

## **Inventing the Silent Majority in Western Europe and the United States**

*Inventing the Silent Majority in Western Europe and the United States* examines the unprecedented mobilization and transformation of conservative movements on both sides of the Atlantic during a pivotal period in postwar history. Convinced that “noisy minorities” had seized the agenda, conservatives in Western Europe and the United States began to project themselves under Nixon’s popularized label of the “Silent Majority.” The years between the early 1960s and the late 1970s witnessed the emergence of countless new political organizations that sought to defend the existing order against a perceived left-wing threat from the resurgence of a new, politically organized Christian right to the beginnings of a radicalized version of neoliberal economic policy. Bringing together new research by leading international scholars, this ground-breaking volume offers a unique framework for studying the phenomenon of conservative mobilization in comparative and transnational perspective.

Anna von der Goltz is Associate Professor of History at Georgetown University. Her research focuses on protest movements, with a recent emphasis on responses to political, social, and cultural change among center-right students in West Germany. Her first book, *Hindenburg: Power, Myth, and the Rise of the Nazis* (2009), won the Wiener Library’s Fraenkel Prize in Contemporary History.

Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson is Professor of History at the University of Augsburg. Her main research areas are transatlantic relations, African-American studies, and religious history. Her previous publications include a history of Christian Science in Germany from 1894 to 2009 (2009) and the first German Malcolm X biography (2015), as well as several co-edited collections, among them *Europe and America: Cultures in Translation* (2006) and *The Transatlantic Sixties: Europe and the United States in the Counterculture Decade* (2013).

## Publications of the German Historical Institute

*Edited by*

SIMONE LÄSSIG

with the assistance of David Lazar

The German Historical Institute is a center for advanced study and research whose purpose is to provide a permanent basis for scholarly cooperation among historians from the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States. The Institute conducts, promotes, and supports research into both American and German political, social, economic, and cultural history; into transatlantic migration, especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and into the history of international relations, with special emphasis on the roles played by the United States and Germany.

### Recent Books in the Series:

- Rebekka Habermas, *Thieves in Court: The Making of the German Legal System in the Nineteenth Century*
- Eckart Conze, Martin Klimke, and Jeremy Varon, *Nuclear Threats, Nuclear Fear and the Cold War in the 1980s*
- Jonas Scherner and Eugene White, *Paying for Hitler's War: The Consequences of Nazi Economic Hegemony for Europe*
- Adam T. Rosenbaum, *Bavarian Tourism and the Modern World, 1800–1950*
- Hartmut Berghoff, Jürgen Kocka, and Dieter Ziegler, editors, *Business in the Age of Extremes: Essays in Modern German and Austrian Economic History*
- Lars Maischak, *German Merchants in the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic*
- Thomas W. Maulucci, Jr., and Detlef Junker, editors, *GIs in Germany: The Social, Economic, Cultural, and Political History of the American Military Presence*
- Gerald D. Feldman, *Austrian Banks in the Period of National Socialism*
- Eric C. Steinhart, *The Holocaust and the Germanization of Ukraine*
- Alison Efford, *German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era*
- Cathryn Carson, *Heisenberg in the Atomic Age: Science and the Public Sphere*
- Michaela Hoenicke Moore, *Know Your Enemy: The American Debate on Nazism, 1933–1945*
- Yair Mintzker, *The Defortification of the German City, 1689–1866*
- Astrid M. Eckert, *The Struggle for the Files: The Western Allies and the Return of German Archives after the Second World War*
- Winson Chu, *The German Minority in Interwar Poland*
- Hartmut Berghoff and Uta Andrea Balbier, *The East German Economy, 1945–2010: Falling Behind or Catching Up?*
- Roger Chickering and Stig Förster, editors, *War in an Age of Revolution, 1775–1815*
- Monica Black, *Death in Berlin: From Weimar to Divided Germany*
- John R. McNeill and Corinna R. Unger, editors, *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*
- Christof Mauch and Kiran Klaus Patel, *The United States and Germany during the Twentieth Century: Competition and Convergence*

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-16542-7 — Inventing the Silent Majority in Western Europe and the United States

Edited by Anna von der Goltz , Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson

Frontmatter

[More Information](#)

# Inventing the Silent Majority in Western Europe and the United States

*Conservatism in the 1960s and 1970s*

ANNA VON DER GOLTZ

*Georgetown University, Washington, DC*

BRITTA WALDSCHMIDT-NELSON

*University of Augsburg*

GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

*Washington, D.C.*

*and*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-16542-7 — Inventing the Silent Majority in Western Europe and the United States

Edited by Anna von der Goltz , Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson

Frontmatter

[More Information](#)

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom  
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA  
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi - 110002, India  
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107165427](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107165427)

© German Historical Institute 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

*A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

ISBN 978-1-107-16542-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## Contents

