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Springfield

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JEFFERSON JACKSON SPEECH

Two men in the history of the Democratic Party tower over all the others: Jefferson, the philosopher-statesman, and Jackson, the people's President. Together they gave the party its unique character as the instrument of all the American people. Jefferson, in framing the Declaration of Independence, was the first to replace property with the pursuit of happiness in the classic trinity of human rights. Our Party has been true to this tradition -- never have we put property rights ahead of human rights.

Jackson brought the lively spirit of the West to Washington and fought the bankers and other vested interests of his day.

Both were viciously attacked. American politics early established the tradition that statesmen are without honor in their own time. Since their day, vilification and calumny have been the stock in trade of those who would delude the people and deprive them of their rights.

Biddle,
For instance, Nicholas ~~xxxxxx~~, a noted Philadelphia banker, said of the Jackson Administration:

"For the last few years the Executive power of the Government has been wielded by a mere gang of banditte. I know these people perfectly... and in my deliberate judgment, there is not on the face of the earth a more profligate crew.... It cannot be that our free nation can long endure the vulgar dominion of ignorance and profligacy."

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Attacks on Jefferson:

Accused of being "an athiest, a mammoth infidel,"
a drunkard, an anarchist, and a libertine. (Independent
Chronicle, March 13, 1803.)

Fisher Ames wrote of his "irreligion, wild philosophy
and gimerackery in politics."

Timothy Pickering wrote:

"I am disgusted with the men who now rule and with their
measures. At some manifestations of their malignancy, I am
shocked. The cowardly wretch at their head, while, like a
Parisian revolutionary monster prating about humanity, would
feel an infernal pleasure in the utter destruction of his
opponents. We have too long witnessed his general turpitude,
his cruel removals of faithful officers, and the substitution
of corruption and looseness for integrity and worth."

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We know today that such expletives are the price of progressivism. Democracy is no creed for do-nothings and stand-patters or for those who want to live quietly, untroubled by issues or evils. Democracy is a creed for those that know such an existence is a delusion; that there are always new issues to be faced; and that we must keep striving for a better society.

Look at how far we have come in the last 150 years. We have added to the freedoms of speech and religion, for which our fathers fought, the freedoms from want and fear. We have discovered that the government, by positive action, can expand the freedoms and opportunities of its citizens. Everyone can now look forward to a good education. Similarly he should be able to look forward to a productive job, to a long and healthy life, and to an old-age free from poverty and the almshouse. The welfare state, despite the epithets hurled at it, can provide these assurances.

The New Deal and Fair Deal blazed the trail in social security and social welfare. From the Republicans came no initiative -- only dire predictions of the impending downfall of the Republic. Now that we have proven ~~their~~ our success, they follow in our footsteps -- twenty years behind and with their faces firmly set on the past!

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They follow along with the established parts of our program not because of any sudden concern for the welfare of the people but because of certain incontrovertible facts:

1. In spite of the burden of war and reconstruction we are turning out 80 percent more goods and services than in 1939.
2. In spite of high prices and higher taxes, annual income per person, in real terms, has increased by 40 percent.
3. In spite of a shortage of farm labor, farm productivity has increase by 25 percent and farm income by 50 percent since 1939.
4. In spite of high corportate taxes, profits after taxes and allowing for price increases, are more than twice as high as they were in 1939.

We cannot be satisfied or complacent about this record. But we can be proud of it.

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Our economic prosperity is ~~the only kind of~~ conducive to another kind of freedom: freedom of opportunity and free enterprise. Only when conditions are healthy can small businesses thrive; and small business is the lifeblood of our free enterprise system.

Not only have our freedoms been increased, but our rights are more real.

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Another mark of our progress is the increasing number of people who are participating in government. Long ago property restrictions were removed from the right to vote. Women's suffrage was granted in 1920. Increasingly, though slowly, restrictions on minority groups are being lifted.

Congressional mail, while not a direct determinant of policy, is a reflection of public interest, and it has mounted incredibly over the last ten years. If a Congressman does not know how his constituents feel on important issues these days, it is not because they don't tell him. Moreover, as recent primary results have indicated, there is a growing independence in political thinking.

