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### Address in Commemoration of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson

Max S. Baucus

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JJ Speech 13
Feb 1976

## AN ADDRESS BY MAX BAUCUS IN COMMEMORATION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON AND ANDREW JACKSON

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO SPEAK TONIGHT TO
PAY HOMAGE TO TWO GIANTS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC
PARTY -- THOMAS JEFFERSON AND ANDREW JACSON. I WOULD LIKE TO
FOCUS THIS EVENING FIRST ON THE SUBJECT OF POLITICS.

PERHAPS THE STRANGEST ATTITUDE IN AMERICAN LIFE IS ONE HELD BY MANY PEOPLE TOWARD POLITICS AND POLITICIANS. IT GOES SOMETHING LIKE THIS: THAT POLITICS, IN GENERAL, IS A BAD BUSINESS IN WHICH THE WORST MAN IS MOST LIKELY TO WIN OUT; YET, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POLITICAL SUCCESSOF ANY LOCAL FIGURE IS A CREDIT TO THE COMMUNITY AND A SOURCE OF PRIDE TO HIS FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS.

IN OTHER WORDS, WHEN THE POLITICIAN IS SOMEONE NOBODY KNOWS PERSONALLY, HE ASSUMES AN AIR OF EVIL -- SUCH AS THAT FOUND IN THE TRUANT OFFICER BY SCHOOL CHILDREN. BUT WHEN HE IS A FLESH AND BLOOD NEIGHBOR WITH A FRIENDLY DISPOSITION, THE STORY IS EXACTLY THE OTHER WAY AROUND.

FORTUNATELY, THIS STRANGE IDEA -- WHICH MAKES

NO SENSE AT ALL -- DOES NOT AFFECT THE REASONING OF THE MAJORITY.

STILL IT IS WIDESPREAD ENOUGH TO JUSTIFY DISCUSSION, AND CERTAINLY

OUGHT TO BE DONE AWAY WITH, IN THE INTEREST OF COMMON SENSE,

IF FOR NO OTHER REASON.

OF COURSE THERE ARE UNSCRUPULOUS MEN IN POLITICS
TODAY, JUST AS THERE ARE UNSCRUPULOUS DOCTORS, SCHOOL TEACHERS,
ETC. NO DOUBT, THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN VILLAINY IN POLITICSFROM
THE BEGINNING OF TIME. BUT THEN, HAS THERE NOT ALSO BEEN VILLAINY
IN ALL THE OTHER FIELDS? DESPITE ASSOCIATION WITH MATTERS OF FINANCE
AND PRIVILEGE, POLITICS HAS NEVER EVEN COME CLOSE TO CORNERING
THE MARKET ON WICKNEDNESS. AND IF WE ARE TO LOOK CLOSELY AT
THE TURTH OF THE MATTER, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT OUR GREATEST
STATESMEN HAVE ALSO BEEN, IN MOST CASES, OUR GREATEST POLITICIANS.

SO IT WAS WITH THE MEN WE HONOR TODAY, THOMAS

JEFFERSON AND ANDREW JACKSON; TWO OF OUR MIGHTIEST STATESMEN

AND -- LET IT NOT BE FORGOTTEN -- TWO OF THE OUTSTANDING POLITICIANS

IN WORLD HISTORY. WITH REMARKABLE SKILL THEY GUIDED THE AMERICAN

SHIP OF STATE THROUGH SIXTEEN YEARS OF THE GREATEST NATIONAL

AND INTERNATIONAL TURMOIL. AND ANYONE WHO THINKS THIS WAS MANAGED

WITHOUT THE PRACTICE OF POLITICAL MANIPULATION, KNOWS NOTHING

EITHER OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES NOR OF THE MEN INVOLVED.

A POLITICAL LEADER HAS TO BE ABLE TO ATTRACT
THE SUPPORT OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF PEOPLE. HE STANDS FOR ONE
THING IN THE EYES OF SOME AND ANOTHER THING IN THE EYES OF OTHERS.
DOES THIS IMPLY DISHONESTY? CERTAINLY NOT, FOR SELDOM ARE ALL
MEN CONCERNED WITH THE SAME ISSUE.

NOW, POLITICIANS DID'NT INVENT THIS APPROACH.

ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS THE SAME ONE FOLLOWED BY ALL SENSIBLE

PEOPLE WITH REGARD TO PERSONAL RELATIONS IN WHICH NO ONE SAYS

EXACTLY HOW HE FEELS TO ALL HIS ACQUAINTANCES ALL OF THE TIME

ABOUT EVERY BLESSED THING UNDER THE SUN. IT IS THE SAME POLICY

FOLLOWED BY BUSINESSMEN IN THE CONDUCT OF THEIR BUSINESS AFFAIRS.

IT IS THE SAME ONE GENERALLY FOLLOWED BY MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL AND DOCTORS AND LAWYERS AND JUST ABOUT EVERYONE ELSE IN THE DISCUSSION OF PERSONAL AND PUBLIC MATTERS. IN MY OPINION, IT IS A GOOD THING THAT THIS IS THE WAY IT IS, FOR CERTAINLY THERE IS MUCH TO BE SAID FOR COMMON, EVERYDAY GARDEN-VARIETY DIPLOMACY. AND IT WAS IN THIS RESPECT -- THE MASTERY OF POLITICAL DOPLOMACY -- AT WHICH BOTH THOMAS JEFFERSON AND ANDREW JACKSON WERE THE GIANTS OF 19TH CENTURY POLITICS.

WHEN JEFFERSON RAN FOR THE PRESIDENCY IN 1800,
THE NATION STOOD FACED WITH SEVERAL MAJOR PROBLEMS. THESE INCLUDED
EASTERN DOMINATION OF WESTERN INTERESTS IN BOTH FINANCIAL AND
POLITICAL MATTERS; AN UNDECLARED NAVAL WAR WITH FRANCE; FOREIGN
OCCUPATION OF NEW ORLEANS AND THE SURROUNDING AREA, AND ECONOMIC
INEQUALITY IMPOSED BY NUMEROUS FEDERALIST-SPONSORED PERMANENT
MONOPOLIES.

JEFFERSON'S ELECTION APPEARED TO PROMISE A CHANGE IN ALL THESE MATTERS. BUT CHANGE IS NOT BROUGHT ABOUT AT THE BALLOT BOX. ALL A POPULAR VOTE PROVIDES IS THE DEMAND FOR CHANGE AND IT IS UP TO THE ELECTED PARTY TO MEET THE DEMAND WITHOUT UPSETTING THE APPLE CART.

JEFFERSON KNEW THIS AND MOVED CAREFULLY, BIDDING FOR FEDERALIST SUPPORT FOR TIME TO TIME THROUGH CONSERVATIVE GESTURES; CAUTIOUSLY CARVING AWAY AT THE PATTERN OF ENTRENCHED PRIVILEGE IN SUCHA WAY ASNOT TO AROUSE GENERAL ALARM; MODIFYING A PLAN HERE, EXPANDING APLAN THERE, AND STRIKING OUT BOLDLY ON OCCASION WHEN IT APPEARED THE PEOPLE WERE READYFOR SUCH A MOVE. NONE BUT AN EXPERT POLITICIAN COLD HAVE DONE SO WELL IN SUCH MATTERS.

SLOWLY, THE OPPOSITION GAVE WAY AS MORE AND MORE PEOPLE BEGAN TO LEAVE THE FEDERALIST CAUSE AND JOIN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. UNDER JEFFERSON'S GUIDANCE, VOTING RIGHTS WERE BROADENED. THIS STRENGTHENED THE POLITICAL POSITION OF THE WEST, THEREBY IMPROVING ITS CHANCE FOR PROSPERITY AND LOOSENING EASTERN CONTROL ON THE NATIONAL ECONOMY.

NONE OF THIS WAS DONE WITHOUT POLITICAL MANEUVERING ON A GRAND SCALE. YET, DESPITE POLITICAL BRILLIANCE, THERE IS NO INSTANT REMEDY FOR ECONOMIC TROUBLES. IT THEREFORE WAS LEFT TO JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION TO RIGHT THE NATION'S WRONGS IN THE RESPECT, BY CASTING OUT ECONOMIC ROYALTY FROM OUR NATIONAL TRADITION. AND ONCE THE FEDERALIST PERMANENT MONOPOLIES WERE STRICKEN BY STERN JACKSONIAN WILL, FREE ENTERPRISE BEGAN TO FLOURISH IN A MANNER THAT WAS SOON TO MARK OUR NATION FOR GREATNESS IN THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERICAL FIELDS.

