

JACKSON

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southern white conservative vote -- the old Republican strategy for the South. Thus, the current candidates are shying away from the issues of full employment (e.g., along the lines of the original Humphrey-Hawkins Bill); affirmative action, which has provided increased educational and employment opportunities for women, Hispanics and blacks; strong enforcement of the Voting Rights Act, including Sections 2 and 5, which would make democracy more real for everybody; the corporate economic rape of the black and Hispanic communities, including the restraint of private trade that corporate America practices against our communities; a renewed national commitment to a serious economic program for the poor; and a new look at much of America's foreign policy, including the demand that if the United States is going to have a relationship with South Africa, it insist that it measure democracy (one person, one vote) and human rights by one yardstick. These are not issues that we can put in the stomach of any of the present Trojan horses and expect them to come out once they are inside the White House fence. We must devise our own vehicle to carry these issues to the stage when the national debates begin. We cannot ride to freedom in Pharaoh's chariot. Or, to mix analogies, all of Santa's other reindeer have had their chance to pull and lead the sleigh and present their gifts to the American people. Now it may be time for Rudolph, who has consistently pulled more weight, to have his turn.

A black candidate should run to gain political victories, but also to gain collective self-respect and recognition. Never again should blacks live and operate below their political privilege and rights.

Lastly, a black should run because bargainers without bases are beggars not brokers. Primaries are the process for organizing and mobilizing interest groups. Various states (e.g., New York), labor

(e.g., the AFL-CIO and the NEA), women and other groups are currently organizing political support on behalf of their interests -- both in anticipation of locking up the nomination early, and in case the convention is brokered. They want their interests protected. Blacks are not adequately represented and do not have enough influence in any of these other constituencies to trust the protection of their interests to anyone else. Thus, blacks and other rejected interest groups must create and provide their own protection. Therefore, in an eight candidate field (and possibly additional "favorite son" candidacies, a successful black candidacy, in coalition with other interest groups, is achievable. Candidates run for all kinds of reasons, and define their success according to their own purposes. Barry Goldwater was not elected in 1964, and George Wallace was not nominated by the Democrats in 1968, but they both "sent a message" that shifted the politics of the entire nation and laid the groundwork for Ronald Reagan's election in 1980.

To use a football analogy, we are now in the exhibition season looking at various game strategies and assessing the players on the field. During the primaries we will play the regular season, and at the convention we will conduct the Super Bowl. But, if you do not think and plan in advance, and then do not play during the regular season, you cannot participate or even get a good seat at the Super Bowl. If blacks focus all of their attention on the Super Bowl, and do little planning and do not play during the regular season (the primaries), blacks will end up basking in someone else's glory or crying in someone else's beer. It is not enough just for our conference (Democrats) to win; our team (blacks and the rejected) must also win. And for our team to win, everyone must help prepare the game plan (Party policy) and be in the huddle when the plays (the platform) without the serious involvement of blacks at every level, and then ask blacks merely to sit in

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