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**THE IMPACT OF THE NEW RIGHT ON THE  
REAGAN ADMINISTRATION:  
KIRKPATRICK & UNESCO AS A TEST CASE**

BY

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LONDON  
1998

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## **ABSTRACT**

The aim of this research is to investigate whether the Reagan administration was influenced by 'New Right' ideas. Foreign policy issues were chosen as test cases because the presidency has more power in this area which is why it could promote an aggressive stance toward the United Nations and encourage withdrawal from UNESCO with little impunity.

Chapter 1 deals with American society after 1945. It shows how the ground was set for the rise of Reagan and the New Right as America moved from a strong affinity with New Deal liberalism to a new form of conservatism, which the New Right and Reagan epitomised.

Chapter 2 analyses the New Right as a coalition of three distinctive groups: anti-liberals, New Christian Right, and neoconservatives. Each group is examined in turn.

Chapter 3 looks at whether the Reagan administration was a New Right administration. The chapter is divided into three sections: economic, social and foreign policy. In each domain one can see the administration's attempt to fulfil its New Right agenda with varying degrees of success.

Chapter 4 investigates Kirkpatrick's approach to the United Nations. Her themes at the UN ('America First', liberty and the Western political system, politicisation and the 'rights debate') were very much in line with what the New Right was seeking of Reagan both internally and externally.

Chapter 5 examines the reasons behind the American decision to withdraw from UNESCO in 1984. It demonstrates that the reasons for the withdrawal were essentially political, as the justifications given by the administration were weak.

In conclusion the essence of the thesis is to show that the Reagan presidency embodied many of the ideas of the New Right. Although in domestic policy its success was debatable. However, in foreign policy and especially in US-UN and US-UNESCO relationships the ideas of the New Right were predominant.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

This study is a product of a long fascination of mine with the United States of America and the Reagan Presidency. The election of Ronald W. Reagan in November 1980 led to a tremendous change in America and world society which only now we are beginning to appreciate and understand due to the growth of conservatism in the United States. My interest in the United Nations is essentially based on my belief that this remarkable institution can help save us from making costly mistakes. I truly believe that our future depends very much on how we can best use the organisation to solve many of the problems that we are faced with as we head toward the new millennium.

Not surprisingly I owe much to many people. I would like to begin with my family whose encouragement and support has been above and beyond anything that I could have expected or even hoped for. I will forever be in their debt which is why this research is dedicated to them.

My greatest intellectual debt is to the University of Buckingham. Its unique method of teaching coupled with a truly exceptional staff has been crucial to my development. Much of that credit should go to Dr. John Clarke who may have had little to say concerning this research, but the impact of his mind, outlook and general attitude has left a deep impression on me for which I would be eternally grateful.

Last but certainly not least, I would like to extend special thanks to Mr. Nicholas A. Sims, my supervisor at LSE. His diligent reading of my drafts combined with very helpful comments based on his vast knowledge of United Nations matters have saved me from making numerous mistakes, and any errors or omissions are mine and mine alone to bear.

Isaac Izy Kfir  
London  
13/10/1998



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## ABBREVIATION

• AEI	-	American Enterprise Institute.
• AFL	-	American Federation of Labour.
• AID	-	Agency for International Development.
• AP	-	Associated Press.
• ASNE	-	American Society of Newspaper Editors.
• BJU	-	Bob Jones University.
• CBN	-	Christian Broadcasting Network.
• CBO	-	Congressional Budget Office.
• CEA	-	Council of Economic Advisers.
• CIA	-	Central Intelligence Agency.
• CWA	-	Concerned Women for America.
• DLC	-	Democratic Leadership Council.
• EPA	-	Environment Protection Agency.
• ERA	-	Equal Rights for Women Amendment.
• FEA	-	Federal Housing Administration.
• GAO	-	General Accounting Office.
• GATT	-	General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade.
• GOP	-	Grand Old Party.
• HHS	-	Health & Human Services Department.
• IAEA	-	International Atomic Energy Agency.
• IAPA	-	Inter-American Press Association.
• ILO	-	International Labour Organisation.
• IMF	-	International Monetary Fund.
• NAFTA	-	North American Free Trade Agreement.
• NIEO	-	New International Economic Order.
• NIIO	-	New International Information Order.
• NJM	-	New Jewel Movement.
• NSC	-	National Security Council.
• OAS	-	Organisation of American States.
• OECS	-	Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States.
• OMB	-	Office of Management & Budget.
• OPEC	-	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries.
• OSS	-	Office of Strategic Studies.
• PACs	-	Political Action Committees.
• SALT	-	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.
• SCLC	-	Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
• SDI	-	Strategic Defence Initiatives.
• UNESCO	-	United Nations Educational Scientific & Cultural Organisation.

- UPI - United Press International.
- USIA - United States Information Agency.
- WHO - World Health Organisation.
- WIPO - World Intellectual Property Organisation.
- WMO - World Meteorological Organisation.
- WTO - World Trade Organisation.
- YAF - Young Americans for Freedom.

## INTRODUCTION

As we head toward a new millennium we are witnessing the transformation of our society. The twentieth century has been an eventful one as mankind entered outer space, cyberspace and the deep oceans in a desire to conquer a new frontier. We have witnessed the removal of social and political barriers that have existed for decades and centuries in some cases with tremendous ramifications for the development of contemporary society. Most of the achievements and revolutions of this century have emanated in one form or another from the United States of America which stands high above many of the previous empires that have graced human history. The US emerged out of the ashes of the Second World War as the most powerful country in the world, while the Cold War enabled it to shape much of the postwar world, in many instances in its own image, as Japan and Germany can testify.

The elections of 1980 in the United States not only brought in a new president, they also marked the beginning of revolution in American society. The suggestion that Reagan presided over a revolutionary period in American history may at first glance be rather surprising as Reagan was one of the most ideologically conservative presidents in American history (and conservatives are supposed to oppose radical change). However, Reagan with his rather simplistic message was greatly responsible for a major domestic transformation, while in foreign policy he restored American predominance and arguably hammered the final nail in the Soviet Union's coffin.<sup>1</sup>

The 1980 elections brought into the political fray a new force in the shape of the "New Right." This force remained even after Reagan and his successor, George Bush left the White House and it is arguably its legacy that has been responsible for an internal crisis in the United States that the successes of Pat

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<sup>1</sup> C. Weinberger. Fighting For Peace: Seven Critical Years At the Pentagon. London: Michael Joseph, 1990; G.P Shultz. Turmoil & Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State. NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993. Shultz suggests that it was Reagan's toughness and vision concerning SDI that hastened if not dealt the fatal blow that led to the collapse of the Soviet empire.

Buchanan in the Louisiana, Ohio, and New England primaries<sup>2</sup> and the Oklahoma bombing<sup>3</sup> have highlighted. Another prime example of Reagan's and the 1980s New Right legacy is the power that the Religious Right wields in US and Republican Party politics, especially through the Christian Coalition (which could be regarded as the Moral Majority's successor).<sup>4</sup> This is why when the Coalition held its annual convention in Washington DC (September 8 and 9, 1995,) a long procession of presidential hopefuls came to gain its support. Social conservatives such as Patrick Buchanan, Robert Dornan, and Alan Keyes received an enthusiastic reception from the delegates. Candidates such as Richard Lugar, Robert Dole, and Lamar Alexander, whose natural party constituency lay among the Grand Old Party (GOP) moderates, made brave efforts to show themselves as social conservatives. The majority of the GOP candidates believed that it would be difficult to win their party's nomination without at least the "tacit acquiescence of the Christian Right."<sup>5</sup> Thus, the philosophical conservatism that emerged with the Reagan presidency was far from dead,<sup>6</sup> especially as after Mondale's failure in the 1984 presidential election a group of prominent Southern and Border states Democratic politicians formed the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) which essentially was meant to represent and promote Democratic conservatism. In other words, the formation of the DLC could be seen as an attempt to place the Democratic Party on a more conservative footing, after more decades of postwar

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<sup>2</sup> Buchanan gathered slightly less than one-quarter of the Republican votes cast in the primary session and seventy-eight (four percent) of the delegates. In New Hampshire he won 37 percent of the vote to Bush's 53 percent; in Florida he won 32 percent; and, in Georgia 36 percent. P.R. Abramson, J.H. Aldrich and D.W. Rohde. Change and Continuity in the 1992 Election. Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1994, p26, p30.

<sup>3</sup> R. Abanes. Rebellion, Racism & Religion: American Militia. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996; P. Lamy. Millennium Rage: Survivalists, White Supremacists, and the Doomsday Prophecy. London: Plenum Press, 1996.

<sup>4</sup> D.M. Oldfield. The Right and the Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996.

James Carney has reported that House Republicans were informed that they must keep Christian Right leaders happy or they would lose their support. Moreover, Newt Gingrich also promised not to give another speech without mentioning the investigations of Clinton. J. Carney, "The G.O.P. Mantra: Keep Dobson Happy." *Time* May 11, 1998

<sup>5</sup> C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p3; see also D.M. Oldfield. The Right and the Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996.

<sup>6</sup> Reagan's influence is clearly seen in N. Gingrich. To Renew America. NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995.

liberalism domination.<sup>7</sup> The 1980s had placed America on a conservative path which at the moment seems to be very entrenched. The question that one is therefore faced with is not whether the conservative legacy of Reagan will remain, but whether the more ideologically entrenched conservatives will win? or, if the moderate conservatives could sustain their dominance? America and as a result the world waits to see what would happen as a new century dawns upon us as the conclusion of the internal conflict in the United States will have a great impact on world development and on the United Nations which will find it far more difficult to operate as conservative opposition to it will only intensify.<sup>8</sup>

A study of the Reagan era requires an understanding, or at least an awareness of American history especially following the end of World War II and the ensuing Cold War. This is because much of the Reaganites' view was based on interpreting the hopes and aims of the Founding Fathers. For the Reaganites the United States was created with the purpose of fulfilling John Winthrop's notion of a City on the Hill, which following the Second World War was transformed into a fortress on a hill. American conservatives believe that their country was meant to preserve the best of mankind as it has a "Manifest Destiny." For religious conservatives, America has a holy mission to fight the forces of evil and prepare for the ultimate battle with the forces of the Antichrist (the Soviet Union).<sup>9</sup> This is perhaps why the words of Edward Gibbon ring true for them as he had forewarned, at the close of the eighteenth-century, that if Europe was to be attacked by hordes of barbarians from the east, then "...ten thousand vessels would transport beyond their pursuit the remains of civilised society; and Europe would revive and flourish in the American world, which was already filled with

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<sup>7</sup> N.C Rae. *Southern Democrats*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, p58-59, for DLC see p111-127. Clinton is a former chairman of the DLC; M. Walker. *Clinton: The President They Deserve*. London: Fourth Estate, 1996.

<sup>8</sup> There is a debate amongst conservative Americans about US involvement in the UN. The failure of the Senate to pass a bill that would pay US arrears failed because of Christian Right pressure for an extraneous provision which prohibited federal funding of family-planning organisations that condone abortion as an option. J. Carney, "The G.O.P. Mantra: Keep Dobson Happy." *Time* May 11, 1998.

<sup>9</sup> P. Lamy. *Millennium Rage: Survivalists, White Supremacists, and the Doomsday Prophecy*. London: Plenum Press, 1996, especially p1-30; G. Halsell. *Prophecy and Politics: Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War*. Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1986.

her colonies and institutions.”<sup>10</sup> Since its inception the United States has been or rather had claimed to be, a safe-haven for all those seeking either refuge from persecution, hardship, or just the prospects of happiness through financial betterment. “Give me your tired, your poor / Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.”,<sup>11</sup> are the words that have welcomed millions of new arrivals to America. In 1980, and even more in the 1990s, the free world, and its champion, the United States, appeared to face a threat from an “evil empire” that lay in the East<sup>12</sup> which was the result of an insidious strategy. That is, postwar liberalism, the United Nations, the liberal Eastern Establishment and the Soviet Union, had combined to work together to topple American sovereignty and freedom and with it take-over the world.<sup>13</sup> Thus, to understand the mind of the New Right of the 1980s, one must have an understanding of the United States since the end of World War II, which is done in Chapter 1 of the thesis. This is followed by an examination of what is the New Right. Once a definition has been provided it is important to examine whether the administration was a New Right one. This is done in Chapter 3 of the thesis. The last two chapters act as a testing ground as to whether the Reagan administration sought to implement its New Right agenda which is where the UN and UNESCO come in.

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<sup>10</sup> E. Gibbon. The Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire. Middlesex: Penguin Classics, 1985, p627.

<sup>11</sup> W. LaFeber. The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home & Abroad, 1750 to Present. 2nd ed., NY: W.W Norton & Co., 1994, p218.

<sup>12</sup> Due to their belief in Biblical inerrancy, fundamentalists look to current events for signs of the beginning of Armageddon. The Bolshevik Revolution confirmed for many the earlier prophecy that the Beast would come from Russia. Modern fundamentalists also believe that Armageddon would come in the shape of a nuclear holocaust. R.C Chandler, “The Wicked Shall Not Bear Rule: The Fundamentalist Heritage of the New Christian Right”, D.G Bromley and A. Shupe. (ed.) New Christian Politics. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984, p44; G. Halsell. Prophecy and Politics: Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War. Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1986, especially p21-27; W.F Jasper. Global Tyranny... Step by Step: The United Nations and the Emerging New World Order. Appleton: Western Islands, 1992.

<sup>13</sup> For example: P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991; W.F Jasper. Global Tyranny... Step by Step: The United Nations and the Emerging New World Order. Appleton: Western Islands, 1992.

## Chapter I - The United States, 1945-1980: A Brief History of a Superpower

In the first chapter of the work a domestic analysis of the development of the United States since the end of the Second World War is provided. The underlying theme is that as the post-war period developed, the country moved from a liberal ideology in which social welfare was actively promoted by the federal government to a more conservative one where government intervention is sought to be limited. Policymakers, immediately after the end of World War II felt that America's omnipotence could enable it to help those less fortunate become better off, while also standing up to communism, wrong-doing and evil. America would not only act as an example, it would actively assist people and nations multilaterally and unilaterally to emancipate themselves from their historical, cultural or political shackles, by adopting the American model. However, by the mid-1960s, primarily as a result of social reforms and foreign policy, Americans faced increasing difficulties that carried severe implications for the New Deal coalition that had been responsible for the transformation of postwar-America. The coalition from the mid-1960s began to slowly disintegrate, while the conservative movement began to gather momentum, especially following the 1964 presidential campaign.

The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 represented the culmination of a process that had been in the making essentially since the mid 1960s. It emphasised that conservatism had finally attained an ascendancy over post-war liberalism in American society.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the Reagan era, in many respects lay the foundation for the development of the radical right of the 1990s which is far more focused on foreign policy than its predecessor.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> K.P Phillips. Post-Conservative America: People, Politics & Ideology in a Time of Crisis. NY: Vintage Books, 1983. Put very simply Phillips' thesis is that the rise of Reagan and the *new brand of conservatism* were the result of the economic and political decline of the US in the previous two decades.

<sup>15</sup> W.F Jasper. Global Tyranny... Step by Step: The United Nations and the Emerging New World Order. Appleton: Western Islands, 1992. Jasper's book is a prime example of the belief of a growing number of Americans that the UN is part of a large conspiracy to create 'world government' that would enslave and rob them of their cherished liberty.



## Chapter II - The New Right: The Development of An Ideology

Ronald Reagan came to lead a highly diverse movement that has been dubbed the "New Right". In recent years, the term had been used to describe the more extreme right organisations that seem to dominate American news due to the fear that they evoke. The federal government had several highly publicised altercations with anti-government groups throughout the 1990s, ranging from Ruby ridge to Waco to the Oklahoma bombing, to the Michigan militia for example.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the term is somewhat elusive which is why within the scope of this research the "New Right" will be portrayed as a conservative populist movement composed of three main groups, each with its own emphasis on what was wrong in America. The "New Right" of the 1980s was active in politics and in working from within the system to foster change.<sup>17</sup>

The first group that made-up the New Right in the 1980s were the "anti-liberals," the real descendants of traditional Republican conservatism. The anti-liberals were unhappy with the growth of the New Deal which meant the abandonment of America's ancestral ideology of self-reliance and rugged individualism and the adoption of liberal welfarism that was far more symptomatic of Europe at best, and the Soviet Union at its worst.<sup>18</sup> Their interest was with domestic policy and their involvement in foreign policy was merely an extension to Reagan's claims that the defence build-up would have positive effects on the economy, although all were anti-communists.<sup>19</sup> The anti-liberals were able to provide much support for their cause by securing posts for their people in the administration (David Stockman), and Congress (Jack Kemp), while also

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<sup>16</sup> R. Abanes. Rebellion, Racism & Religion: American Militia. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996. These incidents are used by the Radical Right to show how one cannot trust the federal government and the existence of a conspiracy against the American people by their government.

<sup>17</sup> R.A Viguerie. The New Right: We're Ready to Lead. Falls Church: The Viguerie Co., 1981.

<sup>18</sup> David Stockman, Reagan's first director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) has claimed that Social Security has been sweetened by politicians so much that the notion of need disappeared and had nothing to do with what workers put into the fund. Stockman describes this as "closet socialism." D.A Stockman. The Triumph of Politics: the Crisis in American Government and How It Affects the World. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986, p194.

<sup>19</sup> See for example M. Anderson. Revolution. NY: Harecourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988.

mobilising support from outside of the political arena (Heritage Foundation, American Enterprise Institute and Hoover Foundation<sup>20</sup> Paul Weyrich<sup>21</sup> et. al.).

The second main group of the New Right was the New Christian Right which has attracted the attention of many political commentators and academics fascinated by the phenomena.<sup>22</sup> The movement was highly diverse and it united in some instances various types of Protestant churches with Catholics and Jews. However, the driving force within the Religious Right were conservative evangelicals. The group rose to prominence mainly as a result of the 1973 Supreme Court ruling legalising abortion in the United States (there was some activity following the Court's recognition of secular humanism in the 1960s as a distinctive way of life<sup>23</sup> but the main thrust began following the abortion ruling). Throughout the 1970s the Religious Right mobilised and developed an effective political movement. Its interest was principally with social policy, particularly abortion and education.<sup>24</sup> Its involvement in foreign policy was due to its concern, if not fear, of Soviet expansionism, as the USSR was not only the antithesis of the United States, but the embodiment of evil. Reagan's description of the Soviet Union as an "evil-empire",<sup>25</sup> was widely endorsed. This was supported by the

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<sup>20</sup> N. Ashford, "A New Public Philosophy", J.D Lees and M. Turner. (ed.) Reagan's First Four Years: A New Beginning. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, p16-18.

<sup>21</sup> Paul Weyrich was one of the founders of the New Right. For his involvement in American politics see R. Bellant. The Coors Connection: How Coors Family Philanthropy Undermines Democratic Pluralism. Boston: South End Press, 1991.

<sup>22</sup> For example: C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996; S. Bruce. The Rise & Fall of the New Christian Right: Conservative Protestant Politics in America, 1978-1988. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988; D.M Oldfield. The Right and the Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996.

<sup>23</sup> For a Christian Right view of secular humanism: J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980; P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991; H. Lindsey. Planet Earth 2000 A.D.: Will Mankind Survive?. Palos Verdes: Western Front, 1996.

<sup>24</sup> J.D Hunter. Cultural Wars: The Struggle to Define America. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1990.

In the 1990s, groups from the Religious Right became more interested in UN activities due to fear of world government and the loss of American sovereignty. See for example "Policy Concerns" of the *Concerned Women of America*: "U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child." February 1995; "The World Food (and Population) Summit: The U.N. Makes Another Grab for Power." December 1996 (revised); Sovereignty Under Siege: U.N. Biospheres Take U.S. Land." May 1997.

<sup>25</sup> A.C Loveland. American Evangelicals and the U.S. Military 1942-1993. London: Louisiana State University Press, 1996, especially p211-225; R.C Chandler, "The Wicked Shall Not Bear Rule: The Fundamentalist Heritage of the New Christian Right", D.G Bromley and A. Shupe. (ed.) New Christian Politics. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984; J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980; J. Falwell, E. Dobson and E. Hindson. (ed.) The

efforts of Christian Right leaders such as Falwell, Robertson, the Bakkers - to name but a few - who wrote books, gave speeches and public appearances highlighting their views which meant engaging in secular politics to promote their agenda.<sup>26</sup> Jews and Catholics, were sympathetic to Reagan conservative social policy while his foreign policy stance won him their support due to the discrimination that their brethren suffered in the hands of the Soviets and their supporters throughout the world which explains their alliance with the Protestant Christian Right.

The neoconservatives composed the final group in the New Right paradigm. The neoconservatives were mainly Jewish intellectual Democrats unhappy with the way the Democratic Party had evolved by the 1970s especially in the area of foreign policy. Their literature is rather diverse, although consistent in its calls for greater commitment to defence expenditure which would lead to a more aggressive and 'America first' foreign policy. They wanted the US to stand up for democracy and western values which could only be achieved through building up America's defence capabilities that had suffered especially as a result of Vietnam and government policies.<sup>27</sup> The neoconservatives although being disorganised and even divided were very prolific writers, and they expressed their views in several magazines ranging from *Commentary* to *Policy Review* to *The National Interest*. They too, like the anti-liberals, were able to place several of their people in the administration and especially in the State Department.<sup>28</sup> The leading neoconservative in the administration was Jeane Kirkpatrick who served as America's ambassador to the UN.<sup>29</sup>

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Fundamentalist Phenomenon: The Resurgence of Conservative Christianity. NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981; P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991.

<sup>26</sup> There was much debate especially among fundamentalists on whether preachers should engage in mainstream political discourse. D.M Oldfield. The Right and the Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996. The reality, however, was that these preachers felt that political debate had direct impact on the well-being of America and therefore they should be involved.

<sup>27</sup> See for example I. Kristol. Reflections of a Neoconservative: Looking Back, Looking Ahead. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1983; J.J. Kirkpatrick. The Reagan Doctrine & US Foreign Policy. Washington DC: The Heritage Foundation, The Fund for an American Renaissance, 1985.

<sup>28</sup> J. Ehrman. The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995, especially p137-172.

<sup>29</sup> Kirkpatrick had a cabinet seat and she formulated the Reagan Doctrine. Her role is analysed in greater depth in Chapter 4 of the thesis, where some of the above points are re-examined.

These were the main members of the New Right and as one can see they were certainly diverse. The chapter focuses on the different groups that made up the New Right, especially as at first glance one would not have expected to see the Christian Right allied with neoconservatives due to the traditional animosity between Protestant fundamentalism and Judaism. Yet, in 1980 these diverse forces decided to put aside or rather suspend their differences and support Ronald Reagan for president.

### Chapter III - The Reagan Presidency, 1981-89: Success & Failure of A New Right Agenda

The election of Ronald Reagan highlighted that 'new conservatism' had reached the pinnacle of American politics as it was present both in the White House and Congress.<sup>1</sup> However, American politics is notoriously harsh on ideologues as it demands compromise if policies and agendas are to be carried out. Thus, the aim of the chapter is to provide a brief examination on whether the administration was able to pursue its New Right ideology in general, and thus qualify for the title of being a New Right administration.<sup>2</sup>

The chapter argue that the Reagan administration qualified as being heavily influenced by New Right ideas. To say that it was conservative is insufficient as it sought to fulfil many of the ideas, aims, and hopes of the people who composed the New Right.<sup>3</sup> For example, the anti-liberals were able to persuade Congress to pass many aspects of their economic agenda which according to Reagan ended

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<sup>1</sup> The 1980 election brought unprecedented number of conservatives into Congress. C.J Bailey. The Republican Party in the US Senate, 1974-1984: Party Change and Institutional Development. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

<sup>2</sup> Bellant in two publications by the Political Research Associates Old Nazis, the New Right, and the Republican Party: Domestic Fascist Networks and their Effect on U.S. Cold War Politics. and The Coors Connection: How Coors Family Philanthropy Undermines Democratic Pluralism. show that Reagan had very close ties with members of the New Right. This would suggest that the movement was able to push many of its policies and ideas due to its connections in Washington DC. Bellant certainly paints the administration as one with very strong ties to the Right, sometimes even the Extreme Right

<sup>3</sup> On the transformation of conservatism see K.P Phillips. Post-Conservative America: People, Politics & Ideology in a Time of Crisis. NY: Vintage Books, 1983.

America's worst recession,<sup>33</sup> although burdening the country with a huge national deficit and many other social, economic, and political problems. The Religious Right was less successful as its major victories came in the shape of the limited Equal Access Act and the failure to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).<sup>34</sup> The neoconservative program was carried through with the implementation of the largest ever peace-time defence build-up in American history and Reagan's pursuit of an aggressive foreign policy especially when dealing with the Soviet Union.<sup>35</sup> On many issues the New Righters were disappointed but those failures were not necessarily the administration's fault. To paraphrase David Stockman, politics often proved triumphant.<sup>36</sup>

#### Chapter IV - The New Right & The United Nations: The Kirkpatrick Era, 1981-1985

The aim of this part of the research is to show that the Reagan administration's approach to the United Nations was based on a New Right agenda. The Reagan presidency has attracted much attention from scholars as has the New Right and both have been studied from different angles and perspectives. However, not much work has been done on the relationship between the Reagan administration, the New Right and the UN, despite the fact that the Reaganites' approach to the United Nations was curious. This is because although New Righters and the administration continuously pointed to the failures and deficiencies of the organisation, there was no real concrete or organised effort (as was the case with UNESCO), to bring about an end to American participation in the UN. The administration decried the way the United States was being treated in and by the organisation, as it sought to reform the UN from within, something

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<sup>33</sup> See Reagan's comparison between the Quebec Economic summit in 1981 and the Williamsburg Economic summit in 1983. R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990.

<sup>34</sup> Hadden and Shupe argue that the Christian Right was very successful during the 1980s as Reagan largely implemented many of their general desires. J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988.

<sup>35</sup> For Reagan's defence policy see for example M.E Goldstein. Arms Control and Military Preparedness from Truman to Bush. NY: Peter Lang Publishers, 1993, p195-232.

<sup>36</sup> D.A Stockman. The Triumph of Politics: the Crisis in American Government and How It Affects the World. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986.

that it was not prepared to do in the case of UNESCO for various reasons which will be discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

The United Nations prefigured very highly in the Reaganite foreign policy program. The organisation was part of an overall strategy of restoring American prestige and confidence both at home and abroad.<sup>37</sup> The UN was one of the most prominent places that one could see the apparent loss of prestige as this was after all an organisation that America had played a central role in creating which is why restoring American status was so important there. This perhaps explains why, firstly Jeane Kirkpatrick was appointed to the post of US permanent representative to the UN as she was not only the formulator of the Reagan Doctrine, but a neoconservative.<sup>38</sup> Secondly, Kirkpatrick spent considerable time shuttling from New York to Washington in an attempt to fulfil America's foreign policy goals.<sup>39</sup> In other words, the Reaganites considered the United Nations important enough to keep a close eye on events there despite its numerous failings. As Kirkpatrick, herself noted the United Nations is "*an important institution*." It reflected the state of the world, and is not, as some seem to think, "a world unto itself". Thus, the UN for better or worse "... is not only influenced by its environment, it influences the environment. The pattern of interaction inside the United Nations - the alliance and the rhetoric that develop there - have consequences cumulatively important beyond Turtle Bay. The relationship

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<sup>37</sup> Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 96th Congress, 2nd Session, 1980, Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1981. Included in the volume is the text of the Republican Party Platform.

<sup>38</sup> Kirkpatrick encountered some problems due to State Department obstinacy (as they disliked her un-diplomatic approach) and with Alexander Haig, but this was countered by the closeness of William Clark to Reagan. A. Gerson. The Kirkpatrick Mission: Diplomacy Without Apology America at the United Nations, 1981-1985. NY: The Free Press, 1991.

Kirkpatrick in her nomination hearings noted that she and Reagan shared many views and outlooks which must have aided her when she dealt with Reagan, or sought presidential support for her style in the UN. "Nomination of Jeane Kirkpatrick." hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, 97th Congress, 1st Session, January 15, 1981, Washington DC: US GPO, 1981.

<sup>39</sup> "38th Session of the U.N. General Assembly." September 19 - December 20, 1983, Report of Congressional Delegates to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives, September 30, 1985, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985, p17.

between the United Nations and the outside world receives less attention, I [Kirkpatrick] believe, than it deserves.”<sup>40</sup>

Mrs. Kirkpatrick was a prolific speaker and her ideas and views have been collected in three main publications. The core of her argument which she promoted aggressively was that America was the aggrieved party in the United Nations which is why the US should - and would - act against policies and programs that it saw as inimical to its interests (it would end the policy of “damage limitation”). America would not be afraid to assert its values while attacking and emphasising deficiencies in other political systems and by implication countries.<sup>41</sup>

The relationship between the Reaganites and the United Nations was largely consistent throughout Kirkpatrick’s tenure. This probably assisted an already conservative Congress to adopt a more aggressive or national chauvinistic style when dealing with the United Nations, which was seen in several pieces of legislation such as the Kassebaum Amendment.<sup>42</sup> It is also noteworthy that Kirkpatrick’s approach was similar to that of Daniel P. Moynihan, a neoconservative who served at the US Mission in the mid-1970s, where he actively promoted American national interests. By the 1980s, Moynihan had become a US senator.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, “Making Things Worse”, address before the Foreign Policy Association, New York, New York, January 26 1982, p204. All quotes from p204 [italics in text]; same speech appears in Kirkpatrick’s The Reagan Phenomenon & Other Speeches on Foreign Policy. Washington: AEI for Public Policy Research, 1983, entitled “The Problems of the United Nations.”

<sup>41</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. The Reagan Phenomenon & Other Speeches on Foreign Policy. Washington: AEI for Public Policy Research, 1983; Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I & II, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988.

<sup>42</sup> Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 98th Congress, 1st Session, 1983, Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1984.

<sup>43</sup> For the importance of Moynihan to the neoconservative cause see J. Ehrman. The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995.

## Chapter V - UNESCO & The United States: The Reagan Years, 1981-1984

The American decision to withdraw from UNESCO in 1984, rather surprisingly has not attracted much attention from commentators.<sup>44</sup> An important factor when dealing with the Reagan administration's approach to UNESCO is to be aware of the role that external forces played in pushing for the withdrawal as it was there that one sees the clearest examples of New Right influence.

Generally most of the work that has been done concerning the United States and UNESCO covers an array of issues and is rather scattered although some of it is very useful, as will be seen later on. R.A Coate's book Unilateralism, Ideology & U.S. Foreign Policy examines America's decision to withdraw from UNESCO. Coate concludes that the pullout was due to political considerations rather than the reasons given by the administration, whose officials often misunderstood or lacked knowledge about UNESCO and other international organisations. The administration criticisms of the agency became more vague by 1984 as UNESCO worked very hard to introduce reforms which Coate describes at some length, but proved futile in preventing the withdrawal.<sup>45</sup> Mark Imber's book looks mainly at the issue of politicisation, for example how it was used, the role of functionalism in the debate, and so on. Imber concedes that UNESCO was different from the two other case studies that he looks at - the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). This is because with UNESCO, the Americans were also concerned with punishment and there was no real interest by the administration to return to the agency once reform has been implemented.<sup>46</sup> The Hope and Folly book provides a

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<sup>44</sup> There are four main books: C.A Giffard. UNESCO and the Media. London: Longman, 1989; M.F Imber. The USA, ILO, UNESCO and IAEA: Politicization and Withdrawal in the Specialized Agencies. London: Macmillan Press, 1989; W. Preston Jr., E.S Herman and H.I Schiller. Hope & Folly: The United States and UNESCO, 1945-1980. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989; R.A Coate. Unilateralism, Ideology & U.S. Foreign Policy: The United States In and Out of UNESCO. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988.

<sup>45</sup> R.A Coate. Unilateralism, Ideology & U.S. Foreign Policy: The United States In and Out of UNESCO. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988. Coate's thesis is examined in greater depth in Chapter 5.

<sup>46</sup> M.F Imber. The USA, ILO, UNESCO and IAEA: Politicization and Withdrawal in the Specialized Agencies. London: Macmillan Press, 1989. Imber's thesis is described in greater depth in Chapter 5 of this thesis.



long term look into US-UNESCO relations while also looking into the communications debate and its development.<sup>47</sup>

C.A Giffard's examination of UNESCO and the American media, and what role the media played in pushing for the withdrawal is very important to this research. Giffard shows the relationship between the State Department and interest groups, and how often the State Department used those organisations in its attempts to devalue UNESCO's contributions to international society. A context analysis, according to Giffard, was made to check the correspondence between the Heritage Foundation views and documents on UNESCO and the State Department's press releases, briefings and statements at congressional hearings. The analysis showed that speakers for the State Department "...reiterated both the language and the emphasis provided by the Heritage reports." There were some differences but other than changes in emphasis "*...both the arguments and rhetoric were almost identical.*"<sup>48</sup> In other words, there was a symbiotic relationship between political organs such as the State Department and conservative / New Right think-tanks like the Heritage Foundation, or interest groups such the Anti-Defamation League. Thus, the administration was supplied with ammunition to attack UNESCO by outsiders who wanted to see an end to American membership in UNESCO.

When looking into US-UNESCO relations during the Reagan presidency the main sources are congressional hearings, staff reports commissioned by Congress and statements by members of Congress, the administration and experts.<sup>49</sup> Most of the discussions about UNESCO were not initiated by President

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<sup>47</sup> W. Preston Jr., E.S Herman and H.I Schiller. Hope & Folly: The United States and UNESCO, 1945-1980. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.

<sup>48</sup> C.A Giffard. UNESCO and the Media. London: Longman, 1989, p257, [My Italics]. This point is also made by R. Coate in Unilateralism, Ideology & U.S. Foreign Policy: The United States In and Out of UNESCO. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988.

<sup>49</sup> See for example "U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO", hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organization and on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 25, 26, May 2, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, 1984; "US Withdrawal From UNESCO", Report of A Staff Study Mission, February 10-23, 1984 to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives, Washington DC: US GPO, April 1984; "Improvements Needed in UNESCO's Management, Personnel, Financial, & Budgeting Practices", Report to the Committee on

Reagan, as the crusade was carried out at lower levels.<sup>50</sup> An important area is the close relationship between the State Department, the Reagan administration and outside think-tanks, especially the Heritage Foundation which had many staff and associates *in* the administration.<sup>51</sup> The role that men such as Owen Harries and Thomas Gulick played (both of the Heritage Foundation) in the development and the pursuit of policy especially concerning UNESCO was substantial.<sup>52</sup>

### CONCLUSION

The New Right phenomenon brought about much change, and the impact of the movement was such that it arguably forced the Democratic Party to drop much of its postwar liberalism that many Americans came to consider as too radical as it placed too much emphasis on minority groups and the federal government while losing the essence of Americanism as promoted by the Founding Fathers. The Reagan presidency restored some pride into conservatism and began the process of rolling-back the welfare state which arguably culminated with President Clinton's famous welfare bill.

Ronald Reagan was able to restore America to its pre-Watergate and even pre-Vietnam era which had shocked the country and knocked out some of its zest. If one compares America's position in 1989 to that of 1979 one could see a significant change just in national pride especially following the collapse of the Soviet Union and its Eastern Europe hegemony. This is why the United States has been and continues to be dominant in international affairs, every country is aware of it, and seeks to win favour from it, not to mention its approval. To be blacklisted by the United States could mean hardship and great suffering, to win favour means prosperity and happiness.

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Foreign Affairs and Committee on Science and Technology, House of Representatives", by the Comptroller General of the United States, Gaithersburg: US GAO, 1984, GAO/NSIAD-85-32.

<sup>50</sup> The Reagan style was very managerial as he would note his general unhappiness, and his aides would take care of the situation (Irangate). Another possible explanation, is that UNESCO was simply not seen as important enough to bother the President with by his subordinates who organised his schedule.

<sup>51</sup> N. Ashford, "A New Public Philosophy", J.D Lees and M. Turner. (ed.) Reagan's First Four Years: A New Beginning. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, p16, p17.

<sup>52</sup> See especially C.A Giffard. UNESCO and the Media. London: Longman, 1989.

America of the 1990s is expanding again as NAFTA and the financial support that was given to Mexico have emphasised. In many respects America is returning to its century old belief that only through expansion of trade and an active national chauvinist foreign policy does prosperity and by implication civilisation survives.<sup>53</sup> However, there are many Americans who are very troubled with the path that their country is on and they are determined to be heard, often at a frightening cost. The eight years of Reagan laid the foundation for the rise of conservatism which reached new heights with the 1994 Congressional elections which saw more conservatives entered the legislature. Their attitude to the United Nations and international relations has at times being harsh, as they have had to satisfy a growing constituency of disgruntled Americans unhappy with the foreign policy of their country, which they perceived as liberal, internationalist and dangerous for their survival.

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<sup>53</sup> The argument is developed from N. Gingrich. To Renew America. NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995; B. Clinton. Between Hope and History: Meeting America's Challenges For the 21st Century. NY: Random House, 1996.

## CHAPTER I

### THE UNITED STATES, 1945-1980: A BRIEF HISTORY OF A SUPERPOWER

The surrender of Japan on board the USS *Missouri* on September 2, 1945 ended the most devastating war in modern history. Yet, the task faced by the postwar politicians was a mammoth one compared with the wining of the war. The postwar world was a broken one, and the leaders of the victorious countries were entrusted with the job of devising a plan that would include reconstruction and reconciliation, while also ensuring that such conflicts never happen again. The Alamogordo Test in New Mexico on July 16, 1945, followed by the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki ushered a 'new world order' in which the US was expected to play an central role, as it had during the war.<sup>1</sup> Americans themselves, after four years of war, became aware that they could no longer rely on the great oceans to protect them. The legacy of Pearl Harbor was that the Pacific and the Atlantic were turned from great unbreachable barriers defending John Winthrop's City on the Hill, to mere canals vulnerable to long range bombers, aircraft carriers, and submarines. The defence of the United States in the postwar period had become more complex and expensive, especially if appeasement was to be prevented (Munich had shown what could happen if dictators are allowed to get away with their demands). The more idealistic and national chauvinist Americans realised that the world (which had lost much of its infra and super-structure) was ready to be moulded by them according to the American ideal. This would have the dual benefit of creating more enlightened societies (as the US was clearly one) while fulfilling the hopes of the Founding Fathers and America's own manifest destiny.

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<sup>1</sup> The US provided over \$100 billion worth of supplies and equipment to its allies and over 12 million people during the war. American military leaders directed most of the Allied war effort. For example, the Normandy invasion and the drive to the Elbe were co-ordinated by General Eisenhower, while General Bradley commanded 1.3 million soldiers in the drive across Europe. The island-hopping campaigns in the Pacific was directed by General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz. L.J Korb. The Fall & Rise of the Pentagon: American Defence Policies in the 1970s. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979, p3.

The Second World War led to significant social, political and cultural changes. The US became more of a middle-class society as personal incomes more than doubled during the war and were distributed more fairly. The share of the national income, for example, earned by the wealthiest five percent declined from more than twenty-three percent in 1939, to almost seventeen percent in 1944. From 1940 to 1945, the US spent nearly twice as much as it had spent in the preceding 150 years. The annual budget was more than ten times what it had been in the pre-war years (\$100 billion in 1945 alone), while the national debt increased from \$43 billion in 1940, to \$269 billion in 1946. In 1939, only four million people paid tax, by 1942, that figure rose to seventeen million, and by 1944 to forty-two million people.<sup>2</sup> The war also had the effect of bringing women and other minorities into the workforce on unprecedented levels as wages in munitions plants and aircraft factories were about forty percent higher than in non-defence factories.<sup>3</sup>

In terms of scientific achievements the United States made great advances (both militarily and non-militarily). Scientists developed the bazooka, which enabled infantrymen to pierce a tank; the radio proximity fuse, which exploded according to nearness to the target; and napalm flame-throwers. Navigational aides were improved (radar and sonar were perfected) and amphibious vehicles for landing on beaches were created. Medical breakthroughs were achieved especially in new techniques to aid the wounded, which included new drugs and insect repellents. The War Department's Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD) headed by Vannevar Bush of MIT spent \$2 billion on the secretive atomic bomb project. In the three "atomic cities" - Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Hanford, Washington; and Los Alamos, New Mexico - nearly 150,000 people conducted research, refined uranium, and produced weapons. The facilities rivalled in size the entire automobile industry. Further government funds helped universities build scientific laboratories. Universities also received further support by enrolling

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<sup>2</sup> G. Jeansonne. Transformation and Reaction: America 1921-1945. NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1994, p199-201; H. Stein. Presidential Economics: The Making of Economic Policy from Roosevelt to Reagan & Beyond. 2nd ed., Washington DC: AEI for Public Policy Research, 1988, p65.

several hundred thousand officers in Army and Navy programs for accelerated degrees. The private industry also spent on research facilities and by the end of the war almost 2,500 private industrial research laboratories were employing 133,000 people, twice the prewar number.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the war in many ways aided American society, while the country (in terms of human life and inconvenience) paid a relatively small price as compared to the Soviet Union or Germany.<sup>5</sup> All in all, the war increased standards of living in the United States,<sup>6</sup> while lowering unemployment (in June 1940 it stood at 9 million by September 1943 it was 780,000).<sup>7</sup>

Truman and his administration were faced with the enormous task of having to convert a wartime economy to one of peace (without causing a severe depression) especially at a time when people came to believe that government offered the solution to many of their problems especially as a result of the New Deal. Many Americans in fact came to see the New Deal programs and the role that the federal government played in dealing with the Depression to be paramount in keeping America buoyant.<sup>8</sup> It is, however, noteworthy that Americans made a distinction between peace and war which is why, when

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<sup>3</sup> M. Schaller, V. Scharff and R.D. Schulzinger. Present Tense: the United States Since 1945. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992, p21-40; M.C.C. Adams. The Best War ever: America and World War II. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994, p85-86.

<sup>4</sup> G. Jeansonne. Transformation and Reaction: America 1921-1945. NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1994, p201; M. Schaller, V. Scharff and R.D. Schulzinger. Present Tense: the United States Since 1945. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., p24-25.

<sup>5</sup> About 300,000 Americans died with a further one million wounded of whom 500,000 were seriously disabled. The Japanese lost 2.3 million, Germany about 5.6 million, China about 10 million and the Soviet Union roughly 20 million people. Put another way, during the American Civil War (1861-65) the death rate was 182 per ten thousand population while during World War II the rate was 30 per ten thousand. M.C.C. Adams. The Best War ever: America and World War II. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994, p6.

<sup>6</sup> In areas that were most effected by mobilisation average incomes rose tremendously - from \$2,207 to \$5,208 in Hartford, \$2,227 to \$5,316 in Washington DC, from \$2,031 to \$3,469 in Los Angeles. By 1944, the average purchase at Department Stores had increased from \$2 before the war to \$10 in 1944. W. Chafe. The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II. 3rd ed., NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, p9 and throughout; M.C.C. Adams. The Best War ever: America and World War II. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994, p6.

<sup>7</sup> M.A. Jones. The Limits of Liberty: American History, 1607-1992. 2nd ed., NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, p503.

<sup>8</sup> Truman was able to defeat Thomas Dewey in 1948 because people did not wanted the New Deal reformed or reversed. W.E. Pemberton. Harry S. Truman: Fair Dealer & Cold Warrior. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989; R.J. Donovan. Tumultuous Years: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1949-1953. NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1982.

relations with the Soviet Union deteriorated they found themselves in a real quagmire as in war one tolerates certain government restrictions and actions that are unacceptable in peace-time.' The relatively inexperienced Truman had to deal with calls to 'bring the boys home' as quickly as possible (by April 1946 almost seven million men had been demobilised<sup>10</sup>) while also focusing on postwar reconstruction. His situation was made even harder by the fact that he had to live in the shadow of Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom Americans revered.

The American economy suffered some fluctuations as Bowles, Snyder, Vinson and others who dealt with the reconversion failed to forecast correctly the economic conditions that would ensue in the immediate months after the war. They and many other experts had expected to see an economic collapse and a return to a depression instead they had to deal with inflation. Truman, therefore had to decide between pursuing an anti-inflationary or anti-depression program while also dealing with the tremendous pressure from powerful organised interest groups. Thus, by October 1945, 275 strikes were under way which involved 400,000 workers, while the National Labour Relations Board (NLRB) had received notice of 416 more strikes votes. By late January 1946, 1.3 million workers were on strike and by the end of 1946, 4.6 million workers were on the picket-line as a result of 5,000 disruptions.<sup>11</sup>

In an attempt to help the economy survive the transition Congress passed the Employment Act (although not the version that Truman had wanted). The act stated that government had to do all that it could to create employment. A Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) was set up to report directly to the President on the means of attaining maximum employment. The act was a

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<sup>9</sup> M.E Goldstein. Arms Control & Military Preparedness from Truman to Bush. NY: Peter Lang Publishers, 1993, p5; W.E Pemberton. Harry S. Truman: Fair Dealer & Cold Warrior. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989.

<sup>10</sup> D.W Grantham. The United States Since 1945: The Ordeal of Power. NY: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1976, p4.

<sup>11</sup> W.E Pemberton. Harry S. Truman: Fair Dealer & Cold Warrior. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989, p57-58. During the war years the government could react differently: for example during 40 cases of dispute Roosevelt seized plants to guarantee production. In 1944, when a national railway strike threatened, the government took over the railroads for three weeks until the president arbitrated the dispute. Work stoppages involved the equivalent of only one day per

recognition that economic planning and projections were part of the government's responsibility and functions. In the words of one commentator the legislation: "...marked the beginning of the acceptance of a carefully circumscribed role for the state in the management of economic activity."<sup>12</sup> Keynesianism had captured economic policy.<sup>13</sup>

The most famous piece of postwar legislation - and another example of how determined American society was to aid its former troops - was the Service Readjustment Act of 1944, otherwise known as the GI Bill. This legislation provided financial aid to ex-servicemen for further education, training or businesses. The Veterans Administration (VA) offered loans of up to \$2,000 to GIs who wanted to start their own business. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) granted access up to \$2,000 for a GI who wanted to buy a home with the Administration ready to underwrite mortgages of up to 80 or 90 percent of a home's value. This meant that with the price of an average house being less than \$20,000, millions of GIs were able to buy homes without even putting a down payment from their own savings.<sup>14</sup> Thus, with the help of the VA and the FHA the construction industry boomed especially as by 1948 over 2 million married couples were living with relatives. Between 1950 and 1960, more than 13 million homes were built in America of which 11 million were in the suburbs (during each day of the fifties developers bulldozed some 3,000 acres of farmland into suburbia)<sup>15</sup> all helping to develop and expand the middle class and the interest and power of the federal government and bureaucracy.

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worker for the duration of the war. G. Jeansonne. Transformation and Reaction: America 1921-1945. NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1994, p201.

<sup>12</sup> R. Griffith, "Forging America's Postwar Order: Domestic Politics & Political Economy in the Age of Truman", M.J Lacey. (ed.) The Truman Presidency. NY: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars & Cambridge University Press, 1989, p70.

<sup>13</sup> R. Garson and C. Bailey. The Uncertain Power: A Political History of the United States since 1929. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990, p39-40.

<sup>14</sup> W.H Chafe, "Postwar American Society: Dissent & Social Reform", M.J Lacey. (ed.) The Truman Presidency. NY: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars & Cambridge University Press, 1989, p159; M.A Jones. The Limits of Liberty: American History, 1607-1992. 2nd ed., NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, p524.

<sup>15</sup> W. Chafe. The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II. 3rd ed., NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, p117; T.H Anderson. The Movement & the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p8.



The outcome of the 1948 presidential election was probably the most surprising in modern American history. The belief that Thomas Dewey would be victorious was so strong that in Chicago, the *Tribune* went to press with the headline "DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN."<sup>16</sup> The victory, however, vindicated Truman and made him determined to continue in the Rooseveltian tradition of seeking to use government to help alleviate hardship.<sup>17</sup> Truman was hoping in his second term to raise taxation and with a reduced military budget to cut the deficit while still providing such benefits as low-cost housing, higher Social Security payments, and federal aid to education. When Truman launched his bid for a second term he believed that he would essentially have four relatively quiet years to promote his Fair Deal agenda. This was coupled by the fact that the Democrats were able to regain control of Congress, which they had briefly lost after the war. Thus, the 1948 election filled Congress with liberals with such visions of reforms as a repeal of the Taft-Hartly Act, a better civil right program, and so forth.<sup>18</sup> All in all Truman's Fair Deal introduced many new programs into American society which included an increase in unemployment compensation payment, while also extending this coverage to new workers; and a rise in the minimum wage. The Fair Employment Practices Commission which protected the rights of blacks and other minorities was made also permanent.<sup>19</sup> In other words, Truman was hoping to continue the transformation of American society which Roosevelt had begun.

Americans, perhaps subconsciously were hoping to show the world that following its success in leading the charge against fascism<sup>20</sup> the United States now

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<sup>16</sup> R.J Donovan. Tumultuous Years: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1949-1953. NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1982, p13.

<sup>17</sup> M.J Lacey. "Introduction & Summary: The Truman Era in Retrospect", M.J Lacey. (ed.) The Truman Presidency. NY: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars & Cambridge University Press, 1989,

<sup>18</sup> R.J Donovan. Tumultuous Years: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1949-1953. NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1982, p22.

<sup>19</sup> W.E Pemberton. Harry S. Truman: Fair Dealer & Cold Warrior. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989, p63.

<sup>20</sup> M.C.C. Adams. The Best War ever: America and World War II. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994. Americans generally believed that they were largely responsible for the Allies' victory and this notion has increased in strength with the passage of time.

intended to create the ultimate society, dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, thus upstaging the vague communist hyperbole about collectivism. One should remember that following the First World War and throughout the 1920s and 1930s there was a growth in support for communism the United States.<sup>21</sup> Postwar Western Europe appeared to be heading toward embracing the Soviet ideology due to the revulsion with right-wing doctrines which is why left-wing political organisations were very visible after the war throughout Western Europe. By promoting the New Deal and Fair Deal programs, Americans hoped that an effective example was being sent: that one could reconcile economic capitalism, liberty and social development.

The Second World War had the effect of making international relations more important in the eyes of Americans, and of dealing a serious, perhaps even fatal blow to the cause isolationism. Americans realised that they could no longer withdraw from the world as they had done following World War I which may explain American support for the United Nations. They hoped that the UN would protect international peace and security by fostering better co-operation between the different nations, thus making the world a better and safer place to live. This change of attitude is best epitomised by a man like Robert A. Taft, the leading Republican politician at the time. Taft came to support the UN because he felt that the United States could no longer exist in isolation and the United Nations - an organisation that America was instrumental in creating - would ensure international justice and peace which would thus preserve and protect American national interests.<sup>22</sup> America's atomic capability, coupled with its economic superiority and total dominance would ensure that the US could fulfil its 'manifest destiny' of mass conversion.

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<sup>21</sup> "Since the Bolshevik revolution, the Soviet experiment had provided radical and progressive intellectuals with an example of an alternative organization for politics and economics." J. Ehrman. *The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994*. London: Yale University Press, 1995, p4.

<sup>22</sup> J.P. Armstrong, "The Enigma of Senator Taft and American Foreign Policy." *Review of Politics* 17 (2 1955), 206-231; R.A Taft, "The Republican Party." *Fortune* (April 1949), p108-118.

Europe posed considerable concerns for Americans following V-E Day, as its eastern part was under Soviet domination while it also appeared that the western part was on the verge of succumbing to Soviet control. Within nine months of the defeat of Germany, de Gaulle had resigned, Churchill was replaced by a Labour government, there was a bloody communist-inspired civil war in Greece, while communism in France and Italy were on the rise. The British economy due to the war and the sudden curtailment of lend-lease in August 1945 was on the brink of collapse which is why on July 1946, Truman authorised a \$3.7 billion loan to Britain. On February 21, 1947, H.M. Sichell, First Secretary at the British Embassy in Washington, handed the US State Department two documents. The first dealt with Greece and stated that unless the Greek Government received \$200 million immediately, the communist guerrillas would win the civil war, while the second document warned that a similar fate awaited Turkey unless certain measures are taken.<sup>23</sup> In other words, within months after the end of the war, the Soviet Union and America were on the verge of clashing in Greece, Iran, Turkey and Germany.<sup>24</sup> Commentators have long debated the origins of the Cold War but what is important to note here is that by 1947 relations between the two countries had seriously deteriorated.<sup>25</sup>

The new state of affairs led to the annunciation of the Truman Doctrine which confirmed that America would not permit Soviet expansion and would assist those nations seeking to oppose communism. The Doctrine was not unique as it was part of a new package of US foreign policy commitment, and soon after, NSC 7 (a study suggesting that the United States should take a stronger stand

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<sup>23</sup> J. Ranelagh. *CIA: A History*. London: BBC Books, 1992, p49-50 and throughout.

<sup>24</sup> On March 5, 1948, General Lucius Clay informed Washington that whereas he had previously thought that war was ten years away, it could now break out suddenly. Eleven days later the CIA, advised Truman that war was improbable only for the next sixty days as after this date all bets were off. On March 17, Truman addressed a joint session of Congress and requested the introduction of universal military training and selective training. In other words, the deterioration of relations and the hope in a better future took place rather suddenly. M. McCauley. *The Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1949*. 2nd ed., London: Longman, 1995, p96.

<sup>25</sup> Beisner argues that Acheson in the early part of 1945 was hopeful that relations between the US and the Soviet Union would continue to be good, and he in fact called upon America to share its atomic information with the Soviets. However, as time progressed he began to shift his stand to one of greater hostility and intolerance towards Soviet behaviour (it was the Soviet-Turkish conflict that finally pushed Acheson to end his patient attempt at US-Soviet co-operation). R.L. Beisner, "Patterns of Peril: Dean Acheson Joins the Cold Warriors, 1945-46." *Diplomatic History* 20 (3 1996), 321-55.

against the Soviet Union attempt to impose world communism) was circulated. America, the document stipulated, should strengthen non-communist countries, with priority given to Western European countries.<sup>26</sup> Thus, with the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the NATO alliance (the first peace-time alliance in American history) America felt ready to deal with the potential threat that the Soviet Union seemed to pose to its way of life.

The development of American history in the twentieth century cannot be understood without emphasising the power that communism and the Soviet Union on American society. To Americans the emergence of the Soviet Union was frightening and they have never been comfortable with communist ideology which was seen as an antithesis to their own way of life. Throughout their history Americans have exalted private property, individual freedom, money, capitalism and religion, things that to many conservative Americans, a communist society sought to abolish which is perhaps communism was never able to set strong roots in the US.<sup>27</sup>

The animosity towards communism/socialism could be traced to the early part of the century and especially with the immediate aftermath of the end of the First World War and the rise of the Bolsheviks in Russia. Throughout 1919, there were several clashes in the US between the authorities and strikers which led to some loss of life.<sup>28</sup> In two cases that were decided in 1919 (*Schenck v. United States* and *Abrams v. United States*) the Supreme Court upheld the restraint of free speech and freedom of the press imposed by the wartime Espionage and Sedition Acts. The anti-communist fever reached new heights on November 7, 1919, when

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<sup>26</sup> R.J Donovan. Tumultuous Years: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1949-1953. NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1982, p47.

<sup>27</sup> P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991; J. Falwell, E. Dobson and E. Hindson. (ed.) The Fundamentalist Phenomenon: The Resurgence of Conservative Christianity. NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981.

<sup>28</sup> February 1919, saw a general strike in Seattle (the Bute walkout) and a textile strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts. From March until August, over 1,800 strikes erupted. In September 1919, the Boston Police went on a strike and troops were brought in to restore order which was done at the cost of three lives. Next a quarter-million steelworkers left the mills, only to be followed in November by a coal strike. The workers were attacked as politicians and labour opponents found red-baiting to be a useful tool against the strikers. Fried writes "Four million workers walked out in 1919, but sensationalist reactions by politicians and the press obscured

Attorney-General Palmer launched raids in twelve cities against the offices of the radical Union of Russian Workers. Three hundred people were arrested, some were beaten and many were put in jail. A month later (December 21, 1919), 199 aliens were rounded up in raids and fifty others were put on the *Buford* for deportation to the Soviet Union. The majority's guilt was their radical views. On January 20, 1920, Palmer's agents swept into Communist and Communist Labour Party meeting halls in thirty-three cities and arrested - often without warrants - over 4,000 suspected members. Many of those arrested were denied counsel and some were manhandled while there were also a number of people who had no ties to communism. Americans who were caught in the raids were turned over to the states for prosecution under state sedition laws. Aliens were held for deportation.<sup>29</sup> All this was taking place against the great American tradition of liberty and individual freedom as the fear of communist subversion or sedition simply meant that such methods were acceptable, as what the authorities were seeking was to protect the American way of life from an evil subversive movement.

In defence of some of the above actions one must remember that the end of the First World War forced the United States to face a new situation. Urbanisation, immigration and industrialisation, caused considerable tension in American society. Economic, social and cultural changes altered the relationship between the individual and the government, society, employer, and neighbour.<sup>30</sup> Out of the chaos movements that claimed to stand for tranquillity, traditional ways, old-time religion, undiluted patriotism and unhyphenated Americanism emerged.<sup>31</sup> Thus, by the mid 1920s and 1930s the far right received support for example from such leading politicians as Mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle, Senator Lee Overman (D-

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their usually moderate goals." R.M Fried. *Nightmare in Red: the McCarthy Era in Perspective*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1990, p40-41 (quotation p41).

<sup>29</sup> M.A Jones. *The Limits of Liberty: American History, 1607-1992*. 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p433; R.M Fried. *Nightmare in Red: the McCarthy Era in Perspective*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1990, p42.

<sup>30</sup> Adams provides many examples of uneasiness that existed within America's armed forces. This could be regarded as an example of the tensions within civilian society. M.C.C. Adams. *The Best War ever: America and World War II*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994.

N.C.), Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer, to name but a few. In addition, there was also rise in vigilante groups. The second Ku Klux Klan, founded in 1915, attracted at least two million members by the mid-1920s and for a time dominated the politics of several states. Other groups included the National Security League, which collected contributions from Henry Clay Frick, J.P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller to oppose the spread of Bolshevism.<sup>32</sup> Thus, the attitude of post-1945 America was essentially based on the continuation of the somewhat irrational fear of communism, as when people are unhappy or worried about their future they have a tendency to search for scapegoats and seek new philosophies.<sup>33</sup>

In 1949, two events shocked Americans to the core: the first was the announcement by President Truman on September 21, 1949, that the Soviets had successfully exploded an atomic device; and, the second, which came about three months later, was the fall of the Chinese Nationalists and their retreat to the island of Formosa under Chiang Kai-shek.<sup>34</sup> Americans have had for more than a century and half a romantic love-affair with China which is why to their mind the idea of a Communist China was such an anathema. The “loss” of China meant the loss of a billion people to the monolithic and highly dangerous communist ideology. These two major events gave credence to the hardening of American attitudes towards communists and fellow-travellers while emphasising how dangerous and evil their ideology. A good example of the shift in policy could be seen in America’s attitude toward Ho Chi Minh. By early 1945, OSS ‘Deer Team’ and Ho’s forces were working together rescuing Allied pilots who had been shot

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<sup>31</sup> R.M. Fried. Nightmare in Red: the McCarthy Era in Perspective. NY: Oxford University Press, 1990, p41; D.M Chalmers. Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan. 2nd ed., London: New Viewpoints, 1981.

<sup>32</sup> L.P Ribuffo. The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right From the Great Depression to the Cold War. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983, p6-7; D.M Chalmers. Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan. 2nd ed., London: New Viewpoints, 1981.

<sup>33</sup> Lamy argues that the rise in millennial and survivalist views in America in the 1980s was due to social, economic, political crises and people looked for someone to blame. P. Lamy. Millennium Rage: Survivalists, White Supremacists, and the Doomsday Prophecy. London: Plenum Press, 1996.

<sup>34</sup> C. Mathews. Kennedy & Nixon: The Rivalry That Shaped Postwar America. NY: Simon & Schuster, 1996, p67.

down, and sabotaging Japanese supplies and communications. However, by 1949, the US could no longer support a communist, even if he was a nationalist.<sup>35</sup>

One of the main foreign policy crises that Truman faced was the invasion of South Korea by Kim Il-sung, in June 1950. This was clearly a challenge to Truman's stand on communism and the developing containment policy which is why he had to respond quickly and forcefully.<sup>36</sup> The war itself had a great impact on American society due to the timing as it seemed to vindicate the claims made by NSC-68 (1950) with its calls for more alertness and preparedness in countering the movement of international communism. America, the document stated, should be ready to defend allied nations wherever they were in the face of Soviet aggression. Containment needed to be taken a step forward. Thus, in early 1951, Truman submitted a defence budget in the amount of \$50 billion; he doubled the number of air groups to 95, boosted the size of the Army by fifty percent to 3.5 million men, and obtained new military bases in Morocco, Libya and Saudi Arabia. In calendar year 1950, national defence consumed 5.2 percent of the gross national product (GNP), by 1953, the figure stood at 13.5 percent of an expanded GNP.<sup>37</sup> Korea began a process in which American efforts to contain Soviet and Chinese operations in the Third World became more military in their pre-occupation and global application, especially when one compares US policy during the Marshall Plan which was more concerned with the promotion of democracy.<sup>38</sup>

To the American public the action of North Korea was against what they perceived or were told was a democratic country, and an ally. Kim Il-sung was

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<sup>35</sup> Following the war and the establishment of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, Ho worked to win American recognition and he had "...strong support in many quarters in Washington...". J. Ranelagh. *CIA: A History*. London: BBC Books, 1992, p98-99.

<sup>36</sup> R.J Donovan. *Tumultuous Years: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1949-1953*. NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1982.

<sup>37</sup> W. Chafe. *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II*. 3rd ed., NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, p249; figures from M.E Goldstein. *Arms Control & Military Preparedness from Truman to Bush*. NY: Peter Lang Publishers, 1993, p18.

<sup>38</sup> M.D Shulman, "On Learning to Live With Authoritarian Regimes." *Foreign Affairs* 55 (1977), p325-338; J. Ranelagh. *CIA: A History*. London: BBC Books, 1992, p98-99; W.E

seen as a pawn of Stalin, who was on a quest for world domination. Moreover, the reason why the North Korean invasion was regarded as very dangerous was because by the 1950s it appeared as if America would not be able to remove the communist threat by conventional means due to the Soviet atomic capability.<sup>39</sup>

The invasion also seemed to validate some of the allegations that a certain junior Senator from Wisconsin had been making since February 9, 1950. Joseph McCarthy in a speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, declared that the State Department was riddled with communist spies and communist sympathisers. Despite being unable to produce truly concrete evidence to support his outlandish accusations, McCarthy still won tremendous support. This was possibly because a few weeks before his infamous speech, Alger Hiss, an important State Department official under Roosevelt, was convicted of perjury, and sent to prison (Mao's success came three weeks after Hiss's conviction and a few days after it was revealed that Canadian citizen Klaus Fuchs gave the Soviet Union atomic secrets).<sup>40</sup> Thus, the timing of the North Korean invasion was very important in psychological terms to a nation already very concerned about the growth of communism.

The Eisenhower presidency is one of conflicting imagery which is also the result of international changes as one initially saw a thaw in the Cold War. However, in many respects the docility and lax image of America in the 1950s conflicts with the international scene as the US in the first part of the decade intervened directly in three countries - North Korea, Iran and Guatemala.<sup>41</sup> In 1957, the US became involved in Lebanon as well as in covert action in Indochina

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Pemberton. Harry S. Truman: Fair Dealer & Cold Warrior. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989, p126-145.

