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Office Hours: Zoom at times to be scheduled per week

**NOTE: This is a modified version of the 2020 syllabus. While the basic structure of the course and workload will remain the same, roughly 1/3 of the readings will change.**

### **History 239-301: American Conservatism From Taft to Trump**

The early 1950s may have been the nadir for modern American conservatism. Conservative hero Robert Taft had lost the Republican nomination for President to a more moderate candidate for the third time, many in the Republican Party had moved to accept some of the most popular New Deal programs, and a moderate, internationalist consensus had taken hold in the country. Yet, from these ashes, conservatism rose to become a potent political force — maybe the driving force — in the United States over the last half century. This seminar explores the contours of that rise, beginning with infrastructure laid and coalitions forged in the 1950s. We will see how conservatives built upon this infrastructure to overcome Barry Goldwater's crushing 1964 defeat to elect one of their own, Ronald Reagan, president in 1980. Reagan's presidency transformed the public philosophy and helped shape subsequent American political development. Our study of conservatism will also include the struggles that conservatives confronted in trying to enact their ideas into public policy, and the repercussions of those struggles.

We will explore conservatism's triumphs and failures politically, as well as the cultural changes that have helped, hindered, and shaped its rise. In many ways, this class is a study in the transformation of American politics and in American culture over the last sixty-five years. Its focus is on the hows and the whys of the rise of conservatism from the low point of the early 50s to the rise of the Tea Party and Trumpism in the 2000s and 2010s. In many places, we will discover a surprisingly complex story. This complexity means that we must grapple with clashing interpretations as to why and how conservatism developed, why conservatism appealed to many Americans at various points in time, and even whether there was an agreed upon conservative vision unifying the forces pushing America rightward.

The seminar will be oriented chronologically to the degree that it is possible, spending several weeks on each decade between the 1950s and the 2010s. Yet, we will also focus on several themes and relationships throughout the class. These include the role played by certain pivotal political figures, the ideas that propelled conservatism and bound the conservative movement together, the relationship between conservatives and the Republican Party, and the tensions within the diverse Reagan coalition (which have spilled over with increasing regularity, especially during the 2010s). We will ask critical and often difficult questions involving topics such as the role of racism and bigotry in the rise of conservatism. We will also consider the big picture—is the United States really any more conservative in 2021 than it was in 1950? If not, why do many consider conservatism to have risen politically? At the end of the semester we will ponder whether some of the current conservative divisions are new, or continuations of fissures that have long existed and we will consider the big picture in American politics: are our divisions too big to foster functional governance?

### **Methodology:**

This course will offer students an opportunity to interact with all of tools in a historian's toolbox. We will use primary sources, including video clips, and a variety of scholarly secondary sources, including biography, works with spatial analysis, journalistic narratives, and works by historically minded political scientists. We will evaluate the claims made by scholars and attempt to make sense of some of their conflicting conclusions. Students will also have an attempt to conduct historical research on a topic of their choosing.

### **Grading Breakdown:**

Participation, Activities, & Short Responses: 40%

Research Paper/Project: 60%

**Class Participation/Activities:** The quality of the class discussion in a seminar truly defines how educational and interesting the class is. Reflecting that importance, participation is worth 40 percent of your class grade.

We have an opportunity to learn from one another and to push ourselves to think about the material in new and innovative ways. Students are always encouraged to share thoughts—**there is no stupid idea or question**. This is the portion of your grade over which you have total control—a **student who comes to class each week and says nothing all semester will receive a C for class participation**. Students who are active participants each week will do well.

Do not feel as though you need to say something about each topic. Participation grades will **not** reflect quantity of participation alone. Quality matters as well. A student who makes three really tremendous points per class may do as well as a student who makes ten comments. But when you have a thought, share it. Also do not hesitate to push each other. As long as interaction is respectful, some of the best classroom discussions come when students question one another and we puzzle together over a topic.

