

TURNING RIGHT

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Two of the most frequently used but also slippery words in English are *liberal* and *conservative*. Both are used as nouns and adjectives. Each word implies a political position as well as a way of life. Watch political talk shows and you will come away convinced that liberals are Democrats who support activist government; racial, gender, and gay rights; freedom of choice in the abortion debate; and the belief that wealthy businessmen probably have something to hide. Conservatives, on the other hand, are portrayed as Republicans who advocate small government; believe that racial, gender, and gay rights issues mask other agendas; oppose abortion; and argue that wealthy businessmen create jobs and wealth that benefit all Americans. More negatively, liberals are depicted as gullible idealists who throw away federal money and conservatives as tightfisted and heartless advocates of the rich and powerful. In reality, Democrats in recent years have been almost as pro-business as Republicans, and Republicans have voted for big federal budgets almost as consistently as Democrats. Moreover, the very terms *liberal* and *conservative* have not always meant the same thing; over the last 250 years their meanings have changed radically.

Ambrose Bierce, a turn-of-the-twentieth-century writer noted for his sardonic humor, defined *conservative* in his *Devil's Dictionary* as "A statesman who is enamored of existing evils, as distinguished from a Liberal, who wishes to replace them with others." Bierce was right—the idea of inherent, recognizable evil is part of traditional conservatism. In its modern form, the term *conservative* is as much a product of the French Revolution as the idea of liberty, equality, and fraternity. For many thinkers and writers in England and the United States, the French Revolution came to symbolize the excesses of freedom, the idea that if people were cut loose from traditions, chaos and anarchy would result. In England, Edmund Burke, often called the father of modern conservatism, believed that social and political stability rested on a foundation of traditions and time-proven institutions. Change, he maintained, should be slow and incremental. He detested grand, utopian ideas, asserting that imperfect people could never create a perfect society and that radical change would always end in disaster. At best, humans can find a modicum of order, justice, and freedom, but they can never create a society free from evil, suffering, and inequality. This, conservatives argue, has been the mistake of all social and political revolutions, from the French and Russian to the Chinese and Cuban.

The ideas of Burke found their way into the U.S. Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the *Federalist Papers*, and many state constitutions. But in the United States, liberalism also had powerful advocates. Where conservatives placed faith in God, distrusted human nature, and feared too much democracy, liberals tended to deemphasize religion, believed in the goodness of people, and reveled in certain kinds of freedom. At least in the nineteenth century, it was a strong central government that liberals feared. Thomas Jefferson's notion that "the government that governed least governed best" captured this fear. Many liberals maintained that their distrust of a strong government has a basis in economic fact. They adhered to the economic ideas of Adam Smith, articulated in his influential book *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). Smith was a proponent of economic freedom, arguing that a marketplace freed from interference functioned most efficiently. Free people making free choices promoted economic well-being. An "invisible hand" guided free markets to maximize social good, Smith observed, and archaic customs and governmental meddling created more problems than they solved.

In the nineteenth century, the primary battleground for liberals and conservatives was the marketplace. Jefferson's and Andrew Jackson's Democratic Party generally supported the "laissez-faire" principle that the government should stay out of the economy. Alexander Hamilton's Federalist Party, followed by Henry Clay's Whig Party and Abraham Lincoln's Republican Party, countered with proposals for a more activist federal government. Hamilton, Clay, and Lincoln consistently supported a national bank, protective tariffs, and federally funded internal improvements. By 1912 the Republican Party was clearly the party of a strong central government; it had created a national bank, legislated protective tariffs and internal improvements, and established the principle that the federal government had the right to regulate business activity. The Democratic Party, which only managed to elect two presidents between 1860 and 1932, generally supported a weaker federal government with more limited powers. In short, the conservative position tended to be more government and the liberal position less government.

In the late-nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, however, other issues began to complicate the liberal-conservative debate. The arrival of millions of immigrants, the spread of labor unrest, the growth of cities, the increasing awareness of racial inequalities, and a host of other social problems disturbed many Americans. Severe depressions in the 1890s and 1930s and violent revolutions in Russia and Mexico raised the specter of social and political convulsions. During the Great Depression, President Franklin Roosevelt and his Democratic coalition made an ideological about-face. Roosevelt abandoned the laissez-faire ideas of nineteenth-century Democrats and embraced an activist government. In an effort to preserve capitalism and democracy—to prevent radical social and political upheaval—he expanded programs designed to promote social justice. Out of his presidency came the idea of an American welfare state. His party became the agent of activism, regulating economic activity and promoting social welfare.

From the 1930s through the 1960s, conservatism floundered through an identity crisis, as Roosevelt's New Deal set the course of American politics. The New Deal was followed by Harry Truman's Fair Deal, John F. Kennedy's New Frontier, and Lyndon Johnson's

Great Society. The Democratic Party became identified with federal programs that fostered social justice, racial advancement, and gender equality. It promoted itself as the advocate for the poor and disfranchised, the safeguard against the powerful and the greedy. Even Dwight Eisenhower, the single Republican president between 1932 and 1968, spoke the language of liberalism. Rather than reject the legacy of FDR, he accepted it. Eisenhower said he was a conservative, "but an extremely liberal conservative," and defined his political philosophy as "dynamic conservatism." Under Eisenhower, for example, America fought a war in Korea and undertook an enormous infrastructure project, the Interstate Highway System. By the end of the 1950s, traditional conservatives seemed out of step with the march of the times.

But it wasn't as if conservative ideas had disappeared. Two writers enjoyed great popularity in the immediate postwar years: William F. Buckley, founder of the *National Review*, and Ayn Rand, who wrote novels about heroic individualists who increased social good by concentrating on personal aggrandizement. Then in the early 1960s conservatives found a new voice and a fresh agenda. Barry Goldwater, the Republican senator from Arizona, had no interest in Eisenhower's dynamic conservatism. America's problem, he said, was too much government, not too little. In *The Conscience of a Conservative* (1960), Goldwater articulated a new conservative agenda. He was committed to "achieving the maximum amount of freedom for individuals that [was] consistent with the maintenance of social order." His enemy was the burgeoning federal bureaucracy, "a Leviathan, a vast national authority out of touch with the people, and out of control." He absolutely rejected the legacy of the New Deal, the politics of subsidies, price supports, closed union shops, and special interest legislation, all administered from Washington, D.C. "I have little interest in streamlining government or making it more efficient, for I mean to reduce its size," he wrote. "I do not undertake to promote welfare, for I propose to extend freedom. My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them." Ironically, Goldwater conceived of a modern alternative to New Deal liberalism that expanded on Jefferson's distrust of a distant and unchecked federal government. Between 1960 and 1964, Goldwater's thin manifesto sold 3.5 million copies, and although voters rejected him by a landslide in the 1964 presidential race, his message found a large audience. Goldwater's book became, as conservative writer Patrick Buchanan observed, "our new testament; it contained the core beliefs of our political faith. . . . We read it, memorized it, quoted it. . . . For those of us wandering around in the arid desert of Eisenhower Republicanism, it hit like a rifle shot."¹

The Conscience of a Conservative inspired modern conservatism. But the conservative movement, like the liberal movement, was a broad-based coalition of groups with different agendas. Republican politicians such as Ronald Reagan and Newt Gingrich championed Goldwater's demands for fiscal restraint, lower taxes, deregulation, welfare cuts, and reduced bureaucracy. Yet they also advocated an expanded military budget. Southern conservatives resented such federal actions as desegregation and "forced" busing, but they worked hard to keep and expand New Deal agricultural subsidies, and to bring home new dollars for the burgeoning aerospace industry. Religious conservatives questioned the Supreme Court's ruling on abortion, prayer in schools, and other social issues, yet they had no problem invoking federal power to enforce their social agenda. Western conservatives

