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BLACK ATTITUDES

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[The Wall Street Journal, Wednesday, August 5, 1992]

## Blacks and Whites on Common Ground

By CURRY BOLICK

Twenty-eight years after the Civil Rights Act, racial polarization continues to frustrate consensus on some of the most important issues facing our nation. But recent survey findings may foster mutual understanding by debunking one of the most pernicious myths underlying racial division: that blacks and whites have fundamentally different views and aspirations.

This myth has fueled demagogues on both sides of the racial divide, especially in the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots. But poll results just released by the left-leaning Joint Center for Political Studies reveal that most blacks aspire like other Americans to safe streets, good schools and home ownership.

Of equal import, the survey demonstrates that mainstream black Americans are far more conservative than most of the politicians and organizations that purport to speak for them. This philosophical gulf perhaps was most pronounced near the end of the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings, when national groups like the NAACP strenuously opposed the Supreme Court nominee while blacks in general approved by a three-to-one ratio (along with some local NAACP chapters).

### Conservative, Not Republican

The Joint Center study found that more blacks label themselves conservative (33%) than either liberal (28%) or moderate (31%). Young blacks 18 to 34 years old are more conservative, with 38% describing themselves as such.

But conservative blacks have not yet found a hospitable political home. A minuscule 5% of those surveyed are Republicans. The GOP's failure to attract like-minded blacks offers vivid testimony to years of hostility or neglect by Republicans toward matters of concern to black Americans.

Poll findings on specific issues highlight common ground between whites and blacks. Despite opposition by establishment civil rights groups to capital punishment as racially discriminatory, the survey found most blacks favor the death penalty. This finding reflects serious concern about crime. More than half the blacks surveyed live within a few blocks of places they're afraid to walk in at night, and nearly half live in neighborhoods

Education is the number one election issue for black Americans; the survey found and 75% support a "back-to-basics" direction. In sharp contrast to politicians and establishment civil rights leaders, an amazing 88% support a "voucher" system that would allow parents to choose the schools their children attend.

Like many other Americans, most blacks are skeptical about current welfare policies. Some 57% believe government should not increase aid when single mothers have more children, and 75% think such a policy change would encourage

blacks. By focusing on social engineering schemes such as racial quotas and quotas that have little relevance to the real problems facing many blacks, the civil rights leadership elite is growing increasingly out of touch with its constituency.

In this regard, the leadership elite's problems are twofold. Racial preferences don't much aid a black underclass beset with ravaging crime, economic stagnation and inadequate schools. Likewise, the growing number of blacks who have joined the economic mainstream may have more in common with other middle class Ameri-

can than with those whose agenda remains rooted in the battles of the 1960s. For conservatives, opportunities are apparent. But instead of partisan efforts, they should concentrate on specific issues in which common cause exists with mainstream blacks. Groups such as the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise and the Institute for Justice have built potent coalitions with low-income people on such empowerment issues as school choice, tenant management of public housing, and challenges to regulatory barriers to entry-level entrepreneurial opportunities.

It is on the basis of these traditional American ideas that the problems facing the most disadvantaged members of society can be surmounted—and the sometimes seemingly insurmountable chasms between blacks and whites can be bridged.

Mr. Bolick is litigation director of the Institute for Justice in Washington, author of "Unfinished Business: A Rights Strategy for America's Third

*The GOP's failure to attract like-minded blacks offers vivid testimony to years of hostility or neglect by Republicans toward matters of concern to black Americans.*

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The Joint Center poll echoes an earlier survey by Linda Lichter, which found a gulf over major issues between leaders of black organizations and randomly selected blacks. The survey found 77% of black leaders believed affirmative action should be the most important factor in hiring and education decisions; indeed, National Urban League President John Jacob called this "the one constant that must be shared by anyone who presumes to hold a leadership position in the black community." But the survey found most blacks would flunk this ideological litmus test. Some 77% believe ability rather than race should be the determining factor.

Likewise, the Lichter survey found 68% of black leaders favoring forced busing for integration, while 53% of mainstream blacks opposed busing. Two-thirds of black leaders opposed the death penalty for murder, compared with 55% of all blacks who favored it.

These findings contain powerful messages for both sides of the policy debate. They explain why liberal groups like the NAACP have lost thousands of members in

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### The Remaining Task

Martin Luther King Jr. was perhaps the last civil rights leader to understand that. Instead of emphasizing differences among people the way contemporary civil rights leaders often do, he drew constantly upon the principles and aspirations that unite us as Americans, black and white, rich and poor. Indeed, the remaining task of the civil rights struggle is not to redistribute opportunities through a divisive and counterproductive racial spoils system, but to empower those who have been denied opportunities.

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SECTION: Section A; Page 15; Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 2207 words

HEADLINE: Black Demagogues and Pseudo-Scholars

BYLINE: By Henry Louis Gates Jr.; Henry Louis Gates Jr. is professor of English and chairman of the the Afro-American Studies Department at Harvard.  
Anthony Lewis and Willam Safire are on vacation.

DATELINE: CAMBRIDGE, Mass.

BODY:

During the past decade, the historic relationship between African Americans and Jewish Americans -- a relationship that sponsored so many of the concrete advances of the civil rights era -- showed another and less attractive face.

While anti-Semitism is generally on the wane in this country, it has been on the rise among black Americans. A recent survey finds not only that blacks are twice as likely as whites to hold anti-Semitic views but -- significantly -- that it is among the younger and more educated blacks that anti-Semitism is most pronounced.

The trend has been deeply disquieting for many black intellectuals. But it is something most of us, as if by unstated agreement, simply choose not to talk about. At a time when black America is beleaguered on all sides, there is a strong temptation simply to ignore the phenomenon or treat it as something strictly marginal. And yet to do so would be a serious mistake. As the African-American philosopher Cornel West has insisted, attention to black anti-Semitism is crucial, however discomfiting, in no small part because the moral credibility of our struggle against racism hangs in the balance.

When the Rev. Jesse Jackson, in an impassioned address at a conference of the World Jewish Congress on July 7, condemned the sordid history of anti-Semitism, he not only went some distance toward retrieving the once abandoned mantle of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s humane statesmanship, he also delivered a stern rebuke -- while not specifically citing black anti-Semitism -- to those black leaders who have sought to bolster their own strength through division. Mr. Jackson and others have learned that we must not allow these demagogues to turn the wellspring of memory into a renewable resource of enmity everlasting.

We must begin by recognizing what is new about the new anti-Semitism. Make no mistake: this is anti-Semitism from the top down, engineered and promoted by leaders who affect to be speaking for a larger resentment. This top-down anti-Semitism, in large part the province of the better educated classes, can thus be contrasted with the anti-Semitism from below common among African American urban communities in the 1930's and 40's, which followed in many ways a familiar pattern of clientelistic hostility toward the neighborhood vendor or landlord.

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In American cities, hostility of this sort is now commonly directed toward Korean shop owners. But "minority" traders and shopkeepers elsewhere in the world -- such as the Indians of East Africa and the Chinese of Southeast Asia -- have experienced similar ethnic antagonism.

Anti-Jewish sentiment can also be traced to Christian anti-Semitism, given the historic importance of Christianity in the black community.

Unfortunately, the old paradigms will not serve to explain the new bigotry and its role in black America. For one thing, its preferred currency is not the mumbled epithet or curse but the densely argued treatise; it belongs as much to the repertory of campus lecturers as community activists. And it comes in wildly different packages.

