

DOWNLOAD PDF A CONSERVATIVE AGENDA FOR BLACK AMERICANS (CRITICAL ISSUES)

Chapter 1 : What Americans Value: Political Ideologies

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Now we have no excuse. Greeley and Hout tell us exactly who they are, upsetting stereotypes along the way. With a clear eye for extracting details from survey data, Andrew M. Greeley and Michael Hout have given us an important book filled with valuable information. Bible Christians are indeed more likely than other Protestants, for example, to oppose abortion under every circumstance, to believe that homosexuality is always wrong, and to advocate restrictions on pornography. They are also more likely to vote Republican. However, not all Conservative Christians are consistently pro-life; in fact, the majority of them are not. And, while the majority still believe that homosexuality is always wrong, the proportion with that conviction declined rapidly in the s. Finally, the additional vote of Conservative Protestants for Republican candidates, over and above that of Mainline American Protestants, is meager—about seven percentage points. Despite the depiction of Conservative Protestants by the media, by frightened liberals, and by the conservative leadership as if they were a massive and disciplined religio-political voting block, they are not. Indeed, we have argued, this image is a stereotype based on overgeneralization and prejudice. It is also a dangerous image because it marginalizes a major segment of American society because of inadequate information, bad information, or often no information at all. There may be a link between Conservative Christian religious convictions and political behavior but it is modest, even by social science standards. Any attempt to forge a link of logical or doctrinal consistency between conservative religious belief and conservative politics falters when one considers African American Conservative Christians. In general, as we have reported, the doctrinal and ethical perspectives of African Americans in Afro-American Protestant denominations are, if anything, more conservative than those of whites in other Conservative Protestant denominations. Yet religiously committed African Americans, especially those in the Afro-American Protestant denominations, are the most politically liberal of any major group in American society. Whatever their feelings about abortion or evolution or homosexuality, they still vote in overwhelming numbers for Democratic candidates. Thus, while 52 percent of lower-income, white, Conservative Protestants voted Democratic in the OS, 90 percent of lower-income Afro-American Protestants did. In the election those numbers were 22 percent and 96 percent, respectively. Race, therefore, interacts with and ultimately reshapes the link between Conservative Protestantism and conservative politics. This fact is so patent in contemporary politics that partisans and commentators alike tend to dismiss it as beside the point. We bring it up because of the questions it raises about the confluence of race, religion, and politics in American society. One of us was on the cable newsshow *Hardball* with a prominent Southern Baptist leader. He said rather proudly, we thought, that the evangelical vote had turned heavily Republican in the presidential election. We replied with the quote from our New York Times article that the vote was only marginally higher than for Mainline Protestants. He said that was because we were counting African American voters. We had a chance to interject that his statement was inaccurate before the inefable Chris Matthews steered us to other matters. Is not a black evangelical every bit as much an evangelical as a white evangelical? Are they not a quarter of all Conservative Protestants? How do American political commentators overlook the racial difference among Conservative Christians? Is it ignored because it is so obvious? Is it discounted because African Americans are at the center of it? Is our analysis complete if we do not wonder how very similar strains of traditional Bible Christianity can produce such different outcomes? Does not the diversity of outcomes suggest an intellectual puzzle that must be solved? Do African Americans who are religiously conservative lean Democratic because they are black while white religious conservatives lean in the opposite direction because they are white? If race is what really matters, is the conventional wisdom about Conservative Christian politics confounded? A lot of questions spring from one overlooked

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fact. Did white Conservative Protestants drift into the Republican Party after because their failing social and racial position indicated that they belonged there? Did both groups bring into their new political home many of the political styles they once had in common, especially in the South? Is the politically conservative propensity of white Conservative Protestants at least in part a protest against their perceived loss of political power, a protest only marginally linked to their religious convictions? These questions are important and we must ask them, even if answers are not easy to find. History is a rough and somewhat contradictory guide. Religion inspired abolitionists, black and white. Roosevelt sought black support, north and south. Might both blacks and whites bring their religious stories along with them as they change political places so that the same stories will correlate with opposed political reactions? Literalism intensifies the diametrically opposed political orientations in the two groups; it pulls them further apart politically.

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Chapter 2 : The Diminishing Divide American Churches, American Politics | Pew Research Center

This agenda would be guided by a few key principles that should strike a chord with right-leaning Americans: Where taxpayer dollars are spent, they should be leveraged and spent efficiently.