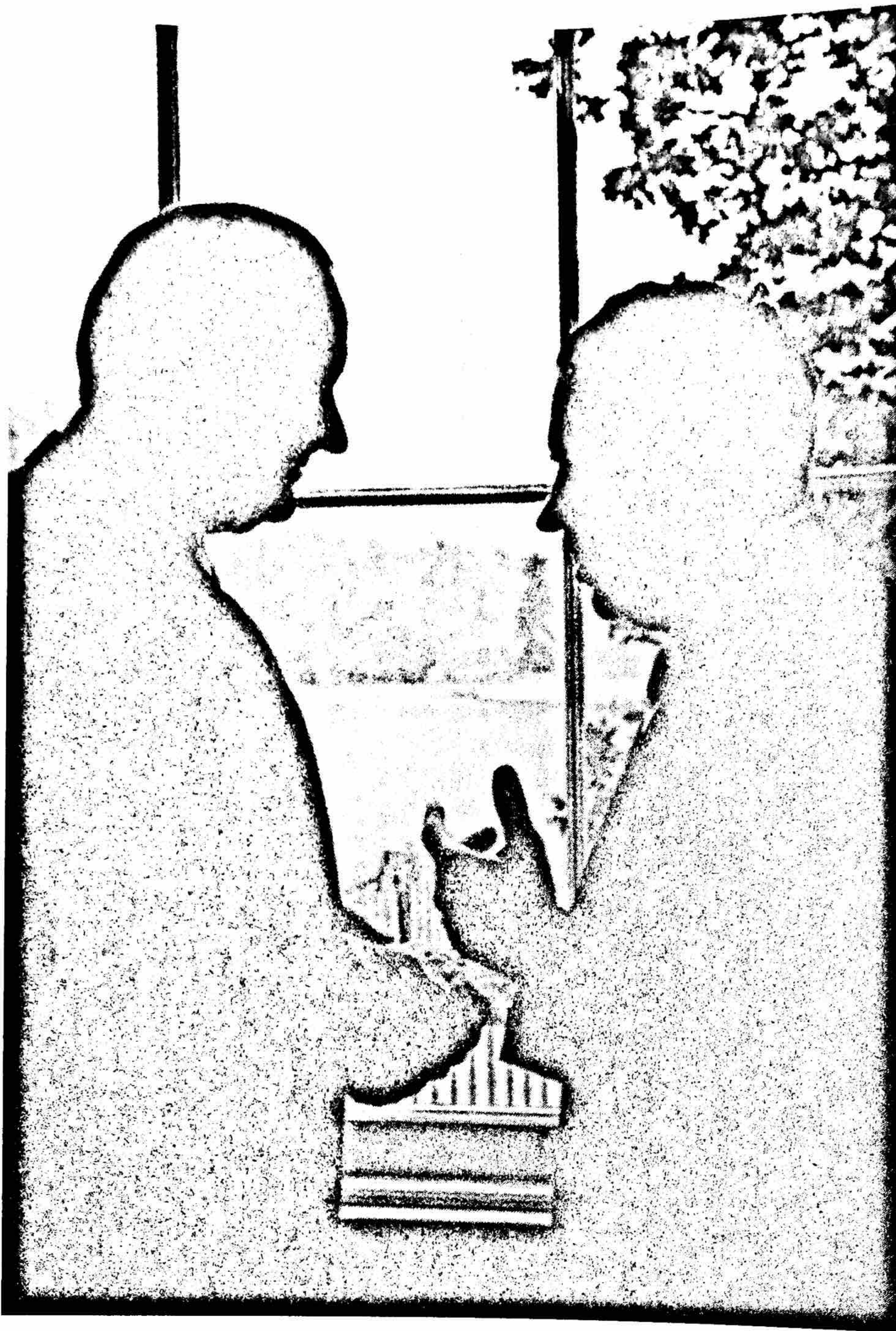


Image 16.1: Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon meet at the White House on Inauguration Day, 1969

Nixon's victory marked an important moment in the fragmentation of the liberal coalition that had achieved enormous legislative victories under Lyndon Johnson.

Source: LBJ-WHPO (White House Photo Office Collection), National Archives, Identifier 2803422.

demanded state control of federally held western lands and relief from federal restrictions on logging and extraction industries, though they lobbied for federal aid to cattle ranchers. Libertarians simply wanted more freedom from government interference. Uniting these ideological strands was a grassroots movement, particularly strong in the Sunbelt, intent on cutting taxes, diminishing state power, and pushing the Republican Party to the right.

Although Lyndon Johnson soundly defeated Barry Goldwater in 1964, the Republican Party gained ground steadily in the late 1960s and in the 1970s. Richard Nixon, although a centrist Republican himself, capitalized on America's racial backlash and demographic shifts. Goldwater demonstrated that the South and West were receptive to his message, and once president, Nixon courted those sections of the country. During the 1970s, an

increasing number of white southerners and working-class Catholics—traditionally Democratic loyalists—voted Republican. In addition, the shift in the population to the Sunbelt added to the political strength of the Republican Party. As president, Nixon extended some of the policies of Lyndon Johnson, signing new civil rights, environmental, and social welfare legislation, but with the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, the conservative revolution was in full swing.

In the last thirty years, the conservative movement has fashioned an alternative to the welfare state. Certainly, what Roosevelt began has not disappeared, but it no longer stands unquestioned. The elections of Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and George W. Bush—and at least equally important, the shift to the right in Congress—demonstrate the vitality of the conservative ideas. Even the Democrat Bill Clinton cut major welfare programs and pushed policies that encouraged globalization and deregulation of capitalist markets, revealing the triumph of conservatism at the end of the twentieth century. The following documents give a sampling of conservative ideas about political philosophy, the economy, foreign policy, religion and the state, and cultural values.

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENTS 1 AND 2

Central to understanding modern American conservatism is Barry Goldwater's brief book *The Conscience of a Conservative*. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal cast a long shadow. Most mainstream Democrats and Republicans in the 1950s accepted the legacy of the New Deal. They generally agreed on the role government should play in regulating the economy, restraining business, allowing workers to form unions, and providing at least modest help to those in need. They did not view the growth or power of the central government with alarm, believing it was an agent of good for the majority of Americans.

Goldwater challenged these notions. He argued that federal power grew in inverse relationship to economic freedom and individual liberty. For Goldwater, the government in Washington, D.C., was not the solution but the problem. He proposed not to reaffirm and extend the New Deal policies but to eradicate them. Running for the presidency on the Republican ticket in 1964, he promised, "I will not change my beliefs to win a vote. I will offer a choice, not an echo." Lyndon Johnson thrashed Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election, winning one of the greatest electoral victories in history, but the ideas Goldwater espoused energized the conservative movement. Document 1 comes from Chapter 2 of *The Conscience of a Conservative*. Taking issue with both Democrats and Republicans, Goldwater calls for significant changes in the very nature of government.

Goldwater's stand inspired many. Acolytes organized the Young Americans for Freedom in 1960, articulating their position in what came to be called The Sharon Statement, found in Document 2. In 1962, the Young Americans for Freedom organized a massive rally for Goldwater—two years before his presidential campaign—in New York's Madison Square Garden, hoping to amplify his message and political following.

