Jackson emerges from DNC stronger for future

Nominee Dukakis calls on Democrats to defeat Bush

Mae Ngai & Karega Hart

ATLANTA — Michael Dukakis won the presidential nomination at the Democratic National Convention (DNC) which took place here on July 18-22.

In his speech accepting the nomination, Dukakis called on Democrats to defeat George Bush, stressing competence and democratic values over the Reagan record of unbridled greed, racism and corruption.

Although Dukakis easily won nomination, the convention was dominated by Jesse Jackson. With over 1,200 delegates committed to him, a fighting force constituting one-third of the convention and including 900 African Americans, with a sizeable portion of Dukakis delegates sympathetic to his political positions, and bearing the mantle of the historic efforts of a long line of African Americans...

What was won at the DNC? pg. 5
Jackson delegates speak pg. 6
Commentary: The DNC, November and beyond pg. 12
Editorial: Defeat Bush, for a Democratic victory! pg. 12

Will Gorbachev succeed in his reforms?

Soviet Union embarks on path toward historic changes

Michael Lee

Mikhail Gorbachev's attempt to transform Soviet society is historic in its vision and implications. What he is trying to accomplish may be of immense benefit, not only for the Soviet people, but for the rest of the world.

The leadership conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in late June dramatically revealed the scope of the reforms begun three years ago when Gorbachev assumed office.

continued on pg. 8

continued on pg. 3

Drought & Reagan hit farmers hard

Government farm policies are failing

Merle Hansen

Contributed

The grim countdown is on for tallying up the consequences of one of the most widespread and destructive droughts in our history.

The drought touches every one of the 48 mainland states and a great deal of Canada. In many areas, much of the crop has been lost and the hay and pastures are bare. The ultimate damage is yet to be determined by the heat and amount of rain through August.

Market prices for feed grains, soybeans, oats and other commodities...
Jackson's speech inspired the entire convention with themes of jobs, justice and peace.

Jackie set tone for Democratic Convention ...

For many Jackson delegates, the convention was a forum of both pride and struggle.

continued from pg. 1

leaders who came before him in the fight for Black equality and civil rights, Jackson was the towering figure of this convention.

The DNC began with the almost certainty that not only would Dukakis be nominated, but that his chosen running mate, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, would also be nominated. Dukakis' choice of Bentsen and the way in which this decision was transmitted to Jackson signaled a campaign strategy aimed at mollifying the conservative wing of the Democratic Party — a move which was not only a slap at Jackson, but which also showed a profound lack of understanding of the historical force Jackson represents, a force fueled by the African American struggle for democracy and self-determination, and which is critical for the Democrats to win in November.

However, through the persistent struggle of Jackson, his campaign and his delegates, Dukakis and the Democratic Party were forced to make important concessions. A DNC which had begun with a distinct tilt to the right concluded having adopted 35 of the 38 platform planks Jackson wanted, pledging support to various progressive legislative bills, reforming party rules for primary elections to be more democratic, and making room for Jackson supporters at all levels of the party structure and within the fall presidential campaign. (See separate article, p. 5)

Dukakis' speech accepting the nomination was more liberal than the themes he had struck during the primaries, as he emphasized issues of major concern to working people — such as homeless-
People across the land want end

Jesse Jackson is forging a new democratic majority which is critical for the Democrats to win in November.

continued from pg. 3

ness, pay equity for women, jobs and job training, education and fighting drugs.

'We've never been here before'

For many Jackson delegates the DNC was a forum of both pride and struggle; a bitter-sweet but also profound learning experience, and a victory against the odds.

Jackson’s supporters came to Atlanta with an acute sense of the historic nature of their achievement. Little white signs in the Jackson campaign offices and command trailer proclaimed, “We’ve never been here before.” Twenty-four years ago, Fannie Lou Hamer and the Black delegation of the Mississippi Freedom Democrats were locked out of the DNC in Atlantic City, New Jersey, as they protested the seating of the all-white Mississippi delegation. In 1988 at the first Democratic Convention in the deep South, the home of slavery, Jesse Jackson would become the first major Black candidate to place his name into nomination for the Presidency of the United States, backed by seven million popular votes and 1,218 delegate votes cast on nomination night. Jackson reminded people that for all that has been won so far, he and his supporters “are really standing on someone else’s shoulders,” as he introduced Rosa Parks, “Mother of the Civil Rights Movement.”