<sup>39</sup> In July 1948, the CIA estimated that the earliest possible time for the Soviets to attain atomic capabilities was mid-1950, but a more likely date was mid-1953. The Air Force disagreed with that estimate as it believed that the Soviets were very close, as was the case. J. Ranelagh. CIA: A History. London: BBC Books, 1992, p146-147.

<sup>40</sup> W.E Pemberton. Harry S. Truman: Fair Dealer & Cold Warrior. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989, p152-153.

<sup>41</sup> LaFeber argues that the United Fruit Company played a significant role in the US intervention in Guatemala, but there were other factors such as the passing of the Agrarian Reform Law and Arbenz's refusal to drop Communists from his government. W. LaFeber. Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America. NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1993, p113-127.



and Indonesia.<sup>42</sup> Eisenhower, however, was able to capitalise on the armistice in Korea, the improved relations with the Soviet Union and the decline of McCarthy to create the image that the period was rather stable. But, by 1957, the Cold War entered a new era with Khrushchev assuming supreme power in the Kremlin and the retirement of other members of the collective leadership. Khrushchev was determined that the Soviet Union would surpass the United States.<sup>43</sup>

In domestic terms one saw a change in conservative ideology, as capitalism (one of the major tenets of American conservatism) was re-defined from a Hooverite *laissez-faire*-type to a more active, albeit modest involvement of the state (federal government) in society.<sup>44</sup> Barry Goldwater complained about this in his 1960 book where he argued that many conservatives - and by this he meant Republicans (and he also pointed to President Eisenhower as a prime example) - had been forced to make excuses for their conservatism. Conservatism was seen as only a mechanistic economic theory and not as a comprehensive political philosophy.<sup>45</sup> This highlights the dominance of post-war liberalism that was inherently built on the New Deal coalition which sought to infuse limited federal government intervention, primarily in welfare, and more traditional American individualism.

The 1950s have often been dubbed the 'Baby Boom' decade, as American society grew rapidly. During the 1930s the number of births was usually less than 2.5 million per year, by 1943 the figure rose to 3 million. It was, however, in the postwar period that one saw the great rises in the number of births (in 1946 alone there were 3.4 million births). This was followed by a steady climb, passing 4 million in 1954, (the total number of babies born between 1946 and 1960 was

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<sup>42</sup> For the role of the CIA in the Philippines, Iran, Guatemala and Indonesia see J. Ranelagh. *CIA: A History*. London: BBC Books, 1992, p69-81 and throughout. The picture that Ranelagh portrays is that the US was far from lax during the 1950s as its involvement in international relations through covert operations and aid (by 1954 aid to the French in Vietnam amounted to \$1 billion a year, and over \$300 million was spent between 1954 and 1961 to keep the Pathet Lao at bay) was huge.

<sup>43</sup> I. Bernstein. *Promises Kept: John F. Kennedy's New Frontier*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1993, p9.

<sup>44</sup> J.L. Himmelstein. *To the Right: The Transformation of American Conservatism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, p23, p25.

59.4 million). The ramification of this demographic change was that American population reached 180.6 million by 1960, up from 141 million in 1946. Improvements in health care and living standards also raised the life expectancy rate to 69.7 in 1960, up from 62.9 in 1940. This was coupled with a new pattern of population distribution that was focused on the suburbs. The number of people living on farms continued to fall, from 30.5 million in 1940, to 15 million in 1960. These people migrated to towns, but the cities did not grow: of the sixteen cities with a population over 600,000 in 1960, eleven declined in size over the preceding decade. Of the five that grew, three were in the booming Southwest - Los Angeles, Houston and Dallas.<sup>46</sup>

The new suburbs that emerged were inhabited by former GIs and their families who lived in "Little Boxes"<sup>47</sup> which in turn were instrumental in creating the suburban myth of happiness. Millions of mainly white middle class families deserted the cities, for a supposedly better existence in the suburbs.<sup>48</sup> Tacit support from the federal government insured that the suburbs remained inherently white as the FHA, for example, refused to guarantee loans for integrated housing projects. As a consequence, in 1957 some 60,000 people lived in Levittown, Pennsylvania, and not one was black. Instead white couples (middle-aged and middle-income, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews) with children lived in the suburbs. Parents were prepared to live a relatively boring existence of conformity so that they could furnish their children with the joys of consumerism and homogenisation. The suburbanites looked and acted the same. The men idolised John Wayne or William Holden, while the women modelled themselves after June Allyson, Debbie Reynolds, or Audrey Hepburn, actresses who played sweet girls who became wholesome and cheerful wives like Dinah Shore. This was the

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<sup>46</sup> Los Angeles, however, was hardly a typical concentric city while the Texas towns increased largely due to annexation of fringe areas. I. Bernstein. Promises Kept: John F. Kennedy's New Frontier. NY: Oxford University Press, 1993, p11-12.

<sup>47</sup> S. Donaldson. The Suburban Myth. NY: Columbia University Press, 1969. The title of Chapter 6 is "Little Boxes" in which Donaldson describe the suburban home.

<sup>48</sup> W. Chafe. The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II. 3rd ed., NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, p119.

Wonder Bread decade, Campbell soup, Spam, Velveeta.<sup>49</sup> It was also the decade that the credit card and the hire purchase system emerged with the result that in 1960, consumer indebtedness stood at \$196 billion.<sup>50</sup>

The transformation of postwar American society was very much due to the emergence of new industries and businesses. The aircraft industry, for example, changed the Pacific Coast economy during the 1940s and '50s. Government expenditure for defence and space programs were very important in the development of economic growth of states such as California, Texas, Massachusetts and Ohio (the South itself was changed because its geography attracted the new industries). The defence industries often were able to avoid competition or to secure contracts for huge amounts of money. A good example of this is was General Dynamics which received contracts totalling \$2.2 billion in 1966 from the government.<sup>51</sup> This was still a time when Americans believed in their military might and that their country was wealthy enough to spend on increasing and improving its military arsenal and power.<sup>52</sup>

The transformation of America during the 1950s continued due to such legislation as the Highway Act of 1956, which saw Congress appropriating \$32 billion to build 41,000 miles of highway in the United States. The average family in suburbia earned \$6,500 - 70 percent higher than the average income for the rest of the nation. During the 1950s, four million boats were purchased, while swimming pools and expansive vacations were taken in the richer suburbs (more than eight million people travelled abroad in the 1950s). With the new highways and automobiles, a domestic tourism industry emerged in full force. Receipts for

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<sup>49</sup> T.H. Anderson. The Movement & the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p8.

<sup>50</sup> R. Garson and C. Bailey. The Uncertain Power: A Political History of the United States since 1929. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990, p77

<sup>51</sup> By early 1969, about 2,072 retired military officers of high rank were employed by 100 of the major defence contractors. Lockheed was saved from bankruptcy by the federal government in 1971, despite being the recipient of defence contracts in 1968 for the sum of \$2 billion, thanks to a congressional loan of \$250 million. D.W. Grantham. The United States Since 1945: The Ordeal of Power. NY: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1976, p114, 118.

<sup>52</sup> During the Kennedy years, military expenditure consistently increased: in fiscal year 1961 it totalled \$44.7 billion, and by 1964 it was \$52.4 billion. M.E. Goldstein. Arms Control & Military Preparedness from Truman to Bush. NY: Peter Lang Publishers, 1993, p73.

the motel industry alone increased by 2,300 percent between 1939 and 1958.<sup>53</sup> Thus, at least domestically the 1950s appeared to be happy decade as consumerism engulfed society, Americans could buy an array of electrical goods, they could travel not only in the US but abroad and enjoy their power.<sup>54</sup> The impact of this geopolitical and social transformation would be felt much later with the Nixon administration and even more so with Reagan as both these Republican presidents would rely on the South and the Southwest for much of their support.<sup>55</sup>

The immediate post-World War II period carried within it the seeds for the tumultuous Sixties: the Holocaust, the terrible devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki left a potent mark on humanity. The loss of atomic monopoly coupled with a ferocious anti-communist crusade created fear in American society,<sup>56</sup> while the spread of capitalism and the power of the market, encouraged belief in the system.

The situation, however, could not continue as a growing number of people found the injustices in American society unacceptable which led to the development of two movements. One group was based in the North, and was composed of a few alienated students and professors; while the other group was in the South, and was made up of many blacks who were tired of being denied the American dream. The people of these movements rejected the Cold War culture, as did the future leaders of the counterculture movement. They had all grown up during the foreign and domestic anti-communist crusades which brought about a conformist society bent on consensus.<sup>57</sup> This was part of an overall international force that saw the disintegration of the colonial world. The new thinking although still rather subtle in the 1950s meant that a clash with American corporate and

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<sup>53</sup> W. Chafe. The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II. 3rd ed., NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, p119.

<sup>54</sup> G. Lipsitz, "Who'll Stop the Rain? Youth Culture, Rock 'N' Roll, & Social Crises", D. Farber. (ed.) The Sixties: From Memory to History. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994, p219-220.

<sup>55</sup> K.P Phillips. Post-Conservative America: People, Politics, & Ideology in a Time of Crisis. NY: Vintage Books, 1983.

<sup>56</sup> Fried provides many examples of persecution during the 1950s and the type of questions that people were forced to answer. R.M Fried. Nightmare in Red: the McCarthy Era in Perspective. NY: Oxford University Press, 1990.

strategic interests was almost inevitable. Suburban life, as well, was slowly developing as despite its affluence and apparent comfort something appeared to be missing.<sup>58</sup>

The issue of civil rights, is essential for understanding the development of modern America because by the 1980s the Reagan administration and many other conservatives came to feel that the peaceful and effective civil rights revolution that began in the postwar period had turned sour, especially with affirmative action programs.<sup>59</sup>

The Second World War helped to advance the cause of Black America as for example, membership in the NAACP grew from 50,000 members and 355 branches in 1940, to 500,000 members and over 1,000 branches in 1945, while from 1944, Roosevelt began allowing black journalists to his news conferences.<sup>60</sup> The war also saw the intensification of black demands for equal rights (as the March on Washington Movement in 1941, led by A. Philip Randolph showed). Those who could not enlist joined the war effort (the number of blacks employed in shipyards more than doubled from 6,000 to 14,000, in the aircraft industry the number of blacks increased from 0 to 5,000, while in government service, it grew from 60,000 to 200,000). The number of black women who held positions as servants fell from 72 percent to 48 percent, while the number of factory operators rose from 7.3 percent to 18.6 percent.<sup>61</sup> Many black Americans joined the armed forces, but despite risking and losing life and limb, they were segregated and treated appallingly as they endured discrimination, intimidation and death.<sup>62</sup> The

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<sup>57</sup> T.H. Anderson. The Movement & the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p39.

<sup>58</sup> E.P. Morgan. The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons About Modern America. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991, p12-15; R. Flacks, "The Liberated Generation: An Exploration of the Roots of Student Protest." *The Journal of Social Issues* 23 (3 1967), p52-57.

<sup>59</sup> See for example B. Clinton. Between Hope and History: Meeting America's Challenges For the 21st Century. NY: Random House, 1996; N. Gingrich. To Renew America. HarperCollins Publishers, 1995; O. Hatch, "Loading the Economy." *Policy Review* (Winter 1980), p23-37.

<sup>60</sup> G. Jeansonne. Transformation and Reaction: America 1921-1945. NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1994, p204.

<sup>61</sup> W. Chafe. The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II. 3rd ed., NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, p18.

<sup>62</sup> Black Americans had enlisted at a rate 60 percent higher than their proportion of the population. W. Chafe. The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II. 3rd ed., NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, p17-22, p19. For discrimination in military M.C.C. Adams. The

movement received its first real boost with an Executive Order in July 1948 banning segregation in the armed forces and federal employment. The problem, however, was that Truman was a prisoner of the Southern Democrats whom he needed if he was to have his Fair Deal agenda approved by Congress (it was either civil rights or widespread domestic reform). One could not fail to notice the impressive showing of Strom Thurmond in the 1948 presidential election,<sup>63</sup> which in many ways paved the way for George Wallace's astounding success in the late 1960s.

The civil rights movement began to take full swing with the landmark case of *Brown* (1954) which led to integration, as the concept of "separate but equal" (in education) was no longer accepted. *Brown* had wider implications as it brought about an end to the Jim Crow laws after sixty years of hardship and discrimination. Although the civil rights movement was still in its infancy in the 1950s, it laid the foundation for the great upheavals that were to shock America in the 1960s to its very core. The power of Black America was shown clearly a year after *Brown* in Montgomery, Alabama, when Mrs. Rosa Parks refused to hand-over her seat to a white person and the famous Montgomery Bus Boycott began. The boycott not only ended segregation on buses in Montgomery and showed the power of blacks, but it also allowed the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., to emerge as a great national leader. The whole issue of the civil rights during the 1950s was integral in awakening Americans from their lethargic existence and although the movement was still relatively dormant (as compare to the activism of the following decade) it led Americans to ask how could the US lead in its international moral crusade with such internal injustices?

All these changes had a profound effect on the up and coming generations, used to seeing their fathers coming home late and their mothers living an unfulfilled life. These relatively educated youngsters heading toward state, and out-of-state colleges, where they would mingle with other men and women of their

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Best War ever: America and World War II. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994, p82-84.

backgrounds and slowly challenge much of their parents' accepted existence by the end of the 1950s and throughout the 1960s. They would also be greatly influenced by a variety of books ranging from Ralph Ellison The Invisible Man which captures the experience of blacks and the fear of communism rather aptly to Jack Kerouac's famous book On The Road. The calls for political, social and economic equality which began in the 1950s by the 1970s and early 1980s polarised American society, as many found it difficult to accept the new goals, which rose to prominence with the 1960s and the Johnsonite reforms as they felt that they infringed on their rights, while increasing the size and power of the federal government.<sup>64</sup>

The Kennedy era is fascinating for students of American development because it is such an enigma. The Kennedy presidency and family are surrounded in such an aura that it is no wonder that some commentators have contrasted it to Camelot.<sup>65</sup>

During his 1960 campaign, Kennedy sought to create the image that under Eisenhower, America had fallen behind. He encouraged the idea that his predecessor had allowed a missile gap to develop, which was coupled with the loss of the first battle in the conquest for the stars, as the Soviet *Sputnik* emphasised in 1957.<sup>66</sup> Americans, the argument went, were too concerned with consumerism which enabled the Soviet Union to overcome the gap that existed between the two superpowers. Kennedy's aim following the election (especially as he did not have a clear mandate) was to unite America in the pursuit of the New Frontier.<sup>67</sup> His inaugural speech embodied all of these ideas.<sup>68</sup> In his quest,

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<sup>63</sup> Thurmond in 1948 won 1,176,125, which was more than the 1,157,326 votes that Henry Wallace - a seasoned campaigner by 1948 - won. Statistical Abstract of the United States. 1981, 102nd ed., Washington DC: US GPO, 1981, p478.

<sup>64</sup> P.N Carroll. It Seemed Like Nothing Happened: The Tragedy & Promise of America in the 1970s. NY: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, 1982.

<sup>65</sup> N. Chomsky. Rethinking Camelot: JFK, the Vietnam War & US Political Culture, London: Verso, 1993.

<sup>66</sup> The truth was that America was not that far behind in the space race as on January 31, 1958, the first satellite (*Explorer I*) was successfully launched from Cape Canaveral.

<sup>67</sup> M.A Jones. The Limits of Liberty: American History, 1607-1992. 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p544-550; I. Bernstein. Promises Kept: John F. Kennedy's New Frontier. NY: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Kennedy recruited the best and the brightest, men and women determined to do all that they could to counter communism and improve standards of living in America and the world.<sup>69</sup>

It was during the Kennedy presidency that liberalism began its radicalisation, as its goals and methodologies became more linked to theory, technology and sociology. Computers and science became the blueprint of the Kennedyites liberals who wanted to stimulate consumer buying, spark economic growth, reduce unemployment and increase the revenue of the federal government.<sup>70</sup> Kennedy's economic policy was based on the belief that government intervention was necessary. Under Kennedy one saw an increase in the minimum wage, the extension of social security, aid to regional development and wage "guidelines" to help dampen inflation.<sup>71</sup> The new liberalism meant that the Democratic Party chose to abandon the Jacksonian and Trumanesque ideology of rural Missouri and steel-making East Baltimore for a liberalism advocated by professors, urban planners, social welfare workers, minority causers and international economists.<sup>72</sup> It was they, rather than blue-collar workers who now led the movement and Democratic Party, thus making the Republican Party more attractive to the more conservative-oriented blue-collar workers. The politically astute Nixon was able to appeal to these conservative Democrats once

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<sup>68</sup> T.C Sorensen. (ed.) "Let the Word Go Forth" The Speeches, Statements, & Writings of John F. Kennedy, 1947-1963. NY: Dell Publishing, 1988, p12-15.

<sup>69</sup> For a very favourable view of the Kennedy administration see I. Bernstein. Promises Kept: John F. Kennedy's New Frontier. NY: Oxford University Press, 1993.

<sup>70</sup> J.N Giglio. The Presidency of John F. Kennedy. Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 1990, p121.

<sup>71</sup> Kennedy in his State of the Union Address on January 30, 1961, not only pointed to the economic stagnation that was stifling America, as he also spoke of some of his economic policies which clearly show that under him the federal government will be far more involved in social welfare. T.C Sorensen. (ed.) "Let the Word Go Forth" The Speeches, Statements, & Writings of John F. Kennedy, 1947-1963. NY: Dell Publishing, 1988, p147-149; R. Heilbroner and A. Singer. The Economic Transformation of America: 1600 to the Present. 3rd ed., Fort Worth: Harecourt Brace College Publishers, 1994, p328.

<sup>72</sup> Many of these people were associated with the 'evil' Eastern Establishment who often supported many of the more revolutionary approaches to politics. Robertson provides an excellent attack on the Establishment (especially on Rockefeller and Margaret Sanger). P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991, p190 and throughout.



George Wallace was removed from contention before the 1972 presidential election,<sup>73</sup> thus helping him win the election by a landslide.

The 1960s were truly unique in American history as it was during that time that one saw the development and the rebellion of a generation.<sup>74</sup> Middle class America after taking on Kennedy's message involving the Peace Corps, foreign aid and Indochina, began to question the legacy that they had inherited. The sixties could be seen from several different perspectives, two of which lie in the mainstream of American politics - "liberal" and "conservative." The "liberal" approach views the decade as a time when millions of Americans challenged and questioned the practices of the establishment. These Americans were not prepared to accept or tolerate the gap that existed between the American ideal and reality. Inspired by early civil rights activism and Kennedyite rhetoric, young people demanded that their country lived up to the values that they had been taught. Conservatives, on the contrary, saw the sixties as a time of extremism with the youth revolt as a product of the permissiveness and affluence that spawned from the post-World War II period. They sought to reverse the liberal policies of the decade, relax the aggressive civil liberties programs, end or reduce federal involvement in social services etc.<sup>75</sup>

The counterculture movement of the 1960s was remarkable because it embodied so many new ideas, images, themes and philosophies that were to have such a tremendous impact on the development of contemporary society, and not just in the United States. In the words of one commentator: "Often bright, innocent, tender, spontaneous, playful, joyful, spiritual, mystical, sensual, and full of reverence, it could just as easily be dark, dirty, terrifying, mindless, self-indulgent, lonely, mad, and hurtful. It throbbed with feeling; it anesthetized

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<sup>73</sup> T.H Anderson. The Movement and the Sixties. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p396, p397.

<sup>74</sup> R. Jacobs. The Way the Wind Blew: A History of the Weather Underground. London: Verso, 1997. The Weather Underground was not unique, as blacks and Native-Americans had their militant groups which is why many conservatives in the US were fearful of the way the country was moving.

<sup>75</sup> E.P Morgan. The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons About Modern America. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991, p6, p7.

feeling. It abhorred violence, yet it attracted violence. It rejected technology, but its music depended upon electronics. Its rejection of politics was implicitly political. It was both holy and satanic. It was Woodstock; it was Altamont.” The movement was composed of such themes as civil rights, anti-war, the New Left and so forth.<sup>76</sup>

The civil rights movement which began peacefully also turned ugly as it developed its own momentum. It is unclear whether dissatisfaction with politicians or simply the realisation that progress was not been achieved fast enough pushed black militants to call for “black power”.<sup>77</sup> Whatever the main reason for the growing militancy of black Americans, one thing is certain, and that is, that white middle class America was frightened by the unleashing of this anger. The rise in black militancy must also be seen in conjunction with the growing raucousness of the anti-war movement. Affluent Americans, who escaped the draft by going to university (something that their rather conservative parents were responsible for due to their hard work) turned against mainstream bourgeois society.<sup>78</sup>

The Vietnam war features very highly in any understanding of the 1960s, in the development of the New Right and the Reagan coalition. Although American involvement in Indochina could be traced back to Truman,<sup>79</sup> it was really with Kennedy and even more with Johnson that America became entangled

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<sup>76</sup> E.P Morgan. The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons About Modern America. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991, p169; T.H Anderson. The Movement & the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p241-291.

<sup>77</sup> Colburn and Pozzetta argue that black activists who went down South and lived with poor black families in Mississippi and saw the hardship and violence that they encountered in the pursuit of the vote, pushed the SNCC to adopt a more radical agenda. D.E Colburn and G.E Pozzetta, “Race, Ethnicity, & the Evolution of Political Legitimacy”, D. Farber. (ed.) The Sixties: From Memory to History. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994, p122; S. Carmichael and C.V Hamilton. Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America. NY: Vintage Books, 1967.

<sup>78</sup> Reagan claims that before he became governor, students cheered him, once he entered the governor mansion the students turned against him. R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990; R. Jacobs. The Way the Wind Blew: A History of the Weather Underground. London: Verso, 1997. Some of the members of the movement received financial support from their parents and the state to facilitate their ability to rebel against the system.

<sup>79</sup> R.J Donovan. Tumultuous Years: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1949-1953. NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1982.

in the conflict that was raging in the country and the region. To American minds, indoctrinated into accepting the domino theory, Vietnam became crucial both politically and militarily to the survival of Western democracy.<sup>80</sup>

The Tet Offensive of January 1968 has been identified by many as the turning point of the war as it caused a military and a psychological shock. Americans had not imagined that the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong had the capacity to launch a full scale attack against them (it has been estimated that about 100,000 troops struck at more than 150 different places). "The reporting of the Tet Offensive on television undoubtedly shocked many people, especially after previous coverage of the war had been comparatively tame."<sup>81</sup> Tet, although failing to change the environment within which the Defence Department existed, drove home to Americans the notion that: "...the United States, despite its overwhelming military force, did not possess the power to achieve its goals of an independent, viable South Vietnam."<sup>82</sup> Americans were forced to realise that despite sending hundreds of thousands of American combat troops and investing billions of dollars in the war effort, victory was still nowhere in sight.<sup>83</sup> This led to such as questions as how would the US do against the Soviet Union? The Offensive had such an impact on the United States that the success of Eugene McCarthy - running on a peace platform at the Democratic primary in New

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<sup>80</sup> Lamy notes the importance of Vietnam to the mentality of survivalists for whom "... Vietnam was a sign that the military and ideological balance of world power was shifting." P. Lamy. Millennium Rage: Survivalists, White Supremacists, and the Doomsday Prophecy. London: Plenum Press, 1996, p75 and throughout.

<sup>81</sup> C.J Pach Jr., "And That's They Way It Was: The Vietnam War & the Network Mighty Ways", D. Farber. (ed.) The Sixties: From Memory to History. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994, p107, p112; Greene claims that following Tet, both Nixon and Kissinger gave up any hope of a military victory. J.R Greene. The Limits of Power: The Nixon & Ford Administrations. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992, p83; Karnow notes that men such as General Westmoreland and Peter Braestrup suggested that the media created all of the hype surrounding Tet. S. Karnow. Vietnam: A History. London: Pimlico, 1991, p558; Buzzanco, however, argues that there were plenty of high ranking military men who publicly opposed the war, such as Ridgway, Shoup, Gaun, Lauris Norstad. They wrote books and articles, appeared before congressional committees and so forth, with the message that the Vietnam war was "a political, strategic, and moral blunder from the United States should quickly disengage." B. Buzzanco, "The American Military's Rational Against the Vietnam War." *Political Science Quarterly* 101 (4, 1986) p559-576.

<sup>82</sup> L.J Korb. The Fall & Rise of the Pentagon: American Defence Policies in the 1970s. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979, p7.

<sup>83</sup> American planes dropped 6.7 billion tons of bombs on Indochina between 1965 and 1973 which amounted to three times the total tonnage dumped on all enemy nations in World War II. T.G Paterson. Meeting the Communist Threat. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, p260.

England which in turn led to Johnson's sudden announcement that he would not seek a second term - was attributed to it.<sup>84</sup>

American confidence was further eroded when they saw their own Secretary of State appearing before the Fulbright's foreign relations committee to testify for eleven hours over a two-day period. Although according to one commentator, Secretary Rusk acquitted himself well during Fulbright's questioning, the image that was portrayed - as the debate was televised during the day, and in the evening excerpts were replayed - was that there was a growing mood within Congress of misgivings concerning the administration's policy in Vietnam.<sup>85</sup>

Richard Nixon helped to divide American society further than it was when he became president in 1968. It was he who at the Miami Convention created in many respects a new Republican Party which was beholden to Southern conservatives while also seeking to reverse much of the New Deal-Great Society programs.<sup>86</sup> Nixon came to realise that many people in the United States were unhappy with the way the country was progressing. The majority of Americans existed in what could be seen as the middle of the political sphere as they occupied a place which disliked the "hawks" and the "doves" solutions that were being offered by each party to the problems faced by the country. The backbone of political America (white working and lower-middle class men and women) came to feel that their voices had been demoted to an unacceptable level.

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<sup>84</sup> R. Garson and C.J Bailey. The Uncertain Power: A Political History of the United States since 1929. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990, p116. The New Hampshire primary was very interesting as Eugene McCarthy, an eccentric Democrat which not many people had heard of still managed to capture a large percent of the vote.

Karnow provides different explanation for Eugene McCarthy's broad appeal, such as his name which some voters mistook for Joseph McCarthy. But even he concedes that Eugene McCarthy's success was unexpected. S. Karnow. Vietnam: A History. London: Pimlico, 1991, p572.

<sup>85</sup> S. Karnow. Vietnam: A History. London: Pimlico, 1991, p572.

<sup>86</sup> In Miami, Nixon needed 667 delegates, he secured 692 votes with 228 votes out of 292 from the South. Thus, without Southerners' support, Nixon would have been 203 votes shy of a majority in the first ballot, and according to at least one commentator, would not have been able to win the nomination. A.J Reichley. Conservative in An Age of Change: The Nixon & Ford Administration. Washington DC: The Brookings Institutions, 1981, p81, p176; D. Bruck, "Strom's Thurmond's Roots." *The New Republic* March 3, 1982. Bruck suggests that the reason for the failure of the Justice Department in 1972 to force a change in South Carolina (to make representation more equal between whites and blacks) was because in 1968 Thurmond had delivered Nixon the Republican presidential nomination.

“Predominately white, members of all economic classes, and politically active, by 1968 Middle Americans had enough. They longed to replace the climate of welfare, violence, defeat, and deception with a leadership that championed the old-fashioned American values of peace, honor, and honesty. As they geared up for the 1968 presidential election, they searched for a candidate who would reform America and end the political experimentation of the sixties.”<sup>87</sup> These disgruntled Americans felt that their tremendous sacrifice in paying for the Great Society<sup>88</sup> reforms had netted them nothing but higher taxes (Johnson was forced to raise taxes to pay for the butter and the guns; this was four years after the 1964 tax cut which highlighted America’s economic prowess<sup>89</sup>), while those benefiting from the legislation became more militant, disorderly and ungrateful (especially with Stokely Carmichael clamour for “black power”). The race riots of the 1960s,<sup>90</sup> the occupation of Alcatraz by Native-Americans and so forth, were seen as examples of American society turning more disorderly, if not a lawless. Nixon understood this sentiment and was able to capitalise on it by transforming himself as the candidate of Middle America. In the words of one commentator: “No politician on the national scene in 1968 better understood exactly what the Middle wanted than did Nixon. Indeed, by virtue of both his background and the niche that he had cut out for himself in politics since 1952, he was one of them.”<sup>91</sup>

The Democratic Convention in Chicago of 1968 stressed the growing divisions within American society and politics. The decision to give Hubert Humphrey the presidential nomination angered many antiwar activists who felt that the Party’s hierarchy had failed to acknowledge the will of the popular majority. This was augmented by the brutality of the Chicago police when they

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<sup>87</sup> J.R. Greene. The Limits of Power: The Nixon & Ford Administrations. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992, p4.

<sup>88</sup> M.A. Jones. The Limits of Liberty: American History, 1607-1992. 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p550-552.

<sup>89</sup> The Kennedy tax cuts which took effect on January 1, 1964, and January 1, 1965, reduced marginal rates on personal income by an average of twenty percent. P.C Roberts. The Supply-Side Revolution: An Insider’s Account of Policymaking In Washington. London: Harvard University Press, 1984, p76.

<sup>90</sup> R. Garson and C.J Bailey. The Uncertain Power: A Political History of the United States since 1929. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990, p100.

“dealt” with the antiwar demonstrators outside of the convention (which was also captured and brought to the homes of millions of Americans via the media).<sup>92</sup> The antiwar protesters who converged on Chicago were composed of essentially white youths, left-wing extremists, moderates, dissidents and hippies, some of whom were looking to cause trouble. On August 28, violence flared when police and National Guardsmen tried to stop the protesters from marching to the International Amphitheatre, where the Convention was being held. The demonstrators were chased through the downtown area, during which they were attacked with clubs, rifle butts and tear gas while the youths - some waving Vietcong flags - responded with rocks and bottles. Hundreds were arrested, but the following day thousands gathered as a rally at Grant Park to hear Tom Hayden warning that the battle had just begun. The situation had negative impact on the Eugene McCarthy campaign according to one of his advisors Sam Brown, because the behaviour of the students alienated many Americans who were already concerned with the rise in the level of lawlessness in society.<sup>93</sup>

By the middle of the decade, the civil rights movement became more fragmented as a result of growing frustration and anguish. This had a direct impact on white participation, and when Martin Luther King Jr., Carmichael and McKissick led a march in Mississippi that summer, the lack of white participation was noticeable. The summer of 1966, in the words of one commentator: “...were the days of decision concerning the future of civil rights.”, as many whites began to question whether civil rights had gone too far. This was something that conservatives were suggesting at the time, especially following Goldwater’s presidential campaign. People were wondering whether the struggle was inspired by subversives who did not seek to share power but take power and dominate

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<sup>91</sup> J.R. Greene. *The Limits of Power: The Nixon & Ford Administrations*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992, p4.

<sup>92</sup> M.A. Jones. *The Limits of Liberty: American History, 1607-1992*. 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p557.

<sup>93</sup> The army, navy and air force intelligence services infiltrated some of the groups with covert agents, which also included a team disguised as a television crew to photograph the youngsters for the federal records. The CIA was also present despite the fact that it was prohibited from operating within the US. S. Karnow. *Vietnam: A History*. London: Pimlico, 1991, p594-595; R. Jacobs. *The Way the Wind Blew: A History of the Weather Underground*. London: Verso, 1997.

whites.<sup>94</sup> White disenchantment with the movement was fed by such incidents as the one that took place in California in 1967, when the California legislature was considering legislation that would curb Black Panthers legal possessions of weapons, thirty legally armed members of the Panthers marched to the legislature and into the visitors' gallery. The thirty were arrested for disturbing the peace in front of the media.<sup>95</sup> As one commentator had written:

“The specter of armed blacks invading the legislature was transmitted across national news media, triggering near hysteria in some quarters, and a massive campaign of repression.”<sup>96</sup>

These conflicts were based on the fact that the real problem that the country faced during this time was that its politicians could pass enlightened and progressive legislation but one could not eradicate regional, social and historic differences simply and quickly<sup>97</sup> and this was something that those demanding reforms were not prepared to accept. They felt that they have existed as secondary citizens for too long and this was their time.

The presidency of Richard Nixon although often remembered for Watergate also saw great changes in traditional US foreign policy. This was essentially because in foreign policy Nixon was probably at his best. Nixon loved foreign policy as its intricacy and complexity appealed to his devious nature, and with a Political Realist side-kick in the form of Henry Kissinger, Nixon had found himself the perfect partner. The Nixonian foreign policy style was essentially

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<sup>94</sup> T.H Anderson. The Movement & the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p154, 157. Anderson quotes Roger Wilkins' comment to his wife following the televising of Carmichael call for "Black Power". Wilkins said: "There's a whole lot of white people gonna have diarrhea tonight." p155. Anderson cites Wilkins A Man's Life, p144.

For militant black activist language see S. Carmichael and C.V Hamilton. Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America. NY: Vintage Books, 1967. In the book the authors claim that racism is institutionalised in the US and that white middle class America is racist and cannot be trusted.

<sup>95</sup> E.P Morgan. The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons About Modern America. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991, p82.

<sup>96</sup> E.P Morgan. The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons About Modern America. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991, p82.

<sup>97</sup> T.H Anderson. The Movement & the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p157.

conservative and nationalistic<sup>98</sup> thus embodying two main strands of American society, especially with the proliferation of US involvement in Indochina. This policy, however, turned to a more balance of power paradigm (especially with the belief that the Soviets were becoming more powerful) which caused much anguish and concern to Americans who for decades if not centuries believed in an idealistic foreign policy. They tended to equate balance of power theory and *Realpolitik* with Europe (Old World). Americans could not really forget the legacy of Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman and Kennedy which called upon the US to use its great power to the betterment of mankind (not to mention Washington warning against “permanent alliances with foreign nations”<sup>99</sup>). With the rise of Nixon, they were suddenly asked to play politics and ignore morality, just like the old European countries<sup>100</sup> while also seeing their great power diminish.

Nixon was responsible for the development of détente which led to a lull in the strong confrontationalist rhetoric between the superpowers. The era of détente is very important as it meant that the superpowers sought to work together to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war.<sup>101</sup> The Moscow Summit of 1972 led to the signing of the Basic Principles Agreement on May 29, 1972, which has been seen as the charter of détente, although in time it would lose some of its majesty for the Americans. SALT I saw the imposition of a ban on the testing and the deployment of air, space, or mobile based land-based ABM systems. Provisions were laid for restricting ABM sites to no more than two for each country. This part of the treaty was of unlimited duration. The Interim Agreement on the Limitation of Strategic Arms was the second part of SALT. It set down a ceiling on intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), submarine launched ballistic

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<sup>98</sup> A.J Reichley. Conservatives in an Age of Change: The Nixon & Ford Administrations. Washington DC: The Brookings Institute, 1981, p124-125.

<sup>99</sup> The quotation is from M.A Jones. The Limits of Liberty: American History, 1607-1992. 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p84.

<sup>100</sup> For the lack of morality in Nixon’s foreign policy see A.J Reichley. Conservatives in an Age of Change: The Nixon & Ford Administrations. Washington DC: The Brookings Institute, 1981, p109.

<sup>101</sup> One reason behind Nixon’s pursuit of arms limitation was that after eight years in Vietnam, the arms race was a considerable burden, especially as by the late 1960s the US economy was feeling the strain of the two (three if one adds the Great Society reforms). Nixon also hoped that



missiles (SLBMs), and missile carrying submarines. This part of the agreement was to expire in 1977, although the superpowers agreed to pursue this watershed treaty in the form of SALT II later.<sup>102</sup>

The economic situation in the first and second Nixon administrations was far from positive. The war in Vietnam reduced American economic wealth as Johnson's refusal to raise taxes to pay for the war and subsidise his Great Society reforms increased the deficit, weakened the dollar and led to a rise in inflation.<sup>103</sup> The economic growth and affluence that Americans were used to suddenly came under threat. Moreover, American dominance in economics was slowly fading as Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan all experienced greater rates of economic growth in manufacturing output than the US.<sup>104</sup> This was very unnerving for Americans as economics was the one area that they always felt confident about, as they believed that American capitalism was unbeatable. The increasing potency of the European and Japanese economies (which on many occasions were headed by Social Democrats with a firm commitment to social welfare) forced Americans to pause and wonder whether their system of capitalism could not deal with social welfare. Economics simply become another stick to beat the Statue of Liberty with.

The Americans reliance on foreign oil in particular from the Middle East was placing them on a collision course with disaster. The late 1960s and the 1970s saw an intensification of the Arab-Israeli conflict that reached a new level with the terrorist attack at the 1972 Munich Olympics. America's close relations with Israel and the strong ties between the Arab world and the Soviet world were making matters worse even though the superpowers were developing détente. As the economic conditions in America worsened due to the domestic policies of

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an arms agreement would defuse some of the militant anti-war sentiments. J. Ranelagh. CIA: A History. London: BBC Books, 1992, p162.

<sup>102</sup> A.J Reichley. Conservatives in an Age of Change: The Nixon & Ford Administrations. Washington DC: The Brookings Institute, 1981, p141-142.

<sup>103</sup> W.H Chafe. The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II, 3rd ed., NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, p444-446.

<sup>104</sup> R. Garson and C.J Bailey. The Uncertain Power: A Political History of the United States since 1929. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990, p119.

Johnson and Nixon, the OPEC countries decided to raise the price of oil because of America's aid to Israel during the Yom Kippur war. Thus, America's reliance on foreign oil, led to severe hardship emerging and by the middle of the decade as the country could not function without foreign supplies.<sup>105</sup>

Nixon's manipulation of the economy to prop up his chances for re-election did not help the matters. In the words of one commentator his economic policy was "...a zigzag of competing, sometimes contradictory steps, designed both to boost Nixon's reelection bid of 1972 and to readjust U.S. economic power in a more competitive world."<sup>106</sup> In August 1971, Nixon decided to drop his hostility towards economic control and impose a ninety-day price and wage freeze, thus restricting the money supply because of the continuous rise in inflation and unemployment. He also called for tax cuts to stimulate the economy and began taking the first steps in devaluing the dollar.<sup>107</sup> These policies were successful in the short-run (increased prosperity) but once price and wage controls were removed inflation rose dramatically throughout 1973.<sup>108</sup> This tinkering and course changing was only making matters worse for the American people as Nixon was unprepared to take the hard decisions as he feared that his popularity would be affected and that might hinder his chances for re-election.

The 1970s were probably the most corrupt decade in modern American history.<sup>109</sup> They began with Watergate which was followed with several highly placed politicians acting inappropriately and therefore embarrassing themselves and the country. During the Nixon administration the CIA, the FBI and the IRS were used for political purposes and Americans throughout the decade

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<sup>105</sup> America in 1970 spent only \$4 billion on imported oil, ten years later it spent \$90 billion. W.H Chafe. *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II*, 3rd ed., NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, p447.

<sup>106</sup> M.A Genovese. *The Nixon Presidency: Power & Politics in Turbulent Times*. NY: Greenwood Press, 1990, p63.

<sup>107</sup> M.A Jones. *The Limits of Liberty: American History, 1607-1992*. 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p559-560; M.A Genovese. *The Nixon Presidency: Power & Politics in Turbulent Times*. NY: Greenwood Press, 1990.

<sup>108</sup> W.H Chafe. *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II*, 3rd ed., NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, p446.

<sup>109</sup> For more on political scandals in the 1970s see P.N Carroll. *It Seemed Like Nothing Happened: The Tragedy & Promise of America in the 1970s*. NY: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, 1982, p161-184.

increasingly found out more about their secret agencies.<sup>110</sup> In 1975, confidence in government fell even further when newspapers and congressional investigation revealed improper activities of the CIA. Americans discovered that since the Kennedy administration the agency had been involved in plots to overthrow a number of foreign governments and assassinate their leaders. Americans learned that internally, infringements of their civil rights took place as their mail was tampered with, their telephone calls were monitored and records were kept on thousands of individuals and groups illegally.<sup>111</sup> With the rise in education and awareness of political rights Americans were no longer prepared to accept such intrusions. They would demand that their rights were respected by their elected representatives. In other words, whereas Americans in the 1950s accepted greater government intervention because they had faith in the system and in the American leadership, by the 1970s that faith had been replaced with deep-seated scepticism.<sup>112</sup>

It was a desire to reduce and hopefully eliminate all corruption in Washington (which Watergate uncovered) coupled with increasing campaign expenditure, that led Congress to pass several pieces of legislation to deal with election procedures. The process began with the Legislative Reorganisation Act of 1970, which had the effect of widely dispersing and de-centralising power. The president, due to the reforms had to court 535 members instead of having to liaison with a handful of senior oligarchs in order to get his measures supported in Congress. The reform movement also had the effect of opening Congress up to greater public scrutiny and participation. The publication of members' votes pushed legislators more toward servicing their constituents rather than to working with the executive. This caused the president to face a more complex and

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<sup>110</sup> M.A Jones. *The Limits of Liberty: American History, 1607-1992*. 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p563; J. Ranelagh. *CIA: A History*. London: BBC Books, 1992; T.G Paterson. *Meeting the Communist Threat*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. The "oversight revolution" that took place in the 1970s saw Congress examining clandestine operations much more closely than ever before which led to the release of much more information; J. Ranelagh. *CIA: A History*. London: BBC Books, 1992.

<sup>111</sup> M.A Jones. *The Limits of Liberty: American History, 1607-1992*. 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p565.

<sup>112</sup> T.G Paterson. *Meeting the Communist Threat*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, p234-255; J. Ranelagh. *CIA: A History*. London: BBC Books, 1992.

competitive legislative process.<sup>113</sup> Another important piece of legislation was the 1974 Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) which revised finance rules as it set out overall and state-by-state spending limits for candidates (in 1988, Robertson's campaign would bump up against the overall spending limit). FECA limited individual contributions to a candidate to \$1,000 per election; Political Action Groups (PACs) could contribute no more than \$5,000. This forced candidates to build a broader base of financial support and develop a large network of small donors which is difficult and time-consuming, which is why candidates are encouraged to begin campaigning early on. FECA's rules governing federal matching funds provided further encouragement for candidates, as to qualify for matching funds in a presidential nominating contest, a candidate had to raise \$5,000 in at least 20 states utilising donations of \$250 or less. Once that is achieved, the candidate qualifies for federal matching of the first \$250 of each donation he or she receives.<sup>114</sup> Thus, throughout the decade accountability in US politics was greatly increased because Congress sought to raise its oversight powers, often at the expense of the presidency.

The election of Jimmy Carter in 1976 was meant to usher in a new era in American politics. Carter, the outsider from Georgia, rode into the White House by being anti-establishment. This born-again Christian was meant to clean house while also infusing a high dosage of morality that had been lost due to the numerous scandals that America had to endure. Carter projected a kinder image in foreign policy,<sup>115</sup> while not advocating dramatic restructuring domestically. He differed from Gerald Ford in that he promised morality, optimism, and a vision for the country's future. The 1976 election result did not give Carter a clear mandate,

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<sup>113</sup> J.J. Hogan, "Legislative Liaison in the Reagan Administration", J.D. Lees and M. Turner. (ed.) *Reagan's First Four Years: A New Beginning?*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, p68.

<sup>114</sup> D.M. Oldfield. *The Right & The Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party*. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996, p76-77. On campaign finance, Oldfield cites C. Wilcox, "Financing the 1988 Prenomination Campaigns", E.H. Buell Jr., and L. Sigelman. (ed.) *Nominating the President*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991.

<sup>115</sup> Rosati shows how the administration moved from being very optimistic and seeking a global community in its first three years into adopting a more pessimistic stance by its fourth year. J.A. Rosati. *The Carter Administration's Quest for Global Community: Beliefs and their Impact on Behavior*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987.

which is always a problem. Moreover, because he could not rely on party allegiance when dealing with Congress<sup>116</sup> his job was made much harder. Even without his problems at Washington, Carter's task was truly monumental. The war in Indochina, the disgrace of the Nixon administration, the breakdown of the party system, the break in the congressional system of seniority and the proliferation of hundreds of PACs had jeopardised and reduced the power of the presidency. Questions over executive action and the manner in which the country was being ran were being asked far more frequently.<sup>117</sup> This was very much because for members of Congress their first priority was to their constituents and not to a president especially one who rode into the White House by claiming that Washington and big business were decadent and banal.<sup>118</sup>

“In Carter's eyes, America had been humiliated by Watergate and Vietnam, but it could be rebuilt economically, politically and morally. He pledged to break the control of the insider Washington clique, open up the government, bring in a new generation of younger, honest and accountable politicians, involve the people and inject a sense of ethics, justice and morality into decision-taking at home and aboard.”<sup>119</sup>

In foreign policy, just as in the domestic realm, Carter espoused a high moral attitude. He very often risked confrontation with the Soviet Union because of his denunciation of their internal policies. This was very much counter to what the Soviets felt was the norm of not interfering in the internal affairs of the other superpower.<sup>120</sup> It is probably because of Carter's attitude that his administration was far more aware of the rise and presence of the Third World (compared to Nixon who tended to ignore the developing world<sup>121</sup>). The Carterite White House

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<sup>116</sup> B.I Kaufman. The Presidency of James Earl Carter, Jr. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993; E.C Hargove. Jimmy Carter as President: Leadership & the Politics of Public Good. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.

<sup>117</sup> B.I Kaufman. The Presidency of James Earl Carter, Jr. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993, p1.

<sup>118</sup> I. Derbyshire. Politics in the United States: From Carter to Reagan. England: W&R Chambers, 1987.

<sup>119</sup> I. Derbyshire. Politics in the United States: From Carter to Reagan. England: W&R Chambers, 1987, p25.

<sup>120</sup> The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Iranian Revolution and the increased Soviet and Cuban involvement in Africa led to a change in Carter's stance concerning the Soviet Union. J.A Rosati. The Carter Administration's Quest for Global Community: Beliefs and their Impact on Behavior. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987.

<sup>121</sup> Apart from Vietnam and the Middle East, the US did not give much attention to Third World regions, and therefore did not develop a coherent policy. Nixon, the president, never

accepted that the less developed world had its own agenda which it pursued. The Third World sought development and was much less interested in the East-West debate as such (unless they could gain something from it). Moreover, as Carter entered the White House in an optimistic frame of mind he and his administration were willing to work with the Soviet Union and Soviet-backed societies (until the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan US-Soviet relations were very much improve under Carter).<sup>122</sup>

The 1970s were a difficult period for many Americans as they were let down time and time again by their national leaders, although the problems began in the mid-'60s. Many Americans believed Johnson when he said that he was not going "...to supply American boys to do the job that Asian boys should do. They ask us to take reckless action that would risk the lives of millions, engulf much of Asia, and threaten the peace of the entire world. Such action would offer no solution to the real problem of Vietnam."<sup>123</sup> But Johnson had let them down. He was followed by Richard Nixon who brought shame and ignominy on the White House, the Presidency and American politics in general as no other president had ever done. Gerald Ford, a man with a great reputation, managed to tarnish it with his pardon of Nixon and his inability to solve America's economic and social woes while his constant gaffes caused much discomfort in the US. Americans exasperated with traditional or conventional politicians turned to a "born-again" Christian, an outsider, a man who had spent most of his adult life outside of politics while still serving his country. But he too failed them, and failed them abysmally, as instead of injecting new vigour into American society, he propagated a sense of malaise and decline. Thus, the theme of the 1980 election from the Reaganite camp was about restoration.

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visited a Latin American country (except Mexico), or went to Africa. Kissinger and Nixon's interest in Latin America were confined to Cuba and Chile. M.A Genovese. The Nixon Presidency: Power and Politics in Turbulent Times. NY: Greenwood Press, 1990, p158.

<sup>122</sup> R.A Rosati. The Carter Administration's Quest For Global Community: Beliefs and Their Impact on Behavior. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987.

<sup>123</sup> L.B Johnson. My Hope For America. London: William Heinemann, 1964, p59.

The failure was not restricted to the executive branch of the government, as Congress which although in the Seventies attempted to re-assert itself against the 'imperial presidency' was still inefficient and ineffective, especially as its members were more concerned with their own constituencies rather than the big picture. Its ability to provide a clear policy was effected by the challenging of party and committee leadership. This led Congress, on the one hand, to be more democratic and decentralised, but at the same time it made it less manageable and predictable.<sup>124</sup> This was coupled with some very embarrassing scandals throughout the decade ranging from sexual to misappropriation of funds. America appeared to be lacking an effective leadership, something that Ronald Reagan with his New Right agenda promised to rectify.

For the New Right the immediate decline of the US began with Nixon who had recognised Communist China and signed various treaties with the Soviet Union. The recognition of the PRC meant that the world was no longer bipolar and that America could not stand alone against the Soviet Union and communism. The various treaties with the Soviet Union showed that America did not have military superiority and that the Soviets could bring about the effective destruction of the United States.

The fall in the dollar and the economic potency of the United States was extremely frightening to Americans as it made them wonder whether social democracy (the European model as seen in Italy, West Germany, France or even Britain) would be imposed upon them? They also began to question their own survivability as a world leader. This is why American society by the end of the 1970s was dejected and deflated as it appeared that it was forced to retreat on almost every conceivable front while the Soviet Union and Communism were marching into America's own backyard through the New Jewel Movement in Grenada and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.

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<sup>124</sup> R. Haass. Congressional Power: Implications for American Security Policy. London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Papers 153, 1979, p8; C.J Bailey. The Republican Party in the US Senate, 1974-1984: Party Changes & Institutional Development. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

In sum, American society had gone through great change since the end of the Second World War. In 1945, Americans were comfortable with the future that awaited them and the world. They would shape the world in their own image and create the ideal society. As opinions and attitudes changed due to Soviet development Americans' peace of mind began to dwindle, but their economic supremacy kept them composed. The social revolution of the 1960s and the rights revolution of the 1970s coupled with the numerous foreign policy failures led Americans to lose their belief in their supremacy and therefore their 'manifest destiny.' The effect of this was to set the stage for the rise of the New Right and the entry of Ronald Reagan, the ultimate optimist and national chauvinist.



## CHAPTER II

### THE NEW RIGHT: THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN IDEOLOGY

The defeat of Jimmy Carter by Ronald Reagan in the 1980 presidential election ushered in a new era in American history, as a new force entered the political fray under the ambiguous title of "New Right". This enigmatic movement went on to cause much havoc in American society which is perhaps why it and Reagan have attracted so much interest from scholars. Much effort has been put by commentators to understand how, for example, this force emerged, how much power it had in American politics, and what was its impact.

The "New Right" officially appeared in 1976, when a group of conservative men decided that Gerald Ford was unsuited to continue as President of the United States due to his inability to deal with the economic situation, his gaffes over Eastern Europe, the appointment of Nelson Rockefeller as vice-president and most importantly his pardon of Richard Nixon.<sup>1</sup> These activists were almost successful in removing Gerald Ford from the Republican Party presidential ticket in 1976, but fortunately for Reagan and the movement, Ford was able to secure the nomination. Although the immediate forebears of the New Right failed in 1976, both with Reagan and the American Independence Party, 1976 was seen as a setback and not a defeat and the New Right continued with its mobilisation.

The ability of the New Right to grow politically had begun in the 1970s when the Republican Right gained access to a number of committees and leadership positions within the Party primarily because the Chairman of the Republican Conference, Carl Curtis (for whom Paul Weyrich had once worked as a special assistant), selected conservative Senator Jack Garn of Utah, as

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<sup>1</sup> The pardon incensed Middle America which felt that it had been betrayed, especially by a President whom they did not elect. Viguerie makes much of the appointment of Rockefeller, the betrayer of Goldwater in 1964 and the epitome of the Eastern Establishment. R.A Viguerie. The New Right: We're Ready to Lead. Falls Church: The Viguerie Co., 1981, p50.

a special assistant), selected conservative Senator Jack Garn of Utah, as Chairman of the Select Committee which distributes committee assignments. The consequence of this appointment was that the Right had a sympathetic member in a powerful position to promote freshmen in Congress (Garn was able to substitute Orrin Hatch, another 'new conservative' for himself on the Republican Policy Committee).<sup>2</sup> This internal political manoeuvring coupled with the growing unhappiness with New Deal liberalism led conservative politicians to improve in the space of four years (1976-1980) their standings in the Plains States from a rump consisting of Senators Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.), Milton Young (R-ND.), Robert Dole (R-Kansas) and James Pearson (R-Kansas) to that of being the dominant party in the region holding seventy-five percent of the region's Senate seats. By the 97th Congress the number of right-wing Republicans representing Rocky Mountains states rose to eleven, but it was in the South that the Republicans made their largest gains. In the 97th Congress there were eight right-wing Republicans from the South which was compounded by the gains made earlier in New England in 1978 with Gordon Humphrey (R-NH.) and Warren Rudman (R-NH.).<sup>3</sup> Through such increases and much hard work, the New Right was able in 1980 to reach such a level of importance in American politics that Republican candidates largely adopted its conservative/populist agenda.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, in the congressional elections of 1978, about eighteen new Democratic conservatives won their respective elections (people such as Congressman Kent Hance of Texas, president of the Democratic freshman class, were elected). Richard Viguerie claimed that these: "...are Democrats who have good ties to the conservative movement, owe nothing to Big Labor bosses and largely avoided links with the Carter administration. Many of these Democrats received

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<sup>2</sup> G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, p137.

<sup>3</sup> C.J Bailey. The Republican Party in the US Senate 1974-1984: Party Change & Institutional Development. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, p57, p73; C.J. Bailey, "The United States Senate: The New Individualism and the New Right." *Parliamentary Affairs* 39 (4 1986).

<sup>4</sup> Reagan in a speech before the Conservative Political Action Conference on March 20, 1981, stated that his November victory was a result of the efforts of the members and therefore his victory was theirs. The speech epitomises much of the New Right thinking - economic efficiency, end to welfare profligacy, cutback in federal government. R. Reagan. Speaking My Mind. Hutchinson: London, 1990, p93-101.

significant aid from New Right groups, usually in primaries.”<sup>5</sup> Thus, the country since the mid to late 1970s had been voting for more conservative politicians to represent them which is why the success of Reagan and the New Right in the 1980 elections was not that surprising when the above changes are noticed.

A central feature of the New Right and an essential factor in its growth was the infusion of a new style of populism. The term “populism,” is exceedingly difficult to define because in American politics it had often been used to point out that there are populism of the left and of the right. The former is associated mainly with the Progressive era, while the latter is linked to the politics of Senator McCarthy as well as with the tradition of Southern demagogues as exemplified by Huey Long and George Wallace.<sup>6</sup>

The New Right populists (neopopulism<sup>7</sup>) stood in opposition to elitists (the Eastern Establishment) who maintained that the people (the American public) are not capable of managing their own affairs. The “Establishment” for New Righters had existed for many decades if not centuries, and often prevented truly conservative leaders from emerging within the Republican Party.<sup>8</sup> The “Establishment” based on the Eastern seaboard (mainly New York City) was and is interested in protecting its supremacy at whatever cost often to the detriment of the interests of the average American.<sup>9</sup> The reason for the animosity between the

<sup>5</sup> R.A Viguerie. The New Right: We're Ready to Lead. Falls Church: The Viguerie Co., 1981, p73.

<sup>6</sup> G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, p77-79; M.P Federici. The Challenge of Populism: The Rise of Right-wing Democratism in Postwar America. NY: Praeger, 1991, p25-42.

<sup>7</sup> Crawford argues that the style of the New Right is in accordance with Jacksonian Democracy (populism) which was continued by Bryan, Father Coughlin and Huey Long - all great populists if not demagogues. From this tradition the New Right developed what Crawford terms neopopulism as New Righters realised that through fear (rabble-rousing) they could create a viable coalition that would support them. A. Crawford. Thunder on the Right: The “New Right” & the Politics of Resentment. NY: Pantheon Books, 1980, p290-310.

<sup>8</sup> The Establishment cheated Taft from the Republican nomination in 1952. J.M Kolkey. The New Right, 1960-1968 (with Epilogue, 1969-1980). Washington: University Press of America, 1983.

<sup>9</sup> In the ‘Introduction’ Jasper writes that the term “Establishment” or “Insiders” refers to “...the elite coterie of one-world-minded individuals...”. W.J Jasper. Global Tyranny... Step by Step: The United Nations and the Emerging New World Order. Appleton: Western Islands, 1992. This theme is advanced by contemporary right-wingers, especially those who are anti-Semitic. R. Abanes. Rebellion, Racism and Religion: American Militias. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996.

New Right and the Establishment was that the former opposed the liberal nature of the Eastern Establishment with its Wall Street and large multinational corporation connections.<sup>10</sup>

The qualifications, New Righters maintained, for the positions that Establishment people held and hold are based upon the degree that the individual conforms to the Establishment stereotype.<sup>11</sup> The anti-Establishment sentiment was epitomised very well by Pat Robertson who has suggested that the "Eastern Establishment" is responsible for the decline of America and the development of a new world order which is not conducive to American interests.<sup>12</sup>

The world of the New Right of the 1980s was highly complex and intricate which is why it would be wise to note its lineage before analysing its immediate backgrounds and aims. The movement was composed of many different types of people who may at first glance appear to be ideologically opposite to each other. The New Right drew much from American history and was largely built on traditional American conservatism which could be traced as far back as 1776 and to the ideology of the Founding Fathers.<sup>13</sup> New Righters argued that the America of the post 1960s (if not earlier) had betrayed the ideals of the founders.<sup>14</sup> The essence of the movement was therefore the revival of the United States through the restoration of traditional values which would have the effect of making the country great again.

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<sup>10</sup> J.M Kolkey. The New Right, 1960-1968 (with Epilogue, 1969-1980). Washington: University Press of America, 1983, p2.

<sup>11</sup> R.A Viguier, "A Populist and Proud of It." *The National Review* October 19, 1984, p42-44.

<sup>12</sup> P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991; W.J Jasper. Global Tyranny... Step by Step: The United Nations and the Emerging New World Order. Appleton: Western Islands, 1992.

<sup>13</sup> J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980; G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984; J.M Kolkey. The New Right, 1960-1968 (with Epilogue, 1969-1980). Washington: University Press of America, 1983; "The Right: A House Divided?" *Newsweek* February 2, 1981, p40.

<sup>14</sup> A good example of this is the attitude of Robertson's toward the Federal Reserve Board which he claims is contrary to the wishes of the Founding Fathers who opposed the creation of a Central Bank. P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991, p119-120, p246. For more recent views on the growth of the federal government and its so-called threat to American liberties see for example R. Abanes. Rebellion, Racism and Religion: American Militias. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996; P. Lamy. Millennium Rage: Survivalists, White Supremacists, and the Doomsday Prophecy. London: Plenum Press, 1996.

## **BARRY GOLDWATER AND THE RISE OF THE NEW RIGHT**

The ideological right experienced a great loss in 1952 when Dwight Eisenhower was chosen over Robert Taft as the Republican Party presidential candidate as it meant that pragmatism (or politics) triumphed over ideology. What made the defeat of Taft so incredible was the fact that the early 1950s was a period of growing conservatism in the US (especially as McCarthy, McCarran and Nixon were at the pinnacle of their power) and yet the Republicans instead of choosing a man who had represented their values for years selected someone who had stayed out of politics most of his adult life. The Eisenhower selection emphasised that the Republican Party was in serious trouble following the long presidency of Franklin Roosevelt and the success of Truman in 1948. Eisenhower showed that the Republicans were lacking an effective leader as a career soldier who for a time was undecided on which party he should join became presidential candidate.<sup>15</sup> Eisenhower was a man who appealed to the electorate, a leader who was not an ideologue<sup>16</sup> and under whom the Republican Party drifted toward what had been described as "Modern Republicanism" which encompassed support for the New Deal while seeking to reduce the cost of excessive bureaucracy.<sup>17</sup> In other words, the prime concern of the GOP was political appeasement rather than the implementation of a strict conservative ideology which would restore the country to its more traditional roots. Moreover, the effect of the Taft-Eisenhower fight was that it divided the Republican Party into two almost equally powerful personal coalitions. Taft had the support of the more fierce anti-New Deal and isolationist members while his regional appeal was concentrated in the mid-West and the South. Eisenhower, on the other hand, had the support of the

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<sup>15</sup> Eisenhower spent eight years in the Oval Office but he was not a Republican man. This explains why in 1948 Truman let Eisenhower know that he, Truman, would be willing to step aside and support him for the Democratic presidential nomination that year which Eisenhower declined. R.J Donovan. Tumultuous Years: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1949-1953. NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1982, p258.

<sup>16</sup> In his first term Eisenhower approved the extension of the Social Security budget, raised the minimum wage from 75 cent to \$1.00, accepted farms subsidies, and created a cabinet-level Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). Eisenhower "...would not slash services to serve an economic ideal." M. Schaller, V. Scharff and R.D Schulzinger. Present Tense: the United States Since 1945. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992, p123.

<sup>17</sup> J.M Kolkey. The New Right, 1960-1968 (with Epilogue, 1969-1980). Washington: University Press of America, 1983, p27-28.

north-eastern internationalists, and his victory installed the moderates as the leaders of the party for a time.<sup>18</sup>

The 1964 presidential election was a watershed in the sense that although Goldwater was thoroughly trounced,<sup>19</sup> he was still able to lay the roots for the New Right, and show that conservatism in America was far from dead despite the apparent potency of the counterculture movement and postwar liberalism. Goldwater, it must be remembered, was a Republican first and foremost,<sup>20</sup> but his Republicanism was that of a traditional conservative. He claimed that America was an inherently conservative nation that was not comfortable with welfarism as it sought to uphold the ideal of self-reliance which explains his opposition to large government (a focal point of traditional Republicanism and later New Rightism). In 1976 (the same year that the New Right officially emerged), Goldwater highlighted his ties to the embryonic New Right movement when he argued in another book that America was reaching its “breaking point” and was in danger of losing itself due to the growth of the federal government in terms of power and bureaucratisation.<sup>21</sup> This point would become the war-cry of especially supply-siders who circled within and around the Reagan administration. The clearest example however, that Goldwater was not really a New Right man but a traditional conservative was his belief that the Founding Fathers did not seek to establish a democracy as they feared that it may lead to demagoguery. This is very much in-line with traditional conservative thought which carries a fear of the masses,<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, p129.

<sup>19</sup> Johnson and Humphrey won 43,129,566 votes to Goldwater's and Miller's 27,178,188, out of 70,644,592 votes. The electoral college vote reveal the true depth of the defeat as the Democrats won 486 to the Republicans 52. R.M Scammon. (ed.) America Votes. 7, 1966, Washington: Governmental Affairs Institute, 1968, p1-2.

<sup>20</sup> J.M Kolkey. The New Right, 1960-1968 (with Epilogue, 1969-1980). Washington: University Press of America, 1983, p205.

<sup>21</sup> B. Goldwater. The Coming Breakpoint. NY: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1976.

<sup>22</sup> B. Goldwater. The Conscience of a Conservative. Sheperdsville: Victor Publishing Co., 1960, p17-18; M.J Throne. American conservative Thought Since World War II: The Core Ideas. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1990, p124-125; Viguerie has stated that the United States “...is basically a conservative country. The potential for conservative revolt has always been there, under the most favourable condition. But those conditions have to be made.” R.A Viguerie. The New Right: We're Ready to Lead. Falls Church: The Viguerie Co., 1981, p3.

which is why they believe in government, while New Righters (especially contemporary ones) call for almost no government.<sup>23</sup>

The impact of Goldwaterism on the development of the American New Right was considerable, none more so than the fact that he was able to carry in his 1964 presidential bid five Southern states, something that was unprecedented for a Republican. This laid down the seeds for the rise of Southern Republicanism. However, it was not just Goldwater's conservative stand that won Goldwater support in the South but his view on race,<sup>24</sup> as he held that issues dealing with race should be left to the individual states to deal with, and that federally enforced re-alignment was unconstitutional.<sup>25</sup> This issue is important as it emphasised the belief that the federal government had exceeded its authority.<sup>26</sup> The South was crucial to the New Right not only because it furnished the movement with a tremendous amount of religious support, but because it enabled the Republicans to mount a serious challenge to the Democratic Party New Deal coalition.<sup>27</sup> The progress toward the political re-alignment began as early as 1948, when Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, ran for president on a States' Right ticket. Thurmond's campaign "...was of profound importance.", because "It demonstrated the power of the issue of race to break the lock of the national Democratic party on the South, a step of critical consequence in a thirty-two-year

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<sup>23</sup> R. Abanes. Rebellion, Racism and Religion: American Militias. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996.

