

THE MOVEMENT OF CONSERVATISM IN AMERICA FROM POST WORLD WAR II TO THE REVOLT: A NEW AMERICAN TEA PARTY IN 2009

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Abstract

This paper presents a first result of ongoing research on the movement of conservatism in America. It may be necessary to conceptualize the hybrid between conservatism and liberalism in America in some crucial aspects of the development of American political spectrum post World War II until The Revolt: A New American Tea Party. In fact, those political philosophies with the same destination are like two sides of coin which is difficult to be separated. Changes and values such as politics, economics, social, and culture are highly dominant in shaping the type of political spectrum in America. These changes are dynamic, inconsistent, or even ideologically blurry. One of dominant factors in this change is the conservative group at a certain time is more liberal than liberal group itself or vice versa. Marxian theory and Darwinian theory are relevant to analyze the conservatism movement in America where is very familiar with capitalism and liberal democracy. By identifying the roots of American conservatism and the American presidents' policies, the movement of American conservatism can be spotted clearly in line with the changing of era.

Key words: *conservatism, tradition values, changes, conflict, and liberals*

Introduction

In political terms, radical, liberal, moderate, conservative and reactionary are among the most commonly used. Each has a specific meaning in political science. There are some prominent values in shaping those definitions. Commonly, change and value are two important issues to illuminate the explanation of those political terms. Hence political change is fundamental to any society. By learning the attitude of each group towards change, we will be taking a large step towards understanding what the terms radical, liberal, moderate, conservative, and reactionary mean. It is noted that change is only one of the concepts with which we must deal in defining these terms, and the definition will be complete only when we have also considered the basic values of various groups.

In America, the political spectrum is dominated by two big political parties. They are Democrat and Republican. The Democrat party tends to liberals, meanwhile the Republican party is greatly apt to conservatism. Conservatism embedded in the hearts of the American people in a long time ago. The term was adopted by Americans since the 18th century which referred to the traditional values of hierarchy and freedom. Conservatism as a distinct political term is 180 years of age, coming into general usage after the Great Reform Act of 1832 in Great Britain. The word meant opposition to reform. Original ideas and the doctrine of conservatism emerged as a reaction against the values such as liberalism, socialism and naturalism which sustain economic growth and rapid changes caused by the French Revolution (1789) in Europe and returned it to the traditional values, hierarchy and authority (Heywood, 2000:54).

The problem of defining conservatism in the United States since 1945 is a complex one. The majority of cultural leaders during this time have called themselves liberals but have defined liberalism as the defence of the established institutions in the country. On the other hand, some of the minority who have called themselves conservatives define conservatism as the defence of liberal principles. This strange pattern has its roots in the reform movement of the early twentieth century (Noble, 1978:635).

In Lyndon Johnson Era (1963-1981) and Cold War, 'A Great Society' was to be a dominant issue in the era. It is a descriptive program in Keynesian era as the continuity of 'New Deal' program from Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945). Unfortunately, this program is not successful. Consequently, the movement of 'New Right' is an answer for the unsuccessful program. In the Vietnam War, this group agreed with the policy by giving statement that even though America was lost in the war, America was still to be a country who maintain justice and freedom (Gerson, 1996:161). In relation to some social and cultural issues such as education, pornography, tax, free sex, abortion, homosexual, religion and so forth, this group is also associated with the term of 'Modernism in the Street' and 'Christian Right' that always supported by some media (Hooper, 1994:4 & Florig, 1992:29).

There is a significant changing in Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) era as a Republican president who has an image of strong nation, self-reliance and physically powerful military to defeat its enemies. Wilentz (2008:323) states that 'Reaganism is for conservative Republicans still a term of pride, celebrated as

the faith that restored freedom and morality'. Economic crisis after Vietnam war brought some problems around 1970s. In fighting ideology, neo-liberalism was as the winner to remove Keynesianism (government can interfere in economics for people welfare). In era of Reagan and Margaret Thatcher from British around 1980s, they were successful to promote 'free market' policy which is as means to give a way for globalization as a universal culture. Absolutely, in the end of 1980s, the international world practically was under neo-liberalism shadows (Hoogvelt 2001; Callinicos 2003).

After the Cold War (1989-2009), 9/11 Terrorists Attack can be a great momentum for neo-conservatism in America to bring up their ideas of radicalism that hegemony of America must be strengthened for getting its supremacy as a super power country. 'War against Terrorists' and 'Pre-emptive Strike' are two policies from George W. Bush to be a proof of inconsistency foreign policy. It is contrasted to 'Deterrence' in the Cold War era. The American foreign policy in the beginning twenty-first century is more tendency to American hegemony than before (Granger 2003). The important turning point is the establishment of PNAC (the Project for the New American Century) by neo-conservatism elites in 2007 supported by some prominent figures in MIC (Military Industrial Complex) in relation to the establishment of 'Pax-Americana'.

The Economic Turndown of 2008-2009 for America was a big hit for its economy. Some problems trigger the new phenomenon in American society, mainly jobless with other social and cultural problems. 'A New American Tea Party' in 2009 was initially to represent 'enough for tax' and finally to react from American government bailout of George W. Bush's policy

and at its peak in the first year of Barrack Obama administration. As John M. O'hara stated 'the government is promoting bad behavior. This is America! ... President Obama, are you listening? (2010:1).