WAS THERE POLITICAL DOPLOMACY IN ANDREW JACKSON'S MAKEUP? THERE WAS, INDEED, THOUGH JACKSON HID IT WELL BEHIND A FIERY PERSONALITY.

HE WAS DIPLOMAT ENOUGH TO CHECK SECESSION
WITHOUT WAR; A MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENT IN ITSELF. AND THROUGHOUT
HIS TIME IN OFFICE, ONE CAN SEETHE THREAD OF DIPLOMACY IN ALL
HIS MANY AND VARIED ACTS, WEAVING TOGETHER THE FABRIC OF NATIONAL
UNITY.

FROM THE POLITICAL TALENTS OF JEFFERSON AND JACKSON, OUR YOUNG REPUBLIC DREW A MIGHTY SENSE OF STRENGTH, WHICH SERVES US STILL TODAY. FOR HERE WERE MEN-- FIRST-CLASS STATESMEN, YET UNQUESTIONABLY AND UNASHAMEDLY POLITICIANS TOO -- WORTHY OF THE LINES SET FORTH BY THE BRITISH HISTORIAN,

H.A.L. FISHER, WHO WROTE "POLITICS IS THE ART OF HUMAN HAPPINESS."

CLEARLY THIS IS THE CREED AND THE POLITICAL LEGACY

LEFT FOR US BYJEFFERSON AND JACKSON, THE GREATEST OF ALL AMERICAN

POLITICIANS.

BUT WHAT DOES THAT SUGGEST FOR US TODAY? IS POLITICS IN WASHINGTON PROVIDING HUMAN HAPPINESS? IT A WAY IT IS. UNEMPLOYMENT IS DOWN, INFLATION IS DOWN, NIXON IS OUT, AND SO ARE WE FROM VIETNAM.

I WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE YOU THIS EVENING WITH A
FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THREE ISSUES OF VITAL IMPORTANCE NOW FACING
YOUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES IN WASHINGTON -- THE ECONOMY,
OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE, AND THE PROBLEMS OF BIG GOVERNMENT.

#### **ECONOMY**

THE HEARTENING DROP IN THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE FROM 8.9 PERCENT LAST MAY TO 7.5 PERCENT LAST MONTH IS ALMOST ENTIRELY THE RESULT OF ACTION CONGRESS TOOK OVER PRESIDENT FORD'S OPPOSITION. IF WE HAD FOLLOWED HIS PLAN, THERE WOULDN'T BE ANY ECONOMIC RECOVERY. AND HE IS STILL OPPOSING US AS WE TRY TO MAKE SURE THE RECOVERY CONTINUES.

FORD'S BUDGET, FOR INSTANCE, SPELLS OUT POLICIES
THAT WOULD KEEP MORE THAN 7 MILLION PEOPLE UNEMPLOYED THROUGH
THIS YEAR, WOUDL SLOW THE ECONOMY DOWN IN 1977 AND WOULD BRING
ANOTHER RECESSION IN 1978.

THE CONGRESSIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN WHICH WE APPROVED IN THE HOUSE LAST THURSDAY, WILL PUT I.I MILLION MORE PEOPLE TO WORK THAN WOULD FORD. AND IT WILL NOT CREATE THE KIND OF INFLATIONRY

SPIRAL THAT WAS SET OFF BY PRESIDENT NIXON DURING HIS 1972 ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

FORD WANTS TO REDUCE THE MONEY AVAILABLE FOR CHILD NUTRITION, EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT. I WANT TO REDUCE THE \$19 BILLION IN UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION WE HAVE TO PAY BY REDUCING THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO CAN'T FIND WORK.

#### DEFENSE

THE DEFENSE ISSUE UNFORTUNATELY HAS BECOME A CHILDISH DEBATE BETWEEN THE TWO REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES WHOSE KINDERGARTEN ARGUMENTS OVER WHETHER THE UNITED STATES OR RUSSIA IS TOUGHER OBSCURE THE REAL PROBLEMS THAT CONCERN CONGRESS.

