

FOIA MARKER

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Presidential Library Staff.**

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

Subgroup/Office of Origin: Speechwriting

Series/Staff Member: Terry Edmonds

Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 17509

FolderID:

Folder Title:

FDR/Time Magazine 12/8/99

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	From Jeffrey A. Shesol to Terry Edmonds re: Contact Info for Time (partial) (1 page)	11/17/99	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Terry Edmonds
OA/Box Number: 17509

FOLDER TITLE:

FDR/Time Magazine 12/8/99

2006-0462-F
ry579

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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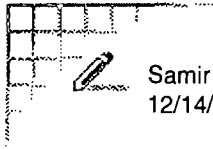
C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Samir Afridi
12/14/99 01:30:36 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Research Request

for kennedy - jeffords event at fdr memorial:

→ * fdr quotes on empowerment...giving people tools to independence

→ * potus quotes on fdr and overcoming his disability

Hot Springs, GA
for

* also do we have potus' man of the century piece on fdr? if so, could you forward that to me.

thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 2, 1997

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONY OF
THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL

West Potomac Park

Washington, D.C.

10:50 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Senator Inouye, Senator Hatfield; Your Highness; my longtime friend, David Roosevelt, and the members of the Roosevelt family; Mr. Vice President; to all those who have worked to make this day a reality. Let me begin by saying to Senator Inouye and Senator Hatfield, the United States proudly accepts the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial. (Applause.)

Fittingly, this is the first occasion of its kind in more than 50 years. The last time the American people gathered near here was in 1943 when President Franklin Roosevelt dedicated the memorial to Thomas Jefferson.

Today we honor the greatest President of this great American century. As has been said, FDR actually wanted no memorial. For years, none seemed necessary -- for two reasons: First, the America he built was a memorial all around us. From the Golden Gate Bridge to the Grand Coulee Dam; from Social Security to honest financial markets; from an America that has remained the world's indispensable nation to our shared conviction that all Americans must make our journey together, Roosevelt was all around us.

Second, though many of us never lived under his leadership, many who did are still around, and we have all heard about him from our parents or grandparents -- some of us, as we pass WPA or CCC projects along country roads; some of us as we looked at the old radios that our parents and grandparents kept and heard stories about the Fireside Chats and how the people felt. Today he is still very real to millions upon millions of Americans, inspiring us, urging us on. But the world turns and memories fade. And now, more than a half-century after he left us, it is right that we go a little beyond his stated wishes and dedicate this memorial as a tribute to Franklin Roosevelt, to Eleanor, and to the remarkable triumphs of their generation. (Applause.)

President Roosevelt said, "We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the 20th century, there came a time when men of goodwill found a way to unite and produce and fight to destroy the forces of ignorance and intolerance and slavery and war." This memorial will be the embodiment of FDR's faith, for it will ensure that all future generations will know. It will ensure that they will all see the "happy warrior" keeping America's rendezvous with destiny.

As we stand at the dawn of a bright new century, this memorial will encourage us, reminding us that whenever America acts with certainty of purpose and FDR's famous flexibility of mind, we have always been more than equal to whatever challenges we face.

Winston Churchill said that President Roosevelt's life was "one of the commanding events in human history." He came from privilege, but he understood the aspirations of farmers and factory workers and forgotten Americans. He electrified the farms and hollows, but even more important, he electrified the nation, instilling confidence with every tilt of his head and boom of his laugh. His was an open, American spirit with a fine sense for the possible and a keen appreciation of the art of leadership. He was a master politician and a magnificent Commander-in-Chief.

And his partner was also magnificent. Eleanor Roosevelt was his eyes and his ears, going places he could not go to see things he would never see to come back and tell him how things actually were. And her reports were formed as words in his speeches that touched little people all across America who could not imagine that the President of the United States knew how they lived and cared about them. She was his conscience and our nation's conscience. (Applause.)

Franklin Roosevelt's mission was to change America to preserve its ancient virtues in the face of new and unprecedented challenges. That is, after all, America's mission in all times of change and difficulty. The depth and sweep of it was unprecedented when FDR asked a shaken nation to put its confidence in him. But he had no doubt of the outcome.

Listen to what he said in September of 1932, shortly before he was elected for the first time. He proclaimed his faith: "Faith in America, faith in our tradition of personal responsibility, faith in our institutions, faith in ourselves demanded we recognize the new terms of an old social contract. New conditions imposed new requirements upon government and upon those who conduct government." That was his faith. He lived it, and we are here as a result.

With that faith, he forged a strong and unapologetic government, determined to tame the savage cycles of boom and bust, able to meet the national challenges too big for families and individuals to meet on their own. And when he restored dignity to old age, when he helped millions to keep their farms or own their homes, when he provided the simple opportunity to go to work in the morning to millions, he was proving that the American Dream was not a distant glimmer, but something every American could grasp. And then that faith of his infused all of his countrymen.

With that faith he inspired millions of ordinary Americans to take responsibility for one another -- doing their part, in his words, through the National Recovery Administration, reclaiming nature through the Civilian Conservation Corps, gathering scrap, giving up nylons, and eventually storming the beaches at Normandy and Okinawa and Anzio.

With that faith, he committed our nation to lead the world, first as the arsenal of democracy, and then at the head of the great crusade to free the world from tyranny. Before the war began, beyond, the four freedoms set the foundation for the future and made it clear to the whole world that America's goal was not domination, but a dominion of freedom in a world at peace.

With that faith as the war neared an end he would never see, he traced the very architecture of our future, from the G.I. Bill to the United Nations. Faith in the extraordinary potential of ordinary people

sparked not only our victory over war, depression and doubt, but it began the opening of doors and the raising of sights for the dispossessed in America that has continued down to the present day. It was that faith in his own extraordinary potential that enabled him to guide his country from a wheelchair. And from that wheelchair and a few halting steps, leaning on his son's arms or those of trusted aides, he lifted a great people back to their feet and set America to march again toward its destiny.

He said over and over again in different ways that we had only to fear fear itself. We did not have to be afraid of pain or adversity or failure, for all those could be overcome. He knew that, of course, because that is exactly what he did. And with his faith and the power of his example, we did conquer them all -- depression, war and doubt.

Now, we see that faith again alive in America. We are grateful beyond measure for our own unprecedented prosperity. But we must remember the source of that faith. And again, let me say to Senator Inouye and others, by showing President Roosevelt as he was we show the world that we have faith that in America you are measured for what you are and what you have achieved, not for what you have lost. And we encourage all who face their difficulties and overcome them not to give into fear, but to believe in their possibilities. (Applause.)

And now again we need the faith of Franklin Roosevelt, in an entirely different time, but still no ordinary time, for in this time new livelihoods demand new skills. We have to fight against the enormous, destructive influences that still grip the lives of too many of our young people. We must struggle to make our rich racial, ethnic, and religious diversity a source of strength and unity when such differences are the undoing of millions and millions around the world. And we must fight against that nagging old doubt.

It is a strange irony of our time that here, at the moment of our greatest prosperity and progress in so many years -- in 1932, one in four Americans was out of work; this morning we learned that fewer than one in 20 Americans are out of work, for the first time in more than two decades. (Applause.) And at this time, when the pinnacle that Roosevelt hoped America would achieve in our influence and power has come to pass, we still, strangely, fight battles with doubts -- doubts that he would treat with great impatience and disdain; doubts that lead some urge us to pull back from the world at the very first time since Roosevelt's time when we actually can realize his vision of world peace and world prosperity and the dominance of the ideals for which he gave his life.

Let us honor his vision not only with this memorial today, but by acting in the way he would tell us to act if he were standing here, giving this speech, on his braces, looking at us and smiling at us and telling us we know what we have to do. We are Americans. We must have faith. We must not be afraid. And we must lead. (Applause.)

The great legacy of Roosevelt is a vision and a challenge -- not a set of specific programs, but a set of commitments -- the duty we owe to ourselves, to one another, to our beloved nation, and increasingly, to our fellow travelers on this small planet.

Now we are surrounded by the monuments to the leaders who built our democracy -- Washington, who launched our great experiment and created our republic; Jefferson, who enshrined forever our creed that it is self-evident that we are all created equal, with unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; Lincoln, who gave his life to preserve Mr. Washington's republic and to make real Mr. Jefferson's words. And now, Franklin Roosevelt, who saved freedom from tyranny, who

restored our republic, who defined Mr. Jefferson's creed to include freedom from want and fear. Today, before the pantheon of our democracy, let us resolve to honor them all by shepherding their legacy into a new century, into a new millennium.

Our mission is to prepare America for the time to come, to write a new chapter of our history, inspired always by the greatest source of hope in our history. Thomas Jefferson wrote the words, but Franklin Roosevelt lived them out every day. Today I ask you to remember what he was writing at Warm Springs when he died, that last speech: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward and active faith."

My fellow Americans, every time you think of Franklin Roosevelt put aside your doubts, become more American, become more like him, be infused with his strong and active faith.

God bless you. God bless America. And may God always bless the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. (Applause.)

END

11:06 A.M. EDT

Early in World War II, President Roosevelt defined the Four Freedoms that he said must be realized “everywhere in the world.” Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear—these were, in his own words, “essential human freedoms.” His expression of American ideals helped make them the world’s ideals. Because of that commitment and its embrace by every American president since, today we can say, for the first time in history, a majority of the world’s people live under governments of their own choosing.

Roosevelt’s leadership in war and vision of peace established the institutions of collective security that have prevented another world conflagration. The whole system of international cooperation stems from his commitment. It was President Roosevelt, after all, who conceived and named the United Nations; and he was one of the visionaries behind the establishment of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In one of his last messages to Congress, he said that their creation “spelled the difference between a world caught again in the maelstrom of panic and economic warfare, or a world in which nations strive for a better life through mutual trust, cooperation and assistance.”

Winston Churchill remarked that Franklin Roosevelt’s life was “one of the commanding events in human history.”

As a state legislator, a military leader, a governor and as President, Roosevelt built a broad, lasting, national coalition — uniting different regions, different classes, and different races, proving that the best politics are the politics of inclusion. He identified with the aspirations of immigrants, farmers and factory workers — the “forgotten Americans,” as he called them. He considered them citizens of America just as fully as he was. My own grandfather was one of them. He came from a little town of about fifty people, had only a fourth grade education, and owned a small store. Still, he believed this President was a friend, a man who cared about him and his family’s future. My grandfather was right about that. So were the millions of Americans who met President Roosevelt only through his radio “fireside chats.”

