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Rainbow Push Coalition Speech/Event 9-16-2000 [2]

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Founder & President

REVEREND JESSE L. JACKSON, SR.
President and Chief Executive Officer
Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, Inc.



The Reverend Jesse Louis Jackson, President and Founder of the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, one of America's foremost political figures. Over the past thirty years he has played a pivotal role in virtually every movement for empowerment, peace, civil rights, gender equality, and economic social justice.

Reverend Jackson has been called the "conscience of the nation" and "the great unifier," challenging America to establish just and humane priorities. He is known for bringing people together in common ground across lines of race, class, gender, and belief.

Born on October 8, 1941 in Greenville, South Carolina, Jesse Jackson attended the University of Illinois on a football scholarship and later transferred to North Carolina A&T State University. He attended Chicago Theological Seminary until he joined the Civil Rights Movement full time in 1966.

Reverend Jackson began his activism as a student leader in the sit-in movement and continued as a young organizer for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as an assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He went on to direct Operation Breadbasket and subsequently founded People's United to Save Humanity (PUSH) in Chicago in 1971. PUSH's goals were economic empowerment and expanding educational and employment opportunities for the disadvantaged and communities of color. In 1984, Reverend Jackson founded the National Rainbow Coalition, a national social justice organization devoted to political empowerment, education and changing public policy. In September 1996, the Rainbow Coalition and Operation PUSH merged into the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition to continue both philosophies and maximize its resources.

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Long before national health care, a war on drugs, dialogue with the Soviet Union and negotiat with the Middle East were popular positions, Reverend Jackson advocated them. By virtue of Reverend Jackson's advocacy, South African apartheid and the fight for democracy in Haiti ca to the forefront of the national conscience.

Reverend Jackson's two presidential campaigns broke new ground in U.S. politics. His 1984 campaign won 3.5 million votes, registered over one million new voters, and helped the Demo Party regain control of the Senate in 1986. His 1988 candidacy won seven million votes and registered two million new voters and helped to sweep hundreds of elected officials into office. Additionally, this civil rights leader won a historic victory, coming in first or second in 46 out of contests. His clear progressive agenda and his ability to build an unprecedented coalition insp millions to join the political process.



REVEREND JESSE L. JACKSON, SR.

As a highly respected world leader, Reverend Jackson has acted many times as an international diplomat in sensitive situations. In 1984, for example, Reverend Jackson secured the release of captured Navy Lieutenant Robert Goodman from Syria, as well as the release of 48 Cuban and Cuban-American prisoners in 1984. He was the first American to bring hostages out of Kuwait in 1990.

In 1990, in an impressive victory, Reverend Jackson was elected to the post of U.S. Senator for Washington, D.C., a position also known as "Statehood Senator." The office was created to advocate for statehood for the District of Columbia, which has a population higher than five states yet has no voting representation in Congress.

A hallmark of Reverend Jackson's work has been his commitment to youth. He has visited thousands of high schools, colleges, universities, and correctional facilities encouraging excellence, inspiring hope and challenging young people to award themselves with academic excellence; stay drug-free. He has also been a major force in the American labor movement—working with unions to organize workers and mediate labor disputes. It is noted, Reverend Jackson has probably walked more picket lines and spoken at more labor rallies than any other national leader.



A renowned orator, Reverend Jackson has received numerous honors for his work in human rights, civil rights and for nonviolent social change. In 1991, the U.S. Post Office put his likeness on a pictorial postal cancellation, only the second living person to receive such an honor. He has been on the Gallup List of Ten Most Respected Americans for the past ten years. He has also received the prestigious NAACP Spingarn Award, in addition to honors from hundreds of grassroots and community organizations from coast to coast. Reverend Jackson has been awarded more than 10 honorary doctorate degrees, and frequently lectures at Howard, Yale, Princeton, Morehouse, Harvard, Columbia, Stanford, and Hampton Universities, among others.

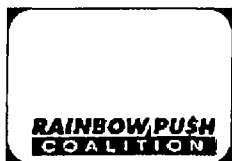
Since 1992, Reverend Jackson has hosted "Both Sides With Jesse Jackson" on Cable News Network. He is the author of two books: *Keep Hope Alive* (South End Press, 1989) and *Straight From the Heart* (Fortress Press, 1987). In 1996, Reverend Jackson co-authored the book *Legs Lynching: Racism, Injustice, and the Death Penalty* (Marlowe & Company) with his son, U.S. Representative Jesse L. Jackson, Jr.

In October 1997, Reverend Jackson was appointed by President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright as "Special Envoy of the President and Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa." In his official position as Special Envoy, Reverend Jackson traveled to Kenya and Zambia in November 1997. Reverend Jackson met with His Excellency Daniel T. Arap Moi of Kenya and President Frederick J.T. Chiluba of Zambia during his trip.

Reverend Jackson married college sweetheart Jacqueline Lavinia Brown in 1963. They have four children: Santita Jackson, Cong. Jesse Louis Jackson, Jr., Jonathan Jackson, Yusef DuBois Jackson, Esq., and Jacqueline Lavinia Jackson, Jr. The Jacksons reside in Chicago.



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October 15, 2000

Third Annual Rainbow/PUSH Coalition Awards Dinner Honoring President William Jefferson Clinton

The Beverly Hilton Hotel, Beverly Hills
6:00 P.M.

For ticket information, sponsorship and program advertisement opportunities, please call Michael Teta Associates at 323-658-5660.

October 18, 2000

Detroit Bureau

First Annual Automotive Conference Second Annual Strategic Partner Reception

"The State of Automotive Diversity"

Conference Sponsors

Why: To increase awareness, educate and celebrate diversity in the industry
Time:

1:00 PM - 5:00 PM Conference

5:00 PM - 6:00 PM VIP Reception

6:00 PM - 9:00 PM Reception

Conference Fee: \$35.00

Reception Contribution: \$125 (Patron) or \$250.00 (VIP Sponsor)

Location: Detroit Yacht Club, Belle-Isle

For more information, please call Glenda Gill at the RPC Detroit Bureau, 313-963-90

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That's why Vice-President Gore and I made it a priority to help build transportation links between places where jobs are plentiful and the rural areas, urban centers and small towns where jobs are scarce. We proposed the Job Access Initiative three years ago and worked with Congress to make it happen. Last year, we funded \$71.3 million in transportation grants in 42 states. Across the country, transit authorities have used these funds to add new routes, extend the hours of existing ones, and create van pools. They have brought transportation to the doorsteps of 13,500 employers. As a result, hundreds of thousands of people have new ways to get to work, take their kids to school, and expand their horizons through training and education.

Last year, those grants brought six Colorado communities almost three-quarters of a million dollars to help design and build transportation links that bring workers where the jobs are. And today I'm pleased to announce our new transportation grants: \$73 million dollars for projects in 39 states and the District of Columbia – including three in Colorado. One which I hope will benefit the clients of Mi Casa is \$700,000 to extend bus routes in Denver, helping people travel to jobs at suburban business parks and the Denver "Tech" Center.

And because not everyone can take public transportation to work, I'm also very glad that we worked with Congress this year to change the rule that forced low-income families to choose between the car they need to get to work and the food stamps they need to help feed their families. As I said when I signed the bill that created the Job Access grants, if you can't get to work, you can't go to work.

But transportation is only part of our agenda to support America's working families and help people move from welfare rolls to payrolls. There's a lot more work to be done. As Congress winds up its work this week, I'm asking them to show their support for America's working families by raising the minimum wage by \$1 over 2 years, to help more than ten million workers and hard-pressed families make ends meet.

I've proposed a package of responsible targeted tax cuts to help America's working families. They include rewarding retirement savings, expanding college opportunity, helping families with the rising costs of long term care, expanding and improving the child care tax credit, rewarding work and family by expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, and promoting philanthropy for all Americans by encouraging charitable giving. And my budget proposals would help promote responsible fatherhood and increase the child support paid directly to families. They would also encourage working families to save money, and expand access to child care, housing and health care.

The success of institutions like Mi Casa, and initiatives such as Job Access Transportation grants, make it crystal clear that there are millions of Americans out there who want to work, take responsibility, for their own lives and make the most of their God-given abilities. Giving them the tools to do that is one of the best investments we can make. And I hope you'll join us in the effort to make sure that resources keep flowing to people and programs like the ones you have built here in Denver.

Draft 10/13/00 12:40am
Heather Hurlburt

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT WELFARE-TO-WORK TRANSPORTATION EVENT
DENVER, COLORADO
October 14, 2000

Acknowledgements: Carmen Carillo [kar-REE-yo]; Mayor Wellington Webb; Representative Diana DeGette.

We have worked very hard for more than seven years now, based on a vision I had in 1992 that everyone who was willing to take responsibility ought to have a shot at opportunity – and a share in the American Dream. It turns out that many, many Americans shared that vision. Together, we've made it work.

We've had the longest economic expansion in our nation's history, and the lowest unemployment in 30 years. Unemployment in Colorado has gone from 6.1 percent in 1993 to 2.7 percent now. Unemployment among African Americans and Hispanics is the lowest it has ever been. We created more than 22 million new jobs, 568,000 of them in Colorado. But we are not just better off – we are a better nation. Poverty, crime and teen pregnancy are down, while home ownership, test scores and graduation rates are all up.

And we have accomplished something that was almost unthinkable eight years ago – we have cut welfare rolls by more than half as millions of parents have joined the workforce. We accomplished that through innovative welfare-to-work partnerships between Federal, state and local governments and the private sector. Denver, with Mayor Webb out in front, has been a national leader in this effort. Denver offers education, employment and child care services in one convenient stop... Helps train potential workers in centers like Mi Casa, and supports employers who train new workers themselves... Helps fathers get jobs, pay child support, and stay involved in their children's lives. And now that Denver's welfare rolls have dropped 90 percent, you're focusing on helping hard-working families succeed.

One of the most important elements in helping Americans move from welfare to work is making sure they can get from where they live to where the jobs are. Two-thirds of all the new jobs being created today are in the suburbs. But three-quarters of the Americans who receive public assistance live in central cities or rural areas. Our public transportation networks have not kept up with this rapid job growth. All too often around the country, the people who need jobs don't live where the jobs are. They find themselves taking three or four buses to get to work; relying on friends and family for rides; or simply unable to reach jobs or school at all.

That's not good for working families, or for people leaving welfare; and it's not good for our economy.

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Thank you.

Draft 10/13/00 12:40am
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"Winston, Judith" <Judith_Winston@ed.gov>
10/06/2000 04:42:09 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Terry Edmonds/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: One America Campus Week of Dialogue and National College Week

Dear Terry:

How are you? I have been listening to and reading with enjoyment what I presume are many of your themes and words in Presidential events around the country. I hope you are enjoying the work.

I am writing because I know how strongly the President feels about the Initiative for One America, and about continuing to move the country forward on issues relating to race. In the next two weeks, there are two education events that are very much a part of that vision: Campus Week of Dialogue (October 10 - 17) and National College Week (October 16 - 23). The theme for both events is Many Paths, One Journey: Building One America, which reflects the fact that educating students on diversity-related issues and providing all students the opportunity to succeed are very much related.

I wanted to let you know about these events so that, if it is appropriate in remarks that the President will be making in the next several days, he might talk about these events both to reinforce their importance and to encourage participation. (As an aside, a scheduling request has been submitted requesting the President's participation in an event for each initiative.)

Below are website addresses of the White House and the Department that include more information about both events. Briefly, as you may recall, during the Campus Week of Dialogue, colleges and universities across America organize and participate in events designed to promote racial reconciliation and cultural awareness. This is an effort that began in 1998 under the auspices of the Race Initiative, and has been one of the most successful events undertaken.

Secretary Riley and Ben Johnson jointly invited college and university presidents, students, faculty, associations, national and local leaders to host or visit a campus week activity. Last year over six hundred institutions participated through campus town hall meetings, faculty exchanges, student leadership activities, campus-university partnerships, and community service projects, to give a few examples. These efforts are important as America becomes more racially and ethnically diverse, and institutions of higher education play an essential role in reaching young

AS:J



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Memo to Presidential Speechwriting Team

From: Tracy K. Rice *Tracy Rice*
 Los Angeles Bureau Chief
 Rainbow/PUSH Coalition

Re: Suggested talking points for the October 15 Rainbow/PUSH Coalition
 Third Annual Awards Banquet and Birthday Party honoring President
 Clinton

Background

This is our Third Annual Rainbow/PUSH Coalition Awards Banquet which coincides with Rev. Jesse Jackson's birthday. (His actual birthday was October 8th and he turned 59.) The two previous years have sold out and past honorees whom the President would know have included Ron Burkle, Dolores Huerta, Maya Angelo, Fred Korematsu, Stevie Wonder, Quincy Jones and many others. The evening is typically a mixture of honorees accepting their awards after a brief reception and dinner, musical entertainment and a brief address by Reverend Jackson. It is a festive celebration and has been a highly successful fund raiser for our organization, the proceeds of which support the Los Angeles Bureau.

Many of the guests in attendance are longtime friends of Reverend Jackson and major donors to both Rainbow/PUSH Coalition and our 501(C)(3) counterpart - Citizenship Education Fund. Several people will have traveled from across the United States to attend the evening, though a majority of those in attendance reside in California. Attendees will range from executives of Fortune 500 companies to individuals who have been active in the civil rights movement since its inception. It will be a mixture of clergy, people from the business world, the entertainment community - both in front of and behind the cameras, and just our general supporters from over the years.

Acknowledgments: Please acknowledge the following attendees:

Rev.
 Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez
 Congresswoman Barbara Lee
 Congresswoman Maxine Waters & Ambassador Sidney Williams
 Secretary Norm Minetta
 Dinner Hosts Ron Burkle & Berry Gordy
 Speaker Emeritus Antonio Villaraigosa — *Vez-A-RAY-GO-SA*
 California Assemblymember Gil Cedillo
 California Senator Tom Hayden
 Staff Sgt. Andrew Ramirez
 Spc. Steven Gonzalez
 Staff Sgt. Christopher Stone

*3 held captive in
 Kalsoua - Rev.
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Memo to Speechwriters

RE: October 15th Rainbow/PUSH Awards Dinner

October 11, 2000

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Talking Points

Topics of interest to this constituency would include accomplishments of the Clinton Administration on diversity issues as they relate to the African American or minority community, Rev. Jackson and President Clinton's joint efforts to bring access to capitol to under-served America, i.e. The New Markets Initiative, President Clinton's appointment of Reverend Jackson as his Special Envoy to Africa and what Reverend's efforts have meant to him and their joint efforts to "bridge the digital divide."

The following are points that can be raised, though obviously this is over-inclusive. I would suggest you choose a few from the following "success stories", which are also highlighted in the Tribute Journal under the President's biographical sketch. For that reason (and because it would be too tedious), I would avoid running down too many of these statistics, but rather stick with the themes in general:

An Administration that Looks Like One America. The President has appointed the most diverse Cabinet and Administration in history. African Americans make up twelve percent of the Clinton Cabinet, including: Rodney Slater, Secretary of the Department of Transportation; Togo West, Jr., Secretary of Veterans Affairs and Alexis Herman, Secretary of Labor. Additionally, African Americans serve in the Administration as Surgeon General, Deputy Attorney General for the Department of Justice, Director of the National Park Service, Deputy Secretary of Commerce, Assistant Secretary at the Department of Education, Chair of the Railroad Retirement Board, and Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa.

Fighting for Equal Opportunity Building One America. The President has led the nation in an effort to become One America in the 21st Century: a place where we respect others' differences and, at the same time, embrace the common values that unite us. Dr. John Hope Franklin, Advisory Board Chair, and Rev. Suzan Johnson Cook served on the Advisory Board to the President's Initiative on Race, which the President charged with overseeing this effort. The President, the Administration and the Advisory Board were actively involved in public outreach efforts -- including holding numerous public meetings and town halls -- to engage Americans across the nation in this historic effort. One of the critical elements of the President's Initiative on Race was identifying, highlighting and sharing with the nation promising local and national efforts to promote racial reconciliation. The Advisory Board presented their final report to the President on September 18, 1998, and recommended that conversations on race continue. President Clinton appointed Robert B. (Ben) Johnson as Assistant to the President and Director of the White House Office on the President's Initiative for One America, a new office the President created to follow up on the work of his Initiative on Race. The President's FY 2001 budget includes \$5 million for One America dialogues to promote and facilitate discussions on racial diversity and understanding.

Memo to Speechwriters

RE: October 15th Rainbow/PUSH Awards Dinner

October 11, 2000

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Record-Low African American Unemployment.

The African-American unemployment rate has fallen from an average of 14.2 percent in 1992 to an average of 7.7 percent in 2000 – the lowest rate on record.

Median Income of African American Families Is Up \$5,104. Median household income of African American households is up 21 percent (or \$5,104) since 1993, from \$24,300 in 1993 to \$29,404 in 1998, adjusted for inflation. This is larger than the increase for all Americans.

Real Wages are Rising for African Americans. The real wages of African Americans have risen rapidly, up 8.2 percent in the last three years.

Highest Home ownership on Record for African Americans. The home ownership rate for African American households rose to 46.8 percent in the fourth quarter of 1999, the highest home ownership rate on record (comparable data go back to 1994). Between 1994 and 1999 the number of African American families that owned their own homes increased by 1.1 million.

Encouraging Investment in Underserved Communities with the New Markets Initiative. President Clinton's New Markets Initiative will help bring economic development and renewal to communities that have not benefitted from the soaring economy by spurring more than \$22 billion in new investment in urban and rural areas. On July 25, 2000, the House passed the President's New Markets Initiative in a historic bipartisan agreement that included extension and expansion of Empowerment Zones, and an increase in the Low Income Housing Tax Credit. The President has taken three New Markets Tours of underserved communities, which have helped generate more than \$1 billion in private sector investment commitments.

Expanding Access to Capital through Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI). Proposed and signed into law by the President in 1994, the CDFI Fund is helping to create a network of community development financial institutions in distressed areas across the United States through grants, loans and equity investments. In FY 1999, funding was increased 19 percent to \$95 million, and President Clinton successfully worked to maintain that investment in FY 2000. In FY 2001, the President is proposing \$125 million.

The President might want to touch on the work of Reverend Jackson's **Wall Street Project** which began in January of 1997, the goal of which was simple: to challenge corporate America to end the multi-billion dollar trade deficit with minority vendors and consumers.