The tea parties were in large part a *reaction*. Many liberal protests are in the vein of "do more for me!" while these were "do less to me!" Despite repeated claims by the media, the tea parties are not anti-tax protests. The average American understands taxes are necessary for fundamental functions of a government in a civil society. Just what those functions are is the sticking point. Where protestors—and most Americans—draw a clear, straight line is at bailouts and handouts for irresponsible corporations, government entities, and individual citizens. Today, American counterrevolutionaries fight to preserve the land these men gave their lives to create, combating the idea that tyrants in a different far away land (Washington, D.C.) should dictate public policy affecting them, their children, their livelihood, and their general well-being. The issue is no longer tea tariffs and imperial rule, but bailouts and handouts, stimulus in the face of deficits, cap and trade, universal health care, and the like dictated against the will and interest of the people, and at the peril of future generations and the nation as a whole. (O'Hara, 2010:xxv).

Based on the above information, the writer formulates the objective of this paper is to discover, classify, and analyze some factors that greatly affect the existence of the conservatism movement in America such as the New Right, Neo-Conservatism, Eco-Nationalism, and the Revolt; A New American Tea Party in 2009 as the culmination of the development of conservatism within the limits of this discussion.

Since this writing is a product of American Studies' discipline, it will follow the characteristics of American Studies which has the main stream as interdisciplinary studies. It means that interdisciplinary studies combine several different fields of learning and academic perspectives to study and to get in deep meanings what a particular phenomenon or theme is. Shortly, American Studies highlight on one particular subject but require knowledge of a variety of academic perspective. Moreover, it will embrace theories, approaches, and methods proposed by the scholars of American Studies as well as the scholars of other related disciplines.

American Studies according to Bruce A. Lohof (1978) is any discipline focusing on America and its people. Furthermore, Bruce Lohof in *Through Eyes of the World* gives the specific principles as follows: (1). American Studies is holistic in its approach to the culture of the United States, and (2). Such attribute of American Studies is its interdisciplinary approach to the culture of the United States (1978,3-4).

In addition 'the New American Studies' is focused on studies about America which has the effects globally including using media (Rowe 2010; Opperman 2010). It means that the problem happened in America but it has the impacts globally, not only in America but also other countries like conservatism movement. The existence of 'A New American Tea Party' in 2009 was to be momentum for recent ideas to learn a long journey of conservatism critically by using some media.

The movement of conservatism in America post WW II until the revolt: A New American Tea Party can not be comprehended separately. It is a holistic view. This research has

a hypothesis that there is any correlation between past time and present time from some factors which trigger the movement of conservatism post WW II until The New American Tea Party movement. And the spirit of era is very dominant in shaping the value to be a new one.

Furthermore, the changes of conservatism model based on situational and conditional in line with the changing of era make America face the social changes with its impacts. The social changes as a variation of way in living that has been accepted, are not only as a consequence of geographical condition, material culture, citizen composition, and ideology, but also because of diffusion and innovation. Conflict Theory by Karl Marx and Neo-Marxism after Marx towards conservatism and capitalism, are seemingly significant to discuss those changes in society. Karl Marx is concerned his theory in underlying the competition among classes. He believed that inequality between classes would create conflict between groups of people. Hence society must change in completing their needs. By Karl Marx theory that to rearrange the system is through a conflict perspective. With its inequality, people should do an action to change it into a better one.

Conservatism Versus Liberalism

Some writers about American conservatism have often observed that the word itself has meant different things at different times and that there is no consistency in conservatives' beliefs about what should be conserved. American conservatism moreover, has often been reactive, responding to perceived political and intellectual challenges. If the challenges and threats changes, the nature of the conservative will response. It

is not difficult to find some examples from the above statement. American history can give great contributions in illustrating the conservatives.

In the revolution era, arguments for the free market, for an example, seemed radical. But the arguments for the free market since 1917, when Soviet communism proposed a fully planned and centrally directed economy, have a strongly conservative flavor. In short, beliefs that once seemed radical later came to seem conservative. Even the concept of democracy itself, democracy seemed threatening to many property owners in the early republic. The Constitution had created a republic, but it did not mention democracy; to the privileged of that era, the spread of democracy could feel unsettling. By the late nineteenth century, to argue openly against democracy was becoming difficult. (Allitt, 2009:4).

In order to get a deep understanding about conservatism in America, it had better compare and contrast to liberalism value. Conservatism and liberalism are like two interconnected sides of coin which is very difficult to be separated. Even, it is possible to modify both of them. But in many cases, they have distinctive characteristics in some American presidency era. They tend to a check and balance in American government with the same destination of the victory of America. In America, liberalism and conservatism are two political behaviors which give the deep impacts towards all dimensions in a society life. Each of the political spectrum has special characteristics as follows:

1. Conservatism

In general, conservatives wish to preserve present or past values rather than to create or adopt new ones. It also

denotes to a political morality. It is political because it is a view about the political arrangement that make a society good, and it is moral because it takes it to be the justification of political arrangements that they foster good lives (Kekes, 1998:3) Definition of conservatism is seemingly based on the cultural traits and great experiences from the country where produces it. Therefore, every country has a distinctive characteristic of political behaviors which extends from Left to Right

Conservatives are the most contented with the status quo. They are basically pleased with the system and are not interested in a great deal of change. They will support extremely slow and very superficial alteration of the system, but will often resist even seemingly minor changes. In relation to the changes, conservatives are seemingly closed to retrogressive change referring to a return to a policy or institution that has been used by that society in the past. They tend to see an intrinsic value in existing institutions and are unwilling to tamper with them, claiming that to do so might seriously damage that which tradition has perfected (Baradat, 1979:12).