<i>Contributors</i>	<i>page</i> xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
Introduction: Silent Majorities and Conservative Mobilization in the 1960s and 1970s in Transatlantic Perspective	I
<i>Anna von der Goltz and Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson</i>	
PART I. ORIGINS AND IDEAS	
1 American Conservatism from Roosevelt to Johnson	19
<i>Julian E. Zelizer</i>	
2 The Radicalization of Neoliberalism	38
<i>Daniel Stedman Jones</i>	
PART II. POLITICAL MOBILIZATION AND RESPONSES TO LEFT-WING PROTEST	
3 Silent Minority? British Conservative Students in the Age of Campus Protest	63
<i>John Davis</i>	
4 A Vocal Minority: Student Activism of the Center-Right and West Germany's 1968	82
<i>Anna von der Goltz</i>	
5 Mobilizing the Silent Majority in France in the 1970s	105
<i>Bernard Lachaise</i>	
6 The Silent Majority: A Humean Perspective	122
<i>Donald T. Critchlow</i>	

PART III. CONSERVATISM AND THE ISSUE OF RACE		
7	The Silent Majority: How the Private Becomes Political <i>Bill Schwarz</i>	147
8	African American Republicans, “Black Capitalism,” and the Nixon Administration <i>Joshua D. Farrington</i>	172
PART IV. RELIGIOUS MOBILIZATION		
9	Awakening the Sleeping Giant: The Rise and Political Role of the American Christian Right Since the 1960s <i>Mark J. Rozell and Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson</i>	187
10	Why Is There No Christian Right in Germany? German Conservative Christians and the Invention of a Silent Majority in the 1970s <i>Thomas Großbölting</i>	210
11	Modern Crusaders: The Conservative Catholic Politics of Resistance in Post-Conciliar Netherlands <i>Marjet Derks</i>	227
PART V. LANGUAGES AND MEDIA STRATEGIES OF CONSERVATISM		
12	Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann’s “Spiral of Silence,” the Silent Majority, and the Conservative Moment of the 1970s <i>Martin H. Geyer</i>	251
13	Campaigning against “Red Public Television”: Conservative Mobilization and the Invention of Private Television in West Germany <i>Frank Bösch</i>	275
14	Talking in Europe: The CDU/CSU, the British Conservative Party, and the Quest for a Common Political Language in the 1960s and 1970s <i>Martina Steber</i>	295
PART VI. CULTURES OF CONSERVATISM		
15	Goodbye to the Party of Rockefeller: How a Decidedly “Un-Silent Minority” Pushed the GOP to Embrace Antifeminism <i>Stacie Taranto</i>	317
16	Pornography, Heteronormativity, and the Genealogy of New Right Sexual Citizenship in the United States <i>Whitney Strub</i>	339

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-16542-7 — Inventing the Silent Majority in Western Europe and the United States

Edited by Anna von der Goltz , Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson

Frontmatter

[More Information](#)

---

	<i>Contents</i>	ix
17	1968 and All That(her): Cultures of Conservatism and the New Right in Britain <i>Lawrence Black</i>	356
	Afterword: Winners and Losers <i>Michael Kazin</i>	377
	<i>Index</i>	385

## Contributors

**Lawrence Black**, Department of History, University of York

**Frank Bösch**, Center for Contemporary History, Potsdam

**Donald T. Critchlow**, Department of History, Arizona State University

**John Davis**, Faculty of History, University of Oxford

**Marjet Derks**, Department of History, Radboud University

**Joshua D. Farrington**, African and African-American Studies, Eastern Kentucky University

**Martin H. Geyer**, Historical Seminar, LMU Munich

**Anna von der Goltz**, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and Department of History, Georgetown University

**Thomas Großbölting**, Department of History, University of Münster (WWU)

**Michael Kazin**, Department of History, Georgetown University

**Bernard Lachaise**, Center for the Study of the Modern and Contemporary Worlds (CEMMC), University of Bordeaux

**Mark J. Rozell**, School of Policy, Government, and International Affairs, George Mason University

**Bill Schwarz**, The School of English and Drama, Queen Mary, University of London



Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-16542-7 — Inventing the Silent Majority in Western Europe and the United States

Edited by Anna von der Goltz , Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson

Frontmatter

[More Information](#)

---

xii

*Contributors*

**Martina Steber**, Department of History and Sociology, University of Konstanz

**Daniel Stedman Jones**, Barrister, 39 Essex Chambers, London

**Whitney Strub**, Department of History, Newark College of Arts and Sciences University College, Rutgers University

**Stacie Taranto**, Department of History, Ramapo College

**Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson**, Department of History, University of Augsburg

**Julian E. Zelizer**, Department of History and Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University

## Acknowledgments

Most of the chapters in this collection were originally presented as papers at the conference “Inventing the Silent Majority: Conservative Mobilization in Western Europe and the United States in the 1960s and 1970s,” which was held at the German Historical Institute (GHI) in Washington, DC, in April 2013. The editors would like to thank the BMW Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University, the GHI, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), and the French Embassy in Washington, DC, for their generous financial and organizational support of the conference. We are grateful to the GHI and its former director, Hartmut Berghoff, for agreeing to include this volume in the Publications of the German Historical Institute Series. Moreover, we would like to thank all of our contributors for their essays and their patience throughout the revision stages. We are also obliged to the anonymous reviewers, who made important suggestions for improving the manuscript, and to David Lazar, who edited the whole text meticulously. Finally, we would like to thank Deborah Gerschenowitz at Cambridge University Press for her support of this project.

Anna von der Goltz and Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson