

Section 1 Overview

OBJECTIVES

- 1 To identify the reasons for the nation's swing toward conservatism.
- 2 To describe the emergence of Ronald Reagan as a conservative leader.

CRITICAL THINKING

- Forming generalizations, p. 819
- Clarifying, p. 819
- Finding main ideas, p. 820
- Summarizing, p. 821
- Analyzing causes, p. 821
- Analyzing motives, p. 821
- Synthesizing, p. 821

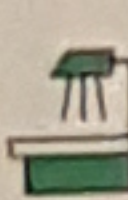
FOCUS & MOTIVATE

5-MINUTE WARM-UP

Recognizing Propaganda

To explore the appeal of the conservative message, have students read the One American's Story on page 818 and answer these questions.

1. Why does Noonan mention that all the young conservatives kept talking about freedom?
2. What does she suggest was the conservatives' notion of freedom?

 WARM-UP TRANSPARENCY 25

Starting with the Student

- Ask students, What happens when things aren't going right or when they don't seem to be moving forward at all?
- Do students want to change something in their lives?
- Do students think an entire nation could feel that way?

1 A Conservative Movement Emerges

LEARN ABOUT the conservative movement that swept the country
TO UNDERSTAND how conservatism changed American politics and led to the elections of Presidents Reagan and Bush.

TERMS & NAMES

- Ronald Reagan
- entitlement program
- New Right
- reverse discrimination
- conservative coalition
- Moral Majority
- George Bush

ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

A daughter of hard-working Irish Catholic immigrant parents, Peggy Noonan grew up with a strong sense of social and political justice. As a child, she idolized the Kennedys; as a teenager, she devoured newspaper and magazine articles on social and political issues. After college, Noonan went to work for CBS, where she eventually gained a position as a news writer.

Over the years, Noonan came to realize that she was by nature a partisan—a supporter of a particular party or leader—rather than a journalist. Her political views became increasingly conservative. She won a job as a speechwriter for Ronald Reagan, whose commitment to his conservative values moved her deeply. Noonan recalled that her response to Reagan was not unusual.

A PERSONAL VOICE

The young people who came to Washington for the Reagan revolution came to make things better. . . . They looked at where freedom was and . . . where freedom wasn't and what that did, and they wanted to help the guerrilla fighters who were trying to overthrow the Communist regimes that had been imposed on them ten years ago while we were all watching "60 Minutes." The thing the young conservatives were always talking about, the constant subtext was freedom, freedom:

we'll free up more of your money,
we'll free up more of the world,
freedom freedom freedom—

It was the drumbeat that held a disparate group together, the rhythm that kept a fractious, not-made-in-heaven alliance in one piece.

PEGGY NOONAN, *What I Saw at the Revolution*

Ever since Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona had run for president in 1964, conservatives had argued that state governments, businesses, and individuals needed freedom from the heavy hand of Washington, D.C. During Ronald Reagan's campaign, that conviction gained a widespread following. It fueled a conservative sweep in the 1980 elections that brought Republican leadership to the presidency and the Senate.



Peggy Noonan

The Conservative Movement Builds

By 1980, President Jimmy Carter was suffering from low ratings in public opinion polls. Economic troubles (including a high rate of inflation), the Iranian hostage crisis, and the nation's new conservatism eroded his popularity.

A TRADITION OF CHANGE Since early in its history, the United States has alternated between what historians call "public action and private interest." Sometimes voters have supported government action to solve social problems, whereas at other times they have become disillusioned with social experiments and preferred to concentrate on their individual economic well-being. Under the banner of progressivism, Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft, and Woodrow Wilson used the power of government to curb what they saw as the excesses of big business. During the 1920s, Presidents Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover counteracted progressive policies with a conservative agenda that emphasized private interests over social reform.

SECTION 1 RESOURCES

PRINT RESOURCES

IN-DEPTH RESOURCES: UNIT 7

Guided Reading, p. 19
Skillbuilder Practice: Finding Main Ideas, p. 23

READING STUDY GUIDE, p. 253

ACCESS FOR STUDENTS ACQUIRING ENGLISH

Guided Reading (Spanish), p. 270
Skillbuilder Practice: Finding Main Ideas (Spanish), p. 274

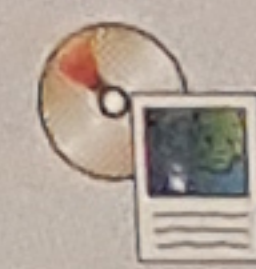
SPANISH READING STUDY GUIDE, p. 253

FORMAL ASSESSMENT

Section Quiz, p. 306

ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT BOOK

See forms for supporting and scoring alternative activities.



