**Chapter 33: Rise of Conservatism**

**Chapter 33, Section 1**

**I. Conservatism and Liberalism** *(pages 980–981)*

**A.** In 1980 a conservative candidate, Ronald Reagan, became president. Liberal ideas had dominated American politics for much of the 1900s. The debate between liberals and democrats continues to the present day.

**B. Liberals** believe that government should regulate the economy to protect people from the power of large corporations and wealthy elites. They believe the government should help the disadvantaged through social programs and taxing the wealthy. They believe that most social problems have their roots in economic inequality.

**C. Conservatives** believe if the government regulates the economy, the economy is less efficient. They believe that the free enterprise system is the way to organize society. They oppose high taxes and government programs that transfer wealth from the rich to the less wealthy. They believe that most social problems result from issues of morality and character, issues best solved through religious faith.

**II. Conservatism Revives** *(pages 981–982)*

**A.** After losing influence during the 1930s, conservative ideas were revived shortly after WWII.

**B.** The revival of conservative ideas occurred for two reasons, both related to the Cold War. Some Americans felt that liberal ideas were leading the United States toward communism. Because communism rejected religion, Americans with a deep religious faith saw communism as a struggle over values. Liberalism, which focused on economic welfare, lost the support of many religious Americans who turned to conservatism.

**C.** In 1955 **William F. Buckley** began a new conservative magazine called the *National Review*. The magazine revived conservative ideas.

**D.** By 1964 the new conservative movement had enough influence to enable conservative **Barry Goldwater** to win the Republican nomination for president. President Johnson defeated Goldwater.

**III. Conservatism Gains Support** *(pages 982–984)*

**A.** After the 1964 defeat of conservative Barry Goldwater, the American political climate moved decisively in a conservative direction.

**B.** During the 1950s and 1960s, conservative Americans split their votes between Republicans and Democrats. The South and the West were more conservative than other areas. Therefore, the party winning the heavily populated Northeast won the election. The Northeast supported liberal ideas.

**C.** During World War II, many Americans moved south and west to take war factory jobs. This movement to the South and West, known as the **Sunbelt,** continued after the war. As the Sunbelt’s economy expanded, Americans living there began to view the federal government differently than the people living in the Northeast.

**D.** By 1980 the Sunbelt population surpassed that of the Northeast, giving conservative regions of the country more electoral votes and more influence. Southerners shifted their votes to Republicans.

**E.** During the 1960s and 1970s, Americans moved to the suburbs to escape the drug problems and increasing crime. They found their middle-class existence was in danger, because rapid inflation of the 1970s caused their buying power to decrease while taxes remained high.

**F.** In 1978 the first successful tax revolt occurred in California with **Proposition 13,** a referendum on the state ballot that greatly reduced property taxes. This led to anti-tax movements in other states.

**G.** Many Americans looked to conservative ideas out of fear that society had lost touch with traditional values during the 1960s and 1970s. The Supreme Court decision in *Roe* v. *Wade*, which made abortion a constitutional right, and the Supreme Court decisions to limit prayer in public schools shocked deeply religious Americans.

**H.** Religious conservatives included many different faiths, with the largest being evangelical Protestant Christians. After World War II, a religious revival began with Protestant ministers like **Billy Graham** creating a national following.

**I.** Television enabled Christian evangelicals to reach nationwide audiences. **Televangelists,** as they were called, included Pat Robertson, who founded the Christian Broadcasting Network, and Jerry Falwell, who used his show *The Old*-*Time* *Gospel Hour* to create the movement he called **“Moral Majority.”**

**J.** The new conservative coalition of voters shared the belief that American society had lost its way. Americans had lost faith in their government, lost confidence in the economy, and longed for stability and a return to a better time. Ronald Reagan offered hope to these conservative voters.

**Chapter 33, Section 2**

**I. The Road to the White House** *(pages 985–987)*

**A.** Ronald Reagan had worked as a broadcaster and actor, which helped him with public speaking and his image.

**B.** Reagan had been a Democrat and a supporter of the New Deal, but during his time as the president of the **Screen Actors Guild** he began shifting to conservative ideas. Barry Goldwater asked Reagan to speak in a televised broadcast.

