
**Bill Richardson
Governor of New
Mexico**

**“The Future of the
Democratic Party and
the Latino Vote”**

The 2003 Jerry Wurf
Memorial Lecture



**The Labor and Worklife Program
Harvard Law School**

JERRY WURF MEMORIAL FUND (1982)
Harvard Trade Union Program, Harvard Law School

The Jerry Wurf Memorial Fund was established in memory of Jerry Wurf, the late President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Its income is used to initiate programs and activities that “reflect Jerry Wurf’s belief in the dignity of work, and his commitment to improving the quality of lives of working people, to free open thought and debate about public policy issues, to informed political action...and to reflect his interests in the quality of management in public service, especially as it assures the ability of workers to do their jobs with maximum effect and efficiency in environments sensitive to their needs and activities.”

JERRY WURF MEMORIAL LECTURE

October 7, 2003

Bill Richardson

“The Future of the Democratic Party
and the Latino Vote”

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ELENA KAGAN, DEAN
HARVARD LAW SCHOOL

"This memorial lecture was founded to honor the things that Jerry Wurf believed in. It reflects Jerry Wurf's belief in the dignity of work and his commitment to improving the quality of lives of working people."

This is a great privilege for us. Actually, before I say anything else I'd like to welcome Jerry Wurf's family: Mildred Wurf and his children, Abigail and Nick Wurf. We are extremely pleased that you could join us today.

For those of you who don't know, Jerry Wurf was the seventh president of AFSCME, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which is now one of the biggest unions in America. Most of that union's great growth, really its coming into being as a major force in the union movement, took place under Jerry Wurf, who was really one of the great modern labor leaders.

This memorial lecture was founded to honor the things that Jerry Wurf believed in. The Jerry Wurf Fund, of which this lecture is part, is meant to initiate programs and activities. It reflects "Jerry Wurf's belief in the dignity of work and his commitment to improving the quality of lives of working people through free, open, thorough debate about public policy issues; to informed political action and to reflect his interests in the quality of management in public service, especially as it assures the ability of workers to do their jobs with maximum effect and efficiency in environments sensitive to their needs and activities."

Those are the values Jerry Wurf believed in. Those are the values he advanced throughout his extraordinary career as a labor leader in this country.

The last Jerry Wurf Memorial Lecture speaker was Albert Gore. This year we are extremely pleased, extremely privileged, honored, to have Governor Bill Richardson.

Certainly Governor Richardson exemplified the ideals that I just talked about. He has devoted much of his career to improving the quality of lives of working people. As you'll hear about a little bit more, Governor Richardson began his public political career in 1982 when he won a Congressional seat in New Mexico, which he held for 15 years. I believe he won every election by more than 60% of the vote. Then in 1997, President Bill Clinton nominated him to be the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. A year later, Governor Richardson was unanimously confirmed as Secretary of Energy. At that time, President Clinton remarked, "If there's one word that comes to mind when I think of Bill Richardson, it really is *energy*."

After leaving the Energy Department in 2001, involuntarily leaving so to speak, Governor Richardson actually came here for a

time, to Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, where he taught. But then he returned to his great political service roots by capturing the gubernatorial chair in New Mexico in 2002 by a whopping margin, I believe the largest margin of victory for any New Mexico gubernatorial candidate since 1964. Governor Richardson has served since January of 2003. So we are very delighted that Governor Richardson is here to honor Jerry Wurf in this way.

Before you get to hear Governor Richardson, you get to hear another true public servant, Gerald McEntee, who is the current president of AFSCME. Jerry and I actually sat in on a good many meetings together in Washington, D.C. when I was in the Clinton administration.

Jerry McEntee is an extraordinary union leader, respected and admired by many, feared by some. He is an extraordinarily powerful personality and powerful leader for the causes that he believes in.



Elena Kagan

PRESIDENT GERALD McENTEE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

"His accomplishments are vast. He was a seven-term United States Congressman from New Mexico. He is a four-time Nobel Peace Prize nominee. A former Ambassador to the United Nations. The Secretary of Energy under Bill Clinton. Chairman of the upcoming Democratic National Convention. And governor of New Mexico."

Good evening to all of you. And thank you, Dean Kagan, for the warm welcome.

It's wonderful to be at Harvard. We are here to honor the memory of a great labor leader, my predecessor at AFSCME, Jerry Wurf. I am particularly glad that Jerry's wife, Mildred and his children, Abigail and Nick, are with us as we pay tribute to their late husband and father.

Today, I am extremely pleased to introduce a man who I believe exemplifies many of Jerry Wurf's finest qualities. A down-to-earth man who truly cares about what happens to this country. A man who is willing to fight for America's working families.

At the same time that he is down-to-earth, he is also a rising star in the Democratic Party. The truth is this man has been rising for years.

