

Aug. 4, 2000

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-2-00
We both know there
are enemies of peace
in Pakistan. We
will press them. You
are doing right by dialogue

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-31-00

OKM



*Aaron
Bleidt*

AARON C. BLEIDT
Justice of the Peace, District #6

P.O. Box 4460
Fayetteville, AR 72702-4460
e-mail: ableidt@yahoo.com
Residence: 501-571-8359
Pager: 501-444-1399

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

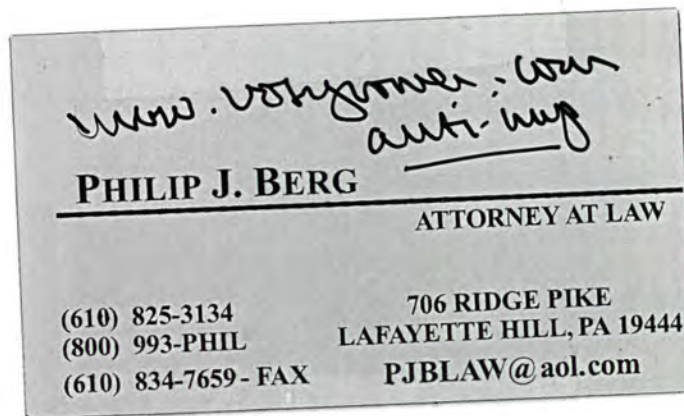
7/31/00

Return to Nancy?
Yes ✓
No

ced

Aug 8, 2000

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-3-00



8-4-00

Should we route
this to anyone?

8-5-00 -

Looks like Be wrote
an email address on it --
maybe send it to
the egov folks? *Can*
Do we know who Berg is?

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

- ① The one who understand
- ② The other → plan. H. ground
- ③ Gary Brown → Summer without
→ rise-integ (K)

- ① decreases
prophs
- ② help brown
- ③ the children

20% to 4%
three-way cortey
his leg can

Swiss 7.56
UG, Therapy, Med Sci

Prou, Comp, Brief says
60%

Conjestion & Qual

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

production requirements. Build and release procedures will be provided by CENTECH with each build and version description.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

You're
how
old!?



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-24-00

~~fu~~

The President


 10 Years of
 E033E
 Heart of America
 U.S. POSTAGE
 7009788
 MAY 10 2000
 KANSAS CITY
 MO

22201+3936 hhhhhhhhhhllllllllllllllllllllllllllllll

TO RM?

Yes ☒

No ☐

msg sent -

cul



*The Board of Curators, Faculty,
and Graduating Class
of
Lincoln University
request the honor of your presence at the
May Commencement Exercises
Saturday Morning, May Thirteenth
Two Thousand
at
Ten O'Clock in the Morning
in
Dwight T. Reed Stadium*

Lincoln University



2000 May Commencement

Aug 11, 2000

THE WHITE HO
WASHINGTON

7/29

Joe L

Joe Conaton says
he has been calling
~~for~~ with several times
no one return -

He wants to come see
us - I have to do -
Pls show soon

BZ

Copied
Lockhart
Street
Podesta

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/31/00

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING



5711 SOUTH 86TH CIRCLE • PO BOX 27347 • OMAHA, NEBRASKA 68127-0347 • USA

PHONE 402/596-8900 • FAX 402/339-0265

E-MAIL vin@infousa.com • INTERNET www.infoUSA.com

July 13, 2000

VINOD GUPTA
CHAIRMAN & CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER
DIRECT LINE 402/593/4675

William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20502

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-31-00

Dear Mr. President:

I have noticed with interest your opposition to the elimination of "estate tax". I firmly believe that estate taxes should be repealed and you should drop your opposition.

"Estate tax" is a double taxation. First, income taxes are paid on our income, and then we pay taxes again in the form of "estate tax". This is confiscatory in nature. There is no room for "estate tax" in today's environment.

During the days of "Robber Barrons", we created "estate tax" so that families could not hoard wealth and transfer to generations to come. But those days are gone. Today, in this country, anyone can be successful and create wealth. Once we pay our income taxes it is not the governments business what is done with our money.

Therefore, I believe that "estate tax" and the "gift tax" should be eliminated. Even a country such as India, a third world country, has repealed "estate tax" and "gift tax". This confiscatory tax costs us more money for accountants, attorneys, and phony insurance scams to get around this "estate tax". If it were eliminated, it would make our lives simpler.

I would suggest that the capital gains tax be increased slightly to make up for the elimination of "estate tax".

I would like to discuss this matter in more detail, if you are interested.

Best regards,

Vinod Gupta



PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-31-00

H
A
I
T
I

CAMPAGNE PRESIDENTIELLE 2000



Tel: (954) 315-0251

Fax: (954) 315-0194

Email: Info@HaitiUnion2000.com

usc - FYI -

Bonivert Claude
Candidat à la Présidence

600 N Pine Island Road, Suite 450
Plantation FL 33324

Copied
usc
Podesta.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-31-00

**TOP TEN REASONS WHY THE AFL-CIO SHOULD SUPPORT
JOHN FEE OVER JACK QUINN FOR THE 30TH CONGRESSIONAL SEAT
(DEMOCRATIC VS. REPUBLICAN CONGRESS)**

10. "Speaker" Gephardt has a nice ring to it.
9. Labor won't win, place or show with a Republican Trifecta: Republican White House, Senate and House.
8. We like having a minimum wage, pensions and health care.
7. In Western New York, we're tired of swimming to Canada for affordable prescription drugs.
6. Quinn's 55% lifetime AFL-CIO rating is a failing grade in the schools we went to.
5. John Fee won't run for re-election if he has less than +90% AFL-CIO rating.
4. Three words you'll never hear from John Fee's lips, "Yes Speaker Hastert."
3. If John Fee says he won't vote to impeach the President, you can believe him.
2. "Impeach Quinn" bumper stickers are still visible on cars driven by AFL-CIO members.
1. The best reason of all: The local AFL-CIO voted to recommend John Fee.

Paid for by the John Fee for Congress campaign

JOHN FEE
for CONGRESS

JP/Steuer
surely someone go
to Buffalo from
would it be like? Be.

Copied
Podesta
Ricchetti

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-9-00

bin

August 8, 2000

Dear Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton,

Socks had an unpleasant encounter with a hard floor on Monday, 31 July. He was limping and taken to the Vet at FT. Myer that afternoon. Dr. Kaplan took x-rays and discovered Socks had a torn tendon and some bone fragments in his left hind knee. He also shows signs of arthritis in his hips/lower backbone.

Dr. Kaplan advised Socks to have limited duty with no jumping or leaping. We moved him into the Doctor's Office for his convalescent period, which was advised to take about 4 weeks. Dr. Kaplan requested Socks to be seen by her on a weekly basis during this time for observation.

On Monday, 7 August, Socks returned to Dr. Kaplan for a check. She advised that she had made an appointment with a couple of specialists/surgeons at FT. Belvoir for Wednesday, 9 August, at 1100. Socks would be sedated so they could do more extensive tests to better evaluate the damage to his leg.

Socks gets an outing Monday through Friday for a few hours. His leash is fixed so he cannot climb trees or jump. Otherwise, his time is spent in the Doctor's Office being spoiled.

Please contact us if you have any questions or concerns.

Very respectfully,

Phyl Green

Phyl Green
Executive Assistant to the
Physician to the President

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-2-00

Clinton / Arkansas

Memo

To: President Clinton

From: Lynda Dixon

CC:

Date: 7/26/00

Re: UAMS

C. Jennings
What's the deal with?

fx

Mr. Bowen called today and asked that I send you the enclosed letter signed by all the living governors of the State of Arkansas. All they ask is that you look at this before sending it to one of your aides.

Thanks.

Copied
Jennings
Podesta.

Copied
Jennings
Podesta.



State of Arkansas

July 10, 2000

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing you as Arkansans who have all had the opportunity to serve their state as Governor and continue to serve in many ways. This matter is of urgent interest to the citizens of Arkansas.

As Arkansas' only teaching hospital, UAMS is the foundation for training of physicians, pharmacists, nurses and allied health professionals statewide. Although located in Little Rock, approximately 50% of University Hospital's patients come from outside Pulaski County. This institution is in a financial crisis. It is critical to the future healthcare and economic development of the state, that every effort be made to support the financial stability of this institution ---- now and long-term.

Our state has submitted a proposal to the Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA) to establish desperately needed supplemental Medicaid payments for the state's only academic health center, the University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences (UAMS). Our proposal is for rate enhancements that are perfectly legal under current law. However, HCFA is preparing to issue a regulatory change that will severely limit our ability to provide these critical payments, due to concerns about abuses by some states that are completely unrelated to our proposal. We are taking the extraordinary step of asking for your help in ensuring that the regulatory change does not in any way impact what we propose to do in Arkansas.

We cannot over-emphasize the importance of this proposal to the provision of medical care in our state. UAMS serves as the cornerstone of our health care system, providing complex

specialty care not available elsewhere, training the next generation of doctors (a significant percentage of whom remain in the state to serve its population) and providing enormous amounts of uncompensated care to the state's uninsured and underinsured residents.

All of this care is costly and under-reimbursed, to the extent it is reimbursed at all. Most other states have been able to assist their teaching hospitals in providing this care through the Medicaid Disproportionate Share Hospital (DSH) program. However, in 1991 Congress strictly limited the amount that states may pay hospitals through DSH, which was further limited by the Balanced Budget Act 1997.

Arkansas is consequently prohibited from paying anywhere near UAMS' uncompensated costs through DSH. As a result, UAMS receives annual DSH payments of under \$54,000, and statewide the federal DSH allotment is only \$2 million (out of a total of \$9 billion nationwide). Meanwhile, teaching hospitals in neighboring states receive DSH payments of \$77 million (University of Mississippi), \$80 million (University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston) and even \$106 million (Louisiana State University).

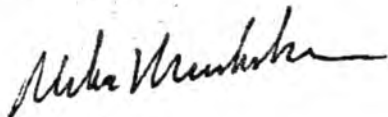
UAMS is facing a severe budgetary crisis, due to a combination of factors, which threatens its ability to continue to serve as an essential health care safety net provider in the future. In FY 1999 UAMS lost \$18 million and for FY 2000, UAMS is projecting a \$30 million loss. If this trend is not reversed, the very existence of University Hospital is in jeopardy. The University and the state are doing everything we can to alleviate this crisis. But our Medicaid proposal is an essential element of our plan to ensure UAMS' future viability.

Our proposal does not implicate any of the apparent state abuses of Medicaid that we understand have led HCFA to develop the regulatory change. The entire amount of the proposed payments will go to UAMS and will stay with UAMS. Although the non-federal share of the payments will be funded through funds in the UAMS budget rather than general state revenues, these are transfers fully authorized by federal law. After the payments are made, none of the federal funds will be returned to the state Medicaid program or the state general fund – they will all remain with the hospital to cover the costs of Medicaid-eligible care provided. *In short, our proposal simply does not involve any inappropriate recycling of federal funds or other game-playing that has so disturbed HCFA to date.* Our unfortunate timing, however, has found us caught in a much larger controversy over which we have no control.

We ask for your help in ensuring that Arkansas' proposal is approved and allowed to take effect permanently. We do not have the history of Medicaid abuses that plague the records of other states. In fact, we have been disadvantaged by not moving quickly enough to claim federal Medicaid funds to which we would otherwise have been entitled. We do not in any way condone the apparent abuses that have gone on in other states. In our case, this funding is very critical to UAMS' future. These monies will not be used for any other propose than assisting UAMS. We ask for your assistance in ensuring that HCFA's impending action does not restrict our ability to implement these supplemental payments for UAMS.

Attached is additional background on this issue for your staff. We would be happy to provide any further information you may find helpful. Your strong consideration of this proposal will be appreciated. As a former Governor, you have dealt with these issues and know them to be factual. Please help us with a final resolution of this critical problem.

