

Draft 04/07/00 6:45pm
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PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS FOR THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT SERIES
THE WHITE HOUSE
April 7, 2000

Good evening. Tonight I have the privilege of opening the first in a series of events celebrating the 200th anniversary of the people's house. Of course, it's befitting that our first event honors the lives of the individuals who have roamed its halls and carried the awesome burden that accompanies it.

This room – like the White House – has not only witnessed historical events – it has played a role in shaping them. It has played host to forty-one administrations – and forty-one different personalities. The East Room began as a laundry room for Abigail Adams. Thomas Jefferson and his personal aide Meriwether Lewis laid maps upon the floor and charted the Lewis and Clark expedition. It later served as quarters for battle-worn Union troops during the Civil War. President Roosevelt's children even roller-skated on its floors. Over the years, it has survived a fires, two wars, a plane crash -- even five weddings. And, of course, it has been a gallery for priceless artwork.

Each portrait on these walls tells the story of the promise of one American life and, in doing so, the promise of all American life. They offer a lesson, an example, a challenge for every American to live up to the responsibilities of citizenship. While this series recounts the lives of forty one individuals, as a whole, it too captures the promise of American life.

Each President in his own time has faced unique challenges in striving to fulfill the purpose of our Constitution "to form a more perfect Union." Tonight we will have the opportunity to view two selections from the American President series – the first documentary series ever to profile all of America's chief executives. The first viewing is on the life of one of our Founding Fathers, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and our third President, Thomas Jefferson. Every American President has been inspired by Jefferson's ideals – affected by his decisions, fascinated by his character. Jefferson spent a lifetime shaping a new and ever-evolving democracy, that would become, as he said, "more developed, more enlightened as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change."

One hundred and fifty years later, our thirty-fifth President, John F. Kennedy, brought that same spirit of innovation and progress to the White House. John Kennedy's fleeting time among us remains a singular story in the history of our great nation. He was our President for only a thousand days, but he changed the way we think about our country, our world, and our own obligations to the future. With his New Frontier, he inspired million of Americans – including myself – to take a personal responsibility for moving our country forward and for advancing the cause of freedom throughout the world. As Kennedy said, "The new frontier ... is

not a set of promises. It is a set of challenges. It sums up not what I intend to offer the American people, but what I intend to ask of them.”

Now I’d like to introduce Sy Sternberg [Chairman of New York Life Insurance Program] who made this evening and this project possible.

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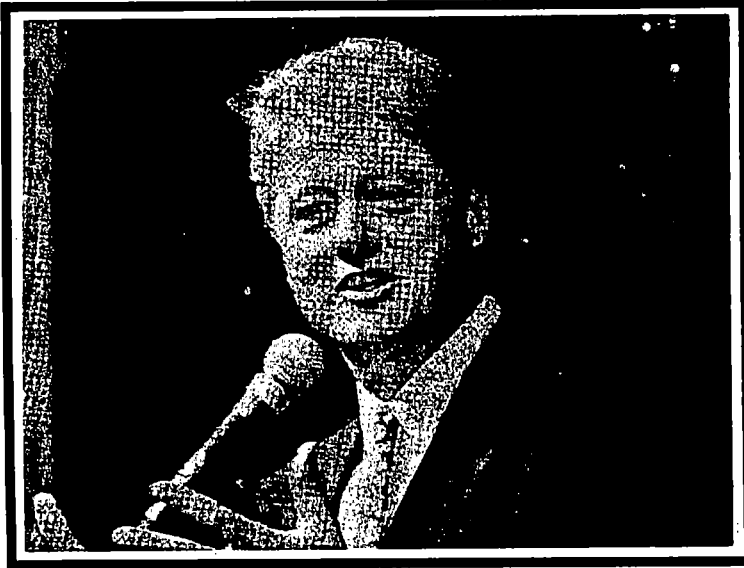
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"Let Us Rise to the Challenge"

Governor Bill Clinton
Palace Theater, May 18, 1992



See you at the
audience. I

See you at

Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you very much my longtime friend David Mixner -- he's been making speeches in his mind for thirty years, he's about to get good at it -- for that wonderful statement. Thank you Roberta Achtenberg for your statement and for your friendship. Thank you Scott and Diane and Roberta and Bob, all the rest of you who were co-chairs and active in this event.

And I want to say a special word of thanks to ANGLE for their work on my behalf over the last several months. I want to thank John Garamendi, my state chair, for being here and all the others who are here in support of this event.

You know, I have said many times that a campaign for president has two purposes. One is for the country to get to know the candidate, and the other is for the candidate to get to know the country. If the candidate does not grow and deepen in understanding and compassion and feeling, then the race itself is already half lost.

There are people in this room today to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude, for you have helped me to get to know my country better than I did when I began.

We just finished the worst urban riots in our history in Los Angeles. And as the people here begin to pick up the pieces, I think it might be well for us to note where we are at this moment in our history as a nation. Not just here in Los Angeles, and not just in the cities of our great land, but all of us, all across America.

We should be dancing in the streets with joy today because the Cold War is over. If three years ago anyone had told any of you that within three years the Berlin Wall would fall, all of the governments in Eastern Europe would fade away, the Soviet Union itself would collapse and cut its defense budget by 50% in a year, and the threat of nuclear annihilation would begin to fall into the distance of history, no one would have believed it.

If anybody had told you that would happen and we would still be deeply divided and anxiety-ridden at election time, it would be difficult to believe. But we are. And we are because as we celebrate the triumph of our values around the world, we see them lying in tatters here at home. A country defeated in so many ways economically...a country in

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the grip of political paralysis...a country under immense social strain practicing denial instead of responsibility, division instead of unity.

Today I have made three stops in which I have been able to now talk about three things that I care about a great deal. This morning I met with 4,000 workers at a shipyard in San Diego -- the only place in America where people, Americans, are still making ships. An employee-owned company with seven unions and management working together, against all of the odds, to make the leap from a defense to a domestic economy. And I talked to them about my vision to bring real job growth back to a peacetime America.

And then I went to the University of Oregon in Eugene where there were thousands -- I don't know how many, but at least 4,000 students. And I talked to them about the future that they have -- so much more ahead of them than I do -- and what I hoped it would be, and what role education should play in that.

Tonight, I want to talk to you about how we can be one people again -- without regard to race or gender or sexual orientation or age or region or income, how we can be one again.

This country has so often been divided, especially at election time. The pollsters and the political consultants tell people all the time how to cut the electorate up in just "this little slice and that little slice" so that we cannot be one again. And yet, it is against all our natures, against our basic values, against the statements of all our basic laws, and still we do it, over and over again.

This election is almost about the paradigm of Willie Horton on the one hand, and what Roberta Achtenberg and I went through on Mother's Day at the Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco on the other. All kinds of Americans, hundreds of them homeless, there holding hands, worshipping, reaching out for their better selves.

And we're going to have to decide in this election, all of us, what kind of people we are and where we want to go. The American people are plainly going to be divided if this administration has its way, by gender over the choice issue.

Some of us are old enough to remember what it was like before there was a Roe v. Wade. I am. I am. I remember when I was a boy seeing someone who was running an abortion mill put into a police car and taken off to jail and asking who that person was and why he was being arrested. And I tell you, it may be good politics at election time, but it would be a terrible mistake for this country to change the fundamental law of the land and repeal the right to privacy and the right to chose.

If we want to be...if we want to be pro-child and pro-family, let us embrace the cause of life. Let us aggressively seek to reduce unwanted pregnancies and thereby reduce the number of abortions. Let us give people the health care they need and birth and the pre-school their children need. And let's provide for child-care and family leave and meaningful child support enforcement and supports that people need to raise their children. But don't criminalize a decision that belongs in the private recesses of a person's soul.

Let us not be divided again by race. I was so sad when Michael Woo and I were walking amid the ruins and when Maxine Waters took me through her district to see the tensions still there between African American and Hispanic and white and Korean communities and people looking at each other with great suspicions thinking that some of this that has happened was due to the color of their skins.

I grew up in the segregated South. But I lived long enough to see my daughter in a public school where she is in the racial minority, but where she learns every day intellectually, where she thrives and where she learns how to be a person in a multi-racial society and where she has the emotional space and freedom to do what Martin Luther King said he wanted for his children: to judge people, not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.

And the great passion of my life has been education and telling people we don't have a person to waste. The great heartbreak is seeing people wasted. Three years ago before

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it was fashionable, I was in south-central Los Angeles meeting with community groups, before I was a candidate for president. And I met with a dozen sixth graders in a public school -- all of them minorities, Hispanic and black -- who told me their greatest fear was being shot going to and from school. I had never heard such a thing before.

I later went to Houston and found eleven elementary schools where the children were walking through metal detectors every day so the guns and knives could be taken from the eight and nine-year-olds. And I wonder about those children now they're ninth graders. And when this riot occurred, my wife and I asked ourselves how many are in gangs now, who stayed home because their parents asked them to and who looted and whether they are all still alive. We don't have a person to waste.

And those of you who are here tonight, you represent a community of our nation's gifted people whom we have been willing to squander. We can't afford to waste the capacities, the contributions, the hearts, the souls, the minds of the gay and lesbian Americans.

For every day that we discriminate, that we hate, that we refuse to avail ourselves of the potential of any group of Americans, we are all less than we ought to be. You heard Roberta give my speech for me tonight better than I could have.

As soon as the Pentagon issued a study -- ironically by a spokesperson who himself was said to be gay -- which said that there was no basis in national security for discriminating based on the sexual orientation of Americans who wish to serve in the military, I said I would act on the study. It seemed to me elemental that if a person, a man or woman, wanted to serve their country, they ought to be able to do it. The presumption should be in favor of doing it unless there is some reason not to.

The Pentagon had a study which said there was no reason not to. The Secretary of Defense, himself, obviously personally very uncomfortable at not changing the rules, said it was a "quaint little rule." Well, my fellow Americans, we have too much to do to endure "quaint little rules."

I want people like David Mixner and Roberta Achtenberg, Dr. Scott Hitt, some of you in this audience, to be a part of a Clinton Administration, not because of or in spite of your sexual orientation, but because America needs you. And if I become the President of the United States, I owe it to my country to find the best and most gifted and most knowledgeable people in the United States of America to solve the problems and embrace the challenges of this time.

We cannot afford to do otherwise. I want to crack down on those who do want to do otherwise, who now practice hate crimes that the Justice Department should move against. And perhaps more importantly than anything right now, I'd like, for a change, for there to be a real war on AIDS.

When children are shot going to and from school, are shot in their own schools as those two children were in Thomas Jefferson High School in Brooklyn not very long ago, a place where I spoke a month before the shooting, we can say, they are all our children, and we cry. But well over 100,000 Americans have died of AIDS, and they are all our children, too.

Over a million people, over a million Americans are now HIV positive. And yet, the administration is still curiously silent until the famous fall. Until, like Magic Johnson, they come forward, or like Arthur Ashe, someone takes advantage of their privacy. Then someone says something appropriately touching.

But this administration ignores its own commission reports, underfunds research and treatment, leaves red tape binding science and drug trials and research, and says behavior modification is the issue. But then, unlike Dr. Koop, refuses to embrace the cause of sex education in our schools which would give our children the chance to save their lives.

When it comes to AIDS, there should be a Manhattan Project. One person should be in charge. One person who can cut across all the departments and agencies, who has the President's ear and the President's arm. One person who can make sure that we begin

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by implementing all those recommendations and those two commission reports now gathering dust in Washington, D.C.

One person who will launch a real national education campaign -- someone as forthright as Dr. Koop was, telling the American people -- starting with our children -- the hard truth and giving them a fair chance to save their lives and other people's lives as well. Someone who will see that women and people of color are included in the research and in the drug trials.

And, I might add, for women especially, that is a problem for general application, not just as it relates to AIDS, but as it relates to breast cancer and any other health problem. We have got to improve our approach to women's health. Someone who will fund the Ryan White Act fully, someone who will approach this problem with compassion and teach the American people what he has learned. That is what I will try to do.

There are two things that I would like to mention again to make sure you know I am serious. The first is that I want to make a major speech on AIDS to a non-traditional group of Americans, who may not cheer at every word but who need to hear the message.

The second is, that I have pledged to see that someone who is HIV positive, but also has a positive attitude, come before the American people at the Democratic National Convention to speak about this issue.

And now, before I leave, I want to say something which is not part of a political program. I just want to thank the gay and lesbian community for your courage and your commitment and your service in the face of the terror of AIDS. When no one was offering a helping hand, and when it was dark and lonely, you did not withdraw, but instead you reached out to others.

And this whole nation has benefited already in ways most people cannot even imagine from the courage and commitment and the sense of community which you practice.

It was your community who created the first AIDS service organizations, who did the first important work in pioneering AIDS drugs, who sounded the alarm and created the first education programs, who stood strong in the face of all governmental opposition and discrimination and killing silence.

This nation owes you thanks for that, and I want to give you my thanks and respect for that struggle today.

Finally, let me say again, this is not an election, or it should not be, about race or gender or being gay or straight or religion or age or region or income. What kills the country is not the problems it faces. There will be problems even until the end of time. What kills the country is to proceed day in and day out with no vision, with no sense that tomorrow can be better than today, with no sense of shared community.

What I came here today to tell you in simple terms is I have a vision and you are a part of it. I believe tomorrow will be better than today if we act. And we are all a part of the same community, and we'd better start behaving as if we are.

If I could, if I could wave my arm for those of you that are HIV positive and make it go away tomorrow, I would do it, so help me God I would. If I gave up my race for the White House and everything else, I would do that.

Let us never forget, there are things we can and cannot do. But the beginning of wisdom is pulling together and learning from one another and being determined to do better. And this country is being killed by people who try to break us down and tear us up and make us be little when we have to be big.

This is a big time. Let us rise to the challenge.

Thank you and God bless you all.

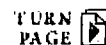
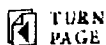
Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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The Presidency

Divider Title: _____



PRESIDENCY INFO.

Message on the Observance of Presidents' Day, 1996,
February 17, 1996

Warm greetings to everyone celebrating Presidents' Day, 1996. I am pleased and proud that so many of our citizens gather at this time each year to celebrate our nation's rich history and to pay tribute to the office of the **Presidency**.

America has been blessed with many great and good leaders over the past two centuries. The Presidents we honor with special pride on this day—George Washington and Abraham Lincoln—accepted the burdens of their office at moments of great national challenge and set a shining example for those who were to follow.

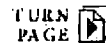
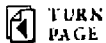
As the first President of the United States, Washington played a vital part in defining the role of the **Presidency** in America's government and national life. With courage and [p.336] vision, he ensured the steady course of American democracy and, in relinquishing his office at the appointed time, established the peaceful transition of power that has become the envy of other nations around the world.

Abraham Lincoln preserved the Union that Washington helped to create. He guided America through four years of painful and bloody conflict, and at the end of his **Presidency**, we were still one nation under God, and government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" had not perished from our land.

But Presidents alone cannot ensure America's success or preserve our freedom for future generations. It falls to each and every citizen to take part in the great experiment of American democracy. As we face the unknown challenges and exciting possibilities of a new century, let us renew our resolve to participate actively in the process of government, to stay informed and committed, and to educate our children about the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. In this way we will keep faith with the great men whose service and sacrifice we honor on this day.

BHI Clinton

Source: United States. Executive Office of the President, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, Week Ending Friday, February 23, 1996 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1996), 32:335-336



Source: All Sources : / . . . / : **Presidential Documents**

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Public Papers of the Presidents

December 22, 1999

CITE: 35 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 2670

LENGTH: 4961 words

HEADLINE: Interview With **Charlie Rose** of CBS' "60 Minutes II"

BODY:

Terrorism During Millennium Celebrations

Mr. Rose. Mr. President, because of the recent arrest and heightened security concerns at airports, do you expect, worry, that there will be an incident of terrorism before the first of the year?

The President. Well, we are on a heightened state of alert, and we're doing a lot of work on this. But I would say to the American people, they should go on about their business and celebrate the holidays as they would, but they should be aware. You know, this whole millennial idea draws out a lot of people who are maybe, by our standards, deranged, and other people maybe want to use it for their own political ends. So if people see anything suspicious, they should report it to the authorities as quickly as possible. But otherwise, I should say, they should go on about their business. We're working very, very hard on this.

Mr. Rose. It worries you?

The President. No, I'm concerned, but I think we have, I think, the best law enforcement folks we could have, and they are working very hard. And we're doing quite well so far. So I have every hope that we'll get through it. But I think that what I would ask the American people to do is not to stay at home and hide but just to keep their eyes open. If they see something that looks fishy, tell the authorities and we'll get on it. But they should know that we're working this very hard.

Last Year of President's Term

Mr. Rose. All right, let me -- I look around this office, and I see a desk over there that President Kennedy sat at. And I remember the story he said about the Presidency, and one of the great things about the Presidency was he could walk to work. As you think about leaving this building, what will you miss the most?

The President. I think what I'll miss the most is the work, the job, the contact with all kinds of people and all kinds of issues, the ability to make a difference, to solve problems, to open up opportunities for other people. There's almost no -- not almost, I suppose there is no job like it in the world. It's been an unbelievable thrill and a profound honor, and I will miss it very much.

I'll miss a lot of the other things. I love living in the White House. Hillary, I suppose, has done more work on the White House than anybody since the Truman administration, redoing rooms and building a sculpture garden and doing things like that. And we love living here. I love going to Camp David; I love Air Force One; I love all of the perks of the job. But the

thing I love most is being President, doing the job every day. It just -- to me, it's an almost indescribable honor. I would never grow tired of it, and I feel graced every day.

Term Limits

Mr. Rose. If you could change the 22d amendment, would you?

The President. I don't know. It's probably not fair to ask. On balance, I think the two-term tradition has served us well. I'm glad President Roosevelt served the third term, because of the war. But on balance, I think it's served us well.

Now, you know, I'm young, and I'm strong, and I'm, as far I know, in good health. I love the job. And so if I could serve again, I probably would. But I think that's the reason we have this limit, so that people like me don't get to make that decision. *[Laughter]*

Mr. Rose. Are you going to leave a note in that desk over there for your successor, and what will you say?

The President. I will, and I don't know what I'll say. But probably most of what I'll say will be predictable. I'll be wishing my successor well and talking a little bit about the job and offering to be available if I can ever be of any help.

National Economy

Mr. Rose. Prosperity. Economic prosperity and growth has been a hallmark of this Presidency. How long can it last, and will it be a part of our future, our near future?

The President. Well, it certainly will be part of our future. Now how long it will last -- the truth is no one knows. I believed when I got here that there was a chance that we could have a very long period of economic growth. Now I couldn't have known, when we started and we started slashing the deficit and investing more in technology, that we would have the longest economic expansion in history that would even outstrip wartime when we had been fully mobilized. And in February we will.

But I think that there are some fundamentally different things now. If the Government can follow good policies and the Federal Reserve will follow smart policies, there is this enormous power of productivity we're getting out of the revolution in technology and information technology. It's just now working its way into every sector of the economy, and it's also continually advancing itself. So I think if we can keep that going and if we can keep our markets open, that's very important, not just the exports we sell but the imports we buy, the open market keeps the American economy highly competitive and tends to keep inflation down. And I think that's one of the things that's been under appreciated about this. I never will forget, back in '94 I got really alarmed when lumber prices went way up in a hurry, and I thought homebuilding prices were going to explode. And then all of a sudden, we had this big infusion of less costly imports.

Now we have to work on fair trade rules; we've got to have -- we can't be taken advantage of, as some tried to during the Asian financial crisis, but on balance, these open markets are very good for us. They give us growth and competition, keeps inflation down. And I think that's very good.

Globalization and the Technology Gap

Mr. Rose. What we want to do here in this conversation is really focus on the future. You've done a number of conversations about this century and your term in office. Thinking about the future and the economic health of the country, there is also this process. In 10 years -- 10 years ago the wall came down; 5 years ago the web went up. Globalization is part of our

life.

The President. It is.

Mr. Rose. Some worry -- and Seattle might be an indication that we're looking at the possibility of a great gap between a two-tier system, between the haves and the have-nots of the world, those who get it with technology and those that don't.

The President. Well, first of all, the worry is well-founded, but it's a constant. That is, we have had a great gap in opportunity, even though it's sometimes closed and sometimes open, but there has been a huge gap between the haves and have-nots since the dawn of the industrial revolution and the creation of middle class societies with mass wealth. Some have had it, and others have not ever created it.

There is a chance that what will happen now is that it will become more pronounced across countries and within countries because of the advantages that technology-literate people and entrepreneurs with access to money will have in a rapidly changing world. That is, it's liable to accelerate.

But I would remind you that in the United States we had an increasing gap between the rich and the poor for about 20 years, as we moved into this new economic phase. The same thing happened when we changed from being an agricultural economy to an industrial economy. In the last 2 or 3 years, we started to see the gap close again. And the answer is not to run away from globalization. The answer is to make change our friend. The answer is to have broad access to information and information technology, to have broad-based systems of education and health care and family supports in every country, and to continue to try to shape the global economy.

You mentioned Seattle. I think that you had a lot of people out there protesting globalization, but they can't reverse it, and it's done a lot more good than bad. It's created, over the last 50 years, as the world had become more interconnected, we've moved away from the specter of war as holocaust, even though there have been a lot of smaller wars, and we've seen millions -- hundreds of millions of people lifted into the middle class. So the answer is how to make this globalization more human, more humane, and how to shape it so that everybody has a chance to be a part of it.

Response to American Hegemony

Mr. Rose. Do you hear around the world now, as I'm sure you've heard from heads of state and others, this kind of unilateralist -- America in the future is too strong, too dominant, and the fear of a backlash against us.

The President. I agree with that. And I think -- I've tried to be very sensitive to that -- I think we have -- and to make sure that we fulfilled our responsibilities. I think that, on the one hand, people are glad that we won the cold war, if you will; they're glad that the forces of freedom won. All over the world people are embracing democracy and market economics. But if you enjoy the level of military and economic strength we have and the level of political influence, people are going to resent you.

And I must say -- and again, I don't mean to be partisan here, but I think the resentment is deeper when the Congress takes as long as they did to pay our U.N. dues and puts the conditions on it they did, when we don't ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, when we basically preach to other people around the world, you ought to do this, that, or the other thing. But instead of helping them, we continue to have a very large military budget, but we spend the smallest percentage of our income on assistance to other countries to help them succeed economically and politically of any advanced country in the world. So we do some things that breed this resentment.

Now, a lot of them resented me at Seattle because they think that when the United States says we ought to have core labor standards and we ought to have good environmental standards in a world trading system, that I'm trying to keep poor countries down, that I just want them to open their markets to us, but they won't get rich because I'm going to try to force them to give up their comparative wage advantage or their ability to grow. That's not true. So some of the resentments against America are not fair. But it's all perfectly understandable. I mean, look how fortunate we are compared to most other countries, and when people get in a tight spot, they want us to come help -- Bosnia, Kosovo, the Middle East, you name it.

Prospects for the 21st Century

Mr. Rose. Do you think this century coming up will be America's century, as the 20th century has been described?

The President. Well, I think it can be. But I think we have to think very carefully about how we want to define that. I mean, look what we know will happen. We know that, barring some completely unforeseen event, China, and sometime thereafter, India, will have economies that look bigger than ours, because they've got so many more people than we do -- 4 times as many people -- in the case of China, even more. We know that Europe will grow more integrated, I think, in the 21st century. And the European Union will be more and more a union. And they have 50 percent more people than we do, and they could have a lot more than that if they continue to bring in other countries.

So I do not believe that we will have the relative economic dominance we have today. We've got about 4 percent of the world's people and almost 22 percent of the world's income. But I think we can be still very prosperous. I think we can still be the strongest individual country in the world in many ways. But I think we will have to build partnerships with some of those who resent us now. We will have to have an increasingly interdependent world. Because, whether we like it or not -- it's like globalization, interdependence is another word for globalization -- we will become more interdependent, and we'll have to learn to be adroit at that. We won't be able to just say, "Well, if we like it, we're here, and if we don't, we'll walk away." We'll have to really work on our partnership skills.

Future Allies

Mr. Rose. You touched on something that I've thought about. This century was marked by our friends becoming our enemies -- France and Germany -- our enemies becoming our friends. Is that going to be part of the 21st century, people we now look on as rivals become friends, friends become --

The President. I think it is highly likely that some of the people that have been our most recent rivals will be our friends.

Mr. Rose. Like?

The President. Well, I know a lot of people are very skeptical about Russia now, because of the problems they've had. But they just had a genuinely democratic election with a lot of debate, vigorous opposition, brutal campaign ads, you know, the whole 9 yards.

Mr. Rose. Did the results surprise you?

The President. No. It's about what I thought they'd be. You know, still only 25 percent of them are voting for the old Communist Party; the rest of them are for something else, in spite of the economic hardship that they have faced in the last few years. So I still think there's a chance that if the leaders of Russia define their national greatness in 21st century

terms -- that is, in terms of their ability to unleash the creative capacity of their people, rather than their ability to dominate their neighbors, which was their 19th and 20th century definition of greatness -- that they will be -- we'll have a real partnership there. It's also possible that we'll have one with China.

Mr. Rose. A partnership?

The President. Absolutely. It just depends on how they view us and their own self-interest.

Future Rivals

Mr. Rose. Do you see, on the other hand, people who we might consider friends, like Western Europe, becoming more rivals because --

The President. I think the only way that would happen is if it were provoked by greater protectionism, economic protectionism outside the borders of Europe. That is, Europe could get so big, and they could integrate the economy of Europe, and they'll have a lot of poor countries coming in -- just like we have poor States and poor regions. If they close their economy, rather than open it, that could be a difficult thing. But I think it's far more likely that our former enemies will become at least friendlier, if we're not friends, and that all of us together will face the enemies of the nation-state in the 21st century.

Mr. Rose. The enemies of the nation-state?

The President. Yes. The organized enemies of the nation-state that have vast money and vast access to weapons and technology and travel: the organized crime syndicates; the narcotraffickers; the terrorists. And I think the likelihood that all these people will be integrated -- there may be some rogue states that will support them, but I think you're more likely to see the nation-states trying to uphold stability in their national lives, increasingly open and democratic. Even China, I think, will become more open and more democratic. They're already electing mayors in a million little towns, literally.

Mr. Rose. In democratic elections?

The President. Yes. And so I think -- by their standards. They don't have a Republican or a Democratic Party like we do, but they are having these elections. I think in the future the likelihood is that nation-states will be allied against the enemies of the organized society and the open society.

Chemical and Biological Threats

Mr. Rose. Do you expect in the next 10, 20 years to be a terrorist attack in the United States, thinking about the recent events, thinking about the potential for germ warfare, the potential for biological attacks, and the potential --

The President. Oh, absolutely. I think that's a threat.

Mr. Rose. A likelihood?

The President. Well, I think it's highly likely that someone will try. And keep in mind, the World Trade Center was blown up just a few years ago. We were fortunate to catch the people who did it. Oklahoma City had the terrible explosion.

What I think will happen -- let me back up a minute. I have done everything I could as President to try to organize the permanent Government, the people who will be here when I am gone, and the Congress to deal with the long-term threat of biological, chemical, and small scale nuclear war, as well as the increasing sophistication of traditional weapons. And

we are doing a massive amount of work now in preparation to try to minimize the chances that it will occur and -- God forbid if it should occur -- to try to minimize the impact of it. I think, parenthetically, one of the benefits of our research into the human genome is that we'll be able to analyze these viruses much more quickly and come up with antidotes much more quickly than we used to be able to. Even now, when new strains of diseases -- whether it's AIDS or anything else -- comes up, we can identify them so much more quickly than we used to be able to.

So what I think will happen -- let me just make this point -- the organized forces of destruction will take maximum advantage of new technologies and new scientific developments just like democratic societies do. So I think, just like the computers are all being miniaturized and people carry these little pads around that have -- and now you've got these gadgets where you can use as a telephone or a typewriter, do E-mail and all that. Well, the same miniaturization will apply to biological and chemical weapons. And if people should get nuclear materials that can be made into a bomb, to nuclear materials -- which is why we've worked so hard with Russia to control access to that stuff.

So we've just got to be ready. There will always be bad guys out there in the world who will try to take advantage of people's vulnerabilities.

Mr. Rose. But aren't the odds against us, when you describe that kind of technological advantage -- I mean, and just recently two people trying -- in separate cases -- trying to get inside America's borders with explosives -- it gets more and more easier to conceal, and more and more the likelihood that an American city --

The President. Well, if you go back through all of human history and you look at conflicts in weapons systems -- and that's what we're talking about, biological, chemical weapons -- offense always precedes defense; that is, you've got to know what you're defending against.

So my goal in this whole thing, trying to mobilize the country on biological, chemical weapons, and make sure the Government is doing everything possible, is to close the gap between offense and defense. And the answer to your question is, we won't be severely -- there might be incidences. I mean, the World Trade Center was blown up; Oklahoma City was blown up. We've got a guy in the laboratory in the Middle West, almost 5 years ago, who was trying to develop biological agents, political extremist.

Mr. Rose. And there are scary ideas coming out of science, where viruses can attack certain ethnic groups?

The President. Yes, there are people that --

Mr. Rose. The potential of science to do harm is alarming.

The President. But you know, it's always been that way. I mean, it's always been that way. And I think that I'm actually more optimistic than -- keep in mind, no one believes that someone's going to come in and kill everybody in America. That's what we worried about during the cold war. And we still have to deal with these traditional threats. That's why India and Pakistan is perhaps -- the Kashmiri issue is perhaps the most dangerous one in the world today because you've got two nuclear powers there who are somewhat uncertain about one another and why we have to work hard to avoid that.

But yes, there will be problems. Yes, there could be terrible incidences. But I would say to the American people, they should, on balance, be hopeful. But what they should do is to support the leadership of this country in putting maximum resources into research and development so that we're prepared. And I think we will grow increasingly sophisticated in picking these people up, increasingly sophisticated in detecting these weapons, and what we can't afford is to have a long period of time where these offensive capabilities of the new age are better

than the defensive capabilities. If we can close the gap between offense and defense, we'll be fine.

Mr. Rose. What's interesting about a conversation about the future with you is that because of this office and your curiosity, you see and know more than almost anyone. I mean, you are aware because you talk to the scientists; you talk to people responsible.

The President. I think about it a lot.

Mr. Rose. You do?

The President. Sure. I have to. See, I think one of the jobs of the President, because of the unique opportunity of the office you just described it, is to always be thinking about what will happen 10, 20, 30 years from now, and to allocate some time and effort to make decisions for which there will be almost no notice.

You know, right now, I mean, hardly anybody reports on or thinks about the work we're doing in biological warfare or chemical warfare -- the speech I gave at the National Science Foundation -- but it's fine. It's what my former national security aide, Tony Lake, used to call "the dog that doesn't bark." And there is a sense in which there's a bunch of dogs in this old world you don't want to bark.

Mr. Rose. It's the old notion about if the tree falls in the forest and nobody hears it, did the tree fall? Can you -- are there things that we don't know about that alarm you? This sense of science and where it's at and what's coming down the pike that gives you great pause?

The President. Well, there are a lot of things that concern me. You know, we've done a lot of work -- the other thing that, besides the chemical and biological weapons, trying to protect computer systems.

Year 2000 Problems

Mr. Rose. Speak to Y2K. Where are your concerns, and do you think that most of those --

The President. My concerns -- well, they're much more traditional in Y2K. I think we've done a good job here. We've spent a lot of money -- I say we, the American people, not just the Government, the private sector -- we've spent a lot of money, tried to be ready. I feel a high level of confidence. It wouldn't bother me a bit to get on a commercial airline, for example, on New Year's Eve or New Year's Day and fly around. I think our systems are in order here.

My concerns really are for some of our friends around the world that have more rudimentary computer networks and capacities and whether they will have a shutdown that they won't be able to immediately fix or get around.

Mr. Rose. And make them vulnerable to what?

The President. Well, if there were problems in the financial system, what if records disappeared and people lost money? That would be destabilizing in some countries. If power systems --

Mr. Rose. And make them vulnerable to outside forces, to kinds of elements you mentioned earlier?

The President. Well, maybe, but I think more internal destabilization. What if a power system shuts down in a big country with a hard winter? How long will it take to get back up before anyone would freeze to death? I mean, these are the kinds of practical problems that I'm concerned about.

But I think that -- I'm talking about something far more insidious, though. What we have to -- this is, again, offense and defense. What we have to do -- this technology of computers is changing so fast, and we've got a lot of whizbangs out there, and they can make a ton of money working for bad guys. So what we've got to do is to continuously work on protecting the cyber security, the infrastructure of the information economy, just like we're trying to deal with chemical and biological warfare and the miniaturization of weapons and all this.

But most people are good people. We've got plenty of talented people. We just need to be imagining the future, thinking about all the problems as well as all the opportunities, and then prepare. Society always has problems; there are always misfortunes. But basically, I believe the future is quite promising and far more exciting than any period in history. I wish I were going to live to be 150; I'd love to see what happens.

Possibilities of the Future

Mr. Rose. Would you like to be cloned?

The President. No. I wouldn't wish that on anybody. [Laughter]

Mr. Rose. There is this thing, too. I mean, think about Chelsea's children, your grandchildren, say the year 2050, whatever the appropriate time might be. What's this world going to look like? Is it going to be more interesting, more challenging? How will we travel; what kind of food will we eat; will we go to other planets?

The President. I think we'll be eating food that's like what we eat now. I think it will be safer. I think we'll know a lot more about it, even safer than it is now. I think that in big, urban areas, I think we'll still have our love affairs with cars. I think they will be much more safe. They'll be made of composite materials that are much more resistant to wrecks. And I think where there is a lot of heavy traffic, I think that we'll all travel by a computerized plan.

I also think there will be a lot more rapid rail transit. I think it will be safer. It'll be better, and I think we'll be able to do things while we travel and spend more time. I think we will go into outer space, and at sometime in the next century, I think there will be large, permanent platforms sustaining life in outer space that will basically be jumping-off places to distant planets and maybe even beyond. That's what I think will happen.

Q. Hold on one second. I know you've got to change tape. Okay.

Mr. Rose. You said computerized plan --

The President. No, I meant cars. You want me to say it again?

Mr. Rose. How much time do we have?

The President. I just misspoke myself.

Mr. Rose. How much time do we have here?

The President. I don't know, 10 minutes, 5 minutes?

You want to do that again?

Mr. Rose. The last question? All right. Okay.

Think about the future of your grandchildren, Chelsea's children, the year 2050. What will life be like then? What kind of food; what kind of transportation; will we be living on other

planets? Will we still be concerned about things that concern us now, like overweight, stuff like that?

The President. I don't think all of the problems will go away. I think the food will be pretty much like it is now, but even safer. I think that on Earth, we'll travel in automobiles, still, but in traffic jams, we'll have automated systems. I think there will be a lot more high speed rail. I think we'll travel in ways that give us more free time to do things while we travel.

I think that there will be large platforms in outer space that will be jumping-off places to distant planets, and I think that the bio-medical advances will be stunning. I think a lot of cancers will be cured. I think there will be a vaccine for AIDS. I think that the research in the human gene and the revolution, the continuing revolution in microchips will enable people to probably cure spinal cord injuries by having a programmed chip that goes into the spine and replicates all the nerves that were damaged.

I think that it'll be a fascinating time. And I think there will be lots and lots of continuous daily communication with people across national and cultural lines.

Mr. Rose. Would you go to space if you had the opportunity?

The President. I might. I'm real interested in it. I like it a lot. I think it's important.

Post-Presidential Plans

Mr. Rose. What one thing do you most want to accomplish -- I've got to go -- when you leave this office? What's the single most important thing for you to accomplish when you leave?

The President. You mean, after I'm not President anymore?

Mr. Rose. After you're not President.

The President. I think the most important thing is for me to be a useful citizen of this country and of this world, because I've had opportunities here only my other living predecessors have had. And I think that for me to be able to continue the work I've done in racial and religious and ethnic reconciliation and trying to convince people that we can grow the global economy and still preserve the environment and trying to empower the poor and the dispossessed, in trying to spread the universal impact of education and use technology to benefit ordinary people, these kinds of things -- I think I should continue to do this work and trying -- I want to get young people into public service. I want them to believe this is noble and important work.

So I think, in a word, I have to be a good citizen now. That's the most important thing I can do when I leave office is to use the maximum -- to the maximum extent I can, the knowledge that I have, the experience that I've gained to be a really good citizen.

Mr. Rose. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview was videotaped at 5:10 p.m. on December 22 in the Oval Office for later broadcast, and the transcript was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 28. A portion of this interview could not be verified because the tape was incomplete. The text of this interview follows the transcript as released by the Office of the Press Secretary.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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I think that it will show that we helped America to make this major transition into a new economy and an era of globalization.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Public Papers of the Presidents

August 4, 1998

. I'm very grateful to have had the chance to **serve as President** at a time of remarkable change and to try to make sure that this period of change works for all Americans and that, when we get to the 21st century, the American dream is alive and well for everybody who is responsible enough to work for it, that our country is strong and visionary enough to continue to lead the world toward prosperity and peace and freedom, and that we can do that because we have enough sense to come together, across all the lines that divide us, into one America. That is what I have worked for.

portraits of those who have come before

access another key narrative

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days of heated argument and changing opinions, the fateful motion carried. Ever since, the presidency, as one commentator has put it, has been "at the mercy of the accident of personality."

It is the extraordinary procession of these "accidents of personality" that inspired this family team to undertake an exhilarating study of the presidency, which includes not only this book but also a ten-hour PBS documentary series.

In some ways, the presidency is the most exclusive of clubs—by the turn of the twentieth century, just forty-one members, all men, all white, and all Christian. Closer inspection, however, reveals a less static society, one moving inexorably toward greater inclusion. Andrew Jackson was the first to break open the genteel, highly educated ranks represented by the first six presidents. A self-made man hailing from the frontier in western Tennessee, Jackson opened up whole new possibilities in what kind of American could reach the White House. He was followed by a host of figures from equally unlikely backgrounds—a longtime tailor (Andrew Johnson), a fitful tanner (Ulysses S. Grant), a one-time canal boy (James Garfield), and a former rail-splitter (Abraham Lincoln). And though lawyers and career politicians have predominated in the high office, twentieth-century Americans elected a professor (Wilson), a newspaperman (Harding), an engineer (Hoover), and a movie star (Reagan). John F. Kennedy was the first Roman Catholic to reach the White House. Inevitably, the country will elect a woman as president.

As anyone who has toured the White House knows—and 1.2 million Americans do so each year—the mansion's walls prominently display important portraits of past presidents. It was not always so. Though the famous full-length painting of George Washington by Gilbert Stuart has been a feature of the executive mansion since 1800, there was little appetite for any others until the middle of the nineteenth century. It was Andrew Johnson's daughter, Martha, who discovered, while rummaging in the White House attic, a set of six presidential portraits commissioned in the 1850s but then forgotten. Hanging them in the great transverse hall of the state floor of the White House, she opened what was essentially the first presidential portrait gallery in the White House. It was immensely popular and soon was moved into the East Room. Under President Hayes, the gallery was brought up to date by the acquisition of eleven

new paintings, and the collection keeps growing. Each president since has been surrounded by these portraits. They look down upon his comings and goings as a vivid reminder of the relatively few others who have shared his unique station. Their power is symbolic as well as historical. Ronald Reagan, at the opening of his administration in 1980, ordered the portrait of his hero Calvin Coolidge moved onto a prominent wall in the Cabinet Room. George Bush said he did his best thinking during the Gulf War while sitting in the presence of the portrait of Abraham Lincoln. And Richard Nixon, during the depths of the Watergate crisis, used to wander through the White House halls at night talking to the portraits as if to living presences. This book, too, is a presidential portrait gallery, made up not only of oil paintings and of hundreds of rare photographs, but also of words—both ours and of each of the presidents—that open up vistas onto those living presences.

A significant portion of our research time went into searching out the original words of the presidents, not only those existing in widely available published sources, but also those only to be found in manuscript form. And not only the distinguished public utterances, but the little-known, the intensely private, and the humanly revealing, as well as those words that shed light on our own thematic approaches. Chosen out of thousands upon thousands of examples, these words are sprinkled liberally throughout our text, as well as being gathered inside special boxes in each chapter labeled "In His Own Words."

The story of the presidency is, at least in part, a story of human personality under pressure. The administration of George Washington is not fully intelligible without reference to his consuming desire for integrity and to be above politics. John Adams is best illumined by an inspection of his own unique makeup—his learnedness, his irascibility, and most of all his stubborn independence. Again and again a president's personality ends up helping shape his executive performance. Jefferson's expansiveness, Madison's caution, Jackson's ferociousness, Buchanan's timidity, FDR's self-confidence all deeply affected the evolution of the high office. And so questions of character are not only relevant, they are essential. Was a president decisive or indecisive? Rash or thoughtful? Tough-skinned or too sensitive to criticism? Kindly or coldhearted? Did he have a vision for the country he wanted to pursue, or did he become lost in the



A turn-of-the-century view of the White House's north entrance

minutiae of the everyday tasks of the office? Was he proficient in working with others and in enlisting political allies, or was he a loner who withdrew and tried to do everything himself? Was he expansive or petty? Was he honest or dishonest? Did he have a basic trust in the American people or a basic distrust? These questions and others help bring focus to the ways in which presidents have affected the history of the nation.

Our most essential early decision as this project took shape was to treat the presidents thematically, rather than chronologically. Our senior historical consultant, David Herbert Donald, winner of the Pulitzer Prize for biography,

early on put us in touch with Stephen Skowronek, a political scientist at Yale University who specializes in the history of the presidency. His groundbreaking book *The Politics Presidents Make* compares presidents from different eras who shared common dilemmas and who inhabited what he has called similar "political time." Especially qualified to analyze our thematic approach, Skowronek helped us arrange our groupings, following our mandate that each chapter include an early president, two from the middle years, and a modern one who was still alive and could be interviewed today, or at least had lived in the era of moving pictures and recorded sound. With some slight tinkering

over the next four years, these categories became the intellectual framework for this book. Skowronek has served as our chief academic consultant, and his Foreword, which explains the importance of looking at the presidents trans-historically, appears on pages *xii* and *xiii*.

Another important alliance that was formed as the project unfolded was with the Harvard scholar Richard E. Neustadt, who has been called by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "our most brilliant commentator on the presidency." Neustadt's specialty is analyzing what makes effective presidential leadership; his book *Presidential Power* has been dubbed "an operational Bible for presidents." Our decision to make Dick the sole on-camera commentator for the PBS television series that accompanies this book ended up deeply shaping not only the series but the book as well. He has contributed his own introduction that begins on page *xiv*.

For narrator of the television series, we brought on Hugh Sidey, who has been *Time* magazine's special correspondent on the presidency for four decades. Sidey conducted exclusive interviews for this project with Presidents Carter, Ford, Bush, and Clinton, and these interviews serve as the basis for the chapters on these four presidents. Practically a member of the White House himself, as well as a student of it, Sidey brings a unique perspective to the workings of the Oval Office and the eight presidents he has intimately known (see page *xi*).

The New York Life Insurance Company, whose board of trustees has included two presidents—Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover—has been the sole sponsor of the television project. Without their enormous support, this venture would not have been undertaken. For five years, as the project has been developed and a nationwide school involvement has materialized around the enterprise, we have worked together as true partners. New York Life is a company ideally suited to present this subject to the nation.

The ten chapters in this book are presented as five pairs of opposites. Those presidents grouped in Chapter 1, "The Heroic Posture," were all national heroes before they ever were candidates. In contrast are the five men in Chapter 2 we have labeled "Compromise Choices"—politicians chosen in many cases for who they were not, rather than for who they were. The "Professional Politicians" grouped in Chapter 3 are contrasted with those political loners of "Independent Cast of Mind" in Chapter 4. Those profiled

in "Family Ties" all seemed born for the high office, while those in "Happenstance" reached the presidency only because of accident and national tragedy. Those grouped in "The American Way" each possessed a burning vision for their country, while those juxtaposed in "The World Stage" made their contributions principally in foreign affairs. And finally, those presidents brought together in Chapter 9—all of whom deliberately stretched the power of the office—are in contrast to the presidents grouped in Chapter 10, who were constrained, for better or worse, by the balanced powers of our overall government.

As we crisscross the boundaries between presidential successes and failures, between greatness and mediocrity, these categories define our focus and shape our text. By taking stock of all the presidents, both those familiar and unfamiliar, and by juxtaposing modern presidents with earlier incumbents, we hope to have given coherence to the sprawling presidential experience. Indeed, the president we treat first within each of these ten chapters represents an archetype that reemerges later in presidents eerily reminiscent of the original. Theodore Roosevelt appears almost like a new Andrew Jackson; William Howard Taft seems in some ways like a resurgence of James Madison; Jimmy Carter closely resembles John Adams and also Rutherford B. Hayes; LBJ echoes Van Buren and also Abraham Lincoln.

It is our hope that our efforts will be of assistance to the American voter. Since our goal has been to see the presidency afresh and to think about its incumbents in new ways, so, too, the process of selection, we believe, can be invigorated by many of these same insights. The search for personal excellence has many pitfalls and blind alleys; for a voter to be able to spot some of them and hold them up to the light of history is citizenship of a high order.

Over the past thirty years, historians have rightly turned away from the old bias of studying history primarily through the stories of its "great white men." And yet the American presidents continue to fascinate. The president is the only elected officer representing the entire nation, and thus has a special obligation to the American people. As has been made clear in the closing years of the twentieth century, the American people still care about the presidency. They believe in it, and rightly insist that it belongs to them.

forms, and the modern presidents are seen as a coherent group standing apart from the rest, most of presidential history simply loses its relevance. Nearly three-quarters of American presidents predate the modern period, but with the possible exception of the experiences of a handful of historic "greats," the early record would seem to be relegated by this perspective to mere historical interest. The outstanding question is, What can incumbents like Benjamin Harrison or Zachary Taylor possibly tell us about the presidential office as it appears in our own day?

The American President answers this question by establishing a third vantage point from which to view the history of the office. Though the book draws freely on insights made available through more conventional frames of reference, it experiments with a very different temporal arrangement of the material. It does not proceed chronologically though the succession of incumbents, nor does it take up the usual periods of institutional development each in its turn. Instead, the presentation reaches across the standard demarcations of the subject, joining together early and modern presidents around general themes that transcend the particulars of time and place. Each chapter ranges through the whole of presidential history, calling attention to a particular scattering of incumbents that captures something emblematic of the American experience with this office. In this way, the reader gains a sense of those aspects and attitudes of incumbency that constitute the presidency's most enduring qualities.

The thought that breaking up presidential history in this disjointed, out-of-phase fashion might better convey an overarching sense of the whole is but the first of many intriguing notions contained in *The American President*. In its ten thematic sweeps through time, the book is continually juxtaposing presidencies in unexpected ways and shaking up familiar images as it does so. Jimmy Carter's fiercely "independent cast of mind" has always appeared a bit peculiar among the modern presidents, and yet his apparent disdain for professional politicians and his inclination to go it alone politically have deep historical resonance. When Carter's example is joined to those of John Adams, Zachary Taylor, and Rutherford Hayes, the independent stance appears as one of the presidency's most persistent poses. Similarly, the fabled grouping of "greats" is fruitfully broken up here in the service of illuminating less well attended asso-

ciations. George Washington is placed alongside Ulysses S. Grant in a chapter examining the vicissitudes of "the heroic posture." Abraham Lincoln is considered in conjunction with Lyndon Johnson in an exploration of "professional politicians" whose long dedication to their peculiar vocation landed them in America's highest office. Franklin Roosevelt makes his appearance next to Benjamin Harrison to illustrate the influence of "family ties" on presidential history.

To make this organizing principle work, special care had to be taken in crafting the exposition. If, in elaborating these themes, the book had run roughshod over the forty-one different personalities who have held the office, or if it had failed to take into account institutional developments that have transformed that office over time, the end product would be more likely to confuse than enlighten. Several features of the presentation stand out as especially effective in meeting this challenge. The first is that each of the transhistorical themes is rendered through a set of individual presidential vignettes. This means that the office never loses its human face and that critical institutional developments within it are always kept in view. More striking still is the extent to which the presentation allows the presidents to speak for themselves, expressing the major themes in their own words. Breathing life into the framework of the book, this technique serves to make the history accessible even to those who might not have a detailed prior knowledge of it.

Finally, there is the pictorial and photographic support that instantly contextualizes each story and provides a visual accounting of the passage of time. This skillful integration of structure, narrative, and imagery provides a powerful synthesis and makes an important contribution to our understanding of the American presidency. But of course *The American President* is by no means an exhaustive account of the subject. Perhaps the most attractive feature of this book is that in opening up presidential history to an alternative way of thinking, it prompts readers to experiment with its method for themselves. Reshuffling the pieces on our own, we may discover other, as yet hidden connections among the old stories. I can think of no better way to keep this venerable history vital.

INTRODUCTION

by Edward E. Neustadt
Harvard University

allows for development
uncertain content

As Edward Corwin wrote some sixty years ago, the presidency of the United States has been an office "of uncertain content." So it was in 1787, when the Constitution was drafted, and so it remains today.

This uncertainty is due in part to the spare yet general language of the drafting of the Constitution, which has been subject to reinterpretation in successive generations. For the first forty years, to take just one example, the presidential veto over legislation was thought to apply only to bills affecting presidential powers. Another source of uncertainty as to the office of our chief executive is the uncomfortable fact that most of the presidential powers are shared—Constitutionally and practically—with other institutions independent of a president's command. In that respect, the presidency is weaker than it first appears or than its numerous, importunate constituencies expect. And a third source of uncertainty is the office's relatively stronger role in foreign affairs than domestic affairs—a strength, however, that depends on events abroad, which a president, again, for the most part cannot control.

Because the content of the presidency is uncertain, the person of the president takes on added importance. The manner in which the individual brings his (someday her) mind and energies to bear on the events that frame his time is crucial to the way the office is conceived and executed in that time. The incumbent's own experience, enthusiasms, ideas, interests, prejudices, working style, and temperament will markedly affect what happens in the office and what comes out of it.

The times, of course, can limit or strengthen a president and often do, but he, in turn, makes use of them—or doesn't.

That is why what follows in this book and in the television series it accompanies is oriented to the human histories of the forty-one individuals who so far have occupied the office. Were the institution cut-and-dried, required to perform in the same fashion all the time, those histories would be both less important than they are and less revealing of the presidency in our political system. But the institution is what Corwin said it was.

The uncertainty that dogs the office, heightening the effect of individuals in it, derives most basically from the deliberate competition between president and Congress envisaged in the terms of the Constitution. For example, the

"executive power"—which is never defined—is vested in the president, whose duty also is to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." But it is Congress that creates executive departments, decides their jurisdictions, spells out their programmatic duties, adds the funds to perform those duties, and by hallowed practice investigates the performance. So it becomes clear that Congress has "executive" powers too.

Or consider this: The president is commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and since Thomas Jefferson's time has sometimes sent them into battle overseas on his own motion. But only Congress has the constitutional right to declare war, and Congress, every two years, sets the size and composition of those forces. Also, the president sends and receives ambassadors, a duty construed from the start to put him in charge of foreign relations. But those he sends must be confirmed by action of the Senate. Should they negotiate a treaty and he sign it, the Senate has to consent before it takes effect. Should he wish to send money abroad, Congress must first appropriate it; should he send troops, Congress must agree to pay, as it also must with weapons and munitions. Regarding troops, he has to state his reasons; according to the law (though never yet in practice), Congress can remove them after sixty days, rejecting his rationale. Only if he drops atomic bombs does Congress have no comeback—save impeachment. But every president since Truman has learned, in awe, from his experience that nuclear weapons are for show, not use.

Or consider this: While Congress is the legislature in our system, the president, in Dwight Eisenhower's phrase, is also "part of the legislative process," not only wielding his veto (which the House of Representatives and Senate both, by a two-thirds vote, can override), but also having the duty to recommend "such measures as he judge necessary and expedient."

These are what we conventionally call "checks and balances" in our government. There are others as well, including the sovereign rights of states within their constitutional limits, which the courts can amend, from time to time, by interpretation, but not abolish altogether. In a comparable category are the rights of citizens, and by extension those of the private sector in our economy, not least the press. And very specifically, in another example of checks and balances, senators and members of the House are forbidden to hold executive appointments simultaneously; there cannot be

A young Richard Neustadt working as an adviser to Harry Truman.



congressional cabinets at the president's end of Pennsylvania Avenue.

Most of these checks and balances derive directly, though not avowedly, from British experience, our founding fathers having all been former British subjects. For example, the check that forbids members of Congress from simultaneously holding executive appointments keeps American presidents from doing what King George III was famous for, his so-called "corruption" of Parliament—building majorities with rewards in the form of appointments to administrative posts.

Moreover, president and Congress are competitive because both represent the American people, and so both can claim to represent the source of sovereignty in popular government. But they do so in different ways, for different terms, as they are nominated and elected by different constituencies. Only the president (and, of course, his running mate) is nominated in primary elections or state conventions all across the country and then chosen by popular vote in general elections held state by state on the same day. Just a third of the senators are chosen at the same time, and then for terms of six years rather than the presidential four. Representatives are chosen from geographic districts within states—usually smaller than states—not only when a president runs but also every second year. They are nominated in party primaries or conventions, as is he, but within their state or district, not throughout the country, and then elected by the voters in the same jurisdiction, a far smaller body than the president's fifty-state electorate.

As aggregates, both the Senate and the House represent the whole country. But so does the president, one person. The House can always claim to be most up-to-date in its representation, but every four years the president makes the superior claim of a nationwide vote. Individually no House member (or senator, for that matter) can match that.

Senators and members of Congress have limited influence, at best, in primaries for presidential nominations, or in the national conventions that confirm the results, now shades of their former selves. Presidents are usually at least as limited in influence upon the state or district bodies that nominate representatives and senators, even those nominally of their own party. For in fact the local and state parties are not the same as the quadrennial national party at presidential elections. Money for campaigns can be a binding tie (and has been, on occasion, almost from the start). But by and large, local party affairs remain local, and state affairs state, in the conduct of nominations. In modern times, primary elections for the presidential nomination do lessen the influence of statewide party organizations, once supreme at national conventions, but that influence was usually less congressional than gubernatorial, so Congress scarcely loses by the change.

In short, the constitutional separation of president from Congress is reinforced by the separateness of their respective nominating processes and their electoral constituencies. That is why the separation flourishes, and has flourished, for the most part, since George Washington took his oath of office in 1789. And since the separation rests securely on those different political bases, checks and balances assure perpetual competition, because the president and Congress, each speaking "for" the country, share so widely in each other's functions.

That competition can be muted by concern for dangers from abroad, as was the case when President Washington began, and in the two world wars, and from time to time during the Cold War. Or it can be muted by concern for truly national crises, as in the secession crisis of 1861 or the collapse of the U.S. banking system in 1933. And it always can be tempered by comity among those engaged in governing—but of that our party politics offers no guarantee.

Given these circumstances, individuals are bound to matter in and to the presidency. Underlining this book, therefore, is the thought that a review of the first forty-one may help us as we choose the next president.

Each individual president exists and works in a specific social, economic, technological, and environmental framework, dominated by certain prevailing ideas and trends. All these condition politics and thus what given presidents find they can do, or feel they must attempt. Each also exists in a

specific frame of time, defined by modes of communication. For James Monroe, six weeks was not too long to wait for diplomatic correspondence from across the Atlantic. By Lincoln's time the interval had shrunk, with the advent of steamships, to twelve days. After 1867, the laying of the transatlantic cable made communication almost instantaneous—but instant pictures did not come for more than another century.

From 1789 until the eve of World War II, there virtually was no "institutional environment" for the presidency. The president had a private secretary or two (Lincoln in the Civil War had just two!), ~~paid out of his own pocket until the twentieth century, and~~ otherwise depended for all things he wanted done on the federal departments, with their heads in his cabinet, or the military chiefs and their services, or friendly souls in Congress and out, not least in his hometown.

The entire executive establishment consisted only of some 500 civilians when George Washington took charge. By the 1840s the number had risen to some 40,000, and by 1900 to some 100,000. Only in Franklin Roosevelt's time did it rise to a million, just before World War II. After the war it never fell below 2 million until Bill Clinton's time, when it was reduced by perhaps an eighth.

The White House was slow to change. As late as the war, FDR had only eleven civilian assistants, along with a budget-office staff of career civil servants. JFK's assistants amounted to twenty-two, a doubling in sixteen years, mostly because of Truman and Eisenhower innovations. Then, very shortly, President Nixon increased the number by a factor of five, to well over 100. The Clinton staff is larger still. Most of the load that was delegated to departments, or the military, or congressional leaders, or friends (and relatives) by presidents from Washington through Herbert Hoover and the early Franklin Roosevelt is now done, supervised, critiqued, or redone by presidential staff, many at the White House, and more at associated agencies "across the street" in two executive office buildings. Today, 2,000 or so people work for the presidency in the Executive Office of the president; 500 or so work for the president in the White House (clerical help included); 100 or so serve as top staffers; and ten to twenty aides have daily personal access to the president.

This enormous growth of staff has actually been less

responsive to administrative needs than to those of politics and technology. It reflects fast-rising public expectations of the presidency, which now is supposed to win wars, resist terror, keep public order, end recessions, guard against depressions, keep prices down and jobs up, save the environment, preserve social security, fight crime and drugs, maintain personal honor, serve as an example to the young, and with it all show "fiscal responsibility." Such expectations are now fed by electronic media, as well as the print press, which have been engaged in massive bursts of instant communication from all quarters simultaneously. What is communicated has to have a basis in events, but with the world at the disposal of the media, thanks to satellites, events from somewhere, about something, are a dime a dozen.

This naturally complicates the substance of policy and its communication to Congress, to agencies, and to the public. Recent presidents have wished to have their own aides—not a department head's, not someone else's—to work and advise on all aspects of all policies. Furthermore, the burgeoning press corps, always pressing, consists not just of "working stiffs," as in pre-television times, but also of reporters, whom television has transformed into celebrities. They, like all such, want their service fast and hot. In President Truman's time, his press secretary had two professional-level assistants. The number nowadays is over forty.

The institutional presidency is not an unmixed blessing for a president. Staffs are too large to be intimate, which means they are too remote to serve reliably as interpreters of what "the boss" really wants. They are subject to becoming "more royalist than the king." They also may attract to themselves more business than is useful for him. Worse still, they may confuse their own interests with his. And since transition funds are now available to bridge the gap between election and inaugural, all too many staff assistants may be young campaigners on their first federal assignment, as ignorant of Washington as the president-elect might be himself, and unprepared to help him master what he needs to know.

Despite staffs and the problems that go with them, recent presidents appear to experience the office in much the way their predecessors did. For the heart of the job is unchanged. It is the making and communicating of decisions, most of which do not originate with the president himself: their long histories are best known to others; their

Richard E. Neustadt at work
on *The American President*.



deadlines are set by fixed dates or events substantially beyond his control; and they reach him late, at the end of the process, with advisers split on what to do. All presidents, even recent ones, have faced such choices with the help of a few trusted persons, perhaps three or four, rarely more, who constitute an ultimate inner circle. They may be aides, or cabinet members, or close friends, or family members, like Milton Eisenhower and Hillary Rodham Clinton. What is crucial is that they are each of the president's own selection—someone he turns to repeatedly and who trusts him in turn. Those few may be the only people that a modern president thinks of as his real "staff," the many others nominally in that category notwithstanding. In this regard, his subjective situation has a lot in common with that of every predecessor back to General Washington.

This book proceeds on that premise. It proceeds on the further premise that while history does not literally repeat itself, the situations of some presidents objectively resemble those of many others in certain characteristic ways.

In the final chapter of this book the authors turn to cardinal features of our constitutional design, its checks and balances. These separated institutions that share powers engage as they must in endless competition; they tend toward stalemate in the short run, and are slow to respond to slender majorities, though they are capable of registering national consensus with rapidity. But consensus is not easily reached, save for events so grim and clear-cut that time may not allow for proper remedies. And competition can easily get out of hand, leading toward legislative stasis and administrative chaos. For a country as extensive and diverse as ours, there must be something good about this separated system, since it has endured now for 211 years and plainly has a future. But its potential for failure in the eyes of most proponents of all policies much of the time, and its extraordinary messiness, not to say expense, both in delaying and

in implementing what it does get done, engender critical and sometimes despairing pleas for reform of one kind or another from deeply concerned thinkers—and have done so ever since the eighteenth century.

A discussion of checks and balances seems a fitting way for this book to close. For complicated reasons bound up in history—not quite what Madison expected but more or less consistent with his basic views—the system he created manages to shake off every decade's effort to erase its fundamentals for the sake of theory. Nevertheless, it does continue to change incrementally at the margins, responding to the pulls and tugs of social, economic, and technological development. The responses can lag, some are perverse, and all have unintended consequences. Injustice often follows. To rational minds the process is a mess. No one can fail to fume at some of its results. Yet in this country, so far, we have had only one civil war. Of all our presidential thinkers, Madison, I dare say, would have been almost satisfied by that. Most of the time, I am prepared to join him.

But that is a perspective from inside the States. When I go overseas, as periodically I do, I cannot help but notice how our separated system reinforces tendencies toward continental self-absorption, disappointing what our friends abroad expect from the world's oldest democracy and only superpower. They forget that even our most generous phase of genuine concern for our allies—and for endeavors with them—got kick-started by the threat of Joseph Stalin. German submarines precipitated our engagement in World War I, Japanese bombers did the same for World War II, and Stalin played a crucial part in setting off the retrospective Golden Era of the Marshall Plan. Left to our own devices we incline toward isolation.

The complicated workings of our separated system, with president and Congress independent yet intertwined, are a contributory cause of this isolation. Actions are so fraught with emotion, and yet so far from final—almost every issue can be and usually is reopened for discussion—that the energy and interests of our leaders are consumed, with little left for the outside world save when it forcibly intrudes. From an eighteenth-century perspective, Madison, I think, would not have minded. From a twenty-first-century perspective—oh, how our allies do mind! Sympathy tempers my share in his satisfaction.

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT

Press Information

**"THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT," A TEN-PART SERIES
THAT TELLS THE EPIC TALE OF THE PRESIDENCY
PREMIERES ON PBS SUNDAY, APRIL 9, 2000, 9-11 PM (ET)**

Series is Presented by Thirteen/WNET, New York

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT, the first documentary series ever to profile all 41 of America's chief executives, will premiere Sunday, April 9, 2000, 9-11 PM (ET) (check local listings) on PBS, with **"A Matter of Destiny,"** featuring the programs entitled **"Family Ties"** and **"Happenstance."** The epic series, ten hours in length, tells the story of the nation from the perspective of the highest office in the land, and features exclusive interviews with President Clinton and all the living former presidents except Ronald Reagan. The programs will air in nightly two-hour blocks, concluding on *Thursday, April 13*.

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT is a co-production of Kunhardt Productions, Inc. and Thirteen/WNET New York and is presented on PBS by Thirteen/WNET. The series was written, produced and directed by Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr., Philip B. Kunhardt III and Peter W. Kunhardt. The executive producers are Peter W. Kunhardt and William R. Grant. The series' sole underwriter is New York Life Insurance Company.

In a unique casting coup, the series' producers have persuaded an extraordinary group of political, military and media figures to provide voices for the presidents who held office before the development of sound recording. The list includes General Colin Powell, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, Senator Robert Dole, Walter Cronkite, radio personality Don Imus, former *Washington Post* editor Ben Bradlee, Senator John Glenn, James Carville, Andrew Young, and the Reverend Billy Graham.



THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT is narrated by *Time* magazine's White House correspondent for four decades, Hugh Sidey. The series benefitted from an illustrious group of presidential scholars but only one is seen on the screen: Richard E. Neustadt of Harvard University, whom Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has called "our most brilliant commentator on the presidency."

"The story of the presidency is history on a scale that is both heroic and personal," says producer Philip B. Kunhardt III. "These men achieved the highest office in the land — whether through personal ambition, the turn of events, or sheer happenstance — and imprinted their images on a chapter of the American story. Many of them were men of extraordinary character and many of them were flawed. One of the most interesting things that emerges when you look at them as individuals is that personal flaws are not necessarily a barrier to greatness, and rigorous personal virtue does not necessarily protect against failure."

Each of the series' one-hour programs presents the stories of several presidents, linked by a common theme. The first evening's programs, "**Family Ties**" and "**Happenstance**" for example, are presented under the umbrella title "**A Matter of Destiny**." "**Family Ties**" investigates the fact that power and influence, even in a democracy, are handed down from generation to generation in a few privileged families. Profiled are John Quincy Adams, Benjamin Harrison, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and John F. Kennedy. "**Happenstance**" explores the careers of five presidents — John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Andrew Johnson, Chester Alan Arthur, and Harry Truman — who moved from the vice presidency to the White House upon the death of the president.

The series' underwriter, New York Life Insurance Company, has funded an extensive educational outreach effort aimed at the nation's secondary schools. The centerpiece of the outreach is a Web site, www.americanpresident.org, which is one of the most ambitious education sites ever mounted in support of a television series. More than 1,400 teachers all over America will have contributed to the site, and New York Life Insurance Company will continue to support the site's growth through the 2000 election to help teachers place the electoral process into the broader context of American history.

A companion volume to the series, also called *THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT*, has been published by Riverhead Books. The volume, authored by Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr., Philip B. Kunhardt III, and Peter W. Kunhardt, has been designated a main selection by the Book-of-the-Month Club and singled out for praise by many historians.

Following the premiere on Sunday, April 9, **"Politics and the Presidency,"** featuring **"An Independent Cast of Mind"** and **"The Professional Politician"** airs April 10. **"Executive Vision,"** combining **"The American Way"** and **"The World Stage"** airs April 11. **"The Candidate,"** presenting **"The Heroic Posture"** and **"Compromise Choices"** airs April 12. The series concludes with **"An Office and Its Powers,"** featuring **"Expanding Power"** and **"The Balance of Power"** on April 13. **"The Balance of Power"** includes an exclusive interview with President Clinton.

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the most powerful office in the land than because they provided some electoral advantage, such as geographical balance. What happens when such a man takes office — frequently facing widespread conviction that he is unworthy of the powers he inherits? The answer can be surprising, as is made clear by this hour's profiles of **John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Andrew Johnson, Chester Alan Arthur and Harry Truman**. (This is the only program to focus on five presidents.)

Monday, April 10: POLITICS AND THE PRESIDENCY

*independents to
consensus
builders*

Program One: "An Independent Cast of Mind"

From time to time the American electorate tires of political partisanship and elects a president who promises to stand above party ties. But is an independent cast of mind the best approach to the presidency? All four of the men who are the subjects of this hour — **John Adams, Zachary Taylor, Rutherford B. Hayes, and Jimmy Carter** — had difficult presidencies, and neither of the two who sought a second term was granted one.

Program Two: "The Professional Politician"

"In our nation's early years, taking part in political affairs was considered a duty and an honor," says series narrator Hugh Sidey, "but not a way of life." It was not long, however, before professional politicians began to find their way to the White House. While a politician's skills can be helpful to a president, they are not in themselves sufficient to guarantee success in the office. This hour traces the presidencies of four political professionals — **Martin Van Buren, James Buchanan, Abraham Lincoln, and Lyndon B. Johnson** — at least one of whom was also a great statesman.

Tuesday, April 11: EXECUTIVE VISION

Program One: "The American Way"

Like the framers of the Constitution, many American voters are suspicious of "big government." A smaller, less intrusive government has remained an appealing ideal throughout the country's history. The four men profiled in this program — **Thomas Jefferson, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, and Ronald Reagan** — believed, or professed to believe, that the government that governed best governed least. Their policies, however, did not always square with their philosophies.

Program Two: "The World Stage"

"Foreign affairs activate the strongest elements in the president's powers under the Constitution," says Harvard presidential scholar Richard Neustadt in this hour. Almost from the beginning, a president's accomplishments in foreign policy have helped to determine his historical impact. Each of the four men whose stories are told in this program — **James Monroe, William McKinley, Woodrow Wilson, and George Bush** — pursued foreign policies that defined or expanded America's role on the world stage.

Wednesday, April 12: THE CANDIDATE

Program One: "The Heroic Posture"

The president of the United States is also the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Understandably, seventeen generals have been elected to the highest office in the land. Are the habits of military command good preparation for the presidency? Of the four presidents profiled in this hour, **George Washington** was the model for all presidents that followed; **William Henry Harrison** served only a month; **Ulysses S. Grant** proved unequal to the office; and **Dwight D. Eisenhower** made an exemplary transformation from a man of war to a man of peace.

Program Two: "Compromise Choices"

From time to time political parties select nominees not so much because they are the best or most obvious candidates for the presidency, but because they are the least likely to lose votes. Their primary qualification for the office seems not to be their positive qualities but their relative lack of negative ones. **Franklin Pierce** and **Warren G. Harding** found the presidency beyond their powers, while **James A. Garfield** and **Gerald R. Ford** proved themselves worthy of having been called to the highest office in the land.

Thursday, April 13: EXPANDING POWERS

Program One: "An Office and Its Powers"

People perceive the American president as having more power than any other ruler on earth but — according to *Time* magazine's Hugh Sidey — "None of the presidents in my time has thought he had enough." This hour explores the growth of the presidency from its relatively weak

position in the 19th century to its modern, near-imperial state. This segment traces the careers of four men, **Andrew Jackson, Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, and Richard Nixon**, who expanded and — in one case, overstepped — the powers of the office.

Program Two: "The Balance of Power"

The presidency, for all its visibility and trappings, is only one component of an elaborate Constitutional balance of powers. As narrator Hugh Sidey points out, however, "It is a balance that has sometimes shifted during the course of our history, bringing at times unexpected results." This hour focuses on four presidencies during which those balances were challenged and defined — those of **James Madison, James Knox Polk, William Howard Taft, and Bill Clinton**. The program concludes with an exclusive interview with President Clinton.

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THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT

Press Information

THE BEST AND THE BRIGHTEST
PROVIDE VOICES FOR
"THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT"



What do General Colin Powell, Senator Bob Dole, the Reverend Billy Graham, Morley Safer of "60 Minutes," and irascible radio personality Don Imus have in common?

They — and more than twenty-five other prominent political, military, and media figures — have all provided voices for America's presidents in the epic ten-part series **THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT**, premiering *Sunday, April 9, 9-11 PM (ET)* (check local listings) on PBS.

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT, a co-production of Kunhardt Productions, Inc. and Thirteen/WNET New York, is the first documentary series ever to tell the story of all 41 of America's chief executives. Peter W. Kunhardt and William R. Grant are executive producers. The series, which airs two hours per night through *Thursday, April 13*, is underwritten solely by New York Life Insurance Company, which has also funded an ambitious educational outreach effort.

"We decided at the outset that we didn't want to use actors to voice the words of the presidents who served before the advent of sound," says producer-writer Philip B. Kunhardt III, who — with his brother Peter and their father, Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr. — produced, wrote, and directed the series. "The idea was to find public figures who shared a kind of kinship with the president they would voice." Some of the match-ups are evident. General H. Norman Schwarzkopf speaks the words of Ulysses S. Grant. Tennessee firebrand James Carville voices Tennessee firebrand Andrew Jackson. The magisterial Walter Cronkite supplies the voice for America's most magisterial president,

Made possible by



George Washington. Ohio's Senator John Glenn is Ohio's Rutherford B. Hayes. James Roosevelt, Jr. voices Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and New York aristocrat William F. Buckley speaks for New York aristocrat Theodore Roosevelt.

"The recording sessions with these people were fascinating," Kunhardt says. "Andrew Young, the dignified voice of Thomas Jefferson, wondered if an audience would be able to distinguish between a white voice and that of an African-American, and whether it mattered if they did. Retired *Washington Post* editor Ben Bradlee hesitated when first asked to read the words of Warren G. Harding, then decided, 'If Harding was a newspaperman, he couldn't be *all* bad.'"

"Nobody wanted to be associated with Andrew Johnson, the white supremacist successor of Lincoln who was the first president to be impeached," says Kunhardt. "Only Don Imus would agree to read Johnson's harsh words, telling us he was delighted to move into territory rejected by so many others. The Reverend Billy Graham, who provided the voice for the only ordained minister to serve as president, James Garfield, told us he'd served as a counselor to every president since Eisenhower, but wasn't sure who had ministered more to whom, he or they. And General Alexander Haig, while recording the words of Benjamin Harrison, joked with us that he'd been president three times — once when Nixon resigned, once when Reagan was shot, and now for PBS."

Kunhardt Productions and Thirteen/WNET also arranged exclusive interviews with all the living former presidents except Ronald Reagan, and with President Clinton. President Clinton's interview concludes the series as the final segment of the program called **"The Balance of Power."**

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT, which is presented on PBS by Thirteen/WNET New York, is narrated by Hugh Sidey, *Time* magazine's White House reporter for four decades. Scholarly commentary is provided by Harvard's Richard E. Neustadt, whom Arthur Schlesinger has called "our most brilliant commentator on the presidency." The series is written, produced, and directed by Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr., Philip B. Kunhardt III, and Peter W. Kunhardt.

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The centerpiece of the educational outreach effort is a Web site to which more than 1,400 American school teachers have contributed, www.americanpresident.org.

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The series' sole underwriter is New York Life Insurance Company.

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT

Press Information

THE FAMILY BEHIND "THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT"

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT is the product of a unique family in documentary television which has been chronicling American history for decades.

The Kunhardts, a father and two sons, are the grandson and great-grandsons of Frederick Hill Meserve, America's earliest and foremost collector and authority on Civil War era photographs. Meserve's collection, which focused on many of the early presidents, was passed down to the Kunhardts through his daughter, Dorothy Meserve Kunhardt. For years she continued the family tradition of intergenerational collaboration, co-authoring two books with her son, Philip Kunhardt, Jr. While thousands of Mathew Brady glass negatives in the collection were transferred in the 1980s to the National Portrait Gallery at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., the Meserve collection is still in the Kunhardts' hands and forms the basis of **THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT**.

Working with a team of researchers, the family has also combed through literally hundreds of photographic archives across the country to amass a definitive collection of images and film footage spanning the entire history of the presidency. In addition, they have done extensive research into presidential writings, both published and unpublished, in order to bring alive the presidents "in their own words."

The Kunhardts - Philip, Philip, and Peter - work out of a two-story brick building in Mt. Kisco, New York which has been described as looking like "the American Studies department at an Ivy League college." Working



Made possible by



with a staff of twelve, they create television series and books from start to finish. **THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT** took nearly five years to complete.

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THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT

Press Information

BILL CLINTON DISCUSSES HIS IMPEACHMENT
IN "THE BALANCE OF POWER,"
AN EPISODE OF "THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT"
AIRING ON PBS, THURSDAY APRIL 13, 2000, 9-11 PM (ET)
General Colin Powell, William F. Buckley, James Carville,
and Senator Howard Baker Provide Presidential Voices

An exclusive and far-ranging interview with President Bill Clinton forms the finale of "**The Balance of Power**," the tenth and final episode of the epic PBS series **THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT**, airing as part of a two-hour program *Thursday, April 13, 9-11 PM (ET)*. (Check local listings.) The ten-hour series, the first documentary to profile all forty-one of America's chief executives, also features exclusive interviews with all the living former presidents except Ronald Reagan.

"**The Balance of Power**" will air as the second episode on the evening of April 13, presented as part of the program block "**An Office and its Powers**." The first episode, airing at 9 PM, is "**Expanding Power**."

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT is a co-production of Kunhardt Productions, Inc. and Thirteen/WNET New York and is presented on PBS by Thirteen/WNET. The series was written, produced and directed by Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr., Philip B. Kunhardt III, and Peter W. Kunhardt. The executive producers are Peter W. Kunhardt and William R. Grant. The series' sole underwriter is New York Life Insurance Company.

Suspicion of executive power goes back to the American Revolution, fought in part as an assault on the executive power of the king. "**The Balance of Power**" looks at presidential leadership as it is constrained, for better or worse, by the balanced powers of our constitutional system. James Madison was the "Father of the Constitution," and all his life he supported balanced government. But his system of

Made possible by



separated, yet overlapping powers presumed a basic level of courtesy, or at least cooperation in government—what Madison called "comity." This comity broke down in the 1820s and '30s, and was replaced with an intense new era of partisanship. James K. Polk was a tough and thoroughgoing Democrat, who strove for balance but only within his own party. And the divisiveness left in his wake would grow unabated until the complete breakdown of American politics that immediately preceded the Civil War.

