Celebrities Keeping Scientology Working Stephen A. Kent

L. Ron Hubbard was prescient with his realization about the impact that stars and celebrities had upon ordinary people in mass culture. People imitated and emulated them, often modeling aspects of their own lives according to what actors did on stage or how they lived their lives off-camera. Statements that he made about the celebrities in the entertainment industry fostered among some of them an inflated feeling of self-importance, portraying them as artists who shaped the development of civilization. The artists who absorbed this inflated view of their contributions did so as they socialized into the subcultural world that Hubbard created, in which they equated civilizational advance with furthering Scientology's influence. Serving Scientology, therefore, was a means by which they felt that they were contributing to society's advancement, and if by doing so, they caught the eye of a producer looking to fill a part in a film, then ever so much the better.

This chapter examines the way that Scientology utilizes celebrities in the organization's overall effort to "keep Scientology working." I kept in mind the overall description of elites that appears in resource mobilization theory, since these celebrities have the flexible time, resources, and media connections that allows them to open areas nationally or internationally in which they can proselytize. More importantly, however, might be the significance of having celebrity status itself, because that status carries with it forms of unique, valuable assets that its possessors can use to influence others in society. My analysis, therefore, focuses on how Scientology celebrities attempt to translate the power and elite status that they have acquired as stars into other forms of influence—such as economic, which involves money and wealth—or sociopolitical, which involves social and political institutional structures.

Celebrity Magazine (eventually just calling itself *Celebrity*) provides glimpses into the kinds of donations in time, talent, and wealth that converts made

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to and for the organization. The research collection that I oversee for the University of Alberta Library contains approximately 215 issues from 1972 through 2007, and a research assistant of mine, Alexis Brown, went through each of them, identifying instances of celebrities engaged in some sort of service activity designed to enhance Scientology's or L. Ron Hubbard's images or fortunes. Subsequently, I went through the larger list and narrowed down the examples into categories, which provide the basis for much of the analysis in this chapter. I also supplemented these individual incidents with primary and secondary material I had on file.

The story that emerges is one of impressive commitment on the part of talented members to further the successes of the organization to which they belong, often suggesting sacrifices of considerable time, wealth, and talent. On a theoretical level, however, we see an organization mobilizing people in the entertainment industry in ways that probably are unprecedented in modern life. The following subheadings illustrate the nature of Scientology's deployment of its elite celebrities.

PLACING CELEBRITIES IN PUBLIC EVENTS IN WHICH SCIENTOLOGISTS WERE UNLIKELY TO BE CHALLENGED OR **OUESTIONED**

One context in which celebrities disseminated Scientology involved public events, where the content of the occurrence had nothing to do with Scientology per se (to use the language of Scientology, it is "other-intentioned"), but opportunities existed to place Scientology in the minds of audiences or participants. Opportunities of this nature are legion, and Scientologists took advantage of them. For example, a 2004 Celebrity magazine reported on Lynsey Bartilson's (b. 1983) participation in (what it called) the annual Christmas Parade, along with "two hundred Scientology Volunteer Ministers. The parade was attended by over a hundred thousand people, and viewed by even more on television."¹ These activities and others got Scientology and its programs into the public eye, brought some attention to the Scientologists themselves, but posed little likelihood that the members would have been quizzed or challenged about the organization or its practices. Nevertheless, Bartilson had been an Honorary Public Relations Officer since at least 2001.² Participating in public events³ such as riding on floats and waving to crowds are ways that Scientologists placed their group's name or brand into the public arena with very few risks of receiving critical questions from others.

Significant dissemination of the Scientology brand or name took place through music. In 1986, 26 celebrities contributed to the taping and production of an album of songs that Hubbard wrote. Hubbard himself had inspired the record's creation:

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I am composing a special album of ten Scientology songs. In doing these I discovered that it is potentially a very heavy dissemination tool. The songs actually would tell public persons what Scientology was all about. I have been trying for thirty-four years to develop a dissemination tool for the general public. If a musical dissemination tool existed, Scientologists could play it for their friends while enjoying it themselves. Thus, we have here what could be a very valuable dissemination tool. ⁴

Entitled *The Road to Freedom*, among the Scientology participants on the album were actors John Travolta (b. 1954), Karen Black (1939–2013), and Lee Purcell (b. 1947); among the vocalists, award-winning Nicki Hopkins (1944–1994) on piano and Chick Corea on keyboard and percussion accompaniment. Amid great fanfare, the album's launch took place in singerturned-politician and Scientology entrepreneur Sonny Bono's (1935–1998) Los Angeles restaurant.⁵ Not long after its release, a Celebrity Centre magazine claimed that "tens of thousands of copies have been sold."⁶

Chick Corea used music as a dissemination tool in another way—at his concerts, he gave away Scientology publications to the audience. In Spanish and Portuguese performances, Corea claimed to have distributed 5,000 copies of Hubbard's *The Way to Happiness*. Separate from any concerts, several Scientologists (including businessman Bryan Zwan,⁷ Nancy Cartwright, and Isaac Hayes) made substantial book donations.⁸ Viewed together, these and other book distributions (including ones made by musician Isaac Hayes) must have amounted to (conservatively) hundreds of thousands of dollars in expenses to the sponsoring celebrities.

Hubbard had written about the importance of books as a dissemination tool as far back as 1959.⁹ Consequently, the Public Relations Office projects to place books in libraries and other places are a direct response to one of Hubbard's many missives.¹⁰ In order to make it easy for Scientologists to disseminate books, the LRH Personal PRO Continental Offices established library delivery services on every continent.¹¹

Thus far, all of the examples involved dissemination activities that celebrities undertook without having to interact directly with potentially critical media. Another activity, however, that some celebrities performed in attempts to bring public attention to their group while avoiding press scrutiny involved acknowledging or thanking Scientology or Hubbard when receiving prestigious awards. John Travolta, for example, thanked Hubbard in 1990 when he won a People's Choice Award,¹² then again in 1996, when he received a "Golden Globe Award.¹³ Especially if televised, Hollywood awards ceremonies reach millions of people, and Scientologists who offer gratitude to Hubbard or the organization do so in contexts where they have only a very

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short few moments in which to make remarks without any press question follow-ups (at least at that time).

What unites all of these activities is that they were attempts at attentionseeking. Scholars realize that:

Attention is a key resource for social movements. Attention is the means through which a social movement can introduce and fight for its preferred framing, convince broader publics of its cause, recruit new members, attempt to neutralize opposition framing, access solidarity, and mobilize its own adherents.¹⁴

Despite some limitations, members of social movements typically dedicate time and effort to attention-attracting activities. In a world with so much going on, people forget—indeed they have to forget—a great deal that passes before them. Scientologists, however, do not want their group to be forgotten. They want people to remember it—and eventually join.

DESIGNING AND PRODUCING A CELEBRITY CENTRE EVENT, ACTING IN SCIENTOLOGY FILMS, ETC.

A second activity that three celebrities undertook for Scientology involved participation in another event involving awards recognition and entertainment but that the Celebrity Centre itself sponsored. In 1988, Celebrity Centre International celebrated its 19th anniversary, and Scientology celebrities oversaw the production. Paul Haggis (b. 1953), who shared two Emmys that year for his work on the television show, *Thirtysomething*,¹⁵ directed the event; multiple–Emmy award winner for animation, Jeffrey Scott (b. 1952),¹⁶ was the writer; and Public Relations Officer Patrick Gualtieri (1945–2015) produced the evening. The three of them had tightly scripted the busy event, from the arrival of 2,500 guests at 6:30 p.m. to the celebration's closing at 10:10 p.m. John Travolta, along with the husband-and-wife team of Chick Corea and Gayle Moran (b. 1948[?]), received Celebrity Centre International Dissemination awards. Hubbard quotes about the importance of celebrities were interspersed throughout the evening.¹⁷ The entire affair was a dazzling display of talent, packaged by Scientology celebrities themselves to rival any other glittering event in Hollywood. Designing, then implementing the affair, was a tremendous service to Scientology.

Of lesser service, but service nonetheless, involves celebrities who perform in various training films or public relations films produced by Golden Era Studios. Well known for his role in Scientology "documercials"

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(i.e., documentary commercials), veteran stage and screen actor, Michael Fairman (b. 1934), performed in numerous productions, including one on *Dianetics*. Five or six of his performances were under the direction of a Scientology director, Mitchell Brisker,¹⁸ and he "loved working at Golden Era Productions, which is the most wonderful place I've ever worked."¹⁹ Researchers, however, simply do not know if actors such as Fairman were paid for their performances, just as we do not know for certain whether Haggis, Scott, and Gualtieri received compensation for their troubles.

SUPPORTING SCIENTOLOGY THROUGH MEDIA AND/OR PUBLIC INTERACTION

Celebrities reach out to the public about Scientology in a diverse number of ways. including presentations to elementary schools, community groups, and universities, in addition to lengthy radio and television interviews.²⁰ Outreach and recruitment through acting classes has been an especially fruitful endeavor, especially because many members and potential recruits are, or aspire to be, actors. Each month the Celebrity Centre International offers classes related to the profession.²¹ One well-known Hollywood acting trainer, especially known for weaving Scientology techniques with acting skills, was Milton Katselas (1933–2008).

The relationship between Katselas and Scientology goes back to 1958 in New York City, when Scientologist Airic Leonardson introduced Scientology to him. At the time, however, Katselas was (to use his words) "flying high" after two Broadway successes, so he felt no need to look into it.²² Half a decade, later, however, Katselas was having unspecified "difficulties,"²³ so he met again with Leonardson, who put him in touch with a Scientology auditor. Reflecting back upon his auditing, Katselas indicated that he "discovered a lot through Scientology," especially since the mental-image pictures that he generated in auditing reminded him of pictures that he created in painting.²⁴ Katselas's name appeared in Scientology documents in May 1971, when Hubbard was on his ship, the *Apollo*, and moored at Casablanca, Morocco. In Hubbard's *Orders of the Day* for May 5, 1971, he informed his crew about correspondence he was having with the successful screenwriter:

The top Broadway hit man, Milton Katselas, through Celebrity Centre sent me a screen play that deals with some Scientology materials.

