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Civil Disobedience, Social Justice, Nationalism & Populism, Violent Demonstrations and Race Relations

Toward a More Inclusive America: Jesse Jackson's 1984 and 1988 Democratic National Convention Addresses

by Beltramini Enrico

In 1984 and 1988, Jesse Jackson ran for president on a platform that gave voice to the disenfranchised and focused on issues such as wealth inequality and racial injustice. Jackson earned prime-time convention speaking slots, and his convention speeches remain among the most significant speeches of recent political history. Successive roars of applause swelled over the audience at the convention centers, while the television audience of tens of millions of viewers followed Jackson's gospel-cadenced, impassioned oration. In both speeches, Jackson relied heavily on a delicate balance between passion and analysis, conviction and compromise, to deliver an image of peace and justice to the audiences' minds. Still, despite historians' vast research on the Civil Rights Movement, scant attention has been paid to contemporary civil rights leaders' political speeches, especially post-1968. The significance of this study is punctuated by the idea that Jackson used a civil-rights-centered rhetorical approach to capture diverse audiences while bringing to the national spotlight issues that are still relevant today. After all, his campaigns ignited for national politics a resurrection of the civil rights imagination that Barack Obama would ultimately adopt in his successful campaign for president of the United States in 2008.

The Emergence of the Rainbow Coalition: Jackson's 1984 San Francisco Address¹

At the 1984 Democratic National Convention in San Francisco, Jackson made a forceful case for the extension of the Democratic tent to the poor and warned against the threat of Reaganism. Opening night featured a keynote address that belonged to first-term New York Governor Mario Cuomo. Cuomo reimagined America as a divided nation—"the lucky and the left out, ... the royalty and the rabble"—and argued that the Democratic Party would be better off to defend the middle class, "the people not rich enough to be worry free but not poor enough to be on welfare"—"those who work for a living because they have to" ("Tale of Two Cities"). It was a most memorable keynote address and raised the bar for all speakers to follow, particularly Jesse Jackson, who took the stage the following evening, July 18, with his wife and five children. By then, he represented only 3.3 million votes, or 18 percent of the Democratic vote.² During the primaries, he had won almost 400 delegates, or 12 percent, finishing behind Walter Mondale (the nominee) and Gary Hart. More television viewers watched his address than any other part of the convention, reaching 33 million by its end. CBS News Anchor Dan Rather even remarked that more Americans saw Jackson's speech than the broadcast of Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech at the 1963 March on Washington.

His address began with a prayer, "our faith in a mighty God," and then continued to define his constituency, which in the primaries stretched beyond his urban base of blacks to distressed farmers, coal miners, and both white- and blue-collar workers. He declared, "My constituency is the desperate, the damned, the disinherited, the disrespected and the despised. They've voted in record numbers. They have invested faith, hope and trust that they have in us. The Democratic Party must send them a signal that we care," he claimed, implying that the Democratic leadership was far too focused on the middle class. The first part of Jackson's speech, however, was not simply a description of his constituency; rather, it was a gateway that admitted the audience to a world all its own—a biblical world.

In this world, Jackson believed that politics was for the good: "to feed the hungry; to clothe the naked" (Matthew 25:36). He also believed that the disenfranchised have acted as a congregation and "have invested ... faith, hope, and trust" (1 Corinthians 13:13) in the Democratic Party. In this world, "there is [a] call of conscience, redemption, expansion, healing, and unity" (Hebrews 9:14; Romans 8:29-30) that leadership must heed. Not only that, but "leadership can part the waters and lead our nation in the direction of the Promised Land" (Exodus 14:1-31). In this world, "there is a proper season for everything" (Ecclesiastes 3:1); there is a time to sow and a time to reap. There exists a time to compete and a time to cooperate. The scripture is clearly an important source for Jackson's political imagination, which

he demonstrated by relying heavily on biblical stories and references to create enduring images in the minds of the audience, all while maintaining a gospel-cadenced, impassioned oration that galvanized his listeners.