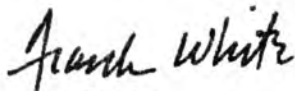
Sincerely,



Mike Huckabee
Governor 1996 - Present



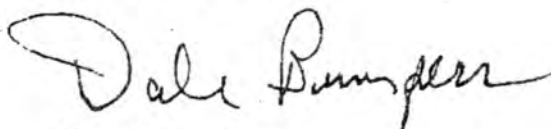
Jim Guy Tucker
Governor 1992 - 1996



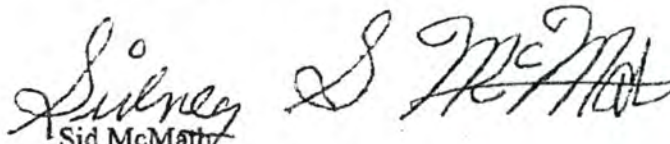
Frank White
Governor 1981 - 1983



David Pryor
Governor 1975 - 1979



Dale Bumpers
Governor 1971 - 1975



Sid McMath
Governor 1949 - 1953

Attachment
tbs

THE IMPACT OF HCFA'S PROPOSED REGULATORY CHANGE ON ARKANSAS

The University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences is a Critical Element of Arkansas' Health Care Delivery System, Yet It Faces a Crisis

- Arkansas has only one academic health center in the state, the University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences (UAMS). This essential institution provides unique specialty health care services, trains the next generation of doctors to serve state residents, and provides access to care for the uninsured. All of this care is costly and is under-reimbursed or not reimbursed at all.
- UAMS is currently experiencing a severe financial crisis due to a combination of factors including cutbacks in Medicare and third-party reimbursement, increasing numbers of uninsured patients and heightened competition in the health care industry.
- This crisis threatens UAMS future viability, and its continued ability to serve as a critical safety net provider in the state.

Arkansas Has Proposed to Establish a State Operated Teaching Hospital Adjustment for UAMS to Help Resolve Its Crisis

- In May 2000, Arkansas submitted two state plan amendments to HCFA to establish state operated teaching hospital rate adjustments for UAMS. The adjustments -- one for inpatient services and the other for outpatient services -- would bring UAMS' rates up to the maximum allowable level permitted under the Medicaid Upper Payment Limit (UPL) regulations.
- The inpatient adjustment would increase rates by approximately \$4 million per year and the outpatient adjustment by approximately \$52 million per year. The non-federal share (approximately \$18 million) of these payments would be financed through funds provided by UAMS.
- These payments are a crucial element of the state's plan to resolve the fiscal crisis at UAMS, which otherwise could threaten the quality and access to care provided to residents of Arkansas.

The Inpatient Adjustment Should Be Expedited Because It Would Not Be Impacted By Any Regulatory Change

- Under current regulations, state-operated hospitals such as UAMS are subject to a separate UPL calculation for inpatient rates. The proposed inpatient rate adjustment for UAMS is in compliance with this requirement.

- No change to this separate UPL for state operated facilities is currently contemplated, to our knowledge, and the inpatient proposal would therefore not be affected by the regulatory change.
- The proposed inpatient adjustment should not be held hostage with other plan amendments that are subject to the regulatory change.

Arkansas Should Not Be Subjected to the More Restrictive Upper Payments to be Proposed by HCFA

- HCFA is poised to modify the UPL regulations in a way that would give states much less flexibility in setting rates. This modification would greatly restrict Arkansas' ability to adjust UAMS' outpatient rates in the manner proposed.
- The purported reason for the regulatory change is the apparent use by some states of Medicaid dollars for non-Medicaid purposes. These states reportedly use payments to public nursing homes and hospitals, combined with intergovernmental transfers, to divert federal Medicaid funds for inappropriate purposes.
- Arkansas does not condone these abuses, and supports HCFA's efforts to halt them.
- Arkansas' plan contains none of these troubling elements. All of the new payments will remain with UAMS. None will be diverted to other uses. The non-federal share will be paid by UAMS entirely from "funds appropriated to State university teaching hospitals" as specifically authorized by statute (42 U.S.C. §1396b(w)(6)(A)).
- Despite Arkansas' unfortunate timing in proposing these adjustments in the midst of controversy, these payments are a legitimate use of Medicaid funds, and are desperately needed to ensure UAMS' viability.

Arkansas Has Historically Received Well Below Its Fair Share of Federal Medicaid Funding, and UAMS Has Consequently Been Deprived of a Desperately Needed Source of Support

- Congress established the Medicaid Disproportionate Share Hospital (DSH) program in the early 1980s to assist safety net hospitals such as UAMS with the enormous unreimbursed costs associated with their missions.
- Over the last decade, Congress has placed increasingly tight limits on the growth in state DSH programs. Because Arkansas was relatively late in establishing a DSH program, it is forever restricted in the amount of DSH payments it can make to safety net hospitals such as UAMS.
- Currently, Arkansas' federal DSH allotment is \$2 million. DSH allotments for all states total \$9 billion. In other words, Arkansas receives slightly more than two one-hundredths of one percent (.022 percent) of federal DSH dollars nationwide.

- UAMS' annual DSH payment in FY 1998 was \$53,964. This amount is dwarfed by the DSH payments received by other teaching hospitals across the country, according to state reports filed with HCFA. For example, in FY 1998 the University of Mississippi and the Medical University of South Carolina each received \$77 million, the University of Louisville (KY) received \$46 million, the University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston received \$80 million and the Louisiana State University received \$106 million.
- The inability of Arkansas to provide DSH payments to UAMS means that the proposed teaching hospital adjustments are even more direly needed. UAMS is trying to cope with the pressures experienced by all teaching hospitals but is doing so in the absence of this critical source of support available to most similarly situated institutions.
- As the attachments indicate, numerous teaching hospitals across the United States have received the DSH payments for over a decade. Also, many states are drawing both DSH and non-DSH supplemental payments. In order to allow UAMS to stabilize its financial status, we are requesting the proposal made be granted on a permanent basis.

**DSH PAYMENTS TO TEACHING HOSPITALS
(AS REPORTED TO HCFA)**

FISCAL YEAR 1998

ATTACHMENT "A"

STATE	TEACHING HOSPITAL	FY '98 DSH PAYMENTS
<i>Arkansas</i>	Univ.of AR for Med. Sciences	\$ 53,964
Colorado	University of CO Hospital	\$ 55,000,000
Connecticut	Yale New Haven Hospital (CT)	\$ 44,000,000
Florida	University Medical Center Jacksonville, FL	\$ 42,000,000
Kentucky	University of Kentucky Hospital	\$ 18,000,000
Kentucky	University of Louisville Hospital	\$ 46,000,000
Louisiana	Louisiana St. Univ. Med. Center	\$106,000,000
Missouri	University of MO Hospital	\$ 23,000,000
Nevada	University of NV Medical Center	\$ 59,000,000
New Mexico	University of NM Hospital	\$ 4,000,000
Oklahoma	University of Oklahoma Hospital	\$ 19,000,000
South Carolina	Med. Univ.of South Carolina	\$ 77,000,000
Texas	UTMB - Galveston	\$ 80,000,000
Texas	UT Tyler	\$ 12,000,000
Texas	MD Anderson - Houston	\$ 66,000,000
Virginia	University of Virginia Hospital	\$ 41,000,000
Virginia	Medical College of Virginia	\$ 89,000,000

DSH ALLOTMENTS DATA

TOTAL FY 2000 DSH ALLOTMENT FOR ALL STATES: \$9 BILLION (+)

ATTACHMENT "B"

STATE	FEDERAL ALLOTMENT	PAYMENT PER MEDICAID/UNINSURED PERSON (FY '98) (National Avg.: \$218.96)*
ARKANSAS	\$ 2 M	\$3.11 M
CALIFORNIA	\$ 931 M	////
GEORGIA	\$ 228 M	////
KANSAS	\$ 36 M	////
LOUISIANA	\$ 658 M	////
MISSISSIPPI	\$ 129 M	////
MISSOURI	\$ 379 M	////
NEW YORK	\$1,361 M	////
TEXAS	\$ 765 M	////

*Coughlin, Ku & Kim, "Reforming the Medicaid Disproportionate Share Hospital Program I the 1990s, Urban Institute, January 2000)

BARBARA LEE
9TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

COMMITTEES:
BANKING AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

REPLY TO
OFFICE CHECKED:

- ☐ 414 CANNON H.O.B.
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-2661
- ☐ 1301 CLAY STREET
SUITE 1000 N
OAKLAND, CA 94612
(510) 763-0370



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-0509

WASHINGTON OFFICE
SANDRÉ R. SWANSON
CHIEF OF STAFF

DISTRICT OFFICE
ROBERTA CHEFF BROOKS
DISTRICT DIRECTOR

July 27, 2000

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-31-00

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to you to request your assistance in securing funding under the FY01 Energy and Water Appropriations bill for the Port of Oakland's 50-ft Dredging project and the Hamilton Airfield Wetland Restoration Project (Port of Oakland-Hamilton Project). Total funding for the two projects is \$23 million.

This project provides funding for the deepening of the Oakland channels and maintenance at the Port of Oakland and utilizes environmentally safe dredge material to the Hamilton Airfield for wetland restoration. The two projects depend upon one another and are vital for maintaining our nation's capacity to engage in international trade. I have attached copies of my request letters, which includes more information.

The current Port of Oakland-Hamilton Project is modeled after the very successful efforts of utilizing dredge material for reconstructing wetlands at the Sonoma Baylands Wetlands Restorations Project, for which you and many Administration officials were instrumental in initiating. The current project provides the same opportunity to combine economic development with environmental restoration.

The Port of Oakland-Hamilton Project is important for the nation and for my district. The Port of Oakland is a significant gateway for international trade for U.S. agricultural products and manufactured goods. Oakland is positioned to play a significant role in U.S.- Pacific Rim trade. If the Port of Oakland-Hamilton Project is not funded, we risk the potential for West Coast foreign shipments being directed to Mexico or Canada, instead of directly to the U.S. This project is pro-environment, pro-economic development, pro-labor and pro-trade. As you are aware, due to funding constraints neither the Senate nor the House bills included funding new starts, including the Port of Oakland-Hamilton Project.

Again, I am requesting your continued assistance and respectfully request that this project is included among the Administration's priorities as the appropriations process moves forward this year. I also want to express my appreciation to John Podesta and Steve Richetti for their attention to this issue.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Barbara Lee". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Barbara" being larger and more prominent than the last name "Lee".

Barbara Lee
Member of Congress

BL/scc

Enclosure



REPLY TO:
OFFICE ADDRESS
414 CANNON DOOR
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
202-225-2661

2301 CLAY STREET
SUITE 1000 N.
OAKLAND, CA 94612
510-763-0370

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-0509
March 31, 2000

The Honorable Peter J. Visclosky, Ranking Member
Subcommittee on Energy and Water Development
House Appropriations Committee
1016 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

RE: FY 2001 Appropriations for U.S. Army Corps of Engineers projects

Dear Ranking Member Visclosky:

As Members of the Northern California Delegation, we are writing to request the Subcommittee provide funds in its FY 2001 Energy and Water Development appropriations bill for two 1999 WRDA-authorized Army Corps of Engineers projects: **\$3 million for the wetlands restoration project at the former Hamilton Army Airfield, and \$20 million for the Port of Oakland 50 foot dredging.**

In addition, we also support inclusion of the following funds to complete studies associated with managing these programs and the federal-state Long Term Management Strategy (LTMS) for Dredge Disposal program: **\$200,000 to complete the LTMS; \$200,000 for a reconnaissance level study to expand the Hamilton project to include adjacent property; and \$200,000 to NOAA to evaluate opportunities for habitat enhancement using dredged materials in the San Francisco estuary area.**

For a decade, a bipartisan consensus has existed among the Northern California delegation that the economic vitality of the region – and the Nation – depend on the effective and reliable dredging of northern California's port facilities. In addition, we have agreed that the gridlock that has sometimes held up such dredging, which has resulted in adverse economic impacts, can be broken through innovative dredge disposal solutions. For this reason, although they are separate projects, the Hamilton and Oakland projects are vitally and importantly related.