"Three short years later your achievements have far exceeded even your own lofty expectations. You have successfully challenged our financial culture with a strong wake up call to the corporate world. You have brought light into the dark corners and made inclusion, expansion and opportunity the rule as opposed to the exception."

Memo to Speechwriters

RE: October 15th Rainbow/PUSH Awards Dinner

October 11, 2000

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Expanding Investment in Urban and Rural Areas. Spurring economic development in distressed communities, the Clinton-Gore Administration has created 31 Empowerment Zones and more than 100 Enterprise Communities, including 50 rural ECs, which are creating new jobs, new opportunities and stronger communities. This would have a dramatic effect in the areas with high unemployment, weak economies, shortages of affordable housing and other problems. The President won \$70 million in funding for Rural and Urban Empowerment Zones in FY 2000 -- after Congress initially provided no funding. On July 25, 2000, the House passed a bipartisan agreement that would extend and expand the incentives in the existing EZs, as well as create nine new Round 3

Closing the Digital Divide. Increasing access to technology and bridging the digital divide has been a top priority for President Clinton and Vice President Gore. To help make access to computers and the Internet as universal as the telephone, the Clinton-Gore Administration is proposing a comprehensive initiative to bridge the digital divide and create new opportunity for all Americans. Their FY 2001 budget includes proposals to: broaden access to technologies such as computers, the Internet, and high-speed networks; provide people with the skilled teachers and the training they need to master the information economy; and promote online content and applications that will help empower all Americans to use new technologies to their fullest potential.

Taking Executive Action to Bridge the Digital Divide. In December 1999, President Clinton directed the Cabinet to take specific actions to close the digital divide, such as expanding community Technology Centers in low-income neighborhoods, continuing to measure the extent of the digital divide, and helping low-income workers gain the skills needed to compete for high-paying information technology jobs. The President also announced the launch of the Digital Divide Network, an Internet-based information clearinghouse on public and private efforts to bring technology to underserved communities; and the formation of the Digital Opportunity Partnership, an alliance between the private sector and civil and human rights organizations to bring high technology to the doorstep of nonprofit organizations. He also announced a commitment by the Congress of National Black Churches to make the digital divide a top civil rights priority.

More than Three Times the Number of Small Business Loans. Between 1993 and 2000 the Small Business Administration (SBA) approved more than 16,100 loans to African American entrepreneurs under the 7(a), 504, and Microloan programs [as of 3/17/00]. In 1999 alone, the SBA granted 2,456 loans, worth \$386.3 million, to African American small business owners -- more than three times the number of loans granted in 1992.

Supporting Minority Business Communities and Increasing Access to Capital. Building on the efforts of the SBA, Vice President Gore unveiled aggressive plans to increase lending and business services to the African American and Hispanic business communities nationwide. The

Memo to Speechwriters

RE: October 15th Rainbow/PUSH Awards Dinner

October 11, 2000

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SBA has set a goal of providing an estimated total of \$1.86 billion in loans to African American small businesses over a three-year period. In addition, the Vice President announced an unprecedented agreement between SBA and the "Big Three" U.S. automakers to increase subcontracting awards to minority businesses by nearly \$3 billion over the next three years -- a 50 percent increase over current levels.

Ensuring Minority Business Owners Have a Fair Opportunity to Compete. The President signed the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century into law on June 9, 1998. The Act protects the Disadvantaged Business Enterprise (DBE) Program, a program that ensures that minority and women owned businesses have an opportunity to compete for transportation projects. The Administration helped defeat an amendment to the House version of this bill that would have eliminated the DBE Program. In a different measure, the President also approved the creation of a new program to target assistance to minority-owned businesses in industries that continue to reflect the effects of discrimination. As a result, thousands of minority-owned businesses will be able to compete more effectively for government contracts.

Working on Behalf of Minority Farmers. The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) is working to strengthen programs and increase outreach targeted to underserved communities, including increasing its lending to minority and women producers. In FY 1992, USDA made 961 loans worth \$53.9 million to minority farmers. In FY 1999, that increased to 4,005 loans worth \$296 million. The Administration is committed to righting any past wrongs by federal employees and worked with the Congress in 1998 to craft language contained in the Agriculture Appropriations bill that allows compensation to be provided to many minority farmers who were victims of discrimination by USDA from the early 1980's through the 1990's. On Jan. 5, 1999, Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman announced an historic agreement to settle the discrimination lawsuit against the USDA brought by African American farmers.

Increasing the Number of Judicial Appointments. President Clinton has named 14 African Americans as U.S. Attorneys and 12 African Americans as U.S. Marshals. The President has nominated 67 African Americans to the Federal bench, 17 percent of his total Federal bench nominations. The President has appointed more African Americans to federal judgeships (62 total) than were appointed during the last sixteen years combined (57 total). [White House Fact Sheet, 7/30/00]

Opposed California Prop. 209 and Similar Measures. The Clinton-Gore Administration strongly opposes state and local initiatives to eliminate affirmative action programs that expand opportunities for African Americans and others. The Administration filed amicus briefs opposing Proposition 209 in California, which currently prohibits state affirmative action programs. The Administration opposed similar initiatives in Houston, which was defeated, and Washington. In all these cases, representatives of the administration spoke out strongly against these initiatives as unfair and a barrier to equality.

TO: Ann Marie Wallace
FROM: Tracy K. Rice
RE: Description of Award
DATE: September 23, 2000

AWARD NAME: RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION 2000 LEADERSHIP AWARD

GIVEN FOR: Outstanding leadership and dedication to enhancing the lives of others.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF AWARD: Rectangle Crystal Award, 10" high with a thickness of 5/8" on a crystal base. The Award is inscribed with the following:

(RAINBOW LOGO)
Rainbow/PUSH Coalition
2000 LEADERSHIP AWARD

Presented To

President William Jefferson Clinton

for your passionate commitment,
indomitable spirit and outstanding
dedication to public service

Los Angeles, CA
October 15, 2000

PREVIOUS HONOREES:

- 1998: Ron Burkle - Bridge Builders Award
Dolores Huerta - Advocacy Award
Brenda Marsh-Mitchell - Grassroots Organizer Award
Quincy Jones - Legend Award
- 1999: Maya Angelou - Legend Award
Henry Duro & Priscilla Hunter - Leadership Award *
Fred Korematsu - Advocacy Award
Holly Robinson Peete - Woman of Conscience Award
Speaker Antonio Villariagosa - Trailblazer Award
John Wilhelm - Bridge Builders Award
Stevie Wonder - Legend Award
- 2000: President William Jefferson Clinton - Leadership Award
Angelo Ott, Esq. - Woman of Conscience
Mario Obledo - Trailblazer Award
Judge Greg Mathis - Advocacy Award

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 20, 2000

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST BISHOPS CONVENTION

Renaissance Hotel
Washington, D.C.

10:43 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Well, if I had any sense at all, I would quit while I'm ahead. (Laughter.) I know I'm not running for anything this year; otherwise, I would never agree to speak behind all those folks. (Laughter.). Bishop Owens and Bishop Smith and Bishop Brooks, Bishop Haynes. Let me say hello to Bishop Clark, the General Board of Bishops. I thank the choir. I was pretty transported during all that, weren't you?

AUDIENCE: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: If I could sing like that lady, I'd have been in a different line of work. (Laughter.)

I want to say a special word of thanks to Bishop Walker, who has been my friend for so many years, and his colleague in Arkansas, Bishop Lindsey. I hope the Lord won't think it's sacrilegious, but in a figurative way, they helped raise me from the political dead 18 years ago, otherwise I wouldn't be here today. And I thank them for that. (Applause.)

I also want to say how grateful I am to those in our administration who have helped me to work with you -- Ben Johnson who is here. You mentioned Alvin Brown, representing the Vice President. He also represented all those empowerment zones, where we've created jobs for people who have been left out and left behind -- the Vice President, and I thank him for that. (Applause.)

And I, too, want to pay special privilege to the man, Bishop Owens, who was where you are now when I started. Bishop Ford -- I loved him. He was my friend, and I'm honored to see you, sir. (Applause.)

In Timothy, it is written that, "If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work." Now, I thought I would come here and talk about that, because unlike me, you aren't term-limited. (Laughter.) Except, of course, in the sense that we are all term-limited.

And so as we pass through this fleeting life, I wanted most of all to thank you for your good work. I want to thank you for your friendship to me and to Hillary and to Chelsea; for sticking with our family through thick and thin; and for being a part of America's family as we have moved forward.

It seems hard to believe it's been almost 10 years since I spoke to about 20,000 members of the Church of God and Christ in Memphis, at the convention. (Applause.) Then Bishop Owens and I were reminiscing. I went back to Memphis, to the Mason Temple in 1993, to speak where Dr. King delivered his last sermon. And as he pointed out, some people

thought it was my best sermon as President. (Laughter.) In 1996, I addressed the Women's Convention in New Orleans. (Applause.)

We've had a wonderful relationship, a friendship, a partnership. And much of what has been said today has been deeply personal, and for that I am grateful. But I think it's worth remembering that you do your jobs and I have done mine not primarily for the personal, but for the others that we are supposed to be serving. And if we take a hit now and again along the way, that's just part of the cost of service. (Applause.)

And the scripture says we should simply not grow weary. That in due season, we shall reap. (Applause.) I have to admit, there were times when I thought the winters were too long and I thought we'd never get to the reaping part. (Laughter.)

But we have. We have the longest economic expansion in our history, and we've all been a part of it. (Applause.) We have the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years, the lowest violent crime in 27 years, the lowest African American unemployment ever recorded -- (applause) -- the lowest poverty rate among African Americans ever recorded -- (applause) -- the highest homeownership and business ownership among minorities in America ever recorded.

The teen birth rate is at the lowest level ever recorded. For the first time in history, African American children graduate from high school at the same rate as the white majority. (Applause.) We saw a report just a few days ago saying that the last couple of years the percentage of African American children taking advanced placement courses in high school -- which means they're going to college, otherwise there's no point in going through all that grief -- has increased by 300 percent in just the last three years. (Applause.)

And I do think a little of the venom is draining out of our national life. You know, there are people that try to start up and get everybody mad, but it's not getting a lot of traction this year. I saw, just the other day, the Church Arson Task Force said that church arsons today were less than half what they were four years ago. Maybe the American people are coming home to their better natures. I think they are, I hope they are.

And I guess that's the most important thing I want to say. I'm grateful that we've been able to make this progress, and I'm grateful that you believe I kept my commitments to you. I certainly tried to. (Applause.) But after all, we are all just passing through. If you serve four years or eight years as President, or four years or 40 years as Bishop, we're all just passing through. And we add our little bit to humanity's work and then we go on.

Now, what I want you to think about now is what have we done all this work together for in the last eight years? What have we fought all these fights for in the last eight years? What do we intend to do with this great unusual moment of peace and prosperity?

When I came to you 10 years ago -- I said this at the Congressional Black Caucus the other night and I got a laugh, and I think some people thought I was being a bit irreverent, but I wasn't -- I said, you know, people took a chance on me in 1992. I can just imagine all those people going in the polling place and saying, do I want to vote for this kid? He looks so young -- I didn't have any gray hair then. (Laughter.) And his opponent refers to him as the governor of a small southern state. I can't even find that place on the map; should I do this? I just hear all those conversations.

And I said, look, give me a break. It wasn't that big a chance

because the country was in the ditch and we needed a change, right? We needed a change. (Laughter and applause.)

But now we're doing well and we have a lot of self-confidence, and there are a few little storm clouds on the horizon at home and abroad. But people basically know that we're moving in the right direction and we're doing it together. So now we have a decision to make in the absence of that kind of pressure we felt in '92.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: -- Al Gore.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I'm getting to that. (Laughter.)

But it's not that easy. Why? There's an African proverb which says, smooth seas do not make skillful sailors. Sometimes it's harder to make a good decision in good times than bad times. Everybody in this room who's over 30 years old has made at least one big mistake in your life, not because times were so tough at the moment, but because they were so good you thought there was no penalty to the failure to concentrate. Is that right? Isn't that right? (Applause.) If you live long enough, you'll make a mistake like that. Is that right? Okay, that's where we are now. That's where we are.

Now, here's what we could do with this good fortune. If we wanted to, over the next 10 years, we could get rid of child poverty -- if we wanted to. We could give all our kids a world-class education. How do I know that? Well, I just told you some of the statistics.

The reason is, we now figured out what works: small classes, well-trained teachers, preschool, after-school programs, high standards; you turn around failing schools or put them under new management. Let me just give -- I was in Harlem the other day in a school, elementary school. Two years ago -- two years ago -- 80 percent of the children were doing reading and math below grade level. Two years later, today, 74 percent of the kids are doing reading and math above grade level -- at above grade level. (Applause.)

So we can do that. But it won't just happen because we have smooth seas. We'll have to decide. We could bring economic opportunity to the neighborhoods in the cities, the small rural towns, the Indian reservations, places that have been left behind.

We can take Medicare and Social Security out beyond the life of the baby boom generation so we don't bankrupt our kids and grandkids when we retire. We can give the seniors on Medicare a prescription drug benefit. We could have a tax cut that would continue to open the doors of college, that would help you pay -- if you're caring for an elderly or disabled loved one, long-term care; help you with child care.

We could have the right kind of tax cuts. We can do all that and still get this country out of debt over the next 10, 11 years for the first time since 1835. (Applause.) We could do those things.

We can continue the initiatives, I hope we will, that our country has made reaching out to the world, to fight AIDS and TB and malaria. Those three things kill one in every four people who die every year in the world. We can continue to work to lift the burden of debt off the poorest countries in the world -- in Africa and Latin America and in Asia -- so we can have genuine partnerships with free people, and help the rest of the world lift up.

You know, we're only 4 percent of the world's people, and we've got 21 percent of the world's wealth. So if we want to keep doing well, you don't have to be a rocket scientist to figure out we've got to sell something to the other 96 percent, and therefore it's good for us if

they do better. It is not only the morally right thing to do to lift up people who are trying to help themselves in Africa and Latin America and Asia, throughout the world, it also turns out to be good for us. So we can do these things, but we will have to decide.

Now, that's what the race for President is all about, that's what the race for all these Senate seats are all about. Of course, I have a particular interest in one of them. (Laughter and applause.) I told a group the other day, I said, this is an interesting time for me. This is the first time in 26 years I haven't been on the ballot. I've got 120 days, more or less, to be President. My party has a new leader, my family has a new candidate. My title now should be the Cheerleader-in-Chief of America. (Laughter and applause.)

But I'm glad to do it. We're all term-limited, but we've got to keep working. Right? So I ask you to think about that. Think about how thrilling it was when we started this in '91, '92, how concerned we were about all the problems of the country. Think about how troubled we were in 1993 in Memphis, talking about all these kids shooting other kids. That's what I said -- Martin Luther King didn't live and die for the right of some African American children to shoot others on the street and kill them, put drugs in their veins. That's not what it was about.

And what a long way we have come. But what I want to say to you is, for our country and our world, all the best things are still out there. We had to work so hard just to turn the old ship of state around. It was just like the country is like a big old ocean liner, and you get going in one direction, it takes it a little while to turn that sucker around. (Laughter.) That's why they hit -- that's what the Titanic was all about. Sometimes you can't turn it quick enough, you hit an iceberg, right? (Laughter.) So, thank God we got her turned around. And now it's going in the right direction. But if we keep going, all the best things are still out there.

This election is not about whether America will change; of course, America will change. The world is changing every day. The little girls in your congregation will soon become young women and they'll get married and they'll have babies of their own. And before you know it, when they come home from the hospital with their babies, they'll have a little gene card, coming out of the Human Genome Project that will tell them basically what their little babies' whole life history is likely to be like.

And they'll have some scary things on there. It'll say, well, your daughter has this little gene problem and, therefore, she's at greater risk of getting breast cancer in her '30s. That's the bad news. But the good news is, if you do these five things, you can cut the risk by two-thirds. That kind of stuff is going to happen. We're going to change.

And then our life expectancy, I think in the next 20 years, will go from 77 years to over 90. And it'll change. So what are all these old folks going to do? I hope to be one of them. (Laughter.) What are we going to do?

We've got to show up for some kind of work every day. How are we going to be useful? How are we going to avoid being -- how will this change your life and the way churches work and communities work? Yes, of course, it's going to change. And there will be more different kinds of people elected. You see, California, our most populous state, no longer has a majority of people of European ancestry. It's a polyglot state, and America soon will be.

It will change in other ways. I say this along toward the end of

my talk, but one of the two people who really started me -- introduced me to the African American churches in general and to your church in particular, is Secretary Slater, our Secretary of Transportation, who has been with me for 18 years, and I want to introduce him. (Applause.)

Won't be long until Rodney and people like him will be getting elected, and they'll be calling people like me to serve in their Cabinet. And that will be good, too. That will be good, too. Things will change. (Applause.) Things are going to change.

So the issue is not whether we're going to change, it is how we're going to change. And so if you feel all those things that I feel coming from you, all the wonderful things the Bishops said; if you think I was your faithful servant, then you hear me now: the best is still out there, and all we have done is basically set the table for America's feast.

But you've got to serve it up. (Applause.) You can't leave the food in the refrigerator and the stove and expect the banquet to be enjoyed. But the best is still out there. This is a good country. We're learning to live with each other a little better. And it's changing so fast.

I'll just tell you one little story. I got a call a couple days ago from Denzel Washington, a great actor. He's in a new movie, I don't know if you've seen it advertised, about football, about high school football, and the integration of T.C. Williams High School, and having a black football coach, in the '60s. Right across the river here, in Alexandria, Virginia.

So here, just in a generation, how far we have come. There is this wonderful, beautiful story. I hope it will be a smash movie about how all these white southerners found football heaven with a black coach and black players, right? (Laughter.) It's a story that has played itself out pretty well now. It's going to be a great movie.

But to give you an idea of how you can't stop change, I've been to T.C. Williams High School, more than once, as President. It probably has the best violence prevention program than any big high school I've ever seen. But it's not a black-white high school anymore. No telling how many people are there from how many countries. And that school district now has students -- the high school is the anchor of a school district that has students of 180 different ethnic and racial groups whose families speak over 100 different native languages.