Then Jackson called on his delegates to ratify support for him, while he pledged to support Mondale's candidacy, seeking to heal the divisions created by a stormy election campaign that highlighted deep internal differences. In this context, he also addressed the damage created by his reference to Jews as "Hymie" and to New York as "Hymietown."³ Although Jackson apologized for his unfortunate remark, he also proposed a definition of leadership that would inspire an entire generation of black politicians, stating, "This campaign has taught me much; that leaders must be tough enough to fight, tender enough to cry, human enough to make mistakes, humble enough to admit them, strong enough to absorb the pain, and resilient enough to bounce back and keep on moving."

While Cuomo articulated the image of the two cities, or two Americas,⁴ Jackson instead advanced a vision of the American nation as a rainbow:

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. America is not like a blanket—one piece of unbroken cloth, the same color, the same texture, the same size. America is more like a quilt: many patches, many pieces, many colors, many sizes, all woven and held together by a common thread. 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.

As we see, Jackson offered his audiences the promise of a multicultural society in which the faithful could share the same vision of inclusion, even if they do not share the same God. Jackson's vision of the United States as a rainbow is inclusive of all minorities and also of non-Christian religions as long as they are theistic in their faith (Christians, Jews, and Muslims), indicating his belief that we are all precious in God's sight. That was a familiar sentiment in Cuomo's speech, but Jackson took it even further into black church-talk, arguing that the ultimate inclusive American value is not mere tolerance but actual love.

Eventually, Jackson's vision of the United States as a rainbow initiated the Rainbow Coalition, which represents a significant expansion of the old, black, church-based coalition of the Civil Rights Movement. Here Jackson argues that "[t]wenty years later, we cannot be satisfied by just restoring the old coalition. Old wine skins must make room for new wine. We must heal and expand." As a result, he sought to include Arab Americans, Hispanic Americans, farm workers, Native Americans, Asian Americans, young Americans, disabled veterans, and small farmers excluded from the Democratic coalition of the past. Still, he recognized the Civil Rights Movement story that led to his place at the podium. His speech celebrated Fannie Lou Hamer and heroes of the movement like Medgar Evers, Martin Luther King Jr., Michael "Mickey" Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Viola Liuzzo, but he also included Malcolm X and the Kennedys in his list of martyrs, unlocking the civil rights pantheon of heroes to black radicals and white liberals.

Jackson's civil rights message of love and togetherness, however, did not stop him from challenging Reaganism and Reaganomics. As he said, "Reaganism is a spirit, and Reaganomics represents the real economic facts of life." However, Jackson focused criticism on Reaganomics, addressing both the supply-side economics and the military Keynesianism of the Reagan administration.⁵ Jackson declared that if not "big corporations and rich individuals who received the bulk of a three-year, multibillion tax cut" or one of "the 37,000 military contractors who have benefited from Reagan's more than doubling of the military budget in peacetime," one must endure a life more miserable than ever. He continued, "There are now 34 million people in poverty, 15 percent of our nation." From his view, economic recovery was merely a dream for the poor.

The point is, Jackson said, that "rising tides don't lift all boats," which is a remark with specific meaning for US politics. President Kennedy used the original sentence, that is, "a rising tide lifts all boats," to promote the idea that improvements in the general economy would benefit all participants in that economy. Although the metaphor appeared in several of Kennedy's speeches, the phrase entered the history of US politics when President Kennedy used it in a 1963 speech to combat criticism that a tax cut he proposed to Congress was unnecessary to sustain strong economic growth. President Reagan's economic guru Arthur Laffer adopted the Kennedy quotation to preach the gospel of supply-side economics, specifically a cut that targeted the marginal tax rates for profitable corporations and wealthier individuals. However, he did not explain the difference between the two tax cuts. As a matter of fact, President Kennedy's tax cut was an example of Keynesian stimulus to boost the demand side of the economy; in contrast, President Reagan's tax cut was an example of supply-side economics to encourage investment and expand output. Make the average wage earners richer, Kennedy

argued, and they will spend more. Make the rich richer, Reagan argued, and the wealth would trickle down to everyone. The illusion Jackson mocked in his Atlanta address was the idea of general economic prosperity proposed by Laffer's supply-side economics.

As a result of his criticism, Jackson's speech leaves no aspect of Reaganomics untouched. He denounced Reagan's increase of defense spending during peacetime, the cutting of government programs for the poor, and a budget cut that included nine permanent Social Security benefit cuts. Reagan racked up a double-digit unemployment (for the first time since the Great Depression), thanks to fiscal and monetary policies that drove the rate of increase in inflation down. Jackson criticized a permanent high real interest rate and argued that a "cumulative budget deficit for [Reagan's] four years is more than the sum total of deficits from George Washington to Jimmy Carter combined." In 1980, candidate Reagan had promised a balanced budget, but instead, lower income taxes and greater military spending caused a record 200-billion-dollar budget deficit. Jackson linked the budget deficit with its twin, the foreign trade deficit, as both are the product of high real interest rates.

After posing his critique of an economic policy that only further disenfranchised minorities and the poor, Jackson returned to the religious framework of his political vision in the final part of his address. Near the end, Jackson made a plea for a Democratic coalition based on values—justice and peace—in which minorities and groups with specific interests come together without losing their identities. In San Francisco, Jackson campaigned in poetry, to borrow Cuomo's famous aphorism, as political poetry was his style (Cuomo, "We campaign in poetry"). To reclaim the voice of the poor, he talked about principle not policies, all the while establishing his campaign theme and setting the marker for his 1988 campaign: "As I develop and serve, be patient: God is not finished with me yet."

Toward a Common Ground: Jackson's 1988 Atlanta Address⁶

At the 1988 Democratic National Convention in Atlanta, Jackson continued to build upon the ideas of his 1984 address, delivering an optimistic message of hope and togetherness. Again, Jackson took the stage on July 19, the second evening of the convention. At the start of his address to the delegates in Atlanta, he represented nearly 7 million votes, or 29 percent. During the primaries, he had won over 1,200 delegates (or 30 percent)—second to Michael Dukakis (the nominee)—and a dozen primaries or caucuses. He bested Hart as well as Senator Joe Biden, Senator Al Gore, Senator Paul Simon, and Congressman Richard Gephardt.⁷

His theme was how every generation of Democrats has worked together to build "common ground," to make America a more inclusive, more just nation. For instance, he recapped the African-American journey: from slavery to emancipation, from Jim Crow to the Civil Rights Movement, from Fannie Lou Hamer and Aaron Henry—the head of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party—to the present convention. He recalled Martin Luther King Jr. and the four little girls who died in a bombing at a church in Birmingham, Alabama. He also recalled the assassinations of Jimmie Lee Jackson, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Viola Liuzzo as a reminder of a not-so-distant past.

But most importantly, Jackson's speech recognized the trajectory of the city of Atlanta, from the cradle of the Old South to a modern intersection of the New South. For Jackson, that transformation underscored the running theme of his address while also enabling him to summarize his own personal story with the statement, "From racial battlegrounds by law, to economic common ground"—the theme at the heart of this Atlanta address. Common ground, as exemplified in Atlanta, resembles Jerusalem, the birthplace for Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Under the pursuit of this newfound unity, he touted common ground between the left wing and right wing of the party, between boundless liberalism and static conservatism, between lions and lambs (Isaiah 11:6-9).⁸

Why was the notion of a common ground then so important to Jackson and his vision for the United States? After all, Jackson did not indicate interest in victory. He did, though, mention survival and self-preservation as essential for the nation moving forward:

The only time that we win is when we come together. In 1960, John Kennedy, the late John Kennedy, beat Richard Nixon by only 112,000 votes—less than one vote per precinct. He won by the margin of our hope. He brought us together. He reached out.... [But w]hen do we not come together, we never win. In 1968, the division and despair in July led to our defeat in November. In 1980, rancor in the spring and the summer led to Reagan in the fall. When we divide, we cannot win. We must find common ground as the basis for survival and development and change and growth.

