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SpÃ«-n-an-Ym Times
ATLANTA, July 21 â\200\224 Following i
Â¥ g is the text
of !l.le speeâ\200\230ch of acceptance of the Demo-
cratic Presidential nomination prepared for

delivery by Michael S. Dukaki
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Text of Dukakis Speech Accepting the Democratic Presidential Nominatic

My fellow Americans.
Slx(fen n;omr;: ago, when I announced my
y for the Pr of the
States, | said this campaign w{)uld be a(r:';(reaâ\200\230!
thon. Tonight, with the wind at our backs,
with friends by our side, with courage in our
hearts, lh'e race to the finish line begins.
cv? we' re' going to win this race.
re going to win because we
party that believes in the American dliâ\200\231el:m(.he
A dream so powerful that no distance of
ground, no expanse of ocean, no barrier of
3 hl;guage, no distinction of race or creed or
;o;. :â\200\230 can weaken its hold on the human
dr:ï-\202kmn?w, because I am a product of that
A dream that brought my father toâ\200\231 â\200\230
this
| country 76 years ago, that brought my
mother and her family here one year later â\200\224
â\200\230 m,inmlâ\200\230e reu:cspeak E:\glish, but with a
succeed in the
! e ir new land of 4

And tonight in the presence of that ma = 3 ' â\200\230

. , ;

ous woman who is my mother and who o Gov. Mich i i â\200\230 â\200\230 (-

ey e came ov. Michael S. Dukakis helping with a microphone test yesterda i i i â\200\230

| heart of the young man who mory in my | podium for the Democratic National Conventi . y m
orning on the him were his stepson, John, left; Bill Woodward, second i i

â\200\230 e o e ot p;:::a;:ï-\201::a: et ention at the Omni arena in Atlanta. With and Pau
l Brontas, his campaign chai rom ri
deep and abiding faith in the promise of S BT e &

% s S5 3 â\200\235

The New York Times/Jim Wil

ght, his speech wrigggy ;
; i

America; tonight, as a son of immigrants with a wonderful wife and four children, I accept your nomination for the Presidency of the United States.

My friends, the dream that carried me to tonight in every part of the country and its

esdkiroy .What the Democratic

Henry Cisneros of Texas, Bob Matsui of

California, Barbara Mikulski of Maryland, Mario Cuomo of New York, Claude Pepper of Florida and Louis Jackson.

man who has lifted so many hearts with his dignity and the hope of his message throughout this campaign; a man whose very candle says to every child aim high to every citizen you count; to every voter you can make a difference; to every Amer-

;;': you are a full shareholder in our

A New Era About to Begin

My friends, if anyone tells you that the American dream belongs to the privileged few and not to all of us, you tell them that the Reagan era is over and a new era is about to begin.

Because it's time to raise our sights to look beyond the cramped ideals and limited ambitions of the past eight years to recapture the spirit of energy and of confidence and of idealism that John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson inspired a generation ago.

It's time to meet the challenge of the next American Frontier the challenge of building an economic future for America that will create good jobs at good wages for every citizen in this land, no matter who they are or where they come from or what the color of their skin.

It's time to rekindle the American spirit of invention and daring.

ics for can-do ics, to build the best America by bringing out the best in every American.

It's time to wake up to the new challenges that face the American family. Time to see that young families in this country are never

again forced to choose between the jobs they need and the children they love; time to be sure that parents are never again told no matter how long they work or how hard their child tries, a college education is a right they can't afford.

It's time to ask why it is that we have run up more debt in this country in the last eight years than we did in the previous 200; and to make sure it never happens again.

throwing governments in Central America;

it's about creating good jobs in middle Amer-

a.

It's not about insider trading on Wall Street; it's about creating opportunity on Main Street.

Values, Not Meaningless Labels

It's not about meaningless labels. It's

about American values. Old-fashioned values -
i like

bility and responsibility and respect for the truth. And just as we Democrats believe that there are no limits to what each

. citizen can do, so we believe there are no

limits to what America can do.
Yes, I know, this fall, we're going to hear a

lot of Republican talk about how well some

neighborhoods and some regions of this country are doing; about how easy it is for some families to buy a home or to find child care or to pay their doctor's bills or to send their children to college.