As you know, the Nation's economy and economic growth depends in substantial measure on our ability to ensure efficient and cost-effective transshipment of the intermodal freight that carries so much of our import and export commodities. Projections indicate that growth of such cargo with nations on the Pacific Rim will eventually overwhelm the ability of West Coast U.S. ports to handle the traffic efficiently. Unless capacity on our West Coast expands, such traffic will eventually migrate to Canada or Mexico, or be bogged down by substantial delays. The Port of

Oakland project is a critical component of a strategy to boost this aspect of our national infrastructure.

To meet this requirement, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' proposes to dredge the Port of Oakland channels in northern California to a depth of 50 feet. This deepening will accommodate the newest generations of deep-draft container ships, and allow them to arrive in Oakland fully laden with cargo, rather than sailing light or waiting, inefficiently, for the tides to create sufficient water to handle the draft of the vessels. At its own expense, the Port will invest more than seven hundred million dollars in infrastructure that will both double the size of its facilities and include a state-of-the-art "joint intermodal terminal" facility to facilitate container transfer to rail for transcontinental shipment. This combination of improvements taken together creates the synergy necessary to maximize the benefits of the Port of Oakland "gateway" for the Nation.

The cost/benefit analysis on this project demonstrates the robust return that the Nation will receive on its investment. This is no marginal project -- it is critical to our national economic well-being. For this reason, the Corps of Engineers has worked closely with the Port to move the dredging project forward on an accelerated schedule. Congress agreed that the project was vital and last year included it in the Water Resources Development Act of 1999.

In order to get construction started in a manner that is timely to this urgent national requirement, we must get started in FY 2001 to meet the urgent timetable. To do that, Congress must appropriate the funds to start construction in the 2001 Fiscal Year appropriation cycle.

The second project would develop the former Hamilton Army Airfield as a wetland restoration project. The Corps of Engineers, working with the State Coastal Conservancy as a local sponsor, would utilize dredge material to restore the property to a tidal marsh. This is a key element of the federal-state partnership known as the Long Term Management Strategy for Dredge Disposal.

Earlier this decade, Congress authorized and appropriated funds to construct the very successful Sonoma Baylands Wetlands Demonstration Project. That project demonstrated that we can use dredge material to jump-start wetland restoration processes throughout the Bay. This can lead to critical habitat restoration and provide a proper balance of growth and environmental protection. One essential element of that plan is to use material at Hamilton from the Oakland harbor-deepening project -- the most significant dredging project in the San Francisco Estuary for some time to come. These projects constitute one of those areas where industry and the environmental community have come together in common cause. It is truly a win-win for both, and the Congress has taken the lead in collaboration with the Corps in moving this strategy forward.

Despite the overwhelming merit of the two projects and the strong support by the Corps of Engineers, the administration has disappointingly declined to include either project in its budget submission for FY 2001. We urge the Subcommittee to correct this

unfortunate shortcoming, and put these projects back on schedule as envisioned doing in WRDA 1999. Very seldom do we have such a clear opportunity to accommodate economic growth and improve the environment simultaneously.

We thank you for your thoughtful consideration of this request. We cannot overstate how important these projects are to the economic well being of the Nation and our State. They are modest investments in the future of our economy, but ones that will create enormous dividends for current and future generations of Americans.

Sincerely,

Barbara Lee

Lynn Woolsey

Mike Thompson

Anna G. Eshoo

Pete Stark

Cal Dooley

Ellen Staische

Tom Lantos

George Miller

Robert J. Matsui

Tom Emphull

Nancy Pelosi

cc: Chairman Ron Packard, House Energy and Water Appropriations

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0509

PUBLIC DOCUMENT

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

*Stamp
This is not a comment
to keep - this must
can be kept -*

Barbara Lee
M.C.

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President
The White House

*Copied
Ricchetti
Podesta
Brain
Crouch*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-31-00



Aug. 14, 2000

H. LIEBERMAN: OK, I'll do it quickly. I was born in Prague, Czechoslovakia after the war -- my parents -- my father out of labor camps, my mother out of Auschwitz and Dachau.

KING: Your parents were both in concentration camps?

H. LIEBERMAN: Yes, yes. I was a very lucky child to be born after the war, and that they were still alive. And my dad -- my mother wanted to name me after my grandmother, and my father, of course, said sure. And her name was Esther, but when they went to the Czech authorities to write the name down, there was confusion of Esther being a name that might be associated in a negative way with the war.

J. LIEBERMAN: It sounded Germanic to people.

KING: So they named you...

H. LIEBERMAN: So they named me the translation, Hadassah.

J. LIEBERMAN: The Hebrew of Esther is Hadassah, from the Bible, Queen Esther.

H. LIEBERMAN: Of Esther, the translation.

J. LIEBERMAN: From the Bible, Queen Esther, my queen.

H. LIEBERMAN: Right.

KING: And then you came to this...

H. LIEBERMAN: And then we came to this country and the nuns were registering my parents for, you know the immigration, the citizenship.

J. LIEBERMAN: They were absorbing them in Gardner, Massachusetts. It's a beautiful story

(CROSSTALK)

J. LIEBERMAN: An order of Catholic nuns.

H. LIEBERMAN: An order of Catholic nuns, and they looked at my name, and my dad said, well, now that we're here in the United States, we are going to change her name to what it was supposed to be, Esther. And one of the Catholic nuns said: No, Hadassah is so unique, keep it.

KING: Do you know anyone else with that name?

H. LIEBERMAN: No, I've since met a few people. I always get jealous, because I had that name for a long time.

KING: All right, how do you feel today? I mean, your parents were in a concentration camp and your husband is running for vice president.

present inclination. I am going to talk to folks, including the vice president and other leaders who I haven't had the chance to talk to, but that is what I'm inclined to do now. But honestly, my devotion, my energy, is going to be put on helping Al Gore get elected, because I just think he is so capable of being a great president.

KING: We'll get into other issues. We're still to meet his wife. We'll take some phone calls as well for Senator Joe Lieberman. I'm Larry King. Don't go away.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KING: That is Kirkland Hall here on the campus of historic, beautiful Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee. It's called the Harvard of the South. They think that Harvard is the Vanderbilt of the North. And getting equal time, Lieberman prefers Yale.

J. LIEBERMAN: Yes, you know, the big breakthrough here really was not that Al Gore chose a Jewish-American to be vice president, but that a graduate of Harvard chose a graduate of Yale to be his vice president. Now that's magnanimity.

KING: OK. Let's run down some issues.

J. LIEBERMAN: OK.

KING: I know you're pro-choice.

J. LIEBERMAN: Yes.

KING: What about partial birth abortion?

J. LIEBERMAN: Yes, I have -- I did not vote to prohibit that procedure, because as horrific as the description of it is, the law of the land clearly is that you cannot ban any procedure at all stages of a pregnancy. In other words, the Supreme Court has said and I think the moral consensus in our society is that up until the point of viability the decision about terminating a pregnancy, no matter what we think personally, has to be between a woman, her doctor, and her own moral standards and God.

KING: No matter what?

J. LIEBERMAN: Yes, no matter what. So the problem with the partial birth abortion was that it banned that one procedure at every stage of pregnancy. Some of us put in an alternative amendment that said, OK, let's not only ban it, let's ban every other form of abortion post-viability unless the life or the serious health damage to the mother was in danger.

KING: That got turned down?

J. LIEBERMAN: And that got turned down. And it's too bad, because I think that's the kind of common ground approach that could actually pass the Senate.

KING: Wouldn't most Orthodox Jews be pro-life?

J. LIEBERMAN: It's much more varied. A lot of times people say that, but

Jewish law generally on this says that what begins at conception is potential life. And frankly, depending on which rabbi you talk to, some say that the fetus at viability, when it can at least theoretically sustain itself on its own, outside the body of the mother, that's when life begins. Many other rabbis say that it begins at birth. So it's a matter of personal judgment.

And like everything else in Judaism, ultimately, it's up to each of us to decide what we think is right.

KING: Capital punishment?

J. LIEBERMAN: I have -- I have been for capital punishment, going way back to my time in the state Senate. You know, as Ed Koch once said -- funny person to quote, I suppose -- the Bible says it's moral, the Supreme Court says it's legal, and I think it's effective.

It's awful to have to impose it, but there are certain categories of crime that are so extreme that they cry out for a response, the ultimate response, if for no other reason than to give some sense of justice to the families and the friends of those who were victims of those killers.

So there's a very important debate going on now about the way the death penalty is applied in our country. I think we have to follow that thoughtfully.

KING: The (UNINTELLIGIBLE) Illinois is suspending it.

J. LIEBERMAN: Well, you know, I admire the governor, and I don't know that I would have done it. But I'll tell you one thing I think we should do, we have legislation, bipartisan legislation in the Senate that would offer not only the clear opportunity and right for DNA testing for people accused of capital crimes, but also to provide adequate resources to make sure people accused of a capital crime and subject to the death penalty ought to have first-rate legal counsel.

KING: Areas where you disagree, how are you going to handle that?

J. LIEBERMAN: Yes.

KING: Because we know that you've been generally a conservative -- moderate Democrat...

J. LIEBERMAN: Moderate..

KING: ... and you have strong areas of agreement, but you've had disagreements. Missile shield system, you favor one...

J. LIEBERMAN: Yes.

KING: ... this administration does not, right? There are areas that you -- how are you going to handle that? Do you have to suddenly change? Or will you say, I disagree with Mr. Gore in this area?

J. LIEBERMAN: Right. Look, it's been fascinating to watch the Republican response to Al Gore's selection of me.



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-9-00

8/8/2000
Mr. President -

Your commitment
to Pine Lodge is
really making a
difference - see
attached article.

Dan B.

the PENTECOSTALS

of ALEXANDRIA

July 24, 2000

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. President:

Hot summer greetings from the Mangun family!

It was such a delight to see you this past Easter season. We sincerely hope you enjoyed your visit to Alexandria. You blessed our community and our church by your attendance to *Messiah 2000*. We will always be grateful. Gentry and I will never forget the golf game.

I have heard you may be traveling to Africa in the next month, and I would appreciate being able to go with you. Our United Pentecostal Church constituency appointed me to the Africa Dream Team four years ago. Though we have realized much success, we still have a long way to go to obtain our dreams. The Pentecostals of Alexandria sponsor every United Pentecostal Church missionary to Africa, and I personally have an immense love for their people and desire to see God's hand at work on that continent.

This opportunity could enhance my vision and it would be very rewarding to share this experience with you.

If it is possible for me to accompany you on this trip I would be very honored. I look forward to speaking with you soon.

Sincerely,


Anthony Mangun



Anthony Mangun
Senior Pastor

G. A. Mangun
Bishop

Ernest Huber
Pastor

Terry Shock
Pastor

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRE 8-8-00 AS SECT

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Jubilee
Homecoming

the PENTECOSTALS



of ALEXANDRIA

Ms. Betty Currie
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20502

Aug. 21, 2000

June 28, 2000

MEMORANDUM

To: The President

From: Nancy Hernreich
Mary Morrison

Re: Clinton Cultural Center

I met with Bruce to go over the issues from the Clinton Cultural Center.

