## JPP 2022 Democratic Primary Endorsements

#### **US Congress - MA07**

## JPP Steering Committee recommends re-endorsing Ayanna Pressley for Congress

The JP Progressives Steering Committee is once again proud to recommend that JPP endorse Congresswoman Ayanna Pressley to represent MA-07. Ayanna is the leader our community demanded when we made history and unseated a 10-term incumbent. Voters sent Ayanna to Congress with a decisive mandate — to be a bold leader and to fight for our workers, families, and communities.

During her time in Congress, Ayanna has done exactly that. Below is a list of the many, many reasons Congresswoman Pressley has earned our support and our endorsement. The Steering Committee wholeheartedly recommends endorsement and looks forward to working with the A-Team for the Congresswoman's re-election!

## Delivering for the district...

- Earlier this year, Ayanna secured more than \$8 million specifically dedicated to high-impact, community-led projects across the Massachusetts 7th, including for substance use treatment at the Dimock Center in Boston, to support the La Colaborativa Workforce Development Initiative in Chelsea, to create a new school-based community health center in Randolph and more.
- In the midst of this unprecedented pandemic, Ayanna secured more than \$56 million for Community Health Centers across the MA-07, and \$26 million to support those experiencing homelessness in Boston, Cambridge and Somerville. She successfully pushed the Baker Administration to release more than \$109 million in federal funding to support Randolph, Chelsea and Everett, which were disproportionately impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. Ayanna supported every single COVID response bill signed into law, which have collectively provided nearly \$5 billion in grants and direct payments to the district.
- Ayanna's advocacy for the strongest-possible American Rescue Plan resulted in a historic expansion of the Child Tax Credit, which meant that 61,000+ families with children in the MA-07 realized more than \$166 million in tax cuts, providing urgently needed financial stability in the midst of the pandemic.
- As Co-founder and Co-Chair of the Future of Transportation Caucus, Ayanna knows the vital importance of strong, accessible, multi-modal transportation infrastructure. She recently secured \$15 million to support inclusive transit improvement on Blue Hill Avenue, which will make public transit more reliable, safe and climate resilient. She was also part of an effort to secure \$41 million to modernize Boston's South Station.

- Ayanna was a leading voice in our delegation and in Congress about the uneven impact
  of the pandemic on communities already struggling with generations of
  underinvestment and systemic barriers to education, economic opportunity, and public
  health. Ayanna introduced and led the passage of the Equitable Data Collection &
  Disclosure Act, requiring the CDC to collect and publicly report racial data on the impact
  of the pandemic and help drive critical resources to the most impacted communities;
  she successfully advocated for the Baker Administration to follow suit at the state level.
- When Federal relief resources were initially allocated, Ayanna realized that small, minority, and women-owned businesses would be disadvantaged, and fought to make sure our restaurants, barber shops, beauty salons, and other small businesses that anchor our main streets got the resources they desperately needed; ultimately, restaurants and small businesses in the MA-07 received hundreds of millions in grants and other emergency assistance.
- As the pandemic threatened to force thousands of people in the MA-07 and millions around the country - from their homes, Ayanna fought for critical housing protections.
   She joined Rep. Cori Bush and others to sleep on the steps of the U.S. Capitol to draw attention to the need for a robust eviction moratorium, and advocated for more resources for unhoused people.

## Taking on the important fights...

- Ayanna has introduced/co-led more than 90 pieces of legislation since beginning her term in Congress — from addressing homelessness and protecting tenants in public housing, canceling student debt and reducing the racial wealth gap, to combatting the black maternal morbidity crisis and transforming our criminal legal system — she proposes bold policy solutions that meet the moment and center those most impacted.
- Ayanna has been a leading advocate for the cancellation of at least \$50,000 in federal student debt for every borrower, and her advocacy has helped lead to the repeated suspension of student loan repayment throughout the pandemic, bringing critical relief to thousands of people in the MA-07 and millions across the country. She continues to fight for permanent cancellation of at least \$50,000 in debt.
- Ayanna took on abusive, discriminatory credit reporting practices, which create
  enormous barriers to economic wellbeing and generational wealth-building. She
  introduced the Comprehensive Credit Report Act, passed by the House, to protect
  consumers from unfair credit reporting practices, shorten the amount of time adverse
  credit information stays on a credit report, and make the error dispute process easier.
  She also introduced legislation to help student borrowers streamline and manage
  outstanding debt, and to prohibit debt collectors from harassing any and all consumers
  with unlimited electronic communication.
- Once President Biden was in office, Ayanna successfully pushed him to stop carrying out Federal executions, after Donald Trump's shameful execution spree.