TECHNOLOGY RESOURCES

CD-ROM *Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia*

VIDEO *American Portfolio: A Videodisc for U.S. History*
user's guide, pp. 258, 260

INTERNET www.mcdougallittell.com

& NAMES
Reagan
ent program
ht
discrimination
ative coalition
majority
Bush

When the Great Depression hit, the pendulum swung again. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and Harry Truman's Fair Deal focused on the use of government action to relieve social problems. Then Dwight Eisenhower brought a conservative perspective to the White House in the 1950s. John F. Kennedy's New Frontier and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society of the 1960s swung back to social reform. Conservatism returned during the Nixon and Ford administrations and reached a high point with the election of **Ronald Reagan**.

THE CONSERVATIVE BACKLASH By 1980, one out of every three households was receiving benefits from government programs. Yet many Americans resented the cost of maintaining these federal **entitlement programs**—programs that guaranteed and provided benefits to particular groups. Taxes were high, and inflation had reached nearly 15 percent. Many Americans feared they would not be able to provide for their children's college education or their own retirement.

In addition, some people had become frustrated with the government's civil rights policies. Congress had passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in an effort to eliminate racial discrimination. Over the years, however, judicial decisions and government regulations had broadened the reach of the act. A growing number of Americans viewed with skepticism what had begun as a movement toward equal opportunity. Although many people had rejected separate schools for blacks and whites as unfair and unequal, few wanted to bus their children long distances to achieve a fixed ratio of black and white students.

As the 1970s progressed, right-wing grassroots groups across the country emerged to support and promote single issues that reflected their key interests. Some members of this **New Right**—an alliance of conservative special-interest groups stressing cultural, social, and moral issues—fought any government regulation at all. Others fought specific government regulations in the form of busing, gun control, and antitrust laws. Many opposed legal abortion and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Some rejected laws promoting minority opportunities in employment or education—which they saw as **reverse discrimination** (discrimination against white people and specifically white men). Some called for a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in public schools. Others voted against anyone who favored increases in taxation. Of course, not all members of the New Right were single-issue voters. Many felt passionately about an overall philosophy of conservative government.

THE CONSERVATIVE COALITION Between the mid-1960s and Reagan's victory in 1980, the conservative movement in the United States grew in strength. Eventually the groups on the right formed the **conservative coalition**—an alliance made up of some intellectuals, many business leaders, frustrated middle-class voters, disaffected Democrats, and fundamentalist Christian groups.

There were a number of basic positions that were shared by most of the different groups that made up the conservative coalition. These included opposition to big government, entitlements, and the use of busing and affirmative action to correct segregation, as well as a belief in a return to traditional moral standards.

Conservative intellectuals argued the cause of the conservative coalition in newspapers such as the *Wall Street Journal* and magazines such as the *National Review*, founded in 1955 by conservative intellectual William F. Buckley, Jr. Conservative “think tanks,” such as the American Enterprise Institute and the Heritage Foundation, were founded to develop conservative policies and principles that would appeal to the majority of voters.

OBJECTIVE

1 INSTRUCT

The Conservative Movement Builds

► **Starting with the Student**
Have students draw up a two-column chart. In one column they should list some of the actions taken by social reformers in the 1960s and 1970s. In a second column have them list the backlash that might have occurred.

Social Reform Actions	Backlashes
School busing	
Quotas	

► **Discussing Key Ideas**

- In the 1980s, the country is ready for less government intervention.
- Conservatives form a coalition.

IN-DEPTH RESOURCES: UNIT 7
Guided Reading, p. 19

ACCESS FOR STUDENTS ACQUIRING ENGLISH
Guided Reading (Spanish), p. 270

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT
William F. Buckley, Jr.

Buckley has had greater influence as a writer and editor than he would have had as an elected official. Why might this be so? Have students list the attributes of Buckley that make him an influential journalist.