Much of my own political philosophy and approach to governance is rooted in Roosevelt’s principles of progress. Rather than clinging to old abstractions or being driven by the iron laws of ideology, his innovations were crafted to the circumstances in which he found himself. He sought practical solutions. He called his pragmatic method “bold persistent experimentation.” “If one thing doesn’t work,” he explained, “try another; but above all, try something.”

We know what became of Roosevelt and his generation’s “rendezvous with destiny.” Their legacy is our world of freedom. If the example of Franklin Roosevelt and the American Century have taught us anything, it is that we will either work together as One America, to shape events – or we will be shaped by them. We cannot isolate ourselves from the world; we cannot lead in fits and starts. Now, to this generation entering the new millennium, as Roosevelt said, “much has been given” and “much is asked.”

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ESSAY FOR TIME MAGAZINE
"FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, MAN OF THE CENTURY"

When our children's children read the story of the 20th Century, they will see that, above all, it is the story of freedom's triumph—the victory of democracy over fascism and totalitarianism; of free enterprise over command economies; of tolerance over bigotry. And they will see that the embodiment of that triumph, the driving force behind it, was President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In the century's struggle for freedom, Roosevelt won two decisive victories. First, over economic depression and then over fascism. He may have lived in a time of turmoil, but he fought for a world of peace and he worked for a new era of progress. Seldom has a nation or a leader been tested as we were then. Roosevelt's leadership steered not only America, but the world, through the roughest seas of the century. He did it through a combination of skilled statesmanship and uncommon political acumen. ~~But most of all through the sheer force of his~~ ^{it was the sheer} ~~indomitable spirit, his soaring optimism and his~~ ^{But} "first-class temperament."

Roosevelt knew in the marrow of his bones, from his own struggle with polio and his innate grasp of the American temper, that restoring optimism was the beginning of progress. ^{He} "We have nothing to fear but fear itself," was both the way he led his life and led our nation.

No matter what the challenge, Roosevelt knew that the facts were only one part of reality — the major part of reality is how you act on the facts and change them for the better. In the depths of the Great Depression, the gravest economic threat the country had ever faced, he lifted the nation to its feet and into action. From his new ideas flowed the seemingly endless array of programs and agencies of the New Deal. Bank reform. A massive public works effort to get America working again. Rural Electrification. And, of course, his most enduring domestic creation — Social Security, a bond between generations that every President since has honored. Roosevelt proved that for markets to flourish government must be devoted to opportunity for all — the initiative of individuals and the responsibilities of community can and must be woven together.

To defeat the merciless aggression of fascism, President Roosevelt created an international alliance to defend the world's freedom, and he committed the United States to lead. He proved that our liberty is linked to the destiny of the world, that our security requires us to support democracy beyond our shores, that human rights must be America's cause. In the 20th century's greatest crisis, President Roosevelt decisively, irrevocably committed our country to freedom's fight.

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Jeffrey A. Shesol
11/17/99 03:53:44 PM

Next
mon. Dec. 6

Record Type: Record

To: Terry Edmonds/WHO/EOP@EOP, Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP

CC:

Subject: Contact info for Time

It's Steve Koepp [Kepp] at Time.

work: 212-522-3575, 212-982-8633

home: (b)(6)

fax: 212-522-0262

e-mail: steve_koepp@timemagazine.com

[001]

"due date" -

possibly

Nov. 22

but I think

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word limit -

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11/26

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-6-99

99 DEC 3 PM 9:42

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 3, 1999

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Edmonds
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS 

CC: JOHN PODESTA
JOE LOCKHART

1 minor
change

SUBJECT: REVISED TIME MAGAZINE PIECE

Based on your comments on our earlier draft, I am submitting a revised draft for your review and approval. As you have suggested, I have incorporated more of your thoughts and language from your Charlie Rose interview. I have also shortened it.

Time is expecting a final submission on Monday, December 6.

Thank you.

Draft 12/3/99 9:45pm

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ESSAY FOR TIME MAGAZINE
"FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, MAN OF THE CENTURY"**

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When our children's children read the story of the 20th Century, they will see that, above all, it is the story of freedom's triumph—the victory of democracy over fascism and totalitarianism; of free enterprise over command economies; of tolerance over bigotry. And they will see that the embodiment of that triumph, the driving force behind it, was President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In the century's struggle for freedom, Roosevelt won two decisive victories – first, over economic depression and then over fascism. Though he was surrounded by turmoil, he envisioned a world of lasting peace – and he devoted his life to building a new era of progress. Roosevelt's leadership steered not only America, but the world, through the roughest seas of the century. And he did it through a combination of skilled statesmanship, innovative spirit, and, as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. put it, “a first-class temperament.”

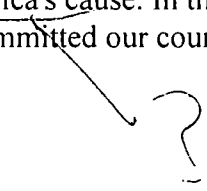
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Roosevelt knew in the marrow of his bones, from his own struggle with polio and his innate grasp of the American temper, that restoring optimism was the beginning of progress. “We have nothing to fear but fear itself,” was both the way he led his life and led our nation.

No matter what the challenge, Roosevelt knew that the facts were only one part of reality – the other part was how you react to them and change them for the better. In the depths of the Great Depression, the gravest economic threat the country ever faced, he lifted the nation to its feet and into action.

From his vision emerged the great American middle class that has been the engine of more than five decades of progress and prosperity. From his new ideas flowed the seemingly endless array of programs and agencies of the New Deal. Bank reform. A massive public works effort to get America working again. Rural electrification. The GI Bill. And, of course, his most enduring domestic creation – Social Security, a bond between generations that every President since has honored. Roosevelt proved that for markets to flourish, government must be devoted to opportunity for all. He understood that the initiative of individuals and the responsibilities of community must be woven together.

To defeat the merciless aggression of fascism, President Roosevelt created an international alliance to defend the world's freedom, and he committed the United States to lead. He proved that our liberty is linked to the destiny of the world, that our security requires us to support democracy beyond our shores, that human rights must be America's cause. In the 20th century's greatest crisis, President Roosevelt decisively, irrevocably committed our country to freedom's fight.



Early in World War II, President Roosevelt defined the Four Freedoms that he said must be realized "everywhere in the world." Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear—these were, in his own words, "essential human freedoms." His expression of American ideals helped make them the world's ideals. Because of that commitment and its embrace by every American president since, today we can say, for the first time in history, a majority of the world's people live under governments of their own choosing.

Roosevelt's leadership in war and his commitment to peace established the institutions of collective security that have prevented another world conflagration. The whole system of international cooperation stems from his commitment. It was President Roosevelt, after all, who conceived and named the United Nations; and he was one of the visionaries behind the establishment of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In one of his last messages to Congress, he said that their creation "spelled the difference between a world caught again in the maelstrom of panic and economic warfare, or a world in which nations strive for a better life through mutual trust, cooperation and assistance."

Winston Churchill remarked that Franklin Roosevelt's life was "one of the commanding events in human history."

As a state legislator, governor and President, Roosevelt pioneered the politics of inclusion. He built a broad, lasting, national coalition — uniting different regions, different classes, and different races. He identified with the aspirations of immigrants, farmers and factory workers — the "forgotten Americans," as he called them. He considered them citizens of America just as fully as he was.

My own grandfather was one of them. He came from a little town of about fifty people, had only a fourth grade education, and owned a small store. Still, he believed this President was a friend, a man who cared about him and his family's future. My grandfather was right about that. So were the millions of Americans who met President Roosevelt only through his radio "fireside chats."

Much of my own political philosophy and approach to governance is rooted in Roosevelt's principles of progress. Rather than clinging to old abstractions or being driven by the iron laws of ideology, his innovations were crafted to the circumstances in which he found himself. He sought, above all, practical solutions that worked for people. He called his

pragmatic method “bold persistent experimentation.” “If one thing doesn't work,” he explained, “try another; but above all, try something.”

The triumph of freedom in the face of depression and totalitarianism was not foretold or inevitable. It required political courage and leadership. We now know what Roosevelt and his generation made of their “rendezvous with destiny.” Their legacy is our world of freedom. If the example of Franklin Roosevelt and the American Century have taught us anything, it is that we will either work together as One America, to shape events – or we will be shaped by them. We cannot isolate ourselves from the world; we cannot lead in fits and starts. Now, to this generation entering the new millennium, as Roosevelt said, “much has been given” and “much is asked.”

December 1, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS
SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

THROUGH: JOHN PODESTA
JOE LOCKHART

SUBJECT: FDR TIME MAGAZINE PIECE

Attached for your review and approval is a final draft of your article on President Franklin Roosevelt, which will appear in *Time Magazine's* "Man of the Century" issue later this month. It reflects the work of Sid and me, as well as several of our speechwriters.

Time has requested that we submit our final article by Monday, December 6. Please forward any comments to us. Thank you.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ESSAY FOR TIME MAGAZINE
“FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, MAN OF THE CENTURY”

When our children's children read the story of the 20th Century, they will see that, above all, it is the story of freedom's triumph—the victory of democracy over fascism and totalitarianism; of free enterprise over command economies; of tolerance over bigotry. And they will see that the embodiment of that triumph, the driving force behind it, was President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In retrospect, it is tempting to view this victory as somehow predestined. But it was not easily won — neither in the fight against tyranny abroad, nor in the struggle for economic survival at home. Seldom is a nation or a leader tested as we were in that time. Roosevelt's leadership steered not only America, but the world, through the roughest seas of the century.

Winston Churchill remarked that Franklin Roosevelt's life was “one of the commanding events in human history.” Though he was born to privilege, into one of the oldest families of New York, he gleefully addressed the starchy Daughters of the American Revolution as “my fellow immigrants.” He meant it — and the children of more recent immigrants knew it. President Roosevelt built a broad, lasting, national coalition — uniting different regions, different classes, and different races, proving that the best politics are the politics of inclusion. Roosevelt considered the children of immigrants citizens of America just as fully as he was.

Franklin Roosevelt identified with the aspirations of farmers and factory workers—the “forgotten Americans,” as he called them. My own grandfather was one of them. He came from a little town of about fifty people, had only a fourth grade education, and owned a small store. Still, he believed this President was a friend, a man who cared about him and his family's future. My grandfather was right about that. So were the millions of Americans who met President Roosevelt only through his radio “fireside chats.”

