

# A Conservative Movement Emerges

## MAIN IDEA

Conservatism reached a high point with the election in 1980 of President Ronald Reagan and Vice-President George Bush.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

In the early 21st century, conservative views strongly influenced both major political parties.

## Terms & Names

- entitlement program
- New Right
- affirmative action
- reverse discrimination
- conservative coalition
- Moral Majority
- Ronald Reagan

## One American's Story

Peggy Noonan grew up with a strong sense of social and political justice. As a child, she idolized the liberal Kennedys; as a teenager, she devoured articles on social and political issues. After college, Noonan went to work for CBS.

Over the years, Noonan's political views became increasingly conservative. She eventually won a job as a speechwriter for Ronald Reagan, whose commitment to his conservative values moved her deeply. Noonan recalled that her response to Reagan was not unusual.

### A PERSONAL VOICE PEGGY NOONAN

“The young people who came to Washington for the Reagan revolution came to make things better. . . . They looked at where freedom was and . . . where freedom wasn't and what that did, and they wanted to help the guerrilla fighters who were trying to overthrow the Communist regimes that had been imposed on them. . . . The thing the young conservatives were always talking about, . . . was freedom, freedom:

*we'll free up more of your money,  
we'll free up more of the world,  
freedom freedom freedom—*

It was the drumbeat that held a disparate group together, the rhythm that kept a fractious, not-made-in-heaven alliance in one piece.”

—*What I Saw at the Revolution: A Political Life in the Reagan Era*

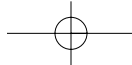


Peggy Noonan

Like millions of other Reagan supporters, Noonan agreed with the slogan that was the heart of Reagan's political creed: “Government is not the solution to our problem. Government is the problem.”

## The Conservative Movement Builds

Ever since Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona had run for president in 1964, conservatives had argued that state governments, businesses, and individuals needed more freedom from the heavy hand of Washington, D.C. By 1980, government



spending on **entitlement programs**—programs that provide guaranteed benefits to particular groups—was nearly \$300 billion annually. The costs together with stories of fraudulently-obtained benefits caused resentment among many taxpayers.

In addition, some people had become frustrated with the government's civil rights policies. Congress had passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in an effort to eliminate racial discrimination. Over the years, however, judicial decisions and government regulations had broadened the reach of the act. A growing number of Americans viewed with skepticism what had begun as a movement toward equal opportunity. Although many people had rejected separate schools for blacks and whites as unfair and unequal, few wanted to bus their children long distances to achieve a fixed ratio of black and white students.

**THE NEW RIGHT** As the 1970s progressed, right-wing grass-roots groups across the country emerged to support and promote single issues that reflected their key interests. These people became known as the **New Right**. The New Right focused its energy on controversial social issues, such as opposing abortion, blocking the Equal Rights Amendment, and evading court-ordered busing. It also called for a return to school prayer, which had been outlawed by the Supreme Court in 1962.

Many in the New Right criticized the policy of **affirmative action**. Affirmative action required employers and educational institutions to give special consideration to women, African Americans, and other minority groups, even though these people were not necessarily better qualified. Many conservatives saw affirmative action as a form of **reverse discrimination**, favoring one group over another on the basis of race or gender. To members of the New Right, liberal positions on affirmative action and other issues represented an assault on traditional values. **A**

**THE CONSERVATIVE COALITION** Beginning in the mid-1960s, the conservative movement in the United States grew in strength. Eventually conservative groups formed the **conservative coalition**—an alliance of business leaders, middle-class voters, disaffected Democrats, and fundamentalist Christian groups.

Conservative intellectuals argued the cause of the conservative coalition in newspapers such as *The Wall Street Journal* and magazines such as the *National Review*, founded in 1955 by conservative William F. Buckley, Jr. Conservative think tanks, such as the American Enterprise Institute and The Heritage Foundation, were founded to develop conservative policies and principles that would appeal to the majority of voters.

**THE MORAL MAJORITY** Religion, especially evangelical Christianity, played a key role in the growing strength of the conservative coalition. The 1970s had brought a huge religious revival, especially among fundamentalist sects. Each week, millions of Americans watched evangelist preachers on television or listened to them on the radio. Two of the most influential televangelists were Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. Falwell formed an organization called the **Moral Majority**. The Moral Majority consisted mostly of evangelical and fundamentalist Christians who interpreted



▲ Several high school students in New York hold a prayer meeting in 1973.

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Issues

**A** What was the agenda of the New Right?

#### Goals of the Conservative Movement

- Shrink the size of the federal government and reduce spending
- Promote family values and patriotic ideals
- Stimulate business by reducing government regulations and lowering taxes
- Strengthen the national defense



the Bible literally and believed in absolute standards of right and wrong. They condemned liberal attitudes and behaviors and argued for a restoration of traditional moral values. They worked toward their political goals by using direct-mail campaigns and by raising money to support candidates. Jerry Falwell became the spokesperson for the Moral Majority. **B**

### **A PERSONAL VOICE** REVEREND JERRY FALWELL

**“Our nation’s internal problems are the direct result of her spiritual condition. . . . Right living must be reestablished as an American way of life. . . . Now is the time to begin calling America back to God, back to the Bible, back to morality.”**

As individual conservative groups formed networks, they created a movement dedicated to bringing back what they saw as traditional “family values.” They hoped their ideas would help to reduce the nation’s high divorce rate, lower the number of out-of-wedlock births, encourage individual responsibility, and generally revive bygone prosperity and patriotic times.

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Summarizing

**B** What were the main concerns of the Moral Majority?

KEY PLAYER



RONALD REAGAN  
1911–

Ronald Wilson Reagan was born in 1911 in Tampico, Illinois. He grew up in Dixon, Illinois, graduated from nearby Eureka College, and then worked as a sports announcer in Iowa. In 1937, Reagan moved to Hollywood and became a movie actor, eventually making more than 50 films. As president of the Screen Actors Guild, he worked actively to remove alleged Communist influences from the movie industry.

Reagan had the ability to express his ideas in simple and clear language that the average voter could understand. When he proposed a 10 percent cut in government spending on social programs, he stated, “We can lecture our children about extravagance until we run out of voice and breath. Or we can cure their extravagance by simply reducing their allowance.”

## Conservatives Win Political Power

In 1976, **Ronald Reagan** lost the Republican nomination to the incumbent, Gerald Ford, in a very closely contested race. Four years later in a series of hard-fought primaries, Reagan won the 1980 nomination and chose George H. W. Bush as his running mate. Reagan and Bush ran against the incumbent president and vice-president, Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale, who were nominated again by the Democrats despite their low standing in the polls.

