CHAPTER 41

Resurgence of Conservatism, 1980–2000

Key questions: How permanent is the Reagan-era repudiation of New Deal liberalism? How dangerous was the military buildup under Reagan? What caused the collapse of the Soviet Union? What should be the U.S. role in the post–Cold War world? How can we balance social justice and economic growth?

1.	Reagan and the New Conservatism (pp. 976–979) a. Ronald Reagan became the spokesman for a resurgent conservative movement in the early 1980s which merged the economic concerns of the " Right" with the social concerns of the " Right" activists such as the Majority. Summarize the basic positions of these two conservative groups on the following.
	(1) Economic issues:
	(2) Social issues:
	b. Reagan defeated the incumbent Jimmy by a wide margin in the election of 19 On p. 977, how do the authors compare Reagan to his early hero Franklin Roosevelt?
	(1) Similarities:
	(2) Differences:
2.	Reagan Revolution (pp. 979–981) a. Social Security, Medicare, unemployment insurance, and welfare are examples of "entitlement" programs, that had been growing at a rapid pace as a result of New Deal and Great Society initiatives. *** What are entitlements and why do you think that these types of expenditures are more difficult to control than other government costs such as defense, transportation, or education?
	(1) "Entitlement" programs:
	(2) Difficult to control:
	b. On p. 980, the authors say that Reagan "now proceeded to rattle the 'welfare state' to its very foundations." What did his domestic program, called "" economics or "," do in the following areas?
	(1) Welfare programs:
	(2) Taxes:
	(3) Military expenditures:

3.	Reagan Renews Cold War (pp. 981–987) a. Reagan's huge military expenditures, including a planned high-tech defensive shield against Soviet missiles nicknamed (name of a popular movie), was partly designed to accelerate purposefully the highly dangerous arms race to the point where the weaker Soviet economy could not keep up. Why, on p. 982, do the authors call this strategy "a riverboat gambler's ploy"?
	b. Like Theodore Roosevelt, Reagan pursued an aggressive foreign policy, particularly in Central America where he actively supported the "" rebels against the leftist "Sandinista" government in
	resets against the lettist. Sandinistal government in
	c. Reagan was re-elected in 1984 over Democrat Walter and his running mate Geraldine He then began to establish a personal relationship with the new Soviet leader Mikhail, who was trying to institute policies of openness to new ideas, called (Russian word), and a more capitalistic economic restructuring, called
	(Russian word). He could not do this and compete with the United States militarily, so he was forced to deal. In four summit meetings, the two leaders agreed on weapons reductions and other matters that basically brought the Cold War to an end (and eventually led to the collapse of the Soviet Union). Reagan had talked, and acted, tough while being willing to deal and the authors congratulate both leaders on the outcome. *** What do you think might have happened, though, if the United States had miscalculated and if the Russians had responded to the U.S. military escalation with an equally hostile additional nuclear buildup of their own? Why do you think that Gorbachev today may be considerably more popular in America than in Russia?
	(1) Consequence of U.S. miscalculation:
	d. In 1986–1987, Reagan's two-fisted anticommunism and the eagerness of his staff backfired badly in the so-called "Iran" affair. When Congress wouldn't fund those trying to overthrow the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, Reagan staffers Oliver and John arranged to sell arms to Iran in return for help freeing hostages in the Middle East, then used the money surreptitiously to fund the contras.
4.	Reagan's Legacy (pp. 987–990)
	a. How do the authors summarize Reagan's economic legacy?
	(1) Budget deficits and national debt (chart, p. 986):
	(2) Containment of the welfare state:
	(3). Income gap between rich and poor (chart, p. 988):
	b. *** How do future generations pay when governments run up big annual budget deficits?

