

Jesse Jackson '88

EXPLORATORY COMMITTEE

OCTOBER 10, 1987

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

ON THE OCCASION OF HIS ANNOUNCEMENT TO SEEK THE DEMOCRATIC
NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

"A CHANCE TO SERVE"

BY THE REVEREND JESSE L. JACKSON

INTRODUCTION

LET ME EXPRESS MY THANKS TO EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU TODAY FOR YOUR COMING TO THIS GREAT OCCASION. MANY OF YOU HAVE COME GREAT DISTANCES. OTHERS ARE FROM NEARBY. ALL HAVE COME TO RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA TO WITNESS AN HISTORIC OCCASION -- A PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, YOU ARE HERE TO "GIVE WITNESS" TO YOUR DESIRE FOR A NEW DIRECTION FOR AMERICA -- AN AMERICA OF JOBS, PEACE AND JUSTICE. I SHALL NEVER BE ABLE TO CONVEY IN FULL MEASURE THE DEPTH OF MY GRATITUDE FOR YOUR CONCERN AND YOUR SUPPORT.

THIS IS THE 200TH YEAR OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION. WE'VE HAD TO CHANGE THE FORMULA -- ADD AMENDMENTS, AND GIVE NEW LEGAL INTERPRETATIONS. STILL, EQUAL PROTECTION, JUSTICE AND MERCY FOR ALL ARE NOT ASSURED. UNFINISHED BUSINESS REMAINS -- TO MAKE THIS A MORE PERFECT UNION.

I. ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM

EVERY GENERATION FACES CRITICAL PROBLEMS AND CHOICES WHICH CONSTITUTE THE BASIC CHALLENGES OF THEIR DAY. WHEN THEY MEET THOSE CHALLENGES HEAD-ON AND WIN, IT'S CALLED PROGRESS.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO THE CRITICAL ISSUE THREATENING TO TEAR OUR COUNTRY APART WAS RACIAL VIOLENCE. THE SOUTH WAS THE BATTLEGROUND, BUT THE WAR AGAINST RACIAL VIOLENCE WAS A NATIONAL WAR -- AS WE SOON LEARNED. TWENTY-FIVE YEARS LATER, RACIAL VIOLENCE IS ILLEGAL. WHEN RACIAL VIOLENCE DOES OCCUR -- SUCH AS IN HOWARD BEACH, NEW YORK OR FORSYTH COUNTY, GEORGIA -- IT'S ILLEGAL AND THE PERPETRATORS ARE PUT IN THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM, TRIED, AND GIVEN THEIR JUST PUNISHMENT. RACIAL VIOLENCE IS MOVING IN THE DIRECTION OF RACIAL JUSTICE. JUST AS WE REPLACED RACIAL VIOLENCE WITH RACIAL JUSTICE, WE MUST REPLACE ECONOMIC VIOLENCE WITH ECONOMIC JUSTICE.

ECONOMIC VIOLENCE IS THE CRITICAL ISSUE OF OUR DAY! WHEN PLANTS CLOSE ON WORKERS WITHOUT NOTICE, AND LEAVE THEM WITHOUT JOBS OR TRAINING FOR NEW JOBS -- THAT'S ECONOMIC VIOLENCE. WHEN 3-TO-5 MILLION AMERICANS ARE ON THE STREETS AND HOMELESS -- THAT'S ECONOMIC VIOLENCE. WHEN MERGER MANIACS MAKE WINDFALL PROFITS AND TOP MANAGEMENT IS GIVEN EXCESSIVE BONUSES, WHILE WORKERS ARE ASKED TO TAKE A WAGE CUT, A BENEFIT CUT, AND A JOB LOSS -- THAT'S ECONOMIC VIOLENCE. WHEN OUR CHILDREN ARE VICTIMIZED WITH POOR HEALTH CARE, POOR EDUCATION, POOR HOUSING, POOR DIETS, AND MORE -- THAT'S ECONOMIC VIOLENCE AGAINST OUR CHILDREN.