Class will not always consist of one large group discussion; often the class will be split into smaller groups to ponder a question. There will also be a fair number of interactive group activities, exercises, or debates throughout the course of the semester. These will change things up, and provide a variety of ways to participate in the class. These activities may include plotting a museum exhibit or podcast on a relevant topic, researching or simulating a historical debate, or identifying popular culture forms that embody specific ideas or understandings.

Sometimes the instructor may ask the class to identify and explain the significance of a key term related to the class material. The objective of this exercise is not to play “gotcha” or to force students to memorize definitions. Rather, the goal will be to make sure that all members of the class are working from the same playbook, and to ensure that students are pulling key concepts from the readings and are comfortable working with these terms as we assess broader questions.

There may also be several short quizzes or writing assignments (as in 10-15 minutes or less), as well as several brief response assignments. Again, the goal is not to play “gotcha;” rather the goal is to help you to organize your thoughts and to make sure that everyone is coming away from the readings with the key points. These quizzes will be elements of your class participation grade. **To a large degree, whether or not there will be quizzes will be dependent on the quality of class discussion and whether it appears from discussion that everyone is gleaning the key arguments from the readings.**

The instructor understands that some students are shy and have difficulty with public speaking. Such shyness, however, does not excuse students from their responsibility to participate in class. Rather, participation can come in many forms— e-mailing questions or thoughts about the readings to the instructor in advance of class, participating in class discussion, disseminating relevant articles and some brief commentary linking them to the class themes to the class or the instructor, participating in smaller group activities, etc.

If you are shy and looking for an alternative means of participating in the seminar, come speak with me **early in the semester** so that we can work out an arrangement.

Too often students wait until the end of the semester to inform an instructor about such shyness, at which point it is too late to help the student salvage his/her participation grade. Students should also be aware that I like to ask follow up questions during discussions. This practice should not intimidate anyone. It's merely an attempt to push students to think critically about their views, as well as the course material. These questions do not reflect any judgment regarding your ideas, nor are they an attempt to intimidate students in any way — I welcome pushback and disagreement.

One final note: class participation does not end when class ends. Students are encouraged and invited to circulate relevant materials that they may come across in the news, be they clips from the *Daily Show*, tweets, news stories, etc. While this is a history class, we will see themes that we discuss enter into the news, as well as continuations of trends that we're discussing and parallel developments.

**Reading:** As a seminar, this class will require more reading and a different type of reading than a lecture class on the same topic might require. Recognizing that students increasingly prefer to have a variety of different assignments (and less reading than has been traditional in seminars) some weeks we will employ an element of crowd sourcing in which students will do primary source research to go with a more limited amount of secondary reading. If you're struggling with the reading load, let me know.

**Music:** Many weeks we will devote time in class to listening to songs that relate to the period and topic that we are studying. Some weeks students will be asked to either come into class with a song that they think relates to the week's topic or to work in groups to select a song that exemplifies some theme or otherwise relates to our discussion.

**Guest Speakers:** Part of the goal of this class is to foster engagement with conservatives and their ideas — to get beyond caricatures and partisan shouting, and really critically evaluate conservatism's role in American politics over the previous 75 years. To that end, there will be 3-4 guest speakers scheduled at times to be announced towards the end of the semester. They'll likely come from the world of conservative politics and will complement or challenge the course material in some way.

**Research Project:** Students will complete one of two assignments:

Option 1: Write a research paper of no less than 4500 words and no more than 6000 words on some topic related to the class themes. Topics must be approved by the instructor either by email or in office hours no later than **March 17th**. Students must use a combination of primary and secondary sources and they must present an argument. **A fantastically written paper that is entirely summary and citations will earn no higher than a B+. The idea is to present an argument on a topic of interest and to utilize research findings to support that argument.** It behooves students to have a rough hypothesis as they start their research, but to be willing to adapt that hypothesis in accordance with what they find while researching. Students should make sure to have a

clear thesis stated in the most specific terms possible before the end of the second page (double spaced) of their papers.

