



progressive politics in America is not a new program in the North, but new power in the South. The key to unlocking southern power is getting the Voting Rights Act enforced and ending the new forms of political disenfranchisement.

The key to a Democratic victory in 1984 is the enfranchisement of the progressive wing of the Democratic Party. They are the ones who have been devastated by Reaganomics and, therefore, it is in their self-interest to vote in record numbers to oust their oppressor. The already poor and those who are being impoverished do not simply want a change in leaders, THEY WANT A CHANGE IN DIRECTION. The poor are not looking to be embellished, they have a need to be empowered. The key to political enfranchisement is enforcement of the Voting Rights Act. Gerrymandering, annexation, at-large elections, inaccessible registrars, role purges, dual registration and second primaries—these are the schemes that continue to disenfranchise the locked out.

There is a way out. PEACE. The only way we can have jobs at home is to have peace abroad. We must develop a coherent strategic nuclear strategy. We used nuclear weapons just once before. But we must declare that never again will we be the first to use strategic nuclear weapons. The real security is in developed minds, not guided missiles.

Our foreign policy must be demilitarized. We must choose mutual respect, talk, negotiations, diplomacy, trade and aid, and measure human rights by one yardstick as the way of resolving international conflicts. We should support a legitimate labor solidarity and oppose martial law in Poland, to be consistent we must not become the number one trading partner with South Africa when they engage in the same behavior while developing nuclear capability. There must be a new formula applied to South Africa—enfranchisement, investment; disenfranchisement, disinvestment.

Beyond the liberation of South Africa, we must fight for trade and aid for development in all of Africa as well as of Europe. We must be as concerned about the preservation of democracy in Africa as we are in Europe. We turned our heads and our backs when democracy was dealt a blow in Nigeria, Liberia and Ghana. This must not happen in the future.

Our present formula for peace in the Middle East is inadequate and will not work. There are 22 nations in the Middle East and we must be able to talk, act, influence and reconcile all of them. Currently we have too many interests and too few friends. We must have a MUTUAL RECOGNITION POLICY, build on the Camp David agreement which was a good start, and measure human rights by one yardstick.

We should not be mining the harbors of Nicaragua and trying to covertly overthrow that government. Military aid and military advisers, who will give military advice, should be withdrawn from El Salvador. We should use our strength to get the FMLN/FDR and Duarte to agree to a cease fire and negotiations. We should not be establishing military bases in Honduras and militarizing the nation of Costa Rica. It was wrong for our nation to invade tiny Grenada. And if we can have diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and China, as we should, we can have diplomatic relations with Cuba. Just this week, we have seen progress as a result of our moral appeal. In addition to the Americans returned, the political prisoners released and more to be released, negotiations, at this very moment, are being conducted over the Mariel prisoners, a Cuban family reunification program, and President Castro has agreed to exchange Ambassadors without preconditions. Let's give peace a chance.

There is a way out. JOBS. If we enforce the Voting Rights Act as a way of achieving justice, and if we achieve peace through cutting the defense budget without cutting our defense, respect other nations of the world and resolve conflicts through negotiations instead of confrontations, then we will have enough power and money to rebuild America. We can use the money we are currently squandering on the arms race to save the human race. We can use that money to build 10 million public housing units, to build hospitals, to train and pay our teachers and educate our young people, to provide health care and health care training, to rebuild our cities and end rural poverty, use that money to rebuild 250,000 bridges, rebuild our railroads and build mass transit systems—and put steelworkers back to work, use that money to rebuild the infrastructure of our country—repair our roads, our ports, our river beds, our sewer systems, and stop soil erosion, use that money to clean up our environment—our land, our water and our air, use the money to make "America the Beautiful." We could put America back to work.

IV. THE MOTIVATION: VISION, DREAMS AND HOPE

In the final analysis we must be driven not by a negative—the fear of Reagan—but by the positive leadership and programs of the Democratic Party. It is not enough motivation just to VOTE AGAINST REAGAN, we must inspire our constituency to VOTE FOR US. We must offer our people the vision of a just society and the dream of a peaceful world. We must inspire the American people with hope. We must put forth the vision of a government that cares for all of its people; the vision of a people at work rebuilding their nation. We must not be forced to choose between the two valid principles of seniority and affirmative action. We must put all of America back to work.