**C.** Reagan caught the attention of several wealthy entrepreneurs, who convinced him to run for governor of California in 1966. He was reelected in 1970, and ten years later won the Republican nomination for president.

**D.** Reagan’s campaign for the 1980 presidential election appealed to Americans who were frustrated with the economy and a weakened nation. He promised to cut taxes and increase defense spending. He won the election with nearly 51 percent of the popular vote and 489 electoral votes.

**II. Reagan’s Domestic Policies** *(pages 987–988)*

**A.** Ronald Reagan’s first priority was the economy and its combination of high unemployment and high inflation. Conservative economists disagreed on how to address the problem. On one side, the **monetarists** believed that too much money in circulation caused inflation, and raising interest rates was the solution. The other group supported **supply**-**side economics,** arguing that the economy was weak because steep taxes were taking money away from investors.

**B.** Reagan combined the two types of economics by encouraging the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates and by asking Congress to pass a massive tax cut. Critics called his approach **Reaganomics** or “trickle-down economics.” They believed that it would help wealthy Americans, but little would “trickle down” to average Americans.

**C.** Cutting tax rates meant less money for the government and an increase in the **budget deficit**—the amount by which expenditures exceed income. To control the deficit,Reagan cut social programs. These cuts were still not enough to balance the budget.

**D.** Reagan saw government regulations as another cause of economic problems. He signed an executive order eliminating price controls on oil and gasoline, which resulted in lower gas prices. Other deregulation occurred in the automobile industry, airline industry, and the easing of regulations on pollution.

**E.** Reagan took his conservative ideas to the federal judiciary. He wanted judges to follow the original intent of the Constitution. He nominated the first woman, **Sandra Day** **O’Connor,** to the Supreme Court. In 1986 Reagan chose the most conservative associate justice, **William Rehnquist,** to fill the spot left vacant by retiring Chief Justice Warren Burger.

**F.** As the 1984 election approached, the growing economy made Reagan the favorite candidate. Democratic candidate, **Walter Mondale,** chose as his running mate **Geraldine** **Ferraro,** the first woman to run for vice president for a major party. Reagan won in a landslide, receiving all electoral votes except those from Mondale’s home state and the District of Columbia.

**III. Reagan Builds Up the Military** *(pages 988–989)*

**A.** President Reagan adopted a new foreign policy that rejected containment and détente.

**B.** Reagan’s phrase regarding the Soviet Union was “peace through strength.” He launched the largest peacetime military buildup in American history.

**C.** With the increase in the military buildup, the defense budget drove the annual budget deficit from $80 billion to over $200 billion.

**IV. The Reagan Doctrine** *(pages 989–990)*

**A.** Reagan believed that the United States should support guerrilla groups trying to overthrow Communist or pro-Soviet governments. This became known as the Reagan Doctrine.

**B.** Reagan sent $570 million to aid Afghan guerrillas in Afghanistan. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was unsuccessful due to a huge Afghan resistance. The Soviets withdrew from the region in 1988.

**C.** Reagan, concerned about Soviet influence in Nicaragua, began secretly arming an anti- **Sandinista** guerrilla force known as the **contras,** Spanish for counter-revolutionary. After Congress learned of the policy, they banned further aid to the contras.

**D.** The **Iran**-**Contra scandal** became news in November 1986. It was discovered that individuals in the Reagan administration were illegally supporting contras. Weapons were sold to Iran in exchange for the release of American hostages being held in the Middle East. The profits from the arms sales were sent to the contras. Marine Colonel **Oliver** **North,** one of the main figures in the scandal, testified that he and other NSC and CIA officials attempted to cover up their actions.

**V. New Approaches to Arms Control** *(pages 990–991)*

**A.** Reagan deployed nuclear missiles in Western Europe to counter Soviet missiles in Eastern Europe. This action created a new peace movement, with protestors calling for a “nuclear freeze.” Reagan offered to cancel the deployment if the Soviets removed their missiles from Eastern Europe. He proposed Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) to reduce the number of missiles on each side by half. The Soviets refused.