But maintaining the status quo isn't running .

in place isn't standing still isn't good enough for America. Opportunity for some isn't good enough for America. 3

My friends, we're going to forge a new era of greatness for America. 5

We're going to take America's genius out of cold storage and challenge our young-

sters; we're going to make our schools and

universities and laboratories the finest in the world and we're going to make teaching a valued and honored profession once again. We're going to light fires of innovation and enterprise from coast to coast; and we're

going to give those on welfare the chance to !

lift themselves out of poverty; to get the child care and the training they need; the chance

to step out into the bright sunshine of opportunity and of hope and of dignity. -

We're going to invest in our urban neighborhoods; and we're going to work to revitalize small town and rural America. We're going to give our farm families a price they can live on, and farm communities a future they can count on. -

And we're going to build the kind of America that Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas has

been fighting for 40 years; the kind of Amer-

ica where hard work is rewarded; where American goods and American workmanship are the best in the world and where our workers have at least 60 days' notice when their plants or factories shut down.

Now, I know I have reputation for being a frugal man. In nine years, I've balanced nine more budgets than this Administration has and I've just balanced a tenth. And I've worked with the citizens of my state - worked hard to create hundreds of new jobs

plain citizens - sharing responsibility; exchanging ideas; building confidence about the future.

And what we have done reflects a simple but very profound idea - an idea as powerful as any in human history.

It is the idea of community.

It is the idea that we are in this together; that regardless of who we are or where we come from or how much money we have - each of us counts. And that by working together to create opportunity and a good life for all - all of us are enriched - not just in economic terms, but as citizens and as human

beings.

It is an idea that was planted in the New World by the first Governor of Massachusetts. -

"We must," said John Winthrop, "love one

another with a pure heart fervently. We must

delight in each other, make each other's condition our own, rejoice together, mourn together, and suffer together. We must be knit together as one."

John Winthrop wasn't talking about material success. He was talking about a country where each of us asks not only what's in it for us, but what's good and what's right for all of us. -

When a young mother named Dawn Law-
son leaves seven years of welfare to become
a personnel specialist in a Fortune 500 com-
pany in Worcester, Massachusetts â\200\224 we are
all enriched and ennobled. }

When a Catholic priest named Bill Kraus
helps homeless families in Denver not just by
giving them shelter, but by helping them to -
find the jobs they need to get back on their
feet, we are all enriched and ennobled.

When a high school principal named
George McKenna and a dedicated staff of
teachers and counselors create a real envi-
ronment for learning at the George Washing-
train their workers, to re-tool their factories,
and to help rebuild their communities.

I want students and office workers and re-
tired teachers to share with a neighbor the
precious gift of literacy.

e I want bricklayers and carpenters and

s and y action ag

"

possess, but from what we believe; not from
what we have, but from who we are. 5
I've been asked many times over the past
16 months if I have one very special goal for
these next four years â\200\224 something that re-
flects everything I stand for and believe in as
an American.

to help create decent and affordable h
for every family, and to end the shame of
homelessness in America.

| want our young scientists to dedicate
their great gifts not to the destruction of life,
but to its preservation; to wage war on hun-
ger and pollution and infant mortality; and to
win the war against AIDS, the greatest public
health emergency of our lifetime, and a dis-
ease that must be conquered.

I want a new Attorney General to work
with me and with law enforcement officials
all over America to reclaim our streets and
neighborhoods from those who commit vio-
lent crime.

And I want thÃ© members of Congress to
work with me so that, at long last, we can

** make good on Harry Trumanâ\200\231s commitment

to basic health insurance for every family in
America. -

My friends, the dream that began in Plym-
outh 360 years ago; the spirit that survived
that terrible winter at Valley Forge and
triumphed on the beach at Normandy; the
courage that looked Khrushchev in the eye
during the Cuban missile crisis â\200\224 is as
strong and as vibrant today as it has ever
been.

â\200\230We must â\200\224 we are â\200\224 and we will be â\200\224 mill-
tarily strong. - .

Policy Based on Principle. -

But we must back that military strength
with economic strength; we must give the
men and women of our armed forces weap-

- ons that work; we must have a Secretary of

ton Preparatory High school in Los Angel

. high school that is 90 pÃ©rcent black and 10

percent Hispanic and has 80 percent of its
duat dmitted to college; we are all en-

?ilched and ennobled. -
How We Are Al Enriched

When a d d new t team
and a fine union in Milwaukee work together
to turn Harley-Davidson around and help it
come back to life, we are ail enriched and

when a man named Willie Velazquez y

cuando un Willie Velasquez can register tens

- of thousands of his fellow citizens as voters,

puede inscribir decena de miles de sus conci-
udadanos para votar and bring new energy
and new ideas and new people brindando asi

Def who will â\200\224 and not be man-
aged by â\200\224 the Pentagon; and we must have a
foreign policy that reflects the decency and
the principles and the values of the American
le. ;

President Reagan has set the stage for
deep cuts in nuclear arms â\200\224 and I salute him
for that. .