In his own day, William Howard Taft seemed like a new James Madison, determined to recapture a proper balance in government. That meant, among other things, rejecting an overly strong presidency, and standing up, in particular for the independence of the judiciary. The momentum of history was against Taft, though, and the 20th century would be dominated by a series of strong presidents. But in the wake of what Arthur Schlesinger called "the imperial presidency," Congress seized back much of its authority, ushering in an era of divided government and increasing partisanship.

Bill Clinton's presidency has contributed to and suffered greatly under the strain of this partisanship, which at times has seemed to threaten the Madisonian system itself. "Only once before have our national parties fractured," says commentator Richard Neustadt. "When they did, we had a civil war. We're not at such a point, but you have dangerous potentials in the country."

In an exclusive interview, Clinton speaks openly of his personal scandal and the intense partisanship that nearly wrecked his presidency. And he emotionally thanks the American people for standing by him in his time of trial.

Providing the voices for the presidents in this hour are Senator Dale Bumpers (Madison), Senator Howard Baker (Polk), and General Colin Powell (Taft). Powell, who possesses the same quiet strength as did Taft, served in a similar capacity to President George Bush as Taft served to President Theodore Roosevelt.

The first program of the evening, "**Expanding Power**," looks at four dynamic presidents who deliberately stretched the power of the office: the immensely popular, hugely aggressive Andrew Jackson; the iron-willed Grover Cleveland (the only chief executive to serve two non-consecutive terms); the expansive reign of Theodore Roosevelt; and the far-reaching, finally self-destructing presidency of Richard Nixon.

The voices for "**Expanding Power**" are James Carville (Jackson), Governor Lowell Weicker (Cleveland), and William F. Buckley (Theodore Roosevelt).

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT is narrated by Hugh Sidey, *Time* magazine's White House reporter for four decades. Scholarly commentary is provided by Harvard's Richard E. Neustadt, whom Arthur Schlesinger has called "our most brilliant commentator on the presidency."

A companion volume to the series, also called **THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT**, has been published by Riverhead Books. The volume has been singled out for praise by many historians and was a main selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club.

The centerpiece of the accompanying educational outreach effort, also funded by New York Life Insurance, is a Web site to which more than 1,400 American school teachers have contributed, www.americanpresident.org.

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THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT

EPISODE TEN: The Balance of Power

Bill Clinton

Narrator:

43.76

After Taft, the balance of power shifted again under the force of Franklin Roosevelt, leading to an era when the executive branch dominated like it never had before. It wasn't until after Watergate that Congress seized back its powers and restored an earlier sense of balance. But by the 1990s that balance had been upset once again, this time by an intense new level of partisanship. No president in modern times was more impacted by political divisiveness than was the 42nd president, Bill Clinton.

WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

Second Chances

Neustadt:

146; 11:02:30

71.74

Our system of government, those separated institutions sharing and competing for powers are if anything, too separated today.

145; 10:26:10

71.58

By the time of Bill Clinton, the glue that had held Congress together in a tight, hierarchical relationship had been dissolved.

127; 13:37:20

69.89

Only once has polarization got so great, only once have our national parties

127; 13:35:25

69.88

fractured. When they did we had a Civil War. We're not at such a point, but you have dangerous potentials in the country. Truly dangerous.

Clinton:

157; 18:32:10

74.70

The presidency ^{is a} ~~can still be a~~ place of great influence and power, it's still the central office in the country particularly in times of adversity or crisis, but it can be in good times as well but it requires a greater level of energy. There's not an automatic deference to the presidency. But I still think it's the greatest job in the world and I still think its very, very important to the American people.

centrality →
symbolic importance
of the position

Narrator:

43.77

43.78

William Jefferson Clinton was born in 1946 as William Blythe III in the small town of Hope, Arkansas. By grade school he was so outgoing, he was already recognized as a young man with a future in politics.

Clinton:

156; 17:56:30

74.08

*what got him
into politics/
public service*

I think what shaped my early interest in politics were a couple of things. First of all I was always, always interested in civil rights and it was the defining political issue of my childhood. And I think the other thing that really had a lot to do with it was the fact that we got a television when I was nine years old. And I got to watch in 1956 the Republican and Democratic Conventions on television—I watched the whole thing and I was utterly fascinated by it.

Narrator:

43.79A

Bill Clinton was the son of a salesman who died before he was born, and a nurse, Virginia Dell, who was his greatest influence.

Clinton:

156; 17:59:57

74.18

She taught me these things: never give up; never forget where you came from; and never lose your compassion for people who are less fortunate than you are.

Narrator:

From early on, he always attracted

overarching expatulation of white House?

Jefferson → Kennedy

43.79B

↳ Clinton

↳ begin w/ remarks ^{11/11/00 - Clinton} on white House history
attention. He was musical, immensely popular, easygoing and ambitious.

Themes of access,
precedence

Change

43.79

It was here when Merrinworth
In 1963, at age 17, he went to experience analogy
Washington D.C. firsthand. There, he got to
shake hands with his political hero, John F.
Kennedy. The encounter changed Bill
Clinton's life forever.

Clinton:

156; 17:57:36

It was here Kennedy began space
Thankfully we were lined up in alphabetical program
order by state so I was from Arkansas. And
I also was bigger than most of the people
around me, so I sort of elbowed my way up
to make sure that if he didn't shake hands
with everyone I'd get to shake hands with
him.

How much want to talk ^{74.14}
about own accomplishments?

Kennedy's
political
inspiration

156; 17:58:51

country come a long way ^{74.16}
(normal rhetoric on low
employment rate, etc.)

Narrator:

43.80

43.81

When I went home I had the feeling that if I
worked hard and prepared myself, that I
could have an impact. And that was a gift
that I got out of that week.

The following year Clinton entered
Georgetown University, where he became
known for his self-confidence, his
intelligence, and as a man in a hurry. After
spending two years at Oxford on a Rhodes
Scholarship, he attended Yale Law School.
There he met Hillary Rodham, an active

idealist whose no-nonsense ways were the perfect complement to his freewheeling charm.

43.82 Accepting a position on the faculty of the University of Arkansas Law School in 1972, Clinton used it as a springboard into Arkansas politics.

Clinton:
156; 18:00:33

74.22 I ran for Congress in 1974 and was defeated and then in '76 I was attorney general and I loved that job but a vacancy occurred in the governor's race and so I ran and I won and it was exhilarating and I loved it.

Sidey:
156; 18:00:19

74.19 Now you were a governor at age thirty-two, that's awfully young.

Clinton:
156; 18:00:26

74.20 Very young! Maybe too young...

Narrator:

43.83 As Governor, Bill Clinton bristled with ideas and energy. But he also made a series of political miscalculations, causing him to lose his bid for reelection.

Clinton:
156; 18:01:31

74.24 The people of my state had the opinion that I was a smart person who cared about them but I was too bull-headed, and I didn't

listen to them enough.

156; 18:02:34

74.25

They told me what I had done wrong, they then gave me a second chance to serve. And I think the service was I know it was good for me and my family, I believe it was good for my state.

Narrator:

43.86

Just ten years later, at age 46, Bill Clinton was running for president.

Sidey:

156; 18:06:42

74.32

When you ran in 1992, you said, "You may only be fit to be president when you are not obsessed with it."

Clinton:

156; 18:06:51

74.33

I really did feel that by 1992 because of various things that happened in my personal and work life I was able to run with great passion but with less obsession than would have been the case, for example, if I had been the candidate in 1988.

Narrator:

43.86B

Early in his campaign his candidacy was threatened by rumors regarding infidelity in his personal life. With the strong support of his wife Hillary, Bill Clinton became the first presidential candidate ever to publicly admit to marital problems. But it was behind them

now, he said, and entirely a private matter. The candidate insisted that he be judged not on his private life but by his performance and his political record.

43.86A His words made sense to a public that seemed to be growing more tolerant, and from a position low in the polls Bill Clinton soared to second place in the New Hampshire primary, earning the nickname "The Comeback Kid."

Neustadt:
127; 13:15:50

69.67 He's a man who loves people, loves to talk, loves to circulate, is thus a natural politician. And the naturalness of his political qualities extends to a very sharp instinct for campaigning, for feeling the moods of his audience and responding to them, and it has served him well.

Narrator:

43.87 By sticking to the issues, and promising the kind of change that only a young man of a new generation could bring about, Clinton won a resounding victory in a three-way presidential race in November.

Clinton:
156; 18:08:21

I felt a profound gratitude to the American people. But there was a little bit of me that

74.35 felt like the dog that was chasing the pickup
you know and finally caught it. So now what
do I do, you know? But I was also humbled
by it. I think you know any person who is
not a little humbled by being given this
responsibility, doesn't understand what he
or she has got a hold of.

Clinton:
156; 18:06:08

74.31 And I think that when a person gets this
office, you feel always never quite
adequate to do the work. No one is smart
enough or wise enough, or strong enough.

Narrator:

43.88 Determined to make his mark as a
Democratic reformer, Clinton appointed
minorities to his administration and initiated
a national dialogue on race. He appointed
women to some of the highest positions in
national government. And he set in motion
an ambitious agenda to reshape numerous
social programs, including a bold initiative
to create universal healthcare coverage.
Republicans criticized it as an over-
ambitious, liberal experiment, and health
care became the rallying cry for a strong
political opposition. It led to sweeping
congressional victories in 1994, with the
Republicans gaining control of both houses
of Congress for the first time in forty years.

Clinton:

156; 18:16:03

74.49

There's always been periods of more intense partisanship followed by periods of lesser intensity. And it was something I'm not used to, didn't cultivate, don't believe in and would like to see diminished.

Narrator:

43.89

Partisanship in the government reached epidemic proportions by the end of Bill Clinton's first term. Twice in 1995 the government was forced to shut down, with Clinton and the Republican-controlled Congress at loggerheads over the budget. The spirit of compromise—key to the workings of the Madisonian system of government—was degenerating into a system of mutual antagonisms.

43.90

Shortly after Bill Clinton was soundly re-elected to a second term the Madisonian system was put to a further test. When the Supreme Court ruled in the civil case of Jones versus Clinton that a sitting president could be sued for actions taken prior to his term, Clinton was forced to testify in a sexual harassment lawsuit against him. It was in this politically charged atmosphere that an independent counsel, with virtually unlimited investigative powers, intensified

his scrutiny. The presidency was now under siege on all fronts.

43.91 Failing to uncover incriminating evidence in what became known as Whitewater, Special Prosecutor Kenneth Starr shifted his focus from Clinton's business dealings to his personal life. And in 1998 he exposed an affair between the president and a White House intern named Monica Lewinsky, claiming that Clinton had perjured himself when he denied it under oath in the Paula Jones civil case. On December 19, the Republican-controlled House of Representatives voted to impeach. The official charges were perjury and obstruction of justice, but throughout the trial the underlying dynamic was political.

Sidey:

157; 18:20:52

74.52 1998 was a difficult year for you, Mr. President, both professionally and personally. During the impeachment process the issue of character was raised—a hard one to define by anybody's measure. But from your own experience how important is that issue of character for a president?

Clinton:

I think it's very important. But I think a lot of

157; 18:21:11

74.53

the people who talk about it do so in ways that give it a very limited definition, normally for purposes that are quite self-serving. That is, most of the people I've known have demonstrated great character didn't go around talking about it.

157; 18:21:35

74.54

Now I made a personal mistake which became a matter of public debate. I've tried to acknowledge my wrongdoing and say that I was sorry about it. But I also have tried to demonstrate presidential character by standing up for the interests of the country and doing what I told the American people I would do when I ran for office.

157; 18:23:23

74.56

But I think that it is important for us to remember that there is also a difference between character and reputation and that under the guise of elevating character, there are a large number of people in our country today that believe the way they can get what they want in life is from destroying someone else's reputation. None us is ever a complete judge of another's character, only God can fully judge that.

Narrator:

43.92

Throughout the Senate trial there loomed a major constitutional issue—of exactly what

constituted an "impeachable offense," and whether the president's misleading testimony in the Jones case and before the Starr Grand Jury, rose to the level of "high crimes and misdemeanors." If an elected president could be removed, scholars warned, on the basis of his personal relationships and an effort to cover them up, the Madisonian system itself could be in danger of collapse.

Neustadt:

127; 13:18:52

69.70

127; 13:19:48

69.71

While some people hated Clinton to an extraordinary degree—a hatred which says more about the country and its times, than it does about him—many others have had a fondness for him that owes nothing to ignorance about defects in his private life. He's had the good fortune to have a personality which encourages discrimination between himself as president and himself as a private individual and his personality has conquered all kinds of doubts about him.

Narrator:

43.92A

Over time, Bill Clinton reoriented the Democratic party toward mainstream issues, including balancing the budget and reforming welfare. And he presided over one of the strongest economies in the 20th

century. Despite impassioned calls for his resignation, throughout the trial Clinton's approval ratings remained extremely high. And in the end, the Senate listened to the people. As a body it could not muster the required two-thirds vote, or even a simple majority, to convict Bill Clinton of any charges.

Sidey:
157; 18:23:54

74.57

The American people spoke out loud and clear throughout 1998—you know that better than anybody.

Clinton:
157; 18:24:??

They were very good to me.

Sidey:
157; 18:24:??

What did you learn about the power of the people and the role the public plays in exercising political power from here?

Clinton:
157; 18:24:15

74.58

I learned all over again the same lesson I learned as a child—that there are certain rules of human conduct that apply to all of us and when we make a mistake you have to live with the consequences of your actions whether they are public or not, we always pay, nobody gets out for free. And second thing I learned is that the Framers were smart—they designed the Constitution

to prevent partisan passions from overriding common sense. But the third thing was that the American people almost always get it right.

156; 18:04:41

74.28

They gave me a second chance. And I think if we think about life as getting second chances as long as you learn from your mistakes, I think it's a helpful way to look at life, and so I do believe in a God of second chances.

Sidey:

How's the presidency changed you?

Clinton:

157; 18:38:29

74.79

157; 18:40:28

74.80

You know I've had to ask for forgiveness in a way that most people never do in public although nearly everybody does in private at some point during a lifetime. I've learned a lot about giving up the little things in life so you can focus on the big things. And if I had only felt I was doing it for myself, I'm not sure I would have had the strength. But knowing that I was doing it for the American people helped me, and I'm very grateful for that because I think it's something that I can carry with me for the rest of my life.

Narrator:

43.93B

The only Democrat to be reelected president since FDR, Bill Clinton both

Too much talk on the scandal

reflected and benefitted from an increasingly tolerant America. And while most Americans deplored his personal acts in the Lewinsky case, they refused to judge his public role by his private behavior.

Neustadt:
145; 10:39:37

71.67

From Nixon's time on, though we weren't very conscious of it to begin with, it is now plain that every President immediately upon election, attracts the serious intent of political opponents and the professional interest of the media in tearing him down and pushing him toward resignation.

145; 10:40:11

71.68

It used to be that one of the most fundamental powers underlying a president's position was a fixed term. We now see that the Nixon precedent has unfixed the term and has created both for media and for politicians incentives to try to shorten the term. I find that sad in a way that goes far beyond Bill Clinton, it affects all successive presidents as far as we can see.

Narrator:

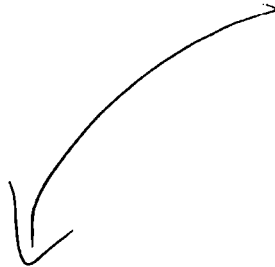
43.95

The presidency, now well into its third century, is in many ways not the same institution it once was. Our early presidents worked virtually alone, with a single

secretary, or two, paid out of their own pocket. Today the White House staff numbers more than 500; all together, the executive branch consists of nearly two million civilians. From humble beginnings an almost baffling complexity has arisen.

And yet through it all there remains a single person at the center who must shoulder the office. However he (some day she) has arrived at the White House—whether through heroism or compromise, through family ties or through happenstance, through political savvy or passionate vision or lonely integrity, each inherits and builds upon the work of his predecessors.

Bringing to bear talents, and also human flaws, and sometimes a rare capacity to rise to greatness these individuals together embody The American President.



how all these men have worked to form
a single idea ~ the presidency as an idea

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

White House

Divider Title: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Office of the Curator
September 1998

EAST ROOM

symbol, inspirational?

The East Room, scene of many historic White House events, was designated by the architect, James Hoban, as the "Public Audience Room." It normally contains little furniture and traditionally is used for large gatherings, such as after-dinner entertaining, concerts, weddings, funerals, award presentations, press conferences, and bill-signing ceremonies.

History:

- 1800 - When John and Abigail Adams moved into the White House, this room was incomplete. The laundry was hung in this room.
- 1801 - Thomas Jefferson had the south end of the room partitioned into two rooms to create a bedroom and an office for his secretary, Meriwether Lewis, later co-leader of the Lewis and Clark expedition.
- 1829 - Room first fully decorated under Andrew Jackson.
- 1861 - During the Civil War, Union troops quartered in this room for a time.
- 1873 - Under Ulysses S. Grant, room decorated in Victorian style referred to as "Steamboat Gothic."
- 1902 - Under Theodore Roosevelt, room redecorated by McKim, Mead and White in classical revival style.
- 1952 - Paneling and ceiling modified during the Truman Renovation.

Lying in State:

Seven of eight presidents who died in office have lain in state in the East Room. President James A. Garfield, 1881, was the exception.

- William Henry Harrison, 1841
- Zachary Taylor, 1850
- Abraham Lincoln, 1865
- William McKinley, 1901
- Warren G. Harding, 1923
- Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1945
- John F. Kennedy, 1963

Other funerals included three first ladies -

- Letitia Christian Tyler, 1842
- Caroline Lavinia Scott Harrison, 1892
- Ellen Louise Axson Wilson, 1914

Originally
two rooms
but expanded into one
around the same time
Jefferson is Meriwether
were plotting the
expansion of the
own nation of our
L & C
Story

This is
the room
the room
the room

-2-

Weddings:

Presidential daughters -

- Elizabeth Tyler, 1842
- Nellie Grant, 1874
- Alice Roosevelt, 1906
- Jessie Wilson, 1913
- Lynda Johnson, 1967

State Occasions:

Theodore Roosevelt - Dinner honoring Prince Henry of Prussia (February 24, 1902)

Carter - Luncheon honoring King Baudouin and Queen Fabiola of Belgium (April 22, 1980)

Clinton - Dinners honoring

President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation (September 27, 1994),
President Nelson Mandela of South Africa (October 4, 1994)
President Kim Young Sam of the Republic of Korea (July 27, 1995)
President Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico (October 10, 1995)
President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro of Italy (April 2, 1996)
President Constantinos Stephanopoulos of Greece (May 9, 1996)
President Jiang Zemin of the People's Republic of China (October 29, 1997)
Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom (February 5, 1998)
Prime Minister Romano Prodi of Italy (May 6, 1998)
President Kim Dae-jung of the Republic of Korea (June 9, 1998)
President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic (September 16, 1998)

*Appropriate b/c East wing
serves as gate to world
Jefferson, Clinton, etc.
World has come through
these doors*

-3-

*We're lost w/d
leader
leader +
ser over
leader
frn*

Also of Interest:

- President Dwight D. Eisenhower takes oath of office to begin his second term on Sunday, January 20, 1957. Inauguration at U.S. Capitol held on Monday, January 21.
- President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act, July 2, 1964.
- Gerald R. Ford is sworn in as President, August 9, 1974.
- Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel and President Anwar Sadat of Egypt signed the Camp David accords, establishing a framework for peace in the Middle East, September 17, 1978.

-4-

ARTWORK

William McKinley by Harriet Anderson Stubbs Murphy (1852-1935)
oil on canvas, 1902. One of the few portraits in the White House Collection painted by a woman. The artist signed it, however, with her husband's name.
U.S. Government purchase. 903.1413.1

Martha Dandridge Custis Washington (Mrs. George Washington)
by Eliphalet F. Andrews (1835-1915)
oil on canvas, 1878. Head is believed to be modeled after a Gilbert Stuart portrait painted in 1796. President Hayes' niece, Emily Hastings, posed for the hands.
U.S. Government purchase. 878.1289.1

George Washington by Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828)
oil on canvas, 1797. One of several replicas painted by the artist of his original commissioned by Senator William Bingham in 1796 (the second replica, the "Lansdowne" portrait now on exhibit at the National Portrait Gallery). It is the only object known to have remained in the White House since 1800. On August 24, 1814, during the War of 1812, while preparing to flee the White House before British troops approached Washington, Dolley Madison ordered the portrait taken away for safekeeping. The frame was broken, as it was bolted to the wall, and the painting was removed intact. The canvas was not cut from the stretcher and rolled up. The painting was returned to the White House in 1817.
U.S. Government purchase. 800.1290.1

Theodore Roosevelt by John Singer Sargent (1856-1925)
oil on canvas, 1903. Painted from life in the White House in the year after the Theodore Roosevelt Renovation introduced the Georgian style to the East Room. President Roosevelt is depicted, having just descended the stairs, by one of the foremost portraitists of his day. In a letter written to his son, Kermit, Roosevelt indicated that the landing of the "big stairs" was selected as the painting site because the artist felt the light was best there.
U.S. Government purchase. 903.1328.1

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FURNISHINGSNorth Wall

CORNICES, set of seven (three each on north and south walls, elongated single on east wall), gilded cherry, 1902, purchased from L. Marcotte & Company, New York. Tied oak branches on arched center. Among the furnishings ordered by McKim, Mead & White for the Theodore Roosevelt Renovation, 1902. 902.3041.1-6 902.3042.1

TORCHERES, set of four (two each on north and south walls), gilded metal and cut glass, c.1902, purchased from L. Marcotte & Company, New York. Elaborate classical motifs on shaft; fruit and shell pendants; glasswork simplified during the Kennedy administration. Among the furnishings ordered by McKim, Mead & White for the Theodore Roosevelt Renovation, 1902. 902.1297-1300

BENCHES, eight from a set of thirteen, gilded mahogany, c.1902, purchased from L. Marcotte & Company, New York. Louis XVI revival style; spiral-turned legs; saltire stretcher. Among the furnishings ordered by McKim, Mead & White for the Theodore Roosevelt Renovation, 1902; made for the East Room in two sizes - two small each on north and south walls (903.553, 559, 562-3), two medium (903.555, 560) on east wall. The two large on east wall (903.557-558) were medium benches extended during the Truman Renovation.

East Wall

MANTELS, set of four (two each on east and west walls), red marble, 1951, designed by Lorenzo Winslow, carved by Standard Art Marble & Tile Co. Vermont "Rouge antique" marble (marbleized white 1961-1979; white, siena, black 1979-1995; marbleizing removed 1995). Made for the Truman Renovation. P51.B02260.1-4

ANDIRONS, four pairs, gilded brass, c.1902, purchased from L. Marcotte & Company, New York. Louis XVI style; urn with ram's head handles. Among the furnishings ordered by McKim, Mead & White for the Theodore Roosevelt Renovation, 1902. 903.1313, 1316, 1319, 1326

WINE COOLERS, four from a set of six, gilded silver, 1809-10, London, made by Paul Storr. Medici shape; classical bacchanalian procession; satyr masque handle mounts. Bequest of Mrs. Margaret Thompson Biddle. 958.4147.1-6

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East Wall (continued)

CANDELABRA, pair, cut glass and brass,
late 18th-early 19th century, England.
Gift of White House Furnishings Committee 929.1352.1
and Mrs. Harriet B. Pratt. 929.1373.1

MIRRORS, set of four (two each on east and west walls), gilded
wood and glass, 1952, made by Knipp & Company, Baltimore.
Wrapped reeds; surmounting spread-winged eagle.
Installed during the Truman Renovation. P52.H02259.1-4

SCONCES, pair, gilded bronze, c.1835, France.
Griffin torso; set with two partially gilded pairs in the
Blue Room; bear stamp of King Louis-Philippe's Chateau de
Neuilly.
Anonymous donation. 962.245.7-8

West Wall

CANDELABRA, pair, gilded bronze, c.1817, Paris.
Classical woman on plinth.
Among the French furnishings purchased by President James
Monroe in 1817; designated for the "Sitting room or Parlor"
(Red Room). 817.1503-1504

CANDELABRA, pair, gilded bronze, c.1817, Paris,
attributed to (Pierre-Philippe) Thomire & Company.
Classical woman on globe atop plinth with martial mounts.
Among the French furnishings purchased by President James
Monroe in 1817; designated for the "large oval room"
(Blue Room). 817.1423-1424

WINE COOLERS, two of four, gilded silver, 1806-07, London,
made by William Pitts.
Classical bacchanalian procession; horsehead handle mounts.
Bequest of Mrs. Margaret Thompson Biddle. 958.4148.1-4

CHANDELIERS, set of three, cut glass and gilded brass, c.1902,
made by Christoph Palme & Co., Pargen, Bohemia (Austria-
Hungary), purchased from E.F. Caldwell & Company, New York.
Twenty-four electric candle arms, twenty-nine interior
lights; shortened and modified during the Truman Renovation.
Among the furnishings ordered by McKim, Mead & White for the
Theodore Roosevelt Renovation, 1902. 902.3055-3057

RUGS, wool, 1994, New York, made by Edward Fields, Inc.
Center - 23'4 x 30'7 1/2; ends - 15'10-16' x 23'4.
Three pieces in Adamesque style, largely derived from the
1951 plasterwork of the East Room ceiling; colors derived
from Robert Adam rug designs, 1769-1775.
Gift of The White House Endowment Fund

Source: All Sources : / . . . / : Presidential Documents

Terms: at 1 (tour of the white house) and date(geq (01/21/93) and leq (04/05/00)) ([Edit Search](#))*Public Papers of the Presidents, February 20, 1993*

Public Papers of the Presidents

February 20, 1993**CITE:** 29 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 254**LENGTH:** 14083 words**HEADLINE:** Remarks at the Children's Town Meeting**BODY:**

Peter Jennings. Mr. President, one of my first impressions here is that this is an awful lot bigger than what you were used to living in Arkansas.