IN FOREIGN POLICY WE ARE BEING LED ASTRAY BECAUSE OUR LEADERSHIP HAS LITTLE VISION OR THE WRONG VISION, AND BECAUSE IT IS WEAK. IT WEARS A MILITARY FIG-LEAF TO COVER UP ITS IMPOTENCY. IT TRIES TO APPEAR STRONG, BUT IT'S LEADERSHIP, IT'S POLICIES, AND IT'S VALUES ARE WEAK. WE HAVE THE STRONGEST MILITARY IN THE WORLD, BUT WEAK LEADERSHIP. WE HAVE GUIDED MISSILES AND MISGUIDED LEADERSHIP.

THAT'S WHY PRESIDENT REAGAN INVADED GRENADA -- A NATION WITH 110,000 PEOPLE AND NO STANDING ARMY -- WHEN HE WAS REALLY MAD AT CUBA. THE CIA PAID OFF THE SURROUNDING STATES' LEADERSHIP, AND THEY PRETENDED TO INVITE HIM IN AS A COVER TO SAVE SOME AMERICAN STUDENTS. PRESIDENT REAGAN LOCKED THE PRESS OUT SO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE COULD NOT LEARN WHAT WAS REALLY GOING ON -- ALL IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SECURITY. THE REALITY WAS, THEY WERE DIVERTING ATTENTION AWAY FROM THE OVER 250 AMERICAN BOYS BEING BROUGHT BACK HOME FROM LEBANON IN BODY BAGS. A STRONG MILITARY, WEAK LEADERSHIP.

THAT'S WHY PRESIDENT REAGAN CHOSE -- ON HIS OWN AND WITHOUT THE AID OF ALLIES -- TO ATTACK A WEAK LIBYA AND ATTEMPTED TO KILL COLONEL KADAFFY (AND DID KILL A MEMBER OF HIS FAMILY), RATHER THAN ATTACK A STRONG SYRIA, WHICH WAS THE REAL SOURCE OF HIS ANGER.

A STRONG MILITARY AND WEAK LEADERSHIP LEAD US TO MINE THE HARBORS IN NICARAGUA AND DISMISS THE FINDING OF THE WORLD COURT, THEN SEND VULNERABLE AMERICANS INTO THE PERSIAN GULF WHEN THE AYATOLLAH DID THE SAME THING. A STRONG MILITARY AND WEAK LEADERSHIP HAS LEFT US WITH LESS MORAL AUTHORITY IN THE WORLD.

A JACKSON PRESIDENCY WOULD BE CHARACTERIZED BY A STRONG MILITARY ACCOMPANIED WITH STRONG LEADERSHIP, STRONG POLICIES, A STRONG ECONOMY, AND STRONG VALUES -- VALUES THAT SERVE AS A BEACON OF LIGHT FOR THE FREE WORLD AND WESTERN CIVILIZATION, VALUES THAT AID OTHERS TO FIND THEIR WAY.

II. ECONOMIC COMMONGROUND IS THE KEY TO PROGRESS

IT IS INDEED PROPHETIC THAT WE ANNOUNCE OUR CANDIDACY HERE IN THE SOUTH. MANY REMEMBER THE OLD SOUTH, THE SOUTH OF HOODS AND BURNING CROSSES. A FEW STILL WISH TO PRESERVE THAT TRADITION. BUT WE, IN COALITION (BLACK AND WHITE, JEW AND GENTILE) FOUGHT TO END THE OLD SOUTH -- AND WE WON. THE NEW SOUTH IS ABOUT ENDING ECONOMIC VIOLENCE, FINDING PEACE, ACHIEVING ECONOMIC JUSTICE AND REACHING COMMON GROUND.

THAT'S OUR CHALLENGE -- TO FIND COMMONGROUND. THAT'S THE KEY TO A NEW SOUTH. THAT'S THE KEY TO A NEW AMERICA. AND THAT'S THE KEY TO A NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY. ONCE WE THOUGHT THAT IN ORDER FOR ONE TO SWIM, THE OTHER HAD TO DROWN. BUT TODAY WE KNOW BETTER. WE KNOW WE WILL EITHER RISE AND TRIUMPH TOGETHER, OR WE WILL FALL AND PERISH APART AS FOOLS. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT IF ANYONE IS KEPT IN THE DITCH, SOMEONE HAS TO STAY IN THERE WITH THEM.