Much of my own political philosophy and approach to governance is rooted in Roosevelt's principles of progress. Rather than clinging to old abstractions or being driven by the iron laws of ideology, his innovations were crafted to the circumstances in which he found himself. He sought practical solutions. He called his pragmatic method “bold persistent experimentation.” “If one thing doesn't work,” he explained, “try another; but above all, try something.”

From his new ideas flowed the seemingly endless array of programs and agencies of the New Deal. Bank reform. A massive public works effort to get America working again. Rural Electrification. And, of course, there was his most enduring domestic creation — Social Security, a bond between generations that every President since has honored.

In the depths of the Great Depression, FDR lifted the nation to its feet and into action. He knew in the marrow of his bones -- from his own struggle with polio and his intimate grasp of

the American temper -- that restoring optimism was the beginning of progress. "We have nothing to fear but fear itself," he declared in his first Inaugural Address. In confronting the gravest economic threat the country had ever faced, he strengthened liberty and security. And he proved that for markets to flourish government must be devoted to opportunity for all — the initiative of individuals and the responsibilities of community can and must be woven together.

To defeat the merciless aggression of fascism, President Roosevelt created an international alliance to defend the world's freedom, and he committed the United States to lead. He proved that our liberty is linked to the destiny of the world, that our security requires us to support democracy beyond our shores, that human rights must be America's cause. In the 20th century's greatest crisis, President Roosevelt decisively, irrevocably committed our country to freedom's fight.

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Winning the wars against totalitarianism and Depression only set the stage for FDR to act on his greater ideal of a nation winning the peace and advancing our people. Inspired by an idea from First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, his indispensable partner, President Roosevelt won enactment of the GI Bill. As he saw it, education would be a source of a new America. Every veteran was to be given the right to a free college education. From his program emerged the great American middle class that has been the engine of more than five decades of progress and prosperity.

We know what became of Roosevelt and his generation's "rendezvous with destiny." Their legacy is our world of freedom. If the example of Franklin Roosevelt and the American Century have taught us anything, it is that we will either work together as One America, to shape events – or we will be shaped by them. We cannot isolate ourselves from the world; we cannot lead in fits and starts. Now, to this generation entering the new millennium, as Roosevelt said, "much has been given" and "much is asked."

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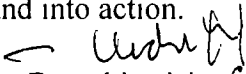
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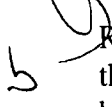
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 3, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS 

CC: JOHN PODESTA
JOE LOCKHART

SUBJECT: REVISED TIME MAGAZINE PIECE

Based on your comments on our earlier draft, I am submitting a revised draft for your review and approval. As you have suggested, I have incorporated more of your thoughts and language from your Charlie Rose interview. I have also shortened it.

Time is expecting a final submission on Monday, December 6.

Thank you.

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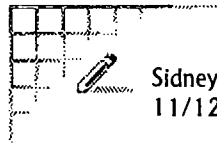
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Much of my own political philosophy and approach to governance is rooted in Roosevelt’s principles of progress. Rather than clinging to old abstractions or being driven by the iron laws of ideology, his innovations were crafted to the circumstances in which he found himself. He sought practical solutions. He called his pragmatic method “bold persistent experimentation.” “If one thing doesn’t work,” he explained, “try another; but above all, try something.”

We know what became of Roosevelt and his generation’s “rendezvous with destiny.” Their legacy is our world of freedom. If the example of Franklin Roosevelt and the American Century have taught us anything, it is that we will either work together as One America, to shape events – or we will be shaped by them. We cannot isolate ourselves from the world; we cannot lead in fits and starts. Now, to this generation entering the new millennium, as Roosevelt said, “much has been given” and “much is asked.”

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Sidney Blumenthal
11/12/99 09:32:05 AM

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To: Terry Edmonds/WHO/EOP@EOP, Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP, Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP

CC:
Subject: Time/FDDR with very slight changes

TIME MAGAZINE ESSAY

ON FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, MAN OF THE CENTURY

BY WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

the 20th is the story of tremendous progress driven in large part by American ingenuity

~~The 20th century was indelibly named the American Century by the founder of Time Magazine, Henry Luce. The story of this century involves many wonders—the ascendance of science and technology; the spread of mass media; the dynamic growth of industry and trade. But when our children's children look back, they will understand it, above all, as the triumph of freedom. Democracy, after two world wars and the Cold War, was victorious over totalitarianism, tolerance over prejudice, enterprise over command economies. One man stood at the head of the forces of freedom at its most perilous test and his vision made possible the world that followed—President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.~~

~~With the happy ending known to all, it is tempting with hindsight to consider the victory inevitable. But it was not—and it was not easily won. It was not a foregone conclusion on the battlefields abroad and it was not one in the political conflicts at home. In the 20th century's greatest crisis, even before there was a direct attack on the United States, President Roosevelt decisively committed the country. He staked his presidency against the entrenched domestic opposition on the outcome. Just as Winston Churchill fought the appeasers in his politics, President Roosevelt fought the isolationists. Without his willingness to risk his political fortunes in support of Britain against Nazi Germany astride Europe, the result might well have been put in doubt. But because of his courage, the victory was sealed.~~

Winston Churchill, his trans-Atlantic partner in the wartime alliance, remarked that Franklin Roosevelt's life was "one of the commanding events in human history." Though he was born

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to privilege, he identified with the aspirations of farmers and factory workers—those he called “forgotten Americans.” My own grandfather came from a little town of about fifty people. He had a fourth grade education and owned a small store. But he believed President Roosevelt was his personal friend, a man who cared about him and his family. My grandfather’s heartfelt belief was shared by tens of millions who had met the President only through his “fireside chats” on the radio—and they were not wrong.

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~~Strong and athletic as a young man, polio placed him in a wheelchair. First, he lifted himself up, remaking himself in the process into the confident figure we came to know as Franklin Roosevelt. Then, in the depths of the Great Depression, he lifted the nation to its feet and into action. He knew in the marrow of his bones, from his own ^{struggle with pain} ordeal and his innate grasp of the American temper, that restoring optimism was the beginning of progress. “We have nothing to fear but fear itself,” he declared in his First Inaugural Address.~~

The son of one of the oldest families of New York, raised on a rolling estate on the banks of the Hudson River, the cousin of President Theodore Roosevelt, he was not smug about his advantages. He was a patrician who gleefully addressed the starchy Daughters of the American Revolution as “my fellow immigrants.” He practiced the politics of inclusion, giving the children of immigrants the sense that they were every bit the full American citizen that he was.

President Roosevelt was a master politician, welding together diverse groups from different regions, classes and races—the vast majority of the American people—into an effective national *coalition*. ~~In his speech nominating New York Governor Al Smith as the Democratic candidate for President in 1928, he called him “the happy warrior.” But President Roosevelt himself was the happiest warrior of them all. He reveled in politics because he knew it was about the cares and needs of the people. There was nothing he enjoyed more than the business of democracy because it was the people’s business.~~

Roosevelt was guided by principles of progress, not by iron laws of ideology. His innovations were crafted to the circumstances in which he found himself. Rather than clinging to old abstractions, he sought practical solutions. He called his pragmatic method “bold persistent experimentation.” He explained: “If one thing doesn’t work, try another; but above all, try something.” From his new ideas flowed the seemingly endless array of programs and agencies of the New Deal. Just as he said, if one didn’t work, he tried another. His critics derided him as an improviser and a mere tactician. But ~~he always understood that the point of his means was to reach his goals.~~ *were always in the service of a high vision.* Eventually, from Social Security to Rural Electrification, from Public Works to the right to collective bargaining, he reinvented American democracy.

Arguably, The Century's two it can be said that Roosevelt defeated the two great
~~In the century’s struggle for freedom, President Roosevelt won two decisive victories.~~

~~To tame the vicious cycles of boom and bust, he created progressive government for the Industrial Age. In confronting the gravest economic threat the country had ever faced—the Great Depression—he strengthened liberty and security. Roosevelt proved that for markets to flourish government must be devoted to opportunity for all—the initiative of individuals and~~

the responsibilities of community can and must be woven together in one nation.

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Like all the previous progressive presidents, from Thomas Jefferson on, President Roosevelt suffered political setbacks. In 1938, in the middle of his presidency, he lost control of the Congress. That only provided further tests of his mettle. It did not deter him from forging consensus on issues crucial to the national interest, especially the lend-lease of destroyers to a beleaguered Britain.

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~~Second,~~
To defeat the merciless aggression of fascism and Naziism, President Roosevelt created an international alliance to defend freedom. In confronting the gravest threat to peace that the world had ever faced, President Roosevelt committed the United States to the international frontlines. He proved that our liberty is linked to the destiny of the world, that our security requires us to support democracy beyond our shores, that human rights must be America's cause.

Early in World War II, President Roosevelt defined the Four Freedoms that he said must be realized "everywhere in the world." Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear—these were, he said, "essential human freedoms." His expression of American ideals helped make them the world's ideals. President Roosevelt's leadership in war and vision of peace established the institutions of collective security that have prevented another world conflagration. The whole system of international cooperation stems from his commitment. It was President Roosevelt, after all, who conceived and named the United Nations.

Winning
~~Having won the war against totalitarianism and depression only set the stage~~
On the home front, he implemented his vision of a nation beyond Depression and war. Inspired by an idea from First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, his lifelong partner and one of the most notable social reformers in our history, President Roosevelt won enactment of the GI Bill. As he saw it, education would be a source of a new America. Every veteran was to be given the right to a free college education. And from his program emerged the great American middle class that had not existed before.

We know what became of Roosevelt and his generation's "rendezvous with destiny." Their legacy is our world of freedom. Now, to this generation of the millennium, in President Roosevelt's words, "much has been given" and "much is asked."

for FDR's greater vision of a nation taking care of its own and winning the peace.