The President. It's bigger than almost anybody in America lives in, but it's a beautiful house. You know it was started in 1792. President Washington authorized it to be built, and then before it was finished, actually, President Adams and his wife moved in here. So it's been here a long time.

Mr. Jennings. Right behind us here, of course, we can't go in this morning, but it's really one of the most beautiful rooms, the Blue Room, looking out onto the Jefferson Memorial.

The President. It's very beautiful. And upstairs, just above it, there's another big oval room which President Franklin Roosevelt used as his office during World War II. And now we use it for formal receiving of foreign dignitaries. And it also looks directly out on the Jefferson Memorial. And there's a porch there that President Harry Truman put on, so I can go out at night now and look at the lights shining down on Thomas Jefferson's head. It's a wonderful sight.

↳ what is location of the speech?

Mr. Jennings. You know the White House staff is very discreet. When I asked them if you sneaked around, sticking your heads in various rooms at night, they said, "Ask him." Do you wander around at night?

The President. I do a little, not so much down here but up on the second and third floor. And I spent a lot of time working, in this last month, over around the Oval Office, so I'm in the Cabinet Room a lot and in the Roosevelt Room, which is the President's big staff room. And I'm just trying to learn what all the pictures are and where all the things are and learn the history of the place. I'm very interested in it.

Mr. Jennings. I just have one question before we go and actually meet the children. There's the President's seal up there, the President of the United States, just above the door of the Blue Room. And it reminds me of Teddy White, the political writer, who said ~~there is a moment when the man stops being the man and becomes the President.~~ Was there such a moment for you, do you remember?

The President. I think there was a moment when I realized I was going to be President, and it was different after that. And it was not at the election. It was a couple of weeks after the election when I was planning the Inaugural and they asked me what I wanted to do. And we decided that I would start at Thomas Jefferson's home at Monticello and then go the Lincoln Memorial, and then the next morning I would go to the graves of President Kennedy and his brother, Senator Robert Kennedy. And I realized, in describing that that's what I would do, that I was becoming a part of our history.

Q. I just wanted to know -- I mean, you were just coming down the hall in the Oval Office showing us how nice, you know, everything around here is, just look around the room and -- I don't know, personally if I lived here I would feel constrained to actually live, you know? I mean, it's just so nice, everything is so perfect, I would not -- I mean, I don't know. So how do you feel about --

The President. I feel a little that way, too, sometimes. But let me say that upstairs, on the second floor, there are some nice formal guestrooms but there also is -- Chelsea has a bedroom and a little room where she can study and do her work. And Hillary and I have a bedroom and a little family room, and they're not quite so formal. So the rooms that we have are much more like regular rooms in a house, and you don't have to worry so much about breaking an expensive piece of china or something like that.

Mr. Jennings. But it wasn't always so formal here, was it, Mr. President? The East Room, they used to hang laundry in the East Room.

The President. Oh, absolutely. It wasn't always so formal at all. It's probably as formal now as it's ever been, but there are some more informal rooms. And then there's a third floor, a floor two floors up from here, which has some other rooms and a little hallway where we have our rocking chairs and our family books and all kinds of stuff like that, which is really much more homey. so we spend a lot of our time in places where we don't have to go on tiptoes all around.

Mr. Jennings. We said we were going to test you on some of the questions here. Do you know the children of which President roller-skated in here, in the East Room? Who remembers that?

Q. Roosevelt.

Mr. Jennings. Which Roosevelt?

Q. Teddy.

Mr. Jennings. Exactly. President Theodore Roosevelt's children used to roller-skate here in the East Room. And of course, maybe you'd like to point out to the kids the famous painting.

The President. Yes. That's a picture of who? Who is that?

The Children. George Washington.

The President. That's right. that's President Washington, painted by Gilbert Stuart. And it is an absolutely invaluable piece of art. Gilbert Stuart was a very famous artist. I think it was offered to the United States first for about \$ 500. He painted it in 1797. That was a lot of money back then. It's worth millions of dollars today. It's a priceless picture.

Mr. Jennings. And who saved it?

The President. Excuse me?

Mr. Jennings. Who saved it?

The President. Who saved it?

Mr. Jennings. Dolley Madison, right?

The President. Yes, Dolley Madison saved it.

Mr. Jennings. When there was --

The President. -- from the fire.

Mr. Jennings. She wouldn't leave the White House until the --

The President. Yes, during the War of 1812 the British marched on Washington and tried to burn the city, and the White House caught fire. There's still some char marks actually out on the front of the White House. And Delley Madison would not leave the White House until the precious treasures were preserved, including that.

intimate examples of
life in White House

little known
anecdotes

There's also a picture back there of President Theodore Roosevelt, painted when he was a year younger than I am now. Theodore Roosevelt was the youngest person ever to become President. He was elected President at the age -- well, he became President when President McKinley died; he was 42. And President Kennedy was elected when he was 43, and I was elected when I had just turned 46. So I'm the third youngest person to be President.

Mr. Jennings. But not -- [audible]. You probably need a bit of rest for the moment, though, sir, as you're the third youngest, so we'll go away for a commercial and be right back.

The President. I feel like the oldest some days. [Laughter]

[At this point, the television stations took a commercial break.]

The President's Pastimes

Mr. Jennings. Welcome back to the East Room of the White House. Let's go straight to you, Jared, you have a question.

Q. What do you do for fun around here? [Laughter]

The President. I like to play golf. I've only gotten to do it one time since I've been President, but I like to do that. And I like to play cards and games with Hillary and Chelsea. We play pinochle; we play a game that Chelsea taught me called Hungarian rummy. I like to play Trivial Pursuit. That's pretty much what I do.

Q. Are you a good Trivial Pursuit player?

The President. Sometimes. I'm better on some subjects than others, but I like it a lot.

Somalia

Mr. Jennings. Way over there in the corner.

Q. About Somalia and the United States, are we going to help the United States or Somalia first? Because Somalia has been in trouble for years, but we haven't done anything. We've done something, but not that much. So are you going to start helping Somalia first or getting the United States their jobs back first?

The President. Well, my most important job is to try to help people in the United States get their jobs back, because I was elected first and most importantly to help the people here with jobs and education and health care.

But I think the United States has a responsibility in Somalia. And I supported it when we sent our troops over there to try to stop the fighting and to try to bring some safety and food and medicine and education back to the children there. And I think that what we will be doing in

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Kennedy

Divider Title: _____

John F. Kennedy

35th President (1961-1963)

The Series Presidential History Resources Election 2000 "The War Room" Game

Student Magazine



THE CHARISMATIC PRESIDENT

Fast Facts

Born: May 29, 1917, in Brookline, Massachusetts

Died: November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Texas

Nickname: "JFK"

Married: Jacqueline Lee Bouvier (1929-1994), on September 12, 1953

Religion: Roman Catholic

Education: Graduated from Harvard College (1940)

Political Party: Democrat

Career: Author; officer, U.S. Navy, 1941-45; newspaper correspondent; member of U.S. House of Representatives, 1947-53; United States Senator, 1953-61; President of the United States, 1961-63

Domestic Policy Highlights: Enforcement of civil rights laws, space program, aid to Appalachia, investment tax credit

Foreign Policy Highlights: Peace Corps, Bay of Pigs, Cuban missile crisis, nuclear weapon test ban treaty, escalation in Vietnam, trade expansion treaty

A Life in Brief

John F. Kennedy was the youngest person ever elected president and the first Roman Catholic to serve in the office. "JFK" represented the ascendancy of youthful idealism in the aftermath of World War II. The promise of this energetic and telegenic leader was not to be fulfilled, as he was assassinated near the end of his third year in office. For many Americans, the murder of President John F. Kennedy remains one of the most traumatic events in memory—countless Americans can remember exactly where they were when they heard that President Kennedy was shot. His shocking assassination began a period of political and social instability in the country and the world.

JFK was born into a rich, politically connected Boston family of Irish-Catholics. He and his eight siblings enjoyed a privileged childhood of elite private schools, sailboats, servants, and summer homes. Nevertheless, "Jack" Kennedy strove to make his own way, writing a best selling book while still in college at Harvard, and volunteering for hazardous combat duty in the Pacific during World War II. Kennedy's wartime service made him a hero. When his PT boat was rammed in two during a night action, Kennedy rescued his entire crew, including a badly burned man whom Kennedy dragged to safety by pulling him by a strap in his teeth through the icy water. The crew hid from the enemy on a tiny island until

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they were able to summon help. Jack Kennedy's older brother, Joe, who had dreamed of becoming president one day, was killed in action. When he returned from the war, Jack inherited his father's aspirations for Joe.

Crafting a Political Image

Young Jack Kennedy served first in the House of Representatives and then in the Senate, earning a reputation as a rather conservative Democrat. In 1952 he met the beautiful and graceful Jacqueline Bouvier at a dinner party, and, as he later put it, "leaned across the asparagus and asked her for a date." The two were married a year later.

To continue his climb up the political ladder, JFK had to disguise his many health problems. As a child he had scarlet fever, bronchitis, whooping cough, diphtheria, and allergies. Later he had a duodenal ulcer and loss of hearing in one ear. He suffered from a bad back, and was unable to lift anything, even his little children. He used cortisone to reduce inflammation and he also suffered from Addison's disease. Kennedy may not have been healthy, but he realized that a youthful, vigorous image contributed to his appeal. While recovering from back surgery, he wrote **Profiles in Courage**, about Americans who had taken unpopular but moral stands. The book won a Pulitzer Prize and made Kennedy a national name. Ambitious to win the presidency in 1960, young Senator Kennedy sought a head start on his rivals, making speeches and television appearances constantly and wooing key Democratic players long before his rivals did.

The most formidable obstacles facing Kennedy in the election were his religion and his youth. No Catholic had ever been elected to the highest office in the nation, and many feared that somehow Kennedy would be controlled by the Pope in Rome! He was also only forty-three years old. He was running against Richard Nixon, who had served as vice president for two terms under the popular President Eisenhower.

Kennedy's decision to challenge Nixon to a series of nationally televised debates played a key role in Kennedy's victory. On TV, Nixon wore a light colored suit, refused make-up, and looked tired and tense, due to a fever. Kennedy, who had been campaigning in an open convertible in California, looked relaxed, confident, and handsome. Those who listened to the debate on the radio thought that Nixon had won. But the vast majority saw the election on TV, and declared Kennedy the winner. Among the first to master the dominant medium of the era, Kennedy won the election by the narrowest of margins.

After a long succession of presidents in their fifties and sixties, much of the nation was charmed by images of a fortyish incumbent with small children running about the White House. The president's large extended family was a constant presence there, and the Kennedy public image was of a boisterous, energetic clan. The public was also in love with Jackie. The First Lady became known for her fashionable clothing and impeccable taste. She oversaw restorations in the White House and she invited premier musicians, writers, and artists to appear there—a tradition which later first families enthusiastically carried on. Additionally, Kennedy's call for idealism and a fresh agenda known as the "New Frontier" seemed to be like a breath of fresh air for the American people.

Confronting Political Challenges

Many thought the young president too inexperienced to confront the Soviet Union and Cuba. In an attempt to carry on Eisenhower's battle to overthrow Fidel Castro in Cuba, Kennedy sanctioned an attack by Cuban exiles at the Bay

of Pigs, which ended in failure. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, after meeting Kennedy in Berlin, considered the young president weak, and decided to press his advantage by placing nuclear missiles in Cuba, well within striking distance of U.S. soil. This proved to be a mistake. Kennedy responded with a swift and measured response—a full naval blockade, preventing Soviet or any other warships, or any ships with oil, from reaching the island. This action took the two super-powers to the very brink of nuclear war. Kennedy skillfully took care not to humiliate the Soviet premier, promising Khrushchev that America would not to invade Cuba. The Russians removed the missiles after Kennedy secretly agreed to dismantle American missiles in Turkey. His careful diplomacy greatly enhanced his credibility abroad and his popularity at home, though for political reasons, the trade of missiles was kept secret by both the Russians and the Americans.

Kennedy is also remembered as the founder of the Peace Corps, an international aid organization, and as a strong proponent of the space program. He set the goal of putting an astronaut on the moon, which was reached five years after his death. Kennedy's record on civil rights, however, is less encouraging. Considering his support in the South to be weak, he focused on enforcing existing civil rights laws, rather than passing new ones. Privately, he told his supporters that real civil rights legislation would have to wait for his reelection.

Kennedy never got the chance to show what he would do with a second term in office. In November 1963, he was shot to death while riding in an open convertible through Dallas. He died in the arms of his wife. Jacqueline Kennedy's dignified mourning did much to soothe America's grief in the aftermath of the murder.

Hours after the president's death in Dallas, police arrested Lee Harvey Oswald, who was himself slain two days later while being transferred to another jail. For years, Americans have wondered whether his death really was the work of just one man, and speculation continues to abound, although a national commission headed by Earl Warren concluded that Oswald had acted alone.

Though his time in office was brief, JFK's charisma, popular appeal, and tragic assassination have established him as a compelling figure in 20th century American history.

Life Before The Presidency

PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Public Papers of the Presidents
Public Papers of the Presidents
February 16, 2000

This month when we celebrated the longest economic expansion in history, I did a little looking into, and thinking about, what was the longest economic expansion until this one. You know when it was? Nineteen sixty-one to 1968. Now, I remember what that was like. I remember in the beginning how full of hope we were when **President Kennedy** was elected. I remember when **President Kennedy** was assassinated, how heartbroken we were, but how we rallied as a country behind President Johnson.

All these people that look back at the sixties and say American cynicism started when **President Kennedy** was assassinated are just wrong. That's not true. This country was heartbroken, but we stood up together, and we joined hands. And Lyndon Johnson provided great leadership, and he pulled us together. So in 1964, I'm graduating from high school into an America that was the nearest like this America: we had low unemployment, low inflation, high growth. And everybody thought as difficult as the civil rights problems were, they were going to be resolved in a peaceable manner, with this wizard in the White House and the votes in Congress, to lawfully give African-Americans what they were constitutionally entitled to. And all the while we would win the cold war against communism, and we would create the greatest society America had ever known. That's what I believed the night I graduated from high school.

Public Papers of the Presidents
Public Papers of the Presidents
July 24, 1998

As some of you may know, a few days ago we had a reunion here at the White House for our 35th anniversary of our Boys Nation summer, and "Nightline" ran 2 nights on our reunion. I asked your president if he'd seen either one of them; he said he saw the first one, the second one he was here on duty. But I had an opportunity to meet with about half the men who were with me 35 years ago, and we were reminiscing. It was exactly 35 years ago on this day, July 24, 1963, that **President Kennedy** spoke to us right here in the Rose Garden about our future. He made us believe that together we could change the world. I still believe that, and I think it is no less true for your generation. Indeed, I believe you will live in the time of greatest possibility in all human history.

not far from Mr room, in the Rose Garden, I saw the first one 35 years ago,

When I was here, **President Kennedy** complimented us for supporting civil rights legislation which the Nation's Governors had declined to do. I was very proud of that because two delegates from Louisiana and I and one from Mississippi were four Southerners who broke from the pack and ensured that the legislation would pass. But I have to say that, looking back over the years, we knew then that our school systems were separate and unequal and that we never could make them what we ought to until we integrated our schools so that we could integrate our country.

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : **Presidential Documents**Terms: **atl 3 (president kennedy)** and **date**(geq (01/21/93) and leq (04/05/00)) ([Edit Search](#))

Public Papers of the Presidents

March 2, 1998**CITE:** 34 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 363**HEADLINE:** Remarks at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library Foundation Dinner**HIGHLIGHT:**

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:10 p.m. in the Hall of the Americas at the Organization of American States. In his remarks, he referred to Victoria Kennedy, wife of Senator Edward Kennedy; Caroline Kennedy and her husband, Edward Schlossberg; John F. Kennedy, Jr.; Paul Kirk, chair, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library Foundation Dinner; and Secretary General Cesar Gaviria of the Organization of American States.

BODY:

Thank you very much, Senator, Vicki, Caroline and Ed, other members of the Kennedy family, Paul Kirk. And I say a special word of thanks to all of you who have made this evening possible. I thank Senator Jeffords and Senator Thurmond and Senator Hatch for being here tonight to restrain the partisan impulses that might otherwise overtake Senator Kennedy and me. *[Laughter]* I thank Yo Yo Ma and Jill and all the other musicians who have come here. Mr. Secretary General, thank you for the wonderful job you do here at the OAS.

I think I should begin by saying that for me this is not an obligation, it is an honor, not only because like every other member of my generation I was inspired by **President Kennedy** but because Hillary and Chelsea and I have been profoundly moved by the uncommon kindnesses of this family to ours.

In 1991 I had an event in New York when no one in New York knew my name, and I looked up and John Kennedy was there. I think it would be fair to say that his name recognition was 5 times higher than mine among all in attendance. *[Laughter]* Early in 1992 Mrs. Kennedy came to an event for me and later went out of her way to be helpful and kind to Hillary and to Chelsea in ways that are difficult to relate but impossible to overestimate.

The other day we were spending a weekend in Camp David, and I went out with a couple of Members of Congress, cavorting around in the lousy weather. Hillary stayed home with her friends and watched Jackie Kennedy's White House special, marveling again about the incredible work that was done to preserve America's house by Mrs. Kennedy.

And I do believe that, no matter who writes the history books, when people look back on this century, they will say that Edward Kennedy was one of the ablest and most productive, most compassionate, and most effective men who served in the United States Senate in the entire history of the country.

The JFK Library and its museum are national treasures, but I would like to talk about three things that are to some extent both more intangible and more tangible in the legacy of **President Kennedy** that will be enshrined forever if all of us do our job and keep this great enterprise going.

First, the spirit of citizen service, most clearly embodied in the Peace Corps. **President Kennedy** said that he wanted to speak to those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery. We pledged to them our best efforts to help them help themselves. Five weeks later, 37 years ago yesterday, the Peace Corps was born. In 3 weeks, when I travel to Africa, my first stop will be Ghana, the first place

President Kennedy's Peace Corps volunteers went to serve. Now they have gone, over the years, to 132 nations.

Tomorrow America will celebrate these accomplishments during the first ever Peace Corps Day, when thousands of former Peace Corps volunteers, including Secretary Shalala, who was a volunteer in Iran, and I might add has volunteered to go back if it will help our new efforts. *[Laughter]* Thousands of Peace Corps volunteers have agreed to talk with students around our country about their life-changing experiences.

The JFK Library also has a Library Corps, perhaps not as well known as the building itself, started by this foundation, which is inspiring young people in Roxbury, Dorchester, South Boston to work after school on community service projects.

Inspired by **President Kennedy's** example, I have done what I could to advance the cause of citizen service. I just asked for the largest funding increase for the Peace Corps in history, in the hope that we can put 10,000 volunteers overseas by the turn of the century.

Our national service project, AmeriCorps, has already given 100,000 young people a chance to earn some money for college while they serve in their communities. One of my happiest days as President was when we walked up the South Lawn of the White House with all the first group of young people, and I met Senator Kennedy, and we signed the bill.

Soon, tens of thousands of those young people will be working with elementary school students, to teach them to read, and middle school students, promising to stay with them throughout their careers to make sure they get a chance to go to college, too.

So we thank **President Kennedy** and all of you for the spirit of citizen service.

The second thing that I would like to say in appreciation to the legacy of **President Kennedy** is that he did a lot to remind us all that we owe it to ourselves, to our children, and to our future to cherish and proliferate exposure to the arts. The First Lady and I have tried to do that in our celebration of the millennium. We have been having these Millennium Evenings. We had the great Harvard historian Bernard Bailyn the other night, and this Friday night we will have the brilliant cosmologist Stephen Hawking. A week from tonight we will also highlight four vernacular dances that have entered our unique dance: tap, Lindy-hopping, jazz, and -- so help me, I didn't organize this -- Irish step dancing. *[Laughter]*

I want to thank Yo Yo Ma for the work that he has done to try to bring the arts, and music in particular, to so many Americans who might otherwise have never had a firsthand experience with what can lead us all to a higher level of understanding and enjoyment of life.

Finally, and most personally, I am here because ^{inspired by} **President Kennedy**, ~~Robert Kennedy~~, their generation, ~~made me admire and believe~~ in public service and made me understand that it could be fun but that it also carried with it certain responsibilities. They made me believe that it was not a bad thing but a noble thing to want to exercise power but only if it were exercised for some larger purpose. There are many people in this room tonight who could be standing here making exactly the same statement.

Just before I came over here, I finished a magnificent new biography of Theodore Roosevelt by H. W. Brands called "The Last Romantic." It's a terrific book, and it's only 820 pages long. *[Laughter]* But I was thinking -- because President Roosevelt died right after the close of the First World War, I was thinking about the whole sweep of the century that **President Kennedy's** life marked and that his service marked in such a profound way.

This century we are about to leave was dominated by the consequences of the industrial revolution, the growth of very big organizations -- economic organizations, governmental organizations -- and the attendant wealth and power and possibility and threat that

revolution spawned. So that for most of this century, Americans in positions of responsibility and ordinary American citizens have both had an incredible opportunity to find wealth and personal fulfillment and greater expression of freedom because of the organized development of this time. But they have also had an enormous responsibility to stand up against the new horrors that vast organized power presented to them, whether in greed or bigotry or outright totalitarian oppression.

Jack: (more personal - nickname)

John Kennedy made us believe that in public service you could fight for the things that ought to be fought for; you could fight against the things that ought to be fought against; and that the sole purpose of power, fleeting though it is, was to be applied to the best of your God-given ability to those worthy goals.

Now, we're about to enter a new century with problems and opportunities unparalleled in history, speeding along at a pace and with a complexity that would have been unimaginable just a few years ago. There is a lot of good in the fact that the knowledge of the world is now doubling -- sheer facts are doubling every 5 years. We see in the human genome project miraculous health discoveries being made almost weekly now.

But we also know that in this new world, where the Internet is exploding and 65,000 new sites are being added every hour of every day, that there will be new ways that people who are organized for the abuse of their power will present new threats, perhaps terrorists or organized criminals or narcotraffickers, perhaps in the forms of chemical or biological or small-scale nuclear weapons, perhaps unwise leaders being too greedy in the short run, forcing poor people off their land into the teeming cities of poor countries, devastating the environment, leading to the spread of disease.

So we will now live in a new area where humankind will have all kinds of new possibilities for good and all manner of new things that need to be fought against. I hope that the children of this age will find a way to believe in America the way **President Kennedy** helped me to believe in America and to believe that the political process leaves the ultimate power in the people and gives its elected Representatives a precious chance just to bring out the good and stand against the bad. It is the eternal human obligation. He made it seem fun and noble and good. The least we can do is to keep the torch burning.

Thank you, and God bless you.

LOAD-DATE: April 6, 1998

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : **Presidential Documents**

Terms: **atl 3 (president kennedy) and date(geq (01/21/93) and leq (04/05/00))** ([Edit Search](#))

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Date/Time: Wednesday, April 5, 2000 - 2:02 PM EDT

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From his creation of the Peace Corps to the creation of the National Service Corps, which drew inspiration from City Year here in his own hometown of Boston, we see a common thread of challenging our young people to a higher calling. From his launching of the space program to the preservation and pursuit of the space station this year, we see a continued willingness of Americans, even in difficult economic time, to explore the outer reaches of our universe. From his quest for health care security for our elderly Americans to the quest for health security for all Americans embodied in the bill that the First Lady and I presented to Congress this week, we see a seamless thread of determination to finally dissolve one of the most persistent domestic problems in the history of the United States. From his pursuit of a nuclear test ban treaty to our efforts to stem the proliferation of all weapons of mass destruction, to actually dismantle much of the world's nuclear arsenal, we see a common effort for America to be leading the cause of human preservation against nuclear annihilation.

John Kennedy embodied an expansive, can-do outlook toward events beyond our shores as well as the challenges at home. He believed that billions of lives depend upon our leadership and our ideals, and in turn that our own security and prosperity are tied to reaching out to the rest of the world. That is why his picture still hangs today in homes not only in the Irish wards of Boston and Chicago but also in villages and towns from Africa to latin America.

John Kennedy's early years were a time when most Americans did not believe we should be much engaged in the world. America turned inward after World War I, unwilling to assume the new burdens of the peace. "A return to normalcy," it was called, but in truth it was a retreat from the hard-won fields of victory. No fireman in Boston would dare turn off the hose prematurely and leave a smoldering house. But that is exactly what America did in the 1920's and the 1930's. And we paid the price in a Draconian peace and restricted trade and higher tariffs and a Great Depression and lost jobs, ruined lives, the rise of fascism abroad, and a terrible Second World War that took the lives of more American young people than any war except for our own Civil War.

Jack Kennedy came home from that Second World War with a lifelong lesson: America could not withdraw from the world. Unless we work to shape events, we will be shaped by them, often in ways that put us at great risk.

A new generation of Americans after the Second World War learned that lesson with him. Together they rebuilt Japan and Europe and contained Soviet expansionism. They founded the institutions of post-war security and prosperity. And by choosing to reach out rather than turn inward, they brought the American people a period of economic growth and security unparalleled in our history. The great middle class was built, and the American dream was born in the lives of Americans, not merely in the eyes of their parents.