Appropriate citations are required, though the instructor does not care which citation style students use (i.e. Chicago Manual, APA, etc). I do not require students to use a minimum number of sources for the research paper. However, the research in the paper will be adjudicated along with the writing and the quality of the argument. Students must use a sufficient number of sources to adequately present and support their arguments. Failure to do so when there are readily available sources that would have improved the paper will factor into the grade.

Option 2: Increasingly, we are replacing written expression with multimedia alternatives. As such, I want to give those of you who are more inclined to be creative or who excel at video production, graphic design, web design, audio production, etc, a chance to do a more modern research project. For this option, the written component of the project can be negotiated with me individually, but as a general rule, it will be no shorter than 2500 words (and if it will be shorter than 4500 words, there will be additional components to the project— **this option is not a way to avoid a substantive project**). Instead of a traditional research paper, however, the final product might be a documentary, a website, a spin on the popular Comedy Central Drunk History series, a photo-essay, or a multi-media presentation. You might write and record a podcast relating to your topic, to name but one example. I encourage you to be creative in thinking how to convey your research. **Nonetheless, the standards and requirements for this second option remain the same as for option one. Your project MUST make an argument, and MUST reflect substantial and high quality research from a variety of primary and secondary sources. Additionally, all sources must be cited in some fashion. Anyone who would like to select option two must meet with the instructor to have the format of their project approved before April 1st.**

**Academic Integrity:** It goes without saying that students are required to comply with the university's academic integrity policies. All violations of these regulations will be reported to the relevant authorities. **If you have any questions as to what compliance entails—whether regarding citations in written work, referencing your own prior work, collaborating with peers, etc—ask the instructor in advance of completing an assignment.** Erring on the side of caution never hurt anyone, and I'm happy to answer any questions you might have about my expectations. The only students who run into problems are those who choose not to ask questions.

**Note on Materials:** Given its subject matter, the class will often wade into uncomfortable territory. The instructor believes that a good history class challenges our preconceived notions and provides exposure to a broad array of cultural perspectives, values, and ideas. Nonetheless, I am cognizant that some of the movies, television episodes, music, and other material in the class might make some students uncomfortable, depending on a student's background and personal experiences. If you

have a problem or concern about any of the materials in the class, please come and talk to me.

**COVID-19:** The instructor recognizes that we are still living in a global pandemic. Above all, your health is most important. If you don't feel well, stay home from class. If covid presents others issues, let me know, and we'll work around them. Please wear a mask to class as per Penn policy and make sure to complete your daily Penn OpenPass check and the required testing so it does not interfere with your class attendance.

Books:

