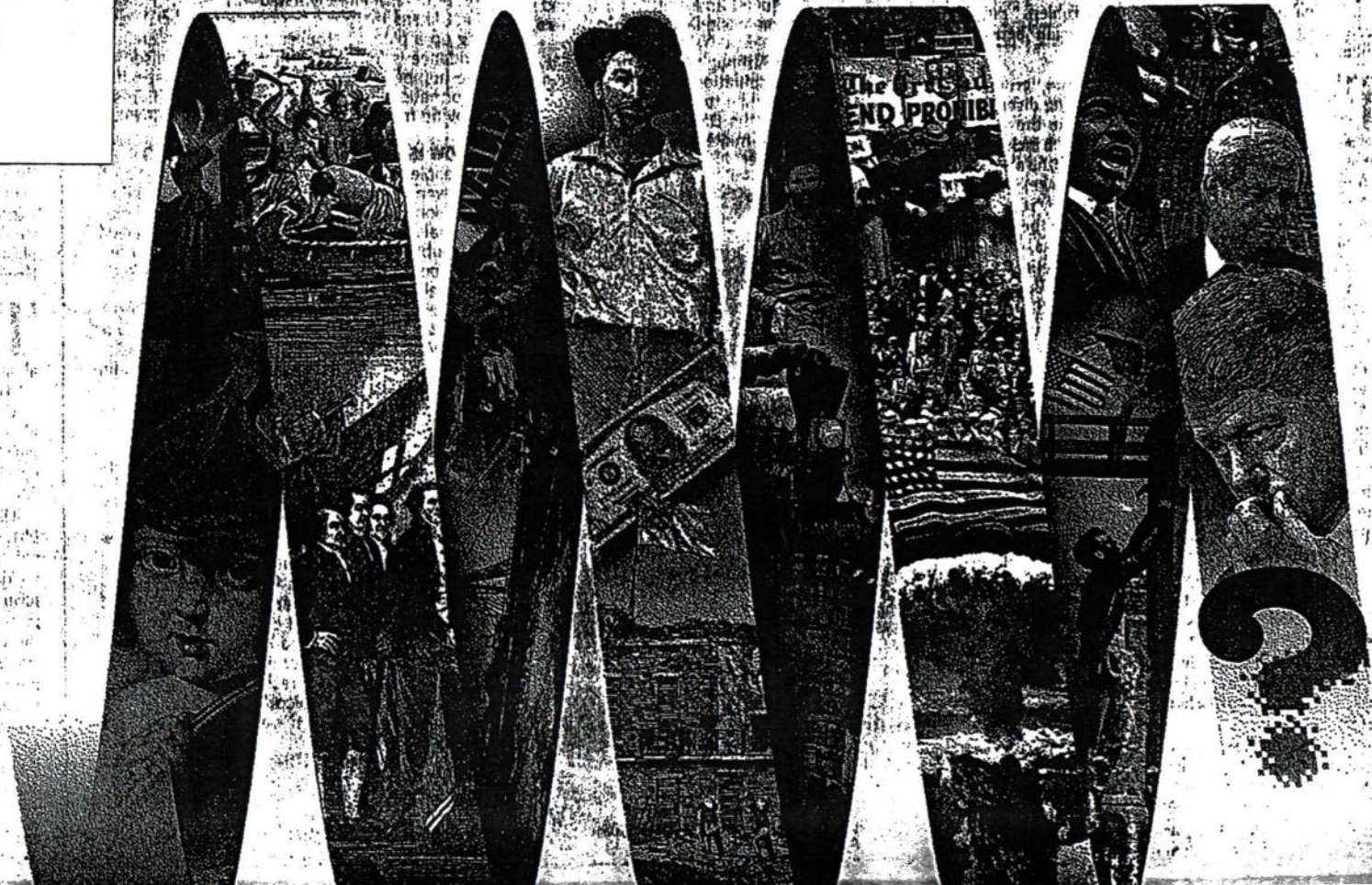
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Revolutionary Cycle:
1704-1794

Civil War Cycle:
1794-1865

Great Power Cycle:
1865-1946

Millennial Cycle:
1946-2026?



reveals the nation's recent past to fit within a recognizable pattern. We see American history as a series of roughly 80-year cycles, each the length of a long human life (we call them the Revolutionary cycle, the Civil War cycle, the Great Power cycle and the Millennial cycle) and each beginning after a crisis. Each cycle has four distinct eras, or "turnings," that last about 20 years each—the span of a generation.