So this is not just about you and me anymore, is it? America is about a whole lot of other people, too. And our future is about a whole lot of other people. (Applause.)

So that's the last point I want to leave you with. The Vice President and Senator Lieberman are good people, and they're good servants. (Applause.) And my wife has the best combination of mind and heart and knowledge and ability to get things done in the context of a forum like the Senate of anybody I've ever known. (Applause.) They're both better than me at some of the things that are important for people in public life to do. So nobody's got all the skills and everybody needs to be lifted up, first by the Lord and second by the people.

But you just remember what I told you. All we've done in the last eight years is set the table. And the feast is still out there. And you've got all these little kids growing up into a world that would have been unimaginable 10 or 15 years ago. They're going to be on their little computers, talking to kids in Africa and Japan and Ecuador, first one place and another. It's going to be a different world.

And this is the last point I want to make. The most important thing of all is still the struggle to get people to be proud of their own racial and ethnic heritage, proud of their own religious heritage, but absolutely convinced that our common humanity is the most important thing of all.

If I could have one wish at the close of my service, it would not be for your continued prosperity -- if I only had one -- although I dearly hope you'll have it. It would not be even for every one of your children to get a college degree, although I deeply hope they will. If I could only have one wish, it would be that somehow, we could lay down enough of our demons to be one America and live together as brothers and sisters. (Applause.)

So you have been good to me. I love you, I'll never forget you. When I'm not President anymore, I'm still going to try to be a good citizen. I'm going to try to use all the things I've learned and all the things I've done to be of some use in the world. And if I can be of some use to you, all you've got to do is call.

But you remember. Meanwhile, I'm going to give you 120 hard days. I'm going to finish the peace process in the Middle East, I'm going to try to get as much done in education -- things as I can with this Congress, and I'm going to do what I can to take my case on America's future to people who wish to listen to it.

But the most important thing is to realize we are all term-limited. It's what we do, not who we are as individuals that matters. Now, if you can help the agents of positive change, we'll build one America; and you recognize that the table is set, but the feast has to be put out there, and it's still out there -- that would be good for you, good for your children, good for our country and good for the world.

Meanwhile, if you ever need me, just call. I love you. Thank you, and God bless you. (Applause.)

END 11:07 A.M. EDT

Rainbow -



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About RPC

THE RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION

Is a progressive organization fighting for social change. As a mighty coalition of conscience; workers, women and people of color have the power to make the American Dream a Reality!

"The American Dream is one big tent of many cultures, races and religions. Under the tent, everybody is assured equal protection under the law, equal opportunity, equal access and a fair share. Our struggle demands that we open closed doors, extend the tent and even the playing field."

REV. JESSE L. JACKSON, SR.

The Mission

The National Rainbow/PUSH Coalition (RPC) is a multiracial, multi-issue, international membership organization founded by Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, Sr. We're working to move the nation and the world toward social, racial and economic justice. From our national headquarters in Chicago and a bureau in Washington, D.C., we're uniting people of diverse ethnic, religious, economic and political backgrounds to make America's promise of "liberty and justice for all" a reality.

The History

RPC is the merger of Operation PUSH (founded in 1971) and the National Rainbow Coalition (founded in 1985). One organization will more efficiently use financial resources, staff and leadership. Major accomplishments include:

- Registering hundreds of thousands of voters
- Assisting in the election of hundreds of local, state and federal officials
- Mediating labor disputes
- Challenging broadcast station licenses to ensure equal employment opportunities in the media
- Lobbying to include more minorities in all areas of the entertainment industry
- Negotiating economic covenants with major corporations resulting in hundreds of minority owned franchises and car dealerships and other business opportunities
- Influencing political policy in South Africa and Haiti
- Helping, increase the number of minority administrators in college and professional

sports

The Method

We are mobilizing in the best tradition of the Civil Rights Movement, while utilizing of the art communications tools. With computer lists, the Internet, email and the "Jack Fax", we will continue to educate, demonstrate, boycott, and litigate to protect our interests and share in the power, benefits and responsibilities as citizens of the nation the world. The coalition is steered by a Board of Directors and key issue oriented commissions. Our day-to-day operations are run by a competent staffs in Chicago, Washington D.C, New York and Los Angeles.

The Issues

RPC is dedicated to improving the lives of all people by focusing on cures for social, economic and political ills. Our issues include but are not limited to:

- Jobs and Economic Empowerment
- Employee Rights and Livable Wages
- Educational Access
- Fair and Decent Housing
- Voter Registration and Civic Education
- Election Law Reform
- Fairness in the Media, Sports, and Criminal
- Justice System
- Political Empowerment
- Trade and Foreign Policy
- Affirmative Action and Equal Rights
- Gender Equality
- Environmental justice

We have a long standing commitment to building the labor movement and protecting rights of working people, women and minorities. We therefore support the organizing efforts of unions and causes ranging from women's rights to the survival of small business.

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"Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed; for the LORD thy GOD is with thee whithersoever thou goest."



God has been with Rev. Jackson and Rainbow/PUSH through each and every struggle campaign and initiative. When we look back over years of struggle and service we know that only a God could have delivered an organization with a vision which the founder received, continues to write, publish and make plain to the masses

For more than 25 years God caused PUSH to touch and change the lives of millions around the world. Many diverse segments of the community joined to organize PUSH. The element that was able to provide the spirit, the strength, and the very soul of PUSH has been the Ministers' Division. The first and current home for PUSH was in the church, a former Jewish synagogue. The first meetings discussing the formation of PUSH were held in the basement of the home of Rev(s). Claude and Addie Wyatt. A major leader in the labor movement, Rev. Addie Wyatt was a member of the historic Packing House Worker's Union, the first labor organization that brought Dr. King to Chicago in May 1956. At that time, Rev. Wyatt along with the now retired congressman Charles Haye and Russell Lasley, met with Dr. King in Chicago at the old packing house together with Al Raby, and the late Bill Berry, of the Chicago Urban League. When Rev. Jackson first arrived in Chicago, meetings were held at the University of Chicago Theological Seminary with Dr. Alvin Pitcher, Rev. Dave Wallace, Rev. Willie T. Barrow; Rev. Stroy Freeman and Rev. Clay Evans to discuss the church, the civil rights movement and the need to build a coalition between the civil rights movement and the labor unions.

At this time there were a few supportive labor leaders like Jim Wright. Later the group expanded and an organizing meeting was held in the basement of the Fellowship Missionary Baptist Church where the Rev. Clay Evans, chairman emeritus of PUSH, was pastor. Additional meetings were held in the New Friendship, where Rev. Stroy Freeman was the pastor. The Rev. Gordon Humphrey and the Shiloh Baptist Church family welcomed PUSH to its sanctuary when all other doors were closed.

It was the late Rev. A.R. Leak that provided housing and support for the Rev. Jesse Jackson Sr. and his family during the infant years of PUSH when times were hard and there was little financial support for the work. Rev. Jackson's classmates at Chicago Theological Seminary, Gary Massoni and Dave Wallace, joined in the PUSH development.

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effort.

The ministers initiated a number of "affirmatively action strategies", namely they: advocated selective patronage at a time when Blacks were unfamiliar with selective buying. Lab was familiar with boycotting products and industries that were unfair to its workers. The concept of selective buying was used when it was discovered that there were Black businesses who could not sell their products in the stores and the Black consumers were under-educated as to the existence of these Black products. Thus, the PUSH Ministers Division organized Black consumers into a powerful force known as "PUSH Resisters" who were challenged to learn to identify, request and buy Black products like "Mumb Bar-B-Que sauce, produced by Argie B and his family in Chicago.



The ministers negotiated with the supermarket chains to provide shelf space for African-American-made products and to give contracts to Black scavenger firms to remove the refuse from the stores. The ministers organized and promoted buy-ins, eat and shop-ins at Black restaurants. There were training sessions for the producers like Baldwin's ice cream, Diamond Sparkle wax, Stewart's bleach, etc.

The ministers also reached out to assist the workers by helping to support affirmative action before there were the laws on the books on the basis that every worker had a right to a liveable wage and decent working conditions.

Ministers dealt with the critical housing needs of the community by opening up housing in the city of Chicago and across the nation. At the time of PUSH's birth many Blacks were forced to buy houses on contracts which were designed to become void on the missing one payment. PUSH negotiated with the state and federal legislatures to implement and enforce fair housing laws.

In the public schools, PUSH pushed for decent education and was the first to advocate excellence in student performance as well as greater parental involvement.

One of Rev. Jackson's themes was "Save the Children" through which he tried to warn the community that children were facing critical times.

Then he challenged America to "Play the game by one set of rules."

Rev. Jackson connected the business community and the religious community into a united force to move for "Our fair share of jobs and contracts."

The Ministers' Division called upon the U.S. Congress to implement a fair international policy in Africa, the Middle East and Caribbean.

They created a weekly public forum where each segment of the "village" that everyone talks about came to a village meeting every Saturday where millionaires met with well recipients, academicians met those with mother wit, business owners met with the unemployed. At the Saturday Morning Community Forum, the community was called together weekly and then at the national PUSH Convention each year to raise the level of respect, thinking and vision of people at every station in life.

PUSH went to Haiti before and during the administration of President Aristide. Rev. Jackson and PUSH representatives traveled to the Middle East, to Cuba, to Syria to recover Navy Lieutenant Goodman, to Ethiopia in the attempt to amplify the famine crisis in 1983, and to South Africa before and after President Nelson Mandela was released from prison.

The PUSH ministers, pastors, and religious leaders have been responsible for implementing the mission and vision of the PUSH founders. PUSH has enjoyed the support and presence of America's foremost Black religious leaders from the time of its birth. The founding Board of Directors included the top preachers, religious leaders, professors and scholars of the '70s. Those who were with Dr. King, like Rev. Otis Mc Jr., (Dr. King named him the "silver tongue orator"), Rev. Dr. Wyatt Tee Walker (chief staff to Dr. King), Rev. Samuel Billy Kyles (who was in Memphis with Dr. King on the day of his assassination) joined forces with the Rev. Jackson to create a climate for so much change in the world.

The foremost denominational leaders and America's greatest proclaimers of the gospel, the implementors of the social gospel rallied to the call of PUSH for a national religious council. PUSH was organized with the support and presence of. Rev. Stephen John Thurston Jr.; the Rev. Donald L. Parson Jr. (who with the assistance of Lucille C. Lord drafted the first PUSH Ministers' Division Manual; Bishop H.H. Brookins of the A.M. Church; Bishop Louis H. Ford, St. Paul Church of God in Christ; Professor Dr. Phale Hale; The Rev(s). Claude and Addie Wyatt, co-pastors of the Vernon Park Church of God; Rev. Willie T. Barrow, a youth director from Burton, Texas; Father Egan of the Catholic Church; Father Hogan of the Catholic Church; Rev. Don Benedict and Dr. Archie Hargrave, were among the other members of the clergy who joined to support the PUSH formation.

These men and women of God formed the nucleus of and charted the course for one of the most influential human rights organizations of our time.

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Wall Street Project

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Background

"We insist that corporations stop the formula of targeting us for consumption and then boycotting us. We don't want to be boycott partners. We want to be trading partners...Rainbow/PUSH has long focused on capitol, we will now also concentrate capital. We must tear down the walls on Wall Street. If corporate America tears down walls that divide and restrict opportunity and access, it will find new talents, new idea new capital and new markets...it's good business-not the cost of doing business!"

Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, Sr.

The Rainbow/PUSH Coalition's Wall Street Project, headquartered in the heart of world's financial center, is a wake-up call to the corporate world for inclusion, expansion and opportunity.

The Rainbow/PUSH Coalition's Wall Street Project was launched on January 15, 1999 challenge corporate America to end the multi-billion dollar trade deficit with minority vendors and consumers. The Wall Street Project uses research, education and negotiation to persuade companies to close the gap by hiring and promoting more minorities to corporate boards and awarding more contracts to minority businesses.

There is a multi-billion dollar trade deficit between corporations and minority consumers. The Wall Street Project is bringing Rev. Jesse Jackson's early Operation Breadbasket concept of research, education and negotiation to Wall Street to change that. With a combination of persuasion and pressure, companies will be lobbied to:

- Hire and promote more minorities
- Name more minorities to corporate boards
- Award more business to minority companies

International Trade Bureau The trade bureau, composed of successful minority business and owners and Rainbow/PUSH coalition staff,

- Rates companies according to their performance and policies for inclusion, fair and expansion
- Sets the standards for reciprocal trade agreements with major corporations
- Helps determine corporate targets who should be trading partners
- Works for fair access to government sector contracts

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Rainbow/PUSH Rebuild America Commission

Rev. Jesse Jackson has long been a proponent of using 5% of the nation's billions of dollars in pension funds to put Americans back to work. This commission is composed of a panel of experts who are looking for effective ways to use pension funds to invest in rebuilding America's crumbling infrastructure.

A Million Consumers Our effectiveness depends on our ability to mobilize minority consumers. That is why we are organizing an army of 20,000 in each of the nation's 5 largest cities. These one million consumers receive monthly updates on the records of specific companies' dealings with minorities in general and The Wall Street Project in particular. If companies do not respond to research, education and negotiation, direct action by one million consumers can be quickly mobilized.



Trading Partners is the Wall Street Project's monthly newsletter, which reports the project's research results. Which of the nation's largest corporations are doing an effective job of stopping patterns of exclusion, race and sexual discrimination? Which ones are not? Each month, you find out who's boycotting us...and who we're boycotting. Who has become a new "trading partner"? What company has policies rating a honorable mention or a dishonorable mention?

Please join us for this historical event by returning the attached registration form. Additional questions about the events should be directed to the Wall Street Project office at (212) 425-7874 or e-mail us at WSP@rainbowpush.org.

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Black Enterprise, August, 2000

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Black Enterprise

August, 2000

SECTION: 30TH ANNIVERSARY; Pg. 108

LENGTH: 314 words

HEADLINE: jesse jackson founder and president **rainbow/push coalition** on building wealth

BODY:

ON BLACK SPENDING POWER

IT'S SIGNIFICANT. PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS ESTABLISHED HIS New Markets Initiative because he realizes that we are not reaching America's underserved communities. I've traveled with him from New York to Detroit to Appalachia to Silicon Valley to push this initiative. There is a wealth of underutilized people and talent available. Minorities spend an estimated \$ 800 billion each year. They spend more, and are closer than most developed markets in the world, yet they are largely ignored.

ON ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

Just a few miles from Silicon Valley, students in some schools don't even have working computers. Harlem is on the same island as Wall Street, yet there is not one car dealership in the neighborhood. It took many years to get a major supermarket in Harlem, and many other services are still not easily available. A whole community has been redlined, kept from economic access. Its residents represent an underserved, unwired community with underutilized talent.

ON CREATING OPPORTUNITY

We've [Rainbow/PUSH] started with 1,000 churches, teaching the memberships about the science of the marketplace. We're teaching them its language. We're showing them how to buy stock, and we're hoping they will convince other members to buy stock. Our goal is not just to spend money on products, but to benefit from corporate growth. We want to be Coke shareholders, GM shareholders. When we do so, when we participate in shareholders' meetings, we will help end patterns of racial exclusion in the financial industry.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson served as national director of Operation Breadbasket, the economic wing of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He ran for president of the United States in 1984 and 1988, and is the founder of the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition's Wall Street Project and La Salle Street Project.

GRAPHIC: Picture, no caption

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 31, 2000

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : [Magazine Stories, Combined](#) 

Terms: [headline \(rainbow push coalition\)](#) ([Edit Search](#))

View: Full

Date/Time: Tuesday, October 10, 2000 - 3:29 PM EDT

Fund Raising Management May 1, 2000

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Fund Raising Management

May 1, 2000

SECTION: No. 15, Vol. 30; Pg. 16 ; ISSN: 0016-268X

IAC-ACC-NO: 63017491

LENGTH: 248 words

HEADLINE: Freddie Mac And **Rainbow Push Coalition** Announce \$ 1 Billion Minority Homeownership Initiative; Brief Article

BODY:

Freddie Mac and a business group founded by Reverend Jesse Jackson recently announced a plan aimed at increasing minority homeownership. Under the plan, Freddie Mac pledges to buy up to \$ 1 billion of home loans made to minority families.

"With Freddie Mac, we are building new homeowners in our minority communities. Freddie Mac and the Wall Street Project agree that we all win when we expand access to capital for our underserved communities," said Jackson. Jackson formed the Rainbow! PUSH Coalition's Wall Street Project in 1997 to combat inequality faced by minority businesses and consumers.

Under the "Freddie Mac/Wall Street Project Minority Homeownership Initiative," Freddie Mac, a U.S. financier of mortgages, will purchase the loans through Bank of America Corp. and minority-owned lenders in selected locations over the next five years. In addition to funding, the program will promote education about homeownership and mortgage products in minority neighborhoods, and make Freddie Mac and Bank of America's flexible mortgage products more accessible to minority homebuyers.

"This initiative with the Wall Street Project is another way in which we will open doors to homeownership for minority families. We will continue to work to make the mortgage process more affordable, simpler, faster and fairer and to help potential homebuyers get the information they need to achieve their housing dreams," said Leland Brendsel, chairman and CEO of Freddie Mac.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

IAC-CREATE-DATE: July 24, 2000

LOAD-DATE: July 25, 2000

Source: All Sources : / . . . / : Magazine Stories, Combined 

Terms: **headline (rainbow push coalition)** ([Edit Search](#))

View: Full

Date/Time: Tuesday, October 10, 2000 - 3:29 PM EDT

The San Francisco Chronicle MARCH 3, 2000, FRIDAY,

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The San Francisco Chronicle

MARCH 3, 2000, FRIDAY, FINAL; PENINSULA EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A21

LENGTH: 504 words

HEADLINE: Rainbow Coalition Opens Office;

Jesse Jackson on hand in East Palo Alto

BYLINE: Julie N. Lynem, Chronicle Staff Writer

DATELINE: East Palo Alto

BODY:

The staff is geared up, the lights are on, and computers and office equipment donated by high-tech companies have been assembled at Jesse Jackson's new **Rainbow/PUSH Coalition** offices in East Palo Alto.

Everything appears to be ready to go at the headquarters for Jackson's ambitious Silicon Valley Project, which he hopes will link high-tech companies, small businesses, educators, government leaders and families in an ethnically diverse network. Jackson chose East Palo Alto, a poor island in a sea of technological wealth, to highlight his attempts to bridge the so-called digital divide.

