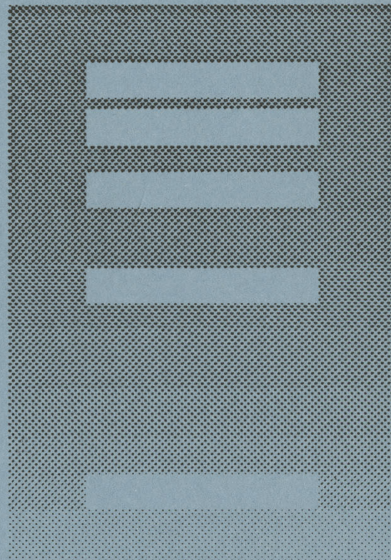


Asian Pacific Americans

and the

'88 Presidential Elections

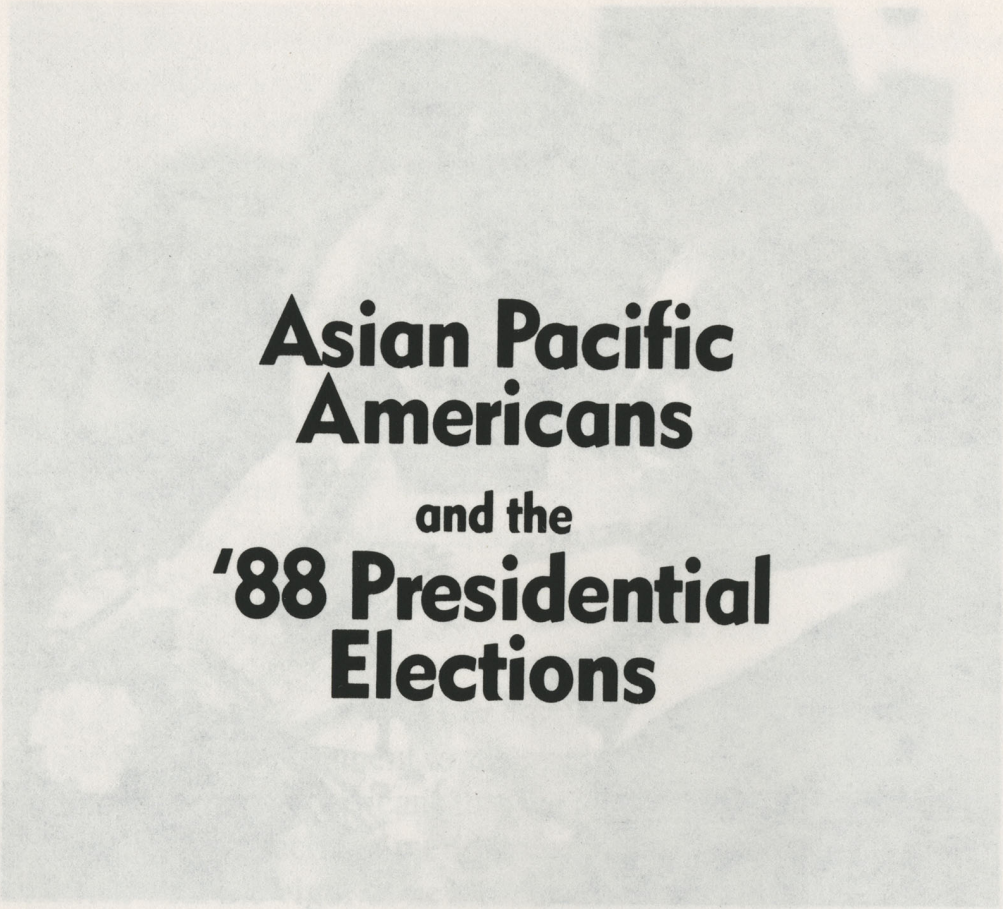


Rev. Jesse Jackson's Speech

Delivered at

the National Democratic Council of
Asian Pacific Americans Conference

Los Angeles, California
October 18, 1987



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Ben Ferris

In 1988, Asian and Pacific Americans will shape the political establishment with the vigor of new ideas and new ideals

It is a testament to the growing political power of Asian and Pacific Americans that we are gathered here today. In 1988, Asian and Pacific Americans will shape the political establishment with the vigor of new ideas and new ideals.