To say that conservatives are satisfied with things the way they are is certainly not to say that they are complacent. Indeed, conservatives are active not in seeking change, like their counterparts on the left, but in defending the system against those whom they believe threaten it. Basically conservatives are pessimistic about our ability to improve our lot through the use of reason. While they do not deny the importance of reason, they are wary of relying too heavily on it for solutions to human problems. They have less faith than the liberal that people can use reason to restrain their animalistic impulses and their emotions. As you will recall, liberals believe that people are

basically good and that they can generally be trusted to do the right thing when left alone. On the other hands, conservatives mistrust human nature. They see people as relatively base and even somewhat sinister. Hence, conservatives tend to favor authoritarian controls over the individual and over the society as a whole (13).

Because of their mistrust of treason, conservatives will often rely on irrational (it only signifies persons who see severe limitations in people's ability to solve problems through the use of reason) rather than rational solutions to problem. For example, conservatives look to religion for the answers to eternal questions, while liberals tend to seek solutions in other, more self-reliant ways. It should not surprise the reader to find that most religious are basically conservative. Conservatives tend to be religious and religious to be conservative, and they both rely on powers beyond human reason for answer to their problems.

To conservatives reason is of limited use in making life better. They tend to place great importance on institutions and traditions that have evolved over time. They value longevity for its own sake and resist change in social institutions. Another area is on the concept of human equality. In the conservative's opinion the differences among people are so great in both quality and quantity as to make any claim of human equality absurdly idealistic. There has always been great inequality among people and there always will be, and to attempt to construct a society on any other assumption is pure folly. The well-governed society is one in which people know their place. It is one in which people who are lower on the social scale recognize their superiors and willingly submit to their rule. The elite, in turn, is responsible for ruling benevolently and effectively.

2. Liberalism

Meanwhile liberalism is one of the intellectual by products of the development of the scientific method. During the medieval era people looked heavenward for divine relief from their wretched early existence. Faith in human potential, as well as esteem for humankind in general, was very low. Through use of the scientific method people began to make improvements in their material existence, and in problems. This speculation led to the philosophy of liberalism. Optimism about people's ability to solve their problems is the keynote of liberalism. Hence, the liberal is apt to apply reason to every problem and to be confident that this will lead to a positive solution. Nothing is sacred to the liberal. Anything can be changed for the better (Baradat, 1979:9).

In this case, change has remained the major tool of liberalism. Society generally has a favorable bias toward progress. But in fact, progress is not necessarily good or bad. It has no intrinsic value at all. Liberalism itself is closed to progressive change which simply means a change from the status quo to something new and different. Consequently its specific objectives have been revised from time to time. What was once desirable to liberals may be unacceptable to them today.

Liberalism encompasses political, social and economic doctrines that emphasize individual freedom, limited government intervention, gradual social process, and a free market economy. In its contemporary construction, liberalism accepts the role of the state in delivering social welfare and economic policy while upholding personal liberty and opportunity. In addition, it also sensitive to liberal values such as religious tolerance, freedoms

of conscience and speech, civil liberties, social justice, public welfare, and educational development.

Every country has distinctive characteristics in relation to the values of liberalism. As a set of political practice, liberal political tradition has been applied differently in many countries in many eras. English liberal tradition has centered in government by consent, individual and economic freedom, and religious tolerance. In France, the liberal tradition has been closely related to secularism and participatory democracy. Meanwhile in the United States, Franklin Roosevelt resurrected and redefined 'liberalism' to describe his New Deal programs. He sees the government as the guarantor of individual rights and freedom through the regulation of economic and social policy to check the excess of capitalism and provide a safety net against poverty (Rohmann, 1999:231).

Discussing about classical liberal, John Locke, the seventeenth-century English philosopher had given great contributions to American politics. Even many America's political founders admired his political thought. Locke's writing amount to an ideology that is widely embraced by Americans. In this way Locke's ideology, also known as classical liberalism has clearly embedded itself in the American political culture. John Locke argued that even in a 'state of nature' that is a world of no governments, an individual possesses inalienable rights to life, liberty, and property.

As a political philosophy, it is a basic principle that individual liberty is an ultimate value for human beings. It is also an essential attribute for human beings in the state of nature. Liberal believe that humans are naturally is a state of nature/freedom (nothingness). According to John Locke, in his *Second*

Treatise, conceived of humans as naturally free, equal, and independent, possessed of their natural rights of life, liberty, and property necessary to their continued existence and self-preservation. It is like in Locke's statement "That all men by nature are equal" (1952:142).

Locke believed that a government's purpose is to protect individual liberty. People form a social contract with each other in establishing a government to help protect their rights; they tacitly agree to accept government activity to better protect life, liberty, and property. Implicit in the social contract and the democratic notion of freedom is the belief that government activity and social control over individual must be minimal (Ibid, 520).