Today, we stand at a similar moment of high decision. The end of the cold war has left a world of change in its wake. The Soviet empire and the Soviet Union itself are no more. Russia, once our nuclear adversary, is now our partner in reducing the nuclear threat and in expanding democracy. Ancient animosities in the Middle East are yielding to the promise of peace, a transformation made tangible to billions of people last month in a simple stunning handshake. After decades of apartheid, the Nobel Prize for Peace has gone to two leaders of different colors working for one nonracial democracy in South Africa.

These shifts have been accompanied, and in many cases pushed, by other great changes in the world, those brought about by the communications revolution and the new global marketplace, entrepreneurial in spirit, intensely competitive and as fast moving as light itself. We see the consequences all around us here in America, in our workplaces, our families, our cities and towns. Some of the those consequences are not at all promising. The promise of peace, freedom, and democracy is still thwarted in many places in the world. The promise of prosperity is an illusion to millions of people, not only in poor countries but increasingly in wealthy countries.

Here at home as in all other rich countries, we have had our difficulties in creating jobs and raising incomes. Technology in the moment is not leading to growth and prosperity for millions of our people. We see that in rising sets of insecurities all across America, people more insecure about their jobs, their health care, their communities, their children's education, and their very safety.

The new global economy is dominated by democracy but marred by wars and oppressions. It is expanded by new technologies and vast new horizons but limited by slow growth and stagnant jobs and incomes. Nonetheless, this new global economy is our new frontier.

Our generation must now decide, just as John Kennedy and his generation had to decide at the end of World War II, whether we will harness the galloping changes of our time in the best tradition of John Kennedy and the post-war generation, to the well-being of the American people, or withdraw from the world and recoil from our own problems as we did after World War I. Will we be the Americans of the 1920's, or will we be the Americans of the late forties and early fifties? Will we be the Americans who lifted John Kennedy to the Presidency or the Americans who turned away from the world and paid the price?

President Kennedy understood these challenges of change. He believed in opening the world's trading system. But he also believed we needed to help America's workers who did not win from the expansion of trade to adjust to the rigors of that trade and international competition.

In 1962, to help workers adjust when they lost their jobs because of trade so that they could then get jobs that would be created by an expanded global economy, John Kennedy proposed and the Congress created the Trade Adjustment Assistance Program. And he said -- listen to this -- in 1962, "Economic isolation and political leadership are wholly incompatible. The United States has encouraged sweeping changes in free world economic patterns in order to strengthen the forces of freedom. But we cannot ourselves stand still. We must adapt our own economy to the imperatives of a changing world and once more assert our leadership."

Once again, we must make clear to the American people that our success at home relies on our engagement abroad, that we must face our problems at home and reach out to the world at the same time. Even more than in **President Kennedy's** day, the line between foreign and domestic interests is rapidly disappearing. Millions of our best jobs are tied to our ability to trade and sell our products around the world. And our ability to create millions more depends clearly on our ability to work with our friends and neighbors and partners to expand global economic opportunities. That is why we must compete and not retreat, why more than ever before a concern for what happens within our borders, down to the smallest rural town or the most thriving neighborhood in any city, depends upon a concern for what we do beyond our borders.

Over recent months, that imperative has been at the core of this administration's agenda. We've worked to support reform in Russia and the other states of the former Soviet Union. We've put our relations with Japan on a new foundation that pays more attention to the economic dynamics of the relationship between our two nations. We've pushed for a new worldwide trade accord through the GATT talks. But there is no better example of what we have tried to do to reach out to the world than our attempt to secure an agreement for a North American free trade zone with Canada and Mexico, one that can create 200,000 new jobs for this country by 1995, open a vast new market, make 90 million friends, and set a stage for moving to embrace all of Latin America, 700 million people strong, in a trading unit that will bring prosperity to them and to us.

Last night in New York I told an audience of corporate executives that if they want Americans to support free trade instead of oppose it at a time of great insecurity, they should support the Americans who will not only win but who will be temporarily dislocated; that they should

support a new, more modern version of trade adjustment assistance that will work for this time; that they had no right to ask the American people, any of them, even one of them, to sacrifice unless we were going to make a common investment so that we could grow in the spirit of common community interest in this country and with Latin America.

But today I say to you that our choice is about even more than dollars; that just as business people must take care of workers and invest in their future, Americans as a whole, without regard to their economic standing, must understand that our national destiny depends upon our continuing to reach out. That's why here in Boston, Congressman Kennedy, his predecessor Speaker O'Neill, from the congressional seat that John Kennedy once occupied, have endorsed this new expansion of America's interest. And I believe if **President Kennedy** were still representing that seat in Congress, he would endorse it as well.

If you remember when **President Kennedy** endorsed the Alliance for Progress, the Latin American countries were moving toward more accountable government and more open economies. And then a lot of reversals took place and Latin America went into a period of real upheaval, political oppression, economic devastation. It is all changing again now. Their efforts are being rewarded: more and more democracies, the second fastest growing region of the world, and a real desire to be our close friends.

President Roosevelt advocated a good neighbor policy toward Latin America. **President Kennedy** called it the Alliance for Progress. We know that we cannot have a bad neighbor policy. We know that we cannot have an alliance to protect ourselves at their expense. We know that the people who want to buy our products and share our future ought to have a chance to help us to solve our problems at home, even as we help them to pursue their own destiny.

Let us not send a signal by defeating this agreement that we are turning our backs on our neighbors and the rest of the world. Let us reach out to the people here in our home, throughout America, who do not support these endeavors because they have been ravaged by the economic changes of the last 15 years and they have not had their cries, their pains, their frustrations heeded by their National Government. Let us heed them. But let us not adopt a remedy for their just complaints that makes their problems worse. Let us extend ourselves in the world and invest in their future here at home. We can do that. That is the right answer.

Mr. Justice Holmes was quoted by Senator Kennedy. He once said that we must all be involved in the action and passion of our time for fear of being judged not to have lived. No one would ever level that indictment against John Kennedy.

This is our decisive moment. This is the end of the cold war. This is the dawn of the 21st century. There are many complex, frustrating problems which have very simple and profound and often painful impacts in the lives of the people that we have all struggled to serve. But in these moments, we have to reach deep into ourselves, to our deepest values, to our strongest spirit, and reach out, not shrink back. In these moments our character is tested as individuals and as a nation. The problems we share today are widely shared by other advanced nations. No one has all the answers, but we do know one thing: We will never find the answer if we don't continue on the journey. If we turn back to a proven path of failure, we will never know what we might have become in a new and different age where thankfully, hopefully, my daughter, our children, and our grandchildren will at least be free of the fear of nuclear destruction and where at least most of the competition we face will be based on what is in our minds, not what is in our hands in the forms of weapons.

I tell you, my fellow Americans, for all the difficulties at this age, this is an age many generations of our predecessors would have prayed to live in. These are the challenges so many of our predecessors would have longed to embrace. How can we turn away from them?

What we owe John Kennedy today at this museum is to make the museum come alive not only in our memories but in our actions. Let us embrace the future with vigor. Let us say we can never expect too little of ourselves. Let us never demand too little of each other. Let us never walk away from the legacy of generations of Americans who themselves have paved the way. Let us be more like those Americans who came home after the Second World War and less like those who withdrew after the First World War.

The 21st century can be our century if we approach it with the vigor, the determination, the wisdom, and the sheer confidence and joy of life that John Kennedy brought to America in 1960.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:41 a.m. in the Steven E. Smith Center.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: November 24, 1993

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : **Presidential Documents**

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PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Public Papers of the Presidents
Public Papers of the Presidents
February 16, 2000

This month when we celebrated the longest economic expansion in history, I did a little looking into, and thinking about, what was the longest economic expansion until this one. You know when it was? Nineteen sixty-one to 1968. Now, I remember what that was like. I remember in the beginning how full of hope we were when **President Kennedy** was elected. I remember when **President Kennedy** was assassinated, how heartbroken we were, but how we rallied as a country behind President Johnson.

All these people that look back at the sixties and say American cynicism started when **President Kennedy** was assassinated are just wrong. That's not true. This country was heartbroken, but we stood up together, and we joined hands. And Lyndon Johnson provided great leadership, and he pulled us together. So in 1964, I'm graduating from high school into an America that was the nearest like this America: we had low unemployment, low inflation, high growth. And everybody thought as difficult as the civil rights problems were, they were going to be resolved in a peaceable manner, with this wizard in the White House and the votes in Congress, to lawfully give African-Americans what they were constitutionally entitled to. And all the while we would win the cold war against communism, and we would create the greatest society America had ever known. That's what I believed the night I graduated from high school.

Public Papers of the Presidents
Public Papers of the Presidents
July 24, 1998

As some of you may know, a few days ago we had a reunion here at the White House for our 35th anniversary of our Boys Nation summer, and "Nightline" ran 2 nights on our reunion. I asked your president if he'd seen either one of them; he said he saw the first one, the second one he was here on duty. But I had an opportunity to meet with about half the men who were with me 35 years ago, and we were reminiscing. It was exactly 35 years ago on this day, July 24, 1963, that **President Kennedy** spoke to us right here in the Rose Garden about our future. He made us believe that together we could change the world. I still believe that, and I think it is no less true for your generation. Indeed, I believe you will live in the time of greatest possibility in all human history.

When I was here, **President Kennedy** complimented us for supporting civil rights legislation which the Nation's Governors had declined to do. I was very proud of that because two delegates from Louisiana and I and one from Mississippi were four Southerners who broke from the pack and ensured that the legislation would pass. But I have to say that, looking back over the years, we knew then that our school systems were separate and unequal and that we never could make them what we ought to until we integrated our schools so that we could integrate our country.

What we did not see then and what we know now is that equal access to public schools does not guarantee the educational excellence that should be the birthright of every American on the edge of the 21st century.

Public Papers of the Presidents
Public Papers of the Presidents
September 24, 1996

President Kennedy's vision exceeded the possibilities of his time, but his words speak to us still.

Public Papers of the Presidents
Public Papers of the Presidents
September 5, 1995

And I really wanted to meet **President Kennedy** because I admired him and I liked him and I agreed with what he was trying to do. And I liked him because he was highly controversial in my home State and throughout the South because he was trying to finish the work of the Civil War. He was trying to pass all of the civil rights legislation. He was trying to eliminate racial discrimination. And he was taking a lot of heat for it. And a lot of people in my part of the country weren't for him because of it. But I was for him because of it, because I believed in what he was doing. So it was not only a great thing for me to meet the President, but I thought that he was really looking out for our future, and I thought I would live in a better America because he was President. So I was very excited about it.

And I remember the day it occurred. I didn't know if the President was going to shake hands with all of the 100 boys, but because I was from Arkansas, I was at the top of the alphabet -- [laughter] -- and because I was above average in size, I could sort of elbow my way up to the front of the line. [Laughter] So I made sure I got to shake his hand. Although he was quite nice, he stayed around. I think he shook most people's hands that day.

But it was a wonderful thing, you know. That's a great thing about this country. I mean, I just -- here I was coming from a modest-sized town, and one day I was shaking hands with the President, kind of like this. That's one of the great things about democracy. You know, your families' votes count just as much as mine does.

Public Papers of the Presidents, March 16, 1993
Public Papers of the Presidents
March 16, 1993

I thought I would tell you this, for those of you who don't know, since **President Kennedy** once said at a dinner of Nobel laureates that it was the most distinguished array of brainpower ever gathered in the White House since Thomas Jefferson dined there alone. [Laughter] James Hoban



defeated Thomas Jefferson submitted anonymously a design for the White House, and the people making the decision, basically George Washington and a few of his friends, concluded that Hoban was superior to Jefferson. [*Laughter*]

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Jefferson

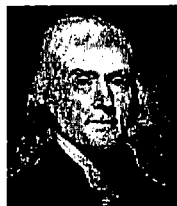
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Thomas Jefferson

3rd President (1801-1809)

The Series Presidential History Resources Election 2000 "The War Room" Came

Student Magazine



THE PHILOSOPHER PRESIDENT

Fast Facts

Born: April 13, 1743, in Shadwell, Virginia

Died: July 4, 1826, at Monticello (near Charlottesville, Virginia)

Nicknames: "Man of the People", "Sage of Monticello"

Married: Martha Wayles Skelton (1748-1782), on January 1, 1772

Religion: No formal affiliation

Education: Graduated from College of William and Mary (1762)

Political Party: Democratic-Republican

Career: Lawyer; Farmer; Member of Virginia House of Burgesses, 1769-74; Member of Second Continental Congress, 1775-76; Governor of Virginia, 1779-81; Member of Third Continental Congress, 1783-85; Minister to France, 1785-89; secretary of state, 1790-93 (under Washington); Vice President, 1797-1801 (under J. Adams); President of the United States (1801-9)

Domestic Policy Highlights: Limiting government size and power, **Marbury v. Madison**, impeachment of Supreme Court justices

Foreign Policy Highlights: Barbary pirates, Louisiana Purchase, Embargo Acts

A Life in Brief

Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, spent his childhood roaming the woods and studying his books on a remote plantation in the Virginia wilderness. Thanks to the prosperity of his father, Jefferson had an excellent education. After years in boarding school where he excelled in classical languages, Jefferson enrolled in William and Mary College in his home state of Virginia, taking classes in science, mathematics, rhetoric, philosophy, and literature. He also studied law and by the time he was admitted to the Virginia bar in April 1767, many considered him to have one of the nation's best legal minds.

Shaping America's Political Philosophy

Jefferson was shy in person, but his pen proved to be a mighty weapon. His pamphlet entitled "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," written in 1774, articulated the colonial position for independence and foreshadowed many of the ideas in the Declaration for which he is most famous. By 1774, Jefferson was actively involved in organizing opposition to British rule, and in 1776, he was

Biography

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appointed to the Second Continental Congress. As a powerful prose stylist and an influential Virginia representative, Jefferson was chosen to write the Declaration of Independence. This document is a brilliant assertion of fundamental human rights and America's most succinct statement of its philosophy of government.

Before becoming the nation's third president, Jefferson served as delegate to the Virginia House of Delegates, where he abolished primogeniture, the law that made the eldest son the sole inheritor of his father's property. He promoted religious freedom, helping to establish the country's separation between church and state, and he advocated free public education, an idea considered radical by his contemporaries.

During the Revolution, Jefferson served two years as governor of Virginia, barely escaping capture by British forces by fleeing to Monticello, his home. He was later charged with being a coward for not confronting the enemy. After the war, Jefferson served as America's minister to France, where he witnessed firsthand the dramatic events leading up to the French Revolution.

While abroad, Jefferson corresponded with members of the Constitutional Convention, particularly his close associate from Virginia, James Madison. He agreed to support the Constitution, and the strong federal government it created. Jefferson's support however, hinged upon on the condition that Madison add a Bill of Rights to the document in the form of ten amendments. The rights that Jefferson insisted upon—among them freedom of speech, assembly, and practice of religion—have become fundamental and synonymous with American life ever since.

Presidential Politics

Jefferson served as secretary of state under Washington, but quarrels with Secretary of Treasury Alexander Hamilton's vision of a centralized national bank caused him to resign his post in 1793. In the election of 1796, Jefferson ran as the leader of the new Democratic-Republican Party opposite John Adams. Jefferson came in second to Adams (in electoral college votes), and became Adams's vice president.

In 1800, however, the political tide had turned against the Federalist Party of Adams and Hamilton. After winning the election, Jefferson pled for national unity in an attempt to heal the wounds of a vicious campaign, and gain support from the Federalist-controlled Congress. Due to a relatively placid first term, prosperity, lower taxes, and a reduction of the national debt, Jefferson won a landslide victory in 1804.

Defining the Powers of the Government

Jefferson believed in a "wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another," but which otherwise left them free to regulate their own affairs. In an effort to minimize the influence of the central government, he reduced the number of government employees, slashed army enrollments, and cut the national debt. Similar to his predecessor, John Adams, Jefferson had to deal with the political war waged between his Republican Party and the Federalists. The battles were focused on the nation's judiciary branch. The landmark ruling in **Marbury v. Madison**, which established the independent power of the Supreme Court, was handed down during Jefferson's presidency.

Foreign affairs dominated his day-to-day attentions while president, often pushing him toward Federalist policies that contrasted with his political philosophy. To ensure the safety of American ships on the high seas, Jefferson

attempted to put an end to the bribes that the U.S. had been paying to the Barbary states for the past fifty years. This resulted in a war with Tripoli, in which Jefferson was forced to use his navy and to rethink his policy of reducing the U.S. military. While the U.S. at first enjoyed an economic boom due to the war between England and France, the British navy's practice of forcing American sailors into British service led to Jefferson's disastrous suspension of trade with both France and England. This trade war devastated the economy, alienated the hard-hit mercantile Northeast, and propelled America into war with England.

His brilliant negotiation and ties to France led to the Louisiana Purchase for \$15 million, doubling the size of the nation. Nonetheless, the deal troubled Jefferson, who did not wish to overstep the central government's powers as outlined by the Constitution, which made no mention the power to acquire new territory. It was Jefferson who authorized the famous Lewis and Clark expedition (1804-6), led by Meriwether Lewis, a military officer who was Jefferson's clerk at the White House.

A Private Portrait of Contradictions

Jefferson preferred to live a simple lifestyle during his time in office, often greeting his dinner guests in old homespun clothes and a pair of worn bedroom slippers. Having lost his beloved wife, Martha Wayles Skelton, in 1782 to childbirth, Jefferson relied on his two married daughters, and the wife of his secretary of state, Dolly Madison, as his official hostesses. Although he disliked pomp and circumstance, Jefferson knew how to live well; his wine bill upon leaving the presidency exceeded \$10,000! In 1808, Jefferson retired to his Virginia plantation home, Monticello, where he continued pursuing his widely diverse interests in science, natural history, philosophy, and the classics. Jefferson also devoted himself to founding the University of Virginia.

Contemporary debates continue to rage (as they did during Jefferson's own lifetime) concerning his relationship with Sally Hemings, one of Jefferson's slaves, after Martha's death. Although Jefferson denied their affair and the stories that he fathered two of Hemings's children, recent DNA evidence presents a convincing case that Jefferson was indeed the biological father. Most historians now believe that Jefferson and Hemings had a sexual relationship. Jefferson was ambivalent about slavery throughout his career—as a young politician he had argued for the prohibition of slavery in new American territories. Yet he never freed his own slaves. How could a man responsible for writing the sacred words "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal," have been a slave owner? He never resolved the internal conflict on this issue.

After carrying on a long and fascinating correspondence with John Adams while both men were in the twilight of their lives, death took Jefferson on July 4, 1826—exactly fifty years to the day from the signing of the Declaration of Independence. All presidents after him, historians tell us, have lived in Jefferson's shadow and are measured against his mark.

Life Before The Presidency

Source: All Sources : / . . . / : **Presidential Documents**Terms: at 1 (**president jefferson**) or at 2 (**thomas jefferson**) and date(geq (01/21/93) and leq (04/05/00)) (Edit Search)*Public Papers of the Presidents*

Public Papers of the Presidents

April 30, 1997**CITE:** 33 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 618**LENGTH:** 1457 words**HEADLINE:** Remarks Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the **Thomas Jefferson** Building at the Library of Congress**BODY:**

I ask you tonight to listen to these words as if you had never heard them before and try to imagine what it was like when they broke across the landscape of America and the world, arguably the most important words ever written by an American because out of them all the rest flowed.

"When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them to another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitled them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. -- We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. -- That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, . . . But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. . . . We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States; . . . And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor."

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Speaker, Senator Daschle, Congressman Thomas, and other Members of Congress, the Joint Commission on the Library, Mr. Kluge, and the James Madison Council. Mr. Allaire, thank you all for what you have done to make this night come to pass. I thank Michael Ryan for singing the national anthem and making us feel so patriotic. He has served our country, as many of you know, for many years. I thank Jim Billington for his brilliant job and all the staff here for what they have done.

Those words were **Thomas Jefferson's** words with edits by John Adams and Benjamin Franklin. I learned something tonight looking at the **Thomas Jefferson** draft: Ben Franklin gets credit for saying that these truths are self-evident. And that's a pretty good edit. [Laughter] Would that we all had such an editor.

As the Speaker said, now every American will be able to have access to these treasures, not only in this magnificent building with its glorious reading room and its American treasures exhibition but also through the Internet. Think of it, everything from the rough draft of the

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Wh. House

→ important to mention access of all Americans to the nation's symbolic theme

Declaration of Independence, from which I just read, to George Washington's letter on the importance of religious freedom, to the first known autobiography of a slave, to the first kiss captured in a movie, to Groucho Marx talking to Johnny Carson, to the magical music of Washington's Duke Ellington.

But it is fitting that the books from Mr. Jefferson's library are at the core of the American Treasures Collection, for he above all understood that democracy and liberty depend upon the free flow of ideas and the expansion of knowledge, upon the remembrance of history and the imagining of the future.

To pursue those objectives, our young Nation, at great cost, established this Library. From those first volumes, the Library of Congress has become the world's largest library, visited by 2 million people every year in person and millions more every week on the Internet Web site, with more to come as we work together to enable every school and library in the United States to connect to the Internet. In the most modern way, children in the most isolated rural districts, the poorest inner-city districts, the most comfortable suburbs, now will be able to share that rough draft of the Declaration of Independence and all the other wonderful resources of the Library.

Mr. Jefferson, who looked to the future more than the past, even at the end of his days, would surely be very proud, Mr. Billington, of what his library has become.

As we walk through these beautifully restored rooms and hallways on this 100th anniversary, you can almost feel the exuberance and optimism of the United States at the turn of the century. And now, at the dawn of a new century, we face yet a new age of possibilities, full of new challenge and hope. Yet in a sense, we are back where we were in the beginning. For of all our challenges, ignorance is the most threatening, and of all our riches, knowledge is the most enduring, except this will be even more true in the years ahead.

That is why the opening of this exhibit and the restoration of this building is so significant. By renewing the Founders' commitment to the Library of Congress, we ensure that future generations will continue to be inspired and guided by the ideals, the values, and the thirst for knowledge that are at our beginning core. We are giving all of our people, especially our children, what they will need to realize their dreams and our ever-unfolding destiny as a nation.

As these exhibits show, we are, and have ever been, a nation of creators and innovators. We are all Jefferson's heirs, and we are doomed sometimes to succeed and sometimes to fail. I was amused at the picture of the massive double circular kite that Alexander Graham Bell thought might compete with the Wright brothers. He would do very well on the Frisbee circuit today, I think, but it wasn't much of an airplane. But if he hadn't had the courage to try that, well, we might not have had the telephone. We must always maintain that spirit, and we must remember the words of Jefferson.

President Lincoln invoked the Jeffersonian ideal, to heal a wounded nation, as he stood at Gettysburg. President Roosevelt looked toward the world that would follow World War II, and he too called upon Jefferson for inspiration and courage. The words that he wrote then are as relevant today as they were in 1945, and I would like to close with them.

"We must do all in our power to conquer the doubts and the fear, the ignorance and the greed, for today science has brought all the different quarters of the globe so close together that it is impossible to isolate them one from another. Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships, the ability of all peoples of all kinds to live together and work together in the same world at peace. And to you and to all Americans who dedicate themselves with us to the making of an abiding peace, I say the only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

That was the speech Franklin Roosevelt was working on in this month, 52 years ago, when he died in Warm Springs. Though unspoken, his words, like those of Jefferson, come down to us today with a freshness, a vitality, and a fundamental truth that must forever guide us as a nation.

On Friday, we will gather to dedicate the memorial to President Roosevelt, the very first Presidential memorial since President Roosevelt dedicated the one to **Thomas Jefferson** in 1943. Together we will renew our commitment to fight tyranny with liberty, ignorance with knowledge, fear with hope and confidence.

Thomas Jefferson and Franklin Roosevelt, I believe, would be quite proud of America today -- still eager to right its wrongs and seize its new opportunities. And I might say, I think they'd be a little impatient with those among us who, finding America at the pinnacle of its power, influence, and success, and therefore at the pinnacle of the responsibility outlined by President Roosevelt so long ago, would seek to walk away from what are our plain obligations to engage the rest of the world. For in the course of human events, it has fallen to us, for our own benefit and because it is right, to extend to a waiting world the ideals to which **Thomas Jefferson** and his friends pledged their Lives, their Fortunes, and their sacred Honor.

Thank you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:10 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to John Kluge, chairman, James Madison Council; Paul Allaire, chairman and chief executive officer, Xerox Corp.; MGySgt. Michael Ryan, USMC, United States Marine Band; Jim Billington, Librarian of Congress.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 02, 1997

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : **Presidential Documents**

Terms: **atl 1 (president jefferson) or atl 2 (thomas jefferson) and date(geq (01/21/93) and leq (04/05/00))** ([Edit Search](#))

View: Full

Date/Time: Wednesday, April 5, 2000 - 4:06 PM EDT

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Public Papers of the Presidents

June 21, 1999

CITE: 35 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1166

LENGTH: 509 words

HEADLINE: Remarks at a Dinner Hosted by President Milan Kucan of Slovenia in Ljubljana

BODY:

Mr. President, Mrs. Kucan, Mr. Prime Minister, distinguished government officials, and citizens of Slovenia: It is a great honor for me, for Hillary, for Secretary Albright, indeed, for our entire American delegation to share this historic day with you.

Today we added a new chapter to the long story of our friendship. As you heard from the President, it is a friendship that goes back even before the history of the United States, when President **Thomas Jefferson**, the author of our Declaration of Independence, was looking for examples of democracy around the world, places where the people ruled.