In 1988, it will have been 20 years since the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He was the symbol of the modern civil rights movement. In his day, the issue of civil rights was relatively simple. It was black and white in both moral and social terms. Southern American apartheid was the law of the day. But through the work of Dr. King, SCLC, the NAACP, SNCC, CORE and many who will forever remain nameless and faceless, the cotton curtain of apartheid was pulled down.

Today, however, we must redefine the civil rights struggle for the 80's and beyond. The struggle of the 60's was never a struggle merely for civil rights. It was always a struggle for social justice. Thus, the definition of the social justice movement in America in the 60's around civil rights must be broadened and expanded in the 80's to include a commitment to human rights....to social and economic justice.

Dr. King said that injustice anywhere is a threat to

justice everywhere. Now we must add to that, unorganized workers anywhere is a threat to organized workers everywhere; and political oppression anywhere is a threat to political freedom everywhere. We must measure human rights everywhere by one yardstick.

Why must we broaden our concern from just civil rights to human rights, put the focus on workers' rights, and demand political freedom? The media has put a lot of focus on the imbalance of trade with Asia — Japan, Taiwan and Korea. But are they really the problem — or scapegoats who are victims themselves? Consider Taiwan. The U.S. trade deficit with Taiwan was \$13 billion in 1985 and \$16 billion in 1986. Are the Taiwanese to blame for this trade imbalance? The number one exporter from Taiwan is not Taiwan. It's General Electric. GE. The number five defense contractor. GE owns RCA. GE owns NBC. And advertises in very red, white and blue letters "Buy American" and conjures up excessive patriotism and excessive guilt while they close down plants in this country. And take those plants to Taiwan, and make those products at cheap labor prices in Taiwan, sell them at high prices here, maximize their profits while workers lose their jobs. The Taiwanese did not take our jobs. GE took our jobs to Taiwan and there is a fundamental difference.

GE made \$6 billion between 81 and 83, paid no taxes. There's a \$182 million tax rebate. Don't use Taiwanese as a scapegoat. In November GM announced closing 11 plants and 30,000 jobs. The same 30,000 jobs will be opened by GM by a joint venture in South Korea. South Koreans did not take our jobs. GM took our jobs to South Korea. Why? Why are American and other multi-nationals going to Taiwan and Korea? In addition to a number of incentives from those governments, workers rights are systematically violated. They go to those countries with government incentives. When GM and GE close their plants in this country, they get a tax deduction. They profit going out of business. They profit while American workers go out of business, and they shift the business to other markets that they can exploit. They go to Taiwan, to South Korea — not

because they have better workers - they are more vulnerable workers. They are less protected workers. They are more exploited workers. They're working 8 to 12 hours a day on subsistence wages. They don't have single family dwellings, for the most part they live in dormitories despite 100 degree heat. Strikes are all illegal under martial law conditions. It's not Taiwanese and South Koreans from taking American jobs, it's the press of slave labor on the account of organized labor. We must have a balanced playing field to protect the worker.

What must we do to protect the American worker? Surely it's not to look for another scapegoat, anti-Asian bashers...who won Second World War..conjure up old and ugly feelings and fears. We need leadership that can lay out the case. The American worker does not need an enemy. He needs an even playing field.

How can we save our jobs from going abroad? Involve labor rights with human rights, in diplomatic relations — workers in South Korea and Taiwan make liveable wages, to reduce incentives to take our jobs. If they make livable wages, they can buy what we produce. And therefore expand our market. It's not enough to have an even playing field for workers. There must be an even playing field for corporate heads and investors.

It's not the fault of the Japanese that they spend 2% of their R & D, research and development, on military. And we, 75%. Nakasone and Reagan both had a dream, and both have realized their dreams. Reagan wanted to be the number one exporter of arms and dangerous weapons. Nakasone of cars and electric appliances. Both have realized their dreams. But at the end of the dream, Nakasone heads the largest creditor nation, Reagan the largest debtor nation. Both have realized their dream.

The simple fact is that if this audience were Asian, Black, white or Hispanic - rural or suburban, I could put this basic test to you.

How many of you know someone who owns a VCR, raise your hand. Hands down. There's not one American made

VCR. Who knows someone who personally owns an MX missile, raise your hand. The point is, don't get angry, don't get hateful, get smart - let's make what the world wants to buy. There's a market for Honda and Toyota and Sony and Panasonic and VCR - there's a diminishing market for MX missiles and B-1 bombers and nerve gas.