**B.** In 1983 Reagan proposed the **Strategic Defense Initiative** (SDI), nicknamed “Star Wars.” This plan called for the development of weapons that could intercept and destroy incoming missiles.

**C.** In 1985 **Mikhail Gorbachev,** the new leader of the Soviet Union, agreed to resume arms talks with the United States. Reagan and Gorbachev met in a series of summit meetings. Gorbachev promised to cut back Soviet nuclear forces if Reagan would agree to give up SDI. Reagan refused, but he challenged the Soviet leader to make reforms and tear down the Berlin Wall.

**D.** In December 1987, Reagan and Gorbachev signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty that called for the destruction of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union reduced military spending, which eventually led to economic and political reforms and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union.

**Chapter 33, Section 3**

**I. A Decade of Indulgence** *(pages 994–995)*

**A.** The 1980s were celebrated with wealth. Television shows like *Dallas* and *Dynasty* glamorized the lives of the wealthy.

**B.** The rapid economic growth of the 1980s was partly caused by the baby boom. By the 1980s, baby boomers had finished college and were entering the workforce. They often placed an emphasis on acquiring material items and advancing professionally. Journalists called young, ambitious, and hardworking money makers **yuppies**—young urban professionals.

**C.** By the mid-1990s, the top 5 percent of Americans earned over 21 percent of the nation’s income.

**II. Technology and the Media** *(pages 995–996)*

**A.** The 1980s brought technology that enhanced broadcast news and entertainment. Cassette tapes and the Sony Walkman made music portable. Many houses had VCRs, making it possible to view movies anytime. The creation of cable and satellite television brought many more choices to the viewer. Music Television (MTV) was an instant hit with a combination of songs and fast-moving short films.

**B.** Video games also hit the market. Video arcades became the new spot for young people to meet.

**III. A Society Under Stress** *(pages 996–997)*

**A.** Americans faced many social problems during the 1980s.

**B.** An ongoing problem with drug abuse during the 1980s made city neighborhoods dangerous. First Lady Nancy Reagan began a program called “Just Say No” to discourage teens from using drugs.

**C.** During the 1980s, underage drinking caused thousands of tragic alcohol-related auto accidents. **Mothers Against Drunk Driving** (MADD) formed to address the problem. In 1984 Congress cut highway funds to any state that did not raise the legal drinking age to 21.

**D.** In 1981 researchers identified a disease called **AIDS,** or acquired immune deficiency syndrome. AIDS weakens the immune system, lowering resistance to illnesses such as pneumonia and types of cancer. The disease is spread through body fluids.

**IV. Social Activism** *(pages 997–998)*

**A.** Although Ronald Reagan’s election began a conservative movement in the United States, many Americans continued to organize and promote causes.

**B.** During the Reagan years, many environmentalists became frustrated. Secretary of the Interior James Watt encouraged the development of public lands. Worried about Watt’s plan, many people joined groups like the **Sierra Club.**

**C.** The environmental movement was concerned about nuclear power plants, fragile wetlands, recycling, and global warming.

**D.** Many musicians joined to help with social causes.

**E.** As people began living longer and birthrates declined, the senior citizen population became a stronger presence. Not only did the amount of people receiving Social Security benefits lead to pressure on the budget; older Americans became a very vocal and influential voting interest group. The **American Association of Retired Persons** (AARP) was founded in 1958 as the major organization of older Americans.

**V. A New Era in Space** *(pages 998–999)*

**A.** The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) concentrated on the **space shuttle.** The shuttle looked like a huge airplane that rocketed into space and then returned for another flight. The shuttle *Columbia* made its first flight in 1981.

**B.** Satellites were sent into orbit to gather scientific data, and probes were sent for further research. **Space stations,** or orbiting platforms where continuous observation of the universe could take place, eventually generated international support with some sixteen nations, including Russia, participating in these flying laboratories.

**Chapter 33, Section 4**

**I. George Bush Takes Office** *(pages 1001–1002)*

**A.** President George Bush took office in 1988 and was confronted with many international crises.

**B.** Bush won the 1988 election against Democrat Michael Dukakis. Bush won with 54 percent of the popular vote and 426 electoral votes. Democrats, however, were able to keep control of the Congress.