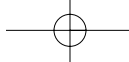
**REAGAN’S QUALIFICATIONS** Originally a New Deal Democrat, Ronald Reagan had become a conservative Republican during the 1950s. He claimed that he had not left the Democratic Party but rather that the party had left him. As a spokesman for General Electric, he toured the country making speeches in favor of free enterprise and against big government. In 1964, he campaigned hard for Barry Goldwater, the Republican candidate for president. His speech nominating Goldwater at the 1964 Republican convention made Reagan a serious candidate for public office. In 1966, Reagan was elected governor of California, and in 1970, he was reelected.

**THE 1980 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION** In 1980, Reagan ran on a number of key issues. Supreme Court decisions on abortion, pornography, the teaching of evolution, and prayer in public schools all concerned conservative voters, and they rallied to Reagan. The prolonged Iranian hostage crisis and the weak economy under Carter, particularly the high rate of inflation, also helped Reagan.

Thanks in part to his acting career and his long experience in the public eye, Reagan was an extremely effective candidate. In contrast to Carter, who often seemed stiff and nervous, Reagan was relaxed, charming, and affable. He loved making quips: “A recession is when your neighbor loses his job. A depression is when you lose yours. And recovery is

#### Background

See *free enterprise* on page R41 in the Economics Handbook.



when Jimmy Carter loses his.” Reagan’s long-standing skill at simplifying issues and presenting clear-cut answers led his supporters to call him the Great Communicator. Also, his commitment to military and economic strength appealed to many Americans.

Only 52.6 percent of American voters went to the polls in 1980. Reagan won the election by a narrow majority; he got 44 million votes, or 51 percent of the total. His support, however, was spread throughout the country, so that he carried 44 states and won 489 electoral votes. Republicans also gained control of the Senate for the first time since 1954. As Reagan assumed the presidency, many people were buoyed by his genial smile and his assertion that it was “morning again in America.”

Now, conservatives had elected one of their own—a true believer in less government, lower taxes, and traditional values. Once elected, Reagan worked to translate the conservative agenda into public policy.

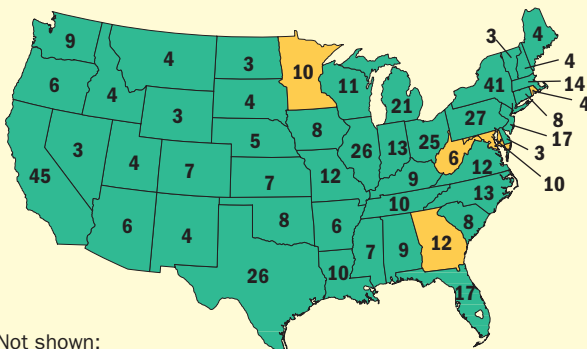
**MAIN IDEA**

**Analyzing Causes**

**C** What factors led to Reagan’s victory in 1980?

### Presidential Election of 1980

Party	Candidate	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
<span style="color: green;">■</span> Republican	Ronald Reagan	489	43,904,153
<span style="color: orange;">■</span> Democratic	Jimmy Carter	49	35,483,883
Independent	John Anderson		5,720,060



Not shown:

- 3 Alaska
- 4 Hawaii
- 3 District of Columbia

**GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER**

- 1. Location** Which states and/or district voted for Jimmy Carter in 1980?
- 2. Region** Which region of the country—North, South, East, or West—voted exclusively for Ronald Reagan?

1

## ASSESSMENT

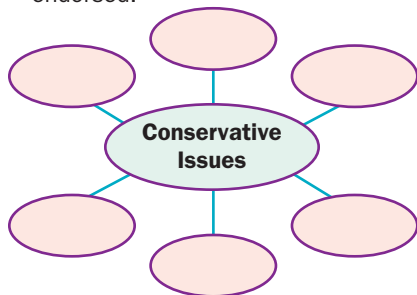
**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- entitlement program**
- affirmative action**
- conservative coalition**
- Ronald Reagan**
- New Right**
- reverse discrimination**
- Moral Majority**

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

Use a cluster diagram to record the issues that conservatives strongly endorsed.



Choose one issue and explain in a paragraph the conservative position on that issue.

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. ANALYZING MOTIVES**

How did the leaders of the conservative movement of the 1980s want to change government?

**Think About:**

- the difference between the conservative view of government and the liberal view
- the groups that made up the conservative coalition
- conservatives’ attitudes toward existing government programs

**4. ANALYZING EFFECTS**

What role did the Moral Majority play in the conservative movement of the 1970s and early 1980s?

**5. EVALUATING LEADERSHIP**

What personal qualities in Ronald Reagan helped him to win election as president in 1980?

SECTION  
2

# Conservative Policies Under Reagan and Bush

## MAIN IDEA

Presidents Reagan and Bush pursued a conservative agenda that included tax cuts, budget cuts, and increased defense spending.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The conservative views of Reagan and Bush created policies and priorities that affect government spending and budgeting today.

## Terms & Names

- Reaganomics
- supply-side economics
- Strategic Defense Initiative
- Sandra Day O'Connor
- deregulation
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
- Geraldine Ferraro
- George Bush

## One American's Story

Throughout the 1980 presidential campaign and in the early days of his administration, President Reagan emphasized the perilous state of the economy during the Carter administration. In a speech to the nation on February 5, 1981—his first televised speech from the White House—Reagan announced his new economic program. He called for a reduction in income tax rates for individuals and a big reduction in government spending.



President Ronald Reagan

### A PERSONAL VOICE RONALD REAGAN

**“I’m speaking to you tonight to give you a report on the state of our nation’s economy. I regret to say that we’re in the worst economic mess since the Great Depression. . . . It’s time to recognize that we’ve come to a turning point. We’re threatened with an economic calamity of tremendous proportions, and the old business-as-usual treatment can’t save us. Together, we must chart a different course.”**

—televised speech to the nation, February 5, 1981

President Reagan would deal with these problems by consistently stressing a sweeping package of new economic policies. These economic policies, dubbed **“Reaganomics,”** consisted of three parts: (1) budget cuts, (2) tax cuts, and (3) increased defense spending.

## “Reaganomics” Takes Over

As soon as Reagan took office, he worked to reduce the size and influence of the federal government, which, he thought, would encourage private investment. Because people were anxious about the economy in 1980, their concern opened the door for new approaches to taxes and the federal budget.

**Background**  
See *supply-side economics* on page R46 in the Economics Handbook.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Summarizing**  
A What are the main ideas of supply-side economics?