And his accomplishments are vast. He was a seven-term United States Congressman from New Mexico. He is a four-time Nobel Peace Prize nominee. A former Ambassador to the United Nations. The Secretary of Energy under Bill Clinton. Chairman of the upcoming Democratic National Convention. And governor of New Mexico.

And he's created Moving America Forward – where I'm honored to be on the board. This is a national political committee to unify and empower Latinos and to increase their participation in and support for the Democratic Party. In line with this, he recently co-hosted, with the Hispanic Congressional Caucus, the first bilingual national Democratic debate.

He's been called "a champion of Hispanic community causes." Because he knows from personal experience that, like everyone else in this country, Latino families have a dream. And he knows that in order to reach this dream, they must have an honest President. A President who doesn't just call himself "compassionate." A President who is compassionate.

America's workers are under attack on every front from President Bush and his wealthy political contributors.

Across this nation, 3.3 million Americans have lost their jobs since this President took office.

We have 6.2 percent unemployment – the highest in a decade.

Almost 44 million Americans are without health insurance.

The largest increase was for working men and women who used to receive coverage through their jobs. In one evil stroke,

massive layoffs have cut both paychecks and health insurance from these workers' lives. And young adults and Hispanics are among those most likely not to have health insurance.

These dismal figures, along with poverty levels increasing to almost 35 million – with the severity of poverty greater in 2002 than in any other year on record – help paint the picture of real human suffering that now exists in this country.

Before George Bush was President, our nation had a surplus of \$5.6 trillion. That's money that could have been used to fund educational programs. To keep Medicare and Social Security safe. To help states provide essential services.

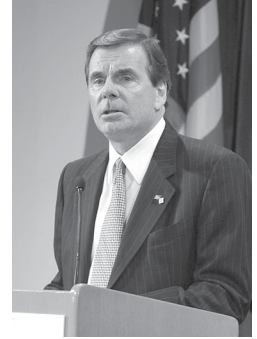
But instead of protecting our historic surplus, George Bush used it to give three tax cuts to the wealthy. And today we've got an historic deficit – one that could reach \$2.3 trillion over the next ten years.

That's why I'm grateful – all of us should be grateful – for our guest speaker and the role he is playing to rebuild the Democratic Party. He shows us every day that the Democratic party still has the energy, the drive, the commitment and the power to turn this country around in 2004.

He is a leader and an organizer – someone who can head us in the right direction.

I want to mention that he is actually coming home to Harvard. Home because after leaving his post as Secretary of Energy he taught here, and I'm sure left his mark as he does wherever he goes.

On behalf of more than 1.4 million AFSCME members and the Jerry Wurf Memorial Fund, I am pleased to introduce New Mexico's outstanding governor and Labor's outstanding friend, Bill Richardson.



Gerald McEntee

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

BILL RICHARDSON

“Simply put, politicians who want to court the Hispanic vote can’t ignore these mainstream issues – access to health care, education reform, economic growth and homeownership. These issues are at least as important to Hispanics as to non-Hispanics.”

Thank you for inviting me. And thanks for that introduction. You said it just like I wrote it!

It’s an honor to be here in Boston – the home of the 2004 Democratic National Convention.

I want to share an anecdote that a constituent back in New Mexico passed along:

During the 2000 presidential campaign, George Bush conducted a national TV interview from a well-known New Mexican restaurant in Albuquerque. There were some handpicked Republicans, including Hispanics, placed at tables in the background. Of course, there were Mexican serapes draped over chairs. And plenty of green chile. It was a nice backdrop for a political party trying to portray an image – an image of inclusiveness and a so-called compassionate conservative philosophy.

Across the city, at a cafeteria-style restaurant, dozens of mostly Hispanic families from a low- to middle-income, working class neighborhood ate dinner – oblivious to the made-for TV event going on a few miles down the road. These families were talking about things like jobs, day care and their kids’ teachers.

The point of this story is to illustrate the disconnect between most politicians – Democrats and Republicans – and the Hispanic population they are so desperately trying to woo into the voting booth.

In my experience, it’s those Hispanic families who were at the cafeteria that evening who represent most Hispanics around the country. But even that generalization is risky.

To count Hispanics as a single group of like-minded voters, you have to assume the following:

- Cuban-Americans in Miami are going to vote the same way as first-generation El Salvadoran immigrants in Southern California.
- Mexican-Americans living in the West Texas oil patch are going to pick the same candidate as Puerto Ricans living in Spanish Harlem.
- And an Albuquerque teacher born, raised and working at a South Valley elementary school will lean the same way politically as a small-business owner living up the Rio Grande in the North Valley.

Of course you can’t make any of those assumptions. But it’s nevertheless tempting to group the nation’s 39 million Hispanics

together as a single bloc of voters, poised to influence which political party controls the White House and the Congress.