 In the midst of unprecedented attacks on Roe v. Wade and efforts to undermine reproductive freedom, Ayanna played a leading role in passing the Women's Health Protection Act out of the House and, for the first time in 40 years, advancing a budget out of the House without the Hyde Amendment, which pushes abortion care out of reach for low-income people.

### **Building the bench...**

- Ayanna knows that leadership doesn't begin and end with one person. That's why, this
  year, she launched the <u>Pressley Policy Pledge</u>, to identify other candidates who are
  committed to advocating for a range of critical policy priorities, including education
  justice, student debt cancellation, fare-free public transit, economic opportunity, and
  more.
- In the last election cycle, Ayanna supported 23 candidates across Massachusetts, at both the municipal and state level. Of these candidates:
  - 16 of the 22 (73%) won their respective races, with one special election race for state senate still to be determined;
  - 65% were women and 52% were women of color;
  - o 74% are candidates of color, 43% are Black/Afro Latinx, and 26% are Latinx.

### Governor\*

Senator Chang-Díaz withdrew from the Governor's race after JPP's endorsement.

The JP Progressive Steering Committee unanimously recommends endorsing Senator Sonia Chang-Díaz for Governor. She has spent the last 13 years in the State Senate fighting to address the biggest challenges we face as a state. Sonia wrote, championed, and won landmark education funding reforms to provide \$1.5 billion in new aid to K-12 districts across the state. She led the charge for criminal justice reform and repealing racist sentencing rules when Governor Baker and Beacon Hill insiders were ready to look the other way. She also sponsored and won multiple protections for trans Bay Staters, negotiated a nation-leading police reform law, won increased assistance for small and local entrepreneurs, capped fare increases for public transportation, helped pass reforms to the state's CORI system, advanced environmental justice reforms, curtailed the misuse of special education dollars, expanded voting rights, and successfully defended millions of dollars in funding for youth development. She has been a leading champion for fair taxation, affordable housing, reliable and green public transportation, and protections for immigrants.

Though the JPP community did not have an opportunity to hear directly from both candidates for governor in our forum, we wish to underscore some key policy differentials that have been decisive in our consideration of the candidates and have led to our unanimous support for Sonia. Unlike Maura Healey, Sonia is a strong supporter of Medicare for All. And while Sonia helped write, champion, and negotiate the 2020 police reform law and was a key voice in the

debate for comprehensive criminal justice reform in 2017 and 2018, Maura Healey opposed key reforms to limit no-knock warrants and racially biased facial recognition technology and continues to support Governor Baker's attempts to expand police surveillance powers.

We believe we can do better in our Commonwealth. With Sonia as Governor, together we can deliver debt-free, quality education to every kid in Massachusetts from birth to adulthood; pass a Green New Deal to win the fight against climate change and create tens of thousands of new good-paying jobs; solve our housing crisis; and close the racial wealth divide.

Sonia is not only our State Senator, but she also shares our values and has a proven record of legislating systemic change.

#### **Lieutenant Governor**

**Despite the large field of Lieutenant Governor candidates, Tami Gouveia has stood out.** She has been a consistently strong and progressive voice in the state legislature, with a particular emphasis on creating greater transparency, defending and expanding reproductive justice and rights for women and LGBTQ+ people, and advocating for criminal justice reform. In her time as state representative for the 14th Middlesex, <u>she earned an A on the Progressive Mass scorecard, scoring no lower than an astonishing 96%</u>.

Her background as a social worker and as a single mother who relied on assistance after losing her job in the 2008 recession means that <u>Tami understands more than most how close many people live to the line, and it's given her a deep sense of urgency around providing necessary and accessible government support to those in need.</u> During the pandemic she earned her doctorate in public health, making her particularly well-suited to guiding Massachusetts through this pandemic and our necessary recovery. In support of this goal, she recently announced her <u>Declaration of Rights for Health, Well-Being, and Dignity for All, a shared vision of how to create policies that will support healthcare, economic security, housing, education, and more for everyone in the Commonwealth. She also has a robust environmental platform, including support for expansion of rail transit, transitioning to 100% renewable energy, and using an environmental justice lens for all policies.</u>

The JPP Steering Committee recommends endorsing Tami Gouveia, the right candidate to meet this moment, for Lieutenant Governor.