What has been the secret of our progress? The answer is simple. We have never been content to stand still, never satisfied that we could not do better. We have not listened to the timid souls who cried "thus far, and no farther." We have thwarted ~~those~~ the reactionaries who think that the hands of a clock can only move backward. We have overcome temporary setbacks, never losing sight of our goals. We have even managed to carry along the dead weight of people who were entirely wrapped up in personal affairs and indifferent to the future of the country, though this has been the biggest

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We can and will continue our progress. I am sure of that.

Nevertheless, we are threatened by the greatest danger in our history: communism. But awareness of this threat should not cause alarm. The facts indicate that it is being met.

In France and Italy, postwar relief frustrated the hopes of the Communists by providing food and basic necessities. Personal giving on a large scale proved that America's hearts were still warm.

The Truman Doctrine proclaimed our responsibility to protect free peoples everywhere and military aid to Greece and Turkey kept two more countries from being gobbled up.

The Marshall Plan brought new hope to the impoverished peoples of Europe, pointing the way to economic strength.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is planning for the common defense and strengthening the unity of the free world.

The United Nations is actively ~~sapporting~~ fighting aggression in Korea. Under its auspices, Israel has become an independent state and a general middle eastern war has been avoided. It is making important, though unspectacular progress through UNESCO, World Health Organization and

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Except for China, Communism has not made a single major advance since the Iron Curtain fell. The free world is steadily growing stronger.

Now, as never before, the world is ripe for democracy. Asia, Africa, and the Middle East have stirred and are throwing off the restraints of despotism and the shackles of outworn creeds. Their peoples too are demanding the unalienable rights of man: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Mindful of our heritage, we should rejoice at their awakening and spare no opportunity to welcome them into the family of democratic nations. They need our help: political, economic, and technical and we should not hesitate to give them the benefits of our experience and advice.

Point 4, the "bold new program" of President Truman is a first step in our welcome and one in keeping with our best traditions. It merits our wholehearted support. Never before has such a modest program had such telling results. One man, Horace Holmes, has showed thousands of Indians how to increase their agricultural production and given them for the first time both adequacy for the present and hope for the future. His story is being repeated throughout the less fortunate areas of the world. Who can hear it without a thrill of pride?

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In these countries our enemy is not so much communism as it is the status quo. The bitter fruit of communism is already notorious and will not be accepted except as a last resort. The status quo -- poverty, insult, and exploitation -- is the breeding ground for revolution and violence which the unscrupulous plotters of the Kremlin could turn to their own use.

We cannot afford to be deluded into tacit or open support of reactionary regimes in the name of "security," "anti-communism," or "military necessity." To do so is to build not on the rock of freedom but on the quicksand of unrest and bitterness. We cannot stand athwart the path of progress. Democracy cannot be secured by preaching, it must be practiced; we cannot lead by coercion, but by example.

The menace to democracy at home is far more insidious than the menace abroad. Fear of the people is the basic element in this attack. This fear strikes at the very root of all that we hold dear. Yet the whole course of American history is a denial of this fear. Jefferson's famous proclamations; Jackson's administration; the New England town meeting and the frontier cooperation in danger and law enforcement are ~~xxxxxxxx~~ a vital part of our tradition. Fear of the people has never been justified in America; it has been used only ~~xxx~~ as a cloak for the privileged to maintain themselves in power.

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Today, even as we affirm and symbolize the sovereignty of the people, we find ominous trends. Restrictions on freedom of thought and action are increasing. The moral paralysis of prejudice stubbornly retains its hold. (we may well ask ourselves what Jefferson, who wrote "all men are created equal" and who looked forward to the day when, as he put it, the laws would restrain any man who would "commit aggression on the equal rights of another." would say of this.)

How long can we remain at the helm of the free world when we embrace such tyrannical and stifling precepts as guilt by association and when the committees and members of Congress slander, lie, or irresponsibly accuse innocent men who have neither warning nor recourse? (And who, increasingly, are presumed guilty until they have proved their innocence.)