Required

1. Kevin Kruse, *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America* (Basic Books, 2015), [https://smile.amazon.com/One-Nation-Under-God-Corporate/dp/0465097413/ref=sr\\_1\\_3\\_twi\\_pap\\_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1484720837&sr=8-3&keywords=kevin+kruse](https://smile.amazon.com/One-Nation-Under-God-Corporate/dp/0465097413/ref=sr_1_3_twi_pap_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1484720837&sr=8-3&keywords=kevin+kruse).
2. Nicole Hemmer, *Messengers of the Right: Conservative Media and the Transformation of American Politics* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), [https://smile.amazon.com/Messengers-Right-Conservative-Transformation-American-ebook/dp/B01KJCU648/ref=sr\\_1\\_1\\_twi\\_kin\\_2?ie=UTF8&qid=1484720944&sr=8-1&keywords=nicole+hemmer](https://smile.amazon.com/Messengers-Right-Conservative-Transformation-American-ebook/dp/B01KJCU648/ref=sr_1_1_twi_kin_2?ie=UTF8&qid=1484720944&sr=8-1&keywords=nicole+hemmer).
3. Timothy Lombardo, *Blue-Collar Conservatism: Frank Rizzo's Philadelphia and Populist Politics* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), [https://smile.amazon.com/Blue-Collar-Conservatism-Philadelphia-Populist-Politics/dp/0812250540/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?dchild=1&keywords=timothy+lombardo&qid=1591262958&sr=8-1](https://smile.amazon.com/Blue-Collar-Conservatism-Philadelphia-Populist-Politics/dp/0812250540/ref=sr_1_1?dchild=1&keywords=timothy+lombardo&qid=1591262958&sr=8-1).
4. Marjorie J. Spruill, *Divided We Stand: The Battle Over Women's Rights and Family Values That Polarized American Politics* (Bloomsbury, 2018), [https://smile.amazon.com/Divided-We-Stand-Polarized-American/dp/1632863162/ref=tmm\\_pap\\_swatch\\_0?encoding=UTF8&qid=1591262874&sr=8-1](https://smile.amazon.com/Divided-We-Stand-Polarized-American/dp/1632863162/ref=tmm_pap_swatch_0?encoding=UTF8&qid=1591262874&sr=8-1).
5. Matthew D. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton University Press, 2006), [https://smile.amazon.com/Silent-Majority-Suburban-Politics-Sunbelt-ebook/dp/B00URY4MN0/ref=sr\\_1\\_1\\_twi\\_kin\\_2?ie=UTF8&qid=1484721349&sr=8-1&keywords=Matthew+D+Lassiter](https://smile.amazon.com/Silent-Majority-Suburban-Politics-Sunbelt-ebook/dp/B00URY4MN0/ref=sr_1_1_twi_kin_2?ie=UTF8&qid=1484721349&sr=8-1&keywords=Matthew+D+Lassiter).
6. Brian Rosenwald, *Talk Radio's America: How an Industry Took Over a Political Party That Took Over the United States* (Harvard University Press, 2019), [https://smile.amazon.com/Talk-Radios-America-Industry-Political/dp/0674185013/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?dchild=1&keywords=talk+radio%27s+america&qid=1591263081&sr=8-1](https://smile.amazon.com/Talk-Radios-America-Industry-Political/dp/0674185013/ref=sr_1_1?dchild=1&keywords=talk+radio%27s+america&qid=1591263081&sr=8-1)
7. Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson, *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism* (Oxford University Press, 2012), [https://smile.amazon.com/Tea-Party-Remaking-Republican-Conservatism-ebook/dp/B005PS3CFM/ref=mt\\_kindle?\\_encoding=UTF8&me=.](https://smile.amazon.com/Tea-Party-Remaking-Republican-Conservatism-ebook/dp/B005PS3CFM/ref=mt_kindle?_encoding=UTF8&me=)

Recommended (These are books that **you should feel no obligation or need to acquire**. But for students feeling a little lost about an individual week or who find a week fascinating and think you might want to do your research project on the topics discussed, these materials will provide general background and an overview of the history of the period or additional coverage of the topic discussed):