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Born in 1925 in New York City, William F. Buckley, Jr., is known for his conservative works. He first aired his conservative views in 1951, when he published *God and Man at Yale*, a book that attacked the liberal viewpoints he said were common at his alma mater.

He followed this publication with other political works, including *Up from Liberalism* (1959) and *The Unmaking of a Mayor* (1966), an account of his campaign for the mayorship of New York. When asked what he would do if he won the election, Buckley responded, “Demand a recount.”

In 1955, Buckley founded the *National Review*, a magazine that continues to reflect and influence conservative political thought in America today.



A. Answer A distrust of big government—including dislike of entitlement programs, taxes, and belief that civil rights policies had gone too far.

THROUGH HISTORY
A. Finding Main Ideas What main concern did conservatives have in common?

THROUGH HISTORY
B. Clarifying What was the conservative coalition?

B. Answer An alliance made up of a variety of groups, including some intellectuals, many business leaders, frustrated middle-class voters, disaffected Democrats, and fundamentalist Christian groups.

Peggy Noonan

TEACHING OPTION

Skillbuilder Mini-Lesson: Finding Main Ideas

Explaining the Skill Finding the main idea means identifying one statement that an entire section or paragraph is about. Knowing how to find the main idea helps people understand the point a writer is trying to make—and how well the writer makes that point.

Applying the Skill To understand why the conservative movement gained strength in the 1960s and 1970s, it is important to find the main idea behind the movement. Ask students to list the causes of the conservative resurgence and then identify what they all have in common:

- Distrust of government regulation.
- Concern that entitlement programs were growing too quickly.
- Belief that taxes were too high.
- Belief that civil rights programs had gone too far.
- What these concerns have in common is that each expresses unease over the expansion of government power.

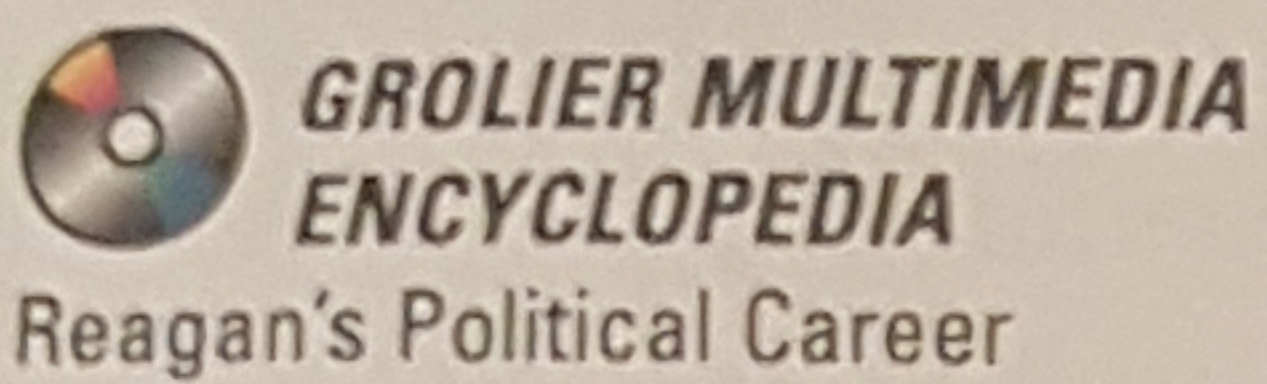
IN-DEPTH RESOURCES: UNIT 7
Skillbuilder Practice: Finding Main Ideas, p. 23

KEY PLAYER

Ronald Reagan

Critical Thinking:

Synthesizing Have students synthesize Ronald Reagan's contributions to American life by designing a memorial to honor him. Students might work individually or in pairs. Suggested memorials include postage stamps, plaques, statues, poems, or pictures.