And those numbers will continue to grow. There will be around 42 million Hispanics in the U.S. by the end of the decade.

The Democratic Party is paying attention. The Party chose the only Hispanic governor in the United States – me – to chair next year’s convention. This sends an unmistakable message: As chairman, I will look for opportunities and make every effort to highlight the importance of Hispanics and their issues to the Party and its leaders.

For example:

- More than 18 million Hispanics nationwide are not covered by health insurance.
- Nearly 28 percent of Hispanic students are dropping out of school.
- There are 1.5 million unemployed Hispanics in the U.S. - more than there have been at any point prior to 1989.
- And the gap in homeownership rates between Hispanic and white homeowners increased by 7 percent during the past three years.

There’s a saying that is common in Northern New Mexico: “No puedes tapar el sol con el dedo,” which means you can’t hide the sun with your finger.

Simply put, politicians who want to court the Hispanic vote can’t ignore these mainstream issues – access to health care, education reform, economic growth and homeownership. These issues are at least as important to Hispanics as to non-Hispanics.

I should know. In New Mexico, 42 percent of the population is Hispanic. Last year we had Hispanics representing *both* major parties in the governor’s race. And you know what voters responded to? The need for more jobs, better schools and quality health care.

The result: Even though Republicans ran a native Hispanic, they could not earn more than 25-30 percent of the vote. We won the Hispanic vote by a nearly 3-to-1 margin. Hispanic voters sent a message. They believe Democrats will speak – and ACT – directly to their concerns, while respecting their culture.

I’ve done exactly that since taking office. I cut taxes to make our state more competitive. At the same time, I balanced the budget. And I gave teachers a 6 percent raise and enacted a compre-



Gov. Richardson



hensive school-reform package that puts more money into classrooms and provides more accountability over our education system.

Guess what?

- New Mexico is one of the top three states in the country in job creation.
- We're one of a handful of states with a budget surplus.
- And we're one of the few states where median household income rose during the past year.

To be sure, Hispanics from California to Florida continue to deal with traditional issues, such as immigration, bilingual education and civil rights. In New Mexico, we were one of the first states to pass a law giving undocumented immigrants the right to apply for a driver's license using alternative identification numbers, such as the *Matricula Consular*. We were one of the first states to stand up and say — that someone's immigration status should not limit their ability to participate legally in their communities.

But Hispanic interests go far beyond immigration policy. They go beyond affirmative action policies at the University of Michigan Law School. And they go beyond whether there is a Hispanic Justice serving on the Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia. It's particularly instructive that in a recent poll of Hispanics by the New Democrat Network — a sizeable percentage of respondents, when asked about this, thought *Eric Estrada* — the former TV star from the show *CHIPS* — had been nominated by President Bush.

Hispanics outside the beltway care more about their pocket books and whether their children are getting a quality education. Democrats must speak to Hispanics of Economic Empowerment — with support of small business and homeownership opportunities, we can build on our longstanding commitment to civil rights and affirmative action. We will win with a message of economic optimism.

Democrats must also bring more Hispanics and other minorities into our Party — bring them in at the highest positions of leadership. I've done that. I did it at the Department of Energy. And I'm doing that as governor. I have appointed eight Hispanics to my cabinet, and seven women and two Native Americans — all records in New Mexico. This kind of diversity reflects our commitment to these communities and their interests. And we Democrats must commit to this kind of inclusiveness and outreach.

In this crucial election year, we Democrats are going to put our faith and trust in the American people — the way FDR and JFK did. We are going to speak the language of hope and optimism. We are going to tell the American people that life can be better, and that THEY are active participants in the process of making it better.

I believe Democrats will win by offering America a pragmatic, Democratic vision - different from the Republican siren song of tax cuts they don't pay for and international bullying that isolates us from the rest of the world.

We are friends to working people, and we are friends to businesspersons working to create jobs and prosperity. Businesses who understand the importance of an educated workforce, and who need help in making health insurance affordable to their employees.

I'm confident that Democrats will continue to get 65 to 70 percent of the Hispanic vote if we work hard for those votes. We can't take the Hispanic vote for granted, and we must recognize that Republicans are aggressively pursuing and courting Hispanics. Of the 16 so called battleground states that are up for grabs in this Presidential election, 4 of them have large Hispanic populations and will make a difference in who wins the White House. Those four battleground states - Arizona, Florida, New Mexico, and Nevada — have 47 electoral votes out of 270 needed to be President.

This year I formed a Political Action Committee, Moving America Forward – Si Se Puede, to help increase Hispanic participation in the American political process and to empower our community. Working with other progressive organizations, we will train and place seasoned organizers into these four battleground states who will educate and mobilize Hispanic voters. We will conduct on the ground operations to turn out the Hispanic vote and win these four crucial states for our Democratic presidential nominee. The labor movement is playing a particularly prominent role in these efforts. Already, AFSCME and its international president, Jerry McEntee, have stepped up as our biggest supporter and partner in this effort.

