From the Content Outline for Period 9

Key Concept 9.1: A new conservatism grew to prominence in U.S. culture and politics, defending traditional social values and rejecting liberal views about the role of government.

I. Reduced public faith in the government’s ability to solve social and economic problems, the growth of religious fundamentalism, and the dissemination of neoconservative thought all combined to invigorate conservatism.
   A. Public confidence and trust in government declined in the 1970s in the wake of economic challenges, political scandals, foreign policy “failures,” and a sense of social and moral decay.
   B. The rapid and substantial growth of evangelical and fundamentalist Christian churches and organizations, as well as increased political participation by some of those groups, encouraged significant opposition to liberal social and political trends.

II. Conservatives achieved some of their political and policy goals, but their success was limited by the enduring popularity and institutional strength of some government programs and public support for cultural trends of recent decades.
   A. Conservatives enjoyed significant victories related to taxation and deregulation of many industries, but many conservative efforts to advance moral ideals through politics met inertia and opposition.
   B. Although Republicans continued to denounce “big government,” the size and scope of the federal government continued to grow after 1980, as many programs remained popular with voters and difficult to reform or eliminate.

Objective:
Analyze the causes and effects of the New Right.
Explaining Causation... The New Right

Directions:
1. Read the summary below. Highlight your evidence for CAUSES of the New Right forming.

There was nothing truly new about political and economic conservatism that led to the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980. Barry Goldwater based his 1964 Presidential campaign on the premise that the New Deal should be reversed. He declared that big government was the greatest threat to American liberty. [Reagan later stated as much in his inaugural address.] According to conservatives, social spending and welfare needed to be cut to reduce the tax burden on individuals and families. Federalism needed to be restored as central activism in all three branches had not solved problems, only created new ones. And... Government regulations were inhibiting economic growth and personal freedoms. Goldwater lost, and LBJ was elected... and created an even bigger welfare state with his Great Society. Liberalism was at its height in the 1960s, but conservatives were slowly reorganizing and responding to the changes of the liberal era.

When foreign competition [Japan, Germany] made inroads against American corporations in the 1970s, many people began to believe Goldwater had been right. Big business wielded its financial resources as a backbone of the NEW RIGHT MOVEMENT. Also... Not everyone was happy with the social changes brought forth in America in the 1960s and 1970s. When Roe vs. Wade guaranteed the right to an abortion, a fervent pro-life movement dedicated to protecting the "born-child" took root. Antifeminists rallied against the Equal Rights Amendment and the eroding traditional family unit. Many ordinary Americans were shocked by the sexual permissiveness found in music, counterculture, films, and magazines. Those who believed homosexuality was sinful lambasted the newly vocal Gay Rights Movement. As the divorce and crime rates rose, an increasing number of Americans began to blame the liberal welfare establishment for social maladies. A cultural war unfolded by the end of the 1970s. Enter the New Right... The NEW RIGHT was a combination of Christian religious leaders, conservative business bigwigs who claimed that environmental and labor regulations were undermining the competitiveness of American firms in the global market, and a few fringe political groups.

Another linchpin of the conservative backlash was the CHRISTIAN RIGHT. Since the 1950s, members of the evangelical Christian denominations increased fivefold. By the mid-1970s, over a quarter of adult Americans identified themselves as born-again Christians. Religious broadcasters in the late 1970s and '80s took advantage of the boom in cable and satellite television by creating stations and networks that reached more people than ever before. In the 1950s, when television first swept the nation and transformed American culture, Billy Graham entered people’s living rooms. His publicized events continued into modern times, and he was joined by many others such as FUNDAMENTALIST, JERRY FALWELL, who believed in a literal interpretation of the Bible. Pentecostal PAT ROBERTSON also claimed the Holy Spirit communicated directly with people on a regular basis. These two, among others, galvanized the New Right behind a general fear that America was experiencing a moral decline. They explained that homosexuality was a sin, and that a traditional woman's role should be protected for the best interest of children and American values. They criticized the "liberal" media for corrupting America's youth. They chided the courts for taking religion out of the public schools (Engle v Vitale) and supported private Christian academies and homeschooling as alternatives. Many Catholic Americans agreed with the sentiments of the New Right. The reforming spirit of the Catholic Church reached its high water mark in the 1960s with a convention called VATICAN II. Latin was dropped as a requirement for the mass. Lay people were given a greater role in Church services. Support was given for ecumenical outreach to other Christian denominations and Jewish synagogues. This liberalism also ended by the 80s, as social politics of the time forged connections between Catholic and Protestant leaders. Abortion and "FAMILY RIGHTS" were seen as areas of common ground. The appointment of the conservative JOHN PAUL II in 1979 marked an end to the reform spirit within the Church. Protestants and Catholics stood united as never before by the election of 1980.