TODAY, MY FRIENDS, WE SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND. AND WE FIND IT.

WE FIND IT AT THE PLANT GATE THAT CLOSED ON WORKERS WITHOUT NOTICE.

WE FIND IT AT THE SHIP YARD WHERE GOODS MADE BY REPRESSED LABOR UNDERCUT ORGANIZED LABOR.

WE FIND IT AT THE SCHOOL YARD WHERE A GOOD MIND CAN'T GET A SCHOLARSHIP, AND CAN'T MAKE A LOAN.

WE FIND IT AT THE HOSPITAL WHERE SOMEONE DIED BECAUSE THEY DIDN'T HAVE A GREEN OR A YELLOW CARD TO GO UPSTAIRS TO A BED THAT WAS EMPTY WAITING FOR THE RICH TO GET SICK.

WE FIND IT AT THE FARM FORECLOSURE WHERE A FAMILY TRADITION REACHES AN END.

WE FIND IT AT THE FUNERAL PARLOR WHERE A FAMILY GRIEVES FOR THEIR CHILD WHO SOUGHT DRUGS AS ANASTHESIA FOR THEIR PAIN -- ONLY TO FIND THAT THE PAIN KILLER WAS A KILLER.

THE NEW SOUTH HAS NOT ONLY LIBERATED ITSELF BUT IT WILL HELP TO LIBERALIZE THE NATION. THE NEW SOUTH DEFEATED RIGHT WING REPUBLICANS IN 1984 AND 1986. THE NEW SOUTH DEFEATED ROBERT BORK LAST WEEK. BUT THERE ARE STILL DEFEATS TO BE HANDED OUT.

WE MUST DEFEAT TOXIC WASTE DUMPS!

WE MUST DEFEAT ANTI-UNION LAWS!

WE MUST DEFEAT THOSE WHO WOULD DENY WOMEN THE EQUAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS AMENDMENT!

WE MUST DEFEAT RUN AWAY SHOPS!

WE MUST DEFEAT THE MERGER MANIACS!

WE MUST DEFEAT THE DRUG SMUGGLERS!

III. BOLD LEADERSHIP AND A NEW DIRECTION

TODAY, PERHAPS, WE FACE THE GREATEST CHALLENGE OF OUR LIVES -- TO PROTECT THE AMERICAN FAMILY. WE MUST PROTECT THE AMERICAN FAMILY FROM TWO BASIC THREATS THAT ARE SHAKING THE VERY FOUNDATION OF OUR SOCIETY. WE MUST STOP THE FLOW OF DRUGS INTO OUR COUNTRY, AND WE MUST STOP THE FLOW OF JOBS OUT OF OUR COUNTRY.

I WANT TO SERVE THE AMERICAN FAMILY. MY CANDIDACY OFFERS HOPE FOR THE AMERICAN FAMILY AND FOR OUR YOUTH. MY CANDIDACY IS A DIRECT CHALLENGE TO THE CYNICISM AND DESPAIR THAT LED 85 MILLION AMERICANS IN 1984 TO SURRENDER THEIR FRANCHISE AND NOT VOTE FOR ANYONE.

IN OUR 1983 SOUTHERN CRUSADE AND OUR 1984 CAMPAIGN -- AND WITH THE HELP OF COUNTLESS ORGANIZATIONS AND THOUSANDS OF INDIVIDUALS -- WE WERE ABLE TO REGISTER AND REVITALIZE 2 MILLION NEW VOTERS, WHO VOTED DEMOCRATIC. WE FORMED THE RAINBOW COALITION. IN 1980 AND 1982 THE REPUBLICAN PARTY REGISTERED A NET GAIN OF 12 SENATE SEATS. BY 1986, WITH THE RAINBOW COALITION PROVIDING THE MARGIN OF VICTORY IN NO LESS THAN 9 RACES, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAD REVERSED REPUBLICAN GAINS AND ONCE AGAIN WAS IN CONTROL OF THE SENATE 54 TO 46. AN EXPANDED DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- THAT MAKES ROOM FOR OLD WINE AND NEW WINE -- IS THE KEY TO VICTORY IN 1988 AND BEYOND.