The President gave you a -- what I would call a delicate version of the example provided by the Corinthians to **Thomas Jefferson**. You see, **Thomas Jefferson** loved the fact that before assuming their titles, the old dukes of Corinthia were ceremoniously slapped by a local present to symbolize the right of the people to rebuff their leaders. **Thomas Jefferson** liked that. So did all future generations of Americans. [*Laughter*] Except they wait until after you're in office to do it. [*Laughter*]

Well, democracy is going strong again in Slovenia, and still your efforts inspire Americans, We are grateful for the many contributions of Slovenians to the strength and texture of our country, and we are grateful for the partnership that unites us today.

This spring, as both the President and the Prime Minister have said, that partnership met a great test. For the fourth time in this decade, Mr. Milosevic and Serbia launched a brutal campaign of violence, threatening the progress the people of this region have worked so hard to achieve. As you know from the daily television reports, the full horror of that campaign is only now becoming clear.

I would like to thank the President and the Prime Minister for all that you have done to protect democracy and the tolerance it needs to thrive. Now that ethnic cleansing has been defeated in Kosovo, we must build something better in its place throughout Europe, and especially in southeastern Europe.

You know, every leader likes to talk of the future, but today in your Congress Square I saw the future in the faces of the young people who braved the rains to express their support for our shared dreams. I saw those who will lead a free Slovenia into the new millennium.

Your history is enshrined in this magnificent castle we enjoy this evening, but your future is in those young people. And it is in good hands.

So I ask you now to rededicate yourselves to the dreams which brought the people out in the rain today. We owe it to them, to our forebears, and to generations yet unborn.

Please join me in a toast to the President, to the Prime Minister, and the people of this wonderful country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:40 p.m. in the Dining Hall at Brdo Castle. In his remarks, he referred to Stefka Kucan, wife of President Kucan; and Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek of Slovenia. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 23, 1999

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : **Presidential Documents**

Terms: **atl 1 (president jefferson) or atl 2 (thomas jefferson) and date(geq (01/21/93) and leq (04/05/00))** ([Edit Search](#))

View: [Full](#)

Date/Time: Wednesday, April 5, 2000 - 4:01 PM EDT

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Source: All Sources : / . . . / : **Presidential Documents**Terms: **atl 1 (president jefferson) or atl 2 (thomas jefferson) and date(geq (01/21/93) and leq (04/05/00))** ([Edit Search](#))*Public Papers of the Presidents*

Public Papers of the Presidents

February 11, 1997**CITE:** 33 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 179**LENGTH:** 406 words**HEADLINE:** Remarks Following a Screening of the Film "**Thomas Jefferson**"**BODY:**

Thank you. First of all, I know I speak for all of us when I thank Ken Burns and all of those who made this magnificent film possible. Thank you, especially, Jack Smith, for your work in making it possible and sponsoring it.

If you think about what Ken Burns has given to America with "The Civil War," "The West," "Baseball," and "**Thomas Jefferson**," I think Mr. Jefferson would be very proud of you, Mr. Burns. And I know we all are, and we thank you so much.

I think every American President has been inspired by Jefferson's ideals, affected by his decisions, fascinated by his character. Two of my most prized personal possessions are an original printing of the "Notes on Virginia" and a printing of Daniel Webster's marvelous eulogy to John Adams and **Thomas Jefferson** delivered in Faneuil Hall in August of 1826. And from time to time when I feel some sense of despair, just for the heck of it, I take them down and open the pages and start reading.

I always thought that the fact that both of them died on the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was the best evidence the modern world has on the question of whether God is. It is impossible to believe this happened by accident.

And so, I ask all of you to leave here tonight with a sense of gratitude to **Thomas Jefferson** but also with the firm conviction that the thing he was most right about was in leaving us a system that would always be in the act of becoming, that his unshakable belief that the future could be better than the present extended even to himself and to his contemporaries, to their failures and to their successes.

And that is what we must always believe. You make a better present if you think about the future being brighter and if you really believe in the potential of every single human spirit. **Thomas Jefferson** did, and so should we.

I hope you'll now join us in the State Dining Room, and you'll all be able to talk about what you liked most about the movie. But let me say again, we're gratified to have you all here. Hillary and I have looked forward to this evening for a long time, and we are especially grateful for all of you who had any part in this magnificent gift to the people of the United States.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:45 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Ken Burns, producer of the film, and Jack Smith, president, General Motors Corp.

while he has inspired
even expanding sense of
the possible

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 20, 1997

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : **Presidential Documents**

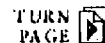
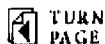
Terms: **atl 1 (president jefferson) or atl 2 (thomas jefferson) and date(geq (01/21/93) and leq (04/05/00))** ([Edit Search](#))

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Date/Time: Wednesday, April 5, 2000 - 4:09 PM EDT

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Remarks at a Dinner Honoring Nobel Prize Winners of the
Western Hemisphere.
April 29, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to welcome you to **the White House**. Mr. Lester Pearson informed me **that a** Canadian newspaperman **said** yesterday **that** this is **the** President's "Easter egghead roll on **the White House** lawn." I want to deny **that**!

I want to tell you how welcome you are to **the White House**. I think this is **the most** extraordinary collection of talent, of human knowledge, **that** has ever been gathered together at **the White House**, with the possible exception of when **Thomas Jefferson dined alone**.

Someone **once said that Thomas Jefferson was a** gentleman of 32 who could calculate an eclipse, survey an estate, tie an artery, plan an edifice, try a cause, break a horse, and dance **the** minuet. Whatever he may have lacked, if he could have had his former colleague, Mr. Franklin, here we all would have been impressed.

In any case, I am delighted to welcome you here. We are delighted to have **the** Norwegian Ambassador and **the** Swedish Minister to represent their governments, and we are delighted to have **the Nobel** prize winners of **the** Western Hemisphere here at this **dinner**.

I know **that the Nobel** prize does not have any geographic or national implications. Mr. **Nobel** in his will, in fact, made it very clear when he **said that** he hoped **that in the** giving of the prize **that** no attention would be paid to nationality. He declared it to be "my express desire **that in** awarding **the** prize, no consideration whatsoever be paid to **the** nationality of **the** candidates; **that** is to say, **the most** deserving be awarded **the** prize, whether he or she be Scandinavian or not."

In any case, **there** is no nationality in **the Nobel** prize, just as **there** is no nationality in **the** acquisition of knowledge. I know **that** every man here who has won **the Nobel** prize, not only does he build on **the** past, which goes back hundreds and thousands of years, on **the** efforts of other men and women, but he also builds on **the** efforts of those in other countries; and therefore, quite rightly, **the Nobel** prize has no national significance.

But I think we can take some satisfaction **that** this hemisphere has been able to develop an atmosphere which has permitted **the** happy pursuit of knowledge, and of peace; and **that** over 40 percent of **the Nobel** prizes in **the** last 30 years have gone to men and women in this hemisphere.

And of particular pleasure today is **the fact that** 13 Nobel prizes for peace have gone to those who live **in** this hemisphere. I think **the pursuit of knowledge, the pursuit of peace**, are very basic drives and pressures **in** this life **of** ours—and this **dinner** is an attempt, **in a** sense, to recognize those great efforts, to encourage young Americans and young people **in** this hemisphere to develop **the** same drive and deep desire for knowledge and peace.

So I want you to know **that** you are **most** welcome here. I regard this as **the most distinguished** and significant **dinner that** we have had **in the White House since** I have been here, and I think **in** many, many years.

And I hope **that it** will stimulate among all people, **in** this hemisphere and far beyond, **the** recognition **of the** close ties **that** bind all who labor to provide **a** better life for their people.

So I hope **that** you will join me **in** drinking to **the Nobel** prize winners **of** this year and other years—and perhaps more widely, to all those people everywhere whom they serve.

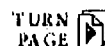
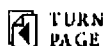
NOTE: **The dinner was** held **in the** State Dining Room and **the** Blue Room **at the White House**. Early **in** his remarks **the President** referred to Lester B. Pearson, Canada's Liberal Party leader, **a Nobel** [p.348] Peace Prize winner **in** 1957. Later he referred to Ambassador Paul Koht **of** Norway and to Ambassador Gunnar Jarring **of** Sweden who **was** represented by his wife.

The White House announced, on April 28, **that the roster of Nobel** guests included 46 United States citizens; one Canadian, Lester Pearson; one Frenchman, long resident **in** Washington, Alexis Leger; and one German who **was** working **in the** United States, Rudolf Mossbauer. **In** addition, other prominent men and women from **the** arts, education, and science had been invited, among them several university presidents.

Before **the dinner**, **the** release stated, **the President** and Mrs. **Kennedy** would receive **in** their private quarters **the** 1961 Nobel winners: Dr. Melvin Calvin **of the** University **of** California, who **was** cited for work **in** photosynthesis; Dr. Robert Hofstadter **of** Stanford and Dr. Rudolf Mossbauer, **of the** California Institute **of** Technology, cited for work **in** atomic physics; and Dr. George von Bekesy **of** Harvard, cited for discoveries on **the** mechanism **of the** inner ear.

following **the dinner**, **it was** also announced, Mr. Fredric March, **a** two-time winner **of the** acting award **of the** Academy **of** Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, would read excerpts from **the** works **of** Sinclair Lewis (Nobel Prize for Literature, 1930); George C. Marshall (Nobel Prize for Peace, 1953); and Ernest Hemingway (Nobel Prize for Literature, 1954).

Source: Federal Register Division. National Archives and Records Service, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, John F. Kennedy, 1962 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956-), pp.347-348



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Public Papers of the Presidents

Public Papers of the Presidents

July 28, 1999

It was in this room that Thomas Jefferson met with his secretary, Merriwether Lewis, to plan the Lewis and Clark expedition -- right where you're all sitting. The place was covered with bearskins and ancient maps, and they were -- **President Jefferson** was in love with the geography and science, and he saw this whole thing as not only a geographical expedition, but he thought that all kinds of scientific information would be gathered along the way. So a lot of very important things have happened where you are sitting today that remind us that America is a place with great opportunities and great responsibilities.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Public Papers of the Presidents

March 9, 2000

The President. Thank you. Well, first of all, welcome to the White House. Welcome to this wonderful East Room, where **Thomas Jefferson** and Meriwether Lewis planned the Lewis and Clark expedition to explore parts of America no one had ever seen, to try to find an ocean that no one thought could be reached by land. In a way, we are here on an even grander expedition, to try to find a place in the human heart no one has ever seen, that many believe we cannot reach in this life.

Outline of President's Speech

- Acknowledgements
- Speak about importance of the American President Series
 - profound
 - Create¹ sense of nation coherency?
 - ~~other~~ depictions of all president's esp. relevant in light of the national growth. As we look around in an economy of lowest unemployment... we have a ^{growing} rational sense of ~~what~~ all that may be accomplished
 - ↳ depictions of these presidents ~ as we see track each one's ascent to ~~lead~~ political leadership ~ help contribute to ~~the~~ the ever growing sense of what is possible
- appropriate that we ~~have~~ introduce this national discussion of the American presidency here in the east room.

EAST ROOM

theme of
expansion
knowledge
~~self~~ understanding
national

~~Michael~~
~~Abell~~

~~Jeff Epstein~~
~~Mark Pass~~ office
962-3052

unfinished business
patient bill of rights
guns, healthcare

I. Ack.

II. East Room (History, Importance → tie in w themes of the evening)
In ^{intimate} many ways

Borden's at 19th & E 214-906-4914

Radio & television

to

~~Adams~~

6:25 - NW Gate

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS***PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS:***

Mr. Seymour "Sy" Sternberg; Chairman, President and CEO of New York Life Insurance Company (funded project)
Mr. Philip B. Kunhardt, III and Margaret (spouse); Co-Producer, Co-Writer, Co-Director

OTHER CREATORS OF THE SERIES:

Dr. William Baker; President and CEO, WNET Channel 13
Mr. Peter W. Kunhardt; Executive Producer and Co-Producer, Co-Writer, Co-Director
Mr. Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr.; Co-Producer, Co-Writer, Co-Director
Mr. Hugh Sidey, commentator
Professor Richard Neustadt, on camera historian

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Sen. Charles S. Robb (D/VA)
Sen. Dale Bumpers (*James Madison*)

VOICES FROM THE SERIES WHO ARE IN THE AUDIENCE:

Mr. Ben Bradlee (*Warren Harding*)
Mr. Walter Cronkite (*George Washington*)
Mr. David Gergen (*James Buchanan*)
Senator John Glenn (*Rutherford B. Hayes*)
Mr. James Roosevelt (*Franklin D. Roosevelt*)
Mr. Charlie Rose (*John Tyler*)
Mr. Daniel Rostenkowski (*Chester Arthur*)
Mr. Tim Russert (*Millard Fillmore*)
Mrs. Eunice Kennedy Shriver (*Sargeant was the voices of Franklin Pierce*)
Sen. Paul Simon (*Abraham Lincoln*)
Gov. Lowell Weiker (*Grover Cleveland*)
Gov. William Weld (*Calvin Coolidge*)

OTHER NOTEABLES IN THE AUDIENCE:

Dr. William Ferris, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities

Kunhardt p.2

It's been important to us that the series has been supported by a national educational effort, anchored by a web site that represents a collaboration among several thousand social studies teachers around the country. One of the highlights of the web site is a student magazine about politics. And we are pleased to have with us tonight Candice Pine, an eighth grade student from New York who is covering this event for our online magazine

I'd also like to tip my hat to two special people whom it has been our great pleasure to work closely with over the course of this project: Hugh Sidey our wonderful and learned narrator whom we count as a close friend; and Dick Neustadt, our extraordinary on-camera commentator who has illuminated us and endeared himself to us all.

Tonight, we are going to show you two short pieces from The American President. The first is the opening segment of an hour-long episode entitled "The American Way" and focuses on the extraordinary figure of Thomas Jefferson. It features the voice of the Honorable Andrew Young, whose rendition still gives me thrills whenever I hear it. I hope you like it.

{Jefferson episode shown here}

The second piece you will see tonight from The American President forms the finale of an episode entitled "Family Ties" - a look at four American political dynasties and their hold on the high office. Though most of our presidents have come from humble origins, there has been a handful of men seemingly born for the White House. Following our profiles of John Quincy Adams, Benjamin Harrison, and Franklin D. Roosevelt comes this - our treatment of John F. Kennedy. We hope you enjoy it.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS FOR THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT SERIES
THE WHITE HOUSE

April 7, 2000

Welcome to the White House, this,
Good evening. Tonight I have the privilege of opening the first in a series of events celebrating the 200th anniversary of the people's house. Of course, it's befitting that our first event honors the lives of the individuals who have roamed its halls and carried the awesome burden that ~~accompanies it~~ *within its walls.*

This room – like the White House – has not only witnessed historical events – it has played a role in shaping them. It has played host to forty-one administrations – and forty-one different personalities. The East Room began as a laundry room for Abigail Adams. Thomas Jefferson and his personal aide Meriwether Lewis laid maps upon the floor and charted the Lewis and Clark expedition. It later served as quarters for battle-worn Union troops during the Civil War. President Roosevelt's children even roller-skated on its floors. Over the years, it has survived a fire, two wars, a plane crash -- even five weddings. And, of course, it has been a gallery for priceless artwork.

Each portrait on these walls tells the story of the promise of one American life and, in doing so, the promise of all American life. They offer a lesson, an example, a challenge for every American to live up to the responsibilities of citizenship. While this series recounts the lives of forty one individuals, as a whole, it too captures the promise of American life.

Each President in his own time has faced unique challenges in striving to fulfill the purpose of our Constitution "to form a more perfect Union." Tonight we will have the opportunity to view two selections from the American President series – the first documentary series ever to profile all of America's chief executives. The first viewing is on the life of one of our Founding Fathers, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and our third President, Thomas Jefferson. Every American President has been inspired by Jefferson's ideals – affected by his decisions, fascinated by his character. Jefferson spent a lifetime shaping a new and ever-evolving democracy, that would become, as he said, "more developed, more enlightened as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change."

One hundred and fifty years later, our thirty-fifth President, John F. Kennedy, brought that same spirit of innovation and progress to the White House. John Kennedy's fleeting time ~~among us~~ *here on in this House* remains a singular story in the history of our great nation. He was our President for only a thousand days, but he changed the way we think about our country, our world, and our own obligations to the future. With his New Frontier, he inspired million of Americans – including me – to take a personal responsibility for moving our country forward, and for advancing the cause of freedom throughout the world. As Kennedy said, "The new frontier ... is not a set of promises. It is a set of challenges. It sums up not what I intend to offer the American people, but what I intend to ask of them."

And
Many Great men have ~~call~~ ^{call} this house ~~the~~ home. ~~Best~~
And ~~in the not too distant future~~ -- a woman will too.
President Kennedy's ideas inspired my own career in public service -- and have served as
a model for my own presidency. But the presidency, like this House, ~~was not built by one man~~ ^{built by one person}
~~It truly embodies the work of all forty-one presidents.~~
~~It is a collective work.~~ ^{The collective work of all who}

Now I'd like to introduce Sy Sternberg [Chairman of New York Life Insurance Program]
who made this evening and this project possible.

White House Reception - 4/7/00

Sy Sternberg's Comments

It's a great pleasure and a privilege to be here tonight representing New York Life. I want to especially thank President Clinton for hosting this evening's event. I can't think of a better place than the White House to preview this truly groundbreaking documentary.

Five years ago, New York Life was most fortunate that the Kunhardt family approached us to be sole sponsor of *The American President*. The Kunhardts' vision immediately resonated with what's important to our company - we have a long and proud history intertwined with the Nation's and a longstanding commitment to children.....their welfare and education.

Sternberg, p.2

Abraham Lincoln was a country lawyer when New York Life first opened for business. During the Civil War, we insured both Northerners and Southerners, sometimes crossing battle lines under a flag of truce to pay claims. We were there for our policyholders during the San Francisco earthquake and the Great Depression. Ten U.S. Presidents were policyholders and two Presidents served on our Board. Our company loves America and everything it stands for.

We also gravitated to *The American President* series because of its focus on the education of our youth. Over the years, New York Life and the New York Life Foundation have committed considerable resources to children's causes, particularly education. At a time when our education system in many parts of the country shows signs of serious weakness, we believe we have an obligation to do our part in opening the marvelous world of American history to our students.

Sternberg, p.3

The American President series and its web-based Outreach Program for students represent a return to teaching children about history in a lively and entertaining fashion -- without sacrificing any of the vital research and scholarship. Thanks to the Kunhardts, Thirteen/WNET and PBS, the results are even better than we had expected.

I want to cite the Kunhardts in particular -- Philip Jr., Philip III and Peter. ***The American President*** series was a five-year labor of love for them. They created it with a combination of thorough research, vast knowledge of the presidency, unmatched production skills and just plain hard work. At the heart of the production is their own family collection of presidential photographs. They have given us a precious historical legacy.

Stenberg p.4

**Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to introduce our
next guest – one of the driving, and creative, forces behind the
American President – Philip Kunhardt III.**

White House Remarks--Philip B. Kunhardt III

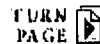
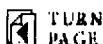
Thank you, Sy. It takes a company and a person of long-range vision to stand behind so vast and long-term a project as this. We found that person in Sy Sternberg, Chairman and CEO of New York Life, who has shown us in a very personal way the signature trademarks of his company: leadership, strength, and integrity.

And thank you very much, Mr. President. On behalf of my father, and my brother, and all of us at Kunhardt Productions, I'd like to say what a privilege it is to be here in this great historic house to celebrate the history of the American presidency.

We began this project, Mr. President, during the second year of your first term in office. The young adults you see gathered with us here tonight--mostly belonging to my brother Peter and myself--were all young children when this project began. And what a room to be gathered in! Here, Meriwether Lewis set up a make-shift office before being sent west by Thomas Jefferson to explore our vast frontiers. Here, under Abraham Lincoln, northern troops literally camped out during the early days of the Civil War when the future of the Union was in such peril. This room has hosted the festive weddings of our first families, and also, all too often, unbelievably sad state funerals. If there is one thing I have learned over the course of this project, it is how much the presidency has meant, and still means, to us as a people.

This is a project that could only have been made for public television. And all of us here anticipate great things for PBS under the exciting new leadership of Pat Mitchell.

Many, many people worked on this series. I'd like to thank our co-producer, WNET/Thirteen. Bill Baker and Ward Chamberlin's wonderful staff, headed by Tammy Robinson and Bill Grant, has been there with us as our partner, and friend, throughout. And Bill's faith in the project and keen editorial eye has benefited the series all along the way. They, along with Cindy Spiegel, our brilliant editor at Riverhead Books, have helped us immensely in steering this often difficult course.



Message on the Observance of Presidents' Day, 1998,
February 12, 1998

Warm greetings to all Americans as we observe Presidents' Day, 1998.

On this day we remember with pride the history of the American **Presidency** and the achievements of the many extraordinary leaders who have guided our nation's course over the past two centuries. Each President in his own time has faced unique challenges in striving to fulfill the purpose of our Constitution "to form a more perfect Union."

For George Washington, that challenge meant sustaining and strengthening the fragile Union he had ~~helped to establish~~. During the eight years of his **Presidency**, he carried out the awesome responsibilities of his office with such care and wisdom that he confirmed the trust of his fellow Americans and proved to a watching world that our new republic would survive and flourish. [p.252]

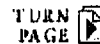
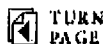
Abraham Lincoln's great challenge was to preserve the Union. Taking the oath of office after seven states had already seceded, President Lincoln resolved to keep our country united, even at the cost of civil war. With courage and tenacity, he led America through four years of bloody conflict and, in victory, reached out to begin the healing that would bring us together again as one nation. "With malice toward none," he said less than two months before his death, "with charity for all . . . let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace"

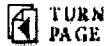
Today we face our own challenge to build a more perfect Union, a Union that must now be forged from one of history's most racially and culturally diverse societies. We can do so by widening the role of opportunity for all our people: opportunity for a good education, opportunity for good jobs, opportunity to reach our own great potential. If we do so, we will keep faith with these great leaders whose memory we honor today and enter the 21st century with our Union stronger than ever.

Best wishes for a memorable observance.

Bill Clinton

Source: United States. Executive Office of the President, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, Week Ending Friday, February 13, 1998 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998), 34:251-252





Proclamation 6669—251st Anniversary of the Birth of **Thomas Jefferson**,
April 13, 1994

By the President of the United States
of America
A Proclamation

"I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions," **Thomas Jefferson** once wrote, "But ... laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change ... institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times."

These words have challenged and inspired the countless millions who have come to America's capital and have seen them inscribed on the marble wall of the **Jefferson** Memorial. Jefferson's statue presides nobly over America's capital city, a steadfast and enduring reminder of the democratic government that he helped to found. Yet unlike his unchanging visage, our democracy's institutions have proved to be remarkably agile in governing, maturing as society has progressed, evolving as human knowledge and technology have advanced—far beyond Jefferson's imagining. Of all the truths **Jefferson** knew to be self-evident, of all the freedoms he held dear, this understanding of the need for political and social innovation is perhaps his most lasting gift. He helped to endow us with the freedom to embrace change.

As we complete the year celebrating the 250th anniversary of his birth, it is entirely fitting that we again pause to reflect upon both the contradictions of Jefferson's life and the meaning of his legacy. Far from the sculpted perfection of his statue, **Jefferson** acknowledged, even anguished about, his failings as a leader. In expressing his fervent hope that we would one day purge the evil of slavery from our land, he wrote, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that his justice cannot sleep forever." Despite his flaws, **Jefferson** imbued us with his powerful faith that justice would ultimately transcend our seeming inability to do what we know is right. And I believe he would rejoice to know how far America has come toward winning equal justice under law.

In the United States, we must constantly relearn his teaching that change is both an inevitable and essential part of safeguarding our precious freedoms. We recognize, as he did in his day, that our democracy must continue to develop, that we must shape our politics and policies to meet the rapidly shifting needs of our people and to embrace the better angels of our nature. On this day, we remember that our Nation is an ongoing experiment, a new and fragile spirit, requiring our eternal care and vigilance if it is to continue to grow and prosper and shine.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim Wednesday, April 13, 1994, as the 251st Anniversary of the Birth of **Thomas Jefferson**. I encourage all Americans to reflect upon his words and deeds and to rededicate themselves to making our Nation one of which he would be proud. Additionally, I call upon the people of the United States to observe this occasion with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eighteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:11 a.m., April 14, 1994]

THE PRESIDENCY

Public Papers of the Presidents

Public Papers of the Presidents

April 2, 1998

Well, let me say, I've done my best to do what every President who has commented on this, from George Washington forward, has said the President should do, which is that for the period of your service, insofar as possible, you should cease to be an individual citizen and spend all your time and energy on the country. And that's what I've tried to do. And I've done my best at it, and the results have been satisfactory, I think, for the American people. And that's what I intend to continue to do. Others should evaluate that question, but I need to keep working on the people's business, and that's what I intend to do.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Public Papers of the Presidents

February 16, 2000

I feel like the luckiest person alive; that at this moment in history, I was fortunate enough to be given a chance to serve as President and to focus the attention of the Nation on the future, on some old-fashioned ideas: everybody counts, everybody ought to have a chance, everybody's got a role to play, we all do better when we help each other.

The work I have done to build one America for a new century was a joy every day.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Public Papers of the Presidents

January 26, 2000

... people who do serious histories of this administration will be amazed at the amount of energy and effort that went into the wide variety of areas that we worked in. And I think that it will show that in virtually every area we had progress, from helping to reduce poverty to improving the plight of our children, to creating an environment with the reform of telecommunications, the reform of banking, and getting rid of the deficit and major investments in science and technology, to this exploding new economy.