Such spirit is reflected as much as in Adam Smith's economy philosophy. Striving for and seeking for personal advantage while demanding the protection are the main element for capitalism. History has showed that capitalism liberty was initiated by the liberalism ideology through Locke. Instead, it has come into appear as a political system. It is seemingly difficult not to declare the closeness of Western liberal democracy with capitalistic economy system. And it is not surprising that there is opinion which judges liberal democracy is merely a political system that serves to capitalism.

Government, according to Locke, was instituted as a social contract by these free individuals to secure their natural rights more fully by creating an impartial arbiter to judge disputes over violations of rights. As long as the state performs this legitimate, limited function, it commands obedience. But if the government fails to protect individual rights from criminal invasion or worse, if it violates citizens' rights through arbitrary or tyrannical

conduct, the people have right to overthrow that government and establish a new one (Woll, 2004:6).

Change, therefore, is still a major tool of the liberal. Human equality is another concept that the liberal continues to support, but the basis for the assumption of equality has changed. Few, if any, liberals still believe in the concept of natural law. Instead, the contemporary liberal is more likely to argue that although there are a wide variety of differences among individuals, we are all equal in our humanity and therefore are all entitled to fundamentally equal treatment. In addition, contemporary liberals prefer to use government as a tool to help improve the conditions of human life, rather than insisting that government stay out of people's affairs (Baradat, 1979:8).

In contemporary political philosophy, the roots of liberal theory can be traced from two liberal traditions, Utilitarian and Kantian approaches. Modern utilitarianism was developed by Jeremy Bentham (1798-1832) in his *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* appeared in 1789, and was made popular by his student, John Stuart Mill in his *Utilitarianism* published in 1861. Following Mill, the utilitarian view with its credo "the greatest good for the greatest member" defends liberal principles of individual freedom, equality, and justice in the name of maximizing the general welfare.

For Mill, utility is the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions; but it must be in the largest sense, grounded on the permanent interests of man as a progressive being. Mill develops utilitarian as a form of consequentialism in the view that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness; wrong as they tend to promote the reverse of happiness. Two principles in consequentialism are first, it is morally obligatory

to do whatever will produce the best consequences, and second, it is always morally permissible to do whatever will produce the best consequences. Mill called that creed 'utility' or 'the Greatest Happiness Principle' is intended pleasure, and the absence of pain: by unhappiness, pain and the privation of pleasure (1993:14, 144).

Utilitarianism rejects state intervention into individual (private) life. The state cannot force a uniform way of life preferable to the authorities onto its citizens, even for the sake of the citizens' own good. In short, as an ethical positions, utilitarianism maintains that morally superior position would result in the greatest pleasure or happiness and minimum pain if applied to everybody. The reason is that by imposing a preferred social norm it can reduce the happiness of every human being in the long run. Utilitarians argue that it is better for people to choose for themselves although sometimes they do not make the appropriate or the best choice.

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) rejected the basic idea of Bentham's utilitarianism. He argued that empirical principles, like utility, were unfit to serve as a basis for moral law (Sandel, 1984:3). Utilitarianism's instrumental defense of freedom and rights make rights vulnerable because it treats people as means to the happiness of others, not as ends in themselves. Utilitarian not only fails to respect the inherent dignity of persons, but it also fails to take seriously the distinction between persons. In order to maximize the general welfare the utilitarian treats society as a whole as if it were a single person and that leads to the failure to respect plurality and distinctness. Modern Kantian liberals do not depend on utilitarian considerations in justifying rights. They view certain rights as so fundamental that even the general welfare cannot override them (Harjanto, 2003:28).

Commonly, Two difficulties have traditionally plagued the liberal, whether classical or contemporary. Liberals have difficulty enough agreeing on what aspects of society are wrong and need to be changed. But this is not their principle dispute. Large numbers of people on the left can agree on what areas need reform after considerable debate. Where they often cannot agree is on the specific changes that are necessary. Since liberals propose to change the status quo to something that has not been tried before in their society, a great variety of alternatives are possible. There are as many possible solutions to a given problem as there are leftists (The people on the right do not suffer from this problem to the same degree). When the leftists are finally able to unite, these unions tend to be relatively short-lived, and the various factions soon lapse into internal squabbling. For this reason leftist movements tend not to last long (Baradat, 1997:10-1).

The second difficulty experienced the liberals is the acknowledge that the modifications they suggest could fail to improve the society. Because liberals propose something new and different, they can never be completely sure of success. Indeed, their plan could backfire and leave the society in a worse position than before. Responsible liberals, it would appear, must be very cautious about what they propose as improvements in the society, and they must be prepared to admit failure if the consequences warrant it (Ibid, 11).

The concept of liberal cannot be separated with the issue of freedom, mainly positive and negative freedom. Hence it is very important to elaborate briefly the meaning of liberty or freedom to better understand liberalism. Freedom is a central theme for liberals because all human beings can only

be guaranteed their rights and progress in society be achieved through freedom. In the liberal tradition, freedom refers both to political independence with self-determination and to personal autonomy with self-direction. Most contemporary liberals see freedom at least two different ways: freedom to and freedom from.

A philosopher and historian of ideas, Isaiah Berlin differentiated between negative freedom and positive freedom. The negative conception of freedom centers on freedom from interference by others. In Berlin's view, liberty is liberty, not equality or fairness or justice or culture, or human happiness or a quiet conscience. He also argues that if individual liberty is an ultimate end for human beings, none should be deprived of it by others; least at all that some should enjoy it at the expense of others. In short, for Berlin, liberty means that there is an absence of coercion by others, and the extent of negative possible choice for every individual, or to put it more simply, 'over what am I master?' (1969:121-2).