AN EXPANDED DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS WHY SENATOR JOSEPH BIDEN CHAIRED THE BORK HEARINGS AND NOT SENATOR STROM THURMOND. A DEMOCRATIC PARTY THAT MADE ROOM FOR MORE PEOPLE IS THE REASON ROBERT BORK WILL SOON BECOME A TRIVIA QUESTION INSTEAD OF A THREAT TO BASIC RIGHTS THAT MOST AMERICANS HOLD TO BE PRECIOUS.

AT THE HEIGHT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PERSONAL POPULARITY, MANY WITHIN OUR PARTY SOUGHT TO MOVE IN HIS DIRECTION. SOME COWERED FROM THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP AGAINST SUCH A POPULAR INCUMBENT. THE TRUTH CAN BE POSTPONED, BUT NOT DENIED. THE RAINBOW COALITION PROVIDED THE BOLD LEADERSHIP, THE NEW DIRECTION, AND THE UMBRELLA UNDER WHICH WE ARE WEATHERING MR. REAGAN'S STORM.

IN 1984, DESPITE PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LANDSLIDE VICTORY, WE CUT MR. REAGAN'S COATTAILS IN THE SENATE. WE WERE THE DIFFERENCE FOR SENATORS LEVIN OF MICHIGAN, HEFLIN OF ALABAMA, AND CURRENT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES GORE OF TENNESSEE AND SIMON OF ILLINOIS. THE RAINBOW COALITION STUCK TO THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND TO THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF AMERICA. THE PENDULUM HAS NOW BEGUN TO SWING IN OUR DIRECTION.

IN 1986 WE CUT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S COATTAILS EVEN MORE. HE IS NOW WEARING A WAITER'S JACKET. THE RAINBOW CONTRIBUTED TO SENATE VICTORIES FOR MIKULSKI IN MARYLAND, SANFORD IN NORTH CAROLINA, GRAHAM IN FLORIDA, FOWLER IN GEORGIA, SHELBY IN ALABAMA, BREAUX IN LOUISIANA, AND CRANSTON IN CALIFORNIA. THE RESULT WAS THE RETURN OF THE SENATE TO DEMOCRATIC CONTROL.

NOW IS THE TIME FOR BOLD LEADERSHIP AND A NEW DIRECTION. JUST A WEEK AGO I WAS IN KEY WEST, FLORIDA WHERE WELL OVER 85 PERCENT OF ALL THE DRUGS THAT COME INTO OUR NATION FLOWS. I WENT ON A COAST GUARD DRUG PATROL AND WAS BRIEFED ON THE FLOW OF DRUGS ACROSS OUR BORDERS. THE FIGURES FOR 1986 ALONE WERE STAGGERING:

- * 178 TONS OF COCAINE!
- * 20 TONS OF HEROIN!
- * 60,000 TONS OF MARIJUANA!
- * 60 PERCENT OF OUR HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS ADMIT TO DRUG USE!
- * 34 PERCENT OF OUR STUDENTS DO NOT FEEL THAT TRYING COCAINE IS DANGEROUS!

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE A \$150 BILLION A YEAR DRUG HABIT. THAT MUST STOP. THIS IS A TIME OF GREAT SOCIAL AND MATERIAL NEED -- MILLIONS HOMELESS, MILLIONS IN POVERTY, MILLIONS WITHOUT MEDICAL CARE, MILLIONS NOT BEING EDUCATED, MILLIONS OF FAMILIES BROKEN AND CHILDREN IN DESPAIR. WE MUST DECLARE A WAR ON DRUGS. A NATION'S FIRST DUTY IS TO DEFEND ITS BORDERS FROM THREATS -- AND THERE EXISTS NO GREATER THREAT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TODAY THAN DRUGS.

1. WE MUST MEET WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NATION'S WHERE DRUGS ARE GROWN AND HELP THEM DEVELOP ALTERNATIVE CROPS.