Reagan's Political Career

OBJECTIVE

2 INSTRUCT

Conservatives Win Political Power

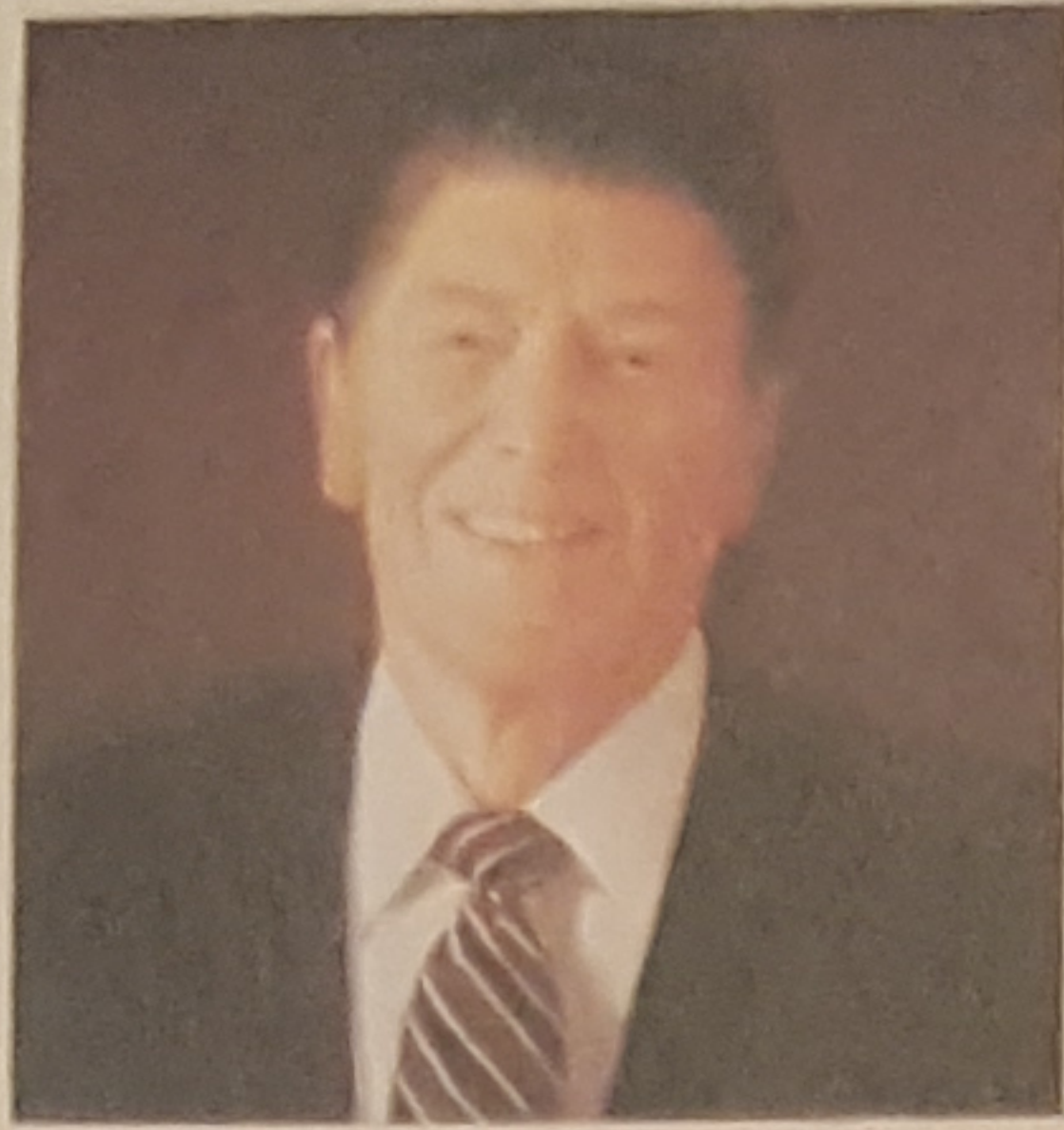
▶ Starting with the Student

Discuss with students what is required to turn beliefs into political action. Ask what the conservatives needed to become a political force. Some students might reply that the conservatives needed a leader who was also a charismatic political figure. Or they might respond that the conservatives needed political power.

▶ Discussing Key Ideas

- Conservatives identify Ronald Reagan and George Bush as their political leaders.
- Reagan proves to have great appeal among the nation's voters.
- Reagan's election plus a Republican-controlled Senate provide conservatives with the opportunity to put their beliefs into action.

KEY PLAYER



RONALD REAGAN
1911–

Ronald Wilson Reagan was born in 1911 in Tampico, Illinois. He grew up in Dixon, Illinois, graduated from nearby Eureka College, and then worked as a sports announcer in Des Moines, Iowa. In 1937, Reagan moved to Hollywood and became a movie actor, eventually making 54 films. As president of the Screen Actors Guild, he worked actively to remove alleged Communist influences from the movie industry.