1. FROM THE CONSCIENCE OF A CONSERVATIVE (1960)

BARRY GOLDWATER

"THE PERILS OF POWER"

The New Deal, Dean Acheson [Secretary of State under Harry Truman] wrote approvingly in a book called *A Democrat Looks At His Party*, "conceived of the federal government as the whole people organized to do what had to be done." A year later Mr. [Arthur] Larson [who held various positions in the Eisenhower Administration] wrote *A Republican Looks At His Party*, and made much the same claim in his book for Modern Republicans. The "underlying philosophy" of the New Republicanism, said Mr. Larson, is that "if a job has to be done to meet the needs of the people, and no one else can do it, then it is the proper function of the federal government."

Here we have, by prominent spokesmen of both political parties, an unqualified repudiation of the principle of limited government. There is no reference by either of them to the Constitution, or any attempt to define the legitimate functions of government. The government can do whatever *needs* to be done; note, too, the implicit but necessary assumption that it is the government itself that determines *what* needs to be done. We must not, I think underestimate the importance of these statements. They reflect the view of a majority of the leaders of one of our parties, and of a strong minority among the leaders of the other, and they propound the first principle of totalitarianism: that the State is competent to do all things and is limited in what it actually does only by the will of those who control the State.

It is clear that this view is in direct conflict with the Constitution which is an instrument, above all,

for *limiting* the functions of government, and which is as binding today as when it was written. But we are advised to go a step further and ask why the Constitution's framers restricted the scope of government. Conservatives are often charged, and in a sense rightly so, with having an overly mechanistic view of the Constitution: "It is America's enabling document; we are American citizens; therefore," the Conservatives' theme runs, "we are morally and legally obliged to comply with the document." All true. But the Constitution has a broader claim on our loyalty than that. The founding fathers had a *reason* for endorsing the principle of limited government; and this reason recommends defense of the constitutional scheme even to those who take their citizenship obligations lightly. The reason is simple, and it lies at the heart of the Conservative philosophy.

Throughout history, government has proved to be the chief instrument for thwarting man's liberty. Government represents power in the hands of some men to control and regulate the lives of other men. And power, as Lord Acton said, *corrupts* men. "Absolute power," he added, "corrupts absolutely."

State power, considered in the abstract, need not restrict freedom: but absolute state power always does. The *legitimate* functions of government are actually conducive to freedom. Maintaining internal order, keeping foreign foes at bay, administering justice, removing obstacles to the free interchange of goods—the exercise of these powers makes it possible for men to follow their chosen pursuits with maximum freedom. But note that the very instrument by which these desirable ends are achieved *can*

be the instrument for achieving undesirable ends—that government can, instead of extending freedom, restrict freedom. And note, secondly, that the “can” quickly becomes “will” the moment the holders of government power are left to their own devices. This is because of the corrupting influence of power, the natural tendency of men who possess *some* power to take unto themselves *more* power. The tendency leads eventually to the acquisition of *all* power—whether in the hands of one or many makes little difference to the freedom of those left on the outside.

Such, then, is history’s lesson, which Messrs. Acheson and Larson evidently did not read: release the holders of state power from any restraints other than those they wish to impose upon themselves, and you are swinging down the well-travelled road to absolutism.

The framers of the Constitution had learned the lesson. They were not only students of history, but victims of it: they knew from vivid, personal experience that freedom depends on effective restraints against the accumulation of power in a single authority. And that is what the Constitution is: *a system of restraints against the natural tendency of government to expand in the direction of absolutism*. We all know the main components of the system. The first is the limitation of the federal government’s authority to specific, delegated powers. The second, a corollary of the first, is the reservation to the States and the people of all power not delegated to the federal government. The third is a careful division of the federal government’s power among three separate branches. The fourth is a prohibition against impetuous alteration of the system—namely, Article V’s tortuous, but wise, amendment procedures. . . .

The system of restraints has fallen into disrepair. The federal government has moved into every field in which it believes its services are needed. The state governments are either excluded from their rightful functions by federal preemption, or they are allowed to act at the sufferance of the federal government. Inside the federal government both the executive and

judicial branches have roamed far outside their constitutional boundary lines. And all of these things have come to pass without regard to the amendment procedures prescribed by Article V. The result is a Leviathan, a vast national authority out of touch with the people, and out of their control. This monolith of power is bounded only by the will of those who sit in high places. . . .

How did it happen? How did our national government grow from a servant with sharply limited powers into a master with virtually unlimited power?

In part, we were swindled. There are occasions when we have elevated men and political parties to power that promised to restore limited government and then proceeded, after their election, to expand the activities of government. But let us be honest with ourselves. Broken promises are not the major causes of our trouble. *Kept* promises are. All too often we have put men in office who have suggested spending a little more on this, a little more on that, who have proposed a new welfare program, who have thought of another variety of “security.” We have taken the bait, preferring to put off to another day the recapture of freedom and the restoration of our constitutional system. We have gone the way of many a democratic society that has lost its freedom by persuading itself that if “the people” rule, all is well. . . .

I am convinced that most Americans now want to reverse the trend. I think that concern for our vanishing freedoms is genuine. I think that the people’s uneasiness in the stifling omnipresence of government has turned into something approaching alarm. But bemoaning the evil will not drive it back, and accusing fingers will not shrink government. *The turn will come when we entrust the conduct of our affairs to men who understand that their first duty as public officials is to divest themselves of the power they have been given*. It will come when Americans, in hundreds of communities throughout the nation, decide to put the man in office who is pledged to enforce the Constitution and restore the Republic.²

2. THE SHARON STATEMENT: FOUNDING PRINCIPLES OF THE YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM (1960)

In this time of moral and political crises, it is the responsibility of the youth of America to affirm certain eternal truths.

We, as young conservatives, believe:

That foremost among the transcendent values is the individual's use of his God-given free will, whence derives his right to be free from the restrictions of

arbitrary force; That liberty is indivisible, and that political freedom cannot long exist without economic freedom;

That the purpose of government is to protect those freedoms through the preservation of internal order, the provision of national defense, and the administration of justice;