**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ESSAY FOR TIME MAGAZINE
"FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, MAN OF THE CENTURY"**

The story of the 20th century is in fact many stories, many strands woven into one vast tapestry. But when our children's children look back, they will see that above all else, the story of this American Century is the story of freedom's triumph—the victory of democracy over fascism and totalitarianism; of free enterprise over state socialism; of tolerance over bigotry. And they will see that the embodiment of that triumph, the driving force behind it, was President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In retrospect, it is tempting to view this victory as somehow predestined. But it was not. Nor was it easily won—on the battlefields abroad or in the political arena at home. In the 20th century's greatest crisis, President Roosevelt decisively, irrevocably committed our country to freedom's fight. Because of that commitment and its embrace by every American president since, today we can say, for the first time in history, a majority of the world's people live under governments of their own choosing.

Winston Churchill remarked that Franklin Roosevelt's life was "one of the commanding events in human history." Though he was born to privilege, in one of the oldest families of New York, he gleefully addressed the starchy Daughters of the American Revolution as "my fellow immigrants." He meant it; and the children of more recent immigrants knew it. Their patrician President considered them citizens of America just as fully as he was. Franklin Roosevelt identified with the aspirations of farmers and factory workers—the "forgotten Americans," as he called them. My own grandfather was one of them. He came from a little town of about fifty people and had but a fourth grade education. Still, he believed this President was a friend, a man who cared about him and his family's future. My grandfather was right about that. And so were millions of other Americans who had met President Roosevelt only through his radio "fireside chats."

President Roosevelt built a broad, lasting, national coalition. But what I admire even more is the way he built it—uniting different regions, different classes, and different races—proving that the best politics are the politics of inclusion.

Much of my own political philosophy is rooted in Roosevelt's principles of progress. Rather than clinging to old abstractions or being driven by the iron laws of ideology, his innovations were crafted to the circumstances in which he found himself. He sought practical solutions. He called his pragmatic method "bold persistent experimentation." "If one thing doesn't work," he explained, "try another; but above all, try something." From his new ideas flowed the seemingly endless array of programs and agencies of the New Deal. Bank reform. A massive public works effort to get America working again. Rural Electrification. And of course, his most enduring domestic triumph, the creation of Social Security, a program that every President since has understood the value of and fought hard to maintain.

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Roosevelt's critics derided him as an improviser and a mere tactician. But his means were always in the service of a better America. And he got things done.

In the century's struggle for freedom, President Roosevelt won two decisive victories. First, over economic depression and then over fascism.

In confronting the gravest economic threat the country had ever faced—the Great Depression—he strengthened liberty and security. Roosevelt proved that for markets to flourish government must be devoted to opportunity for all—the initiative of individuals and the responsibilities of community can and must be woven together.

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In the century's struggle for freedom, Roosevelt won two decisive victories. First, over economic depression and then over fascism. He may have lived in a time of turmoil, but he fought for a world of lasting peace – and he devoted his life to building a new era of progress. Roosevelt's leadership steered not only America, but the world, through the roughest seas of the century. And he did it through a combination of skilled statesmanship, an indomitable spirit, and a "first-class temperament."

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No matter what the challenge, Roosevelt knew that the facts were only one part of reality – the major part of reality is how you act on the facts and change them for the better. In the depths of the Great Depression, the gravest economic threat the country had ever faced, he lifted the nation to its feet and into action. From his new ideas flowed the seemingly endless array of programs and agencies of the New Deal. Bank reform. A massive public works effort to get America working again. Rural Electrification. And, of course, his most enduring domestic creation – Social Security, a bond between generations that every President since has honored. Roosevelt proved that for markets to flourish government must be devoted to opportunity for all — the initiative of individuals and the responsibilities of community can and must be woven together.

*and the inspiration
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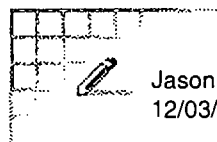
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Jason H. Schechter
12/03/99 01:11:30 PM

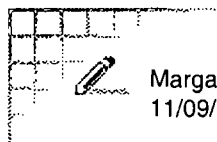
Record Type: Record

To: Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: internal transcript: Interview of the President by Charlie Rose and Walter Isaacson

----- Forwarded by Jason H. Schechter/WHO/EOP on 12/03/99 01:11 PM -----



Margaret M. Suntum
11/09/99 05:20:04 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

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Subject: internal transcript: Interview of the President by Charlie Rose and Walter Isaacson

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

November 9, 1999

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT BY CHARLIE ROSE AND WALTER ISAACSON

The Map Room

1:45 P.M. EST

Q Mr. President, thank you for doing this, sharing this time to talk about Time Magazine's search for the most influential person of the century.

What do you think the qualities ought to be in looking at all those people, men and women who might be candidates for this selection? How do we measure?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think you have to measure the consequences of the person's life to other people, who influenced the most people, who changed the most lives, who changed the course of history.

And there are lots of ways you could measure it. You could argue that Einstein was in some ways positive and, arguably, negative in terms of the work he did on atomic weapons, although on the whole I think he was an incredibly impactful man. You could argue that Churchill was in his way profoundly influential, because he was the first to stand against Hitler.

You could argue that Churchill and Stalin and Mao together killed more people -- I mean, Hitler and Stalin and Mao together killed more people than anybody in the 20th century.

But the reason I've always felt Roosevelt was is that I think that he had the most impact on people in the United States and throughout the world in a positive way in two different crises -- first the crisis of the Depression, and then, of course, the war. And also because he thought through what kind of world we ought to live in after the war. And a lot of what was done after he died really reflected the ideas that he had and the course that he had embraced. So that's why I believe he was the most influential person of the century.

Q So you'd be lobbying Walter Isaacson -- (laughter) -- for FDR?

THE PRESIDENT: I would, yes.

Q Would you compare him to other Presidents? Let's take Truman, somebody who comes right afterwards, or Reagan. How would you rate the other Presidents?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Truman I think was also a very great President. And thank goodness he was, because one of the things that President Roosevelt I think did not do such a good job of, one of the very few things, was thinking about the office of the Vice President, particularly given his health condition, and whether the person would be a good President, whether the person would be a good partner -- and could be. You know, President Truman didn't even know about the bomb until he became President.

But we were very fortunate. He had fabulous instincts and great personal strength, and he was very smart -- and very, very tough. And he did a good job. He brought the war to a successful conclusion and he essentially established the institutions that carried us through to the end of the Cold War.

Q Do you think he was better than Roosevelt at understanding the threat that Russia would pose after the war?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think it was clearer to him. There have been all these historical what-ifs -- would Roosevelt have been different at Yalta if he had been in better health, and all that sort of thing. I think it's impossible to know for sure, but Truman clearly had a different set of facts before him, or at least the facts were far clearer. And I think he acted in an appropriate way, and we're all better off because of it.

I think that more than anyone else, in some ways, he was responsible for our victory in the Cold War because he set up the conditions in which capitalism could succeed, and freedom and democracy could succeed in the West, on our side of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain. And because he set up the NATO mechanism, the Marshall Plan, and he strongly supported the United Nations, as President Roosevelt had before him.

Q Let me just go to Reagan, because at the other end of the Cold War he gets a lot of the credit. And even in taking Roosevelt's legacy and scaling it back a bit, he was influential. I know he's somebody on the other side of the political spectrum --

THE PRESIDENT: No, no -- well, I actually liked President Reagan a lot, personally, and I thought -- I think that on foreign policy, vis a vis the Soviet Union and communism, I think he will get a lot of credit because he imagined two things which were quite important, and advocated them. He imagined the end of communism, the ultimate defeat of it -- take the Wall down -- and I think that is important.

He also imagined a drastic reduction in nuclear weapons and met with President Gorbachev and tried to further that. And I thought that was quite an extraordinary thing. And perhaps he was in a good position to do that for the same reason President Nixon could go to China -- because no one had ever questioned his anticommunism or his commitment to the national security. So in both those ways I think that he deserves a lot of credit.

On the other front, I think that at least rhetorically, and on economic policy, the record is not so good because if Roosevelt said government was the answer, then Reagan said government was the problem. And then, under that rubric, proceeded to address our economic problems with huge structural deficits bigger than we'd ever run outside of a war before. And we didn't start to reverse it for 12 years. And I think that was not so good.

So I think he missed that. I think what we needed was a different kind of government and to transform and redefine the role of government in our lives, but not to say that it was a problem. But I don't think you can possibly minimize the importance of some of the qualities he shared with Roosevelt -- a lot of self-confidence and confidence in the country, and belief in the innate goodness and strength of the American people. And he imagined that there would be no Berlin Wall. And he imagined that we could drastically, drastically reduce the nuclear options of both countries. And he then proceeded to try to act on that imagination, and that's the essence of presidential leadership. And he deserves big points for both those things.

Q Speaking of leadership, moving to foreign leaders, you mentioned Gorbachev. Where would you place Gorbachev and what do you admire about him?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, he was a very important transitional figure. He knew -- he was prepared to end the Soviet empire and the worst aspects of Soviet communism, and he deserves a lot of credit for that. He got the troops out of the Warsaw Pact nations, and he was willing to let them go their own way and find their own way. And I admire that.

He was willing to engage not only President Reagan, but the entire West -- Mrs. Thatcher and others. He was willing to acknowledge the excesses of the communist system and to try to ease them. And I think that he served a very important historic role there.

Q One of the things that comes with being President is you have a chance to think about leadership, exercise leadership, and talk with leaders. Reflect, if you will, on Nelson Mandela, Yitzhak Rabin, people that you have known, in terms of the kinds of qualities you've come to admire.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think we can talk about Mandela, Rabin -- Chancellor Kohl in Germany I think the most important leader in Western Europe in the postwar era. I think that they had -- all three of them -- had a curious combination, a wonderful combination of vision, practical political ability and enormous personal strength in different ways.

Mandela paid the highest price to pursue his vision of a free South Africa, and underwent in the process a personal transformation unlike that of any leader in our lifetime -- and maybe any leader ever. You can't think of anybody, I don't think. He served 27 years in prison, was subject to physical and emotional humiliation and abuse, lost the best years of his life, didn't get to see his children grow up, eventually lost his family and had to go out into the world alone in his late 70s, as a human being, and in the process grew stronger, more spiritual, more powerful, and, ironically, more understanding of his adversaries, so that he could be a truly unifying figure.

One of the most amazing conversations I've had as President was a conversation I had with Mandela after we really got to know each other pretty well. And I said, you know, you're a great man, but you're also a good politician. And you know that a lot of these things you say are good politics -- inviting your jailers to your inauguration and all of this. And you know when you say these large-minded things, you're reflecting the way we'd all like to be. But didn't you really hate them for what they did to you?