But it's hard to connect without a phone line.

At yesterday's grand opening, Jackson said his staff was told by Pacific Bell recently that it would take as long as a month to get service.

"They said there were not enough lines in East Palo Alto," he said. "If we can't get schools wired, our kids cannot keep up. It's the story of two sides of one highway. On one side, there's a digital revolution going on. On the other, you can't get telephone lines."

John Britton, a PacBell spokesman, said yesterday that he would not dispute the 30-day time frame but noted that it is not uncommon for areas without lines to have to wait at least a week or two.

Explosive growth in Silicon Valley and an increasing demand for telecommunications services are making it hard for the company to keep up, he said.

"This is a phenomenon that's not specific to any one economic group," said Britton, who said he expects the lines to be installed by Tuesday. "The idea that it's somehow more prevalent in an area like East Palo Alto is inaccurate. In fact, it's more likely to occur where there's heavy growth."

Telephone lines aside, Jackson, local business and community leaders said they are hopeful that the coalition's presence will help create opportunities for those left out of the high-tech boom.

There are bodies of "underserved communities with underutilized talent and untapped capital," Jackson said. But instead of continuing to stress the digital divide, he said, the focus should be on building "digital connections" that will include all communities."

This spring, Jackson's project will sponsor a conference designed to highlight the participation of

people of color in technology. The CEOs of Silicon Valley's most high-profile companies have already have signed on to speak at the May 2-3 event in San Jose, he said.

The coalition also is sponsoring a reception later this month for women and members of minority groups interested in starting high-tech businesses. Ruben Barrales, chief executive officer of Joint Venture: Silicon Valley, said it is important to get young people involved in the new economy.

"No one can say opportunities are limited," he said. "They're here -- we just have to make sure kids get a higher quality of instruction, and access to training that will get them jobs."

For more information about **Rainbow/PUSH Coalition** events, call (510) 486-1095.

LOAD-DATE: March 3, 2000

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : **Major Newspapers** 

Terms: **atl 5 (rainbow-push coalition)** ([Edit Search](#))

View: Full

Date/Time: Tuesday, October 10, 2000 - 3:27 PM EDT

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Jet, August 30, 1999

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Jet

August 30, 1999

SECTION: NATIONAL REPORT; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 1395 words

HEADLINE: Rainbow/PUSH Coalition Pushes For Economic Justice At Annual Conference

BODY:

With "Building Bridges, Building Hope" as its theme, the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition held its annual national conference in Chicago and pushed for economic justice.

John H. Johnson, publisher, chairman and CEO of Johnson Publishing Company introduced Rev. Jackson, founder and president of the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition at the convention's annual Business Luncheon.

"It is an honor to come here on the eve of the 21st century to celebrate the 'Jesse idea' and the expanding Black consumer market that will surpass the one trillion dollar mark by the year 2011," Johnson said.

He recalled meeting Jackson years ago and watched him become a world leader. "This young man came to Chicago, penniless and unemployed, my mother and I gave him his first job because we knew that he was going to be somebody.

"And since I was right in the beginning, I guess I'm more qualified than anybody else to say on the eve of the millennium that all Americans are indebted to him for keeping the faith and for running one of the most extraordinary races of the 20th century."

Publisher Johnson noted, "I am reminded today that when he was a voice crying in the wilderness with Operation Breadbasket, EBONY printed a story calling him 'the apostle of economics.' That was in 1967, and 32 years later, he is still on the case, preaching spiritual and economic salvation and showing us the way to the new Rainbow market of the Rainbow millennium."

Rev. Jackson said economic inclusion for all Americans is the last "unfinished" business of the civil rights struggle.

Rev. Jackson recalled the three stages of the struggle for civil rights. The first was to end slavery, the second was to end segregation and the third stage was the right to vote. He noted the civil rights stages are like a "civil rights symphony, a freedom symphony."

He stressed that now is the time for Blacks to share in the fourth stage -- access to equal economic power.

"The fourth movement of the freedom symphony remains to be written," Jackson noted. "It is the climax, the hardest one to compose, the one for which the others were the prelude. It is the movement begun by Dr. King just before his death.

"This is the struggle to provide shared economic security and justice in the land. To lift up the least of these -- all of under-served America, Black, White, Brown and Red. It is the struggle to insure a healthy start for all of God's children . . . The struggle for equal access to education . . . It is the struggle for shared access to capital."

Jackson continued, "This fourth movement represents a shift in how we think and how we act. A shift from the race gap to the resource gap, the access to capital gap. From the horizontal struggle for equal rights to the vertical struggle for economic justice, to bridge the digital divide."

He said, "We have won every battle we have fought, but we still don't have what we need. We can still starve. We must now fight for our share of money. And we are not just talking about jobs, but wealth. In slavery, everybody had a job. There was full employment. There was nothing wrong (after slavery) with picking cotton, because cotton was a vibrant industry. But there is a problem with us continuing to remain at the bottom of an industry and failing to reap our fair share of the wealth."

Jackson has been on a mission to close the gap between the booming financial capitals of America and the distressed urban and rural areas. His goal is to help form partnerships between the leaders of big business and business people of color and to help create a vehicle that will transport capital to those underserved markets where there is underutilized talent and untapped resources.

Jackson stated, "This is the unfinished movement of Dr. King. He knew that a multiethnic, multicultural campaign for economic justice had to be the final movement for the civil rights struggle."

Jackson noted, "We will connect Wall Street to Appalachia and the Delta. We will connect LaSalle Street and Chicago and Englewood . . . We must work to get a share of America's growth and prosperity."

Jackson pointed out, "Even with the abounding wealth we now see in the country, 42 million Americans still have no health insurance, the greatest gap in the world of any industrialized country between the haves and the have-nots."

He continued, "We have the most children in poverty, about 15 million, and a substantial number of homeless people. There is an inequity in school funding. While some students study in modern technologically-advanced campuses, others go to classes in crumbling and outdated facilities that are not wired for the Internet."

The Rainbow/PUSH Coalition also has reached out to business leaders and urged them to invest in poverty-stricken areas.

Jackson said, "They haven't been able to see the markets that are out there. They need to realize they are not their brother's keepers, they are their brother's brothers. It's a new way. It combines enlightened interests and the moral imperative."

In addition to Publisher Johnson, the Business Luncheon drew a number of distinguished business leaders, including C. Michael Armstrong, chairman and CEO of AT&T; Sanford Weill, chairman and co-chief CEO of Citigroup; Hugh McColl, chairman and CEO of Bank of America; M. Douglas Ivester, CEO of the Coca-Cola Company, and Jerry Reinsdorf, owner of the Chicago Bulls and the Chicago White Sox.

Among those honored at the Business Luncheon were Armstrong, McColl, Mel Farr Sr., CEO of Mel Farr Automotive Group; Isiah Thomas, owner of CBA; Raul Alcorn Sr., president, Spanish Broadcasting System; Chester Davenport, president of Georgetown Partners; Robert Forney, president, Chicago Stock Exchange; business leader George Forbes; and Daymond John, Keith Perrin, Carl Brown and J. Alexander Martin, owners of FUBU clothing line.

Other distinguished guests who addressed the conference included Vice President Al Gore, his wife, Tipper Gore, Democratic presidential hopeful Bill Bradley, U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno, poet Maya Angelou, U.S. Labor Secretary Alexis Herman and the three U.S. soldiers whose freedom was negotiated by Rev. Jackson during his visit to Yugoslavia earlier this year.

Gore, who is a Democratic presidential hopeful, addressed the problem of hate crimes and the need for equal opportunity for Blacks and other minorities.

"I want to work with you to close the gap of opportunity that remains," Gore said. "I want to work with you for an America where we don't tolerate a single crime of hate and where police don't target the innocent . . . We need action. We need leadership that will stand up and be counted."

Bradley said he is basing his presidential campaign on a theme of racial unity, and as president, would like to build a multiracial coalition to tackle economic disparities, poverty and health-care reform.

"I'm staking my presidential campaign on the belief that 50 to 60 percent of Americans, including White Americans, want to have racial unity," Bradley said. "Racial unity is not a project. It is not a position. It's part of me."

U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno addressed the rising problem of police brutality, stressing that such action would not be tolerated.

"We have to do more," Reno said. "I think we have to make sure that we pursue each complaint in a careful, thoughtful way and that we make sure that everybody is appropriately protected."

Among the performers during the conference were Santita Jackson, Gladys Knight, Maze featuring Frankie Beverly, Jesse Powell, Chantay Savage, Albertina Walker, Walter Hawkins, Rev. Clay Evans, Take 6, Maestro Harrell and Chicago jazz vocalist Terisa Griffin.

A final key highlight of the conference was a 10-point plan for shared economic, political and civil rights security signed by Black and Hispanic leaders. The 10-point plan for the new millennium is:

1. Close the gap: Leave no American behind.
2. Quality public education for all children.
3. Alternatives to the jail industrial complex.
4. Guaranteed health care for all Americans.
5. An end to the glamorization of violence.
6. Affordable housing for all Americans.
7. Restoration of civil society.
8. Investing the surplus in our future.
9. Conscience and consistency in international affairs.
10. Preservation of the environment.

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, John H. Johnson, publisher, chairman and CEO of Johnson Publishing Company, introduces the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson Sr., founder and president of Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, at the Business Luncheon during the organization's 28th annual conference in Chicago; Picture 2, Rev. Jackson says the push for economic justice for Blacks is the last "unfinished" business in the civil rights struggle; Picture 3, Publisher Johnson and Rev. Jackson enjoy festivities at annual conference with M. Douglas Ivester, president and CEO of The Coca-Cola Company; Thomas J. Burrell, founder and CEO of Burrell Communications Group; and Ingrid Saunders Jones, vice president for corporate external affairs for Coca-Cola; Picture 4, At business luncheon, Publisher Johnson joins Rev. Jackson in greeting noted attorney Willie F. Gary, C. Michael

Armstrong, chairman & CEO of AT&T, and Jerry Reinsdorf, owner of the Chicago Bulls and the Chicago White Sox; Picture 5, Vice President Al Gore discusses the problem of hate crimes and pledged to work for "an America where we don't tolerate a single crime of hate and where police don't target the innocent."; Picture 6, U.S. Secretary of Commerce William Daley addresses the conference at the McCormick Place South convention center in Chicago; Pictures 7 and 8, U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno says police brutality will not be tolerated. Kweisi Mfume, president of the NAACP, lends his support to the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition during the organization's conference in Chicago; Picture 9, Democratic presidential hopeful Bill Bradley said his campaign is based on the theme of racial unity in America; Picture 10, M. Douglas Ivester, chairman and CEO of The Coca-Cola Company and longtime supporter of the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, opens a bottle of Coca-Cola during the Business Luncheon; Picture 11, Famed poet Maya Angelou was one of the keynote speakers during convention; Picture 12, Rev. Jackson, his wife, Jacqueline Jackson, and their daughter, singer Santita Jackson, welcome the POWs, whose freedom was negotiated by Rev. Jackson during a trip to Yugoslavia. The American soldiers are Specialist Steven M. Gonzalez, Staff Sgt. Christopher J. Stone and Sgt. Andrew A. Ramirez. Each received the Patriot Award for his courage; Picture 13, Mrs. Jacqueline Jackson and Rev. Willie T. Barrow, co-chair of Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, welcomes convention guests U.S. Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman, Maria D'Amezuea, former national vice president for Midwest and President Council 300 for League of United Latin American Citizens, and Mrs. Tipper Gore, wife of Vice President Al Gore; Picture 14, Jackson and sons, lawyer Yusef Jackson and Jonathan Jackson, president, Citizenship Education Fund of Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, co-owners of an Anheuser-Busch distributorship in Chicago, chat with Jim Daniels, an Anheuser-Busch representative; Picture 15, Mrs. Jackson greets Jewel Taylor, wife of Liberian President Charles Taylor, Fatima Abubakar, wife of General Abdulsalami Abubakar, former head of state of Nigeria, and Khadijah Muhammad, wife of Nation of Islam leader, Louis Farrakhan; Picture 16, John W. Rogers Jr., founder-president of Ariel Capital Management Inc., was among the many business leaders who participated in the convention; Pictures 17 and 18, Rev. Jackson presents Rev. James Trent Meeks and Rep. Rod Blagojevich the organization's International Peace and Justice Award for their assistance in helping him win the freedom of the POWs in Yugoslavia.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 6, 1999

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : **Magazine Stories, Combined** 

Terms: **headline (rainbow push coalition)** ([Edit Search](#))

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The New York Times, July 28, 1999

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July 28, 1999, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 12; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 943 words

HEADLINE: With a New Image, Jackson Campaigns Outside 2000 Race

BYLINE: By PAM BELLUCK

DATELINE: CHICAGO, July 27

BODY:

With Vice President Al Gore and former Senator Bill Bradley set to address the Rev. Jesse Jackson's coalition of civil rights groups and urban activists next week, Mr. Jackson says he will not endorse either candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination until he sees which seems more effective in championing causes he considers crucial.

"The issue is not who will I endorse," Mr. Jackson said in an interview here. "The issue is whether they will endorse the policies."

Mr. Gore and Mr. Bradley will have an opportunity to do that next week at a four-day national conference of Mr. Jackson's **Rainbow/ PUSH Coalition**, where each candidate will give a speech. Officials with both campaigns said they considered the conference an important chance for them to address Mr. Jackson's core African-American and liberal urban audience.

"We're going to work very hard to get his support and earn his support," said Chris Lehane, a spokesman for the Vice President. "We're absolutely not going to take anything for granted."

Mr. Jackson, who sought the Democratic nomination for President in 1984 and 1988 and is often mentioned as a potential candidate, decided this spring not to run in 2000. He wants to use his platform and political stature to influence the election from the outside and "set the climate for policy," he said on Monday, sitting at a plain round table at the South Side headquarters of the **Rainbow/PUSH Coalition**, the organization he founded more than 25 years ago.

Mr. Jackson says he wants to make sure the candidates -- and not necessarily just the Democrats -- feel compelled to focus on issues like health insurance for the poor, workers' rights, affirmative action and more money for urban schools.

Undoubtedly, one reason that Mr. Jackson, 57, decided not to seek office was that it seemed clear he could not win, but political analysts nonetheless consider him an important figure in Democratic politics, one who is seen much less as a controversial gadfly than as someone whose influence with potential voters has increased in recent years.

David Bositis, a senior policy analyst at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, has been gauging Mr. Jackson's popularity in surveys he has conducted in each of the last four years. He said whites were increasingly seeing Mr. Jackson in a positive light.

In 1996, 30 percent of whites surveyed viewed Mr. Jackson favorably and 50 percent viewed him unfavorably, Mr. Bositis said. In a 1999 survey to be published soon, 57 percent of whites viewed

Mr. Jackson favorably, and 29 percent regarded him unfavorably. Mr. Bositis also said more self-described conservatives gave Mr. Jackson favorable ratings than unfavorable ones.

Analysts say Mr. Jackson's improved image is partly due to the man himself and partly a reflection of the political climate. In the 1992 Presidential campaign, Bill Clinton, determined to show he was not a traditional liberal Democrat, seemed to make a point of distancing himself from Mr. Jackson and the black electorate by criticizing the rap performer Sister Souljah, who once suggested that blacks kill whites, at a **Rainbow/PUSH Coalition** convention. Now, analysts and Democratic strategists say, the party appears more well-rounded and the nation's strong economy makes Mr. Jackson's talk about helping the disadvantaged seem less threatening.

"At the national level there is no longer a sense that you're going to be opening up the public coffers to tons of welfare recipients if you say what Jesse Jackson agrees with," said Rachel Gorlin, a Democratic consultant.

In addition, Mr. Bositis said, Mr. Jackson's role as Mr. Clinton's spiritual adviser during the Monica Lewinsky scandal has given his religious persona more prominence. His campaign to encourage corporate investment in urban neighborhoods has introduced him to more business leaders. And, he continued, his role in freeing three American soldiers captured in Kosovo enhanced Mr. Jackson's public image, even if his intervention in the Yugoslavia conflict rankled the Clinton Administration.

Ms. Gorlin says Mr. Jackson has evolved "from being a figure who was able to inspire fear" to a point "where he's almost reached a statesman's status."

"He used to be a bogeyman," she added, "and that's no longer true."

Mr. Jackson said he decided not to run for President this time because campaign financing had distorted the political process, because candidates were not as free to express controversial opinions and because non-candidates had greater "moral authority."

Praising both Democratic candidates, Mr. Jackson, known for his lyrical, passionate speaking style, suggested that the less-than-galvanizing personalities of Mr. Bradley and Mr. Gore would not hinder their campaign success.

He described Mr. Bradley, who has talked a lot about racial issues, as "a very bright guy" who "has integrity" and has "sought to deal with real issues."

Eric Hauser, Mr. Bradley's spokesman, said the two men "have a lot of respect for each other."

Mr. Jackson clearly has a closer relationship with Mr. Gore. Although the two were rivals for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1988, Mr. Jackson said the campaign ultimately started a friendship that was strengthened when Mr. Jackson comforted Mr. Gore after his son, Albert 3d, almost died in an automobile accident in 1989.

"He's so smart and so well-prepared," Mr. Jackson said. "Gore has been preparing his whole life for high national service."

But he was careful not to tip his hand.

"This is exhibition season," Mr. Jackson said. "I want to see how the game is played."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

GRAPHIC: Photo: The Rev. Jesse Jackson, who was once a Presidential candidate himself, is being courted by the Gore and Bradley campaigns. (Cynthia Howe for The New York Times)

Chicago Tribune, July 19, 1998

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Chicago Tribune

July 19, 1998 Sunday, CHICAGOLAND FINAL EDITION

SECTION: BUSINESS; Pg. 1; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 1413 words

HEADLINE: JESSE JACKSON'S TOUGH SELL;
RAINBOW/PUSH COALITION'S LEADER ARGUES THAT ECONOMIC INCLUSION FOR
'UNDERSERVED AMERICA' IS A NATURAL EXTENSION OF CIVIL RIGHTS, BUT HE FACES ANOTHER
STRUGGLE: PUSHING FINANCIAL EQUITY IN A TIME OF ROBUST ECONOMIC HEALTH

BYLINE: By Tim Jones, Tribune Media Writer.