I received it as he requested, [and] went over it. As an old screen writer I found some ways to polish it and telexed him that I would.

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He has just telexed back very thrilled. In one week he did Grade VI, went Clear, was taken on at Columbia Pictures to direct his Broadway hit and got my assurance I'd help work on the new screen play. To quote "All in One Week. Wow."²⁵

Tentatively, the film script was titled *To Be Continued*, and it had something to do with the subject of reincarnation, which likely would have interested Hubbard.²⁶ However, it never appears to have gone into production.

In 1972, Katselas visited the *Apollo* in order to meet with Hubbard about the script as well as to receive some auditing.²⁷ He spent around two weeks at Flag (as the *Apollo* was called then)

meeting and talking with [Hubbard], usually late at night until dawn on the material. So he really had the hat [i.e., the role] called writer, and I was holding the hat called director/writer. We had just a marvelous time talking about many, many things, and also spending very specific time on this project, which is one I still have to make some day.... Ron was extremely helpful in relation to the script, and all those notes and things we now have compiled....

I saw him two or three times after that, within a period of about two years, I guess. Each time we had a wonderful rapport and a feeling with each other, with a lot of jokes, and a lot of laughs.²⁸

All the while, Katselas took Scientology courses, eventually reaching OT V.

Katselas could have climbed even higher in Scientology courses, but he claimed to have gotten what he wanted and stopped. This refusal to continue on Scientology's "bridge to total freedom," along with his decisions (at least in his later life) not to go to Scientology events and parties or to run his acting school as an official World in Scientology Enterprises (WISE) business, landed him in the middle of a dispute with Honorary Public Relations Officer and Scientologist Jenna Elfman (b. 1971), who doubted his commitment.²⁹ (He had joined WISE in 1994³⁰ but apparently had let his membership and involvement lapse.) As a result of this dispute, about a hundred students left his classes.³¹

Surprisingly, at the time of her criticism (June 2004)³² of Katselas, Elfman (known now especially for her television work in *Dharma and Greg*) was in an acting program that Katselas owned. In 1978, Katselas founded and taught at the Beverly Hills Playhouse, which in Hollywood became the most acclaimed acting school in the city. He did not teach Scientology at his workshops, not directly at least, but Scientology and Hubbard permeated the atmosphere and writings related to the instruction. According to author Janet Reitman, Katselas's acting classes were "an unofficial feeder to Celebrity

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Centre, particularly during the 1990s and early 2000s, when roughly onefifth of the school's approximately five hundred students were studying Scientology."³³ In the years leading up to his death, the executive director of his school and some former faculty members were Scientologists.³⁴ As with Scientology, the language that he used was peppered with Hubbard's terms roller coasters, suppressive people, potential trouble sources, etc.³⁵ He made students purchase an acting manual that he wrote, and it, too, was spiced with L. Ron Hubbard quotes.³⁶

Occasionally some aspiring actors like Giovanni Ribisi (b. 1974)³⁷ or Jenna Elfman³⁸ became active in Scientology and then took Katselas's acting lessons, but very commonly, actors discovered Scientology through (or at least while enrolled in) Katselas's program. (Some celebrities, such as Nancy Cartwright³⁹ and Priscilla Presley,⁴⁰ also were students of Katselas, but I cannot determine if their training with him occurred before or after their initial Scientology contact.) The celebrities who entered Scientology after involvement with Katselas include movie actress Anne Archer (b. 1947)⁴¹ and her Emmy Award-winning husband, Terry Jastrow (b. 1948),42 actor (and eventual defector) Jason Beghe (b. 1960),43 television actor Catherine Bell (b. 1968),⁴⁴ television and film star (and eventual defector) Cathy Lee Crosby (b. 1944),45 actress Kelly Preston (b. 1962),46 and character actor Jeffrey Tambor (b. 1944).47 According to Lawrence Wright, for each of his students who took Scientology courses, Katselas received a 10 percent commission.⁴⁸ The connection between the Beverly Hills Playhouse and Scientology severed with Katselas's death in 2008.49

Despite Katselas's use of many Scientology terms, he never became a public advocate for Scientology's social reform programs. Other Scientologists, however, did. Examples are numerous. Jeff Pomerantz (b. 1943), for example, was an LRH PRO [Public Relations Officer] and Honorary Sea Org member, and also was the National Chairman of the Celebrity Committee for the Way to Happiness Foundation.⁵⁰ In 1989, Honorary LRH Public Relations Officer Michael Fairman did an hour-long national radio interview in which he promoted Dianetics.⁵¹ Voice-actor Nancy Cartwright was the spokesperson for Applied Scholastics, and once a month she worked with reading-challenged children.⁵² Actress Anne Archer, too, was an International Spokesperson for Applied Scholastics.⁵³ Singer Amanda Ambrose (1925–2007) was an OT VIII Scientology celebrity and was the first president of Applied Scholastics, and she performed at the Narconon Chilocco facility in Oklahoma.⁵⁴ Kirstie Alley (b. 1951) was the International Spokesperson for Narconon and traveled to Florence, Italy, to open a Celebrity Centre.⁵⁵

Occasionally, a serious issue occurred that Scientology officials felt warranted public protest. One such incident occurred in 1985, when a Portland,

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Oregon, court ruled that Scientology had defrauded former Scientologist Julie Christofferson Titchbourne. "On May 18, 1985, after two days of deliberation, the jury awarded \$39 million in damages: \$20 million against Hubbard, \$7.5 million against the Church of Scientology of California, and \$1.5 million against the Church of Scientology Mission of Davis."⁵⁶ In response, Scientology leaders organized what came to be called "The Battle of Portland." Throughout the remaining days of May and into June, Scientologists (including John Travolta, Karen Black, Edgar Winter [b. 1946], Chick Corea, and Nicki Hopkins) marched, rallied, and protested against the decision, claiming that their religion was under attack.⁵⁷ Travolta's attendance and press conference at the protest was significant because it put to rest suspicions that he may have been drifting away from involvement with the group.⁵⁸ For reasons that had nothing to do with the protests, the judge declared a mistrial in late June 1985, and Scientology reached a confidential, out-of-court settlement with Titchbourne in 1986.⁵⁹

Later in the 1990s, other Scientologists led rallies in Germany against what Scientology called "antireligious discrimination" reminiscent of what Jews experienced in the early days of Nazism. In 1991, for example, Dutch singer Andrik Schapers, "united 2,500 Scientologists for a Religious Crusade in Europe where they together presented a document which was officially accepted by the Legal Affairs and Human Rights Committee of the Council of Europe."⁶⁰

As tensions grew between Germany and the United States, more Scientology-sponsored protests and marches occurred in Germany, some led by U.S. celebrities Isaac Hayes, Chick Corea, and Anne Archer.⁶¹ Leading Scientologists in the International Association of Scientologists (IAS) took note of Archer's involvement at a Frankfurt event, and they included it among the reasons why she won a 1997 IAS Freedom Medal.⁶² She and her husband, Jeff Jastrow, were IAS Lifetime Members, meaning that they had paid \$5,000 (U.S.) for the privilege.⁶³

A noteworthy effort on the part of a PRO took place in 1997, when BBC television Channel 4 was preparing an investigative biography on Hubbard himself. Apparently phoning from the United States, John Travolta called Channel 4's controller, "imploring him not to allow the showing of a documentary on the life of L. Ron Hubbard. . . .⁶⁴ Channel 4 officials had no intention to pull the piece, however, so the documentary ran anyway. Several years earlier, in 1993, the IAS had given Travolta an IAS Freedom Medal Award, indicating, "[t]he press coverage John creates with his activities is unsurpassed: to date there have been more than 54,000 column inches of favorable press for LRH, Dianetics and Scientology. John even promoted the use of basic Dianetics principles during the delivery of his newly born son."⁶⁵

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Examples abound, therefore, of celebrities publicly supporting Scientology programs and issues. Only rarely in these public events do the celebrities encounter difficulties, probably because they can speak generally about the topics or groups they represent without having to go into deep and complicated analyses of them. On at least one memorable issue and on one memorable occasion, however, Scientologists encountered problems when publicly attempting to defend aspects of the organization's pseudoscience. The issue involved the medical condition of Jett Travolta (1992–2009), who had a seizure and died as a result.

CELEBRITIES DEFENDING SCIENTOLOGY'S PSEUDOMEDICINE

Scientologists have become disadvantaged regarding medical knowledge because Scientology embraces various forms of antimedical pseudoscience.⁶⁶ Put simply, when Scientologists speak about medical issues, they do not know what they are talking about. Consequently, even when Scientologists Kelly Preston and Tom Cruise, for example, tried to explain personal or familyrelated medical issues, their explanations simply were wrong.

While her disabled son, Jett (1992–2009), was still alive, Kelly Preston lectured on the damages possibly caused by an infant's early exposure to an array of chemicals and drugs, including antibiotics, carpet-cleaning chemicals, and yard pesticides. Jett had been exposed to some of these products, and Preston insisted that they likely caused a condition named Kawasaki syndrome that she claimed afflicted him. As a detoxicant for people, Preston endorsed the Purification Rundown on the Montel Williams show, and a Scientology magazine carried this account to Scientologists.⁶⁷ Nine months after Jett's tragic death, John Travolta admitted that his son had autism, which led critics to wonder "whether lett may have gone without appropriate treatment for years because of the church's teaching."68 Reporter Kim Masters stated what seemed like the most accurate conclusion: "[I]t does not appear that lett received the early intervention recommended for autistic children. But perhaps he was, at some point, given medication" but then removed from it.⁶⁹ The obvious implication was that Jett's celebrity Scientology parents were blinded to the possible value of regular medical treatment, since involvement with psychologists, psychiatrists, and psychiatric medication to treat seizures and related autistic conditions were inimical to Scientology's antipsychiatric stance.