He has said that we should judge the Soviet
Union not by what it says, but by what it does
â\200\224 and I agree with that.

But we can do a lot more to stop the spread

! of nuclear and chemical arms; we can do a lot more to bring peace to Central America . and to the Middle East; and we can and we

will do a lot more to end apartheid in South Africa. A

- The to that g is yes, I do. r
Because four years from now, when our

- citizens walk along Pennsylvania Avenue.in

Washington, D.C., or when they see a picture of the White House on television, I want them to be proud of their government; proud of a government that sets high standards not just

" for the American people, but high standards ,

for itself.

We're going to have a Justice Department that isn't the laughing stock of the nation - we're going to have a Justice Department that understands that the word justice means. ; 3

We're going to have nominees to the Federal bench who are men and women of integrity and intelligence and who understand the Constitution of the United States. 2

We're going to have an Environmental Protection Agency that's more interested in stopping pollution than in protecting the polluters. 3

We're going to have a real war - not a phony war - against drugs; and we won't be doing business with drug-running Panamanian dictators. ' 2

We're going to have a Vice President who won't sit silently by when somebody at the National Security council comes up with the cockamamie idea that we should trade arms to the Ayatollah for hostages; we're going to have a Vice President who will walk into the Oval Office and say, "Mister President, this is nuts."

Vow on Dukakis White House

And in the Dukakis White House, as in the Dukakis State House; if you accept the privilege of public service, you had better understand the responsibilities of public service: If you violate that trust, you'll be fired; if you violate the law, you'll be prosecuted; you sell arms to the Ayatollah, don't expect pardon from the President of the United States. s 0

Tuesday night, along with millions of other Americans, I was inspired by the powerful words of Jesse Jackson. And Monday night,

laughed and was moved by the wit and wis,
domof Ann Richards. . . - wit

. But what stirred me most on Monday was;

a grandmother talking about her â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230nearly,
â\200\234perfectâ\200\235 granddaughter; and what stirred
me most on Tuesday were those fine hand+

John Kennedy once said that AmÃ©rica
â\200\234Jeads the ... world, not just because we are
the richest or the strongest or the most

nuevas engrgias, nuevas ideas, nuevas per- - %
sonas into courthouses and city halls and
state capitals all across the Southwest a los

It's time to understand that the greatest
threat to our national security in this hemi-
re is not the Sandinistas â\200\224 itâ\200\231s the ava-

â\200\224 and I mean good jobs, jobs you can raise a
family on, jobs you can build a future on, jobs

" you can count on. v â\202¬ il
5 :â\200\230â\200\234Ch;";â\200\230:iâ\200\231gg;â\200\230m;::â\200\231chpm:ns into this co
un gobiernos municipales y estatales a del su- powerful, but because we exert that leader-
some and proud and articulate Jackson chil4
R Y Ishâ\200\234e o G Sy of youdw Progress Through Community voeste â\200\224 we are all en
riched and ennobled ship for the cause of freedom around the dren talking about their hope
s and the future;
o Americans expect of ourselves o I'm proud of our progress, but I'm even | todos nos e;;;'
;. - osy g l globe ... and ... gecause we are moving on of thiscountry. . ",: '_ ,â\200\230
how much we have a right to expect from prouder of the way weâ\200\231ve made that progress
â\200\231o:uâ\200\231:?:unâ\200\234f'y.":,'of";g"s" mrâ\200\230;â\200\230,r"m â\200\234â
\200\230:v':â\200\231:â\200\234â\200\231â\200\234â\200\230;l::'?yâ\200\231 bl to vt st lom
'i¬\201:â\200\234ng d{lmĩ¬\202im.ldgm m
g : H ssachu: ast m
those we elect to public office. by working together; by excluding Bo o ment working alone;
I mean goals for our freedom. 5 she visited with me at the State House in Bosw'

and including everyone: business and labor;

s and ity leaders and just her. I want to

h to re-

Because this election isnâ\200\231t about ideology.