And he said, you know, I did hate them for a long time. He said, I stayed alive the first 12 years I was in prison on hate. And one day I was breaking rocks, and I realized they had taken so much from me, and they could take everything -- everything -- except my mind and my heart. Those things I would have to give away. And I decided not to give them away.

And, you know, that level of -- Mandela, had he had a normal life, was an intelligent man, a powerful man, a handsome man, a compelling man. But probably he would not have been able to be the kind of transformational leader he was, had he not suffered in the way he did.

Rabin, I think, even though he had fabulous personal qualities, would not have been able to do what he did if he hadn't been a soldier first -- if he hadn't seen so much death -- and if, probably, he hadn't been at a fairly advanced age when he became Prime Minister, and he knew that he was giving the gift of peace to his children and grandchildren. And that was far more important than the next election or than putting his life at risk. He also was a truly incredible person.

Kohl was a man formed by the war and its aftermath, and the suffering of the German people. And he had an exceedingly keen sense of the difference between German domination and German leadership, between German pride and German arrogance. And he led Germany toward leadership and pride, away from domination and arrogance. He supported the unification of Germany, the unification of Europe, the Western alliance. And in the end, even though he served for quite a long time, the strains of supporting all that played a role in costing him his job. But he had a lot to do with the way Europe is today.

Q When you say that about Rabin and Kohl and Mandela, it reminds me of -- everyone talking about occupying the Oval Office always says no matter how much you read, no matter how many people you talk to, you can never capture what it's like to be there, to have to make the decisions, to have to make the tough calls. Think about Mandela, and about how prison may have shaped him to be a better leader. Were there experiences of any kind, or anything that you wish you had had, looking back, that might have served you as a leader?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think that I would have had a better time with some of the military decisions I had to make if I'd been in the military. I'm not sure it would have changed the decisions I made. In fact, I'm almost positive it wouldn't have. But it might have made them go down a little easier with some of the people who disagreed me, and it might have increased my ability to relate early on to the people with whom I was working.

I think because we had so many different kinds of decisions in the national security area to make, after three or four years it didn't make any difference anymore. But going in, I think it would have.

I think, on a much more mundane note, I think my having been a governor and not having been in Congress made me a better President in some ways, but made me less sensitive to the peculiar culture that is Washington. And I think I made a lot of trouble for myself in the first year or so, not so much by what I did, but how I did it.

But I think in the end, I think I was well-prepared to be President at this moment in history, because I had lived through the downside of the modern economy as a governor of a state that had suffered. I had had to make a lot of decisions and take responsibility for them, because I had had a dozen years as governor. And I had lived through the civil rights era, and I think that my relationships with African Americans and with the poverty of my home state were actually big assets for me in trying to deal with a lot of the challenges I face here.

Q Do you -- go ahead.

Q Well, let me just follow up then, on that. When you think about your successor, does he need a different set of skills at all?

3rd way

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think the -- I can tell you what I think needs to be done in a general way. I think that if you look at the role of government, and the Roosevelt era -- which went all the way up through Lyndon Johnson, with the national government as the answer to our country's big problems, and then you look at the reaction which set in, beginning under President Nixon, although he signed some very important governmental legislation -- Environmental Protection Act, Occupational Safety and Health -- and then going through the Bush era -- even though, to be fair to him, he signed the Americans with Disabilities Act and that important Clean Air Act -- where government was the problem -- becoming the problem, it seems to me that we have now achieved -- what I tried to do was to, in effect, synthesize those two views in a way that would be unifying and positive, so that we all want a government that's focused more on empowerment of people who have to take more responsibility for their lives; we want less bureaucracy and more initiative in enterprise.

But I think the next President needs to be someone who really understands the possibilities of the future. Because what I have tried to do is to make America work again, to make the economy function again; to prove that social problems can be solved and dramatically improved; to set in motion what I consider to be the important elements of the security of America in the 21st century world, in an increasingly interdependent world. And now, at least for the first time in my lifetime, our country has the economic strength and the confidence as a country to take on these big long-term challenges of what will be a very different world -- when we double the number of people over 65; when we become an increasingly diverse society; and when we're increasingly interconnected in all these ways with the rest of the globe.

So I would think the next President needs to -- the best President would be the person who, assuming you have all these other -- is a good person, good values make good decisions -- who really has the best understanding of the future? I think that's very, very important.

Q Let me take you back to Roosevelt, if I may. What was it about his temperament, his philosophy, what he did, that impresses you the most, affects you the most when you try to deal with his legacy? How does his legacy affect what you try to do?

MS

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let's focus on his temperament. You know, Geoffrey Ward wrote a great history of the Roosevelt Era, called "The First-Class Temperament." And that referred to the famous comment by the then very old Justice Oliver Wendell, who said he might have a second-class mind, but a first-class temperament. In fact, he was very smart, but Holmes was smarter than anybody else. So most of us have a second-class brain compared to Oliver Wendell Holmes.

But anyway, the thing Roosevelt had -- and again, I think he had it partly because he was, by nature, a person of sunny disposition -- but because he had to overcome the struggles that he had with polio. I remember reading an account of Roosevelt when he was in private life, before he ran for Governor of New York, having an office in New York City in an office building and trying to walk on his crutches to the elevator, and falling, and being flat on his face in a busy New York office building.

This proud man, who had already been the nominee for Vice President, he'd been Assistant Secretary of the Navy when that was a huge job; who had been the darling of the New York political establishment

and the state legislature. And there he was, flat on his face, crawling like a child across a marble floor. And how he smiled and laughed and threw his head back, and refused to give into the shame and humiliation of it.

I think that Roosevelt's temperament was such that he knew from his own experience that reality was more than just a set of facts; that the most important thing about reality is how people react to whatever the facts are. And he understood that; he understood that before America could turn its way out of the Depression, we had to believe we could do so. We had to have a whole different reaction to it. We couldn't give in. We couldn't give up.

And he also understood that when you try to solve a problem, you may not get it solved, but you'll make a whole lot of other good things happen. For example, he worked for years and years and years believing that somehow he could get mobility back in his lower limbs. He thought he would walk again. And while he never learned to walk again, the effort of learning to walk again opened up all kinds of new capacities for him. He became massively strong in his upper body from all the swimming. He developed an ability to deal with all kinds of people. He figured out how to set up in Warm Springs that beautiful health facility, and he gave it to other victims of infantile paralysists.

So I think that Roosevelt's temperament, it's more than just that he had a sunny disposition. He knew that reality is only part what the facts are, that the major part of reality is how you can change it. And that's how you look at it, and how you act on it. And he had that to a stunning degree, that I have tried to learn from, and tried to model here, as President.

Q He also had -- I think we're in the room where he gave the Fireside Chats.

THE PRESIDENT: He did the Fireside Chats, yes, in this room. He loved these oval rooms. And when he came to the White House, the Oval Office did not exist. The Oval Office was built by FDR. And he built it because he loved these oval rooms. And there's a room upstairs, the Blue Room, which is one of the formal rooms. And then just above that there's another oval room in the residence area, which is known today as the Gold Room, because President and Mrs. Kennedy set it up as sort of a receiving room.

But when Roosevelt was here, he made it his office. And it was his office for 12 years, upstairs. And then he built the Oval Office over there. He knew that the proportions of these rooms had the effect of elevating people, and putting them in a more affirmative state of mind. And he loved to do the Fireside Chats here.

Q When he was in that Gold Oval room upstairs, he gathered people, I guess, at the very beginning of 1941, to write the Four Freedoms speech. And it sort of defined what this century's all about, which is the notion of freedom. Do you see that as a legacy of your presidency, everybody else protecting the notions of freedom that has triumphed in this century?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, in part, I do. But I think the eternal mission of America is to deepen the meaning of freedom, and to do it in a way that reconciles liberty and responsibility, and individuality and community. These things are always tensions.

And the reason I'm convinced that America has done so well for so long is that the Founding Fathers really understood some profound and apparently unchanging elements of human nature -- in the relationship of people to one another in societies, and people to power in politics.

And Roosevelt -- his great genius, I think, was that he made people believe that we could get out of whatever fix we were in, and that we could achieve whatever dream we had, and that we had to be willing to make whatever adjustments were necessary to do that. So in his time that meant -- protecting the capitalist system meant a more regulatory role for government. Protecting individuality meant that we had to organize in a stronger national and, indeed, international community to protect our freedom.

And to me, that whole issue of freedom, and balancing the individual and the community, is, in effect, the eternal story of America that, in effect, gets reinvented, or retold, in new times. And the greatest periods in our history are when the greatest challenges are presented to reconciling those two ideas -- Lincoln and slavery

and the war, for example.

Q You're about to honor today, I think, the Little Rock --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q One of the great struggles for freedom in this century has been the civil rights movement, and Martin Luther King. You grew up in Little Rock, sort of watching this happen. Can you talk about Dr. King's legacy, and that of the civil rights movement, in terms of history?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, of all the non-elected people in our country, he would be the most influential American of the 20th century, I think.

Q Because?

THE PRESIDENT: Because he affected millions of people's lives in a positive way. Because he gave voice, in a way that no one else ever had, to the yearnings of African-Americans to be free, and to the needs of the rest of the people in America to acknowledge their equality. And because he developed a strategy to put his dreams into practice, the strategy of nonviolence -- which was not passive, it was active, and which was probably the only strategy that had any chance to succeed. He read about what Gandhi had done, and he realized how it could be applied in the American context.

So he was a brilliant writer, a great speaker, but he also had that practical sense about how to get from here to there that is required of any great leader. And for me, when I was a child, from childhood I first began to -- I knew about, obviously, the civil rights struggle before I knew about Martin Luther King. I'm not sure that -- he was certainly around by 1957 in a very prominent ministry.

But that had a searing impact on the young people in our state, and all the communities around Little Rock, and ultimately on the whole country. And I think the fact that we're going to give this award today to the Little Rock Nine, that they've, more or less, kept in touch with each other over these years, and they all -- even those that live overseas -- have this incredible sense of the burden of history that they have borne in advancing everyone else's freedom, I think is astonishing.

But I think -- and I guess we ought to say in that context that I think that all the Presidents that supported civil rights will be seen to have played a very important part in our history. And I think the astonishing legislative record of President Johnson in this regard will likely earn him a larger place in history as time goes on.