A book popular with some in the "Afrocentric" movement, "The Iceman Inheritance: Prehistoric Sources of Western Man's Racism, Sexism, and Aggression" by Michael Bradley, argues that white people are so vicious because they, unlike the rest of mankind, are descended from the brutish Neanderthals.

More to the point, it speculates that the Jews may have been the "purest" and oldest Neanderthal-Caucasoids, "the iciest of the ice people; hence (he explains) the singularly odious character of ancient Jewish culture.

Crackpot as it sounds, the book has lately been reissued with endorsements from two members of the Africana Studies Department of the City College of New York, as well as an introduction by Dr. John Henrik Clarke, professor emeritus of Hunter College and the great paterfamilias of the Afrocentric movement.

Dr. Clarke has recently attacked multiculturalism as the product of what he called the "Jewish educational Mafia." And while Dr. Leonard Jeffries's views on supposed Jewish complicity in the subjection of blacks captured headlines, his intellectual cohorts such as Conrad Muhammad and Khallid Muhammad address community gatherings and college students across the country purveying a similar doctrine.

College speakers and publications have played a disturbing role in legitimating the new creed. Last year, U.C.L.A.'s black newspaper, Nommo, defended the importance of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, the notorious Czarist canard that portrays a Jewish conspiracy to rule the world. (Those who took issue were rebuked with an article headlined: "Anti-Semitic? Ridiculous -- Chill.")

Speaking at Harvard University earlier this year, Conrad Muhammad, the New York representative of the Nation of Islam, neatly annexed environmentalism to anti-Semitism when he blamed the Jews for despoiling the environment and destroying the ozone layer.

But the bible of the new anti-Semitism is "The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews," an official publication of the Nation of Islam that boasts 1,275 footnotes in the course of 334 pages.

Sober and scholarly looking, it may well be one of the most influential books published in the black community in last 12 months. It is available in black-oriented shops in cities across the nation, even those that specialize in Kente cloth and beads rather than books. It can also be ordered over

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the phone, by dialing 1-800-48-TRUTH. Meanwhile, the book's conclusions are, in many circles, increasingly treated as damning historical fact.

The book, one of the most sophisticated instances of hate literature yet compiled, was prepared by the historical research department of the Nation of Islam. It charges that the Jews were "key operatives" in the historic crime of slavery, playing an "inordinate" and "disproportionate" role and "carv[ing] out for themselves a monumental culpability in slavery -- and the black holocaust." Among significant sectors of the black community, this brief has become a credo of a new philosophy of black self-affirmation.

To be sure, the book massively misrepresents the historical record, largely through a process of cunningly selective quotation of often reputable sources. But its authors could be confident that few of its readers would go to the trouble of actually hunting down the works cited. For if readers actually did so, they might discover a rather different picture.

They might find out -- from the book's own vaunted authorities -- that, for example, of all the African slaves imported into the New World, American Jewish merchants accounted for less than 2 percent, a finding sharply at odds with the Nation's of Islam's claim of Jewish "predominance" in this traffic.

They might find out that in the domestic trade it appears that all of the Jewish slave traders combined bought and sold fewer slaves than the single gentile firm of Franklin and Armfield. In short, they might learn what the historian Harold Brackman has documented at length -- that the book's repeated insistence that the Jews dominated the slave trade depends on an unscrupulous distortion of the historic record. But the most ominous words in the book are found on the cover: "Volume One." More have been promised, to carry on the saga of Jewish iniquity to the present day.

However shoddy the scholarship of works like "The Secret Relationship," underlying it is something even more troubling: the tacit conviction that culpability is heritable. For it suggests a doctrine of racial continuity, in which the racial evil of a people is merely manifest (rather than constituted) by their historical misdeeds. The reported misdeeds are thus the signs of an essential nature that is evil.

How does this theology of guilt surface in our everyday moral discourse? In New York, earlier this spring, a forum was held at the Church of St. Paul and Andrew to provide an occasion for blacks and Jews to engage in dialogue on such issues as slavery and social injustice. Both Jewish and black panelists found common ground, and common causes. But a tone-setting contingent of blacks in the audience took strong issue with the proceedings. Outraged, they demanded to know why the Jews, those historic malefactors, had not apologized to the "descendants of African kings and queens."

And so the organizer of the event, Melanie Kaye Kantrowitz, did. Her voice quavering with emotion, she said: "I think I speak for a lot of people in this room when I say 'I'm sorry.' We're ashamed of it, we hate it, and that's why we organized this event."

Should the Melanie Kantrowitzes of the world, whose ancestors survived pogroms and, latterly, the Nazi Holocaust, be the primary object of our wrath? And what is yielded by this hateful sport of victimology, save the conversion

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of a tragic past into a game of recrimination? Perhaps that was on the mind of another audience member. "I don't want an apology," a dreadlocked woman told her angrily. "I want reparations. Forty acres and a mule, plus interest."

These are times that try the spirit of liberal outreach. In fact, the Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, himself explained the real agenda behind his campaign, speaking before an audience of 15,000 at the University of Illinois last fall. The purpose of "The Secret Relationship," he said, was to "rearrange a relationship" that "has been detrimental to us."

"Rearrange" is a curiously elliptical term here: if a relation with another group has been detrimental, it only makes sense to sever it as quickly and unequivocally as possible. In short, by "rearrange," he means to convert a relation of friendship, alliance and uplift into one of enmity, distrust and hatred.

But why target the Jews? Using the same historical methodology, after all, the researchers of the book could have produced a damning treatise on the involvement of left-handers in the "black holocaust." The answer requires us to go beyond the usual shibboleths about bigotry and view the matter, from the demagogues' perspective, strategically: as the bid of one black elite to supplant another.

It requires us, in short, to see anti-Semitism as a weapon in the raging battle of who will speak for black America -- those who have sought common cause with others or those who preach a barricaded withdrawal into racial authenticity.

The strategy of these apostles of hate, I believe, is best understood as ethnic isolationism -- they know that the more isolated black America becomes, the greater their power. And what's the most efficient way to begin to sever black America from its allies? Bash the Jews, these demagogues apparently calculate, and you're halfway there.

I myself think that the great French aphorist Rochefoucault put his finger on something germane when he observed, "We can rarely bring ourselves to forgive those who have helped us." For sometimes it seems that the trajectory of black-Jewish relations is a protracted enactment of Rochefoucault's paradox.

Many American Jews are puzzled by the recrudescence of black anti-Semitism, in view of the historic alliance between the two groups. The brutal truth has escaped them: that the new anti-Semitism arises not in spite of the black-Jewish alliance but because of that alliance.

For precisely such trans-ethnic, trans-racial cooperation -- epitomized by the historic partnership between blacks and Jews -- is what poses the greatest threat to the isolationist movement.

In short, for the tacticians of the new anti-Semitism, the original sin of American Jews was their involvement -- truly "inordinate," truly "disproportionate" -- not in slavery, but in the front ranks of the civil rights struggle.

For decent and principled reasons, many black intellectuals are loath to criticize "oppositional" black leaders. Yet it has become increasingly

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apparent that to continue to maintain a comradely silence may be, in effect, to capitulate to the isolationist agenda, to betray our charge and trust. And, to be sure, many black writers, intellectuals, and religious leaders have taken an unequivocal stand on this issue.

Cornel West aptly describes black anti-Semitism as "the bitter fruit of a profound self-destructive impulse, nurtured on the vines of hopelessness and concealed by empty gestures of black unity."