## **Attorney General**

The JPP Steering Committee did not achieve a 60% consensus to recommend a candidate to the membership and recommended no endorsement. The JPP Membership did not achieve a 60%

consensus around a specific candidate or endorsement. Resources follow below to help you make your decision:

Click here to read the Progressive Mass Candidate Questionnaires

Click here to watch an episode of *Greater Boston* featuring the Attorney General candidates.

Click here to watch the Ward 4 candidate forum.

## **Secretary of State**

# The JP Progressives Steering Committee enthusiastically recommends endorsing Tanisha Sullivan for Secretary of the Commonwealth.

At JP Progressives we know Tanisha's commitment to equity, justice, and public service because we have been fortunate to work alongside her these past five years in her quest to advance education equity in Boston, promote police reform across Massachusetts, and ensure our electorate is engaged in our democracy. We are thrilled Tanisha decided to throw her hat in the ring and run for office after many years of public service as the volunteer President of the NAACP Boston Branch.

We are particularly excited that she is running to be our next Secretary of the Commonwealth. Like Tanisha, we believe this office could be doing so much more to ensure all eligible and registered voters are regularly engaged in the democratic process. Like Tanisha, we know that Massachusetts is woefully behind when it comes to expanding voting access and making our public records transparent.

Tanisha is tireless. We know that no one will work harder to realize the full potential of the office of the Secretary of State. But first it's necessary to explain what **is** possible. Right now, at this time when our democracy is in crisis nationally, no one is looking to Massachusetts or to our current Secretary of State for leadership.

Massachusetts needs a more activist Secretary of State who will aggressively push for critical reforms to boost voter turnout and improve access to public records rather than one who waited until we were in a pandemic to get religion and finally advocate for mail-in voting and other basic election modernization practices that other states have had for years.

We need a secretary of state who is not going to be complacent in the face of widespread voting disparities among voters in communities of color and our gateway cities. In 2020, a presidential election year, there was a 40% disparity in voting in Massachusset's towns with the highest turnout and gateway cities like Springfield. This is unacceptable.

We need a Secretary of State who will support cities and towns to address the dismal turnout rates in municipal elections, something we all experienced here in Boston last year during our historic election which was decided by merely 32% of voters in contrast to the 60% of voters who participate during presidential years.

We need a Secretary of State who understands how to leverage data science to identify low voting precincts and use the power of technology to reach younger and harder-to-reach voters (versus the incumbent, who apparently didn't have an email as recently as 2016?!). We need a Secretary of State who would not have allowed a census process that undercounts Black, LatinX, and indigenous residents of Massachusetts on their watch.

Tanisha has an ambitious and exciting vision for the office, which is frequently described as alternatively the "Chief Elections Officer," the "Chief Information Officer," or the "Chief Corporations Officer." As Tanisha explained, the roadmap for the Chief Elections Officer is clear: automatic voter registration; more education about elections; greater access to the ballot box through expanded mail-in voting, drop boxes, and early voting; and increased support to local officials to engage voters, especially where turnout has been historically low.

For the Chief Information Officer, Tanisha knows firsthand how important access to public records is to holding power accountable. The reforms the NAACP and others have been fighting for in the criminal justice system and the education system all require data and information from government agencies to enable media, advocates, and researchers to reveal partners of injustice. Tanisha is committed to making information easier and faster to access by removing unnecessary fees and language barriers and seeking proactive mechanisms to disseminate information to interested stakeholders.

Finally, we are intrigued by the opportunities Tanisha presented to leverage the Secretary of the Commonwealth's office to advance economic equity. As the location where all businesses are registered, including small businesses, the Secretary of the Commonwealth is indeed in a unique position to tackle this goal. From incentivizing greater information sharing among businesses to modernizing the data collection processes to leveraging the office's \$50 million annual budget in tax credits as a catalyst for economic development and affordable housing, Tanisha has great plans to leverage this office to tackle the persistent economic disparities that exist in our state.