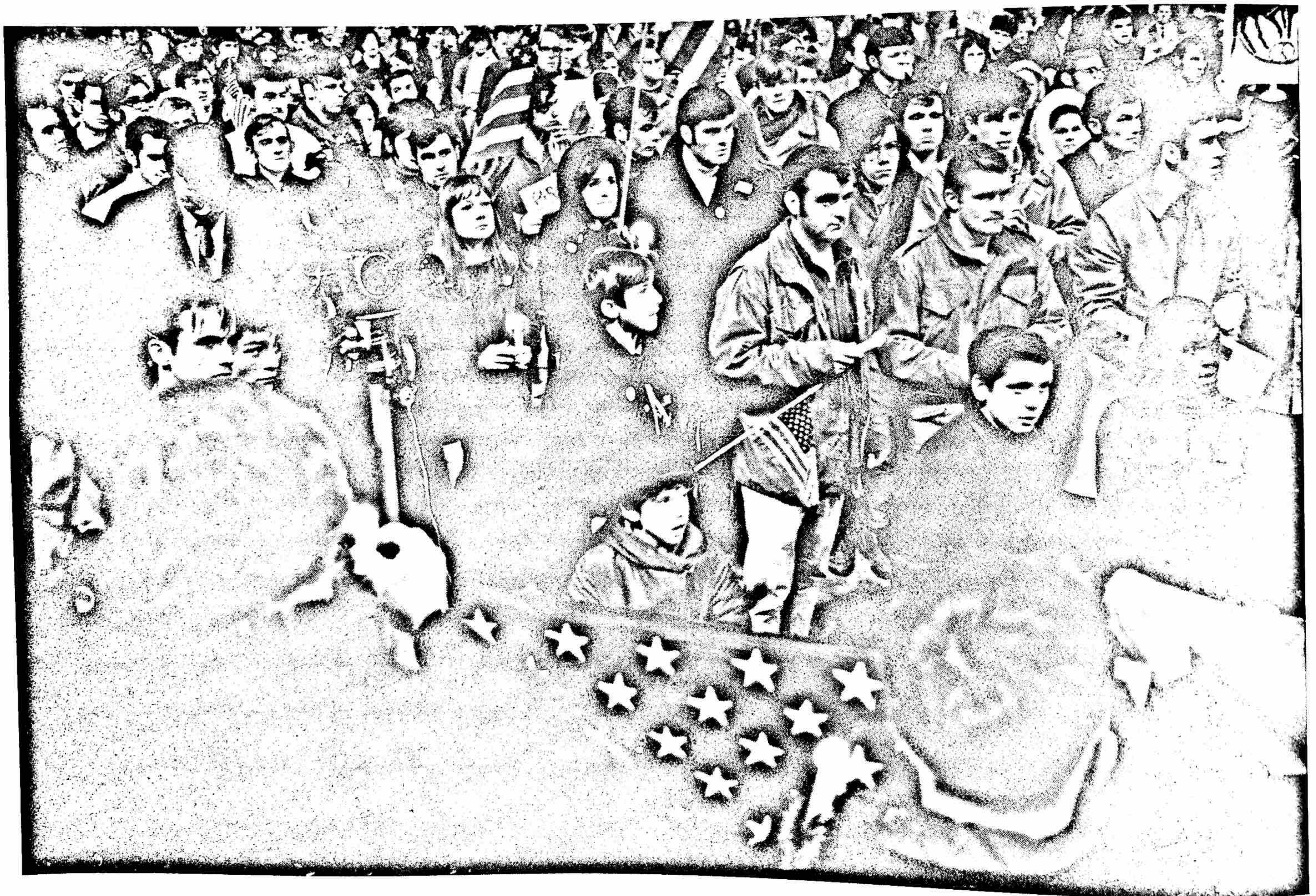


Image 16.2: Rally sponsored by the Young Americans for Freedom in support of the Vietnam War, 1969
The activism evident in the Young Americans for Freedom reveals that the 1960s and 1970s was a time of grassroots organizing on both the political left and right.

Source: Courtesy Special Collections, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

That when government ventures beyond these rightful functions, it accumulates power, which tends to diminish order and liberty;

That the Constitution of the United States is the best arrangement yet devised for empowering government to fulfill its proper role, while restraining it from the concentration and abuse of power;

That the genius of the Constitution—the division of powers—is summed up in the clause that reserves primacy to the several states, or to the people, in those spheres not specifically delegated to the Federal government;

That the market economy, allocating resources by the free play of supply and demand, is the single economic system compatible with the requirements of personal freedom and constitutional government, and that it is at the same time the most productive supplier of human needs;

That when government interferes with the work of the market economy, it tends to reduce the moral and physical strength of the nation; that when it takes from one man to bestow on another, it diminishes the incentive of the first, the integrity of the second, and the moral autonomy of both;

That we will be free only so long as the national sovereignty of the United States is secure; that history shows periods of freedom are rare, and can exist only when free citizens concertedly defend their rights against all enemies;

That the forces of international Communism are, at present, the greatest single threat to these liberties;

That the United States should stress victory over, rather than coexistence with, this menace; and

That American foreign policy must be judged by this criterion: does it serve the just interests of the United States?³

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENT 3

Phyllis Schlafly was a strong backer of Goldwater's bid for the presidency in 1964, and she especially liked his fierce anticommunism and his stand against big government. A constitutional lawyer and conservative activist, Schlafly ardently opposed the more liberal candidate for the Republican nomination, Nelson Rockefeller. By the 1970s, Schlafly became a leader in another branch of conservatism, writing strongly worded polemics against what she perceived to be the misguided nature of feminism. She argued that those who supported abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment failed to understand the unique differences between women and men and aimed to erode the special privileges that women had in a more traditional society. In *The Power of the Positive Woman* (1977), excerpted in Document 3, she argues that feminists threatened a social order built on difference and hierarchy, complementary roles between men and women. Where does she fundamentally part ways with the feminists you read in the prior chapter? In your opinion, does she accurately portray the cause of feminism in the early 1970s? How is her understanding of empowerment different from those depicted in the last chapter?

3. THE POWER OF THE POSITIVE WOMAN (1977)

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

... For a woman to find her identity in the modern world, the path should be sought from the Positive Women who have found the road and possess the map, rather than from those who have not. In this spirit, I share with you the thoughts of one who loves life as a woman and lives life as a woman, whose credentials are from the school of practical experience, and who has learned that fulfillment as a woman is a journey, not a destination. ...

The first requirement for the acquisition of power by the Positive Woman is to understand the differences between men and women. Your outlook on life, your faith your behavior, your potential for fulfillment, all are determined by the parameters of your original premise. ...

The women's liberationist ... is imprisoned by her own negative view of herself. ... Someone—it is not clear who, perhaps God, perhaps the "Establishment," perhaps a conspiracy of male chauvinist pigs—dealt women a foul blow by making them female. It becomes necessary, therefore, for women to agitate and demonstrate and hurl demands on society in order to wrest from an oppressive male-dominated social structure the status that has been wrongfully denied to women through the centuries. ...

Confrontation replaces cooperation as the watchword of all relationships. Women and men become adversaries instead of partners. ... Within the confines of the women's liberationist ideology, therefore, the abolition of this overriding inequality of women becomes the primary goal.

This goal must be achieved at any and all costs. ... Women must be made equal to men in their ability *not* to become pregnant and not to be expected to care for babies they may bring into the world. This is why women's liberationists are compulsively involved in the drive to make abortion and child-care centers for all women, regardless of religion or income, both socially acceptable and government-financed. ...

Finally, women are different from men in dealing with the fundamentals of life itself. Men are philosophers, women are practical, and 'twas ever thus. Men may philosophize about how life began and where we are heading; women are concerned about feeding the kids today. ... Women don't take naturally to a search for the intangible and the abstract. ... Where man is discursive, logical, abstract, or philosophical, woman tends to be emotional, personal, practical, or mystical. Each set of qualities is vital and complements the other.⁴

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENT 4

Conservatives endorsed traditional families, limited government, and free enterprise. Businessmen and politicians like Goldwater believed that the federal government's growing power to tax and regulate threatened free enterprise and even took America down the road to communism. In 1971, Lewis Powell Jr., chairman of the Education Department at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, wrote a strongly worded memo about the road ahead. Powell perceived threats



Image 16.3: STOP ERA rally in front of the White House, February 4, 1977

Phyllis Schlafly became an icon of the conservative movement by leading the charge against the ERA. "Stop Taking Our Privileges" (STOP) captured the concern that the women's movement aimed to fundamentally challenge women's roles and family responsibilities.