DATELINE: NEW YORK

BODY:

Looking like parishioners headed for the front pew, the TV news trucks were lined up outside, seemingly poised to hear the economic gospel according to Jesse L. Jackson Sr.

"More millionaires and billionaires than ever before, yet millions of Americans are being left behind" said Jackson, reciting a sound-bite litany to executives and pension-fund managers at New York Hospital last week.

Millions are "swallowing the bitter pill of stagnation instead of tasting the fruits of growth," Jackson said, constructing his case against economic inequity. "There is a growing gap in this country between the stock-wealthy and the sweat-poor."

But the TV news crews, who have had a magnet-like attraction to the venerable civil rights activist for three decades, were not drawn to Jackson's preachings on the chasm between the haves and have-nots. They were drawn to a disaster of a different sort--fresh mud and brown water on the street, deposited by a big, early morning water main break that shut down a several-block section of Manhattan's Upper East Side.

There was no contest; media interest in the mud and water outside prevailed over Jackson's stated moral imperatives inside. Never let it be said that it's easy to pitch hard times in good times.

So it is with the latest pilgrimage of the 56-year-old Jackson, who for 18 months has been trying to sell the virtues of economic inclusion in an era of unprecedented corporate consolidation, stock market growth and wealth creation. The message of Jackson's Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, which Jackson will bring to Chicago on July 30, is a familiar one, deeply rooted in the American populist tradition: Expand the American economy and broaden the base of prosperity and wealth so that it reaches places like Appalachia, the West Side of Chicago, East Los Angeles and Harlem.

Jackson and others note that if President Clinton and executives of major corporations can travel to China and other corporations in search of new markets, there is no reason why they cannot and should not seek the same investment opportunities at home.

"We're taking care of the world without taking care of home and that will lead to huge problems," Maceo Sloan, chairman and CEO of Sloan Financial Group, said at the New York forum.

This is not a race gap, Jackson says; nor does the problem stem from individual deficiencies in talent, faith, patriotism or work ethic. "It is an investment gap, an access to capital gap, a structural gap," Jackson told executives who control \$2 trillion in assets. The so-called underserved areas of America represent \$600 billion in buying power, he said, and investing in these areas makes good business sense.

"If we choose not to invest in underserved America, we will not only lose the market and profit, but we will also be forced to pay the higher and higher costs to jail our youth," he said.

But even though Jackson argues economic inclusion is a logical extension of civil rights, the concept of broadening the base of prosperity and wealth has historically been a tough sell in the fields of free enterprise.

Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan acknowledged. "I have no illusions that the task of breaking down barriers that have produced the gaps in income, wealth and employment will be simple," Greenspan said at an earlier Rainbow/PUSH conference in mid-January.

Although there continues to be talk of Jackson running for president in 2000, when there will not be a Democratic incumbent, the long slog of his challenge is daunting, forcing Jackson to employ new tactics. Jackson's success as an activist has been built on powerful visual images of confrontation, most of them from the civil rights struggle. The fist-waving, in-your-face Jackson has furthered his own image as a presidential candidate and trouble-shooter in discrimination cases and international disputes. Jackson would swoop down into issues and, just as quickly, exit them.

Creating a strong and lasting image of economic inequities in a robust economy, though, is a huge and complicated task. When Jackson brings the campaign to Chicago by opening a LaSalle Street office for Rainbow/PUSH in the heart of the city's financial district, he said the mission will be to change the corporate suite perception of the South and West Sides.

"Most of the gap is based on what I call cultural blinders," Jackson said in an interview. "If you live in the Loop or Lincoln Park or Skokie or in the northwest, and you work on LaSalle Street, you see the South and West Sides as a blur and you learn to see it as customers and workers, but not as investors and partners. We must be seen as investors and partners.

PUSH's so-called Wall Street Project, created 18 months ago, is aimed at freeing up capital--"to move Corporate America through enlightened self-interest," Jackson said in a letter explaining the campaign.

"In this case, progress cannot be made by government mandates. The private sector must take the lead in expanding the marketplace and making it more inclusive, principally because it is the private sector that stands to reap the rewards that a freer, more open market provides," Jackson said.

Where the civil rights movement relied on the media and Congress to achieve its goals, the Wall Street Project recognizes the diminished role of Washington and is aimed at the private sector's fonts of power: corporations and pension funds and their trillions of dollars.

PUSH's January conference featured speeches by President Clinton, Jacques Nasser, president of automotive operations at Ford Motor Co.; Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin; New York Stock Exchange Chairman Richard Grasso; and AFL-CIO President John Sweeney.

The collegial, daylong meeting in New York last Wednesday, involving about 100 business people, was an outgrowth of that first conference. It offered a view of Jackson that belies much of his public image and reflects the nature of his new challenge. Jackson and Sanford Weill, chairman and chief executive of Travelers Group, the financial-services company that will soon merge with Citicorp, acted as chummy hosts of the event and expressed statements of mutual admiration.

Jackson moved easily among the political extremes. Richard Trumka, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, was the luncheon speaker and could not resist taking a poke at General Motors Corp. and its handling of the 6-week-old strikes by the United Auto Workers union. Jackson, who has enjoyed the support of the AFL-CIO and the UAW, not only stayed out of the conflict; he urged reporters not to question Jack Smith, GM's CEO, about it.

"We want to move from battle ground to common ground," Jackson said. "We're not looking for boycott targets." When asked if Jackson was abandoning the stick that usually accompanies the carrot in negotiations, Jackson observed: "We'd rather use carrots because there's nutrition on both sides of it," referring to the billions of dollars of potential investments available from state pension funds and housing corporations.

Jackson is also careful not to define the economic inequities in racial terms. "Most poor people are neither black nor brown. They are white, female and young," he said.

Although Jackson has the encouragement of some important Clinton administration officials and the backing of CEOs such as Weill, his is the most-prominent voice of dissent against mergers and corporate investment strategies and the heart of the move to find new investment strategies. Jackson has the stature to meet with and stand up to corporate executives, but he is largely alone as a voice of prominent protest.

"He (Jackson) views himself--and with some justification--as a spokesperson for a constituency, and I think he feels it is a constituency that isn't always being spoken for today by others," said Chicago-based political consultant David Axelrod.

"This is an opportunity for him," Axelrod said. "There's an awful lot of angst out there amidst the good news. It's the downside of . . . an economy doing well, the impact of all the rationalizing and downsizing of corporations. All of these things that have produced more profit have also had implications for a lot of working families that haven't been entirely positive."

Jackson knows that. "We're pushing these corporations; we're pushing the envelope," Jackson said at the end of the conference. The network news crews never did show up, but at least for now, that didn't seem to matter.

GRAPHIC: PHOTOS 3PHOTO (color): For three decades, Jesse Jackson, Sr. has been at the forefront of civil rights battles. His latest campaign, however is not about a race gap: "It is an investment gap, an access to capital gap, a structural gap," he says. At right: Jackson listens to a panel discussion by some of the country's top business leaders during a forum in New York last week on a wider dispersal of capital investment.; PHOTO: Travelers Group Chairman Sanford Weill and Jesse Jackson hosted the roundtable discussion. Jackson will bring his campaign to Chicago this month, setting up an office in the financial district. Photos for the Tribune by Beбето Matthews/AP.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 19, 1998

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : [Major Newspapers](#) 

Terms: [headline \(rainbow-push coalition\)](#) ([Edit Search](#))

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Date/Time: Tuesday, October 10, 2000 - 3:26 PM EDT

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PRESS ON JACKSON

The San Francisco Chronicle MARCH 3, 2000, FRIDAY,

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SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A21

LENGTH: 504 words

HEADLINE: Rainbow Coalition Opens Office;

Jesse Jackson on hand in East Palo Alto

BYLINE: Julie N. Lynem, Chronicle Staff Writer

DATELINE: East Palo Alto

BODY:

The staff is geared up, the lights are on, and computers and office equipment donated by high-tech companies have been assembled at Jesse Jackson's new Rainbow/PUSH Coalition offices in East Palo Alto.

Everything appears to be ready to go at the headquarters for Jackson's ambitious Silicon Valley Project, which he hopes will link high-tech companies, small businesses, educators, government leaders and families in an ethnically diverse network. Jackson chose East Palo Alto, a poor island in a sea of technological wealth, to highlight his attempts to bridge the so-called digital divide.

But it's hard to connect without a phone line.

At yesterday's grand opening, Jackson said his staff was told by Pacific Bell recently that it would take as long as a month to get service.

"They said there were not enough lines in East Palo Alto," he said. "If we can't get schools wired, our kids cannot keep up. It's the story of two sides of one highway. On one side, there's a digital revolution going on. On the other, you can't get telephone lines."

John Britton, a PacBell spokesman, said yesterday that he would not dispute the 30-day time frame but noted that it is not uncommon for areas without lines to have to wait at least a week or two.

Explosive growth in Silicon Valley and an increasing demand for telecommunications services are making it hard for the company to keep up, he said.

"This is a phenomenon that's not specific to any one economic group," said Britton, who said he expects the lines to be installed by Tuesday. "The idea that it's somehow more prevalent in an area like East Palo Alto is inaccurate. In fact, it's more likely to occur where there's heavy growth."

Telephone lines aside, Jackson, local business and community leaders said they are hopeful that the coalition's presence will help create opportunities for those left out of the high-tech boom.

There are bodies of "underserved communities with underutilized talent and untapped capital," Jackson said. But instead of continuing to stress the digital divide, he said, the focus should be on building "digital connections" that will include all communities.

This spring, Jackson's project will sponsor a conference designed to highlight the participation of people of color in technology. The CEOs of Silicon Valley's most high-profile companies have already

have signed on to speak at the May 2-3 event in San Jose, he said.

The coalition also is sponsoring a reception later this month for women and members of minority groups interested in starting high-tech businesses. Ruben Barrales, chief executive officer of Joint Venture: Silicon Valley, said it is important to get young people involved in the new economy.

"No one can say opportunities are limited," he said. "They're here -- we just have to make sure kids get a higher quality of instruction, and access to training that will get them jobs."

For more information about Rainbow/PUSH Coalition events, call (510) 486-1095.

LOAD-DATE: March 3, 2000

Source: [All Sources](#) : / . . . / : **Major Newspapers** 

Terms: **headline (jesse jackson) and date(geq (01/01/99) and leq (11/01/00))** ([Edit Search](#))

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The Economist

November 27, 1999 , U.S. Edition

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HEADLINE: Jesse Jackson's wrong target

BODY:

IT IS always gratifying to see a demagogue unmasked. The Reverend Jesse Jackson, who so recently earned his country's gratitude for taking on the most difficult job imaginable -- moral guide to the president -- is now earning growing opprobrium for turning the expulsion of a group of adolescents into an excuse for racial posturing. In this case, however, our pleasure in seeing Mr Jackson unmasked is qualified by the fact that he has made it harder to have a sensible discussion about what is, in fact, a growing problem: the downside of zero tolerance.

The incident that put Mr Jackson back in the limelight took place in the small blue-collar city of Decatur, Illinois, when seven young black men disrupted a school football match. The school district expelled six of them from school for two years (the seventh left the school before the final vote), with the proviso that they could reapply for admission after one year. After a brief flurry of protests the issue disappeared from the front pages of even the local paper. But then Mr Jackson arrived, bringing in his wake the governor of Illinois, George Ryan, a travelling circus of professional protesters, and lots of journalists.

Mr Jackson started by declaring that the affair was not about race, and then did his utmost to prove the opposite. He compared Decatur with Selma, Alabama, where the black equal-rights movement came of age in a defiant march in 1965; talked darkly of "fighting powers unseen"; and likened himself to Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela. Ending zero tolerance, he hopes, will be the new civil-rights crusade.

If so, he has chosen the wrong case. His attempt to present the seven youths as victims of bigotry backfired when a home video was released. The video shows the students storming through the bleachers, fists flailing, as men, women and children flee in obvious terror. Betsy Stockard, a local councilwoman who was the first black politician to ask the school district to lighten up, changed her mind after seeing the video. "This was a horrendous brawl," she said. "This was scary." It now turns out that two of the seven youths had already been in trouble with the law. Two are "third-year freshmen". All seven have missed a total of 350 days of school over the past three years.

The fracas has been a disaster for Decatur, a town that, having only recently shed its reputation as "strike town USA", is now learning that race can be even more divisive than class. A black state legislator has dubbed the school board "criminals". A group of white supremacists has declared its support for the board. And, to avoid violence, three high schools have been briefly closed.

But it has also been a disaster for Mr Jackson. It suggests that he is losing his sense of timing. (The school board offered him a chance to withdraw gracefully when it reduced the expulsions to a single year; instead, he upped the ante, leading a march on the school and getting himself arrested.) It also suggests, more devastatingly, that he is hopelessly out of date. His politics were shaped by an era when the enemy was clear and the issues simple. But in Decatur he is dealing not with Bull Connor -- the brutal police commissioner who set his dogs on marchers in Birmingham, Alabama -- but with people whose main concern is safe schools. And in zero tolerance he is dealing with a policy that has much to commend it, as well as much to condemn.

The essence of zero tolerance, a policy now applied over much of the country, is that the punishment of specified misdemeanours should be rapid and inexorable. The idea has its origins in

America's twin domestic wars, on drugs and crime. It spread to the country's schools in 1994, when President Clinton's Gun-Free Schools Act required them to suspend for a year all students caught bringing guns on to their premises, and has been gathering momentum ever since, particularly after the gruesome killings at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado earlier this year.

Zero tolerance has brought wonders in its wake. In 1992, more than 2,200 New Yorkers were murdered, a high proportion of them non-whites; in 1998, a mere 600 got killed. The crime rate in schools has fallen from 155 for every 1,000 students in 1993 to 102 per 1,000 in 1997. Zero tolerance not only prevents a minority from making life a misery for the rest. It also gives children who may lack any support at home the firm structures that they need if they are to learn in school.

But there has always been a dark side to zero tolerance. Mandatory minimum sentences for drug offences, for example, have been a double disaster, diverting a lot of money from the war on serious crime and turning huge numbers of minor miscreants into hardened criminals. And the dark side of zero tolerance for schools is growing darker, as zealots add more and more minor misdemeanours to their list and as school boards, terrified of being sued, increasingly resort to inflexible rules.

The problem with relying on inflexible rules, of course, is that they prevent you from exercising individual judgment. This has led to an epidemic of absurdities. Children as young as five have been kicked out of school for possessing cough drops, or for wearing Halloween costumes that include paper swords and fake spikes, or for possessing rubber bands or toy guns. A five-year-old was expelled for bringing to school a razor blade that he found at a bus stop, and a six-year-old suspended for kissing a classmate.

Zero tolerance not only ensures that children who make the normal mistakes of childhood are lumped together with hard-core delinquents. It also ignores the all-important question of what happens to offenders after they have been expelled. A few no doubt meditate on their evil ways. But most just hang around on the streets, the likelihood that they will join the criminal underclass increasing by the day.

Jesse Jackson is wrong to excuse the behaviour of the Decatur seven because they happen to be black, and maliciously wrong to accuse the local school board of racism. But you do not have to subscribe to this school of victimology to worry that there are dangers in using inflexible rules to brand a growing number of people as menaces to society. Here, at last, is a problem for which the slogan "Mend it, don't end it" really does make sense.

GRAPHIC: margin_graphic, no caption

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Fortune, June 21, 1999

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June 21, 1999

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg. 102

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HEADLINE: Jesse Shakes The Money Tree;

REV. **JESSE JACKSON** PASSED ON A THIRD RUN AT THE WHITE HOUSE TO OPEN UP WALL STREET TO MINORITIES. HIS EFFORTS ARE HAVING AN IMPACT. BUT IS HE HELPING THE RIGHT PEOPLE?

BYLINE: David Whitford

BODY:

On a Tuesday in early May, just back from the Balkans where he had held hands in prayer with Slobodan Milosevic and sprung three U.S. soldiers from captivity, the Reverend Jesse Jackson kept two long-standing appointments in New York. The first, early in the morning, was at Paul Robeson High School in Brooklyn, one of thousands of motivational visits Jackson has made over the years to schools, churches, community centers, and union halls. "I am!" is how he begins at such gatherings, plainly joyful, the words welling up from deep down inside. "I am!" comes the instant response from his audience. "Somebody!" shouts Jackson. "Somebody!" comes the echo. He's 57 years old now, thicker in the chest than he used to be, and there are particles of gray in his mustache. But he can still be vintage Jackson, right out of the rousing civil-rights crusades of the 1960s and '70s.

Jackson's second appointment, at noon, was something else altogether: a quiet tete-a-tete up in Westchester County with someone who hardly needs reminding that he is somebody, thank you very much--Roger Enrico, the chief executive of PepsiCo. It was their first meeting since the Pepsi Bottling Group's \$ 2.3 billion IPO in March, when Enrico, bowing to enormous last-minute pressure from Jackson, overruled his own CFO and treasurer and made Utendahl Capital Partners, a black-owned investment bank, co-manager of the offering. That gave Utendahl, a seven-year-old firm founded with support from Merrill Lynch, a coveted spot on the cover of the prospectus, plus a cut of the \$ 19 million management fee.

Despite PBG's pallid performance since the IPO (it opened at \$ 23, but tumbled as low as \$ 20 and only lately returned to near its offering price), the Pepsi deal sent the loudest signal yet that Jackson, through his two-year-old Wall Street Project, is actually prying open doors long shut to minority financiers. It came on the heels of two other deals bearing Jackson's fingerprints: a \$ 60 million investment by Georgetown Partners, a ten-year-old private equity firm, in a joint partnership with GTE to buy part of Ameritech's wireless business; and the selection of Blaylock & Partners, a six-year-old firm founded with support from Bear Stearns, as co-manager in a record-breaking \$ 8 billion bond issue from AT&T.

Like most initiatives undertaken by Jackson, however, the Wall Street Project's successes are liberally sprinkled with controversy. Jackson's considerable persuasive powers are backed, implicitly or otherwise, by the threat of boycotts and bad publicity, and even some of the Wall Street Project's intended beneficiaries worry that by playing hardball with clients, Jackson only makes it tougher for minority firms to gain permanent entry into the cozy investment banking fraternity. Other minority financiers bitterly accuse Jackson of favoritism: They say how hard he works on your behalf depends on how generously you contribute to the not-for-profit Project.