This hysterical approach to the problem of communism endangers our values and our free institutions. What would be said today of a man who declared that:

"If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

(Jefferson, First Inaugural address)

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Jefferson was entirely right! We must rely on reason, not repression, to blunt the weapons of communism. -- But I want to add right here that I renew Jefferson's appeal because I feel so profoundly about combatting communism, not because I am blind to its menace. But McCarthyism, McCarranism, and MacArthurism only create disunity and mistrust. They get people so confused that they spy on their next-door neighbors or worry about their grocers while the real communists make capital of the situation by running down our democracy.

Its a good idea to remember this, too. Long before the present hue and cry started, President Truman's loyalty program was weeding out communists in the government. Long before it started, the FBI was planting agents in communist cells. Long before it started, liberal organizations were fighting and eliminating the communists. Long before it started, the Justice Department was preparing the case that had communist leaders sent to jail.

Lets also remember that communism hasn't a chance to gain a toehold in a prosperous economy. Communism was never at a lower ebb in this country.

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Far more serious domestically than the danger of communism is the cancer of prejudice. We have pussyfooted on this for too long. The Democratic Party, the party of the people, should take a forthright stand in ~~xxxxxxx~~ favor of an extensive program to ~~xxxxxx~~ scotch this evil as far as it is legislatively possible. We have already committed ourselves to the program; we need to couple it with a firm commitment to change the Senate rules so that enactment of the program will be possible.

I repeat, we must insist on this. We cannot renege or retreat in the so-called interest of "harmony." We are promoting the brotherhood ~~of~~ and harmony of mankind; not the brotherhood of a declining wing of the party. To my friends who urge this, ~~xxxxxxx~~, I say if this is the harmony you desire, the Democratic Party should prepare itself for a long period of harmony carefully protected by being out of power and in a dwindling political minority.

Reform of the Senate rules is necessary for more than the sake of civil rights alone. No one who has served in that body can fail to be distressed at the haphazard and piecemeal way it deals with legislation. We cannot afford to drone on for months on extraneous and unimportant matters, knowing only from day to day what the legislative program will be. Unfortunately, we still approximate Jefferson's description of the Continental

Congress:

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Democracy must go on the offensive. We must carry forward the principles of Jefferson and Jackson and apply them in our time.

What is needed:

1. An accessible and open government, responsive to the will of the people. Underground lobbyists and behind the scenes influence or pressure should have no place in its operations. We need no "third house of Congress" or five-percenters. Public business should be conducted in public places, under the public eye.

2. Better election practices. The astronomical sums now being spent on elections make it impossible to campaign without money. Elections are not being won, they are being bought. At least \$10 million was spent to elect the 82nd Congress. We need to use our ~~xxxxxxxx~~ communications facilities -- radio, newspapers, television -- to bring them ~~xxx~~ issues before the public without these tremendous expenditures.

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3. A code of ethics for public office. Prompt and resolute punishment of bribers and grafters; protection against raw deals; elimination of "influence." Party candidates, on all levels, should be above suspicion.

4. Greater participation in public affairs. The do-nothings are the grumblers. Voting in general elections in this country is the lowest in any of the democracies. "Bad politicians are elected by good citizens -- who don't vote." We have a party responsibility to get out the vote, and to get more people interested in party activities, the lifeblood of politics and government.

5. Enhanced freedom of thought and expression. We need to extend the protections of the bill of rights to victims of the character assassins. We must defy the thought controllers by resolutely and fearlessly expressing ourselves.

6. Rebirth of the spirit of local initiative. This is a natural consequence of freedom of thought and participation in public affairs. It should be complemented by an orientation in the Federal Government to have things handled on the local level. Agricultural extension programs and TVA are good examples.

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7. Equal rights for all; tolerance and respect for minorities.

8. An expanding economy with equal opportunity and basic security for all -- the "welfare state."

We can be confident of the future because we all share these ideals. The forward march of democracy may be stayed temporarily, but it cannot be halted. As we move ahead, three essentials remain paramount:

1. Human dignity and self-respect.
2. Emphasis on the things that unite rather than those that divide.
3. Constant progress despite constant opposition.



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