I think, because of how Vietnam turned out, and because it undermined his own presidency and there's a lot of turmoil in our country around it, I think that he has never gotten the full credit he deserves for the exceptional way he took a heartbroken nation in the aftermath of President Kennedy's assassination, and humbled the Washington political establishment and forged it into an instrument of truly astonishing progress.

Q We've talked about the idea of freedom -- your own sense of that idea as the driving force of America's democracy -- civil rights, Dr. King. There's also the idea of equality of gender. Where do you put that, and what are your thoughts about that?

THE PRESIDENT: That's a huge part of the story of this century -- women getting the right to vote; Jeannette Rankin going to Congress; Hattie Caraway, from my home state, becoming the first woman elected in her own right to the Senate; women breaking barriers in the work place, glass ceilings and corporations; women's concerns being heard.

And also I think that the political empowerment of women has helped to raise the specter of children's issues and guarantees the continuing importance of education and leads us today to a whole set of family issues that were foreign to the government even a few years ago. For example, President Kennedy signed the first

Equal Pay Act.

But the Family and Medical Leave is a function of the growing liberation of women. Why? Because more and more parents work, either because they have to or they want to. A significant number of our children are in single parent households. Therefore, I would argue that one of the most challenging questions for 21st century America is how to get the balance right between work and family. Any society that has to choose between one or the other is bound to lose, because raising children is the most important work of any society. But if that means a lot of your most talented people can't work at all, then you're deprived.

On the other hand, if the price of working -- as it is today for so many women -- is inadequate child care, not being able to get off when your child is sick or when someone else in the family is in trouble, then you have real problems. That's why I think -- you know, I'll always be proud that the first bill I signed was the Family and Medical Leave law. And since I signed it -- I don't have the most up-to-date numbers, but as of 1998 some 15 million people had taken advantage of it when a baby was born or was sick, or a parent was sick, and had gone back to work afterward.

I think that the United States has lagged far behind other countries in this whole issue of trying to balance work and family. I tried to broaden the Family Leave law and I haven't been successful. I'm trying to get Congress to give some tax relief and greater investment on child care -- we may get that done even as we're talking here, as some more help there.

But we haven't come to grips with that as a society. And it is the direct consequence, I believe, of the women's equality movement, which I think has been a wonderful thing for America and a wonderful thing for the world. And now it enables America to go around the world and try to help others. One of the things that I think is most noteworthy in our administration, and will be in history, is the work that my wife has done around the world to try to inspire women and young girls, to get the girls in school, to end the practices that are most oppressive to women in other countries, to provide for economic opportunities for women as well as men.

These are very important issues around the world, and the fact that America took this on consciously and explicitly before most other places is something that should be a source of great pride to us.

Q Are there any great women you can think of that exemplify this -- Margaret Sanger, Eleanor Roosevelt -- who should be up in there in that pantheon of people of the century?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Mrs. Roosevelt certainly should, and as much for what she did after she left the White House. She carried on the idea of the United Nations and she was clearly and forthrightly against racial discrimination, and she wanted women to have more opportunities.

And, obviously, since then we've been very blessed. We've had women who had important political positions in our country and important positions in business life; increasingly, women important in the clergy of America. I saw the cable channel, Odyssey, that had a series on the greatest preachers in America, and there were some women on the list. That's a phenomenally different thing that would have been unheard of just a few years ago.

Q And, as you were saying, you're going upstairs to honor men and women who were part of the --

THE PRESIDENT: That's right, we are -- the Little Rock Nine. And as we do this ceremony honoring them, there will be a funeral service in Little Rock for Daisy Bates, who was the editor of the African American newspaper in Little Rock who was the -- she was the primary sponsor of the Little Rock Nine, she cared for them, she supported them, she encouraged them; certainly a woman who had a profound influence at least on the civil rights movement; and Rosa Parks, who received both the Medal of Freedom and the Congressional Gold Medal.

Something shouldn't be lost in this whole search for great people in the 20th century. Some of the

greatest things were done by ordinary people who became famous not by design, but just because they were the people who were willing to stand up at the critical time, at the fulcrum of history, and push things in the right direction.

Q Or stay seated, as in the case of Rosa Parks on the bus.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q Thank you very much, Mr. President. It was great of you to do this and we appreciate it.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

Q Thank you very much. I just close by saying one of the great things about being President is that you can take time to honor people who have not had the attention that they might have deserved.

THE PRESIDENT: One of the greatest privileges of this job, and greatest, I think, capacities of the job is that you can lift up, before the eyes of the nation and the world, people who are very often quite humble, but who have done remarkable things. And the power of what they have done then can be reflected throughout the society as a whole. And that's what we're going to do when we give this gold medal to the Little Rock Nine.

Q Thank you very much, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Charlie, Walter.

END 2:20 P.M. EST

Message Sent To:

Betty W. Currie/WHO/EOP@EOP
Nanda Chitre/WHO/EOP@EOP
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Draft 12/1/99 2:30pm

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ESSAY FOR TIME MAGAZINE
“FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, MAN OF THE CENTURY”**

The story of the 20th century ~~is in fact~~ ^{involve} many stories, many strands woven into one ~~vast tapestry~~. But when our children's children look back, they will see that above all, ~~also, the story of this American Century~~ ^{the} is the story of freedom's triumph—the victory of democracy over fascism and totalitarianism; of free enterprise over ~~state socialism~~ ^{state economic}; of tolerance over bigotry. And they will see that the embodiment of that triumph, the driving force behind it, was President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In retrospect, it is tempting to view this victory as somehow 'predestined'. But it was not. ~~Not~~ was it easily won—either in the fight against tyranny abroad or the struggle for economic survival at home. ~~Seldom is a nation or a leader tested as we were in that time.~~ Roosevelt's leadership steered not only America, but the world, through the roughest seas of the century. Winston Churchill remarked that Franklin Roosevelt's life was "one of the commanding events in human history." *100 meant it*

(Though he was born to privilege, in one of the oldest families of New York, he gleefully addressed the starchy Daughters of the American Revolution as "my fellow immigrants." He meant it, and the children of more recent immigrants knew it. President Roosevelt built a broad, lasting, national coalition — uniting different regions, different classes, and different races, and proving that the best politics are the politics of inclusion. ~~The~~ ^{Roosevelt} ~~patrician~~ President considered them citizens of America just as fully as he was. Franklin Roosevelt identified with the aspirations of farmers and factory workers — the "forgotten Americans," as he called them. ^{and could be small}

My own grandfather was one of them. He came from a little town of about fifty people and had ~~only~~ a fourth grade education. Still, he believed this President was a friend, a man who cared about him and his family's future. My grandfather was right. ~~about that. And so were millions of other Americans who had met President Roosevelt only through his radio "fireside chats."~~

Much of my own political philosophy and approach to governance is rooted in Roosevelt's principles of progress. Rather than clinging to old abstractions or being driven by the iron laws of ideology, his innovations were crafted to the circumstances in which he found himself. He sought practical solutions. He called his pragmatic method "bold persistent experimentation." "If one thing doesn't work," he explained, "try another; but above all, try something."

From his new ideas flowed the seemingly endless array of programs and agencies of the New Deal. Bank reform. A massive public works effort to get America

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
CHRISTMAS GREETING TO THE NATION
THE WHITE HOUSE
DECEMBER 9, 1996**

At this most special time of year, Hillary and I would like to wish you all the peace and joy of the holiday season. It is a time for us to rejoice in each other's company and in the spirit of the season -- the spirit of sharing and giving, and of making peace.

I want to send a special greeting to all the peacemakers among us, and especially to our brave men and women in uniform who are away from home this holiday season. Like the little child whose birth we celebrate at Christmas, you are on a mission of peace. I join with all Americans to thank you for your service and to pray for your safe return.

[The First Lady: Christmas is a constant that brings continuity to our lives and an opportunity to give thanks for the blessings we share as families, as friends, and as Americans. But most important, it is a time for children. I hope that during this holiday season we will remember our nation's neediest children and extend the spirit of giving to them with our love, our prayers and our generosity.]

May the spirit of Christmas and the magic of this wonderful season be with you and your loved ones throughout the holidays and in the new year to come.

Merry Christmas, Happy New Year, and God bless you all.

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
CHRISTMAS MESSAGE TO THE NATION
DECEMBER 1, 1997**

THE PRESIDENT: Hillary and I wish all of you a joyous holiday season -- one full of magical moments with friends and family, celebrations of the year just past, and hope for the year to come.

I'd also like to send a special greeting to the brave men and women in uniform who are serving our country in lands far from home and loved ones. On behalf of all Americans, I thank you for the greatest gift of the season -- for protecting our nation and safeguarding the blessings of freedom that we all hold dear.

THE FIRST LADY: This Christmas, as we celebrate the birth of a homeless child who grew to become the Prince of Peace, let us all cherish the gift of every child among us. And let us pledge ourselves to building a world where all children, no matter where they are born, can thrive and make their dreams come true.

THE PRESIDENT: May the spirit of the season be with you today, and throughout the new year. From our family to yours, Merry Christmas. Happy New Year. And God bless you all.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 1, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS
SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

THROUGH: JOHN PODESTA
JOE LOCKHART

SUBJECT: FDR TIME MAGAZINE PIECE

Attached for your review and approval is a final draft of your article on President Franklin Roosevelt, which will appear in *Time Magazine's* "Man of the Century" issue later this month. It reflects the work of Sid and me, as well as several of our speechwriters.

Time has requested that we submit our final article by Monday, December 6. Please forward any comments to us. Thank you.

December 1, 1999

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DOUG SOSNIK

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to Lockhart & Podesta
to Sit Room -
from Edmond to
Loa
Sosnik asked me
to send - POTUS
sign off
Don't wake Lockhart

working again. Rural Electrification. And of course, his most enduring domestic triumph, ^{there was} ~~the creation of Social Security, a program that every President since has understood~~ ^{a bond between generations} ~~the value of and fought hard to maintain~~ ^{creating}.

In the depths of the Great Depression, FDR ^h lifted the nation to its feet and into action. He knew in the marrow of his bones -- from his own struggle with polio and his intimate grasp of the American temper -- that restoring optimism was the beginning of progress. "We have nothing to fear but fear itself," he declared in his first Inaugural Address. In confronting the gravest economic threat the country had ever faced, he strengthened liberty and security. And he proved that for markets to flourish government must be devoted to opportunity for all — the initiative of individuals and the responsibilities of community can and must be woven together.