Thus, Jackson's civil rights message of justice and togetherness was offered as a template for the entire party: Democrats win when they come together, and they survive and develop (and continue to exist) when they win.

He also introduced the audience to his theory of profit margin, which took on many versions across Jackson's lifetime. Probably the first evidence of Jackson's propensity to look at the profit margin of a business as a liability to exploit goes as far back as his initial involvement in civil rights demonstrations. After transferring to North Carolina A&T University in Greensboro, North Carolina, Jackson became involved in the Civil Rights Movement, joining the Greensboro chapter of the Council on Racial Equality (CORE). In 1963, Jackson helped to organize several sit-ins, desegregating local restaurants and theaters in Greensboro. During these civil rights demonstrations, he apparently developed the initial framework of the "theory of profit margin." His friends remember long conversations about strategy and Jackson making the point that one does not have to "spoil all the milk" to make a winning point to shopkeepers who refused to serve blacks. Instead, Jackson argued, "All you gotta do is spoil the part called 'profit.'"⁹

By the 1970s, Jackson had articulated the so-called "Kingdom Theory" and formalized his original intuition.¹⁰ He wrote that "blacks and non-whites, we control, potentially, the margin of profit on most of the consumer items and nearly all of the basic consumer items in the nation" (qtd. in Reynolds 429). In other words, in industries where the margin of profitability is small, even if black customers are only a fraction of the total, they can still determine the success or failure of the business; they control the ultimate results. In Atlanta, Jackson proposes a political version of this original theory: in it, he states that where the margin of victory is small, even if the votes of the Rainbow Coalition are only a fraction of the total, they can still determine the success or failure of the election. In the context of the Kingdom Theory, the common ground becomes, in Jackson's words, a direct invitation to Michael Dukakis for "a commitment to a shared national campaign strategy and involvement at every level."

As we see, the motif of common ground became the expedient for Jackson to unpack his Rainbow Coalition: from blue-collar workers, farmers, teachers, and students to women, Hispanics, and the sick, particularly those without health insurance. Jackson decried "those who view social good coming from private interest, who view public life as a means to increase private wealth." He argued that Republicans were "prepared to sacrifice the common good of the many to satisfy the private interests and the wealth of a few." In contrast to his view of "a government that's a tool of our democracy in service to the public," he critiqued a vision of government as "an instrument of the aristocracy in search of private wealth."

Ultimately, Jackson held that if Reaganism promised aristocracy, Reaganomics promised reversed Robin Hoodism. Jackson told his audience that Reaganomics is "based on the belief that the rich had ... too little money and the poor had too much." His critique of Reaganomics here takes a different path than the one from four years earlier. Back then, his criticism focused on the inefficiency of President Reagan's economic paradigm: supply-side economics and military Keynesianism. In Atlanta, Jackson seemed more concerned with the inherent inequalities of the paradigm, saying, "Seven years later, the richest 1 percent of our society pays 20 percent less in taxes. The poorest 10 percent pay 20 percent more." Jackson thus became most passionate when criticizing the Reagan administration for not using federal funds to build decent housing, educate children, wipe out slums, and put America back to work. He asked why, if the federal government willingly bailed out Continental Bank and Chrysler, it did not in turn bail out the family farmer. The pendulum must swing in the direction of protectionism, he argued, in order to protect jobs and small businesses at home.

Jackson's speech recasts the image of the poor against the notion of their perceived laziness and perpetual welfare. Rather, Jackson argued, the poor do not have a chance; they are in pain, and they cannot find jobs. When they work, they work hard and cannot get a union contract, and they cannot get insurance when they are sick: "Someone must defend them ... [T]hey cannot speak for themselves." At the same time, his words attacked the idea that minorities universally indulge in drugs, calling for "a real war on drugs ... at the level of supply and demand." For instance, he mentioned a conversation with black people at Watts: "We can go and buy the drugs by the boxes at the port. If we can buy the drugs at the port, don't you believe the Federal government can stop it if they want to?" Jackson's point was that the crack cocaine epidemic that exploded in the black neighborhoods in the 1980s was partially due to the federal government ignoring drug trafficking, and thus action was needed to truly give the poor a chance.