Moving America Forward will work closely with Labor through Voices for Working Families to bring a *half million new voters to the polls* on Election Day. We will inform them on the issues, we will register them, and we will get them to the polls to *vote for pro working family candidates*.

"I believe Democrats will win by offering America a pragmatic, Democratic vision - different from the Republican siren song of tax cuts they don't pay for and international bullying that isolates us from the rest of the world."

“In the spirit of Jerry Wurf, for whom this lecture series is named, we must continue down the path of aggressive organizing, respect for collective bargaining and the pursuit of union democracy. The future of our party depends on it.”

I believe Democrats are already paying attention to the needs of Hispanics. New Mexico hosted the first presidential debate in September. The Democratic National Committee also hosted its Hispanic Leadership Summit in Albuquerque, attracting more than 100 leaders and activists from 20 states to discuss the state of Hispanic America.

New Mexico is holding a presidential caucus on Feb. 3. That caucus, combined with a primary election the same day in Arizona, with a 25 percent Hispanic population, will make the Southwest – and the Hispanics who live there – a player in the presidential selection process.

All of these efforts are aimed at raising the profile of Hispanics in the U.S. – whether they’re from Puerto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, South America ...or like the thousands of Hispanics in New Mexico who trace their roots directly to Spain.

The future of the Democratic Party depends on this appeal to Hispanics. But it will take more than sprinkling some Spanish into speeches to convince Hispanic voters that they are better off as Democrats.

In the spirit of Jerry Wurf, for whom this lecture series is named, we must continue down the path of aggressive organizing, respect for collective bargaining and the pursuit of union democracy. The future of our party depends on it.

And to all: *mis hermanos hispanos que tengo tanto orgullo*, let me just say that with our growth comes responsibility, and next year we will demonstrate the power of our numbers.

AFTERWORD

AUDIENCE QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

AUDIENCE QUESTION: I wondered if you could spell out a little bit, and perhaps Mr. McEntee you could join in on this as well, the strategy for those four states. How does this fit in with a larger strategy in terms of the 527s that you mentioned? I think Americans Coming Together (ACT) is one of those 527s. What's the larger strategy, to the extent that you can spell some of that out? And then I'd like to also ask you to speak to the issue of getting a Democrat this time who isn't going to abandon the base of the Democratic party and who is going to win back some of the Nader voters. Someone who really energizes people to go and work in those battleground states, not have all the consultants, but a genuinely energized grassroots?

RICHARDSON: What I'll do is talk about the 527s that relates to Hispanics and what we will do in those four states, and then maybe Jerry can do the national effort, because Jerry is the president of a national group of 527s, a broad coalition.

Here's what we want to do, and you can be part of this 527. It's called Si Se Puede, where they're moving America forward. We've raised quite a bit of money, a lot of it from labor, business, a lot of folks. We are concentrating on those four states by doing the following: we are holding training sessions in each of those four states, three-day training sessions where we train political workers how to be a candidate, how to raise money, how to use the Internet, technology, cadre of candidates and workers. Our objective is to raise \$2 million, register 500,000 voters, just in those four states. We're not trying to change the world in the Hispanic community. Somebody else is going to have to do the rest of the states. We want to concentrate on those four battleground states. And the problem, let me repeat what the problem is: If you said to me, all right Governor, we want to win this Congressional seat in Las Vegas, Nevada, which is probably one of the largest Hispanic cities in the country. But, I can't find three political workers to manage a campaign there. We don't have the infrastructure, and we don't have the names and the database. So we've got to train them. So now as for your second question, I'm going to let Jerry answer it. But also about the candidates, because I think one of the big prizes of any Democratic presidential candidate is the AFSCME endorsement, and maybe Jerry will share something on that.

McENTEE: Besides the four states that the Governor talks about, the way we view the electoral chart, there are probably, some

"I'd like to also ask you to speak to the issue of getting a Democrat this time who isn't going to abandon the base of the Democratic party"