8. David T. Courtwright, *No Right Turn: Conservative Politics in a Liberal America* (Harvard University Press, 2010), [http://www.amazon.com/No-Right-Turn-Conservative-Politics/dp/0674046773/ref=sr\\_1\\_4?ie=UTF8&qid=1407217888&sr=8-4&keywords=David+Courtwright](http://www.amazon.com/No-Right-Turn-Conservative-Politics/dp/0674046773/ref=sr_1_4?ie=UTF8&qid=1407217888&sr=8-4&keywords=David+Courtwright).
9. Donald T Critchlow, *The Conservative Ascendancy* (2nd Edition) (University Press of Kansas, 2011) [http://www.amazon.com/The-Conservative-Ascendancy-Republican-Expanded/dp/0700617957/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1407217852&sr=8-1&keywords=Donald+Critchlow](http://www.amazon.com/The-Conservative-Ascendancy-Republican-Expanded/dp/0700617957/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1407217852&sr=8-1&keywords=Donald+Critchlow).
10. James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (Oxford University Press, 1997), [https://smile.amazon.com/Grand-Expectations-United-1945-1974-History/dp/0195117972/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1484763843&sr=8-1&keywords=james+t+patterson](https://smile.amazon.com/Grand-Expectations-United-1945-1974-History/dp/0195117972/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1484763843&sr=8-1&keywords=james+t+patterson).
11. James T Patterson, *Restless Giant: The United States From Watergate to Bush V. Gore* (Oxford University Press, 2005), [https://smile.amazon.com/Restless-Giant-United-Watergate-History-ebook/dp/B002TQKRZQ/ref=tmm\\_kin\\_swatch\\_0?\\_encoding=UTF8&qid=1484763843&sr=8-2](https://smile.amazon.com/Restless-Giant-United-Watergate-History-ebook/dp/B002TQKRZQ/ref=tmm_kin_swatch_0?_encoding=UTF8&qid=1484763843&sr=8-2).
12. Kevin Kruse and Julian Zelizer, *Fault Lines: A History of the United States Since 1974* (W.W. Norton, 2020), [https://smile.amazon.com/Fault-Lines-History-United-States/dp/0393357708/ref=sr\\_1\\_3?dchild=1&keywords=kevin+kruse&qid=1591346936&sr=8-3](https://smile.amazon.com/Fault-Lines-History-United-States/dp/0393357708/ref=sr_1_3?dchild=1&keywords=kevin+kruse&qid=1591346936&sr=8-3).
13. Steve Kornacki, *The Red and the Blue: The 1990s and the Birth of Political Tribalism* (Ecco, 2019), [https://smile.amazon.com/dp/0062439006/ref=tmm\\_pap\\_swatch\\_0?\\_encoding=UTF8&qid=1591347028&sr=8-1](https://smile.amazon.com/dp/0062439006/ref=tmm_pap_swatch_0?_encoding=UTF8&qid=1591347028&sr=8-1).

### Course Schedule:

#### January 19: Introduction & Exploration of the Conservative Coalition

Reading:

1. Jennifer Burns, "What Was Conservatism?" *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, November 9, 2016, <http://www.chronicle.com/article/What-Was-Conservatism-/238345>.

Assignments:

1. Before our fourth class, I'd like you to talk about politics, issues, or current events with someone with whom you disagree politically — it can be a parent, sibling, friend, grandparent, etc. Part of our mission as a class will be to engage ideas and people that we may not agree with in a respectful way, and I'd like you to come to class with some observations about this experience. It's one we will repeat at the end of the semester to see if the course material has changed your perspective or the experience at all.

2. Before our second class, I'd like you to think about 1 item or cultural symbol/production that liberals and conservatives would see very differently. It can be a tangible object, or something like a song or a person.

## **Week 2 — January 26: Business Finds Religion**

Reading:

Required:

1. Kruse, Introduction through chapter 4 (138 pages).
2. The Sharon Statement, <http://www.yaf.org/news/the-sharon-statement/>
3. Hemmer, chapter 3 (23 pages).

Recommended:

1. Kruse, Chapter 5.
2. George H. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement Since 1945*, chapters 4-6.
3. Hemmer, Chapter 4.

## **Week 3 — Feb 2: Goldwater**

Reading:

Required:



1. Donald T. Critchlow, *Republican Character: From Nixon to Reagan* (2018), chapter 4 (25 pages)
2. Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of American Consensus* (Nation Books, 2009), chapters 10 and 15 (50 pages)
3. Hemmer, Chapters 7 - 9 (67 pages).
4. Read or Watch Barry Goldwater's 1964 Acceptance Speech: Text: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/daily/may98/goldwaterspeech.htm> and video: <https://www.c-span.org/video/?4018-1/barry-goldwater-accepts-1964-republican-presidential-nomination>.
5. Selections from *National Review* on the John Birch Society.
6. Read or Watch Ronald Reagan, A Time for Choosing, Text & Video: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-behalf-senator-barry-goldwater-time-for-choosing>.