Tanisha has shown how she will bring a much-needed fresh perspective along with a passion for modernizing our democratic institutions to expand participation, transparency, and access to economic opportunity. For this reason, we hope the voting members of JP Progressives will not only stand with us in endorsing Tanisha Sullivan for Secretary of the Commonwealth but also join with us in rolling up our sleeves to get her elected to this important office.

## **State Auditor**

State Auditor is a job synonymous with scrutinizing the finances and processes of peer state agencies so they function more reliably, efficiently, and equitably. Chris Dempsey has shown a rare talent for scrutinizing complex systems. As a citizen, he skillfully led a grassroots coalition questioning the shaky premise underlying Boston's bid for hosting the 2024 Olympic Games. In contrast, while serving as Assistant Secretary of Transportation for Governor Deval Patrick, he innovated on the inside by pioneering the development and launch of smartphone applications

alerting MBTA-riders when their train or bus will arrive. <u>This impressive record equips Chris to deliver on his signature idea</u> -- to be the first auditor in the country to utilize carbon accounting.

The delegate vote at this weekend's Democratic Convention was fairly close between Chris and the other candidate on the ballot, State Senator Diana DiZoglio (Dempsey 53%, DiZoglio 47%). Senator DiZoglio has confronted the still-patriarchal culture of Beacon Hill and exposed the systems of silence sanitizing sexual harassment committed under the Gold Dome, and we respect this work. However, her voting record is distinctly unprogressive, with a history of voting even to the right of leadership. She is particularly anti-transparency, has not supported gun control legislation, and has consistently voted to make it more difficult for people to access support systems, including EBT and public housing.

The JPP Steering Committee recommends endorsing Chris Dempsey for his consistent embrace of progressive policies as well as his organizational qualifications.

## **2nd Suffolk State Senator**

The Steering Committee of the JP Progressives recommends endorsing Nika Elugardo for State Senator for the 2nd Suffolk District. We were early supporters of Nika's 2018 campaign for the 15th Suffolk House District representing Jamaica Plain and have been deeply impressed with how she has served as a champion of progressive policies while also showing up to meet the everyday needs of her constituents. We believe Nika's unique style of leadership and her focus on policies that will lead to lasting structural change in the Commonwealth are exactly what we need at this critical point in time.

Nika's track record in the House speaks for itself: In the current session she sponsored more than 28 bills and cosponsored more than 275. Many of the bills she sponsored address the affordable housing crisis in our state, including bills that would remove barriers to local implementation of rent control or leverage state-owned land for the construction or financing of new affordable housing. Nika has also focused on dismantling structural racism and inequities across different systems, from healthcare to economic development to education. Yet while she is known for thinking big and working to address root causes of inequity, Nika is equally focused on bread-and-butter support for her constituents, consistently showing up to support residents at risk of eviction at the Forbes Building and securing millions of dollars in earmarks for district entities and regional organizations.

We also praise Nika's leadership in working to shift the culture on Beacon Hill. She has been a tireless advocate for transparency and accountability, standing for roll call, advocating for changes to the House rules that keep committee votes secret, and expanding the amount of time lawmakers have to review bills before voting. Unlike others, Nika has proven that she is unafraid to challenge leadership and to stand for her convictions. Yet, also unlike others, she has subsequently been given seats on powerful committees, including the budget-wielding Ways & Means Committee and the Committee on Housing because she is an effective leader who wins influence through data, storytelling, and persuasion.

We were impressed with all the candidates for the 2nd Suffolk, who we've had the opportunity to engage through the questionnaires and our recent forum. We are deeply appreciative for the commitment each one has for advancing progressive policies and for their public service. We believe Nika is the candidate for this moment, a time when passing groundbreaking legislation requires thinking creatively about solutions to our resource constraints, building coalitions, winning over reluctant lawmakers, and operating with the fierce urgency of now. We are excited by what Nika will be able to do in the Senate with more resources and an elevated platform.

### 15th Suffolk State Representative

The JP Progressives Steering Committee unanimously recommends the endorsement of Samantha Montaño for the newly drawn 15th Suffolk State Representative seat. A queer, gender non-conforming (she/they) Latinx, Sam brings nearly a decade of community-centered, tenant-focused organizing on issues of housing and equity to Jamaica Plain. This is unique not just to this district, but to the legislature as a whole. Their experience is special, but what takes it to the next level is their deep knowledge of housing legislation and thoughtful policy proposals at a time when housing affordability feels particularly crushing.