And then there's the fundamental question: Why is Jesse Jackson, after all these years of advocating on behalf of the working class and the poor, troubling himself with the plight of such an elite segment of the population? Chester Davenport, for instance, the managing director of Georgetown Partners, recently sold his automobile-emissions-testing business for \$ 280 million and is said to have a personal net worth of around \$ 100 million. Does helping Davenport become really, really rich, as opposed to merely rich, truly advance the cause of people who need help most?

To a cynic, the answer's easy: Jackson's crusade on Wall Street has less to do with goodness than with the nation's Dow-addled zeitgeist and Jackson's compulsion to find the spotlight, wherever it may be. In March, when Jackson formally took himself out of the running for the 2000 Democratic presidential nomination, he said he wanted to spend "less time inside the Beltway" and more time on Wall Street, "challenging the finance culture." Jackson has found no shortage of things to challenge. The Wall Street Project, which he launched in 1997 as an outgrowth of his social-action Rainbow/Push Coalition, aims to create more entry-level jobs for blacks on Wall Street, promote diversity on corporate boards, promote black ownership of professional sports franchises, place institutional funds with minority money managers, and foster what Jackson calls "vehicles for the transport of capital" from Wall Street to Appalachia and Mississippi. Lately, however, the focus has been on rainmaking for the two dozen or so minority- and women-owned banks.

Cynics notwithstanding, few would argue that Wall Street provides a level playing field for minorities and women competing with white male investment bankers for the biggest deals. According to numbers compiled by Securities Data/Thomson Financial, Blaylock & Partners, far and away the leading black-owned firm, ranked 25th among corporate bond issuers in 1998, with a scant 1.2% market share; Blaylock's market share on the equity side, while also first among black-owned firms, was only 0.9%. Clearly some minority investment bankers have enjoyed a modicum of success; a few even played roles in major bond and equity deals before Jackson decided to take on the Street. "We know we have to bring the same intellectual capacity and execution that Goldman and Morgan Stanley bring," says CEO Ron Blaylock. "That's the only way we know how to play." Still, none of these firms have advanced beyond the boutique stage. Many are even losing ground. "Things are not going well for African-American [investment bankers]," says Leo Guzman of Guzman & Co., a Hispanic-owned firm that participated in the Pepsi IPO. "There were five or six major firms a few years ago that are no longer in business or barely in business."

Even so, why would the nation's most visible African-American leader focus on investment bankers rather than on any number of needier groups? FORTUNE put the question to Jackson in the parking lot outside Little Rock Baptist Church in Gulfport, Miss.--about as far from Wall Street as you can get and still be in the U.S. It was the week before Jackson's trip to the Balkans, at the start of an exhausting eight-day bus tour through the poorest state in the Union. In a few moments Jackson would speak to an expectant throng inside the church. (Every time the sanctuary's side door opened, song poured out.) Here in the South, Jackson is clearly in his element, surrounded by people who revere him as a hero of the civil-rights movement. So where in all this does the Wall Street Project fit in?

Jackson says he merely wants American capitalism to embrace the people it has mostly ignored. "I'm an enlightened capitalist," he says while standing just outside the church. "Capitalism without democracy is a runaway greed machine. Informed by democratic values, it is inclusive." Wealthy black entrepreneurs can play a unique role in that process in several ways. For one thing, says Jackson, a black financier may provide capital to black-owned businesses or to minority neighborhoods that others might turn down. "He's less likely to red-line," Jackson says that evening in Mississippi. "He's more likely to see the advantages of expanding into territory others have been blind to." A black who succeeds on Wall Street also becomes a valuable role model. "If he can do it, it means that others can do it too." And he can create opportunities for other minorities and minority-owned businesses. "The ripples that come from the big rock hitting the water just go on and on and on," Jackson says. "So it's not just a matter of him getting something.

It's him and the lawyers, the ad agencies, and the vendors he will hire."

Jackson would also like to help shatter Wall Street's ancient glass ceiling for talented blacks, a theme he came back to repeatedly over the next several days. "It's one thing to have people who, somewhere along life's journey, got sidetracked or broken and have been convinced they are not worthy of a certain level," Jackson tells FORTUNE. "So they settle for level four on a scale of ten. But the guy or lady who plays by the rules, doesn't get trapped in jail or drugs, doesn't get sidetracked by teen pregnancy, scores high on the SAT, goes to the white school, white classmate, white roommate, makes good grades--at graduation time, they [and their white classmates] go in two different directions! Those [blacks] have no capacity to rationalize why they paid 'ten' dues and they're not a 'ten.' "

John W. Rogers Jr., president of Ariel Capital Management, knows only too well what Jackson means. Both his parents graduated from law school at the University of Chicago, but as blacks in postwar America, they never even got the chance to work at a big downtown law firm. A generation later, Rogers, who went to Princeton, says that for all his successes, he still encounters race obstacles that cost him business. "I have a lot of discussions with [white] friends who are part of the country club elite," he says. "They just don't realize how much the game is skewed by relationships built up over a lifetime."

Making useful connections has never been Jackson's problem--and his relationships with an enviable cross-section of the nation's rich and powerful are one huge reason behind the Wall Street Project's successes to date. Jackson is tight with the President. He's on a first-name basis with Enrico, AT&T CEO Michael Armstrong, and Richard Grasso, chairman of the New York Stock Exchange. He has breakfast from time to time with Citigroup's Sandy Weill and once joined him for an evening at the Alvin Ailey Dance Theatre. Anybody he wants to reach, he can, period. His fundraising prowess is legendary, whether he's behind the pulpit at a ramshackle church in rural Mississippi ("All those who want to and are able to contribute at least \$ 100, please stand up!") or at a conference table in a corporate boardroom in Manhattan. For instance: Corporate sponsorships for this year's Wall Street Project black-tie gala on the floor of the exchange totaled at least \$ 1.25 million.

But once he has everybody's attention--and their money--then what? Like all gifted politicians, Jackson prefers accommodation to confrontation. "He knows that a hunger strike in the middle of Wall Street is not the right tool," says Guzman. So Jackson's pitch begins with an appeal to enlightened self-interest. "Let's talk business," he likes to say. He argues forcefully that corporate America, its vision limited by "cultural blinders," has imposed artificial limits on its own profits and growth--just as baseball's owners deprived the game of deserving talent and sold the fans an inferior product before Branch Rickey signed Jackie Robinson in 1947 to break the sport's color barrier. "We don't know how good American business can be," Jackson pronounces to corporate leaders. "We have not yet put all the players on the field."

When business logic is not enough, Jackson has other arrows in his quiver. He is a minister, don't forget, capable of making even Milosevic be still and bow his head. And he clearly has history and morality on his side: It would be hard for the Wall Street establishment to argue that it has never excluded minorities from positions of power.

Thus armed, Jackson enters negotiations with the assumption that everyone across the table wants to do the right thing. One of his favorite adjectives is "decent," as in "he's a decent guy," a phrase he used at different times to describe Enrico, Weill, Armstrong, and Texaco's Peter Bijur (but not Milosevic!). It's a powerful tactic. Knowing Jackson thinks you're a "decent guy" makes it easier to give him what he wants. This strategy provides the "smoothest ride," says Jackson. "People like to think of themselves as being basically good people who want to do what's morally right. They want to sleep with themselves at night and face their children."

If gentle persuasion fails, Jackson can employ less subtle tactics. According to those with knowledge of the negotiations, Pepsi's willingness to restructure its offering just hours before the

stock began trading was not purely a reflection of Enrico's "decency." Those insiders say that Jackson threatened Enrico with a messy public protest, even a boycott, unless he took steps to ensure that the makeup of the Pepsi Bottling Group's IPO syndicate more closely reflected the fact that blacks drink Pepsi too and celebrity endorsers like Ray Charles help sell it.

Enrico didn't want to talk to FORTUNE about the IPO, instead issuing a statement that read in part: "Rev. Jackson makes a very compelling case for minority business interests." Pepsi spokesman Dick Detwiler denied that Jackson bullied Enrico. But even if the threat was never explicit, it was clearly on the table. Says one senior-level investment banker whose firm lost some of its management fee after it had to make room for Utendahl: "Pepsi capitulated."

Even so, not everyone in Jackson's camp was thrilled with the way the story ended. The stock price dove sharply about an hour after it was issued. As a result, some of the investment banks that were not co-managers--that is, those that did not receive a cut of the management fee--may have actually lost money on the deal. "I think everybody, with the best intentions in the world, wanted minorities to [get a bigger share of the deal]," says one minority member of the Pepsi syndicate. "[But] it happened not to have been a particularly strong deal."

At least Utendahl earned a profit. The lion's share of the management fees and shares went to lead managers Merrill and Morgan. Utendahl and the eight other co-managers each received at least \$ 1 million, according to bankers familiar with the deal. The other co-managers each received 6,417,750 shares; limited capital on hand prevented Utendahl from taking more than 500,000 shares. Of his firm's participation in the deal at that level, CEO John Utendahl says, "It's a beginning."

Small victories notwithstanding, a deeper concern among black bankers is that Jackson might be playing it a bit too rough. Threatening boycotts and the like may ultimately ruin client relationships carefully cultivated over the years and poison the climate for future deals. "A lot of people are nervous about tapping into Jesse too much because they know there's a big backlash out there," says a black Wall Street financier. (Like almost everybody else interviewed for this story, he was afraid to say anything on the record even remotely critical of Jackson or the Wall Street Project.) Another minority banker worries about what happens when Jackson moves on. "You've gotten paid, but you don't have a relationship [with the clients]," he says. "It's not as though they're going to use you the next time, unless they're forced. It's not as though they're going to be a favorable and willing reference. I think going to war is bad for everyone."

Still others are unhappy with what they perceive to be Jackson's favored treatment of a select few. Jackson does not levy a fee for introducing firms to the right people, but it is understood, say executives at black-owned firms, that black-owned firms are expected to support the Wall Street Project monetarily. A spokesman for the Project denies that the size of a firm's contribution has anything to do with the effort that Jackson expends on its behalf. "When we send letters out," she says, "we include the names of everybody who's a member of our trade bureau, whether they pay a minuscule amount of money or a lot." But others say money talks. "There's a group of people that are not ever going to be a beneficiary of what [Jackson] has done because they're not paying the piper enough to get there," says the principal officer of one minority firm.

It's hardly a surprise that not everybody's happy with Jackson's m.o.--or even (let's be grownups here) that bigger donors might get better access. The real question is whether Jackson is making a difference. At least one black money manager who admires Jackson and generally supports his causes is skeptical. "It's a nice thing," he says. "But when push comes to shove, we're not talking about any significant business or profits or revenues or responsibility or power."

Maybe not--yet. But both the Pepsi and AT&T deals helped put money into black bankers' pockets, raised awareness of several black firms, and perhaps put the Street on notice that the good old ways of parceling out investment banking profits are no longer immune to challenge. True, the beneficiaries of the Project are better heeled than Jackson's traditional constituency. But so what? The funny thing is, given Jackson's strengths--his skill as a negotiator, his access to people in high

places--the clubby world of investment banking may be one place where Jackson can make a noticeable difference in a hurry.

Hoping for a dramatic follow-up to the Pepsi deal, Jackson tried mightily to put a black investment bank in a leading role in the recent highly anticipated Goldman Sachs IPO. He failed, despite a personal plea to Goldman CEO Henry Paulson. Soon afterward, however, Goldman completed a \$ 1.8 billion bond offering featuring two minority firms--Blaylock and Williams Capital Group--as co-managers. Several days later, when Seagram announced a secondary stock offering, Blaylock was in on that too, again in a coveted co-manager's position. What's telling in this deal is that Jackson didn't lift a finger. He didn't have to. Says a banker familiar with the deal: Seagram "wanted to get ahead of the Reverend." If that isn't progress, what is?

GRAPHIC: COLOR PHOTO: PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES LEYNSE--SABA, A rainmaker in his element: Jackson pitches deals in January with entrepreneur Percy Sutton and NYSE's Richard Grasso.; COLOR PHOTO: JOHN ABBOTT, Seagram beat Jesse to the punch by picking Blaylock to co-manage its upcoming equity deal.; COLOR PHOTO: JOHN ABBOTT, At the 11th hour, Utendahl's firm won a co-manager role in Pepsi's IPO.; B/W PHOTO: AMY TOENSING, In April, Jackson returned to his grass-roots methods on the streets of Jackson, Miss.

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HEADLINE: **Jesse Jackson** Pays a Return Visit to Wall Street

BYLINE: Tyler Maroney

BODY:

One year ago, Jesse Jackson shut down the New York Stock Exchange. It was part of his latest venture, the Wall Street Project, a campaign run by Jackson's Rainbow/Push Coalition to encourage minority participation in the financial sector. Among his first steps was persuading the exchange to close for Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday for the first time. Jackson then hosted a three-day conference that brought together President Clinton, Alan Greenspan, Robert Rubin, and a host of black and white business leaders.

At the time more than a few observers suspected that the project would be like the shutdown of the trading floor: a nice symbolic gesture with few bottom-line repercussions. But this January, Jackson was back--hosting a second conference and trumpeting the project's achievements. "Last year's conference was a dream," Jackson said. "This year we've seen the fruits of our labor." He then introduced an impressive array of panelists: Clinton appeared and pledged to increase public funds for community development banks and for venture capital firms that do business in inner cities. AT&T chief C. Michael Armstrong announced that AT&T will have a \$ 1 billion bond offering co-managed by a minority firm. And Bell Atlantic and SBC Communications both said that they will have large pension funds managed by minorities. "Black folks have never been in the power structure," says Clarence Avant, chairman of Motown Records. "Jesse Jackson got Wall Street to pay attention." Indeed, Jackson is shaping up as a force to be reckoned with. Through negotiations, he has prevented the shutdown of several minority-owned GM dealerships, and Rainbow/Push has bought stock in over a hundred corporations, giving it access to shareholders' meetings.

The question now is, will Jackson stick with the project, which relies so heavily on his star power? Critics have hinted that the whole venture may be a vehicle for Jackson to further his political career. Certainly, black business leaders have reason to hope that Jackson stays on. Says Fred Terrell, managing partner of Provender Capital Group: "In the final analysis, the impact of the Wall Street Project will be measured by what happens after the cameras are turned off."

--Tyler Maroney

GRAPHIC: COLOR PHOTO: LES STONE--SYGMA, Jackson and Clinton, together again [Jesse Jackson and Bill Clinton]

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HEADLINE: Preachers to power; Reverends Billy Graham and **Jesse Jackson** advise President Clinton on spiritual and personal matters; Articles

BYLINE: Sherrill, Robert

BODY:

I refer to the flatterers with whom the courts of princes are crowded. Because men are so easily pleased with their own qualities and are so readily deceived in them, they have difficulty in guarding against these pests.

--Niccolb Machiavelli, The Prince

When our Presidents need spiritual help--guidance, comfort, forgiveness, biblical endorsement--one of the Lord's surrogates will provide it. For most of the past half-century help has been provided largely by Billy Graham, who has become sort of an unofficial White House chaplain. Lately he has been joined in the service by Jesse Jackson.

They seemingly have little in common, except that they are both Baptist, both come out of the Carolinas and both are very big names in the ministry. Graham, sometimes known as "the World's Pastor," has reached through television more millions than any other preacher in history. Jackson, who performed a miracle by coming in second in the 1988 Democratic presidential primaries--and getting almost as many white votes as Al Gore, Richard Gephardt and Bruce Babbitt combined--is the most successful politician/preacher in this century. Once upon a time Graham's contribution, which some considered rather hysterical, was to turn the cold war into a forty-year holy war, assuring the Presidents of the era they would receive divine assistance in their fight against Communism, which Graham, called "a religion that is inspired, directed, and motivated by the Devil himself who has declared war against Almighty God."

The Devil lost the Communist battle, but now he's got a President sweating blood in the Gethsemane of sexual temptation and accusation. Fear not. Billy and Jesse will help supply so many excuses for Clinton and will arouse so much empathy from the rabble that the result will probably resemble redemption. Although Graham is now so old and so rickety from Parkinson's disease that he says he welcomes the thought of death, he is still a wily ally. Just as he found a chemical and metaphysical excuse for Nixon's transgression--"I think it was sleeping pills. Sleeping pills and demons. I think there was definitely demon power involved"--Graham has come up with a good excuse for Clinton's sins, too: another kind of chemistry. Before casting the first stone, he asks you to please remember that Clinton is "a strong, vigorous young man" with "such a tremendous personality" that "the ladies just go wild over him" and "he's had a lot of temptations thrown his way and a lot of pressure on him." Oh, it must be tough--and Graham says, "I know how hard it is." In countless interviews he has revealed his own method of avoiding the perils of lust and any hint of impropriety: He has never in his pastoral career allowed himself to be alone in

a room with a woman. That was probably a wise precaution, because he admits to having felt the usual impact on the libido and is convinced that one of the benefits of being a Christian is that believers enjoy "a ... happiness--even in the sex experience."

But the Reverend Jackson probably knows more about that than Graham does. Despite their rocky relationship in the past, Clinton could not have sought out a more experienced counselor in the technique of surviving a naughty reputation. Jackson, for years rumored to be a marathon womanizer, says his advice to Clinton when the Monica Lewinsky scandal broke was, "Don't panic." Following that precept, Jackson easily ducked the many sultry adultery stories that accompanied him when he was running for President in the eighties. Also, he can offer Clinton the same scriptural interpretation he used to defend himself: "When the Bible says Jesus went about doing good, didn't say being good. Said doing good."

If you don't like that argument, Jackson's got another jimdandy biblical one. On NBC he argued that the accusations against Clinton must be put "into perspective ... even the worst-case scenario of adultery." You must bear in mind that "there are ten commandments. This is one of the ten." Just one of ten. What's everyone so excited about?

There's something deliciously entertaining about these two gentlemen of the cloth participating in this messy affair. The leaders of organized religion have always displayed an amusing hypocrisy about sex--condemning it outside the holy matrimonial bed, but winking at the practice of same by the powerful and even covering it up when done by their own. While sprinkling the White House with piety, these pastors to power receive in exchange the sheen of fame that comes from having influence in high places.