Reagan had the ability to express his ideas in simple and clear language that the average voter could understand. When he proposed a 10 percent cut in government spending on social programs, he stated, "We can lecture our children about extravagance until we run out of voice and breath. Or we can cut their extravagance by simply reducing their allowance."

A SUCCESS STRATEGY One of the most active segments of the conservative coalition was a confederation of various religious groups. These groups were encouraged and guided by Christian televangelists—evangelists, or preachers, who appear on religious telecasts—such as Jerry Falwell, Jim Bakker, Oral Roberts, Jimmy Swaggart, and Pat Robertson. Many of these religious conservatives came to call themselves the **Moral Majority**. The Moral Majority consisted mostly of evangelical and fundamentalist Christians who interpreted the Bible literally and believed in absolute standards of right and wrong. They condemned liberal attitudes and behaviors and argued for a restoration of traditional moral values. They worked toward their political goals by using direct-mail campaigns and raising money to support candidates.

As individual conservative groups formed networks, they created a movement dedicated to bringing back what they saw as traditional American values. They hoped their ideas would help to reduce the nation's high divorce rate, lower the number of out-of-wedlock births, encourage individual responsibility, and generally revive traditional values.

A PERSONAL VOICE

Our nation's internal problems are the direct result of her spiritual condition. . . . Right living must be reestablished as an American way of life. . . . Now is the time to begin calling America back to God, back to the Bible, back to morality!

THE REVEREND JERRY FALWELL

Conservatives Win Political Power

By the mid-1970s, the strong conservative movement had four major goals:

- shrinking the federal government and lowering spending
- promoting traditional morality and values
- stimulating business by reducing government regulations and lowering taxes
- strengthening the national defense

But to achieve success politically, the conservative movement needed two things: a viable presidential candidate and an opportunity to present its case to the people. In the 1970s, conservatives found the candidate. In 1980, the conservative movement found its opportunity, and for the next 12 years Presidents Reagan and Bush were the primary spokespersons for and political leaders of both the Republican Party and the conservative movement in general.

REAGAN'S APPEAL In 1976, Ronald Reagan had lost the Republican nomination to the incumbent, Gerald Ford. But after a series of hard-fought primaries, Reagan won the 1980 nomination and chose **George Bush**, his leading competitor, as his running mate. Reagan and Bush ran against the incumbent president and vice-president, Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale, who were nominated again by the Democrats despite their low standing in the opinion polls.

Originally a New Deal Democrat, Ronald Reagan had become a conservative Republican during the 1950s. He claimed that he had not left the Democratic Party but rather that the party had left him. As a spokesman for General Electric, he toured the country making speeches in favor of free enterprise and against big government. In 1964, he campaigned hard for Barry Goldwater, the Republican candidate for president. His speech nominating Goldwater at the 1964 Republican convention made Reagan a serious candidate for public office.

Block Schedule

TEACHING OPTION

Time Needed: 20 Minutes

Cooperative Activity: Diagramming the Shift to Conservatism

Task: Student groups will trace the fortunes of conservatism from the 1920s through the Reagan years of the 1980s.

Purpose: To understand the shifting political fortunes of conservatism in this century.

Activity: Groups of three or four students will each review a different decade (1920s, 1930s, and so forth), looking at federal spending, family values, business regulations, taxes, and

national defense. They will present their findings as a chart that describes the time period covered, the various presidents during the decade, and their administrations' policies on the issues just mentioned.

Building a Portfolio: Students adding charts to their portfolios should attach a note pointing out their own contribution.

ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT BOOK

Standards for Evaluating a Cooperative Activity

Standards for Evaluation

Presentations should . . .

- show evidence of careful review and research using appropriate and various sources
- demonstrate an understanding of conservatism
- use specific details to back up groups' conclusions

D. Answer
Reagan's
campaign
benefited from
high inflation
anxiety about the
nation's future
and a burgeoning
conservative
mood

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
D. Analyzing
Causes What
factors led
to Reagan
victory in 1980

1. TERMS & M

Identify:

- Ronald Reagan
- entitlement program
- New Right
- reverse discrimination
- conservative coalition
- Moral Majority
- George Bush

1. TERMS & M

Ronald Reagan
entitlement pro
New Right, p. 8
reverse discrim
conservative co
Moral Majority
George Bush, p

In 1966 Reagan was elected governor of California, and in 1970 he was reelected.