<sup>24</sup> T.B Edsall and M.D Edsall. Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, Taxes on American Politics. NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992, p40; W.C Berman. America's Right Turn: From Nixon to Bush. London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994, p5.

<sup>25</sup> B. Goldwater. The Conscience of a Conservative. Sheperdsville: Victor Publishing Co., 1960, p31-37. Another example of Goldwater's trouble with racism was his attitude toward the John Birch Society. In the words of Bellant "...Goldwater expressed discomfort with both the Birch and other Radical Right support for his candidacy...". R. Bellant. The Coors Connection: How the Coors Family Philanthropy Undermines Democratic Pluralism. Boston: South End Press, 1991, p44.

<sup>26</sup> Both Nixon and Reagan called for less federal government through their "New Federalism" program. J.R Greene. The Limits of Power: The Nixon & Ford Administrations. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992, p27-54; M.A Genovese. The Nixon Presidency: Power & Politics in Turbulent Times. NY: Greenwood Press, 1990, p61-98; R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990.

<sup>27</sup> J.M Kolkey. The New Right, 1960-1968 (with Epilogue, 1969-1980). Washington: University Press of America, 1983, p4-5.

long process that would produce a regional realignment in presidential elections by 1980.”<sup>28</sup>

The Goldwater campaign further assisted in the development and growth of the New Right by showing the importance of popular fund-raising. During the 1964 campaign, Goldwater’s staff mailed more than 15 million fund-raising appeals which netted them \$5.8 million at an estimated cost of slightly over a million dollars. Goldwater received 380,000 contributions under \$100 each.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, it had been suggested that Reagan’s speech, which on paper seemed “...such a lifeless collection of antigovernmental, anti-Communist clichés, with scant mention of the Republican nominee...”, brought about a million dollars worth of donations from inspired viewers to the “foundering Goldwater campaign” and launched Reagan’s political campaign (a few months later wealthy Californians organised the “Friends of Ronald Reagan” committee to promote his candidacy for governor of California).<sup>30</sup>

The significance of political contributions was learnt by the New Christian Right so well that Pat Robertson’s first campaign finance report to the Federal Election Commission contained the names of 70,000 donors and had to be delivered on a sixteen-foot truck.<sup>31</sup> However, as important as money is to a campaign what is essential for a successful candidate is the commitment of his followers. This is again another lesson that the New Right learned from the Goldwater campaign as in 1964, Nelson Rockefeller spent more money than anyone before him had ever spent in seeking the presidency, but it was still Goldwater who triumphed in the primaries, in the state caucuses and at the nominating convention. Goldwater proved that people who are motivated and are committed to a cause are more

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<sup>28</sup> K.P Phillips. Post-Conservative America: People, Politics, & Ideology in a Time of Crisis. NY: Vintage Books, 1983, p23; T.B Edsall and M.D Edsall. Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, & Taxes on American Politics. NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992, p34.

<sup>29</sup> A. Crawford. Thunder on the Right: The “New Right” & the Politics of Resentment. NY: Pantheon Books, 1980, p46-47.

<sup>30</sup> M. Schaller, V. Scharff and R.D Schulzinger. Present Tense: the United States Since 1945. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992, p495.

<sup>31</sup> C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p39; D.M Oldfield. The Right & The Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996, especially p152-154.



zealous workers, than those who are driven by money or prestige. Moreover, Goldwater showed that the key to winning the nomination was through securing enough delegates for the national convention.<sup>32</sup> This lesson was added to the experience of the 1952 and 1960 presidential elections when it was realised that the age of television had arrived and one's candidate could not be luck-lustre.<sup>33</sup>

The Goldwater campaign of 1964 also had the effect of providing many of the leaders of the New Right with their first real taste of political activity. Richard Viguerie's direct mail empire began in 1964, when he copied by hand, the names and addresses of over twelve thousand of Goldwater's major contributors. He went on throughout the late 1960s and 1970s to improve his list of potential contributors, as he raised funds for an array of right-wing candidates and causes. Many future leaders of the New Right began their political careers during Goldwater's presidential campaign. For example, Morton Blackwell, Goldwater's youngest convention delegate, went to work for Viguerie, edit the *New Right Report*, and run training schools for young right-wing activists; while, Howard Phillips, an early leader in the pro-Goldwater Young Americans for Freedom, went on to co-found the Conservative Caucus.<sup>34</sup>

The development of the New Right received a significant boost with the 1968 presidential election which saw the emergence of the Democratic populist George Wallace. In 1968, Wallace appealed to millions of working and lower-middle class, blue-collar Democratic voters who were unhappy with the direction of America and their own party. He was able to effectively build a bridge between these voters and their traditional Republican adversaries (corporate America) and he did this by providing a program that opposed high taxes and federal

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<sup>32</sup> J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988, p248-249.

<sup>33</sup> J.M Kolkey. The New Right, 1960-1968 (with Epilogue, 1969-1980). Washington: University Press of America, 1983, p24; D. Burner. John F. Kennedy & A New Generation. New England: HarperCollins Publishers, 1988, p52-54; J.R Greene. The Limits of Power: The Nixon & Ford Administrations. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992, p13.

<sup>34</sup> Paul Weyrich began his Washington career in 1973, when with the financial support of Joseph Coors, he and Edwin Feulner formed the Heritage Foundation. D.M Oldfield. The Right & The Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996, p96.

intervention (in the form of forced integration).<sup>35</sup> The problem that Wallace faced, however, was that he offended the delicate tastes of traditional Republicans who could not tolerate his racist and populist approach (after all it was Lincoln, a Republican, who ended slavery). Nixon was able to overcome this by attacking open housing and school integration and by re-affirming his commitment to the principles of equality by opposing federal intervention to enforce compliance. A good example of this is the way Nixon's transition team attempted to clean-up the Department of HEW of members who believed in the Civil Rights legislation and sought to promote its provision on a rapid scale.<sup>36</sup>

The revolutionary reforms of George McGovern were very instrumental in bringing about an end to the Democratic Party New Deal coalition and the rise of the New Right as a result. The Party after supporting the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Great Society reforms in a desire to create a more egalitarian society, began to pursue the more marginal members of American society.<sup>37</sup> The process of reforming the Democratic Party and American politics emerged in the midst of the commotion of the 1968 Convention, as the Rules Committee upheld McGovern's minority report, calling for a commission to study reform in the delegate selection process.

The 1968 Chicago Convention led "New Democrats," many of whom had participated in the campaigns of Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy to clamour for changes in the delegation selection for the next convention with greater emphasis placed on youth, minority, and women representation. Many of the party's rules, it has been noted, had not been revised since the nineteenth century which meant that in some states, Democrats did not hold primary elections, while in two southern states the governor picked all of the delegates, and in ten states there were no written rules. McGovern was chosen to head the commission, and he appointed a staff of young activists which included Eli Segal,

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<sup>35</sup> G.C Wallace. Stand Up For America. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1976.

<sup>36</sup> J.R Greene. The Limits of Power: The Nixon & Ford Administrations. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992, p42; T.B Edsall and M.D Edsall. Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, & Taxes on American Politics. NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992, p79, 75.

<sup>37</sup> D.M Oldfield. The Right & The Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996.

a recent law school graduate who had volunteered for Eugene McCarthy in 1968, as had Ken Bode, who later joined Robert Nelson as aides to Senator McGovern. "These men saw the commission as a crusade against the Democratic establishment, the force that for years had cut deals behind closed doors, had refused black representation at Atlantic City, had led the nation into a disastrous war, and had clubbed activists in the streets of Chicago."<sup>38</sup>

In November 1969, the McGovern Commission proposed that the party set quotas for the number of black, women, and younger delegates. The reforms paid heavy dividends for McGovern in the 1972 Democratic Convention as one saw fundamental changes within the party. In 1972, for example, women totalled thirty-eight percent of the delegates (in 1969 the figure was thirteen percent); the number of black delegates stood at fifteen percent, up from five percent, and the people under the age of thirty saw their representation increase from twenty-three percent (up from more than two percent). Thirty-nine percent of the delegates held postgraduate degrees; thirty-one percent earned more than twenty-five thousand dollars a year; and black delegates were disproportionately educated and rich.<sup>39</sup> The changes meant that: "The voting power on the floor of the convention thus shifted away from political bosses who had long controlled the makeup of their delegations to a coalition of factions that had long been excluded from the power base of both parties. This new political foundation would be expected to support a candidate who was progressive on economic policy and firmly against the war. In effect McGovern engineered a rules change that complemented his ideals, fit his strategy, and ended up guaranteeing him a convention packed with delegates who supported his candidacy."<sup>40</sup> It was probably this shift in representation that led labour unions to support Nixon in 1972 (they had supported Wallace in 1968 - thus a logical development had taken place).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> T.H Anderson. The Movement and the Sixties. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p392.

<sup>39</sup> P.N Carroll. It Seemed Like Nothing Happened: The Tragedy & Promise of America in the 1970s. NY: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, 1982, p85, p86.

<sup>40</sup> J.R Greene. The Limits of Power: The Nixon & Ford Administrations. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992, p159. Eugene McCarthy also recognised the importance of youth as he led a campaign which allowed eighteen year-olds to vote for President for the first time.

<sup>41</sup> A. Crawford. Thunder on the Right: The "New Right" & the Politics of Resentment. NY: Pantheon Books, 1980, p246. In 1972, Nixon stood for upholding the status quo against the

The early 1970s were most important for the development of the New Right, not only because of Nixon's 1972 landslide victory, which highlighted the move of blue-collar Democrats to the Republican Party, but because of the Supreme Court ruling in the case of *Roe v. Wade*, which legalised abortion in America. The *Roe* ruling led a great emotional and intellectual debate that has not been resolved.<sup>42</sup> By the early 1970s, the development of the energy crisis, the rise in international terrorism, the recognition of Communist China caused concern that the United States was in decline which meant to some Americans that the forces of liberalism and socialism would take-over America and turn it into another Soviet satellite ruled by Moscow. The oil crisis (price increase), for example, according to Moynihan, amounted to "...the greatest triumph for state capitalism since the Russian Revolution.", because it was used to show that the free market could not price its most important commodity.<sup>43</sup> These fears led anti-liberals, Christian evangelicals, and militant secular anti-communists (neoconservatives) to unite and form the heterogeneous movement that has been dubbed the New Right.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the ideology of the New Right of the 1980s stood on three main tenets: economic liberalism, social traditionalism, and militant anti-communism. These issues are largely interdependent and in many instances the groups co-operated in order to promote their own vision of a conservative America. The themes themselves also carried within them sub-tenets which in some ways complicated matters especially when one is trying to provide an effective definition for the whole movement.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> It was the abortion issue which galvanised an already discontented section of American society into political action - conservative Christian America. For Christian Right attitude concerning abortion see for example J. Falwell, E. Dobson and E. Hindson. (ed.) The Fundamentalist Phenomenon: The Resurgence of Conservative Christianity. NY: Doubleday & Co. 1981, p189; P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991; H. Lindsey. Planet Earth 2000 A.D.: Will Mankind Survive?. Palos Verdes: Western Front, 1996.

<sup>43</sup> D.P Moynihan. A Dangerous Place. London: Secker & Warburg, 1979, p18.

<sup>44</sup> Several authors have offered similar views: W.F Buckley Jr., and C.R Kesler. (ed.) Keeping the Tablets: Modern American Conservative Thought. NY: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988; J.L Himmelstein, "The New Right", in R.C Liebman and R.W Wuthnow. (ed.) The New Christian Right: Mobilization & Legitimation. NY: Aldine, 1983, p13-30.

<sup>45</sup> "The New Right also believes that its economic, social, and national security concerns are causally related; economic stagnation, moral decline, and military weakness reinforce each

## **THE ANTI-LIBERALS - THE ECONOMIC AGENDA**

One of the central groups within the New Right were the anti-liberals who are perhaps the most difficult to define as they are divided into three main sub-groups: traditional Republicans, contemporary Republican ideologues, and supply-siders. A common denominator of the anti-liberals was their animosity toward postwar liberalism as seen in the European model in which government intervention in society was high. The opposition to this type of intervention was based on an ingrained sense of economic conservatism which could be traced to the prewar, if not pre-twentieth century period. These conservatives felt that postwar liberalism came to dominate American society and cause many problems by the 1970s by encouraging decadence, corruption of traditional and moral values, and economic chaos.<sup>46</sup>

The development of the American welfare state essentially began with the Rooseveltian New Deal and gathered momentum as the century progressed. The New Deal was very important for the anti-liberals as it transformed American society in at least two ways: first, it increased federal government intervention to a new level as government became committed to providing some sort of social-insurance programs while also increasing government control over economic life, through such things as regulation. Second, the New Deal brought about a huge political realignment which gave the Democrats the upper-hand. That is, from the 1860s to the early 1930s, and especially after the election of 1896, the Republican Party had all but dominated American politics.<sup>47</sup>

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other and equally reflect a loss of greatness." J.L. Himmelstein, "The New Right", R.C. Liebman and R.W. Wuthnow. (ed.) The New Christian Right: Mobilization & Legitimation. NY: Aldine, 1983, p17, p13-30.

<sup>46</sup> J.M. Kolkey. The New Right, 1960-1968 (with Epilogue, 1969-1980). Washington: University Press of America, 1983, p87-88 and throughout.

<sup>47</sup> From 1896 to 1932, the Democrats controlled the House and Senate each in only one of three eighteen Congresses. They won two presidential elections: one in 1912, when the Republicans were split between Taft and Roosevelt, and again in 1916 with Wilson. The Republicans won the presidential election in 1920, 1924, and 1928 by landslides (the Democrats never got more than 41 percent of the vote). Roosevelt won 57 percent of the popular vote in 1932 - the first time since 1856 when James Buchanan won the election with a popular vote. The Democrats arguably rode to power because from the mid-1920s and accelerating in 1930s, a large

The New Right anti-liberal opposition to the New Deal was based on some firm foundation, as since the 1930s the program had its detractors. "Reactionary wealth" (mainstay radical conservatism) acting through the American Liberty League provided the initial serious opposition to the New Deal. In the 1960s, reactionary wealth gave financial support to many early New Right organisations such as the American Conservative Union, Americans for Constitutional Action, Christian Freedom Foundation, the John Birch Society, the Intercollegiate Society of Individuals, Liberty Lobby and the Young Americans for Freedom. Large corporations such as General Electric also had connections to the early New Right (General Electric employed Ronald Reagan as its travelling spokesman during the late 1950s and early 1960s).<sup>48</sup> Thus, it was these organisations and people who lay the foundation upon which the New Right anti-liberal cell worked from the mid and late-1970s.<sup>49</sup>

The anti-liberal New Righters held that liberalism and communism shared a common belief in their desire to create a utopia. Both ideologies seek to eliminate evil in society through planning, which is a euphemism for state intervention and an end to individualism and the introduction of collectivism. The communists seek to utilise the extensive force of the state for the same objective. The liberals, on the other hand, adopt a slower approach as they want to build their utopia one brick at a time. This is why liberals often ignored the brutality of communism, according to their opponents.<sup>50</sup> In the words of a traditional conservative Republican who played an important role in the development of the movement: "Conservatism is *not* an economic theory, though it has economic implications. The shoe is precisely on the other foot: it is Socialism that subordinates all other considerations to man's material well-being. It is

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constituency of urban ethnic and working-class voters - outside of the South - supported them. J.L. Himmelstein. To the Right: The Transformation of American Conservatism. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, p16-17.

<sup>48</sup> J.M Kolkey. The New Right, 1960-1968 (with Epilogue, 1969-1980). Washington: University Press of America, 1983, p1.

<sup>49</sup> There were however, some anti-liberals who were not totally against the New Deal as even Reagan approved of it to an extent, although he attacked its bureaucracy. R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990.

<sup>50</sup> J.M Kolkey. The New Right, 1960-1968 (with Epilogue, 1969-1980). Washington: University Press of America, 1983, p91.

Conservatism that puts material things in their proper place - that has structured view of the human being and of human society, in which economics plays only a subsidiary role.”<sup>51</sup> Thus, it is conservatives who take a view of the “*whole* man” while liberals only look at the material side of man’s nature. Goldwater asserts that man is not solely a material creature but a spiritual one with needs to be satisfied. Moreover, it is the spiritual requirements that take precedence over man’s economic needs and wants which is why conservatives seek to fulfil these needs first, while liberals seek to satisfy man’s economic wants, as to them, that is the dominant mission in society.<sup>52</sup> David Stockman one of the leading supply-siders in the Reagan administration also argued that conservatism is more than just an economic policy, but a way of life which provides the individual with more rights and responsibilities, something that the ideologies of the left fail to do. As he noted:

“Implicit in the conservatism of the right is a profound regard for a complexity and fragility of the social and economic order; and a consequent fear that policy interventions may do more harm than good. By contrast, the activist impulses of the left derive from the view that a free society is the natural incubator of ills and injustices. The left assumes that society has an infinite capacity to absorb the changes it imposes on it.”<sup>53</sup>

The anti-liberals found the existence of a welfare state a frightening precursor to the establishment of socialism in the United States which brought them the support of the Christian Right and neoconservatives both opponents of socialism and an exponents of traditional American values. The growth of the social security budget, they maintained, made the poor and the weak dependent on the state, which is sustained by hard-working Americans. In other words, people knew that the federal government would save and protect them, which is

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<sup>51</sup> B. Goldwater. The Conscience of a Conservative. Sheperdsville: Victor Publishing Co., 1960, p10.

<sup>52</sup> B. Goldwater. The Conscience of a Conservative. Sheperdsville: Victor Publishing Co., 1960, p10-11; G. Gilder, “Moral Sources of Capitalism”, M. Gerson. (ed.) The Essential Neoconservative Reader. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1996.

<sup>53</sup> D.A Stockman. The Triumph of Politics: The Crisis in American Government & How It Affects the World. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986, p33.

why they need not look after themselves and their families.<sup>54</sup> George Gilder, a leading member of the anti-liberals argued that the welfare state played a significant role in the breakdown of families, as benefits helped to undermine the traditional role of the father. Thus, the welfare state not only helped cripple the United States in general, but it had direct implications on the development of American society by making men feel worthless:

“Nothing is so destructive to all these male values as the growing, imperious recognition that when all is said and done his wife and children can do better without him: the gradually sinking feeling that his role as the provider, the definitive male activity from the primal days of the hunt through the industrial revolution and on into modern life, has been largely seized from him; he has been cuckolded by the compassionate state.”<sup>55</sup>

An important feature of the anti-liberals is their attitude toward central authority and its role in society. In this area they shared a close affinity with the Religious Right who mobilised against what it saw as federal support for secular humanism. This view was seen very clearly in Goldwater’s 1976 book where he claimed that America was being governed by bureaucrats who dictate policy rather than the elected representatives.<sup>56</sup> It was often felt that it was the bureaucracy, this monolithic, unseen group of people that pushed the country down the wrong path. In many respects the successors of the 1980s New Right have developed an even stronger distrust and hatred toward the federal bureaucracy, which they view as a very sinister force.<sup>57</sup>

The growth of the federal government due to its increasing intervention also led to a rise in the number of regulations imposed upon Americans in their

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<sup>54</sup> M. Feldstein, “The Social Security Explosion.” *The Public Interest* (81 Fall 1985); G. Gilder, “The Coming Welfare Crisis.” *Policy Review* (Winter 1980); R. Starr, “Twenty Years of Housing Programs.” *The Public Interest* (81 Fall 1985).

<sup>55</sup> G. Gilder, “The Coming Welfare Crisis.” *Policy Review* (Winter 1980) p26, and throughout. R.A. Viguerie. *The New Right: We’re Ready to Lead*. Falls Church: The Viguerie Co., 1981.

<sup>56</sup> B. Goldwater. *The Coming Breakpoint*. NY: Macmillan Publishers, 1976, p53-75 and throughout; Senator Hatch has argued that affirmative action meant “...a cultural conquest of the corporate sector by the bureaucracy.” in his “Loading the Economy.” *The Public Review* (Winter 1980), p31; see also Reagan’s comments on the bureaucracy and that it functions to serve itself. R. Reagan. *An American Life*. London: Hutchinson, 1990.

<sup>57</sup> Samples of this attitude can be found on the Internet or on television. See also R. Abanes. *Rebellion, Racism and Religion: American Militias*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996.



homes and their workplace. These regulations had the effect of increasing the power of the federal government and, according to the anti-liberals, were detrimental to the survival of American business by making it less competitive. Thus, it was claimed, that unless matters were reversed the: "...Republic [would] collapse and our democracy smother to death under a mountain of government debt, regulation, and red tape."<sup>58</sup> The call against regulations was very much part of the anti-liberal philosophy who held that business, and especially free-market capitalism was an integral part of the American creed and thus must remain free of government interference. Adherents truly believed that it was limited governmental intervention that enabled the United States to become the leading industrial power that it was.<sup>59</sup>

In short, the anti-liberals wanted government to stay out of the everyday management of individual life. The knowledge that people could turn to government for support, according to the anti-liberals, countered at least hundred and fifty years of American pioneering spirit and experience. For the New Righters, the people who headed to the West - before it disappeared in the 1890s - did so on their own volition not knowing what to expect. They faced many horrors and untold suffering but they never gave up and because of that they were able to build towns which over the years blossomed into great cities. Hardship and self-reliance was what made America great.<sup>60</sup> Whether it is due to the ingrained conservative nature of Americans or their Puritan ancestry, the American system almost demands that one must suffer to succeed, as after all those epitomising the American dream rose from nothing to create empires ("rags

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<sup>58</sup> B. Goldwater. The Coming Breakingpoint. NY: Macmillan Publishers, 1976, p1.

<sup>59</sup> Under Reagan, budgets for such agencies as the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Occupational Health and Safety Administration, and the Securities and Exchange Commission were severely reduced. Reagan also appointed agency heads - such as Anne Burford Gorsuch (EPA) and James Watt at the Department of Interior who were hostile to the very concept of regulation. Gorsuch and Watt came under heavy attacks from liberals and environmentalists for their weakening of environmental protection. M. Schaller, V. Scharff and R.D Schulzinger. Present Tense: the United States Since 1945. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992, p518-519; M. Anderson. Revolution NY: Harecourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988; R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990.

<sup>60</sup> Lipset had argued that socialism has not appealed to Americans because it seeks to enlarge the power of the state, something that Americans will not accept. S.M Lipset, "Neoconservatism: Myth and Reality." *Society* 25 (5 1988).

to riches stories”).<sup>61</sup> This is why for example, anti-liberals cheered Reagan’s deregulation efforts<sup>62</sup> as the Reaganites were dismantling the interventionist state that was hindering American growth (although they wanted more<sup>63</sup>). Furthermore, by decreasing federal intervention one could reduce the size of government and therefore of taxes as less money would be required to sustain the government and more importantly the bureaucracy, for which the anti-liberals had a particular aversion to.

The anti-liberal movement had within it, a group of people who adhered to the doctrine of supply-side economics which “...originated as a way of describing an alternative to the demand side emphasis of Keynesian economics.”<sup>64</sup> The attraction of the new economic ideology was that although it was very complex it applied to a whole catalogue of policy changes ranging from tax cuts to natural gas deregulation, to abolition of the minimum wage, to repeal of milk marketing orders, to elimination of federal certificates for truckers, airlines and anything else that people desired to produce. It even included reform of the World Bank.<sup>65</sup>

Supply-side economics prefigures very highly within the Reagan administration because so many of its members and supporters either followed the new economic doctrine directly or at least hoped that it could or would help save America from its economic woes. Supply-side economics was an innovative approach which its adherents felt could revive the country’s fledging economy

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<sup>61</sup> Many Republicans and conservatives in general take great pride in highlighting their childhood poverty. This is done to emphasis that America is truly a meritocratic society and that through hard work and determination any one can succeed. See for example R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990; D.T Regan. For the Record: From Wall Street to Washington. London: Hutchinson, 1988.

<sup>62</sup> See for example, B.R Okun, “Let Markets Be Markets: How Deregulation Has Strengthened the American Economy.” *Policy Review* (35 Winter 1986), p63-65. Okun when he wrote this essay was the executive director of the House Republican Research Committee.

<sup>63</sup> See for example what some conservatives thought of Reagan and his policies: “What Conservatives Think of Ronald Reagan: A Symposium.” *Policy Review* (27 Winter 1984), p14-19.

<sup>64</sup> M. Feldstein, “Supply-side Economics: Old Truths and New Claims.” *The American Economics Review* 76 (2 1986), p26.

<sup>65</sup> D.A Stockman. The Triumph of Politics: The Crisis in American Government & How It Affects the World. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986, p42-43.

especially by providing "...a frontal assault on the American welfare state."<sup>66</sup> The leading supply-siders within the Reagan camp were David Stockman at the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and Jack Kemp at Congress and they were able to enlist the support of people who shared their views so that a transformation in America's economic policy could take place, such as Ture and Sprinkel.<sup>67</sup>

The supply-siders themselves were rather divided as some focused more on the gold standard, while others felt that the budget deficit posed a greater threat.<sup>68</sup> The confusion within the supply-side camp may hinder the development of an effective definition of supply-side economics. However, at the core of the doctrine lies the belief that by reducing taxation, one would stimulate saving which would provide needed capital for investment. Reducing taxation would also have the benefit of forcing government to curtail its exuberant spending especially on Social Security programs.<sup>69</sup>

In sum, the anti-liberals were essentially concerned with economics and that was extended to social policy, as it is economic conditions that largely facilitate the size and scope of the social budget. To the anti-liberal big government meant inefficiency and waste as big government brings about a large federal bureaucracy whose main interest is to sustain itself. In the words of Ronald Reagan: "The first rule of a bureaucracy is to protect the bureaucracy. If

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<sup>66</sup> D.A Stockman. The Triumph of Politics: The Crisis in American Government & How It Affects the World. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986, p9.

<sup>67</sup> D.T Regan. For the Record: From Wall Street to Washington. London: Hutchinson, 1988.

<sup>68</sup> The diversity that Stockman describes was seen especially in a luncheon where monetary policy was discussed by what amounted to a supply-side central committee: Kemp, Wanniski, Bell and others. There were divisions over the gold standard and although at the time they appeared superficial in reality the debate divided the supply-siders deeply. Bell and Wanniski wanted immediate restoration of the gold standard something that Stockman was unsure of for tactical and conceptual reasons as the press and the Republican Convention focused on the Equal Rights Amendment. Stockman writes that all of the supply-siders at the meeting agreed that the proximate cause of inflation was the excessive creation of money by the central bank. D.A Stockman. The Triumph of Politics: The Crisis in American Government & How It Affects the World. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986, p66, p67.

<sup>69</sup> I. Kristol, "Ideology and Supply Side Economics." *Commentary* 71 (4 1981); D.A Stockman. The Triumph of Politics: The Crisis in American Government & How It Affects the World. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986; D.T Regan. For the Record: From Wall Street to Washington. London: Hutchinson, 1988, p142-162.

the people running the welfare program had let their clientele find other ways of making a living, that would have reduced their importance and their budget.”<sup>70</sup>

The anti-liberals were determined to make government more efficient and effective while also aiding many other badly managed areas in American society. This had a dual importance as the financial demands of the social budget were huge and the anti-liberals’ conservative heritage also required that they support measures calling for as much self-sufficiency as possible. Thus, their opposition to welfare was not solely based on financial considerations but on ideological considerations as by changing the style and nature of the contemporary government, America would be able to pick up the gauntlet that the Soviet Union had thrown down through its expansion and deal with that threat successfully. The ideas of the anti-liberals were meant to help restore the loss of pride and remove the sense of gloom that seemed to have taken over the country in the late 1970s. They hoped in many ways to see a return to the glory days of the 1920s or even the 1950s for example, where prosperity existed while government was small relatively small. It is therefore not a surprise that Calvin Coolidge was a hero of Ronald Reagan.<sup>71</sup>

### **NEW CHRISTIAN RIGHT – SOCIAL CONSERVATISM**

The second group that made-up the New Right was the Religious Right coalition or the “New Christian Right” as it became known. There is much confusion about the New Christian Right essentially because many in the secular world have either ignored, misunderstood or failed to appreciate its full potential, or at worst followed an Elmer Gantry stereotype when describing or examining it.<sup>72</sup> Thus, when the Christian Right emerged with great ferocity in the late 1970s and with even greater vigour in the 1980s following Jerry Falwell’s address to the Republican National Convention, people were surprised.<sup>73</sup> During Reagan’s first

<sup>70</sup> R. Reagan. *An American Life*. London: Hutchinson, 1990, p69.

<sup>71</sup> K.P Phillips. *Post-Conservative America: People, Politics & Ideology in a Time of Crisis*. NY: Vintage Books, 1983.

<sup>72</sup> J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. *Televangelism: Power and Politics on God’s Frontier*. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988.

<sup>73</sup> Capps argues that in 1978, not many people were ready for the commotion that the New Religious Right would cause and the idea that a televangelist would have the support of the

term one: "...saw evangelicals enjoying unprecedented access to the presidency and the White House, with theological liberals and moderates virtually locked out. Reverend Jerry Falwell replaced the more established evangelical Billy Graham as the White House's unofficial chaplain."<sup>74</sup>

An effective understanding about the rise of the Religious Right is made even more difficult by the fact that the movement was composed of many different denominations with their own distinct theology.<sup>75</sup> A prime example of this could be seen in the animosity between Bob Jones and Billy Graham and Jerry Falwell. The quarrel with Graham was based on Bob Jones II's refusal to support the evangelistic crusade that Graham sponsored in Greenville, North Carolina. Jones threatened to expel any student of the university who was involved in the crusade in any way. His argument with Falwell, was that Falwell appeared to have become more like Graham, he was too soft on Catholics and he fraternised with people who did not hold fundamentalist beliefs. It was also said that Falwell used his evangelistic office for personal gain.<sup>76</sup> The situation concerning the Christian Right became worse when groups within the Protestant Christian Right chose to co-operate with Catholics or Orthodox Jews, two groups which they traditionally had been rather hostile toward.<sup>77</sup> This led to a debate within the movement between the separatists who support a complete break between Church and State, and therefore oppose the involvement of preachers in

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President would have shocked many. By 1984, candidates for important national offices sought the support of Religious leaders, and four years later a major figure within the Religious Right would seek the office of President. W.H Capps. The New Religious Right: Piety, Patriotism & Politics. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994, p1.

<sup>74</sup> Hadden and Shupe assert that no president until Reagan had so snubbed the established liberal religious leadership in the US. J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988, p35-36 and throughout.

<sup>75</sup> Maguire claims, that fundamentalism was never homogeneous and it remained fragmented. Many who describe themselves as fundamentalists distance themselves from Falwell's fundamentalism. D.C Maguire. The New Subversives: Anti-Americanism of the Religious Right. NY: The Continuum Publishing Co., 1982, p22; W.H Capps. The New Religious Right: Piety, Patriotism & Politics. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994, p98-99.

<sup>76</sup> W.H Capps. The New Religious Right: Piety, Patriotism & Politics. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994, p98-99; E. Dobson and E. Hindson, "Apocalypse Now? What Fundamentalists Believe About the End of the World." *Policy Review* (38 Fall 1986), p16-22.

<sup>77</sup> J.M Kolkey. The New Right, 1960-1968 (with Epilogue, 1969-1980). Washington: University Press of America, 1983, p1-20; D.C Maguire. The New Subversives: Anti-Americanism of the

politics, and the accomodists who accept that the Constitution prohibits an established national religion as the First Amendment bars governmental support of one religion over another. However, it does not mean that preachers could not be involved in politics.<sup>78</sup> Leaders of the Christian Right such as Falwell, Robertson, Bakker and others, called upon their supporters to participate in politics as they did.

The New Christian Right was truly a unique phenomenon particularly because one does not usually equate religion, especially fundamentalist religion with highly industrialised countries. However, the United States although being a leading industrial society has surprisingly retained a strong affinity with religion.<sup>79</sup> This is arguably because the first settlers were essentially religious refugees, seeking a place to worship God in their own way.<sup>80</sup> Thus, "Religious imagery, language, and concepts pervade public discourse, appear on currency, and are present in the pledge to the flag. Many Christians see America as somehow chosen by God to fulfil His Will. The Puritans frequently likened their new covenant with God to that of God with Abraham and sought to create "God's New Israel." This infusion of religious belief and national purpose persists today."<sup>81</sup> In many Christian Churches American flags hang behind the pulpit,

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Religious Right. NY: The Continuum Publishing Co., 1982, p106-113; J.D Hunter. Culture War: The Struggle to Define America. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1990, especially p67-106.

<sup>78</sup> C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p13-15.

<sup>79</sup> Bruce argues that one of the reasons why the Christian Right arose in the US and not in Britain is because Britain is far less religious than the United States. Secondly, American fundamentalism is more "prophetic" in nature; it sees the world as a mess of signs and pointers that announce the coming of Armageddon. S. Bruce. One Nation Under God?: Observations on the New Christian Right in America. Belfast: The Queen's University of Belfast, 1983, p37; J. Hitchcock, "The Old-Time Religion." *Commentary* 57 (1 1974), p49.

<sup>80</sup> J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980, especially p25-43; J.D Hunter. Culture War: The Struggle to Define America. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1990, p67-106.

Chandler writes that the roots of Fundamentalism are deep in American history as "...the theocratic idea of a Holy Commonwealth in America was part of the Puritan vision in 1620-1630 and has been periodically manifested in American civil religion ever since." R.C Chandler, "The Wicked Shall Not Bear Rule: The Fundamentalist Heritage of the New Christian Right", D.G Bromley and A. Shupe. (ed.) New Christian Politics. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984, p57.

<sup>81</sup> C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p16; J.D Hunter. Culture War: The Struggle to Define America. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1990; P. Lamy. Millennium Rage: Survivalists, White Supremacists, and the Doomsday Prophecy. London: Plenum Press, 1996.

beside the Christian flag, and children in Sunday School classes pledge allegiance to both. Supporters of this way of life believe that the president has a moral prophetic role as well as a political one. This perhaps explains, for example why Ronald Reagan often used religious language in his speeches although he rarely attended church; and why President Clinton has called for a return to religious values in public debate.<sup>82</sup>

The history of the Religious Right is very important in understanding what the movement desired because the type of political involvement of the New Christian Right coupled with its social agenda was unprecedented. Religious leaders such as Father Coughlin, Cardinal Spellman, Billy Graham, Carl McIntire, who can be seen as the forerunners of the New Christian Right had nothing like the power that Falwell or Robertson wielded in the 1980s.<sup>83</sup> The Old Religious Right took a varied interest in politics as its attention was mainly on foreign matters, whether American participation in the Second World War or the postwar communist situation and the need to eradicate it. Thus, until 1976, "...the chief preoccupation of the far right had been resistance against the growth of the welfare state and hardline opposition to the Soviet Union."<sup>84</sup> There may be a debate over how much influence and impact the Old Religious Right had, but its importance is that it kept religion (especially the activist type) alive in American society, which the New Christian Right was able to build upon.

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<sup>82</sup> W.K. Muir, Jr., The Bully Pulpit: The Presidential Leadership of Ronald Reagan. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1992; R. Evans and R. Novak. The Reagan Revolution. NY: E.P. Dutton, 1981, p204-225; C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p17; J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988, especially p212, and throughout; B. Clinton. Between Hope and History: Meeting America's Challenges For the 21st Century. NY: Random House, 1996.

<sup>83</sup> J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988. The authors argue that Falwell and the Moral Majority were instrumental in placing Protestant fundamentalism more in mainstream American society.

<sup>84</sup> A.J Reichley, "Religion and the Future of American Politics." *Political Science Quarterly* 101 (101 1986), p25; E. Jorstad. The New Christian Right, 1981-1988: Prospects for the Post-Reagan Decade. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1987, p11-19. Jorstad notes Graham's usage of patriotism and anti-communism in his religious sermons which was what propelled him to national prominence; D.M Oldfield. The Right & The Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996, especially on McIntire and Haggis; J. Falwell, E. Dobson and E. Hindson. (ed.) The Fundamentalist Phenomenon: The Resurgence of Conservative Christianity. NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981.

At the core of the New Christian Right are the evangelicals who are linked to "...white denominations such as the Southern Baptists and the Assemblies of God."<sup>85</sup> which is why evangelicalism is in many respects an umbrella term.<sup>86</sup> Evangelicals believe in the inerrancy of the Holy Scripture; they accept a creationist rather than an evolutionary explanation for the origins of the universe, earth and mankind; they put their faith in Christ's crucifixion, atonement, and resurrection for salvation; and they believe that they must spread the word of Christ (the Great Commission).<sup>87</sup>

From conservative evangelicalism two separate groups developed as a response to certain social and theological questions, and it was members of these Churches who came to form the major nucleus of the New Christian Right: the fundamentalists (with Jerry Falwell) and the Pentecostal/Charismatics (with Pat Robertson).<sup>88</sup> These two are highly diverse and complex groups as they encompass so many different ideas and views<sup>89</sup> but due to their prominence in the New Christian Right it is important to examine their development and theology in more depth as it helps to understand their position in politics.

The evangelical fundamentalists were the first to emerge due to their desire to defend Protestantism from theological modernism in the early part of the twentieth century. The term "Fundamentalism" is derived from a twelve-volume paperback entitled The Fundamentals published from 1910 through 1915. The compilation is an anthology of writing of conservative American and British scholars and popular writers, edited by Bible teachers and evangelists. It was

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<sup>85</sup> D.M Oldfield. The Right & The Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996, p14; C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p25.

<sup>86</sup> Hadden and Shupe write that in the early twentieth century, almost all Protestants in the US regarded themselves as evangelicals in their Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988, p79-80.

<sup>87</sup> J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988.

<sup>88</sup> C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p4 and throughout; J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988.

<sup>89</sup> J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988, p79-81.



financed by Southern California oil millionaires Lyman and Milton Stewart. Thus, "Fundamentalism came to flower in the 1920s as a dramatically politicized movement directed against the Social Gospel, Bolshevism, and especially Darwinism. But its roots are deep in American history."<sup>90</sup>

The fundamentalists have largely been dormant in political terms for many decades (they were last in action during the Progressive Era) as they have chosen to exist on the periphery of American mainstream culture. This was primarily due to the 1925 Scopes trial which embarrassed the movement by highlighting its anti-intellectualism.<sup>91</sup> The Scopes debacle was eventually followed by the growing liberalisation of religion in the 1950s, and Eisenhower's replacement by a Roman Catholic, but fundamentalism refused to die. Its adherents instead retreated from the public stage and consolidated themselves. Bible schools and fundamentalist radio and television shows kept the faithful on the straight and narrow, waiting for the proper time to re-emerge.<sup>92</sup> By the early 1970s fundamentalist America had its own radio and television networks, books, universities, schools and so forth.<sup>93</sup>

Fundamentalism is composed of three main doctrines that help one understand why its adherents had chosen to participate in American politics. At the core of the movement is the belief in millennialism. Fundamentalists following an interpretation of obscure parts of the books of Daniel and Revelations believe

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<sup>90</sup> R.C Chandler, "The Wicked Shall Not Bear Rule: The Fundamentalist Heritage of the New Christian Right", D.G Bromley and A. Shupe. (ed.) New Christian Politics. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984, p40-43 (quotation p40). C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p25-28.

<sup>91</sup> J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988; D.M Oldfield. The Right & The Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996; C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996; J. Falwell, E. Dobson, and E. Hindson, (ed.). The Fundamentalist Phenomenon: The Resurgence of Conservative Christianity. NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981;

<sup>92</sup> S. Bruce. One Nation Under God?: Observations on the New Christian Right in America. Belfast: The Queen's University of Belfast, 1983, p4; C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996.

<sup>93</sup> J. Falwell, E. Dobson and E. Hindson. (ed.). The Fundamentalist Phenomenon: The Resurgence of Conservative Christianity. NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981. D'Souza describes the power and role that Falwell plays within his congregation in "Jerry Falwell's Renaissance: the Chairman of the Moral Majority is Redefining Both Politics and Fundamentalism." *Policy Review* (27 Winter 1984). Hadden and Shupe have argued that the Liberty University is designed to promote the fundamentalist cause, which again emphasises the notion of a separate

that at some point the Jews will return to Israel which would lead to the Beast and the Antichrist unleashing the upheavals of the “great tribulation” in which the Jews will once again suffer persecution. The unworthy Christians would endure an unsavoury time of tribulation under the rule of the Antichrist. Christ with an army of saints would then defeat the combined forces of the Beast and the Antichrist and install the millennial - a thousand year - reign of peace and justice on earth. Only the true Christians will be saved from the tribulation. They will not suffer as they will be pulled from the earth in the “second rapture” and will meet Christ in the air. Christ would then return and would lead the faithful in a successful battle against the Antichrist. As the Second Coming succeeds the tribulation, fundamentalists hope for its onset.<sup>94</sup>

The second main tenet of fundamentalism deals with the doctrine of dispensationalism, which is the belief that God has dealt with humans under different covenants in different eras. Most fundamentalists believe that there were seven dispensations, and the world was at its sixth, because the seventh was the Kingdom of Heaven. The importance of dispensationalism is that it serves to heighten expectations that the Rapture or Second Coming would take place very soon. It is also an area of contention between the fundamentalists and the Pentecostals as the latter believe that the “age of the Spirit” began in the early 1900s and marked a time when Christians should expect to receive spiritual gifts.<sup>95</sup>

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evangelical fundamentalist society. J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988.

<sup>94</sup> R.C Chandler, “The Wicked Shall Not Bear Rule: The Fundamentalist Heritage of the New Christian Right”, D.G Bromley and A. Shupe. (ed.) New Christian Politics. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984, p43-44; J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988; S. Bruce. One Nation Under God?: Observations on the New Christian Right in America. Belfast: The Queen's University of Belfast, 1983; C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996; E. Dobson and E. Hindson, “Apocalypse Now? What Fundamentalists Believe About the End of the World.” *Policy Review* (38 Fall 1986), p16-22; G. Halsell. Prophecy and Politics: Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War. Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1986.

<sup>95</sup> C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p27, p29. Although accounts vary many dispensationalists believe that the first covenant was in the Garden of Eden; the second, was mankind on its own, and that ended with the flood of Noah; the third, was chastened humanity and that ended with the Tower of Babel; the fourth, was God's promise to Abraham, which the captivity in Egypt ended; the fifth, was the covenant with Moses; the sixth was the period following Jesus; the seventh will be the millennium. p157. See also E. Dobson and E. Hindson, “Apocalypse Now? What Fundamentalists Believe About the End of the World.” *Policy Review* (38 Fall 1986), p16-22;

The third important feature of fundamentalism is the belief of its adherents in the inerrancy of the Bible. Many fundamentalists subscribe to the notion that every word of the Bible is true, and that the best way to know God's will is through the studying of the Bible. The most contentious issue that emerged as a result of this strict adherence to the Bible is the debate about creationism and evolution. Fundamentalists do not accept evolution to be true as they believe that the world was created on October 25, 4000 BC, a date established in 1654 by Bishop Usher.<sup>96</sup> In several instances beginning with the Scopes trial in 1925, fundamentalists had taken their case to court to preserve their belief in creationism.<sup>97</sup> Following their commitment to a literal interpretation of the Bible and belief in Biblical inerrancy, fundamentalists look to current events for signs of the beginning of the apocalypse. The Bolshevik Revolution confirmed for many fundamentalists the earlier prophecy that the Beast would come from Russia, while the creation of the state of Israel, fits with the prophecy that the Jews would return to the Holy Land. The tribulation will begin with a Russian attack on the City on the Hill, Jerusalem. For the old fundamentalists (of the 1920s) the end was a giant battle for Armageddon, while for the new fundamentalists, it is a nuclear war.<sup>98</sup>

The importance of these beliefs is that the fundamentalists have largely remained very true to their doctrines, especially concerning the literal interpretation of the Bible which has caused secularists to view them as extremists. However, it is this devotion that made fundamentalism such a potent

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G. Halsell. Prophecy and Politics: Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War. Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1986.

<sup>96</sup> C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p27; J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988.

<sup>97</sup> J.D Hunter. Culture War: The Struggle to Define America. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1990, p137-139, and throughout.

<sup>98</sup> R.C Chandler, "The Wicked Shall Not Bear Rule: The Fundamentalist Heritage of the New Christian Right", D.G Bromley and A. Shupe. (ed.) New Christian Politics. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984, p44. C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p33; W.H Capps. The New Religious Right: Piety, Patriotism & Politics. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994, p191-193; G. Halsell. Prophecy and Politics: Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War. Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1986; P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991.

force in the 1980s, as to them their activism was based on the notion that they were working to save American society and therefore the world because of the importance of the United States to the survival of the world. Politicians had to take the New Christian Right more seriously because of the resources that the movement had at its disposal coupled with an incredible commitment of its members to the 'cause.'

The other important body in the Protestant evangelical movement which provided the New Christian Right with much of its support (especially through Pat Robertson and the Christian Broadcasting Network - CBN) were the Pentecostals. Pentecostalism like fundamentalism and neoevangelicalism<sup>99</sup> emphasises the authority of the Bible and the need to be "born again," but what distinguishes Pentecostals are their beliefs concerning the Holy Spirit. The "gift" of the Holy Spirit is, for Pentecostalism, an experience that is a step beyond that of being "born again." Glossolalia (speaking in tongues) and faith healing are the most common forms of "gift." Fundamentalists, on the other hand, views these practices as "...misguided enthusiasm or, worse, evidence of demonic possession."

Out of Pentecostalism, the Charismatic movement emerged in the 1960s. The Charismatics place greater emphasis on the gifts of the Holy Spirit which is why the term "charismatic" is often used to refer to both Pentecostals and Charismatics. Members of this movement have brought the Pentecostal message to a new and more diverse audience, including significant numbers of Catholics. The Pentecostals and Charismatics have been especially prominent on America's airwaves as many of the leading televangelists have been from these groups, from pioneers of the medium such as Oral Roberts and Rex Humbard to a

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<sup>99</sup> Neoevangelicals differ from fundamentalists in their approach to society, as they hope to participate in and influence the society in which they live, which is why they are less likely to quarrel over narrow points of theological difference. D.M Oldfield. The Right & The Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996, p22-3.

younger generation that included Jimmy Swaggart, Jim and Tammy Bakker, and Pat Robertson.<sup>100</sup>

The New Christian Right provided a prime example of the political realignment that had taken place with the election of Ronald Reagan as fundamentalists traditionally were members of the once solid New Deal constituencies, from the “poor” churches. The liberal Protestant churches, on the other hand, stressed a quasi-pacifist liberalism in foreign affairs, a concern for minority rights, gender equality, and “equity” for the poor as domestic priorities. They therefore drew their support mainly from those who had traditionally been Republicans, especially among Presbyterians and Episcopalians.<sup>101</sup>

An important reason as to why the 1980s New Christian Right was successful was that initially unlike its predecessor the ‘Old Religious Right’ (1920-60s) there were less arguments among its ranks (as the development of the Moral Majority highlights). The Old Christian Right also suffered from the lack of two technological innovations that were essential to the New Christian Right in its rise: television<sup>102</sup> and direct mailing by computers.<sup>103</sup> The Old Christian Right used extensive radio broadcasting, personal appearances, and hand-processed mailings.

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<sup>100</sup> D.M Oldfield. The Right & The Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996, p23-4; J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988.

<sup>101</sup> A.D Hertzke. Representing God in Washington: The Role of Religious Lobbies in the American Polity. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988, p106; D.M Oldfield. The Right & The Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996.

<sup>102</sup> On the role of television see for example J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988; S. Bruce. The Rise & Fall of the New Christian Right: Conservative Protestant Politics in America, 1978-1988. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

<sup>103</sup> The three things that could be done with direct mailing are: inform the recipient, solicit funds, request action. The average item of direct mail would do all three. A letter for example from the Pro-Family Forum wanting help against ‘the big banks’ who were aiding communists. Enclosed would be three postcards addressed to one’s senator and congressmen expressing ones feelings on the issue. All that one needs to do is tear the cards off, sign them and post them to ones representatives. If one is willing to do this than one is pretty much willing to send some money so that the work that you support could be continued. S. Bruce. One Nation Under God?: Observations on the New Christian Right in America. Belfast: The Queen’s University of Belfast, 1983, p19.

Yet, these failed to carry the message into the market where, later the New Right would be able to attract much more support.<sup>104</sup>

The Christian Right had many specific grievances against contemporary mainstream America which the term “secular humanism” encompassed. The concept seemed to have first appeared in a legal context in the 1961 Supreme Court case of *Torcaso vs. Watkins*<sup>105</sup> though it must be said that secular humanism came to mean much more for members of the New Christian Right than the interpretation provided by the Supreme Court.

Secular humanism should be regarded, like evangelicalism, as an umbrella term. To the New Christian Righters it comprised of a toleration of pornography, abortion, homosexuality, the de-legitimation of the traditional family as normative or even ideal, while allowing socialism and welfarism to creep in. It describes the moral degeneracy characterised by godlessness, moral relativism, and permissiveness that came to exist in secular American society. The secular humanist approach to society, for the Christian Right, also supports a lack of interest in a strong national defence, and an attack on religion.<sup>106</sup> In the words of Jerry Falwell: “Humanism is man’s attempt to create a heaven on earth, exempting God and His Laws. Humanists propose that man is in charge of his own destiny. Humanism exalts man’s reason and intelligence. It advocates situation ethics, freedom from any restraint, and defines sin as man’s maladjustment to man. It even advocates the right to commit suicide and recognizes evolution as a source of man’s existence. Humanism promotes the socialization of all humanity into a world commune.”<sup>107</sup> In other words, it is the

<sup>104</sup> E. Jorstad. The Politics of Moralism: The New Christian Right in American Life. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1981, p16.

<sup>105</sup> J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God’s Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988, p65. Torcaso was appointed to the office of notary public by the governor of Maryland but refused to affirm an article in the state’s constitution that required acceptance in the belief of the existence of God. Torcaso won the case.

<sup>106</sup> D. Heinz “The Struggle to Defend America”, R.C Liebman and R.W Wuthnow. (ed.) The New Christian Right: Mobilization & Legitimation. NY: Aldine, 1983, p134; J. Falwell, E. Dobson and E. Hindson. (ed.) The Fundamentalist Phenomenon: The Resurgence of Conservative Christianity. NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981. R.C Chandler, “The Wicked Shall Not Bear Rule: The Fundamentalist Heritage of the New Christian Right”, D.G Bromley and A. Shupe. (ed.) New Christian Politics. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984.

<sup>107</sup> J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980, p56.

secular humanists who are responsible for the chaos within America which is why it is essential that the younger generations be saved from their clutches.<sup>108</sup>

Secular humanism is composed of another feature that is described as 'naturalism' which "...looks on man as a kind of biological machine. To those who believe this philosophy of life, sexual immorality is just another bodily function, as is eating or drinking. The birth of a child is no different than the birth of an animal. Man lives a sort of meaningless existence in life, and it really doesn't matter what significance he thinks he has or what goals he is headed for. The only thing that really is important for man is to try to make himself happy in the immediate now."<sup>109</sup> Man is interested in keeping himself happy in the here and now. This is why basic values like morality, individualism, respect of one's national heritage and the benefits of a free-enterprise system are essentially censored. "From kindergarten right through the total school system, it almost seems as if classroom textbooks are designed to negate what philosophies previously had been taught. Under the guise of sex education or value clarification, many textbooks are actually perverting the minds of literally millions of students."<sup>110</sup>

The fixation with "secular humanism" has led to great interest in "social traditionalism" which sought to deal with the breakdown of the family, community, religion and the traditional morality that had existed in American life. Abortion, school busing, affirmative action, the Equal Rights Amendment, sexual freedom, drugs, refusal to allow prayer in schools, the secular curriculum in public schools, were all contributing examples of the moral decay and the social breakdown faced by contemporary America. The Religious Right held the liberal federal government responsible for undermining the family, religion and morality. "Society is pictured as a web of shared values and integrating institutions that binds individuals together and restrain their otherwise selfish, destructive drives.

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<sup>108</sup> R.B Flowers. Religion In Strange Times: The 1960s & 1970s. USA: Mercer University Press, 1984, p169.

<sup>109</sup> J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Banton Books, 1980, p56.

<sup>110</sup> J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Banton Books, 1980, p179.

It appears, in other words, to be more than a mere collection of rationally self-interested individuals.”<sup>111</sup>

At the core of the secular humanist campaign two branches of government existed, and it was they who were the great promoters of humanism: the Supreme Court and the bureaucracy. The New Christian Right could not tolerate such judicial rulings as *Torcaso*, *Engel*, *Schempp*, *Griswold*, *Roe*, to name but a few, which it felt were creating legislation that was viewed contrary, if not hostile to the American Constitution and the American way of life. These rulings were paving the way, according to members of the Christian Right, for the radical liberalisation of American society upon which secular humanism stood. The bureaucracy was also instrumental in assisting in the assault on moral American except that it used government agencies in its attack. A prime example of the bureaucracy assaulting traditional American morality was seen in the case of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and the Bob Jones University (BJU) which highlighted the expansion in the authority of the ‘secular humanist’ federal government, as the IRS became an agent of government policy enforcement.<sup>112</sup>

The New Christian Right was not a homogeneous group as different leaders and different religious denominations had made it up. In 1979, these men came together and created the Moral Majority which was the product of several concerned pastors who urged the Rev. Jerry Falwell, a fundamentalist, to put together a political organisation that could provide a vehicle to address the issues that they were worried about. The Moral Majority was inherently a fundamentalist organisation although during the 1980s it worked closely with the Eagle Forum, and other movements and people who were not Protestant fundamentalist in their religious orientation<sup>113</sup> in order to attain their goal of a

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<sup>111</sup> J.L. Himmelstein, “The New Right”, R.C. Liebman and R.W. Wuthnow. (ed.) The New Christian Right: Mobilization & Legitimation. NY: Aldine, 1983, p17.

<sup>112</sup> S. Bruce. One Nation Under God?: Observations on the New Christian Right in America. Belfast: The Queen’s University of Belfast, 1983, p33.

<sup>113</sup> Paul Weyrich is Eastern Rite Catholic; Phyllis Schlafly of the Eagle Forum and STOP ERA and Richard Viguerie are conservative Catholics. Howard Phillips converted from Judaism to Christianity. Jerry Falwell, Bob Billings, and Tim La Haye are fundamentalists. D.M. Oldfield. The Right & The Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996, p100; S. Bruce. The Rise & Fall of the New Christian



moral America. Thus by the mid 1980s, the Moral Majority was composed of millions of Americans who were anxious about the moral decay in America and the Majority became the pole-carrier of the New Christian Right flag<sup>114</sup> and its size and influence could not be easily dismissed. In the words of its leader: "Moral Majority is a political organization and is not based on theological considerations. We are Americans who share similar moral convictions. We are opposed to abortion, pornography, the drug epidemic, the breakdown of the traditional family, the establishment of homosexuality as an accepted alternate life-style, and other moral cancers that are causing our society to rot from within. Moral Majority strongly supports a pluralistic America."<sup>115</sup>

The main interest of the Christian Right lay in domestic policy but the few comments that they made regarding foreign policy further help to understand their ideology and interest in the United Nations. The Christian Right believes that America has a mission which is the promotion of its ideology across the seas (in many ways their approach resonates of nineteenth-century missionary rhetoric seen especially in China). The US must defend life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and show its commitment to freedom beyond its immediate borders because people want freedom and "...America has an ethical responsibility to help these people win their freedom."<sup>116</sup> The fierce anti-communist policy of the evangelical members of the Christian Right was based on the Bible prediction that the ultimate battle between the forces of Christ and the Anti-Christ would be fought in Israel, with the latter's forces coming from the land which the Soviet Union occupied. The Soviet Union was held by the New Christian Right to have a global strategy of expansion and subversion. For this the communists use guerrilla

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Right: Conservative Protestant Politics in America, 1978-1988. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, p86.

<sup>114</sup> S. Bruce. The Rise & Fall of the New Christian Right: Conservative Protestant Politics in America, 1978-1988. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, p82-83.

<sup>115</sup> J. Falwell, E. Dobson and E. Hindson. (ed.). The Fundamentalist Phenomenon: The Resurgence of Conservative Christianity. NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981, p189; P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991. Robertson's provides a more recent attack on the moral decline of the US and the inappropriate direction that the country is on.

<sup>116</sup> P. Robertson, "Dictatorship and Single Standards: Restoring Faith in American Foreign Policy." *The Policy Review* (39 Winter 1987), p2; J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980.

warfare, terrorism, disinformation, subversion, and any other method at their disposal to get their agenda.<sup>117</sup> This was why America had to battle against the Soviet Union as if the Soviets were to win all freedom and democracy would disappear, because the Soviets are evil and very dangerous.<sup>118</sup> Their concern toward the United Nations was that it had been taken over by anti-American forces and they were using the organisation (which depended on substantial US contributions - taxpayers' money) to promote an agenda that was inimical to the United States interests.<sup>119</sup>

The Christian Right of the 1980s, therefore was primarily interested in domestic policy as it sought a return to a more traditional America. Its vision of America was more in-line with the early years of the Republic if not before.<sup>120</sup> The aim of the movement was and still is to reverse the 'achievements' of 1960s and 1970s revolutions, especially the sexual and gender ones. To their mind the separation of State and Church had been taken to a level in which religion no longer partakes in the running of the country, something which was never the intention of the Founding Fathers. America had been weakened by these 'equality reforms' which had made the US vulnerable to a communist takeover, especially at a time when the Soviet Union had spent an inordinately large amount of money and efforts shoring up its military while America's had neglected its under the guise of "détente" and "mutual assured destruction."<sup>121</sup> With Reagan at the helm and a strong, conservative, morally responsible agenda the Christian Right

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<sup>117</sup> P. Robertson, "Dictatorship and Single Standards: Restoring Faith in American Foreign Policy." *The Policy Review* (39 Winter 1987), p2-9; J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Book, 1980; G. Halsell. Prophecy and Politics: Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War. Westport: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1986.

<sup>118</sup> A good example of this attitude can be seen in Nitze's writing who although not a member of the Christian Right was a member of the neoconservatives (Committee on the Present Danger), and the two did share some common views. Nitze wrote in 1976, that "...Americans think in terms of deterring nuclear war almost exclusively. The Soviet leaders think much more of what might happen in such a war." P.H Nitze, "Assuring Strategic Stability in an Era of Détente." *Foreign Affairs* (January 1976), p212; see also J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Book, 1980.

<sup>119</sup> P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991; W.J Jasper. Global Tyranny... Step by Step: The United Nations and the Emerging New World Order. Appleton: Western Islands, 1992.

<sup>120</sup> J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980. Falwell notes that the early settlers built churches before they even built their homes, and they lived according to God's laws.

<sup>121</sup> J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980.

believed that they could reverse the tide and strengthen the country especially in its battle with the forces of Satan.

### **THE NEOCONSERVATIVES – SECULAR ANTI-COMMUNISM**

The final group that formed the New Right were the neoconservatives or secular anti-communists. Neoconservatism, although rather elusive<sup>122</sup> was very important to American politics, as at least according to one commentator, its members "...contributed greatly toward the making the candidacy of Ronald Reagan and the kind of policies which the Republican Party advocated in 1980 much more acceptable than they would earlier have been, and ensured that the Reagan assault on the White House was not dismissed by the media in the way that Barry Goldwater's was in 1964."<sup>123</sup>

The neoconservative agenda was based on their belief that communism provided the greatest threat to the survival of America and the ideals that it espouses. The irony, however, was that many of the early neoconservatives had been sympathetic, if not allied, with the communist movement of the 1930s.<sup>124</sup> The neoconservatives were not solely engrossed with foreign policy as there were those within the movement such as Daniel Bell, Norman Glazer or Seymour Martin Lipset, who were very interested with social and domestic policy, and their impact as a result on neoconservative foreign policy thought had been limited.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>122</sup> This point is developed in greater depth further down but as Lipset had noted: "Neoconservatism, both as an ideological term and as a political grouping, is one of the most misunderstood concepts in the political lexicon. S.M Lipset, "Neoconservatism: Myth and Reality." *Society* 25 (5 1988).

<sup>123</sup> G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, p20. In her footnotes Peele notes that this point is made very forcefully by K.P Phillips, *Post-Conservative America*, (New York, 1979).

<sup>124</sup> G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984. J. Ehrman. The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995. Steinfels sees the neoconservatives and the movement as essentially a product of the 1960s. P. Steinfels. The Neoconservatives: The Men Who Are Changing America's Politics. NY: Simon & Schuster, 1979, p1-24; N. Ashford, "The Neo-conservatives." *Government and Opposition* 16 (3 1981), p353-362.

<sup>125</sup> Daniel Moynihan one of the leading neoconservatives began his career looking into social policy (he failed the foreign service exam in 1949). In 1963, he wrote with Nathan Glazer Beyond the Melting Point, and two years later he wrote a report on the condition of black families in the US "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action." J. Ehrman. The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press,

The roots of neoconservatism could be traced to the 1930s and the support that communism had. This legacy was very important as it carried several heavy repercussions for the development of neoconservatism. During the 1930s, with fascism developing in Europe, the intellectual left in the United States was dominated by Communists and their Progressivist allies who saw the Soviet Union as a great state, with tremendous potential.<sup>126</sup> The political debates of the 1930s led many intellectuals to question their communist beliefs and political loyalties, especially once Stalin and Hitler signed their non-aggression pact in 1939. The experience caused much disillusionment among the early neoconservatives which translated to an emphasis on realism and a rejection of sentimentality and emotion among the writing of neoconservatives. Their realism appeared far stronger than the normal preference on the right for solutions suggested by: "...common-sense practicality as opposed to those suggested by abstract theory. The toughness of the neo-conservative thus springs not from the paradoxical position of the intellectual in politics and his sensitivity to the charge of Utopianism, but from the historical memory of how easily the idealism of the intellectual can be exploited."<sup>127</sup>

The neoconservatives early association with communism made them well-versed in Marxism and philosophy which meant that they were knowledgeable about the ideology that they were attacking. In the words of one commentator: "Thus, the major figures of the contemporary neo-conservative movement emerged in an atmosphere where it was not merely desirable to have read very large amounts of Marx and his commentators, but where it was also natural to see discussions about the interpretation of his doctrines as part of the daily intellectual fare."<sup>128</sup> The movement emerged in full force in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a

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1995; N. Ashford, "The Neo-conservatives." *Government and Opposition* 16 (3 1981), p353-362.

<sup>126</sup> J. Ehrman. The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995.

<sup>127</sup> G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, quotation p27, p26.

<sup>128</sup> G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, p23. To counter the New Left critique the neoconservatives had to return to their philosophical studies. N. Ashford, "The Neo-conservatives." *Government and Opposition* 6 (3 1981), p355.

reaction to the success of the radicalisation of the Democratic Party and the role of the New Left which was seen with the rise Eugene McCarthy and George McGovern.