The media occasion that drew additional negative attention to Scientology's mental health positions occurred in 2005, when NBC television interviewer Matt Lauer agitated Tom Cruise over the topics of psychiatry, postpartum depressants, and behavior modification drugs prescribed

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to children. In the televised interview on June 24, 2005, Cruise indicated that he always had been opposed to psychiatry; opposed prescribing Ritalin and Adderall for hyperactivity in children; opposed the use of electroshock in psychiatric treatment; and opposed actor Brooke Shields's advocacy of women benefitting from antidepressants after childbirth. In a haughty tone, Cruise called Lauer "glib" and pronounced that he, not Lauer, understood the history of psychiatry. At times Cruise finger-pointed and interrupted Lauer and at least once lashed out at him verbally.⁷⁰ Not surprisingly, shortly after the interview, Cruise's publicist called Lauer, asking him not to run the interview segment in which the antidepressant debate took place. Lauer refused.⁷¹

Responses to the Lauer/Cruise interview were intense.⁷² While Cruise's position received some support,⁷³ opposition to his rejection of psychiatric drug intervention for depression and childhood hyperactivity elicited a storm of protest, beginning with the actor who had written about her own positive experience with the antidepressant, Paxil, for her postpartum depression, and which Cruise had criticized. In an opinion page for the *New York Times* a week after the interview, Brooke Shields responded to what she called Cruise's "ridiculous rant." Shields wrote about feeling "completely overwhelmed" by the birth of her child, not knowing what to do with this "stranger" whom she dreaded, and could not stand hearing the infant girl cry. At moments, she even was suicidal. After, however, her doctor diagnosed that she was suffering from postpartum depression, a prescription for the antidepressant Paxil, along with weekly therapy sessions, saved her and her family.

Having recently published a book about her postpartum experiences,⁷⁴ Shields indicated that "comments like those made by Tom Cruise are a disservice to mothers everywhere. To suggest that I was wrong to take drugs to deal with my depression, and that instead I should have taken vitamins and exercised shows an utter lack of understanding about postpartum depression and childbirth in general."⁷⁵

Mental health organizations also rose to the challenge, and quickly. On the same day that the interview aired, the American Psychiatric Association, the National Alliance for the Mentally III, and the National Mental Health Association issued a joint statement, which concluded with a specific criticism of the Scientology actor: "It is irresponsible for Mr. Cruise to use his movie publicity tour to promote his own ideological views and deter people with mental illness from getting the care they need."⁷⁶ In addition, the executive director of the *Journal of Clinical Investigation* wrote a devastating editorial article entitled "Tom Cruise Is Dangerous and Irresponsible."⁷⁷ Nearly 15 months (September 1, 2006) after his interview with Matt Lauer, Tom Cruise apologized to Brooke Shields for his comments about her postpartum illness,

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and Shields accepted.⁷⁸ (Shields and her husband even attended the Katie Holmes/Tom Cruise wedding in November of that year.)⁷⁹

Fallout from the interview, however, still continued into 2007, when Brooke Shields presented her postpartum depression story at the American Psychiatric Association meeting. In appreciation, attendees at the session rose in a standing ovation.⁸⁰

Cruise's comments to Matt Lauer were not the first ones to get him in trouble over making medically related claims that fly in the face of science. In 2003, Cruise claimed that L. Ron Hubbard's Study Technology⁸¹ cured his dyslexia. Directors, however, of both the executive directors of the National Dyslexic Association⁸² and the International Dyslexia Association⁸³ responded critically to his claim. Curiously, after years of claiming that he had dyslexia in his youth, he denied it in 1992,⁸⁴ only to bring it up again in 2009.⁸⁵

Cruise's unauthorized biographer, Andrew Morton, offered an explanation about Cruise's alleged dyslexic cure:

Perhaps more accurately, the actor's reading trajectory conforms to scientific research that has discovered that while dyslexia cannot be cured. it can be dealt with if caught at a sufficiently early age and a program of remedial education put into effect. This is precisely what he received at his elementary school.86

Morton identified that Cruise's compassionate and caring mother and his committed and observant school teachers likely contributed to his coping and learning strategies. Critically, Morton proposed that Cruise had reconceptualized his experiences so that Scientology became the sole reason for his success.⁸⁷ In short, Morton was arguing that, like many converts to groups with strong ideologies, Cruise altered his autobiography to fit his particular group's belief system.

British sociologist of celebrity, Chris Rojek, offered a broader explanation of Cruise's unappealing and excessive behavior:

Superstardom gives many celebrities the confidence and license to behave as if their word is the universal law. This can result in an outspokenness and inflexibility about private and public issues, which many see as strident and insensitive. In some cases, media criticism produces defensive obstinacy so that the word of the celebrity comes across as belligerent, intemperate and mule-headed.⁸⁸

In Cruise's case, "he was also more assertive, less deferential and more conscious of his status as a Scientologist and superstar."89 While these observations

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may be true in a general sense about Cruise, they do not mention that, to the extent that he saw himself espousing universal law, the law was not of his own making. He was espousing the beliefs of L. Ron Hubbard and Scientology. Rojek at least mentioned Cruise's Scientology involvement, but its influence may have been far greater on him than Rojek suggested.

The most prominent, pseudoscientific Scientology program that many celebrities have supported is the organization's controversial drug treatment program, Narconon. Celebrities have done so at least since the early 1970s, and the types of support that they have provided divides into six categories. First are the personal testimonies or testimonials⁹⁰—celebrities' statements endorsing Narconon because they took the program and they believe that it got them off of drugs. Three celebrities exemplify this category: television and movie stars Kirstie Alley, Juliette Lewis (b. 1973), and Nicki Hopkins. Alley's account about her involvement appeared in her December 1997 cover story in Biography magazine, although some dispute exists about whether she actually spent time in a Narconon program.⁹¹ Born in and having grown up in Kansas, Alley spoke about dropping out of college, having a string of boyfriends, becoming an interior decorator, and developing a cocaine habit. Her desire to become involved with Scientology required her to become "drug free," which she claimed to have accomplished through L. Ron Hubbard's technology. So impressed with it (and guilty over the persons she initiated into drug use), she eventually became the spokesperson for Narconon.92 Her visit to the Newkirk, Oklahoma, Narconon facility in November 1990 received media attention, almost certainly because of her celebrity status.⁹³

During the early years of her career, Alley was a prominent and popular female actor on television and in the movies, appearing as a Vulcan in *Star Trek II: The Wrath of Khan*, and then later as the female bar owner in the popular sitcom, *Cheers*, for which she won an Emmy. These achievements and talk show appearances helped make her a likeable, household name (a likeability that diminished later as she displayed temper tantrums and poor judgment regarding her weight gain),⁹⁴ and she had overcome personal hardship.

In many instances, members of the public engage in "para-social relationships" with media personalities, which in practice are "unilateral relationships . . . that affect us in ways that resemble any other relationships with a person." Viewers "know' such a [celebrity] persona in somewhat the same way they know their chosen friends; through direct observation and interpretation of his [or her] appearance, his [or her] gestures and voice, [and] his [or her] conversation and conduct in a variety of situations."⁹⁵ It is plausible, therefore, that Alley was able to "sway" some people with addiction issues to enroll in Narconon or at least convince their parents to send them to one. For many media consumers, following Alley's advice would have seemed

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to them like taking guidance from a friend. Other celebrities of somewhat lesser public status (such as Juliette Lewis⁹⁶ and Nicki Hopkins⁹⁷) have advocated for Narconon, and their messages may have reached audiences outside of the organization.

A second way that some Scientology celebrities have contributed to Narconon is through *public discussions* of the program. This level of involvement is different from telling one's story to a magazine or newspaper reporter to the extent that discussions (such as talk show appearances) may be live, can extend for a half hour or more, and likely will involve direct and possibly pointed questions about Narconon and its techniques. In early 1990, for example, Alley and a Scientology toxicologist/author, Michael Wisner, both appeared on the *Phil Donahue Show*, "talking about the effects of toxins in our environment and the solution for such effects: the Purification Rundown,"⁹⁸ which is one of the courses on the Narconon program. (Celebrity Scientologists simply may do the Purification Rundown because they have covered the other aspects of Narconon within their usual Scientology courses.) Alley lacked the expertise to appear alone on a program about toxins, so Wisner probably handled the more scientific questions, although (whenever possible) with answers within Scientology's ideology.

A third way that Scientology celebrities support Narconon is through what I call *status endorsements*.⁹⁹ They may never have gone through Narconon, but they endorse it anyway, hoping that the influence of their status will propel some people to sign up. For example, the program received a significant endorsement from the football player-turned-Scientologist, John Brodie, who played quarterback with the San Francisco 49ers for 17 consecutive seasons, beginning in 1957 and retiring in 1973. He was the National Football League's Most Valuable Player in 1970.¹⁰⁰ In the late 1960s, Brodie was facing a quarterback's nightmare—he was having trouble with his throwing arm. After medications failed to correct it, Scientology auditing (he believed) restored his football-passing ability.¹⁰¹

Brodie's perceived experience of healing through what he called "spiritual consultation" sufficiently moved him that he decided to retire from football after the 1973 session and devote himself to Scientology and Narconon.¹⁰² Prior to retiring, however, Brodie organized an exhibition football game for San Francisco youth charity fund, and in January 1974 San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto gave Brodie a \$1,000 check for Narconon from that fund, which had come from that exhibition game.¹⁰³ Brodie remained with Scientology until around 1982, when he left over the way in which "some Scientology henchmen were overly aggressive with some of his friends"¹⁰⁴ who "were harassed or expelled following a power struggle with the organization's leadership."¹⁰⁵

¹¹⁵

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A fourth way that some Scientology celebrities support Narconon is through *individual donations*. For example, the Austrian artist, Gottfried Helnwien (b. 1948), donated "a great deal of art," over \$150,000 worth, to the Chilocco New Life Center in Oklahoma.¹⁰⁶ Arguably, Tom Cruise's fundraising efforts for a Long Island Narconon facility for 9/11 first responders also fit this pattern, to the extent that he helped raise \$1.2 million for it.¹⁰⁷

