

Text of President Roosevelt's Jackson Day Address

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9 (U.P.)—The text of President Roosevelt's Jackson Day dinner message Saturday follows:

Last night I was thinking about this gathering, about our Democratic party, and what we ought to do to help it. I decided to go right to headquarters. So I put in a radio call for Gen. Andrew Jackson.

"Young fellow," he said to me, "I don't know what's bothering you."

"General," said I, "you see it's about the Democratic party. I'm very fond of it myself, but the Republicans are saying it's rotting away like a pugwog's tail, and some of our fellows are worried. Is there anything we ought to do?"

"Son," replied the General, "my eyes are getting old and I'm some distance away, but from what I can see from here the only trouble with your fellows is that they've been feeding too well and they scare easily."

"Young fellow, do you realize that if you live out the term you now have, you'll be the only President of any party who's had two full terms with a majority of his own party in both the House and the Senate all the time, since—why, son, since James Monroe—and he left the White House nearly 114 years ago!"

"Woodrow Wilson didn't have majorities as you have now when he first came into office."

"And, as for me, son, my Democrats kicked old Nick Biddle when we didn't have a majority in the Senate and had few votes to spare in the House. Tell your fellows to learn to count. Your Democrats today get scared and let the other fellows tell you you've lost an election just because you don't have majorities so big that you can go to sleep without sentries."

LET'S BE REALISTIC'

I am passing on the advice of Old Hickory.

But despite the General's optimism, I think this is a good time for the Democratic Party to "examine its conscience" to think over most seriously what we have done, what we should not have done, what we have left undone that we should have done.

Let us start by being realistic.

From 1920 on, the Republican Party fed too well and got fat and lazy. It gave the American people a "do-nothing" Government for which they suffered through the terrible days. That was one reason why in 1932 they turned to the Democratic Party. The other reason was that the Democratic Party, during that summer and autumn, had a program of action and sounded sincere.

In the election of 1936 the Republican Party looked like a straddle-bug. The Democratic Party, however, was carrying out its pledges of 1932 and was still fighting. Hence the overwhelming victory of 1936.

RECALLS 1834 LETTER

Millions who had never been Democrats gave the power in 1932, and again in 1936, to get certain things done. And our party can continue in power only so long as it can, as a party, get done those things which non-Democrats, as well as Democrats, put it in power to do.

In 1834, when Jackson was President, a shrewd observer wrote a letter which we ought to read and take to heart today. He said in it:

"There are two parties here—one which would do anything to put down Jackson, and the other anything to sustain him. But there is a third party—and a very large one—which cares not a straw about who is President but who anxiously desire to see some measure of relief for the country, let it operate against or in favor of whom it may."

Today, as in Jackson's day, a majority of the people want only a President who honestly cares for them and a party anxiously and unitedly seeking a way to serve them without regard to personal or political fortunes.

Less than half of the voters of America are Democrats. Less than half are Republicans. But more than half of the voters for the Democratic Party whenever the Democratic Party is for the majority of the people.

G. O. P. GAINS GOOD

I welcome the return of the Republican Party to a position where it can no longer excuse itself for not having a program on the ground that it has too few votes.

During recent years Republican impotence has caused powerful interests, opposed to genuine democracy, to push their way into the Democratic party, hoping to paralyze it by dividing its councils.

The first effect of the gains made by the Republican Party in the recent elections should be to restore to it the open allegiance of those who entered our primaries and party conventions with deliberate intent to destroy our party's unity and effectiveness.

The second effect on these gains should be to bring us real Democrats together and to line up with us those from other parties, those who belong to no party at all, who also preach the liberal gospel, so that, firmly allied, we may continue a common constructive service to the people of the country.

For if these independent voters have the conviction that the Demo-

cratic party will remain a liberal party, they will be the first to perceive what I have said now, namely: That the Republican leadership, conservative at heart, will still seek to混 in the hare and hunt with the hounds, talking for balanced budgets out of one side of its mouth and for opportunist raids on the Treasury out of the other.

BRANDS 'OPPORTUNISTS'

Opportunists they have been—opportunists they still are: See how they have tried to shuffle New Deal cards.

The Republican first New Deal joyfully went along with our New Deal—until we were getting them out of the spot and keeping them out of bankruptcy—or worse.