2. WE MUST STRENGTHEN OUR COAST GUARD AND ALL OF OUR DRUG INTERDICTION PROGRAMS.

3. WE MUST EDUCATE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, BUT ESPECIALLY OUR YOUTH, TO THE DANGERS OF DRUG USE.

4. WE MUST REHABILITATE THOSE WITH DRUG DEPENDENCY.

5. WE MUST END THE DEMAND FOR DRUGS. SOME PEOPLE ARE USING DRUGS FOR PLEASURE, BUT MORE ARE USING THEM AS ANESTHESIA FROM PAIN OR ESCAPE FROM REALITY. THEY HAVE LOST A SENSE OF PURPOSE. THERE IS POWER IN PURPOSE, SO WHEN PURPOSE GOES, POWER GOES TOO. WHEN PURPOSE AND POWER ARE LOST, THE LOSS OF PRINCIPLE IS NOT FAR BEHIND. YOU FIND YOURSELF DOING THINGS THAT IN YOUR RIGHT MIND YOU WOULDN'T DO.

SOME OF THE DESPAIR AND SENSE OF POWERLESSNESS THAT LEADS TO DRUG AND ALCOHOL ADDICTION IS ROOTED IN THE USURPATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF OUR ECONOMY BY MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS WHO HAVE NO LOYALTY TO AMERICA. SINCE 1973, 38 MILLION AMERICAN JOBS HAVE BEEN LOST. SINCE 1980, 650,000 FAMILY FARMERS HAVE BEEN DRIVEN FROM THEIR LAND WITH NO PLACE TO GO. THIS DAY, SOME 38 MILLION AMERICANS HAVE NO FORM OF HEALTH INSURANCE. BY THE YEAR 2000 IT IS ESTIMATED THAT THERE WILL BE AS MANY AS 20 MILLION HOMELESS AMERICANS UNLESS WE GO IN A DRAMATICALLY NEW DIRECTION.

THE GREAT CHALLENGE TO OUR PARTY -- FOR OUR PARTY AT ITS BEST IS THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE -- IS TO PUT AMERICA BACK TO WORK AT LIVEABLE WAGES. EVERY 1 PERCENT DROP IN UNEMPLOYMENT REPRESENTS A \$30 BILLION DROP IN OUR BUDGET DEFICIT. HOW DO WE PUT AMERICA BACK TO WORK? WITH THE FIVE R'S.

- * REINVEST IN AMERICA;
- * RETRAIN OUR WORKERS;
- * REINDUSTRIALIZE OUR NATION; AND

* RESEARCH FOR COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

* RE-CONVERSION OF OUR INDUSTRIAL PLANTS FOR CIVILIAN USE.

WE HAVE THE RESOURCES TO DO IT! NOW WE NEED THE LEADERSHIP, THE POLITICAL WILL, AND THE DIRECTION.

WE MUST CUT THE MILITARY BUDGET, WITHOUT CUTTING OUR DEFENSE.

WE MUST MAKE CORPORATIONS AND THE WEALTHY PAY THEIR FAIR SHARE OF TAXES.

WE MUST UTILIZE A PORTION OF THE \$2 TRILLION IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PENSION FUNDS -- GOVERNMENT SECURED WITH A FAIR RATE OF RETURN GUARANTEED -- TO CAPITALIZE THE REDEVELOPMENT OF AMERICA.

WE MUST ALSO REVERSE THE INCENTIVES TO CORPORATIONS TO MERGE WITH OTHER CORPORATIONS, PURGE THEIR WORK FORCE, AND IN THE PROCESS SUBMERGE OUR ECONOMY. AMERICAN CORPORATIONS MUST BE ACCOUNTABLE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. TODAY CORPORATIONS GET A TAX DEDUCTION WHEN THEY CLOSE PLANTS ON WORKERS. THEY GET ANOTHER TAX BREAK WHEN THEY TAKE OUR JOBS, CAPITAL AND TAX BASE TO REPRESSED LABOR MARKETS ABROAD. SLAVE LABOR ANYWHERE IS A THREAT TO ORGANIZED LABOR EVERYWHERE. SCAB LABOR ANYWHERE IS A THREAT TO UNIONIZED LABOR EVERYWHERE.