Meanwhile, the concept of positive freedom deals with the ability and resources to pursue one's dreams and ambitions and the capacity for self-mastery and self-government. For Berlin, positive freedom derives from the wish on the part of the individual to be his own master. Berlin's notion of positive freedom does not apply only to self-mastery at the individual level, but also gives emphasis to collective control over common life. For instance, a free society in which members play an active role in controlling it through their participation in democratic institutions can be understood in terms of positive freedom. In this case, the society as a whole is free, because collectively they have mastery over the life of their society (Harjanto, 1993:30).

In a capitalist society, most people have a tendency to hold a negative sense of freedom. This freedom is expected to guarantee the maximization of individual rights without any meaningful interference from others. Under this conception of freedom, negative freedom could become an issue as conflicts between individuals, or even between individuals and state could occur. Toleration would almost become a necessity in this situation. It is likely that individuals who exercise their particular freedom overlap or conflict with others, as their exercises are misguided, or even of extreme unconscious. In this situation, toleration is needed to accept others' choices of lifestyles without harassment or intervention. Hence it is necessary to elaborate briefly on toleration in the liberal political tradition (Ibid, 30).

The Contrasting on Emphases and tendencies between Conservative and Liberal Belief

Topic	Liberal	Conservative
Government		
Primary Focus	Individual	Community
Preferred government	National	State and Local
Direction of Sentiment	Internationalist	Nationalist
Accountability of Government	To Man	To God
Topic	Liberal	Conservative
Rate/Type of Change	Faster/Utopian	Slower/Prescriptive
Relative Importance	Equality	Liberty
Justice Achieved By	Governmental Reform	Spiritual Regeneration

Economy		
Source of Authority	C e n t r a l Government	Markets
Growth Sector	Public	Private
Government Function	Regulation	Competition
Tendency	Socialism	Capitalism
Cultural and Religious Values		
Ultimate Source of Knowledge	Reason	Nature/Bible
Biblical Interpretation	More Symbolic	More Literal
Moral Standards	Relative/Situational	Absolute/Orthodox
Relative Emphasis	Man	God
Moral Emphasis	Social	Personal
Relative Importance to Man	Rights	Responsibilities
Original of Evil	Unjust Social Systems	Original Sin

Source: Conservative and Liberal Beliefs: Constrasting Emphases and tendencies: The Conservative tradition in America (Dunn, 1996:31).

American Conservatism Values And Changes

In connection with European conservatism, the event of French Revolution and the ideas of Edmund Burke as a British statesman become cornerstones in understanding the early conservatism. For Burke, society represented a permanent contract. As a conservative, Burke feared too rapid change, specially revolution, which threatened to undermine the permanent contract of society. Change was necessary, of course, but its pace be gradual and it takes account the unwritten imperative that liked past, present, and future generations into an organic whole (Muccigrosso, 2001:6).

In America, conservatism has played a significant role in the development of its political behaviors. In the absence of crown and nobility, conservatism has centered around the Constitution and the institution of private property. Meanwhile Europe at the time was greatly influenced by monarch nuance. Hence model of conservatism ala America is different from European conservatism. Its main objectives in this paper are to find the ideology of American conservative and its impacts towards the conservatism movement in America

In order to get better understanding about the term of American conservatism, it had better take account the roots of conservatism in America. The Gilded Age was a relevant era connected with the roots of American conservatism. This era ranged from the second-half of nineteenth century to the beginning of twentieth century which America changed spectacularly in all aspects of human beings. Big Business, industry, the American dream, an age of invention, immigration and social problems, and American economic crisis were often related with the age.

The phrase 'gilded age' entered when Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner published a novel about 'The Golden Road to Fortune' in 1873, and the period from the 1870s through the 1902s had been identified with the name. The Gilded Age made its appearance in the United States in the midst of the financial crisis of 1873. In short, the Gilded Age was known for the opulence and conspicuous consumption of the wealthy and some sectors of the middle classes in the U.S., it was also a period of severe economic crisis and social upheaval.

"The Gilded Age ... is one of those works which, in essence a satire of the bitterest kind, is in reality a hardly overdrawn picture of the condition of society in some of the states that obey the

laws of the Washington Congress. It is a bitter pill for Americans to swallow, but the medicine is, in the judgment of its authors, a necessary one, ..." (French, 1965:23).

The interesting ones from the Gilded Age noted that there are some significant values that still hold by some Americans as their cultural behavior patterns in a society. Some of them are as follows: SELF-MADE MAN; DARWINIAN THEORY; AND LAISSEZ-FAIRE. Those values can be categorized as an ideology for American experiences in shaping its country into a super power country over the world. They refer to the aspects of culture and social, politics and defense, and economics. In order to get better understanding about them. Here is a brief description of the values.