Let's not use emotions as a substitute for a formula for global economic growth that is unsound. Any attempt to build effectively with trade imbalances must deal squarely with international corporations and international labor rights.

The trade issue spawned another problem. One that should concern all Americans. It must concern all of us. Anti-Asian violence. All the racist stereotypes — Asians are sneaky, cunning, evil... come back with a vengeance. Vincent Chin, a young Chinese American, beaten to death by unemployed white workers with baseball bats — they thought Vincent Chin helped to take their jobs. Vincent Chin did not take any jobs to foreign labor markets. Neither did he make them buy a Honda or a Toyota. Cambodians in Boston burned out of their homes, Senator Inouye being called a "Jap" during the Iran-contragate hearings in 1987. These vicious acts of racial violence must end.

We cannot afford a re-run of the 1940's when Japanese Americans were blamed for Pearl Harbor and then locked up into concentration camps. Don't blame Japanese, Korean or Asian people for taking away U.S. jobs.

But even these acts of racial violence are formed in the backdrop of a larger problem — economic violence. White and Black; Black, Brown and Asian — all pitted against each other, fighting harder for fewer jobs. The critical issue of our day is economic violence. And though there would be big headlines when a Black or an Asian or a white or a Latino attack each other in some senseless act of violence, those are not the critical issues of our day. These acts of racial violence do occur, but they're far and in between. They are aberrations. They are illegal. And they can be contained.

So stop racial violence but do not panic about it because it can be contained by law. Racial violence is illegal. Economic



Mike Fong

The Reverend Jackson with Mrs. Lily Chin, mother of Vincent Chin, San Francisco, 1984.

The media has put a lot of focus on the imbalance of trade with Asia—Japan, Taiwan and Korea. But are they really the problem— or scapegoats who are the victims themselves?

violence is legal. It's a source of our hurt and a source of our pain. We've lost 38 million jobs 1973. Not for better labor but for cheaper labor — economic violence.

650,000 family farms closed since 1980. Farmers driven from their land with no place to go. No fair prices, no return of their land. Economic violence.

Good minds. Locked out of school, can't get a scholarship. Can't make a loan, teachers can't get paid, can't get a job.

Economic violence.

People dying in emergency rooms of hospitals because they can't get a green or yellow card to go upstairs to a bed that's empty. Waiting for those who have insurance to get sick. Economic violence. This generation must end economic violence and fight for economic justice.

We need bold leadership and bold followers, and a new direction. I stand before you today with a challenge. In 1988, 20 years after the death of Dr. King and 200 years after the creation of our constitution, we have a chance not only to elect a new President but to fulfill the unfinished agenda of justice and equality. In 1988, we will retire Reagan and have a chance to take the White House and turn America in a sound, secure direction. It's our choice and our chance.

I want you to use my candidacy as a platform to make the entire American family feel welcome. My campaign is open to your ideas and has already involved your thoughts, your ideas, and your beliefs. I didn't just show up today for the first time. We've stood together many times before, in San Francisco Chinatown with Mrs. Chin, still grieving at the loss of her only son...in Little Tokyo right here in Los Angeles, with survivors of the World War II concentration camps, now closer than ever to redress and reparations. I spoke out against the Marcos dictatorship, stood together with Pilipino community leaders, traveled together with an Asian American delegation to Japan and South Korea. Learned about the interconnections between trade and democracy and human rights. I've learned from you and expect to learn much more. I've met with your leaders in neighborhoods around the country — in Chicago, in Milwaukee, in New York, in Washington — dealing with anti-Asian violence in our neighborhoods.

I meet with you today. This is not the first time. We have more than a campaign together. We have a destiny together as we fight for justice and jobs. My campaign seeks to change the status quo because it is the right and moral thing to do. It is wrong that out of 7,000 top U.S. government managers — only 57 Asian Americans. It's wrong. Asian families face



Debbie Moy

unwarranted obstacles as they seek family reunification. It's unfortunate that we, the melting pot nation are fighting for English-only laws and don't appreciate the value to our nation of multi-cultural English-plus languages. It's to our advantage.