The final part of Jackson's address stands as a fine piece of rhetoric, starting with a statement from "The Call of the Open Sea," a poem of Daisy Rinehart, and ending with a portrait of himself as a young man, experiencing the struggle and the same sense of exclusion and vulnerability of the people that he represented at the convention: "I know abandonment, and people being mean to you, and saying you're nothing and nobody and can never be anything." He

understood when people feel invisible, irrelevant, or like an embarrassment to the media and to the rest of society, stating, "Every one of these funny labels they put on you, those of you who are watching this broadcast tonight in the projects, on the corners, I understand. Call you outcast, low down, you can't make it, you're nothing, you're from nobody, subclass, underclass."

He was one of them.

A More Inclusive America: Commentary on Jackson's Democratic National Convention Speeches

In 1984 and 1988, Jackson delivered high-energy, high-volume speeches that got much attention in real time and channeled the moods of the Democratic Party. The general audience became aware of Jackson at the Democratic National Convention in 1984, when he delivered an address introducing black leadership and articulating a social gospel agenda for the Reagan era. At the same time, Jackson had always showed a special interest in economic issues. He liked economics at school, and he earned national recognition as leader of Operation Breadbasket, a premier economic program of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He maintained a focus on economic inequality during the seventies, while advocating black capitalism and flirting with the Nixon administration. All this work and commitment to economic rights and empowerment paid off in 1984 in his profound and articulate critique of Reaganomics. Here Jackson pointed out that in reality, "a rising tide does not raise all boats." The "rising tide" metaphor that had become a mainstay of Republican supply-siders, through Laffer's misappropriation of President Kennedy's remark, was limited to the rich and to the fortunate, but it hurt the poor, which was Jackson's constituency.

As we see, Jackson's addresses at the 1984 and 1988 Democratic National Conventions stand as defining moments of his career. Often mentioned as one of the most gifted and inspiring civil rights speakers of his generation, his addresses confirmed his place as one of the twentieth century's most stirring political speakers, partly because his speeches offered a passionate call for a new kind of America where blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans would be treated as true equals and where all minorities could be integrated without losing their unique identities. It did not, however, accomplish its immediate goal: Jackson was left at the margin of national politics. His 1984 address, nonetheless, did serve as a manifesto of sorts for issues that he would inject, four years later, into the political discourse.

In his 1988 address, Jackson repeated themes and references of his 1984 address: the civil rights martyrs, America as a rainbow, and the critique of Reaganomics. He added new angles and arguments: a synthetic view of Reaganism, a criticism of the federal bailout of banks and corporations, and a passionate defense of the honor and indispensable role of the poor, the unknown, and the defeated in American society. The Jackson social justice agenda of 1988 included many positions that were at the time "extreme" or "radical" but that have since become mainstream: implementing universal health care, accepting gays and lesbians, raising the minimum wage, appointing women to more positions in the federal government, and addressing the crisis of dysfunction in poorer public schools. "Economic common ground" became a refrain of the Jackson campaigns, including a bailout for farmers and manufacturing plants. His overall vision assumed a primary concern regarding economics for individuals, families, and small businesses rather than for big corporations and financial institutions.

In Atlanta, Jackson transcended the current political environment and diligently shifted between the common ground of reality and the higher ground of moral principles. "If we are principled first," he said, "our politics will fall in place" (Jackson, "Keep Hope Alive"). He revealed an evident interest in moving beyond the civil rights tradition and black politics, stating, "I'm tired of sailing my little boat, far inside the harbor bar. I want to go out where the big ships float, out on the deep where the great ones are" ("Keep Hope Alive"). From these words, it is clear that Jackson would be not satisfied to be seen in terms of identitarian politics, just as it was clear that he would not be invited to provide governance to the national campaign or to the Democratic Party. As a matter of fact, his 1988 address was arguably his last moment in the national spotlight.