Liberals mostly Democrats with a few Republicans and independents come to power with the landslide election of liberal Democrat Franklin D. In his first days Roosevelt pushes through a series of dramatic economic programs known as the New Deal. President Roosevelt calls his opponents "conservatives" as a term of abuse, they reply that they are "true liberals". Their bitter feud over jurisdiction, however, produces numerous strikes, angers public opinion and weakens their political power. He was not an activist but his ideas have been influential. Taft leads the conservative opposition to liberal policies apart from public housing and aid to education, which he supported. He was not so much an "isolationist" as a staunch opponent of the ever-expanding powers of the White House. The growth of this power, Taft feared, would lead to dictatorship or at least spoil American democracy, republicanism and civil virtue. Judd redoubled his support after the Nationalists in fled to Formosa Taiwan. He founds the market-oriented Chicago School of Economics which reshapes conservative economic theory. Stigler opposes regulation of industry as counterproductive; Friedman undermines Keynesian macroeconomics. Republicans score landslide victories in the House and Senate in off-year elections and set about enacting a conservative agenda in the 80th Congress. Congress passes the Taft-Hartley Act , designed by conservatives to create what they consider a proper balance between the rights of management and the rights of labor. Unions call it a slave labor law; Truman vetoes it and both houses override the veto. They are protesting support for civil rights legislation in the party platform and make Thurmond their nominee for president in the election. Nearly all return to the Democratic party in Weaver publishes *Ideas Have Consequences* , which influences intellectuals to question sophistic interpretations of literature. Liberal Republican Thomas Dewey again wins the Republican nomination , to the frustration of conservatives. They promote statewide right-to-work campaigns. Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy gives a speech saying, "While I cannot take the time to name all the men in the State Department who have been named as members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring, I have here in my hand a list of And when given values are at stake the conservative can even become a revolutionary. Taft , the conservative champion. The editors include representative traditionalists, Catholics, libertarians and ex-communists. She influences even those conservative intellectuals who reject her ethical system such as Buckley and Whittaker Chambers. Royster " becomes editor of the editorial page of *The Wall Street Journal* to He wins two Pulitzer Prizes for his conservative interpretation of economic and political news. The GOP pushes "right-to-work" laws in California and elsewhere, but the unions counter-organize for the Democrats. Conservatives try again in In a deep economic recession the Democrats score a landslide victory , defeating many old-guard conservative Republicans. The new Congress has large Democratic majorities: Nevertheless, the new Congress fails to pass any major liberal legislation as most committee chairs are Southern Democrats who support the Conservative Coalition. Welch uses an elaborate control system that enables him to keep a very tight rein on each chapter. Its major activities are circulating petitions and supporting the local police. It becomes a favorite target of attack from the left and is disowned by many of the prominent conservatives of the day. Kennedy in , as Lyndon B. An unexpected bonanza helped conservatism in the late s as liberalism came under intense attack from the New Left , especially in academe. This new element, says liberal historian Michael Kazin, worked to "topple the corrupted liberal order. Dionne finds that, "If liberal ideology began to crumble intellectually in the s it did so in part because the New Left represented a highly articulate and able wrecking crew.

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Chapter 3 : Timeline of modern American conservatism - Wikipedia

In the media these days, one frequently hears claims that Americans are deeply divided on fundamental political issues, making it seem like there are two different nations—the liberal blue states versus the conservative red states.

BlackLivesMatter presents right-leaning education reformers chance to improve public sector accountability. Many conservative education reformers feel trapped between populists on both sides of the aisle who are pushing back on hard-won policies that improve schools to say nothing of their assault on our broader agenda of economic and political freedom. Despite the fact that many reform-oriented policies are under attack, white conservatives have failed to build deeper connections to close allies in the movement to reform schools who share our opposition to this populist turn: African-Americans and anti-racism activists. If we made changes to our agenda that reflect their needs, we would strengthen not just education reform, but the American center-right generally. On the surface, the two groups seem clearly at odds. Many conservatives are uncomfortable with the tactics of sit-ins and highway shutdowns used by Black Lives Matter. Many of us reflexively draw connections to Occupy Wall Street and its anti-military protests based purely on images of protesters swarming the streets with placards and bullhorns. Our preferred tactics—elite negotiation, state-level policy change, and shaping public opinion through mainstream institutions like old-school media and think tanks—reflect our fundamental trust in the forces of the status quo. We struggle to understand those who take to the streets. Our disconnect on tactics distracts us from the reality that we share deeply held goals in common. People of color value institutions and want to improve them, just as conservatives do. Yale professor James Forman, Jr. White education reformers do not have to go far to see this attitude in action. We should not let a divergence on tactics distract us from the fact that we share many goals with anti-racism protesters. This institutionalist, even conservative outlook among people of color is not new, either. The African-American community has focused on the power of institutions for self-improvement over the entire course of its fight for equality. These are our people, in a way that we have failed to recognize repeatedly, over generations. Conservative nostalgia for the days when race was a less explosive issue for white people and our distaste for the tactics of protest threaten to cut us off from the powerful work being done by movements against racism to redeem American institutions. We cannot let them do so. This opportunity involves more than just a shared agenda to reform the public sector. As the American electorate becomes more racially diverse, the right has increasingly turned to white identity politics in order to win elections. Conservatives can continue to tilt in the direction of white voters in the hopes of eking out electoral wins, no matter what those voters ultimately demand. Or we can see an opportunity in the fact that, although people of color tend to vote for liberal politicians, they are ideologically diverse, and there is a huge and growing gap between their beliefs and their voting patterns. We should not leave it to liberals alone to criticize the racist abuse of power by public servants. The Movement for Black Lives platform released this week is worth noting in this context. In the absence of a robust discussion of the needs of black Americans across the political spectrum, the anti-racist voices that speak loudest are liberal ones. Its opposition to free trade and fossil fuels is only tenuously connected to the message that black lives matter and does not represent the central priorities of African-Americans broadly. The platform calls for a moratorium on charter schools—and the NAACP may soon take a similar position—when African-American parents overwhelmingly support them. What, then, will conservative education reformers do? So far, our collective response to the growing voice of people of color in the movement has been to mislabel their ideas and fight to constrain them to issues with which we are already comfortable and conversant. We should instead listen intently to Black Lives Matter and other anti-racism activists when they connect the dots between school reform and the work of ridding other social institutions of racism. Serious engagement with anti-racist ideas will enlarge the conservative agenda and strengthen our ability to preserve and expand freedom. The emergence of Black Lives Matter presents an enormous opportunity to right-leaning education reformers who want to improve public sector accountability,

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trust in institutions, and racial equity to change America for the better. These key features of the anti-racism agenda fit comfortably with conservative ideology. If we give the anti-racism agenda of Black Lives Matter the attention it deserves, we can emerge with a more robust version of conservatism that appeals to Americans of all races.