After 12 years of conservative indifference, those political figures who acquiesced, by malign neglect, to the deepening crisis of black America should not feign surprise that we should prove so vulnerable to the demagogues' rousing messages of hate, their manipulation of the past and present.

Bigotry, as a tragic century has taught us, is an opportunistic infection, attacking most virulently when the body politic is in a weakened state. Yet neither should those who care about black America gloss over what cannot be condoned: that much respect we owe to ourselves. For surely it falls to all of us to recapture the basic insight that Dr. King so insistently expounded. "We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality," he told us. "Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly." How easy to forget this -- and how vital to remember.

TYPE: Op-Ed

SUBJECT: JEWS; ANTI-SEMITISM; BLACKS (IN US)

ORGANIZATION: NATION OF ISLAM; WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

NAME: GATES, HENRY LOUIS JR (PROF); JACKSON, JESSE L (REV)

TITLE: SECRET RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BLACKS AND JEWS (BOOK)

# BLACK ATTITUDES



# HBO/JOINT CENTER POLL

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CONTACT: David Bositis  
Joint Center  
202-626-3520

Joint Center For Political  
and Economic Studies  
1301 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.  
Suite 400  
Washington, D.C. 20004

National Coalition on  
Black Voter Participation, Inc.  
1629 K Street, N.W.  
Suite 801  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Voices Of The Electorate  
c/o The Independent  
Production Fund  
15th Floor  
45 West 45th Street  
New York, N. Y. 10036

Home Box Office, Inc.  
1100 Avenue Of The Americas  
New York, New York 10036

## Summary of Findings

Home Box Office (HBO) and the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies have released a national survey of black Americans on a range of public policy issues. The survey was conducted in connection with the Voices of the Electorate Town Meeting project. The field work was performed by OMNIFACTS, INC of Philadelphia. The survey was done by telephone, from June 22-30. The sample size of the survey was 750.

The attitudes of black Americans are of special interest in this presidential election year, since black voters represent a substantial share of the voting age population in a number of major states that may determine the outcome of the presidential election. Their votes are unusually critical this year since the third party candidacy of Texas billionaire H. Ross Perot makes the outcome of the election and the behavior of the electorate very difficult to predict. Of the presidential hopefuls, Bill Clinton led the field with the support of 43 percent of those surveyed, followed by H. Ross Perot with 14 percent and George Bush with 13 percent.

The following is a synopsis of some of the other findings in the survey.

### **Partisanship and Ideology**

Black Americans continue to identify strongly with the Democratic Party. Seventy-two percent identified themselves as Democrats, 23 percent as Independents and 5 percent as Republicans. When the Independents were asked if they lean to one major party or the other, 59 percent indicated that they leaned toward the Democratic Party.

While identifying themselves as Democrats, black Americans did not identify themselves as liberals. 33 percent of those surveyed characterized themselves as conservative, 30 percent as moderate and only 29 percent as liberal. These are of course self-identifications and not necessarily consistent with any particular theoretical definition of liberal or conservative.

### **Bush Disapproval and Dissatisfaction with the Nation's Direction**

A major finding of this survey across a wide range of issue areas was a pervasive sense of dissatisfaction and a desire for change and solutions to problems. This dissatisfaction manifested itself in a number of both 'liberal' and 'conservative' voices. First, the character of the dissatisfaction. Eighty-eight percent of those surveyed expressed dissatisfaction with the way things were going in the country. This finding corresponded to a similar

2

77 percent disapproval rating for George Bush's job performance. Most disagreed with the Bush administration's assessment that the Great Society was the source of the nation's urban ills, and 71 percent of those surveyed blamed the Reagan and Bush administrations for the problems of the cities. Congress did not escape blame. There was a 66 percent disapproval rating for Congress. Accompanying this disapproval of Congress's job performance was a 65 percent support for term limitations.

#### **Candidates, Public Personalities and Presidential Preference**

Those surveyed were asked if they could identify the four major candidates for president/vice-president, namely George Bush, Bill Clinton, H. Ross Perot and Dan Quayle, and four major national black figures, Jesse Jackson, Colin Powell, Clarence Thomas, and Doug Wilder. Those who could identify the eight, were asked to rate their feelings toward them as favorable or not.

George Bush and Dan Quayle were evaluated very negatively by the survey respondents. George Bush's favorable/unfavorable ratings were 28 percent/60 percent with his negatives outnumbering his positives by 32 percent. Dan Quayle's ratings were similar (25/56). Bill Clinton favorable/unfavorable margin was 57/21 for a 36 point positive margin (more than 2 to 1). H. Ross Perot was viewed more favorably than unfavorably but by a margin of only 9 percent (35/26). Thirty-nine percent of those surveyed responded either neutrally or had no opinion of Perot.

Jesse Jackson retains strong support in the black community. His positives were 77 percent and they outnumbered his negatives by 66 percent. Colin Powell was very positively viewed by those surveyed (67/11) as was Doug Wilder (56/16). Clarence Thomas' positives outnumbered his negatives (45/30), but of the four black public figures, he had the largest share of unfavorable ratings (30 percent).

When asked whether Bill Clinton should pick Jesse Jackson for his running mate, despite his high positive ratings, only 47 percent said yes, with 30 percent responding negatively and 23 percent being uncertain.

The presidential preferences expressed in the survey were surprising for the large number of Undecideds and None of the aboves. 20 percent of those surveyed indicated that they were undecided with another 11 percent expressing support for none-of-the-above.

#### **Abortion and the Death Penalty**

The attitudes expressed on two controversial issues, abortion and the death penalty were at least somewhat similar to national public opinion. On abortion, 33 percent support a woman's right to have an abortion with no restrictions, 47 percent support abortion with some restrictions and 17 percent oppose abortion in all circumstances. 48 percent of those surveyed support the death penalty with 42 percent opposing it. Support for the death penalty

is thus considerably less among black Americans than among the general population whose support has been running in the range of 70+ percent.

### **The Clarence Thomas Nomination**

A majority of those surveyed expressed support for Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court. Approvals outnumbered disapprovals by more than 2 to 1 (61 percent to 27 percent). Those who disapproved however were more likely to express the intention of voting to punish their U.S. Senator if he or she voted contrary to their wishes (65 percent to 25 percent).

### **National Health Insurance and Gun Control**

Support for universal health coverage was similarly universal among those surveyed. 91 percent supported guaranteed health insurance coverage for all Americans. 70 percent of those surveyed supported a ban on the sale of assault type weapons and semi-automatic rifles.

### **Education A Priority**

Education is a key issue among black Americans. Thirty-one percent of those surveyed said that education was their key issue in the presidential election. Further, there is a consistent

pattern of wanting change. Half those surveyed (49 percent) think that black children do not receive as good an education as white children. An overwhelming number of people (84 percent) think that the government is spending too little on education with an equal number (86 percent) favoring equalization of funding across school districts.

Only a third of those surveyed had heard or read about "school choice" or education voucher programs. Of those that had though, 88 percent favored school choice, a surprisingly large number. Programmatically, there were a wide mix of responses to education issues. There was substantial support for 'back to basics' programs (75 percent), Afrocentric education (80 percent), special schools for young black men (63 percent) and a plurality of support for the elimination of tracking in public schools.

### **Fear and Crime**

Fifty-three percent of those surveyed indicated that they lived within 2 or 3 blocks of a area where they were afraid to walk alone at night. Accompanying this fear, was the perception that many young men in their neighborhoods carried guns: 46 percent of those responding said that they thought most or some of the young men in their neighborhood carried guns. About a third of those interviewed said that street gangs were active near where they lived.

