Question 5

Explain the social, economic, and foreign policy goals of New Right conservatives from the 1960s to the 1980s and assess the degree to which the Reagan administration succeeded in implementing these goals in the 1980s.

0–9 points

The 8–9 Essay
- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that addresses all parts of the question.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information.
- Provides effective analysis of the topic; treatment of multiple parts may be somewhat uneven.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the quality of the answer.
- Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay
- Contains a partially developed thesis that addresses the question.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant historical information.
- Provides some analysis of the topic, but treatment of multiple parts may be uneven.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

The 2–4 Essay
- Contains an unfocused or limited thesis, or simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information, or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- May address the question only partially, with limited or no analysis, or is largely descriptive.
- May have major errors.
- May be poorly organized or written, or both.

The 0–1 Essay
- Lacks a thesis or simply repeats the question.
- Demonstrates an irrelevant or inappropriate response, or is off topic (0).
- Has numerous errors.
- Is organized or written so poorly, or both, that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay
- Is blank.
**Ideological Big Picture**

- **Social**
  - Opposition to desegregation
  - Traditional values
- **Economics**
  - Pro-market
- **Foreign policy**
  - Strident anticommunism
  - Eliminate, not just contain, communism
  - Build a more powerful military
  - Take a harder line against communists abroad

**Reagan Successes Big Picture**

- Reagan Revolution
- Reagan Coalition
- Reagan Democrats

**Social Goals**

- Less active government in domestic affairs
- Antifeminist; opposed to Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); anti-abortion; anti-gay rights
- Anticommunism at home
- Opposed enforcement of civil rights: affirmative action as “reverse discrimination,” anti-busing, George Wallace campaign
- Supported school prayer; opposed sex education (popular issues for women in grassroots conservatism)
- Condemned looser moral standards of 1960s
- Promoted law and order
- Young Americans for Freedom; Sharon Statement (free market, personal freedom; limited government)
- Barry Goldwater; Phyllis Schlafly, *A Choice Not an Echo* (1964), Stop ERA
- Silent majority
- Southern Strategy
- White backlash against black militancy
- Richard Viguerie and Paul Weyrich direct-mail fundraising
- National Conservative Political Action Committee founded (Viguerie)
- American Enterprise Institute; Heritage Foundation (Joseph Coors)
- Neoconservatives
- Evangelical Activism
  - Resistance to *Roe v. Wade*
  - James Dobson, Focus on the Family; Jerry Falwell, Moral Majority; Pat Robertson, Christian Coalition, *700 Club* (Christian Broadcasting Network); Ralph Reed
- *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, quota system unconstitutional (1978)
Implementation

- Promised to “take government off the backs of the people”
- Opposed extension of the Voting Rights Act
- War on Drugs, campaign to Just Say No to drugs
- Limited attention to and funding for AIDS research
- Defeat of ERA (1982)
- Conservative Supreme Court appointments (Scalia, Rehnquist) Court issues: “textualism,” “original intent”
- Sun Belt population shift and increased conservatism
- “Government is not the solution to our problems, government is the problem;” tax relief, deregulation, smaller government, end of busing, quotas in hiring

Economics

Goals

- Laissez-faire economics: government should not interfere in the marketplace
- Trickle-down economics (Andrew Mellon as inspiration): Reaganomics, supply-side, Laffer curve
  - Lower taxes on individuals and corporations
  - Deregulation of industries (e.g., airline industry, savings and loans)
- Opposition to social welfare
- Lower taxes on individuals and corporations
  - California’s 1978 Proposition 13
- Relaxed environmental protective measures
- Neoliberal economics (chronologically accurate descriptor of economic policy characterized by capitalism, globalism, and free-market policy)

Implementation

- Deregulation of industry, banking, etc.
- Nonenforcement of environmental legislation (cutting of Environmental Protection Agency’s budget)
- Budget Reconciliation Act, 1981 (reduction on federal social spending — cut funds for food stamps, job training, aid to students, limitations on Medicare and Medicaid payments)
- Tax cuts for wealthy and corporations
- Weakened organized labor
- PATCO strike; 11,000 fired
- Class stratification, emergence of an underclass
- Victory over inflation
- Secretary of the Interior James Watts opened public lands to development
- Allowed automobile industry to relax implementation of new safety standards
- Unemployment dropped; Gross Domestic Product increased
- Stock market grew (crashed in 1987, but recovered)
- Savings and loan crisis
- Increased national debt (tripled under Ronald Reagan)
Question 5 (continued)

- Decline of manufacturing
- Deindustrialization
- Laffer Curve
- Reagan’s 1984 campaign: “Are you better off than you were four years ago?”