#### **Week 4 — Feb 9: Republican Politics of the 60s and 70s**

Reading:

Required:

1. Geoff Kabaservice, *Rule And Ruin*, Chapters 3, 4 & 10 (88 pages).
2. Hemmer, chapters 5 & 10 (40 pages).
3. Leah Wright Rigueur, *The Loneliness of the Black Republican* (Princeton University Press, 2015), read your choice of chapters 2, 3, or 4.
4. Jerald Podair, Zach Messitte and Charles Holden, "The man who pioneered Trumpism," *The Washington Post*, November 15, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2018/11/15/man-who-pioneered-trumpism/>.
5. Jerald Podair, Zach Messitte and Charles Holden, "Harsh rhetoric tears us apart — and can make violence seem acceptable," *The Washington Post*, May 4, 2020, <https://>

[www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/05/04/harsh-rhetoric-tears-us-apart-can-make-violence-seem-acceptable/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/05/04/harsh-rhetoric-tears-us-apart-can-make-violence-seem-acceptable/).

Recommended:

1. Wright Rigueur, LOBR, the two chapters that you aren't required to read.
2. Jerald Podair, Zach Messitte, and Charles Holden, *Republican Populist: Spiro Agnew and the Origins of Donald Trump's America* (University of Virginia Press, 2019).

Animating Question: Why does conservatism win out within the Republican Party?

Activity:

1. What to do about the John Birch Society?
2. Advise the Ripon Society

### **Week 5 — Feb 16: Wallace/Racial Conservatism**

Reading:

Required:

1. Carter, 264-272 & 282-284, 287-308, 310-317, & 324-370 (85 pages)
2. Lombardo, 49-90 & 99-132 (74 pages)
3. John S. Huntington and David Astin Walsh, "Why conservatives such as Trump actually like government spending," *The Washington Post*, August 13, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/08/13/why-conservatives-such-donald-trump-actually-like-government-spending/>.

Animating Questions:

How does Wallace's conservatism differ from that espoused by Barry Goldwater?

Should we consider both conservatism?

What is the difference between Wallace's Southern populist conservatism and the Northern blue-collar conservatism discussed in Lombardo? Is the latter racist?

Recommended:

1. Thomas Byrne Edsall with Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics*, Chapters 2-3 (32-73).
2. Michael Flamm, *Law and Order: Street Crime, Civil Unrest, and the Crisis of Liberalism in the 1960s*, Chapter 4 & 9/epilogue.
3. Michael Javen Fortner, *Black Silent Majority: The Rockefeller Drug Laws and the Politics of Punishment* (Harvard University Press, 2015), Introduction & Chapters 4-5.

**Assignment: Watch episode TBD of All in the Family**

**Week 6 — Feb 23: Suburban Conservatism Emerges**

1. Lassiter, 121-280.

Animating Question: Is racism at the core of Suburban conservatism?

**Week 7 — March 2: The 1970s: Liberalism Falts Amidst a Challenge**

Reading:

Required:

1. Marjorie Spruill, *Divided We Stand*, chapters 6, 10, & 12 (84 pages)
2. Lily Geismer, *Don't Blame Us: Suburban Liberals and the Transformation of the Democratic Party* (2017), Chapters 3 & 8 (54 pages)
3. Jimmy Carter, Address to the Nation on Energy and National Goals: "The Malaise Speech," July 15, 1979, Read (<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-the-nation-energy-and-national-goals-the-malaise-speech>), or watch (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kakFDUeoJKM>).

4. David Greenberg, “The left’s misleading attacks on liberal Democrats,” *The Washington Post*, August 16, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2018/08/16/the-lefts-misleading-attacks-on-liberal-democrats/>.
5. Lawrence B. Glickman, “The left is pushing Democrats to embrace their greatest president. Why that’s a good thing,” *The Washington Post*, January 14, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/01/14/left-is-pushing-democrats-embrace-their-greatest-president-why-thats-good-thing/>.
6. Michael Kazin, “Democrats must unite after the Sanders-Biden battle if they want to win,” *The Washington Post*, March 4, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/03/04/democrats-must-unite-after-sanders-biden-battle-if-they-want-win/>.
7. Lily Geismer, “How Lyndon Johnson unmade the Democratic Party,” *The Washington Post*, March 30, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2018/03/30/how-lyndon-johnson-unmade-the-democratic-party/>.
8. Bruce J. Schulman, “Lyndon Johnson left office as a deeply unpopular president. So why is he so admired today?” *The Washington Post*, March 30, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2018/03/30/lyndon-johnson-left-office-as-a-deeply-unpopular-president-so-why-is-he-so-admired-today/>.