## **Social Policy: Welfare and Safe Sex**

A particularly interesting mix of "conservative" and "liberal" positions were expressed in the area of social policy. On the conservative side, 57 percent of those surveyed said that single mothers on welfare who had additional children should not receive additional benefits (36 percent disagreed). Of those who supported benefit limits, 75 percent indicated that they believed that if benefits were limited, then single welfare mothers would have fewer children.

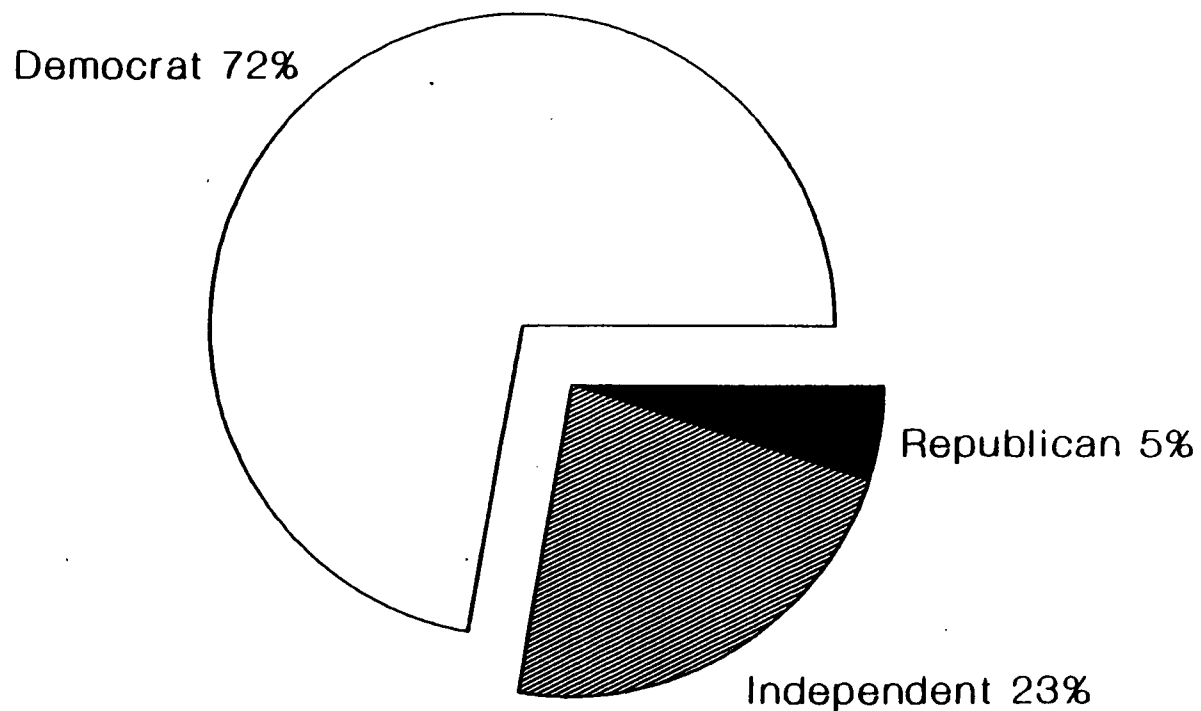
On the liberal side, a whopping 78 percent of those interviewed said they favored free condom programs in high schools to control the spread of AIDS. A lesser majority (53 percent) also favored needle exchange programs to limit the spread of AIDS among intravenous drug users.

## **The L.A. Riots**

Nine percent of those surveyed expressed the opinion that the rioters in LA were justified because of the Rodney King verdict. 36 percent expressed generalized condemnation of the riots feeling that they were not justified regardless of the King verdict. Half those surveyed however, expressed somewhat ambivalent feelings, indicating that they did not approve of the rioters' behavior, but that they understood their frustration and anger.

# PARTISANSHIP

Do you consider yourself a Democrat,  
an Independent, or a Republican?





# NAME IDENTIFICATION AND FAVORABILITY RATINGS FOR SELECTED PUBLIC FIGURES'

	FAVORABLE (%)	SOMEWHAT FAVORABLE (%)	NEUTRAL (%)	SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE (%)	UNFAVORABLE (%)	NO OPINION (%)	DON'T KNOW (%)
PEROT	17	18	15	10	16	24	20
BUSH	16	13	9	13	46	4	1
CLINTON	32	25	14	8	14	8	4
JACKSON	55	22	9	3	8	3	1
QUAYLE	12	13	11	10	46	8	5
THOMAS	27	18	16	8	22	9	12
WILDER	34	18	14	5	11	18	46
POWELL	51	17	12	3	7	10	34

' Source: The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.

**FAVORABLE-UNFAVORABLE RATINGS  
SELECTED PUBLIC FIGURES<sup>1</sup>**

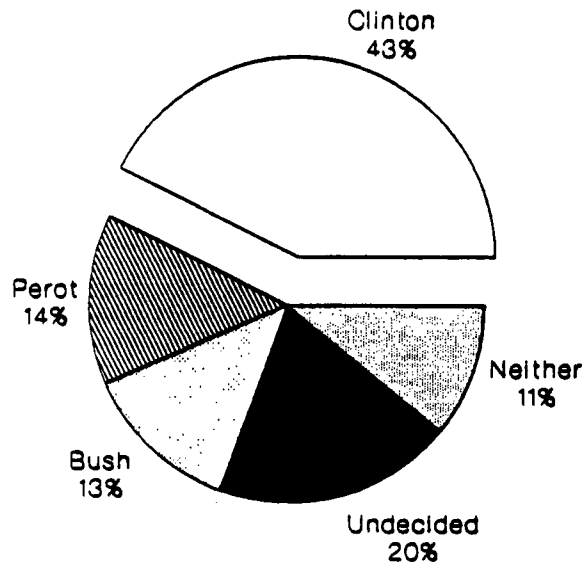
	FAVORABLE/UNFAVORABLE	DIFFERENCE
PEROT	35/26	9
BUSH	28/60	-32
CLINTON	57/21	36
JACKSON	77/11	66
QUAYLE	25/56	-31
THOMAS	45/30	15
WILDER	52/16	36
POWELL	67/11	56

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<sup>1</sup> Source: The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

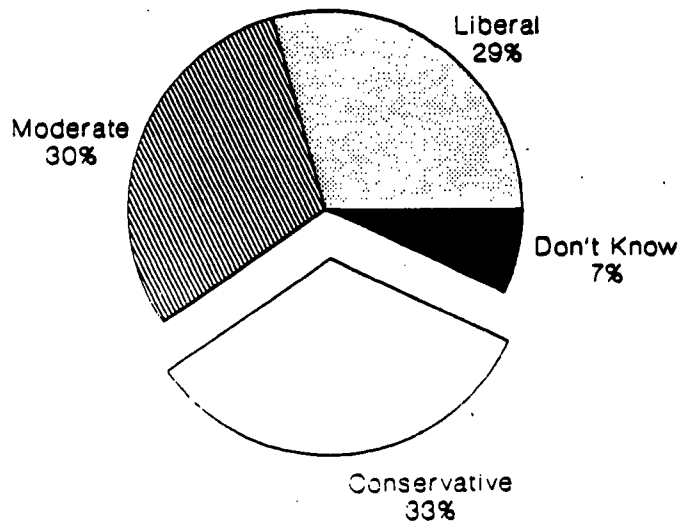
## PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE

If ...who would you like to see win?