Source: Courtesy Warren Leffler, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

to free enterprise on college campuses and in the media. Powell's memo was a call to arms for businessmen to fight back. He urged them to organize, to take cues from the social and political activists that you read about in the last chapter. Powell's memo was highly influential. Between 1974 and 1980 the Chamber of Commerce doubled its membership, and business grew more vocal against government regulation. Businessmen lobbied Washington as never before, engaged public relations firms to promote favorable policies, and contributed enormous resources to candidates and political organizations. Powell's memorandum to the Chamber is Document 4; just a few months after he wrote it, he was appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court by President Richard Nixon.

4. CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM: ATTACK ON AMERICAN FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM (AUGUST 23, 1971)

LEWIS POWELL JR.

DIMENSIONS OF THE ATTACK

No thoughtful person can question that the American economic system is under broad attack. This varies in scope, intensity, in the techniques employed, and in the level of visibility.

There always have been some who opposed the American system, and preferred socialism or some form of statism (communism or fascism). Also, there always have been critics of the system, whose criticism has been wholesome and constructive so long as the objective was to improve rather than to subvert or destroy.

But what now concerns us is quite new in the history of America. We are not dealing with episodic or isolated attacks from a relatively few extremists or even from the minority socialist cadre. Rather, the assault on the enterprise system is broadly based and consistently pursued. It is gaining momentum and converts.

SOURCES OF THE ATTACK

The sources are varied and diffused. They include, not unexpectedly, the Communists, New Leftists and other revolutionaries who would destroy the entire system, both political and economic. . . . But they remain a small minority, and are not yet the principal cause for concern.

The most disquieting voices joining the chorus of criticism, come from perfectly respectable elements of society: from the college campus, the pulpit, the media, the intellectual and literary journals, the arts and sciences, and from politicians. . . .

Moreover, much of the media—for varying motives and in varying degrees—either voluntarily

accords unique publicity to these "attackers," or at least allows them to exploit the media for their purposes. This is especially true of television, which now plays such a predominant role in shaping the thinking, attitudes and emotions of our people.

One of the bewildering paradoxes of our time is the extent to which the enterprise system tolerates, if not participates in, its own destruction.

THE TONE OF THE ATTACK

. . . Although New Leftist spokesmen are succeeding in radicalizing thousands of the young, the greater cause for concern is the hostility of respectable liberals and social reformers. It is the sum total of their views and influence which could indeed fatally weaken or destroy the system. . . .

Perhaps the single most effective antagonist of American business is Ralph Nader who—thanks largely to the media—has become a legend in his own time and an idol of millions of Americans. . . . A frontal assault was made on our government, our system of justice, and the free enterprise system by Yale professor Charles Reich in his widely publicized book: "The Greening of America," published last winter. . . .

THE APATHY AND DEFAULT OF BUSINESS

What has been the response of business to this massive assault upon its fundamental economics, upon its philosophy, upon its right to continue to manage its own affairs, and indeed upon its integrity?

The painfully said truth is that business, including the boards of directors and the top executives of corporations great and small and business organizations at all levels, often have responded—if at all—by

appeasement, ineptitude and ignoring the problem. There are, of course, many exceptions to this sweeping generalization. But the net effect of such response as has been made is scarcely visible.

In all fairness, it must be recognized that businessmen have not been trained or equipped to conduct guerrilla warfare with those who propagandize against the system, seeking insidiously and constantly to sabotage it. The traditional role of business executives has been to manage, to produce, to sell, to create jobs, to make profits, to improve the standard of living, to be community leaders, to serve on charitable and educational boards, and generally to be good citizens. They have performed these tasks very well indeed. . . .

What specifically should be done? . . . A significant first step by individual corporations could well be the designation of an executive vice president . . . whose responsibility is to counter—on the broadest front—the attack on the enterprise system. The public relations department could be one of the foundations assigned to this executive. . . .

But independent and uncoordinated activity by individual corporations, as important as this is, will not be sufficient. Strength lies in organization, in careful long-range planning and implementation, in consistency of action . . . and in the political power available only through united action and national organizations. . . . The role of the National Chamber of Commerce is therefore vital.

THE CAMPUS

The assault on the enterprise system was not mounted in a few months. . . . There is reason to believe that the campus is the single most dynamic source. The social science faculties usually include members who are unsympathetic to the enterprise system. . . . Such faculty members need not be in a majority. They are often personally attractive and magnetic; they are stimulating teachers, and their controversy attracts student following; they are prolific writers and lecturers; they author many of the textbooks; and they exert enormous influence—far out of proportion to their numbers—on their colleagues and in the academic world. . . .

EQUAL TIME ON THE CAMPUS

The Chamber should insist upon equal time on the college speaking circuit. . . .

The two essential ingredients are (i) to have attractive, articulate and well-informed speakers; and (ii) to exert whatever degree of pressure—publicly and privately—may be necessary to assure opportunities to speak. The objective always must be to inform and enlighten, and not merely to propagandize.

THE NEGLECTED POLITICAL ARENA

In the final analysis, the payoff . . . is what government does. Business has been the favorite whipping boy of many politicians for many years. But the measure of how far this has gone is perhaps best found in the anti-business views now being expressed by several leading candidates for President of the United States. . . .

One does not exaggerate to say that, in terms of political influence with respect to the course of legislation and government action, the American business executive is truly the "forgotten man."

Current examples of the impotency of business, and of the near-contempt with which businessmen's views are held, are the stampedes by politicians to support almost any legislation related to "consumerism" or to the "environment." . . .

As unwelcome as it may be to the Chamber, it should consider assuming a broader and more vigorous role in the political arena.

NEGLECTED OPPORTUNITY IN THE COURTS

Perhaps the most active exploiters of the judicial system have been groups ranging in political orientation from "liberal" to the far left.

The American Civil Liberties Union is one example. It initiates or intervenes in scores of cases each year, and it files briefs *amicus curiae* in the Supreme Court in a number of cases during each term of that court. Labor unions, civil rights groups and now the public interest law firms are extremely active in the judicial arena. Their success, often at business' expense, has not been inconsequential.

This is a vast area of opportunity for the Chamber, if it is willing to undertake the role of spokesman

for American business and if, in turn, business is willing to provide the funds. . . .

We in America already have moved very far indeed toward some aspects of state socialism, as the needs and complexities of a vast urban society require types of regulation and control that were quite unnecessary in earlier times. . . . But most of the essential freedoms remain: private ownership, private profit, labor unions, collective bargaining, consumer choice, and a market economy in which competition largely determines price, quality and variety of the goods and services provided the consumer.

In addition to the ideological attack on the system itself...its essentials also are threatened by inequitable taxation, and—more recently—by an inflation which has seemed uncontrollable. But whatever the causes of diminishing economic freedom may be, the truth is that freedom as a concept is indivisible. As the experience of the socialist and totalitarian states demonstrates, the contraction and denial of economic freedom is followed inevitably by governmental restrictions on other cherished rights. It is this message, above all others, that must be carried home to the American people.

L.F.P., Jr.⁵

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENT 5

For conservatives, revolutionary movements that overthrow traditions, radically change governments, or challenge religious authority are deeply suspect. Ronald Reagan viewed the Soviet Union as just such a revolutionary movement. For him the Cold War was not just a geopolitical battle between two superpowers; it was a contest between good and evil. Once again Reagan followed Goldwater's thinking. Goldwater argued that the Truman and Eisenhower administrations underestimated the Soviet Union's will to conquer. Such an enemy cannot be managed, Goldwater argued. Reagan accepted such a Manichean vision of the world. In a speech before the National Association of Evangelicals, a conservative Christian organization, Reagan introduced the notion of the "evil empire." For Reagan, foreign policy was not merely a matter of power but also a moral endeavor.