Beyond housing, Sam has been a community leader: As co-chair of the JP Neighborhood Council and its Public Services Committee, as a board member at the Hyde Square Task Force, as an advisory board member of the Southern JP Health Center, in their testimony before the state legislature, and now serving as the Organizing Director at the environmental justice organization Greenroots. We were particularly impressed with their approach to the challenge of pushing state leadership on progressive policy, with an eye towards coalition building, transparency, and public engagement on core progressive issues.

We are always grateful for people with the courage to put their names on the ballot. In particular, we have seen remarkable growth from Roxanne Longoria and hope we get to know her better in JP in the coming years. Most notable to us, though, was the gap between her and Sam in their work within the district, perhaps most readily symbolized by fundraising data. As of May 31, we could find only a single donation (her own) Roxanne had received from within the district, while two-thirds of her fundraising came from out of state. Sam, in contrast, has 64 donations from within the district and nearly three-quarters of their funds have been Massachusetts-based.

We urge our membership to get to know Sam as we have, because we think you'll be as excited about them as we are.

The JP Progressives Steering Committee enthusiastically recommends that our membership endorse City Councilor Ricardo Arroyo for Suffolk County District Attorney. The choice in this race couldn't be clearer. JPP first partnered with the <u>Justice for Mass Coalition</u> during the historic 2018 election, when progressives united to advance Rachael Rollins to the Suffolk County DA seat. We now have the opportunity to deepen that solidarity and join the Justice for Mass Coalition in endorsing Councilor Arroyo.

Ricardo is the only candidate who will both continue and build upon the great work of former DA Rollins in the Suffolk County District Attorney's office. He is laser focused on ending racial and class disparities in our criminal legal system and forging a new path to community safety and justice. As a former public defender, he has the experience, the understanding, and the plan to make serious-minded criminal justice reform the centerpiece of the DA's office. His talent for presenting a compelling case for reforming the DA's office, bolstered by his deep knowledge of the data and supportive research, will be an asset to the broader movement for progressive prosecutors nationwide. We also believe he is ready to hit the ground running, bringing a new cohort of similarly minded reformers into the office that will produce the culture shift needed to follow through on the proposed reforms.

And while both candidates use similar language around reform, only Councilor Arroyo supports the actual policies that we believe will achieve results, including ending cash bail, mandatory minimums, and qualified immunity—a practice that has shielded police from accountability.

Interim DA Kevin Hayden, appointed by Republican Governor Baker to replace DA Rollins, may have some relevant experience, but we believe this experience will not lead in the direction we seek for our criminal legal institutions. We are deeply concerned about his commitment to upholding the transformative changes that former DA Rollins has put into place. We are also concerned about the lack of consistency in his responses in different forums about his positions on key progressive policies.

Policy	Arroyo	Hayden
Support ending cash bail	Yes	Yes
Support increasing the age at which juveniles are charged	Yes	Yes
Oppose state expansion of wiretapping statute	Yes	No
Oppose life without parole	Yes	Yes
Support banning no-knock warrants	Yes	No
Support for repealing mandatory minimums	Yes	No
Support the Safe Communities	Yes	Yes

Act		
Support eliminating qualified immunity for law enforcement	Yes	No
Support banning the use of facial surveillance technology by law enforcement	Yes	Yes
Support expunging past non-violent cannabis offenses	Yes	Yes
Support a prison and jail construction moratorium	Yes	Yes
Campaign will accept donations from law enforcement unions	No	No*

## \*has accepted state police union \$

We cannot afford to slip backward into the policies of old that gave us mass incarceration and further entrenched the racial disparities in our city.

We hope our members agree that Ricardo Arroyo is the candidate who will move us forward into the future and help us build a justice system that works for all of us.

## **UPDATE (8/26/2022)** on DA Race: JP Progressives Steering Committee Statement on the Suffolk County District Attorney Race

The voters of Suffolk County find themselves in a difficult position. Both candidates for District Attorney have serious allegations laid at their feet. A <u>Boston Globe</u> article <u>published Tuesday</u> night says City Councilor Ricardo Arroyo was investigated as a teenager for two separate accusations of sexual assault, with neither investigation resulting in any charges. Arroyo says he never knew of these accusations until the Globe came to him; this is significant because Arroyo said in his application to the bar that he had never "been the subject of any investigation for a felony or misdemeanor other than a minor traffic charge."