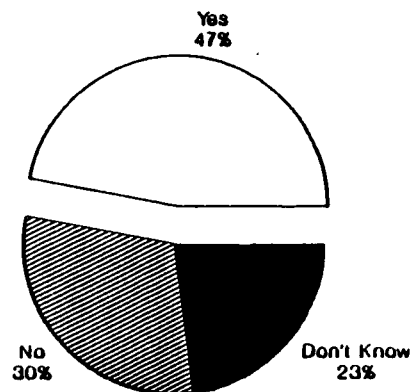
## IDEOLOGY

Are you a liberal, moderate, or conservative?



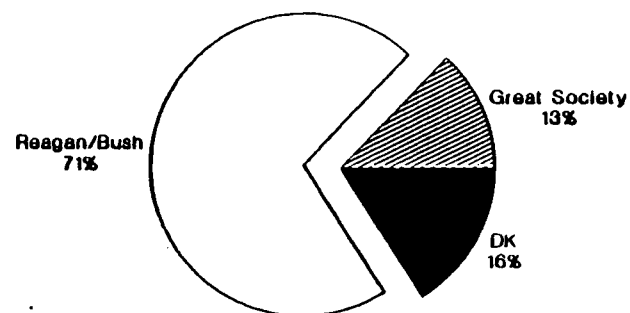
### JACKSON FOR VEEP?

Should Bill Clinton pick Jesse  
Jackson for his V.P.



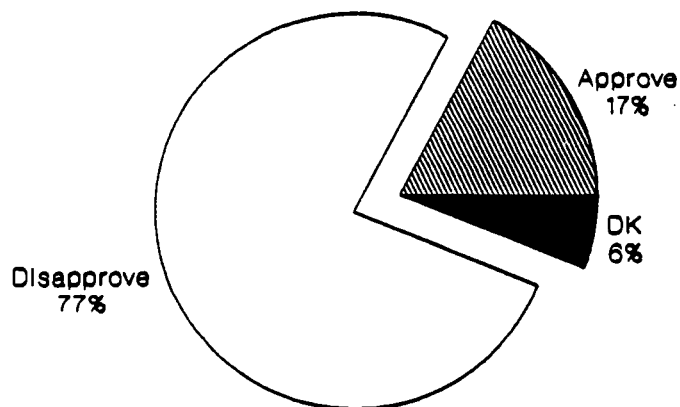
### GREAT SOCIETY VS. REAGAN/BUSH

The Source of Urban Problems is...



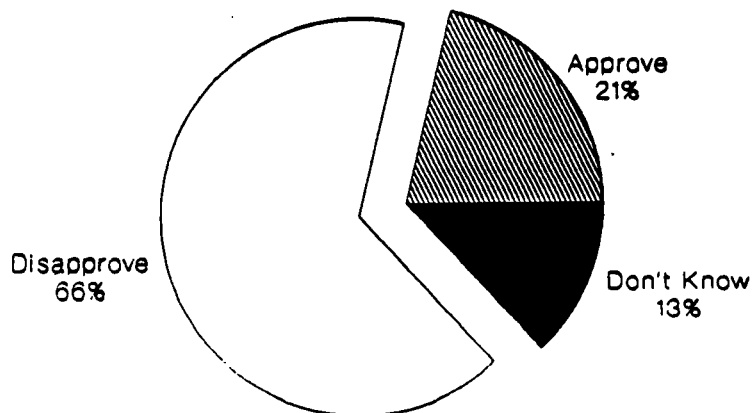
## BUSH JOB APPROVAL

Do you approve or disapprove of the way  
George Bush is handling his job as..?



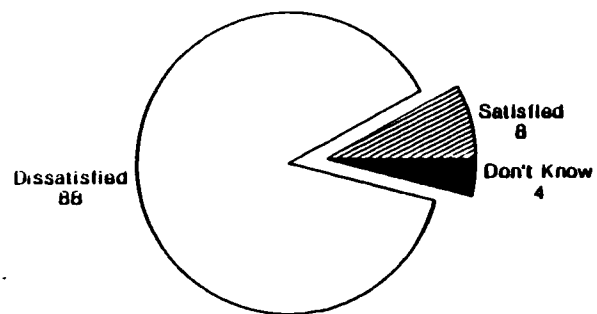
## CONGRESSIONAL JOB APPROVAL

Do you approve or disapprove of the way  
Congress is doing its job?



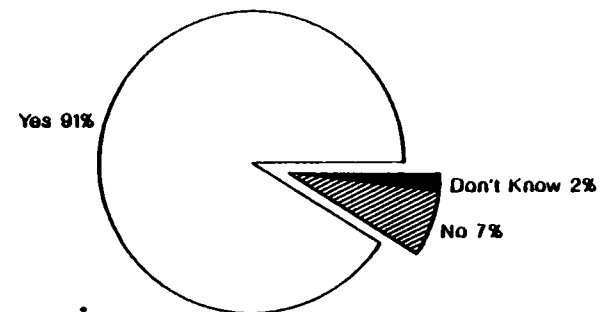
### SATISFACTION?

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the US?



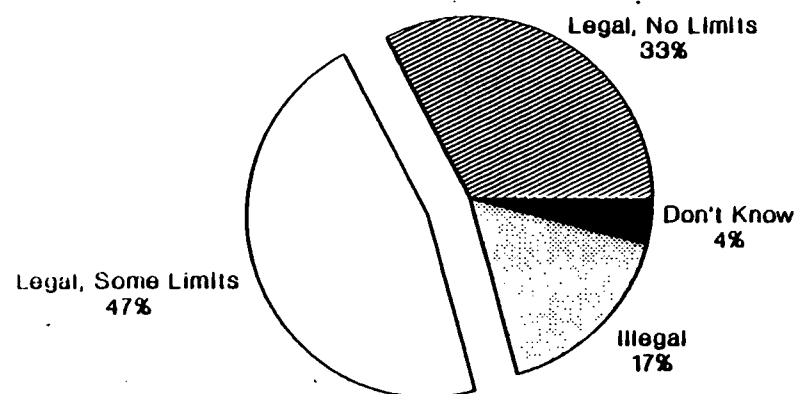
### NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

Should the gov't. see to it that all Americans have adequate health coverage?



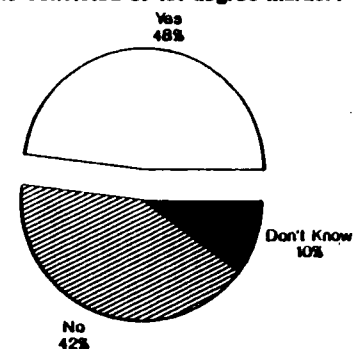
## ABORTION

Do you think that abortion should be legal under all, some or never?



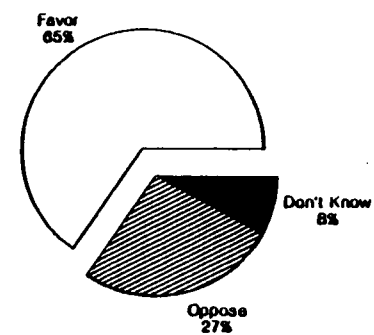
## DEATH PENALTY

Do you support the death penalty for persons convicted of 1st degree murder?