**Background**  
See *recession* on page R44 in the Economics Handbook.

**Background**  
See *national debt* on page R43 in the Economics Handbook.

**BUDGET CUTS** Reagan's strategy for downsizing the federal government included deep cuts in government spending on social programs. Yet his cuts did not affect all segments of the population equally. Entitlement programs that benefited the middle class, such as Social Security, Medicare, and veterans' pensions, remained intact. On the other hand, Congress slashed by 10 percent the budget for programs that benefited other groups: urban mass transit, food stamps, welfare benefits, job training, Medicaid, school lunches, and student loans.

**TAX CUTS** "Reaganomics" rested heavily upon **supply-side economics**. This theory held that if people paid fewer taxes, they would save more money. Banks could then loan that money to businesses, which could invest the money in resources to improve productivity. The supply of goods then would increase, driving down prices. At Reagan's urging, Congress lowered income taxes by 25 percent over a three-year period. Reagan based his ideas for supply-side economics on the work of economists such as George Gilder and Arthur Laffer. A

**A PERSONAL VOICE** ARTHUR LAFFER

**"The most debilitating act a government can perpetrate on its citizens is to adopt policies that destroy the economy's production base, for it is the production base that generates any prosperity to be found in the society. U.S. tax policies over the last decade have had the effect of damaging this base by removing many of the incentives to economic advancement. It is necessary to restore those incentives if we are to cure our economic palsy."**

—*The Economics of the Tax Revolt: A Reader*

**INCREASED DEFENSE SPENDING** At the same time, Reagan authorized increases in military spending that more than offset cuts in social programs. Between 1981 and 1984, the Defense Department budget almost doubled. Indeed, the president revived two controversial weapons systems—the MX missile and the B-1 bomber. In 1983, Reagan asked the country's scientists to develop a defense system that would keep Americans safe from enemy missiles. Officially called the **Strategic Defense Initiative**, or SDI, the system quickly became known as Star Wars, after the title of a popular movie. The Defense Department estimated that the system would cost trillions of dollars.

**RECESSION AND RECOVERY** While Reagan was charting a new course for the American economy, the economy itself was sinking into recession. Lasting from July 1981 until November 1982, it was the most severe recession since the Great Depression. However, early in 1983, an economic upturn began as consumers went on a spending spree. Their confidence in the economy was bolstered by tax cuts, a decline in interest rates, and lower inflation. The stock market surged, unemployment declined, and the gross national product went up by almost 10 percent. The stock market boom lasted until 1987, when the market crashed, losing 508 points in one day. This fall was due in large part to automated and computerized buying and selling systems. However, the market recovered and then continued its upward climb.

**THE NATIONAL DEBT CLIMBS** Beneath the surface of recovery lay problems that continued to plague the economy. Tax cuts had helped the rich, while social welfare cuts had hurt the poor. Despite large reductions in parts of the

**ECONOMIC  
BACKGROUND**

**THE "TRICKLE-DOWN"  
THEORY**

Ronald Reagan's budget director, David Stockman, used supply-side economics to draft the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. His tax package cut income taxes and business taxes by an average of 25 percent; the largest tax cuts went to those with the highest incomes. Administration officials defended the plan by claiming that as prosperity returned, the profits at the top would trickle down to the middle class and even the poor.

Despite Reagan's "trickle-down" theory, the wealthy gained the most from these tax cuts. In the 1980s, the rich got richer as poverty deepened for many others.

## Analyzing Political Cartoons

### “THE INFLATION STAGECOACH”

During Reagan’s first term, federal spending far outstripped federal revenue and created a huge budget deficit. In this cartoon, Reagan (with budget director David Stockman sitting beside him on the inflation stagecoach) sees something that “shouldn’t be there.”

#### SKILLBUILDER

##### Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. What is the meaning of the wheel flying off the stagecoach?
2. Whom do the passengers inside the stagecoach represent?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK,  
PAGE R24.



budget, federal spending still outstripped federal revenue. Budget deficits were growing. Even though Reagan backed away from supply-side economics in 1982 and imposed new taxes, they were not enough to balance the budget. By the end of his first term, the national debt had almost doubled. **B**

#### MAIN IDEA

##### Analyzing Effects

**B** What were some of the effects of “Reaganomics”?

## Judicial Power Shifts to the Right

Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas testify before the Senate Judiciary Committee in October 1991.



One the most important ways in which Reagan accomplished his conservative goals was through his appointments to the Supreme Court. Reagan nominated **Sandra Day O’Connor**, Antonin Scalia, and Anthony M. Kennedy to fill seats left by retiring judges. O’Connor was the first woman to be appointed to the Court. He also nominated Justice William Rehnquist, the most conservative justice on the court at the time, to the position of chief justice.

President Bush later made the Court even more conservative when David H. Souter replaced retiring justice William Brennan. Bush also nominated Clarence Thomas to take the place of Thurgood Marshall. However, controversy exploded when law professor Anita Hill testified that Thomas had sexually harassed her when she worked for him in the 1980s. During several days of televised Senate hearings, committee members questioned Thomas, Hill, and witnesses for each side. Thomas eventually won approval by a final vote of 52 to 48.

The Reagan and Bush appointments to the Supreme Court ended the liberal control over the Court that had begun under Franklin Roosevelt. These appointments became increasingly significant as the Court revisited constitutional issues related to such topics as discrimination, abortion, and affirmative action. In 1989, the Court, in a series of rulings, restricted a woman’s right to an abortion. The Court also imposed new restrictions on civil rights laws that had been designed to protect the rights of women and minorities. During the 1990–1991 session, the Court narrowed the rights of arrested persons.

## Deregulating the Economy

Reagan achieved one of his most important objectives—reducing the size and power of the federal government—in part by cutting federal entitlement programs but also through **deregulation**, the cutting back of federal regulation of industry. As part of his campaign for smaller government, he removed price controls on oil and eliminated federal health and safety inspections for nursing homes. He deregulated the airline industry (allowing airlines to abandon unprofitable air routes) and the savings and loan industry. One of the positive results of this deregulation was that it increased competition and often resulted in lower prices for consumers.

In a further effort at deregulation, President Reagan cut the budget of the **Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)**, which had been established in 1970 to fight pollution and conserve natural resources. He ignored pleas from Canada to reduce acid rain and appointed opponents of the regulations to enforce them. For example, James Watt, Reagan's secretary of the interior, sold millions of acres of public land to private developers—often at bargain prices. He opened the continental shelf to oil and gas drilling, which many people thought posed environmental risks. Watt also encouraged timber cutting in national forests and eased restrictions on coal mining.

## Conservative Victories in 1984 and 1988

It was clear by 1984 that Reagan had forged a large coalition of conservative voters who highly approved of his policies.