5. RUSSIA AS AN "EVIL EMPIRE" (1983)

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

During my first press conference as President, in answer to a direct question, I pointed out that, as good Marxist-Leninists, the Soviet leaders have openly and publicly declared that the only morality they recognize is that which will further their cause, which is world revolution. I think I should point out

I was only quoting Lenin, their guiding spirit, who said in 1920 that they repudiate all morality that proceeds from supernatural ideas—that's their name for religion—or ideas that are outside class conceptions. Morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of class war. And everything is moral that is necessary



Image 16.4: Ronald Reagan in the White House, undated

Ronald Reagan's winning style and strong anti-Communist convictions drew a large following, swaying many former Democrats to the Republican Party.

Source: Courtesy Carol M. Highsmith Archive, Library of Congress.

for the annihilation of the old, exploiting social order and for uniting the proletariat. . . .

This doesn't mean we should isolate ourselves and refuse to seek an understanding with them. I intend to do everything I can to persuade them of our peaceful intent, to remind them that it was the West that refused to use its nuclear monopoly in the forties and fifties for territorial gain and which now proposes 50-percent cut in strategic ballistic missiles and the elimination of an entire class of land-based, intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

At the same time, however, they must be made to understand we will never compromise our principles and standards. We will never give away our freedom. We will never abandon our belief in God. And we will never stop searching for a genuine peace. . . .

Yes, let us pray for the salvation of all of those who live in that totalitarian darkness—pray they will discover the joy of knowing God. But until they do, let us be aware that while they preach the supremacy of the state, declare its omnipotence over individual man, and predict its eventual domination of all

peoples on the Earth, they are the focus of evil in the modern world. . . .

So, I urge you to speak out against those who would place the United States in a position of military and moral inferiority. . . . I urge you to beware the temptation of pride—the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.

I ask you to resist the attempts of those who would have you withhold your support for our efforts, this administration's efforts, to keep America strong and free, while we negotiate real and verifiable reductions in the world's nuclear arsenals and one day, with God's help, their total elimination.

While America's military strength is important, let me add here that I've always maintained that the struggle now going on for the world will never be decided by bombs or rockets, by armies or military

might. The real crisis we face today is a spiritual one; at root, it is a test of moral will and faith. . . .

. . . I believe we shall rise to the challenge. I believe that communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written. I believe this because the source of our strength in the quest for human freedom is not material, but spiritual. And because it knows no limitation, it must terrify and ultimately triumph over those who would enslave their fellow man.

For in the words of Isaiah: "He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might He increased strength. . . . But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary. . . ."

Yes, change your world. One of our Founding Fathers, Thomas Paine, said, "We have it within our power to begin the world over again." We can do it, doing together what no one church could do by itself. God bless you, and thank you very much.⁶

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENT 6

Fundamentalist Christians have become a bulwark of conservative politics. They have advocated and fought for a series of social, political, and moral positions, from antiabortion legislation and the right to school prayer to balanced budgets and defense spending. Conservative Christians have used mass media, particularly television, to preach their message and have proven particularly adept at forming grassroots organizations. They have decided the outcomes of many elections, especially when "cultural" issues—gay rights, evolution versus creationism, as well as abortion and school prayer—became salient. Marion Gordon "Pat" Robertson, founder and chairman of the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), was one of the most powerful conservative Christian voices in the second half of the twentieth century. A son of a congressman and senator, a marine during the Korean War, and the author of numerous books, Robertson was known to his viewers for his warm smile and his iron opinions. In 1988, at the end of Ronald Reagan's term, he made a bid for the presidency. In the following speech, he summarized what he and other conservative Christians believed was wrong—and right—about America. When his candidacy faltered, he endorsed the Republican candidate George Bush.

6. PAT ROBERTSON LAUNCHES HIS PRESIDENTIAL BID, CONSTITUTION HALL (SEPTEMBER 17, 1986)

On September 17, 1787, just 199 years ago today, 391 men meeting in solemn assembly at Independence Hall in Philadelphia voted their approval of a document drafted on behalf of the people of the United

States to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." . . .

A vision was born on this date of a nation united—a nation whose official motto was *E Pluribus Unum*—out of many one. The vision born on September 17 was of one nation—under God—with liberty and justice for all. . . .

Our First President who had presided over the Constitutional Convention in his farewell address declared, "Reason and experience forbid us to expect public morality in the absence of religious principal."

Our Second President, John Adams, whose wisdom was key to the drafting of our Constitution said, "We have not government armed with power capable of contending with human passions unbridled by morality and religion. Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other."

And our Third President, Thomas Jefferson, the author of our Declaration of Independence, gave us solemn warning, "And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis—a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? And they are not to be violated but with His wrath."

WARNINGS DISREGARDED

Yet despite these warnings, we have permitted during the past 25 years an assault on our faith and values that would have been unthinkable to past generations of Americans. We have taken virtually all mention of God from our classrooms and textbooks. Using public funds we have begun courses in so called "values clarification" which tend to undermine our historic Judeo-Christian faith. We have taken the Holy Bible from our young and replaced it with the thoughts of Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, and John Dewey. A small elite of lawyers, judges, and educators have given us such a tortured view of the establishment of religion clause of the First Amendment to our Constitution that it has been called by one United States Senator "an intellectual scandal."

Instead of absolutes, our youth have been given situational ethics and the life centered curriculum. Instead of a clear knowledge of right and wrong, they have been told "if it feels good do it." Instead of

self-restraint they are often taught self-gratification and hedonism.

WHAT WE HAVE PAID

Our motion pictures, our television, our radio, our youth concerts, with a few outstanding exceptions, seem to have a single message—God is out, casual sex, infidelity and easy divorce, the recreational use of drugs, and radical lifestyles are in. . . .

There are 1,000,000 illegitimate pregnancies to unwed teenagers every year in our country. Of these, 400,000 babies are aborted—yet 600,000 babies are born each year to youngsters hardly old enough to be away from their parents. In the black community, according to a CBS report, 60% of all births are to women without a man in residence.

On the darker side of society an estimated 1/4 of all our children are sexually assaulted while they are growing up, and each year between 1.2 and 1.5 million teenagers are either runaways or throwaways. And to match our new sexual freedom this year there will be an estimated 8.6 million new cases of venereal disease in our country, and the dread incurable killer AIDS may have already infected 1,000,000 Americans.

Our schools, with what is called "progressive education," have become progressively worse. We have in our society 27 million functional illiterates. Each year we add 2.3 million to their number. Instead of being the most literate nation on earth, we rank number 14 among the developed nations in literacy and we are falling fast.

WHAT THE LIBERAL ELITE SAY

Now in 1986 the same liberal elites that gave us the problem deny the cause and tell us that this is a problem for government. Ladies and gentlemen, what we are facing is not a governmental problem, it is a moral problem.

Human cruelty, human selfishness, alcoholism, drug addiction, and sexual promiscuity will always bring poverty and the disintegration of society. The answer for us does not lie in institutionalizing aberrant behavior—whether that behavior is substance abuse or sexual perversion. And certainly the answer

does not lie in once again penalizing the productive sector of our society with high taxes and wasteful spending.