Collective donations are a fifth way that some Scientology celebrities, often along with select friends and contacts, engage in charitable acts on behalf of Narconon. The charity football game that John Brodie organized in 1973 is one example of such an action, but there are others. John Travolta, for example, turned his 1999 launch of a movie into a Narconon fundraiser.¹⁰⁸ Beyond individual endorsements, Scientology has organized celebrity support for Narconon for at least 35 years, beginning after "a Celebrity Campaign against PCP and other harmful drugs" in August 1979 evolved into the Friends of Narconon.¹⁰⁹ Friends of Narconon International), with its president (Robert Hernandez) offering antidrug briefings and Narconon-related antidrug information.¹¹⁰

Another long-standing celebrity fundraising group for Narconon calls itself the "Drug Free Heroes." In the mid-1980s, "[t]hrough guest appearances, media interviews, lectures, charity softball games, and other events, the drug-free heroes represent the Narconon drug education and prevention program and promote getting high on goals, not drugs."¹¹¹ In 1990 (and probably at other times), Narconon International also sponsored a charity softball game for Narconon.¹¹² A group calling itself the Narconon All-Stars still participates in sporting events and other promotional activities,¹¹³ and the drug Free Heroes group has an annual awards gala.¹¹⁴

In late 1980 or early 1981, then Scientologist Cathy Lee Crosby teamed up with a friend, Robert Evans, who was the former head of Paramount Pictures, to begin a program entitled, "Get High on Yourself." She convinced numerous celebrities, only a few of whom were Scientologists, to sing the jingle associated with the campaign. Scientology was not directly involved with the program, but the organization surreptitiously provided each celebrity with a Scientology assistant. The campaign's goal, after all, "was a public relations cornerstone of Narconon."¹¹⁵

Unexpectedly, however, in 1981, some of the stars whose names appeared on a list of 170 or more Friends of Narconon that Crosby had given a congressional committee, and some who participated in charity sports events, objected to having their names endorsing the Scientology antidrug program. Celebrities including Henry Winkler, Hal Linden, Phyllis Diller, Rob Reiner, and Lou Ferrigno wanted their names removed from Friends of Narconon

lists, with most of them expressing displeasure at having their names used in endorsements for a Scientology program.¹¹⁶ Subsequently, Hubbard revised and printed an existing policy that prohibited using celebrities' names without their permission: "No org or Scientologist is to use the name of a celebrity as being a Scientologist or to use such a name to promote or disseminate without the express written permission of said celebrity."¹¹⁷

Hubbard apparently realized that using celebrities' names in unauthorized manners could cause grave difficulties for any Scientology activity, but he also felt the need to have his own name mentioned in relation to the Narconon program. On November 24, 1980, Hubbard typed a note to an unspecified person or persons, indicating that he had received some Narconon publicity about a charity game, but felt that his name also should appear in it:

Some Narconon publicity—it had to do with a charity game—came my way.

I noticed that my name was not mentioned in it.

It is understandable that NN [i.e., Narconon] would not use the name Scn [i.e., Scientology]. That would connect it with the church and church and state must be kept separate.

However, in order to make a bridge back over into Scn, it would seem necessary to use my name in NN publicity.

In times of attack it is especially necessary to keep the name up in lights.

With the Purif RD [i.e., Purification Rundown] and other onslaughts into the drug arena, some effort should be made to connect my name with it.¹¹⁸

Citing his recent publication of a nonreligious "book of morals" and a science fiction novel, Hubbard indicated that he was "pushing in the direction of the non-Church sector" and wanted his name in that sector exposed to the public.¹¹⁹

LOBBYING SCIENTOLOGY'S INTERESTS WITH BUSINESSES AND GOVERNMENTS

The most difficult and riskiest of Scientology's deployments of celebrities involves sending them before business or governmental investigative committees that are examining issues relevant to Scientology's ideology or existence. Larger bodies (such as federal governments) may have assigned these committees with providing information and recommendations needed to create or amend policies or laws, so any failures on Scientology's part to represent its positions favorably may have dire consequences.

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As both the complexities increase regarding the issues that the celebrity spokespersons have to address, and as the expertise increases of examining committee members, the likelihood also increases of celebrity testimonies failing. Celebrities may be skilled at reading prepared statements and (after Public Relations Office training) explaining Scientology itself, but they usually lack specific training (in areas such as international politics or medicine) about which committee members likely will ask probing questions. A differing possibility that also might be true, however, is that statements presented by celebrities may escape close scrutiny simply because committee members are dazzled by the mere presence of stars, and they do not want to appear rude or challenging by probing into their statements. It is exceedingly difficult to know precisely what effect celebrities' statements have on committees, but they seem to have significant impact as morale boosters to Scientology members, who read about these presentations in either Scientology publications or the popular press.

Scientology's celebrity lobbying likely takes place on four levels: local, regional (including state or province), national, and international. Scientologists other than celebrities likely do much of this lobbying, as would be the case with people acting on behalf of front groups such as the Citizens Commission on Human Rights. Most of the available material, however, highlights lobbying efforts by celebrities on the national level of the U.S. government, although occasionally we get glimpses of their involvement in local or regional presentations and campaigns.

Federally, Scientology's lobbying efforts have been extensive, with celebrities gaining access to numerous committee hearings, meetings with influential politicians, and access to people in the White House. Facilitating these contacts has been a succession of public relations firms, hired to represent Scientology's interests and facilitate high-level governmental meetings. Conversely, much community lobbying took place that did not involve celebrities. As these community activities continued throughout the 1990s, Scientology took a step on the local level that it already had done on a federal level-it hired high-profile lawyer, Ed Armstrong, and his firm (Johnson, Blakely, Pope Bokor Ruppel & Burns) to represent its interests. One of Armstrong's successful events was the gala, 75th anniversary of the Fort Harrison Hotel, an event attended by judges, civic leaders, and politicians. Then in 2003, Scientology hired former political consultant, Mary Repper, as an additional, well-connected local figure to aid Scientology with its image issues. Repper then "used Scientology's celebrities to form bonds. She hosted dinner parties with Tom Cruise and an array of elected officials including Tampa Mayor Pam Iorio. And she arranged for John Travolta to visit Tampa's Italian Club."120

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Scientology's increasingly normalized status with Floridians may have been a factor in the decision to have Kirstie Alley and Kelly Preston testify before the state's House Education Council in April 2005. (Both Alley and Preston-the latter though her husband, John Travolta-owned houses in the state.)¹²¹ They testified about the alleged dangers of psychiatric treatment and prescription drugs for children, with Alley's testimony barely intelligible because she cried heavily as she spoke. Even before they testified, however, the council had stripped the bill of a section that the Scientologists would have endorsed heartily, "that before a school could refer a child for mental health treatment, it would have to tell parents there are no medical tests to diagnose mental illness. It also would have required schools to tell parents a mental disorder diagnosis will go on a student's permanent record." The council chairman, Dennis Baxley, had a son who was a psychiatrist, and he objected to the manner in which the Scientologists' discredited the profession by ignoring the "wonderful things" that psychiatrists also do for people.¹²² On the same day, the two celebrities also testified about a similar bill before the Senate Education Committee.¹²³ A version of the House bill passed, only to have Governor Jeb Bush veto it.124

Bills to restrict the mental health access of children also had surfaced around this period in Utah, New Hampshire, and Arizona-almost certainly the work of the Citizens Commission on Human Rights (CCHR).¹²⁵ In Arizona, CCHR drafted much of a legislative bill designed to increase regulation of drug trials involving tranquilizers and other mind-altering drugs; in fact, the group was behind some two dozen bills regarding drug regulation, often in relation to children.¹²⁶ Legislative member and medical doctor, Robert Cannell (D-Yuma), was frustrated that a group that had "spokesmen that are movie actors not scientists" 127 was so influential, even to the point of Scientology spending thousands of dollars on Hollywood trips for his colleagues, where they had "attended celebrity-studded award ceremonies, an anniversary gala at the Celebrity Centre church and the grand opening of [CCHR's] museum, Psychiatry: An Industry of Death. Legislators met John Travolta and other high-profile guests and learned more about the church's campaigns and programs."128 Whatever stigma the Scientology organization may have had in previous periods, many Arizona legislators overcame any feelings of contamination by traveling, dining, and celebrating with some of the group's celebrity elites.

The aurora of celebrity, however, did not always dazzle state legislators—in May 2011, Nancy Cartwright appeared before the Illinois House Elementary and Secondary Education Committee in support of a bill endorsing a children's program based upon Scientology that was under consideration for use in the schools. At least a few legislators, however, were concerned about

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church/state boundary issues, and the author of the particular bill agreed to rewrite it so as to eliminate any references to the Scientology program.¹²⁹ Clearly, Scientology celebrity status did not always open doors to receptive state legislators.