As a superpower, as a diverse nation, indeed as a melting pot, English-only is against our national interests — it makes us less secure, less able to trade and expand. We must live in the real world, we are a great nation. We're just one third of this hemisphere. Two thirds of our neighbors in Latin America speak Spanish and Portuguese. We are a great nation, but just 6% of the world. One half of all human beings are Asian. One half of them are Chinese. One eighth of the human race is African, one fourth of them Nigerian. There are 22 nations in the Middle East, with more than 120 million people. Our neighbors are South, Central and Latin America, and our neighbors in the Carribean are of African descent.

When Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev met, they represented a half billion, or one eighth of the human race. It was a minority meeting. When Rajiv Gandhi meets in India, he

It's time for more Asian American congresspeople and senators and legislators. You don't need a leader, you need empowerment. You can help lead yourself!

represents seven hundred million Indians, twenty million more Indians than there are Americans and Soviets combined. Most people in the world are yellow, brown, black, non-Christian, poor, female, young and don't speak English. Let's join the real world and offer assertive leadership in the world today.

We should not fight to be narrow and limited. We may win. Come on now, you got the point.

In 1988 you will have a choice. There are distinctions among the candidates...direction, priorities, record, risk and resolve. One candidate is distinguished by fighting for the right to vote, voter registration, corporate negotiations. Leading demonstrations, motivating our youth in school. Spending time in jail for justice. Going to Geneva and meeting Gorbachev face to face about the nuclear arms race and human rights. By the year 2000, we must rid the planet of nuclear weapons so there will be no more Hiroshimas, no more Nagasakis. We must use the human race over the nuclear race. We must give life a chance.

Today I stand with the people of Pelau, those supporting a nuclear free Pacific. For all those supporting a nuclear free Europe, we must make this a nuclear free earth and give peace a chance. Hard negotiations, mutually verifiable, deep cuts and on

to elimination. We must choose mutual existence over mutual annihilation. That's the thrust of our future and our leadership.

In this campaign, I will discuss the issues, no matter what the questions are, that make a difference. There are those that are here this day, pens drawn, cameras rolling, who are interested in the issues other than you, and it's your meeting. We must fight to keep our prize and our eyes on the right agenda.

This meeting is about expanding our party. It's about building a coalition, it's about domestic justice. It's about world peace. And no diversion must take our eyes away from that prize.



Mike Fong

This race is not a 100 yard dash. It's a marathon. We face the challenge of winning the nomination and taking the White House in '88. But we can't just stop there. Life will not stop in 1988. 1990 census time. 1991 re-apportionment. 1992 new elections based upon lines drawn in 1991, which will take us into the year 2000. We do not just have a five month agenda, we have a life time agenda for jobs, and peace and justice.

In my campaign and in my administration, Asian Pacific Americans will have key leadership positions. If elected, I am committed to appointing Asian and Pacific Americans to every level of government posts — the Civil Rights Commission, federal judgeships... it's the American way. It's the right thing to do. But we've got to go further than that for empowerment and representation.

It's time for more Asian American congresspeople and senators and legislators. You don't need a leader, you need empowerment. You can help lead yourself!

My campaign represents bold leadership. Why is our foreign policy failing in Central America, in Southern Africa, in the Middle East? In Europe, why is it failing? It's failing because it's incoherent. We have a strong military but weak leadership. We have guided missiles, but misguided leadership. If you want peace, you must have a formula for peace and a vision.

The Jackson doctrine, one of the basic steps is support and respect for international law. We, of all countries, with so many interests around the world, cannot undercut international law. We cannot turn our backs on the World Court and mine the harbors in Nicaragua. Because if we do, when the Ayatollah does the same thing in the Persian Gulf, we don't have the moral equivalency to get the world to join us.

The harbors of the Persian Gulf should not be mined. The harbors of Nicaragua should not be mined. We should take the leadership in strengthening international law and the World Court.

The Second principle: support self-determination and human rights. That's why Arias has a peace prize and Reagan

We have guided missiles, but misguided leadership. If you want peace, you must have a formula for peace and a vision.

has egg, because the world chooses negotiations over confrontation and respects self-determination and respect human rights. The Noble Peace Prize Committee didn't go to the movie, they watched the real thing. Respect self-determination and human rights. But don't stop there.