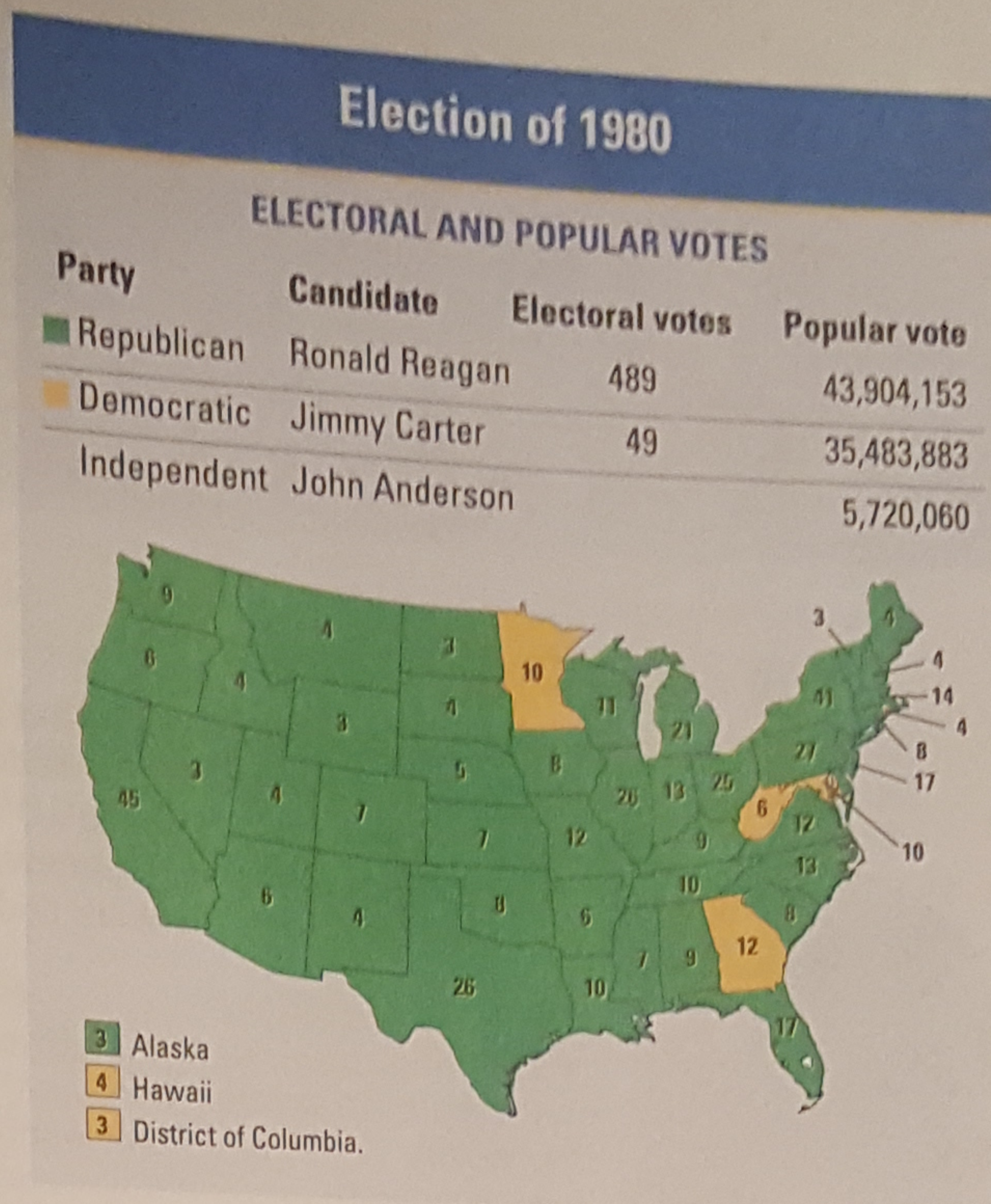
THE 1980 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION In 1980, changes in the voting population favored Reagan, as voters aged and moved in increasing numbers to the Sunbelt—the Southern and Southwestern regions of the country. In those regions, there was hostility to Washington and big government.