In response to the numbers on the letter:

1. They would like to have a meeting with you. It is up to you.
2. Bruce says there is not an agreement for interactivity between the library and the Cultural Center. If we give them Presidential items now it will diminish from your library. They should do an exhibit of things related from your Hot Springs years, in particular your high school years. You can loan them your sax, band letters, yearbooks, letters, photos, clothing etc.
3. According to the White House Counsels Office you can attend a fundraiser that they host but you cannot ask for money. You cannot call people like Spielberg et al and the White House cannot provide names for the invitation list.

Our Suggestions:

1. Ask the White House Counsels Office to write a letter telling the Cultural Center what they can do.
2. If Counsel's Office okays, I can guide them on how to get the names for their invitation list and where to get the numbers for the stars.
3. Scheduling has the proposal for the fundraiser. I will push them harder to get it on your schedule.

ST004
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04/28/00 01:29P P.002



WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON CULTURAL CAMPUS
HOT SPRINGS ♦ ARKANSAS

P. O. BOX 1584
HOT SPRINGS
ARKANSAS 71902
501 / 624 - 1964
FAX: 501 / 624-1974
EMAIL: wjccc@ipa.net

April 28, 2000

Ms. Nancy Hernreich
Assistant to the President and Director of
Oval Office Operations
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Nancy:

MR. PRES

Thanks so much for helping us-- I have listed the following "talking points" that you had asked me to provide regarding the meeting that David French, Keeley DeSalvo and I have requested with the President. I am in the midst of preparing a packet of information for Bruce Lindsey, as the point of contact for the library---(would he be able to sit in on this meeting as well?) These are the main topics that we'd like to discuss:

- Clinton Cultural Campus Progress. We'd like to provide a brief presentation of the renovation process in the old high school building so far with photographs and an explanation of how the \$3.5 million was raised for the first phase.
- Direction for our Clinton Museum focusing on boyhood years spent in Hot Springs as well as presidential accomplishments/ time spent in the White House.** Would folks involved with the Presidential Library possibly want to consider opening a few select exhibits in our facility since we'll be open for business before the Library? We need a "contact", either in the administration or the National Parks Service for help in coordinating this. Because of the proposed interactivity between all of the Arkansas Presidential sites, we feel it is important that we set things up properly. We also would like for the President to tell us what he would like to see in this museum and get his thoughts about a memorial to Virginia Clinton Kelley.
- Fundraising for Phase II.** Nancy, as I told you, \$3.5 million was raised for Phase I of our project (the 38 apartments) and they will be completed in August. We have a goal of raising an additional \$10 million for Phase II. As requested, we'd like for the President to attend a fundraiser for us in Washington, but we need help with our invitation list. I plan on inviting groups ranging from the Arkansas State Society to folks on the Blue Jeans Bash list (obtained from David Pryor, Jr.), but we need someone to provide additional names and addresses of D.C./New York area folks who support the arts and support this president. We would also like to invite folks ranging from Barbra Streisand, Steven Spielberg, Tom Hanks and Alec Baldwin—Hollywood folks that have an established interest in the arts. We would also like to target all top-ranking appointees in this administration, (suggested by David and Barbara Pryor). One of the highlights of this event would be to unveil the first Peter Max painting honoring the old high school.

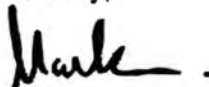
Nancy, I'll be glad to provide any additional information that you might need regarding this request. If this works out, we'd also like to be able to bring along the managing partner of The Vanadis Group, Todd Rice. The Vanadis Group is our partner in this venture and they have completed several Little Rock projects including the Kramer School and the Block Two loft apartments in the Rivermarket area of Little Rock.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Ms. Nancy Hernreich
The White House

Again we would certainly appreciate any consideration you could give to this request. I am also looking forward to working with the Scheduling Office to find a date on the calendar for our Washington fundraiser. Please call me at 501-624-1964 or 501-276-1984 at your convenience. Thanks again!

Sincerely,



Mark M. Johnston
Executive Director

/mmj

TIM JOHNSON
SOUTH DAKOTA

COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION
AND FORESTRY
BANKING, HOUSING AND
URBAN AFFAIRS
BUDGET
ENERGY AND NATURAL
RESOURCES

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4104

November 19, 1999

The Honorable Phil Gramm
Chairman, Senate Committee on
Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs
534 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-17-00

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
324 HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4104
202-224-5842
TDD: 202-224-8279

RAPID CITY OFFICE:
PO BOX 1098
RAPID CITY, SD 57709
(605) 341-3890

ABERDEEN OFFICE:
PO BOX 1554
ABERDEEN, SD 57402
(605) 226-3440

SIOUX FALLS OFFICE:
PO BOX 1424
SIOUX FALLS, SD 57101
(605) 332-8896

TOLL FREE
1-800-537-0025

Dear Chairman Gramm:

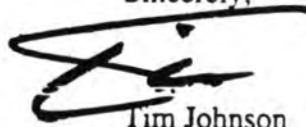
I am writing to inform you of my support for the Emergency Environment Improvement Revenue Neutral Credit Insurance Program legislation. A draft copy is attached.

This proposed legislation would create a revenue neutral credit guarantee program that could be used for implementing innovative, commercially viable technologies that demonstrate an ability to solve, on a self sustainable basis, environmental problems facing the United States. Specifically, this language would provide greater flexibility to States for assisting the private sector in developing projects to improve water quality without imposing increased financial burdens on our citizens.

It is critical to encourage private sector solutions, which are revenue neutral for States, to ensure a broad arsenal of tools to combat the myriad of water quality problems which threaten our nation's drinking water supplies. This credit guarantee legislation stops the current trend of simply throwing more federal money at our environmental and agricultural problems, including the need to establish more self sustainable, year round, middle class agricultural jobs. Instead, it will create true public/private partnership in a manner which does not require federal appropriations.

Thank you for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,



Tim Johnson



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-18-00

File

24 June 1999

Dear Mr. President,

Permit me to extend my deepest appreciation for your confidence in nominating me to become the Commandant of the Marine Corps as of 1 July 1999. I am both humbled and challenged by this unique opportunity and great responsibility.

Under General Krulak's leadership, the Marine Corps has upheld its historical position among the finest military forces in the world. Your strong support of our Marines and their families has been key in maintaining our ability to fulfill our global commitments in the pursuit of our interests and those of our allies.

One principle that is central to each Marine's philosophy (and valued above all) is the idea that we will never, under any condition of peace or war, let the nation down. Implicit in this notion is an equally strong commitment to our Commander in Chief. Simply put, Mr. President, if you call on your Marines, you won't be disappointed.

Please accept my heartfelt thanks for my nomination, Mr. President, and my best wishes to you in the execution of your demanding responsibilities.

As the designated Commandant of the Marine Corps and a fellow graduate of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service (1966), allow me to close in a nontraditional but most respectful way,

Semper Fidelis and Hoya Saxa,

JAMES L. JONES

Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-0001



From Boy
George
Cleveland

five



PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING



The Administration's Broadband Record

8-18-00

- Signed the Telecommunications Act of 1996. Since then, competitive telecommunications companies have invested \$30 billion in new networks - and are now investing \$1 billion/month.
- The e-rate is providing \$2.25 billion/year in discounts to connect schools and libraries to the Internet. Percentage of classrooms connected to Internet has increased from 3 percent in 1994 to 63 percent in 1999. Percentage of schools that are connected to the Internet that have more than a "dial-up" connection to Internet has increased from 16 percent in 1996 to 86 percent in 1999. Rural and poor schools get deepest discounts.
- Funding for educational technology through Department of Education has increased over 3000 percent -- from \$23 million in FY93 to \$766 million in FY2000.
- Rural Utilities Service has made telecommunications infrastructure loans of \$1.4 billion over the last three years -- which are allowing companies to provide service to 783,000 of the nation's most rural households and businesses. Current loan program must be used by carriers that provide basic voice service.



The Administration's FY2001 Digital Divide Proposals

8-18-00

- \$2 billion in tax incentives to encourage companies to donate computers to schools, libraries, and community technology centers.
- \$100 million new loan guarantee program at Rural Utilities Service to encourage telecom companies to provide broadband to rural areas.
- \$150 million to train all new teachers to use technology, up from \$75 million in FY2000.
- \$100 million to create 1,000 new community technology centers, up from \$32.5 million in FY2000.
- \$45 million to triple the Technology Opportunities Program -- focused on innovative applications of technology for underserved communities. 65 percent of grants go to projects in rural areas. The program has provided 10 grants to North Carolina for projects such as telemedicine and distance learning.

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President Clinton
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-17-00

Aug. 22, 2000

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-18-00

STEINHARDT BAER PICTURES COMPANY

9229 SUNSET BOULEVARD

SUITE 401

WEST HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA 90069

To: Special
Agent
Baer

DATE: 8/7/00

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

copied
Edmonds
Gottheimer
Podesta

TO: Nancy Herrreich

COMPANY: Office of the President

FAX NUMBER: 202-456-6703

FROM: Tom Baer

THERE ARE A TOTAL OF 3 PAGES IN THIS TRANSMISSION, INCLUDING COVER PAGE. IF IT IS INCOMPLETE, PLEASE CALL (310) 777-3680.

OUR FAX NUMBER IS (310) 777-3685

COMMENTS:

On point quote from FDR.

Re: Republicans adopting Democratic program

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WJC HANDWRITING

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I

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

As FDR Said

A TREASURY OF HIS SPEECHES
CONVERSATIONS AND WRITINGS

BY FRANK KINGDON

DUELL, SLOAN AND PEARCE · New York

ideals, but we use them as stout supports of a nation fighting the fight for freedom in a modern civilization.

"Faith—in the soundness of democracy in the midst of dictatorships.

"Hope—renewed because we know so well the progress we have made.

"Charity—in the true spirit of that grand old word. For charity literally translated from the original means love, the love that understands, that does not merely share the wealth of the giver, but in true sympathy and wisdom helps men to help themselves.

"We seek not merely to make government a mechanical implement but to give it the vibrant personal character that is the very embodiment of human charity.

"We are poor indeed if this nation cannot afford to lift from every recess of American life the dread fear of the unemployed that they are not needed in this world. We cannot afford to accumulate a deficit in the books of human fortitude.

"In the place of the palace of privilege we seek to build a temple out of faith and hope and charity."

At the Democratic State Convention in Syracuse he called up one of those picture-stories that he used effectively to ridicule opponents. This was the kind of gay sport that he made with his characteristic toss of the head and shining smile:

"Most people in the United States remember today the fact that starvation was averted, that homes and farms were saved, that banks were reopened, that crop prices rose, that industry revived, and that the dangerous forces

subversive of our form of government were turned aside.

"A few people—a few only—unwilling to remember, seem to have forgotten those days.

"In the summer of 1933, a nice old gentleman wearing a silk hat fell off the end of the pier. He was unable to swim. A friend ran down the pier, dived overboard, and pulled him out; but the silk hat floated off with the tide. After the old gentleman had been revived, he was effusive in his thanks. He praised his friend for saving his life. Today, three years later, the old gentleman is berating his friend because the silk hat was lost."

In this same speech he had an excellent example of his sarcasm, introducing also a favorite technique of acting out the opposition's suave manner, closing with their bland assurance that all the promised benefits will not cost a dime:

"Let me warn you and let me warn the nation against the smooth evasion which says, 'Of course we believe all these things; we believe in social security; we believe in work for the unemployed; we believe in saving homes. Cross our hearts and hope to die, we believe in all these things; but we do not like the way the present administration is doing them. Just turn them over to us. We will do all of them—we will do more of them—we will do them better; and, most important of all, the doing of them will not cost anybody anything.'"

In Chicago he said virtually the same thing he had said in Syracuse, but he chose a different figure of speech—instead of a pier, a hospital. The last phrase of this quotation had a peculiar poignancy, coming from FDR:

8-19-00

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PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

WHITE HOUSE
COMM AGENCY

DATE 23 JULY 2000 TIME

11:00 - 3:00 NET ABC

TRACK & FIELD U.S.