To defeat the merciless aggression of fascism, President Roosevelt created an international alliance to defend the world's freedom, and he committed the United States to lead. He proved that our liberty is linked to the destiny of the world, that our security requires us to support democracy beyond our shores, that human rights must be America's cause. In the 20th century's greatest crisis, President Roosevelt decisively, irrevocably committed our country to freedom's fight.

^{insisted} Early in World War II, President Roosevelt defined the Four Freedoms that he ~~said~~ must be realized "everywhere in the world." Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear—these were, he said, "essential human freedoms." His expression of American ideals helped make them the world's ideals. Because of that commitment and its embrace by every American president since, today we can say, for the first time in history, a majority of the world's people live under governments of their own choosing.

Roosevelt's leadership in war and vision of peace established the institutions of collective security that have prevented another world conflagration. The whole system of international cooperation stems from his commitment. It was President Roosevelt ^h after all, who conceived and named the United Nations, and was one of the visionaries behind the establishment of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In one of his last messages to Congress, he said that their creation "spelled the difference . between a world caught again in the maelstrom of panic and economic warfare, or a world in which nations strive for a better life through mutual trust, cooperation and assistance."

Winning the wars against totalitarianism and Depression only set the stage for FDR to act on his greater ideal of a nation winning the peace and ^{addressing our people} ~~taking care of its own~~. Inspired by an idea from First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, President Roosevelt won enactment of the GI Bill. As he saw it, education would be a source of a new America. Every veteran was to be given the right to a free college education. ^{And from} his program emerged the great American middle class that has been the engine of more

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 1, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS
SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

THROUGH: JOHN PODESTA
JOE LOCKHART

SUBJECT: FDR TIME MAGAZINE PIECE

Attached for your review and approval is a final draft of your article on President Franklin Roosevelt, which will appear in *Time Magazine's* "Man of the Century" issue later this month. It reflects the work of Sid and me, as well as several of our speechwriters.

Time has requested that we submit our final article by Monday, December 6. Please forward any comments to us. Thank you.

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to Lockhart & Podesta
to Sit Room -
from Edmond to
Loa
Sosnik asked me
to send - POTUS
sign off
Don't wake Lockhart

There was
a bond between generations
working again. Rural Electrification. And of course, his most enduring domestic triumph, *creating*
~~the creation of Social Security, a program that every President since has understood~~
~~the value of and fought hard to maintain.~~

h
In the depths of the Great Depression, FDR lifted the nation to its feet and into action. He knew in the marrow of his bones -- from his own struggle with polio and his intimate grasp of the American temper -- that restoring optimism was the beginning of progress. "We have nothing to fear but fear itself," he declared in his first Inaugural Address. In confronting the gravest economic threat the country had ever faced, he strengthened liberty and security. And he proved that for markets to flourish government must be devoted to opportunity for all — the initiative of individuals and the responsibilities of community can and must be woven together.

To defeat the merciless aggression of fascism, President Roosevelt created an international alliance to defend the world's freedom, and he committed the United States to lead. He proved that our liberty is linked to the destiny of the world, that our security requires us to support democracy beyond our shores, that human rights must be America's cause. In the 20th century's greatest crisis, President Roosevelt decisively, irrevocably committed our country to freedom's fight.

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his indispensable partner,

than five decades of progress and prosperity.

We know what became of Roosevelt and his generation's "rendezvous with destiny." Their legacy is our world of freedom. Now, as we enter a new millennium, it is ~~our time~~. If the example of Franklin Roosevelt and the history of this American Century have taught us anything, it is that we will either work to shape events or we will be shaped by them. We cannot be ~~partly in~~ the world; we cannot lead in fits and starts, or anytime we believe it suits our interest. ~~We must lead boldly and consistently and without reservation, because freedom is always in America's interest.~~

To this generation

together as the America
###

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"much is asked."

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
ESSAY FOR TIME MAGAZINE
“FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, MAN OF THE CENTURY”

The story of the 20th century is in fact many stories, many strands woven into one vast tapestry. But when our children's children look back, they will see that above all else, the story of this American Century is the story of freedom's triumph—the victory of democracy over fascism and totalitarianism; of free enterprise over state socialism; of tolerance over bigotry. And they will see that the embodiment of that triumph, the driving force behind it, was President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In retrospect, it is tempting to view this victory as somehow predestined. But it was not. Nor was it easily won—on the battlefields abroad or in the political arena at home. In the 20th century's greatest crisis, President Roosevelt decisively, irrevocably committed our country to freedom's fight. Because of that commitment and its embrace by every American president since, today we can say, for the first time in history, a majority of the world's people live under governments of their own choosing.

Winston Churchill remarked that Franklin Roosevelt's life was “one of the commanding events in human history.” Though he was born to privilege, in one of the oldest families of New York, he gleefully addressed the starchy Daughters of the American Revolution as “my fellow immigrants.” He meant it; and the children of more recent immigrants knew it. Their patrician President considered them citizens of America just as fully as he was. Franklin Roosevelt identified with the aspirations of farmers and factory workers—the “forgotten Americans,” as he called them. My own grandfather was one of them. He came from a little town of about fifty people and had but a fourth grade education. Still, he believed this President was a friend, a man who cared about him and his family's future. My grandfather was right about that. And so were millions of other Americans who had met President Roosevelt only through his radio “fireside chats.”

President Roosevelt built a broad, lasting, national coalition. But what I admire even more is the way he built it—uniting different regions, different classes, and different races—proving that the best politics are the politics of inclusion.

***** end of edited portion *****

Roosevelt was guided by principles of progress, not by iron laws of ideology. His innovations were crafted to the circumstances in which he found himself. Rather than clinging to old abstractions, he sought practical solutions. He called his pragmatic method “bold persistent experimentation.” He explained: “If one thing doesn't work, try another; but above all, try something.” From his new ideas flowed the seemingly endless array of programs and agencies of the New Deal. His critics derided him as an improviser and a mere tactician. But he always understood that the point of his means was to reach his goals. Eventually, from Social Security to

Rural Electrification, from Public Works to the right to collective bargaining, he reinvented American democracy.

In the century's struggle for freedom, President Roosevelt won two decisive victories.

To tame the savage cycles of boom and bust, he created progressive government for the Industrial Age. In confronting the gravest economic threat the country had ever faced—the Great Depression—he strengthened liberty and security. Roosevelt proved that for markets to flourish government must be devoted to opportunity for all—the initiative of individuals and the responsibilities of community can and must be woven together in one nation.

Like all the previous progressive presidents, from Thomas Jefferson on, President Roosevelt suffered political setbacks. In 1938, in the middle of his presidency, he lost control of the Congress. That only provided further tests of his mettle. It did not deter him from forging consensus on issues crucial to the national interest, especially the lend-lease of destroyers to a beleaguered Britain.

To defeat the merciless aggression of fascism, President Roosevelt created an international alliance to defend freedom. In confronting the gravest threat to peace that the world had ever faced, President Roosevelt committed the United States to the international frontlines. He proved that our liberty is linked to the destiny of the world, that our security requires us to support democracy beyond our shores, that human rights must be America's cause.

Early in World War II, President Roosevelt defined the Four Freedoms that he said must be realized “everywhere in the world.” Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear—these were, he said, “essential human freedoms.” His expression of American ideals helped make them the world’s ideals. President Roosevelt’s leadership in war and vision of peace established the institutions of collective security that have prevented another world conflagration. The whole system of international cooperation stems from his commitment. It was President Roosevelt, after all, who conceived and named the United Nations.

On the home front, he implemented his vision of a nation beyond Depression and war. Inspired by an idea from First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, his lifelong partner and one of the most notable social reformers in our history, President Roosevelt won enactment of the GI Bill. As he saw it, education would be a source of a new America. Every veteran was to be given the right to a free college education. And from his program emerged the great American middle class that had not existed before.

We know what became of Roosevelt and his generation's "rendezvous with destiny." Their legacy is our world of freedom. Now, to this generation of the millennium, in President Roosevelt's words, "much has been given" and "much is asked."

If the example of Franklin Roosevelt and the history of this American Century have taught us anything, it is that we will either work to shape events or we will be shaped by them. We cannot be partly in the world; we cannot lead in fits and starts or anytime we believe it suits

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~~His~~ critics derided him as an improviser and a mere tactician. But his means were always in the service of a better America. And he got things done.

In the century's struggle for freedom, President Roosevelt won two decisive victories. First, over economic depression and then over facism.

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the wealthy, new controls over banks and public utilities, and an enormous work relief program for the unemployed.

In 1936 he was re-elected by a top-heavy margin. Feeling he was armed with a popular mandate, he sought legislation to enlarge the Supreme Court, which had been invalidating key New Deal measures. Roosevelt lost the Supreme Court battle, but a revolution in constitutional law took place. Thereafter the Government could legally regulate the economy.

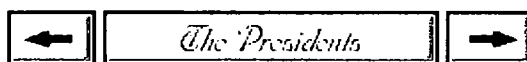
Roosevelt had pledged the United States to the "good neighbor" policy, transforming the Monroe Doctrine from a unilateral American manifesto into arrangements for mutual action against aggressors. He also sought through neutrality legislation to keep the United States out of the war in Europe, yet at the same time to strengthen nations threatened or attacked. When France fell and England came under siege in 1940, he began to send Great Britain all possible aid short of actual military involvement.

When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, Roosevelt directed organization of the Nation's manpower and resources for global war.

Feeling that the future peace of the world would depend upon relations between the United States and Russia, he devoted much thought to the planning of a United Nations, in which, he hoped, international difficulties could be settled.

As the war drew to a close, Roosevelt's health deteriorated, and on April 12, 1945, while at Warm Springs, Georgia, he died of a cerebral hemorrhage.

For more information about our 32nd President you can visit
[The Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library](#)
maintained by Marist College.



[Read our Privacy Policy](#)



Franklin D. Roosevelt

Thirty-Second President 1933-1945

[Anna Eleanor Roosevelt]

Fast Fact: Franklin D. Roosevelt led the Nation through the Great Depression and World War II.