On Tuesday night, when Jackson’s five sons and daughters introduced their father with optimism, grace and dignity, many delegates were reminded of the importance of family and of Jesse and Jacqueline Jackson’s great achievement in raising such a family. Jackson’s speech moved the entire convention and millions of people across the country.

On Wednesday night, however, many Jackson delegates were angered when nine states that Jackson had won in the primaries, from Alaska to Alabama to Michigan, were taken by Dukakis on the convention floor because of the superdelegate votes and other unfair rules regarding delegate allocation.

And, on Thursday night, Jackson forces kept the pressure on Bentsen, from the New York delegation’s resolution calling on him to support the party platform (which opposes aid to “irregular forces” in Central America and Southern Africa), to the “no contra aid” and “re-nounce Savimbi!” signs on the convention floor. Hundreds of delegates also wore black
What was won

Through persistent struggle before and during the Atlanta convention, the Jackson campaign won important concessions from Dukakis and the Democratic leadership.

Statehood for the District of Columbia: The Jackson campaign won a pledge of support for a Washington, D.C., statehood bill (H.R. 51), which would divide D.C. into two areas. Washington, D.C., would be the federal enclave with the main government buildings and monuments. The remaining land and communities would become the state of New Columbia. Statehood would "mend the crack in the Liberty Bell." Currently, D.C.'s 700,000 majority-Black residents pay over a billion dollars a year in federal taxes, but have no voting representation in Congress. City Councilwoman Hilda Mason told Unity, "We're the only capital of any nation that doesn't have the authority we want, to make our own laws, decide how tax dollars will be spent. Congress has legislative authority over everything we do."

Universal, same-day voter registration: A promise to support the Cranston-Conyers Universal Voter Registration Act of 1988 (S. 2661, H.R. 3990). It would establish national standards for registration in federal elections, including same-day registration and voting at polling sites, mail-in registration and year-round registration at any agency that serves the public directly. All this would make the voting process easier and more democratic.

A Jackson supporter was also appointed to the Democratic National Committee, in charge of voter registration. This victory means party funding for big voter registration drives, which could make the difference in November and beyond. In 1980, for example, Reagan beat Carter by an average of just one voter per precinct.

Comprehensive sanctions against South Africa: Dukakis agrees to support the bill first introduced by U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums (H.R. 1580, S. 2378), which would greatly strengthen the limited U.S. sanctions imposed on South Africa in 1986. The bill prohibits U.S. investment in South Africa, importing South African goods, exporting U.S. goods or technology to South Africa, and also prohibits nuclear assistance to South Africa or U.S. intelligence or military collaboration with South Africa. Significantly, the bill also calls for independence for Namibia and South African withdrawal from Namibia.

Platform planks: The Jackson campaign succeeded in having 35 of its 38 platform planks included in the party platform, entitled "The Restoration of Competence and Hope." Of the 13 Jackson minority planks brought into the convention, 10 were won with close to original wording. These planks were won through struggle, as the party leadership originally wanted a very short, vaguely worded document. Among the planks won are:

- recognition of South Africa as a sovereign state
- pay equity and quality, affordable childcare for working women
- 5-point program to stop illegal drugs
- reinvest in America, rebuild the American infrastructure through creative pension fund program
- political empowerment via universal, same-day voter registration
- major increases in education support
- national health program
- coherent energy and environmental program
- expansion of bilingual and special education
- support for historically Black and Hispanic educational institutions
- equal access to government services, jobs, housing, education
- third world development and debt relief
- halt of all nuclear weapons testing

Changes in Democratic Party rules: The Jackson campaign won significant changes in the party's primary election rules, making the process more fair and democratic. Highlights include:

- reduction of superdelegates (elected officials and party insiders) by one-third for '92 and '96, down from the 644 total in '88. In this convention, many superdelegates voted contrary to the popular vote in their states or congressional districts, robbing Jackson of nine states he had won in the primaries, and lowering his delegate total.
- elimination of winter-take-all and bonus delegate systems, which give the winner of a congressional district more than his/her fair share of delegates. From now on, delegates will be allocated in proportion to the popular vote in each congressional district.

buttons reading, "We won't be taken for granted."