Commentators and scholars, such as James R. Hallmark and Felicia R. Steward, have noted that Jackson's 1984 presidential campaign was race-specific and racialized and that the candidate adopted a more universal approach in his second presidential campaign in 1988 to appeal to voters beyond the black community. However, Jackson's two addresses reveal the same inclination toward integration and the same spirit of inclusion. In both speeches, Jackson affirmed his notion of integration, an integration that maintains groups' and minorities' identities,

although the narrative in his 1988 address proved more fluid and his tone more convincing. Yet, the two speeches help to understand the gulf between mainstream democrats and Jesse Jackson and his coalition. The gulf was particularly evident in 1988, when Dukakis and Jackson affirmed their conviction that brainpower (the former) and idealism (the latter) could overcome bitter political divisions.

Ultimately, Jackson began his 1984 presidential campaign as a long-shot candidate, an improbable option for president of the United States. Nevertheless, he ended up finishing third in 1984 and second in 1988. At the conclusion of his second campaign, in Atlanta, he thought the leadership of the Democratic Party was not giving him the respect he had earned and the influence and authority that he deserved. Jackson thought he was not taken seriously as a legitimate politician but rather was considered unfit to join the establishment. As a matter of fact, despite two tumultuous and norm-defying campaigns, Jackson remained steadfast to the identities he crafted in his formative decades, being identified permanently with the image of the unapologetic advocate of blackness. For most Democrats, Jackson was simply declaring a universalism because he had to enlarge his coalition to be politically relevant. The theme of common ground in his 1988 address can be appreciated in this context. Truthfully, he did not work very hard to update his image because the decades that hatched him represent the golden age of the civil rights to which he remained faithfully committed. As much as he might focus on his speech, topics like social justice, Jackson fought for control of the political use of the Civil Rights Era.

Democratic candidates Walter Mondale and Michael Dukakis were crushed by Ronald Reagan in the 1984 election and George H. W. Bush in the 1988 election respectively. Still, Jackson was ahead of his time in the 1980s, articulating problems that indeed persist nowadays. When almost no one discussed sexual-orientation rights, Jackson talked about gays and lesbians. At the height of the Reagan military buildup, he advocated real cuts in Pentagon spending. Jackson also raised issues of economic aristocracy long before the “99 percent” became part of the public vernacular, and he called for fundamental reform—access to healthcare and education, higher minimum wage, the bailout of small businesses and families, ensuring that the rich pay their fair share of taxes—that inspired working people and progressive activists across the country. Reduced to a slogan, this was his Rainbow Coalition, but it was not just an image. Jackson caught a sense that the traditional civil rights message, which conservatives reduced to “affirmative action,” had partially run its course. What activist Democrats were looking for was a way to support social and economic justice by accommodating changes going on in society. If the language of Jackson’s Rainbow Coalition did not resonate with Obama’s 2008 campaign, the idea behind that coalition did.

Of course, in addition to being a political leader, Jackson is also an ordained Baptist minister who regularly preaches in Chicago and in churches across America. Religion played a central role in both his 1984 and 1988 addresses, for he did not hesitate to refer to God or prophets, and he frequently used biblical language and imagery drawn from both the old and the new testaments, injecting religion in his political vision. In 1987, for instance, he was adamant about what comes first in his life: “My religion obligates me to be political, to seek to do God’s will and allow the spiritual word to become concrete justice and dwell among us. Religion should use you politically to do public service. Politics should not misuse religion. When the Word becomes flesh and dwells among us, that’s called good religion” (qtd. in Henry 37).