& : o But we must always remember that our _ ton. Sheâ\200\231s a remarkable woman, and W
It's about competence. Itâ\200\231s not about over- ys ; young o

~greaest strength comes not from what we __know herparents arevervroudoher. &M
My thoughts tonight â\200\224 and my dreams for:
America â\200\224 are about Ann Richardsâ\200\231s grand-
daughter Lily; about Jackie Jackson; and:
about the baby that's going to be born to ourâ\200\231
son, John, and his wife, Lisa, inJanuary. 7.7
God willing, our first grandchild will reach.
the age that Jackie Jackson is now at the
beginning of a new century. And we pray that
he or she will reach that age with eyes asâ\200\231
filled with the sparkle of life and pride and

optimism as that young woman we watched, it's a new
beginning together two nights ago. ; o
Yes, my friends, it's a time for wonderful new
beginnings. i
A little baby. .
A new Administration.
A new era of greatness for America. g

people working together
be wise and

.
APARR 772/

e
FIRYN |
|
,

And when we leave here tonight, we will
leave to build the future together. e
To build the future so that when our chil-
dren and grandchildren look back in their
time on what we did in our time; they will say
; . that we had the wisdom to carry on the
A | dreams of those who came before us; the

7 ' courage to make our own dreams come true;
the foresight to blaze a trail for generations

yet to come. s
And as | accept your nomination tonight, I
can help recalling that the first marathon
was run in ancient Greece, and that on impor-
tant occasions like this one, the citizens of
Athens would complete their ceremonies by
taking a pledge. g i
That pledge that covenant is as elo-
quent and timely today as it was 2000 years

| ago. 50

we will never bring disgrace to this, our

country, by any act of dishonesty or coward

: i { ice. We will fight for the ideals of this, our
: : . country. We will revere and obey the laws

; We will strive to quicken our sense of civic
{ duty. Thus, in all these ways, we will transform
this country - greater, better, stronger
prouder and more beautiful than it was

transmitted tous.â\200\235 =
That is my pledgeto you, my fellow Deni

crats. 3
And that is my pledge to you, the Americ?
e people. y

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SUNDHY TomES 2
WE SHOULD perhaps be grateful that the coming municipal
elections are not for central government.

One of the most alarming features of these elections is how badly
prepared all parties are for the challenges which lie beyond October
26.

These elections are not really local. They are dominantly about
national issues â\200\224 group areas, crime, security, economic growth

and boycotts versus partici-
pation as a political strategy.
As such, they are a dress
.rehearsal for a subsequent gen-
eral election.
The outcome will not only be
a foretaste of the future, but
hopefully it will contain lessons
for all the parties. At least the
outcome will raise or highlight
questions each party or move-
ment should ask itself before re-
fining policies for the challenges
ahead.
Some of these questions can
be anticipated. ;
The Conservative Party will
emerge as a major player in the
future. Not only has it cam-
paigned forcefully for these
elections, but it has exploited
grievances and fears to the hilt
and has consolidated a massive
base of signed-up membership.

30/8Â¥

by Lawrence
Schlemmmer

director of the University of the Wit-
watersrandâ\200\231s Centre for Policy Studies

Wl GeddaUsy

Its success so far belies its discomfort on the major challenge facing it.

This is simply the question of how it proposes to reintroduce complete white autonomy without economic costs, massive black reaction, crippling world censure, ludicrously impracticable social engineering and a body blow to already feeble investor-confidence.

The National Party is clearly no longer blueprint-oriented. In the words of President Botha, it intends to "manage" the country out of its conflicts and seething latent instability towards a future of shifting compromises.

This is certainly a more mature position than its shallow super-confidence in the past, but raises tough questions, nonetheless.

Managing and controlling conflict, as the party recognises, go hand in hand with socio-economic reform, negotiation with opponents, talented managers, community participation and the grasping of all useful opportunities.

mobilisation, confrontation and pressure politics.

A departure from patient protest was not only understand-

able but obviously long overdue. The state of emergency, however, has produced a stalemate.

Inasense, this has left mainly Insurgency, terrorism and sanctions as going concerns for the liberation struggle, and each of these will increase dependency on external initiatives (almost like the early decades of black protest, when people lived in

hope that the British monarchy would intervene).

Each of these strategies also increases the sense of justification among the authorities to tighten security measures.

Some of these strategies, like sanctions, will weaken the more cohesive black movements, like the trade unions, through attrition of their membership base. More broadly, black poverty will produce apathy.