In connection with the current allegations against Councilor Arroyo, there are deeply concerning questions about whether the current DA's office played a role in leaking information about 15+-year-old allegations of sexual violence involving minors, without the consent of the women involved. One of the women in the *Globe* article about Arroyo has, via her lawyer, said that 1) Arroyo did not sexually assault her and 2) she believes her inclusion in the *Globe* story is a direct result of Hayden's office illegally leaking her records to *Globe* reporters. Meanwhile, current

interim DA Kevin Hayden is in the middle of his own controversy as he stands accused of using the DA's office to cover up transit police misconduct and of receiving donations to his campaign from the officer in question and that officer's lawyer.

JP Progressives, after a questionnaire, a public Zoom forum, and a membership vote, announced our endorsement of Ricardo Arroyo on August 5. Our steering committee has spent the past two-plus days discussing what is the right thing to do in this scenario. We are deeply concerned about the allegations in both cases and in no way want to diminish the seriousness of the situation. But these are the two candidates we have. Many voters have already submitted ballots by mail, and early voting begins this weekend.

Given where we find ourselves and the information currently available to us, we believe that the best and possibly the only thing we can do is to look directly at the policy statements of each candidate to guide our decision. This chart compares the answers given by the two candidates at our District Attorney forum held in July.

Policy	Arroyo	Hayden
Support ending cash bail	Yes	Yes*
Support increasing the age at which juveniles are charged	Yes	Yes
Oppose state expansion of wiretapping statute	Yes	No
Oppose life without parole	Yes	Yes
Support banning no-knock warrants	Yes	No
Support for repealing mandatory minimums	Yes	No
Support the Safe Communities Act	Yes	Yes
Support eliminating qualified immunity for law enforcement	Yes	No
Support banning the use of facial surveillance technology by law enforcement	Yes	Yes
Support expunging past non-violent cannabis offenses	Yes	Yes

Support a prison and jail construction moratorium	Yes	Yes
Campaign will accept donations from law enforcement unions	No	No*

\*has accepted state police union \$

Also note that Hayden has given conflicting answers in different forums re: eliminating cash bail; his "yes" appears to be more of an "it depends." Additionally, Arroyo would push for getting rid of the controversial Boston gang database, while Hayden would keep it and has defended it.

If we evaluate the candidates based on policies and how they align with our ideals, Ricardo Arroyo's positions clearly are more in alignment with our organization and its policy values. We also have the ability to look at Kevin Hayden's performance so far in this office: We're upset not only that he has rolled back many of the progressive reforms begun under previous DA Rachael Rollins but also by his alleged involvement in covering up MTA police misconduct. We do not have confidence that DA Hayden will be committed to holding police accountable.

We understand if our members cannot bring themselves to vote for a candidate who is under the cloud of a serious allegation of misconduct. Since that applies to both candidates, one response would be blanking your ballot for that race.

However, this would not change the reality we face, which is that one of these two men will be elected and that the office of district attorney has a direct, immediate, and weighty impact on people's lives. In this case, voting is also (some would argue is ONLY) a harm reduction strategy. As such, we believe that despite all the confusion, uncertainty, and changing circumstances, Ricardo Arroyo is still the better choice for Suffolk County District Attorney based on policy differences. Councilor Arroyo has committed to following the path of reform we started down with DA Rollins, and we do not want to see any further rollback of that vision and its accompanying policies. We hope our members understand our point of view; this statement was not arrived at lightly.

**UPDATE** (9/3/22): As we consider the complicated circumstances that are still unfolding surrounding the Suffolk District Attorney race and its candidates, we wish to express solidarity with victims of sexual assault, of police misconduct, and of a broken justice system that harms Black and Brown communities.

We remain deeply concerned that DA Hayden will continue to quietly roll back the transformative reforms enacted by former DA Rollins — ultimately, we are concerned that the real losers in this situation will not be either candidate, but the residents of Suffolk County who want and deserve a forward-looking DA who will enact bold criminal justice reform.

With the limited information we have at this moment, even as voting is already under way, we as the Steering Committee encourage our members to weigh the impact of the DA office and to vote their conscience in this race.