	c. The Rev. Jerry and his Moral are used as examples of the growing political power of the religious right. Reagan judicial appointees, including the first woman Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day, began to carry out this conservative social agenda. Two cases, especially the 1989 v. Reproductive Health Services case, began to chip away at the abortion rights guarantees of Roe v *** Do you have a view on the proper stance of the federal government relative to abortion?
	d. Page 990 summarizes some of the ethical lapses of the Reagan administration, the savings-and-loan and bank bailouts, and the financial wheeling-dealing characteristic of the 1980s. However, Reagan's VP George defeated Democrat Michael in the 1988 election.
5.	End of the Cold War (pp. 990–994) The speed with which the stampede toward more democratic forms of government took place in the late 1980s was truly astounding. China introduced capitalist principles into its economy, but remained staunchly communist politically, violently subduing a prodemocracy movement in
	(1) Future of democracy:(2) Ethnic conflicts:(3) U.S. foreign policy:(4) U.S. economy:
6.	Persian Gulf War (pp. 994–996) With the Cold War over and the world more united than at any time since 1945, Saddam picked a bad time to try to take over oil-rich Kuwait in 1990. With Russian cooperation, the Nations approved first economic sanctions and then military action against Iraq. The United States assembled a multinational force under General "Stormin' Norman", which unleashed precision bombing and a four-day invasion of Iraq code-named "Operation" Though defeated, Saddam was not removed from power and the Middle East region remained extremely unstable. *** Why do you think the United States moved so aggressively when one small country invaded another on the other side of the world?
7.	Bush to Clinton (pp. 996–1000) This section focuses on the social and economic issues that dominated the Bush administration. The lightening rod was Bush's nomination of conservative African-American Clarence to the Supreme Court. His anti-affirmative action and supposedly anti-abortion stance were highlighted at his ultimately successful televised confirmation hearings. These hearings were further dramatized by charges of sexual harassment from former associate Anita On the economic front, a stagnant economy and continued high budget deficits haunted Bush and opened the way for a Democratic challenge in the 1992 election. In this election, young, energetic, and telegenic Democrat Bill of

	defeated the incumbent George and third-party candidate Ross
	Though previously a quite liberal Democrat, Clinton's term in office is covered in a chapter titled "The Resurgence of Conservatism." Look at the author's discussion of the Democratic Council
	on p. 999. How and why did Clinton and other "" Democrats help change the orientation of the Democratic Party prior to this election?
8.	Clinton's Diverse Domestic Agenda (pp. 1000–1005) a. Though some 37 million people were without healthcare coverage, Clinton made a major political blunder early in
	his administration by proposing an overly complex and ultimately defeated healthcare reform package put together by a task force led by his wife She then retreated to the background and Clinton contented himself with pushing more moderate efforts such as gun control legislation and deficit reduction measures. In 1994, a
	conservative reaction led by Rep. Newt and his " with America" produced a strong right-wing majority in Congress. This Congress, with some support from Clinton, produced the
	Reform Bill of 1996, which has combined drastically reduced welfare benefits with incentives for recipients to be trained for and find employment. However, the radical Republicans quickly overplayed their hand
	and Clinton was able to defeat easily the Republican candidate Robert in the 1996 election. Economic performance strengthened in the late 1990s, led by new advances in technology, communications, and the
	internet. Increased tax revenues led to government surpluses for the first time in decades and led to debates about whether these surpluses should be used to pay the national debt or to reduce taxes. Clinton supported growing trends
	toward "globalization" by pushing the North American Agreement (NAFTA) and creation of the Organization (WTO). Protests against these trends emerged at a WTO meeting in in 1999. *** What does the term <i>globalization</i> mean to you?
	meeting in in 1999. What does the term globalization mean to you?
	b. The authors also discuss here the growing efforts to make companies pay for the staggering public health costs of smoking and the battle with the National Association (NRA) over the easy availability of handguns. *** Do you feel that stronger government restrictions on the ownership of handguns would be the solution to increasing violence like the violence that occurred at High School in Colorado in 1999?
9.	Clinton Overseas (pp. 1005–1007) The authors here mention the search for a new post–Cold War international strategy and mention the rather ad hoc involvement in Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Middle East under Clinton. *** What are your thoughts on America's new international role? Should we get involved in international crises only when our direct interests are clearly at stake? Or should we intervene when we feel that people are in danger or that instability may spread? Should we act alone or as part of international groupings?
10.	Clinton to Bush II (pp. 1007–1011) Scandal related to his personal conduct hounded Clinton. Beginning with an investigation of some land dealings, special prosecutor Kenneth nabbed Clinton for lying about a sexual affair with former intern Monica The Republicans in the House seized on this to bring articles of impeachment, but the Senate trial concluded that his reprehensible actions did not constitute "high crimes and misdemeanors." In the 2000 election, the challenge for Democratic candidate Al was to distance himself
	from this scandal while taking credit for the strong economy. Though winning in the popular vote, he lost in the Electoral College to Republican George W after the Supreme Court finally ruled on disputed ballots and procedures in the key state of

VARYING VIEWPOINTS

Modern Conservatism

1.	In the first two paragraphs, how do the authors describe the traditional view of conservatives held by the "progressive" and "New Left" historians?
2.	In paragraph 4, how do the authors say that some historians writing in the Reagan era re-evaluated this traditional interpretation?
3.	In paragraph 3, the authors say that "what flowed out of the turbulent decade of the 1960s was not a strengthened liberalism, but a revived conservatism." List three developments of the 1960s and 1970s that the authors indicate (in paragraph 5) may have challenged traditional beliefs and thereby contributed to the conservative reaction and revival of the late twentieth century. (1)
	(2)
	(3)