AND THEN WE MUST HAVE STRONG LEADERSHIP AND A NEW DIRECTION IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY. I CALL IT THE JACKSON DOCTRINE. THE JACKSON DOCTRINE CONSISTS OF THREE PRINCIPLES. FIRST, STRENGTHEN AND SUPPORT THE RULE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, INCLUDING THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE WORLD COURT. THE UNITED STATES HAS THE MOST TO GAIN IN A WORLD THAT RESPECTS THE RULE OF LAW IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. WE ALSO HAVE THE MOST TO LOOSE IN A WORLD OF ANARCHY AND LAWLESSNESS BECAUSE OUR INTERESTS ARE SO BROAD.

SECOND, THE JACKSON DOCTRINE SUPPORTS THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS. THAT'S WHY WE SUPPORT INDEGENOUS LEADERSHIP IN CENTRAL AMERICA LIKE THE CONTADORA PROCESS AND THE ARIAS PLAN. THAT'S WHY WE SUPPORT THE FRONTLINE STATES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AND WE MUST MEASURE HUMAN RIGHTS BY ONE YARDSTICK EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD.

THE THIRD JACKSON DOCTRINE PRINCIPLE IS SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC JUSTICE. THAT'S WHY WE REJECT TWO MORE AIRCRAFT CARRIER TASK FORCES (AT A COST OF \$40 BILLION) FOR INTERVENTION IN AND CONTAINMENT OF THE THIRD WORLD. THE ISSUE IS NOT CONTAINMENT OF THEIR DESIRE TO BE FREE AND DEVELOP, BUT TO RAISE THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING RATHER THAN LOWER OUR OWN. IF WE RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN THE THIRD WORLD, WE REDUCE THIRD WORLD DEBT, REDUCE OUR DEFICIT, TAKE AWAY THE INCENTIVE OF MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS TO TAKE OUR JOBS TO REPRESSED LABOR MARKETS ABROAD, AND STRENGTHEN OUR OWN AND THE WORLD'S ECONOMY THROUGH ECONOMIC GROWTH. WE WILL HAVE CREATED A VAST NEW MARKET BECAUSE THEY WILL THEN HAVE THE ABILITY TO BUY WHAT WE PRODUCE.

I AM MAKING PLANS NOW TO RETURN TO THE MIDDLE EAST -- THIS TIME TO VISIT OUR TROOPS, TO MEET WITH THEIR FAMILIES, TO LIFT THEIR SPIRITS, AND TO ASSURE THEM THAT THEY ARE NOT ALONE IN THE PERSIAN GULF. WE WANT TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT OUR PRAYERS AND CONCERNS ARE WITH THEM. IT IS NOT THEIR FAULT THAT THEY ARE MADE VULNERABLE BECAUSE OF A MISGUIDED POLICY IN THE REGION.

OUR SOLDIERS ARE NOT LEGISLATORS, NOR JUDGES. THEY ARE OUR YOUTH, OUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS, OUR SOLDIERS. THEY ARE TRAPPED IN A WAR WITHOUT CLEARLY DEFINED OBJECTIVES. IT IS TO THEIR LASTING CREDIT THAT THEY SERVE AGAINST THE ODDS, THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO DIE THAT AMERICA MIGHT LIVE. THESE AMERICAN SOLDIERS DESERVE OUR SUPPORT. THEIR FAMILIES DESERVE ENCOURAGEMENT. AMERICA MAY BE DEVIDED OVER THE GULF POLICY, BUT WE CANNOT BE DIVIDED ABOUT OUR SUPPORT FOR OUR TROOPS AND THEIR FAMILIES. WE CANNOT REPEAT THE MISTAKE OF VIETNAM, WHERE THE VIETNAM VET WAS NOT WRONG, THE VIETNAM POLICY WAS WRONG. WE MUST CONTINUALLY MAKE THAT DISTINCTION. OUR CHALLENGE IS TO FIGHT BAD AMERICAN POLICY, BUT TO SUPPORT GOOD AMERICAN SOLDIERS.