An important feature of the neoconservatives is their cultural and racial background. The movement was largely Jewish oriented with backgrounds in Eastern Europe, an area that the Soviet Union dominated after World War II, which perhaps explains their fixation with human rights, totalitarianism and democracy. That is, one constant accusation and criticism levelled against the Soviet Union during the 1970s and 1980s was its refusal to allow Soviet Jews to leave, and the imprisonment of many of their leaders. The issue of human rights was often used by the neoconservatives to point to the basic failure and horror of the Soviet system, while shoring up the American system. It is perhaps their intellectualism (freedom of thought) that made the neoconservatives very much aware of the curtailment of freedom in general.

Irving Kristol who is regarded as the father of neoconservatism<sup>129</sup> had argued that the term itself was developed by the liberal intellectual community - and especially the liberal-Left intellectual community who saw "neoconservatism" as representing such an awful prospect that it must be prevented. Kristol claimed that such supposed representatives of the new "movement" as Daniel Bell, Daniel P. Moynihan, Nathan Glazer, Norman Podhoretz, Aaron Wildavsky, Samuel Huntington, Roger Starr, Seymour Martin Lipset, and James Q. Wilson all shy away from the designation (some quite violently). Others, such as Robert Nisbet and Edward Banfield see themselves as "conservatives" without benefit of qualification. Kristol, however, had accepted the term and he further asserts that to his mind there is such a thing as neoconservatism, but it is misleading to see it as a "movement." This is because neoconservatism held no meetings, had no organisational form, no specific programmatic goals, and when two

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<sup>129</sup> The reason why Irving Kristol is seen as the father of neoconservatives is because of his "unabashed conservatism." In the early 1970s he openly supported Nixon, and by 1972 he became a Republican, switching party affiliation about a decade before other neoconservatives. J. Ehrman. The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995, p46.

neoconservatives met they were more likely to argue with one another than to confer or conspire.<sup>130</sup>

Neoconservatism, according to its father, has eight basic tenets which define it best: first, it is a current of thought emerging out of the academic-intellectual world and is provoked by disillusionment with contemporary liberalism. Its relation to the business community - the traditional source of American conservatism - is: "...loose and uneasy, though not necessarily unfriendly." Second, unlike the Southern Agrarians or the Transcendentalists of the nineteenth century, for example, neoconservatism is anti-Romantic in substance and temperament. It views political romanticism - and political utopianism, its twin "...of any kind as one of the plagues of our age." In other words neoconservatism, "...is a philosophical-political impulse rather than a literary-political impulse." Third, the philosophical roots of neoconservatism are to be found mainly in classical - premodern, preideological - political philosophy. The writing and teaching of Leo Strauss are of importance, though many neoconservatives find him too wary of modernity.<sup>131</sup> They are also admirers of Aristotle, respectful of Locke but distrustful of Rousseau. Fourth, the attitude of neoconservatives to bourgeois society and bourgeois ethos is one of detached attachment. They do not believe that liberal-democratic capitalism is the best of all imaginable worlds, it is simply considered to be the best under current circumstances. This modest enthusiasm distinguishes neoconservatism from the Old Right and the New Right - both of which are suspicious of it. Fifth, neoconservatism is inclined to the belief that a predominantly market economy is necessary if not sufficient precondition for a liberal society although there is some disagreement over how "predominant it should be." They see a market economy as favourable to economic growth. Sixth, neoconservatives believe in the importance of economic growth, not because they have an enthusiasm toward the material goods of this world, but because they see economic growth as

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<sup>130</sup> I. Kristol. Reflection of a Neoconservative: Looking Back, Looking Ahead. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1983, p74, p75.

<sup>131</sup> Ashford writes that adherents of Strauss were encouraged through their notion of social complexity not to attribute the failures of the social policies to mismanagement or misconceived objectives but to a false view of the mutability of man and society and the intractability of many

indispensable for social and political stability.<sup>132</sup> "It is the prospect of economic growth that has made it possible to think - against the grain of premodern political thought - of democracy as a viable and enduring sociopolitical system." Seventh, neoconservatives, although respecting the market as an economic mechanism, are not libertarian on the Friedman or von Hayek model.<sup>133</sup> A conservative welfare state is perfectly acceptable to neoconservatives, so is a state that takes a degree of responsibility for helping shape the preferences that people exercise in a free market. "The current version of liberalism, which prescribes massive government intervention in the marketplace but an absolute laissez-faire attitude toward manners and morals, strikes, neoconservatives as representing a bizarre inversion of priorities."<sup>134</sup> Finally, the neoconservatives regard the family and religion as "indispensable pillars of a decent society." They support and approve of all intermediate institutions of liberal society that reconcile the need of the community with the desire for liberty.<sup>135</sup>

When seeking to understand neoconservatism it is perhaps worth while to pause and look at the term itself which is very interesting as it implies that its adherents have purported to create a new brand of conservatism which is rather confusing as true conservatives are not very supportive of 'newism.'<sup>136</sup> The neoconservatives were essentially intellectuals<sup>137</sup> and their views in 1970s were

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social problems. N. Ashford, "The Neo-conservatives." *Government and Opposition* 16 (3 1981), p355.

<sup>132</sup> G. Gilder, "Moral Sources of Capitalism", M. Gerson. (ed.) The Essential Neoconservative Reader. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1996.

<sup>133</sup> See also N. Ashford, "The Neo-conservatives." *Government and Opposition* 16 (3 1981), p356.

<sup>134</sup> See also S.M Lipset, "Neoconservatism: Myth and Reality." *Society* 25 (5 1988); I. Kristol, "A Conservative Welfare State", M. Gerson. (ed.) The Essential Neoconservative Reader. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1996.

<sup>135</sup> The eight tenets of neoconservatism (as are all of the quotations) are taken from I. Kristol. Reflection of a Neoconservative: Looking Back, Looking Ahead. NY: Basic Books, Publishers, 1983, p73-77. On the importance of religion and Judaism to the neoconservatives see G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, p25.

<sup>136</sup> K.P Phillips. Post-Conservative America: People, Politics & Ideology in a Time of Crisis. NY: Vintage Books, 1983, especially p5.

<sup>137</sup> Neoconservatism was regarded as the "party of the intellectuals" who had a great influence on the formulation of policy. The neoconservatives had good reputations as they spoke from the elite universities - Harvard, Berkeley, MIT, Stanford, Chicago. Steinfels also notes for example that Nixon upon taking office, recommended to his cabinet a *The Public Interest* article and one could be sure that Moynihan had a hand in it. Steinfels also notes many of the connections that

expressed mainly in *Commentary*, *The Public Interest*, and *The National Review*. By 1976, the label of “new conservative” had been replaced by “neoconservative,” a term that Michael Harrington used to describe right-wing socialists, but which by the mid-1970s came to mean “...one who had been liberal but had since moved to the right.”<sup>138</sup> The aim of Harrington, a leader of the Democratic Socialists, was to discredit the right wing of the dissolved party, Social Democrats USA, their intellectual fellow-travellers. Harrington hoped that the term would show the distinction between Left social democrats such as himself and Irving Howe as non-radicals, and right wing hawkish social democrats.<sup>139</sup>

The neoconservative movement itself emerged due to the changes in the Democratic Party<sup>140</sup> as some democratic conservatives came to feel that their views were no longer adequately represented by the party following the tumultuous ‘60s.<sup>141</sup> Moynihan has claimed that by the mid 1960s liberalism had developed a new orthodoxy, which had been assaulted by the left and thus transformed. He writes that: “The problem for liberals was of an awful simplicity. The war was liberalism’s war; ravaged Detroit was, as it were liberalism’s city. A kind of intellectual panic spread through the universities and the liberal press. It became a matter of great urgency to demonstrate somehow that our failures were not theirs, but failures of a false liberalism and pretended liberals. The President, of course, was the primary and indeed sacrificial victim.”<sup>142</sup>

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neoconservatives have to those in power. P. Steinfels. The Neoconservatives: The Men Who Are Changing America’s Politics. NY: Simon & Schuster, 1979, p1-24. The title of the book itself is interesting as it claims that the neoconservatives were the men who were changing America’s politics which is a pretty bold statement.

<sup>138</sup> J. Ehrman. The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995, p45

<sup>139</sup> S.M Lipset, “Neoconservatism: Myth and Reality.” *Society* 25 (5 1988); M. Gerson. (ed.) The Essential Neoconservative Reader. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1996, especially the “Introduction.”

<sup>140</sup> This perhaps explains why two strands of neoconservatism emerged, one composed of Democrats, the other of Republicans. S.M Lipset, “Neoconservatism: Myth and Reality.” *Society* 25 (5 1988).

<sup>141</sup> J. Ehrman. The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995; G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

<sup>142</sup> D.P Moynihan. A Dangerous Place. London: Secker & Warburg, 1979, p5, p6 (quotation from p6).



It is possible to distinguish three main themes which the neoconservatives promoted: first, they supported the McCarthyite assumption that the struggle between the West and Communism was one between unalloyed good and unalloyed evil. Second, that communism is established and maintained through the use of force (and therefore by implication the system is defunct); and finally, that post-war liberalism had prevented America - with its superior resources - from defeating communism. The neoconservatives advocated an increase in military spending, the abandonment of détente in favour of political and ideological mobilisation that would aid in rolling-back communism (total mobilisation against communism).<sup>143</sup> This attitude was based on the belief that the United States had been weakened by détente which is why America must work very hard to reverse the situation. This is because détente "...was a form of disguised retreat, carried forward in a rapture of exalted dissimulation by persons whose assumption was that the American people would not face reality." That is, for the Soviets, détente meant negotiations on arms limitations, trade, aid and technology transfer. It is coupled with political warfare against the West, not excluding local wars outside the NATO area.<sup>144</sup> Thus, the neoconservative attitude toward international relations was that the 'free world' was engaged in a war against the totalitarian Soviet bloc which the West had to win if it is to preserve its freedom and all that it holds sacred to it. This view was summarised rather aptly by Senator Moynihan who argued that the "...standards of the democratic West, have been under more or less unremitting assault from totalitarianism. There have been peaks and valleys, slow times and crisis times. The assault has come sometimes

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Peele has written that the neoconservatives "...trenchant reassessments both of the general goals of American federal policy and of specific themes in relation to such problems as crime and welfare did much to remould the agenda of American politics. While many of these neo-conservatives would claim that they were not and perhaps never could be Republicans, they inevitably contributed to the success of the Republican Party." G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, p5.

<sup>143</sup> J.L. Himmelstein, "The New Right", R.C. Liebman and R.W. Wuthnow. (ed.) The New Christian Right: Mobilization & Legitimation. NY: Aldine, 1983, p17.

<sup>144</sup> D.P. Moynihan. A Dangerous Place. London: Secker & Warburg, 1979, p279. [Italics in the text]; W. Laqueur, "Containment for the '80s." *Commentary* 70 (4 1980), p33-42.

from the totalitarian right; but in the first instance, and most often, and now exclusively, it has come from the totalitarian left.”<sup>145</sup>

The New Right and especially the neoconservatives saw communism as a monolithic entity seeking to subvert freedom and capitalism. Their views of the Soviet Union and many other communist countries were based on a Solzhenitsynite-type imagery.<sup>146</sup> To the neoconservatives, in the Soviet Union and the countries under its sphere of influence, individual freedom and the right to practice one’s religion were non-existent. One lives in an Orwellian society where Big Brother watches one’s every moves. It is the ultimate police-state. As a result of the planned economy poverty is rife, no luxury goods are available and one is forced into virtual slavery for a leviathan state. The neoconservatives maintained that it is futile to attempt to force the Soviets to pursue ‘a just’ foreign policy because such a thing is not within Soviet vocabulary because the Soviet Union is interested in gains. This could be seen as early as the post-Second World War negotiations when the Soviets captured territory first and negotiated later (although the negotiations usually amounted to little because the Soviets would not budge and the Americans were not prepared to initiate another war). History, the neoconservatives claimed, has shown that the Soviet Union was untrustworthy and must be watched very carefully.<sup>147</sup>

The secular anti-communists held that American interests should be pursued vigorously overseas because communism is a doctrine that even when it appears to be in retreat is seeking to expand. It is a highly intelligent force which

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<sup>145</sup> D.P Moynihan, “A New American Foreign Policy.” *The New Republic* February 9, 1980, p19; *A Dangerous Place*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1979; C. Layne, “The Real Conservative Agenda.” *Foreign Policy* (61 1985-1986), p73-93. This view is seen throughout neoconservatives writings, especially in Kirkpatrick’s and Kristol’s.

<sup>146</sup> Carl Gershman who served with Kirkpatrick at the US Mission to the UN, wrote that the lesson of the ‘new Indochina’ (after the American withdrawal) “...is that Communism is a system based on terror and total power.” C. Gershman, “After the Dominoes Fell.” *Commentary* 65 (5 1978), p54.

<sup>147</sup> Nitze argued in 1976 that under SALT the Soviet Union “...will continue to pursue a nuclear superiority that is not merely quantitative but designed to produce a theoretically war winning capability.” P.H Nitze, “Assuring Strategic Stability in an Era of Détente.” *Foreign Affairs* (January 1976), p207.

manipulates its environment.<sup>148</sup> Thus, the neoconservatives, although often attacking or criticising Soviet intervention do not mind intervention if it is done to secure either strategically or economically the United States (in many ways they encourage it). Their approach to foreign policy was two-fold: first they believed that by fighting communism abroad they could prevent it from coming to America's shores or even hemisphere. Second, America, they claimed, has an obligation to defend freedom everywhere because the United States is the bastion of individual freedom and enlightenment. The neoconservatives pointed to the reconstruction of postwar Germany, Japan, and South Korea, as examples where the American model had been applied at different levels and had proven a success. Freedom and economic prosperity is rife in these countries, while where the Soviet Union governed poverty, hardship and terror reign. At the core of the neoconservative argument which is a defence of Americanism is that their values and therefore the American system is better than any other and it has been the basis of other systems and societies.<sup>149</sup>

It was these three groups that composed the backbone of the Reagan camp and who enabled him to defeat Jimmy Carter in 1980. As one commentator noted: "The New Right and the Christian Right had played highly visible roles in that success. McAteer's Religious Roundtable rallied ministers around the country to Reagan's cause. The Roundtable and Moral Majority conducted registration drives. Christian Voice - an organization headed by the Reverend Robert Grant and, in its early years, publicized by Pat Robertson - widely distributed its moral "report cards" rating the voting records of members of Congress."<sup>150</sup> The development of the political movement that came to be known by 1980 as the 'New Right' officially emerged in the mid 1970s. However, the

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<sup>148</sup> P.H Nitze, "Living With the Soviets." *Foreign Affairs* 63 (2 1984-85), p360-374; P.H Nitze, "Assuring Strategic Stability in an Era of Détente." *Foreign Affairs* (2 1976), p207-232; W. Laqueur, "Containment for the '80s." *Commentary* 70 (4 1980), p33-42.

<sup>149</sup> N. Glazer, "American Values & Foreign Policy." *Commentary* 62 (1 1976), p32-37;

<sup>150</sup> D.M Oldfield. The Right & The Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996, p117; J. Ehrman. The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995; G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

period between Goldwater's defeat and Reagan's victory very important as it was a time when "...American conservatism came of age, passing from an unsteady dissenting faith to a dominant political creed. In a single generation the American conservative movement advanced from critic of public policy to executive of public policy."<sup>151</sup>

The movement was a reaction against the liberalism of the postwar world, which New Righters felt had corrupted America and made it weak therefore enabling the Soviet Union and communism to advance throughout the world. Although each group with the New Right had its own agenda it did not prevent the different members from uniting to achieve their desired goal: an American restoration. For example, the New Christian Right, had great interests in taxation as that would have an impact on the federal government and especially the IRS which brought them into an alliance with the anti-liberals who also sought a reduction in taxation. Another example is the alliance between traditional Republicans and the desire of the neoconservatives for a strong defence program.<sup>152</sup> Thus, the boundaries between the groups were not very strong, but it does correspond to the growth of the New Right and the rise of Ronald Reagan and his agenda.<sup>153</sup>

The New Right built its foundation on traditional conservative values which is why men like William Buckley Jr., had played such an significant role in its development. Richard Viguerie has claimed that the two men most responsible: "...for the strength and vitality of conservatism in America today..." are William F. Buckley and Barry Goldwater. Buckley had been the editor of *National Review* "...the conservative intellectual journal for 25 years." He had also hosted a television. program *Firing Line* "...the only regular conservative show on the nation's most important mass medium."<sup>154</sup> and through "...his wit, intelligence, and willingness to stand up for conservative principles, Bill Buckley, almost

<sup>151</sup> C.R Kesler, "Introduction", W.F Buckley, Jr., and C.R Kesler. (ed.) Keeping the Tablets: Modern American Conservative Thought. NY: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988, p3, 3-18.

<sup>152</sup> "Who's Who on the Right." *Newsweek* February 2, 1981, p39.

<sup>153</sup> C.J Bailey. The Republican Party in the US Senate 1974-1984: Party Change & Institutional Development. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, p53-81.

<sup>154</sup> R.A Viguerie. The New Right: We're Ready to Lead. Falls Church: The Viguerie Co., 1981, p41.

single-handedly, made the word “conservative” respectable and accepted.”<sup>155</sup> However, both William F. Buckley and Barry Goldwater played a very limited role in the New Right of the 1980s due to their adherence to traditional conservatism but their contributions to the development of the New Right must be acknowledged.

The question about the role of the New Right in American politics is a complex one due to the ambiguity that surrounds the New Right and the role that it played in Reagan’s election and administration.<sup>156</sup> Yet, certain themes are clear as the New Right carried an economic, social and foreign agenda to which it and the administration tried to stay true to. The New Right was also a movement that felt more at ease in opposition than in power.<sup>157</sup> This is because of its populist attitude which inflamed opinions which is easier to do when one is out of government. The only real survivors of the New Right of the 1980s have been the Christian Right who are represented by various Christian conservative groups.<sup>158</sup> The two other groups from the 1980s New Right have either disappeared as in the case of the secular anti-communists,<sup>159</sup> while the anti-liberals have been absorbed by the Republican Party whose ideology especially following the 1994 Congressional election seem to dominate the GOP platform.<sup>160</sup> All in all, one thing is certain, and that is, that the New Right made the 1980s extremely fascinating for anyone wishing to examine the Reagan years and its impact on the development of American society heading towards a new millennium.

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<sup>155</sup> R.A Viguerie. The New Right: We’re Ready to Lead. Falls Church: The Viguerie Co., 1981, p42.

<sup>156</sup> New Righters often claimed that Reagan’s victory should be attributed to their efforts. R.A Viguerie. The New Right: We’re Ready to Lead. Falls Church: The Viguerie Co., 1981; M. Walker. Clinton: The President the Deserve. London: Fourth Estate, 1996, p12 and throughout.

<sup>157</sup> P. Weyrich, “Conservatism for the People.” *National Review* 42 (3 September 1990).

<sup>158</sup> James Carney, “The G.O.P. Mantra: Keep Dobson Happy.” *Time* May 11, 1998. Carney writes that keeping James Dobson of the Focus on the Family and other “....Christian-right leaders happy has become the central preoccupation of Republican lawmakers.”

<sup>159</sup> Lipset declared in 1988 that neoconservatism “has ceased to exist.”, essentially because several leading neoconservatives, such as Kirkpatrick had joined the Republican Party. S.M Lipset, “Neoconservatism: Myth and Reality.” *Society* 25 (5 1988).

<sup>160</sup> Fiscal conservatism is seen very clearly in N. Gingrich’s. To Renew America. NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995. Gingrich refers a lot to his friend and fellow Republican conservative Jack Kemp who was one of the leaders of the anti-liberal group of the 1980s New Right.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE REAGAN PRESIDENCY, 1981-1989 SUCCESS & FAILURE OF A NEW RIGHT AGENDA

The election of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States in November 1980 marked a turning point in American history. Reagan although one of the most conservative presidents since Calvin Coolidge<sup>1</sup> presided over one of the most fascinating and revolutionary decades in modern American history. This ironic twist perhaps explains why Reagan has attracted so much attention over the years. Love him or loathe him, admire him or ridicule him, Reagan altered American society and with it world history. In domestic terms his policies placed the United States on a more conservative path, essentially by forcing the Democratic Party to adopt a more middle-of-the-road agenda especially following his comprehensive thrashing of Walter Mondale, the Democratic challenger in 1984. Four years later George Bush, Reagan's successor, defeated Michael Dukakis by labelling him a 'liberal' thus severely crippling New Deal Democratic liberalism. In foreign policy, Reagan was arguably responsible for dealing the fatal blow to the Soviet Union<sup>2</sup> while also fatally wounding the socialist idea.<sup>3</sup>

Reagan won the 1980 election on three main issues to which he remained largely true throughout his tenure. These themes developed sub-titles which often correlated with other issues which made them interdependent on each other. This was clearly seen in the area of defence which had serious implications for his economic policy.<sup>4</sup>

As a true conservative, Reagan claimed that the federal government had grown too big and was responsible for the dire state in which the country found itself by

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<sup>1</sup> K.P Phillips. *Post-Conservative America: People, Politics & Ideology in a Time of Crisis*. NY: Vintage Books, 1983.

<sup>2</sup> G.P Shultz. *Turmoil & Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State*. NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993.

<sup>3</sup> M. Anderson. *Revolution*. Orlando: Harecourt Brace Jovanvich Publishers, 1988.

<sup>4</sup> See for example Stockman's arguments against the defence build-up in his book *The Triumph of Politics: The Crisis in American Government & How It Affects the World*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986.

1980. As he said in his inaugural address “...government is not the solution to our problems; government is the problem.”<sup>5</sup> The argument was that the dominance of the tax-and-spend liberals in Congress allowed the welfare state to grow thus weakening the country as welfarism went against the basic ideology of Americanism of self-sufficiency and rugged individualism which dated back to the pioneers and the Founding Fathers. Reagan was therefore committed to reducing the federal government in terms of size, regulations, bureaucracy and so forth, thus ending the rut that the country was in.<sup>6</sup>

The second main theme of Reagan’s which was tied to traditional conservatism was that taxes in the US were too high. This approach was in perfect harmony with an affinity that Reagan developed with a new economic doctrine that had taken prominence by the late 1970s, under the name of supply-side economics.<sup>7</sup> Supply-siders held that high taxes and high inflation had stifled the essence of America - efficient business, positive competition and free-market mentality.<sup>8</sup>

The third and final central point in Reagan’s agenda was in foreign policy as Reagan maintained that America had surrendered the initiative in international relations. This had allowed the Soviet Union to expand and assume a more dominant position in the balance of power scale to the detriment of America and its allies’ interests. If the US was to seek its proper place under the sun it had to re-assert itself. Thus, the Reaganites largely revitalised the old anti-Soviet rhetoric reminiscent of the two “red scares” of the 1920s and 1950s when the Soviet Union was portrayed as an evil empire that had to be destroyed because it was an

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<sup>5</sup> “Inaugural Address”, January 20, 1981, R. Reagan. Speaking My Mind. Hutchinson: London, 1990, p61; for a similar view see R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990.

<sup>6</sup> R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990.

<sup>7</sup> Reagan has stated that he was not a supply-sider but a practical man who throughout his life believed that government must be small and that taxation must be just. R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990, p227 and throughout. Stockman first impression of Reagan’s rehearsing for his debate against Anderson in Senator John Warner’s home in Virginia was that Reagan’s knowledge of supply-side economics was very vague. D.A Stockman. The Triumph of Politics: The Crisis in American Government & How It Affects the World. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986, p46-48.

Roberts who served in the administration, claims that Reagan was the first supply-side President. P.C Roberts. The Supply-Side Revolution: An Insider’s Account of Policymaking in Washington. London: Harvard University Press, 1984, p1, p87-90.

<sup>8</sup> H. Stein Presidential Economics: the Making of Economic Policy from Roosevelt to Reagan and Beyond. 2nd ed., Washington DC: AEI for Public Policy Research, 1988, Chapter 6-9.

antithesis to freedom.<sup>9</sup> This was very different from the 1970s that began with détente and saw America staying out of the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.<sup>10</sup>

The three main precepts of Reagan correlate quite nicely with his three main groups of supporters who came under the umbrella title of the "New Right." His stand on welfare and the size of the federal government appealed to the anti-liberals who opposed the extension of the New Deal-Great Society philosophy. This was a constituency bred on traditional American values of self-reliance. Its members being unhappy with the largesse of the federal government especially at a time of economic hardship. The second group that backed the former governor, was the Religious Right with its large Protestant evangelical membership. This body wanted an end to federal support and promotion of secular humanism which included a call for a direct assault on the faceless, secular humanist, liberal bureaucrats who dictated how Americans should live their lives.<sup>11</sup> The third main body of supporters of Reagan were the neoconservatives whose interest lay primarily in foreign policy (which naturally extended into defence policy) and was centred around their fierce opposition toward communism and the Soviet Union. Their opposition was not based so much religious symbolism as their hostility was based on a secular belief that the Soviet Union stood for totalitarianism and the

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<sup>9</sup> J.J. Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. 1, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988; J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980; P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991. The attacks were often quite ferocious, especially as among the New Christian Right the Soviet Union was seen as the Antichrist, bent on the destruction of the US and all that is good.

<sup>10</sup> Carter although criticising the Soviet human rights record still sought a good relationship with them. See for example "UN: Common Needs in a Diverse World", address by Cyrus R. Vance, before the 34th Session of the U.N. General Assembly, New York, September 24, 1979, Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, p1-7. Vance's message especially when contrasted with that of Reagan, Shultz or Kirkpatrick is very soft and non-belligerent.

<sup>11</sup> In his examination of the American militia, Abanes notes, its animosity toward the federal bureaucracy. Although Abanes' work is essentially about the militia of the 1990s, it still provides an example of how the Radical Right came to regard to federal bureaucracy, especially if one sees the 1990s movement as products of the New Right of the 1980s. R. Abanes. Rebellion, Racism & Religion: American Militia. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996; P. Lamy. Millennium Rage: Survivalists, White Supremacists, and the Doomsday Prophecy. London: Plenum Press, 1996.



curtailment of freedom while the US was the embodiment of democracy and liberty.<sup>12</sup>

An effective study of the Reagan administration requires one to acknowledge beforehand several important features of the administration. The first is to note Reagan's effective usage of the Senior Executive Service (SES). The SES was employed to increase the number of appointees who did not fall within the career civil service rule. The 1978 Civil Service Reform Act (S-2640 PL 95-454) allowed ten percent of SES to be held by non-career staff and, in any one department the figure could rise to twenty-five percent. Reagan utilised this to the fullest, as he made appointments in key agencies such as the OMB, Justice, Housing and Urban Development (HUD), and Health and Human Services (HHS).<sup>13</sup> Thus, Reagan was able to appoint people whom he knew shared his views to positions in his administration. Moreover, there was substantial interaction between the administration and outsiders. For example, Georgetown University provided the administration with such people as Jeane Kirkpatrick and Kenneth Adelman. The administration was also supported by such think-tanks as the Heritage Foundation who played an important role in pushing for certain policies and programs,<sup>14</sup> while the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) provided the administration with a large number of personnel including Murray Weidenbaum, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, David Gergen, White House communication chief, and Lawrence Korb in the State Department.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See for example I Kristol. Reflection of a Neoconservative: Looking Back, Looking Ahead. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1983.

<sup>13</sup> D.M Hill and P. Williams. "The Reagan Presidency: Style and Substance", D.M Hill, R.A Moore and P. Williams. (ed.) The Reagan Presidency: An Incomplete Revolution?. London: Macmillan Press, 1990, p17-18; R. Brownstein and N. Easton. Reagan's Ruling Class: Portraits of the President's Top 100 Officials. Washington DC: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982.

At the time SES was criticised because it was felt that it would contribute to the politicisation of the civil service as without the civil service's job security protection, SES employees would serve at the whims of the president's top political appointees. Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 1978, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1979, p825.

<sup>14</sup> R. Bellant. The Coors Connection: How Coors Family Philanthropy Undermines Democratic Pluralism. Boston: South End Press, 1991.

<sup>15</sup> Ashford describes in some depth the relationship between the AEI and the administration. N. Ashford, "A New Public Philosophy", J.D Lees and M. Turner. (ed.) Reagan's First Four Years: A New Beginning. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, p17.

Thus, a brief examination of the administration shows that it was composed of essentially real conservatives who were members of the different groups that made up the New Right. This was coupled with the New Right's efficient usage of the "score card" which helped to ensure that politicians kept their pledges as their record could easily be observed by potential voters.

The administration was also unique because of the way its chief executive interpreted events. This has had the effect that on occasions it is difficult to judge or even summarise the failures and successes of the administration when looking at Reagan's interpretation of events. The situation is made even harder by the fact that members of the administration have a natural tendency to defend their own actions which may affect their portrayal of their role and that of others within the White House.<sup>16</sup> Donald Regan provides an excellent example of Reagan's unique interpretation of events when he discusses the arms-for-hostages' affair in his autobiography. Regan writes that the president "knew" that the US had shipped anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles to Tehran and that certain Iranians had used their influence over the holders of the American hostages to facilitate the release of American hostages. However, in Reagan's mind that did not constitute a swap of arms for hostages, his reasoning being that if one uses a third party (an intermediary) to bring about the release, and through that person a release occurs, and if "in the end" the intermediary is rewarded by you for his services then one has not paid a ransom.<sup>17</sup> Matters are made even more difficult by the fact that Reagan was also closely protected by a group of people who composed his 'inner circle'.

The media was very important to the Reagan presidency even though members of the administration felt that it was dominated by liberals who were inherently against the White House and Republicans especially of the conservative

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<sup>16</sup> See for example the different accounts of Stockman, Haig, Shultz and Weinberger on the administration or the immediate events following the attempted assassination on Reagan's life; or Regan on Deaver and Nancy Reagan during his tenure as Chief of Staff.

<sup>17</sup> D.T Regan. For the Record: From Wall Street to Washington. London: Hutchinson, 1988, p31. A similar case could be made when looking at the economic situation. Reagan's unique way of pointing to his role in the release of the American hostages highlights the way he often interpreted or rather misinterpreted events. R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990, p236-237.

kind.<sup>18</sup> The 1980 television debate between the two leading candidates has been seen as very important in Reagan's effort to win the election, especially as Reagan's charisma was complimented by an effective execution of his debating policy.<sup>19</sup> One could also see the importance of the media for the administration by looking at the way the administration dealt with ceremonies. Donald Regan writes that if the president was scheduled to make a ceremonial appearance in the Rose Garden, he could be sure that the recipient of whatever greeting or award would be looking into the sun so that the cameras would have the light behind them. In the morning, when the sun was over the Treasury, Reagan stood on the steps outside the Oval Office; in the afternoon he would stand on the long side of the colonnade. Furthermore, Reagan was always placed in a position that put him away as far away as possible from reporters who hovered at the edge of these events with the intention of shouting questions. In the words of Regan: "Every moment of every public appearance was scheduled, every word was scripted, every place where Reagan was expected to stand was chalked with toe marks. The President was always being prepared for a performance, and this had the inevitable effect of preserving him from confrontation and the genuine interplay of opinion, question, and argument that from the basis of decision."<sup>20</sup> Thus, in order to appreciate the Reagan presidency one must remember the role that appearances and perception played in forming and fulfilling its agenda, and that

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<sup>18</sup> On why the media was hostile toward the Reagan administration: D.T Regan. For the Record: From Wall Street to Washington. London: Hutchinson, 1988; W.K Muir. Jr., The Bully Pulpit: The Presidential Leadership of Ronald Reagan. San Francisco: ICS Press Publications, 1992, p161-173. On the belief by conservatives that the mass media is inherently liberal and the reason why it is important: J.D Hunter. Cultural Wars: The Struggle to Define America. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1990, p225-249. Hunter argues that the media helps to shape the public agenda as it focuses on issues which then places the issues in the realm of mainstream public discourse.

<sup>19</sup> K. Ritter and D. Henry, "The 1980 Reagan-Carter Presidential Debate", R.B Feidenberg. (ed.) Rhetorical Studies of National Political Debates, 1960-1992. 2nd ed., Westport: Praeger, 1994. The authors provide an unconventional view to the 1980 presidential debate but what is significant is that even they accept the importance of debate to the presidential campaign. J. Morreale. A New Beginning: A Textual Frame Analysis of the Political Campaign Film. Albany: State University of New York, 1991.

<sup>20</sup> D.T Regan. For the Record: From Wall Street to Washington. London: Hutchinson, 1988, p248.

meant that the administration would at times interpret things for their media value.<sup>21</sup>

The Reagan administration, however, like others before, lost or rather reduced some of its ideological commitment with time.<sup>22</sup> This was mainly because the American political system cannot sustain an ideological momentum due to the constant battles that rage between the two branches of government which force compromises. Reagan initially was able to prevent this by working with Congress and with the New Right activists who were prepared to keep an eye on politicians and politics in general.<sup>23</sup> The attempted assassination on Reagan's life had the effect of extending his honeymoon period,<sup>24</sup> especially with a Congress that hungered for strong, effective and ideological leadership. This apparently was seen on February 19, 1981, when Reagan spoke to Congress. As David Stockman said: "They knew they had lost their way - and now they were looking to him for a new way. They applauded him again and again that night, leaving no doubt that they were predisposed to grant him extraordinary latitude in finding a new remedy for the nation's ills. They were disposed to gamble, not because they understood the plan or even accepted it, but because they had lost all faith in the remedies tried before."<sup>25</sup>

### Economic Policy - An Anti-Liberal Agenda?

The American economy, when Reagan entered the White House was in dire straits and this was something that Reagan had promised to rectify once in power. The key claims of Reagan's economic policy was that the economy could

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<sup>21</sup> Grenada although no real match for the US military establishment was portrayed as a major conflict which vindicated the reform and investment in the armed forces.

<sup>22</sup> One must remember that Reagan's last two years were shrouded by the Iran-Contra investigations which caused his administration much embarrassment and hampered his legislative program.

<sup>23</sup> G. Peele. "The Agenda of the New Right", D.M Hill, R.A Moore and P. Williams. (ed.) The Reagan Presidency: An Incomplete Revolution? London: Macmillan Press, 1990, p29-49.

<sup>24</sup> D. Morgan, "The Peeling of Teflon: Ronald Reagan & the Mass Media", J. Hogan (ed.). The Reagan Years: The Record in Presidential Leadership. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990, p90.

<sup>25</sup> D.A Stockman. The Triumph of Politics: The Crisis in American Government & How It Affects the World. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986, p84.

enjoy a rise in real gross national product (GNP) while inflation declined. Monetary policy would then stabilise and inflation would decline. Tax cuts would provide liquidity and incentives while also preventing the slower money growth from causing a recession. His economic policy, otherwise known as “Reaganomics,” according to the man who coined the phrase, was: “...a compromise from the beginning, a conglomerate if you will, of three points of view: supply-side economics, monetarism and traditional Republican budget balancing.” This explains why Reaganomics could only survive if the members of the coalition continued to support each other.<sup>26</sup>

The Reaganite economic policy sought to combine two different philosophies: traditional conservative Republicanism with the more modern radical New Right economic thought. The traditionalists, men such as Barry Goldwater, Howard Baker, John Tower and others firmly believed in limited government and that both Democratic and Republican administrations have allowed the federal government to grow too much. The New Right anti-liberals, men such as David Stockman, George Gilder, Jack Kemp, Norman Ture, Paul Craig Roberts were more radical in their demands and solutions to America’s domestic ills. One cannot and should not underestimate the positions that some of these people held in American politics.<sup>27</sup>

At the core of the Reaganite economic policy was a desire to severely reduce the size of the welfare state by promoting states’ rights, tax cuts and a balanced budget which would revive American capitalism (in the shape of economic *laissez-faire*) to its former glory. This attitude was summarised by Senator Goldwater in 1976 when he stated that unless the United States ceased to enlarge its welfare budget the country would reach a breakpointing which to him

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<sup>26</sup> P.C Roberts. The Supply-Side Revolution: An Insider’s Account of Policymaking in Washington. London: Harvard University Press, 1984, p5, p93. On term “Reaganomics” p93n.

<sup>27</sup> For more information see R. Brownstein and N. Easton. Reagan’s Ruling Class: Portraits of the President’s Top 100 Officials. Washington DC: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982.

is "...a place in time where the taxpayers' ability to withstand the load of unlimited government largesse finally gives way."<sup>28</sup>

Many of Reagan's economic policies (just like the New Right) had their roots in the 1970s with such people as Jack Kemp and William Roth (the Kemp-Roth bill), Marjorie Holt (the Holt Amendment), and Sam Nunn (the Nunn Amendment).<sup>29</sup> This therefore meant that: "A bipartisan consensus for the major provisions of the tax measures proposed by President Reagan was in place before he was inaugurated."<sup>30</sup>

In the 1970s several tax rebellions took place across the country as Americans mobilised against state taxes which explains why many politicians took an interest in taxation. For example, in 1978, Tennessee and Michigan approved general limits on the taxing power of the state, California approved a reduction in local property tax.<sup>31</sup> The anger toward taxation was primarily due to the fact that from about the 1960s, federal tax receipts averaged about nineteen percent of GNP with little variation. During the Carter administration, however, the combination of rising inflation and increasing social security taxes increased the federal tax share of GNP from about nineteenth percent to almost twenty-one percent, and Carter's last budget projected that this share would rise to twenty-four percent in fiscal year 1986 without a tax reduction.<sup>32</sup> These conditions were facilitated by the passing of the Revenue Act in 1978 which represented a new approach to tax cut

<sup>28</sup> B. Goldwater. The Coming Breakingpoint. NY: Macmillan Publishers, 1976, p1; "The Right: A House Divided?" Newsweek February 2, 1981, p39; M. Anderson. Revolution. Orlando: Harecourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1988.

<sup>29</sup> P.C Roberts. The Supply-Side Revolution: An Insider's Account of Policymaking in Washington. London: Harvard University Press, 1984; H. Stein Presidential Economics: the Making of Economic Policy from Roosevelt to Reagan and Beyond. 2nd ed., Washington DC: AEI for Public Policy Research, 1988.

<sup>30</sup> The annual reports of the Joint Economic Committee, under the leadership of Democratic Senator Lloyd Bentsen, supported a combination of restraint and a reduction in tax rates both in 1979 and 1980. In August 1980, the Senate Finance Committee approved a tax measure very similar to that that candidate Reagan endorsed. W.A Niskanen. Reaganeconomics: An Insider's Account of the Policies & the People. NY: Oxford University Press, 1988, p20-22 (quotation from p21).

<sup>31</sup> This attitude was not new as Americans throughout their history have shown a dislike toward paying taxes: the Shays Rebellion of 1787, the Nullification Crisis of 1832-33. W.A Niskanen. Reaganeconomics: An Insider's Account of the Policies & the People. NY: Oxford University Press, 1988, p20-22.

legislation as it provided one-off cuts for upper income earners and in business and capital gains' taxes. The more radical bill that Jack Kemp and William Roth proposed in 1977, sought to cut personal income rates by thirty percent over three years was rejected by Carter. However, their proposal gained support among Republicans in Congress and Democrats who also noted the success of Proposition 13 in California and chose to join the band-wagon.<sup>33</sup>

The anti-liberals felt that to reduce both the federal government, and the welfare budget, an assault on taxation was necessary<sup>34</sup> which is why when dealing with Reagan's economic agenda one has to approach the issue of taxation from two different angles. This is because on the one hand, Reagan used taxation as part of his broad economic policy on which he focused upon in his first term. As Reagan said: "...people would work harder and more creatively if the burden of a discriminatory tax system was lifted from their shoulders, and business would expand if it was able to borrow money at rates of interest that made it possible to turn a fair profit. The Reagan Administration intended to change the way the government did business with the people in a fundamental way."<sup>35</sup> In his second term, Reagan, through the Treasury Department, tackled the tax system and brought about wide ranging reforms to it (he had wanted to do during his first administration, but at that time it was not politically prudent).<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> W.A Niskanen. Reaganeconomics: An Insider's Account of the Policies & the People. NY: Oxford University Press, 1988, p71.

<sup>33</sup> J.J Hogan. "Reaganomics and Economic Policy", D.M Hill, R.A Moore and P. Williams. (ed.) The Reagan Presidency: An Incomplete Revolution?. London: Macmillan Press, 1990. Reagan notes that when he was governor he tried to pass a similar measure to Proposition 13, but it was defeated because it was ahead of its time. He therefore writes that in 1978, the "...prairie fire I've talked about was really spreading across the land, and it shouldn't have surprised anyone." R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990, p207.

<sup>34</sup> On the importance of taxation see for example Arthur Laffer response in C. Stubblebine and T.D Willett (ed.) Reaganomics: A Midterm Report. San Francisco: ICS Press, 1983, p71-76.

<sup>35</sup> D.T Regan. For the Record: From Wall Street to Washington. London: Hutchinson, 1988, p175.

<sup>36</sup> Reagan claims that he was always concerned with the tax system R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990. On political consideration see Regan who suggests that he and the Treasury Department began the examination of the tax system during the first administration, even though the main transformation took place once Regan became Reagan's Chief of Staff during the second term. D.T Regan. For the Record: From Wall Street to Washington. London: Hutchinson, 1988.

Reagan himself had a great affinity with those who felt that the tax system (which included the level of taxation) was not only bad for economic growth but was unfair and therefore wrong.<sup>37</sup> Thus, no piece of legislation better emphasised what the Reagan economic plan was about than the 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA). The Treasury Department and the Economic Affairs area of the administration were filled with people whose outlook was based around the basic desire of reforming America's economic system.<sup>38</sup> The person responsible for the tax policy in the administration was Norman Ture, the Under-Secretary for Tax and Economic Affairs, who was very much the epitome of an anti-liberal man.<sup>39</sup>

ERTA served as the centrepiece of the administration's effort to stimulate growth and produce new investments as it fulfilled much of the supply-siders' dream. The reduction in tax rates on personal income was claimed to be: "...the most substantial change and the major achievement of the initial Reagan economic policy."<sup>40</sup> The tax proposals were based very much on the ideas of two New Righters, Congressman Kemp (R-NY.) and Senator Roth (R-Del.) which Congress endorsed in 1978, and the Senate Finance Committee by 1980. ERTA called for a reduction of ten percent in individual income tax rates annually beginning on July 1, 1981. This would have reduced tax rates from the then-current range of between fourteen and seventy percent to between ten and fifty percent by July 1, 1984 - nearly a uniform twenty-seven percent reduction across income groups. The administration considered two other changes to the individual income tax which were not included in the initial proposal. An

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<sup>37</sup> Reagan points to his experience in Hollywood as because he was in the ninety-four percent tax bracket which "...meant that the government took most of what I [Reagan] earned." Thus, it made more sense for him (and others like him) to turn down jobs. R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990, p117, 231.

<sup>38</sup> R. Brownstein and N. Easton. Reagan's Ruling Class: Portraits of the President's Top 100 Officials. Washington DC: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982, p3-104. There were some people who were not strictly anti-liberals such as Malcolm Baldrige but they were in the minority. For similar views see: P.C Roberts. The Supply-Side Revolution: An Insider's Account of Policymaking in Washington. London: Harvard University Press, 1984; M. Feldstein, "The Social Security Explosion." *The Public Interest* (81 Fall 1985), p94-106.

<sup>39</sup> Ture initially was a Democrat but in time his attitude became more conservative and he began working with several conservative organisations such as Heritage Foundation, and the Olin and Scaife Foundations. R. Brownstein and N. Easton. Reagan's Ruling Class: Portraits of the President's Top 100 Officials. Washington DC: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982, p6-10.

<sup>40</sup> W.A Niskanen. Reaganeconomics: An Insider's Account of the Policies & the People. NY: Oxford University Press, 1988, p71.



immediate reduction in the top bracket on the income from property was rejected on the grounds that it may appear to be unfair. Indexing the individual tax code for changes in the general tax level (which Reagan had endorsed during the campaign) was rejected because of concern about the effect on tax receipts.<sup>41</sup>

The impact of ERTA (which Reagan signed into law on August 13, 1981) was tremendous especially as many had argued that the major benefactors of Reaganomics and the 1981 tax act were wealthy Americans. In general terms, the legislation mandated that rates would be reduced over a three-year period by twenty-five percent, with top rate coming down from seventy percent to fifty percent. In other words, estate taxes were reduced significantly, and rates on unearned income and capital gains were also targeted for relief. The result was that the income of the top 0.2 percent of all income filers had increased by twenty-one to twenty-six percent by 1984, whereas the gain in disposable income for those at the median point was a nominal 3.5 percent. Families under \$10,000 lost more than fifteen percent of their income due to various tax and budget changes enacted in 1981. Unified corporate America, due to business lobbying, received a handsome boost from the Reagan administration as it saw a \$150 billion tax cut over a five-year period, for services rendered to the Republican party by PACs and other forms of corporate financing and endorsement during the 1980 presidential campaign.<sup>42</sup>

By February 1982, the economic situation was dire. The prime rate was 16.75 percent, unemployment was over eight percent and the GNP was shrinking at an annual rate of 0.1 percent. In other words, there was not enough money in the economy to pay the government's bills and also finance a recovery by the private sector. This led to a demand from some quarters for a tax rise (promoted perhaps surprisingly mainly by Stockman with the unanimous support of the White House staff and the President's CEA) as it was felt that further cuts in spending would be insufficient. Congress also demanded new taxes as the price of

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<sup>41</sup> W.A Niskanen. Reaganeconomics: An Insider's Account of the Policies & the People. NY: Oxford University Press, 1988, p73.

reform and blamed its need for new money on the deficit. Senator Dole, the Senate Finance Committee Chairman, for example, announced publicly that new taxes would be “unavoidable if the economy did not improve,” in three months. Republican conservative politicians wanted even stronger measures due to their animosity toward deficits (the national deficit had grown tremendously since 1981<sup>43</sup>). In the words of Treasury Secretary Regan: “...Capitol Hill, which in fiscal year 1982 had mandated spending \$128 billion more than Treasury was receiving in taxes and other revenues, claiming it wanted more money so that it could balance the books and start over again with a clean slate.”<sup>44</sup> However, despite growing calls from economists, members of the administration and congressmen for a rise in taxation, Reagan the committed ideologue, was not prepared (at least in his mind) to compromise on this issue.<sup>45</sup>

Conservatives such as President Reagan and Treasury Secretary Regan felt that the state of the American tax system was far more complex than was necessary, and as part of the revolution the administration sought to reform the tax system. This was an integral part of the Reaganite desire to reduce the size of government which would also make governing easier.<sup>46</sup> The assault on the tax system (codes) took place during Reagan second term and its importance is that it helps show that despite being in office for six years and as a result losing some of its more militant conservatism, certain fundamentals remained as potent within the administration. Regan notes that he had asked the Commissioner of the IRS, Roscoe Egger, how much shelf space an accountant or tax lawyer just starting out in business would need “...for a basic, no-frills library of reference books.” Egger after a few days informed Regan that it would require one foot of shelf for

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<sup>42</sup> W.C Berman. America's Right Turn: From Nixon to Bush. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994, p92-94; M. Walker. Clinton: The President They Deserve. London: Fourth Estate, 1996.

<sup>43</sup> Reagan within a few days of becoming President had to ask Congress to raise the ceiling on the national debt. R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990, 233-4.

<sup>44</sup> D.T Regan. For the Record: From Wall Street to Washington. London: Hutchinson, 1988, p173.

<sup>45</sup> The 1986 Tax Reform Act in fact raised corporate taxes. It levied new rates that provided the Treasury with over \$100 billion in a five-year span. R.A Ruthland. The Republicans: From Lincoln to Bush. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996, p243.

<sup>46</sup> R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990.

the tax code plus three volumes of regulations; four feet for sixteen volumes of reference materials published by tax services; thirteen and a half feet for Internal Revenue Service manuals. The total shelf space that would be needed was sixty-three feet, with the instalment of the shelf (like the cost of the books) being tax deductible. This is just an example of the conservatives' belief that the tax system as it stood was "...complicated, inequitable, expensive to administrate, and so filled with loopholes that it was entirely unnecessary to cheat on taxes in order to avoid them. Some individuals earned millions of dollars in a given year, reported every penny of this income and, by taking advantage of tax shelters and other provisions provided by law, paid no federal income tax at all. The inequity was even more glaring in the case of corporations. The underground economy alone, conducted in cash and unrecorded transactions, probably cost the Treasury at least \$90 billion a year in unpaid taxes on an estimated \$500 billion in unreported earnings."<sup>47</sup> Thus, in 1986 Congress passed the Tax Reform Act which overhauled the tax code drastically.<sup>48</sup>

Reagan had a particular anathema for the bureaucracy which he maintained functioned primarily to sustain itself, and he attempted to launch a full scale war against the 'faceless mandarins' that run government.<sup>49</sup> It was felt that bureaucrats were the ones hampering American development and growth with silly regulations, rules and policies which were making American businesses less competitive in the world's markets.<sup>50</sup> It was claimed by the administration that since the mid-1960s the number and the size of federal agencies dealing with

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<sup>47</sup> D.T. Regan. For the Record: From Wall Street to Washington. London: Hutchinson, 1988, p193.

<sup>48</sup> The effect was that the legislation closed certain loopholes and brought about \$300 billion in revenue lost under the old rules. R.A. Ruthland. The Republicans: From Lincoln to Bush. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996, p242.

<sup>49</sup> "The first rule of a bureaucracy is to protect the bureaucracy." R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990, p69.

<sup>50</sup> Some members in the administration adhered to a "Public Choice" philosophy which maintained that the political system is biased in favour of big government. "The career bureaucrats are seen as hostile to reducing government and some attempts have been made in the Reagan administration to provide incentives for bureaucrats to be more efficient, based on the ideas of Niskanen who was a member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers from 1981 to 1985." N. Ashford, "A New Public Philosophy", J.D. Lees and M. Turner. (ed.) Reagan's First Four Years: A New Beginning. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, p12-14, (quotation from p14).

federal regulations had grown tremendously. The effect was that the direct costs of federal regulatory activities to the taxpayers rose from \$2.8 billion in fiscal 1974, to \$5.5 billion five years later, and by 1981 to \$7.1.<sup>51</sup> The Reaganites claimed that the expansion in federal regulation had occurred despite the fact that the federal government has no right to regulate inter-state economic activity. "The 10th Amendment, which reserves to the States and the people all powers not delegated to the to the United States, confirms the States' powers to enact laws to protect public health, safety, morals, and general welfare. The Federal Government was not given comparable powers, except as such activity affects interstate commerce."<sup>52</sup>

The same type of criticism were levelled against the United Nations which the anti-liberals argued had created a massive bureaucracy which not only drained UN resources but hampered American national interests.<sup>53</sup>

The assault on regulation, which was part of the attack against the federal bureaucracy, was headed by the administrator of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, Christopher DeMuth who was also the Executive Director of the Presidential Task Force on Regulatory Relief.<sup>54</sup> The Reaganites objected to the whole idea of federal regulation because to their minds it represented a belief that the market had failed to function efficiently in the allocation of goods and services. It was also felt that government regulation was promoted due to special interest groups which provide benefits to the few at the expense of the mass consumers.<sup>55</sup>

Reagan's desire to take-on the issue of federal regulation began with his Executive Order 12291 (February 17, 1981) which gave the OMB (run by the

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<sup>51</sup> Murray Weidenbaum of the Centre for the Study of American Business of Washington University, St. estimated that regulations cost \$103 billion in 1979 or \$500 per capita. N. Ashford, "A New Public Philosophy", J.D Lees and M. Turner. (ed.) Reagan's First Four Years: A New Beginning. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, p11.

<sup>52</sup> J. Tobin and M. Weidenbaum. (ed.) Two Revolutions in Economic Policy: The First Economic Reports of Presidents Kennedy and Reagan. London: The MIT Press, 1988, p452-455, (quotation from p458).

<sup>53</sup> See chapter 4 of this thesis for New Right attacks on the UN bureaucracy.

<sup>54</sup> DeMuth was another good example of a New Right man as he like his boss Stockman had connections with D.P Moynihan. R. Brownstein and N. Easton. Reagan's Ruling Class: Portraits of the President's Top 100 Officials. Washington DC: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982, p56-64.

anti-liberal New Righter David Stockman) unprecedented authority to review agency regulatory proposals before they were published in the *Federal Register*. Standards for conducting cost-benefit analysis (CBA) which the order mandated for “major” regulations were also established. Existing regulations were to be dealt with through the Presidential Task Force on Regulatory Relief, which was chaired by vice-president George Bush and was composed of the secretaries of the Treasury, Commerce, and Labour, the Attorney General, OMB Director, the chairman of the CEA and the President’s Domestic Policy Adviser.<sup>56</sup> The administration maintained that the biggest budgets were not for the independent regulatory commissions, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission or the Federal Communication Commission as the largest proportion of funds went to the broader regulatory commissions, such as those conducted by the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Department of Agriculture (mainly food inspection). The introduction of CBA into the regulatory process was supposed to make the decision-making process concerning regulations far more efficient.<sup>57</sup>

The major successes in deregulation came in the shape of several pieces of legislation that managed to win the support of Congress. The Bus Regulatory Reform Act of 1982, deregulated bus fare as it permitted firms to make changes in routes and allowed shipping freer entry and exit into the industry. The Shipping Act of 1984, enabled shipping firms to adjust rates and types of service. During the 1970s, banks and saving loan institutions had lost vast sums of money and large number of depositors because unregulated money market funds paid a higher rate of interest. Congress responded by raising the federal insurance level to \$100,000 on individual accounts and it permitted the institutions to pay higher interest rates, thus making banks and Saving and Loans (S&Ls) more competitive. The Reagan administration pushed Congress further with the Gran-

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<sup>55</sup> See for example J. Tobin and M. Weidenbaum. (ed.) Two Revolutions in Economic Policy: The First Economic Reports of Presidents Kennedy and Reagan. London: The MIT Press, 1988.

<sup>56</sup> T.G Moore, “The Reagan Deregulation Program: An Assessment”, C. Stubblebine and T.D Willett (ed.) Reaganomics: A Midterm Report. San Francisco: ICS Press, 1983, p159-168; R. Brownstein and N. Easton. Reagan’s Ruling Class: Portraits of the President’s Top 100 Officials. Washington DC: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982, p56.

<sup>57</sup> J. Tobin and M. Weidenbaum. (ed.) Two Revolutions in Economic Policy: The First Economic Reports of Presidents Kennedy and Reagan. London: The MIT Press, 1988, 452-455.

St. Germain Act of 1982, which authorised banks to offer new types of accounts. Congress permitted saving and loans (thrifts) to make more commercial and consumer loans (S&Ls could invest depositors' in virtually anything). The act liberalised the ownership of S&Ls, allowed deposit insurance funds to be used to bail out failing banks, reduce the interest rate differentials between banking institutions, and, in general revolutionised the banking industry.<sup>58</sup>

In sum, Reagan's economic agenda was very much of an anti-liberal New Right one which declined the longer Reagan remained in power. ERTA was certainly one piece of legislation that was in-line with New Right thinking as it was essentially designed by the founders of the movement who had good access to the economic policy-makers within the administration. Reagan was responsible for getting the 97th Congress to take bold steps in reducing the scope of the federal government by cutting government spending, reducing taxes for individuals and businesses, slimming down federal regulatory activities and dispelling the belief that government could provide the solution to people's problems.<sup>59</sup> As the decade progressed Reagan came to experience difficulties with politicians on the Hill as Congress reacted to the deteriorating economic situation.<sup>60</sup>

The New Right anti-liberal section of the Reagan coalition believed that a reduction in the size of the federal government was imperative and the area that attracted much of their attention was the social security budget. OMB Director David Stockman (and others) saw the social security program as a New Deal product which was noble when it started out but over the years spun out-of-

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<sup>58</sup> A.S Campagna. The Economy in the Reagan Years: The Economic Consequences of the Reagan Administration. London: Greenwood Press, 1994, p100; M. Schaller, V Scharff and R.D Schulzinger. Present Tense: The United States Since 1945. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992, p519.

<sup>59</sup> Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 97th Congress, 1st Session 1981, Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1982, p14. Congress enacted \$35.2 billion in FY 1982 program cuts and cut nearly \$4 billion more from appropriations. Its cut in business and individual taxes totalled \$749 billion over a five-year period.

<sup>60</sup> Congress for example passed a tax measure that raised \$98 billion over the following three years. Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 97th Congress, 2nd Session 1982, Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1983, p10-23.

control with welfare benefits and earned pension annuities being twisted together concealed under the fig leaf of social insurance. Stockman argued that the pure idea of social security pension existed on the notion that actuaries could add up the approximate present value of a lifetime of payroll tax contributions and calculated what the resulting pension annuity should be and under any actuarial system for determining the pension the two had to equate. The argument was over what interest rate should be used in the calculations. However, what had transpired was that social security came to rest on the myth that everybody earned his or her social security benefits and was entitled to them. The problem, for the New Right, was that politicians had sweetened it so much that the notion of need disappeared and had nothing to do with what a worker had put into the fund. Stockman describes this as “closet socialism.”<sup>61</sup>

The opposition to the growing social security budget held the complex anti-liberal movement together, as members differed on how far and where cuts should take place. The problem as David Stockman noted in the title of his book was that politics triumphed over ideology and this was seen for example when conservative like Orrin Hatch of Utah (Chairman of Senate Human Resources Committee) informed the OMB director that the Job Corps program should be saved (this was perhaps because one of the Job Corps’ major facilities was in Utah).<sup>62</sup>

President Reagan, all in all, may not have had the all-embracing New Right economic revolution that he had envisioned at the beginning of his tenure especially with the huge budget deficit that America developed throughout his presidency. However, his impact was that he created the illusion that his

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<sup>61</sup> D.A Stockman. The Triumph of Politics: The Crisis in American Government & How It Affects the World. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986, p194. On the effect that welfare has on America’s poor see G. Gilder, “The Coming Welfare Crisis.” *Policy Review* (Winter 1980), 25-36. On the danger of the huge Social Security budget see M. Feldstein, “The Social Security Explosion.” *The Public Interest* 81 (Fall 1985), p94-106. On the dangers of affirmative action (which was part of the social budget) see O. Hatch, “Loading the Economy.” *Policy Review* (Winter 1980), p23-37.

<sup>62</sup> D.A Stockman. The Triumph of Politics: The Crisis in American Government & How It Affects the World. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986, p153. The essence of Stockman’s grievance was that politics prevented the fulfilment of the conservative ideology that he and his colleagues held.

economic policies brought about the prosperity of the 1980s which emerged around 1983 and were very instrumental in enabling him to win the 1984 presidential election by a landslide. By the end of Reagan's eight-years tenure there was a greater sense of apathy in American society as people ignored many of the deep-rooted problems that the country faced arguably because of the apparent of widespread prosperity.<sup>63</sup> However, there were those people who voiced concern over the growing deficit the fixation with money and greed which Reagan seemed to encourage with his deregulation program (S&Ls industry being a prime example). The prosperity and care-free attitude that existed in the 1980s was a far-cry from the problematic and depressive 1970s, which explains why people chose to forget about the consequences of their economic actions, and lived for the moment.

### **Social Policy - The New Christian Right Agenda**

In 1976, the Christian Right played an important role in aiding Jimmy Carter, a "born-again" Christian win the presidency.<sup>64</sup> Conservative Christians believed that because a devout Christian occupied the Oval Office the country would be provided with the moral kick-start that would restore traditional Christian values that had gone amiss in the postwar period. However, by the end of Carter's term many felt that he failed as the descent into the abyss of immorality and vice continued, nor was the Soviet Union - the Antichrist - stopped, while the administration was not scandal-free. Thus, Reagan was able to win the 1980 presidential election because the issues that he chose to emphasise, coupled with the Republican Party platform appealed to religious conservatives of all denominations<sup>65</sup> and conservative Democrats appealed to a broad coalition.

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<sup>63</sup> R.A. Ruthland. The Republicans: From Lincoln to Bush. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996, p242-245.

<sup>64</sup> Menendez, however, notes that Carter had evangelical support but he believes that others were far more important. A.J Menendez. Evangelicals at the Ballot Box. Amherst: Prometheus Books, 1996, p128, p128-157.

<sup>65</sup> Both Robertson and Falwell see and describe the Soviet Union as the anti-Christ, P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991; J. Falwell, E. Dobson and E. Hindson. (ed.) The Fundamentalist Phenomenon: The Resurgence of Conservative Christianity. NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981; A.J Menendez. Evangelicals at the Ballot Box. Amherst: Prometheus Books, 1996, p135. For the support and the reason for it that the Christian Right gave the Republican Party and Reagan in 1980 see J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism:



One, however, must wonder, how much of the affinity with Reagan was based on the belief that anyone was better than Carter?<sup>66</sup>

The support that the Reagan camp received from conservative Christians was the culmination of a growing process which saw this group becoming increasingly active in Republican Party politics and agenda setting.<sup>67</sup> For example, in late 1979, Bill Brock, the Republican National Committee (RNC) chairman, invited over twenty evangelical leaders to RNC headquarters. In the meeting which lasted for over three hours, Brock and other top party officials invited the evangelicals to state their concerns and asked how the GOP could be more sensitive to them. Over the years similar meetings had taken place with the RNC as well as with the Senate and House Republican Committees.<sup>68</sup>

In 1980 under the leadership of the Moral Majority coupled with support from Richard Viguerie, Paul Weyrich, Howard Phillips and several other leading conservatives, the Christian Right supported Reagan and worked for his election.<sup>69</sup> The support manifested itself through such things as a “public affairs

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Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988; Hunter writes that white evangelicals “...fled the Democratic party in droves to support the Republican candidate: 61 percent voted for Reagan in 1980, 79 percent supported Reagan in 1984; and 72 percent voted for Bush in 1988.” The Catholic vote for Reagan increased from 47 percent in 1980 to 61 percent in 1984. J.D Hunter. Cultural Wars: The Struggle to Define America. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1990, p280.

<sup>66</sup> Lipset and Raab have argued that the Americans who “turned Right” in the 1980 election “...did not by any means agree with the moral majority or New Right program...They wanted a government that would more demonstrably reflect their *mood*: a more assertive America on the world scene, and on the domestic front a serious campaign to fight inflation and refurbish America industry. That is the extent of their political conservatism.” S.M Lipset and E. Raab, “The Election of the Evangelicals.” *Commentary* 71 (3 1981), p31. [Italics in text].

<sup>67</sup> The 1980 Republican Party Platform embraced many issues and ideals important to religious conservatives. The text of the Republican Party Platform is provided in Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 1980, 96th Congress, 2nd Session, Washington DC, Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1981.

<sup>68</sup> D.M Oldfield. The Right and the Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996, p116. This is taken from Oldfield who received the information from a personal interview (March 16, 1989) with Robert Dugan, political director of the National Association of Evangelicals and a participant of many of these meetings. Dugan did not remember the exact date during which the first meeting took place, it was either December 1979, or January 1980. Oldfield adds that Charles Judd who went from a position in the RNC under Brock to being an executive vice-president in Falwell's Moral Majority, also had strong words of praise for Brock's efforts to reach out to evangelicals. (Personal interview, June 26, 1989).