These voters included the following:

- *businesspeople*—who wanted to deregulate the economy
- *Southerners*—who welcomed the limits on federal power
- *Westerners*—who resented federal controls on mining and grazing
- *Reagan Democrats*—who agreed with Reagan on limiting federal government and thought that the Democratic Party had drifted too far to the left

**THE 1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION** In 1984, Reagan and Bush won the Republican nominations for reelection without challenge. Walter Mondale, who had been vice-president under President Carter, won the Democratic Party's nomination and chose Representative **Geraldine Ferraro** of New York as his running mate. Ferraro became the first woman on a major party's presidential ticket.

In 1984 the economy was strong. Reagan and Bush won by a landslide, carrying every state but Mondale's home state of Minnesota and the District of Columbia.

### HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT

#### AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

On March 30, 1981, President Reagan and other members of his staff were shot by a mentally unbalanced man named John Hinckley, Jr. While being wheeled into surgery to have a bullet removed, the president said to his wife, "Honey, I forgot to duck" (a line first used by boxer Jack Dempsey in the 1920s, after being knocked out in a bout). In the operating room, Reagan said to the team of surgeons, "I hope you fellas are Republicans." Reagan recovered speedily and his popularity grew.



▲ President Reagan is pushed into a presidential limousine after being shot by a deranged man.





◀ George Bush announces his presidential candidacy at a rally in 1987.

**“Read my lips:  
no new taxes.”**

GEORGE BUSH

stressed his commitment to the conservative ideas of the Moral Majority. Though Bush asserted that he wanted a “kinder, gentler nation,” his campaign sponsored a number of negative “attack ads” aimed at his opponents. He told audiences that Dukakis was an ultraliberal whose views were outside the mainstream of American values. In particular, Bush suggested that Dukakis was soft on crime and unpatriotic.

Some commentators believed that the negative ads contributed to the lowest voter turnout in 64 years. Only half of the eligible voters went to the polls in 1988. Fifty-three percent voted for George Bush, who won 426 electoral votes. Bush’s electoral victory was viewed, as Reagan’s had been, as a mandate for conservative social and political policies. **C**

### THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

In 1988, a majority of Americans were economically comfortable, and they attributed their comfort to Reagan and Bush. When Michael Dukakis, the Democratic governor of Massachusetts, ran for the presidency in 1988 against **George Bush**, Reagan’s vice-president, most voters saw little reason for change.

George Bush simply built on President Reagan’s legacy by promising, “Read my lips: no new taxes” in his acceptance speech at the Republican Convention. He

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Causes

**C** What factors contributed to Reagan’s victory in 1984 and Bush’s victory in 1988?



### ASSESSMENT

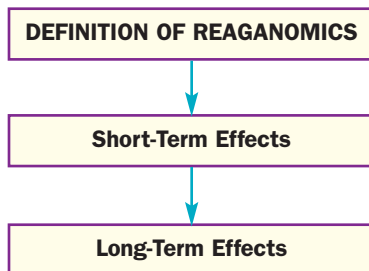
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- Sandra Day O’Connor
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
- George Bush
- supply-side economics
- deregulation
- Geraldine Ferraro
- Strategic Defense Initiative

#### MAIN IDEA

#### 2. TAKING NOTES

Use a diagram like the one below to explore the effects of “Reaganomics.”



Explain in a paragraph whether you think “Reaganomics” was good or bad for the economy.

#### CRITICAL THINKING

#### 3. ANALYZING MOTIVES

Why did President Reagan and President Bush think it was important to appoint conservative justices to the Supreme Court?

#### 4. EVALUATING

In your opinion, was Reagan’s first term a success? **Think About:**

- how his tax cuts impacted the rich and the poor
- the economy
- the federal budget

#### 5. ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

Read the following excerpt from Ronald Reagan’s speech at the 1992 Republican Convention.

**“We mustn’t forget . . . the very different America that existed just 12 years ago; an America with 21 percent interest rates and . . . double-digit inflation; an America where mortgage payments doubled, paychecks plunged, and motorists sat in gas lines; an America whose leaders told us . . . that what we really needed was another good dose of government control and higher taxes.”**

What picture did Reagan paint of the Carter administration?



## SECTION 3

# Social Concerns in the 1980s

### MAIN IDEA

Beneath the surge of prosperity that marked the conservative era of the 1980s lay serious social problems.

### WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Issues involving health care, education, civil rights, and equal rights for women continue to challenge American society.

### Terms & Names

- AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome)
- pay equity
- L. Douglas Wilder
- Jesse Jackson
- Lauro Cavazos
- Antonia Coello Novello

## One American's Story

Trevor Ferrell lived an ordinary life in Gladwyne, an affluent suburb 12 miles from downtown Philadelphia. Trevor had brothers and sisters, his own room, a favorite pillow, a fondness for video games, and a bike. In short, he seemed like a typical 11-year-old boy until he watched a television news report about homeless people.

Trevor was astonished. "Do people really live like that?" he asked his parents. "I thought they lived like that in India, but not here, I mean in America." Trevor convinced his parents to drive downtown that night, where he gave a pillow and a blanket to the first homeless man he saw. Soon he and his family were collecting food and clothes to give to the homeless.

### A PERSONAL VOICE TREVOR FERRELL

"They have to live on the streets, and right after you see one of them, you see somebody in a limousine pull up to a huge, empty mansion. It's such a difference. Some people can get anything they want, and these other people couldn't get a penny if they needed one."

—quoted in *Trevor's Place*

As Trevor saw, the restored American economy of the 1980s did not mean renewed prosperity for everyone. As Presidents Reagan and Bush pursued conservative domestic policies, people disagreed about the impact of these policies.



Trevor Ferrell listens to a homeless person on the corner of 12th and Chestnut streets in Philadelphia.

## Health, Education, and Cities in Crisis

In the 1980s, both in the cities and in rural and suburban areas, local governments strove to deal with crises in health, education, and safety. Americans directed their attention to issues such as AIDS, drug abuse, abortion, and education.



## NOW & THEN

### AIDS WORLDWIDE

In the year 2000, it was estimated that 5.3 million people worldwide became infected with HIV/AIDS. Impoverished countries that lie in sub-Saharan Africa remain hardest hit by the deadly pandemic, accounting for an estimated 3.8 million, or 72 percent, of new cases during the year. At the end of December 2000, the number of adults and children living with HIV/AIDS worldwide was estimated at 36.1 million people, of whom the proportions of males and females were almost equal.

▲ The AIDS quilt was displayed on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., in 1987. Each panel honors a person who died of AIDS.