Economic development as the alternative to world tensions. The \$10 billion spent mining harbors, running military exercises, intimidating the people, militarizing the neighbors, funding the contras — that money spent in re-developing Central America could have gained friends for us and expanded our markets. 3 basic steps: respect international law and support it. Self-determination and economic alternatives to third world tension.

How does it apply? Well, let's go to Europe. Why is Europe at peace? First, we fought for international law. Willing to back it up, people with their lives. For forty years, fighting for international law. Respecting sovereignty, respecting boundaries. Secondly, respecting the sovereignty of each nation and its points of view. Thirdly, economic development. The Marshall Plan. It was good judgement to re-build Europe. By rebuilding Europe, we also expanded markets for ourselves and gained friends. It was good judgement to fight for international law, self-determination and economic development.

That's true in Central America. That's true in the

Middle East. That's true in Southern Africa. Those laws don't bend. Meet with the Southern African leadership. Respect their sovereignty. Support self-determination. Get South Africa out of Angola. Get South Africa out of Namibia. Stop them from violating the territory of Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania. Respect the law.

In Europe, we didn't just talk about sanctions against the East. We gave economic alternatives to the east. So why not build a corridor out of Mozambique and Npopo railroad, so you can free Zimbabwe and Zambia from being landlocked by South Africa. If we were to negotiate with Angola, open up Mozambique, build alternative trade routes to South Africa, the economic balance will shift, just following the Jackson Doctrine. Respect law, self-determination and economic alternatives. Bold leadership.

And then we can be tough minded with a sensitive heart. Here we are 45 years later, the Japanese the largest creditor nation, we're the largest debtor nation. Who won the war? Let's be intelligent about this thing, let's not panic. The war of ideas or the war of bombs? I know who won the war of ideas because I know who worked on ideas. But it's not a simple situation. They also can be understood. We defend Japan in the Pacific. We don't want to re-arm Japan, we'd rather have them as our first line of defense headed that way and the first line of offense headed this way, we understand that. What should we do? If the trade off is: we defend Japan and our own interests in the Pacific, and Japan becomes the largest creditor nation, let's be creative about it. Why can't we and Japan take the initiative in the Marshall Plan for the Third World, as we combine our resources to free the Third World of its debts. As this debt comes down, our deficit comes down. We gain friends and have global economic growth. Let's be creative, we need bold leadership.

As Mexico sinks in debt, don't prepare to fight, prepare to build. Mexico is not "back door", it's next door. Move while we have a chance. Let's give economic development and peace a chance and not react at a time of war. Just following a basic



doctrine. Respect law, self-determination and economic alternatives.

Lastly, there's a raging war in the Persian Gulf this morning. Undeclared war, but war nonetheless. What must we do? Whatever we do must be definite. I plan to go to the Persian Gulf sometime soon to visit our troops. To assure them that although there may be division about the Gulf policy, there is no division of our support for them for putting their lives on the line to defend our interests. As we fought against bad Vietnam policy, too often it was conveyed that people were against the warriors. Never should have been the case. These young men and young women in the Persian Gulf today with our uniforms on, under our flag, for the most part could not go to college, could not get a job. They joined the military services and have their bodies on the line. They are not the problem. The problem is that they are there and they're floating in a demilitarized zone as open targets for suicide and missile missions without a defined objective.

It's not their fault that this administration sent cake to the Ayatollah, which he does not eat, and a bible, which he does not read. It is not their fault. He circumvented the U.S. Congress and sold missiles to Iran and sold intelligence to Iraq — it's not their fault. We must defend their honor.

While challenging this policy, we must call for strong embargos of arm sales to Iran and Iraq. Stop the flow of arms. In the meantime, arms are already there. Let us note that the Iranians got our weapons from the Afghan rebels and now *our* weapons are pointed at *our* troops in the Persian Gulf.

Think about the nuclear crisis in Cuba. Not too long ago there was the Cubans that had gotten Russian missiles in Cuba. Krushchev could no longer control Castro in Cuba. Therefore everybody's option changed real fast with those weapons in his hands.

Now our latest weapons, stingers, dangerous missiles, to which we have no defense in the Gulf, are in the hands of our adversaries. And our soldiers are there as floating targets for suicide and missile missions. It's decision making time.