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Chapter 4 : The leftist agenda is sucking the life out of things I love : Conservative

This timeline of modern American conservatism lists important events, developments, and occurrences which have significantly affected conservatism in the United States. With the decline of the conservative wing of the Democratic Party after , the movement is most closely associated with the Republican Party (GOP).

While African-American Members of Congress from this era played prominent roles in advocating for reform, it was largely the efforts of everyday Americans who protested segregation that prodded a reluctant Congress to pass landmark civil rights legislation in the s. Among its recommendations were the creation of a permanent FEPC, the establishment of a permanent Civil Rights Commission, the creation of a civil rights division in the U. Department of Justice, and the enforcement of federal anti-lynching laws and desegregation in interstate transportation. In , President Truman signed Executive Order , desegregating the military. Senator Strom Thurmond as its presidential candidate in Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts observed. The federal courts also carved out a judicial beachhead for civil rights activists. Supreme Court, by an 8 to 1 vote, outlawed the white primary, which by excluding blacks from participating in the Democratic Party primary in southern states had effectively disfranchised them since the early s. A decade later, the high court under Chief Justice Earl Warren handed down a unanimous decision in *Brown v. Board of Education U. Brown* sparked a revolution in civil rights with its plainspoken ruling that separate was inherently unequal. House of Representatives About this object Howard Smith of Virginia, chairman of the House Rules Committee, routinely used his influential position to thwart civil rights legislation. Smith often shuttered committee operations by retreating to his rural farm to avoid deliberations on pending reform bills. However, Congress lagged behind the presidency, the judiciary, and, often, public sentiment during much of the postwar civil rights movement. Southerners continued to exert nearly untrammelled influence as committee chairmen coinciding with the apex of congressional committee influence in the House and the Senate , in an era when Democrats controlled the House almost exclusively. In the 84th Congress â€” , for instance, when Democrats regained the majority after a brief period of Republican control and embarked on 40 consecutive years of rule, 12 of the 19 House committees, including some of the most influential panelsâ€”Education and Labor, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Rules, and Ways and Meansâ€”were chaired by southerners, who were largely unsympathetic to black civil rights. Several factors prevented the few African Americans in Congress from playing prominent legislative roles in institutional efforts to pass the major acts of , , and Black Members were too scarce to alter institutional processes or form a consequential voting bloc. Until the fall elections, there were only five African Americans in Congress: Dawson, Powell, Diggs, Nix, and Hawkins. John Conyers joined the House in and Brooke entered the Senate in Yet while they were determined, energetic, and impassioned, there were too few African Americans in Congress to drive a policy agenda. Moreover, black Members themselves disagreed as to the best method to achieve civil rights advances, and individual legislative styles, conflicting loyalties party versus activist agendas , and personality differences circumscribed their ability to craft a black issues agenda. Consequently, their uncoordinated and sporadic actions mitigated their potential effect. At key moments, some were excluded from the process or were inexplicably absent. Their symbolic leader, Powell, was too polarizing a figure for House leaders to accord him a highly visible role in the process. This perhaps explains why the Harlem Representative, despite his public passion for racial justice and his ability to deliver legislation through the Education and Labor Committee, was sometimes unusually detached from the legislative process. Her act of civil disobedience galvanized the U. Congress later honored Parks with a Congressional Gold Medal and by making her the first woman to lie in honor in the Capitol Rotunda after her death. Above, Parks rides on a desegregated bus. With few well-placed allies, civil rights initiatives faced an imposing gauntlet in a congressional committee system stacked with southern racial conservatives. Under the leadership of Chairman Emanuel Celler for most of this period, the House Judiciary Committee offered reformers a largely friendly and liberal forum. But no matter how much support the rank-and-file membership

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provided, any measure that passed out of Judiciary was sent to the House Rules Committee, which directed legislation onto the floor and structured bills for debate. Chaired by arch segregationist Howard Smith of Virginia, this hugely influential panel became the killing ground for a long parade of civil rights proposals. Measures were watered down or were never considered. The filibuster, a Senate practice that allowed a Senator or a group of Senators to prevent a vote on a bill, became the chief weapon of civil rights opponents. In this era, too, Senate rules were modified, raising the bar needed to achieve cloture, i. Influential southern Senators held key positions in the upper chamber and, not surprisingly, were among the most skilled parliamentarians. Vardaman or Theodore Bilbo. Between and more than civil rights measures were referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee, but only one was reported back to the full Senate. The episode riveted national attention on violence against blacks in the South. Eisenhower condemning the violence. Despite such official intransigence, the nonviolent civil rights movementâ€”contrasting sharply with the vicious southern backlash against itâ€”transformed public opinion. Driven increasingly by external events in the midsâ€”the Brown v. The protest began after the arrest of Rosa Parks, a seamstress and a member of the NAACP who defied local ordinances in December by refusing to yield her seat on the bus to a white man and move to the rear of the vehicle. Racial violence in the South, which amounted to domestic terrorism against blacks, continued into the middle of the 20th century and powerfully shaped public opinion. Though more sporadic than before, beatings, cross burnings, lynchings, and myriad other forms of white-on-black intimidation went largely unpunished. Nearly African Americans are thought to have been lynched between and , but that figure likely underrepresents the actual number. They had never seen a black member of Congress. Blacks came by the truckloads. Never before had a member of Congress put his life on the line protecting the constitutional rights of blacks. Justice Department probe of the defrauding of black Mississippi voters, proposed to unseat the Members of the Mississippi delegation to the U. Known as a political maverick, Powell had backed Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson in , but broke with Stevenson in because of his ambivalent position on civil rights. Powell attached his amendment to a variety of legislative measures, beginning with a school lunch program bill that passed the House on June 4, Johnson , a civil rights bill began to move through Congress. Southern opponents such as Senators Russell and Eastland, realizing that some kind of legislation was imminent, slowed and weakened reform through the amendment process. The House passed the measure by a wide margin, to 97, though southern opponents managed to excise voting protections from the original language. Powell particularly aimed at southern amendments that preserved trials by local juries because all-white juries since blacks were excluded from the voting process, they were also barred from jury duty ensured easy acquittals for white defendants accused of crimes against blacks. Sit-ins like this one took a toll on segregated businesses across the South. Many establishments relented and ended segregation practices because of the ensuing loss of business. The resulting law, signed by President Eisenhower in early September , was the first major civil rights measure passed since The act established the U. Commission on Civil Rights CCR for two years and created a civil rights division in the Justice Department, but its powers to enforce voting laws and punish the disfranchisement of black voters were feeble, as the commission noted in A year later, the Civil Rights Act of P. However, southerners managed to strike a far-reaching provision to send registrars into southern states to oversee voter enrollment. Though southern Members were heartened by these successes, consequential internal congressional reforms promised to end obstructionism. The support of moderate Republicans presaged the development of a coalition that would undercut the power of southern racial conservatives and pass sweeping civil rights laws. This photograph showed the view from over the shoulder of the Abraham Lincoln statue while marchers gathered along the length of the Reflecting Pool. Pressure for change, as it did throughout the Second Reconstruction, came from outside the institution. By , the need for a major civil rights bill weighed heavily on Congress and the John F. Protests at lunch counters in Greensboro, North Carolina, in were followed in by attempts to desegregate interstate buses by the Freedom Riders, who were arrested in Jackson, Mississippi. Birmingham Police Commissioner Eugene Bull Connor unleashed police dogs, and high-powered hoses on protesters. The images coming out of the Deep South