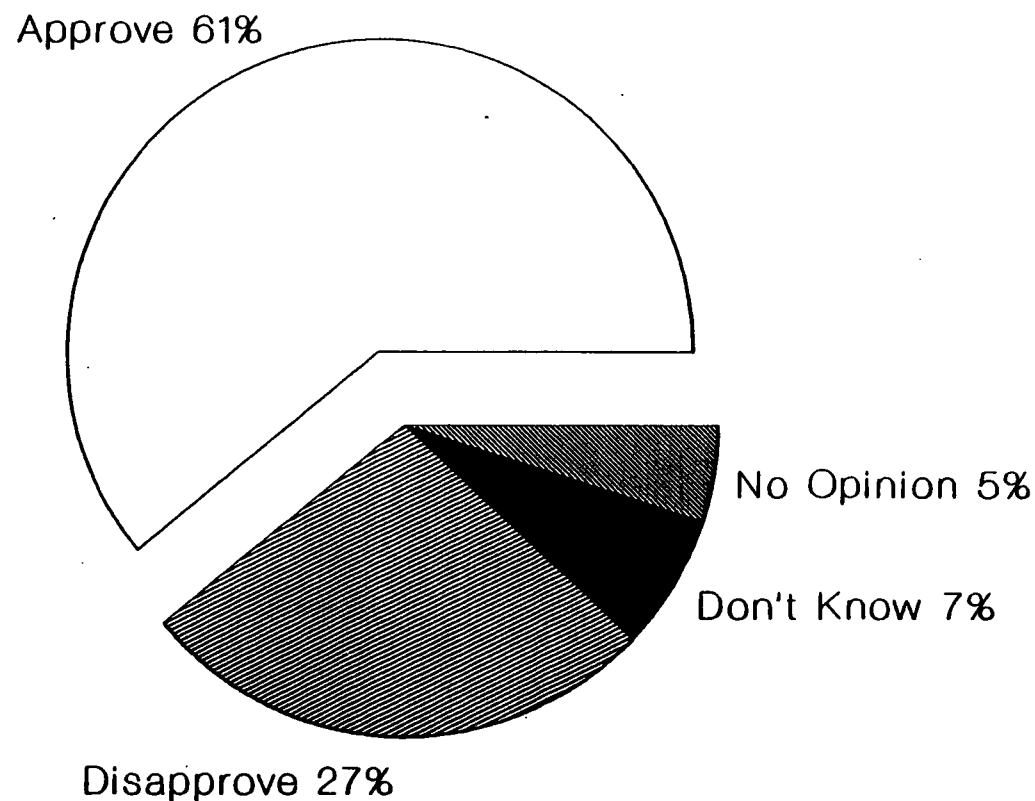
## TERM LIMITS

Do you favor or oppose term limits?



# THE CLARENCE THOMAS NOMINATION

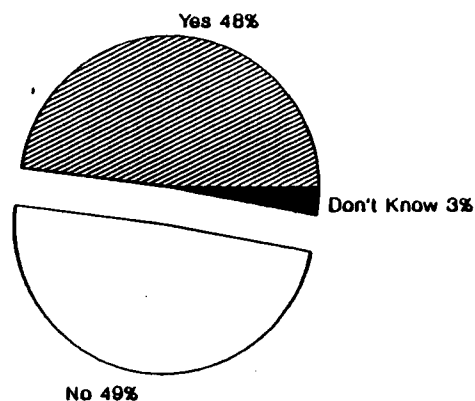
Did you approve or disapprove of the  
Clarence Thomas Supreme Court nomination





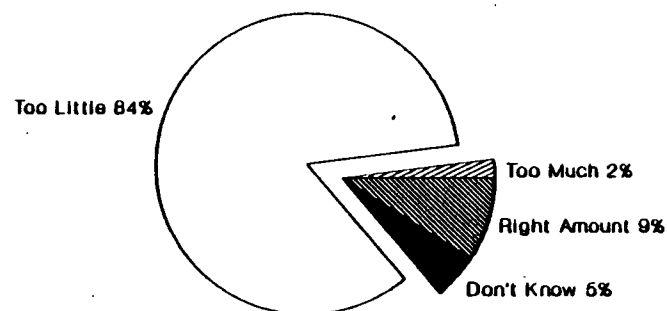
### QUALITY EDUCATION

Do black children get as high quality education as white children in your town



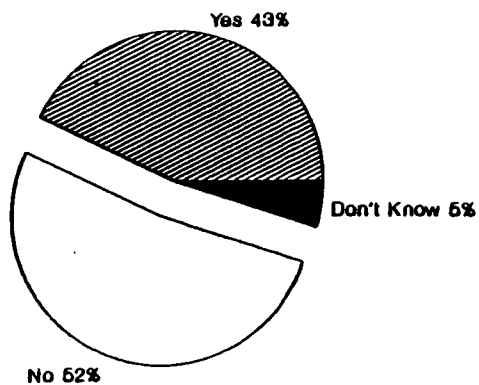
### GOVT. SPENDING ON EDUCATION

Is the govt. spending too much, too little or right amount on education?



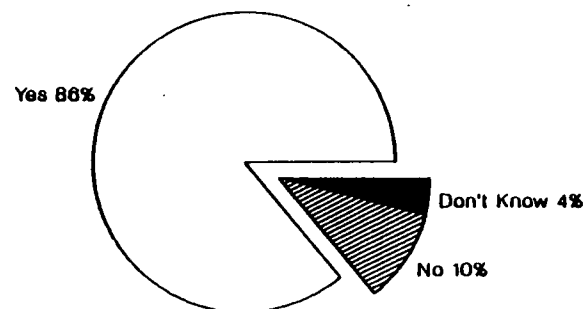
### SCHOOL VIOLENCE

Have there been any violent incidents at schools near where you live?



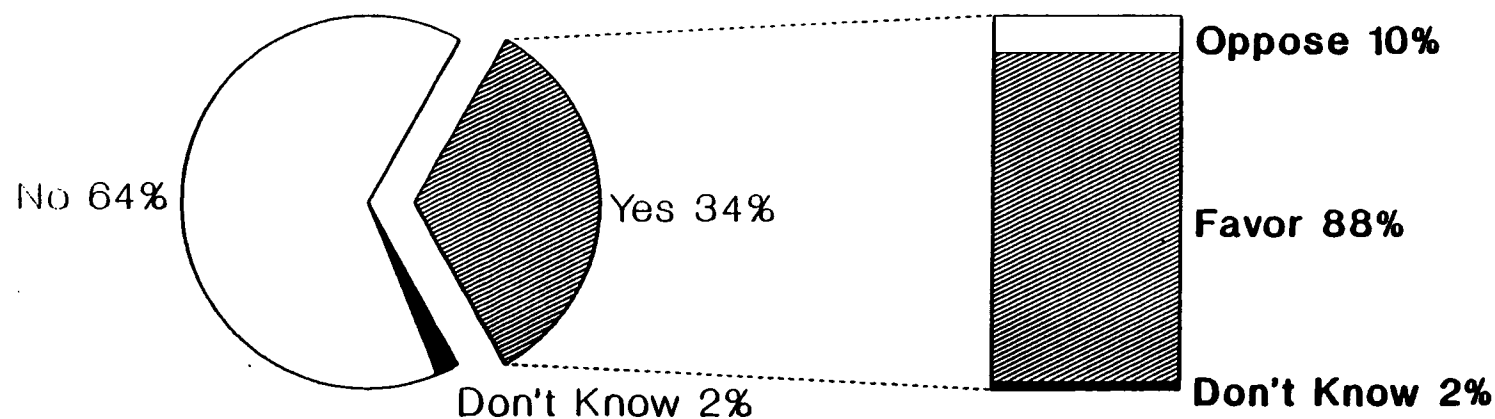
### SCHOOL FUNDING PARITY

Do you support the govt spending the same for each student in all districts?