1. Self-Made Man

Self-Made Man is a prominent value in American life. In era of the Gilded Age, this value was a spirit to pursue American dream. It is similar to Individualism. Individualism in America has a meaning of responsibility by your own-self. Benjamin Franklin with his famous work of Autobiography gives American motivation bring about their goals and dream as reflected in his some maxims. Frederick Douglas is also an example of Black writer for struggling his freedom as seen his work '*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*'. In this work, instead of telling his life in a set of events, Frederick Douglass wrote in a form of an autobiography in which he could put forward his feelings—regret, fear, sadness, hope and enthusiasm, love, and despair personally. It shows how instead of sinking him to a weak and helpless condition, Douglass's feelings make him strong and firm to determine his path to gain freedom. That is the characteristic of American culture

Recently, the term of individualism is associated with some issues considered as representative of individualism itself in America. They are : **Individual freedom.** In America, each individual has freedom to take a part in his life. He is free to decide what to do now and in the future. American government or constitution guarantees its people without interference. They are free to speak, to get material wealth, and to profess a religion. **Self-Reliance.** It is a nineteenth-century term, popularized by Ralph Waldo Emerson's famous essay of that title '*Self-Reliance*'. Americans believe that individuals must learn to rely on themselves or risk losing freedom. Americans believe they must be self-reliant in order to keep their freedom. In order to be in the mainstream of American life—to have power and / or respect—individuals must be seen as self-reliant.

Equality of Opportunity. Everyone has the same chance to get a certain status. It is important to understand what Americans mean when they say they believe in equality of opportunity. They do mean that each individual should have an equal chance for success. Americans see much of life as a race for success. For the equality means that everyone should have a chance to enter the race and win. In other words, equality of opportunity may be thought of as ethical rule. **Competition.** It may take the form of rivalry between individuals within a group, of competitive effort of social groups to gain their objectives, of racial rivalries, or of a contest of culture and institutions for pre-eminence. Competition is seen as an open and fair race where success goes to the swiftest person regardless of his or her social background. Competitive success is commonly seen as the American alternative to social rank, the more successful a person is the higher his social status is.

Material Wealth. Material wealth becomes a value to American people. The phrase “going from rags to riches” becomes a slogan for the great American dream. The main reason is that material wealth is the most widely accepted measure of social status in the United States. Because Americans reject the European system of hereditary aristocracy and titles of nobility, they have to find a substitute for judging social status. **Hard Work.** It is a price of material wealth. American people claim that material wealth can be obtained through hard work only. To get it, they try to expand from one place to another place. Hard work has been both necessary and rewarding for the most Americans throughout their history. Because of this, they have come to see material possessions as the natural reward for their hard work. Most Americans believe that if a person works hard, it is possible to have a good standard of living. It is possible to say that hard work is also an ethic in American life.

2. Darwinian Conservatism

Conservatives need Charles Darwin. They need him because a Darwinian science of human nature supports the conservative commitment to liberty as rooted in nature, custom, and reason. The intellectual vitality of conservatism in the twenty-first century will depend upon the success of conservatives in appealing to advances in the biology of human nature as confirming conservative social thought. Darwinian conservatism explains social order as the product of three kinds of order: natural order, customary order, and rational order. This analysis of order was first stated by Aristotle. As originally suggested by Aristotle, we can explain both the social order of a community and the moral order of an individual life as the

product of nature (*physis*), custom or habit (*ethos*), and reason or deliberation (*logos*) (Arnhart, 2007:131-2).

This same trichotomy of order is implicit in Darwin's biological account of the human moral sense. As naturally social animals, human beings are endowed with social instincts, so that they feel a concern for others and are affected by social praise and blame. As animals capable of learning by habit and imitation, human beings will develop habits and customs that reflect the social norms of their community. And as intellectual animals, human beings can rationally deliberate about their social instincts and social customs to formulate abstracts rules to conduct that satisfy their natural desires as social animals. This allows for moral progress through history, which eventually leads to the formulation of moral principles (132).

The theory of social Darwinism, a philosophy popularized in America by British theorist Herbert Spencer, believed that the evolutionary theories of Charles Darwin could be applied to humanity. Society evolved and inevitably improved through a process of competition. In Spencer's terms, competition resulted in 'survival of the fittest', ensuring the progress of the human race. In America, at the gilded age the term was used by John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie as captains of industry to justify laissez-faire capitalism. Moreover, social Darwinism demanded that government not interfere with business and allow it to compete in a natural way. And the accumulation of extreme wealth is part of the natural evolutionary process, which, in the end, benefits all of society (Greenwood, 2000:20-1).

Conservatives need Charles Darwin. They need him because a Darwinian science of human nature supports the conservative commitment to liberty as rooted in nature, custom,

and reason. The intellectual vitality of conservatism in twenty-first century will depend upon the success of conservatives in appealing to advances in the biology of human nature as confirming conservative social thought.

3. Laissez-Faire

Economics in America is familiar with the concept of capitalism. The evolution industry arising around 18th century was also in shaping American Capitalism system. America becomes a big nation from the South's plantation and the North's Industry. It means America begins with agriculture areas supported by industrial areas in the North. The consequences of this industrial revolution at that time would change irrevocably human labor, consumption, family structure, social structure, and even the very soul and thoughts of the individual. In 1750, the European economy was overwhelmingly an agricultural economy. The European economy, though, had become a global economy.

The growth of European economics also influenced Economic figure like Adam Smith who is well-known his "Laissez-Faire" theory. It means allowing industry to be free from state intervention, especially restrictions in the form of tariffs and government monopolies. it broadly implies "let it be", or "leave it alone." first used the metaphor of an "invisible hand" in his book The Theory of Moral Sentiments to describe the unintentional effects of economic self organization from economic self interest- Some have characterized this metaphor as one for *laissez-faire*.