Foreign Policy

Goals

- Free market opposition to communism.
  - Goldwater Campaign (1964)
  - Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*
  - William F. Buckley, *National Review*
  - Young Americans for Freedom; Sharon Statement (1960)
  - John Birch Society
  - Heritage Foundation, Joseph Coors (1973)
  - American Enterprise Institute (1962)
  - National Conservative Political Action Committee (1975)
- Religious conservatives opposed what they termed “godless communism”.
  - *Newsweek* labeled 1976 “The Year of the Evangelical”.
  - Televangelism
    - Jerry Falwell; Pat Robertson; Jim and Tammy Bakker
- Hard Hat Rally (aka ‘Riot’), a pro-war demonstration, New York City, 1970.
- Phyllis Schlafly, STOP (Stop Taking Our Privileges), *A Choice Not an Echo* (1964), *Strike From Space* (1965; war in Vietnam and fear of Soviet attack).

Implementation

- “Evil Empire”
- Accelerated arms build-up
- Star Wars and Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
- Presided over Cold War thaw in relationship with Soviet Union
  - Mikhail Gorbachev; glosnost (openness); perestroïka (restructuring)
- Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan
- Reagan Doctrine
- Reagan speech at Berlin Wall
- Iran-Contra
  - Sandinistas
  - United States creation of contras as an anti-Sandinista force
  - National Security Council and Central Intelligence Agency covert aid for Contras
- Interventionism
  - Marines to Lebanon and barracks bombing; El Salvador; Grenada invasion; bombing of Tripoli, Libya; Nicaragua
- Post-Reagan:
  - Soviet retreat from Afghanistan; Poland’s election; fall of Berlin Wall; dissolution of communism in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union
The New Right conservatives from the 1960s to the 1980s wanted to stop the evolution of the role of the federal government that had been taking place since FDR and the New Deal. The New Right had social goals of going back to the ideals of stopping all these movements that had been developing in the '60s such as Affirmative action, abortion, and gay rights. They had economic goals of a small federal government, tax cuts, and economic theory called "supply-side" economics. Their foreign policy goals centered on stopping communism at all costs and protecting the US.

During the 1960s, many social movements were gaining strength. Affirmative action was helping minorities get into colleges, the Warren Court had ruled in Roe v. Wade that a woman had the right to get an abortion. Gay people were beginning the gay rights movement after the Stonewall Riot had occurred. The New Right conservatives wanted to put a stop to all this. They wanted to go back to moral and religious values that they believed were being challenged. The New Right also wanted to focus on economic goals. This group of conservatives wanted the government not to interfere in their lives so they wanted to weaken the power of the federal government. The New Right also wanted tax cuts. The New Right was made up of mostly upper class Americans so they were happy when Reagan
implemented supply side economics. This theory suggested that tax cuts on corporations would help big businesses and then their wealth would "trickle down" to the masses. Reagan also issued tax cuts which cut taxes across the board, angering poor people, but making New Right conservatives happy. At first, Reagan's economic plans weren't doing much, but then they began to show success which helped grow the following of the New Right. The New Right also wanted to cut down on government spending. Reagan wasn't able to really accomplish this goal because he implemented huge projects that required billions of dollars. In fact, the federal deficit was at its largest in history during Reagan's presidency.

In foreign policy, the New Right wanted to protect America and stop communism. The Reagan administration had success and failure with these goals of the New Right. Mikhail Gorbachev was the leader of the USSR and he implemented two policies: glasnost and perestroika. These policies helped Russia become more modern and even a little capitalistic. Reagan however challenged the USSR by continuing to push for more arms and weapons, hoping that the Russians would cave in and need to negotiate in order to keep their country from going bankrupt. These negotiations did occur so Reagan
can be given credit for helping to end the cold war by negotiating to limit manufacturing of arms through programs such as SALT. Reagan also helped stop the communist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. However, Congress stopped funding the rebels so Reagan and his Administration sold arms to Iranian terrorists in order to get money to help the rebels, what is called the Iran-contra Affair. So Reagan did have success in improving relations with Russia and stopping communism although his methods have come into question.

The New Right also wanted protection for the US. Reagan implemented this goal by suggesting “Star Wars”, which was a space-based missile shield system to protect the US. However, this program proved costly and impossible to implement so Reagan didn’t achieve this goal. Plus, all this military government spending was not what the New Right originally wanted.

The New Right conservatives wanted Americans to stop questioning authority and go back to their old values. They didn’t like the movements that were forming and they wanted the radical beliefs from the 1960’s to 1980’s to be toned down. In economics, the New Right wanted tax cuts, a smaller federal government, and less government spending. In foreign policy, the New Right had goals of...
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stopping communism and protecting the US. Reagan’s administration helped return America to their previous non-radical values, cut taxes, * and shrink the size of the federal government. However, Reagan increased the federal deficit with huge military spending and went about stopping communism in questionable ways. So Reagan did successfully implement some new Right goals, but not all of them.
From the 1960s to the 1980s, the New Right conservatives had created new goals which they wished to complete. The New Right's conservatives had social goals to benefit the middle and upper class Americans, economic goals to balance the country's budget and create a sounder economy, and foreign goals to deal with the Vietnam. Reagan Administration was successful in dealing with the foreign goals were met, while the economic goals were not reached, while the social goals were not met halfway.