... We must guarantee

1. New tougher discipline in drug and alcohol free schools. For our children and grandchildren we will eliminate once and for all from our land the mob supported drugs and pornography which is destroying and debasing their dream of the future.
2. We will insure to them a return to a basic broad based phonics approach to reading. Our children must learn basic language and basic math.

They must know the facts of history—the facts of geography—the facts of science. The “progressive education” advocated by John Dewey and his followers is a colossal failure and must be abandoned.

3. For our children’s and grandchildren’s sake we must insure that control of education is returned to their parents and caring teachers in local communities, and taken away from a powerful union with leftist tendencies.
4. There can be no education without morality, and there can be no lasting morality without religion. For the sake of our children, we must bring God back to the classrooms of America!⁷

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENT 7

Reagan’s two-term presidency was followed by that of his vice president, George H. W. Bush. After just one term in 1992, however, Bush faced a rival within his own party for the presidential nomination, Patrick Buchanan. Buchanan had worked for Presidents Nixon and Reagan but found George Bush too liberal for his taste on issues such as taxation and immigration. Buchanan won a substantial minority of the primary vote but ultimately failed to win the Republican nomination and threw his support behind Bush. Perhaps most significant is Buchanan’s style of conservatism: populist, defiant, antiestablishment, nationalistic, and unabashedly antiliberal. Document 7 is a portion of Buchanan’s concession speech after the Republican primaries in 1992. He began with an attack on the Democrats and their recently completed convention.

7. PATRICK BUCHANAN’S CONCESSION SPEECH (1992)

... Like many of you last month, I watched that giant masquerade ball at Madison Square Garden—where 20,000 radicals and liberals came dressed up as moderates and centrists—in the greatest single exhibition of cross-dressing in American political history.

One by one, the prophets of doom appeared at the podium. The Reagan decade, they moaned, was a terrible time in America; and the only way to prevent even worse times, they said, is to entrust our nation’s fate and future to the party that gave us McGovern, Mondale, Carter and Michael Dukakis.

No way, my friends. The American people are not going to buy back into the failed liberalism of the 1960s and '70s—no matter how slick the package in 1992. . . .

Mr. Clinton, however, has a different agenda.

At its top is unrestricted abortion on demand. When the Irish-Catholic governor of Pennsylvania, Robert Casey, asked to say a few words on behalf of the 25 million unborn children destroyed since *Roe v. Wade*, he was told there was no place for him at the podium of Bill Clinton's convention, no room at the inn.

Yet a militant leader of the homosexual rights movement could rise at that convention and exult: "Bill Clinton and Al Gore represent the most pro-lesbian and pro-gay ticket in history." And so they do.

Bill Clinton supports school choice—but only for state-run schools. Parents who send their children to Christian schools, or Catholic schools, need not apply.

Elect me, and you get two for the price of one, Mr. Clinton says of his lawyer-spouse. And what does Hillary believe? Well, Hillary believes that 12-year-olds should have a right to sue their parents, and she has compared marriage as an institution to slavery—and life on an Indian reservation.

Well, speak for yourself, Hillary.

Friends, this is radical feminism. The agenda Clinton & Clinton would impose on America—abortion on demand, a litmus test for the Supreme Court, homosexual rights, discrimination against religious schools, women in combat—that's change, all right. But it is not the kind of change America wants. It is not the kind of change America needs. And it is not the kind of change we can tolerate in a nation that we still call God's country.

My friends, this election is about much more than who gets what. It is about who we are. It is about what we believe. It is about what we stand for as Americans. There is a religious war going on in our country for the soul of America. It is a cultural war, as critical to the kind of nation we will one day be as was the Cold War itself. And in that struggle for the soul of America, Clinton & Clinton are on the other side, and George Bush is on our side. And so, we have to come home, and stand beside him.

My friends, in those 6 months [during the primaries], from Concord to California, I came to know

our country better than ever before in my life, and I collected memories that will be with me always.

There was that day long ride through the great state of Georgia in a bus Vice President Bush himself had used in 1988—a bus they called Asphalt One. The ride ended with a 9:00 PM speech in front of a magnificent southern mansion, in a town called Fitzgerald.

There were the workers at the James River Paper Mill, in the frozen North Country of New Hampshire—hard, tough men, one of whom was silent, until I shook his hand. Then he looked up in my eyes and said, "Save our jobs!" There was the legal secretary at the Manchester airport on Christmas Day who told me she was going to vote for me, then broke down crying, saying, "I've lost my job, I don't have any money; they're going to take away my daughter. What am I going to do?"

My friends, even in tough times, these people are with us. They don't read Adam Smith or Edmund Burke, but they came from the same schoolyards and playgrounds and towns as we did. They share our beliefs and convictions, our hopes and our dreams. They are the conservatives of the heart.

They are our people. And we need to reconnect with them. We need to let them know we know they're hurting. They don't expect miracles, but they need to know we care.

There were the people of Hayfork, the tiny town high up in California's Trinity Alps, a town that is now under a sentence of death because a federal judge has set aside 9 million acres for the habitat of the spotted owl—forgetting about the habitat of the men and women who live and work in Hayfork. And there were the brave people of Koreatown who took the worst of the LA riots, but still live the family values we treasure, and who still believe deeply in the American dream.

Friends, in those wonderful 25 weeks, the saddest days were the days of the bloody riot in LA, the worst in our history. But even out of that awful tragedy can come a message of hope. Hours after the violence ended I visited the Army compound in south LA, where an officer of the 18th Cavalry, that had come to rescue the city, introduced me to two of his troopers. They could not have been 20 years old. He told them to recount their story.

They had come into LA late on the 2nd day, and they walked up a dark street, where the mob had looted and burned every building but one, a convalescent home for the aged. The mob was heading in, to ransack and loot the apartments of the terrified old men and women. When the troopers arrived, M-16s at the ready, the mob threatened and cursed, but the mob retreated. It had met the one thing that could stop it: force, rooted in justice, backed by courage.

Greater love than this hath no man than that he lay down his life for his friend. Here were 19-year-old boys ready to lay down their lives to stop a mob from molesting old people they did not even know. And as they took back the streets of LA, block by block, so we must take back our cities, and take back our culture, and take back our country.

God bless you, and God bless America.⁸

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENT 8

Conservatives held the White House under Reagan and Bush, but the election of Bill Clinton in 1992 ushered a new group into power—men and women who disagreed with conservatives about the role of government in the economy and society. Though a centrist Democrat, Clinton certainly believed in many traditional Democratic policies that clashed with the ideas of conservative Republicans in the House of Representatives and the Senate. During the 1994 elections, Republican Congressman Newt Gingrich proposed a plan that combined many of conservatives' favorite economic, political, social, and cultural themes. As such, it was an extension of the ideas of Barry Goldwater. The "Contract with America" helped the Republicans regain control of both houses of Congress in 1994, with Gingrich becoming Speaker of the House. The entire plan was never enacted, and Clinton was reelected president two years later in 1996. However, the Contract with America became a statement of conservative positions and a template for Republican policy-makers well into the twenty-first century.

8. CONTRACT WITH AMERICA (1994)

CONGRESSMAN NEWT GINGRICH

As Republican Members of the House of Representatives and as citizens seeking to join that body we propose not just to change its policies, but even more important, to restore the bonds of trust between the people and their elected representatives.