<sup>69</sup> A good example of this is Bob Billings founder of the Hyles-Anderson College in Indiana, and former graduate of BJU who became in 1979 the Moral Majority executive director in 1979,

briefing” for Ronald Reagan which James Robinson and Edward McAteer organised. Over 18,000 people came to hear Reagan and principal host, the Rev. Jerry Falwell speak. Falwell who knew that he was dangerously close to violating the tax-exempt status of his religious enterprises due to such political activity told the audience that he could not openly endorse Reagan but he urged the religious leaders in attendance to “vote for the Reagan of your choice.”<sup>70</sup>

The great support that Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party received from the Christian Right was despite the fact that Reagan’s religious record was far from a positive one (he was the only divorced man to win the presidential election and his church attendance was far from regular). However, Reagan had the backing of the Religious Right because he ran as a pro-family candidate and openly courted the support of conservative evangelicals. He appeased anti-abortionists who remembered that he had signed the most liberal abortion law in the nation while governor of California by having his supporters promise privately that he would appoint only pro-life justices and also appointing anti-abortion activist C. Everett Koop surgeon-general.<sup>71</sup> Reagan also repudiated the Equal Rights Amendment, called for the abolition of the Department of Education and appointed Christian Right activists to visible posts in his administration.<sup>72</sup>

An integral part in Reagan’s success or failure in implementing a general New Right and especially a Christian Right agenda is the role of the federal

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and in 1980 worked for Reagan’s election as liaison officer with conservative Christians. G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, p108. Peele in the chapter on the Religious Right looks at the impact and work of other Christian leaders and New Christian Right organisations on American politics and society.

<sup>70</sup> R.C Chandler, “The Wicked Shall Not Bear Rule: The Fundamentalist Heritage of the New Christian Right”, D.G Bromley and A. Shupe (ed.) New Christian Politics. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984, p55.

<sup>71</sup> Falwell notes the work that Everett Koop has done in the crusade against abortion before his appointment as surgeon-general. J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980; J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God’s Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988.

<sup>72</sup> Robert Billings of the Moral Majority, for example, took a post in the Department of Education. C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p84-85; R. Brownstein and N. Easton. Reagan’s Ruling Class: Portraits of the President’s Top 100 Officials. Washington DC: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982, especially p272; A.J Menendez. Evangelicals at the Ballot Box. Amherst: Prometheus Books, 1996, p135; R. Evans and R. Novak. The Reagan Revolution. NY: E.P.

judiciary and the Justice Department played, as it is one thing to preach about conservatism but another to actually take on American society and system. The Supreme Court and the federal judiciary were essential to the Reagan New Right revolution as federal judges are selected by the president, and they not only interpret the Constitution but also what it implies morally which is why presidents have attempted to promote a federal judiciary that reflects their ideological leaning.<sup>73</sup>

At the centre of the administration ideology was a “Constructionalist” or “Original Intent” approach to interpreting the Constitution which meant opposition to the liberal interpretation that had been predominant from the days of the Warren Court of the 1950s. The administration held, according to Attorney General Edwin Meese, that the Constitution should not be regarded: “...as some kind of super-municipal code, designed to address merely the problems of a particular era - whether those of 1787, 1789, or 1868.”, because it is ever-lasting, so there are no grounds for a lax or liberal interpretation of it.<sup>74</sup>

During his eight years in office, Reagan was able to appoint about four hundred federal judges, as well as a chief justice and three associate Supreme Court justices.<sup>75</sup> The Justice Department had to screen candidates very carefully to prevent judges with liberal views on abortion, civil rights, civil liberties and school prayer, obtaining posts. The effect was that gradually the Reagan appointees

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Dutton, 1981, p204-225; J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY Henry Holt & Co., 1988.

<sup>73</sup> J.D Hunter. Cultural Wars: The Struggle to Define America. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1990, p250-251.

<sup>74</sup> E. Meese III, “The Battle for the Constitution: The Attorney General Replies to His Critics.” Policy Review (35 Winter 1986), p32-35; B.A Perry and H.J Abraham, “The Reagan Supreme Court Appointees”, W.D Peterson and N.W Provizer. (ed.) Great Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court: Ratings & Case Studies. NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 1993, p317-354.

<sup>75</sup> Reagan in his first term appointed 130 district court judges (26 percent of the 506 sitting judges) and 31 judges to the regional appeals courts (23 percent of the 133 sitting judges). He also appointed 2 justices to the US Court of Appeals for the Federal circuit and three judges to the US Court of International Trade. The majority of his appointments were white males, although he appointed in his first term 17 women to the federal bench, including the first women to the US Supreme Court. Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 1984, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, Washington DC, Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1985, p214, p243; B.A Perry and H.J Abraham, “The Reagan Supreme Court Appointees”, W.D Peterson and N.W Provizer. (ed.) Great Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court: Ratings & Case Studies. NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 1993, p317-354.

changed the attitude of the Supreme Court.<sup>76</sup> After 1984, the Court whittled away at previous decisions that had made police responsible for making suspects aware of their rights. It also approved limitations on bail, affirmed most state capital punishment laws, and allowed the introduction in court of some illegally seized evidence. Following the Kennedy confirmation, the Court conservative majority began to chip away at affirmative action.<sup>77</sup> Thus, Reagan began the assault on secular humanism by placing conservatives on the bench.

If the United States was to be re-invigorated, members of the New Christian Right argued, an emphasises on traditional education and morality was needed<sup>78</sup> and some of the fiercest battles between the secularists and religious were fought within the area of education.<sup>79</sup> Leading conservatives came to argue that it was no wonder that the youth of America was losing faith in the system as they simply lacked knowledge about liberal democracy and their own history. American schools, conservatives claimed, no longer taught students the proper history of the country with the result that high school graduates did not know about the Magna Carta, the Bible, the Greek polis, the Federalist Papers, the Lincoln-Douglas debates and so forth.<sup>80</sup> The failure of the educational system was also blamed on permissive teachers, sex education, wasteful spending and a lack

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<sup>76</sup> M. Schaller, V Scharff and R.D Schulzinger. Present Tense: The United States Since 1945. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992, p521-523.

On June 11, 1986, the Supreme Court struck down a Pennsylvania law that regulated abortion by a vote of 5-4 and thus upheld the 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* decision. The significance according to the authors, which anti-abortionists pointed to, was the narrowness of the decision as in 1973 was 7-2. J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988, p216.

<sup>77</sup> M. Schaller, V Scharff and R.D Schulzinger. Present Tense: The United States Since 1945. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992, p521-523. For the hard work that the Justice Department did in order to reverse many of the liberal aspects of American society see D.W Kmiec. The Attorney General's Lawyer: Inside the Meese Justice Department. NY: Praeger, 1992. Kmiec directed the Office of Legal Counsel, US Justice Department, 1985-1989. He also served as deputy and then as assistant Attorney General. He is a Catholic and ideologue who opposed abortion and supported an "Original Intent" approach.

<sup>78</sup> See for example J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980.

<sup>79</sup> On the importance of education see for example J.D Hunter. Cultural Wars: The Struggle to Define America. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1990. For education and social conservatives see N. Glazer, "The 'Social Agenda' ", J.L Palmer. (ed.) Perspectives on the Reagan Years. Washington DC: The Urban Institute Press, 1986, p5-30.

<sup>80</sup> W. Bennett, "Lost Generation: Why America's Children Are Strangers in Their Own Land?" *Policy Review* (33 1985). Bennett calls for the restoration of traditional education, especially history, in order to revitalise the American political system.

of attention to Western cultural traditions and the “three Rs.”<sup>81</sup> In the administration the campaign for the restoration of traditional values was led by Terry Bell, the Education Secretary.<sup>82</sup>

The debate about education was polarised even further with calls by members of the Christian Right to allow school prayers. The battle for school prayer, for the Christian Right essentially began in 1962, when the Supreme Court in *Engel v. Vitale* ruled that a non-denominational prayer by the New York Board of Regents violated the establishment clause of the First Amendment. This was followed in 1963, by a Supreme Court ruling in *Abington School District v. Schempp* which found a Pennsylvania statute requiring the reading of Bible verses, followed by the Lord’s Prayer, to be unconstitutional.<sup>83</sup> Reagan from very early on in his presidency worked both directly and through members in Congress to reverse the Supreme Court rulings preventing school prayer. In the end a compromise was reached in 1984, which allowed “...student religious organizations to meet in public high schools on the same terms as other student groups.”<sup>84</sup> This may not have been what the Christian Right wanted but it should be seen as a good start in the campaign to restore prayer in federal supported schools.

The Bob Jones University (BJU) episode highlighted Reagan’s attempts to fulfil the hopes that the Christian Right had in him. The case was important because “...during the Carter administration the same IRS had proposed very severe standards for private schools to guarantee nondiscrimination, in which they

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<sup>81</sup> M. Schaller, V Scharff and R.D Schulzinger. Present Tense: The United States Since 1945. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992, p525; R. Brownstein and N. Easton. Reagan’s Ruling Class: Portraits of the President’s Top 100 Officials. Washington DC: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982, p270.

<sup>82</sup> R. Brownstein and N. Easton. Reagan’s Ruling Class: Portraits of the President’s Top 100 Officials. Washington DC: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982, p270-275.

<sup>83</sup> C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p87-88; J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God’s Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988, p59, p231-232.

<sup>84</sup> PL 98-377 was short of what Christian conservatives wanted, but it was a beginning, as for the first time since the early 1960s, religious students were allowed to hold voluntary meetings in schools that received federal funds. There were several sub-clauses to the legislation that were designed to prevent abuse of the “establishment clause.” Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 98th Congress, 2nd Session 1984, Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1985, p489.

have had to pass a statistical test requiring enrollment of a certain number of minority students.”<sup>85</sup>

The BJU, in Greenville, South Carolina, had provided the New Christian Right with many leaders who received their undergraduate education as well as much of their training for the Christian ministry there.<sup>86</sup> The university, it is said, seeks to be thoroughly competitive, with the very best universities and colleges in the region, in academic terms while encouraging individual independence. Students are motivated to become self-sufficient, always dependent on the grace of God, but never looking to the government or some other agency for assistance. The school attracted attention mainly due to the IRS which challenged the university’s tax-exempt status, (although provocative and sometimes inflammatory statements that one or another of the three Bob Jones who had served as its leaders had also helped in raising the University’s notoriety).<sup>87</sup>

The trouble with the IRS began in 1970 when the administration of the school was asked to sign the Civil Rights Compliance Act which it refused to do on religious grounds. The IRS due to the refusal informed the university that its tax-exempt status would be withdrawn. In 1974 the case reached the Supreme Court which ruled that the IRS could not be prevented from doing something that it had not yet done and two years later, the school’s tax exempt status was withdrawn. On December 23, 1978, a federal district court ruled that the university was entitled to its tax-exempt status as a religious organisation. The IRS appealed, and again the matter had to be resolved by the Supreme Court (during which time Reagan campaigning in Greenville promised to rectify the situation if he was elected). On January 8, 1982, the administration announced that it was abandoning the IRS policy and that it would move to dismiss the BJU case on the ground of mootness. Due to public outcry the administration was forced to reverse itself, declaring that it would initiate legislation to give the IRS the authority to deny tax exempt status to discriminatory private schools. The

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<sup>85</sup> N. Glazer, “The ‘Social Agenda’ ”, J.L. Palmer. (ed.) Perspectives on the Reagan Years. Washington DC: The Urban Institute Press, 1986, p12.

<sup>86</sup> A good example is Robert (Bob) Billings, head of the National Christian Action Coalition, held a doctorate from the BJU. G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, p108.

initiative languished in Congress where it found no champion. The Reaganite Treasury Department, was prepared to grant tax exempt status to the university but on February 18, 1982, the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit issued a temporary order restraining the IRS and the Treasury from granting tax exemption to racial discriminatory private schools. On October 12, 1982, the case was heard by the Supreme Court and on May 24, 1983, the Court delivered its ruling against the BJU and the Goldsboro Christian School.<sup>87</sup> The affair, however, ended by emphasising that although the Religious Right may have been instrumental in assisting Reagan in the election, its agenda was not guaranteed as a result.

The New Christian Right had hoped that with Reagan at the helm, and with the aid of an increasingly conservative Congress it could restore America's lost morality. At the time one would have expected the Religious Right to be rather successful as they had both a willing President and a Congress that was inclined to take a more conservative stand on social policy. This is why it may first appear to be rather surprising that New Christian Right social revolution never reached the proportions that one had expected it to.

Gillian Peele has made an interesting observation as to why Reagan's social agenda was not very successful. She suggests that the House Democrats, with the up-and-coming 1982 congressional elections, had to re-assert their partisan identity. They therefore refused to assign key committee appointments to southern Democrats who were unwilling to pay sufficient attention to the party line. The Democrats also adopted, procedural rules that limited the ability of Congressmen to attach non-germane riders to appropriations bills. This had a dramatic impact especially on the conservative coalition as it reduced its opportunities for Congressmen such as Henry Hyde of Illinois to assert social

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<sup>87</sup> W.H Capps. The New Religious Right: Piety, Patriotism & Politics. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994.

<sup>88</sup> G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, p164-165; W.H Capps. The New Religious Right: Piety, Patriotism & Politics. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994, p89-93.

policy riders into law, as he had done with the Hyde Amendment, limiting the availability of Medicaid for abortions.<sup>89</sup>

In sum, the eight years that Reagan spent in the White House could be seen as somewhat of a failure as the main issues of the New Christian Right such as school prayer, abortion, homosexuality, and so forth remained very much part of American society. In fact their continued existence in American society has been of great concern for many conservative Christian organisations who work very hard to have them repealed and curtailed.<sup>90</sup>

The various pieces of legislation that the New Christian Right wanted never fully materialised as it often received half measures as was the case with school prayers. However, to view the decade as one of total failure in terms of social conservatism is a mistake, as Reagan elevated, acknowledged and encouraged conservative Christian who had not participated in politics to enter the fray of mainstream political discourse.<sup>91</sup> The Reagan presidency was organised to achieve a moral revolution as Reagan did not shy from using his office to promote his ideas of freedom and community:

“ Virtually all of Reagan’s domestic policy achievements either ended in that moral goal or proceeded from it. The cuts in the federal budget, the domestic and international stabilization of the dollar, the reduction of income tax rates, “revenue neutral” tax reform, the increase in voluntarism, the reforms in social policy, the emphasis on excellence in education combined with an insistence on infusing moral values into school curricula, the withdrawal of central government from some of its former regulatory and fiscal responsibility, the adherence to free trade and resistance to protectionism all became part of the president’s agenda because they reinforced his moral

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<sup>89</sup> G. Peele. Revival & Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, p144, p145.

Bailey had argued that initially the Reagan economic agenda was successful because ideological Republicans were prepared to focus on implementing Reagan’s agenda. This was coupled by the fact that Howard Baker in the early 1980s was able to marshal the troops effectively. C.J Bailey. The Republican Party in the US Senate, 1974-1984: Party Change and Institutional Development. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, p86-100.

<sup>90</sup> Clinton’s 1992 presidential campaign pledge to allow homosexuals into the military has shown how successful the ‘liberal lobby’ has been in American politics. However, Clinton’s had to adopt a less ‘radical’ policy in which one does not ask what is one’s sexual orientation, and thus homosexuals are able to serve.

<sup>91</sup> J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God’s Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988, especially p20-37.



objectives of preparing Americans for the task of living free.”<sup>92</sup>

The most visible legacy of the 1980s social conservative revolution, however, did not come in the area of legislation but rather in the form of the power that the Religious Right has in contemporary American politics.<sup>93</sup> This has had the effect of leading to a growth of conservatism within the realm of social policy both within the executive and the legislative branches of government.<sup>94</sup> That is, due to the 1980s an explosion in support for conservatism both as an ideology and as a movement has taken place and that can be seen clearly with the growing number of conservative PACs, magazines and movements. America, at least ideologically, had begun the process of returning to its historical affinity with social conservatism.

## **Foreign and Defence Policy - A Neoconservative**

### **Agenda**

The third major theme of the Reagan agenda was foreign policy which was closely linked to defence policy. Reagan's foreign policy doctrine was essentially formulated by his Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick.<sup>95</sup> Kirkpatrick - and the neoconservatives in general - held that Carter's foreign policy was a complete failure due to its idealistic approach to international relations which allowed left-wing Soviet-backed or simply anti-American regimes to emerge throughout the globe and threaten freedom and Western democracy. This is why for the neoconservatives it was sometimes better to allow right-wing dictators - who were actively hostile toward the Soviet Union - to remain in power rather than have them replaced by anti-American autocrats

<sup>92</sup> W.K. Muir, Jr., The Bully Pulpit: The Presidential Leadership of Ronald Reagan. San Francisco: ICS Press Publications, 1992, p18.

<sup>93</sup> See for example C. Wilcox, Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996; D.M. Oldfield, The Right and the Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996; W.H. Capps, The New Religious Right: Piety, Patriotism & Politics. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994; J. Carey, "The G.O.P. Mantra: Keep Dobson Happy." *Time* May 11, 1998.

<sup>94</sup> This attitude is very clear in N. Gingrich, To Renew America. NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995.

<sup>95</sup> J.J. Kirkpatrick, The Reagan Doctrine & US Foreign Policy. Washington DC: The Heritage Foundation, The Fund for an American Renaissance, 1985, p5.

(whether religious fundamentalists like Khomeini or communists like Ortega).<sup>96</sup> The Reagan Doctrine was therefore based on the idea that freedom is at the heart of everything: economics, politics, foreign policy and so forth. It is freedom - as understood by the American model - that motivates people and creates prosperity and happiness, and the bastion of freedom is the United States.<sup>97</sup>

The neoconservatives attitude complimented the traditional conservatives view of the Soviet Union which they regarded as an unscrupulous power-hungry state, governed by autocrats in the Kremlin whose only interest was the preservation of their totalitarian society at whatever cost.<sup>98</sup> Secretary of State Shultz claimed that the Soviet Union was ruled by an ideology and a national ambition that was designed "...to aggrandize its power and undermine the interests of democracies.", which is why the US and the Soviet Union could not have "true friendship and cooperation."<sup>99</sup> This view of the Soviet Union was essential in shaping the Reaganite defence and foreign policy, especially as according to them America's defence policy had remained in a state of flux for twenty-five years through the concept of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). To Reagan, MAD (being true to its acronym) was an insane policy, as no-one could win a nuclear war, although there were some people in the Pentagon who believed that such a war could be won, which is why Reagan claims he wanted to replace or remove the strategy. However, the problem was that the Soviet Union posed a real threat to the Western world which is why America had to revitalise

<sup>96</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick, "Dictatorships & Double Standards." *Commentary* 68, (5 1979); "US Security & Latin America." *Commentary* (1 1981); The Reagan Doctrine & US Foreign Policy. Washington DC: The Heritage Foundation, The Fund for an American Renaissance, 1985. Similar sentiments were expressed in N. Glazer, "American Values & Foreign Policy." *Commentary* 62 (1 1976), p32-37; C. Gershman, "The Rise and Fall of the New Foreign Policy Establishment." *Commentary* 70 (1 1980), p13-24.

<sup>97</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. The Reagan Doctrine & US Foreign Policy. Washington DC: The Heritage Foundation, The Fund for an American Renaissance, 1985, p5.

<sup>98</sup> W. Laqueur, "Containment for the '80s." *Commentary* 70 (4 1980), p33-42; P.H Nitze, "Strategy in the Decade of the 1980s: Do Negotiated Arms Limitation Have a Future?" *Foreign Affairs* 59 (1 1980), p82-101; N.D Sanchez, "The Communist Threat." *Foreign Policy* 52 (Fall 1983), p43-50.

<sup>99</sup> G.P Shultz, "New Realities and New Ways of Thinking." *Foreign Affairs* 63 (4 1985), p700. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence Sanchez had written that the Soviet Union "...is an expansionist power, imbued with a mission to spread its system throughout the world by whatever means, including force." N.D Sanchez, "The Communist Threat." *Foreign Policy* 52 (Fall 1983), p44.

and military force from top-to-bottom.<sup>100</sup> Thus, under Reagan, America's defence and foreign policy were designed to prevent war by maintaining its forces and demonstrating a preparedness to use those forces in such a way that would show America's enemies that the cost of attack would exceed the benefits that would be gained.

The Reaganites to further justify their defence build-up also claimed that it would enable the United States to negotiate far more effectively with the Soviet Union (while curtailing its expansionist ambitions). The Soviets, it was believed could and would only negotiate when standing against an equal or a superior force.<sup>101</sup> In other words, America had to spend on its defence in order to reduce its defence while pursuing quiet diplomacy.<sup>102</sup>

The rise in Soviet power, it was further argued, also had the effect of destabilising the balance of power model while emphasising that the whole policy of containment had shown itself to be ineffective as Soviet influence was seen in Central America, the Caribbean and southern Africa. The Soviets used the Brezhnev Doctrine of 1968 to support and equip Marxist insurgencies who were inspired by the Soviet philosophy. Moreover, Secretary of State Haig claimed that Soviet expansionism occurred because Carter had chosen not to resist it, which meant that American national interests suffered as a result.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>100</sup> R. Reagan. *An American Life*. London: Hutchinson, 1990, p257-258, and throughout.

<sup>101</sup> Nitze writes that the British Ambassador to Moscow, Sir William Hayter compared the Russians' negotiation tactic to that of a defective vending machine. You put the coin in and nothing comes out, you can shake the machine and you may get the coin back, but there is no point in talking to the machine. Nitze asserts that the communists see the world through the notion of class struggle and their strategy is based on pouncing when they have the advantage, while when they are at a disadvantage they will either hold fast or retreat a little until the balance of power turns in their favour. P.H. Nitze, "Living With the Soviets." *Foreign Affairs* 63 (2 1984-85), p360-374. See also W. Laqueur, "What We Know About the Soviet Union." *Commentary* 75 (2 1983), p13-21.

<sup>102</sup> R. Reagan. *An American Life*. London: Hutchinson, 1990, p13-14; C.W Weinberger, "US Defense Strategy." *Foreign Affairs* 64 (4 1986), p675-697; C. Weinberger. *Fighting For Peace: Seven Critical Years At the Pentagon*. London: Michael Joseph, 1990; G.P Shultz, "New Realities and New Ways of Thinking." *Foreign Affairs* 63 (4 1985).

<sup>103</sup> A.M Haig. Jr. *Caveat: Realism, Reagan, & Foreign Policy*. NY: Macmillan Publishing, 1984, p26-27.

An integral link to this policy was a determination to aggressively promote the liberal democratic alternative to communism<sup>104</sup> because Americans felt that their country's righteous position had been toppled and the world was controlled by countries that were openly anti-American and therefore anti-democracy and freedom. To the Reaganites democratic countries are America's natural allies against the Soviet Union.

An important feature of Reagan's approach to foreign policy was his attitude to the "Vietnam Syndrome."<sup>105</sup> The debacle in Indochina was the first real military defeat that the United States had suffered in its two hundred years of history (Korea fell into a prolonged and bloody stalemate but essentially communism was curtailed, so it was half a victory).<sup>106</sup> In Vietnam, a guerrilla force poorly equipped compared to the US, managed to humble a superpower and that seriously undermined the fundamentals of America and led to a period of self doubt. The psychological effect of Vietnam was that it also divided the country into two groups diametrically opposed to one another with little chance of reconciliation between them. Reagan was determined to end that.

It is important to remember that at least in conservative minds the rot began in the mid-to-late 1960s when the counterculture, or rampant left-wing liberalism was in full swing in the United States. This was followed by the Nixonite and Kissingerite pursuit of détente which led not only to less-than-favourable treaties between the superpowers, but also to the recognition of the odious Peoples' Republic of China which had dire consequences for US-Taiwanese relationship - after decades of good relations. Carter aided the decline

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<sup>104</sup> R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990, p13-14; N. Ashford, "The Conservative Agenda and the Reagan Presidency", J. Hogan (ed.) The Reagan Years: The Record in Presidential Leadership. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1990, p189.

<sup>105</sup> T.G Paterson. Meeting the Communist Threat. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, p256-272.

<sup>106</sup> Adams notes that the Second World War created a certain image in the minds of future generations about war and its conduct. The problem was that war (in this case World War II) was very different from the images that were sent to the people as some Vietnam veterans for example found out.. These veterans "...understood that the movies had misled them about what war would be like. Others continued to think of the films as the way war really was in the 1940s and blamed themselves for having fought a "bad war" in Vietnam." They failed to realise that the coverage in Vietnam was far less cosmetic. M.C.C Adams. The Best War Ever: America and World War II. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994, p15.

by his lax approach to communism and the Soviet Union. Taking Andrew Young, Carter's Ambassador to the United Nations, as an example, his rather gradualist attitude in foreign policy was deemed incomprehensible. Young believed that one need not react aggressively if one found for example twenty Cubans somewhere as these few Cubans did not constitute a threat to peace.<sup>107</sup> This was because Ambassador Young believed that with effective leadership one could win over Marxist countries because a Marxist ideology could not deliver to people, services that capitalism could.<sup>108</sup>

The neoconservatives claimed that America's armed forces had been neglected for too long and the main effect had been a loss of morale. This, they argued was primarily because under Carter the armed forces were seen more as a place to learn a trade rather than an institution that needs and has to fight.<sup>109</sup> As Reagan himself stated America's military forces were "...so atrophied that our ability to respond effectively to a Soviet attack was very much in doubt: Fighter planes couldn't fly and warships couldn't sail because there were chronic shortages of spare parts; our best men and women were leaving the military service; the morale of our volunteer army was in a tailspin; our strategic weapons - the missiles and bombers that were the foundation of our deterrent force - hadn't been modernized in a decade, while the Soviet Union had created a war machine that was threatening to eclipse our at every level."<sup>110</sup> Thus, a central aim

<sup>107</sup> "I Don't Mind Being The Lighting Rod." *Newsweek* March 29, 1977, p18-19.

<sup>108</sup> "Outspoken Andy Young." *Newsweek* March 28, 1977. Finger argues that both Young and McHenry cultivated relations by working with the organisation. African delegates, Finger argues, liked Young and believed in his sincerity which is why whenever possible they tried to avoid embarrassing him. S.M Finger, "The Reagan-Kirkpatrick Policies and the United Nations." *Foreign Affairs* (Winter 1983-1984), p436-457.

<sup>109</sup> I. Kristol. Reflection of a Neoconservative: Looking Back, Looking Ahead. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1983, p257-60. Kristol claims that America's military problem has nothing to do with the expertise (in some ways the problem, Kristol argues, originated from too much focus on expertise). The problems that the military is faced with are to do with morale, discipline, and plain competence.

<sup>110</sup> R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990, p13. Reagan writes that Pentagon leaders told him appalling stories of how the Soviets were gaining on America militarily, both in nuclear and conventional forces. The Soviets were spending fifty percent more each year on weapons than the US. America's armed forces suffered from very small paycheques which made some enlisted men and women eligible for welfare benefits; many military personal were so ashamed of being in the service that as soon as they left their posts they put on civilian cloths. Reagan was determined to reverse this. And to show that the American people supported him,

of Reagan was to revitalise the morale of America's arms forces. This was pursued on two fronts, as on the one hand Reagan began to largest ever peace-time defence expenditure in American history<sup>111</sup> while also speaking up for the arms forces, thus providing it with morale and rhetorical support.

The election of Ronald Reagan brought a different approach to foreign policy which was assisted by the involvement and presence of many anti-communists - of various degrees - in the administration.<sup>112</sup> His attitude was highly ideological and that was imbued (to an extent) with conservative Christian theology. To the Reaganites the Soviet Union was "an evil empire" and the United States was engaged in a battle for the future of the survival of the free world. If the Soviet Union was to triumph, darkness would befall the world. Thus, Reagan's foreign and defence policies were geared around these views. In the words of Secretary Shultz:

"The Soviets had to be made to realize that they could not succeed with aggression, nor could they win an arms race. But we did not want to spark conflict through fear or miss opportunities to resolve outstanding problems. President Reagan recognized the Soviet Union for what it was: aggressive, repressive, and economically bankrupt, but militarily powerful, with an arsenal of strategic nuclear weapons able to devastate us in thirty minutes. We must recognize this reality, I knew, but we should also be ready to deal with the Soviets more constructively if the opportunity arose. We had to gather support for this approach: from Congress, the press, and the public. Global stability depended on how we dealt with the Soviets."<sup>113</sup>

The problem that scholars have now come to realise is that very much like the "missile gap" of the Kennedy campaign, the Reagan defence plan was far

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he notes that when he travelled around the country and asked the people if they would rather have a balanced budget or a national defence, the people always came down on the side of national defence, p234-235.

<sup>111</sup> It has been calculated that if one gave the annual defence budget for the year 1979 to Jesus Christ, he would have to spend \$100,000 a day from the day he was born right until 1982 and he would still have 750 years of spending left. D.W Maguire. The New subversives: Anti-Americans and the Religious Right. NY: The Continuum Publishing Co., 1982, p17.

<sup>112</sup> R. Brownstein and N. Easton. Reagan's Ruling Class: Portraits of the President's Top 100 Officials. Washington DC: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982, p433-640.

<sup>113</sup> G.P Shultz. Turmoil & Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State. NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993, p6.

more complex than its patron made it out.<sup>114</sup> The Reaganites claimed that under Carter the armed forces were neglected to such an extent that they could not only defend the free world but could not effectively defend the United States. However, OMB Director David Stockman writes that when he began examining the defence budget in greater depth he came to realise that the defence establishment would receive \$1.46 trillion over five years. This was possible because at 1980 the defence establishment was to receive \$142 billion which would rise to \$368 billion by 1986. The GOP campaign proposal for defence increases of five, seven or nine percent had been predicted on Carter's 1980 defence budget of \$142 billion. However, due to Desert One, Congress had raised Carter's request for defence with nine percent real growth in it. Reagan then added another twelve percent and another fifteen percent on top of the 1981 figures. Thus, instead of starting with a defence budget of \$142 billion, the administration began with a \$222 billion which was then raised by seven percent (and compounded over five years). Consequently, the defence budget increased in real terms by five percent between 1980 and 1986, double what Reagan promised during his campaign.<sup>115</sup>

The determination to be assertive in foreign policy began early on with the Poland crisis. This particular incident is most informative as it revealed that Reagan was prepared to damage relations with his European allies, refuse to take the advice of his Secretary of State to remain true to his conservative aggressive attitude concerning the Soviets. "The fact is, a credible Western deterrent is the only thing that will make the demands of the movement as credible to the Russians as they are now audible to the West, because it is the only thing that will

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<sup>114</sup> A number of members of the Snowcroft Commission who examined America's defence status found that the "window of vulnerability" that had been discussed in 1979 and 1980 "had rather been exaggerated." R.J. Woolsey, "The Politics of Vulnerability: 1980-1983." *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1984), p805-819.

<sup>115</sup> D.A. Stockman. The Triumph of Politics: The Crisis in American Government & How It Affects the World. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986, p114-115.

let democracy live long enough to deal with this fearful issue. The bomb will be banned only if democracy survives.”<sup>116</sup>

On December 29, 1981, Reagan responded to the Polish authorities declaration of martial law and the arrest of prominent leaders of the Solidarity. He prohibited new credits and exports to Poland, imposing economic sanctions against Moscow which had assembled a large military force on the Polish border to dissuade Poles from rising against the authorities’ measures. Reagan also suspended Aeroflot service to American airports, deferred talks on a new long-term grain commitment, halted the issuance of or renewal of export licenses for electronic equipment and computers, and a stay of export licenses for certain oil and gas equipment, including pipelayers. On June 18, 1982, Reagan announced that any European firm operating on a US licence or any American subsidiary working in Europe must break all pipeline contracts. This caused uproar in Europe as the European governments claimed that American foreign policy was encroaching upon their sovereignty. One must remember that this policy came just before the most important year in the Reagan era in terms of foreign policy as 1983 was a year for nuclear arms negotiations. American missiles, as agreed by NATO members were due to be deployed in Europe in 1983 to counter the missile threat which the Soviets hoped would intimidate the West Europeans and divide the NATO allies. Thus, By 1983, US-Soviet relations, Shultz writes, were “virtually nonexistent.”<sup>117</sup>

One of the most decisive acts taken by President Reagan as part of his foreign policy agenda occurred in the Caribbean in October 1984. The invasion of the island took place after the United States was asked by the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) with Jamaica and Barbados, to assist them “...to restore order and democracy in Grenada.” The administration further justified its actions by pointing out that there were about a thousand American nationals on the island, eight hundred of them medical students at St. George’s

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<sup>116</sup> A.M Haig, Jr. *Caveat: Realism, Reagan, & Foreign Policy*. NY: Macmillan Publishing, 1984, p238-260, (quote from p237); M.E Goldstein. *Arms Control & Military Preparedness from Truman to Bush*. NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 1993, p204-5.



University. Attempts were made to remove the Americans in case they would be harmed or taken hostage but that failed.<sup>118</sup> It was felt by members of the administration that with the removal of Sir Eric Gairy "It became increasingly apparent that this small island was being used as a laboratory for the imposition of a far leftist regime, with what appeared to be active and growing Cuban and probably Soviet support."<sup>119</sup>

The invasion of Grenada, just like the bombing of Libya, provided the administration with the ability to claim that it was fulfilling its initial pledge to take action against international anti-Americanism. Grenada coupled with the involvement in Central America showed that the administration was determined to deal effectively with the apparent Soviet encroachment upon what America regarded as its sphere of influence.<sup>120</sup>

Ronald Reagan initially began his term with a rather tame State Department as the three top officials at the department were all Kissingerites, a man loathed by the New Right. They had been part of the foreign service and diplomacy for many years, (Stoessel and Eagleburger almost from finishing university).<sup>121</sup> These lesser ideologues, however, were slowly replaced, however, with people who were more committed to conservative ideology and who were prepared to take on the Soviet Union, sometimes with little consideration toward the feeling of America's allies.

The first Reagan administration adopted a very aggressive attitude toward communism and the Soviet Union, which saw relations between the superpowers

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<sup>117</sup> G.P Shultz. Turmoil & Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State. NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993, p5.

<sup>118</sup> "Address to the Nation on Events in Lebanon and Grenada", October 27, 1983, R. Reagan. Speaking My Mind. Hutchinson: London, 1990, p193; G.P Shultz. Turmoil & Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State. NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993, p323-345.

<sup>119</sup> C. Weinberger. Fighting For Peace: Seven Critical Years At the Pentagon. London: Michael Joseph, 1990, p73 and throughout; R.A Pastor, "The Reagan Administration and Latin America: Eagle Insurgent", K.A Oye, R.J Lieber and D. Rothchild. (ed.) Eagle Resurgent? The Reagan Era in American Foreign Policy. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1987, p359-392.

<sup>120</sup> K.A Oye, "Constrained Confidence and the Evolution of Reagan Foreign Policy", K.A Oye, R.J Lieber and D. Rothchild. (ed.) Eagle Resurgent? The Reagan Era in American Foreign Policy. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1987, p3-39.

reaching their lowest point by 1982-1983. The huge defence budget that Reagan allocated coupled with his rhetoric which was backed by action made the world take notice that Reagan's America was very different from that of Carter as American troops were dispatched to the Middle East, Central and Latin America. The United States took greater interest and involvement in world affairs and it aggressively promoted its own national interest agenda under the mask of Wilsonian idealism. The United States, under Ronald Reagan sought to show that the American eagle would triumph over the Soviet bear, and would lead the world to new heights. In his second term, Reagan did relax some of his bellicosity and that attracted some unhappy criticism from neoconservatives but even that was tamed when compared to the attacks that the administration was facing on the social and economic spheres.

### CONCLUSION

The period of 1981 to 1989 was truly remarkable as it was during that time that much of the contemporary world was re-shaped, especially as it established the foundation of the end of the Soviet Union with which the Reagan administration has been associated. The Reagan era was certainly a confusing time, as its imagery is so contradictory (which is perhaps why it has remained so fascinating?) When seeking to see whether the administration fulfilled its New Rightist credentials one encounters many problems which highlight the magnitude and diversity of the movement. The problem however is that the American political system does not permit an administration to remain committed to an ideology, as it demands compromise which cannot co-exist with ideology.<sup>122</sup>

The Reagan administration was certainly influenced by New Right ideas as supply-side economics coupled with a free-market disposition played a significant if not crucial role in transforming the American economy. Legislation such as

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<sup>121</sup> R. Brownstein and N. Easton. Reagan's Ruling Class: Portraits of the President's Top 100 Officials. Washington DC: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982, p539-555.

<sup>122</sup> The refusal of the Christian Right under Gary Bauer to compromise over abortion highlights this. J. Carey, "The G.O.P.'s Troublemaker." *Time* January 19, 1998, See also Stockman's

ERTA were products of New Right - anti-liberal - ideas. In the social area, the administration attempted to bring about widespread reform, and although it suffered some of its worst defeats in this area, it had the effect of bringing about a serious debate about American morality and the direction of American society. The involvement of the administration in such issues as abortion, school prayer, tax-exempt status, showed that Reagan at least tried to appear to be a social reformer. Coupled with this moral debate a more pragmatic attitude was also adopted in the social agenda area and that was brought about by the anti-liberals and the neoconservatives who both (although in different measures) felt that America of the Great Society was in need of reform. The Reagan administration was responsible for a great and significant cut in social welfare. In the area of foreign policy the neoconservatives' anti-communist attitude prevailed. Thus, all in all, the administration could be seen as one that was heavily influenced by New Right ideas with many members of the New Right (or people who were sympathetic towards their agenda) holding down important positions, none other than the post held by the leading neoconservative in the administration Jeane Kirkpatrick, as America's permanent representative to the United Nations.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NEW RIGHT & THE UNITED NATIONS: THE KIRKPATRICK ERA

The appointment of Jeane Kirkpatrick as America's permanent representative to the United Nations combined with her long tenure at Turtle Bay revolutionised US-UN relations. Kirkpatrick's post was very important, not only because it entitled its holder to a cabinet seat and the rank of ambassador but because: "...the U.S. mission to the United Nations is the focal point of U.S. relations not only with U.N. agencies but with the other 153 member states of the U.N."<sup>1</sup> Thus, Reagan's decision to entrust such a position to an academic and a novice in international diplomacy who often expressed her opinions forcefully<sup>2</sup> while also being an "avowed Democrat,"<sup>3</sup> was very surprising. At first glance due to Kirkpatrick's diplomatic inexperience one would not have expected her to cause such an uproar especially as in her nomination hearing she stated that part of the reason behind America's growing influence in the United Nations was the quiet diplomacy of Donald McHenry, her predecessor. She in fact: "...hope[d] to model my own role, if confirmed, at the U.N. very much on the quite effective, persuasive style of operation that Don McHenry has illustrated for us."<sup>4</sup> However, Kirkpatrick rather than follow a tamed approach adopted an aggressive stance, which was very much at odds with the nature and style of the United Nations. The organisation after all is composed of sovereign members and that requires

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<sup>1</sup> The statement is by Chairman Percy of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations while at the same hearing Senator Pell also noted that the US Ambassador to the UN is second only to the Secretary of State - the person who guides American foreign policy. "Nomination of Jeane Kirkpatrick", hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, 97th Congress, 1st Session, January 15, 1981, Washington DC: US GPO, 1981.

<sup>2</sup> "Kirkpatrick has been criticized for her tendency to lecture Third World representatives as if they were undergraduates, for not learning the intricacies of UN politics, and for preferring to express her ideology rather than focus on concrete political goals." S.M Finger, "The Reagan-Kirkpatrick Policies and the United Nations." *Foreign Affairs* (Winter 1983-1984), p436-457. See especially his comparison between Kirkpatrick and Young.

<sup>3</sup> "Nomination of Jeane Kirkpatrick", hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, 97th Congress, 1st Session, January 15, 1981, Washington DC: US GPO, 1981, p5. Reagan was a committed Republican ideologue who had a tendency to follow his advisers who were also ideologues, which is why a Democratic appointee would not theoretically fit in.

<sup>4</sup> "Nomination of Jeane Kirkpatrick", hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, 97th Congress, 1st Session, January 15, 1981, Washington DC: US GPO, 1981, p12-13.

quiet diplomacy and compromise,' something not really associate with the Kirkpatrick era.

Kirkpatrick's appeal to Reagan, was in her dissatisfaction and unhappiness with President Carter's foreign policy which she felt enabled the Soviet Union and anti-Americanism to expand throughout the globe and threaten the United States, its system, and its democratic allies.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the administration found it beneficial to have someone with a similar outlook<sup>7</sup> at the United Nations because it was already "...committed to an active and vigorous American role in the United Nations because we [the Administration] think that what goes on there is important."<sup>8</sup> It is perhaps rather ironic but also very telling about the importance of conservative ideology, that Republican conservatives were later to say that Kirkpatrick, a former Democrat and an academic was "...second only to the President himself in giving the Administration a sense of purpose and direction."<sup>9</sup>

The Reagan-Kirkpatrick era in some ways is rather easy to summarise because their attitudes toward the UN was consistent and simple. Ronald Reagan entered the White House with the clear intention of restoring and reasserting American power in the world. The UN being a microcosm of world affairs was to play an important part in Reagan's foreign policy, as just like in the world in general, American prestige had fallen in the organisation. Thus, by reviving American stock in the United Nations, the administration hoped to encourage a renaissance of Americanism throughout the globe, which will be invaluable in the

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<sup>5</sup> See Kirkpatrick's testimony in "International Organization and Multilateral Diplomacy", hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, 99th Congress, 1st Session, April 16, 1985, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985.

<sup>6</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick, "Dictatorship and Double Standards." *Commentary* 68 (5 1979); "US Security and Latin America." *Commentary* (1 1981); The Reagan Doctrine and US Foreign Policy. Washington DC: The Heritage Foundation, the Fund for American Renaissance, 1985. In this Kirkpatrick was not alone as many other conservative Democrats were unhappy with Carter's foreign policy.

<sup>7</sup> "Nomination of Jeane Kirkpatrick", hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, 97th Congress, 1st Session, January 15, 1981, Washington DC: US GPO, 1981, p16.

<sup>8</sup> "General View of the U.N. System", address by Elliott Abrams before a Conference of U.N. Representatives of the United Nations Association-USA, New York, June 5, 1981. Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, p1.

<sup>9</sup> The statement is by Richard Viguerie and is taken from A. Wolfson, "The World According to Kirkpatrick: Is Ronald Reagan Listening?" *Policy Review* (31 1985), p68. Throughout the article Wolfson praises Mrs. Kirkpatrick for what many conservative Republicans see as her great work in developing and promoting US foreign policy especially in the UN.

ideological war. "The Reagan Administration was elected because it promised and in a sense embodied a resurgence of national spirit. And this new confidence in our values and our society will be reflected in what we do and what we say in the United Nations. We have lost control of the symbols and language of progress but we can regain this control."<sup>10</sup>

Kirkpatrick's as America's representative and Reagan's appointee, was at New York to do the following: first, protect and advance American interests, something that New Righters felt had been neglected for too long (Kirkpatrick was to guarantee an "America First" ethos).

Second, and this was very much a continuation of the "America First" policy, was the promotion of the American style political system. An integral part of Reagan's foreign policy doctrine was the advancement of Western liberal democracy.<sup>11</sup> The expansion of Soviet influence in the world seemed to give credence to the belief that the Soviets overall strategy for the 1980s was based on their quest for world domination.<sup>12</sup> The United Nations attracts considerable media attention - something that the New Right was very aware of - and with Kirkpatrick, the administration had an opportunity to have an effective salesperson of western democracy who would also castigate the Soviet system. By highlighting the advantages of the American system and deficiencies of the Soviet one, the US could score substantial points in the ideological war. This was very important in the 1980s primarily because the two superpowers could not engage in outright war, which forced them to compete on other levels. Furthermore, part of the assault also dealt with what the Reaganites felt was a new interpretation of the UN Charter. In this area there was some affinity (if not a link) between the UN

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<sup>10</sup> "General View of the U.N. System", address by Elliott Abrams, before a Conference of UN representatives of the United Nations Association-USA, New York, June 5, 1981, Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981. See also Kirkpatrick's statement in "International Organization and Multilateral Diplomacy", hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, 99th Congress, 1st Session, April 16, 1985, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985.

<sup>11</sup> "International Organizations and Multilateral Diplomacy", hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, 99th Congress, 1st Session, April 16, 1985, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985.

<sup>12</sup> P.H. Nitze, "Strategy in the Decade of the 1980s: Do Negotiated Arms Limitation Have A Future." *Foreign Affairs* 59 (1 1980), p82-101.

and US internal politics, as the Reagan administration was seeking to see a return to a more 'Constructionalist' interpretation of the Constitution.

A third theme that Kirkpatrick promoted was concerning the so-called politicisation of the United Nations. It was felt that the organisation had abandoned its traditional aims and adopted a political agenda that was inimical to American and western interests while highly beneficial to the Soviet bloc and anti-Americans. An important function of the of the US Mission was mass conversion and the prevention of Soviet expansionism. This meant that it therefore had to effectively deal with the incessant harassment and criticism of the West and the US by the organisation and its members.<sup>13</sup> This was coupled by the belief of some Americans that the programs and policies that the organisation was pursuing were not only political in nature but also expensive in implementation.<sup>14</sup> This was unacceptable to Americans particularly because they were being asked to accept a domestic austerity program so that their country's economic vitality could be restored, it was therefore only fair that the United Nations would do the same.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, the administration was determined to deal with the whole issue of "rights" especially human rights and the way the United Nations was being used, if not manipulated, into attacking the western and pro-American states through the "rights debate." This again struck a cord with conservatives in the United States who were unhappy with the evolution of the counterculture 'rights' revolutions which led to such things as affirmative action programs which they disliked.<sup>16</sup>

These themes that Kirkpatrick and her staff promoted during their long stay in Turtle Bay manifested themselves in speeches on the decline of the US within the United Nations and the world, the promotion of socialist-backed

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<sup>13</sup> Senator Percy's statement is again very telling as he acknowledged the importance of both the US Mission to the UN and the organisation itself. "Nomination of Jeane Kirkpatrick", hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, 97th Congress, 1st Session, January 15, 1981, Washington DC: US GPO, 1981.

<sup>14</sup> See for example some of Kirkpatrick's speeches in Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988.

<sup>15</sup> "The U.S. Role in the United Nations" prepared statement of Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organization of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 1st Session, September 27, and October 3, 1983, Washington: US GPO, 1984.

<sup>16</sup> See for example O. Hatch, "Loading the Economy." *Policy Review* (Winter 1980); P. Schlafly, "Shall I Compare Thee to a Plumber's Pay? Comparable Worth Collapse." *Policy Review* (31 Winter 1985).

policies and ideas, questions over liberty, a liberal interpretation of the Charter, and much more. The US Mission itself, at least at the top levels, had people who shared many of Kirkpatrick's views (Kenneth Adelman and Charles Lichenstein being prime examples).

The most curious thing about the administration's approach to the United Nations was that although the organisation was constantly harangued and there was talk about withdrawing from the UN or removing it from the territory of the United States,<sup>17</sup> the consensus was that the administration and Congress<sup>18</sup> were committed to it. This was possible because, it was felt that: "The cumulative impact of decisions of UN bodies influence opinions all over the world about what is legitimate, what is acceptable, who is lawless and who is repressive, what countries are and are not capable of protecting themselves and their friends in the world body."<sup>19</sup> The Reaganites felt that the problems that the UN faced were not structural so much, as the foundation of the organisation was sound (the same situation that one saw in domestic policy and the debate about the expansion of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court). Kirkpatrick herself stated that the United Nations had done well in mobilising "free nations" against aggression as happened with the Korean War, while it also "galvanized world public opinion against

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<sup>17</sup> In September 1983, Charles Lichenstein, the Deputy Permanent Representative, told a United Nations Committee that if UN members did not like the way they were being treated in America, they should "seriously consider removing themselves and this organization from the soil of the United States." He further added "We will put no impediment in your way and we will be at dockside bidding you a fond farewell as you set off into the sunset." Taken from the Introduction in B.Y Pines. A World Without a U.N.: What Would Happen if the United Nations Shut Down?. Washington DC: Heritage Foundation, 1984. Pines also adds, that Lichenstein "...might not have realized it at the time, but Lichenstein was expressing the feelings of great numbers - perhaps most - of his country-men."

<sup>18</sup> "38th Session of the U.N. General Assembly", September 19 - December 20, 1983, Report of Congressional Delegates to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives, September 30, 1985, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985. The Report is very much against relocating the UN, as being not only expensive, but for costing the US and the State of New York to lose \$700 million annually, and several million in UN program purchases of American exports and equipment.

<sup>19</sup> "US Participation in the United Nations", statement by Jeane Kirkpatrick before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the Senate Appropriations Committee, March 2, 1984, Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Information, 1984, p2; "General View of the U.N. System", address by Elliott Abrams, before a conference of UN representatives of the United Nations Association-USA, New York, June 5, 1981, Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981.



inhumanity.”<sup>20</sup> especially as votes - and by implication actions of and within the organisation - attract world attention. “The agendas of the principal UN bodies have a unique influence on the perception of global problems because, to an extent not appreciated in the United States, discussions, debates, and votes in the United Nations are followed in the world press. Subjects discussed in major UN fora come to be widely regarded as important.”<sup>21</sup> Moreover an important aspect when approaching the Reagan administration attitude toward the UN is to remember that to its mind the organisation was inherently American-created<sup>22</sup> and American-sponsored which made the fact that it had turned against the United States incomprehensible.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the United Nations in the early 1980s to American conservative politicians, was still salvageable if one was willing to work at it, and it appears that they were. This was coupled with the administration’s aim of reversing America’s apparent impotence in the organisation.<sup>24</sup>

### **THE CARTER YEARS**

The assault on the United Nations by the Reagan administration was very much due to the approach of the Carter administration to the organisation. The Reaganites provided a new policy and a new interpretation to US-UN relations. Carter’s foreign policy in general was far more benign than Reagan’s, as Carter was not only aware of America’s inadequacies but he was prepared to admit them

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<sup>20</sup> “Nomination of Jeane Kirkpatrick”, hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, 97th Congress, 1st Session, January 15, 1981, Washington DC: US GPO, 1981, p7. Kirkpatrick also points to the good work done by UNICEF, UNDP, WHO, UNHCR, and Office of UN Disaster Relief Coordinator, p8-9.

<sup>21</sup> This is why the UN could damage a country’s reputation and Kirkpatrick points to the attempts by Israel’s enemies to disparage it as a prime example. “U.S. Participation in the United Nations”, statement by Jeane Kirkpatrick before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the Senate Appropriations Committee, March 2, 1984, Washington DC: State Department Bureau of Public Affairs, 1984.

<sup>22</sup> It was Roosevelt who coined the phrase ‘United Nations,’ while Archibald MacLeish was the author of the preamble of the UN Charter. “Prizes and Parking Tickets.” *Newsweek* October 30, 1995.

<sup>23</sup> “General View of the U.N. System”, address by Elliott Abrams, before a Conference of UN representatives of the United Nations Association-USA, New York, June 5, 1981, Washington DC: State Department Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981.

<sup>24</sup> “General View of the U.N. System”, address by Elliott Abrams, before a Conference of UN representatives of the United Nations Association-USA, New York, June 5, 1981, Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981. Abrams re-states America’s commitment to the UN and its determination to aid it back onto the ‘right’ path.

to the world. In the words of ambassador Young: "Since the mid-1960s, however, changes have occurred. "Pawns" grew into major figures on the world chessboard with moves of their own strategies independent of the game of traditional power players. The entire nature of world and U.S. politics shifted. The United Nations no longer was "our" instrument. And in the interval, our perception of ourself [sic.] as a nation with global responsibilities also underwent drastic alteration. While still remaining in the absolute sense the major military, economic, and political power in the world, our relative strength has diminished in comparison, not only to the Soviet Union but to our Western partners and to significant numbers of Third World countries as well."<sup>25</sup>

The Carterite foreign policy embraced the principles of interdependence as it was felt that the world and even the United States could no longer rely on just America to save it from the economic and social chaos that had developed by the mid and late 1970s.<sup>26</sup> The United Nations being an international forum in which every country was represented could and should, the Carterites maintained, be employed to end the economic, social and political despair that many in the world found themselves in. Carter's Secretary of State, Edmund Muskie for example, called upon the General Assembly: "...to adopt a realistic international development strategy that will help improve developments prospects." Furthermore, Muskie added: "The vision we [Americans] share is a vision of opportunity and of peace. It is within our capacity to alter the future to fit that vision. The resources do exist. The solution can be found, together we can summon the will. Knowing what is at stake, we must not fail."<sup>27</sup> Statements such

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<sup>25</sup> "United Nations: Serving American Foreign Policy Interests" statement by Andrew Young, submitted to the Subcommittee on State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary & Related Agencies of the Senate Appropriation Committee, April 2, 1979, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 79, 2027, June 1979, p47.

<sup>26</sup> J.A Rosati. The Carter Administration's Quest For Global Community: Beliefs and Their Impact on Behavior. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987.

<sup>27</sup> "Securing the World's Common Future", statement by Edmund Muskie, before the 11th Special Session of the UN General Assembly, August 25, 1980, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 80, No. 2043, October 1980; "U.N. Common Needs in a Diverse World", address by Cryus R. Vance, before the 34th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, September 24, 1979, Washington DC: State Department Bureau of Public Affairs, 1979; "The U.S., the U.N. & the Year 2000", address by R.L McCall, before the St. Louis Regional

as this must have shaken such men as Robertson, Falwell, Helms and any other New Righter as they called for greater UN intervention while noting America's apparent decline.

For the Carterites, criticism of the United Nations stemmed from a small group of people in Congress who were unable to reconcile themselves to America's relative decline. These conservative legislators could not understand or accept the Third World's occasional use of the UN as a forum to criticise or rebuff the United States.<sup>28</sup> If taking human rights as an example of the disappointment that conservatives had in Carter's foreign policy, one could turn to Kirkpatrick who noted that:

“ Viewing the Carter Administration's human rights policy in retrospect, it seems fair to conclude that its principal aims were to infuse U.S. foreign policy with “moral content,” to create a broad domestic consensus behind the Administration's foreign policy goals, and, generally speaking, to make Americans feel good about themselves. Whether the policy succeeded in achieving any of these objectives is debatable. One thing, however, is clear: the thrust of U.S. human rights policy, as it evolved under the Carter Administration, was directed mainly against U.S. allies. Instead of using the human rights issue to place the totalitarian states on the defensive, the U.S. frequently joined totalitarians in attacking pro-Western authoritarian states, and actually helped to destabilize pro-Western regimes in Nicaragua and Iran.”<sup>29</sup>

Ronald Reagan sought a foreign policy that would first “revitalize” the US and the world economy as a basis for the social and economic development of America and other nations; and second, provide adequate defence in a precarious period in world history.<sup>30</sup> The Reaganites were not prepared to accept what they

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Commerce & Growth Association, October 14, 1980, Washington DC: State Department Bureau of Public Affairs, 1980.

<sup>28</sup> “U.S. Relationship with the U.N.”, address by Donald McHenry at the 35th Convocation of the U.S. United Nations Association, April 19, 1980, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 80, No. 2043, October 1980; “United Nations: Serving American Foreign Policy Interests”, statement by Andrew Young, submitted to the Subcommittee on State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary & Related Agencies of the Senate Appropriation Committee, April 2, 1979, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 79, No. 2027, June 1979.

<sup>29</sup> J.J. Kirkpatrick. *Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension*. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, “Human Rights in the Carter Years”, address before Kenyon College, Human Rights Conference, Kenyon, Ohio, April 4, 1981, p144.

<sup>30</sup> “Cooperative Strategy For Global Growth”, address by President Reagan before the World Affairs Council, Philadelphia, October 15, 1981, Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981.

felt was a decade long American laxity in the UN which brought about a standing ovation for Idi Amin, an anti-Zionist resolution in the General Assembly and a UN official meeting with the PLO.<sup>31</sup> This of course does not negate the fact that the Reagan administration itself suffered several set-backs in the United Nations.<sup>32</sup> US failures, however in the United Nations, the Reaganites felt, were due to the anti-Americanism that seemed to control the organisation.

### **THE UNITED NATIONS, THE NEW RIGHT AND THE "AMERICA FIRST" ETHOS**

The New Right was a national chauvinistic movement which regards the United States to be superior to other nations which is why the decline of the 1970s was unacceptable to it. New Righters maintained that America has a "Manifest Destiny" which is to spread the ideals of its system around the world, as it is an enlightened society. "When we hear about development, we [Americans] can rightfully say that there has never been a more astonishing example of economic development than the way political and economic freedom turned this empty continent into the most productive land in the history of the world."<sup>33</sup>

The United Nations was considered by Americans when it was first established, to be an excellent medium to highlight the supremacy of their system. The problem, however, was that with the evolution of the organisation, America could no longer promote its values especially as the UN was regarded as having abandoned its traditional principles (which the founders had clearly set-out in the Charter). The United Nations, it was claimed, adopted an outlook that was inimical to American interests and by implications to the world which could only

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<sup>31</sup> The people who helped destroy Carter, were members of his own administration dealing with the UN in Washington and New York. They never understood their function and how to deal with the organisation. D.P Moynihan, "Joining the Jackals": The US at the UN, 1977-1980." *Commentary* 71 (2 1981), p23-31.

<sup>32</sup> One disappointment occurred with the Nicaragua case at the International Court of Justice and another major disappointment for the Americans was the General Assembly's condemnation of their decision to extradite Abu Ein, a Palestinian, accused of a terrorist act in Israel, A. Gerson. The Kirkpatrick Mission: Diplomacy Without Apology, America At the United Nations, 1981-1985. NY: The Free Press, 1991, p255-275, p69-80.

benefit by embracing the American system as Japan and Germany did after World War II. Americans after all truly believed that they "...are in the fortunate position that the values asserted in 1776 have in large measure been accepted by the world."<sup>34</sup>

The decline of American prestige in the United Nations could be traced to the decolonisation process that began in the mid 1950s and swung into full flow in the 1960s (in 1965 the Security Council was enlarged from 11 members to 15 mainly because of Non-Aligned pressure<sup>35</sup>). The decolonisation process brought in new members into the United Nations who were deemed to be hostile towards the West and as a result a shift occurred in the United Nations in favour of the Soviet Union.

The Christian Right held that the decline of the US and the West in the United Nations began as early as 1956, when President Eisenhower broke-up the Anglo-French involvement in the Suez Canal. Robertson notes that following the intervention of the UN, Dag Hammarskjöld used the occasion to attack European imperialism and extol the virtues of the so-called Afro-Asian non-aligned nations. Thus, it is "...instructive to note that neither the rhetoric nor the action of the general secretary [sic.] were ever directed against the Soviet Union, which had brutally repressed the freedom fighters in Hungary under the cover of the Suez Canal Crisis. Hammarskjöld's anger was carefully reserved for Western democratic nations."<sup>36</sup> Moreover, this was followed in 1960 by the Congo episode when "...a new philosophy emerged at the United Nations. Right was on the side of the emerging nonaligned nations. Tribal warfare, revolution, dictatorship,

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<sup>33</sup> "General View of the U.N. System", address by Elliott Abrams, before a Conference of UN representatives of the United Nations Association-USA, New York, June 5, 1981, Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981.

<sup>34</sup> N. Glazer, "American Values & Foreign Policy." *Commentary* 62 (1 1976), p32-37; Similar views are expressed by W.F. Buckley, Jr., "Human Rights and Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 58 (4 1980), p775-796. Kirkpatrick, Abrams and many others members of the New Right have also promoted this claim.

<sup>35</sup> "Table of Vetoed Draft Resolutions in the United Nations Security Council, 1946-1993." Foreign & Commonwealth Office, Research and Analysis Department Memorandum, January 1996, RAD 2/96, DD 1996/005, p4.

<sup>36</sup> P. Robertson. *The New World Order*. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991, p53. Robertson perhaps to show the affinity between the UN and the Soviet Union describes Hammarskjöld as "general

terrorism, torture, murder, graft, and corruption within these nations were glossed over. The former Western allies and the United States became in the words of a later nonaligned leader, “the Great Satan.” Robertson further asserts that the UN involvement occurred only after the Belgians intervened, and that the UN action was directed mainly against the Europeans rather than in support of peace which the Europeans were trying to establish. Robertson points to a *Life* magazine photo of a bullet-riddled Volkswagen with a dead woman and a child inside and a dazed Belgian settler raising his hands to implore his attackers, or to heaven, to understand why the United Nations forces had just done this thing to his family?<sup>37</sup>

The neoconservatives claimed that the fall from grace began in the mid ‘60s and continued precipitously for about five to seven years when it reached a low level at which it stayed through different Republican and Democratic administrations. One possible explanation for placing the date of the decline about ten years after Robertson’s date is because of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Sino-Indian war. Kirkpatrick, suggests that NAM changed once Nehru died, India lost a war to China, which led to a great decline in Indian prestige. The pacifist influence within NAM diminished as the Africans came to dominate the UN and they focused on South Africa especially from 1966.<sup>38</sup> There are some problems with Kirkpatrick’s chronology as the Sino-Indian war took place in 1962 and was mainly over Tibet (Nehru died two years later). The reason for the war are rather complex but the consequences were not. The defeat significantly increased Chinese stock in the Third World (Pakistan sought an alliance with the China, as did Indonesia, and the Chinese became more involved

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secretary” which is incorrect as the UN has a secretary general, while the Communist party has a general secretary.

<sup>37</sup> P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991, p53. For a similar view on the failing of the UN 1960 involvement in the Congo W.F Jasper. Global Tyranny... Step by Step: The United Nations and the Emerging New World Order. Appleton: Western Islands, 1992, p32-35.

<sup>38</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. The Reagan Phenomenon & Other Speeches on Foreign Policy. Washington: AEI for Public Policy Research, 1983, “Standing Alone”, address given at Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, October 23, 1981, p86.

in Africa while India as a result went through a period of self-questioning and reform).<sup>39</sup>

Thus, one hypothesis that New Righters (Christian Right and neoconservatives) developed to explain America's decline was that NAM emerged in the 1950s as a result of the decolonisation process.<sup>40</sup> The movement was inherently anti-American because that was the tendency of the NAM leadership. As the years progressed more members were recruited into NAM which became more anti-American as it increasingly fell under Soviet influence. The newly independent states from the Third World who had an affinity with the aims of NAM were able to assist the anti-Americans in the assault on US national interests. Although history seriously questions the above hypothesis it highlights the interconnectedness in outlook between the different members of the New Right. It also shows a lack of proper understanding of historical development, as New Righters misinterpreted events or simply chose to view certain events in a way that would provide credence to their claims. What is important to note is that the New Righters came to believe that the US faced serious opposition from the Soviet Union and its supporters in United Nations and that had to be countered.

The New Right, and Americans in general, made much of the fact that the United States was often outvoted within an organisation to which it contributed twenty-five percent of the regular budget. What made matters worse was the fact that Soviet contributions were minuscule when compared to theirs, especially with the organisation wasting valuable resources on such things as gardeners (\$81,700) at the Headquarters during the growing season (\$11,000 on gardening equipment).<sup>41</sup> Yet, the Soviet Union despite continuously breaking or disregarding

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<sup>39</sup> R. de Crespigny. China This Century. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, p238-240; M.J Akbar. Nehru: The Making of India. London: Viking Penguin Inc., 1988, p533-561. Akbar places the blame for the aggression on China which was the aggressor, although he does note that Nehru made many mistakes especially China and its expansionism. This was coupled by several mistakes on the domestic front which Nehru also made.

<sup>40</sup> See for example I. Kristol. Reflection of A Neoconservative: Looking Back, Looking Ahead. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1983, Chapter 17 and 18. In Chapter 18, he argues that the UN in fact created the Third World and without the UN there would be no Third World which is anti-American.