Reagan ran on a number of key issues. Supreme Court decisions on abortion, pornography, the teaching of evolution, and prayer in public schools all antagonized conservative voters in the country, and they rallied to Reagan. The Iranian hostage crisis and the weak economy under Carter, particularly the high rate of inflation, also helped Reagan. He also helped himself with a staunch anticommunism that led him to refer to the Soviet Union as the “evil empire.”

Thanks in part to his acting career and his long experience in the public eye, Reagan was an extremely effective candidate. In contrast to Carter, who often seemed stiff and nervous, Reagan was relaxed, charming, and affable. He loved making quips: “A recession is when your neighbor loses his job. A depression is when you lose yours. A recovery is when Jimmy Carter loses his.” Reagan’s long-standing skill at simplifying issues and presenting them clearly led his supporters to call him the Great Communicator. Also, his commitment to military and economic strength appealed to many Americans.

Only 52.6 percent of American voters went to the polls in 1980. Reagan won the election by a narrow majority; he got 44 million votes, or 51 percent of the total. His support, however, was spread throughout the country, so that he carried 44 states and won 489 electoral votes. Republicans also gained control of the Senate for the first time since 1954. As Reagan assumed the presidency, many people were buoyed by his genial smile and his assertion that it was “morning again in America.”

Now, at last, conservatives had elected one of their own—a true believer in less government, lower taxes, and traditional values. Once elected, Reagan worked aggressively to translate the conservative agenda into public policy.



HISTORY FROM VISUALS

Election of 1980

Reading the Map Point out to students that the color green marks those states that voted for Ronald Reagan. The color vividly shows the extent of the Reagan landslide.

Extension Have students identify those states on the map that voted for Carter. *Hawaii, Minnesota, Georgia, Rhode Island, West Virginia, and Maryland, plus the District of Columbia.*

ASSESS & RETEACH

Section 1 Assessment

Have students individually answer the questions, then trade papers with a partner to compare the answers.

Self-Assessment

Ask students to reread the text and rewrite answers to any questions they found particularly perplexing.

Section Quiz

FORMAL ASSESSMENT

Section Quiz, p. 306

Reteach

Use the Guided Reading Worksheet for Section 1 to help review the main ideas of the section.