FIRST, IT IS IMPORTANT TO REALIZE THAT BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA HAVE THE ABILITY TO DESTROY EACH OTHER NO MATTER WHAT THE OTHER DOES. THERE IS NO AVOIDING THAT SIMPLE FACT.

THE PROBLEM BEFORE CONGRESS IS NOT WHO IS STRONGER, BUT WHERE DO OUR STRATEGIC INTERESTS LIE AROUND THE WORLD AND WHAT WE MUST DO TO GUARD THEM.

CONGRESS DECIDED LAST YEAR THAT ADDITIONAL FIGHTING IN VIETNAM WAS NOT IN OUR STRATEGIC INTEREST. THIS YEAR WE SAID MUCH THE SAME THING ABOUT ANGOLA. IN BOTH CASES, PRESIDENT FORD DISAGREED. WE THINK WE WERE RIGHT.

NO AMERICAN FAVORS A POLICYT HAT WOULD CRIPPLE
OUR MILITARY DEFENSES OR IN ANY WAYSUBJECT OUR PEOPLE TO DANGER
FROM ANOTHER NATION. CONGRESS HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN KEEPING

OUR NATION SAFE AND STRONG.

WE WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY FUNDS TO MAINTAIN THIS STRENGTH. AND WE WILL NOT FORGET THAT FREEDOM REQUIRES STRONG ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AS WELL AS THE PROTECTION OF A STRONG MILITARY.

#### **BIG GOVERNMENT**

COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE HEARTLESNESS AND INEFFICIENCY
OF THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY ARE QUITE LEGITIMATE. LETTERS FREQUENTLY
TAKE FAR TOO LONG TO BE DELIVERED. SIMILARLY, SOCIAL SECURITY
DETERMINATIONS OFTEN TAKE TOO LONG TO BE MADE.

THE MOST AGGRAVATING PART OF THE WHOLE PROBLEM,
HOWEVER, IS TO HEAR THE PRESIDENT AND HIS EXECUTIVE BRANCH OFFICIALS
BLAMING THIS ON CONGRESS. SOME PEOPLE SEEM TO FORGET THAT THE
BUREAUCRACY HAS BEEN IN CONTROL OF REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS
FOR THE LAST SEVEN YEARS.

IT IS THEIR BUREAUCRACY THAT IS OUT OF CONTROL AND IT IS THEIR INABILITY TO GOVERN EFFECTIVELY THAT IS THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM. I DON'T RECALL HEARING AS MANY COMPLAINTS WHEN HARRY TRUMAN WAS PRESIDENT OR IN THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF JOHN KENNEDY OR LYNDON JOHNSON. GOVERNMENT WORKERS THEN KNEW THEY WERE RESPONSBILE TO THE TAXPAYER.

WAYS. FIRST, WE CAN INJECT MORE DISCIPLINE INTO FEDERAL AGENCIES BY REQUIRING THEM TO SHUT DOWN OPERATIONS AT A SPECIFIED TIME UNLESS THEY CAN CONVEINCE THE CONGRESS THAT THEY ARE MEETING THEIR STATUTORY OBJECTIVES. THIS IS WHAT I SOUGHT TO DO WITH MY AMENDMENT TO THE CONSUMER PROTECTION AGENCY WHICH GAVE THAT

AGENCY 7 YEARS TO PROVE ITS WORTH. (I AM HAPPY TO ANNOUNCE THAT MY AMENDMENT PASSED LAST FALL, BUT SAD TO OBSERVE THAT IT IS STILL PENDING IN A HOUSE-SENATE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.)

SECOND, WE CAN REQUIRE FEDERAL AGENCIES TO BEGIN ZERO BUDGETING. THAT IS, TO JUSTIFY ALL EXPENSES -- NOT JUST ADDITIONAL EXPENSES. THIS IS AN APPROACH THAT SEVERAL STATES ARE TAKING AND I'VE HEARD THAT IT IS INJECTING REAL COMPETITION WITHIN AGENCIES TO COME UP WITH BETTER RPOGRAMS.

THIRD AND LAST, WE CAN AND MUST ELECT A DEMOCRAT AS PRESIDENT.

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO SPEAK BEFORE YOU THIS EVENING.