The Republican second New Deal said, "Support New Deal objectives but oppose legislation to put them into effect."

The Republican third New Deal—1938 model—issued this order:

"Get for the voters of your district all the New Deal benefits, promise them bigger and better benefits—any old kind that any old group asks for—but never mention how those benefits will be paid for."

Those tactics are wrong even for a party out of power, and if continued for another two years, they can hardly give our voters any real confidence in the Republican Party.

We Democrats, however, have to act as a party in power. And we cannot hold the confidence of the people if we cannot avoid wrangling except by agreeing to sit still and do nothing.

RAPS CONSERVATIVES

There are nominal Democrats who, as a matter of principle, are convinced that our party should be a conservative party—a Democratic tweedle-dum to a Republican tweedle-dee—it is, on the whole, better that the issue be drawn within the party, that the fight be fought out and that if the tweedle-dums are defeated, they join the tweedle-dees.

But the prospects of such a fight are far more remote than members of the opposition would have you believe.

The people of the country are not deceived when honest debate and an honest effort to work things out for the good of the country are labeled dissension and bad blood by those outside of the party whose wish is father to the thought. They hate to admit it, but the fact remains that such debate over the last six years has borne six crops of good fruit.

If we deliver in full on our contract to the American people, we never need fear the Republican Party so long as it commands the support of—in fact, is down underneath actually directed by—the same people who have owned it for several generations.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today in that analyzing they are less and less influenced by the red fire and the hard cedar ballyhoo of newspaper owners or political orators who adhere to the practices of a century ago.

Yet we have learned to go behind the headlines and behind the gaudy realities in order to analyze and reanalyze, using our own thinking processes and not somebody else's to make up our own minds.

Jackson and the party as he led it, delivered on the barrel-head.

Up to the very last he delivered for the common people he believed in, and for the national unity which he did so much to create.

On his very last day in the White House he vetoed a bill supported by many of his own party—a bill which surrendered to the states and to 1000 warring, petty local interests the Federal Government's responsibility for husbanding the surplus funds in the Federal Treasury for the benefit of the whole nation.

Alongside this statement in my manuscript I note the letters N. B.—which in dead Latin stand for "note bene," or in live English, "Take good notice."

Jackson's successor, reputedly a smart politician, could not keep the Democratic Party in power because he and they drifted from principles to politics. He and they were turned at the next national election in 1840, because they failed to keep the pork barrel locked up in the cellar and because they failed to deliver what they had promised to anyone except themselves.

And again my manuscript bids me say "N. B.—Take good notice."

FOOLING CONDEMNED

You remember what Abraham Lincoln said about fooling the people. That was in the 1860's. I should say that no wise political leader in 1936 will take it as a safe working rule that you can fool many of the people any of the time.

This new generation, since the war believes more than did its father in the precept "I am my brother's keeper." It believes in realities, economic and spiritual realities, where its fathers did not bother much to go beneath catchwords.

And it is national in its outlook.

Andrew Jackson's true democracy comes back to life with the next real Democrat, Abraham Lincoln. He, incidentally, was chosen President only by the founding of a new party.

Let me ask two obvious questions. Does anyone maintain that the Democrat Party from 1840 to 1876 was by any wild stretch of the imagination the party of Jefferson or Jackson? To claim that is absurd.

Does anyone maintain that the Republican Party from 1863 to 1938 (with the possible exception of a few years under Theodore Roosevelt) was the party of Abraham Lincoln? To claim that is equally absurd.

ATTITUDE SHIFTS'

My casual acquaintance with political life for 25 years, and a more serious reading of prior history, lead me to observe that the American people have greatly changed in their attitude toward government in this our generation.

We take our politics less seriously. We take our government more seriously.

In the old days, an ideal candidate, whom smart managers always looked for, was, as someone has described a former President, a man with a protective reputation, an obvious but unaltruistic integrity . . . a complete absence of plan or even of thought." It might be well for both parties in considering their candidates for President and Vice-President to apply that formula to the dozens who, like Barkis, seem, even at this moment, to be very, very willing.

In the old days, for the bulk of the population, the elections were only a seasonal diversion—a circus with an oratorical sideshow—with the real job done by quiet economic and social—perhaps I should say back-room—pressures behind the scenes.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them—whether in the executive or the legislative or the judicial branches of the Government—with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.