OLYMPIC TRIALS

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WHITE HOUSE
COMM AGENCY

DATE 23 JULY 2000 TIME

11:00 - 1:30 NET ABC

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GOLF TOURNAAMENT

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ORIG	DUB
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Westlake Village, CA 91361
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web: www.usetheexperts.com

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-18-00

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-18-00



Stephen J. Cloobek
President

3745 Las Vegas Blvd. South
Las Vegas, Nevada 89109
Tel : 702-261-1000
800-935-2233
Fax: 702-798-8840

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

8-18-00

fire

Susan Erickson Bloland on her Father, Erik
Atlantic Monthly, Nov 99

It seems inevitable to me now that I should have become preoccupied with fame. My father became famous when I was an adolescent, and his celebrity has loomed over me ever since, affecting me in confusing and conflicting ways. It has sometimes been a source of great pride to be Erik Erikson's daughter, but more often it has overwhelmed my sense of myself -- been demoralizing, diminishing, even paralyzing. Regardless of how it affects me at any given moment, my father's fame is always there to be reckoned with, a powerful force in my life. So I have struggled to try to understand the emotional intensity that is associated with fame as a way of diminishing its power over me.

Of course, I have always longed to feel better understood by the many admirers of my father who assume that they know what it would be like to be in my shoes, who have envied my good fortune at being the daughter of the eminent psychoanalyst. I have indeed been fortunate -- but not in the ways that my father's image would lead one to believe.

And now a book has been written about my father and about our family -- *Identity's Architect: A Biography of Erik H. Erikson*, by Lawrence J. Friedman. This is a thorough account of my father's life and work, written thoughtfully and with great respect. But despite Friedman's extraordinary accomplishment in piecing together information gained from archival research and close to a hundred interviews with family members and with people who have known my parents, his description of intimate family relationships and family affairs cannot possibly reflect my own experience -- any more than my description could capture the experience of anyone else, within or outside the family. That the story of my father's fame has appeared in Friedman's words makes it more urgent for me to write of it now in my own words.

Not long after my father's first book, *Childhood and Society* (1950), was published, I witnessed a dramatic transformation in how people related to him and an equally dramatic transformation in how he related to them. He became the luminous center of attention at most social and professional gatherings, where people milled around him, obviously excited, doing their best to make conversation with one another while awaiting their turn to engage with him. In his presence they became mysteriously childlike: animated, eager, deferential, anxious to gain his interest and approval.

Friends and admirers all seemed intent on idealizing my father, seeing in him someone much more important and powerful than themselves. People would ask me, "What is he *really* like?" and I knew they wanted their fantasies confirmed, not an honest answer about a real human being. Or, upon first learning that he was my father, someone might say, "Really? Can I touch you?" -- conveying even more directly what magical power they ascribed to his very being. (At such moments I became little more than a conduit for my father's magic; this was one of the many ways in which his fame diminished me and my sense of my own place in the world.)

My father was a tall man with an impressive shock of white hair, which gave him a distinctive and dignified look. He had kindly eyes and a gentle face. He appeared to be the quintessential father figure: concerned, compassionate, and knowing. With the advent of his fame he acquired a larger-than-life social aura, a special air of confidence, which nourished people's fantasies about him and suggested that he felt as wise and as comfortable with himself as they perceived him to be. His words, even his most casual remarks, were heard as profoundly meaningful, because of the reverence accorded their source. And people often felt deeply understood by him even in the course of a brief conversation -- the profundity of his empathic responses was magnified by his aura.

Once, when I gave a party for some college friends, I saw the excitement in their faces the moment my father walked into the room, and I saw the transformation in him the moment he became the center of their attention. There was electricity in the air -- a sense that something out of the ordinary was about to happen. And because of the anticipation on both sides, something did happen. It was a charged dance between people with an intense need to idealize and a person who needed just as intensely to be idealized. Once this dance had begun, I found myself wondering why I had ever thought the occasion would be enjoyable for me. I felt deflated by my father's fame -- not enhanced, as I had always hoped to feel, but momentarily invisible.

The idealization that accompanied my father's fame seemed the more mysterious to me because he did not seem *personally* different after he became famous. To those close to him my father was -- and continued to be -- a life-size human being, suffering from all the same difficulties in living that had plagued him in the years before his celebrity. Despite his brilliance as an analyst and a writer, and his great charisma, he was an insecure man, described as "exceedingly vulnerable" by his friend the analyst Margaret Brenman-Gibson in a reminiscence about him after his death. He evoked in those closest to him a wish to comfort and reassure him; to make him feel that he was worthy and lovable; to help him wrestle with his lifelong feelings of personal inadequacy, his punishing self-doubt.

Once, during my adolescence, when Dad and I were alone together, I burst into tears -- brokenhearted over the abrupt ending of a teenage romance. I remember the look of terror and grief on his face -- terror because in the context of the family he did not feel like an adult with the ability to soothe and comfort. For these vital functions he looked always to my mother, who was in his eyes the ultimate source of strength and wisdom within the family (if not the universe), the *real* healer, the solver of all problems both practical and personal. On this occasion he could not call to her, as he normally would in anything remotely like a crisis, "*Joan!*" Grief was in his face precisely because he felt so powerless to comfort someone he loved who clearly needed and longed to be comforted by him.

I have recently read a letter that Dad wrote to my brother Jon in the early 1960s, acknowledging how little he had been involved with us when we were children. He wrote,

I left (and always have left) too much to Mom. This ... had to do with my being an immigrant. She knew everything about this country, from the worth of a dollar to the needs of American children. And I honestly believed that I could not be of much use to you.

This is a touching statement about his real feelings as a father, but I don't believe that his being an immigrant was the heart of the matter. I think he felt personally ineffectual long before he came to the United States, and had invested my mother with such authority from their first meeting, in Vienna. (My mother, a Canadian by birth, had lived for a number of years in the United States.)

Indeed, my father's self-explanations often struck me as shallow for a man of such deep insight into the emotional lives of others, and I could not help feeling that his brief analysis with [Anna Freud](#) had been inadequate for someone who was to make psychoanalysis his life. It was brought to a premature end when my parents emigrated from Vienna to the United States. He never again sought emotional relief, or clarification of his feelings, from psychoanalysis or any other form of psychotherapy. This reflects, I think, his fear of knowing himself, and it perpetuated his limited understanding of his closest relationships and of the sources of his own deepest pain.

That moment in which I sought his comfort illustrates the dilemma of my relationship with my famous father. On that occasion I had been seduced momentarily by the public image, and had asked for something that I knew (and had always known) he could not give -- as much as he longed to. The pain this caused him seemed to me much greater than my adolescent suffering, and I felt terrible for having reminded him of his feelings of inadequacy.

I also experienced once again bewilderment that the psychoanalyst who had become famous for understanding and helping people (particularly children and adolescents), and for writing about them with such insight and compassion, was so frightened by *my* adolescent needs. If *he* was overwhelmed by my needs, what did that say about *me*? I redoubled my efforts to protect him from any feelings of mine that might bring that pained expression to his face, and continued to do so for the rest of his life.

HOW was I to reconcile my experience of that emotionally fragile man (who understood so little about his feelings or mine and was terrified by both) with the public image of the intellectual pioneer who had challenged the authority of the great [Sigmund Freud](#), daring to revise some of Freud's basic assumptions about human nature? How was I to reconcile the picture of the father I knew at home with the image of him as he appeared in public, where he radiated a humble but confident sense of his own ability to understand human behavior and to help others -- and where he demonstrated (both in his writing and in his personal style) an exceptional level of comfort in exploring the most intimate human emotions?

In the public sphere he was the authority on feelings, and his audience received emotional nourishment and reassurance from him. In my lifelong effort to reconcile the two seemingly disparate facets of my father's personality, I feel I have come to understand something general about the nature of fame.

In the relationship between the public image of a famous person and the private human being there is *inherently* something profoundly paradoxical. The public image is the reverse of the private person as experienced by him or her self and by intimate others. It might be accurate to say that the public image reflects what the private person most longs to be. It represents an ideal self.

For example, how often have you heard a master entertainer reveal that he or she is shy almost to the point of being socially crippled? David Letterman has talked about what a nerd he felt like in high school, how he couldn't get a date, and how he still feels socially inept, though his television persona is that of a quintessentially cool, relaxed, and witty guy.

Laurence Olivier -- a commanding figure on the stage -- was awkward as a young boy and remembers being looked on with contempt by his peers in school, who considered him effeminate and, he later wrote, referred to him as "that sidey little shit Olivier." In his remarkably candid autobiography, *Confessions of an Actor* (1982), Olivier acknowledged that he continued to feel like that unpopular little schoolboy in adulthood, even after he was knighted by the Queen. He was painfully shy and thought his face "weak." He was most at ease on the stage, where he could wear a costume and a facial disguise -- a fake nose or a moustache or a beard. That afforded him "the shelter of an alien character," he wrote, and enabled him "to avoid anything so embarrassing as *self-representation*" (*italics mine*). At parties, where he had to appear as himself, he occasionally fainted from anxiety and had to be carried out of the room.

We all know about the deep connection between comedy and tragedy, but I have never heard it spelled out so clearly as in W. C. Fields's pronouncement about his good friend Bert Williams -- that he was "the funniest man I ever saw, and the saddest man I ever knew." Charlie Chaplin, a symbol of childlike playfulness on the screen, sometimes did dozens of takes for one of the hilarious and seemingly spontaneous little scenes he created. He drove his fellow actors and the rest of the crew mad with his obsessive perfectionism. Those delightful scenes were born of compulsive misery. And, of course, there is [Judy Garland](#), whose brilliant smile lit up the screen and made her one of the most popular entertainers of our time. We now know that she was desperately unhappy behind that smile, and tried many times to commit suicide. Radiant movie stars who have died essentially of unhappiness are not rarities.

Everyone old enough to remember John Fitzgerald Kennedy can call up the vital image that was such an essential element of his charisma. But Kennedy was in truth a sickly man, whose health problems began at birth; Seymour M. Hersh writes in *The Dark Side of Camelot* (1997) that Kennedy had difficulty feeding as an infant and was often sick. At age two he was hospitalized with scarlet fever, and during the rest of his life there were few days when he wasn't in pain or seriously ill in some way.

How could our image of JFK have been so different from the reality? In some cases his infirmities actually gave him a heightened appearance of health: the cortisone he took to relieve his health problems is said to have swollen his thin, boyish face, making him look strong and robust; the tan that contributed to his appearance of well-being was actually owing to Addison's disease, in which the skin can bronze very deeply when exposed to sunlight. But there were also characterological reasons for Kennedy's powerful aura. Hersh writes,

Kennedy was not merely reluctant to complain about pain and his health but was psychologically unable to do so. "He was heartily ashamed" of his illnesses [an old friend of JFK's told a biographer]. "They were a mark of effeminacy, of weakness, which he wouldn't acknowledge. I think all that macho stuff was compensation -- all that chasing after women -- compensation for something that he hadn't got."

This strikes me as a real insight into the public image of a charismatic figure. Kennedy's public persona was constructed around the denial of shame: he considered his ill health a weakness and put on a show of exemplary good health. Laurence Olivier thought his face was weak, so he wore disguises that helped him to play some of the most compelling figures in the history of the theater. Shame, I have come to think, lies behind an exaggerated public image of strength, confidence, well-being, or benevolence. Great talent is often the vehicle for projecting such a larger-than-life image on the public screen.

Many writers about narcissism ([Heinz Kohut](#), Andrew P. Morrison, and Helen Block Lewis, among others) have suggested that narcissism (or grandiosity) is, essentially, a defense against shame -- with shame defined as a sense that the self is deeply flawed or deficient. To feel shame is to experience the self as small, weak, insignificant, powerless, defective. It is the experience of the self as not good enough.