This rare combination of religion and politics sets Jackson apart as a politician and as a speaker. His vocation as a minister gave him a rare quality—the ability to connect with his audience in terms of compassion, empathy, and conviction. In his 1984 and 1988 addresses, he rejected the notion of civil religion and recognized the existence of a pluralistic religious society. He even maintained a strict separation between church and state, not advocating faith-driven prescriptions or Christian-based legislations. At the same time, while he recognized his audience as composed of fellow citizens, of fellow Democrats, in his addresses, he seemed to imply that society per se has not been granted an independent salvific quality: remedy comes from the highest, even when it concerns minimum wage or nuclear disarmament. Politicians serve God and a higher ground, and—for himself—Jackson wanted to make God’s will, that is, an instrument in God’s hands. Religious motivations deserved more authority and held more legitimacy than did his political motivations.

From the vantage point of our times, Jackson’s 1984 and 1988 Democratic National Convention addresses are thus a rare combination of Civil Rights Movement revival, stirring religious sentiment, and the prescient vision of the economic struggles of an increasing unequal society. If the Jackson presidential campaigns were not a serious shot at higher office, as some have implied, they remain an injection of the tradition of the Civil Rights Movement into the political discourse. In this context, Jackson’s addresses represent a powerful message of inclusion. As a matter of fact, inclusion of the most “dispossessed and disaffected” was the backbone, the core,

and the motivation of Jackson's political commitment ("Rainbow Coalition"). On the other side, in his addresses, Jackson introduced new themes and subjects that would become relevant in decades to come. He expanded and enlarged the original narrative of the Civil Right Movement by adding new minorities and issues, dedicating attention to unfamiliar topics, such as bailouts and gays rights. He demonstrated a special concern for economic justice, income, and wealth inequality, and he denounced an unfair distribution of taxes and economic fallouts that resounds still today.

Notes

[1] Unattributed citations in this portion are from Jackson, "Rainbow Coalition."

[2] Before Jackson, a number of black men and women have run for president but none with serious prospects of winning and a few for purely symbolic reasons: among them were the comedian and writer Dick Gregory and the Black Panther Party leader Eldridge Cleaver in 1968 as well as the Brooklyn congresswoman Shirley Chisholm in 1972.

[3] In January 1984, over breakfast at Washington, DC's National Airport, presidential candidate Jesse Jackson uttered those words to Milton Coleman. The week after the airport conversation, fellow *Post* reporter Rick Atkinson talked with Coleman while writing a story on Jackson's relationship with Jewish Americans. Coleman told Atkinson about Jackson's "Hymietown" remarks. On February 13, Atkinson's story ran on the front page of the *Washington Post*, exposing Jackson's statement.

[4] Tom Kahn is credited to be the first to frame the notion of "two Americas" in the pages of *New America*, writing, "The technological revolution ... is creating two Americas—the affluent society" and the "other America" (4).

[5] "Military Keynesianism" refers to the public policy that seeks to increase military spending in order to increase economic growth; "supply side economics" is the macroeconomic theory that suggests that production (supply) underlies economic growth and argues that economic growth can be reached by taxation and fiscal policy that creates incentives to produce goods and services.

[6] Unattributed citations in this portion are from Jackson, "Keep Hope Alive."

[7] In March 1988, Jackson convincingly won the Michigan primary. It was his first primary victory in a northern industrial state and gave him the status a frontrunner. At that point, Jackson led Dukakis in popular votes and was neck and neck with the Massachusetts governor in delegates. By winning over a quarter of the white vote, Jackson appeared to have broken through with his image as the black presidential candidate.

[8] The image of lions and lambs living peacefully in the valley is also part of a Negro spiritual, "Peace in the Valley."

[9] This anecdote is provided by Carol Lynn McKibben from Stanford; she is working on a biography of Jesse Jackson and kindly allowed me to quote this episode.

[10] The name, "Kingdom Theory," comes from Jackson's basic assumption that "black people must understand themselves as having the authority of kings and that their dominions are their communities" (Reynolds 428). For a more articulated version of the application of the Kingdom Theory to politics, see Jackson, "David and Goliath."

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