Era of the Enlightenment contributed the value of

individualism in American capitalism. The Enlightenment is the name given to an intellectual and philosophical movement that developed in eighteenth-century Europe and is characterized by its belief that reason, not superstition or the authority of unexamined tradition, can solve all of the problems of humanity. It is used interchangeably with the phrase Age of Reason. Progress through reason and science is a central theme of Enlightenment thinking. Enlightenment thinkers rejected the idea that religion can be source of truth, and believed instead that the application of reason to the evidence of the senses is the sole of the truth (Kohl, 60).

Still by borrowing the writing of Khol (61), God's will can be seen at work in nature without the need of supernatural intervention. This attitude toward God and Religion, characteristic of much Enlightenment thought, is called deism, In conjunction with their deist beliefs, Enlightenment thinkers replaced ideas and divine authority and the rights of kingship with ideas of universal human rights and the natural rights of all individuals. Many Enlightenment ideas are still central to ideas of democracy and human rights as well as capitalism.

American Conservatism Movement Post World War II

During much of the nineteenth century, liberalism and conservatism stood as polar opposites, bifurcating the political spectrum. Then, the growing appeal of socialism to the left and of authoritarian ideologies to the right caused both to fracture. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many liberals moved leftward into the halfway house. L.T. Hobhouse called "social liberalism," while many conservatives moved farther to the right, embracing integral nationalism, imperialism, and

fascism. More recently, disillusionment with socialism among liberals and with right-wing extremism among conservatives has led to a rap-prochement (Lakoff, 1998:435).

The triumph of World War II was the defeat of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. The Tragedy of World War II was the only way to defeat one ruthless tyrant, Hitler, was by forming an alliance with another, Stalin. After the end of World War II, logic would dictate that since the USA and the USSR fought as allies, their relationship after the war would be friendly. This never happened. Any appearance that there are two powers were friendly during the war is illusory. So their friendship during the war was simply the result of having a mutual enemy-Nazi Germany.

Some crucial events, happened after World War II, gave the colorful political behaviors in the United States, mainly for its foreign policy. It started on February 4th, 1945. Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin met at Yalta to consult about postwar Germany, mainly, the help and support to rebuild as well as to discuss and decide the fate of Europe. This meeting was well known as Yalta Conference. Unfortunately, this was the beginning of the end. Germany was to be divided and distributed to four powers: the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. Although the three Western powers had agreed on a political structure for their zones, Russia disagreed and threatened to blockade Berlin. On June 24th, 1948, the Soviet Union cut off all shipments and electricity in Berlin. On August 12th, 1961, Berlin border closed, the East German government decide to closed the Berlin border.

Some relevant events with the tension between the Soviet Union and the United States triggered the Cold War. It

is the name given to the relationship that developed primary between the USA and the USSR after World War II. The Cold War was to dominate international affairs for decades and many major crises occurred— NATO (1949) , the Warsaw Pact (1950), the Korean War (1950-1953), the Cuban Missile (1962), the Vietnam War (1963), Afghanistan Invasion (1979), the Fall of the Berlin Wall (1989), and the End of the Soviet Union (1991).

The 9/11 terrorists attack also gave great influences towards the American foreign policy. Iraq war was to be a controversial war in relation to America's policy between realism and idealism, hard power and soft power and so forth. Besides some cases above, America also faced some crises in domestic affairs after World War II. American presidents' policies and cases such as Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal program, Harry S. Truman's Fair Deal, Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society program, Richard M. Nixon's Watergate scandal, Ronald Wilson Reagan's Globalization and Free Market program, George W. Bush's 'War on Terrorism' and Barrack Obama's Healthy Net and Bailout.

Only after World War II did a genuine American conservative movement come into existence, the word conservative now being used proudly and self-consciously. It brought together a variety of interests and enthusiasm, of which militant anticommunism, free-market libertarianism, social and religious traditionalism, antiterrorism, and opposition to statist liberalism were the most important.

The history of America around the 1960s was full of contradiction. At the time, communism was as a threat for America as a capitalism and democracy country. America was developing into a great county through Lyndon Johnson's program of the Great Society. It gave the minority group to take roles in American society. Even the Jim Crow Law which

constrained the political and social rights for colored people was ended by the existence of Voting Rights Act in 1965.

From the late 1970's to the early twenty-first century, American conservatism was constantly in the news. Some cases dealt with the American experiences denote to two prominent political spectrums both liberalism and conservatism. Powerful conservative think tanks and media outlets served up a steady stream of policy and began to approach the news from an openly conservative vantage point. Conservatism supports for the moral majority , the traditional family and religion along with opposition to gay rights, abortion, welfare, and affirmative action. Under in era of Reagan presidency and two Bushes presidencies had changed the character of conservatism which tended to neo-conservatism.

In Foreign policy, conservatives theorized the exhaustion of the Soviet Union and looked ahead to new geopolitical challenges. In line the changing of era, at the beginning of the twenty-first century American conservatives had a dream to make 'Pax-Americana' which the power over the world has been dominated by one super power. Therefore some conservatives wanted a vast defense establishment able to nullify all threats, to take on opponents anywhere in the world, and to spread the gospel of democratic capitalism worldwide. In American domestic, some conservatives favored a drastic reduction of the federal government.