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horrified Americans from all walks of life. In August, King and other civil rights leaders organized the largest-ever march on Washington, DC. A reluctant Kennedy administration began coordinating with congressional allies to pass a significant reform bill. McCulloch and Celler forged a coalition of moderate Republicans and northern Democrats while deflecting southern amendments determined to cripple the bill. In scope and effect, the act was among the most far-reaching pieces of legislation in U. It contained sections prohibiting discrimination in public accommodations Title II; state and municipal facilities, including schools Titles III and IV; and "incorporating the Powell Amendment" in any program receiving federal aid Title V. President Johnson and Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana tapped Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota to build Senate support for the measure and fend off the efforts of a determined southern minority to stall it. President Johnson signed the bill P. The legislation suspended the use of literacy tests and voter disqualification devices for five years, authorized the use of federal examiners to supervise voter registration in states that used tests or in which less than half the voting-eligible residents registered or voted, directed the U. Attorney General to institute proceedings against use of poll taxes, and provided criminal penalties for violations of the act. Passage of the Civil Rights Act dealt the deathblow to southern congressional opposition. On March 7, , marchers led by future U. As with the brutality in Birmingham, public reaction was swift and, if possible, even more powerful. The sight of them rolling over us like human tanks was something that had never been seen before. A bill moved through both chambers that suspended the use of literacy tests for a five-year period and provided for sending federal poll watchers and voting registrars to states with persistent patterns of voting discrimination. It required Justice Department pre-clearance of any change to election statutes. Joined by Representatives Diggs, Hawkins, and Powell, Conyers had visited Selma in February as part of a Member congressional delegation that investigated voting discrimination. An amended conference report passed both chambers by wide margins and President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of P. The measure dramatically increased voter registration in the short term. By , 60 percent of all southern blacks were registered. In Mississippi, for instance, where less than 7 percent of African Americans qualified to vote in , 59 percent were on voter rolls by . In southern states, particularly in cities such as Atlanta, Houston, and Memphis, the creation of districts with a majority of African-American constituents propelled greater numbers of African Americans into Congress by the early s. In northern urban areas, too, the growing influence of black voters reshaped Congress. Blacks constituted a growing percentage of the population of major U. Louis , and Shirley Chisholm Brooklyn were elected to Congress from redrawn majority-black districts in which white incumbents chose not to run. Having secured a measure of political rights, black leaders now emphasized the importance of equal economic and educational opportunity. Congressional action in this area was measured; the national mood and major events had begun to turn against reform.

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Chapter 5 : The Critical Conservative

Do African Americans who are religiously conservative lean Democratic because they are black while white religious conservatives lean in the opposite direction because they are white? If race is what really matters, is the conventional wisdom about Conservative Christian politics confounded?

These examples conflict with concerns raised by liberals and media personalities: I watched “ during Hurricane Harvey “ when he went out and was a volunteer helping to distribute goods and services. This president is devoted to this country. Horace and fellow panelist Preston Mitchum also discussed assertions that black Americans still face immense challenges due to racial animosity. And that race relations continue to be strained because the myth of systemic racism continues to pervade political debate: We have a problem in this country when you can see how much progress blacks have made. We own more houses. We have more cars. We have more income. We have more billionaires than we have ever had ever. You can say that we have made substantial progress. Those comments deny that progress and they imply that this country is, in fact, opposed to the interests of black Americans. To make matters worse, there are some conservatives who unwittingly consider them their friends. How is that possibly bipartisan? But these donations support right-of-center groups working on bipartisan, non-controversial issues such as criminal justice reform. ProPublica, an alleged investigative writers group catering to the liberal agenda of its funders. More than 20 percent of its residents live below the poverty line. Racially, it is over 35 percent black. Derrick wrote of the planned pipeline: But these detractors are not necessarily black themselves, as Derrick observed first-hand: Rather than considering him a trailblazer, Horace said Kanye is simply the harbinger of a change liberals have dreaded for some time. The entertainment elite is incredibly hostile to President Trump, and Kanye is signaling to black Americans in particular that it is alright for them to support the President if they choose and to not feel bad about it. Horace pointed out that kitchen-table factors including more jobs and an improved economy are reasons for many blacks to question the widespread criticism they hear about the Trump Administration. That is the biggest takeaway I had from this. But the second one is how much hypocrisy there was [from liberals]. This outspoken attitude, Horace said, is rubbing off on people and scaring the liberal establishment that has had a lock on black support for so long and taken it for granted:

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Chapter 6 : Blog - The National Center

Moreover, black Members themselves disagreed as to the best method to achieve civil rights advances, and individual legislative styles, conflicting loyalties (party versus activist agendas), and personality differences circumscribed their ability to craft a black issues agenda.