**Assignment: Watch either episode 3 of *Mrs. America* or episode 7.**

Activity:

1. Advising President Carter

Animating question:

How does President Carter help fuel the rise of conservatism?

What transitions are occurring in liberalism during this period?

**SPRING BREAK**

**Week 8 — March 16: The Politics of Family/The Rise of Social & Cultural Conservatives**

Reading:

Required:

1. Marjorie Spruill, *Divided We Stand*, chapters 4, 5, 8, 9, & 11 (107 pages)
2. David Courtwright, *Conservative Politics in a Liberal America* (Harvard University Press, 2010), 90-95 (5 pages).
3. Stacie Taranto, *Kitchen Table Politics: Conservative Women and Family Values in New York* (2017), either chapter 1, chapter 3, or chapter 4.
4. Audio: Trey Kay, Deborah George, and Stan Bumgardner, “The Great Textbook Wars,” American Radioworks, <http://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/textbooks/>
5. Emily S. Johnson, “The myth that has shaped the Christian Right and the LGBTQ rights movement for four decades,” *The Washington Post*, June 21, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/06/21/myth-that-has-shaped-christian-right-lgbtq-rights-movement-four-decades/>.

**Assignment: Watch either episode 1 of *Mrs. America*, episode 4, or episode 6.**

Recommended:

1. Adam Laats, *The Other School Reformers: Conservative Activism in American Education* (Harvard University Press, 2015), chapter 5.
2. Robert O. Self, *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy Since the 1960s* (Hill and Wang, 2012), 189-210, 241-247, 255-260, & 276-366.

**Week 9 — March 23: New Ideas, Organizations, Institutions, Alliances & Coalitions**

Reading:

Required:

1. Jason Stahl, *Right Moves: The Conservative Think Tank in American Political Culture since 1945* (University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 66-134
2. Taranto, *Kitchen Table Politics*, Chapter 7 (24 pages)

3. Joseph Crespino, “Civil Rights and the Religious Right,” in *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s* ed. Bruce J. Schulman & Julian E. Zelizer (Harvard University Press, 2008) (15 pages).
4. Lombardo, 135-158 & 164-204

Recommended:

1. Benjamin C. Waterhouse, *Lobbying America: The Politics of Business from Nixon to NAFTA* (Princeton University Press, 2015), chapter 5.
2. Matt Lassiter, “Inventing Family Values,” in *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s* ed. Bruce J. Schulman & Julian E. Zelizer (Harvard University Press, 2008).
3. Michael Avery and Danielle McLaughlin, *The Federalist Society: How Conservatives Took the Law Back From Liberals* (Vanderbilt University Press, 2013), 1-47.
4. Steven M Teles, *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement* (Princeton University Press, 2008), chapters 1 and 5.
5. Dan Rogers, *Age of Fracture* (Harvard-Belknap, 2011), Chapter 2 (41-77).

Activity: Museum Exhibit

### **Week 10 — March 30: Reagan—Government is the Problem & The Next Wave of Conservatives**

Reading:

Required:

1. Jefferson Decker, *The Other Rights Revolution: Conservative Lawyers and the Remaking of American Government* (2016), Chapter 6 (26 pages).
2. Melvyn P. Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind* (2007), 338-402 & 448-450.

3. Geraldo Cadava, *The Hispanic Republican: The Shaping of an American Political Identity, from Nixon to Trump* (2020), Chapter 7 (30 pages).