As I lived in the ghettos, el barrios, on reservations and in the slums, I had a message for our youth. Young America, I know you face a cutback in jobs, large reductions in housing and food, inferior health care and education, and a general environment that tries to break your spirit. But don't put dope in your veins, put hopes in your brains. Don't let them break your spirit. There is a way out. Our party must not only have the courage and the conscience to expose the slummy side. We must have the conviction and the vision to

show America the sunny side—the way out. When I see urban decay, I see a sunny side and a slummy side. A broken window is the slummy side. Train that youth to be a glazer, that's the sunny side. A door off its hinges, that's the slummy side. Train that youth to be a carpenter. That's the sunny side. A missing brick, that's the slummy side. Train that youth to be a brick mason. That's the sunny side. Hieroglyphics of destitution on the walls, that's the slummy side. Train that youth to be a painter. That's the sunny side. Then unions must open up, embrace and train our youth so they can help to rebuild America.

With courage and conscience, conviction and vision, we can win. If we don't raise the issues, if the truth is locked away, the people won't get excited. But when the truth is lifted up, they'll come running. Across lines of race and sex, they'll come running to vote for us. If we lift up before this nation a plan to wipe out cheese and bread lines, to feed our hungry and malnourished people, they'll come running. If we lift up a plan to house the homeless, and educate the illiterate, they'll come running. If we reach out to the Vietnam veteran, to the disabled, to the poor, to the widow, to the orphan, and tell them that help is on the way, they'll come running.

Ronald Reagan claims the votes of the South. I say to you this night that the soil is too rich and the people are too poor for Ronald Reagan to have the votes of the South. The South is going to rise up and move from racial battlegrounds, to economic common ground, and moral higher ground. We love our God and we love our country too, but we want moral values with material substance. Black and white together, men and women, we will take the South.

We have fought hard to build our Rainbow Coalition of the rejected over the last eight months. We have fought hard for jury justice and for our minority planks because we believe that expanding our party to include the locked-out is the key to victory in November, and to developing the progressive politics of the future.

CONCLUSION

What this campaign has shown above all else is that the key to our liberation is in our own hands, and in our dreams and vision of a better world. It is the vision that allows us to reach out to each other and redeem each other. It is the dream that sustains us through the dark times and the dark realities. It is our hope that gives us a "why" for living when we do not see "how" to live.

The youth of this generation must exercise the right to dream. You must face reality—that which is. But then dream of the reality that ought to be, that must be. Live beyond the pain of reality with the dream of a bright tomorrow. Use hope and imagination as weapons of survival and progress. Use love to motivate you and obligate you to serve the human family.

Dream of peace. Choose the human race over the nuclear race. We must bury the weapons, and not burn the people. We are the first generation that will either freeze the weapons or burn the people and freeze the planet.

We must dream of a new value system. We must dream of teachers, but teachers who will teach for life, not just for a living. We must dream of doctors who are more concerned with public health than personal wealth. We must dream of lawyers who are more concerned with justice than a judgeship. We must dream of artists, but artists who will convey music and message, rhythm, rhyme, and reason. We must dream of priests and preachers, but priests and preachers who will prophesy and not profiteer. We must dream of writers, but writers who will ascribe, describe and prescribe, not just scribble. We must dream of authentic leaders, who will mold public opinion against a head wind, not just follow the tail winds of opinion polls. We must dream of a world where we measure character by how much we share and care, not by how much we take and consume.

We must measure character by how we treat the least of these; by who feeds the most hungry people; by who educates the most uneducated people; by who cares and loves the most; by who fights for the needy and seeks to convene the greedy. We must dream and choose the laws of sacrifice which lead to greatness; and not the laws of convenience which lead to collapse.

In your dreaming you must know unearned suffering is redemptive. Water cannot wash away the blood of martyrs. Blood is thicker than water. Water makes grass and flowers grow. But blood makes roses and daughters of liberation grow. No matter how difficult the days, and dark the nights, there is a brighter side somewhere. In Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, El Salvador, South Africa, Greenville, South Carolina and Harlem, there is a brighter side.

Jesus was rejected from the inn and born in the slum. But just because you were born in the slum does not mean that the slum was born in you. With a made up mind, which is the most powerful instrument in the world, you can rise above your circumstances. No mountain is too high and no valley is too low; no forest is too dense, and no water is too deep—if your mind is made up. With eyesight, you may see misery. But with insight, you can see the brighter side.

Suffering breeds character. Character breeds faith. And in the end, faith will not disappoint. Faith, hope, and dreams will prevail. We must be bound together by faith, sustained by hope and driven by a dream. Troubles won't last always. Our time has come. Our time has come. Our time has come. Thank you and God bless you.

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