I think it was just such feelings of inadequacy that impelled my father to seek fame; fame did not simply come to him because he was an extraordinarily brilliant thinker and writer, which he certainly was. But from early childhood on I was aware that his drive to achieve recognition was monumental. When he did anything other than work, he did it because others -- especially my mother -- insisted on it. Family friends learned to treat with good humor his disappearances from picnics or parties to find a quiet place where he could read or write. His brilliance was coupled with an overwhelming need to achieve. I suspect that the full realization of great talent is always fueled by such an intense need. And what, exactly, is the source of this drive? An early experience of shame so overwhelming to the sense of self that to become someone extraordinary seems the only way to defend against it.

When a person feels so deeply flawed that he or she cannot imagine ever "fitting in" in human society, a solution is to imagine rising *above* human society. This is the narcissistic solution to shame: If I am not lovable for who I am, I will have to make people admire me for what I can do -- and that is how I will make sure that I am never abandoned and alone. The ultimate threat of the experience of shame, after all, is that one will be rejected or ostracized as unworthy of human companionship. And the ultimate motive for seeking extraordinary success, power, or fame is to make sure that this most feared rejection never happens.

LET me suggest some of the early-childhood experiences that can give rise to an overwhelming sense of personal shame. One that is common to superachievers is abandonment or harsh emotional rejection by one or both parents, which leaves a child feeling deeply defective and unlovable.

My father never knew his father, or even who his father was. One of the saddest things about that, from my point of view, is that his mother refused throughout her life to tell him the identity of this all-important person. Her stated reason was that she had promised the man she married when my father was three that she would never divulge this information. But her explanation conveys a greater concern for someone else's wishes than for my father's aching need to know. Her unwillingness to tell him even after her husband's death felt to him like a painful betrayal.

My father's way of coping with this emotional wound illustrates, again, the connection between feelings of shame and the need for a grandiose self-image. It was my father's fantasy throughout his life that his father might have been a member of the Danish royal family. Relatives still living in Denmark suggested that this could have been the case, but the truth has always been and continues to be elusive. What is revealing, I think, is that my father found much comfort in the thought that his father might have been of noble birth; thus an abandoning parent was transformed into a source of pride.

The painful fact was that my father's father never made an effort to know him -- if, indeed, he was aware of his son's existence. My father's drive to become famous may well have been, at least in part, an effort to win on a wide scale the attention and admiration that he could not obtain from his father. He may even have had the fantasy that his fame would bring him to this elusive man's attention.

Laurence Olivier's father was present during his childhood but "couldn't see the slightest purpose in my existence," Olivier writes. "Everything about me irritated him.... The slight disgust that he felt at his first viewing of me seemed to me ... to last all my boyhood." Charlie Chaplin hardly knew his father, who abandoned his wife and children when Chaplin was still a little boy. More than one biographer has described JFK's mother, [Rose Kennedy](#), as cold and unnurturing with her children; one called her "a literal majordomo: a management executive rather than a mother." After his bout with scarlet fever, little Jack was sent alone to a sanatorium for three months to recover. That must have been a terrible abandonment.

This kind of childhood experience can easily give rise to the belief (part conscious, part unconscious) that in order to secure the love and loyalty of important others, the rejected child must be or do something very special. In that sanatorium, Seymour Hersh tells us, Jack, "torn from his parents and left in the care of strangers, demonstrated the first signs of what would be a lifelong ability to attract attention by charming others. He so captivated his nurse that it was reported that she begged to be allowed to stay with him."

Thus is charisma born. Becoming someone special -- being charming, talented (musically, artistically, intellectually, politically), magnetic -- becomes the vehicle for a desperate pursuit of emotional nourishment. It seems the only reliable way to secure care and affection, or to wield any real influence over the feelings and behavior of others. Of course, there is enormous gratification in exercising one's talents for their own sake -- a joy in one's mastery of any highly skilled activity. But I would suggest that extraordinary talent is characteristically fueled by a desperate longing for human connection.

In [*The Drama of the Gifted Child*](#) (1979), Alice Miller wrote eloquently about another kind of abandonment that is common to a great many superachievers. What we need and long for most as children, she reminded us, is to be loved and accepted for the small, fragile, needy, imperfect beings that we are. But when a mother's narcissistic needs are so great that she cannot relate to her child as he really is, she loves her child as a self-object -- that is, as someone put on this earth to meet *her* needs. Her love may be intense, but it doesn't make the child feel loved for himself. In the context of this crucial relationship the child is actually discouraged from experiencing his own feelings and wishes. Instead he is

called upon to develop aspects of his personality, and particularly special gifts, that make his mother (or father or other primary caretaker) feel enhanced. This secures the desperately needed love of the caretaker, but may deny the child knowledge, throughout his life, of his *own* needs and desires.

My father's mother perceived him as gifted and took pride in his obvious intelligence. She had become pregnant out of wedlock, had been abandoned by the father of her child, and lived far from home during her pregnancy and the first three years of my father's life (before she married my father's stepfather). This was a lonely and scandalous position in the early 1900s. She needed from my father not only emotional comfort but also help in restoring her damaged pride. She needed him to ennoble her situation with his special gifts. She was an intellectual and an avid reader, and shared that passion with him. She encouraged his pursuit of intellectual interests from an early age. He invested his trust that she would not abandon him, as his father had done, in this bond between them.

So my father was well trained as a small child to deny his own feelings, since his emotionally depleted, depressed mother could not be empathic with them. But he learned to use his intellect to connect with her, to empathize with her, and to gratify *her* needs. It makes sense, then, that as an adult he could be exquisitely attuned to the feelings of others and could, by using his intellect, empathize with and clarify their experiences. Yet his own feelings remained a mystery to him.

When asked "How are you?" he would often look puzzled for a moment, as though unsure how to access information about his state of well-being. And if my mother was nearby, he might consult with her: "Well, Joan, how *are* we?" A similar consultation might be necessary if food was unexpectedly put in front of him -- perhaps a bagel or a sweet roll: "Do I want this, Joan?" And as for the real sources of his unremitting self-doubt, they remained an enigma to him.

Laurence Olivier was doted on by his mother, who was emotionally deprived in her marriage. She adored her son and had great ambitions for him. He began at the age of five to act out plays on a makeshift stage in the nursery. As long as his mother was at home, he remembers, he "never played to an empty house." As for JFK, we know now to what extent his career was driven, orchestrated, and often paid for by his father, who had been thwarted in his own political ambition. Joseph Kennedy insisted that all his children discuss politics at the dinner table and was determined that one of them should become President.

When a parent's feelings of self-worth depend on the accomplishments of a child, this reinforces the child's belief that *only* his exceptional abilities can be relied on to secure the love of someone important to his survival. But at the same time it affirms that those talents are a powerful asset in the quest for connection with others. Such a "gifted" child has had the experience of being important to the one whose love he needs most. The grandiosity behind the most extraordinary performances in any field grows out of this early experience of having felt very special to a parent or another primary caretaker.

GREAT talent, then, leads to recognition on a grand scale. And, of course, it is gratifying to be able to command the attention of large numbers of people with a display of one's special gifts and abilities. But behind the performance of the gifted child -- no matter how successful that performance may be -- the original narcissistic wound remains unhealed. This, I believe, is not well understood. Fame is not a successful defense against feelings of inadequacy. It only appears to be. This is where the greatest distortion lies in our idealization of the famous. We imagine that our heroes have transcended the adversities of the human condition and have healed their childhood traumas by achievement of the extraordinary. We want to believe that they have arrived at a secure place of self-approval; that achieving recognition -- success -- can set us all free from gnawing feelings of self-doubt. We want to believe that if we ourselves could just secure enough recognition and approval from the outside world, if we could feel sufficiently admired, we would be healed and our self-esteem secured. Like the celebrities we admire so much, we would be rescued from the relentless need for validation.

But the truth is that the security of the self is never stable. My father never felt that he had arrived safely anywhere. He continued to feel anxious at the height of his success, uncertain that he could maintain the reputation he had won or that he could write again as well as he had written before. His success rested on gifts that he feared might abandon him. And eventually they did.

The famous live with the constant, terrifying possibility that their special gifts or their celebrity will vanish, exposing them as the insecure mortals they are in their own experience. The horror of such exposure is exquisitely portrayed in *The Wizard of Oz*, when the Wizard's façade is stripped away and he is revealed as an ordinary man with profound feelings of inadequacy.

Public applause and admiration are intoxicating while they last. More than that, they are addictive, creating an appetite for the heightened feeling of acceptance that comes with being adored and revered. But when the applause was over, my father experienced a letdown, a feeling of abandonment, a depression, that diminished his pleasure in everyday living. After one has been publicly celebrated and is again in the privacy of home, the sense of isolation can be the more acute because of its contrast with that exhilarating moment when one felt like the center of the universe. And there is always the haunting question Will I ever get that kind of affirmation again? Will my next performance (or my next creation) be received with the same excitement as my last?

In a recent television biography of [Leonard Bernstein](#) his adult children described the depression that came over him after a concert tour. It was torture for him to be alone. He needed the applause so desperately that it prevented him from composing the serious music he had always believed was in him. The tragedy of his career was that he never felt his work was good enough. He had wanted to be another [Gustav Mahler](#). This revelation touched me deeply, because my father never felt he had achieved enough either. He had wanted to be another Sigmund Freud.

To know a famous person well is to know what cherished fantasies that person has *not* fulfilled. My father spoke wistfully of the Nobel Prize, believing, I think, that this exalted form of recognition would finally convince him that his work was genuinely important. Yet our house was full of plaques and honorary degrees and awards, including a Pulitzer Prize, that had failed to secure for him the true sense of accomplishment for which he longed.

If enormous success like my father's is not a reliable cure for feelings of inadequacy, then what is the road to self-esteem? I would propose that self-esteem is experienced in the context of authentic interpersonal encounters in which the self is revealed and acknowledged rather than obscured by idealized self-images. This is the model of a truly intimate interpersonal relationship, including, of course, the analytic relationship. The real cure for shame is a gradual willingness to expose to others what you are most ashamed of, and the discovery that you will not be cast out for making your shameful self known -- that you are still a member in good standing of the human community. You are acceptable for who you are.

When you have created a public image that denies your private experience of yourself -- one that is, in important ways, the reverse of the shameful self -- the contrast between the two creates feelings of personal fraudulence. I think my father suffered terribly because he could not in his intimate relationships be what his image suggested he would be. More than once he expressed the hope that we his children would feel nourished by his success, because he knew that his career had received most of his attention.

Fame does, of course, have a powerful impact on the personal relationships of the celebrity. But it is not so easy to distinguish the effects of fame from the effects of the narcissistic disturbance that motivated the achievement of that fame. My longing to connect with my father was thwarted by his need to avoid feelings of inadequacy -- by the defenses he had developed early on to ward off shame and depression -- and not by his fame.

In the interaction when I surprised both of us by bursting into tears, he was unable to comfort me, and that was painful for both of us. But what made it especially disappointing and confusing was that Dad's fame - particularly his idealized image as a father figure -- engendered fantasies in both of us: he *should* be the perfect father, and I *should* be the ideal daughter that one would expect a perfect father to have. We were both drawn to the illusion of specialness that his public image seemed to offer us. As a result, the experience of disconnection left us both feeling more deeply flawed and ashamed. When we were in public, we often tried to act as if we felt the special connection that we knew his image prescribed. Fame enhances the desire to hide feelings of deficiency. It enhanced the family tendency to hide many things.

More than once my mother explained to me that neither of my parents could consider further psychoanalysis because of their need to protect my father's reputation. She was unwavering in her commitment to his image -- a shared illusion, after all -- and in her distrust that anyone in the field could be counted on to keep their personal secrets. As a result they endured even traumatic misfortune without seeking professional help.