It has a bearing on political affiliation, political values, policy attitudes and candidate choice. Its increasing influence on political opinion and behavior rivals factors such as race, region, age, social class and gender. Regardless of denomination, people who express more faith are more conservative. People who engage in more religious practices are more conservative. Those who say religion plays a very important role in their lives are more conservative. The full effect of religion on American politics is best observed when race is factored into the equation. The conservatism of white evangelical Protestants is clearly the most powerful religious force in politics today. Analysis of the survey reveals that the most meaningful distinction is between Protestants who self-identify as evangelical or born again vs. While the classification cuts across denominational lines, Baptists make up the largest share of evangelicals. Mainline denominations such as Methodists, Lutherans and Presbyterians are predominant among non-evangelical Protestants. But, they are also more conservative on a range of political values including environmentalism and beliefs about international security. Their greater conservatism on non-moral issues is independent of other factors in their backgrounds, such as income or the prevalence of evangelicals in the South according to analyses conducted for this study. Rather these patterns reflect the increased politicalization of white evangelical Protestants. Compared to a decade ago, a greater percentage of them now self-identify as Republicans. The GOP has not made as many conversions among non-evangelical Protestants nor among white Catholics. White Catholics and white non-evangelical Protestants also now each represent about one-fourth of the electorate. Americans report a significant amount of politicking from the pulpit, but it is not only occurring in the Baptist churches of white evangelical Protestants. Divisive moral issues such as abortion and prayer in school are being raised in church almost as often as traditional issues of conscience such as hunger and poverty and world trouble spots like Rwanda or Bosnia. Individual churches clearly differ in the issues they speak out on. Mainline Protestants report less talk in their churches about a range of contemporary political issues than do other religious groups. As many as one-in-five churchgoers say that their clergy speak out on candidates and elections. About one-in-twenty mainline Protestants or Catholics made such reports. The connection between politicking from the pulpit and public opinion is more apparent among some religious groups than others. White evangelical Protestants have the most ideologically consistent point of view. Besides taking strong conservative positions on the moral issues such as opposition to abortion and gay marriages, they also are more apt than other white Christians to oppose handgun control and sending troops to Bosnia. White evangelical Protestants are less in favor of disseminating birth control information to teenagers and less certain that women in the work force is a good thing. A Catholic Schism White Catholics and mainline Protestants are less consistently conservative on moral issues. Majorities oppose gay marriages, but most in both groups take a pro-choice position on abortion. There is an indication of a clear ideological schism within the Catholic population. The two groups, which divide the Catholic population about evenly, also differ on abortion. Few differences are seen in the views of the two Catholic groups on non-moral issues, except on the question of immigration and sending U. Progressive Catholics divide evenly as to whether immigrants are a burden to the country or strengthen it. But a clear majority of traditional Catholics have a negative view of newcomers to the United States. On the issue of Bosnia, a majority of progressive Catholics favor U. Progressive Catholics come closest to fitting the description of a religiously-based liberal group but they are nowhere near as consistently liberal on a broad range of issues as white evangelical Protestants are conservative. On the one hand, they express less support for the death penalty and more support for helping the poor than do other Christians. On the other hand, they oppose gay marriages and on balance take a pro-life position. Religion was also most often cited as shaping

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views about abortion. In contrast, relatively few thought that religion was central to their opinions about welfare, the environment or women in the work force. See questions in the questionnaire for wording. Personal experience was often cited as the dominant influence on views about working women, helping the needy and the environment. The news media was given credit by respondents for its effect on their thinking about Bosnia, the environment, welfare and the death penalty. Education was mentioned by a significant percentage as an important influence on every issue, but particularly with regard to the environment. Not too surprisingly those who say their views on abortion and gay marriages were influenced by religion take more conservative positions than those who cite other factors. Church, State Divide Slipping There is more public acceptance of the role of religion and clergy in the political process than there was 30 years ago, but concerns nonetheless remain about how much political power specific religions have these days. The division of opinion on these issues surprisingly occurs more along religious lines than along partisan ones. By a margin of almost three-to-one black Christians and white evangelical Protestants think that it is okay for the churches to be involved in politics. However, white Catholics and white mainline Protestants split evenly on the issue. Only majorities of progressive Catholics and the non-religious think the churches should stay out of politics. Remarkably similar majorities of Republicans, Democrats and Independents express support for church political involvement. Most white evangelical Protestants want to see Protestants and evangelicals have more political power. But non-evangelical Protestants want these religious groups to have less political power and influence. Protestants of all varieties favor less influence for Roman Catholics. Catholics themselves are divided about the political influence of their own church – traditionalists, on balance, want to see the church have more power, while progressives want to see it less influential. White mainline Protestants and white Catholics, as well as the non-religious, think Jews should have less political influence, but black Christians and white evangelicals are more evenly divided on the question. In the sections that follow, the relationship between religion and politics is examined in more detail. Section I provides a profile of religion in America today, including religious affiliations, religious practices and beliefs. The link between religion and basic political attitudes is covered in Section II, and the connection between religion and values is presented in Section III. Section IV looks at the extent to which religion influences views on policy issues. Academic consultants to the Center for this project included John C. Green, Director of the Ray C.