America's first post-Cold War foreign policy crisis could be itself be interpreted either way. It was also the conservative movement's first test of post-Cold War durability. One well-known event was the case of Saddam Hussein who invaded Kuwait in the summer of 1990. President George H. W. Bush responded by

building a United Nations Alliance against Hussein, which moved troops to the area and ordered Hussein to withdraw. President Bush's decision to intervene was supported by the Right which tended to the conservative mainstream.

In contrast to Bill Clinton administration (1993-2001), he was a moderate Democrat who sought to mute the liberal image of his party. In his Foreign Affairs, Clinton operated a prudent Wilsonian, involving the nation in peace keeping missions but always seeking to minimize the potential loss of American lives in such ventures. Bill Clinton's presidency will likely be remembered as much for the scandals culminating in Clinton's impeachment as for its significant substantive accomplishments. In contrast to the former Presidents, Reagan and Bush, Clinton believed that government had a positive role to play in protecting people's rights, running programs intended to improve people's lives and providing services that no other element of society could provide (Crothers and Lind, 2002:188).

During the post 9/11, the war against terrorism became a main agenda of George W. Bush in line with the establishment of MIC (Military Industrial Complex) which was like a necessity. During his administration, he issued USA Patriot Act and Homeland Security Act as an outline of domestic policies in fighting terrorism. The uniqueness of his administration was some controversial policies, mainly, his foreign policy toward Iraq and Afghanistan as the basis of terrorists. His policy is like a cowboy policy. Even, there was no the fact that Iraq had nuclear weapons.

In relation to the American presidents' policies, both George W.H. Bush and George W. Bush as a Republican Party stress on using military and political approach in grabbing

the world. In short, America must be strong. It denotes to Darwinism's The Survival of the Fittest ala conservatism. Neo-conservatism is closed to the presidency of George W. Bush supported MIC, media, organization, and advisers, mainly from neo-conservatism.

Furthermore, after George W. Bush presidency, There was a big event well-known as 'the Economic Turndown of 2008-2009' in the Barrack Obama's first administration. America itself had three economics crisis, they were the Panic of 1893; the Great Depression of 1920s; and the Economic Turndown of 2008-2009. Those events absolutely triggered people's responses, mainly from conservatives. Some of them were the Populist party and The Revolt: A New American Tea Party in 2009. The conservative movement of A New American Tea Party is to protest reckless government spending in the pork-laden stimulus package, the earmark-clogged budget bill, the massive mortgage entitlement program, taxpayer-funded corporate rescues, the environmentally fraudulent cap and trade monstrosity, and the debt-exploding government health care takeover (O'hara: 2010:XXI)

Conclusion

Conservatism is a very interesting issue to be studied. Moreover, conservatism is often seen with a negative connotation. This is reasonable because conservatism is a term that is quite elusive and often debated. We sometimes find difficulties in seeing the position of conservatism and liberalism in American political system. Even, there is a combination between liberalism and conservatism in American government as reflected in American presidents' policies at a certain time. It is to be a uniqueness, moreover some great and superpower

countries still hold this traditional value such as Russia, British, Japan, Iran, China and so forth.

In addition America can be said that it is closed to the conservatism, mainly the roles of the United States after World War II. It is a good chance for scholars to dig more about the American conservatism. The movement of conservatism is dynamic like culture influenced by the spirit of era at the time. Samuel Huntington said that the movement of American conservatism is situational and conditional. It needs a strategy to get a deep understanding about it. In relation to this case, some prominent factors including politics, economy, social and culture are to be a joystick to analyze the movement. In short, change and value are key words to explore them.

In America, conservatism is also related on how to conserve the cultural traits and beliefs. American system of belief is shaped by experience holism. American strive to accommodate new experiences while maximizing two factors: overall simplicity of the new system and conservation of old beliefs. American Revolution, unlike the French Revolution was not based on perfectionist ideology. It was a defense of the status quo and the authentic American tradition. The American Founding Fathers were aware of the sinfulness of man and the need for political humility. They wanted to preserve some relative decency and justice in society against the tyranny and injustice into which society may fall. For an example, the Federalists of the 1780s and 1790s did not describe themselves as conservatives, but they certainly hoped, with the help of the Constitution, to conserve a traditional social order. As they saw it as the threat of disorder from below and radicalism from abroad. Afraid that the chaos of the French Revolution might spread to America, they tried to preserve the old social hierarchy and to act as much like

British gentlemen in the new republic. In short, their views of the American revolution was conservative.

The cornerstone of American conservative can be traced from the era of the Gilded Age. Those values are Self-Made Man, The Survival of the Fittest, and Laissez-Faire. American experiences dealing with conservatism are always in connection with them. Conservatism is a product of culture which is learned, shared, adapted, and dynamic. An important aspect of culture is that it is dynamic and continually adapts to serve the needs of the group.

Marx envisioned a form of total socialism in which all people would have all things in common because no single person would have any single thing to himself or herself alone. Capitalism, on the other hand, is today a conservative economy system. This was not always so. Adam Smith, who fathered modern capitalism by writing *The Wealth of Nations*, was a classical liberal of the eighteenth century. Do not forget that the liberal attitude toward private property has changed and that in Smith's day the prevailing economic system was feudalism. Capitalism represented a liberal challenge to the status quo. Today, however, capitalism is the status quo; hence, support of this system in a capitalist country is necessary a conservative position.

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