That is why, in this era of official evasion and posturing, we offer instead a detailed agenda for national renewal, a written commitment with no fine print.

This year's election offers the chance, after four decades of one-party control, to bring to the House a new majority that will transform the way Congress works. That historic change would be the end of government that is too big, too intrusive, and too easy with the public's money. It can be the beginning of a Congress that respects the values and shares the faith of the American family. . . .

... Within the first 100 days of the 104th Congress, we shall bring to the House Floor the following bills, each to be given full and open debate, each to be given a clear and fair vote and each to be immediately available this day for public inspection and scrutiny.

1. **THE FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT**
A balanced budget/tax limitation amendment and a legislative line-item veto to restore fiscal responsibility to an out-of-control Congress, requiring them to live under the same budget constraints as families and businesses.
2. **THE TAKING BACK OUR STREETS ACT**
An anti-crime package including stronger truth-in-sentencing, "good faith" exclusionary rule exemptions, effective death penalty provisions, and cuts in social spending from this summer's "crime" bill to fund prison construction and additional law enforcement to keep people secure in their neighborhoods and kids safe in their schools.
3. **THE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT**
Discourage illegitimacy and teen pregnancy by prohibiting welfare to minor mothers and denying increased AFDC for additional children while on welfare, cut spending for welfare programs, and enact a tough two-years-and-out provision with work requirements to promote individual responsibility.
4. **THE FAMILY REINFORCEMENT ACT**
Child support enforcement, tax incentives for adoption, strengthening rights of parents in their children's education, stronger child pornography laws, and an elderly dependent care tax credit to reinforce the central role of families in American society.
5. **THE AMERICAN DREAM RESTORATION ACT**
A \$500 per child tax credit, begin repeal of the marriage tax penalty, and creation of American

Dream Savings Accounts to provide middle class tax relief.

6. **THE NATIONAL SECURITY RESTORATION ACT**
No U.S. troops under U.N. command and restoration of the essential parts of our national security funding to strengthen our national defense and maintain our credibility around the world.
 7. **THE SENIOR CITIZENS FAIRNESS ACT**
Raise the Social Security earnings limit which currently forces seniors out of the work force, repeal the 1993 tax hikes on Social Security benefits and provide tax incentives for private long-term care insurance to let Older Americans keep more of what they have earned over the years.
 8. **THE JOB CREATION AND WAGE ENHANCEMENT ACT**
Small business incentives, capital gains cut and indexation, neutral cost recovery, risk assessment/cost-benefit analysis, strengthening the Regulatory Flexibility Act and unfunded mandate reform to create jobs and raise worker wages.
 9. **THE COMMON SENSE LEGAL REFORM ACT**
"Loser pays" laws, reasonable limits on punitive damages and reform of product liability laws to stem the endless tide of litigation.
 10. **THE CITIZEN LEGISLATURE ACT**
Further, we will instruct the House Budget Committee to report to the floor and we will work to enact additional budget savings, beyond the budget cuts specifically included in the legislation described above, to ensure that the Federal budget deficit will be less than it would have been without the enactment of these bills.
- Respecting the judgment of our fellow citizens as we seek their mandate for reform, we hereby pledge our names to this Contract with America.

POSTSCRIPT

In the years before World War II, the foreign policy outlook of many conservative Republicans was deeply isolationist. Their strong desire to avoid unnecessary foreign entanglements resumed for a while after the fighting ended, even as the Cold War heated up. Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, "Mr. Republican," as he was known, exemplified this strain in conservative thought. But conservatism gradually became more closely associated with activist foreign policy. Despite his skepticism of the federal government, Barry Goldwater advocated a muscular military stance

against communism, as did President Nixon ten years after the publication of *The Conscience of a Conservative*. President Reagan continued this expansion of military commitments. By the new century, the Presidency of George W. Bush embraced a wide-ranging engagement with the world, including two wars and "nation building" in the Middle East as a response to the 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City. Though the Cold War had ended ten years earlier, metaphors of diabolical, merciless, rapacious evil continued, and so did the Manichean view of the world and the sense of America was under siege. President Bush told the nation,

... What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, our war against terror is only beginning. Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning. . . .

Our nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives. First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world. . . .

Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom.

Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens—leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. . . .

States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic. . . .

I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons.

Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be finished on our watch—yet it must be and it will be waged on our watch. . . .⁹

Claiming that Iraq was building chemical and nuclear "weapons of mass destruction," the United States invaded that country in 2003. The war lasted nearly a decade, with hundreds of thousands of Iraqis dead, hundreds of thousands more injured or displaced, and nearly 5,000 Americans killed. The long-term costs to the United States are estimated at between \$2 trillion and \$3 trillion. After the war, the Middle East was as unstable as ever, new strains of terrorism evolved. No weapons of mass destruction were ever found.

QUESTIONS

1. Do you think conservative views on foreign policy necessarily reinforce conservative domestic ideals, or are these two sets of beliefs sometimes contradictory? More generally, do you find conservative thinking to be consistent, or has it changed with time and circumstances?
2. Compare the messages between the insurgent Republicans, Pat Robertson and Patrick Buchanan. Do they share rhetoric, goals, and visions for America's political future? Compare Robertson and Buchanan with Reagan; do they differ much?
3. Why would the Religious Right support the Republican Party more than the Democratic Party or some third-party movement? What role does religious ideology play in modern conservatism?
4. Do you see similarities between Lewis Powell's agenda and that of Pat Robertson and George W. Bush, or do they express fundamentally different messages and goals?
5. How is Newt Gingrich's Contract with America a fundamentally conservative document?
6. Contrast the underlying political philosophy expressed in Chapter 15 with that of this chapter.

ADDITIONAL READING

A very good introduction to the history of modern conservative thought is Russell Kirk, ed., *The Portable Conservative Reader* (1982). Rowland Berthoff, *An Unsettled People: Social Order and Disorder in American History* (1971) presents a conservative interpretation of American history. Recent works on conservatism include Jennifer Burns, *Goddess of the Market: Ayn Rand and the American Right* (2009); Michael Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion* (1995); Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (2001); Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage* (1995); John Andrew, *The Other Side of the Sixties* (1997); Mary C. Brennan, *Turning Right in the Sixties* (1995); Kim Phelps-Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan* (2009); Harvey Kaye, *The Powers of the Past* (1992); Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, *Barry Goldwater and the Remaking of the American Political Landscape* (2013); and Michelle Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism* (2014). Also see Lee Edwards, *The Conservative Revolution: The Movement That Remade America* (1999); Robert Alan Goldberg, *Barry Goldwater* (1995); and George Will, *The Woven Figure: Conservatism and the American Fabric* (1997). For histories of the movement written by one of its chief intellectual inspirations, see Irving Kristol, *Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea* (1995) and *The Neoconservative Persuasion* (2011). On the youth movement, see Gregory L. Schneider, *Cadres for Conservatism: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of the Contemporary Right* (1998). On the antiwar strain of American conservatism, see Bill Kaufman, *Ain't My America* (2008). Other works include Robert Brent Toplin, *Radical Conservatism* (2006); Ronald Story and Bruce Laury, eds. *The Rise of Conservatism in America* (2007); and Gregory Schneider, *Conservatism in America since 1930* (2003).

ENDNOTES

1. Patrick Buchanan "Introduction," in *The Conscience of a Conservative*, by Barry Goldwater (New York: MFJ Books, 1990).
2. Barry Goldwater, *The Conscience of a Conservative* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007, originally published 1960).