Never surrender

Especially significant is that Jackson emerged from the convention strengthened and well-positioned for the ongoing struggle for democracy and social progress. In fact, the Democratic National Convention was as much about the Dukakis nomination and the fall Democratic campaign, as it was about the future of the Democratic Party, and the role of African Americans, Latinos

continued on pg. 6
Never surrender ...

"Times have changed. It's a new day and we have a new way."

continued from pg. 5

and workers as a new democratic majority whose fight for jobs, peace and justice can turn this country around from racism and reaction. While part of Jackson's campaign organization will join the fall Dukakis campaign, Jackson told his delegates after the convention closed, "We will keep our own organization together. We have never stopped campaigning and we will never stop fighting. We will take what we have, and keep fighting for what we want."

Jesse Jackson has clearly established himself and his constituency as a formidable block of power which the Democratic Party leadership will have to contend with in the years to come. In the next four to eight years, Jackson will continue to build his own organization that will press for the issues and back progressives in local elections, while simultaneously moving to wield more power and influence in the Democratic Party, from the DNC down to state and local levels.

It is a strategy to continually increase the actual power of the new electoral majority Jackson is forging, towards winning the presidency in the future. It will be a difficult struggle, as it directly challenges the contradiction between the big, white corporate interests that control the party, and the party's constituency of working people and minorities. It may appear, then, to be an unequal and unwinnable battle. But, in the context of the volatile international and domestic economic and political situation, and of the strengthening of mass and working class forces, a Jackson presidency within the next 12 years is a real possibility. On Friday morning, addressing his delegates, Jackson declared, "I promise you in our lifetime, you and I will be in the White House."

Throughout the convention, many Jackson delegates evoked the theme first struck by California Assemblywoman Maxine Waters when she said, "Times have changed. It's a new day and we have a new way." The coalition built by Jackson in 1988 will grow in many directions and many ways in the next four to eight years — in the Democratic Party, in the unions, in the Black, Latino and Asian communities, and among youth.

Sadie Sanders, an African American Jackson delegate from Brooklyn, New York, expressed this sentiment well when she said, "This is the first convention I ever attended. I felt very proud of what we fought for and what we won, though I was also disappointed and upset about our not winning the nomination. But when it was all over, I learned something. And that is we have to have a long-term perspective on our struggle, and that this convention is just one step."

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ON THE CONVENTION FLOOR

Cindy Leaman, elected Gore delegate from Roanoke, Virginia, vetoed for Jackson: "I voted for Jesse Jackson because of his stand on labor and social issues. He is the only one who has understood that labor is not a "special interest," labor has always supported education, farmers, women and other causes.

Raphus Foley, Jackson delegate from Houston, Texas: "We feel so strongly about the Middle East issue because the Palestinian people are fighting for the same thing as Blacks — self-determination."

Jim Butler, New York Jackson delegate; President, Local 420 AFSCME: "There's a big difference between the '84 and '88 campaigns. We have more delegates, more supporters, we're better organized. We escalated the struggle here. The road is rough and tough, and sometimes we have to wait. But we are winning. And we'll be back in '92."

David Dinkins, Chair, New York Jackson delegation; Borough President of Manhattan: "Dukakis can't win without us. We must get rid of the Republicans, but the Democrats must know that they have to address our concerns. We did very well here, as manifested in the platform, getting support for same day voter registration, South Africa sanctions, fighting drugs. We're coming out of the convention stronger."

Katherine Lonetree, Jackson delegate from Aurora, Colorado: "Why am I for Jesse? I'm a Native American Indian — need I say more? Jesse Jackson is the one who supports aboriginal rights, tribal sovereignty and human rights. When Jesse walked on stage with Rosa Parks, it was like a dream come true."

Russ Axsom, Jackson delegate from Hampton, Virginia; President USWA Local 8888 (Newport News shipyards); Vice President of Virginia AFL-CIO: "I supported Jackson from the beginning. My local is 70% for Jesse. I think Jackson will play an important role in the fall Dukakis campaign, and it's good that he's going to stay independent, so he won't be tied to Dukakis-Bentsen on the issues, he will still be able to speak out."

Stanley Hill, Co-chair of New York State Jackson campaign; Executive Director, DC 17 AFSCME: "The future of the party is that it will be more lively, more energetic, more participation. We have learned from Jesse what political power is. We won't go back to the status quo."