A question from the audience

people say 18 battleground states, some 16, some 17. They call them reds and blues. Even Bush at his highest popularity, the reds and blues didn't change that much. This country is, to a very large extent, on basic national issues and philosophically, very close, very close. So there are 17 or 18 battleground states. Our union, for example, will have a political program (the national union, not taking into consideration the affiliates) where we will spend between \$28 million and \$32 million. We are changing our budget for 2004. There will be no wage increases for the management in the union in 2004. I don't want you to listen to that part of it, but our people are ready to do that. They're ready to make certain cutbacks in economies. We're going to lay a budget out in front of our board in December that will have almost 75% of its emphasis on politics. Now that's our union. The AFL-CIO will have an in-house labor program where they will expend about \$40 million to \$42 million. It's not rocket science: It's about registering and organizing the electorate, particularly working families in this country. And it's about mobilizing them and getting them out to vote. Those are the three key words. So the Federation will have probably around \$40 million. And then any number of other unions that participate in political operations, the UAW or the Steelworkers for example. So we'll have that kind of program. And then it spills over because of McCain-Feingold into these 527s, which are vehicles permitted to use soft money that was taken out of the picture because of McCain-Feingold. These 527s are allowed to accept donations not just from labor unions, but from wealthy individuals, people who in the past would ordinarily give to the Democratic National Committee. So even though Bush will have probably well over \$200 million, we believe that by putting our 527s together, they can coordinate with one another. We're now working on a coordinating table of all the 527s that have the same interests and objectives in mind. And we think we make ourselves competitive against this administration.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: I'm Director of Community Services for Councilor Felix Arroyo. He's Boston's first Latino City Councilor, and I want to welcome you. Thank you for speaking with us, Governor, and thank you for giving us an opportunity to ask you questions. Actually, this is more for the audience. We have a historic race here in Boston. Felix Arroyo will have a chance to be re-elected, and this will be his first outright victory, because he ascended to this position. He came in fifth place last time out of

four positions. I think we need to get our organizing gear together for 2004. I invite you all to join us at felixarroyo.net. We're doing a lot, we won the majority of the wards and precincts in the primaries, yet we came in fifth place again because of mobilization. We have the base. We have the voters. But we need to get them out. So for everyone here, Governor, if your PAC can make a small exception, we think Boston is pretty important too. We'd love for you to help out. It's just a four-week effort, and you can get a lot of great grassroots experience, so thank you.

*"The first thing you
have to do is ask."*

RICHARDSON: OK. The first thing you have to do is ask. Ask me for a contribution. You know, you guys, what do you do in politics? Ask. Ask somebody for their vote. There are stories about Congressman Tip O'Neill losing his first race because he didn't ask his neighbor who used to mow his lawn. Tip went to her and said, "Mrs. O'Leary, I lost by two votes. You did vote for me?"

"No, I didn't, Thomas," she told him.

He said, "well, why not?"

"Well, you didn't ask," she replied.

So, always ask. Why don't you two ask and then we'll go because it may be getting a little late. Bunch your questions. Go ahead.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Hi, I'm Jeanne. I'm a student at the Extension School. This is regarding the Democratic Convention that is coming this summer. I personally thought that it was very unhealthy for the East Coast to have the Democratic and Republican National Conventions so close together, especially in Boston and New York. Not everyone agrees. Recently, as a third-party enthusiast, and an activist in the community, I have witnessed this summer protestors and protesting put down by violence, and they were non-violent protests. It hasn't been that extreme, but I would like to know, as chairman of the committee, what are you going to do to insure that Boston Police and even New York City Police, for that matter, which you probably can't speak for, that the protests will remain peaceful and that non-violent protests won't be put down violently?

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Good evening, Governor Richardson. I have a couple of questions. Would you support paying for any electoral proportion representation? Second, not just with the

“On the question about the Republicans making an effort, they’re making a big effort. They’re putting a lot of bucks behind it.”

recall in California but in every city, state in the country we feel the politicians are lying to us, like President Bush, this should be the call. We feel they promise us, you know, they promise you “no more taxes,” “read my lips,” things like that, and we get very upset, we get very depressed, you know. So we want to do these two things. Would you support the grassroots, the students at the borders so we can have more Latino representation, because in Boston we have only one Latino Councilor, on City Council. We should have at least two. And he’s getting less votes because the white Councilors, they organize redistricting, they wish he is going to get lesser votes. Can you do something about that, by helping with his campaign? I mean, we get approval for this, so we have more Latinos, you know, as Governor, in the state houses, mayors?

AUDIENCE QUESTION: I’m a second year student at the Kennedy School. As evidenced by President Bush’s numbers and by the mid-term elections, Republicans are gaining support from the Latino community. Do you think that the Democratic Party is losing the Latino vote, and why? And last week you commented on “Hannity and Colmes” that several Democrats are criticizing Terry McAuliffe, and some on this issue. Do you think that this is a good tactic?