# HEARD ABOUT CHOICE IN EDUCATION

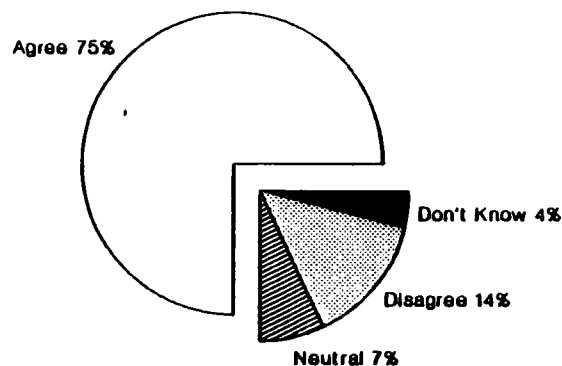
Have you heard or read about any of the  
choice in education proposals.....?



**Favor or Oppose Choice?**

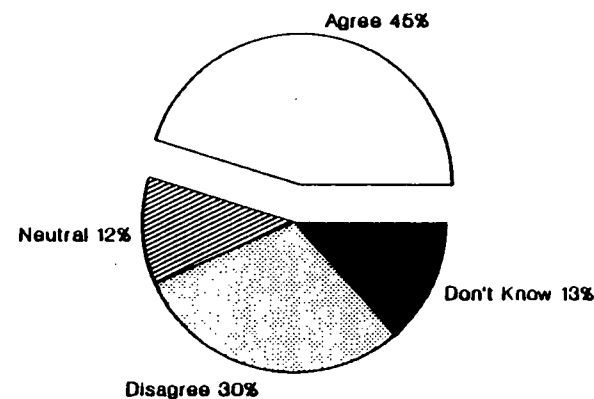
### BACK TO BASICS

Schools should return to basics?



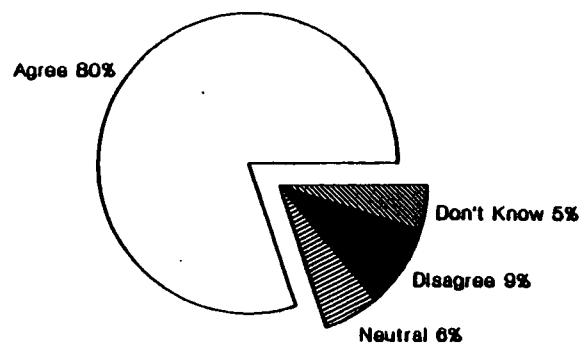
### TRACKING STUDENTS IS UNFAIR

Tracking students causes unequal treatment and should be eliminated.



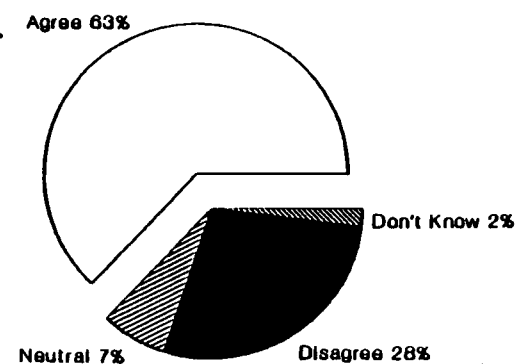
### AFROCENTRIC EDUCATION

Afrocentric education will improve black students' self-esteem & performance.



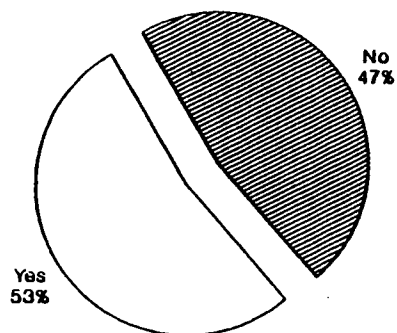
### SPECIAL SCHOOLS FOR YOUNG BLACK MALES

There should be some special schools to serve the needs of young black males.



## FEAR

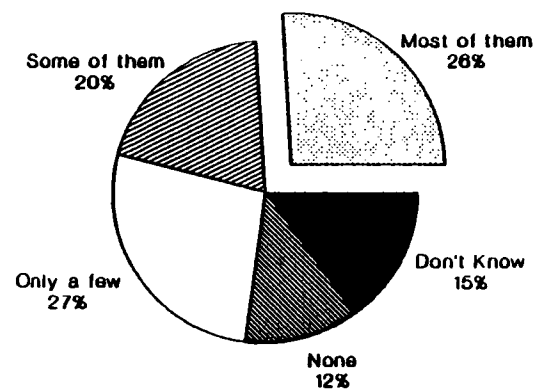
Any area near where you live where you are afraid to walk alone at night?



\*Area\* defined as within two or three blocks.

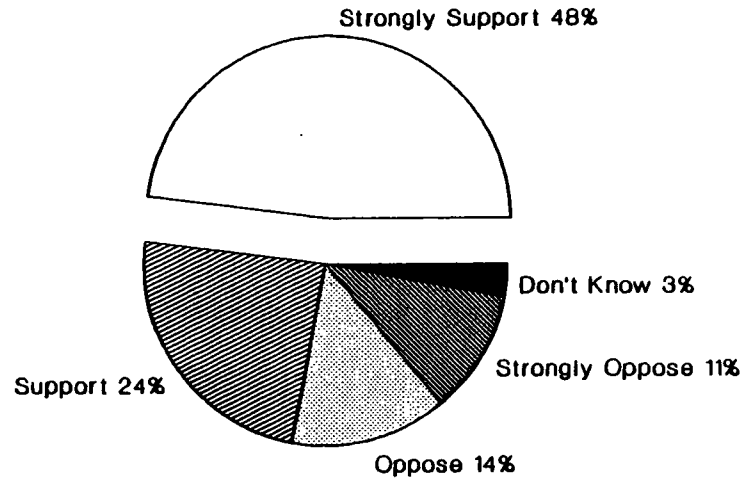
## YOUNG MEN & GUNS

How many young men in your neighborhood do you think carry guns?



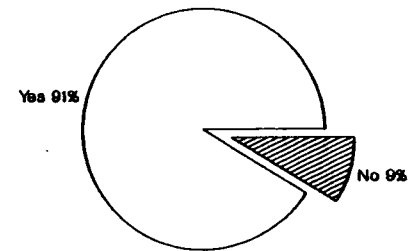
## MANDATORY SENTENCING

Support for mandatory sentencing for conviction for selling drugs.



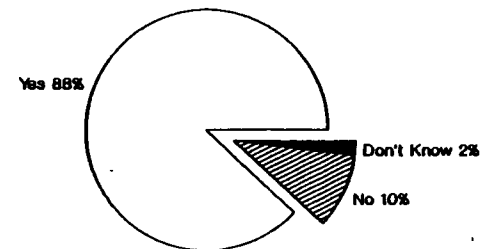
## DRUG TREATMENT

Should the government provide treatment to any drug addict who requests it?



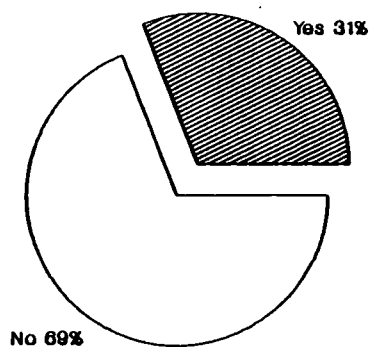
## DRUGS AND PUBLIC HOUSING

Should tenants be evicted from public housing if convicted of drug use/selling?