IV. A NEW SOUTH IS ARISING

MY FRIENDS, WE ARE HERE TODAY IN RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, IN THE HEART OF THE NEW SOUTH. I WAS BORN IN GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA, WENT TO COLLEGE IN GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA, AND GOT MY FIRST CHANCE TO SERVE POLITICALLY IN RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA AS HEAD OF THE NORTH CAROLINA INTERCOLLEGIATE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS. WE SOUGHT TO END THE LAWS OF APARTHEID THAT WRECKED THIS REGION CULTURALLY, ECONOMICALLY, POLITICALLY AND SPIRITUALLY.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO I WAS APPOINTED TO BE A MEMBER OF THE DELEGATION OF YOUNG DEMOCRATS TO LAS VEGAS, AND THE LATE AL HOUSE WAS ELECTED THEIR NATIONAL PRESIDENT. GOVERNOR TERRY SANFORD GAVE ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE. I SHALL FOREVER RESPECT HIM FOR IT.

IT WAS CLEAR THEN IN NATIONAL POLITICS THAT A NEW SOUTH COULD ARISE, BUT WE WOULD HAVE TO RISE TOGETHER. SONS AND DAUGHTERS, LOCKED AWAY FROM EACH OTHER BY ANCIENT AND ARCHAIC CUSTOMS, WOULD HAVE TO FIND COMMONGROUND. ONCE WE FOUND COMMONGROUND WE COULD BECOME NATIONAL POLITICAL CHAMPIONS AND ELECT PRESIDENTS, AS WELL AS NATIONAL BASKETBALL, FOOTBALL AND BASEBALL CHAMPIONS. THIS REGION OF RICH SOIL AND POOR PEOPLE CAN LEAD AMERICA TO ITS LOFTIEST AND HIGHEST IDEALS.

WE ARE HERE TODAY AT THE DAWN, EARLY IN THE MORNING, OF THE NEW SOUTH. EARLY IN THE MORNING OF OUR NEW POSSIBILITIES. EARLY IN THE MORNING OF OUR CHALLENGE TO REACH COMMONGROUND; TO END ECONOMIC VIOLENCE; AND TO ASSURE ECONOMIC JUSTICE TO ALL OF OUR PEOPLE. WE ARE EARLY IN THE MORNING OF THE NEW SOUTH THAT ELECTED NEW SENATORS; THE NEW SOUTH THAT DEFEATED JUDGE BORK; AND EARLY IN THE MORNING OF A NEW SOUTH CHARACTERIZED BY HUMANE PRIORITIES AT HOME AND HUMAN RIGHTS ABROAD.

THE NEW SOUTH -- WHERE FARMERS AND TRUCK DRIVERS, BLACK AND WHITE, MALE AND FEMALE, THE VERY ABLE AND THE DISABLED, THE SECURE AND THE THREATENED -- CAN COME TOGETHER AND RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING FOR EVERYBODY.

I'M A SON OF THE SOUTH. I'VE SPENT ALL OF MY ADULT LIFE TRYING TO BUILD A NEW SOUTH. AS THE POOR OF THE SOUTH ARE LIBERATED, THE SOUTH WILL BECOME LIBERALIZED -- WITH A COMMITMENT TO LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCE.

AS A SON OF THE NEW SOUTH, ONE WHO WAS BORN AND BRED HERE, DEVELOPED IN CHICAGO -- URBAN AMERICA, THE MIDWEST, THE HEARTLAND OF OUR NATION -- AND ONE WHO HAS HAD THE PRIVILEGE TO TRAVEL AROUND THE WORLD TO RETRIEVE AMERICANS FROM DUNGEONS AND FOREIGN JAILS; AS ONE WHO HAS HAD THE PRIVILEGE TO MEET THE GREAT LEADERS OF THE WORLD; I CAN DO NO LESS THAN SERVE MY COUNTRY, OFFER MY SERVICES, MY SKILLS, MY ENERGY, AND MY COMMITMENT TO ITS IDEALS. MY BROADBASED AMERICAN EXPERIENCE -- FROM THE HUMBLEST OF BEGINNINGS TO THE BOARDROOMS OF CORPORATIONS, THE PICKETLINE, NEGOTIATING SESSIONS WITH WORKERS, THE POPE AT THE VATICAN, HEADS OF STATE -- HAS MADE MY APPRECIATION AND LOVE FOR AMERICA A PART OF MY BLOOD, MY BONES, AND MY SOUL.