<sup>41</sup> See for example R.A Brooks and J.G Pilon, "The United Nations Is Not Exempt From Budget Belt Tightening", Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders*, No. 492, February 28, 1986. The authors

international conventions, laws and even the Charter, was not isolated in the organisation but enjoyed much support because of its satellite states and fellow travellers. These states guaranteed that Soviet interests were promoted and protected and that the Soviets never stood alone in the UN and usually voted with the majority.<sup>42</sup>

American critics of the United Nations found it incomprehensible that the UN was not forced to deal with its growth while Americans were being asked to be more frugal and patient.<sup>43</sup> Those involved with the assault on the UN maintained that the organisation had grown too fast and too much and the result was that it became inefficient and ineffective (much was made of the mountain of paper-work and that many documents were translated into several languages).<sup>44</sup> Critics argued that there was a need for a pause on the expansion of the international organisation system that would help or at least not cause too much damage to the specialised agencies. By freezing the growth of an already large enough organisation one would see greater efficiency, particularly through the elimination of unnecessary programs (just what the administration was trying to do in domestic policy).<sup>45</sup>

The administration with the help of Congress was adamant about using America's financial contributions to push the United Nations toward an agenda

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compare American and Soviet contributions and show that the US puts much more into the organisation and yet it gets little back from the UN. They do not mention that the UN spent much of its money in the US.

<sup>42</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick, The Reagan Phenomenon & Other Speeches on Foreign Policy, Washington DC: AEI for Public Policy Research, 1983, "Standing Alone", address given at Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, October 23, 1981, p79-91.

<sup>43</sup> "The U.S. Role in the United Nations", prepared statement of Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organization of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 1st Session, September 27, and October 3, 1983, Washington: US GPO, 1984.

<sup>44</sup> R.A Brooks and J.G Pilon, "The United Nations Is Not Exempt From Budget Belt Tightening", Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders*, No. 492, February 28, 1986. The authors provide a list of what they see as unacceptable UN waste of money, p6-7 and throughout. The references to several languages is probably not to do with the addition of Arabic as the sixth official language.

<sup>45</sup> "General View of the U.N. System", address by Elliott Abrams, before a Conference of U.N. Representatives of the United Nations Association-USA in New York. Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs. June 5, 1981, p2. The notion of a guarantee was probably just a misperception of reality by Abrams, which again highlights the animosity and lack of understanding of Reagan officials toward the UN and its system.



that was in-line with American interests. The Siljander Compromise of 1984 highlighted the determination of Congress to take a more effective or aggressive stance toward the UN. The Compromise headed off an amendment by Robert S. Walker: "...that would have barred military aid to countries that voted against U.S. position in the United Nations more than 15 percent of the time." The Compromise that was adopted by voice vote: "...instructed the president to use votes in the U.N. General Assembly as a "major criterion" in deciding how to allocate foreign aid."<sup>46</sup> This was the same year that Jesse Helms and a "handful of conservatives" were able to block the Senate approval of the Genocide Convention of 1949. A year later Congress announced its new determination to deal more effectively with the United Nations through the Kassebaum Amendment whose aim was to: "...limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations and related organizations to 20 percent of those organizations' annual budgets, unless the secretary of state certified to Congress that such organizations had adopted procedures for proportionate voting on budgetary matters and had adopted plans to reduce employee salaries and pensions to the levels comparable to those of the U.S. civil service." This emphasised the impact that New Right ideology had on the Reagan administration and its relations with the UN. The administration was attempting to trim the size and cost of its own bureaucracy and by linking the pay and pension of UN employees to that of US civil servants thus also forcing the UN to adopt austerity programs.<sup>47</sup>

There may be differing opinions about when American decline began and Third World dominance emerged but there was a general agreement among conservatives that NAM by the 1970s came to dominate the United Nations.

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<sup>46</sup> Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 98th Congress, 2nd Session, 1984, Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1985, p112, Genocide Treaty, p123-124.

In a Congressional report a year later, the members felt that: "...the question of tying votes and speaking behavior in a multilateral institution like the U.N. General Assembly to grants U.S. bilateral assistance needs more examination as an instrument of policy...". Taken from "38th Session of the U.N. General Assembly", September 19 - December 20, 1983, Report of Congressional Delegates to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives, September 30, 1985, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985.

<sup>47</sup> Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 99th Congress, 1st Session, 1985, Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1986. The Kassebaum Amendment (118. S.1003) of the State

NAM, it was claimed, was responsible for leading a general, all-embracing campaign against American interests (even in the Security Council) with encouragement from the Soviet Union. The former colonies of the European countries, who for decades if not centuries, were kept as secondary citizens in global terms, realised that by uniting they could exert greater pressure in international relations and in the UN, and thus get their agenda fulfilled, which was often tied to development and that meant heavy financial commitments.

American conservatives found it inexplicable that former colonies instead of turning against the Soviet Union - an empire, dominating much of Eastern and Central Europe (to name just one region) - denounced the United States itself a former colony, which gave much more aid to their causes than the Soviet Union ever did. The explanation that has been provided for this unusual response was based on a theory that Irving Kristol a leading neoconservatives, developed. As a member of the administration put it: "...Marxist rhetoric provides an excuse for the elimination of democracy ostensibly with the purpose of achieving greater social justice. Our [America's] own revolutionary political tradition, the tradition of Jefferson and Madison, offers no such excuses for the elimination of liberty. A Third World leader who intends to rule by dictatorship finds no comfort in our political tradition, and this may help explain why so many turn to the language of Marxism for comfort and shelter."<sup>48</sup>

For the Reaganites, the Third World or NAM (being the bloc that promoted Third World interests) working under the control of the Soviet Union, had an agenda designed to hurt US interests. In the words of Kirkpatrick: "The non-aligned bloc is never cohesive unless it has united to support a position acceptable to the Soviets. The Soviets being extremely astute politically, long ago began encouraging nations associated with its blocs to join the non-aligned. So there are a great many Soviet client states inside the non-aligned movement. Cuba being a very clear-cut example of such interlocking relationship. There simply is

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Department Authorisation, Fiscal Year, 1986-87, was adopted by a vote of 71:13 (Republican 41:4; Democrats 30-9), on June 7, 1985.

no unity inside the non-aligned bloc except on the issues and positions acceptable to the Soviets. What happens very frequently is that a position acceptable to the non-aligned bloc and the Soviet bloc through this overlapping membership generates a very large, nearly two thirds, majority.”<sup>48</sup> That is,, it was the Soviet Union that was acting like an old colonial power, not the United States.

NAM was therefore seen as an exceedingly powerful bloc in the UN when it was mobilised effectively. Its areas of interest were Namibia, Israel (and the PLO), South Africa and global negotiations, issues in which the United States had very definable interests. Moreover, the success of NAM was based on the notion that: “...it is easier to build consensus about opposing than supporting something. The negative positions on which the NAM has its greatest consensus are Israel and South Africa (and occasionally the United States). Some of its purplest prose delivered concerns the alliance between Zionism and racism backed by the American imperialists - painted as the worst of all possible human coalitions.”<sup>50</sup>

The “America First” agenda in the United Nations was pursued on two fronts by the New Right and therefore the administration. Domestically, Congress was used to pass legislation and resolutions making the United Nations more aware of its precarious position in the United States. This was seen especially in the Kassebaum Amendment whose aim was to: “...cause the members of the United Nations to engage in some productive soul searching about an organization that can - and must - play a vital role in international affairs.”<sup>51</sup> The United Nations, it was felt, had to be made to realise that if it harmed American

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<sup>48</sup> “General View of the U.N. System”, address by Elliott Abrams, before a Conference of U.N. Representatives of the United Nations Association-USA in New York. Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, June 5, 1981.

<sup>49</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, “The United Nations as a Political System”, address before the Institute for Comparative & Political Studies, Georgetown University, Washington DC, June 14, 1983, p225; I. Kristol. Reflection of A Neoconservative: Looking Back, Looking Ahead. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1983.

<sup>50</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. The Reagan Phenomenon & Other Speeches on Foreign Policy. Washington DC: AEI for Public Policy Research, 1983, “Standing Alone”, address given at Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, October 23, 1981, p83-86.

<sup>51</sup> “The U.S. Role in the United Nations”, prepared statement of Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organization of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 1st Session, September 27, and October 3, 1983, Washington: US GPO, 1984.

interests, the US would respond in kind (through reducing/cutting its financial support). This is also why the Kasten and Nickles bills were important as they called upon the administration to launch a comprehensive review of US participation in the UN.<sup>52</sup> These legislative measures coupled with statements from the White House and the actual withdrawal from UNESCO in 1983-84, probably sent a very powerful message to the United Nations. That is, the organisation had to realise that under Reagan, American attitudes significantly changed from those of the 1970s, when UN deficiencies were noted usually in passing as more emphasis was placed on the effectiveness of the organisation.<sup>53</sup> It therefore seems very likely that the reforms that were initiated by the UN (especially in the Secretariat) were a product of this new philosophy.<sup>54</sup>

### **LIBERTY & THE WESTERN POLITICAL SYSTEM**

The New Righters believed that the United Nations was essentially an American-created organisation, and the Charter was a mirror image of their own Constitution.<sup>55</sup> The US Constitution is about 'rights' as it stipulates what 'rights'

<sup>52</sup> See the introduction by B.Y. Pines in: A World Without a U.N.: What Would Happen if the United Nations Shut Down?. Washington DC: Heritage Foundation, 1984; also, "FY 1985 Assistance Requests for Organizations and Programs", statement by Gregory Newell before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the House Appropriations Committee, April 4, 1984, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 84, No. 2086, May 1986, p83-87.

<sup>53</sup> See for example: "United Nations: Serving American Foreign Policy Interests", statement by Andrew Young, submitted to the Subcommittee on State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary & Related Agencies of the Senate Appropriation Committee, April 2, 1979, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 79, No. 2027, June 1979, p47-50; "US Participation in the U.N., 1978", message by President Carter to Congress, July 3, 1980, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 80, No. 2042, September 1980, p69.

R. Pastor, "The Reagan Administration and Latin America: Eagle Resurgent", K.A. Oye, R.J. Lieber and D. Rothchild. (ed.) Eagle Resurgent? The Reagan Era in American Foreign Policy. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1987, p359-392.

<sup>54</sup> A Congressional Report stated that since 1982, Kirkpatrick had worked to reduce the total amount of add-ons to the regular budget, coupled with the UN's own reform measures, the biennial budget of 1981-1982 saw zero-growth, while in the budget of 1983-84, Secretary General Perez de Cuellar called for an increase of only 0.7 percent. "38th Session of the U.N. General Assembly", September 19 - December 20, 1983, Report of Congressional Delegates to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives, September 30, 1985, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985.

<sup>55</sup> See for example: "General View of the U.N. System", address by E. Abrams, before a Conference of U.N. representatives of the UN Association-USA, New York, June 5, 1981, Washington DC: US State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981; "Double Standards in Human Rights", statement by Jeane Kirkpatrick, before the Third Committee, UN, General Assembly, New York, November 24, 1981, Washington DC: US State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981.

the people, the states and the federal government have. It is a political and civil document, concerned with the rights of the people, freedom of speech, religion, travel and so forth. It is not so much about the promotion of social or economic conditions, but about creating an equal playing field for people to seek social and economic development. This is what New Righters felt the UN should be interested in: the defense and advancement of political and civil human rights. It was probably because of this alleged deviation from the path that the founders of the Charter set that Kirkpatrick claimed that the organisation has: "...not fulfilled even remotely the expectations of its founding fathers."<sup>56</sup> as nations have failed to behave according to the visions of the founders. Inside the UN, nations did not act as dispassionate, disinterested single members seeking only to use their influence in ways that would advance justice and peace. The organisation developed a political system "...which features all the elements of power-seeking on behalf of some version of the public good common to more mundane political systems."<sup>57</sup> Thus, the Reaganites felt that the United Nations as it stood in the 1980s had deviated from the path that the Founding Fathers had mapped out for it, which was primarily to guarantee international peace and security and the promotion of liberty which to New Righters would then provide social and economic benefits. This is probably why some New Righters were not against foreign aid *per se*, but rather against aid to countries with a different political system than that of a liberal democracy as they maintained that the social and economic betterment could not be achieved under an un-democratic system.

New Right ideology focuses on what its adherents believe is American supremacy which is not purely material. That is, the American model and experience have shown that by having political and civil rights, or in other words, an American-type democracy, one would not only have the highest social and

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<sup>56</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, "The United Nations as a Political System", address before the Institute for Comparative & Political Studies, Georgetown University, Washington DC, June 14, 1983, p222.

<sup>57</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, "The United Nations as a Political System", address before the Institute for Comparative & Political Studies, Georgetown University, Washington DC, June 14, 1983, p222.

economic standards of living but a better overall existence. The success of the US was based on its Constitution which inspired people to work hard, independently and thus transform themselves from poor immigrants to economically secure individuals.<sup>58</sup> Thus, if the United Nations returned to the proper interpretation of UN Charter the whole organisation would function better thus benefiting all.

The belief that America's position in the United Nations had declined was linked to the claim that the organisation adopted a political agenda. To the New Righters, Article 1 of the Charter not only calls for the United Nations to: "maintain international peace and security" and to ensure that peace is not threatened, but it also calls upon the application of the "principles of justice and international law" to deal with threats to international peace and security. Moreover, the purpose of the United Nations is to: "...develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples...". In other words, the objectives of the UN as stipulated in Article I, are to: "...achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion;".

New Righters felt that all these purposes were based on principles that western democracies advance. The notion that a Soviet-type society could respect international law, self-determination, or even international co-operation was impossible because liberty does not really exist in communist countries which to them were ruled by a decadent, ruthless, self-interested elite. The New Righters believed that to effectively create a Soviet-type society it is essential that the basic institutions of society are first de-legitimised as only then could one destroy the society. This must be done "...so as to detach the identifications and affections of its citizens from the institutions and authorities of the society marked for destruction. This delegitimization may be achieved by attacking a society's

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<sup>58</sup> Kristol provides a very patriotic view about the American experience which is coupled with an attack on Third World countries that seek development aid. In his Reflections of a Neoconservative: Looking Back, Looking Ahead. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1983, p231-235.

practices in terms of its own deeply held values, or it may be achieved by attacking the values themselves.”<sup>59</sup>

For the Reaganites the Soviet assault on the legitimacy of a liberal democracy included a very complex, comprehensive, multifaceted strategy which involved a demonstration of the failure of Western democracies to meet their own standards which are considered as utopian measuring rods. The Soviet system was based on the examples of the Fascists and Nazis who attacked the values that the West held dear as they rejected democracy, liberty, equality and so forth. The communists, however, took a different approach, as they do not assail basic Western values forthrightly, rather they denounce Western society with its own values. They do not offer alternative values; they postulate a radical critique of Western society and institutions by expropriating Western language and values. Thus, democracies are attacked for not being truly democratic, because they cannot guarantee economic equality. From here the argument stems that political equality is therefore also impossible, which is why elections are never free.<sup>60</sup> The attack is preceded by continuous falsification of Soviet practices and assertions of Soviet loyalty to basic Western values which means that Western flaws are exaggerated, while Soviet faults are denied. The conclusion that one therefore reaches is that there is, at best, not a dime’s worth of difference between the two regimes.<sup>61</sup> This is why:

“The liberal democratic tradition is inextricably bound up with the long struggle against arbitrary power and with notions of liberty, individual rights, consent and representation. Its key beliefs and practices emerged and took shape in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At the same time, new doctrines of legitimacy arose in Italy as well as in Great Britain, France, and the United States. These new doctrines of legitimacy argued that just government depends on the consent of the governed and, furthermore, that just power flows *only* from the people. They were accompanied by doctrines of representation

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<sup>59</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, “The Myth of Moral Equivalence”, address before the Shavano Institute, Hillsdale College, Washington DC, May 1, 1985, p75-76; Kristol, Gershman and others provide similar views.

<sup>60</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, “The Myth of Moral Equivalence”, address before the Shavano Institute, Hillsdale College, Washington DC, May 1, 1985.

<sup>61</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, “The Myth of Moral Equivalence”, address before the Shavano Institute, Hillsdale College, Washington DC, May 1, 1985.

that claimed that each man is entitled to speak for himself about who should rule and to what broad ends.”<sup>62</sup>

The clearest example of the abandonment of the Charter’s fundamental principles was over the issue of liberty, which is linked to the whole idea that liberal democracy is the better political system. As President Reagan himself stated: “Political liberty and free enterprise provide a fertile environment to American scientists and engineers who have given us a standard of living unequalled in the history of the world.”<sup>63</sup>

New Righters enjoyed pointing to America’s own history in justifying their belief in the role of liberty and how other nations must adopt liberty and protect it. The United States was formed by refugees seeking liberty, whether to practise their own religion or pursue their dreams, and the Founding Fathers by guaranteeing liberty in all shapes and forms ensured that such objectives could be followed.<sup>64</sup>

An integral part of the administration’s approach to questions of liberty and political systems within the United Nations dealt with human rights as Americans held that the best way to promote and protect individual rights, is through democratic institutions (something that did not exist in the Soviet system). The democratic system ensures that those who are unhappy with something have other avenues in which they could pursue their grievances. Democratic systems protect minorities, dissenters and critics from government usage of arbitrary power. Thus, there “...would be no serious human rights abuses if all people enjoyed self-government and democracy.” This is because people do not impose tyrants upon themselves.<sup>65</sup> In the minds of New Righters the situation

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<sup>62</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. The Reagan Phenomenon & Other Speeches on Foreign Policy. Washington DC: AEI for Public Policy Research, 1983, “The Reagan Phenomenon and The Liberal Tradition”, address to the Centro Studi per la Conciliazione Banco Democratico Roma, Rome, Italy, May 28, 1981.

<sup>63</sup> “Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on United States International Activities in Science and Technology”, February 17, 1984. The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan. Vol. I, January 1 to June 29, 1985. Washington: US GPO, 1986.

<sup>64</sup> Foreigners, however, played an crucial role during the American Revolution. M.A Jones. The Limits of Liberty: American History, 1707-1992. 2nd ed., NY: Oxford University Press, 1995, p51-57.

<sup>65</sup> “Double Standards in Human Rights”, statement by Jeane Kirkpatrick, before the Third Committee, U.N. General Assembly, New York, November 24, 1981, Washington DC: US State



in the United Nations was that democratic institutions were spurned while Soviet totalitarianism was accepted, if not encouraged. The implication being that if more and more countries chose or are forced into adopting the Soviet system, the 'free world' would suffer, and with it liberty in all of its shapes and forms. Thus, to the New Righters the UN must be forced to alter its present attitude and seek to actively promote democratic institutions while acting against the advancement of the Soviet system.<sup>66</sup>

It was during the 1970s, that neoconservatives, with Kirkpatrick at the fore, began developing and promoting the view that one should distinguish between authoritarianism and totalitarianism.<sup>67</sup> The UN, provided Kirkpatrick - as the leading and most visible exponent of this philosophy - with an excellent outlet to advance these views. Kirkpatrick argued that the organisation focused too much on human rights abuses in countries with authoritarian regimes that were allies of the United States and located in Latin America. The neoconservative argument (which Kirkpatrick promoted in her essay "Dictatorship and Double Standards" which impressed Ronald Reagan) was that the UN should not focus too much on authoritarian regimes but rather on totalitarian ones. This is because in many instances authoritarian regimes still had the potential of developing into democracies, and generally speaking there was comparatively more freedom in authoritarian regimes than under totalitarian ones.<sup>68</sup> Kirkpatrick often used El Salvador as a prime example of the merits of this argument by noting the improvements that were taking place within the country. She writes: "Some

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Department, Bureau of Public Affairs 1981; "A New Era of Growth", an address by Alexander Haig before the U.N. General Assembly in New York, September 21, 1981, Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981.

<sup>66</sup> Paul Nitze, a member of the Committee on the Present Danger and of the administration argued that America could not survive as the sole democracy as it needed allies to combat Soviet communism. P.H Nitze, "Strategy in the Decade of the 1980s: Do Negotiated Arms Limitation Have A Future." *Foreign Affairs* 59 (1 1980), p82-101.

<sup>67</sup> J. Ehrman. The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995, p97-136; J.J Kirkpatrick, "Dictatorship and Double Standards." *Commentary* 68 (5 1979).

<sup>68</sup> For an example of Kirkpatrick's attack on totalitarianism see her speech "Violence and Peace" in Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, p101-112. The speech was given with Carl Gershman another important leading neoconservative writer; M.D Shulman, "On Learning to Live With Authoritarian Regimes." *Foreign Affairs* 55 (1 1977), p325-338.

people said that free elections could not be held in El Salvador. They were wrong.”<sup>69</sup> Moreover, in many instances she suggested that democratic development in authoritarian countries had been prevented because the government had to deal with Marxist and Soviet/Cuban backed guerrillas.

“ The Government of El Salvador continues to labor under the terrible burden of trying to oppose a well-armed, well-financed campaign brought against it by guerrillas, supported and sponsored by the Soviet bloc, Cuba and closer to home Nicaragua. Probably, most of the people who picketed consider themselves liberals, as does almost everybody who takes that position on El Salvador these days. Probably they consider that the liberal position is to oppose the small amount of U.S. aid to the elected Government of El Salvador.”<sup>70</sup>

The American patriotic belief in the supremacy of their system was certainly an important factor in its aggressive encouragement of the liberal democracy alternative in international affairs. However, there was also a belief that following the Soviet expansion in the 1970s, coupled with the economic turbulence within the Western world, the US could not survive as the sole democracy.<sup>71</sup> Thus, the UN was to be used in two ways. First, America’s representatives would highlight the benefits of democracy. Second, by defending its allies, particularly those with authoritarian regimes, the United States would preserve the support of those countries while also providing elements within those states with enough encouragement to seek internal democratic reform as happened in many countries in Latin America.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, one must remember that this advocacy for the promotion of democracy was carried by the

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<sup>69</sup> J.J. Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, “Risking Power for Freedom: Democratic Elections and Democratic Government”, address at Conference on Free Elections, held jointly by the American Enterprise Institute and US State Department, November 4, 1982, p13.

<sup>70</sup> J.J. Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, “A Liberal Position?” address to Conservative Political Action Committee, Washington DC, February 19, 1983, p29. The whole volume is full of examples and references as to how unfair the UN is to the countries of Latin America who are allied to the US.

<sup>71</sup> J. Ehrman. The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995, p97-136, especially p107; P.H. Nitze, “Strategy in the Decade of the 1980s: Do Negotiated Arms Limitation Have A Future.” *Foreign Affairs* 59 (1 1980), p82-101.

<sup>72</sup> See for example Kirkpatrick’s Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, “To Live in Freedom”, address to the Inter-American Press Association. Los Angeles, California, October 31, 1984, p16-21.

administration in conjunction with the work of such programs as Project Democracy and the National Endowment for Democracy, two neoconservative-led agencies.<sup>73</sup> This again emphasised the interconnectedness between American policy in the United Nations and Washington's general foreign policy, whose aim was the promotion of American-inspired liberal Western democracy.

### THE POLITICISATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The debate about the politicisation of the United Nations flowed from the determination of the Reagan administration to assert its own agenda on the organisation. Americans take great pride in the fact that the organisation was initially 'their creation.'<sup>74</sup> However, the decolonisation movement had transformed the organisation as new policies, ideas and programs were pursued due to the dominance of the developing world, and that arguably turned the UN into a political forum with a world agenda (acting perhaps as a world government?)

An integral part of the accusation against the United Nations which manifested itself through the claim of politicisation was that the organisation was being used by anti-Americans and especially the Soviet Union to put disinformation into circulation.<sup>75</sup> That is, the Soviets disregarded the Charter, which calls upon member states to ignore politics and work for greater harmonisation and co-operation. The Charter stipulates that members of the UN civil service shall be non-political: "In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any

<sup>73</sup> J. Ehrman. The rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995, p161-162, and throughout.

<sup>74</sup> Examples of this attitude are numerous especially in J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988; "General View of the U.N. System", address by Elliott Abrams, before a Conference of UN representatives of the United Nations Association-USA, New York, June 5, 1981, Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981; "38th Session of the U.N. General Assembly", September 19 - December 20, 1983, Report of Congressional Delegates to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives, September 30, 1985, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985. See in particular Andrew Young's statement to the Committee.

<sup>75</sup> See for example J.G Pilon, "Moscow's U.N. Outpost", Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders*, No. 307, November 22, 1983 (prepared with the assistance of S. Lechenko); R.A Brooks, "The U.N. Dept. Of Public Information: A House of Mirrors", Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders*, No. 332, February 23, 1984.

government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible to the Organisation.” (Articles 100 and 101) The Soviet bloc, however, it was claimed, used the Secretariat to promote its own agenda of anti-Americanism and that was being financed by the American taxpayer.<sup>76</sup>

Congress and the administration intervened to deal with the claims of Soviet manipulation of the UN Secretariat and bureaucracy through the Roth Amendment (Roth being a leading member of the New Right anti-liberal group) which imposed: “...the same travel restrictions on foreigners employed by the United Nations as were imposed on foreign diplomats in the United States. The amendment would allow the State Department to restrict travel by some 800 Russians at the United Nations.”<sup>77</sup> The Amendment was a response to a report by the Senate Intelligence Committee which found that one-fourth of the 800 Russians working for the United Nations were intelligence agents. A similar amendment had been proposed in 1984 by Leahy and Cohen but opposition from the State Department and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee prevented it. The final version of the State Department Authorisation Bill (HR 20068, PL 99-93) established a policy that the numbers of diplomatic personnel should be roughly equivalent.<sup>78</sup>

The adoption of an ideological agenda which is almost synonymous with politicisation could also be seen through the support and encouragement that the UN gave left-of-centre movements. Once a country adopted the socialist model it became anti-American and anti-freedom - as was the case with Nicaragua and Grenada. By 1980, many areas around the globe were involved in “wars of

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<sup>76</sup> M. Huber, “The United Nations Library: Putting Soviet Disinformation into Circulation”, Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders*, No. 487, February 18, 1986. Huber argues that the Library had been used by the Soviets through its directors to promote the Soviet system and disparage capitalism and the US.

<sup>77</sup> Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 99th Congress, 1st Session 1985, Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1986, p109. The amendment was adopted by a voice vote.

<sup>78</sup> Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 99th Congress, 1st Session 1985, Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1986, p108. The bill contained a number of provisions dealing with the fact that there were more Soviet diplomats in the US than American ones in the USSR because of Soviet refusal to employ Americans in their diplomatic facilities (the Americans employed more than 200 Russians at their diplomatic facilities in the Soviet Union).

national liberation,” which was translated as wars between Marxists - and like minded-groups - and pro-Western groups. The proliferation of these wars was of great importance as they highlighted Soviet expansionism. Wars of national liberation were deemed to be essentially Soviet-backed movements seeking to undermine the government of the country, even if that government was legitimate. This attitude was most visible in Latin America and southern Africa. The UN appeared to the conservatives to be excessively concerned with governmental behaviour when dealing with these groups while ignoring atrocities committed by guerrilla movements against civilian populations.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, the United Nations did not hide or disguise the assistance and support that it provided Marxist-oriented, Soviet-backed guerrilla movements. The links appear in UN official documents, though the Charter does not authorise funding and political support for armed guerrilla warfare (Marxist or non-Marxist). The UN’s own records, according to Thomas Gulick, show that between 1975 and 1982 at least \$116 million has been spent or budgeted to support what the United Nations had defined as “national liberation movements” (NLMs). The American taxpayer contributed twenty-five percent of this through the UN regular budget. What made matters worse, according to New Righters, was that UN aid to NLMs was selective, as for example, no support was given to pro-Western NLMs, such as UNITA while been unwilling to recognise non-Marxist representatives of the Palestinians or the democratic political parties of Namibia in Southern Africa.<sup>80</sup>

The issue of development was a central bone of contention between the New Right and the United Nations. New Righters felt that the less developed world, which is composed of former colonies of the European countries, wanted the richer countries to pay for their development rather than earn economic and

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<sup>79</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, “The Method of Violence”, address to the Third Committee of the 37th UN General Assembly, December 7, 1982, p91-100; see also in the same volume “Violence & Peace”, p101-112.

<sup>80</sup> Both SWAPO and the ANC make wide use of UN-sponsored radio propaganda broadcasts. T.G Gulick “How the U.N. Aids Marxist Guerrilla Groups”, *Heritage Foundation Backgrounder*, No. 77, April 8, 1982, p62-3. It is important to note that this document was attached to the Senate’s Committee on Judiciary; & Sub-committee on Security & Terrorism, “The Role of the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany in Fomenting Terrorism in South Africa”, US Senate, 97th Congress, 2nd Session, March, 1982.

social success. This point is of great significance to Americans because they were accused by many in the Third World and especially by NAM and socialist states of being neo-colonial which horrified them, as they were very proud of their colonial heritage and the Revolutionary War. New Righters argued that the decolonisation movement created many new states that were in great economic and social hardship. These new states felt that because the Western powers had abused them for a very long time, it was up to the West to pay for their economic development. The US being the epitome of Western economic and social success was therefore targeted (albeit unfairly) by the Third World, which conveniently ignored the serious economic and social hardship that the US faced partly because of OPEC's actions. One must remember that for many Americans scenes such as queues for gasoline, high inflation and many other economic problems were seen as things that happened during the Great Depression. Americans of the 1970s were used to affluence and not economic hardships, as to their minds such problems occurred in other countries. This issue is perhaps ironically linked to the debate about communication that was raging in UNESCO during the 1970s and early 1980s, as some in the developing world claimed that the Western media portrayal of the Third World was unfair. This possibly explains why firstly, Americans found their economic and social problems difficult to deal with as they were used to attribute such hardship to other countries;<sup>81</sup> and, secondly why some Americans turned against the decolonised world as they could not accept that perhaps the reason for America's economic woes were of their own making.<sup>82</sup>

The Reaganite attack on the UN approach to social and economic development led was ironic as the whole process for the first Decade of Development was an American-led initiative. It was on September 25, 1961, that President Kennedy speaking in the general debate of the 16th session of the General Assembly proposed that the 1960s be officially designated as the "United Nations Development Decade." This would facilitate an expansion in UN efforts

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<sup>81</sup> For more on this point see Chapter 5 of thesis.

<sup>82</sup> Americans after spending billions on domestic and foreign policy while reducing taxes also allowed Nixon to manipulate the economy to improve his re-election chances. M.A Genovese. The Nixon Presidency: Politics in Turbulent Times. NY: Greenwood Press, 1990, p61-98.

in promoting growth. Kennedy claimed that through such a process development would become co-operative rather than competitive, which would enable "...all nations, however, diverse their systems and beliefs to become free and equal in fact as well as in law." The American representative to the Second Committee said that his government felt that the Development Decade "...would give fresh impetus to national and international efforts to accelerate the development of the less developed countries and would help strengthen the role and enhance the authority of the United Nations and its related agencies."<sup>83</sup>

Geopolitical considerations may also have been responsible for the New Right attack on the United Nations. The majority of the countries that proved to be difficult were primarily in the African continent. In terms of economic development the countries of Africa suffered most arguably because of their colonial past and the racism that was involved in it. These countries were now able to play a dominant role in UN politics and were also very important for the United States.<sup>84</sup> The aim of these countries was to use any means at their disposal to develop their economic potential. This possibly threatened the New Righters because to their mind the programs that the less developed countries were seeking were highly ideological and more in-line with socialist thought ( as the nationalisation of the Suez Canal showed for example). With the growing animosity that New Righters felt toward the UN Secretariat, the belief that the organisation was working against the national interests of the United States made perfect sense to them. The Soviet Union was using the Third World majority in the UN through its control of NAM (coupled with the domestic problems that the Americans were experiencing) to gain ground on America militarily, economically and socially. That is, the Soviets, who believed in balance of power and spheres

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<sup>83</sup> Yearbook of the United Nations. 1961, NY: Office of Public Information, UN, 1963, p228, p229. The Decade of Development resolution was 1710 (XVI), as proposed by Second Committee A.5056, unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on December 19, 1961, meeting 1084.

<sup>84</sup> See for example J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980, p86.

of influence theory were using the present condition to promote international communism.<sup>85</sup>

When taking the above argument into consideration it is important to remember that the New Right was and is a conspiracy-oriented/sympathetic movement and its interpretation of Soviet-UN relations was based on a belief that a two-front attack was being waged against the US and its allies. On the one hand America's adversaries were getting the United Nations - through the Third World - to support highly ideological and costly programs while at the same time a propaganda war was being waged against the United States in a place that was very well covered by the world press, which in the developing world was often aided financially by UNESCO, an agency that had shown itself to be anti-American.<sup>86</sup>

An important theme in the New Right which was promoted mainly by the more conspiracy-oriented New Righters and which is also worth looking at as it helps to explain some of the fear that had been expressed against the United Nations is the belief that it is the harbinger of a world government. This argument has been promoted mainly by members of the Christian Right, people such as Pat Robertson and Hal Lindsey although in the 1990s many secular "patriots" have also endorsed this view.<sup>87</sup> They point out that the organisation was designed to be "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" in the fulfilment of "common

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<sup>85</sup> These points are developed from Moynihan's thesis about the "British Revolution" and America's post-Vietnam decline. In "The United States in Opposition." *Commentary* 59 (3 1975), and to a lesser extent in his book A Dangerous Place. London: Secker & Warburg, 1979; and, "A New American Foreign Policy." *New Republic* February 9, 1980.

<sup>86</sup> W.F. Jasper. Global Tyranny... Step by Step: The United Nations and the Emerging New World Order. Appleton: Western Islands, 1992. Although Jasper's book was written after the Reagan era, the author goes to great length to show how the US is often abused by the UN whose goal is world domination. See also Chapter 7 "Operation Enslavement" (in part 3 "Conspiracy Unlimited" in R. Abanes. Rebellion, Racism & Religion: American Militias. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996. See also Chapter 5 of this thesis.

<sup>87</sup> R. Abanes. Rebellion, Racism & Religion: American Militias. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996. Abanes provides plenty of statements by American "patriots" against the UN and its designs; W.F. Jasper. Global Tyranny... Step by Step: The United Nations and the Emerging New World Order. Appleton: Western Islands, 1992, see especially some of the books that he cites in his bibliography which cover the last four decades.



ends.” (Article 1.4), and that Article 2, calls upon the members to: “...give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes...”<sup>88</sup>

The strong opposition of some Americans toward the United Nations could be traced to the debate about politicisation which the 1980s New Right promoted. In their minds what had taken place since the early 1970s, was a bizarre attempt to build a non-ideological “One World.” The United Nations was deemed to be proposing a mandate which in effect called for peace at any price and which ultimately could result in the loss of all other human rights under a one-world dictatorship.<sup>89</sup> In other words, the UN would lead to the disarmament of the United States and the West, which would then allow the Soviet Union to successfully complete its world conquest. This would mean an end to freedom, human rights and everything else that Americans hold sacred as the world would be controlled by a small elite not too different from the one that sits in the Kremlin. This is seen for example in resolutions on NIEO or the Charter on the Economic Rights and Duties of States. The aim of these programs was to set up a world devoid of ideological differences because it would be controlled by Soviet ideology. There would also be a built-in poor-versus-rich bias, a new information order restricting the freedom of the press, and so forth.

There was such concern over the path that the United Nations was on that Pat Robertson one of the leaders of the New Christian Right in 1987 called for a replacement of the UN. Robertson claimed that the United Nations since its creation in 1945 “...has been notoriously ineffective.”<sup>90</sup> His new organisation replace the UN and would be “...based not on failed utopian idealism or but on realism, not on the shifting sands of ideological expediency but on a foundation of time-honored principles.”<sup>91</sup> The organisation would be a community of sovereign

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<sup>88</sup> For a Christian Right view of the aims of the UN see for example H. Lindsey. Planet Earth 2000 A.D. Will Mankind Survive? Palos Verdes: Western Front, 1996.

<sup>89</sup> P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991, p54 and throughout; H. Lindsey. Planet Earth 2000 A.D. Will Mankind Survive? Palos Verdes: Western Front, 1996; W.F Jasper. Global Tyranny... Step by Step: The United Nations and the Emerging New World Order. Appleton: Western Islands, 1992. The fear of the usurpation of American freedom is shown throughout the three books.

<sup>90</sup> P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991, p22.

<sup>91</sup> P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991, p56.

nations based on democratic institutions, representative government, and respect for the rule of law. It would respect individual freedoms, private property, and the right of free speech, assembly, religion, and the press. Only countries that did not use terrorism against other nations, or torture against their own people would be allowed to join. The new organisation, which Robertson called the "Community of Democratic Nations" would be open to all nations whose governments had achieved legitimacy by embracing democratic processes. Within the Community the distinction between First, Second and Third World would disappear. There would be no Western or Eastern power cliques, no non-aligned nations. The international institutional dynamics flowing from the anti-colonial period would be superseded by the new realities of the twenty-first century. Furthermore, as member nations would represent most of the world's economic powers, the Community would be able to use its power constructively and efficiently without Soviet obstruction. "The present United Nations was created as a post-World War II mechanism and excluded both Japan and Germany from the Security Council. It also was a vehicle that gave the Soviet Union one seat in the General Assembly for each of its fifteen [sic.] republics, a veto in the Security Council, and key positions in both the personnel and security offices."<sup>92</sup>

The notion of the United Nations becoming a world government may sound a little far-fetched, but even in some of Kirkpatrick's work one feels a sense of fear concerning the growth of the UN and the style that it developed. The General Assembly was seen by her as a unique parliament. Kirkpatrick noted that the Assembly is composed of blocs, that when working together (and usually against the United States) could get the full weight of the organisation to criticise the West. The claim that the UN had grown in its interests and responsibilities is best seen when looking at the amount of regulations that have emerged from it. Kirkpatrick states that the volume of regulation that had been imposed on

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<sup>92</sup> P. Robertson, The New World Order, Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991, p57, p56. Robertson shows his ignorance regarding the UN, as only Byelorussia and Ukraine received seats additional to that of the USSR itself, while the RSFSR and twelve other SSRs were not given any seats.

"...international business and commerce is simply awesome."<sup>93</sup> UN regulations cover a multitude of issues from the oceans to the heavens, from the Law of the Sea Convention to an Agreement Covering the Activities of States on the Moon and other Celestial Bodies. It also pursues regulatory codes of a more general nature - for example, the Commission on Transnational Corporations' draft code on the conduct of transnational corporations - as well as some regulations which are aimed at more specific areas such as the infant formula code<sup>94</sup> adopted by WHO in 1981. Kirkpatrick also notes the negotiations within UNCTAD on a code of conduct for the transfer of technology, and another code on the conditions for the registration of ships; efforts within the WIPO to revise the Paris Industrial Property Convention governing the international patent system; the FAO's deliberation on a code of conduct in the trade and use of pesticides; work done under the aegis of the UNEP on toxic chemicals and on a convention for the protection of the stratospheric ozone layer; efforts within the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations (UNCTC) to develop international standards on accounting and reporting as well as on transborder data flow; etc. The aim of the regulations and the conventions is to force redistribution. "Regulation is the instrument for the redistribution of what is called the world's wealth. The international bureaucracy functions as the "new class" to which power is to be transferred. Global socialism is the expected and, from the point of view of many, the desired result."<sup>95</sup>

The whole point about redistribution was to emphasise the belief that the organisation had abnegated its non-political heritage and became a tool wielded either by the Soviets through the majority Third World bloc, or by an international secretariat to rob the industrial West of its wealth. The West was to pay for the development of the poor countries which still adhered to anti-American ideologies.<sup>96</sup> UNCTC also came under criticism because it "...provides

<sup>93</sup> J.J. Kirkpatrick. *Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension*. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, "Global Paternalism." *Regulation* December 9, 1982, p232.

<sup>94</sup> "Infant Formula Code", statement by Elliott Abrams, May 15, 1981, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 81, No. 2052, July 1981.

<sup>95</sup> J.J. Kirkpatrick. *Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension*. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, "Global Paternalism." *Regulation* December 9, 1982, p240.

<sup>96</sup> According to Kirkpatrick the four nations that voted against the Law of the Sea Convention and the seventeen that abstained not only produce more than sixty percent of the world's GNP

detailed information on Western multinational corporations to Soviet bloc governments and consistently distorts the valuable role played by Western multinational corporations in developing countries. The 1984-1985 UNCTC budget was \$11.4 million, of which the U.S. contributed \$2.8 million."<sup>97</sup>

The danger for the United Nations due to its growing politicisation, the New Righters claimed, was that it would lose its integrity.<sup>98</sup> If the UN failed to preserve its moral integrity, then its usage and importance let alone success would be greatly undermined, according to the administration.<sup>99</sup> This notion was largely used by the administration to defend its withdrawal from UNESCO in 1984.<sup>100</sup> The same was said about the United Nations, although there was no serious threat to withdraw. The administration simply sought to appear as if its aggressiveness was based on a desire to help protect the United Nations.<sup>101</sup>

### **THE "RIGHTS DEBATE"**

The issue of human rights provides an excellent opportunity to examine some of the criticism that New Righters levelled at the United Nations, its programs and aims because "At its inception, the United Nations seemed destined

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and provide more than the sixty percent of the UN's contributions, they also include virtually all of the nations likely to develop seabed mining technology. J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, "Global Paternalism." *Regulation* December 9, 1982, p237.

<sup>97</sup> R.A Brooks and J.G Pilon, "The United Nations Is Not Exempt From Budget Belt Tightening", Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders*, February 26, 1986, No. 492, p8.

<sup>98</sup> "Double Standards in Human Rights", statement by Jeane Kirkpatrick, before the Third Committee, UN General Assembly, New York, November 24, 1981, Washington DC: State Department Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981.

<sup>99</sup> "Double Standards in Human Rights", statement by Jeane Kirkpatrick, before the Third Committee, UN General Assembly, New York, November 24, 1981, Washington DC: State Department Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981.

<sup>100</sup> See Chapter 5 of this thesis.

<sup>101</sup> This is a little reminiscent of Kirkpatrick's defence of America's withdrawal from ILO (November 1977 to February 1980) which she maintained was done due to American unhappiness and to help save the organisation as the ILO adopted a more effective agenda once the US briefly left. "The U.S. Role in the United Nations", hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organization, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress 1st, Session, September 27, and October 3, 1983, Washington: US GPO, 1984, p71, p72; see also Newell's testimony in "Human Resources Impact of U.S. membership in UNESCO", hearing before the Committee on Labor & Human Resources, US Senate, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, December 10, 1984, Washington: US GPO, 1985, p11.

to be the engine of human rights.”<sup>102</sup> It is an issue that encompasses the three main areas of concern of the New Right toward the organisation, due to the importance of the preservation and advancement of human rights to the UN.

At the core of the American promotion of human rights is the belief in democracy, as in such systems, New Righters maintained, human rights abuses are less likely to occur.<sup>103</sup> This also suggests that the New Righters wanted to see the organisation involved in political development.

The end of the Cold War has enabled the United Nations to take a much more active part in discussions about human rights. This is primarily because during the Cold War it was used by the main actors to denounce countries as part of the effort to castigate the other side’s political and social system. From a very early period in the Cold War both sides - except for brief lulls when relations between the superpowers were calm - were very much involved in a war of words in an attempt to convert societies to their own ways of life. These included questions over the ways governments and systems treated people - a central issue in human rights.

Human rights has attracted so much interest because it deals with so many issues in society. The matter is made even worse because the term is rather vague and therefore complex as it is not really defined in any act of international law. The lack of an all-embracing definition explains why during the Cold War each side had its own interpretation of human rights which reflected its way of life. Although the Cold War has ended, cultural differences have ensured that the debate about human rights continues and the pursuit of human rights, or rather

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<sup>102</sup> T.J. Farer and F. Gaer, “The UN and Human Rights: At the End of the Beginning”, A. Roberts and B. Kingsbury. (ed.) The United Nations, Divided World: the UN’s Roles in International Relations. 2nd ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, p245.

<sup>103</sup> See for example: “Review of U.S. Human Rights Policy”, statement of Elliott Abrams, accompanied by Charles Fairbanks, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organization of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Session, 1st Session, March 3, June 28, and September 21, 1983, Washington: US GPO, 1984; J.J. Kirkpatrick. The Reagan Phenomenon & Other Speeches on Foreign Policy. Washington DC: AEI for Public Policy Research, 1983, “The Reagan Phenomenon and The Liberal Tradition”, address to the Centro Studi per la Conciliazione Banco Democratico Roma, Rome, Italy, May 28, 1981.

the prevention of human rights abuse has been central to many efforts by the individual governments, international organisations and the United Nations.<sup>104</sup>

Human rights are a prime concern of the United Nations, as after all, the organisation was created following a period in which one saw some of the most heinous crimes against humanity committed. The victorious powers, outraged and appalled at what they found out once the fighting ceased were determined to ensure that in the new world order such evil would never take place. Thus, the peoples of the United Nations were determined: "...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person..."<sup>105</sup> However, although there was a desire to deal with human rights violations, in practice the matter was highly complex due to national, cultural and political differences. This is probably why the Charter does not permit intervention on purely human rights grounds, although the Security Council could call for intervention. If it is determined that the human rights situation poses a threat to peace, thereby bringing Chapter VII (Article 39) into play.<sup>106</sup> Thus, toward the end of 1947 (the same year of the Truman Doctrine) the Commission on Human Rights due to political and ideological differences agreed to divide the Bill of Rights into three parts; a declaration of principles which the General Assembly adopted in 1948; a Covenant which is rhetorically tied to the Declaration under

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<sup>104</sup> Examples of international treaties dealing with human rights are: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); the European Human Rights Convention 1950; the two Human Rights Covenants of 1966; The Organisation of American States has its own Human Rights Convention (Pact of San Jose, 1969); the Warsaw Pact countries had their own provisions concerning human rights in the Declaration of Political Consultative Committee (1978). E.J. Osmańczyk. *Encyclopaedia of the United Nations & International Agreement*. London: Taylor & Francis, 1985, p352; Farer and Gaer highlight some of the difficulties surrounding human rights. "The UN and Human Rights: At the End of the Beginning", A. Roberts and B. Kingsbury. (ed.) *The United Nations, Divided World: the UN's Roles in International Relations*. 2nd ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, p240-296.

<sup>105</sup> *Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice*. NY: UN Department of Public Information, 1995. The significant word is "reaffirm" as the founders acknowledged that their intention was to re-assert and uphold the belief in "fundamental human rights" which had been lost during World War II. It is also interesting that human "dignity" and "worth" are associated with "fundamental human rights" as these are ideas that could be linked more to economic and social conditions.

<sup>106</sup> T.J. Farer and F. Gaer, "The UN and Human Rights: At the End of the Beginning", A. Roberts and B. Kingsbury. (ed.) *The United Nations, Divided World: the UN's Roles in International Relations*. 2nd ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, p240-296; *Charter of the*

which the its members are subject to explicit legal obligations (1966 Covenants); and a separate detailed enforcement machinery.<sup>107</sup>

The New Right was very concerned with the rights of people, as central to its belief is the charge that the American government has progressively usurped power from the people, with the effect that American society has suffered accordingly. Governments, for many New Righters have a tendency to abuse people's rights, often through the claims that they are working to improve and better the lives of the people. The more internationalist members of the New Right (especially those who dealt with the UN) were very much interested in human rights, as they felt that the organisation should promote human rights. In the words of Kirkpatrick herself: "...the United Nations has no more important charge than the protection and expansion of the rights of persons. The charter [sic.] commits the United Nations to this task; several bodies in the United Nations are explicitly devoted to it."<sup>108</sup> By the 1980s, New Righters argued, that the UN's approach to human rights had been transformed as more emphasis was placed on social and economic rights than on political and civil human rights. This new attitude meant that the organisation went beyond any previous American understanding of human rights. New Righters maintained that the UN mandate concerning the protection of human rights was a result of a compromise as the governments that established the United Nations wanted to contribute "...to a higher level of observance of human rights.", but this was not to be done at the expense of member-state sovereignty.<sup>109</sup> The United Nations and its international secretariat, to the New Righters was also seeking development without private

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United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice. NY: UN Department of Public Information, 1995, Article 2(7), Chapter VII.

<sup>107</sup> T.J Farer and F. Gaer, "The UN and Human Rights: At the End of the Beginning", A. Roberts and B. Kingsbury. (ed.) The United Nations, Divided World: the UN's Roles in International Relations. 2nd ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, p248-249; R. Higgins, "The United Nations Human Rights Committee", R. Blackburn and J. Taylor. (ed.) Human Rights for the 1990s: Legal, Political and Ethical Issues. London: Mansell, 1991, p67-74.

<sup>108</sup> "Double Standards in Human Rights", statement by Jeane Kirkpatrick, before the Third Committee, UN General Assembly, New York, November 24, 1981, Washington DC: State Department Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981.

<sup>109</sup> A.G Mower, Jr., "The U.N. and Human Rights", B.Y Pines (ed.) A World Without a U.N.: What Would Happen if the United Nations Shut Down?. Washington DC: Heritage Foundation, 1984, p94.

enterprise while allowing political and civil human rights abuse take place in totalitarian (socialist) countries. For American conservatives private industry is far more successful in development than the UN due to the organisation's many failings - structure, waste, inefficiency, ideology and so forth.<sup>110</sup> Although it must be said that there were those who felt that the United Nations was not solely to blame for this, as the policy of "damage limitation" coupled with neglect had allowed the UN to be taken out of its proper course.<sup>111</sup>

The Reaganite approach to human rights was two-fold. The administration felt that a negative policy (which previous administrations had pursued) was insufficient, which is why the promotion of democracy was added. The Carter administration used diplomacy when it could to respond to human rights abuse as it held that in the early 1950s and 1960s, the Cold War and the decolonisation process changed the United Nations. The organisation became "...an important terrain of contest between East and West in which newly independent countries appeared as a coveted prize in the fluctuating power struggle, pawns in the rivalry of the cold war."<sup>112</sup> The Reaganites, however, maintained that one could and should be more effective when dealing with human rights violations. The promotion of democracy is therefore an essential factor if one is to prevent human rights abuse as under a democracy such abuses are not very likely.<sup>113</sup> In a democracy it is the people who hold the power and not a select elite as happened under the Soviet system, and this is why it is more difficult to commit human rights violations in democracies as governments know that if they

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<sup>110</sup> E.W Erickson and D.A. Sumner, "The U.N. and Economic Development", B.Y Pines. (ed.) A World Without a U.N.: What Would Happen if the United Nations Shut Down?. Washington DC: Heritage Foundation, 1984, p1-21.

<sup>111</sup> "General View of the U.N. System", address by Elliott Abrams, before a Conference of UN representatives of the United Nations Association-USA, New York, June 5, 1981, Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981. Abrams states that Americans should not blame the UN for their decline as Americans had lost faith in their own system with the effect that they withdrew to an extent from international relations.

<sup>112</sup> "United Nations: Serving American Foreign Policy Interests", statement by Andrew Young, submitted to the Subcommittee on State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary, & Related Agencies of the Senate Appropriations Committee on April 2, 1979. In *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 79, No. 2027, June 1979, p47.

<sup>113</sup> "Review of U.S. Human Rights Policy", statement of Elliott Abrams, accompanied by Charles Fairbanks, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International



abuse their power the electorate would remove them.<sup>114</sup> In the words of Kirkpatrick:

“Authoritarian systems do not destroy all alternative power base in society. The persistence of dispersed economic and social power renders those regimes less repressive than a totalitarian system and provides the bases for their eventual transformation. Totalitarian regimes, to the contrary in claiming a monopoly power over all institutions, eliminate competitive, alternative elites. This is the reason history provides not one but numerous examples of the evolution of authoritarian regimes into democracies (not only Spain and Portugal, but Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador, Bangladesh, among others) and *no* example of democratic transformation of totalitarian regimes.”<sup>115</sup>

The claim by New Righters that the UN's human rights agenda was misrepresented by the less developed world is a little tenuous, as the Charter is very much concerned with social and economic conditions. It calls for the employment of “...international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.”<sup>116</sup> Thus, in many respects the interest of the United Nations in the advancement of social and economic conditions of less developed countries is very much within the limits of the organisation. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) adopted unanimously by the United Nations in GA.Res. 2200 (XXI), gives those calling

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Organization of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Session, 1st Session, March 3, June 28, and September 21, 1983, Washington: US GPO, 1984.

<sup>114</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. The Reagan Phenomenon & Other Speeches on Foreign Policy. Washington DC: AEI for Public Policy Research, 1983, “The Reagan Phenomenon and The Liberal Tradition”, address to the Centro Studi per la Conciliazione Banco Democratico Roma, Rome, Italy, May 28, 1981.

<sup>115</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, “Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy.” *Commentary* Symposium, November 1981, p139. [Italics in the text]. This quotation is just one example of Kirkpatrick and neoconservative belief that one should tolerate authoritarian regimes. The general policy of the Reagan administration was that although authoritarian regimes are awful they are better than communist regimes which are totalitarian and pose a real threat to the US and the survival of the Western democratic system. Pastor provides a view of Reagan's approach to Latin America in his essay: “The Reagan Administration and Latin America: Eagle Resurgent”, K.A Oye, R.J Lieber D. Rothchild. (ed.) Eagle Resurgent? The Reagan Era in American Foreign Policy. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1987, p359-392. Reagan's main interest was countering communism which is why human rights was downgraded.

<sup>116</sup> Chapter IX of the Charter deals specifically with ‘International Economic and Social Co-Operation.’

upon the organisation to be more involved in the social and economic aspect of human rights added credence.<sup>117</sup>

The New Righters found the Carterite decision to focus on human rights *per se* to lead to a double standard that they found unacceptable on two levels. On the one hand, the Carterite policy was hurting US national interests, while at the same time reducing the moral fibre of American and UN opposition to human rights violations.<sup>118</sup> The Carter administration tended to focus almost exclusively on human rights violations which governments committed, and to ignore the actions of guerrillas (even if their actions was more shocking).<sup>119</sup> The New Righters believed that it was Carter's clamour for human rights that led him to chastise some of America's authoritarian allies and forced them to introduce reform which in the case of Iran led to the fall of the Shah and the rise of Khomeini.<sup>120</sup>

New Righters further felt that as far as the United Nations was concerned human rights violations (especially in political and civil terms) could take place with little if any condemnation in Soviet-backed states, but not within pro-Western authoritarian states. The reason being that the UN and its agencies when looking at human rights violations focused on relatively small, under-developed, non-Communist nations, that were not part of any real bloc, and which sought to protect themselves by using government violence against guerrilla violence. These countries were the target of national liberation movements with important ties to the Soviet bloc. The Reaganites, for example, pointed out that when human rights

<sup>117</sup> Taken from E.J Osmanczyk. Encyclopaedia of the United Nations & International Agreement. London: Taylor & Francis, 1985, p359-361.

<sup>118</sup> "Double Standards in Human Rights", statement by Jeane Kirkpatrick, before the Third Committee, U.N. General Assembly, New York, November 24, 1981, Washington DC: US State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1981; R. Pastor, "The Reagan Administration and Latin America: Eagle Resurgent", K.A Oye, R.J Lieber and D. Rothchild. (ed.) Eagle Resurgent? The Reagan Era in American Foreign Policy. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1987, p359-392.

<sup>119</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, "Human Rights in the Carter Years", address before Kenyon College, Human Rights Conference, Kenyon, Ohio, April 4, 1981, p142-143. On the re-definition of human rights as a result of the cultural revolution see also in same volume "Human Rights and US Foreign Policy." *Commentary* Symposium, November 1981, p134-140.

<sup>120</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick, "Dictatorship and Double Standards." *Commentary* 68 (5 1979); W.F Buckley, Jr., "Human Rights and Foreign Policy: A Proposal." *Foreign Affairs* 58 (4 1980), p775-796.

violations took place in Central American authoritarian countries the UN was in an uproar but when an anti-American socialist state committed heinous crimes such as genocide in Cambodia.<sup>121</sup> When, however, an Islamic or African country became the target of violent guerrilla activity, it would be protected against United Nations human rights actions by its involvement in a web of protective alliances - regional organisations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the G-77 or some other bloc. Countries or movements linked to the Soviet bloc were protected from charges of human rights violations. New Righters felt that in human rights there was no uniform moral standard within the United Nations as they were applied vicariously with the simple purpose of scoring points off America's allies while disregarding the Soviet Union and its satellites. This point is linked to the issue of politicisation, as human rights were used to embarrass the West by those wishing to castigate its way of life.<sup>122</sup> Put simply, the UN bloc system ensured that some countries would be castigated for human rights violations while others were ignored. Thus:

"People may be invaded, conquered, herded into cities, driven over borders, their fields tainted with toxins, their air poisoned with yellow rain, without them being regarded as victims of human rights violations. They may have their electric plants dynamited, their coffee crops destroyed, their leaders murdered, without being regarded as victims of human rights violations - *providing* that the perpetrators of this violence, of these gross abuses, are "progressive" national liberation movements, armed, trained, serviced by the professional purveyors of revolutionary violence. Only governments that seek to repress this violence will be cited for human rights violations."<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Both Robertson and Moynihan were disgusted with the way Amin was received. A possible explanation as to they place Amin and Pol Pot at the same category is because both were anti-Americans even though Amin and Pol Pot ideologically were poles apart. P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991, p53-54; D.P Moynihan. A Dangerous Place. London: Secker & Warburg, 1979, p143.

<sup>122</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, "The Method of Violence", address to the Third Committee of the 37th UN General Assembly, December 7, 1982, p94; J.J Kirkpatrick. The Reagan Phenomenon & Other Speeches on Foreign Policy. Washington: AEI for Public Policy Research, 1983, "Human Rights & Wrongs in the United Nations", statement before the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, November 24, 1981, p46-53.

<sup>123</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, "The Method of Violence", address to the Third Committee of the 37th UN General Assembly, December 7, 1982, p95. [italics in the text].

The problem when dealing with the Reaganites' interpretation of human rights was that American foreign policy when it followed this thesis faced a paradox as one school of thought called upon the United States to adopt a more rational and less ideological attitude to foreign policy. Yet, on the other hand, the ideological conservatism of Reagan with its ingrained patriotism and desire to re-assert American dominance kept ideology, and thus the conflict with communism, high on the agenda. This perhaps explains why one can see a deterioration in superpower relations during 1983 as a consequence of the more ideological stance of the administration as George Shultz replaced Alexander Haig.<sup>124</sup>

The proliferation in the definition of "rights" allowed the United Nations to expand its interests and programs. For the Christian Right (already incensed with the growing involvement of the federal government in American society and especially in the alleged promotion of secular humanism), UN programs simply added further ammunition. They pointed to such things as the unanimous passing by the General Assembly on February 14, 1977, of a special resolution establishing 1979 as the International Year of the Child (GA/33rd Sess. Res. 33/93). The movement did not end at the close of 1979 as it continued to pursue its principles. Many people, according to Falwell, were deceived by International Year of the Child (IYC), thinking that its primary purpose was to alert people about child abuse and child neglect. A deeper look at the history of the roots of the movement however, according to him, show that IYC could not help children. The goals of IYC, according to the Rev. Falwell were: first, give children the "right" to sue their parents in retaliation for "unjustified" discipline, unwanted "indoctrination," and/or "inadequate parenting." Second, children should get a minimum wage for performing household chores. Third, children would have the "right" to choose their own parents. A child could move out from his parents home and select where and with whom he would like to live. Fourth, minor

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<sup>124</sup> J.J. Kirkpatrick, The Reagan Phenomenon & Other Speeches on Foreign Policy. Washington DC: AEI for Public Policy Research, 1983, "Ideas and Institutions", address to the Council on Foreign Relations, New York City, March 10, 1981, p39-45; see also "Human Rights in Nicaragua", statement before the Senate Sub-committee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, Washington DC, March 1, 1982, p62-69.

female children would be given the “right” to have abortions on demands without parental consent or knowledge. Fifth, the federal government would supervise all “family planning” which would mean that parents would virtually be licensed to be parents. The care of children would be taken away from the parents and put in the hands of government. Sixth, legislation would be passed that would legalised homosexual marriages and homosexual adoptions. Seventh, there would be an equal rights amendment for children. Eight, the federal government would assume all responsibility concerning the rearing of children.<sup>125</sup> The concerns of Falwell could be seen in the 1990s through such organisations as the CWA who are very much against the UN involvement in such things as “children’s rights.”<sup>126</sup>

New Righters felt that since the 1950s and 1960s, when the anti-American majority had began to move emerge, the organisation had moved from the promotion of civil and political human rights to seeking social and economic human rights which as understood by the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights meant the pursuit of equal standards of living. The UN became too interested in the development of economic systems rather than in the promotion of the development of democratic systems which in time would lead to better standards of livings for the inhabitants of the country. This to New Righters could be interpreted as socialism which seeks equality of social and economic standards for its populace.

American conservatives were unhappy with the UN human rights system because to their minds countries that committed grave human rights violations, such as mass murder were not ostracised or even denounced, while authoritarian countries who were working toward the development of a democratic system were often attacked within the organisation. This was something that the Reaganites were not prepared to tolerate and with Kirkpatrick at the helm they launched a serious counter-offensive within the United Nations to re-address the balance.

<sup>125</sup> J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantion Books, 1980, p122-125. The quotations are from the text, which is also full of examples of terrible experiences that children have endured when government intervened in their up-bringing.

<sup>126</sup> See for example a Policy Concern paper by CWA “U.N. Conventions on the Rights of the Child: A Treaty to Undermine the Family”, February 1995, 18PC-014.

The way the Reagan administration and the New Right dealt with the UN's interpretation of human rights and its role in the promotion and preservation of human rights highlights the administration's selectivity and its simplicity. That is, the belief that the United Nations had exceeded its authority when dealing with human rights was far too simplistic as was the belief that the organisation was largely anti-American. There is no doubt that the mechanisms dealing with human rights were and are very complicated (and that may have frustrated a highly ideological group of people determined to promote Americanism) but they emerged because of the ever-present conflict between ideology/morality and *Realpolitik*. The UN had and has to satisfy so many concerns that the mechanism and the whole system had to be very complex. The New Right and therefore the administration truly believed that the organisation had strayed from its proper path and it was up to them to lead it back to the righteous path. However, at the same time, the administration was determined to ensure that the UN would end its anti-American prejudice and return to its proper role of being an instrument of the US. The area of human rights afforded New Righters the opportunity to use UN sanctions and power to help forge new societies especially as the United Nations had access that national governments would love to have and the Reagan administration hoped to use it to promote democracy that would have the benefit of helping the US achieve a majority in the UN, secure American national interests and advance democracy, thus fulfilling American moral obligations.

### CONCLUSION

The New Right levelled many criticisms at the United Nations. All of them centred on the belief that American prestige and influence in the organisation had fallen while Soviet stock had risen. The curious thing about the mainstream New Righters was that they never really thought about a US withdrawal from the United Nations, which they saw as fundamentally an American created

organisation.<sup>127</sup> In the 1980s the Christian Right's interest in the United Nations was limited probably because it was more concerned with domestic issues; while the anti-liberals sought to deal with the burgeoning welfare state. Thus, the UN came under the dominion of the neoconservatives who dealt with it essentially through their critique of American foreign policy. Most of the interest in the UN in the 1980s was within the political dominion and the media. However, it must be said that on issues such as the downing of KAL-007, the US turned to the UN. In many ways one could understand American claims that the UN had turned against them and the West by the 1980s as they were often on the receiving end of some very strong denunciation by members whose record was far worse than theirs. Moreover, there is little doubt that the organisation was and still is dominated by the "Third World" which has its own agenda which it seeks to fulfil often to the detriment of Western interests. To Americans used to getting their own way, the idea of some small, poor state forcing them (through its membership in a bloc) to accept a resolution or a policy that they deemed to be anti-American seemed preposterous. This attitude - which could be seen as American arrogance - has prevailed even after the ending of the Cold War as the case of Boutros Boutros-Ghali showed, or the refusal to pay America's financial arrears.