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Chapter 7 : The American Conservative

Social conservatism in the United States is the defense of traditional social norms and Judeo-Christian values. [33] [34] [35] Social conservatives tend to strongly identify with American nationalism and patriotism.

Proportion of African-American legislators is shown in red. Image courtesy of the University of Texas. Racial conflict is a basic feature of Texas history. From onward its primary political manifestation has been the struggle of African Americans to vote, have their ballots fairly counted, elect their preferred candidates, develop effective coalitions with other groups, and thereby achieve equality of opportunity in a white-dominated society that, from its beginning, relegated people of color to the status of an inferior caste. Most were slaves, and even the few who were free could not vote. Emancipation was announced in Texas on June 19, Juneteenth, but the newly formed government withheld black political rights. An all-white constitutional convention refused to grant suffrage even to literate blacks. The all-white legislature then refused to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment forbidding states from depriving citizens of equal protection of the laws. And it prohibited voting, officeholding, jury service, and racial intermarriage by freedmen. These actions by white lawmakers, similar to those in other Southern states, prompted the Republican-dominated Congress to respond with a series of statutes applicable to the former Confederacy, including one to enfranchise black males. The implementation of these statutes was known as Congressional Reconstruction. In Texas the Republican reformers, called radicals, entered into an uneasy alliance with the great majority of freedmen. Another Republican faction, the conservatives, sometimes joined with Democrats, who generally opposed most civil rights for blacks. Ku Klux Klan parading, Beaumont, November 10, Photograph, Portrait of George Thompson Ruby. In July twenty whites and blacks attended a Republican convention in Houston, where they endorsed free common schools and free homesteads from public lands for blacks and whites alike. Thus began a decades-long tradition of black Republicanism in the state. Despite widespread violence and intimidation by the Ku Klux Klan and Democrats, many black men registered for the first election in which they could participate—the referendum on whether to hold another constitutional convention and elect delegates. More blacks than whites cast ballots, and, with their white allies, they overcame the opposition of the majority of white voters and voted to hold another convention. The Convention of 1869, dominated by Republicans, included ten African-American delegates out of ninety. Among them was George T. All ten were active on committees and presented important resolutions. Though frustrated in attempts to secure certain constitutional safeguards for their people, they contributed to the accomplishments of the convention, which paved the way for the readmission of Texas to the Union in March. Portrait of Edmund Jackson Davis. The election of Edmund J. Davis, a white radical, as governor in gave blacks additional influence, as did the election of two black state senators—G. Ruby and Matthew Gaines, a minister and former slave—and twelve representatives to the Twelfth Legislature. Dominated by reform-minded Republicans, this body ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments and passed several important though controversial laws, including ones establishing a militia and the Texas State Police, open to blacks, to control lawlessness and violence in the state. The legislature also passed a homestead act, a measure protecting homesteads from forced sale, and a law establishing public schools. Portrait of Norris Wright Cuney. Reconstruction ended in with the defeat of Davis, an event hailed by a former governor as "the restoration of white supremacy and Democratic rule. This was accomplished primarily by the Constitutional Convention of 1870, which was accompanied by continuing violence and intimidation aimed at blacks. In a state now controlled by white Democrats, African Americans experimented with three options: Black Texans declined from 31 to 20 percent of the population between and By attracting like-minded whites, conservative Republicans hoped to compete effectively with the Democrats. Davis in to his own death in The conservative Republicans, who now called themselves "lily whites," gained ascendancy over the Black and Tans, the Negro faction of the party. Portrait of James Stephen Hogg. Alliances with Democrats also offered limited prospects. Their party, after all, was the home of most white