On the U.S. federal level, Scientology's access to the corridors of power has been uneven but at times impressive. A relatively early congressional presentation took place in late September 1980, when Scientology celebrity Cathy Lee Crosby (b. 1944) testified before the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Narcotic Abuse Control about what to do concerning the problem of drugs among youth.¹³⁰ As a Narconon spokesperson, she used her presentation to plug Narconon and the Purification Rundown. Scientology's promotional newspaper to members, *The Auditor*, reported on her testimony.¹³¹

In 1996 and 1997, Scientology's Religious Technology Center paid almost \$725,000 to a District of Columbia lobbying firm, Federal Legislative Associates, and its managing partner, David H. Miller, to represent the organization's interests on Capitol Hill.¹³² Miller admitted that Scientology's star power aided his lobbying efforts because "members such as actors [Anne] Archer and [John] Travolta and musicians [Chick] Corea and Isaac Hayes are willing to speak up for their beliefs."133 The fact that Miller mentioned these Scientology celebrities by name adds weight to the likelihood that he was involved in arranging for Honorary Public Relations Officers Travolta, Corea, and Hayes to appear before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) on September 18, 1997. The CSCE was a governmental body that "monitors compliance with the Helsinki Accords and advances comprehensive security through promotion of human rights, democracy, and economic, environmental and military cooperation in the OSCE region."¹³⁴ On this date, the commission heard three presentations about how U.S. Scientologists believed that the Germans were discriminating against their organization.¹³⁵ Corea's presentation likely had particular significance, since the Baden-Württemberg government in 1993 had refused to invite him to play in a state-sponsored concert, fearing that he would use the opportunity to proselytize.136

The three celebrities were successful in conveying Scientology's description of the alleged discrimination, but they unable to explain why Germany had taken an anti-Scientology stance. For example, when a member of the commission asked Corea why Germany was exhibiting such animosity toward Scientology, all he could utter for as answer was, "We're dealing within incredible, weird, wild emotions."¹³⁷ In order to have offered an insightful explanation, Corea or the other celebrities would have had to repeat to the committee critical and potentially negative issues about Scientology itself

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(at least as the Germans saw it). The negative issues about Scientology that German officials held were no secret at the time of the CSCE hearing, and many of the issues received mention in the large study of *New Religious and Ideological Communities and Psychogroups in the Federal Republic of Germany*,¹³⁸ published in the year after the CSCE hearing.¹³⁹

Celebrity Scientologists' public relations training only had prepared Travolta, Hayes, and Corea to say positive things (what Scientologists call *theta*) about L. Ron Hubbard and Scientology. Saying negative things (*entheta*) about the group, even in the context of summarizing an opponent's position, would have placed the person giving testimony perilously close to committing a "suppressive act"—something that Scientology policy identified as harming the group and therefore was punishable by the organization itself. As far back as 1965, Hubbard included among a list of suppressive acts, "testifying hostilely before state or public inquiries into Scientology to suppress it."¹⁴⁰ Consequently, if Scientology witnesses testifying before the CSCE or any other official body were to have engaged in an open dialogue about any Scientology-related issue, then they likely would have faced punishment within their own organization.

The years 1997 and 1998 saw Scientologists gain access to Washington's corridors of power, and we do not know (likely aside from the CSCE presentation) what role if any a Scientology lobbyist played in making arrangements. The background for the access began in April 1997 during Philadelphia's hosting of a conference on volunteerism, attended both by John Travolta and President Bill Clinton. The two met after Travolta had made a presentation about Hubbard-inspired educational materials. The president praised him for his contribution, then indicated that he would love to help him with Scientology's troubles in Germany.¹⁴¹ Following up on his statement, Clinton appointed his national security advisor, Sandy Berger, with the assignment of monitoring the Germany/Scientology situation.¹⁴² Then when Travolta and Corea were in Washington in September 1997 (presumably for their CSCE presentations), a White House staff member arranged a meeting between the two Scientologists and Berger-something akin to what a senator would receive.¹⁴³ Taken together, the meetings between sympathetic U.S. government officials and propagandizing Scientologists probably contributed to the U.S. State Department's criticisms of Germany's religious freedom record, beginning in its 1993 Human Rights Report on Germany and continuing in subsequent reports and similar federally sponsored religious freedom reports, White House daily press briefings, and so on, through 2009.¹⁴⁴ The Germans, however, did not change their positions toward Scientology because of the U.S. criticisms; if anything, these criticisms diminished the stature of U.S. politicians in informed German politicians' eyes.¹⁴⁵

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Additional celebrity lobbying has gone on over the years, such as Isaac Hayes's 1993 meeting "with the Black Congressional Caucus about the application of LRH study technology and appeared on national television to give his personal story of how Scientology has expanded his career."¹⁴⁶ Two years later he won the IAS's Freedom Medal and "spoke to two thousand attendees in Cincinnati at the National Conference of Representatives of HUD (Housing and Urban Development) about the World Literacy Crusade and L. Ron Hubbard's study technology."147 Anne Archer also lobbied for a Scientology educational program, Applied Scholastics, on Capitol Hill in August 1993.¹⁴⁸ A decade later, in 2003, Juliette Lewis went to Capitol Hill, lobbying for a Scientology-endorsed project "to stop educational authorities from requiring 'problem' schoolchildren to take mood-altering medication."¹⁴⁹ I do not have any specifics about these meetings and lobbying efforts, including who arranged them and what impact they may have had. Scientologist Greg Mitchell was Scientology's Washington lobbyist from 2003 at least into 2015 (costing the organization over \$1 million during that period),¹⁵⁰ but his only use of a celebrity that I know of was in 2006. On December 11 of that year, Mitchell, along with Scientologist and actor Jenna Elfman, threw a party "at the restored townhouse near Dupont Circle where Hubbard got his start and held the first Scientology wedding."151 Alas, I have no information about who dropped by that evening.

As late as 2003 (during the George W. Bush administration), Scientologists were still welcomed in meetings with White House officials. On June 13 of that year, Tom Cruise had a private engagement with Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage. Scientologist Tom Davis, head of the Hollywood Celebrity Centre, and Kurt Weiland, an Austrian Scientologist who was director of external affairs for the organization's Office of Special Affairs, also were present. Armitage listened to their concerns "about the treatment of Scientologists in some foreign countries, particularly Germany."¹⁵² Cruise reminded Armitage that he already had discussed issues of religious intolerance with the U.S. ambassadors in Germany, France, and Spain. The day after this meeting Cruise met another official—Vice President Dick Chaney's chief of staff, Scooter Libby.¹⁵³ Celebrity Scientologists, therefore, were not limited to federal government access merely during the Clinton administration.

CELEBRITIES' FINANCIAL DONATIONS TO SCIENTOLOGY

A number of Scientology celebrities are very rich, and the organization does its best to ensure that some of that wealth ends up in its coffers. A website dedicated to revealing celebrities' financial worth places Jenna Elfman at \$16 million,¹⁵⁴ Kirstie Alley at \$30 million,¹⁵⁵ Nancy Cartwright at \$60 million

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(and receiving \$300,000 per episode of *The Simpsons*, on which she provides the voice for the character, Bart),¹⁵⁶ John Travolta at \$170 million,¹⁵⁷ and Tom Cruise at \$470 million.¹⁵⁸ Even factoring the lavish lifestyles that many celebrity stars live, they still can have significant discretionary funds that they can disperse as they please. For Scientology celebrities, some of their discretionary funds are likely to go to the organization and its projects.

One set of figures involving Scientology celebrity donations appeared in the United Kingdom's *Guardian* newspaper in early 2008. Reporter David McNamee stated that Kirstie Alley donated \$5 million to the Church of Scientology, which was the same amount that Tom Cruise had donated over a five-year period. John Travolta had given \$1 million, and Priscilla Presley (with an estimated net worth of \$100 million) donated \$50,000.¹⁵⁹ Travolta's million-dollar donation was to the IAS and had taken place in the summer of 2007. Before the year was out, the IAS received an additional \$1.5 million from him.¹⁶⁰ Also in 2007, Nancy Cartwright donated \$10 million.¹⁶¹ Evidence from a 2005 IAS magazine indicates that up until that time, Tom Cruise had donated \$2.5 million to the IAS, and Leah Remini had donated at least \$1 million.¹⁶²

Remini confirmed this million-dollar figure after she left the group, adding that she had "donated millions of dollars to my church to help set an example."¹⁶³ She recalled that Scientology's quest for money was "relentless," and every time she left the Celebrity Centre, a fundraiser from the IAS was waiting for her, asking for more donations.¹⁶⁴ After Paul Haggis also left the organization, he, too, provided insight into the amount of his Scientology contributions. He spent an estimated \$100,000 on various Scientology initiatives (not including courses), \$250,000 to the IAS, and \$10,000 (divided with his wife) toward a new building in Nashville. As journalist/writer Lawrence Wright surmised, "[t]he demands for money—'regging' it's called in Scientology, because the calls come from the Registrar's Office—never stopped. Paul gave them money just to keep them from calling."¹⁶⁵ It appears that both Haggis and Remini had similar experiences with Scientology fundraisers.

Hubbard's statements in the 1950s about the importance of celebrities mentioned their value in relation to their media contacts; he may not have realized that they also would have enormous discretionary funds at their disposal. Media contacts and enormous discretionary funds have proven to be two significant reasons that Scientologists have treated celebrity constituent adherents (i.e., persons who believe and provide resources) specially. After Hubbard's death in 1986, the organization continued paying special attention to celebrities, as indicated by former member Amy Scobee's reflections about improvements she made to the Celebrity Centre after October 1991. Among other achievements, she upgraded the appearance and training of

¹²³

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both the Celebrity Centre and the Manor Hotel staff; she hired professionals in the restaurant business who got the restaurant upgraded to four stars; and she restored the career counseling service within Celebrity Centre International.¹⁶⁶ With some pride, Scobee indicated that, under her guidance, Celebrity Centre International "had become a place where celebrities could be serviced and bring in their friends to introduce them to Scientology."167 While overseeing these upgrades, Scobee also learned the extent to which Scientology catered to Tom Cruise.

Cruise was not the first celebrity to receive Scientology's special attention. As far back as early July, 1978, Hubbard rewarded John Travolta for his "major contributions in the dissemination of Dianetics and Scientology" by giving him a \$1,500 service award for his newest Scientology course.¹⁶⁸ Over the ensuing years he also has proven to be a major financial contributor.¹⁶⁹

Scientology's involvement with Cruise goes far beyond an offer of a financial break for additional courses. Scobee indicated that "David Miscavige had several of us catering to Tom, behind the scenes."¹⁷⁰ Scientology staff performed numerous unspecified services for his household; Scientologists installed the audiovisual system in his private theatre; and a Scientologist handled his investments. 171 Likewise, when Cruise visited the Scientology facility in Hemet, California, his good friend (and head of Scientology), David Miscavige, "was seeing to Cruise's every need, assigning a special staff to prepare his meals, do his laundry and handle a variety of other tasks, some of which required around-the-clock work."¹⁷² This level of attention to Cruise's needs was the norm: for his late December 1990 marriage to Nicole Kidman (b. 1967), Miscavige "arranged for two Scientology chefs and other Sea Org disciples to cater and care for the newlyweds and their guests."¹⁷³

CELEBRITIES USED AS MOTIVATORS TO OTHER CELEBRITIES CONCERNING ADDITIONAL COURSES-ENROLLMENT

Successful Scientology celebrities can be quite rich, but far more are at various stages of having careers and degrees of wealth. Some people who define themselves as actors or entertainers are attempting to break into the industry, while others have had a few small opportunities but are waiting for a big break. What Scientology has done in this irregular market is portray itself as a means to success, with its courses and auditing removing personal blocks and providing insights and skills that dramatically improve aspiring entertainers' abilities to audition and then perform.