**HEALTH ISSUES** One of the most troubling issues that concerned Americans in the 1980s was **AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome)**. Possibly beginning as early as the 1960s, AIDS spread rapidly throughout the world. Caused by a virus that destroys the immune system, AIDS weakens the body so that it is prone to infections and normally rare cancers.

AIDS is transmitted through bodily fluids, and most of the early victims of the disease were either homosexual men or intravenous drug users who shared needles. However, many people also contracted AIDS through contaminated blood transfusions, and children acquired it by being born to infected mothers. As the 1980s progressed,

increasing numbers of heterosexuals began contracting AIDS. As the epidemic grew, so did concern over prevention and cure.

**ABORTION** Many Americans were concerned about abortion in the 1980s. Abortion had been legal in the United States since 1973, when the Supreme Court ruled in *Roe v. Wade* that first-trimester abortions were protected by a woman's right to privacy. Opponents of legalized abortion quickly organized under the pro-life banner. They argued that human life begins at conception and that no woman has the right to terminate a human life by her individual decision. Proponents of legalized abortion described themselves as pro-choice. They argued that reproductive choices were personal health-care matters and noted that many women had died from abortions performed by unskilled people in unsterile settings before the procedure was legalized.

In July 1989, the Supreme Court ruled in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Care Services* that states had the right to impose new restrictions on abortion. As a result, abortion restrictions varied from state to state. **A**

### MAIN IDEA

#### Contrasting

**A** What are the two viewpoints on legalized abortion?



**DRUG ABUSE** Battles over abortion rights sometimes competed for public attention with concerns about rising drug abuse. A few people argued that drugs should be legalized to reduce the power of gangs who made a living selling illegal drugs. Others called for treatment facilities to treat addictions. The Reagan administration launched a war on drugs and supported moves to prosecute users as well as dealers. First Lady Nancy Reagan toured the country with an antidrug campaign that admonished students to “Just say no!” to drugs.

**EDUCATION** Education became another issue that stirred people’s concerns. In 1983, a federal commission issued a report on education titled *A Nation at Risk*. The report revealed that American students lagged behind students in most other industrialized nations. In addition, the report stated that 23 million Americans were unable to follow an instruction manual or fill out a job application form.

The commission’s findings touched off a debate about the quality of education. The commission recommended more homework, longer school days, and an extended school year. It also promoted increased pay and merit raises for teachers, as well as a greater emphasis on basic subjects such as English, math, science, social studies, and computer science.

In April 1991, President Bush announced an education initiative, “America 2000.” He argued that choice was the salvation of American schools and recommended allowing parents to use public funds to send their children to schools of their choice—public, private, or religious. First Lady Barbara Bush toured the country to promote reading and writing skills. **B**

**THE URBAN CRISIS** The crisis in education was closely connected to the crisis in the cities. Many undereducated students lived in cities such as Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. During the 1970s, the United States had become increasingly suburbanized as more and more white families responded to the lure of new homes, big lawns, shopping malls, and well-equipped schools outside the cities. Businesses moved, too, taking jobs and tax revenue with them.

Poor people and racial minorities were often left in cities burdened by high unemployment rates, crumbling infrastructures, inadequate funds for sanitation and health services, deteriorating schools, and growing social problems. By 1992, thousands of people were homeless, including many families with children. Cities were increasingly divided into wealthy neighborhoods and poverty-stricken areas.

One poverty-stricken area, south-central Los Angeles (which had erupted in violence in 1965 and 1968) erupted again in 1992. Four white police officers had been videotaped beating an African-American man named Rodney King, who had been fleeing from the officers in a speeding car. An all-white jury found the officers not guilty on charges of brutality. This verdict resulted in riots that lasted five days and caused the deaths of 53 people.

*“Just say no!”*

**NANCY REAGAN, SLOGAN  
IN THE WAR ON DRUGS**

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Identifying Problems

**B** What problems in education emerged during the 1980s?

### DIFFICULT DECISIONS



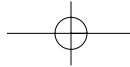
#### SENDING MONEY INTO SPACE

Under the Reagan administration, the government shifted the emphasis of the space program from scientific to military and commercial applications.

Beginning in 1981, NASA directed a series of space shuttle flights. The agency hoped to establish a space station and have the shuttle ferry workers and materials to it.

The explosion of the space shuttle *Challenger* in 1986 in which the crew was killed (*crew shown above*) caused a reexamination of ventures into space. Many people thought the money spent on space should be spent on social needs.

1. Should the federal government spend money on space exploration when so many American citizens require basic assistance?
2. If you were a legislator being asked to vote in favor of funding space exploration today, how would you vote? Why?



## The Equal Rights Struggle

Within this environment of dwindling resources and social struggle, women worked to achieve economic and social gains.



Geraldine Ferraro speaks at the 1984 Democratic Convention.

**POLITICAL LOSSES AND GAINS** During the early 1980s, women's rights activists worked to obtain ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Although Congress had passed the amendment in 1972, it had not yet been ratified, or approved, by three-fourths of the states. Supporters of the amendment had until June 30, 1982, to gain ratification from 38 states. They obtained only 35 of the 38 ratifications they needed, and the ERA did not become law. With the failure of the Equal Rights Amendment, women's organizations began to concentrate on electing women to public office. More women candidates began to run for office, and in 1984 the Democrats chose Geraldine Ferraro as their vice-presidential candidate. She had spoken of the necessity for women to continue working for equal opportunities in American society.

### A PERSONAL VOICE GERALDINE FERRARO

**“It is not just those of us who have reached the top who are fighting this daily battle. It is a fight in which all of us—rich and poor, career and home oriented, young and old—participate, simply because we are women.”**

—quoted in *Vital Speeches of the Day*

### Women's and Men's Average Yearly Earnings in Selected Careers, 1982

Career	Women	Men
Accountant	\$19,916	\$25,272
Advertising Manager	19,396	32,292
Computer Operator	13,728	17,992
Cook	8,476	9,880
Engineer	26,052	31,460
Financial Manager	19,136	30,004
High School Teacher	18,980	21,424
Insurance Salesperson	15,236	22,152
Lawyer	30,264	34,008
Personnel Specialist	17,836	26,832
Physician	21,944	26,884
Police/ Detective	15,548	20,072
Real Estate Salesperson	16,432	24,076
Registered Nurse	20,592	20,696
Retail Sales Worker	8,736	13,728
Social Worker	15,600	20,436
University Professor	20,748	26,832

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Current Population Survey, 1983–1989*.

#### SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts

1. Name one career that paid men and women almost equally.
2. What conclusion can you draw from this chart?

In the November 1992 election, the number of women in the House of Representatives increased from 23 to 47, and the number of women senators tripled—from two to six. President Reagan also had earlier named two women to his cabinet: In 1983, Elizabeth Dole became secretary of transportation, and Margaret Heckler became secretary of health and human services. Nevertheless, women remained underrepresented in political affairs. **C**

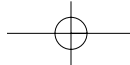
**INEQUALITY** Several factors contributed to what some called the “feminization of poverty.” By 1992, 57.8 percent of the nation's women were part of the work force, and a growing percentage of women worked as professionals and managers. However, in that year women earned only about 75 cents for every dollar men earned. Female college graduates earned only slightly more than male high-school graduates. Also, about 31 percent of female heads of households lived in poverty, and among African-American women, the poverty rate was even higher. New trends in divorce settlements aggravated the situation. Because of no-fault divorce, fewer women won alimony payments, and the courts rarely enforced the meager child support payments they awarded.

To close the income gap that left so many women poor, women's organizations and unions proposed a system of **pay equity**. Jobs would

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Summarizing

**C** What steps did women take to help them move forward after the ERA failed to pass?



be rated on the basis of the amount of education they required, the amount of physical strength needed to perform them, and the number of people that an employee supervised. Instead of relying on traditional pay scales, employers would establish pay rates that reflected each job's requirements. By 1989, 20 states had begun adjusting government jobs to offer pay equity for jobs of comparable worth.

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Issues

**D** What gains did women make during the 1980s and early 1990s?

Women also fought for improvements in the workplace. Since many working women headed single-parent households or had children under the age of six, they pressed for family benefits. Government and corporate benefit packages began to include maternity leaves, flexible hours and workweeks, job sharing, and work-at-home arrangements. Some of these changes were launched by individual firms, while others required government intervention. Yet the Reagan administration sharply cut the budget for daycare and other similar programs. **D**

## The Fight for Rights Continues

Cuts in government programs and the backlash against civil rights initiatives, such as affirmative action, affected other groups as well.

**AFRICAN AMERICANS** African Americans made striking political gains during the 1980s, even though their economic progress suffered. By the mid-1980s, African-American mayors governed many cities, including Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago, Atlanta, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. Hundreds of communities in both the North and the South had elected African Americans to serve as sheriffs, school board members, state legislators, and members of Congress. In 1990, **L. Douglas Wilder** of Virginia became the nation's first African-American governor. The Reverend **Jesse Jackson** ran for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984 and 1988.

Middle-class African Americans often held professional and managerial positions. But the poor faced an uncertain future of diminishing opportunities. In 1989, the newly conservative Supreme Court handed down a series of decisions that continued to change the nation's course on civil rights. In the case of *Richmond v. J. A. Croson Company*, for example, the Court further limited the scope of affirmative action, policies that were designed to correct the effects of discrimination in the employment or education of minority groups or women. Other decisions by the Court outlawed contracts set aside for minority businesses. Sylvester Monroe, an African-American correspondent for *Newsweek* magazine, commented on the way in which some African Americans saw the backlash against affirmative action. **E**



▲ Jesse Jackson campaigns for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984.

#### MAIN IDEA

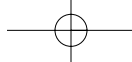
#### Analyzing Issues

**E** What political gains did African Americans make during the 1980s?

#### ★ A PERSONAL VOICE SYLVESTER MONROE

“There’s a finite pie and everybody wants his piece. Everybody is afraid of losing his piece of the pie. That’s what the fight against affirmative action is all about. People feel threatened. As for blacks, they’re passé. They’re not in any more. Nobody wants to talk about race.”

—quoted in *The Great Divide*



▲ **Dr. Antonia Coello Novello served as surgeon general under President Bush.**

**GAINS FOR LATINOS** Latinos became the fastest growing minority during the 1980s. By 1990, they constituted almost nine percent of the population, and demographers estimated that Latinos would soon outnumber African Americans as the nation's largest minority group. About two out of three Latinos were Mexican Americans, who lived mostly in the Southwest. A Puerto Rican community thrived in the Northeast, and a Cuban population was concentrated in Florida. Like African Americans, Latinos gained political power during the 1980s. Toney Anaya became governor of New Mexico, while Robert Martinez became governor of Florida. In August 1988, President Reagan appointed **Lauro Cavazos** as secretary of education. In 1990, President Bush named Dr. **Antonia Coello Novello** to the post of surgeon general.

Many Latinos supported bilingual education. They feared that abandoning Spanish would weaken their distinctive culture. In the words of Daniel Villanueva, a television executive, "We want to be here, but without losing our language and our culture. They are a richness, a treasure that we don't care to lose." The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and the 1975 amendment to the Voting Rights Act enabled Spanish speakers to attend school and vote in their own language, but by the mid-1980s opposition to bilingualism was rising. Critics argued that it slowed the rate at which Spanish-speaking people entered mainstream American life. They also feared that the nation would become split between English speakers and Spanish speakers.

**NATIVE AMERICANS SPEAK OUT** Native Americans also became more self-conscious of their dignity and more demanding of their rights. In the 1970s, they organized schools to teach young Native Americans about their past. They also began to fight for the return of ancestral lands wrongfully taken from them.

During the 1980s, the Reagan administration slashed aid to Native Americans for health, education, and other services. Driven to find new sources of revenue, Native Americans campaigned for gambling casinos on their land as a way to bring in money. After the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Native Americans, many tribes opened Las Vegas-style casinos, which provided additional funding for the tribes that operated them. Nonetheless, the long-term problems faced by Native Americans have not been solved by gambling casinos, although the new wealth has helped to some extent. **F**

**AN EXPANDING ASIAN-AMERICAN POPULATION** Asian Americans were the second fastest growing minority in the United States during the 1980s. By 1982, the U.S. population included about 8.3 million Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Asian Americans constituted 3.25 percent of the population.

Some have cited Asian Americans as an example of how minorities can succeed in the U.S. Yet while Asian Americans have low crime rates, low school dropout rates, and low divorce rates, Asian-American unemployment and poverty have been higher than the national figures.

### Vocabulary

**demographer:** a person who studies the characteristics of human population, such as growth, density, and distribution

**NOW & THEN**

**AFFIRMATIVE ACTION**

Affirmative action refers to the effort to provide education and employment opportunities for historically disadvantaged groups, such as women and racial and ethnic minorities. The federal government first instituted affirmative action policies under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

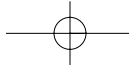
Presidents Reagan and Bush actively opposed affirmative action and racial quotas. President Clinton supported affirmative action. Despite his support, in 1996, voters in California approved a referendum that did away with state affirmative action programs.