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supremacists. For tactical reasons, however, blacks sometimes "fused" with a Democratic faction. Though he was a Republican national committeeman in , Cuney, for example, urged blacks to support George Clark , the conservative Democratic candidate, against the economically progressive governor, James S. Only about half the black vote went to Clark, however, and Hogg was reelected. Alliances with third parties proved alluring but were also unsuccessful. Ironically, these actions probably contributed to the defeat of Populism and black disfranchisement soon thereafter. Photograph, Portrait of Robert Lloyd Smith. Disfranchisement, however, had been under way since the end of Reconstruction. The last of forty-two black Reconstruction-era legislators, Robert L. Smith of Colorado County, attended his final sessions in , offering an impassioned resolution on May 4 against lynching. Gerrymandering had cut the numbers of black legislators sharply. Violence had taken a toll on black voter turnout even before the constitution was amended in to impose the poll tax. As nomination by the Democratic party was tantamount to election, the white primary denied most blacks the ballot in state contests. By African Americans were no longer a significant force in most elections. Nixon and Drusilla E. Tandy Nixon , ca s. Courtesy of the family of Mrs. Edna Angela Nixon McIver. Black Texans nonetheless continued to pursue their rights through such institutions as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People , established in ; black civic, political, religious, business, and professional groups; a few interracial groups; the urban black press, a source of information and an instrument of social protest; and the courts, a somewhat more promising avenue for progress than the other branches of government. Until the white primary operated at the discretion of county executive committees, and blacks in some areas could still vote in Democratic contests. That year, however, the legislature passed a law preventing blacks from participating in any Democratic primary election. Herndon , invalidated the statute as violating the equal-protection clause. The Democratic committee limited primary participation to "white Democrats Nixon sued and won again in the Supreme Court, which held in Nixon v. Condon that the new law was just an extension of the earlier one. The Democratic committee, the court reasoned, lacked authority to act for the party and was acting for the state. Predictably, the state convention adopted a rule excluding blacks from its primaries. Townsend , arguing that the Democratic party was an instrument of the state, not a voluntary association. This time the Court, quoting a Texas Supreme Court opinion holding that political parties were voluntary associations, let the law stand. Photograph, Portrait of Antonio Maceo Smith. Durham second from left and several other attorneys. Mobilizing civic leaders and lawyers in black communities, the conference revived the five state branches and before long had more than local chapters. It cooperated with the national office to finance and execute successful legal attacks on the Texas white primary and racial segregation at the University of Texas law school and to file legal actions throughout the state attacking segregated municipal facilities, juries, and schools. White and Craft were effective fieldworkers who helped revive dormant local chapters, raise money, and develop strategy. Photograph, Portrait of Lonnie E. Lonnie Smith , a Houston dentist, was prevented from voting in the Democratic primary. Represented by local and national attorneys, including Texan W. The white primary, by then the major Texas disfranchising barrier, was dead. By 75, "blacks-at a maximum, 20 percent of those eligible-voted in the primary, compared to 33 percent of whites. Photograph, Portrait of Garlington Jerome Sutton. Image courtesy of the Legislative Reference Library of Texas. In earlier years, while still locked out of the Democratic organization, blacks had also been marginalized in the Republican party by the dominant lily whites. After Smith was decided, blacks quickly joined the emerging liberal wing of the Texas Democrats, who were locked in conflict with party conservatives, and they supported liberal Ralph Yarborough in his campaigns for governor and United States senator from to They also supported other liberal white and Hispanic candidates in Democratic primaries and joined the liberals in party conventions. Several black Texans ran for office after Smith, but two of the first to succeed were Garlington J. Sutton , who won a post in on the governing board of a San Antonio junior-college district, and Hattie Mae White, who in won a Houston school-board post with a plurality of the votes but less than a majority. By , the year Congress passed the Voting Rights Act and more than two decades after the end of the white primary, at most only a half-dozen black Texans held office. Barbara Jordan, a young Houston

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attorney, won election that year from a newly drawn single-member senatorial district in which blacks and Mexican Americans made up about half the population, after twice having unsuccessfully run at large in Harris County-which had a 20 percent black population-for a seat in the legislature. She was elected to Congress in from a district less than half white. In she was one of the first two Southern blacks to serve in Congress since ; she went on to a distinguished political career, achieving national recognition on the House Judiciary Committee during the Watergate hearings after the presidential election. Each succeeding legislature also had black members. In two black senators and fourteen black representatives composed 9 percent of the legislature, while about 11 percent of the Texas voting-age population was black. All black members were Democrats that year, and all were elected from districts in which blacks, or blacks and Hispanics, were a majority. Photograph, Portrait of Morris Overstreet. Across the state African-American elected officials increased from fewer than seven in to in These included Morris Overstreet, a justice on the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals and the first black elected statewide in Texas history, who in had defeated a single opponent, a black appointed by the Republican governor to fill an unexpired term. Among the other officials were 2 members of Congress, 13 mayors, city-council members, 85 school-board members, and 17 county commissioners. The increase in black officeholding would have been much smaller without extensive revision of discriminatory election laws, beginning in the s. The Twenty-fourth Amendment abolished the poll tax in federal elections in , and the Supreme Court overturned its use in state and local elections in Harper v. Virginia State Board of Elections

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Chapter 8 : Opinion: What Conservative Education Reformers Have in Common with Black Lives Matter | T

Rep. Ron DeSantis spoke four times at conferences organized by a conservative activist who has said the country's "only serious race war" is against whites. first African American.

The history of American conservatism has been marked by tensions and competing ideologies. Fiscal conservatives and libertarians favor small government, laissez-faire economy, low income and corporate taxes, limited regulation, and free enterprise. Social conservatives see traditional social values as threatened by secularism; they tend to support mandatory school prayer and oppose abortion and same sex marriage. Neoconservatives want to expand American ideals throughout the world. The conservative movement of the 1950s attempted to bring together these divergent strands, stressing the need for unity to prevent the spread of "godless communism. All other activities of government tend to diminish freedom and hamper progress. The growth of government the dominant social feature of this century must be fought relentlessly. In this great social conflict of the era, we are, without reservations, on the libertarian side. The profound crisis of our era is, in essence, the conflict between the Social Engineers, who seek to adjust mankind to scientific utopias, and the disciples of Truth, who defend the organic moral order. We believe that truth is neither arrived at nor illuminated by monitoring election results, binding though these are for other purposes, but by other means, including a study of human experience. On this point we are, without reservations, on the conservative side. According to Peter Viereck, American conservatism is distinctive because it was not tied to a monarchy, landed aristocracy, established church, or military elite. There are two overlapping subgroups of social conservatives—the traditional and the religious. Traditional conservatives strongly support traditional codes of conduct, especially those they feel are threatened by social change and modernization. For example, traditional conservatives may oppose the use of female soldiers in combat. Religious conservatives focus on conducting society as prescribed by a religious authority or code. In the United States this translates into taking hard-line stances on moral issues, such as opposition to abortion and homosexuality. Religious conservatives often assert that "America is a Christian nation" and call for laws that enforce Christian morality. Fiscal conservatives support limited government, low tax, low spending, and a balanced budget. They argue that low taxes produce more jobs and wealth for everyone, and also that, as President Grover Cleveland said, "unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation". Fiscal conservatives often argue that competition in the free market is more effective than the regulation of industry. Some make exceptions in the case of trusts or monopolies. Others, such as some libertarians and followers of Ludwig von Mises, believe all government intervention in the economy is wasteful, corrupt, and immoral. More moderate fiscal conservatives argue that "free market economics" is the most efficient way to promote economic growth: However, some American fiscal conservatives view wider social liberalism as an impetus for increased spending on these programs. As such, fiscal conservatism today exists somewhere between classical liberalism and contemporary consequentialist political philosophies, and is often influenced by coinciding levels of social conservatism. Thus it was the British Labour government—which embraced socialism—that pushed the Truman administration in 1947 to take a strong stand against Soviet Communism. They often denounce anti-war protesters and support the police and the military. They hold that military institutions embody core values such as honor, duty, courage, loyalty, and a willingness on the part of the individual to make sacrifices for the good of the country. Social conservatives are strongest in the South and in recent years played a major role in the political coalitions of Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush. Fiscal conservatism and Economic liberalism Fiscal conservatism is the economic and political policy that advocates restraint of progressive taxation and expenditure. Fiscal conservatives since the 19th century have argued that debt is a device to corrupt politics; they argue that big spending ruins the morals of the people, and that a national debt creates a dangerous class of speculators. A political strategy employed by conservatives to achieve a smaller government is known as starve the beast. Activist Grover Norquist is a well-known proponent of the strategy and has famously said,