Source: All Sources : / . . . / : Presidential Documents

Terms: atl 3 (reagan) and date(geq (01/21/93) and leq (04/05/00)) (Edit Search)

Public Papers of the Presidents

Public Papers of the Presidents

November 6, 1997

CITE: 33 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1741

LENGTH: 1030 words

HEADLINE: Remarks at the Dedication of the George Bush Presidential Library in College Station

BODY:

Thank you very much President and Mrs. Bush, President and Mrs. Ford, President and Mrs. Carter, Mrs. **Reagan**, Mrs. Johnson, David and Julie Eisenhower, Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg, Reverend Graham, Governor and Mrs. Bush, Vice President and Mrs. Quayle, and to all the foreign dignitaries and American officials who are here.

The sun is shining on Texas A&M today. And the sun is shining on America today. You know, we have an interesting country, with a lot of religious, racial, and political diversity. Once in a while, we all get together. This morning, I think it's fair to say that all Americans are united in tribute to President George Bush for his lifetime of service to America.

I enjoyed immensely listening to the previous speakers. When Mrs. **Reagan** spoke -- I hope someday Al Gore will be glad that we had lunch once a week. [Laughter] When President Ford spoke, I said, I hope I will look that good when I am 25 years younger than he is. [Laughter] When President Carter spoke, I thought, thank goodness he just reminded the whole world that Presidents have to raise all the money for their libraries. [Laughter]

In 1942, young George Bush heard Secretary of War Henry Stimson challenge his generation to be, and I quote, "be brave without being brutal; self-confident without boasting; part of an irresistible might, but without losing faith in individual liberty." President Bush not only heard those words, he has lived them. And he has rallied his fellow citizens to serve as well in their communities, for their country, and for the cause of democracy around the world.

There are many things that I, not only as President but as a citizen, am grateful to George and Barbara Bush for. I'd like to just mention a few today. As President and afterward, he has worked to ensure that "A Thousand Points of Light" is not merely a striking image but a lasting legacy. I thank him for that initiative and for cochairing the Presidents' Summit on Service.

As President, he summoned all the Governors, including me, to the University of Virginia for a summit on education, where we stayed up more than half the night in a totally bipartisan fashion to write national education goals for our country. And when he was President, Mrs. Bush espoused the importance of literacy and the importance of citizens volunteering to make sure all our children can read. I thought of that when we launched our America Reads initiative, which now has tens of thousands of college students at hundreds of universities all across America, trying to do what Barbara Bush always said we should do, to make sure every one of our fellow citizens could read and read well. And I thank them both for that.

As President and afterward, President Bush stood for American leadership for peace and prosperity, for freedom and democracy. He was the last President of the cold war, but he knew that American responsibility could not end with the cold war. And he showed us that in

Desert Shield and Desert Storm. The vigilance President Bush displayed in dealing with Iraq, as we all know, is required again today. And I believe the American people support that vigilance, thanks in no small measure to your example not so long ago. And I thank you for that, Mr. President.

As President and afterward, President Bush pushed America to embrace new alliances of trade as instruments of both economic growth and growing democracy. He launched NAFTA and the talks that led to the World Trade Organization. I was proud to complete those efforts, and I am very grateful for the support he continues to give, along with our other former Presidents, to the imperative of American leadership in expanding alliances of trade, not only for our economic welfare but to support our political ideals.

Tomorrow the House of Representatives will vote on whether to extend fast-track authority to negotiate trade agreements. I hope Congress will follow the lead that President Bush and the other former Presidents have set to expand trade and our vital horizons in the 21st century. I thank you, Mr. President, for that.

For more than 4 1/2 years now, even though our relationship began under somewhat unusual circumstances, I have been very grateful that whenever I called on President Bush, he was always there with wise counsel and, when he agreed, with public support. It's hard to express to someone who hasn't experienced it what it means in a moment of difficulty to be able to call someone who, first of all, knows exactly what you're up against and, secondly, will tell you the truth. And he has done that time and time again. I am persuaded that the country is better off because of it. And I thank you, Mr. President, for your counsel and your assistance.

This magnificent library will be a place for scholars who try to understand what has happened in some of America's most important years. It's a place for citizens who want to know right now what went on in the life and career of George Bush. It's also a place from which any person would draw enormous inspiration, a place for the reaffirmation of our faith in America.

Benjamin Franklin told our Constitutional Convention, "The first man put at the helm will be a good one, but no one knows what sort will come afterward." Mr. President, I think if Benjamin Franklin were here today, he would say that in George Bush, America has had a good man whose decency and devotion have served our country well. And that is the story this library will tell to generations to come. *Hand 41*

Thank you, and God bless you. *would be for good*

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. in front of the library building at Texas A&M University. In his remarks, he referred to former First Ladies Barbara Bush, Betty Ford, Rosalynn Carter, Nancy **Reagan**, and Lady Bird Johnson; David Eisenhower, grandson of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, and his wife, Julie, daughter of former President Richard M. Nixon; Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg, daughter of former President John F. Kennedy; Rev. Billy Graham, who gave the invocation; Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, and his wife, Laura; and former Vice President Dan Quayle and his wife, Marilyn.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 15, 1997

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : **Presidential Documents**

Terms: **atl 3 (reagan) and date(geq (01/21/93) and leq (04/05/00))** ([Edit Search](#))

View: Full

Date/Time: Wednesday, April 5, 2000 - 5:45 PM EDT

What we did not see then and what we know now is that equal access to public schools does not guarantee the educational excellence that should be the birthright of every American on the edge of the 21st century.

the text is on the left + would be the

Public Papers of the Presidents
Public Papers of the Presidents
September 24, 1996

quote + see the selection from the series. The first or TJ. or I point Jefferson left us...

President Kennedy's vision exceeded the possibilities of his time, but his words speak to us still.

Public Papers of the Presidents
Public Papers of the Presidents
September 5, 1995

And I really wanted to meet **President Kennedy** because I admired him and I liked him and I agreed with what he was trying to do. And I liked him because he was highly controversial in my home State and throughout the South because he was trying to finish the work of the Civil War. He was trying to pass all of the civil rights legislation. He was trying to eliminate racial discrimination. And he was taking a lot of heat for it. And a lot of people in my part of the country weren't for him because of it. But I was for him because of it, because I believed in what he was doing. So it was not only a great thing for me to meet the President, but I thought that he was really looking out for our future, and I thought I would live in a better America because he was President. So I was very excited about it.

And I remember the day it occurred. I didn't know if the President was going to shake hands with all of the 100 boys, but because I was from Arkansas, I was at the top of the alphabet -- [laughter] -- and because I was above average in size, I could sort of elbow my way up to the front of the line. [Laughter] So I made sure I got to shake his hand. Although he was quite nice, he stayed around. I think he shook most people's hands that day.

But it was a wonderful thing, you know. That's a great thing about this country. I mean, I just -- here I was coming from a modest-sized town, and one day I was shaking hands with the President, kind of like this. That's one of the great things about democracy. You know, your families' votes count just as much as mine does.

Public Papers of the Presidents, March 16, 1993
Public Papers of the Presidents
March 16, 1993

I thought I would tell you this, for those of you who don't know, since **President Kennedy** once said at a dinner of Nobel laureates that it was the most distinguished array of brainpower ever gathered in the White House since Thomas Jefferson dined there alone. [Laughter] James Hoban

PREFACE

More than
pieces about
the white
house?

War of 1812 key event

↳ try but fail to bring house down but w/

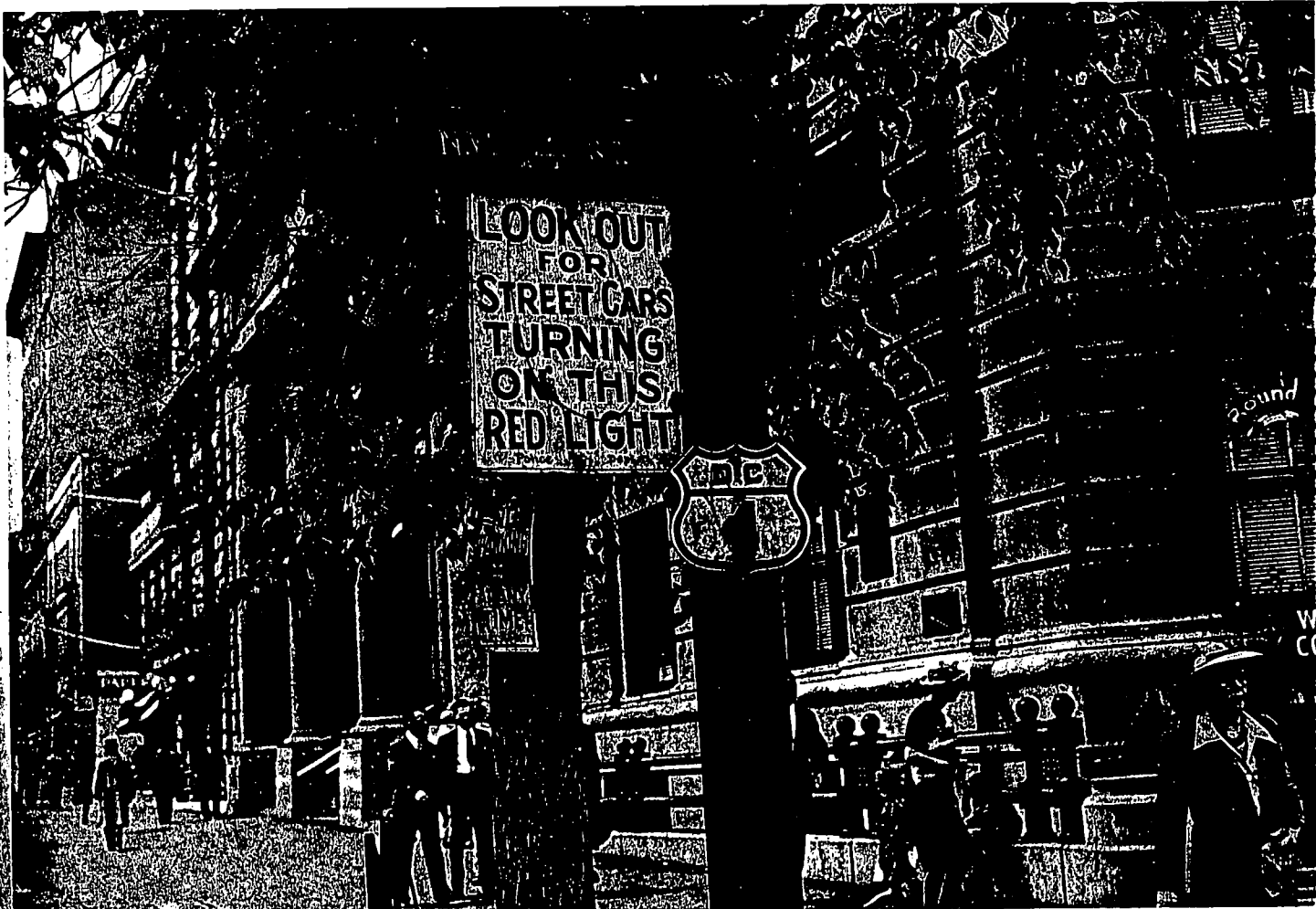
famous people who have passed through its
doors as rep. of the times

how white House the literal location has
changed along w/ our symbolic notions of America

With its clutter of signs and ordinary lampposts, it looks like streets all across the country, but just down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C., is the most important address in the world. In a monumental house conceived and built by George Washington, who almost lived to see it finished, every president since has carried his own burden through its halls, has stood in awe of the gigantic East Room, has thrilled to its great pillars and stately façades, has spent sleepless nights tossing in its beds. The grand house, like the presidency itself, has both remained very much a constant and changed tremendously over the two centuries since John Adams made the mansion his own on November 1, 1800, with the very first night's sleep of a chief executive.

Thirteen years earlier, at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, the idea for the presidency was born. On June 1, 1787, James Wilson of Pennsylvania moved that

the executive of the United States consist of a single individual. James Madison, taking notes, recorded the impact of the proposal, which thrust the roomful of buzzing delegates into a sudden and total silence. All knew it was a moment of fateful significance. Wilson believed that a single president could give energy and dispatch to the office, allowing for decisiveness during critical moments in history. But for others the idea seemed fraught with danger, though no one wanted to insult the man sitting in their midst who would almost certainly be named to the job should such an office be created—General George Washington. After “a considerable pause,” in Madison’s words, Edmund Randolph of Virginia spoke out on behalf of those opposed, calling a solitary executive “the foetus of monarchy,” and urging that the office be shared by an executive committee. And so Wilson’s proposal was debated on that first Friday in June, and after



all monumental events in our history - the residue of that
event remains

"The spirit of our citizens,... rising with a strength and majesty which show the loveliness of freedom, will make this government in practice what it is in principle, a model for the protection of man in a state of freedom and order."
--Thomas Jefferson to Thaddeus Kosciusko, 1799. ME 10:116

to William Johnson, 1823. ME 15:440

"We of the United States are constitutionally and conscientiously democrats. We consider society as one of the natural wants with which man has been created; that he has been endowed with faculties and qualities to effect its satisfaction by concurrence of others having the same want; that when, by the exercise of these faculties, he has procured a state of society, it is one of his acquisitions which he has a right to regulate and control, jointly indeed with all those who have concurred in the procurement, whom he cannot exclude from its use or direction more than they him." --Thomas Jefferson to Pierre Samuel Dupont de Nemours, 1816. ME 14:487

"We exist, and are quoted as standing proofs that a government, so modeled as to rest continually on the will of the whole society, is a practicable government." --Thomas Jefferson to Richard Rush, 1820. ME 15:284

Though President Kennedy famously said this in reference to the space program, its relevance extends to all areas of our national endeavors...



“We set sail on this new sea because there is new knowledge to be gained, and new rights to be won, and they must be won and used for the progress of all people” *Pres. John F. Kennedy, Sept. 12, 1962, Rice University, Houston*



Hugh Sidey records the narration for the companion PBS documentary series "The American President." Below, he reflects on more than four decades covering the White House for *Time* magazine, including the presidencies of Truman, Eisenhower and the eight chief executives pictured with him to the right.

A Personal Journey by Hugh Sidey

John Kennedy sat forward to listen closely to his space experts. They told him it would cost \$40 billion (a huge sum then) and take ten years, and they could not guarantee that the United States would beat the Soviet Union to the moon. Kennedy grimaced, ran his fingers through his hair, then leaned back in his chair in the Cabinet Room. He wanted Americans on the moon—and first. "I want some answers," he told the small group of aides. "Ask the janitor over there if you have to. But I want to know how and when we can get to the moon."

I thought to myself, as I watched and listened to this restless young man of privilege and daring on that April evening in 1961, that with a few words he had launched the nation on a great adventure. And it must have been the same with the visionary Thomas Jefferson, who doubled the size of the United States with the Louisiana Purchase; and the prairie lawyer Abraham Lincoln, who marshaled the most powerful army the world had known to abolish slavery; and Theodore Roosevelt, who sent his engineers to build the Panama Canal. With vision and a free people behind them, these presidents—and the others—profoundly transformed civilization. In our time there is no more effective and powerful political office on the face of the earth.

Every one of the forty-one men who have been president has left his mark, some more positive than others. "No president wants to fail," Lyndon Johnson once protested when he was criticized about the Vietnam War. "You do the best you know how." In the midst of that tragic conflict he had won battles for better education and health care. And Richard Nixon, who would be driven from office by the Watergate scandal, had journeyed triumphantly through China, offering American friendship for the first time after twenty-five years of Chinese isolation.

The presidency, like democracy, is not an easy journey. I'm going to give the job to Nixon. JFK once grumped when things were going badly. He knew better. He gloried in "the great chess game," as he called it. That is why so many people now fight for the right to be president. I've ridden along on this historic caravan for more than forty years now. There is no more fascinating and thrilling—and often entertaining—drama that we can witness.

It is my great hope that this book and the public television series it accompanies will allow every reader and viewer to hear the voices and the bugle calls and the church bells, and then feel the excitement of these men calling their nation to the most magnificent efforts in war and peace that humankind has ever known.



With Kennedy



With Johnson



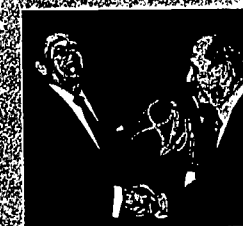
With Nixon



With Ford



With Carter



With Reagan



With Bush



With Clinton

FOREWORD

Stephen Skowronek
Yale University

The *American President* invites readers to rethink presidential history and reconsider the men who have held America's top leadership position. The book draws us into the history with an extraordinary collection of photographic and pictorial images, the most comprehensive visual accounting of the principal characters and their environs ever assembled in a single volume. But I would like to draw particular attention to the narrative supported by this artwork. These stunning images are arrayed in the service of an innovative approach to the subject matter. The arrangement and presentation of the material allow us to see familiar figures afresh and to gain new insight into this most enigmatic of institutions.

Familiar as it is, the American presidency has never been easy to understand. The institution has a protean character that defies fixed descriptions and settled explanations. At one moment, it disappoints; at the next, it astonishes. Its history is riddled with eminence and embarrassment, profanity and paralysis. ~~As each incumbent brings something different to the job, each administration reveals some feature of the position scarcely intimated in the experience of his immediate predecessors.~~

Writing about an office so mutable and unpredictable is one of the great challenges of political analysis, and no single response has proved entirely satisfactory. But if the presidency does not admit of a definitive history, it does encourage experimentation with different perspectives that might capture one or another of its many aspects. Consider the two most prominently displayed in the literature.

The first approach, "the men and their times," has long been the perspective of choice among biographers and historians. Studies of this sort show us the unique ways in which personality and circumstance interact within the presidential office to determine the fate of particular administrations. Chronological histories of the presidents written from this point of view indicate as well how rare it is for the critical elements to combine in just the right way. The great success stories—George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt—are few and far between, and they stand out starkly against the long progression of lesser lights. For those attuned to the frustrations and shortfalls of recent incumbents, these chronological histories are especially instructive. They suggest that our contemporary experience is very much the normal state of affairs in American

government. The natural inclination to identify the travails of the sitting president with problems in the governmental system itself is tempered by this perspective on the past, as is the yearning for a leader who will "make the system work." And yet, important as it is to understand the frustration of presidents as part and parcel of the way our system works, this insight will take us only so far. Indeed, for anyone interested in general attributes of the presidential office, a chronological analysis of the struggles of individual characters in particular contexts will prove quite limited. Even those paragons who reached the commanding heights of authority and accomplishment appear fixed in place by this perspective, limited in what they can teach others by the idiosyncrasies of personality and circumstance.

In recent years, an alternative perspective has taken hold that directs our attention more specifically to the institutional development of the presidential office. Studies written from this point of view remind us that though each of our presidents has held the same constitutional position, the governing norms and practical operations of that office have changed over time in rather dramatic ways. Instead of discussing presidential history administration by administration, works on the development of the office typically consider several administrations together in broadly defined eras: the early national period of the founding generation of presidents, the "party period" of the nineteenth-century presidency, and the period of the "modern presidency," ushered in by the New Deal and World War II. Within each of these periods we see a group of presidents who shared similar political resources, technological capacities, and institutional supports, and the coherence of the office can be discerned in reference to common assumptions and expectations about the exercise of power. From this perspective, the key distinctions to be drawn among presidents are not between the "greats" and the lesser lights but between those of one period and the next, as each group is seen to inhabit a very different institution.

This more schematic rendering of presidential history facilitates generalizations about the office, but note that these are generalizations of a particular kind. While similarities among presidents within each period are fairly easy to spot, similarities among presidents in different periods tend to get filtered out. Indeed, when the "modern presidency" is understood as an institution different in kind from all prior

WHITE HOUSE

Public Papers of the Presidents
Public Papers of the Presidents
October 12, 1999

This is a fitting thing for us to do in the **White House**, because innovations in communication and technology are a very important part of the history of this old place. In 1858 the first transatlantic telegraph transmission was received here in a message that Queen Victoria sent to President Buchanan. Later, the first telephone in Washington, DC, was located in a room upstairs, and we now have a replica of that telephone in the same room upstairs. The first mobile phone call to the Moon was made here by President Nixon 30 years ago. Even these Millennium Evenings have made their own history. This is where we held the first-ever cybercast at the **White House**.

Public Papers of the Presidents
Public Papers of the Presidents
July 7, 1995

I want to say, too, that we thought that we ought to have this ceremony in the East Room. This has always been the people's room.

Many of you know that it was in this room that Abigail Adams used to dry the family laundry when the room was nothing more than a brick shell. You may not know that the great explorer Meriwether Lewis set up camp here, surrounded by canvas tarps, books, and hunting rifles in the day when he was Thomas Jefferson's secretary. John Quincy Adams frequently would come here to watch the Sun rise after he finished his early morning swim in the Potomac.

These portraits, as has already been said, will be seen by millions of Americans who visit here, reminding them of what these ~~two~~ great Americans stood for and for what they have done to strengthen our country. The portraits in the White House are more than likenesses. They tell the story of the promise of one American life and, in so doing, the promise of all American life. They offer a lesson, an example, a challenge for every American to live up to the responsibilities of citizenship.

Next is what the series does →
Public Papers of the Presidents
Public Papers of the Presidents
July 28, 1999

This country has been around a long time because we have remained faithful to our ideals, but forever young and open to change. I don't want to conduct a **tour of the White House** today, but the old house was finished in 1800. So, on our millennial year, we will celebrate the 200th birthday of the White House. The painting of George Washington to my left, to your right, was painted by Gilbert Stuart in 1797 and purchased for the then enormous sum of \$ 500, for the

White House. It is priceless today.

But it's worth remembering how important it is to keep democracy alive, that in 1814, when we were in the last throes of the War of 1812 and the British were coming up the Potomac, the President of the United States, James Madison -- who was the last President to be the active Commander in Chief for the Armed Forces, and so was up in Maryland, where he mistakenly thought the British would be -- at the head of an army, sent word back to his wife, Dolley, who was preparing this vast banquet -- the White House was full of food; this room was full of food -- that the British were on the way and she should get out, but no matter what, she had to take the picture of George Washington.

So Dolley Madison cut that picture out of its frame, rolled it up, and got out of the White House. The British arrived to find the empty frame, ate the food, and burned the house. [*Laughter*] But we rebuilt the house, and the picture still lives. And every time I see that picture, I think about it.

It was in this room that Thomas Jefferson met with his secretary, Merriwether Lewis, to plan the Lewis and Clark expedition -- right where you're all sitting. The place was covered with bearskins and ancient maps, and they were -- President Jefferson was in love with the geography and science, and he saw this whole thing as not only a geographical expedition, but he thought that all kinds of scientific information would be gathered along the way. So a lot of very important things have happened where you are sitting today that remind us that America is a place with great opportunities and ~~great responsibilities~~.

"The equal rights of man, and the happiness of every individual, are now acknowledged to be the only legitimate objects of government. Modern times have the signal advantage, too, of having discovered the only device by which these rights can be secured, to wit: government by the people, acting not in person, but by representatives chosen by themselves, that is to say, by every man of ripe years and sane mind, who contributes either by his purse or person to the support of his country." --Thomas Jefferson to A. Coray, 1823. ME 15:482

"Every man, and every body of men on earth, possesses the right of self-government." --Thomas Jefferson: Opinion on Residence Bill, 1790. ME 3:60

"Every nation has a right to govern itself internally under what forms it pleases, and to change these forms at its own will." --Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Pinckney, 1792. ME 9:7

"When forced to assume [self-government], we were novices in its science. Its principles and forms had entered little into our former education. We established, however, some, although not all its important principles." --Thomas Jefferson to John Cartwright, 1824. ME 16:44

The Foundation of Self-Government

"Man [is] a rational animal, endowed by nature with rights, and with an innate sense of justice; and... he [can] be restrained from wrong and protected in right, by moderate powers, confided to persons of his own choice, and held to their duties by dependence on his own will." --Thomas Jefferson to William Johnson, 1823. ME 15:441

^{society}
"~~Man is capable of living in society,~~ governing itself by laws self-imposed, and securing to its members the enjoyment of life, liberty, property, and peace." --Thomas Jefferson: Declaration and Protest of Virginia, 1825. ME 17:446

"Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question." --Thomas Jefferson: 1st Inaugural, 1801. ME 3:320

"At the formation of our government, many had formed their political opinions on European writings and practices, believing the experience of old countries, and especially of England, abusive as it was, to be a safer guide than mere theory. The doctrines of Europe were, that men in numerous associations cannot be restrained within the limits of order and justice, but by forces physical and moral, wielded over them by authorities independent of their will. Hence their organization of kings, hereditary nobles, and priests." --Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson

14.The advertisement is the most truthful part of a newspaper.

15.When angry, count ten before you speak; if very angry, an hundred.

16.No man will ever bring out of the Presidency the reputation which carries him into it...To myself, personally, it brings nothing but increasing drudgery and daily loss of friends.

17.It is neither wealth nor splendor, but tranquility and occupation, which give happiness.

18.The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers, and be capable of reading them.

19.Whenever the people are well informed, they can be trusted with their own government; that whenever things get so far wrong as to attract their notice, they may be relied on to set them to rights.

20.The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions that I wish it to be always kept alive.

21.Information is the currency of democracy.

22.Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press and that cannot be limited without being lost.

23.I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past.

24.This institution will be based upon the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate any error so long as reason is left free to combat it. - on the University of Virginia

25.We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. - from the US Declaration of Independence

26.We hold these truths to be sacred and undeniable; that all men are created equal and independent, that from that equal creation they derive rights inherent and inalienable, among which are the preservation of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. - from the first draft of the US Declaration of Independence