First Inaugural Address

Second Inaugural Address

Third Inaugural Address

Fourth Inaugural Address

Biography: Assuming the Presidency at the depth of the Great Depression, Franklin D. Roosevelt helped the American people regain faith in themselves. He brought hope as he promised prompt, vigorous action, and asserted in his Inaugural Address, "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

Born in 1882 at Hyde Park, New York--now a national historic site--he attended Harvard University and Columbia Law School. On St. Patrick's Day, 1905, he married Eleanor Roosevelt.

Following the example of his fifth cousin, President Theodore Roosevelt, whom he greatly admired, Franklin D. Roosevelt entered public service through politics, but as a Democrat. He won election to the New York Senate in 1910. President Wilson appointed him Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and he was the Democratic nominee for Vice President in 1920.

In the summer of 1921, when he was 39, disaster hit--he was stricken with poliomyelitis. Demonstrating indomitable courage, he fought to regain the use of his legs, particularly through swimming. At the 1924 Democratic Convention he dramatically appeared on crutches to nominate Alfred E. Smith as "the Happy Warrior." In 1928 Roosevelt became Governor of New York.

He was elected President in November 1932, to the first of four terms. By March there were 13,000,000 unemployed, and almost every bank was closed. In his first "hundred days," he proposed, and Congress enacted, a sweeping program to bring recovery to business and agriculture, relief to the unemployed and to those in danger of losing farms and homes, and reform, especially through the establishment of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

By 1935 the Nation had achieved some measure of recovery, but businessmen and bankers were turning more and more against Roosevelt's New Deal program. They feared his experiments, were appalled because he had taken the Nation off the gold standard and allowed deficits in the budget, and disliked the concessions to labor. Roosevelt responded with a new program of reform: Social Security, heavier taxes on

Lowell Weiss —
adapted from
3/3/98 Time
speech

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
SUBMISSION TO TIME MAGAZINE
NOMINATING FDR AS "PERSON OF THE CENTURY"**

When our children's children look back, they will see that above all else, the story of the 20th century is the story of the triumph of freedom – the victory of democracy over totalitarianism, of free enterprise over state socialism, of tolerance over bigotry. The embodiment of that triumph, the driving force behind it, was President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Today, with the outcome known to all, it is tempting to conclude that victory was inevitable. But it wasn't. In the face of the 20th century's greatest crisis, President Roosevelt decisively and irrevocably committed America to freedom's fight. Because of that commitment and its embrace by every American leader since, today we can say, for the first time in history, a majority of the world's people live under governments of their own choosing.

Franklin Roosevelt was born to privilege, but he understood the aspirations of forgotten Americans. My grandfather, who had but a sixth-grade education, believed President Roosevelt was his friend – a man who cared about him and his family and his child's future.

Polio put President Roosevelt in a wheelchair, but in our most troubled times he lifted our nation to its feet and got us moving again. Disappointments and failures never broke President Roosevelt's spirit or his faith in God. Because he always rose to the occasion, so did we. FDR was guided not by the dictates of ideology but by the pragmatism of what he called "bold, persistent experimentation." If one thing doesn't work, he said, try another thing. But above all, try something. It drove his critics crazy, but it worked.

In our century's struggle for freedom, President Roosevelt won two of America's proudest victories. In confronting the gravest threat capitalism had ever faced – the Great Depression – he taught us that free markets require an effective government in which individual initiative and the call of community are not at odds but rather woven together in one seamless fabric. In confronting the gravest threat to personal and political liberty the world has ever faced, he taught us that our destiny is forever linked to the destiny of the world – that humanity's cause must be America's cause.

The new century will bring stunning advances in medicine and communications and commerce that President Roosevelt never could have imagined. But in all that we do as a nation, we must continue to follow FDR's lead – by expanding the reach of freedom, widening the circle of opportunity, and strengthening the bonds of our union. If we do so, we will make the 21st century the next American Century – and the Happy Warrior will smile down on us.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 3, 1998

~~REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT~~
~~AT TIME MAGAZINE 75TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION~~



Radio City Music Hall
New York City, New York

10:59 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you Walter, Gerry Levin, and all the people at Time. Tonight, Time has paid tribute to the time it not only observed but helped to create -- the stunning years your founder, Henry Luce, so unforgettably called the American Century.

To me, one man above all others is the personification of our American century: Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Now, that choice might have pained Henry Luce, but surely he would not be surprised. The story of this century we're about to leave is really many stories -- of the ascendance of science and technology; the rise of big government and mass media; the movements for equality for women and racial minorities; the dynamic growth and disruptive force of the Industrial Age.

But when our children's children look back, they will see that above all else, the story of the 20th century is the story of the triumph of freedom. Freedom, the victory of democracy over totalitarianism, of free enterprise over state socialism, of tolerance over bigotry and ignorance. The advance of freedom has made this the American century; for in this century, America has made freedom ring. The embodiment of the triumph, the driving force behind it, was Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Today, with the happy outcome known to all, it is tempting to look back and say the victory was assured, inevitable --but it wasn't. In the face of the 20th century's greatest crisis, decisively, irrevocably, President Roosevelt committed America to freedom's fight. Because of that commitment and its embrace by every American leader since, today we can say, for the very first time in all of human history, a majority of the world's people live under governments of their own choosing in freedom.

Winston Churchill said that Franklin Roosevelt's life was "one of the commanding events in human history." He was born to privilege, but he understood the aspirations of farmers and factory workers and forgotten Americans. My grandfather came from a little town of about 50 people. He had a 4th grade education. He believed Franklin Roosevelt was his friend, a man who cared about him and his family and his child's future. Polio put him in a wheelchair, but he lifted our troubled nation to its feet and he got us moving again.

He was a patrician who happily addressed the Daughters of the American Revolution as, "my fellow immigrants." He was a master politician, a magnificent Commander-in-Chief. Yes, his life had its fair share of disappointments and failures, but they never broke his spirit or his faith in God or his people. Because he always rose to the occasion, so did we. FDR was guided not by the iron dictates of ideology, but by the pragmatism by what he called bold persistent experimentation. If one thing doesn't work, he said, try another thing; but above all, try something. It drove his critics crazy, but it worked.

He brought joy and nobility to public service as he completed the mission of his kinsman, Theodore Roosevelt, forging a progressive government for the Industrial Age, taming the savage cycle of boom and bust, giving our citizens the economic security and the skills they needed to build the great American middle class.

In our century's struggle for freedom, President Roosevelt won two great victories. By confronting the gravest threat capitalism had ever faced -- the Great Depression -- he strengthened economic liberty for all time, teaching us that free markets require effective government, one in which individual initiative and the call of community are not at odds, but instead are woven together in one seamless social fabric.

By confronting and defeating the gravest threat to personal and political liberty the world has ever faced, he forever committed America to the front lines of the struggle for freedom. He taught us that even the expanses of two great oceans could not shield America from danger or absolve America from responsibility. He taught us that our destiny, forever, is linked to the destiny of the world, that our freedom requires us to support freedom for all others, that humanity's cause must be America's cause.

Now we know what came of Roosevelt and his generation's "rendezvous with destiny." What will come of ours? To this generation of the millennium, in President Roosevelt's words, "much has been given" and "much is asked."

When Roosevelt ran for President in 1932, he said, "new times demand new responses from government." He saved capitalism from its own excesses, so it could again be a force for progress and freedom. Now we work to modernize government, saving it from its excess of debt, so that again it is a force for progress and freedom in a new era.

As Roosevelt gave Americans security in the Industrial Age, now we work to give Americans opportunity in the Information Age. As Roosevelt asked us to meet the crushing

burden of the Depression with bold persistent experimentation, now we must bring the same attitude to the challenges and unrivaled opportunities of this era to our schools, our streets, our poorest neighborhoods, to the fight against disease, the exploration of space, the preservation of the environment.

As Roosevelt established that security and opportunity for ordinary Americans required our leadership and cooperation with like-minded people throughout the world, now we must commit ourselves to the common struggle against new threats to the security and prosperity of ordinary people everywhere. For even more than in President Roosevelt's time, our prospects are bound to the world's progress.

Like FDR, we look around us and see a world that is not yet fully free. The advance of democracy has been steady, but it isn't irreversible.

For our generation, what does freedom mean? Well, at least the long, delayed achievement of President Roosevelt's dream of a Europe undivided, democratic and at peace for the first time in history. What does "freedom from fear" mean? Well, at least, freedom for our children from the worry of nuclear, chemical or biological weapons. What does "freedom from fear" or "freedom from want" mean? Well, at least, for the world, a fair chance for people in every land to develop their minds, find reward in honest labor, and raise their children in peace according to the dictates of their conscience.

America must work to secure this kind of freedom with our allies and friends whenever possible, alone if absolutely necessary. We work today through the United Nations, which FDR helped to create and which he named. I salute Secretary General Kofi Annan tonight for what he has done. Bearing an unequivocal message from the international community, backed by the credible threat of force, the Secretary General obtained Iraq's commitment to honor United Nations' resolutions on weapons inspection. Now the Security Council clearly and unanimously has supported the agreement. Iraq must match its words and its deeds, its commitment with compliance.

In the tradition of FDR, America and its partners must make sure that happens. And in the tradition of FDR, America must support the United Nations and other institutions for global security and prosperity, and that means we ought to pay our fair share.

In the darkest hours of the Second World War, Franklin Roosevelt proclaimed, "We have faith that future generations will know that here in the middle of the 20th century, there came a time when men of goodwill found a way to unite and produce and fight to destroy the forces of ignorance and intolerance and slavery and war."

More than any other 20th century American, Franklin Roosevelt fulfilled the mandate of America's founders. When everything was on the line, he pledged our lives, our fortunes, our sacred honor to the preservation of liberty, the pursuit of happiness, the creation of a more perfect union.

The next century is now barely 700 days away. It will be many things new: a time of stunning leaps of science; a century of dizzying technology; a digital century; an era in which the very face of our nation will change.

Yet in all the newness, what is required of us still is to follow President Roosevelt's lead, to strengthen the bonds of our union, widen the circle of opportunity, and deepen the reach of freedom. That is the tribute we ought to pay to him. God willing, we will. And if we do, we will make the 21st century the next American century -- and the happy warrior will be smiling down on us.

Thank you and God Bless you.

END

11:12 P.M. EST