The New Right conservatives, which were generally made of the older people of the country and the wealthier people of the country, hoped to create a society where the upper and middle class Americans would receive more benefits. These New Right conservatives believed that the people at the top of society had gotten to their positions by utilizing their resources and being resourceful. Therefore, the more successful people were the people who were smarter and more capable and so the lower class Americans do not deserve the benefits. The Reagan Administration only was halfway successful in completing the social goals. They took away social reform programs designed for the poor people of the country, including Medicaid (health insurance) and different public transportation. However, the Administration did not enact any social reforms (although economic reforms were enacted) to directly benefit the middle and upper class Americans.

The New Right Conservatives wanted a
sounder economy to be produced, and for the American government to balance the budget. President Reagan utilized the idea of "Reagannomics" which included the trickle-down theory in order to stabilize the government. The trickle-down theory was an idea that if more money was giving to the wealthy, they would invest more in business. If they invested more in business, companies would be able to produce more goods. If companies produced more goods, the companies would be able to hire more employees. If they hired more employees, the unemployment rate would decrease and a sounder economy could be produced. One way the Reagan Administration attempted this was by cutting income taxes, where the wealthy people of the nation would receive the most benefits, the most money saved from the reduced taxes. It appeared that "Reagannomics" would succeed, and for a few years it did, but ultimately "Reagannomics" did not fix the economy. Also, Reagan increased military spending, at a rate so the Soviet Union would not be able to catch up, so the United States would be superior. Increasing military spending caused the budget in America to not become balanced, but rather increase the debt of the country.

The New Right conservatives wanted to deal with the issue of the United States being involved in the Vietnam war. The New Right conservatives believed that the United States should not be involved with other
countries to a great extent, but should instead remain relatively neutral. The Reagan Administration was successful in implementing the New Right conservative's foreign policy goals. The Reagan Administration implemented a policy known as "Vietnamization" where troops would be removed from fighting on the front of Vietnam protecting South Vietnam and its democratic values from the communist North, and it would return troops to America. Reagan was successful in removing the troops from Vietnam, and saved thousands of lives.

The New Right conservatives had goals they implemented from the 1960s to the 1980s. Their social goals included benefiting middle and upper class Americans, which the Reagan Administration was only partly successful in implementing because they cut social programs for the poor but did not create social programs for the wealthy. Their economic goals included creating a balanced budget and a sounder economy which Reagan attempted with "Reagannomics" but was unsuccessful. And their foreign policy goals included trying to become more neutral, and to deal with Vietnam, which Reagan was successful in implementing these goals using "Vietnamization".
In the mid-late 20th century, a majority of the White House's occupants constituted what can be called the "New Right." This new wave of Republicans sought to end American dependence on welfare, return to traditional schools, and on the international scale, defeat communism, try and lower the budget, and tax.

Richard Nixon, often considered the first of the New Right Republicans to win the White House, set the course of the movement for the next decade. As Lyndon Johnson's successor, he categorically refuted LBJ's "Great Society programs." While he did little to dismantle these programs, he did effectively block a number of similar movements. As a diplomat, Nixon opened relations with China.

Perhaps the most notable New Right Republican was Ronald Reagan. Following the goals of the New Right, Nixon implemented saw the passage of major tax cuts, designed to promote economic action and reduce the need of the government to provide for people's welfare. Unfortunately, Reagan did little to reduce social security, Medicare, and Medicaid, leaving the budget very similar to what it was.

The highlight of his presidential career however, is his famous Berlin speech urging Mr. Gorbachev to "Tear down this wall." While the collapse of the Soviet Union wouldn't happen until the Bush administration, Reagan's speech was symbolic of the decline of the Soviet Union. It was well timed, as well, as it coincided
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with Gorbachev’s policies on laser transistors and Glasnost.
Question 5

Overview

Question 5 offered students a complicated and multipart opportunity to demonstrate understanding of the various forces (social, political, and economic) that led to a rise of conservatism as shown by the goals of the New Right from the 1960s to the end of the Reagan presidency. Its multifaceted approach to the New Right (social, economic, and foreign), as well as the delineation of goals and implementation, allowed students multiple avenues through which to respond.

Question 5 seemed to offer both students and teachers an indictment of what is to come in AP United States History. Historically, students have not had to write a stand-alone question on the 1980s. Although this question asked students to cover the prior two decades, most did not and still had to use evidence from the 1980s.

Sample: 5A
Score: 7

This essay effectively links goals to their implementation under the Reagan administration, with the thesis only blossoming at the end of the essay. It provides a good overview of the historical context of the New Right goals, with effective use of some historical information to support the thesis. While the essay does provide some analysis of the topic, the essay is more descriptive, which kept it out of the highest category.

Sample: 5B
Score: 4

This essay has a basic thesis that addresses goals and implementation. Its coverage of the three areas is fairly uneven, with its discussion of foreign policy not as developed as its discussion of economics. The essay suffers from major errors (particularly in foreign policy) that detract from its overall quality.

Sample: 5C
Score: 2

This essay provides a passable explanation of New Right goals, but it addresses the question only partially, with no effort to examine social issues. While it establishes some of the New Right’s goals within a historical context that spans the time period, the essay’s examination of the implementation of those goals is inadequate.