It's an old routine. At the White House level, religion has been part of that great barter system since the early fifties, when Graham began turning quid pro quo into a brilliant but shabby art. The question we all should be asking of Jesse Jackson is: Do you really want to be following in these footsteps?

In 1949, as a young hellfire evangelist stumping California with his vision of the Communist-capitalist war for the soul of mankind, Graham attracted the admiring attention of Randolph Hearst, who gave his twenty-two newspapers the order, "Puff Graham." Next he was embraced by Henry Luce's Time and Life. Rich men loved his gospel, and he became very fond of them, too. "Some of the finest men I know are men of means," he said, "but their bank accounts, like their lives, are consecrated wholly to God." Well, perhaps not wholly; they had a few dollars left over for politics. Like Texas oilman Sid Richardson, who in 1952 persuaded House Speaker Sam Rayburn to wangle a special act of Congress permitting Graham to hold the first-ever religious service on the Capitol steps and the first-ever prayer sessions at the Pentagon every day throughout his Washington crusade.

Having now reached the status of celebrity, Graham was ready to use his fame politically. That year he gave significant help in the election of Dwight Eisenhower. Although Graham now says, "It would disturb me if there was a wedding between religious fundamentalists and the political right," back then he preached a different tune about religious bloc-voting. He predicted that "the Christian people of America will not sit idly by during the 1952 presidential campaign. [They] are going to vote as a bloc for the man with the strongest moral and spiritual platform, regardless of his views on other matters." For Graham, that man was Eisenhower. By no coincidence, he was also the man for the Texas oil fraternity; Richardson had helped get Eisenhower to Tun by enlisting Graham to woo the general by letter and then go to France to woo him personally with the argument that only the general who had helped save Europe in World War II could save America from the sinful left-wingers. Apparently, Eisenhower agreed. And just to make sure that he was pure enough for the job, immediately after his inauguration Eisenhower let Graham baptize him. The evangelist told his radio audience that Eisenhower's election meant nothing less than that "God is giving us a respite, a new chance."

As William Martin reports in his book *With God on Our Side*, a brilliant survey of the rise of the

religious right in America, "After Eisenhower's first talk on foreign policy, Graham compared the address to the Sermon on the Mount. This effusive support of Eisenhower's cause laid the groundwork for what would become the first in a remarkable series of close relationships between Billy Graham and the Presidents of the United States."

The relationships varied in intimacy. Although he claims he had no "closer friend among all the Presidents than Ronald Reagan," Reagan's 748-page autobiography does not have a single mention of Graham. All evidence indicates that he was closest to Nixon (whom he still calls "my pal") and Lyndon Johnson, with whom he often went skinny-dipping in the White House pool and enjoyed late-night just-us-guys talks about the Vietnam War and religious mysteries.

His deep loyalty to Nixon still surfaces when Graham laments, in almost every interview, that when the Watergate tapes were released, he was very offended by the cuss words. But that's all he mentions: just the profanity. He has never, not once, mentioned the taped evidence that Nixon was (expletive deleted) gung-ho for burglary, bribery, extortion and perjury. During one of Nixon's rants about Jews, Graham (according to Nixon's longtime chief of staff H.R. Haldeman) chimed in that "the Bible says there are satanic Jews, and that's where our problem arises."

Both Reagan and Johnson believed in prophecy, and Graham fed their belief. While Graham read aloud passages from the Bible to support the idea of prophecy, Johnson would sometimes drop to his knees and start praying. Indeed, at least partly because of the steady comradeship and influence of Graham (who says, I almost used the White House as a hotel when Johnson was president"; he often visited LBJ at his ranch in Texas), Johnson got so carried away by high-attitude spirituality that he believed he was being visited by the Holy Spirit every morning around 2 o'clock when he received war reports from Vietnam.

Graham was a fervent redbaiter and McCarthyite, going so far as to thank God for McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee, "who, in the face of public denouncement and ridicule, go loyally on in their work of exposing the pinks, the lavenders, and the reds who have sought refuge beneath the wings of the American eagle."

Graham was equally passionate in his support of America's overseas military adventures--except the Korean War. He did not approve of it at all, perhaps because that war was started on Harry Truman's watch. After the first and only time Graham dropped by to pray privately with President Truman, he made the mistake (if going out and telling the press all about it, and then dropping to his knees on the White House lawn for a photo op. Disgusted by the betrayal of his privacy, Truman banned Graham from further visits. With no possibility of a quid for his quo, Graham grabbed every opportunity to denounce Truman's war.

But Graham viewed Johnson's and Nixon's war very differently [see Colman McCarthy's review of Graham's autobiography in the September 22, 1997, *Nation*]. As Ronnie Dugger Writes in *The Politician*, It was Graham's historical part in the Vietnam War to provide important reassurance in the midst of it to the religious and patriotic president who was conducting it." Typical reassurance was offered at a prayer breakfast attended by Johnson and much of official Washington in 1966. With the Vietnam casualty rate nearing 20,000, the public's opposition to the war was growing, but the mood set by Graham for that assembly was stubbornly militant. He conjured up a fire-breathing, war-loving Christ, telling his audience, "Jesus said, 'Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword.' There are those who have tried to reduce Christ to the level of a genial and innocuous appeaser; but Jesus said, 'You are wrong--I have come as a fire-setter and a sword-wielder.'"

Probably the best summation of Graham as a White House padre was given by Bill Moyers, a Baptist preacher himself and, as Johnson's press aide, a frequent witness to the evangelist's conversation and conduct: "Billy Graham represented a basic kind of patriotism in this country--an unquestioning, obeying patriotism, a loyalty to the authority of the president. Billy was always uncritical, unchallenging, unquestioning."

Dead that last sentence again and you'll see why it would be very hard to imagine Jesse Jackson as a true successor to the fading Graham, although on the surface it might seem that right now he is playing a version of Grahams old game.

The quid is that Clinton needs Jackson to polish his tarnished moral image, and especially to shore up the party's loyal base of African-American and urban voters and thus help keep Congressional Democrats in the President's tent. The quo is that Jackson--or so many believe--needs a close association with Clinton to keep himself from sinking into invisibility (two years ago biographer Marshall Frady said Jackson seemed "adrift in a limbo of unengagement"). It hasn't hurt things for the White House to have greased Jesse Jr.'s election to Congress, to have asked Jackson's daughter Santita to sing the national anthem at Clinton's second inaugural and to have appointed Alexis Herman, Jackson's choice, to be Labor Secretary. After all, Jesse Sr. sitting on his hands--or not rallying the black vote or becoming a candidate himself--may be the only thing that could stand in the way of Al Gore's presidential nomination in the year 2000, a succession that Clinton is fervently working toward. This relationship could turn decadent only if Jackson evolves into what Graham has always been around the White House: a suck-up.

Thus far Jackson's record, including his treatment of the President, has been quite the opposite of Graham's. Jackson is hardly humble when he talks about Clinton. He still claims that Clinton cribbed much of his 1992 campaign platform from Jackson's Rainbow Coalition platform, and he says that if he had run in 1992 he could probably have knocked Clinton out of the race. As Clinton's first term neared its end, Jackson never stopped talking about the President's broken promises and ridiculing his two-faced talents: "You might even say Clinton is the Sammy Davis Jr. of American politics." He joined other black leaders in denouncing Clinton for declaring "a war on the young, the vulnerable and black" by signing a bill that called for long jail terms for possession of a small amount of crack. For the 1996 election Jackson gave Clinton the weakest possible endorsement: "When you look at Pat Buchanan or Bob Dole, Clinton is the more viable option."

There was a time, one close Mend said, when Jackson felt "a virtual chemical loathing of Clinton." In the 1992 campaign, to help him out, Jackson had invited Clinton to speak to a conference of the Rainbow Coalition. One of the hundreds attending that conference was a rap singer called Sister Souljah, who after the Los Angeles riots had said flippantly but with some perverse logic, "If black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people?" Clinton learned that Sister Souljah was at the conference and during his speech he condemned Jackson for inviting her and condemned Sister Souljah for endorsing racist violence.

It was obvious that Clinton had turned on his host and had embarrassed the whole gathering just to make points with conservatives. On the last afternoon before the 1992 election, Jackson, still burning over that dirty trick, gave his biographer what many may consider the best appraisal ever made of Bill Clinton. He said in a flat voice, "I can maybe work with him, but I know now who he is, what he is. There's nothin' he won't do. He's immune to shame. Move past all the nice posturing and get really down there in him, you find absolutely nothing ... nothing but an appetite."

But that was then. Now we hear Jackson saying quite different things about Clinton--things that make Jackson seem, well, like the chameleon he once accused Clinton of being. There's quite a difference between forgiving a sinner and taking a sinner's side, as Jackson has done by accusing prosecutor Ken Starr of running a "nightmarish witch hunt." It's partisan stuff like that that compounds the confusion between Jackson's spiritual laying on of hands and his laying on of political blather. These days Jackson speaks of the closeness he feels for Clinton in almost medieval terms, saying, "The relationship between the prophet and the President, the priest and the President, is a sacred one." Obviously, the prophet/priest/politician is savoring this moment of self-indulgence even as he flatters the President. Well, a little flattery won't hurt Clinton if he remembers what Adlai Stevenson said back in 1961: "Flattery is all right so long as you don't inhale."

Robert Sherrill, who is still faithful--to something--is willing to take Ken Starr's place at Pepperdine as long as he can bring his surfboard.

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HEADLINE: Somewhere over the rainbow: **Jesse Jackson's** journey to 2000; Cover Story

BYLINE: Cooper, Marc

BODY:

The Jesse Jackson I caught up with at his Chicago headquarters one recent summer morning seemed more subdued, more reflective, more tired than usual. However, that's not to say that Reverend, as his staff simply but respectfully calls him, isn't still a veritable perpetual motion machine. His peripatetic ping-ponging would exhaust anyone. After attending the Jasper, Texas, funeral of lynching victim James Byrd, Jackson had flown off to the West Coast, come back to Chicago and, as I spoke with him, was planning another visit back to LA to tape a Magic Johnson show--and this was all just after he'd returned from riding shotgun on Bill Clinton's marathon tour of Africa (no wonder he wound up in a hospital with walking pneumonia a few weeks after our talk).

It's been a decade now since Jackson's last presidential run. Many a political junkie is quick to count him out as no longer relevant. But Jackson will have none of that. He's constantly in the air and on the air; indeed, it seems a minor miracle he can get his CNN weekend talk show taped every week. "He's still the President of Black America, he still has the best rap and he's without question the hardest-working man in American politics," says Daniel Cantor, who went on to found the New Party after serving as labor coordinator for the 1988 Jackson campaign.

Jackson's labor links remain impressive. No political figure in America spends more time on other people's picket lines than he does. And in between these solidarity stints, Jackson can be found one day touring Asian sweatshops, the next day registering New England voters and the next leading a civil rights march in San Francisco. And let's be clear: No other domestic political figure, with the possible exception of the President, can pull such large crowds wherever and whenever he shows up.

But in spite of this permanent campaign, or perhaps as a result of it, Jesse Jackson seems to be endlessly, maybe permanently, tormented in his search to settle into a single, consistent political mode. It's not so much a question of "What does Jesse want?" as the conventional spinmeisters crudely put it. It's more like "What does Jesse want to achieve?" And what is he willing to do to achieve it?

In the 1984 and '88 presidential campaigns it was to stir a grassroots opposition movement and confront both the Republican and Democratic establishments as a populist insurgent. In the early days of the Clinton Administration it was to try to compel or cajole the party in the White House toward more progressive positions. But as Bill Clinton prepared for a re-election campaign and dropped many of his reformist promises of 1992, Jackson began to hint at a direct challenge. "More and more voters are looking for new options," Jackson wrote in his syndicated column in 1995.

And, he said, they may want "a new party that is willing to challenge the corporate party that now campaigns under two names."

Eventually, and significantly, Jackson backed down. But now, two years away from the 2000 presidential election, Jackson tells me during a long interview in his Chicago headquarters that--yes--he is once again considering making the run. Jackson has beefed up his entourage with political professionals, including David Wilhelm, who under James Carville managed Clinton's 1992 victory. Since last year Jackson has spent more time in Iowa than almost any other potential candidate. And in April of this year he made a high-profile visit to southern Ohio, replete with town meetings and lots of flesh-pressing--an event that Wilhelm conceded was a campaign dress rehearsal. Says Jackson of a third run: "I feel good physically, I'm excited about what I see. Looking at the year 2000 I have high priorities on my work list. I have not yet made the final decision."

Whether or not Jesse will, indeed, run is understandably of paramount concern to many progressives and radicals. After the noncampaign of Ralph Nader in '96, after two bouts of Clintonism and faced with a 2000 matchup between a far-from-liberal Al Gore and maybe George Bush Jr. or, God forbid, Newt Gingrich, the American left is hankering to mount a national challenge, or at least to exert whatever influence it can. Senator Paul Wellstone may be out "exploring" the presidency but the bulk of America has yet to discover him. Richard Gephardt has started saying many of the right things about trade and labor issues, but staking the left on a warmed-over DLCer seems singularly uninspiring. Outside the Democratic Party, the Greens have yet to speak on the 2000 race, the New Party opposes a national campaign and the Labor Party isn't ready to offer any candidates.

In this context, Jackson's consideration of a third try can't help but tantalize much of the democratic left. "If Jesse doesn't run Al Gore will get all the Southern delegates and there will be no contest for the Democratic nomination," says David Bositis of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. "And with no contest there will be no debate. None of the issues that animate the liberal and labor left will even be raised unless Jackson runs." Perhaps that underestimates the heavy lifting that progressives like Paul Wellstone are doing on politically left issues. But what charisma and fire does he have compared with Jackson?

Jackson still retains enough of a base to make a candidacy at least viable. While Gore is tracking around 50 percent in national Democratic polls, Jackson is in second place with about 12 percent. (Wellstone, by contrast, shows up at around 1 percent.)

A Jackson candidacy would confront the left with a wrenching problem. Jackson might very well be considered the most attractive and "natural" of progressive standard-bearers. But the experience of his last two campaigns also raises the question of whether a third run would be worth it. To put it starkly: What would the left get out of it? What overall political impact would the campaign have? And perhaps most important, assuming that Jackson wouldn't win the nomination, would any political structures be built that would outlive the candidacy? It might be a tad early in the season to come up with definitive answers. But central to any discussion of a new Jackson candidacy is the fact that Jackson's politics today are not those he emphasized in the eighties. Faced with the dilemma of either confronting or conciliating the Democrats, Jackson has chosen the latter. "I don't see running in 2000 as running against Gore, or running against Gephardt," he said in the interview. "I do not see us as competitors. We are friends."

Jeff Faux of the liberal Economic Policy Institute says, "You can't help noticing--it's kind of surprising how friendly Jesse has gotten with the guys in the White House." Jackson readily accepted appointment as the Administration's special envoy to Africa. And while he may still make rhetorical jabs at the "corporate party with two names," he has clearly decided to join the establishment of one of those parties. As for the corporate part of that equation, Jackson is spending an increasing amount of his time trying to woo Fortune 500 allies through his new Wall Street Project. With his Rainbow/PUSH Coalition now holding stock in eighty corporations, including GM, Texaco, Chevron and Shell, Jackson has been hosting Wall Street "trillion-dollar

roundtables" aimed, he says, at bringing capital into the inner cities--and bringing more minorities into the brokerages.

Arguing that CEO's like his friend Sanford Weill, chairman of the newly merged Travelers conglomerate, and Jack Smith of GM often have a socially enlightened consciousness that is "inclusive, not exclusive," Jackson insists that "progressives have basically wrongly stereotyped Wall Street as greedy and all Republican." Once the "cultural divide is healed," says Jackson, US entrepreneurs will rediscover America's inner cities as profitable new markets for investment and revitalization.

Jackson's political turn has also removed Bill Clinton--to whom he showed open animosity in the early nineties--from his political gun sights. Speaking this past February in a Los Angeles area synagogue, Jackson uncritically praised the policy promises Clinton had made a few weeks before in his 1998 State of the Union Message (promises so small in scale that six months later who can remember a single one of them?). Jackson also nervously defended himself from questions about his Super Bowl week end sojourn to the White House to console and counsel Clinton. during the early days of the Lewinsky saga. "I thought it was important to be with him at that time," Jackson said. "He is the captain of the ship of state. We are all in that ship with him. It was important to keep him stable."

Afterward, a prominent liberal rabbi from another temple who had ardently supported both Jackson campaigns in the eighties, and who had stood by him during the "Hymietown" controversy, which began in 1984, said he was "disgusted and disappointed" by what he called the "unqualified apology for the Clinton Administration."

Gone With the Wind

This is all a long way to have come since the salad days of the '88 campaign, when Jackson made the striking transition from a race leader to a cross-race progressive populist who electrified audiences ranging from inner-city churchgoers to Iowa farmers to Michigan auto workers and even to some of the old George Wallace constituency. Racking up 6.7 million primary votes, compared with Al Gore's 3.1 million and Dick Gephardt's 1.4 million, Jackson produced a full third of that year's convention delegates and forced Michael Dukakis to sign the so-called Atlanta pact, which promised a host of concessions to Jackson's policy agenda.

Jackson gained so much momentum out of his primary run that even the election of George Bush didn't stop him. After Dukakis's humiliating debacle in the November vote, The Nation's Andrew Kopkind was moved to write: "Whether the Democratic hierarchy likes it or not, Jackson became the leader of the party on November 9, and he is already its front-runner for the nomination in 1992." Most important, Jackson galvanized an incipient nationwide social movement around his Rainbow Coalition.

"That campaign began to at least make an alliance between blacks and working-class Americans," says Robert Borosage, one of Jackson's top campaign advisers in the eighties. "He ran a wonderful campaign. Everyone who invested in him emotionally and politically came out feeling good about him."

Unfortunately, the good vibes quickly soured, mostly thanks to Jackson himself. In one of those recurring bouts of ego that often drive those in his inner circle to desperation, by mid-1989 Jackson started undermining his own Rainbow Coalition. "Unbelievable but true," says Manning Marable of Columbia University's Institute for Research in African-American Studies. "Jesse is one of the few political leaders who dismantled his own organization. Within the Rainbow there was a left Rainbow--people to the left of Jesse. And Jesse wanted to tightly control them." Jackson demanded that he alone appoint state chapter chairs. But in taking autocratic control, he soon killed off the Rainbow as a mass membership and activist organization. "What Jesse did is deeply rooted in African-American political culture," says Marable, who is now completing a book on black political opinion. "Jesse employs a leadership model that is part populist authoritarian and part

Everyman. But in a real sense he operates above the masses instead of among them. He's always been that way: part visionary, part demagogue."