The First Turning, or "High," is an upbeat era when institutions grow stronger and individualism weakens, such as the post-World War II period of euphoria and complacency that lasted into the early 1960s. The Second Turning is the "Awakening," an era of passionate idealism and spiritual upheaval, when the civic order undergoes challenges from people with new ideas and values—as in the consciousness revolution that reached from the student revolts of the late 1960s to the tax revolts of the early 1980s. The Third Turning, or "Unraveling," is a downcast period of strengthening individualism and weakening institutions. Today, we're midway through a third turning.

If this rhythm continues, about a decade from now America will enter a fourth turning, or "Crisis"—an era of political upheaval that could last into the 2020s.

To see where we are today, look back at America's three most recent third turnings. People who are in their eighties remember the mood of the previous "Unraveling"—the years between Armistice Day in 1918 and the stock market crash of 1929. Euphoria over the military triumph in World War I was short-lived. Optimism about a progressive future had given way to jazz-age cynicism. Unions atrophied, government weakened, new political parties proliferated, and consumer technologies (autos, phones, juke boxes, vending machines) made life feel complicated. The risky pleasures of the lost generation shocked the middle-aged, and parents strove to protect their children (today's senior citizens) from the excesses of the era. The details may be different, but the mood resembled what we feel today.

One cycle further back, in the late 1840s and early 1850s, America drifted into a similarly unsettled mood. The Mexican War had just ended in a stirring triumph, but the euphoria didn't last long. Cities grew mean and politics hateful. Immigration surged and markets

William Strauss and Neil Howe are the authors of *The Fourth Turning: An American Prophecy* (Broadway Books). They host a discussion forum at www.fourthturning.com on the Internet.

TO EVERY AGE, THERE IS A PURPOSE

The Turnings	Revolutionary Cycle: 1704-1794	Civil War Cycle: 1794-1865	Great Power Cycle: 1865-1946	Millennial Cycle: 1946-2026?
1 HIGH	(1704-1727) AUGUSTAN AGE OF EMPIRE: First confident flowering of provincial civilization; Williamsburg prosperity; slave codes; Augustan culture.	(1794-1822) ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS: Rational Republicans and orderly Federalists settle and map territories; canals, steamboats and turnpikes push back the wilderness.	(1865-1886) RECONSTRUCTION AND GILDED AGE: Victorian High of industrial progress, stable families, and prospering middle class.	(1946-1964) AMERICAN HIGH: America becomes global superpower; strengthening middle class; suburbs and interstate highway; bland "End of Ideology" modernism.
2 AWAKENING	(1727-1746) GREAT AWAKENING: Spiritual Awakening (Jonathan Edwards); young believers pitted against civic-minded elders; bursting of Old-World social barriers.	(1822-1844) TRANSCENDENTAL AWAKENING: Slave revolts; abolitionism; women's movements; utopian communes; romantic idealism.	(1886-1908) THIRD GREAT AWAKENING: Labor and agrarian protests; muckrakers; settlement houses; evangelicals; Henry Steele Commager's "cultural watershed."	(1964-1984) CONSCIOUSNESS REVOLUTION: From urban and campus revolts to tax revolts; environmental, feminist movements; divorce epidemic; rise in violent crime.
3 UNRAVELING	(1746-1773) FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS: Weak leadership and growing social mobility; immigration, debt, privatizing and a wilder young generation.	(1844-1860) MEXICAN WAR AND SECTIONALISM: Era of "almighty dollar" and Whitmanesque self-worship; the Gold Rush; splintering visions of nationhood.	(1908-1929) WORLD WAR I AND PROHIBITION: Widening class divisions; crumbling trusts and unions; fun-filled financial boom; jazz-age nihilism.	(1984-2005?) CULTURE WARS: High-tech individualism; "family values" moralism; worries about crime, incivility, civic decay; an cultural exhaustion.
4 CRISIS	(1773-1794) AMERICAN REVOLUTION: Boston Tea Party; writes a colonial tinderbox; Independence declared; Constitution ratified; treaties signed.	(1860-1865) CIVIL WAR ERA: Attack on Fort Sumter, triggered by election of Lincoln, led to bloodiest war ever fought in the New World.	(1929-1946) GREAT DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II: Stock crash and three-year economic free fall; New Deal; Pearl Harbor; D-Day; A-bomb.	(2005?-2026?) NEXT FOURTH TURNING: Resolute new mood catalyzes sometime in the "Oh-Oh Decade"; crisis climaxes a decade or two later.