The Reagan era in many ways is about perception, and although in many areas about the UN the New Right was wrong, (in some cases very wrong). America still carried considerable influence within the organisation in 1980 and the Soviets did not have their way, nor did they control the NAM. The New Right approach to the UN was far too simplistic which led to complications. When Kirkpatrick left in 1985, many Americans felt that she had re-dressed the balance which is why possibly a less aggressive ideologue was brought in to replace her in

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<sup>127</sup> The Religious Right and the 'patriots' became more vociferous in their opposition to the UN in the 1990s. R. Abanes. Rebellion, Racism & Religion: American Militias. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1996; W.F Jasper. Global Tyranny... Step by Step: The United Nations and the Emerging New World Order. Appleton: Western Islands, 1992; H. Lindsey. Planet Earth 2000 A.D. Will Mankind Survive?. Palos Verdes: Western Front, 1996.

the shape of Vernon A. Walters, who was more of a diplomat.<sup>128</sup> Although the Reagan administration with Kirkpatrick at the UN were able to show the world that America was prepared to huff and puff until it got its way, and that the US would no longer accept the crude politics of accusation that had been allowed to occur with little if any punishment under Carter the program had its own problem. This perhaps explains why a report by a Congressional delegation did not endorse the administration's approach to the UN. The delegation in fact had some reservations about the negative attitude that was being promoted by the administration.<sup>129</sup>

The debate about the Reagan administration and the role that Kirkpatrick played in promoting the Reagan Doctrine would continue for many more years, but one thing is certain: the Kirkpatrick era would not be easily forgotten from the annals of the United Nations, especially when one looks at the case of UNESCO.

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<sup>128</sup> Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 99th Congress, 1st Session, 1985, Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1986. Walters confirmed on May 16, 1985.

<sup>129</sup> "38th Session of the U.N. General Assembly", September 19 - December 20, 1983, Report of Congressional Delegates to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives, September 30, 1985, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985.



## CHAPTER V

### UNESCO & THE UNITED STATES: THE REAGAN YEARS, 1981-1984

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) like its parent, the United Nations, emerged out of the ashes of the Second World War. The idea of UNESCO originated with the first meeting of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME) held on the initiative of R.A. Butler, President of the Board of Education for England and Wales, and Sir Malcolm Robertson, Chairman of the British Council, on November 16, 1942. CAME was quickly enlarged to include other countries, most notably the United States. From the CAME meetings the idea of an organisation interested primarily in encouraging the development of co-operation between the wartime allies in education matters emerged. The hope was to make the organisation as universal as possible by making membership widespread and open which is perhaps why in UNESCO's Constitution there are no references to the "enemy states" as there are in the UN Charter (Articles 53 and 107) which arguably places these states on a different level from the 'victorious states.'<sup>1</sup>

UNESCO exists under the umbrella of the United Nations as stipulated in Article 57 of the UN Charter. As a result of Article 57, and the conditions of the world following the end of the World War II, UNESCO was to concentrate primarily on through which peace and greater international co-operation would be achieved. At the forefront of UNESCO's Constitution it is stated that "...Governments of the States Parties to this Constitution on behalf of their people declare: That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." This passage is attributed to the chairman of the American delegation to the 1945 London Conference Archibald MacLeish, and its significance is that it emphasises UNESCO's

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<sup>1</sup> M.C. Lacoste. The Story of A Grand Design: UNESCO 1946-1993, People, Events & Achievements. Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994.

commitment to education<sup>2</sup> and to peace. It is probably because of that commitment, coupled with the organisation's interest in culture (two very contentious and controversial areas in national and international society) that the growth and role of UNESCO have attracted so much attention, criticism and condemnation. However, it is also UNESCO's involvement in the promotion of peace through education, science, culture and communication (which the US insisted be added to the jurisdiction of the organisation's acronym) that has "...ensured that UNESCO would be broader and more complex than any other UN agency except the UN itself and that it would be inordinately difficult to manage."<sup>3</sup>

Since its creation over fifty years ago, UNESCO has developed in mammoth proportions. It currently has 185 members, with 179 of them having National Commissions consisting of representatives of national educational, scientific and cultural communities. UNESCO itself has 2,200 civil servants, professional and non-professional, of whom almost 500 work away from its Headquarters in Paris in 57 bureaux throughout the world. It maintains regular relations of co-operation with 588 non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and about 1,200 co-operate occasionally with UNESCO.<sup>4</sup> This great diversity is the result of the liberal ethic that was embedded in the minds of the founders of the organisation who wanted the agency to transcend the state (which is also why UNESCO's Constitution speaks of territories being members - Article II).<sup>5</sup>

The organisation went through some structural reforms as it was felt that the member states' control over UNESCO had waned, especially in the "political" region. This explains the American support for the British proposal to amend

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<sup>2</sup> Banquet address to the US National Commission, by Director General M'Bow, in "A Critical Assessment of U.S. Participation in UNESCO", Special Meeting of the U.S. National Commission, Columbia: The University of South Carolina, June 1-3, 1982, Department of State Publication 9297, International Organization & Conference Series 158, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, October 1982, p23.

<sup>3</sup> L.S Finkelstein, "The Political Role of the Director General of UNESCO", L.S Finkelstein. (ed.) *Politics in the United Nations System*. London: Duke University Press, 1988, p389.

<sup>4</sup> *Fiftieth Anniversary of UNESCO*. p4-5, brochure distributed by UNESCO; see also UNESCO's Internet cite: [www.unesco.org](http://www.unesco.org)

UNESCO's Constitution and transform the Executive Board into a body composed of representatives of the member states. This was very much because US officials sought to: "...mobilize UNESCO and its facilities as propaganda instruments in what became known as the Korean campaign of truth." The effect was that: "...no longer did Executive Board members technically serve solely in their own right as individuals, representing in theory the general conference as a whole."<sup>6</sup>

UNESCO is composed of three main bodies. The first is the General Conference of the member states which is the agency's supreme governing body. It assembles every two years to discuss an agenda for UNESCO. The Conference, following the principle of one vote per country approves the organisation's Program and Budget. The second body is the Executive Board which is composed of 51 representatives of the member states. The Board meets twice a year and acts as a quasi-administrative council. It prepares the work of the General Conference and is responsible for the execution of conference decisions. The final body is the Secretariat which is under the direction of the Director General who is elected for a six-year term. The Secretariat staff implement the programs that are adopted by the member states.<sup>7</sup>

As the century developed many of the nations that had lived under the shackles of imperialism were emancipated either voluntarily, peacefully or violently. At first glance an organisation such as UNESCO may cause some concern for former colonies because it was created to promote education and culture of the Western European type who also dominated the agency. Imperialism brought about the removal of the indigenous culture by the colonialists who then sought to impose their culture upon on the native

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<sup>5</sup> L.S Finkelstein, "The Political Role of the Director General of UNESCO", L.S Finkelstein. (ed.) Politics in the United Nations System. London: Duke University Press, 1988, p390; R. Hoggart. An Idea And Its Servants. London: Chatto & Windus, 1978.

<sup>6</sup> R.A Coate, "Changing Patterns of Conflict: The United States & UNESCO", M.P Karns and K.A Mingst. (ed.) The United States and Multilateral Institutions: Patterns of Changing Instrumentality and Influence. London: Routledge, 1990, p236, p235.

<sup>7</sup> UNESCO Today. p8, brochure distributed by UNESCO; see also UNESCO's Internet cite: [www.unesco.org](http://www.unesco.org)

population. Thus, one could argue that UNESCO (due to Western European domination) would seek to continue in this tradition, especially with the development of the Cold War. With the growth of the decolonisation movement, UNESCO like its parent, the UN, experienced a great transformation, as the balance of power shifted from the North to the South. The main problem as a result for the developed world was that unlike the United Nations, the major powers have no way to respond to intimidation or coercion by less powerful member states. That is, at New York, the five permanent members of the Supreme Court can get recourse through the usage the veto which makes them 'primus inter pares.' At Paris, the major powers' only real weapon is the withholding of funds or withdrawal from the agency, two far more drastic and complex options. This is arguably why at UNESCO the notion of equality is much more pronounced than it is at New York.<sup>8</sup> However, as the century developed this difference was to cause serious friction between Washington and Paris as UNESCO could not easily be brow-beaten into submission by the Americans.

In December 1983, Secretary of State George Shultz, informed Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, the Director General of UNESCO, that the United States intended to withdraw from the organisation. Shultz stated that America for a number of years had been troubled by the fact "...that trends in policy, ideological emphasis, budget and management of UNESCO were detracting from the Organization's effectiveness."<sup>9</sup> With this statement the US effectively ended its forty year old membership in UNESCO and adopted an observer status that it has maintained since 1984. Both Secretary Shultz and Assistant Secretary of State Gregory Newell noted that the American withdrawal was not final, as satisfactory

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<sup>8</sup> Britain for example, belongs to a small group of richer countries whose voting power is "decisive." Among the social and economic powers Britain's "...voting power was and is no greater than that of the smallest Caribbean island...", especially as after the 1960s the newly independent countries sought to use UN agencies "...from the General Assembly downwards, to impose social and economic policies with which Britain, could not agree..." which led to friction. D. Williams, "The Specialised Agencies: Britain in Retreat", E. Jensen and T. Fisher. (ed.) *The United Kingdom - The United Nations*. London: Macmillan Press, 1990, p211.

<sup>9</sup> "Letter from Secretary of State George Shultz to Director-General of UNESCO Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow." *Journal of Communication*. 34 (4 1984), p82. Newell provides similar outlooks in many of his speeches on the subject see for example "Perspective on the U.S.

reform would see an American return to UNESCO.<sup>10</sup> To this date, however, there has been no American return.

The Reagan administration identified three main themes which it particularly focused upon in justifying its decision to withdraw from UNESCO. These were: involvement in political issues, “statist concepts” (the emphasis on the rights of states rather than individuals), and unrestrained budgetary growth.<sup>11</sup> The issues were not detached from each other as there was a great symbiotic relationship between them, which was made more complex as each could produce new criticisms or sub-themes. Furthermore, the communication debate to a large extent existed outside of the three main areas, especially as it involved the large US media corporations who feared that the possible licensing of journalists (to name but one aspect of the communications debate) would lead to international control of the media.

Ronald Reagan’s way of managing his administration is important when examining US-UNESCO relations as unlike the United Nations Reagan was much less involved in affairs dealing with UNESCO. This was primarily because the Reagan presidency was one in which the President did not deal with the nitty-gritty of policy.<sup>12</sup> Reagan made general comments and points which people in the lower levels of the administration pounced upon, as was the case with the “arms for hostages” affair. This approach gave those at the lower levels of his administration - and who shared Reagan’s determination of re-affirming

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Withdrawal from UNESCO”, address by Gregory Newell, Stanford University, Stanford, California, October 31, 1985, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 85, No. 2094, January 1985.

<sup>10</sup> “U.S. Confirms Withdrawal from UNESCO”, text of George Shultz’s letter to Amadou-Mahtar M’Bow, Director General of UNESCO, December 19, 1984, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 85, No. 2095, February 1985, p36; “The New US Observer Role in UNESCO”, address by Gregory Newell, to the *L’Association De Presse Diplomatique Francaise*, Paris, France, January 15, 1985. Washington DC: US State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs.

<sup>11</sup> “Improvements Needed in UNESCO’s Management, Personnel, Financial, & Budgeting Practices”, Report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Committee on Science and Technology, House of Representatives”, by the Comptroller General of the United States, Gaithersburg: US GAO, 1984, GAO/NSIAD-85-32, Digest and Chapter 1.

<sup>12</sup> F.A Waldstein, “Cabinet Government: The Reagan Management Model”, p54-75, and M. Foley, “Presidential Leadership & the Leadership”, p24-53, J. Hogan. (ed.) The Reagan Years: The Record in Presidential Leadership. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.

America's prominent position in the world - much more leeway.<sup>13</sup> Over UNESCO, Reagan said very little about the organisation which is why most of the emphasis is placed on the State Department (especially Gregory Newell who served as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organisation Affairs<sup>14</sup>). The two NSC Memorandums from Robert McFarlane highlight the State Department ascendancy in US-UNESCO relations as in the memorandums (especially the first one), McFarlane notes that the president had approved the recommendations of Secretary of State Shultz which strongly suggest that the initiative came from the State Department (by which time Newell was already well-positioned to begin his assault on UNESCO).<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the State Department Authorisation Act of 1982 increased the White House's leverage concerning UNESCO as it called upon the president to evaluate and assess the extent to which UNESCO's activities "...serve the national interests of the United States;". The Secretary of State was required to report no later than February 1 of each year to Congress with respect as to whether UNESCO has taken action that may be deemed to be inimical to US interests.<sup>16</sup> One must remember that in this area the Secretary of State and the President were reliant upon the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organisation.

The Heritage Foundation and other conservative think-tanks who either opposed UNESCO *per se* or simply disliked the ideal of the organisation or the way it developed, also participated in the assault. C.A Giffard has noted that following a content analysis of the Heritage Foundation documents on UNESCO, and the State Department press releases, briefings and statements at congressional

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<sup>13</sup> The main protagonists in the UNESCO saga were G.J Newell, the Heritage Foundation, political lobbying groups such as the Anti-Defamation League, and the mainstream media corporations. See for example C.A Giffard. UNESCO and the Media. London: Longman, 1989.

<sup>14</sup> R.A Coate writes that Newell "...quietly attempted to isolate and discredit several leading conservatives who were knowledgeable in UNESCO affairs...". In fact members of Newell's own department feared "negative retribution" if they made known that a draft document looking into UNESCO was highly critical of the "State Department's management of U.S. participation in UNESCO...". R.A Coate, "Changing Patterns of Conflict: The United States and UNESCO", M.P Karns and K.A Mingst. (ed.) The United States and Multilateral Institutions: Patterns of Changing Instrumentality and Influence. London: Routledge, 1990, p254.

<sup>15</sup> The McFarlane memorandums are dated December 23, 1983, and February 11, 1984. Taken from appendix of "Assessment of US-UNESCO Relations, 1984", Report of a Staff Study Mission to Paris - UNESCO, to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, 1st Session, January 1985, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985.

hearings, it was shown that speakers for the State Department "...reiterated both the language and the emphasis provided by the Heritage reports."<sup>17</sup> In other words, the State Department followed the Heritage Foundation which was very much against UNESCO. There were some differences, as for example the Heritage Foundation criticisms of M'Bow, Giffard notes, were not reflected by the State Department, apparently as a matter of policy (fear that the attacks would be perceived to be racially motivated). The State Department also paid more attention to what would happen after the withdrawal - usually statements that the US would use its UNESCO contributions to fund other educational, scientific and cultural projects. Other than these differences in emphasis "...both the arguments and rhetoric were almost identical."<sup>18</sup> UNESCO was to further suffer due to the US media establishment who played an significant role in providing negative image of UNESCO in the minds of many Americans.<sup>19</sup>

Congress played an important role in the UNESCO debate and was very much involved in the discussions about the future of American membership in UNESCO. The conclusions that Congress often arrived at reflected the opinions of politicians (or members of the administration) rather than that of professionals working with or in UNESCO who were called to testify before congressional committees.<sup>20</sup> This was coupled with a number of resolutions and pieces of legislation that were inherently critical if not anti-UNESCO, ranging from the

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<sup>16</sup> United States Statutes At Large. 1982, Vol. 96, PaA 1, Public Laws 97-146 through 97-301, Washington: US GPO, 1984.

<sup>17</sup> This point is significant as it highlights governmental deference to so-called UNESCO experts such as O. Harries who had served as Australia's ambassador to UNESCO. By pointing to Harries or Lengyel the administration could claim that its action was based on the advice of those who knew UNESCO. The problem was that pro-UNESCO specialists were not accorded the same courtesy. The quotation is taken from C.A Giffard. UNESCO and the Media. London: Longman, 1989, p257.

<sup>18</sup> C.A Giffard. UNESCO and the Media. London: Longman, 1989, p119-120.

<sup>19</sup> C.A Giffard. UNESCO and the Media. London: Longman, 1989, p249, and throughout the book; W. Preston Jr., E.S Herman and H.I Schiller. Hope & Folly: The United States and UNESCO, 1945-1980. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.

<sup>20</sup> "U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO", hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights & International Organisation and on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 25, 26, & May 2, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985. A variety of speakers were called to testify before the committee ranging from: O. Harries to J.B Holderman (Chairman of US National Commission for UNESCO), to E.P Hennelly (Chairman of US Delegation to 22nd General Conference of UNESCO).

Department of State Authorisation Act, Fiscal Year 1982 and 1983 (PL 97-241), to the actual withdrawal and the support that Congress gave it.

The relationship between the United States and UNESCO was never an easy one<sup>21</sup> and it came to a dramatic conclusion in 1984 when the US withdrew from the organisation and adopted observer status. What is even more puzzling is that the approach adopted by the Reagan administration was very much **against** the advice of professionals dealing with UNESCO who called upon the US Government to retain its membership and work from within the organisation for reform. The reasons for the pullout may be perplexing but it is also what keeps the issue still interesting more than a decade later.<sup>22</sup>

### THE UNITED STATES & UNESCO: 1945-1980

For the first decade or so the United States and the West dominated UNESCO just as they did the general system of the United Nations. This meant that it was very easy for the main powers, Britain, France and especially the US to push UNESCO along their lines. Despite this domination (the Soviet Union only joined in 1954) the United States was still unhappy and the agency came under harsh and unfair criticism by American politicians and press.<sup>23</sup> The clashes between the two could be seen as early as 1946 when the General Conference met at the Sorbonne for the first time.<sup>24</sup> The uneasiness between the two was also aided by an Executive Order of President Truman that was applied to all

<sup>21</sup> R.A Coate, "Changing Patterns of Conflict: The United States & UNESCO", M.P Karns and K.A Mingst. (ed.) The United States and Multilateral Institutions: Patterns of Changing Instrumentality and Influence. London: Routledge, 1990 p231-260.

<sup>22</sup> See for example a Heritage Foundation *Executive Memorandum*, "Stay Out of UNESCO", January 27, 1995. The Clinton administration is called upon to stay out of UNESCO, because: 1. it still suffers from "management shortcomings"; 2. it will send "wrong signal about U.N. management reform"; 3. "UNESCO's mission lacks focus"; 4. "UNESCO's activities are redundant"; 5. "U.S. already benefits from the best of UNESCO".

<sup>23</sup> W. Preston Jr., E.S Herman and H.I Schiller. Hope & Folly: The United States and UNESCO, 1945-1980. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.

<sup>24</sup> In 1947, Jacques Maritain, the renowned author and French delegate to the General Conference, pointed to the dilemma that the values held by the founders as universal were in fact controversial and far from consensual. L.S Finkelstein, "The Political Role of the Director General of UNESCO", L.S Finkelstein. (ed.) Politics in the United Nations System. London: Duke University Press, 1988, p390-391. Finkelstein also argues that the Director General's



institutions of the United Nations in which American nationals were employed. The importance of the Order was not only that it created more friction between the US and the UN in general, but that it showed American reluctance to take the United Nations at face value. It was paranoia taken to extreme, as Americans felt that the communists and other subversives would seek to manipulate the Organisation against the American way of life.<sup>25</sup>

UNESCO may have been created to help break down the barriers between nations through education, but the setting of the Cold War and the growing fear of communism in the United States was proving to be a real obstacle for the whole UN system and organisation. This is seen in Julian Behrstock's book The Eighth Case: Troubled Times at the United Nations, where he describes at some length the hardship that Americans working at the United Nations had to endure because of communism and the Cold War. The issue of loyalty was eventually settled almost forty years after it first emerged when US District Court Judge John J. McNaught, ruled in *Ozonoff v. Berzak* that the entire procedure under which the American government had been investigating the loyalty of Americans as a condition of their employment by the United Nations was unconstitutional.<sup>26</sup>

The 1950s saw the beginning of a new era in world history with the development of the decolonisation process. It was also during this decade that the first transformation of UNESCO occurred with the first enlargement in membership. The process began with the Soviet decision to enter UNESCO in 1954, which was followed by the Ukraine and Byelorussia, while Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary rejoined the organisation. Two years later Romania and Bulgaria also joined. This meant that in a very short time eight communist

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political involvement is based on the vague nature of the Constitution and the great powers that it accords the Director General.

<sup>25</sup> For general attitude toward communists in the US: R.M Fried. Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective. NY: Oxford University Press, 1990; for more specific examples of early persecution within the UN: J. Behrstock. The Eighth Case: Troubled Times At the United Nations. Lanham: University Press of America, 1987; for a 1980s attack on how the UN was used by communists: J.G Pilon, "Moscow's U.N. Outpost", Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders*, November 22, 1983, No. 307, (with assistance from S. Lechenko).

<sup>26</sup> J. Behrstock. The Eighth Case: Troubled Times At the United Nations. Lanham: University Press of America, 1987, p10. Behrstock who worked at UNESCO experienced US anti-communist persecution.

countries became members of UNESCO at a time when anti-communism in the United States was heightened due to McCarthyism. This compositional change was rather less revolutionary than the one that took place in 1960, when seventeen new African states joined. The new additions meant that: "...the Western domination of UNESCO ended. By the later 1960s, the new African members had added a north-south dimension to the existing east-west dimension that the Eastern Europeans had brought to UNESCO in the mid-1950s. As the membership of African, Arab and Asian countries increased, UNESCO became an organization with a clear Third World majority."<sup>27</sup>

The whole debate about information - which was to take centre stage by the 1980s - is closely linked to the Third World and NAM primarily because through information, power is obtained. In April 1955, the leaders of the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia met at Bandung and "...discussed ways and means of protecting their hard-won independence and sustaining economic cooperation among themselves." This led to the Belgrade Conference of 1961 which brought about the formation of NAM. The leaders of the nonaligned countries claimed that most of the news agencies, entertainment program producers, and information systems in the world were owned and operated by multinational communication corporations whose headquarters were either in London, New York, Paris or Moscow. They also maintained that international images of poor countries were formed by a few multinational news agencies whose messages were used not only by the media organisations of the rich countries but also by the poor countries.<sup>28</sup> In other words, a few large Western corporations were determining the images that millions of people in the West and in the developing world were seeing, and with the growing influence of the media one had to be weary of upsetting these mighty institutions.<sup>29</sup> Thus, the desire of

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<sup>27</sup> "Improvements Needed in UNESCO's Management, Personnel, Financial, & Budgeting Practices", Report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Committee on Science and Technology, House of Representatives, by the Comptroller General of the United States, Gaithersburg: US GAO, 1984, GAO/NAIAD-85-32, p9.

<sup>28</sup> J.V. Vilanilam. Reporting A Revolution: The Iranian Revolution & the NIICO Debate. London: Sage Publications, 1989, p23, p24.

<sup>29</sup> Giffard suggests that it is possible that one of the reasons why the large media corporations turned against UNESCO was because of New World Information and Communication Order

the newly independent states to expand their control of communications or information industry essentially placed them on a collision course with the industrialised countries.

The decline of American influence within UNESCO had been traced to 1962 when Rene Maheu was elected Director General which was followed by the approval of his budget, which was bigger than the Americans wanted. The Americans were to have many difficulties with the French Director General who was determined to expand UNESCO's development programs even further. The American unhappiness, however, had been developing since the 1950s, when its officials began to feel that they were losing their influence within the organisation which they initially hoped to use to conduct important foreign policy initiatives, especially during the Korean War but Torres-Bodet (at this instance) was successful in promoting his own agenda which had a "far-reaching effect.", on US-UNESCO relations.<sup>30</sup>

In 1974, the introduction of the New International Information Order (NIIO) into UN politics could be regarded as the first serious attempt by the anti-American bloc to subvert UNESCO into promoting an agenda detrimental to US interests. NIIO was seen by Americans as an attempt to impose restrictions on the free flow of information by claiming that it would mean greater equality in reporting and distribution. One of the problems concerning the information debate was that initially UNESCO's main function in the area of communication during the 1950 and 1960s was to help build up communication infrastructures in the developing world on the assumption that these would aid in modernisation and development. Until the mid-1960, the UN itself was the major political forum for debates on problems relating to the free flow of information. UNESCO's role was mainly

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(NWICO) and the licensing of journalists debate. C.A Giffard. UNESCO and the Media. London: Longman, 1989; C.J Pach Jr., "And That's They Way It Was The Vietnam War & the Network Mighty News", D. Farber. (ed.) The Sixties: From Memory to History. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994, p90-118.

<sup>30</sup> L.S Finkelstein, "The Political Role of the Director General of UNESCO", L.S Finkelstein. (ed.) Politics in the United Nations System. London: Duke University Press, 1988, p386. The second point is made in R.A Coate, "Changing Patterns of Conflict: The United States & UNESCO", M.P Karns and K.A Mingst. (ed.) The United States and Multilateral Institutions: Patterns of Changing Instrumentality and Influence. London: Routledge, 1990, p231-260.

technical as it was meant to assist developing countries establish and operate news media, and promote the free exchange of books and periodicals.<sup>31</sup> To fully comprehend and appreciate the danger that Americans saw in NIIO and later in NWICO, one must remember that these UNESCO initiatives came on the back of the New International Economic Order (NIEO). NIEO was regarded as a socialist-oriented program, hostile to western democratic capitalism as one commentator noted: “[NIEO] ...is a simplistic scheme to redistribute the world’s wealth and resources to more than 100 under-developed nations, creating a global welfare state financed mainly by the U.S. and the Western industrial nations. UNESCO books and documents are filled with NIEO rhetoric, and the issue underlies all important UNESCO conference debates. In short, NIEO appears to be the UNESCO hidden agenda. The debate on the so-called New World Information Order, and the threat it poses to the free press, for example, stem from applying the NIEO concept to the field of mass communication.”<sup>32</sup>

It was during the 1970s, a time when Americans were already feeling rather vulnerable due to domestic failings that UNESCO appeared to be turning even more anti-American. Following the more ideologically benign Carterite foreign policy which allegedly was responsible to the appearance of two Soviet-backed societies at America’s backyard (Nicaragua and Grenada), a new foreign policy was demanded which was more assertive, aggressive and defended American national interests. Americans increasingly felt that their country had given much to the world (especially the developing world), but the Third World under the leadership of the Soviet Union in its desire to establish world communism was continuing its assault on the American way.<sup>33</sup> The American people, therefore demanded more from their own government and from

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<sup>31</sup> C.A Giffard. *UNESCO and the Media*. London: Longman, 1989, p20.

<sup>32</sup> T.G. Gulick, “For UNESCO, A Failing Grade in Education”, *Heritage Foundation Backgrounder*, October 21, 1982, No. 221, p3. This is just one example as such views were expressed by many other New Righters.

<sup>33</sup> J.J Kirkpatrick. *Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension*. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988, “The United Nations as a Political System”, address before the Institute for Comparative & Political Studies, Georgetown University, Washington DC, June 14, 1983, p225.

international organisations to which they were the main contributors, and Reagan riding on the rhetoric of the B-movies was determined to fulfil this demand.

### REAGAN & UNESCO

On December 19, 1984, Reagan's Secretary of State George Shultz informed Director General M'Bow that the United States had decided to carry out on its December 1983 ultimatum that unless UNESCO introduced serious reforms the US would withdraw its membership.

The State Department announcement highlighted America's new foreign policy commitment and a re-affirmation of New Right ideological beliefs<sup>34</sup> that America would honour its declarations, and would no longer allow itself to be pushed around.<sup>35</sup> In the words of Assistant Secretary Newell: "The decision to withdraw is not a negotiating tactic or a ploy of any sort. We have taken this with full candor with the Director General and other member states of UNESCO."<sup>36</sup> Newell, in fact used the ILO incident to justify the UNESCO decision as he argued that the ILO was given two years to respond to American criticisms before the US withdrew, and it still failed to reform itself. America re-entered the agency once sufficient reform occurred. As Newell stated: "...decisive action was taken in the ILO case when other attempts had failed and, during our absence, the organization hastened to make constructive improvements. The lesson conveyed

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<sup>34</sup> Harries writes that the decision in 1983 to re-appraise US-UNESCO relations was "...good also because the United States does not, as of now, have a coherent and effective political strategy for dealing with the Organisation." In other words, the federal government was developing a coherent policy which it followed when it decided to withdraw. O. Harries, "The U.S. & UNESCO at a Crossroads", Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders*, October 19, 1983, No. 298. Harries' extract was attached to: "Human Resources Impact on U.S. Membership in UNESCO", hearing before the Senate Committee on Labour & Human Resources, December 10, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985.

<sup>35</sup> In his testimony before the Senate Committee on Labour and Human Resources, Maxwell E. Greenberg, ADL honorary national chairman argued that if the US was to change its mind in regard to the withdrawal this would reward UNESCO for not reforming and undermine America's efforts to reform the organisation. Press Release of Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, December 10, 1984.

<sup>36</sup> "On the Record Briefing on U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO by G. Newell, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, December 29, 1983", taken from the appendix of "U.S. Withdrawal From UNESCO", Report of A Staff Study Mission (February 10-23, 1984) to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives, Washington DC: US GPO, 1984, p64.

is a strongly appealing one.”<sup>37</sup> US ambassador to the UN, Jeane Kirkpatrick in 1983, declared before a congressional committee on the role of the United States in the United Nations, that “...when the ILO for a period - International Labor Organization - was in its functioning essentially betraying the purposes for which it was established, the American labor representatives, representing AFL-CIO, took the initiative in really bringing about United States withdrawal from the ILO. The United States stayed out of the ILO for several years, and I think that had a rather salutary effect, quite frankly.” Moreover, Kirkpatrick stated that unless UNESCO stopped pursuing policies and programs that are - or rather that American conservatives deemed - to be hostile to American interests, the US should withdraw from the organisation, as America should not spend \$50 million annually on an agency that does not support its interests.<sup>38</sup> A Congressional Report, however, noted that the ILO and UNESCO cases could not be compared although they did share some similarities.<sup>39</sup>

Secretary Shultz justified the withdrawal by stating that UNESCO had failed to provide the satisfactory reforms that the US had called for despite having had a year to do so. In closing his letter the Secretary of State stated that if sufficient reform was provided America would seriously reconsider its position but in the meantime the United States would continue “...to make significant and concrete contribution to international cooperation in education, science, culture, and communications. To advance that cause, we will seek to use other existing methods and work through other existing means.”<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> “Human Resources Impact of U.S. membership in UNESCO”, hearing before the Senate Committee on Labor & Human Resources, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, December 10, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985, p11.

<sup>38</sup> “The U.S. Role in the United Nations”, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organization, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 1st Session, September 27, and October 3, 1983, Washington: US GPO, 1984, p71, p72; see also Newell’s testimony in “Human Resources Impact of U.S. membership in UNESCO”, hearing before the Senate Committee on Labor & Human Resources, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, December 10, 1984, Washington: US GPO, 1985, p11.

<sup>39</sup> “Assessment of US-UNESCO Relations, 1984”, Report of a Staff Study Mission to Paris-UNESCO, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, 1st Session, January 1985, Washington: US GPO, 1985; M.F Imber. The USA, ILO, UNESCO and IAEA: Politicization and Withdrawal in the Specialized Agencies. London: Macmillan Press, 1989.

<sup>40</sup> “U.S. Confirms Withdrawal from UNESCO”, text of George Shultz’s letter to Amadou-Mahtar M’Bow of UNESCO, December 19, 1984, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 85, No. 2095, February 1985, p36. This was also promoted by other anti-UNESCO State Department officials, especially Newell, see for example: “The New US Observer Role in UNESCO”,

The Americans had a strong case in claiming that the decision to withdraw was not taken lightly, as several studies were conducted by the American government into UNESCO to see whether the accusations were justified.<sup>41</sup> This was coupled (unfortunately for UNESCO) with an un-organised assault by the American media establishment which had tremendous power in the United States. American media reporting on UNESCO suffered from an imbalance. The reasons for the imbalance in the reporting, according to one commentator, which were due to: a strong tendency to rely on sources, particularly the US government, that were hostile toward UNESCO. Second, events that depicted UNESCO in unfavourable light and supported withdrawal were reported, while events that created a different image were either ignored or played down. Third, when events took place about which there was a difference of opinion, or at which conflicting viewpoints were expressed, pro-administration spokesmen usually got the bulk of the coverage (as the administration was hostile toward UNESCO the report was therefore negative). Fourth, when reports that provided both points of view were written, anti-UNESCO view were given prominence. Moreover, it has been noted that it is an accepted convention of American journalism that a news report should be written in the form of an inverted pyramid, with the most important elements at the beginning and the least important toward the end. This makes it easy for newspapers to shorten reports to fit limited space by simply cutting from the bottom. It also implies a value judgement on the part of the reporters and

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address by Gregory Newell, to the *Association de Presse Diplomatique Francaise*, Paris, France, January 15, 1985. Washington DC: US State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs; "U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO", statement of Jeane Gerard, during a meeting with the Subcommittee on Human Rights & International Organisation & the Subcommittee on International Operations (June 26, 1984), attached to a hearing before the Subcommittee on Human Rights & International Organisation and on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 25, 26, & May 2, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, 1984.

<sup>41</sup> For example: "Improvements Needed in UNESCO's Management, Personnel, Financial & Budgeting Practices", Report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs & Committee on Science & Technology, House of Representatives, by the Comptroller General of the United States, Gaithersburg: US GAO, 1984, GAO/NSIAD-85-32; "Assessment of US-UNESCO Relations, 1984", Report of a Staff Study Mission to Paris - UNESCO, to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, 1st Session, January 1985, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985. The Reports which generally recommended a stay of execution were largely ignored unless they were used to validate claims that the administration looked deeply into UNESCO and its decision to withdraw.

editors when one aspect of a report is presented more prominently than others. This kind of bias occurred often when the media dealt with UNESCO.<sup>42</sup> What was even more significant was that on the issue of withdrawal there was no opposition from the Democrats, as even Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale endorsed the administration's decision.<sup>43</sup>

The basis for the attack on UNESCO was that it was designed to show those working for the United Nations and its system that the promotion of an ideological agenda would no longer be tolerated, and that if the United States could withdraw its UNESCO membership others could and would<sup>44</sup> (as Britain and Singapore did on December 31, 1985). In other words, one should not diminish the symbolic nature of the withdrawal, especially when looking into the Reagan administration where symbolism was very important.

At least one commentator has pointed to the role that the Americans played in encouraging the British to withdraw. Ambassador Gerard and Owen Harries, were jointly engaged in London in the fall of 1984 to push for a British withdrawal. Gerard was in London meeting with British officials and media people on October 18, 19, 20 and 22, 1984 (the same concluding dates of the 120th Executive Board meetings). Roger Coate writes that Gerard although being the vice-chairperson of the Board and the head of the US delegation "...for which these board meetings were of critical importance..." was in London lobbying for a British withdrawal. Moreover, "A favorite theme of right-wing U.S. supporters of British withdrawal was that the U.K. representatives in Paris had been "captured" by the UNESCO reform process. Thus, the prime minister should disregard British officials' advice to remain in UNESCO and should listen to Harries and

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<sup>42</sup> For the role of the media see C.A Giffard. UNESCO and the Media. London: Longman, 1989, p131-134.

<sup>43</sup> "Perspective on the U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO", address by Gregory Newell, Stanford University, Stanford, California, October 31, 1985, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 85, No. 2094, January 1985, p54. Newell adds that Mondale joined the endorsement after *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post* had done so.

<sup>44</sup> See for example: "U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO", prepared statement of E.J Derwinski, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights & International Organisation and on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 25, 26, & May 2, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, p261-264; see also O. Harries' statement to the same committee at the same Hearings, p84-87.



these U.S. citizens who could see UNESCO more objectively.”<sup>45</sup> When one takes into consideration the close rapport between Mrs. Thatcher and Ronald Reagan this particular hypothesis receives more credence.<sup>46</sup>

When UNESCO was informed in December 1983 that it was technically being put on probation by the US government it introduced some reforms<sup>47</sup> and it worked to facilitate many of America’s concerns throughout 1984.<sup>48</sup> However, by December 1984 the administration reached the conclusion that the reforms were insufficient and the US withdraw and adopted an observer status in UNESCO.

#### MANAGEMENT AND INEFFICIENCY

One of the major criticisms levelled by the Reaganites at UNESCO was that its management was poor. Americans have historically felt that any organisation or institution receiving public funds must be accountable and useful as it was spending taxpayers money. Thus, to an administration committed to greater efficiency in public institutions, poor management was simply unacceptable. Shultz’s noted that there were many groups and organisations whose purposes the US approves of but because they are “...not effective at carrying out the kind of international cooperation that will contribute to the making of a peaceful world.”, they lost American support.<sup>49</sup>

At the core of the management criticism levelled at UNESCO and which incidentally New Righters also directed at the US federal government, was that the agency became too complicated due to its size. As one critic said: “...UNESCO is an extremely complex, intricate structure which is not easily fathomed. It has a labyrinthine quality, with mysteries within mysteries.”<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> R.A Coate. Unilateralism, Ideology & U.S. Foreign Policy: The United States In and Out of UNESCO. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988, p129-130.

<sup>46</sup> R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990, p204.

<sup>47</sup> “Main Events Since U.S. Notice of Withdrawal From UNESCO”, UNESCO Press, Information Note 2, Paris, February 11, 1985.

<sup>48</sup> R.A Coate. Unilateralism, Ideology & U.S. Foreign Policy: The United States In and Out of UNESCO. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988.

<sup>49</sup> Secretary of State Shultz’s letter to Director General M’Bow, (“U.S. Notifies UNESCO of Intent to Withdraw”), December 28, 1983, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 84, No. 2083, February 1984, p41.

<sup>50</sup> Ambassador J.B.S Gerard Address to the U.S. National Commission, in “A Critical Assessment of U.S. Participation in UNESCO”, Special Meeting of the U.S. National

The management issue is divided into two main areas: one dealing with general management and the other with personnel management.<sup>51</sup> General management refers to the role that the Secretariat plays in UNESCO's activities. The Secretariat is responsible with the drafting of UNESCO's medium term plan, the biennial program and budget. It also evaluates whether the objectives are met and that programs are implemented. A prime example that was cited for the poor general management was the failure to appoint a Deputy Director General (DDG) for about three years. This meant that an Assistant Director General (ADG) acted for M'Bow while he was absent, something that an ADG was not supposed to do, as according to UNESCO's manual his responsibilities were limited to 'routine matters' such as signing correspondence to member states.<sup>52</sup> The other part of the criticism of the agency's management system was that it had a dual personnel system which was highly inefficient as it meant that regular staff members and the supplementary staff were not subjected to the same recruiting procedures. As UNESCO failed to get - for whatever reason - regular staff, it had to rely on supplementary staff who due to the shortages were placed in regular positions to fill the vacant posts and perform the duties that were required of the regular staff. More than seventy percent of all staff members were located at the Paris Headquarters (2,768 out of 4,115 as of December 31, 1983) with the rest divided almost equally between established offices away from headquarters and field projects' sites.<sup>53</sup> Thus, to American minds the agency had not only grown too big, it was also being run by people not equipped to run it.

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Commission, Columbia: The University of South Carolina, June 1-3, 1982, Department of State Publication 9297, International Organization & Conference Series 158, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, October 1982, p17.

<sup>51</sup> The personnel issue was restricted mainly to general comments about mismanagement and inefficiency, although there were some criticisms of M'Bow and the concentration of staff in Paris.

<sup>52</sup> "Improvements Needed in UNESCO's Management, Personnel, Financial & Budgeting Practices", Report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Committee on Science and Technology, House of Representatives, by the Comptroller General of the United States, Gaithersberg: US GAO, 1984, GAO/NSIAD-85-32, p20-30.

<sup>53</sup> "Improvements Needed in UNESCO's Management, Personnel, Financial & Budgeting Practices", Report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs & Committee on Science & Technology, House of Representatives, by the Comptroller General of the United States, Gaithersberg: US GAO, 1984, GAO/NSAID-85-32, especially Chapter 4.

The governing bodies of UNESCO, critics charged, also failed to regulate and ensure that the Secretariat followed its constitutional role. This was asserted especially concerning the General Conference, which to the critics had become too dependent upon the Secretariat which influenced its agenda and drafted many of the resolutions. The Executive Board was also censured because it was deemed to have abnegated its responsibility and was regarded by the critics as accepting too easily the budget and program that the Secretariat provided without seeking better information which was necessary for effective oversight. (Under Reagan the OMB had initiated a policy of CBA to ensure greater efficiency within government<sup>54</sup>). Poor management practices, meant that a large portion of the agency's money was devoured by a top-heavy, over-centralised bureaucracy with a structure in which too much authority flowed from the Secretariat and away from the governing bodies and member states.<sup>55</sup> Some eighty percent of UNESCO's \$400 million biennial budget was consumed in Paris, where about eighty-one percent of the organisation's employees were located, which meant that only nineteen percent of the money was spent in the field.<sup>56</sup> It was further pointed out that there was no real effort to control or reduce the number of conferences and major meetings (400 scheduled in 1984), publications (300 million document pages in 1983).<sup>57</sup> Moreover, there was a feeling that UNESCO's general management was highly centralised (the Reagan administration was trying to decentralise its own system with "New Federalism"), with the Director General having a tremendous amount of power. M'Bow for example appointed a DDG, ADG and Division Directors; he approved extensions to all employee contracts

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<sup>54</sup> J.T Tobin and M. Weidenbaum. (ed.) Two Revolutions in Economic Policy: The First Economic Reports of Presidents Kennedy and Reagan. London: the MIT Press, 1988, (for CBA see p452-484).

<sup>55</sup> "U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO", prepared statement of E.J Derwinski, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights & International Organisation and on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 25, 26, & May 2, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, p261-264.

<sup>56</sup> "U.S. Confirms Withdrawal from UNESCO", statement by Gregory Newell, December 19, 1984, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 85, No. 2095, February 1985, p36.

<sup>57</sup> These figures are somewhat suspect because one does not know with what Newell compares them. It seems that they were inserted simply for shock purposes as they sound awesome. "Perspective on the U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO", address by Gregory Newell, Stanford University, Stanford, California, October 31, 1985, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 85, No. 2094, January 1985, p55.

and was responsible for granting promotion.” This could be interpreted as M’Bow installing his own people in senior position thus enabling him to consolidate his own post and ensure that his philosophy is prominent in the secretariat upon which the whole agency function.

One of the main critics of UNESCO was the Heritage Foundation whose campaign was led by Thomas G. Gulick, a policy analyst and Owen Harries, Australia’s ambassador to UNESCO from February 1982 to August 1983.

The general type of accusations that flew from the Heritage Foundation concerned the anti-American, anti-Western ethos of UNESCO, which was coupled with a perceived Soviet and Third World bias and an ineffective management style and system of the agency.” The Foundation shamelessly attacked M’Bow for being responsible for UNESCO’s low standards (something that the State Department refrained from doing as a matter of policy<sup>58</sup>). Harries wrote that the power of M’Bow was: “...derived from the constitution, from the great patronage he wields, from his ideological compatibility with the Third World majority - is enormous. Formally he is the servant of member states; in practice he has been the undisputed master of UNESCO. He sets the tone, he provides the initiative, he is the boss. The confrontational, militant character of UNESCO reflects his personality. So do the inefficiency and the dubious management practices.”<sup>61</sup> In other words, the Director General failed to manage the organisation effectively thus allowing unsavoury forces to lead UNESCO down the wrong path which was causing American alienation and unless matters

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<sup>58</sup> “Improvements Needed in UNESCO’s Management, Personnel, Financial & Budgeting Practices”, Report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Committee on Science and Technology, House of Representatives, by the Comptroller General of the United States, Gaithersberg: US GAO, 1984, GAO/NSIAD-85-32, p20-28.

<sup>59</sup> See for example: O. Harries, “The U.S. & UNESCO at a Crossroads”, Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders*, October 19, 1983, No. 298; and, “GAO’s UNESCO Report Card: A Failing Grade”, Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders*, October 8, 1984, No. 386; T.G Gulick, “UNESCO, Where Culture Becomes Propaganda”, Heritage Foundation *Backgrounders*, December 13, 1982, No. 233.

<sup>60</sup> C.A Giffard. *UNESCO and the Media*. London: Longman, 1989.

<sup>61</sup> “U.S. Withdrawal From UNESCO”, prepared statement of O. Harries, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights & International Organisation and on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 25, 26, & May 2, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, p86, (underlined in text). For similar

changed, Harries maintained, the United States was perfectly correct and justified in withdrawing from UNESCO.<sup>62</sup>

UNESCO's management failings were mainly general ones because the management structure of the organisation is very complex and its critics were unsure how much the public would understand them. (One must remember that this was the Reagan era when simplicity ruled the airwaves which Reagan had proven with his simple and clear themes). There were also fewer reasons to attack UNESCO's personnel which had not grown very much since the 1970s, the only thing that changed was the concentration.<sup>63</sup> That is, UNESCO's decision-making process, it was felt, was far too centralised especially in the area of delegation of authority which reduced the effectiveness of the organisation.<sup>64</sup> This was based partly on the style of the Director General and on the development of the organisation itself. It was UNESCO's Constitution and the increased size of the organisation due to membership which led to greater expenditure, coupled with the failure to appoint regular staff which hampered the organisation. Furthermore, one must remember that during the early 1980s (especially 1982-83) Americans were very much concerned with the general management of public institutions, as this was after all a period of recession for them and a time when the administration was calling for greater accountability and efficiency in public institutions.

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attitudes see for example T.G. Gulick, "UNESCO, Where Culture Becomes Propaganda", *Heritage Foundation Backgrounder*, December 13, 1982, No. 233.

<sup>62</sup> See for example the 'Conclusion' in O. Harris, "An Insider Looks At UNESCO's Problems", *Heritage Foundation Backgrounder*, July 9, 1984, No. 364. The article is based on accusations that Peter Lengyel, former editor of *The International Social Science Journal*, levelled at M'Bow.

<sup>63</sup> At December 31, 1981, the total number of full-time staff employed by UNESCO on permanent, fixed- and short-term contracts was 3,469 drawn from 130 different nationalities. Of these 1,468 were in the Professional or higher categories, and 2,001 were in the General Service and Maintenance Worker categories. Of the Professional Staff, 576 were experts serving in the field, while 497 General Service and Maintenance Workers were at field posts. *Yearbook of the United Nations*. 1981, NY: Department of Public Information, UN, 1985.

<sup>64</sup> "Improvements Needed in UNESCO's Management, Personnel, Financial & Budgeting Practices", Report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Committee on Science and Technology, House of Representatives, by the Comptroller General of the United States, Gaithersburg: US GAO, 1984, GAO/NSIAD-85-32.

### THE QUESTION OF "POLITICISATION"

A second accusation placed by the Americans at the feet of UNESCO was that it became politicised and was pursuing 'statist concepts.' Thus, the term "politicisation," according to at least one commentator, has become "...a synonym for procedural abuse..." while also being used as "...a term indicating displeasure with the duly adopted program of the agency in question."<sup>65</sup>

The claim of politicisation centred essentially around the programs that UNESCO was pursuing, and particularly the role that the Secretariat played. It was felt that programs such as NWICO which had the support of some member states were aggressively pushed by members of the Secretariat, and especially by the head of the Secretariat, Director General M'Bow. As one critic put it: "...M'Bow and the UNESCO Secretariat see the Education and Social Science sectors of UNESCO as the means of realizing the 'new international economic order'".<sup>66</sup> However, to understand the accusation one must look at UNESCO's development as the politicisation of the organisation had been an evolutionary process.

The decline in the influence of the Western powers and especially of the United States within UNESCO was deemed by critics to have brought about a change in the agenda of the organisation. Initially the organisation was meant to promote peace through each of its fields particularly education.<sup>67</sup> It was also

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<sup>65</sup> A legitimate usage of the term would cover such things as: harassment of a member state's right to participate in the organisation; use of the issue of credentials to unseat delegates; *ultra vires* actions by the organisation. A more ambiguous use of the term would include such things as: irrelevant issues in the agency's program; double standards practised by members; mismanagement by the Secretariat. A contrived use of the term would cover claims of tyranny by the majority, and anti-Western bias. M.F Imber. The USA, ILO, UNESCO and IAEA: Politicization and Withdrawal in the Specialized Agencies. London: Macmillan Press, 1989, p2, p29-30.

<sup>66</sup> T.G. Gulick, "For UNESCO, A Failing Grade in Education", *Heritage Foundation Background*, October 21, 1982, No. 221, p7. The same view is promoted in another essay by T.G Gulick, "UNESCO, Where Culture Becomes Propaganda", *Heritage Foundation Background*, December 13, 1982, No. 233.

<sup>67</sup> An example of this is a pioneered program by UNESCO which "...sought to revise school curricula and history text-books..." in France and Germany. The aim of the project was to end Franco-German mistrust. The co-operative revision of text-books involved a committee of historians and teachers from both countries concerned "...acting as an advisory editorial panel." "They produced in 1951, recommendations on the revision of forty items ranging

hoped that it would encourage the reproduction of a Western-style economic liberalism and political values in the name of the free-flow concept of mutual understanding throughout the world: "Today, UNESCO, tomorrow the world".<sup>68</sup> This proposition was quite logical as for almost a decade the organisation had no Soviet membership, and was very much dominated by the West.

The rise of the Third World which had been preceded by the entry of several Communist countries following Stalin's death in 1954, began the political transformation of UNESCO. The developing world with what appeared to be Soviet encouragement if not backing was pushing UNESCO to drop its previous non-ideological agenda and become "...a servant of one or another national policy,"<sup>69</sup> as it began discussing such issues as racism, apartheid, and decolonisation (anti-colonialism) to name but a few.<sup>70</sup> The period in which UNESCO became very much involved in political issues was from the mid-60s until the second half of the 1970s<sup>71</sup> and it was during that time that America left the organisation briefly. This was due to attacks on Israel, especially concerning Israel's exclusion from the European group (which virtually suspended Israel from the organisation).<sup>72</sup> This perhaps explains why in the 1980s UNESCO had been "...less stridently anti-Israeli than in the past..." although it had retained its anti-US and anti-Western attitude.<sup>73</sup>

By the 1980s, the critics claimed, political issues became part and parcel of UNESCO's agenda, and perhaps realising that the Israeli avenue was largely

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from the French Revolution to Hitler in each other's text." M.F Imber. The USA, ILO, UNESCO and IAEA: Politicization and Withdrawal in the Specialized Agencies. London: Macmillan Press, 1989, p100-101.

<sup>68</sup> W. Preston Jr., E.S Herman and H.I Schiller. Hope & Folly: The United States and UNESCO, 1945-1980. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989, p37.

<sup>69</sup> Secretary of State Shultz's letter to Director General M'Bow, ("U.S. Notifies UNESCO of Intent to Withdraw"), December 28, 1983, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 84, No. 2083, February 1984, p41.

<sup>70</sup> W. Preston Jr., E.S Herman and H.I Schiller. Hope & Folly: The United States and UNESCO, 1945-1980. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.

<sup>71</sup> This corresponds roughly to the fourth political phase in UNESCO's life which Hoggart writes about. R. Hoggart. An Idea And Its Servants. London: Chatto & Windus, 1978, p59-81

<sup>72</sup> W. Preston Jr., E.S Herman and H.I Schiller. Hope & Folly: The United States and UNESCO, 1945-1980. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989, p136

<sup>73</sup> "U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO", statement of E.P Hennelly, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights & International Organisation and on International

closed (whether because of Reagan's known support of Israel, or just because the Israeli issue had been hammered upon enough), the organisation began seeking a different path. It began calling for 'statist concepts' which meant advocating states' rights rather than individual rights some of its programs. As Edmund Hennelly said: "Most UNESCO member states believe that the state is the most appropriate agent for advancing international cooperation in science, for combatting illiteracy, and so forth."<sup>74</sup> Thus, to the minds of UNESCO's detractors, the organisation became a forum for the introduction of international norms and standards based essentially on increased state controls as a remedy for the world's problems which come to cause so much harm for UNESCO. In the words of one anti-UNESCO State Department official: "UNESCO programs and personnel are heavily freighted with an irresponsible political content and answer to an agenda that is consistently inimical to U.S. interests."<sup>75</sup>

Part of the so called Third World agenda which New Righters found disturbing was an apparent attempt by UNESCO to equate "peoples' rights" with traditional human rights. It was felt that this new attitude would dilute efforts to promote traditional human rights as the notion of "peoples rights" would enable non-democratic states which claim to embody the will of the collective to further abuse human rights. This correlated nicely with the charge of the US Mission the extension of the definition of human rights into economic and social areas in the UN general system. Kirkpatrick and her colleagues felt that the UN should focus mainly on political and civil rights, rather than on

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Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 25, 26, & May 2, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, 1984, p19.

<sup>74</sup> "U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO", statement of E.P Hennelly, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights & International Organisation and on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 25, 26, & May 2, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, 1984, p27; "Improvements Needed in UNESCO's Management, Personnel, Financial & Budgeting Practices", Report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Committee on Science and Technology, House of Representatives, by the Comptroller General of the United States, Gaithersberg: US GAO, 1984, GAO/NSIAD-85-32.

<sup>75</sup> "Perspective on the U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO", address by Gregory Newell, Stanford University, Stanford, California, October 31, 1985, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 85, No. 2094, January 1985, p54; Secretary of State Shultz's letter to Director General M'Bow, ("U.S. Notifies UNESCO of Intent to Withdraw"), December 28, 1983, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 84, No. 2083, February 1984, p41.



The claim of politicisation also affected the non-ideological status of the Secretariat of UNESCO. The founders of the organisation believed that the staff would be inoculated against the most common infections of international collaboration and UNESCO was supposed to be run by a cadre of international civil servants free from the taint of national self-interest and government control.<sup>76</sup> UNESCO's Constitution after all stipulates that: "In the discharge of their duties they shall not seek or receive any instructions from any government or from any authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might prejudice their positions as international officials." (Article VI, Sect. 5) However, according to UNESCO's critics, the Secretariat had abandoned its ideal status and instead it: "...now presumes to direct too often, not to take direction; that it now undertakes to formulate program directions, not to implement them; that it now offers an idyllic Parisian respite from the rigors of existence in the Third World, not a self-effacing service to the "South" - in the "South".<sup>77</sup>

The Reaganites felt that by the 1980s UNESCO came to reject its traditional role and became engrossed with promoting an ideological agenda, something which was prohibited by the organisation's Constitution. This was because the General Conference was failing in its job as it was engaged in ideological discussions often inimical to US interests. Secretary Shultz in his December 1983 letter to the Director General conceded that some reform had been introduced into the organisation but yet "Viewed in a larger sense, however, the General Conference proves a different point: if the result of the conference demonstrates the best that can be expected from the Organization as it is presently constituted, and as it presently governs itself, there can be little hope for genuine and wholehearted return of the Organization to its founding principle."<sup>78</sup> Secondly, the agenda was causing division among the member states.

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<sup>76</sup> W. Preston Jr., E.S Herman and H.I Schiller. Hope & Folly: The United States and UNESCO, 1945-1980. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989, p35.

<sup>77</sup> "Perspective on the U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO", address by Gregory Newell, Stanford University, Stanford, California, October 31, 1985, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 85, No. 2094, January 1985, p56.

<sup>78</sup> Secretary of State Shultz's letter to Director General M'Bow, ("U.S. Notifies UNESCO of Intent to Withdraw"), December 28, 1983, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 84, No. 2083, February 1984, p41.

“...UNESCO, which was created to bring peoples together in cooperation, now at times seems to pit them against each other. So we have internal divisions and cliques. We have the Group of 77, the (Western) Information Group, and the Soviet bloc, which prefers to be called “Socialist,” all working to advance their own ends...”<sup>79</sup> In other words, the demands for greater equality between the nations of the world was pushing UNESCO down the path of ‘statism’ which New Righters equated with socialism and the Soviet Union which they abhorred with the American taxpayer financing the whole thing.

#### UNRESTRAINED BUDGETARY GROWTH

The third point upon which UNESCO was attacked was concerning its budget which had span out of control, or so the critics claimed. In this respect UNESCO was no different from many other UN agencies or even the UN itself, although what made it distinct was that it failed to stem the growth of its budget.<sup>80</sup> The reason why discussions concerning the budgetary problems faced by UNESCO were rather muted was because there was a general consensus that the budget was too large and much of UNESCO’s valuable resources were being squandered on inappropriate programs and policies. As Newell stated: “We feel that if they [UNESCO] have set resources that they will have to pick and choose, recognizing that all that needs to be done can’t be done; that we can’t take resources and spread them so thin that they have no effect.”<sup>81</sup> These concerns were not new as they could be seen as early the 1950s and certainly since Rene

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<sup>79</sup> Ambassador J.B.S Gerard Address to the U.S. National Commission, in “A Critical Assessment of U.S. Participation in UNESCO”, Special Meeting of the U.S. National Commission, Columbia: The University of South Carolina, June 1-3, 1982, Department of State Publication 9297, International Organization & Conference Series 158, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, October, 1982, p17

<sup>80</sup> “U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO”, statement of E.P Hennelly, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights & International Organisation and on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 25, 26, & May 2, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, 1984, p20.

<sup>81</sup> “On the Record Briefing on U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO by G. Newell, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, December 29, 1983”, taken from the appendix of “U.S. Withdrawal From UNESCO” Report of A Staff Study Mission (February 10-23, 1984) to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives, US GPO: Washington 1984, p77.

Maheu's appointment as Director General.<sup>82</sup> This history provided opponents with more ammunition in their justification for withdrawal, as they could argue that since the 1950s and '60s UNESCO has ignored American anxiety over its budget.

UNESCO's draft budget and program are worked out for two years and are prepared by the Director General who provides them to the Executive Board who in turn submits them to the General Conference for consideration and approval with its recommendations. The draft program and budget are also sent to member states for comment.

UNESCO has two budgets, a regular and an extrabudgetary one. The regular budget deals with programs designed to promote general change among nations. It supports substantive programs and is sustained by mandatory subscription funds, (assessed contributions from the member states). The operational programs deal primarily with educational programs but funds for them come from extrabudgetary funds which are provided mainly by the United Nations Development Program and other UN agencies. The Americans were especially unhappy with the fact that the regular budget approved by UNESCO's General Conference had grown in the space of ten years (1973-74 to 1984-85) from \$130.5 million to \$374.4 million.<sup>83</sup>

The Reaganites came into office with the promise of making government more responsible with its money matters, which translated to a desire to see zero-growth in the budgets of public institutions. This aim was carried into the international organisation and foreign policy dimensions as it was felt that there was a need for a pause on the expansion of the international organisation system which would help, or rather not harm too much, the specialised agencies. By

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<sup>82</sup> L.S Finkelstein, "The Political Role of the Director General of UNESCO", L.S Finkelstein. (ed.) Politics in the United Nations System. London: Duke University Press, 1988, p385-423. The second point is made in R.A Coate, "Changing Patterns of Conflict: The United States & UNESCO", M.P Karns and K.A Mingst. (ed.) The United States and Multilateral Institutions: Patterns of Changing Instrumentality and Influence. London: Routledge, 1990 p231-260.

<sup>83</sup> "Improvements Needed in UNESCO's Management, Personnel, Financial & Budgeting Practices", Report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs & Committee on Science & Technology, House of Representatives, by the Comptroller General of the United States, Gaithersberg: US GAO, 1984, GAO/NSAID-85-32, p59-77.

freezing the growth of an already large enough organisation one would see greater efficiency, especially through the elimination of unnecessary programs. It was felt that the Specialised Agencies had been able to continue their growth as their budget rose more than inflation because they enjoyed a guarantee of indexation plus growth. In the words of one member of the New Right who worked within the Reagan administration: "...the specialized agencies have lost touch with economic reality. They have been living in a dream world, immune from the economic problems of the donor countries, from inflation or privation nor harsh budget cutting."<sup>84</sup>

The Reagan administration claimed that it sought zero-growth in the UN and its agencies because of an increase from \$276 million in the mid-1970s to \$756 million in the 1980s in the assessed budgets. In a testimony before a congressional committee, Gregory Newell noted that working with the World Health Organisation (WHO) the budget proposal at the agency's General Conference saw a negative growth of 0.31 percent. The ILO still spending at 1978 levels, had an increase of 1.92 percent in its budget. The World Meteorological Organisation, the World Intellectual Property Organisation, both had a zero or near zero growth in their budgets; while ICAO was around the zero or slightly above. All in all, the UN budget came at about 0.7 percent in the biennium. However, turning to UNESCO one saw an increase of 9.7 percent before the Nordic proposal which was worked out in the end to 5.5 percent increase.<sup>85</sup> Although the statistics that Newell provides in the above section are without a reference to a year, and should therefore be taken with a pinch of salt, they are important for their shock tactics. That is, Newell's aim appears to have been to show not only how prodigal UNESCO is compared to other UN

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<sup>84</sup> "General View of the U.N. System", address by Elliott Abrams, before a Conference of U.N. Representatives of the United Nations Association-USA in New York. Washington DC: State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs. June 5, 1981, p2.

<sup>85</sup> "On the Record Briefing on U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO by G. Newell, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, December 29, 1983", taken from the appendix of "U.S. Withdrawal From UNESCO" Report of A Staff Study Mission (February 10-23, 1984) to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives, US GPO: Washington 1984, p66-67.

specialised agencies who have taken US concerns to heart and introduce reform, but that it disregards American concerns concerning its budget.<sup>86</sup>

#### THE FREE PRESS DEBATE

The issue of communication as discussed by UNESCO became a central bone of contention between America and UNESCO. In the words of ambassador Gerard: "Communication is the sector that currently seems to have the most potential for causing alarms and excursions".<sup>87</sup>

The preservation of a free press to the New Right was essential if they were to promote Americanism which is why any attempt to curtail, restrict or reduce the freedom of communication was not only an assault on the American way of life, but a threat to its survival.<sup>88</sup> Outsiders, particularly the major media corporations' were very important in the debate as they assisted in making UNESCO more unpopular in the United States.<sup>89</sup> It was repeatedly claimed that the pursuit of such programs as NWICO were un-democratic and against the "free flow" of information.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Another example of this selectivity and anti-UNESCO bias appeared when Newell was asked about Soviet contributions to UNESCO. His reply was that it was 12.5 percent. When asked whether it was Soviet or Soviet-bloc, the aide replied that it was the Soviet Union alone. Newell, however, said that he thought that it was probably the Soviet bloc. A man in his position should have known that the Soviet contribution alone was 12.5 percent. "On the Record Briefing on U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO by G. Newell, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, December 29, 1983", taken from the appendix of "U.S. Withdrawal From UNESCO" Report of A Staff Study Mission (February 10-23, 1984) to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives, US GPO: Washington 1984, p80.

<sup>87</sup> Ambassador Gerard address to the U.S. National Commission, in "A Critical Assessment of U.S. Participation in UNESCO", Special Meeting of the U.S. National Commission, Columbia: The University of South Carolina, June 1-3, 1982, Department of State Publication 9297, International Organization & Conference Series 158, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, October 1982, p20.

<sup>88</sup> The New Right movement, and especially the New Christian Right, rose from obscurity to great notoriety due to successful manipulation of the media. Falwell had noted how influential television is in the US especially when it comes to the younger generations. J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980.

<sup>89</sup> C.A Giffard. UNESCO and the Media. London: Longman, 1989.

<sup>90</sup> See for example the testimony of William J. Small, "U.S. Participation in the United Nations", hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs and its Subcommittees on International Operations on Europe and the Middle East and on Human Rights and International Organization, 97th Congress, 2nd Session, April 22, 27, May 4, 1982, US GPO: Washington, 1982; W. Preston Jr., E.S Herman and H.I Schiller. Hope & Folly: The United States and UNESCO, 1945-1980. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.