New Right leaders were highly organized and understood the potential of mass telecommunications. PAT ROBERTSON formed the CHRISTIAN BROADCASTING NETWORK to send his message. The PTL (PRAISE THE LORD) Club led by JIM BAKKER transmitted faith healing and raucous religious revival to the largest viewing audience of any daily program in the world. They built massive databases containing the names and addresses of potential financial contributors and regularly solicited funds. In 1979, Jerry Falwell formed the MORAL MAJORITY, Inc. This group and hundreds of others raised money to defeat liberal senators, representatives, and governors. They sought to control school boards on the local level to advance their conservative agenda. Ronald Reagan freely accepted contributions from the New Right on his way to the Presidency in 1980.

Like most movements, the New Right contained an extremist element. Racial hatred groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the AMERICAN NAZI PARTY joined the outcry against American moral decline. Ultra-libertarian militia groups formed in many states dedicated to attacking the American government they believed had become far too invasive. They steadfastly supported the right to bear arms as a means to defend themselves from tyranny. Some groups began stockpiling arsenals. These organizations interpreted the term "cultural war" in the most literal, ominous sense.

In 1980, confidence in the American economy and government hit rock bottom. Looking for a change and the promise of a better future, voters turned to RONALD REAGAN for answers. His message was clear. Government has become too big and needs to be trimmed down to size. Taxes are insanely high and need to be cut to stimulate growth and investment. Military spending should be increased to fix the degenerating state of the American war machine. Morality and character need to be reemphasized in American life. The United States is still the largest superpower in the world with the best system of government. It's time to feel good about being an American again, and it’s time to finally win the Cold War. (source: ushistory.org)
Explaining Causation... The New Right

Directions Continued:

2. Using your document analysis skills, explain the historical context and one of the following for each document: intended audience, author’s purpose, or author’s point of view. Record your notes in the spaces provided. Remember your purpose: explaining causation.

Document 1 “Corporate Profits” EdSteinink.com

Document 2 1984 Presidential Election Map (Mondale carried MN and DC only), historycentral.com

Historical Analysis Activity written by Rebecca Richardson, Allen High School using the 2012 College Board Advanced Placement United States history framework and other sources as cited in document
**Explaining Causation... The New Right**

**Document 3**  
*Seattle Post, “Red is Dead,” 1991*

**Document 4**  
*1991 Supreme Court Case, PLANNED PARENTHOOD v. CASEY summary, oyez.org*

**Facts of the Case**  
The Pennsylvania legislature amended its abortion control law in 1988 and 1989. Among the new provisions, the law required informed consent and a 24 hour waiting period prior to the procedure. A minor seeking an abortion required the consent of one parent (the law allows for a judicial bypass procedure). A married woman seeking an abortion had to indicate that she notified her husband of her intention to abort the fetus. These provisions were challenged by several abortion clinics and physicians. A federal appeals court upheld all the provisions except for the husband notification requirement.

**Question**  
Can a state require women who want an abortion to obtain informed consent, wait 24 hours, and, if minors, obtain parental consent, without violating their right to abortions as guaranteed by *Roe v. Wade*?

**Decision**  
5 votes for Planned Parenthood, 4 vote(s) against  
Legal provision: Due Process

In a bitter, 5-to-4 decision, the Court again reaffirmed *Roe*, but it upheld most of the Pennsylvania provisions. For the first time, the justices imposed a new standard to determine the validity of laws restricting abortions. The new standard asks whether a state abortion regulation has the purpose or effect of imposing an "undue burden," which is defined as a "substantial obstacle in the path of a woman seeking an abortion before the fetus attains viability." Under this standard, the only provision to fail the undue-burden test was the husband notification requirement. The opinion for the Court was unique: It was crafted and authored by three justices.

**Directions Continued:**

3. On a separate sheet of paper, write a complete introduction & thesis. Use your thesis formula, and include relevant historical context.

Explain the causes of New Right conservatives’ social, economic, and foreign policy goals from the 1960s to the 1980s and assess the degree to which the Reagan and Bush administrations succeeded in implementing these goals.  
(Prompt reworded from the 2014 College Board released exam to meet the format of the new framework)