SOURCE: Excerpted from *The Fourth Turning*

boomed. The two major parties, Whigs and Democrats, were both disintegrating (with only the Democrats later surviving, in drastically altered form).

Run the clock back to the 1760s. At that time, the recent conclusion of the French and Indian War had brought 80 years of conflict to a close and had secured the colonial frontier. Yet when England tried to recoup the expense of the war through taxation, the colonists seethed. Immigration from the Old World, emigration across the Appalachians, and disagreements over colonial trade all rose sharply. Colonists separated into conflicting camps, one defending the crown and the other attacking it.

During each of these third turnings, Americans celebrated liberty (the catchword of the 1760s) and individualism (a concept popularized in the 1840s), yet also fretted over social

fragmentation, epidemic violence and accelerating economic and technological change. The nation felt released from a long-standing foreign threat, but the public's sense of collective purpose soon dissipated. Culture wars raged, the language of political discourse coarsened, and nativist feelings hardened. Americans felt hostile toward civic life. Institutions that had seemed secure for decades suddenly felt ephemeral. Contemporary accounts of each of these third turnings revealed a mounting anxiety that the society was in trouble.

And, as it turned out, it was. The 1760s were followed by the American Revolution; the 1850s by the Civil War; the 1920s by the Great Depression and World War II. In time, these crises reached climaxes—at Yorktown, Gettysburg and on the Normandy beaches on D-

Day—that would have been beyond anyone's imagining during the previous third turning.

Propelling this rhythm is a dynamic of generational aging. History shapes young people, who mature into the parents, leaders and elders of later eras. Every 20 years or so, as each generation enters a new phase of life, the social mood changes, producing a new turning.

This theory sheds light on the rising (boomer) generation of political leaders. In the course of American history, three generations have been born in the aftermath of crisis. In each era, they were indulgently raised (by the standards of their century), came of age rebelling against established institutions, and reached midlife as self-righteous culture warriors. Later, they became the sternly principled elders who led their society into the next great crisis.

When that time comes, today's boomers may

produce a great and visionary leader reminiscent of two other post-crisis children: Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt. Or they'll produce an unyielding Old Aquarian who curbs the world's lights out. Much, too, depends on today's Generation X, who will be pragmatic 50-somethings, and on today's fused-or-Millennial Generation children who may have to undertake great public missions as they reach young adulthood.

The Fourth Turning is coming. It's time to prepare. How? By pruning the government so it can grow later, readying our defenses an era that will not be like today and stop the erosion in our civic culture. As individuals we can strengthen community ties, secure investments, bolster the education of our children, and brace ourselves—and our families—against what history warns is coming.

RECENT TAKES

In a world governed by seasonal cycles, it is natural to look for patterns of change that repeat themselves—and historians as well as

Looking at the Future

This century, Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) saw the alternating growth and decay of civilizations as a matter of historical destiny. If this line of thinking suggests that the future is predetermined, it's worth noting that the books listed below—no less than the

wrote Huntington, "was the breakup or reduction of organized power, its reform and control, the opening up of the processes of decision making to public participation." He concluded that the gap between our ideals and their fulfillment shows no sign of narrowing.

THE CYCLES OF AMERICAN HISTORY (1987)—Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. argued that America moves through 20-year

20th centuries. Fischer argued that we are at the final stage of the 20th century revolution, in a state of instability but not necessarily imminent doom.

Rather than looking for cyclical patterns or phases, some argue that the future can be seen as an extension or acceleration of current trends.

POWERSHIFT: KNOWLEDGE, WEALTH,

systems is all but over.

THE ROAD AHEAD (1995)—Bill Gates predicted that more universal access to the information highway will revolutionize the way we live.

THE COMING AMERICAN RENAISSANCE: HOW TO BENEFIT FROM AMERICA'S COMING ECONOMIC RESURGENCE (1996)—Michael