IN-DEPTH RESOURCES: UNIT 7

Guided Reading, p. 19

CLOSE

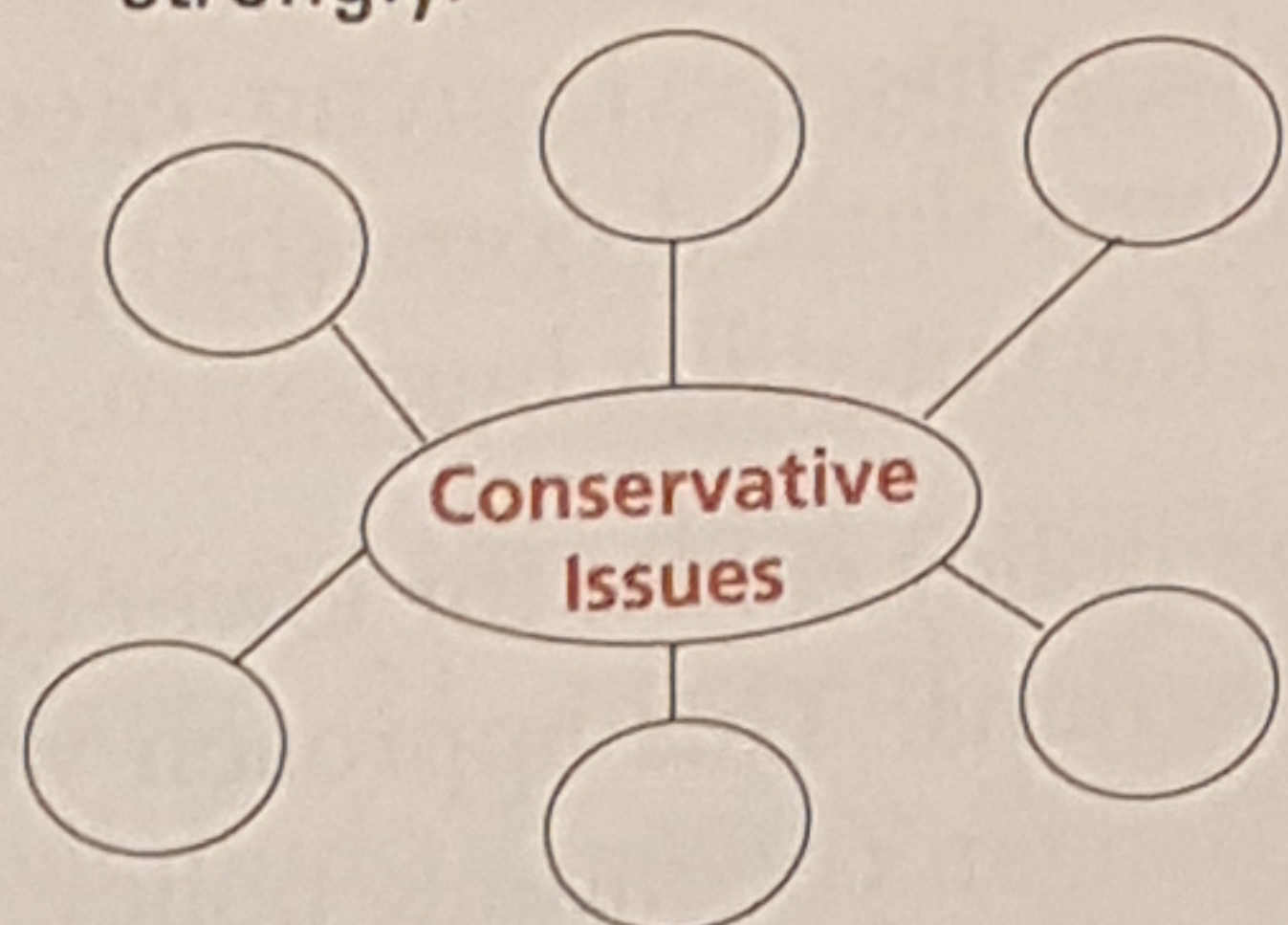
With the election of President Reagan, the conservatives had their national spokesperson and their political leader. This was their opportunity to effect national policy.

Section 1 Assessment

1. TERMS & NAMES

- Identify:
- Ronald Reagan
 - entitlement program
 - New Right
 - reverse discrimination
 - conservative coalition
 - Moral Majority
 - George Bush

2. SUMMARIZING Use a cluster diagram to record the issues that conservatives believed in strongly.



Choose one issue and explain in a paragraph the conservative position on that issue.

3. ANALYZING MOTIVES How did the leaders of the conservative movement of the 1980s want to change government?

- THINK ABOUT**
- the difference between the conservative view of government and the liberal view
 - the groups that made up the conservative coalition
 - conservatives’ attitudes toward existing government programs

4. SYNTHESIZING Who were the main groups that made up the conservative coalition, and why did Ronald Reagan appeal to them?

- THINK ABOUT**
- their economic beliefs
 - their political beliefs
 - their religious beliefs

The Conservative Tide 821

ANSWERS

1. TERMS & NAMES

- Ronald Reagan, p. 819
- entitlement program, p. 819
- New Right, p. 819
- reverse discrimination, p. 819
- conservative coalition, p. 819
- Moral Majority, p. 820
- George Bush, p. 820

2. SUMMARIZING

- Possible Answers:**
- reduce entitlement programs
 - end affirmative action
 - cut back government
 - end busing
 - stop regulating guns
 - outlaw abortion
 - defeat the ERA
 - allow school prayer
 - reduce taxes
 - strengthen national defense

3. ANALYZING MOTIVES

Possible Responses: The conservatives wanted to reduce government, lower taxes, and end liberal programs such as gun control, affirmative action, and busing. At the same time, they wanted government to increase national defense and to promote certain moral values.

4. SYNTHESIZING

Possible Responses: Reagan appealed to the Moral Majority because he opposed Supreme Court decisions on abortion, school prayer, and pornography. He appealed to people who favored free enterprise. He appealed to the struggling middle class because he promised to improve the economy. He appealed to many people because he seemed likable and was a good public speaker.