By 1992, even with the Rainbow mostly a shell, Jackson was still perfectly poised to challenge Clinton. "The Rainbow would have sprung back to life overnight" says a former top-level Jackson campaign staffer and confidante. Gore and Gephardt had opted out; the economy was gasping. "New Democrat" Bill Clinton was largely unknown and politically suspect to the party's liberal wing. But Jackson decided not to run. "Jesse wouldn't have won. But, let me tell you, neither would have Bill Clinton," says the ex-stiffer "Jesse just pissed away an incredible opportunity. And to this day none of us has ever had a satisfactory conversation with him about it."

Asked about backing down in 1992, Jackson is quick to answer: "I'm glad I did what I did. Clinton defeating Bush was good for the progressives." Jackson argues that when it comes to Middle East, African and Latin American policy, to judicial and Cabinet appointments, to "more involvement with those who have been locked out," Clinton has adopted positions similar to his own. He says, "I have no regrets." Yet even Jackson's mannerisms and speech betray that last assertion. Though he takes pains to defend Clinton, he seems unable to bring himself to speak the President's name, almost unfailingly referring to Clinton as "he" or "him." Says Jackson: "What he did during that first term helped us."

That is, of course, a radical historical revision. Clinton elicited Jackson's red-hot fury early On in the '92 campaign when, in the Sister Souljah episode, he blatantly used Reverend as a spittoon to garner white electoral support. And as Clinton, during his first term, successively abandoned promises for urban investment, picked up the Republican mantle of deficit cutting, bungled universal healthcare and signed a conservative omnibus crime bill that extended the death penalty, Jackson lengthened his critical distance from the White House. Jackson's alienation from Clinton seemed to peak in the summer and fall of 1995 when he was writing columns about a possible third party and a possible challenge to the President's re-election.

In response, the Clinton team rained campaign dollars on tiny Iowa to douse any Jackson-set political prairie fires. And when Jackson announced he was going to participate in the so-called City Vote straw poll of urban voters (a presidential barometer custom-made for Jackson), the White House, led by Harold Ickes, helped wrestle that unofficial rote into obscurity. The White House also skillfully played to Jackson's greatest weakness. All of a sudden Jackson became a privileged White House guest. His counsel was graciously and frequently solicited. As Jackson spent more time in the Oval Office his criticism of its occupant became muted.

"Jesse justifies himself as a sort of Martin Luther King. King always wanted to be able to go to the White House and talk to power with moral authority," says a longtime Jackson associate. "And that's what's in Jesse's head. When Clinton's in trouble he likes to be called in. He's happy to lend Clinton whatever moral authority he has." The new political partnership with Clinton was sealed when the White House actively backed Jackson's son, Jesse Jr., in his successful 1995 run for the US Congress (which received \$ 3,000 in Lippo-connected contributions).

Most surprising to some progressives, the Jackson alliance with the White House even survived Clinton's signing of the welfare repeal bill. True enough, the day after the signing, Jackson--along with NOW's Patricia Ireland--led a small march on the White House. But that was merely a media feint. Two weeks later, at the 1996 Democratic convention, Jackson dedicated himself to assiduously patrolling the ideological perimeter of the party and barking back into the fold any angry strays. To the hundreds of progressives who attended a Nation-sponsored town meeting, Jackson issued an appeal to hang on tightly to the "splinters" of a shipwrecked Democratic Party.

Recalling what happened at the convention, Jackson said, "There were several delegations prepared to walk out that night. But I discouraged them from doing so because I thought, given our options, we should hold on and fight for a brighter day. That's why I made that choice. In 2000 the White House is vacant."

Democratic Capitalism

Investment banker, former Democratic National Committee chairman and former 1992 Clinton campaign manager David Wilhelm jokes that he's Reverend's "official friend." He's also Jackson's most recently acquired top political adviser. Jackson's friendship with Wilhelm dates back to the '92 campaign, when Wilhelm was apparently one of the few Clintonistas who expressed any sympathy for Reverend after the Sister Souljah dis. Later, Wilhelm was, in Jackson's words, "unceremoniously dumped" as head of the DNC as the Democrats were getting shellacked in the 1994 Congressional campaigns.

In many ways Wilhelm fills a void left by the longtime core of Jackson insiders--Minyon Moore, Frank Watkins, Steve Cobble and Eddie Wong, among others who have all recently moved on (though Watkins is still nearby as an aide to Congressman Jesse Jr.). Wilhelm's track record is that of a party apparatchik; he has zero experience in organizing social movements. "Having Wilhelm as an adviser while talking about challenging the establishment is worse than letting the fox into the chicken coop," says retired Democratic political consultant Patrick Caddell.

For the moment, Wilhelm's new venture, something he calls the Labor/Capital Partnership Fund, meshes neatly with Jackson's Wall Street Project. Indeed, Wilhelm has been instrumental in setting up many of Jackson's corporate contacts. "What we are doing now is pursuing this idea of democratic capitalism, of democratic entrepreneurship," Wilhelm says.

The notion that big capital should be more socially responsible is certainly a valid one, as is the idea of leveraging union pension funds to encourage progressive investment. But Jackson's new Wall Street strategy goes much further. Throughout our interview, Jackson repeatedly argued that corporate leaders instinctively understand markets and that they are therefore inclined to be "inclusive," as opposed to the "exclusive" Trent Lott and Newt Gingrich. "I think it's in the interest of business to greenline rather than redline America," Jackson said. Our growing wealth gap can be solved, he said, when corporate America, with his brokering, rediscovers the profitable market of the inner cities. Jackson now contends that corporate abandonment of urban America "doesn't owe to racism"--it's merely a matter of "cultural blinders" that need lifting. "If I were writing a four-part freedom symphony," Jackson said, "the first movement was to end slavery. The second movement was the public franchise. The third movement was the political franchise, the fight to vote. The fourth movement is Wall Street, the financial culture."

Which Jesse?

That hardly sounds like the music that will move progressives to rapture over a third Jackson candidacy. "Going down the path of Wall Street has no politics, no juice," says Jeff Faux of the EPI. "You're not going to find a lot of enthusiasm for a sort of limousine liberalism." And yet it would be mistaken to argue that Jackson has simply moved to the right.

Jackson has always operated on two levels. There's Jesse Jackson the multiracial populist, the insurgent candidate, the activist. And then there's Jesse Jackson the leader of Operation PUSH, the advocate of black empowerment through deal-making with corporate America. "It's the Jesse Jackson of the mid- and late seventies that might be making a comeback," says Columbia's Manning Marable. "People sometimes forget that twenty years ago Jesse was considered the right wing of the civil rights movement. His focus was on making deals with corporations. He has the political instincts of a social democrat but the economic program of Booker T. Washington."

Over the years Jackson has negotiated so-called "covenants" with 7-Eleven, Coors, Shoney's, Coke, Texaco and Denny's, among others. As a result, hundreds of millions of dollars have been reaped for minority contractors. But how much of that has trickled down to "those who take the last bus" is unclear. Jackson sternly denounced the WorldCom/MCI merger but loudly lauded the Citibank/Travelers marriage after the new company promised tens of millions in inner-city investment.

But it's Jesse Jackson the visionary, Jesse Jackson the agitator, Jesse Jackson who speaks uncomfortable truth to power, Jesse Jackson the hostage rescuer--not Jesse Jackson the deal maker -- who is still championed by his supporters. Indeed, a representative nationwide poll conducted by Marable reveals Jackson's support among working-class blacks is even higher than among the black middle class. "He's one of only a half-dozen political figures identified by three-quarters or more of blacks," says Marable. "But he's at the top of that list, he's the politician that blacks feel they know the best. Of 627 blacks polled, he was the only political figure that not one person didn't know. I mean, there were people who hadn't heard of Bill Clinton who knew Jesse." And while Jackson polls somewhat better among older blacks than younger, the real dividing line is social class. "Poor people are more enthusiastic," says Marable. "Where he's lost strength is among the more affluent, the better educated, the politically progressive. These are people deeply disaffected with the Democrats and who see Jesse as a spent force." That disaffected group was heavily represented among the 2,000 African Americans who came to Chicago this summer for the first meeting of the Black Radical Congress--an incipient movement that feels little or no affinity with Jackson's politics.

Don't Say You Will When You Won't

What, therefore, is the sentiment among the democratic left regarding a Jackson run in 2000? There are those, like Bob Borosage, now of the Campaign for America's Future, who are convinced that a third Jackson candidacy can only be a benefit. "Jackson sees himself as the progressive pole of the party," says Borosage. "Regardless of what he says today, it would be easy for him to turn and be harshly critical of both Clinton and Gore." Even if Jackson loses, says Borosage, territory will be gained. "The fallout of the '88 campaign was huge. It allowed a lot of people on the local level to push aside old elites and form new alliances. Hundreds of activists and dozens of future candidates came right out of that '88 campaign. That's what progressive presidential campaigns do."

NOW president Patricia Ireland agrees. "I think it will be good in every way if he runs," she says. "I think it's worth the run for the issues he raises, for the pull on the party's politics." Ohio Congressman Dennis Kucinich thinks Jackson would have a good shot at white ethnics--maybe better than in '88. "People today are even more receptive to economic issues. If there's any economic downturn and if Jackson has real organization he could win a lot of primaries."

But other progressives have a decidedly more negative view. If Jackson can't do better in 2000 than he did in '88, they ask, then why run? They also fear that Jackson might delay his decision until the last moment and then balk, effectively blocking any other left-of-center challenger from building up and funding a campaign. Others ask what the value is of yet another personality-centered national presidential campaign that briefly raises hopes and expectations but leaves little tangible in its wake. "Jackson and Wellstone face the same dilemma," says former Jackson aide Daniel Cantor, now of the New Party. "Neither is going to be President. That doesn't mean they shouldn't run. It means they should run in a way that leaves something in place after the election. Not an easy task, because the requirements of running a campaign are different from those of organization building." Another problem for Jackson is the new crop of African American and Latino politicians who feel little connection to the social movements that bred an earlier generation and who have little taste for bucking the status quo. "If Jackson runs he would raise the stakes on our important issues" says former New Mexico Governor Toney Anaya, who coordinated Latino support for Jackson in '88. "But I don't know about support for him. There's a generational gap, an organizational gap. The Clinton-Gore people have done great groundwork and have split off a lot of his support, even among black leaders." A number of black members of Congress refused to be interviewed on the subject of a Jackson candidacy. One who did agree to talk was Detroit Mayor Dennis Archer. "I admire Jesse Jackson, and I participated in the first Wall Street meeting with him," Archer said. "But I have worked with Al Gore, seen Al Gore stand up on the issues, and I will be supporting Al Gore."

So will Big Labor, which seems terrified of losing the White House to a Republican or of alienating the next Democrat who will occupy it. Both Gore and Gephardt were lavishly received at last year's

AFL-CIO national convention--with the Vice President being hailed as "America's number one organizer" by federation head John Sweeney. Jackson's highest-profile labor supporter in his last campaign, Dennis Rivera, who leads New York City's hospital workers, went on to chair the state Democratic Party and now politically orbits around Clinton. Rivera refused to respond to phone requests to discuss a Jackson candidacy.

Other former Jackson labor loyalists have moved beyond him, many of them coming together in the fledgling Labor Party. Baldemar Velasquez, for example, president of the Ohio-based Farm Labor Organizing Committee and one of Jackson's '84 convention floor managers, is now a national leader of the Labor Party. "I would be enthusiastic about Jesse running if he has the right message. But not if he's going to talk about black and brown capitalism, about only getting a piece of the pie" says Velasquez. "We need someone to speak out against the calamities of globalization, someone to take on the Republicans and the Democrats."

Some of Jackson's former progressive labor allies yearn for a more pragmatic candidacy. "I campaigned with Jackson in '88, and in '92 we endorsed Jerry Brown," says a leader of the militant Las Vegas Culinary Workers Local 226. "But there comes a time when you want to actually win. The support Jackson had among labor ten years ago will be hard to find today. Gephardt is a guy who has lots of labor support and can win. Gore himself has been trying to woo us and he can win. To be politically viable you have to win political office, at least occasionally. Jesse's never done that."

But then, Jackson's political calculations are not always strictly political. His decision-making criteria don't necessarily mesh with the strategic figurings of organizers and activists, but rather respond more at times to a perpetual search for his permanent place. "There are certain things Reverend would never confide to anyone," says a ranking ex-Rainbow official who resigned earlier this year. "Reverend's in a sort of personal crisis. He is 56 years old and the year 2000 would be his last chance. And he's in a constant search to stay relevant, to stay ahead of the curve. He has a fear of slipping. These are things he never says out loud but that we all know. It's those feelings that alone might compel him to run."

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QUOTES

New Diversity Quotes by MLK and Jackson

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Nothing in all the world is more dangerous than sincere ignorance and conscientious stupidity.

--Martin Luther King, Jr.

The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy.

--Martin Luther King, Jr.

Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.

--Martin Luther King, Jr.

We must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools.

--Martin Luther King, Jr.

Love is the only force capable of transforming an enemy into a friend.

--Martin Luther King, Jr.

We are not makers of history. We are made by history.

--Martin Luther King, Jr.

We must use time creatively . . . and forever realize that this time is always ripe to do right.

--Martin Luther King, Jr., Letter from a Birmingham jail

Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill-will.

--Martin Luther King, Jr.

One who breaks an unjust law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for law.

--Martin Luther King, Jr.

We who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive.

--Martin Luther King, Jr.

When I look out at this convention, I see the face of America, red, yellow, brown, black and white. We are all precious in God's sight – the real rainbow coalition.

--Jesse Jackson, Democratic National Convention, 1988.

Dreamers are killed early. Leadership involves bearing a cross.

--Jesse Jackson

We've removed the ceiling above our dreams. There are no more impossible dreams.



--Jesse Jackson

I hear that melting-pot stuff a lot, and all I can say is that we haven't melted.

--Jesse Jackson

My constituency is the desperate, the damned, the disinherited, the disrespected and the despised.

--Jesse Jackson

We are all free to sacrifice.

--Jesse Jackson

The challenge is to turn midnights into days, pain into power. If you're swimming, and there's a stiff wind and a vicious storm coming, you can't stop swimming and explain the storm away.

You've got to keep kicking.

--Jesse Jackson

Racism is a form of skin worship, and as a sickness and a pathological anxiety for America, is so great, until the poor whites – rather than fighting for jobs or education – fight to remain pink and fight to remain white. And therefore they cannot see an alliance with people that they feel to be inherently inferior.

--Jesse Jackson

DIVERSITY

This nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal, and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened.

--John F. Kennedy, 1963 radio address on civil rights

Our flag is red, white and blue, but our nation is a rainbow-red, yellow, brown, black and white- and we're all precious in God's sight.

--Jesse Jackson

Our loyalties must transcend our race, our tribe, our class, and our nation; and this means we must develop a world perspective.

--Martin Luther King, Jr.

It is from our diversity, our tolerance of diversity, our reasoning together from the many different convictions we hold that the chief strength of our people derives.

--Lyndon B. Johnson, July 4 1968

America's strength has risen from the diversity of its heritage.

--Lyndon B. Johnson, January 17, 1964

Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly.

--Martin Luther King, Jr., April 16th 1963

Until justice is blind to color, until education is unaware of race, until opportunity is unconcerned with the color of men's skins, emancipation will be a proclamation but not a fact.

--Lyndon B. Johnson

We've removed the ceiling above our dreams. There are no more impossible dreams.

--Jesse Jackson

If you will protest courageously, and yet with dignity and Christian love, when the history books are written in future generations, the historians will have to pause and say, 'There lived a great people – a black people – who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilization.

--Martin Luther King, Jr.

The white, the Hispanic, the black, the Arab, the Jew, the woman, the Native American, the small farmer, the businessperson, the environmentalist, the peace activist, the young, the old, the lesbian, the gay and the disabled make up the American quilt.

--Jesse Jackson

Our flag is red, white and blue, but our nation is a rainbow-red, yellow, brown, black and white- and we're all precious in God's sight.

--Jesse Jackson

Our loyalties must transcend our race, our tribe, our class, and our nation; and this means we must develop a world perspective.

--Martin Luther King, Jr.

There never were, in the world, two opinions alike, no more than two hairs, or two grains; the most universal quality is diversity.

--Michel de Montaigne

If we are to achieve a richer culture, rich in contrasting values, we must recognize the whole gamut of human potentialities, and so weave a less arbitrary social fabric, one in which each diverse human gift will find a fitting place.

--Margaret Mead

In one way or another, all of us are immigrant. And the strength of America over the years has been our diversity, diversity of all kinds of variations—religion, ethnic, and otherwise. I recall very vividly a statement that seems apropos at this time, that the beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors. The strength of America is its diversity.

--Jimmy Carter, President's Advisory Commission on Refugees, May 17, 1975

Unless we can find strength in our diversity, our diversity of race, our diversity of income, our diversity of religion, our diversity of religious conviction, we cannot possibly meet the challenges before us,

--William Jefferson Clinton, 1993

We need to explore methods of obtaining closer relationships in the cultural field as well—between our schools and universities our teachers and students in our scientists and artists, our writers and thinkers—in short each manifestation of the diversity of culture and tradition of our peoples.

--John F. Kennedy, May 29, 1961

It is from our diversity, our tolerance of diversity, our reasoning together from the many different convictions we hold that the chief strength of our people derives.

--Lyndon B. Johnson, July 4 1968

America's strength has risen from the diversity of its heritage.

--Lyndon B. Johnson, January 17, 1964

So let us not be blind to our differences-but let us also direct attention to our common interests and to the means by which those differences can be resolved. And if we cannot end now our differences, at least we can help make the world safe for diversity.

--John F. Kennedy

If we cannot now end our differences, a least we can help make the world safe for diversity.

--John F. Kennedy

"No culture can live, if it attempts to be exclusive."

Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) GANDHI

Indian political and spiritual leader (1869-1948)

Civilizations should be measured by "the degree of diversity attained and the degree of unity retained." — W.H. Auden,
20th-century English poet