However much the Celebrity Centre aspires to assist its attendees, it operates within the wider Scientology organization that has as a financial goal, "MAKE MONEY, MAKE MORE MONEY, MAKE OTHER PEOPLE

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PRODUCE SO AS TO MAKE MONEY."¹⁷⁴ Consequently, it uses its magazine, *Celebrity*, as an attempt to make people who have "produced" (i.e., have succeeded in the entertainment industry) serve as inspiration to the newer celebrity aspirants. Almost every issue contains a multipage interview about a celebrity who also usually is on the cover. The article mentions some of the professional successes that the celebrity artist has had and also lists the Scientology courses that he or she has taken or is enrolled in.

For example, Jenna Elfman is on the cover of *Celebrity* Major Issue 298 in 1996. The lead-in to the interview listed her professional accomplishments in commercials and television shows and then began with the question, "How did you get into Scientology?" Very quickly Elfman entered into an extended description about the personal benefits (involving clarity of mind and perception) that she claimed she experienced after the Purification Rundown. She mentioned her coursework on a course for Clears called the New Hubbard Solo Auditor Course Part One, and then described her attainment of Clear as "*Incredible!* I have certainty." She concluded her interview by saying, "The reactive mind can be gotten rid of with Dianetics and Scientology and then you won't have to worry about pushing it away, ever again. The effort comes off and you can just move forward as yourself!¹⁷⁵

No figures exist about how much money celebrities spend on Scientology courses, and no indications exist if people are inspired to take courses by articles in *Celebrity*. Former member Paul Haggis estimated that he had spent \$100,000 on courses and auditing,¹⁷⁶ but we do not know how variable this figure would be for others. Suffice it to say, however, that aspiring celebrities experience constant pressure to "move up the Bridge," and the *Celebrity* interviews are designed to facilitate the process.

CONCLUSION

This chapter identifies the numerous ways that, in the immediate past, Scientology celebrities have engaged in a variety of activities that have capitalized upon their celebrity status. Consequently, they have been able to present Scientology either informally or formally in a variety of public venues. Scientology's use of celebrity continues in the present day and likely will remain critical in the future as the movement tries to remain attractive to new converts and influential in political and other institutions. The media influence of some celebrities only was local; others had media impact on a regional level. Increasing the range of their exposure, an additional level of celebrities have exposure and media influence on a national level, while a smaller number of elite celebrities had international influence according to the global media attention that they received and/or commanded. In the

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1990s, U.S. government committees that dealt with international issues had hearings about various European countries' critical responses to some U.S.-based sects. Elite celebrity Scientologists had at least some influence in this regard. Discussion in Germany about possible boycotts of movies and concerts featuring Scientology members gave Scientologists particular interest in the government's hearings. Scientology celebrities, therefore, claimed "standing, that is, recognizable legitimate interest in the outcome of a political question or movement."177

Scientology celebrity elites also had some political sway in other areas. U.S. congressman from California's 44th District, the late Sonny Bono, was one such figure of influence. Bono was a member of the Judiciary Committee, and he "became instrumental in convincing the Clinton administration's Office of the United States Trade Representative to lobby Sweden to stop allowing public access to Scientology's scriptures."178 He supported a Scientology lawsuit which demanded that Netcom On-Line Communications Series take down Scientology's scriptures,¹⁷⁹ and after his death, Congress passed a bill that revised copyright law and named it in his honor because of his work on the issue.¹⁸⁰ No evidence exists, however, about Bono attempting to arrange political meetings with Scientology lobbyists. Other facilitators, like lobbyists, were more likely to have done so.

Some of Scientology's access to the government probably did not depend on the actions of lobbyists. Researchers know nothing about any level of planning that went into positioning John Travolta at the April 1997 President's Summit for America's Future on volunteerism,¹⁸¹ but the meeting of the president and the actor certainly reflected the confluence of "all of the contacts, acquaintances and constituents"182 that the two of them had. Scientology's extensive contacts with the Clinton administration occurred after that Clinton/Travolta meeting, and the complexity of arranging for Scientologists to meet White House officials and testify before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe are the kinds of activities that Scientology's paid lobbyist was likely to do. This was a high-profile relationship between Scientology and government, and it is illustrative of the reach that elite celebrity influence can have.

Social movement theorists realize that "politicians are not immune from the lure of celebrity contact."183 As a consequence of the nature of their professions, celebrities tend not to be embedded with institutional policymakers, but they

have high "status honor" because of the "style of life" that many of them lead, the cultural impact that they have, and the social "distance and exclusiveness" that they keep.... Frequently because of these attributes,

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celebrities gain entry into political settings as politicians defer to their status, enhance their own images by associating with cultural icons, and often benefit from their campaign-contribution generosity.¹⁸⁴

The relationship between celebrities and politicians often is reciprocal. Thus, the celebrity-lobbyist is not the only party in the equation to benefit from the association. Politicians sometimes defer to celebrities' status because they possess a level of charismatic authority to which they themselves aspire, and they feel a kind of "charisma through association" by being near them.¹⁸⁵ The extensive photograph-snapping and autograph seeking that occurred among the politicians and their staff bears out this interpretation.¹⁸⁶

At bottom, Scientology celebrities' meetings with, and presentations to, government officials were attempts to turn the status of celebrity into political power, thus removing the likelihood of European (especially German) boycotts of films starring Scientologists. Potentially tens of millions of dollars may have been at stake if even the German boycott attempts had been successful. Moreover, Scientologists' contributions to campaigns indicated the tangible economic advantage of aligning with Scientology. Three months before New York Republican Congressman Benjamin Gilman (1922–2016) cosponsored an ultimately unsuccessful bill in 1999 that was critical of Germany's protection of religious freedom, his campaign coffer received 10 donations from Scientologists totaling \$7,400, all on the same day (July 2, 1998).¹⁸⁷

The big question remains, therefore, whether Scientology's celebrity lobbying efforts to Congress were successful. The answer varies, depending up what one uses as a measure. Ultimately, U.S. pressure on Germany to relax its opposition against Scientology had no effect other than to rile up the Germans about U.S. interference in domestic German affairs. Moreover, congressional members who developed their understanding of Germany's anti-Scientology actions never received a clear or accurate rendition of the reasons, because Scientologists are prohibited from stating negative things about the organization. Simply examining the impact, however, that Scientology's lobbying efforts had in formulating the U.S. government's criticisms of Germany's Scientology stance, the lobbying efforts were a resounding success.

This conclusion is based upon a speech made by Congressman Gilman shortly before he retired but after he had stepped down from chairing the International Relations Committee. In 2002, he was an honored guest at a Celebrity Centre Gala. To an audience of some 1,200 Scientologists, Gilman

explained how human rights violations are not always obvious and well known, and in fact a much more subtle oppression exists for hundreds of minority religions in countries that are otherwise known for their

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strong democratic values-such as Germany, France and Spain. On behalf of all religions, Scientologists took it upon themselves to educate members of Congress on the more subtle but real violations of human rights that take place.

Gilman went on to thank Scientologists for addressing these violations and for "visiting Capital [sic] Hill, the State Department and the White House to fight for human rights, in addition to attending human rights conferences and staging demonstrations and human rights marches and marathons."188 From Gilman's comments, it appears that many congressional members and senators received their educations about alleged French and German human rights violations against Scientology and other controversial groups from the Scientology lobbying effort.

If indeed Scientology's federal lobbying efforts were successful (on the measure of governmental impact), why then have Scientology's medically related comments about Narconon and pharmaceuticals been received so poorly, even though a few of their concerns proved to have some merit? The answer lies in what passes for expertise within the political field versus the medical field, along with understanding how one gained entry into each one. People entered politics through elections, which means that new people entered the profession after every election cycle. Citizens voted them into office. Professional boundaries, therefore, were fluid. Aspects of Scientologists' training, moreover, involved the belief that it was a persecuted religion, which was exactly in line with the issues of religious freedom that several U.S. governmental committees and personnel were examining. Medical boundaries, in contrast, were rigid, and one gained entry into the profession only after years of education in certified institutions, followed by apprenticeships and formal examinations. After decades of struggle, the medical profession gained "absolute control of bodily ills,"189 which eventually expanded to include mental ills.¹⁹⁰ Persons, therefore, who passed through the various professional tests were protective about their field of expertise and react loudly when someone lacking professional credentials makes factually incorrect public comments. In this case, aspects of Scientology's training involved nonscientific claims about the causes and cures of numerous illnesses and conditions, and these nonscientific claims clashed with the established medical community considered to be acceptable science. If this brief set of observations is correct, then it seems unlikely that Scientology or its spokespersons ever will receive scientific acceptance.

It may take future defections from highly placed Scientologists or celebrities before we can answer questions about how particular celebrities become assigned to what causes; whether the organization, through the Celebrity

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Centre, pays any celebrities for doing commercial work for it; and how lobbying activities became coordinated on Capitol Hill. We also do not know how many Scientology celebrities there are at any given time and what the numbers of recruits versus defectors there are. Importantly, we do not have a good idea about the finances associated with the Celebrity Centre's operation, especially in relation to the larger organization. The answers to these and other questions are important, since the extensiveness of Scientology's use of celebrities remains unrivaled in the modern world.

NOTES

1. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Livewire; Celebrity Scientologists in Action: Hollywood Christmas Parade," *Celebrity* 354 (2004): 15; see also Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Livewire; Celebrity Scientologists in Action: Lynsey Bartilson," *Celebrity* 344 (2003): 16. For Scientology musicians Chick Corea (b. 1941) and Stanley Clarke (b. 1951, who eventually left the group) riding in a Santa Claus Lane parade in 1997, see Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Livewire," *Celebrity* Minor Issue 28 (1977): 16.

2. CSI, "Honorary PROs in Action: Honorary PROs are Cheering Up the World! Jenna Elfman, Marisol Nichols and Lynsey Bartilson Promote *The Joy of Creating*," *Good News*, 2001, 4.