That made it particularly difficult for me to begin my own psychotherapy, years ago. As much as I longed to be the recipient -- *finally* -- of the kind of nourishment that others had gotten from my father in the analytic setting, I was also plagued with feelings of guilt at exposing his imperfection -- and to a member of his own profession! (The guilt was amplified, of course, by a secret yearning to shout it from the rooftops.) As a result of this emotionally charged issue I had to be reassured more than most about the confidentiality of the therapeutic relationship. I knew how important it was to my father -- and to those who idealized him -- that I not impose reality on a mutually gratifying fantasy that he was the quintessential father.

O why are we mortals so eager to idealize the famous -- to suppose that the public image is an accurate reflection of the celebrity's private self? Ernest Becker wrote, in *The Denial of Death* (1973),

The thing that has to be explained in human relations is precisely the *fascination of the person* who holds or symbolizes power. There is something about him that seems to radiate out to others and to melt them into his aura, a "fascinating effect" ... of "the narcissistic personality" or, as Jung preferred to call him, the "mana-personality." But people don't actually radiate blue or golden auras. The mana-personality may try to work up a gleam in his eye or a special mystification of painted signs on his forehead, a costume, and a way of holding himself, but he is still *Homo sapiens*, standard vintage, practically indistinguishable from others unless one is especially interested in him. The mana of the mana-personality is in the eyes of the beholder; the fascination is in the one who experiences it.

Freud was the first to illuminate the phenomenon we call transference, whereby we transfer feelings we have had toward our parents to the person of the physician. In transference the grown person experiences the feelings of a child -- a child who distorts his perception of reality to relieve his feelings of helplessness, to make himself feel safe.

Becker expands on this theme: we frail human beings occupy an overpowering universe. We have little control over the forces of nature or life and death. We are born small and helpless, and we continue to feel small, often powerless to affect our fate. Man is the only animal that is burdened with the unbearable knowledge that he will die.

The purpose of setting up figures who seem superpowerful, infinitely wise or infinitely kind, larger than life itself, is to make us feel safe.

The psychoanalyst W. R. D. Fairbairn was one of the first to describe how this process begins in childhood. Every child needs to maintain an exaggerated belief in the competence and benevolence of his parents. Children are quick to deny their own perceptions of reality in order to protect this idealized parental image. When parenting is inadequate or even abusive, the child takes the blame on himself: I am

bad, and therefore deserve any mistreatment I get. In this way, Fairbairn points out, the child purchases outer security at the price of inner security.

In adulthood we idealize the famous as a way of sustaining the belief we held as children that we are protected by people more powerful and capable than ourselves in a world too frightening to endure without the comfort of this illusion. I doubt that it is psychologically possible to give up our emotional dependence on heroes. An idealized view of our parents, teachers, mentors, and leaders is an essential force in our sense of emotional well-being and in our capacity for emotional growth throughout our lives. And it plays an indispensable part in social organization and in history. Nevertheless, I believe it is important to acknowledge the cost to interpersonal relationships of this human compulsion to idealize.

I have witnessed the way successful and able adults become childlike in the presence of a father figure, giving over to him their power and authority and diminishing their sense of personal importance in the process of magnifying his. When we grant another person the status of hero, we instinctively protect his claim to superiority by denying our own full potential for empowerment. Too often in history people have exposed themselves and others to great harm by suspending their own judgment in the adulation of a charismatic leader like Adolf Hitler or Jim Jones. And the danger of personal abuse is present in all relationships in which the judgment of one participant is suspended out of a need to idealize the other. Even under the most benign circumstances adulation dulls our awareness of the human dimensions of those we idealize, limiting our knowledge of them and of ourselves as human beings. The cost is a loss of genuine connection between worshipper and worshipped.

But Becker deepens our understanding of what is nevertheless invaluable about transference or idealization as a way of coping with the human condition. He writes that transference is also

a natural attempt to be healed and to be whole, through heroic self-expansion in the "other." ... People create the reality they need in order to discover themselves.... If transference represents the natural heroic striving for a "beyond" that gives self-validation and if people need this validation in order to live, then [idealization] ... is necessary and desirable for self-fulfillment. Otherwise man is overwhelmed by his loneliness and separation and negated by the very burden of his own life.... What makes transference heroics demeaning is that the process is unconscious and reflexive, not fully in one's control.

Nor can it ever be. But we can strive to be more aware of idealization wherever it occurs in our relationships -- to make it a less reflexive part of our way of relating. This is the essence of the struggle to release ourselves from our childhood ties to our parents, to individuate, to accept a greater sense of separateness and independence in the world, and to experience ourselves as powerful rather than projecting our power onto others. We can try to be aware of our need to idealize as well as our need to *be* idealized. How much do we invest in the illusion that fame or success heals? How much do we hide behind the illusion that we are somehow larger than life, out of fear of acknowledging to others how needy and inadequate we sometimes feel?

The need to appear larger than life -- like the need to believe in the superhuman status of others -- helps us to cope in a frightening universe, but it also limits our capacity for intimacy. When feelings of shame are concealed by withdrawal from communication or by the creation of a false or grandiose façade, the potential for real healing of our childhood wounds, or for the achievement of a more authentic self-acceptance and acceptance of those closest to us, is blocked. Conversely, a willingness to reveal how fundamentally human we really are -- in our feelings of inadequacy, unworthiness, and shame as well as of personal strength, pride, and self-acceptance -- can help us to feel more authentic to ourselves and to others, and can draw us together in appreciation of what it means to be a member of this flawed but wonderful species.

The online version of this article appears in three parts. Click here to go to parts [one](#) and [two](#).

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-18-00

Handwritten signature/initials

Senator Joe Lieberman on President Clinton

August 7, 2000

"Most productive Presidency in more than a generation"

- "This presidency has been the most productive presidency in more than a generation in the United States of America." [New Democratic Dinner, 6/28/2000]

Praised for "trust and credibility" in Middle East Peace Process

- "Lieberman praised Clinton for agreeing to bring the two sides to Camp David and then for spending so much time trying to broker an agreement. 'No other person in the world enjoys the trust and the credibility that he does among the Israelis and the Palestinians,' he said." [Hartford Courant, 7/26/2000]

"A progressive, restless, ambitious leader of government"

- "'This is Bill Clinton, the progressive, restless, ambitious leader of government,' said Sen. Joseph L. Lieberman, a Connecticut Democrat. 'The great thing is that because of the surplus he can do it all.'" [Baltimore Sun, 1/28/2000]

President speaks "language of faith" to unify nation

- "This morning I thank God, particularly for the gift that God has given you, Mr. President, to speak the language of faith, as you have at moments of crisis in our history over the last seven years, in a way that is powerfully unifying and inclusive." [National Prayer Breakfast, 2/3/2000]

Credits President with leading the nation to embrace our best values

- "'We have come together under the leadership of President Clinton in recent years to embrace some of our best values by enacting, for instance, new laws and programs that help the poor by reforming welfare; that protect the innocent by combating crime; and that restore responsibility and trust by balancing our budget.'" [National Prayer Breakfast, 2/3/2000]

"Made peace in places where most people thought it was impossible"

- "Mr. President, Mrs. Clinton, I want to particularly pray for you this morning, as we begin a session of Congress and you begin the final year of this extraordinary administration. God has given you gifts that you have used so magnificently in the service of the people of this country; indeed, of the people of the world, literally raising up millions of our fellow citizens and making peace in places where most people thought that was impossible." [National Prayer Breakfast, 2/3/2000]

Clear vision and extraordinary leadership

- "None of this would have happened, not the New Democratic Coalition, not the Senate New Democratic Coalition, not the New Democratic Network, if it had not been for the clear vision and extraordinary leadership of the man we are here to honor tonight; the man who might be called the George Washington of the New Democratic Movement, President Bill Clinton." [New Democratic Dinner, 6/28/2000]

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Transformed values and ideals into programs that revive America

- “President Bill Clinton, there at the creation of the Democratic Leadership Council, the new Democratic movement, helping to formulate the ideals of that movement, carried those ideals into his 1992 campaign as its centerpiece, and has stayed for the last seven years faithful to the values and ideals and goals of the new Democratic movement. And more than that, has used the extraordinary political skills of leadership that he has in transforming those values and ideals into programs that have revived America. And you can measure it not just in the extraordinary surplus numbers that I’ve talked about, but in the lives of people in this country -- tens of millions who have jobs today, who didn’t have them in 1992; tens of millions more who are so much better off in the jobs they have than they were in 1992; millions and millions have come off the welfare rolls and are now working and living satisfied lives. And you could go on and on.” [New Democratic Dinner, 6/28/2000]

“Strong, steady, progressive and humane leadership”

- “I’m very proud of the things that we’ve been able to accomplish together over the last several years, working particularly under the strong, steady, progressive and humane leadership of President Bill Clinton and the great vice president and next president, Al Gore.” [Remarks to Connecticut AFL-CIO, 8/7/2000]

Leadership has transformed America

- “The reality is that the President’s leadership has transformed our party and our country. And, actually, he’s taken it now international and has transformed the leadership of a whole series of other countries in Europe and the world, modernizing the progressive movement.” [New Democratic Dinner, 6/28/2000]

Strong economy would not come without President Clinton

- “We now have a projected 10-year surplus of \$4.2 trillion. It is astounding. And in this particular year we are going from a projection in 1993, if I remember correctly, of a deficit of almost \$500 billion, to the reality of a surplus of well over \$200 billion. It is nothing short of amazing. And I think – though, as card-carrying new Democrats, we believe and acknowledge that growth comes ultimately from the private sector, but it simply would not have come without the leadership that President Clinton and Vice President Gore have given our country over the last seven years.” [New Democratic Dinner, 6/28/2000]

**REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES
NANCY REAGAN**

Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you. Eight years ago . . . eight years ago I stood here with my family in this same dress, as a matter of fact — I do hang on — when my husband was nominated for the first time.

And four years ago I stood up here and thanked you for all that you've done for me, not knowing that I was going to have a chance to do it again. But you've given us such a wonderful life, a life that I really never dreamed possible.

And it's the most an extraordinary feeling to represent a nation and its people. And I can never thank you enough for all the experiences and memories that you've made possible.

The last eight years have been the most fulfilling ones of my life. Tom mentioned the drug letters that I have received and the program that has meant so much to me, but you really gave me that chance, and you really gave me the chance to be more than I thought I could be and brought something out in me that I didn't know was there. And you helped me, and I thank you a great deal for that. And you've always been there for us. (Applause and cheers.)

And it's true there were some rough times for my husband and me. But as I said to you four years ago, I always felt that I could draw on you for your support and your affection, and I did draw on you a great deal, more than you knew, and I thank you for that, too.

Now, I'm sure that this will be the last time that I speak before a Republican convention. My husband's and my time on the center stage of Republican politics is passing, one era is ending, another is beginning. But before I go, I want to thank you for all the years that you've worked for us on our behalf, so many years really. I'll miss you. I'll never forget you. So good night and God bless. (Applause and cheers.)

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION. — Thank you, Mrs. Reagan. You have honored this convention with your presence and the country with your dedication and devotion.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you now, please, to sit back, relax and for the next few minutes enjoy a film outlining the achievements of the Reagan years, starring, of course, two people we cherish, President and Mrs. Reagan.

(Whereupon a Phil Dusenberry film, "The Reagan Years," was shown. Included were highlights of the President's acceptance speech at the 1984 Republican National Convention; the economic recovery experienced by the country in the past eight years; the renewed respect America enjoys around the world; and the surge of support the President gained from young Americans. Those speaking

8-18.00

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ALİ KİBAR
EXECUTIVE VICE CHAIRMAN, C.E.O.

KİBAR HOLDİNG A.Ş.