4. Doug Rossinow, *The Reagan Era: A History of the 1980s* (2015), Chapters 2-3 (35 pages).

Recommended:

1. HW Brands, *Reagan: The Life* (Anchor, 2016), [https://smile.amazon.com/Reagan-Life-H-W-Brands/dp/0307951146/ref=sr\\_1\\_4?ie=UTF8&qid=1484726553&sr=8-4&keywords=HW+Brands](https://smile.amazon.com/Reagan-Life-H-W-Brands/dp/0307951146/ref=sr_1_4?ie=UTF8&qid=1484726553&sr=8-4&keywords=HW+Brands).

2. Lou Cannon, chapters 17, 20 and 21 or at least 150 pages from chapters 12, 17, and 20-22.

Animating Questions:

Why did Reagan's conservatism succeed where Goldwater's failed?

Did Reagan truly govern as a conservative?

Assess the place of race in Reagan's conservatism?

### **Week 11 — April 6: The New Political Colossus—Conservative Media Arises & the 1990s**

Reading:

Required:

1. Brian Rosenwald, *Talk Radio's America*, Introduction through Chapter 13 (112 pages)

2. Jon Meacham, *Destiny and Power: The American Odyssey of George Hebert Walker Bush* (Random House, 2015), chapters 31, 34, & 36 (25 pages).

3. Geraldo Cadava, *The Hispanic Republican: The Shaping of an American Political Identity, from Nixon to Trump*, Chapter 8 (33 pages).

4. The Contract With America, <https://www.heritage.org/political-process/report/the-contract-america-implementing-new-ideas-the-us>.

Activity: Advising President Bush

Recommended:

1. Kornacki, *The Red and the Blue*.
2. Julian E. Zelizer, *Burning Down the House: Newt Gingrich, the Fall of a Speaker, and the Rise of the New Republican Party* (Penguin Press, 2020).

**Week 12 — April 13: Triumph of the Neocons: George W. Bush & Post 9/11 Foreign Policy**

Reading:

Required:

1. James Mann, *The Great Rift: Dick Cheney, Colin Powell, and the Broken Friendship That Defined an Era* (2020), 221-329 (108 pages).
2. Audio: James Mann, Lecture on George W. Bush, February 4, 2015, <https://international.ucla.edu/institute/event/10960>.
3. Kristen Kobes Du Mez, *Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation* (2020), pages TBA.

Recommended:

1. James Mann, *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet* (Penguin Books, 2004), Chapter 13 & Chapter 15- conclusion (198-215 & 234-373 (156 pages)).

**Week 13 — April 20: The Tea Party**

**Reading:**

Required:

1. Skocpol & Williamson, 5-13 & 19-153
2. Rosenwald, *Talk Radio's America*, Chapters 18-20 (22 pages).

Recommended:



1. Rachel Blum, *How the Tea Party Captured the GOP: Insurgent Factions in American Politics*, University of Chicago Press (2020), Chapters 6-7.

## **Week 14 — April 27: Trumpism & the Big Picture**

### **Reading:**

Required:

1. Tim Alberta, *American Carnage: On the Front Lines of the Republican Civil War and the Rise of President Trump* (2019), pages TBD.

2. Rosenwald, *Talk Radio's America*, Chapters 23-25 (51 pages).

3. Donald Trump, "Inaugural Address," (Read or watch <https://www.nytimes.com/video/us/politics/100000004863342/donald-trump-full-inaugural-address-2017.html>).

4. Joe Biden, "Inaugural Address," <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/interactive/2021/01/20/biden-inauguration-speech/>.

Recommended:

1. Michael Barber and Jeremy C. Pope, "Conservatism in the Era of Trump," *Perspective on Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 3. September 2019.

### **Animating Questions:**

Has conservatism strayed from its roots?

Is there a form of conservatism that might prove attractive to millennials and generation Z?

Was modern American conservatism ever ideologically coherent?

Some on the left assert that the rise of conservatism boils down to racism. Is this a fair charge? Is it true?

**Term papers due: May 9, time TBA**