RICHARDSON: Did I say that on “Hannity and Colmes”? All right, thank you. Let me go to the question of violence against protesters first. I had my first briefing today from the staff at the convention. I was named in early August. We’ll make every effort to insure that peaceful protest is allowed. Obviously, that’s a cornerstone of our democracy. When I was in Maine today, my speech was on a rock, and there were protestors there. They were peacefully allowed. The answer is yes. I think if you see these two conventions, they’re going to be very important. First of all, the Democratic Convention, one of the messages we’re going to try to send, by the way, is to be more inclusive of young people. You’re going to see young people address the convention, and the objective is to get you young people to start voting, because you’re not very good at it. In other words, proportionately, it’s terribly low. Now I don’t know if that’s the case with this group here, but to try to get younger people addressing and being keynoters. The second thing, we’re going to do things a little differently. We’re not just going to have the four days and you can almost catalog what the four days are. You know, balloons one day, the VP one day, president the other day. We’re going to juice it up to try and

get the networks to spend more time sending images around the world. So we're going to try to do this convention a little differently. And the good thing about Boston is it has great physical locales. I would expect some events to happen here at Harvard. You know, you guys have to be careful because this is a partisan event. But I think you're going to see a different kind of convention.

On the question about the Republicans making an effort, they're making a big effort. They're putting a lot of bucks behind it. And what they have, as an asset, is President Bush. President Bush does connect with Latino voters, particularly in the South West and Texas, maybe because he's been governor. His Spanish is, at best, passable. But he is connecting. The trouble with the Republicans is, they have terrible policies for our people. They've got this proposition in California. Schwarzenegger's got Governor Pete Wilson running his campaign, and you've got these men and women in Congress who are trying to bring back the old immigration controls.

You know, I want to tell you, I'm very proud of New Mexico. We're the first state, and for a while the only state, that had what is called the *Matricula Consular*, where immigrants could use for identification driver's license and their numbers, and I think that's a wave of the future. My point is that if we Democrats sit back and do nothing and say, oh look, we've got the record over the years, and we're sitting pretty here, and we don't do outreach, we don't bring Latinos into the campaign, we don't talk to them. And one of my messages is: talk to them on real tangible economic and education issues. The education issue has not been part of the campaign. The Republicans just want 5%. Remember, we're talking about numbers here. They get that 5%, the presidential election is over. So you're talking about a very small margin you're trying to prevent them from getting.

Sir, on your question on proportional, I love the way you said it, but the answer is no. You know why? Because that, I don't think, is democracy. I think that, one of the big problems we have in this country is 50% of the American people don't vote in the presidential election. I think it's scandalous. You know in Europe, it's high 70s. In Asia, it's 80. But I just think what is important is for you as a Latino in this part of Massachusetts, and the community is growing. I'm going to meet tomorrow with Latino leadership from Massachusetts, Senator Jared Barrios. And I hope with that City Councilor, where you are, that you win. And you know what?

"If any of you have thought about running for office, you know what I would do every morning? The first thing is join a campaign. Work in a campaign. Or support a cause of some kind. Or run for student body officer in your community. Or get involved in a charity, something that mobilizes. That's number one"



*Nick, Mildred and Abigail
Wurf pose with Bill
Richardson and Jerry
McEntee (at center)*

While I don't support what you do, I would support efforts to get more registrations here, more voter empowerment and I'll help your group. But proportionately, I don't think you have the votes to change the system based on proportional representation.

But you know, if any of you have thought about running for office, you know what I would do every morning? The first thing is join a campaign. Work in a campaign. Or support a cause of some kind. Or run for student body officer in your community. Or get involved in a charity, something that mobilizes. That's number one. The second thing I would do is be informed every day. Read the *New York Times* every morning. I hate to be a propagandist for the Times. But I look at the broad scope of issues that they cover. Or read it on the Internet. Be informed about national, international, cultural stuff. *The Boston Globe* is very good, too. But I just think the Times gives you that national. The third thing is, watch one cable show at night, one of them, preferably not Fox because it's so biased. But it's fun, and they have brought entertainment into news. They've got provocative people. They're all pretty one-sided, but visualize the world, because it's important to know how Americans are getting their opinions shaped by watching those shows that are enormously influential. So that would be the third thing I'd do. That would be a start if you're looking at a public policy career.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: How about the special recall? Would you support the use of special recall as in California through every state?

RICHARDSON: You know, I think the recall was a bad idea. It's not a good way.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: I'm a native Santa Fean, and the co-president of the Latino Student Organization at the Harvard Business School across the river. My question is, one of the big issues for the Latino community is fostering entrepreneurship and thriving Latino-owned businesses. What, say, two or three major public policy initiatives do you think are important to foster that growth within the Latino business community?

RICHARDSON: I think it's so important that Democrats associate with policies of entrepreneurship, whether it's Internet loans, whether it's capital markets. In New Mexico, as you know, we

have taken some of the state permanent funds and put them into investing in New Mexico entrepreneurs. Now I don't know if every state can do that. But in our state we're doing that. We are promoting movies. We want more movies in New Mexico so we're loaning from the state funds for the production of movies, and we're getting a lot of movies. We're probably the number one movie set in the country, but you have to take those risks, and I believe it's important that the state backs some of those risks that happened to entrepreneurs, many that are minority that need that leg up. Without quotas, without saying you're going to get 30 percent. Do it if you have a business plan, and the state is willing to back you.