THERE IS SOMETHING WRONG WITH OUR GOVERNMENT TODAY -- THE DIRECTION OF ITS LEADERSHIP, ITS PRIORITIES AND ITS VALUES ARE WRONG. BUT THERE IS NOTHING WRONG WITH AMERICA. AMERICA IS OUR LAND. AMERICA IS GOD'S COUNTRY. AMERICA HAS BEEN BLESSED AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

MY CANDIDACY IS A CALL TO SERVICE. I HAVE SPENT THE LAST 25 YEARS, NOT AS A PERFECT SERVANT, BUT AS A PUBLIC SERVANT. MY NAME HAS BECOME KNOWN BECAUSE I HAVE SERVED. THAT'S WHY I WANT TO BE PRESIDENT -- TO SERVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE; TO HELP TO MAKE THEIR LIVES MORE PURPOSEFUL AND COMPLETE; TO PROVIDE EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER THE LAW FOR ALL; TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ALL; AND TO SHOW THAT JOBS, PEACE AND JUSTICE ARE MUTUALLY RE-ENFORCING GOALS.

I WANT TO SERVE MY COUNTRY. THE RISK IS GREAT. THE CHALLENGES ARE MANY. AND THE JOB IS DIFFICULT. BUT WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO SERVE AND I WANT TO SERVE AMERICA.

I WANT TO EDUCATE THE CHILDREN, MAKE SECURE ITS SENIOR CITIZENS, AND ENABLE ITS DISABLED. I WANT TO SERVE AMERICA.

I WANT TO STOP DRUGS FROM FLOWING INTO AMERICA. I WANT TO STOP JOBS FROM FLOWING OUT OF AMERICA. I WANT TO PROVIDE AN AFFORDABLE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM. I WANT TO HOUSE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. I WANT TO STABILIZE THE AMERICAN FAMILY. I WANT TO SAFEGUARD ITS LIBERTIES, ITS RIGHTS OF PRIVACY, AND ITS PUBLIC OBLIGATIONS. I WANT TO SERVE AMERICA.

FOR ITS 650,000 FARMERS DRIVEN FROM THEIR LAND; FOR ITS 38 MILLION WITHOUT HEALTH INSURANCE; FOR ITS MILLIONS WHO LOST THEIR JOBS TO PLANT CLOSINGS AND LEVERAGED BUY-OUTS; FOR ITS MILLIONS WHO HAVE LOST THEIR SMALL BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES; FOR ITS MILLIONS WHO WAKE UP AMERICA EVERY MORNING AND PUT AMERICA TO BED EACH NIGHT; WHO GROW ITS FOOD; AND WHOSE SHOULDERS ENERGIZE OUR INDUSTRIES; WHOSE SWEAT AND BLOOD FERTILIZE OUR SOIL. I WANT TO SERVE AMERICA.

I WANT TO OFFER THE HIGHEST AND BEST SERVICE IN OUR HIGHEST AND MOST SENSITIVE JOB. THE JOB THAT HAS THE MOST CAPACITY TO BRING JUSTICE IN OUR LAND, MITIGATE MISERY IN THE WORLD, AND BRING PEACE ON EARTH -- THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT. ONLY IN AMERICA IS SUCH A DREAM POSSIBLE.

TODAY I OFFER MY SERVICE TO OUR COUNTRY. I SEEK GOD'S GUIDANCE AND YOUR PRAYERS AS WE EMBARK ON THIS MISSION. THEREFORE, ON THIS DAY, OCTOBER 10, 1987, IN RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, I OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCE MY CANDIDACY TO SEEK THE NOMINATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.