Unless the time horizon is moved absurdly far ahead, only

deducted without the punchlines in the script, and the questions remain.

- There is one compelling issue,

entirely appropriate to local

government, which all parties

might have addressed and could still introduce. Some have toyed

with it. Others have avoided it.

This issue is the future of local

government and the shape of the city of the future.

No matter how desirable or

undesirable the goals may be, if

any party or movement seems likely to achieve either autonomous ethnic cities or reunited non-racial cities. Our cities of the future will be cities of transition.

Given this, is there not an approach to city government and city structure which is a creative compromise?

For example, is a combination of (ethnic and mixed) com-

munity autonomy and reunited
over-arching metropolitan gov-
ernment not possible?

Indaba

How does the Government:
Propose to accomplish black

SOCl0-economic upgrading in the
' face of decades of backlogs,
with a balance-ofâ\200\224payments
problem, a decline in real fiscal
resources, crippling shortages
of managers, deep mistrust
from black communities and
among would-be negotiating
partners, and growing white
grievances?

Can conflict be managed with
mounting structural unemploy-
ment? Why have opportunities
not been grasped â\200\224 such as in-
viting renegotiation around the
KwaZulu-Natal Indaba pro-
posals? :

The Government wil] receive
accolades from many voters for
its recent breakthroughs on the
diplomatic front in Africa and
elsewhere.

Are similar large initiatives
not required internally to gain
black co-operation? It money is
in short S| (l1pply, perhaps it has to
be booste by appropriate Sym-
bolic gestures,

The PFP and the other liberal
opposition parties have the
ideas and the longer-term politi-
cal answers,

Conscience

The question they face js how
to translate superb political
logic into - messages which moti-
vate rank-and-file whites.

Guilt over injustices may be
appropriate in ethical terms,
but it is hardly a motivator for
the average white voter who
. feels too anxious himself or her-
self to act-on conscience,

How can these parties trans-
late accurate - perceptions of
majority needs into an image of
Sympathy for legitimate white
Or minority interests? Above all,
perhaps, how do they begin to
project an image of the neces-

sary toughness and cetermination to govern.

The liberation movement, the

and other extra-parliamentary * groups moved from protest politics in the early 70s to increasingly cohesive

T e L e B

No matter how desirable .r undesirable the goals may be, no party or movement seems likely to achieve either autonomous ethnic cities or reunited non-racial cities. Our cities of the future will be cities of transition

two useful strategies remain for the extra-parliamentary' movements: Mass mobilisation around realisable grassroots objectives, and alliances and negotiation with the various establishments,

There are welcome signs of the latter emerging, but here the questions arise. What are extra-parliamentary groups doing to win space for mobilisation

Perhaps now the objection

advance. As one may ask of the Government, what are they doing to reduce mistrust?

The blueprint of 'liberation' has the same effect on whites as the blueprint of 'apartheid' has on blacks. Non-participation in the current elections may be understandable, but it seems to answer none of these questions.

What mandate can non-participation give: What comes after boycotts?

These are, to my mind, the kind of questions all the parties and movements should have been answering for these elections. All are being judged in broad national terms, but this dress rehearsal has been con-

Recombined

Perhaps we should think of dividing our present large municipalities and townships into smaller, homogeneous suburban units with considerable powers over local affairs and the right to exercise local options.

All these could be rationally recombined into larger metropolitan regions for purposes of bulk servicing and major financial provision. Some local units could be non-racial or multi-racial if they choose ie, freedom of association and dissociation.

Townships would no longer be underprivileged appendages but collections of suburban units as in the rest of the city. The present townships are too big to govern and administer effectively in any even.

Major industrial and commercial centres could be collective property under management subcommittees. A metropolitan tax base could be created.

Service provision could be contracted out to private concerns, as happens effectively in the US, thereby reducing personnel costs. Alternatively, the metropolitan authority could provide services on request from suburban units,

Indication

We need city unity for efficiency and social justice, but we also need flexibility and diversity to cope with the strains of transition and fears of minorities.

The Regional Services Councils in themselves are an indication of these needs. but could be restructured on a more rational basis in the course of negotiations between all city residents.

These possibilities are complex and require more careful exposition, but they are 1

examples of the type of issue
that
could have been debating. !

In any event, these types of |
challenges are what shoulc
occupy tie minds of the parties
after the elections,

parties in the elections |