UNESCO's entry into the political fray of the information debate began in 1965 when a report argued that the media should use space communication systems "for the benefit of all people."<sup>91</sup> The whole communication and information debate was based on some Third World countries' unhappiness with the quality and quantity of news coverage of their territories in the predominantly Western controlled global news media. These countries "...felt that the major syndicated newspapers, press agencies such as UPI, Reuters and APF, and the broadcasting organisations such as the three American networks, the BBC and ORTF with their global, multilanguage broadcasting and widespread syndication are in a special position to report and manage the news both "...at home *and abroad*."<sup>92</sup>

UNESCO's ability to distribute information throughout the globe was "formidable" because it could use the National Commissions and other UNESCO outlets in the UN member states, the Secretariat (which had access to national libraries, universities, ministries of education, school system and national media outlets) to promote its agenda. There was also talk that UNESCO was discussing with Intelsat the renting of radio and television channels on three international satellites (Intersputnik, the Soviet International Satellite Organisation). Thus, for the New Right the danger was that: "If UNESCO establishes such an international satellite TV network for its member states, it will acquire the potential to deliver news and information programs to even the most rural parts of the underdeveloped nations."<sup>93</sup>

The concept of a new information order first appeared at a UNESCO conference in 1970 when developing countries, led by India, called for a more balanced flow of information. The 1972 General Conference of UNESCO, saw two major challenges to the free-flow doctrine, both in the form of resolutions

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<sup>91</sup> C.A Giffard. *UNESCO and the Media*. London: Longman, 1989, p20. Giffard's quote is from P.I Hajnal, *Guide to Unesco* (London: Oceana, 1983), p243.

<sup>92</sup> M.F Imber. *The USA, ILO, UNESCO and IAEA: Politicization and Withdrawal in the Specialized Agencies*. London: Macmillan Press, 1989, p105. [Italics in text].

<sup>93</sup> T.G. Gulick, "For UNESCO, A Failing Grade in Education", *Heritage Foundation Backgrounder*, October 21, 1982, No. 221.

submitted by the Soviet Union. One resolution insisted that the notion of prior consent be applied to television programs beamed from one country to another by direct broadcast satellites. The US was only country to vote against the resolution, which Giffard claims, demonstrated the growing support in UNESCO for statutory control of information flow. The second resolution which also had wide support from the developing countries, called for the preparation of a declaration on "...the fundamental principles governing the use of mass media."<sup>94</sup>

The 1978 Mass Declaration was a major obstacle in easing Western and especially American fears with the direction that UNESCO was heading as the Declaration appeared as implying controls on press freedom, later linked to separate proposals (not adopted) for the licensing and protection of journalists.<sup>95</sup> Americans were unhappy with such aspects of the Declaration as Article II(2) which stated that: "If the mass media are to be in a position to promote the principles of this Declaration in their activities, it is essential that journalists and other agents of the mass media, in their own country or abroad, be assured of protection guaranteeing them the best condition for the exercise of their profession."<sup>96</sup> This was seen as a fundamental assault on the foundation of Americanism where freedom of the press, speech and movement is enshrined in the Constitution. At the same time such notions were also interpreted as an attempt by the Soviet Union and the Third World to get UNESCO to bring about the regulation of the press and restrictions on journalists. To conservatives this was hypocritical particularly because many of the countries involved were regarded as having no free press as the press was a tool used by government to disseminate its views and values.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> C.A Giffard. UNESCO and the Media. London: Longman, 1989, p20. Giffard's quote is from "Draft Declaration of Fundamental Principles Governing the Use of Mass Media" (Unesco document COM-74CONF. 616/3, January 23, 1974).

<sup>95</sup> Vilanilam argues that when reporting a foreign culture the media coverage can be unbalanced, therefore control which imposes a balance, may be preferable to a freedom that condones imbalance. J.V Vilanilam. Reporting A Revolution: The Iranian Revolution & the NIICO Debate. London: Sage Publications, 1989. This could explain the thinking behind UNESCO's attitude toward the media which is also an educating medium.

<sup>96</sup> Taken from E.J Osmanczyk. Encyclopaedia of the United Nations and other International Agreements. London: Taylor & Francis, 1985, p503.

<sup>97</sup> "Review of U.S. Participation in UNESCO", statement of Millicent Fenwick hearings before the Subcommittees on International Operations and on Human Rights and International Organizations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 97th Congress,

The mood in the United States following the election of Ronald Reagan was far from conducive toward the new ideas emanating from UNESCO. The Reaganites saw these programs as anti-American, anti-Western and part of the Soviet and Third World agenda of humiliating the West. The pressure for a new world communication order which would distribute information with less of a 'Western-bias' came from the poorer and smaller nations of which many were relatively new members of UNESCO, and the UN. To the Americans, this meant taking from those who have and giving to those who have not.<sup>98</sup> Thus, the Reaganites' approach to the communications debate was as follow: first, America would reject any attempt to give nations a duty to control or supervise the media, making journalists comply with "standards" promoted by inter-governmental agencies or by governments. Second, the US would oppose an NWICO that could make government the arbiters of media content. Third, the notion of a communication imbalance in favour of the West was not accepted by the administration. Fourth, interpretations that appeared to be anti-free market philosophy and free press would be opposed by America particularly if an attempt to translate that attitude into restrictions on Western news agencies, advisers, or journalists was made. Fifth, the United States would actively and strongly encourage others to follow its lead.<sup>99</sup>

The debate about UNESCO's involvement in communications was very much part of the claim that it adopted a political agenda that the Soviet Union and

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1st Session, March 10, July 9, and 16, 1981, US GPO, Washington, 1981; William J. Small, "U.S. Participation in the United Nations", hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs and its Subcommittees on International Operations on Europe and the Middle East and on Human Rights and International Organization, 97th Congress, 2nd Session, April 22, 27, May 4, 1982, Washington DC: US GPO, 1982.

<sup>98</sup> Ambassador J.B.S Gerard Address to the U.S. National Commission, in "A Critical Assessment of U.S. Participation in UNESCO", Special Meeting of the U.S. National Commission, Columbia: The University of South Carolina, June 1-3, 1982, Department of State Publication 9297, International Organization & Conference Series 158, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, October, 1982; M.F Imber. The USA, ILO, UNESCO and IAEA: Politicization and Withdrawal in the Specialized Agencies. London: Macmillan Press, 1989, p105-106.

<sup>99</sup> "Freedom of the Press: The Need for Vigilance", address by Gregory Newell to the Inter-American Press Association General Assembly, Los Angeles, California, October 30, 1984, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 85, No. 2094, January 1985, p62-69.



the Third World promoted at the interest of the West and especially the United States. Thus, to stifle UNESCO's ideas about communications New Righters portrayed the organisation as seeking to establish an agency that would curtail journalistic freedom, prevent free reporting while making the developed world pay for the establishment of communication centres in the un-democratic Third World (whose leaders would use the press to propagate their anti-American and anti-western democracy beliefs). The administration and its supporters therefore reacted by pointing out the deficiencies within UNESCO's communication proposals. Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick, for example, cited two studies that refuted the claim that the Western media was biased against the Third World. One study found that "...the majority of wire service news flowing into Third World regions was news about those regions." The other disputed the view that Western news agencies have over-emphasised negative stories about the developing world. William Schramm, the author of the study, found that newspaper editors in Asia used a lower percentage of foreign relations and economic news than the world wire services provided, and carried a little more accident, disaster, and crime stories. All in all, Fenwick asserted that although the West communications capabilities were better than those of the less developed world, the West "...is certainly not engaged in a conspiratorial effort to tilt the flow of news around the world and denigrate the image of the Third World." In actual fact, according to Fenwick, the West and the United States have endeavoured to help the Third World improve its communications facilities because information and freedom of communication are essential aspects of Western society.<sup>100</sup>

The Reaganites refused to accept UNESCO's arguments that by licensing journalists (providing them with international identification) one could reduce the number of journalists killed in the line of fire. The idea of codes for the protection of journalists was regarded as imposing "...restrictions on reporters and correspondents. That would have suited those developing countries with

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<sup>100</sup> "Review of U.S. Participation in UNESCO", hearings before the Subcommittee on International Operations and on Human Rights and International Organization of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 97th Congress, 1st Session, March 10, July 9, and 16, 1981, Washington: US GPO, 1982.

nondemocratic regimes just fine, since it would mean the press would not be free to report the nature of the regime. It would also have pleased the Soviet bloc, which does not exactly encourage freedom of the press or of communication on its own territories.”<sup>101</sup> The belief in freedom of speech is central to the American creed and thus the idea of government involvement, let alone of intervention by an international institution that was anti-American was unacceptable to the Reaganites. In Section 109(a) of the Department of State Authorisation Act, for Fiscal Year 1982-1983 (PL 97-241) it was stated that US funds could not be given “...if that organization [UNESCO] implements any policy or procedure the effect of which is to license journalists or their publications, to censor or otherwise restrict the free flow of information within or among countries, or to impose mandatory codes of journalistic practice or ethics.”<sup>102</sup>

The communications debate for the Reaganites coupled with the role of the big American media corporations was to push the US toward withdrawing from the organisation. UNESCO’s involvement in communications although being part of the politicisation debate, was essential in winning over Americans into believing that UNESCO was a Soviet/Third World dominated agency that sought to promote an end to free press, and this was something that Americans could not accept. Free speech after all was not only a sacred issue for Americans, traced all the way back to the Revolution, but it was a major difference between the ‘free world’ which they represented best and the dictators of the world.

These four issues were the main criticisms that the Reagan administration and its supporters levelled at UNESCO and used to justify withdrawal in December 1984. The issues were essentially treated separately but they were closely connected and could hardly sustain themselves independently. For example, the charge of poor management was tied to claims of poor budgetary

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<sup>101</sup> Ambassador J.B.S Gerard, address to the U.S. National Commission, in “A Critical Assessment of U.S. Participation in UNESCO”, Special Meeting of the U.S. National Commission, Columbia: The University of South Carolina, June 1-3, 1982, Department of State Publication 9297, International Organization & Conference Series 158, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, October 1982, p20.

controls and procedures. Perhaps rather surprisingly, the main assault was carried out by groups and people who were not part of the political process which is why the role of the Heritage Foundation and Owen Harries coupled with the hostility of the main media corporation in bring about a withdrawal cannot be underestimated.<sup>102</sup> All in all, each issue sought to emphasise American unhappiness with the position that UNESCO found itself in during the 1980s and was used by the administration to justify withdrawal.

### **WAS THE WITHDRAWAL JUSTIFIED?**

At first glance the criticisms of the Reagan administration and other anti-UNESCO institutions and people, seem to justify the American withdrawal from the organisation. However, a closer inspection leads one to a different conclusion about the reasons behind the administration's policy toward UNESCO.

Congress was very much involved in looking into US-UNESCO relations, and it called upon many people who worked for and with the agency in an attempt to allegedly develop a coherent understanding concerning American membership. A concurrent theme that resonates throughout, is that although many of those who appeared before the various congressional committees and subcommittees noted many deficiencies within UNESCO, the consensus was that withdrawal would not be beneficial for either party. As early as 1981, Robin Chandler Duke, head of the US Delegation to the Twenty-First General Conference of UNESCO, noted that the organisation had had some great accomplishments which the media had failed to report, while focusing on the agency involvement in the communications debate. Duke stated that the US "...came through this 21st Conference of UNESCO with strength, with some good policies, with a good deal accomplished. We didn't lose freedom of the press. We do have serious problems in this area, but I would say we are in a good position to stand strong and to support the media in what they feel is a life-and-death battle here, and that the U.S. delegation did a good job and UNESCO

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<sup>102</sup> United States Statutes At Large. 1982, Vol. 96, PaA 1, Public Laws 97-146 through 97-301, Washington: US GPO, 1984.

<sup>103</sup> C.A Giffard. UNESCO and the Media. London: Longman, 1989. See also the "Introduction" in this thesis

continues to.”<sup>104</sup> Similar sentiments could be found as late as 1984 as many ‘experts’ called for a stay of execution concerning the decision to withdraw. For example, Walter A. Rosenblith of the National Academy of Science noted that “Science-related programs represent in many ways Unesco’s most successful effort and fulfill an important function for the U.S. in terms of international science cooperation and science education.”<sup>105</sup> A House of Representatives Staff Study Mission was sent to UNESCO’s Headquarters in Paris to attend the 119th and 120th session of the Executive Board. The Report that was produced did not endorse wholeheartedly the administration decision to withdraw as it pointed out that US officials had generally agreed that UNESCO was willing to reform itself. However, the Report also placed some of the blame for the withdrawal on the shoulders of the Director General who failed to support additional reforms, and was slow to react to American complaints which he did not take “seriously enough.”<sup>106</sup>

The United States National Commission for UNESCO established by an act of Congress in 1946, remained throughout the controversy firmly against withdrawal. The Commission although noting many failures within UNESCO constantly maintained that withdrawal would harm American interests rather than protect and improve them. In a special meeting of the National Commission at the

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<sup>104</sup> “Review of U.S. Participation in UNESCO”, statement of Robin Chandler Duke, hearings before the subcommittee on International Operations and on Human Rights & International Organizations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, 97th Congress, 1st Session, March 10, July 9 & 16, 1981, 1-4. This is just one example, throughout the Hearings there were plenty of people who supported UNESCO and American membership in it.

<sup>105</sup> The letter (October 21, 1983) is enclosed in “U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO”, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organization and on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 25, 26 & May 2, 1984, Washington: US GPO, 1984. There is also a statement from the National Board of the Young Women’s Christian Association of the United States and a testimony from Ruth Robins of League of Women Voters of the United States which opposes withdrawal.

<sup>106</sup> “Assessment of US-UNESCO Relations, 1984”, Report of a Staff Study Mission to Paris - UNESCO, to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, 1st Session, January 1985, Washington DC: US GPO, 1985, p2, p4; “Improvements Needed in UNESCO’s Management, Personnel, Financial & Budgeting Practices”, Report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs & Committee on Science & Technology, House of Representatives, by the Comptroller General of the United States, Gaithersburg: US GAO, 1984, GAO/NSAID-85-32. The GAO report was published in November 1984, one month before the

University of South Carolina in 1982 which saw the participation of such people as America's ambassador to UNESCO, Jean Gerard (who also addressed the Conference); Thomas Gulick of the Heritage Foundation and several other eminent academics and UNESCO personnel such as Director General M'Bow. The conference ended with reports from five working groups who looked into UNESCO affairs and concluded that America must remain an active member (not an observer) in the organisation.<sup>107</sup> Two years later the National Commission issued a statement that emphasised the loss - both financially and politically - that an end to American membership in UNESCO would bring.<sup>108</sup> In both cases, the administration chose to ignore the advice of the 'experts.'

In December 1984, after having given UNESCO one year's notice, the United States pulled-out on the basis that the agency had failed to adequately reform itself in the previous twelve months.<sup>109</sup> It must be emphasised that the idea that UNESCO could introduce serious reform in the space of one year was ludicrous due to the complexities of the organisation.<sup>110</sup> UNESCO at the time had about 160 different members, each with its own agenda, and matters were made even more complicated by the fact that the organisation only meets once every two years (General Conference) which hardly gives the members time to effectively discuss policies.

UNESCO may have had the support of US experts but it lost the fight because the administration chose to surrender to the more populist and sensationalist members of the New Right with their ingrained dislike if not a fear of academics,

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actual withdrawal and it certainly provided enough reasons for a stay of execution, but to no avail.

<sup>107</sup> "A Critical Assessment of U.S. Participation in UNESCO", Special Meeting of the U.S. National Commission, Columbia: The University of South Carolina, June 1-3, 1982, Department of State Publication 9297, International Organization & Conference Series 158, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, October 1982.

<sup>108</sup> "U.S. Would Suffer Financial, Political Losses by Withdrawing from UNESCO", Executive Committee, U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, Washington DC, August 8, 1984.

<sup>109</sup> "U.S. Confirms Withdrawal from UNESCO", text of George Shultz's letter to Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow of UNESCO, December 19, 1984, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 85, No. 2095, February 1985, p36. Following the Secretary of State letter is a statement from Mr. Newell also explaining and justifying the withdrawal.

<sup>110</sup> See for example C.A Giffard, *UNESCO and the Media*. London: Longman, 1989, p121-122.

especially from the Northeast of the United States.<sup>111</sup> (The academics within the administration, such as Jeane Kirkpatrick were already hostile toward UNESCO because of its apparent anti-Americanism and anti-Israel programs).

One of the main criticisms that Americans levelled at UNESCO was that its budget was a runaway. It was felt that although Reagan called for zero-growth in the United Nations (which was answered by several other Specialised Agencies), UNESCO had not responded appropriately, and instead chose to expand its budget. M'Bow, however, in his letter to Shultz, claimed that the accusation was untrue and that he sought to reduce the budget. He wrote that during the 22nd Session of General Conference he had suggested, on the basis of a proposal by the Nordic countries, the adoption of a budget ceiling that was lower than the one that was first proposed and recommended to the Board which had the support of two-thirds of the member states. The budget that was adopted for 1984-1985, totalling \$374,410,000, was therefore \$56,247,000 less than the budget for 1982-1983 (\$430,657,000). This meant that America's contribution which amounted to \$49,790,000 for 1981-1983 financial period, would be reduced to \$43,087,500. In other words, a reduction of over \$6 million. Moreover, in accordance with the agency's budgeting techniques, a sum of \$17,703,250 (or twenty-five percent, of the provision for currency fluctuation under Part VIII of the Program and budget adopted by the General Conference at its Twenty-First session (1980) would be given to the United States, and would be deducted from its assessed contribution. Thus, US contributions for the first year of the 1984-1985 biennium was \$25,384,250.<sup>112</sup>

The whole argument that UNESCO became politicised was used by its opponents to create an atmosphere that was conducive to an American

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<sup>111</sup> Some New Righters felt that it was essentially academics who pushed for the Great Society (secular humanism), détente and the dismantling of America's national defence which undermined the fabric of moral America. On McNamara's role in faltering America's defence see J. Falwell. Listen, America!. NY: Bantam Books, 1980, p87 and throughout. Falwell has several examples of Eastern universities' perversion; P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991, on Eastern Establishment.

<sup>112</sup> Letter from Director General A.M M'Bow to Secretary of State G.P Shultz, January 18, 1985, reference DG/1533.

withdrawal. In the words of one UNESCO critic, the term "politicization" is a "...meaningless term when applied to any inter-governmental organization. The act of any government is a political act. So, too, every act of UNESCO from its inception - whether in education, culture, science or communication - has had political implications."<sup>113</sup> The Reaganites pointed to attacks on Israel, apartheid and so forth as prime examples of UNESCO's involvement in political issues which were outside of its scope. However, as Finkelstein noted, it is difficult to sustain the claim that UNESCO was outside of its constitutional rights when it discussed and passed resolutions about Israeli architectural digs in Jerusalem given UNESCO's mandate with respect to culture and education. It also has the right to educate about those things that come within the scope of its functions. Thus, "...the politicization charge of which we heard so much in the late 1970s is a red herring and a rather demeaning position for the United States to have been in."<sup>114</sup>

The whole structure of UNESCO's constitution, one should remember, was geared around political issues as what could be more controversial than education? There is no doubt that the founders of the organisation were naive in their hopes for UNESCO but the attempt by their successors to preserve their ideological vision of the organisation was foolish. The Americans simply wanted: "...UNESCO to serve the goal of peace through understanding. That was inescapably and intensely a political aspiration in a world of political, cultural, historical, and economic variety, even though the United States naively believed that those goals could be accomplish by noncontentious means...The nature of UNESCO's envelopment in global concerns has changed its axis. Essentially, it has shifted from an East-West one to a North-South one."<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> "U.S. Withdrawal From UNESCO", prepared statement L.R Sussman, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights & International Organisation and on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 25, 26, & May 2, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, 1984, p223-4.

<sup>114</sup> "Introductory Remarks", L.S Finkelstein, "A Critical Assessment of U.S. Participation in UNESCO", Special Meeting of the U.S. National Commission, Columbia: The University of South Carolina, June 1-3, 1982, Department of State Publication 9297, International Organization & Conference Series 158, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, October 1982, p4-5.

<sup>115</sup> "Introductory Remarks", L.S Finkelstein, "A Critical Assessment of U.S. Participation in UNESCO", Special Meeting of the U.S. National Commission, Columbia: The University of

The claim that UNESCO attacked the principle of free press was manipulated and twisted by those opposing the organisation in the hope of galvanising support for withdrawal. L.R Sussman, one of the “most persistent American critic of UNESCO’s communications programs.”, testified that although the organisation’s “...communications programs have reflected Third World criticism of the news and information media not controlled by governments. This criticism did not originate with the Soviet Union, though Moscow has tried to exploit it.” The debate about the flow of information had begun in NAM while the discussion about the new world information order was supported by the democratic Third World countries along with the authoritarians of the left and the right. Sussman maintained that M’Bow had worked successfully to block Soviet press-control initiatives.<sup>116</sup> Perhaps the most empathic declaration that the communication debate in UNESCO did not merit an American withdrawal could be found in the words of the Chairman of the US Delegation to the 22nd General Conference of UNESCO, Edmund Hennelly: “...if anyone is looking for a reason to leave UNESCO, they *will not* find it in the communication program adopted at the conference.”<sup>117</sup>

### The Imber Thesis

Mark Imber in his study of ILO, IAEA and UNESCO and the connection between politicisation, withdrawal and boycott has promoted several thought-provoking ideas. Imber sees a difference between the ILO, the IAEA and UNESCO, as with the latter, the Americans were rather interested in punishing

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South Carolina, June 1-3, 1982, Department of State Publication 9297, International Organization & Conference Series 158, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, October 1982, p4.

<sup>116</sup> “U.S. Withdrawal From UNESCO”, prepared statement L.R Sussman, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights & International Organisation and on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 25, 26, & May 2, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, 1984, quotes from p211-212, and, p212.

<sup>117</sup> U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO”, statement of E.P Hennelly, hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights & International Organisation and on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 25, 26, & May 2, 1984, Washington DC: US GPO, 1984, p24. [My own italics].



the agency rather than truly seeking reform. Thus, the withdrawal was not meant to be a corrective measure.<sup>118</sup>

The importance of Imber in understanding the American decision to withdraw from UNESCO concerns the role of functionalism, as for the Americans, the Specialised Agencies play a specific technical role. In the three cases, the Americans felt that the agencies had abandoned their functional role and entered a more political agenda which was beyond their jurisdiction and he provides examples of this. In the case of the ILO and IAEA the withdrawal were meant to be temporary while in the case of UNESCO it was far more final.

### The Coate Thesis

Much of Roger Coate's analysis of America's decision to withdraw from UNESCO is based on examining America's relationship with the agency which he maintains has been turbulent almost from day one.<sup>119</sup> The problem that he has with the actual withdrawal is with the timing of the decision. That is, the US announced that it intended to withdraw in 1983, a time when UNESCO was actively working to try and appease American concerns about the organisation. The administration was so determined to pullout that it chose to ignore the advice of its own experts which included the US National Commission to UNESCO which was successfully emasculated by the ideologues in the administration who were often not well versed in UNESCO affairs and in history of the organisation. Coate asserts that those within the State Department who understood what was happening realised that it would be futile and costly to try and challenge the withdrawal and thus stayed out of the debate.<sup>120</sup> The withdrawal, for him was therefore, part of an overall process of reform as the administration was engaged

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<sup>118</sup> M.F Imber. The USA, ILO, UNESCO and IAEA: Politicization and Withdrawal in the Specialized Agencies. London: Macmillan Press, 1989.

<sup>119</sup> R.A Coate. Unilateralism, Ideology & U.S. Foreign Policy: The United States In and Out of UNESCO. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988, p23-51. This is seen more clearly in his essay "Changing Patterns of Conflict: The United States and UNESCO", M.P Karns and K.A Mingst. (ed.) The United States and Multilateral Institutions: Patterns of Changing Instrumentality and Influence. London: Routledge, 1990, 231-260.

<sup>120</sup> R.A Coate. Unilateralism, Ideology & U.S. Foreign Policy: The United States In and Out of UNESCO. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988. Lawrence Eagleburger is a good example of this according to Coate, p146.

in re-defining America's relationship with the UN and other international institutions.

The Americans to further justify their decision to withdraw greatly encouraged the British (especially Mrs. Thatcher) to pullout from UNESCO. Coate notes that although the British government sought to portray the decision as a consensual one, it was reported that it was not one, as several ministers did not wish to pursue an action that was opposed by most EEC members. The relationship between Reagan and Mrs. Thatcher is a well-documented one which is why this premise makes great sense, especially as both leaders were known as anti-communists, national chauvinists and conservative.<sup>121</sup> The British who were more precise than the Americans in their criticism of UNESCO<sup>122</sup> provided the Americans with the backing to make their withdrawal decision appear more thoughtful and just, as after all another leading founding member was unhappy with the course that the organisation had taken.

The essence of Coate's argument is that America's case against UNESCO in the 1980s was rather feeble as the agency tried to deal with American concerns. Coate spends considerable time pointing out all of UNESCO's reform efforts only to argue that the American ideologues were so set on withdrawal that it would have been highly unlikely that any reform would have appeased them.

Both Imber and Coate are correct in their identification that the reasons for the withdrawal were essentially political. However, they fail to identify the engineers of the withdrawal process. That is, Coate describe the effort, as a conservative inspired agenda, when it was far more than that. The people involved both inside the administration and outside were members of the diverse New Right movement that emerged in American society and entered into politics with the 1980 elections which led to a tremendous change in American society. Coate does not place enough emphasis on the ideological convictions of the

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<sup>121</sup> Reagan writes that Mrs. Thatcher "...was warm, feminine, gracious, and intelligent - and it was evident from our first words that we were soul mates when it came to reducing government and expanding economic freedom." R. Reagan. An American Life. London: Hutchinson, 1990, p204.

<sup>122</sup> R.A Coate. Unilateralism, Ideology & U.S. Foreign Policy: The United States In and Out of UNESCO. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988, p89, p89-117, p130-132.

administration which was determined - as part of its New Right agenda - to 'save' the country from the abyss that it found itself in the 1970s and early 1980s.

Imber's work, especially concerning the American functional approach is very interesting but UNESCO composes only one chapter of his seminal work, and the essence of the study "...is to investigate the connection between politicization, withdrawal and boycott that has occurred in these three cases."<sup>123</sup> However, his suggestion that it was American disappointment in UNESCO's failure to live up to its functional purposes is highly useful. If taken a step forward, one could argue that the New Right (an essentially backward looking movement which saw the 1920s and 1950s as a golden or at least positive time<sup>124</sup>) wanted UNESCO to return to its golden period. This was the early 1950s when UNESCO was heavily dominated by the West and the US. In order for the United States to win back the initiative it had to be aggressive and nothing provided a more powerful and symbolic sign than the ending of membership in UNESCO.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation was probably chosen by the Reaganites to point to their new agenda because it was a low-keyed agency within the UN system. The charges levelled at UNESCO were exaggerated and simplified. It seems that no matter what evidence was produced against withdrawal, the administration would have dismissed it because of its determination to be assertive.

American contributions to UNESCO averaged around the sixty million dollars mark, which is not a serious sum considering America's overall budget. This is why it is very doubtful that an end to UNESCO membership would have aided the anti-liberal crusade against inefficiency and largesse of the federal government. Moreover, both Shultz and Newell repeatedly stated that America would simply divert the funds to support similar programs. Newell in fact claimed that the Reagan administration would remain "...committed to a program of alternative activities in education, science, culture and communications, for which

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<sup>123</sup> M.F Imber. The USA, ILO, UNESCO and IAEA: Politicization and Withdrawal in the Specialized Agencies. London: Macmillan Press, 1989, p2.

<sup>124</sup> K.P Phillips. Post-Conservative America: People, Politics & Ideology in a Time of Crisis. NY: Vintage Books, 1983.

we would request funding. We believe that that these activities, which will include selected programs under UNESCO's umbrella, will be more cost effective and thus be of greater direct benefit to the developing countries."<sup>125</sup> This if anything else would add to the already large-enough bureaucracy at Washington and increase federal spending.

It is important to remember that the Reaganites entered office with many promises concerning America's future. At the core of their program was the reinvigoration of America and its restoration as the most powerful and successful country in the world. The administration was determined to reverse the tide which saw Soviet global advance which meant that unlike the Carter administration it would have to stand tall and strong against the Soviet Union. Initially the top members of the State Department were all Kissingerites<sup>126</sup> but within two years they were replaced and more ideologically committed individuals were brought in. The prime examples were Gregory Newell and Elliott Abrams, men whose ties with the Right were very strong and who were prepared to rock the boat in their quest to restore America to the right path. This is exactly when the serious assault on UNESCO began. In June 1982, Ambassador Gerard could still speak supportively and hopefully concerning UNESCO's future, but by 1983 any real hope seems to have been dashed because of the determination of the administration to show its mettle in international relations.

When the main part of the assault on UNESCO was launched toward the end of 1982 and throughout 1983, Reagan was busy asserting his ideological anti-communist philosophy and alienating America's allies as the Polish Crisis, the "evil empire" speech and the neutron bomb debate highlighted. This period saw US-Soviet relations reaching one of their lowest points in history as a result. Thus, this was the best time to launch an attack on the Soviet Union and its

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<sup>125</sup> G.J Newell statement in "Human Resources Impact of U.S. membership in UNESCO", hearings before the Senate Committee on Labor & Human Resources, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, December 10, 1984, Washington: US GPO, 1985, p11; see also Secretary of State Shultz's letter to Director General M'Bow, ("U.S. Notifies UNESCO of Intent to Withdraw"), December 28, 1983, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 84, No. 2083, February 1984, p41.

perceived domination of the UN system, which was being led by Jeane Kirkpatrick at Turtle Bay. By having Mrs. Gerard<sup>127</sup> at UNESCO and having her backed by Gregory Newell, the administration was proving, especially with the help of the big media corporations<sup>128</sup> that it was sticking to its guns in its determination to thwart Soviet expansionism. The period between 1982 and mid 1983 also saw a deterioration in America's economy as the Reaganite economic miracle failed to materialise and the administration needed a whipping boy and UNESCO fitted the bill.

The timing of Shultz's letter coupled with the preparedness to withdraw, is also significant as 1984 was an election year, by which time the economy had already picked up which meant that those supporting UNESCO had little to fall back upon as the administration was rather popular by then. In the words of one commentator "... in an election year, opponents of the pullout were reluctant to speak up for Unesco, which was identified as being anti-Western, anti-Israel and anti-free press. The record of congressional hearings on the Unesco issue suggests an intense awareness of its domestic political implications. Even Walter Mondale, who was running as the Democratic party candidate for president against Reagan, sensed the political folly of opposing the groups who favored the withdrawal and went along with the decision."<sup>129</sup>

The involvement of Congress in the withdrawal discussions was very important, as many of its reports and hearings emanated from the House of Representatives which is arguably more voter-conscious as elections are held every two years for its members.

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<sup>126</sup> R. Brownstein and N. Easton. Reagan's Ruling Class: Portraits of the President's Top 100 Officials. Washington DC: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982, p539-555.

<sup>127</sup> Jean Gerard's main qualification for the UNESCO ambassadorship appears to have been her important role in "Women for Reagan" in the 1980 political campaign. The US media did not examine Gerard's or Newell's qualifications or even performance as the press had deemed US officials as honest and competent professionals. W. Preston Jr., E.S Herman & H.I Schiller. Hope & Folly: The United States and UNESCO, 1945-1980. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989, p234.

<sup>128</sup> See for example the testimony of William J. Small, (president of NBC News) "U.S. Participation in the United Nations", hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs and its Subcommittees on International Operations on Europe and the Middle East and on Human Rights and International Organization, 97th Congress, 2nd Session, April 22, 27, May 4, 1982, US GPO: Washington, 1982.

The interesting part is that although the various committees called for numerous experts to testify, Congress was not persuaded to oppose the administration's decision. This was probably because it was felt that especially with the hostile attitude of the main media corporations toward UNESCO<sup>130</sup> such a move would invite negative coverage. In 1982-83, when the economy was still in recession and the administration was suffering as a result, Congress still opted to adopt the White House line, rather than seek its own way.<sup>131</sup> Congress could easily have used the US National Commission and many of the experts who appeared before its committees to highlight flaws in the administration's arguments, but it chose not to. This is arguably because of politics, rather than intellectual arguments. UNESCO after all had no real support amongst the more powerful members of the administration or the media. This meant that its opponents could ensure that very few people would hear of its achievements which could have been used to shore up support for the agency<sup>132</sup> which overall had done some great work, and thus hamper those calling for withdrawal.

The great involvement of the media in American politics, especially during the Reagan administration would have made it very unwise for congressional politicians to support a cause that the major media corporations were very much against. American politicians are forever vigilant and aware of the impact that negative press can have on their careers, particularly with the watchful eyes of New Right movement using 'report cards' to highlight legislative deficiencies. Moreover, one must remember that this was a time when the Reagan administration, under Kirkpatrick launched a fierce attack on the whole UN system for being anti-American and wasteful. Thus, it is more than likely that had

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<sup>129</sup> C.A Giffard. UNESCO and the Media. London: Longman, 1989 p274.

<sup>130</sup> The media "...tended to interpret the steady flow of probes and allegations against UNESCO and its officials as indicating that the charges were valid." W. Preston Jr., E.S Herman and H.I Schiller. Hope & Folly: The United States and UNESCO, 1945-1980. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989, p239.

<sup>131</sup> This is possibly because of the influence that Baker, Dole and Laxalt exerted on the party especially in the Senate. C.J Bailey. The Republican Party in the US Senate, 1974-1984: Party Change and Institutional development. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

<sup>132</sup> H.S Challenor points to some of UNESCO's most notable programs in education, science, culture and communication. "UNESCO: With or Without the United States", by H.S Challenor, Director of UNESCO Liaison Office in Washington DC, on the Occasion of the African-American Institute Seminar for Congressional Aides, "African Concern and United Nations Responses", New York City, July 24-25, 1984.

Congress attempted to use UNESCO to embarrass or attack the administration it would have failed.

The debate about UNESCO, however, has continued in the US even though it had not been a member for over a decade, and one can expect discussions about the organisation to continue with the British re-entry after more than a decade of absence. Among conservative circles, however, animosity toward UNESCO is still very fierce. For example, the Concerned Women for America (CWA) in one of its policy papers launched a bitter denunciation of UNESCO and the United Nations' attempt to subvert American sovereignty through Biodiversity. The World Heritage, a UNESCO sponsored program, has prevented, according to CWA, American companies and individuals from pursuing their economic interests. The paper concludes by stating that the United States should "...stop cowering at the feet of UNESCO and the extreme ecologists who are pushing the biosphere philosophy. It's time to question our state and federal legislators. We must stand up for our rights as free citizens and sovereign nation - before it's too late."<sup>133</sup> This only highlights the fact that the Reagan and New Right legacy has continued.

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<sup>133</sup> "Sovereignty Under Siege: U.N. Biosphere Take U.S. Land" Policy Concerns, Concerned Women for America, May 1997, 18PC-018. There are plenty of other examples of this attitude about UN attempts to subvert American sovereign rights in other policy papers by the CWA for example "U.N. convention on the Rights of the Child: A Treaty to Undermine the Family", December (revised) 1996, 18PC-014.

## CONCLUSION

Ronald Reagan spent eight turbulent years in the White House revolutionising the United States and with it the world. Irangate and the scandals that surrounded and followed it caused the administration to lose much of its gloss, but despite them Reagan was still able to leave the White House a much loved president. The success of his eight-year vice-president, George Bush, in 1988 in following him into the Oval Office emphasised Reagan's continuing legacy. The world that Bush inherited was very different from the one that he and Reagan faced when they first entered the White House. At the beginning of the 1980s, gloom was predominant in the United States due to economic hardship and military failures which undermined confidence in the country. US-Soviet relations were at a nadir primarily because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the grain embargo, to name but two incidents. For the next two to three years, events in Poland, arms control negotiations and other affairs caused relations between the two superpowers to deteriorate even further.<sup>1</sup> Yet, by 1988, relations between the two had improved very much mainly because of summits and greater understandings between the two leaders which in turn helped ease tensions particularly in the area of disarmament (a major area of contention). Internally Americans felt that Reagan was responsible for their affluence, after the hardship of the 1970s as they chose to ignore what was bad in their society.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the transformation in America and in its position in the world was attributed to Reagan's eight years in office.<sup>3</sup>

The Reagan administration was very distinctive in American history because Reagan was an ideologue who tried to keep his pre-election agenda, as his attitude toward taxation clearly showed. The Reaganites epitomised a new

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<sup>1</sup> Shultz writes that by 1983, US-Soviet relations were "virtually nonexistent." G.P Shultz. Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State. NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993, p5.

<sup>2</sup> R.A Rutland. The Republicans: From Lincoln to Bush. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996, p244-245.

<sup>3</sup> This is seen very clearly in N. Gingrich. To Renew America. NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995. Gingrich notes Reagan's contributions to the restoration of American prestige, but there is nothing really on the fact that much of America's economics woes are a result of Reagan's policies.



brand of conservatism which had been developing since the end of World War II and which began to take shape during the turbulent 1960s, especially with the Goldwater presidential campaign. The slow collapse of the New Deal coalition by the late 1960s and early 1970s led to the official rise in 1976 of the New Right, a heterogeneous movement that sought the revitalisation of America both internally and externally. At the core of the movement laid the premise that the conditions that the country faced at the end of the 1970s were simply unacceptable and a new vigour was needed. The new determination was associated with calls for a more positive stand in international relations especially when dealing with the Soviet Union, whose continued expansion was regarded as posing a serious threat to American interests and those of the free world.<sup>4</sup>

The New Right achieved political prominence in 1980 with the election of Ronald Reagan, a conservative who embedded, especially in his administration, many of the ideas and notions of the New Right which was composed of three main groups.<sup>5</sup> The election of Reagan enabled the New Righters to get a much stronger foothold in American politics, as not only did they have more members in Congress (coupled with assistance from traditional conservatives who shared or were at least sympathetic to their agenda), they were able to manoeuvre many of their members or supporters into important positions within the administration. The anti-liberals who made up one of the main groups of the New Right had most of their influence in economic policy as several of their members obtained posts within the Treasury Department and its affiliates (such as the OMB). This is perhaps why in this area the New Right saw much joy throughout the Reagan era,

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is nothing really on the fact that much of America's economics woes are a result of Reagan's policies.

<sup>4</sup> A. Crawford. Thunder on the Right: The "New Right" and the Politics of Resentment. NY: Pantheon Books, 1980. Crawford represent the New Right as a movement that is quintessentially based on resentment and opposition. Its members were unhappy with the state of the country and the path that it was on. This fundamentally is a relatively correct observation about the New Right especially if one reads R.A Viguerie. The New Right: We're Ready To Lead. Falls Church: The Viguerie Company, 1981.

<sup>5</sup> See for example Hadden and Shupe's argument on Reagan and the Christian Right as Reagan pushed some of their agenda more into mainstream society. J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988.

as several New Right anti-liberal sponsored measures were passed during the 1980s with wide-ranging effect on American society.

The Religious Right although being less successful in getting its supporters into the administration<sup>6</sup> (although more successful in Congress) were able to utilise their potent grassroots movement into exerting pressure on the administration and Congress. The main interest of the Religious Right was in social policy, an area that has traditionally caused problems in American politics due to such questions as to how far the federal government should be involved in society. The fact that the movement was led by religious leaders who were not (and are not) very keen on compromise simply hampered matters because of questions over the relationship between Church and State.<sup>7</sup>

The neoconservatives saw much of their calls for a defence build-up being carried through, while in foreign policy the administration received a mixed reaction.<sup>8</sup> The group was rather successful in placing its members within the administration especially in the foreign policy establishment, with Jeane Kirkpatrick, Charles Lichenstein, and Carl Gershman at the UN, Elliott Abrams at the State Department, and Paul Nitze at arms control.<sup>9</sup> What is also significant is that these people had a very close rapport with many other neoconservative intellectuals

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<sup>6</sup> Oldfield notes that the Christian Right rewards went beyond assistance in legislative battles, as some of its leaders were appointed to positions within the Reagan administration. Morton Blackwell was appointed a special assistant to the president for public liaison. Robert Billings, after leaving the Moral Majority to join Reagan's campaign, received a post in the Department of Education. The Justice Department backed the fundamentalist BJU in its suit against the IRS. "Symbolic acts on the part of the administration were designed to reach out to evangelicals as well. Reagan promoted 1983 as "the year of the Bible" and appeared at National Religious Broadcasters conventions." D.M Oldfield. The Right and the Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996, p119.

<sup>7</sup> Some of Pat Robertson's 1988 Christian supporters were unhappy with his willingness to work and compromise with secular leaders. D.M Oldfield. The Right and the Righteous: the Christian Right confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996.

It has been suggested that many Americans in the 1992 presidential elections were concerned with the strong Christian rhetoric that came from the Republican Convention which therefore assisted Bill Clinton in his bid to become the forty-second President of the United States. M. Walker. Clinton: The President they Deserve. London: Fourth Estate, 1996, especially p151-152.

<sup>8</sup> The intellectuals, Podhoretz, Kristol, Tucker criticised Reagan (especially during the second half of the 1980s), while Kirkpatrick, Abrams, Perle, for example, supported the administration. J. Ehrman. The rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995, p137-172.

<sup>9</sup> Brownstein and Easton provide a list of people who were members of the Committee on the Present Danger and of the Reagan administration. R. Brownstein and N. Easton. Reagan's Ruling Class: Portraits of the President's Top 100 Officials. Washington DC: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982, p534.

(who worked outside of the administration and provided the theoretical defence for a change in policy).<sup>10</sup>

The influence of these 'New Righters' was felt within the administration and it was they who ensured that the 1980 campaign agenda would be carried forth, as in many respects it was. There is little doubt that as the decade progressed the administration lost some its ideological commitments but that was to be expected. However, the placing of 'New Righters' throughout the administration ensured that the assault on the postwar liberalism would continue.<sup>11</sup> Thus, one should not underestimate the power that conservatism had within the administration as well as outside of it.

It is significant to note that the influence of the New Right revolution was not restricted to the White House as it also penetrated Congress which assisted the administration in pursuing its agenda.<sup>12</sup> Outside of the political arena the movement was sufficiently reinforced by the involvement of think-tanks and more importantly single-issue interest groups and PACs who kept a watchful eye on politicians and clamoured when their agenda failed to be carried through with varying degree and success (one could compare the ERA and the BJU controversy as examples of success and failure of New Righters).

The New Right phenomenon by 1988 had lost much of its gloss and potency. The heaviest casualties were among the Christian Right which was ravaged by a number of severe scandals that ranged from sexual to misappropriations of funds. This was coupled by the embarrassing failure of Pat Robertson to mount an effective challenge in the 1988 presidential election.<sup>13</sup> The

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<sup>10</sup> J. Ehrman. The rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995.

<sup>11</sup> By 1992, for example, the pro-life coalition was one Supreme Court Justice short of overturning *Roe*. P.R Abramson, J.H Aldrich and D.W Rohde. Change and Continuity in the 1992 Election. Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1994, p2-3.

<sup>12</sup> Bailey points to the revival of the Republican Party by the late 1970s and early 1980s which could be seen with the rise of such conservative politicians like Helms, McClure, Laxalt and Garn. C.J Bailey. The Republican Party in the US Senate, 1974-1984: Party Change and Institutional Development. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988. All of these senators had very close and positive relations with the Reagan administration, while also maintaining their membership in the New Right.

<sup>13</sup> In 1988, Jimmy Swaggart was caught in a motel-room with a prostitute, the Bakkers were facing financial and sexual scandals. This was following earlier Christian Right support of

movement, however, responded by turning inward and reforming itself, with the effect that today it is as vibrant and as powerful as it was, if not more.<sup>14</sup>

The other groups that composed the New Right also went through a transformation. The anti-liberals, particularly the supply-siders, lost the hold that they had on society especially when one compares their position at the end of the decade to that of the early 1980s.<sup>15</sup> This was also because the supply-siders were largely absorbed into mainstream Republican Party politics.<sup>16</sup> The anti-liberals who were rather successful in getting the administration and Congress to support several of their economic measures in the 1980s, saw their conservative economic management become part and parcel of the Republican Party agenda. What is even more striking is that the Democratic Party once the epitome of postwar liberalism abandoned its McGovernite leftism and has taken more of a conservative stand in economic and even social policy.<sup>17</sup> A possible explanation for this could be the apparent success and appeal of New Right economic theory which calls for limited federal intervention which appealed to Americans.

The neoconservatives some of whom had even questioned their affiliation to the movement<sup>18</sup> also lost their hold, particularly because of the new rapprochement between the superpowers following the huge military build-up that Reagan had initiated. Their service in the Reagan administration, their ongoing estrangement from the Democrats, and their intellectual leadership of the Right made the

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South Africa, anti-Semitic statements and so forth. C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996; D.M Oldfield. The Right and the Righteous: the Christian Right confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996; J.K Hadden and A. Shupe. Televangelism: Power and Politics on God's Frontier. NY: Henry Holt & Co., 1988.

<sup>14</sup> On the rise of the Christian Right and how it has come to dominate the Republican Party see the following for example: D.M Oldfield. The Right and the Righteous: the Christian Right confronts the Republican Party. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996; C. Wilcox. Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious right in American Politics. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996.

<sup>15</sup> An excellent example of the fall of supply-side economics by 1988 was the way Bush turned against "voodoo economics" which epitomised supply-side economics. R.A Rutland. The Republicans: From Lincoln to Bush. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996, p245.

<sup>16</sup> N. Gingrich. To Renew America. NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995.

<sup>17</sup> Clinton early on in the 1996 presidential campaign sought to portray himself as a "New" Democrat. I. Hohenberg. Reelecting Bill Clinton: Why America Chose a "New" Democrat. USA: Syracuse University Press, 1997; M. Walker. Clinton: The President the Deserve. London: Fourth Estate, 1996.

<sup>18</sup> I. Kristol. Reflections of a Neoconservative: Looking Back, Looking Forward. NY: Basic Books Publishers, 1983.

conservative movement their natural home.<sup>19</sup> However, they continued to be distinct from traditional mid-western and southern conservatives such as Patrick Buchanan and Russell Kirk who "...have viewed them as interlopers and the two factions have assaulted each other over allegations of anti-Semitism and in debate over who is the true conservative."<sup>20</sup>

The Reagan legacy, however, even though the New Right was in disrepute by the time Reagan left office, continued to have a serious impact on American society and world affairs. With the succession of George Bush, America's standing in international relations had improved from that of 1980, especially with the Gulf War. Due to the Reagan presidency serious changes had taken place concerning the United Nations especially as Kirkpatrick's tenure caused much commotion.<sup>21</sup> It is quite logical to assume that the internal UN reforms of the mid-1980s were largely inspired by Kirkpatrick's attitude especially when the organisation saw that her strong words were often backed by Washington and the American people. In the words of one commentator: "...although UNESCO was an immediate target of the Heritage Foundation and Reagan administration officials, the United Nations more generally was the ultimate target."<sup>22</sup>

The New Right attitude toward the United Nations has carried through to the 1990s as congressional resistance towards the payment of America's huge debt to the UN continues, with many of the arguments reminiscent of those offered during the early 1980s. Throughout the 1990s ultra-right movements -

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<sup>19</sup> J. Ehrman. The rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995. Ehrman further notes that William Kristol served as Dan Quayle's chief of staff, Daniel Pipes edits *Orbis*. These are just two examples of new generation neoconservatives working within mainstream conservatism.

<sup>20</sup> J. Ehrman. The rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995, p173-174, and throughout.

<sup>21</sup> This point is made by Gerson who served under Kirkpatrick at the US Mission. A. Gerson. The Kirkpatrick Mission: Diplomacy Without Apology America at the United Nations, 1981-1985. NY: The Free Press, 1991. However, despite Gerson's obvious self-interest and bias, his point is valid when looking at some of the things that had taken place following and during Kirkpatrick's tenure, particularly in the area of reform and American attitude to the organisation which has remained relatively harsh.

which could be regarded as by-products of the New Right movement of the 1980s - emerged in great potency. The link essentially is that both (conservatives in Congress and far-right movements outside of the mainstream political sphere) have shown great animosity toward the federal government and the United Nations. Themes, accusations, and claims about the 'New World Order' conspiracy continue to resonate with great ferocity in conservative circles. At the centre of the 'New World Order,' the United Nations sits and this attitude could be seen for example in Pat Robertson's The New World Order, Hal Lindsey's Planet Earth - 2000 A.D., or W.F Jasper's Global Tyranny... Step by Step: The United Nations and the Emerging New World Order.<sup>23</sup> In the words of one powerful conservative senator, the UN as it exists: "...does not deserve continued American support. Its bureaucracy is proliferating, its costs are spiraling, and its mission is constantly beyond its mandate - and beyond its capabilities."<sup>24</sup>

The United Nations was essential to the New Right and to the Reagan administration in its effort to restore American prestige because America had been very instrumental in creating it. The UN could act as an example of how an aggressive Washington could re-gain American supremacy in the world, after the complacency of the 1970s. In the words of Secretary Haig: "The United Nations - this parliament of man - offers us a unique opportunity to examine the human condition. We are each called upon to declare our national purposes. And we are all obligated to address those problems that obstruct the vision of the charter." This is because the UN's ideals are the ideals of the United States.<sup>25</sup> Although Haig was certainly a tamed conservative and arguably a member of the Establishment, similar sentiments were expressed by more vocal and committed

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<sup>22</sup> R.A Coate. Unilateralism, Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy: The United States In and Out of UNESCO. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988, p133.

<sup>23</sup> P. Robertson. The New World Order. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991; H. Lindsey. Planet Earth - 2000 A.D. Will Mankind Survive?. Palos Verdes: Western Front, 1996. Robertson's book was the *New York Times* best seller, while Lindsey is a best seller author, which highlight the appeal of such books. Both authors hold the UN as being in the centre of a well-financed campaign by very sinister forces seeking to subvert American sovereignty and freedom.

<sup>24</sup> J. Helms, "Saving the UN - A Challenge to the Next Secretary-General." *Foreign Affairs* 75 (5 1996), p2.

conservatives in the shape of Kirkpatrick, Newell, Abrams, Reagan, to name but a few. This attitude helps explain why there was no real movement within the administration to push for an American withdrawal from the United Nations which was largely seen as a positive organisation, albeit one that was in need of serious reform, which Kirkpatrick was in the process of encouraging and promoting. The fact that the UN is an international forum which the international press covers in great depth was also very important to an administration very much aware of the power of the media.

By appointing Kirkpatrick, a national chauvinist and a former Democrat with good access to the president (through William Clark<sup>26</sup> and her own cabinet post), and to intellectual conservative circles, the administration was hoping to effectively bring about a new era in US-UN relations. Kirkpatrick by focusing on certain themes such as democracy, American national interests, politicisation, unfairness and human rights, sought to sell Americanism to a world polarised between two ideologies, one of which was left-of-centre and the other existing essentially on the centre-right. One must remember that much of the world was still grappling with the effects of colonisation and decolonisation as new nations had to forge a new way of life for themselves. To Kirkpatrick and the administration the world was largely a bipolar one divided between those supporting the United States and those against it, which explains the administration's measured support of right-wing governments.

Kirkpatrick's strategy at Turtle Bay was to first assert an "America First" ethos which meant that the United States would no longer permit other nations (especially members of NAM with the support of the Soviet Union) to use the organisation to embarrass and take advantage of the United States. This point was made even more forcefully with the implementation of Section 101(B) of the Continued Resolution of November 14, 1983, as well as Section 117 of the State

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<sup>25</sup> "A New Era of Growth", address by Alexander Haig before the U.N. General Assembly in New York, September 21, 1981, Washington DC: Bureau of Public Affairs, State Department, 1981, Current Policy No. 314.

Department Authorisation Act for fiscal years 1984-85. The Resolution demanded that the US Permanent Representative to the UN provide Congress with: "...country-by-country reports on the voting patterns and practices at the United Nations during the previous year..." and that Authorisation the Secretary of State "...furnish annual reports regarding the policies which each member country of the United Nations pursues in international organizations of which the United States is a member."<sup>27</sup>

Second, Kirkpatrick effectively sought to sell western liberal democracy (particularly the American model) by emphasising the supremacy of that ideology. She was aided by the economic improvements experienced by the United States by 1983 and even more by 1984, which were attributed to Reaganomics - an amalgamation of New Right economic theory and traditional capitalist thought.

The third aspect of Kirkpatrick's plan, was to highlight the inadequacies of the United Nations by pointing to the politicisation of the organisation. This included an array of charges ranging from budgetary inefficiencies to the promotion of an ideological agenda due to NAM and Soviet manipulation of the organisation. This was coupled with claims that the United States was isolated in the United Nations due to the existence of bloc politics.

The final theme of Kirkpatrick's argument in the UN was in the realm of human rights which embodied claims from her previous points. That is, human rights was a meeting-point for Kirkpatrick's program in the United Nations. By promoting human rights, she was able to re-emphasise the supremacy of western liberal democracy which America championed as her argument was that human rights violations are less likely to occur in a western democracy as the people hold power they punish governmental abuse of it at the ballot box. The debate over human rights also enabled Kirkpatrick (through her differentiation between economic and social rights and political and civil rights) to note the politicisation of the United Nations. The organisation, she argued came to seek development, financed by the western powers who were also chastised for colonialism or neo-

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<sup>26</sup> A. Gerson. The Kirkpatrick Mission: Diplomacy Without Apology America at the United Nations, 1981-1985. NY: The Free Press, 1991.



colonialism. By standing up to what was felt was excessive UN criticism of America's allies human rights record, America was defending its interests and binding certain countries closer to its camp.<sup>28</sup>

By pursuing these themes the US Mission in New York was able to fulfil its part in Reagan's overall foreign policy doctrine (which Kirkpatrick herself had developed unofficially) which was essential to the restoration of American prestige. Moreover, a prime example of the link between American policy in the United Nations and general foreign policy initiatives could be seen with the establishment of such programs as Project Democracy and the National Endowment for Democracy,<sup>29</sup> whose core aim was to promote democracy overseas.<sup>30</sup>

The case of UNESCO was of great importance to the Reaganite agenda. The Americans provided several reasons for justifying their decision to withdraw from the agency, although there were three fundamental themes. These were: involvement in political issues, "statist concepts" (the emphasis on the rights of states rather than individuals), and unrestrained budgetary growth.<sup>31</sup> However, a

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<sup>27</sup> "U.S. Participation in the United Nations", statement by Jeane Kirkpatrick, before the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the Senate Appropriations Committee, March 2, 1984, Washington DC: Bureau of Public Affairs, State Department, 1984.

<sup>28</sup> Kirkpatrick had argued that it is easier for a country to move from authoritarianism to democracy than it was from totalitarianism. See for example some of her speeches in J.J. Kirkpatrick. Legitimacy & Force: Political and Moral Dimension. Vol. I, Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988.

<sup>29</sup> Reagan place the request for the establishment of a new program to promote democracy overseas in the State Department Authorisation bill for 1984-85 (HR 2915). The House Foreign Affairs and the Senate Foreign Relations committees approved for each of the fiscal years 1984 and 1985, \$31.3 million for the National Endowment for Democracy. Congressional Quarterly Almanac. 98th Congress, 1st. Session, 1983, Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1984, p148.

<sup>30</sup> With Carl Gershman (a former member of the US Mission while Kirkpatrick was at New York) as president of the Endowment one would expect that organisation to carry at least neoconservative principles if not Kirkpatrickian ones. J. Ehrman. The rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995, p162, and throughout. Ehrman writes: "The guiding philosophy of Project Democracy showed Kirkpatrick's influence."

<sup>31</sup> "Improvements Needed in UNESCO's Management, Personnel, Financial, & Budgeting Practices", Report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Committee on Science and Technology, House of Representatives", by the Comptroller General of the United States, Gaithersberg: US GAO, 1984, GAO/NSIAD-85-32, Digest and Chapter 1. In the words of Secretary Shultz "...trends in policy, ideological emphasis, budget and management of UNESCO were detracting from the Organization's effectiveness." "Letter from

careful study of the situation fails to satisfy the student that the reasons given were responsible for the withdrawal.

The Reagan administration with its policy of re-asserting American prestige chose UNESCO to highlight its new determination in foreign policy. In other words, the real reasons for the withdrawal were primarily political and ideological (in the sense of supremacy over the Soviet system and a re-affirmation of conservatism). UNESCO was warned that unless it reformed itself it would lose American membership and therefore contributions, which were substantial. This was possibly built on the experience that the United States had with two other Specialised Agencies, the ILO and IAEA.<sup>32</sup> Despite its size and the great complexities involved in instituting change, the agency did managed to introduce some limited reforms. However, members of the administration decreed that it was insufficient and despite unhappiness from America's allies and from American experts on UNESCO, withdrawal was recommended and in 1984 the US pulled-out of the agency and adopted an observer status.<sup>33</sup>

There are several possible reasons as to why UNESCO was chosen to emphasis the new commitment in America's approach to international relations. One explanation is that because UNESCO had a long history of anti-Americanism<sup>34</sup> it made perfect sense to use it to point to the new vigour in American politics. The agency, it was argued, had been promoting especially from the late 1960s and 1970s policies and ideas that Americans found distasteful if not

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Secretary of State Shultz to Director General of UNESCO, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow." *Journal of Communication* 34 (4 1984), p82.

<sup>32</sup> For Kirkpatrick view on the similarities between the ILO and UNESCO see: "The U.S. Role in the United Nations", hearings before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organization, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 1st Session, September 27, and October 3, 1983, Washington: US GPO, 1984; M.F Imber. The USA, ILO, UNESCO, IAEA: Politicization and Withdrawal in the Specialized Agencies. London: Macmillan Press, 1989.

<sup>33</sup> Coate argues that UNESCO instituted considerable reforms, especially considering that it is an intergovernmental organisation with over one hundred different members. R.A Coate. Unilateralism, Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy: The United States In and Out of UNESCO. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988.

<sup>34</sup> R.A Coate, "Changing Patterns of Conflict: The United States and UNESCO", M.P Karns and K.A Mingst. (ed.) The United States and Multilateral Institutions: Patterns of Changing Instrumentality and Influence. London: Routledge, 1990, p231-260.

offensive, while also having serious managerial and budgetary problems.<sup>35</sup> This attitude was unacceptable for Americans who were in the process of making their country economically and socially leaner while also seeking to restore it to its prominent position in international relations.

A more cynical view would be that UNESCO had the first African Director General of any Specialised Agency, and Africa was one region that was causing the United States increasing concern due to its militancy, and growing affiliation with socialist ideology and the Soviet Union. Thus, perhaps by punishing UNESCO the administration hoped to teach the African countries, who were rather dependent on development funds which UNESCO had been promoting, what would happen to their aid, unless they toned down some of their bellicosity. One must remember that in UNESCO, the United States and Britain were treated as equal with all other members. Their contributions may have been larger than most member states but that did not place them in a different category, something that they enjoy in the Security Council.

Another possible explanation for the decision to withdraw was that it was also promoted to please the anti-liberals. Roger Coate notes that David Stockman, barely a week after Ronald Reagan had been sworn in as president in January 1981 proposed that America might wish to withdraw from UNESCO which would be done as part of America's overall retrenchment in foreign aid.<sup>36</sup> This premise is certainly sound when one takes into consideration Stockman's (particularly after February 1981) growing concern with the budget and later on, the national deficit.<sup>37</sup> The problem, however, was that the money designated for

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<sup>35</sup> See for example: T.G Gulick, "For UNESCO, A Failing Grade in Education", Heritage Foundation *Background*, October 21, 1982, No. 221; O. Harries, "The U.S. & UNESCO at a Crossroads", The Heritage Foundation *Background*, October 19, 1983, No. 298; O. Harries, "An Insider Looks at UNESCO's Problems", Heritage Foundation *Background*, July 9, 1984, No. 364; R.A Coate, "Changing Patterns of Conflict: The United States and UNESCO", M.P Karns and K.A Mingst. (ed.) The United States and Multilateral Institutions: Patterns of Changing Instrumentality and Influence. London: Routledge, 1990, p231-260.

<sup>36</sup> R.A Coate. Unilateralism, Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy: The United States In and Out of UNESCO. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988, p125. Coate cites a John Forbes Memorandum to members of the Executive Committee and Task Force of the US National Commission for UNESCO entitled "OMB Suggestion of U.S. Withdrawal from UNESCO", February 1, 1981.

<sup>37</sup> For Stockman's calls for budgetary cutbacks and his failure to achieve significant cuts see his The Triumph of Politics: The Crisis in American Government and How It Affects The World.

UNESCO, went in fact for similar projects.<sup>38</sup> Thus, no real saving was made. This emphasises the point that the reasons why the Reagan administration picked on UNESCO were cynical and political. The administration was seeking to use the organisation in its overall policy of showing the new determination of the United States in international politics.

The conclusion that one reaches is that the assaults that the administration led against UNESCO and the United Nations were based on the neoconservative belief which reached prominence during the mid 1970s that: "...the United States could not survive as the sole democracy in the world once its allies and supporters had been taken over or neutralized by pro-Soviet forces."<sup>39</sup> Ronald Reagan and his administration were determined to ensure that the New Right ideology, in which the survivability of the United States was paramount, was actively promoted whenever and wherever possible. This would be a good way of preserving American national interests, converting ideologically flexible states, and thus preventing a Soviet take-over.

The UN and UNESCO with their huge development programs therefore offered a highly motivated administration, assisted by a willing Congress, the ability to effectively promote and achieve their objective of American restoration. Washington would use America's economic and military clout to 'persuade' countries that the American way was better and that would ensure aid and support from the mightiest western power.

It is uncertain whether the decision to withdraw from UNESCO was made to enforce American calls for greater reforms in the United Nations in general, and whether the formation of the Committee of Eighteen was a direct result of it.

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London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986. Stockman by his own admission notes that after February 1981 he was concerned with the growing budget.

<sup>38</sup> See G.J Newell statement in "Human Resources Impact of U.S. membership in UNESCO", hearings before the Senate Committee on Labor & Human Resources, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, December 10, 1984, Washington: US GPO, 1985, p11; Secretary of State Shultz's letter to Director General M'Bow, ("U.S. Notifies UNESCO of Intent to Withdraw"), December 28, 1983, *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 84, No. 2083, February 1984, p41-2.

<sup>39</sup> J. Ehrman. The rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994. London: Yale University Press, 1995, p107, and throughout.

But it is very unlikely that the withdrawal from UNESCO did not cause some concern in UN circles, especially with statements attacking the organisation by Charles Lichenstein, a high ranking official in the US Mission, coupled with congressional obstinacy over the Genocide Convention or the support that was accorded to the Kassebaum amendment for example. The linking of support of America in the United Nations to US aid sent a clear message to many potential adversaries that the United States would use any means possible to pursue its objectives and continue its ideological conflict with the Soviet Union. The era of Carter, where appeasement was prominent, was over.

In many ways both America's attitude toward UNESCO and Kirkpatrick's stand in the United Nations played a very important part in re-asserting the New Right philosophy and therefore Reagan's foreign policy agenda of American resurgence. The most worrying thing, however, is that the UN very much because of Reagan's eight years and despite its relative success in terms of reform and international politics, is increasingly scoffed at by American conservatives. That is, the Reagan legacy has continued even though its leader has been out of politics for many years: this is why the New Right phenomenon of the 1980s has been so important in shaping US-UN relations. Animosity toward the United Nations and many of its programs and ideas have remained in American politics, and one must conclude that American politicians aware of the growing conservatism in their country know that it is more beneficial to oppose, criticise or just ignore the UN. The failure of Americans to recognise the importance of the United Nations is perhaps the greatest hindrance for the development of better UN programs to assist many of the world's woes and one could only hope that in time this attitude would diminish, so that the organisation could fulfil many of the hopes of its founders.

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