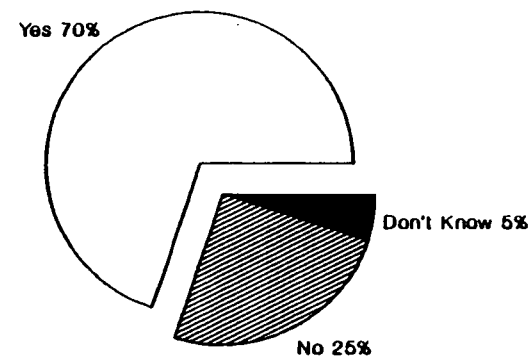
### STREET GANGS

Are street gangs active near where you live?



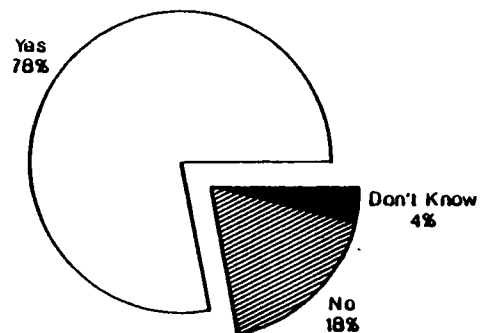
### BAN ASSAULT TYPE WEAPONS

Do you support a ban on the sale of assault weapons and semi-automatic guns?



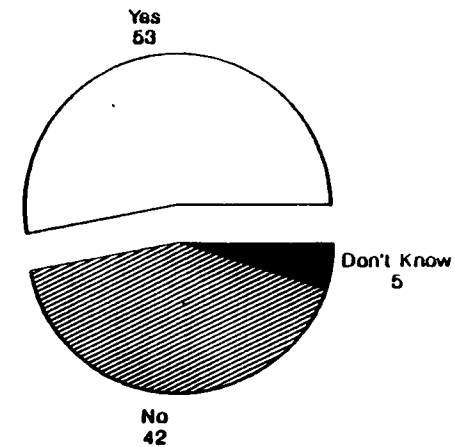
### CONDOMS IN HIGH SCHOOLS

Do you favor programs that give free condoms to HS students to stop AIDS?



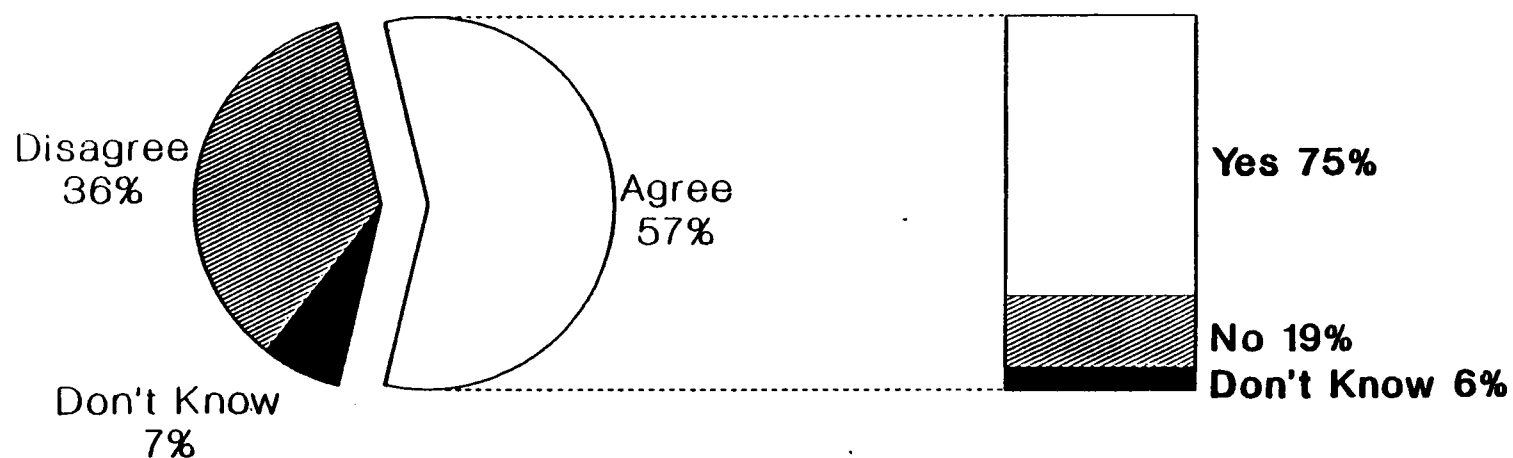
### NEEDLE EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

Do you favor needle exchange programs for drug users to help stop AIDS?



## MORE CHILDREN, NO ADDITIONAL WELFARE

If single mothers on welfare have more children, there should be no added \$.

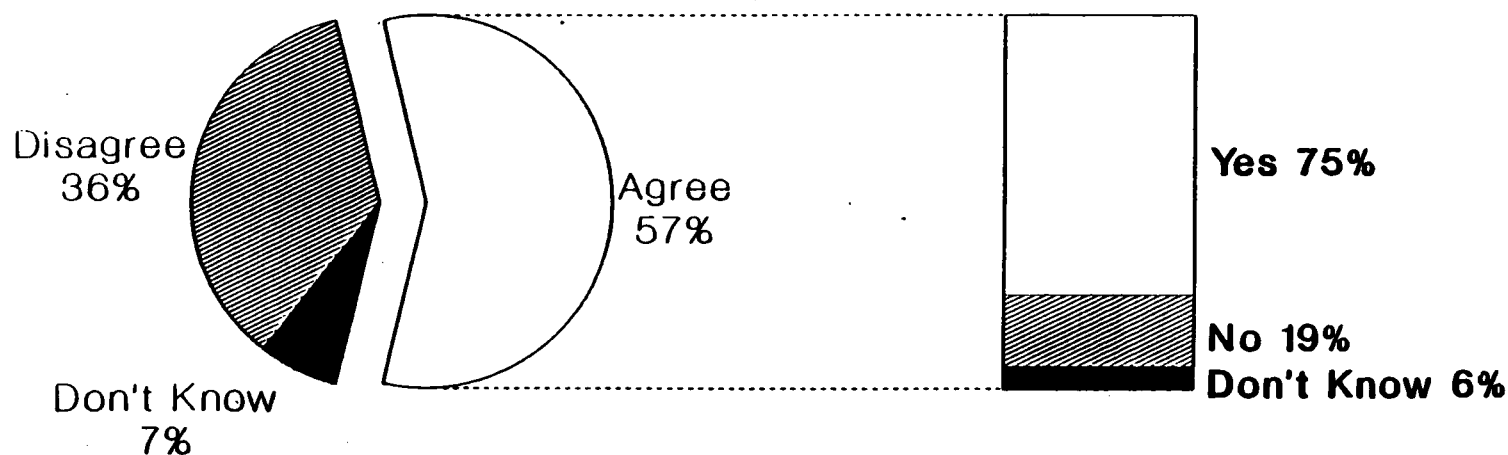


WOULD THIS CAUSE THEM  
TO HAVE FEWER CHILDREN?



## MORE CHILDREN, NO ADDITIONAL WELFARE

If single mothers on welfare have more children, there should be no added \$.



WOULD THIS CAUSE THEM  
TO HAVE FEWER CHILDREN?

# ATTITUDE TOWARD LA RIOTS

Which of the following expresses your feelings toward the LA Riots?