Let's take two questions, because I've been instructed I've got to end.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: First of all, thank you for serving as a role model for the Latino community here. I know that it's very important for the progress of our people here. My question deals with education, and I'm a first year student in the Masters program in the Education School. What I wanted to know is just because of the rising costs of tuition in exorbitant amounts all over the nation, what I want to know is what you're doing in New Mexico about access for Latinos to higher education. The Latinos now are the majority of the minority. They're growing, the college-age kids of college-age Latinos, there's going to be more and more and it just keeps on swelling. And so what I want to know is what you're doing to make it economically feasible, focusing on the lower income Latinos, to make that economically feasible to go to a public university, to go to a community college, or to even go to a private university that might be best suited to what they want to do.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: I'm a first year student at the Kennedy School. With respect to Latino candidates, specifically those who might want to run in non Latino majority districts, what do you think it will take for Latino candidates themselves and their campaigns and just the general electorate to see past a brown face and take that candidate, the qualified candidate that he or she may be?

RICHARDSON: OK - and Professor Edley, I'm going to have you say something so don't start going to the exit. I'm going to

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answer both your questions because they’re very important. The first thing I want to tell you is I spent about half an hour with President Summers. He and I served in the Clinton cabinet together. I was Secretary of Energy. He was Secretary of the Treasury. We had a couple of battles but we’re very good friends. The battles were over energy policy. You know Treasury Secretaries like to think that anything economic they handle, labor stuff. And so I was trying to get some reduction in oil prices. We debated over the strategic petroleum reserve and it was a very, very healthy debate. He’s a brilliant guy. I urged him to talk more nationally about higher education policy in K through 12, as the President of Harvard. I think you’re going to see him doing that. Because we have to have education leaders. I’m glad you mention education because if you look at these presidential candidates, there’s hardly a national education issue except the no child left behind, which is important to K through 12 standards and achievement. And the Bush administration and Senator Kennedy teamed up. It’s a pretty good law, but there’s no resources, no funds to carry out very strong mandates, which are good but they’re huge burdens on the state. That’s my first point on education. In New Mexico we have what are called lottery scholarships. These are funds that come out of our state lottery where literally every New Mexico student who wants to go to college can get a scholarship. Literally it’s up to 90 percent. I hope to make it 100 percent. But one of our biggest problems is that in New Mexico and some schools and some state schools, universities are rewarded by the number of students that enroll rather than the number of students that graduate. I want to change that, and in a state system it’s pretty tough because you’ve got very ingrained political systems and traditions and so. In New Mexico what we’re trying to do is base it on achievement, on graduation rates, and shift dramatically so that those lottery scholarships are not used by universities just to say, OK, at the beginning of the semester we’ve enrolled 10,000 students, and so give us this amount of money, and then two weeks later when the deadline has passed all of a sudden 2000 students have dropped out. I’m not saying, it doesn’t happen that much, but it’s there and we want to change that.

In terms of an election what is it, you’re Latina, and you want to run, right? OK, but let’s say, where are you from? L.A.?

AUDIENCE QUESTION: I’m from the City of L.A.

RICHARDSON: OK. Let's say you want to run in, give me a non-Latino community in, Santa Monica?

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Yep, Santa Monica, a bit Torrance area, it's South Bay area.

RICHARDSON: OK. And you're a Latina.

AUDIENCE QUESTION: Yes.

RICHARDSON: And you want to convince non Latinos to vote for you. I'm just making this supposition. What you need to do is first, don't run as just a Latina. Be very proud of it, but you've got to talk about mainstream missions, you've got to talk about jobs and wages and health care. You can't say you know my Latino plan is 30 percent go to college. You're going to lose that vote from well-meaning people. So be schooled in the issues that you're going to be advancing. Secondly, the best kind of politics is retail politics. You know what retail politics is? It's shaking hands. It's going door to door, it's telephoning people. Get some volunteers to help you. But one on one, I used to have a goal of shaking hands a thousand a day during the campaign, from dawn to dusk. And by the way one thing that wasn't said, I am the holder of a world record, would you like to know what it is? All right, well I'll tell you. Theodore Roosevelt had the record for the most hands shook, President Teddy Roosevelt, in an eight hour period, 8,431 in 1907 in his inauguration. And that record certified by the Guinness Book of World Records was broken in July of last year, 13,818 hands by yours truly. That's going to be my signature achievement, that this is so important, the personal side. You know we've gotten too much into Internet, and I see that Governor Dean's raised 15 million bucks through the Internet. I think that's great but you know whatever happened by asking somebody, will you give me fifty bucks, having a little enchilada dinner. The other way, the new way is obviously more efficient. But I think that is very important, articulation of issues, hard work.