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THE PRESIDENTS

8-17-00

Dear Bill,

Imagine my surprise when Bob came home from playing golf and told me Clay Fagan had mentioned a book in which I was 'quoted'. I was astounded! Bob got the book and read myself. I wanted to hide under a rock. I have never talked to J. Edgar Hoover in my life. The scary part is, some of the things in there I have said (to intimates) but not necessarily in those words. Some of the things are pure horse manure... I make it a point not to give interviews so - did someone wear a hidden microphone? I feel persecuted. In truth, the thing I hated most was that I sound like a complete, ignorant dick (at least most of it was benign stuff.)

I just got back from L.A. - Went to my friend's daughter's wedding. Every where I turned, you were being praised as one of the best Presidents ever. I concur. I miss you, old friend. Still trying to find a time to visit (Eleanor is dying to come, too!) Hope to see you soon.

Love,
Mauria

① Joe L/Sid B-Fyl- ② for
old friend

BC

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Lockhart
Blumenthal
Podesta
Personal File

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FAX TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

DATE:

8/7/00

TO:

President Clinton
@ The White House

FAX NO.:

202-456-6703

FROM:

MAURIA ASPELL

RE:

NUMBER OF PAGES:

2

(INCLUDING COVER SHEET)

SENT FROM FAX NO.

(501) 623-8182

THE PROPOSAL HAS BEEN

8-18-00

To: President Clinton
From: Andrew Shue

New York
May 24, 2000

First, I know my time with you in the oval office will have a lasting impact on me personally. Thank you for the effort you have made to forge our friendship.

As promised, here is the synopsis of the big idea we talked about - A Community Dept.—small in the beginning -- in every elementary, middle and high school in America.

At the turn of the last century Teddy Roosevelt was frustrated by the lack of physical development of our nation's youth. His use of the bully pulpit and specific actions led to the "Phys Ed" Dept. that exists in every school today. His vision has impacted virtually every one of us growing up in America today. I attached an article Roosevelt wrote on the subject. It reveals a thoughtful leader committed to shaping the whole person.

This new century calls for a new vision that will build character in a new way.

What we know?

- 1) Young People are at risk in so many ways
- 2) Parents want more help shaping their kids
- 3) Schools is the best infrastructure to carry this out
- 4) We have to get them when they are young and keep it going.
- 5) We have tested this in 150 Schools and is a huge success

What would a Community Dept. do?

- 1) Build Unity and a sense Community in the school. School-wide projects that bring the school together. For example- a town hall meeting run by the students. Get students to know each other- outside their cliques- build feeling of unity
- 2) Administer curriculums for Community Project Classes. Students would be required to do a one semester Community Project with a team of five diverse students. Teachers would facilitate but the project would be student owned and created. Like an Eagle Scout project they build a specific plan and get measured results. Students would carry out such a project once in elementary school- once in middle school and once in high school. This is so much better then mandatory Community Service- which feels more like a prison sentence- and is not student owned or created.
- 3) The Department head would also be responsible for linking Parents and local businesses and organizations to the "Student Community" that they have fostered.

How would a Community Dept. be formed and paid for?

- 1) Re-position the best guidance counselor as the Community Director. This is the person most widely liked by students and teachers. It will be an honor to be chosen- a full time position like an Athletic Director. Then a group of four teachers are chosen as Community Coaches. They receive stipends like sports coaches. They are trained and teach the Community Project Classes. They fit these classes into their existing teaching schedule like teachers who teach Drivers Ed or any other special classes. They will also recruit student leaders (Captains) from all cliques and work after school like a sports coach to facilitate the school-wide efforts.
- 2) The total incremental cost per school would be less than \$15,000 for stipends and training.

This provides a structure for students of all ages to shape who they are by taking action together.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919). *The Strenuous Life*. 1900.

VI

CHARACTER AND SUCCESS

PUBLISHED IN THE "OUTLOOK," MARCH 31, 1900

A YEAR or two ago I was speaking to a famous Yale professor, one of the most noted scholars in the country, and one who is even more than a scholar, because he is in every sense of the word a man. We had been discussing the Yale-Harvard foot-ball teams, and he remarked of a certain player: "I told them not to take him, for he was slack in his studies, and my experience is that, as a rule, the man who is slack in his studies will be slack in his foot-ball work; it is character that counts in both."

Bodily vigor is good, and vigor of intellect is even better, but far above both is character. It is true, of course, that a genius may, on certain lines, do more than a brave and manly fellow who is not a genius; and so, in sports, vast physical strength may overcome weakness, even though the puny body may have in it the heart of a lion. But, in the long run, in the great battle of life, no brilliancy of intellect, no perfection of bodily development, will count when weighed in the balance against that assemblage of virtues, active and passive, of moral qualities, which we group together under the name of character; and if between any two contestants, even in college sport or in college work, the difference in character on the right side is as great as the difference of intellect or strength the other way, it is the character side that will win.

Of course this does not mean that either intellect or bodily vigor can safely be neglected. On the contrary, it means that both should be developed, and that not the least of the benefits of developing both comes from the indirect effect which this development itself has upon the character. In very rude and ignorant communities all schooling is more or less looked down upon; but there are now very few places indeed in the United States where elementary schooling is not considered a necessity. There are any number of men, however, priding themselves upon being "hard-headed" and "practical," who sneer at book-learning and at every form of higher education, under the impression that the additional mental culture is at best useless, and is ordinarily harmful in practical life. Not long ago two of the wealthiest men in the United States publicly committed themselves to the proposition that to go to college was a positive disadvantage for a young man who strove for success. Now, of course, the very most successful men we have ever had, men like Lincoln, had no chance to go to college, but did have such indomitable tenacity and such keen appreciation of the value of wisdom that they set to work and learned for themselves far more than they could have been taught in any academy. On the other hand, boys of weak fiber, who go to high school or college instead of going to work after getting through the primary schools, may be seriously damaged instead of benefited. But, as a rule, if the boy has in him the right stuff, it is a great advantage to him should his circumstances be so fortunate as to enable him to get the years of additional mental training. The trouble with the two rich men whose views are above quoted was that, owing largely perhaps

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to their own defects in early training, they did not know what success really was. Their speeches merely betrayed their own limitations, and did not furnish any argument against education. Success must always include, as its first element, earning a competence for the support of the man himself, and for the bringing up of those dependent upon him. In the vast majority of cases it ought to include financially rather more than this. But the acquisition of wealth is not in the least the only test of success. After a certain amount of wealth has been accumulated, the accumulation of more is of very little consequence indeed from the standpoint of success, as success should be understood both by the community and the individual. Wealthy men who use their wealth aright are a great power for good in the community, and help to upbuild that material national prosperity which must underlie national greatness; but if this were the only kind of success, the nation would be indeed poorly off. Successful statesmen, soldiers, sailors, explorers, historians, poets, and scientific men are also essential to national greatness, and, in fact, very much more essential than any mere successful business man can possibly be. The average man, into whom the average boy develops, is, of course, not going to be a marvel in any line, but, if he only chooses to try, he can be very good in any line, and the chances of his doing good work are immensely increased if he has trained his mind. Of course, if, as a result of his high-school, academy, or college experience, he gets to thinking that the only kind of learning is that to be found in books, he will do very little; but if he keeps his mental balance,—that is, if he shows character,—he will understand both what learning can do and what it cannot, and he will be all the better the more he can get.

A good deal the same thing is true of bodily development. Exactly as one kind of man sneers at college work because he does not think it bears any immediate fruit in money-getting, so another type of man sneers at college sports because he does not see their immediate effect for good in practical life. Of course, if they are carried to an excessive degree, they are altogether bad. It is a good thing for a boy to have captained his school or college eleven, but it is a very bad thing if, twenty years afterward, all that can be said of him is that he has continued to take an interest in foot-ball, base-ball, or boxing, and has with him the memory that he was once captain. A very acute observer has pointed out that, not impossibly, excessive devotion to sports and games has proved a serious detriment in the British army, by leading the officers and even the men to neglect the hard, practical work of their profession for the sake of racing, foot-ball, base-ball, polo, and tennis—until they received a very rude awakening at the hands of the Boers. Of course this means merely that any healthy pursuit can be abused. The student in a college who "crams" in order to stand at the head of his class, and neglects his health and stunts his development by working for high marks, may do himself much damage; but all that he proves is that the abuse of study is wrong. The fact remains that the study itself is essential. So it is with vigorous pastimes. If rowing or foot-ball or base-ball is treated as the end of life by any considerable section of a community, then that community shows itself to be in an unhealthy condition. If treated as it should be,—that is, as good, healthy play,—it is of great benefit, not only to the body, but in its effect upon character. To study hard implies character in the student, and to work hard at a sport which entails severe physical exertion and steady training also implies character.

5 All kinds of qualities go to make up character, for, emphatically, the term should include the positive no less than the negative virtues. If we say of a boy or a man, "He is of good character," we mean that he does not do a great many things that are wrong, and we also mean that he does do a great many things which imply much effort of will and readiness to face what is disagreeable. He must not steal, he must not be intemperate, he must not be vicious in any way; he must not be mean or brutal; he must not bully the weak. In fact, he must refrain from whatever is evil. But besides refraining from evil, he must do good. He must be brave and energetic; he must be resolute and persevering. The Bible always inculcates the need of the positive no less than the negative virtues, although certain people who profess to teach Christianity are apt to dwell wholly on the negative. We are bidden not merely to be harmless as doves, but also as wise as serpents. It is very much easier to carry out the former part of the order than the latter; while, on the other hand, it is of much more importance for the good of mankind that our goodness should be accompanied by wisdom than that we should merely be harmless. If with the serpent wisdom we unite the serpent guile, terrible will be the damage we do; and if, with the best of intentions, we can only manage to deserve the epithet of "harmless," it is hardly worth while to have lived in the world at all.

6 Perhaps there is no more important component of character than steadfast resolution. The boy who is going to make a great man, or is going to count in any way in after life, must make up his mind not merely to overcome a thousand obstacles, but to win in spite of a thousand repulses or defeats. He may be able to wrest success along the lines on which he originally started. He may have to try something entirely new. On the one hand, he must not be volatile and irresolute, and, on the other hand, he must not fear to try a new line because he has failed in another. Grant did well as a boy and well as a young man; then came a period of trouble and failure, and then the Civil War and his opportunity; and he grasped it, and rose until his name is among the greatest in our history. Young Lincoln, struggling against incalculable odds, worked his way up, trying one thing and another until he, too, struck out boldly into the turbulent torrent of our national life, at a time when only the boldest and wisest could so carry themselves as to win success and honor; and from the struggle he won both death and honor, and stands forevermore among the greatest of mankind.

7 Character is shown in peace no less than in war. As the greatest fertility of invention, the greatest perfection of armament, will not make soldiers out of cowards, so no mental training and no bodily vigor will make a nation great if it lacks the fundamental principles of honesty and moral cleanliness. After the death of Alexander the Great nearly all of the then civilized world was divided among the Greek monarchies ruled by his companions and their successors. This Greek world was very brilliant and very wealthy. It contained haughty military empires, and huge trading cities, under republican government, which attained the highest pitch of commercial and industrial prosperity. Art flourished to an extraordinary degree; science advanced as never before. There were academies for men of letters; there were many orators, many philosophers. Merchants and business men thrived apace, and for a long period the Greek soldiers kept the superiority and renown they had won under the mighty conqueror of the East. But the heart of the people was incurably false. incurably

treacherous and debased. Almost every statesman had his price, almost every soldier was a mercenary who, for a sufficient inducement, would betray any cause. Moral corruption ate into the whole social and domestic fabric, until, a little more than a century after the death of Alexander, the empire which he had left had become a mere glittering shell, which went down like a house of cards on impact with the Romans; for the Romans, with all their faults, were then a thoroughly manly race—a race of strong, virile character.

Alike for the nation and the individual, the one indispensable requisite is character—⁸ character that does and dares as well as endures, character that is active in the performance of virtue no less than firm in the refusal to do aught that is vicious or degraded.