3. For an example of a Formula One race car driver placing a *Dianetics* logo on the side of his car, see Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Livewire," *Celebrity* 229 (1989): 13. For examples of Scientology groups involved in beach clean-up projects, see Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Centre News and Events: Celebrity Centre's Adopted Beach Gets Spring Cleaned," *Celebrity* 313 (1998): 8; and Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Centre News and Events: CC International Surf Club Awarded 'Adopt a Beach Volunteers of the Year," *Celebrity* 330 (2001): 9.

4. L. Ron Hubbard, quoted in Rose Goss, "The Joy of Creating *The Road to Total Freedom*," *Celebrity* Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International Special Edition (1986): 7.

5. Ibid., 9. For insights into Bono's involvement with Scientology, see various comments in Ann Louise Bardach, "Proud Mary," *George*, August 1999, 76ff.

6. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Centre Network News," *Celebrity* Special Edition (1986): 21.

7. Physicist Bryan Zwan holds a doctorate in physics, and in the late 1990s he went public with a company that developed a fiber-optic diagnostic device. Calling the company Digital Lightwave, Zwan was its CEO until he resigned in 1997 amid allegations of fraud and mismanagement. He sold company stocks, however, at the right time, acquiring a net worth of an estimated \$600 million and placing him among one of the 400 richest Americans in 2001. Part of alleged mismanagement involved

massive amounts of donations to Scientology, along with running the organization according to Hubbard's business model. He returned as CEO and saw the stock value of shares skyrocket, then crash, leading to the demise of the company. Deborah O'Neil and Jeff Harrington, "The CEO and His Church," St. Petersburg Times, June 2, 2002, http://www.sptimes.com/2002/06/02/news_pf/TampaBay/The_CEO_and_his_churc .shtml. By 2010 he was back in the business of speculative financing, having created and was managing Forge, which financed a Merrill Lynch-created collateralized debt obligation company called Forge 1. Companies like Forge 1 were involved with buying, and then repacking and selling (as speculative investments), these and related risky ventures. Their financial recklessness contributed to the housing collapse in the mid- to late 2000s. Robert Trigaux, "Deeper Look at How Wall Street's Self-Dealing Led to Housing Bubble Cites Role of Clearwater Financier," Tampa Bay Times, August 30, 2010, http://www.tampabay.com/blogs/venturebiz/content/deeper-look-how-wall -streets-self-dealing-led-housing-bubble-cites-role-clearwater-financier.

8. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Centre News," Celebrity 275 (1994): 7, 11. Cartwright (b. 1957) is the voice behind The Simpsons' television cartoon character, Bart, and actor and musician Hayes (1942-2008) was an Honorary PRO (Public Relations Officer). CSI, "Honorary PROs on the Move," Hotline 3, no. 7 (1998): 6.

9. L. Ron Hubbard, "Dissemination Tips," Hubbard Communication Office Bulletin (September 15, 1959): 101, quoted in L. Ron Hubbard, The Organization Executive Course 6 (Los Angeles: Publications Organization, 1974), 101–103.

10. CSI, "Connecting the World to Source Through Libraries," Hotline VII, no. 2 (1996): 2.

11. Ibid.

12. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Interview of the Month: Actor John Travolta," Celebrity 236 (1990): 12.

13. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Livewire," Celebrity 290 (1996): 14, 15. See also Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Livewire," Celebrity 292 (1996): 16.

14. Zeynep Tufekci, "Not This One': Social Movements, the Attention Economy, and Activism," American Behavioral Scientist 57, no. 7 (2013): 849 (italics in original).

15. "Paul Haggis, Awards," IMDb, 1990–2016, http://www.imdb.com/name/nm 0353673/awards.

16. For Jeffrey Scott's Emmy (and other) Awards, see Jeffrey Scott, "Angle on Awards," 2000–2010, http://www.jeffrevscott.tv/KudosAwards.htm.

17. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Livewire," Celebrity 222 (1988): 18–19, 21; Celebrity Centre International, "19th Anniversay [sic] Celebration, Final Draft" (September 24, 1988).

18. Kristi Wachter, "Mitchell Brisker-Scientology Service Completions," February 15, 2016, http://www.truthaboutscientology.com/stats/by-name/m/mitchell -brisker.html.

19. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Michael Fairman," Celebrity Minor Issue 265 (1993): 11.

20. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Centre News," Celebrity 276 (1994): 9.

21. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, *Events in March 1998* at Celebrity Centre International (1998): n.p.

22. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Milton Katselas," *Celebrity* 12th Anniversary Special Edition (1981): 10; Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Milton Katselas," *Celebrity* Major Issue 13 (1975): 14.

23. Ibid. Katselas did not specify in these interviews what he was having difficulties about, but elsewhere he indicated that he had a problem with methamphetamine in the mid- to late 1960s but kicked the habit. Randye Hoder, "The Star of His Own Show," *Buzz*, March 1998, http://home.snafu.de/tilman/prolinks/9803_2.txt.

24. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Milton Katselas," *Celebrity* 12th Anniversary Special Edition (1981): 10.

25. L. Ron Hubbard, "Orders of the Day," no. 122 (May 5, 1971): 2 (capitals in original). Katselas "was nominated for a Tony award for the Broadway production of *Butterflies Are Free* in 1969, and also directed the 1972 movie version starring Goldie Hawn, Edward Albert, and Eileen Heckart, who won an academy award for her role." Hoder, "Star of His Own Show,"

26. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Milton Katselas," Celebrity 29 (1978): 17.

27. I cannot determine where the two met. For the first nine months of 1972, the *Apollo* traveled between Portugal and Morocco, and spent time in each country's ports. A picture of Katselas in his 1975 interview has him standing in front of a ship—the *Apollo* name on the side of the ship and over his right shoulder—so I suspect that he was standing on a dock. See Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Milton Katselas," *Celebrity* Major Issue 13 (1975): 16.

28. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Milton Katselas," Celebrity 29 (1978): 17.

29. Oppenheimer, "The Actualizer." For Elfman as an Honorary PRO, see CSI, "Honorary PROs in Action," 4.

30. WISE International, "WISE Welcomes New Members," *Prosperity* 34 (1994): 24.

31. Ibid., 259.

32. Lawrence Wright, Going Clear: Scientology, Hollywood, & the Prison of Belief (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 258–259.

33. Janet Reitman, Inside Scientology: The Story of America's Most Secretive Religion (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011), 266.

34. Ibid.

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36. Milton Katselas, "Milton Katselas Acting Class," n.d., 6, 12, 13, 77, 121.

37. Oppenheimer, "The Actualizer."

38. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Jenna Elfman," *Celebrity* 330 (2001): 11.

39. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Nancy Cartwright," *Celebrity* Minor Issue 237 (1990): 13. For a book about her work on *The Simpsons*

television show, see Nancy Cartwright, My Life as a 10-Year-Old Boy (New York: Hyperion, 2000). At the end of the book, she listed some organizations for which she volunteered, and they included "the following organizations that utilize the research of the humanitarian L. Ron Hubbard: Narconon-a Drug rehab program; The Way to Happiness—a guide to happy living; and the World Literacy Crusade—assisting those who have trouble learning." Ibid., 270.

40. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Priscilla Presley," Celebrity Minor Issue 253 (1992): 15.

41. Wright, Going Clear, 332–335.

42. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Terry Jastrow," Celebrity Minor Issue 245 (1991): 9.

43. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Jason Beghe: Actor/ Clear, Hubbard Basic Art Course Graduate," Celebrity Minor Issue 285 (1995): 14.

44. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Catherine Bell," Celebrity 326 (2000): 10.

45. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre, "Cathy Lee Crosby," Celebrity Minor Issue 30 (1978): 11.

46. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Kelly Preston," Celebrity 344 (2003): 12.

47. Oppenheimer, "The Actualizer."

48. Wright, Going Clear, 163.

49. Ibid., 259.

50. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "A Special Interview with Actor Jeff Pomerantz," Celebrity (1984): 11.

51. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Livewire." Celebrity Major Issue 232 (1989): 12.

52. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Interview of the Month: Nancy Cartwright," Celebrity Major Issue 259 (1992): 9.

53. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Scientology Artists in the Spotlight of the World," Celebrity Special Issue 296 (1996): 14.

54. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Livewire," Celebrity Major Issue 274 (1994): 15.

55. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Scientology Artists in the Spotlight of the World," Celebrity Special Issue 296 (1996): 12.

56. Jon Atack, A Piece of Blue Sky: Scientology, Dianetics, and L. Ron Hubbard Exposed (New York: Lyle Stuart, 1990), 348.

57. Dianna Waggoner, "Scientology's Stars Rally Against a \$39 Mil Award," People, June 10, 1985, 59–60; Wright, Going Clear, 180–181.

58. Wright, Going Clear, 181.

59. Atack, Piece of Blue Sky, 357.

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61. Jörg Schindler, "The Freedom of Thought of the 'Crusaders," Frankfurter Rundschau, July 27, 1997 (English translation).

62. IASA, "1997 IAS Freedom Medal Winner: Anne Archer-Exemplifying the Quality of Courage," Impact 75 (1997): 33.

63. International Association of Scientologists, "General Membership News," 2003–2016; http://www.iasmembership.org/member/rules.html. See the advertisement in IASA, Ibid., 2.

64. Chris Blackhurst, "Travolta Begs Channel 4 Not to Attack Scientology," Independent, November 8, 1997.

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66. Stephen A. Kent and Terra Manca, "A War over Mental Health Professionalism: Scientology Versus Psychiatry," Mental Health, Religion & Culture 17 no. 1 (2014): 1–23, doi:10.1080/13674676.2012. 737552; Terra Manca, "Alternative Therapy, Dianetics, and Scientology," Marburg Journal of Religion 15 (2010): 1-20.

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68. Kim Masters, "Travolta's Scientology Turning Point?," Daily Beast, September 27, 2009, http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2009/09/27/travoltas-scientology -turning-point.html.