**C.** Jesse Jackson, the first African American to make a serious attempt at the presidential nomination, finished second in the Democratic primaries behind Dukakis. Jackson worked to create a “rainbow coalition”—a broad group of minorities and the poor.

**II. The Cold War Ends** *(pages 1002–1003)*

**A.** President Bush faced many changes that took place with the sudden end to the Cold War.

**B.** By the late 1980s, the Soviet economy suffered from inefficient central planning and huge expenditures on the arms race. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev instituted ***perestroika,*** or “restructuring,” to help save the economy by allowing some private enterprise and profit-making. Gorbachev’s other principle, ***glasnost,*** or “openness,” allowed for more freedom of religion and speech.

**C.** *Glasnost* spread to Eastern Europe in 1989. Peaceful revolutions replaced Communist rulers with democratically elected governments in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria. The revolution spread to East Germany where on November 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall was finally opened. Within a year, East and West Germany had reunited.

**D.** In August 1991, a group of Communist officials and army officers staged a coup in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev was arrested. Troops were sent into Moscow, but Russian president **Boris Yeltsin** defied the coup. The coup collapsed, and Gorbachev was released and returned to Moscow. In December 1991, Gorbachev announced the end of the Soviet Union. Most former Soviet republics joined a federation called the Commonwealth of Independent States.

**III. The “New World Order”** *(pages 1003–1005)*

**A.** After the Cold War, Bush made the phrase a “new world order” popular. Bush faced crises in China, Panama, and the Middle East.

**B.** Despite the end of communism in Eastern Europe, China’s Communist leaders were determined to remain in power. China continued to repress political speech and dissent. In May 1989, Chinese students and workers held demonstrations for democracy. In early June, government tanks and soldiers ended the protests in **Tiananmen** **Square,** in China’s capital of Beijing. The attack left many people dead, and prodemocracy activists were arrested and later sentenced to death.

**C.** In 1978 the United States agreed to give Panama control over the Panama Canal in 2000. Because of the canal’s importance, American officials investigated to make sure Panama’s government was stable and pro-American. By 1989 Panama’s dictator, General Manuel Noriega, had stopped cooperating with the United States and was aiding drug traffickers. He had directed his supporters to harass military personal stationed to defend the canal. American troops were ordered to invade Panama and arrest Noriega. American troops then helped Panamanians hold elections and set up a new government.

**D.** In August 1990, Iraq’s leader, **Saddam Hussein,** sent his army to invade oil-rich Kuwait. Bush convinced other nations to join a coalition to stop Iraq. Economic sanctions were imposed on Iraq, and a deadline was set for the Iraqis to withdraw. Iraq refused, so on January 16, 1991, the coalition began **Operation Desert Storm.** An air attack followed by a massive ground attack left thousands of Iraqi soldiers dead. Bush declared that Kuwait had been liberated, and American troops returned home to cheering crowds.

**IV. Domestic Challenges** *(pages 1005–1006)*

**A.** The defense industry was hard hit by the end of the Cold War when the need for military equipment decreased. This recession hit other companies as well, and they began **downsizing,** or laying off workers and managers to become more efficient. The nation’s high level of debt made the situation worse.

**B.** To improve the economy, Bush called for a cut in the **capital gains tax**—the tax paid by businesses and investors when they sell stocks or real estate for a profit. The Democrats in Congress defeated it. Bush agreed to a tax increase in exchange for cuts in spending. This broke his campaign promise of “no new taxes,” turning many voters against him.

**C.** The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), passed in 1990, forbade discrimination in work and public places against people who were physically or mentally challenged.

**V. The 1992 Election** *(page 1006)*

**A.** Bush won the Republican nomination for the 1992 presidential election.

**B.** Democratic nominee, Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas, promised to cut taxes and blamed Bush for the recession.

**C.** Independent candidate **H**. **Ross Perot** caused quite a challenge. His no-nonsense approach appealed to many Americans. A **grassroots movement,** or groups of people organizing at the local level, put Perot on the ballot in all 50 states.

**D.** Bill Clinton won the election with only 43 percent of the popular vote but 370 electoral votes. The Democrats kept control of Congress.