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"My goal is to cut government in half in twenty-five years, to get it down to the size where we can drown it in the bathtub. This belief in small government combines with fiscal conservatism to produce a broader economic liberalism, which wishes to minimize government intervention in the economy or implement laissez-faire policies. This economic liberalism borrows from two schools of thought: Donohue argues that classical liberalism in the 19th century U. To the vast majority of American classical liberals, however, laissez-faire did not mean no government intervention at all. On the contrary, they were more than willing to see government provide tariffs, railroad subsidies, and internal improvements, all of which benefited producers. What they condemned was intervention in behalf of consumers. It is also, sometimes, extended to a broader "small government" philosophy. Economic liberalism is associated with free market, or laissez-faire economics. Economic liberalism, insofar as it is ideological, owes its creation to the "classical liberal" tradition, in the vein of Adam Smith, Friedrich A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, and Ludwig von Mises. Classical liberals and libertarians support free markets on moral, ideological grounds: Supporters of the moral grounds for free markets include Ayn Rand and Ludwig von Mises. The liberal tradition is suspicious of government authority, and prefers individual choice, and hence tends to see free market capitalism as the preferable means of achieving economic ends. Modern conservatives, on the other hand, derive support for free markets from practical grounds. Free markets, they argue, are the most productive markets. Thus the modern conservative supports free markets not out of necessity, but out of expedience. The support is not moral or ideological, but driven on the Burkean notion of prescription: Another reason why conservatives support a smaller role for the government in the economy is the belief in the importance of the civil society. As noted by Alexis de Tocqueville, there is a belief that a bigger role of the government in the economy will make people feel less responsible for the society. These responsibilities would then need to be taken over by the government, requiring higher taxes. In his book *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville described this as "soft oppression. Rarely will a conservative politician claim that free markets are "simply more productive" or "simply the right thing to do" but a combination of both. This blurring is very much a product of the merging of the classical liberal and modern conservative positions under the "umbrella" of the conservative movement. The archetypal free-market conservative administrations of the late 20th century—the Margaret Thatcher government in Britain and the Ronald Reagan administration in the U. He wanted to increase defense spending and achieved that; liberal Democrats blocked his efforts to cut domestic spending. Federal revenues as a percent of the GDP fell from Federal spending fell slightly from This contrasts with statistics from , when government spending was rising more rapidly than it had in decades. Factions in the Republican Party United States In the United States today, the word "conservative" is often used very differently from the way it is used in Europe and Asia. Following the American Revolution, Americans rejected the core ideals of European conservatism; those ideals were based on the landed aristocracy, established churches, and powerful armies. Conservatism in the United States is not a single school of thought. Jerry Falwell in the s preached traditional moral and religious social values. Christian conservatives are primarily interested in family values. Typical positions include the view that the United States was founded as a Christian nation, that abortion is wrong, that there should be prayer in state schools, that intelligent design or creationism should be taught in schools alongside evolution, and that marriage should be defined as between one man and one woman and not between two members of the same sex. Many attack the profanity and sexuality in the media and movies. A form of conservatism bound within the limits provided within the United States constitution, defending the structures of constitutionalism, and preserving the principles of the United States constitution. A form of conservatism that focuses on low taxes and restrained government spending. A fusion with libertarianism, this type emphasizes a strict interpretation of the Constitution, particularly with regard to federal power. This mode of thinking tends to espouse laissez-faire economics and a critical view of the federal government. Ron Paul and his son Rand Paul have been influential proponents in the Republican presidential contests. A modern form of conservatism that supports a more assertive, interventionist foreign policy, aimed at promoting democracy abroad. It is tolerant of an activist government at home, but is focused mostly on

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international affairs. Neoconservatism was first described by a group of disaffected liberals, and thus Irving Kristol, usually credited as its intellectual progenitor, defined a neoconservative as "a liberal who was mugged by reality. Bush administration in the Middle East that used the military to promote democracy. In part a rebirth of the Old Right, arising in the 1960s in reaction to neoconservatism, stresses tradition, especially Christian tradition and the importance to society of the traditional family. Huntington for example, argues that multiracial, multi-ethnic, and egalitarian states are inherently unstable. The magazines *Chronicles* and *The American Conservative* are generally considered to be paleoconservative in nature.

Chapter 9 : Conservatism in the United States - Wikipedia

Black Americans c. Mexican Americans Most Americans and conservative e. Americans tend to be more ideological in their political thinking than are, for example.