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75. Brooke Shields, "War of Words," New York Times, July 1, 2005, http://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/01/opinion/war-of-words.html.

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81. Study Technology (or Study Tech) claims to identify three barriers to learning then offers solutions to each. The first barrier is that ideas or items presented to readers lack mass, so the solution is either to show the read the actual item that is in the text or have the reader use various small objects (erasers paper clips, bottle caps, etc.) to build mock-ups of the ideas or items. The second barrier is that the new material is on too steep a gradient for the readers, with the solution being to reduce the difficulty of the material's level. The third barrier involves readers going past words in the text that they do not understand. The solution is for readers always to look up in a dictionary these unknown or misunderstood words. L. Ron Hubbard, [Based on the Works of], *The Scientology Handbook* (Los Angeles: Bridge Publications, 1994), 5–17.

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84. "Top Gun Tom Under Fire!," National Enquirer, August 7, 2003, http://www.nationalenquirer.com/celebrity/top-gun-tom-under-fire/.

85. Forsloff, "Tom Cruise Again Asserts Scientology Cured His Dyslexia."

86. Cruise, quoted in Morton, Tom Cruise, 249.

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88. Chris Rojek, Fame Attack: The Inflation of Celebrity and Its Consequences (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 149.

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90. See Puja Khatri, "Celebrity Endorsement: A Strategic Promotion Perspective," *Indian Media Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (July–December 2006): 27.

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137. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, "Religious Intolerance."

138. Enquete Commission, New Religious and Ideological Communities and Psychogroups in the Federal Republic of Germany, translated by Wolfgang Fehlberg and Monica Ulloa-Fehlberg (Bonn: Deutscher Bundestag Referat Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, 1998), 344–349.

139. These issues included Scientology's use of "defamatory pieces of writing often produced abroad—. . . to make personal attacks on its critics and to demean them" (Ibid., 241). Some of these "critics and ex-members have been persecuted with 'psychoterror" (Ibid., 347). German officials noted the pressure that individual Scientologists were under pressure to buy "scientifically worthless" E-meters at grossly inflated prices (Ibid., 262). A federal Labor Court had ruled that Scientology was not a religious community (Ibid., 271), and other information indicated that the organization has "a decidedly commercial orientation" (Ibid., 348). German officials were concerned "that the organization reacts extremely aggressively to public criticism in many cases," and "that the organization is pursuing unconstitutional aspirations" (Ibid., 347, see 349). German authorities had received information that "the Scientology Organization was running institutions that resembled penal camps (Rehabilitation Project Force), in which members were abused and detained against their will. According to these reports, the Scientology Organization systematically violates human rights" (Ibid.).

140. L. Ron Hubbard, "Ethics, Suppressive Acts, Suppression of Scientology and Scientologists, The Fair Game Law," *Hubbard Communications Office Policy Letter* (March 1, 1965): 553. Quoted in L. Ron Hubbard, *The Organization Executive Course*, HCO Division 1 (Copenhagen: Scientology Publications Organization, 1970), 552–557.

141. Josh Young, "Bill Clinton's Grand Seduction," George, March 1998, 106ff.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid.

144. Stephen A. Kent, "Hollywood's Celebrity Lobbyists and the Clinton Administration's American Foreign Policy toward German scientology," *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture* 1 no. 1 (Spring 2002), doi:10.31.38/jrpc.1.1.002; see the excellent, in-depth website by Tilman Hausherr, "Clearwatergate: US Politics and Scientology," accessed February 26, 2016, http://home.snafu.de/tilman/politics.html.

145. I draw this conclusion from several talks with members of the Enquete Commission, plus one incident that I witnessed during the Commission members' visit in late February 1998. I was one of the people who met with these members, and my meeting came immediately after they met with a U.S. official. Apparently Enquete Commission member, Ursula Caberta, had asked the official about Scientology's Rehabilitation Project Force operating in the United States, which Germans (and others) considered to be a significant human right abuse. The U.S. official had no idea what the question was about—he had no idea what the RPF was. The incident simply reinforced how uniformed German officials thought their U.S. counterparts were. For German officials' perspective on Scientology's lobbying efforts against their country with U.S. politicians in this period, see Enquete Commission, *New Religions and Ideological Communities*, 229.

146. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Centre News," Celebrity 272 (1993): 6.

147. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Livewire," *Celebrity* 287 (1995): 12.

148. Merrie Morris, "Merrie-Go-Round," Washington Times, August 3, 1993, E1; Lois Romano, "The Reliable Source," Washington Post, August 3, 1993, E3.

149. Lloyd Grove, "The Reliable Source: Juliette Lewis's Prescription for Reform," *Washington Post*, March 5, 2003, C3.

150. Hunter Walker, "Meet Scientology's Lobbyist Who Works the Halls of Congress for the Church," *Business Insider*, April 8, 2015, http://www.businessinsider.com /church-of-scientology-washington-lobbyist-2015-4.

151. "Tis the Season for a Scientology Party," Wall Street Journal, December 11, 2006.

152. Morton, Tom Cruise, 242–243.

153. Ibid.

154. "Jenna Elfman Net Worth," accessed February 27, 2016, http://www.celebrity networth.com/richest-celebrities/actors/jenna-elfman-net-worth/. I offer the information from this website with some caution, since it does not say how it arrived at the figures of movie stars' wealth or on what date the calculations were made. (The information, however, appears to be relatively current.) Nevertheless, I see nothing in the figures that would lead me to challenge or question their basic accuracy.

155. "Kirstie Alley Net Worth," accessed February 27, 2016, http://www.celebrity networth.com/richest-celebrities/actors/kirstie-alley-net-worth/.

156. "Nancy Cartwright Net Worth," accessed February 27, 2016, http://www.celebritynetworth.com/richest-celebrities/actors/nancy-cartwright-net-worth/.

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The British paper, the *Times*, placed her income per show at an estimated \$400,000. Chris Ayres, "Simpson's Producers 'Have a Cow' as Bart Lends His Voice to Scientologists," Times (U.K.), January 30, 2009, http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/arts/tv-radio /article2446537.ece.

157. "John Travolta Net Worth," accessed February 27, 2016, http://www.celebrity networth.com/richest-celebrities/actors/john-travolta-net-worth/.

158. "Tom Cruise Net Worth," accessed February 27, 2016, http://www.celebrity networth.com/richest-celebrities/actors/tom-cruise-net-worth/.

159. David McNamee, "How Can Springfield's Voice of Reason Be a Scientologist?," Guardian, February 6, 2008, http://www.theguardian.com/culture/tvandradioblog/2008 /feb/06/howcanspringfields voiceof; "Priscilla Presley Net Worth," accessed February 28, 2016, http://www.celebritynetworth.com/richest-celebrities/actors/priscilla-presley -net-worth/.

160. "John Travolta Donates an Additional \$1.5 Million to Fight Scientology's Critics," last modified March 3, 2008, http://www.forum.exscn.net/archive/index .php/t-4749.html.

161. McNamee, "How Can Springfield's Voice." Ayres, "Simpsons Producers."

162. Tony Ortega, "When Tom Cruise Was One of Scientology's Biggest Donors: A Look Back," The Underground Bunker, 2015, http://tonyortega.org/2015/06 /07/when-tom-cruise-was-one-of-scientologys-biggest-donors-a-look-back/; Remini, Troublemaker, 124.

- 163. Remini, Troublemaker, 121.
- 164. Ibid., 123-124.
- 165. Wright, Going Clear, 216.
- 166. Scobee, Abuse at the Top, 71–74.
- 167. Ibid., 75.

168. L. Ron Hubbard, "John Travolta," The Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre Good Newsletter #15 (1978) (capitalization in original).

169. One biography of Travolta indicated that, "inspired by Hubbardism, he gave to charities promoting drug rehabilitation, the rain forest, the clean-up of radioactive food in Russia, cancer, Aids research and programmes for the learning-disabled." Nigel Andrews, Travolta: The Life (London: Bloomsbury, 1998), 274. Unfortunately, the author did not name the charities.

170. Scobee, Abuse at the Top, 70.

171. Ibid., 200.

172. Claire Hoffman and Kim Christensen, "Tom Cruise and Scientology," Los Angeles Times, December 18, 2005, http://www.latimes.com/news/la-fi-scientology 18dec18-storyhtml.

173. Morton, Tom Cruise, 151.

174. L. Ron Hubbard, "Income Flows and Pools: Principles of Money and Management," Hubbard Communications Office Policy Letter, March 9, 1972, in L. Ron Hubbard, The Management Series 1970-1974. 1974, updated reprint. (Los Angeles: Church of Scientology of California, 1975), 384.

175. Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Interview of the Month: Actress Jenna Elfman," Celebrity Minor Issue 298 (1996): 8, 10.

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176. Wright, Going Clear, 216.

177. David S. Meyer and Joshua Gamson, "The Challenge of Cultural Elites: Celebrities and Social Movements," *Sociological Inquiry* 65, no. 2 (May 1995): 189 (italics in original).

178. Ann Louise Bardach, "Proud Mary," George, August 1999, 91.

179. Ibid.

180. Sonny Bono Copyright Term Extension Act, S. 505, 105th Cong. (January 27, 1998), http://www.copyright.gov/legislation/s505.pdf.

181. Kent, "Hollywood's Celebrity Lobbyists."

182. Christian Lahusen, The Rhetoric of Moral Protest: Public Campaigns, Celebrity Endorsement, and Political Mobilization (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 118.

183. Meyer and Gamson, "The Challenge of Cultural Elites," 186.

184. Kent, "Hollywood's Celebrity-Lobbyists"; see H. H. Gerth, Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, ed. C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 186–187, 190–191.

185. Kent, "Hollywood's Celebrity Lobbyists."

186. Ibid.

187. Ibid.; Stephen A. Kent, "The French and German versus American Debate Over 'New Religions,' Scientology, and Human Rights," *Marburg Journal of Religion* 6, no. 1 (January 2001): 11.

188. Benjamin Gilman, quoted in Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Celebrity Centre's 33rd Annual Anniversary Gala," *Celebrity* 342 (2002): 14.

189. Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 21.

190. Ibid., 21–23.

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