We now have the numbers to win. We have the faith, we have the courage, we will unify and not feint in the face of adversity. In 1988, together we can win.

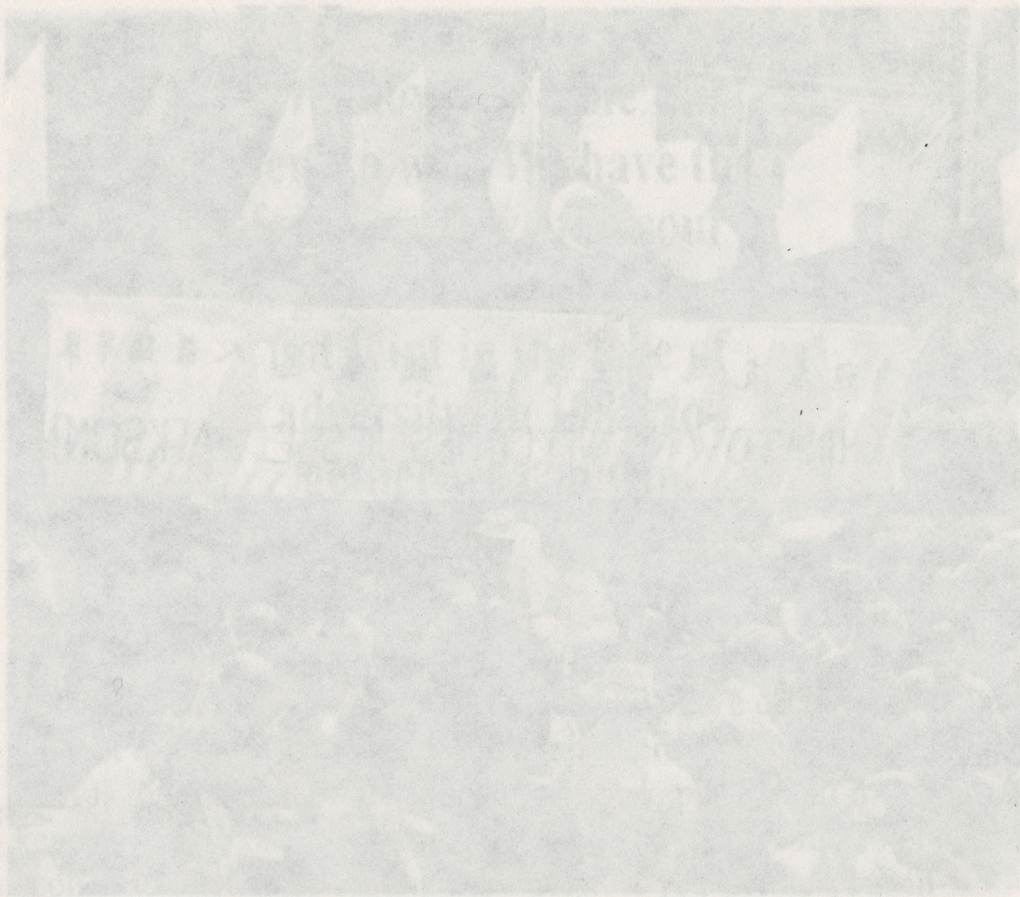
One, define our interest in the Gulf. We do have an interest in the Gulf. The world has an interest in the Gulf. The Gulf is international waters. It should be kept open. It must be kept open. No one has the right to close down the Gulf to create economic imbalance around the world. If you define your interests and your objective is to defend your interests, then whoever violates your interests does so at great peril, and high risk.

It's a tough situation. We need tough leadership for tough times. We cannot float up and down that Gulf for 40 years like it's a gap between South and North Korea. We must end the war in the Gulf, free up the Gulf. Let the oil pass. Bring peace and bring our boys back home with honor and justice. We need strong leadership.

I ask you this day, let's go in a new direction. Let's build the coalition. Table workers in Jay, Maine, meatpackers in Cudahy, Wisconsin, family farmers in Iowa, shipbuilders in Pennsylvania, those fighting for peace in Central America, those fighting to free South Africa, those fighting for jobs, peace and justice. We now have the numbers to win. We have the faith, we have the courage, we will unify and not feint in the face of adversity. In 1988, together we can win. Thank you very much.



Debbie Moy



Chicago 1970

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