I also want to show you a trick, come here. Come here, I want to show you something. Those of you who are running. OK, the two best natural politicians I ever saw. Henry Cisneros, San Antonio, the Mayor of Antonio, and Bill Clinton, natural politicians. When you were asking somebody for their vote, and that is

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very important, people in my business, or those running for office. You have got to evoke sincerity, and you have to have the physical touch to evoke that sincerity. And this is a trick that several politicians use. The best one was Clinton, all right? Now, when you shake a hand and you’re trying to persuade somebody, the first thing you do is first no fish handshake. You grab them, then grab the elbow too. OK, make it fairly firm, don’t try to crush people, that turns off. And then you stare in their eyes and you count to three. That is very important in politics, in retail politics.

Let me conclude. Because I want to ask Professor Edley. Here’s a guy, I know he’s a professor here, I know he’s a well-known scholar, but he’s also a terrific guy. He did great work in the Clinton administration on affirmative action. I think at one point Clinton was having one of those, what am I today? And he was thinking, he said, I want to amend affirmative action. I remember saying to him, what do you mean amend? What are you talking about? This is important, you can’t change this. Well, merit. And I said, well that’s great, OK that’s wonderful. So he got Edley to do a study. I don’t know what Edley did but he set him straight. And I think that was very important because we were on the verge of losing that, and then Edley did a lot of great things on a variety of negotiations, and a lot of it was under the radar. But I think you’re very special to have him here, and I want to just have him say a few words, because he understands coalitions. As an African-American he’s a distinguished lawyer and I think he would have a lot to add to some of the Latino issues that I’ve just said. He is married to Maria Echaveste who is probably, she was Deputy Chief of Staff in the Clinton administration, a Latina woman who is affiliated with almost everybody in Washington and New York and in some of the issues that we’ve talked about, so Professor Edley please conclude this event by saying a few words.

PROF. CHRISTOPHER EDLEY: Let me say three things. First, I think that one of the difficulties that the progressives, in my judgment, have had in national politics over the last umpteen years, (and my first presidential campaign was in 1976 with Jimmy Carter), is a strong view within the leadership of the Democratic party it’s dangerous to make significant investments in the base unless you can do it somehow secretly. And there’s always been this effort I think in many campaigns to win by going for the marginal voter, the swing voter, as opposed to the alternative

approach which is to try to win by investing in and growing the base alternatively by getting the broader public to appreciate that the things that the base cares about are the things that they ought to care about too. So in campaign after campaign we've seen operatives and political leaders who shy away from investing in the base. It used to be African-Americans and to some extent labor. Increasingly over the last few years my concern is that this has afflicted the party's approach towards Latinos. So the danger has been that the public is recognizing that their electoral future depends upon effectively competing for the Latino vote, have seen to me to be faster at getting the message, at understanding the importance of speaking to the Hispanic electorate. Democrats have been too slow on the uptake.

The good news and the bad news about the constellation of 527's it seems to me is the following: First, the bad news. Frankly this is a recognition that you can't depend upon the Democratic party to do what needs to be done to invest in mobilizing the base. Why hasn't the Democratic party done the education of the next generation of Latino operatives that Bill Richardson was just talking about? President McEntee invests in training organizers for the labor movement because he realizes that's the future. The Democrats haven't been willing to make that kind of investment in the base. The bad news is, I think that's the reality.

The good news is the reality is recognized and increasingly we see leaders like these two gentlemen who are saying, we'll create a different mechanism for doing the voter mobilization, for promoting civic engagement that's vital to the future of progressivism. So that's point number one I would make. And Bill Richardson has been absolutely at the center of bringing that realization into focus and acting on it.

Second point I just briefly want to make is that for all of the talk - especially in the media - about the potential for black-brown conflict, I want to say that there are risks, no question about it, there are risks, and there are many circumstances in which the obvious way to think about a conflict, a challenge, is in zero sum terms, like either you get the jobs or I get the jobs. Either you get the contract or I get the contract. There's a zero sum conflict there, but they're vastly more opportunities I think, to focus on what African-Americans and Latinos have in common in terms of shared concerns, shared interests. We all care about good schools. We all care about access to higher education. We all care, should care about strength-



Prof. Chris Edley

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ening the labor movement. The question is whether or not leaders in these two communities can prosper, can succeed by focusing on what they can do collaboratively as opposed to focusing on how to build themselves up by tearing down somebody else. And that kind of collaborative cooperative coalition building has to be modeled from the top by leaders like Bill Richardson, and he's doing it.

The third and final thing I want to say is, it's always hard to figure out how to address Bill Richardson: like congressman, secretary, ambassador, governor. For my money, and certainly what I'm saying to my presidential candidate is that the title we really need him to have a year from now, 13 months from now is *Mr. Vice President*.