In 2001, the future of affirmative action was uncertain. President Bush expressed support for equal opportunity, but his Attorney General, John Ashcroft, was denounced by civil rights groups, in part because of his anti-affirmative action record.

### MAIN IDEA

#### Identifying Problems

**F** What problems did Native Americans face in the 1980s?



◀ A gay rights march in Washington, D.C., October 1987

**THE GAY RIGHTS MOVEMENT ADVANCES** During the 1970s and 1980s, gay men and lesbians began to fight openly for civil rights. While the gay rights movement suffered a setback during the early 1980s in the face of conservative opposition and the AIDS crisis, by the late 1980s and early 1990s a new surge of gay activism was under way in the country. Direct action groups sprang up throughout the country, calling for an end to anti-gay discrimination. Although several speakers at the 1992 Republican National Convention condemned gay activism, these speakers were unable to slow the pace of change. By the year 1993, seven states and 110 communities had outlawed such discrimination.

**SECTION 3**

**ASSESSMENT**

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome)
- pay equity
- Jesse Jackson
- Antonia Coello Novello
- L. Douglas Wilder
- Lauro Cavazos

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

Use a chart like the one below to list some of the social problems of the Reagan and Bush years and how the government responded to them.

Social Problems	Government Responses

Choose one issue and write other responses the government might have made.

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. PREDICTING EFFECTS**

How might improvements in the educational system help solve other social problems? **Think About:**

- the impact education might have on health-related problems
- the impact that education might have on urban problems
- the impact that education might have on unemployment

**4. COMPARING**

Compare the political gains and losses experienced by various groups during the Reagan and Bush administrations.

**5. FORMING GENERALIZATIONS**

Why might a widening gap between the richest and poorest citizens of a country be a cause for concern about that country's future?





SECTION  
4

# Foreign Policy After the Cold War

## MAIN IDEA

The end of the Cold War, marked by the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, led to a redirection of many U.S. goals and policies.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

After the Cold War, the United States provided and continues to provide substantial economic support to the new capitalistic and democratic nations.

## Terms & Names

- Mikhail Gorbachev
- *glasnost*
- *perestroika*
- INF Treaty
- Tiananmen Square
- *Sandinistas*
- *Contras*
- Operation Desert Storm

## One American's Story

Colin Powell did not start out in life with any special privileges. He was born in Harlem and raised in the Bronx, where he enjoyed street games and tolerated school. Then, while attending the City College of New York, he joined the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC). He got straight A's in ROTC, and so he decided to make the army his career.

Powell served first in Vietnam and then in Korea and West Germany. He rose in rank to become a general; then President Reagan made him national security adviser. In this post, Powell noted that the Soviet Union was a factor in all the administration's foreign policy decisions.

### A PERSONAL VOICE COLIN POWELL

“Our choosing sides in conflicts around the world was almost always decided on the basis of East-West competition. The new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, however, was turning the old Cold War formulas on their head. . . . Ronald Reagan . . . had the vision and flexibility, lacking in many knee-jerk Cold Warriors [participants in the Cold War between the U.S. and the USSR], to recognize that Gorbachev was a new man in a new age offering new opportunities for peace.”

—*My American Journey*

Though U.S. foreign policy in the early 1980s was marked by intense hostility toward the Soviet Union, drastic economic problems in the Soviet Union destroyed its ability to continue the Cold War standoff.



General  
Colin Powell

## The Cold War Ends

In March of 1985, **Mikhail Gorbachev** became the general secretary of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. His rise to power marked the beginning of a new era in the Soviet Union.

**GORBACHEV INITIATES REFORM** Gorbachev had inherited a host of problems in the Soviet Union. Many of them revolved around the stagnant Soviet economy. But in fact the entire Soviet system suffered from gross inefficiency and recession.

An imaginative, skilled diplomat and political leader, Gorbachev advocated a policy known as *glasnost* (Russian for “openness”). He allowed open criticism of the Soviet government and took some steps toward freedom of the press. In 1985, he outlined his plans for *perestroika*, a restructuring of Soviet society. He called for less government control of the economy, the introduction of some private enterprise, and steps toward establishing a democratic government in the Soviet Union. His plan of action reflected the failure of the Communist system.

Gorbachev recognized that better relations with the United States would allow the Soviets to reduce their military spending and reform their economy. As a result, he initiated a series of arms-control meetings that led to the **INF Treaty (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty)** signed on December 8, 1987. The United States Senate ratified the treaty five months later in May 1988. The treaty eliminated two classes of weapons systems in Europe and allowed each nation to make on-site inspections of the other’s military installations. **A**

**THE SOVIET UNION DECLINES** Gorbachev’s introduction of democratic ideals led to a dramatic increase in nationalism on the part of the Soviet Union’s non-Russian republics. The pressure for complete change was overwhelming. In December 1991, 14 non-Russian republics declared their independence from the Soviet Union. Muscled aside by Russian reformers who thought he was working too slowly toward democracy, Gorbachev himself lost power and resigned as Soviet president. After 74 years, the Soviet Union dissolved.

A loose federation known as the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) took the place of the Soviet Union. In February 1992, President George Bush and Russian president Boris Yeltsin issued a formal statement declaring an end to the Cold War that had plagued the two nations and divided the world since 1945. The statement marked the beginning of a new era of “friendship and partnership” between the two nations. In January 1993, Yeltsin and Bush signed the START II pact, designed to cut both nations’ nuclear arsenals by two-thirds.

**THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNIST REGIMES** Before his resignation, Gorbachev had encouraged the people of East Germany and Eastern Europe to go their own ways. In 1988, when the Soviet Union was still intact, he reduced the number of Soviet troops in Eastern Europe and allowed non-Communist parties to organize in satellite nations, such as East Germany and Poland. He encouraged the satellite nations to move toward democracy. The impoverished Soviet Union would no longer support unpopular Communist regimes.

In October 1989, East Germans startled the world by repudiating their Communist government. On November 9, 1989, East Germany opened the Berlin Wall, allowing free passage between the two parts of the city for the first time in

**MAIN IDEA**

**Evaluating Leadership**

**A** Which evidence in the text supports the viewpoint that Gorbachev was a skilled politician and diplomat?



**WORLD STAGE**

**NATIONAL REVIEW**

**THE COMING CRACK-UP OF COMMUNISM**

**DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN RUSSIA**

After the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, Boris Yeltsin continued as president of Russia. Yeltsin ended price controls and increased private business ownership. The Russian parliament opposed Yeltsin’s policies, even after a 1993 referendum showed that the majority of voters supported them.

In December 1993, Russian voters installed a new parliament and approved a new constitution, parts of which resembled the U.S. Constitution. The election results heralded an era of increasing democracy in Russia. In 1996, Yeltsin won reelection as president of Russia. He was succeeded in 2000 by Vladimir Putin.



▲ A demonstrator pounds away on the Berlin Wall as East German border guards look on from above at the Brandenburg Gate, on November 11, 1989.

28 years. East German border guards stood by and watched as Berliners pounded away with hammers and other tools at the despised wall. In early 1990, East Germany held its first free elections, and on October 3 of that year, the two German nations were united.

Other European nations also adopted democratic reforms. Czechoslovakia withdrew from the Soviet bloc. The Baltic states of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania declared their independence from the Soviet Union. Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania made successful transitions from communism. **B**

Yugoslavia, however, collapsed. Four of its six republics seceded. Ethnic rivalries deteriorated into a brutal war among Muslims, Orthodox Serbs, and Roman Catholic Croats, who were dividing Yugoslavia, each claiming parts of it. Serbia backed Serb minorities that were stirring up civil unrest in Croatia and Bosnia.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Analyzing Events**

**B** What signs signaled that the Cold War had come to an end?

**COMMUNISM CONTINUES IN CHINA** Even before perestroika unfolded in the Soviet Union, economic reform had begun in China. Early in the 1980s, the Chinese Communist government loosened its grip on business and eliminated some price controls. Students in China began to demand freedom of speech and a greater voice in government.

In April 1989, university students in China held marches that quickly grew into large demonstrations in Beijing's **Tiananmen** (tyän'än'mě'n') **Square** and on the streets of other cities. In Tiananmen Square, Chinese students constructed a version of the Statue of Liberty to symbolize their struggle for democracy.

China's premier, Li Peng, eventually ordered the military to crush the protesters. China's armed forces stormed into Tiananmen Square, slaughtering unarmed students. The world's democratic countries watched these events in horror on television. The collapse of the pro-democracy movement left the future in China uncertain. As one student leader said, "The government has won the battle here today. But they have lost the people's hearts."



▶ A Chinese protester defies the tanks in Tiananmen Square in 1989. ▶



## Central American and Caribbean Policy

Cold War considerations during the Reagan and Bush administrations continued to influence affairs in Central America and the Caribbean. In these places, the United States still opposed left-leaning and socialist governments in favor of governments friendly to the United States.

**NICARAGUA** The United States had had a presence in Nicaragua ever since 1912, when President Taft sent U.S. Marines to protect American investments there. The marines left in 1933, but only after helping the dictator Anastasio Somoza come to power.

The Somoza family ruled Nicaragua for 42 years. To keep control of its business empire, the family rigged elections and assassinated political rivals. Many people believed that only a revolution would end the Somoza dictatorship.


Between 1977 and 1979, Nicaragua was engulfed in a civil war between Somoza's national guard and the **Sandinistas**, rebels who took their name from a rebel leader named Sandino who had been killed in 1934. When Sandinista rebels toppled the dictatorship of Somoza's son in 1979, President Carter recognized the new regime and sent it \$83 million in economic aid. The Soviet Union and Cuba sent aid as well.

In 1981, however, President Reagan charged that Nicaragua was a Soviet outpost that was "exporting revolution" to other Central American countries. Reagan cut all aid to the Sandinista government and threw his support to guerrilla forces known as the **Contras** because they were "against" the Sandinistas. By 1983, the Contra army had grown to nearly 10,000 men, and American officials from the CIA had stationed themselves to direct operations—without congressional approval. In response, Congress passed the Boland Amendment, banning military

aid to the Contras for two years. However, Reagan's administration still found ways to negotiate aid to the Contras.


On February 25, 1990, Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega held free elections, and Violeta de Chamorro, a Contra supporter, was elected the nation's new president. Chamorro's coalition was united only in opposition to the Sandinistas; it was too weak and divided to solve Nicaragua's ongoing problems.

**GRENADA** On the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada, the United States used direct military force to accomplish its aims. After noting that the island was developing ties to Communist Cuba, President Reagan sent approximately 2,000 troops to the island in 1983. There they overthrew the pro-Cuban government, which was replaced by one friendlier to the United States. Eighteen American soldiers died in the attack, but Reagan declared that the invasion had been necessary to defend U.S. security.

**PANAMA** Six years later, in 1989, President Bush sent more than 20,000 soldiers and marines into Panama to overthrow and arrest General Manuel Antonio Noriega on charges of drug trafficking. Noriega had been receiving money since 1960 from the CIA, but he was also involved in the international drug trade. After he was indicted by a Miami grand jury, Noriega was taken by force by the American military and flown to Miami to stand trial. In April 1992, Noriega was convicted and sentenced to 40 years in prison. Many Latin American governments deplored the "Yankee imperialism" of the action. However, many Americans—and Panamanians—were pleased by the removal of a military dictator who supported drug smuggling. 

**MAIN IDEA**

**Comparing**

 Between 1980 and 1992, how did U.S. policies regarding Central America differ from those regarding Europe?

## Middle East Trouble Spots

Results favorable to U.S. interests were more difficult to obtain in the Middle East. Negotiating conflicts between ever-shifting governments drew the United States into scandal and its first major war since Vietnam.



### THE IRAN-CONTRA SCANDAL

In 1983, terrorist groups loyal to Iran took a number of Americans hostage in Lebanon. Reagan denounced Iran and urged U.S. allies not to sell arms to Iran for its war against Iraq. In 1985, he declared that "America will never make concessions to terrorists." Therefore, Americans were shocked to learn in 1986 that President Reagan had approved the sale of arms to Iran. In exchange for those sales, Iran promised to win the release of seven American hostages held in Lebanon by pro-Iranian terrorists. What's more, members of Reagan's staff sent part of the

◀ **President Reagan's message to television audiences about selling arms to Iran differed greatly from what was going on behind the scenes.**

profits from those illegal arms sales to the Contras in Nicaragua—in direct violation of the Boland Amendment. President Reagan held a press conference to explain what had happened.

### A PERSONAL VOICE RONALD REAGAN

**“I am deeply troubled that the implementation of a policy aimed at resolving a truly tragic situation in the Middle East has resulted in such controversy. As I’ve stated previously, I believe our policy goals toward Iran were well founded.”**

—presidential press conference, November 25, 1986

In the summer of 1987, special committees of both houses of Congress conducted a dramatic inquiry into the Iran-Contra affair during a month of joint televised hearings. Among those testifying was Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, a member of the National Security Council staff who played a key role in providing aid to the Contras. North appeared in military uniform adorned with medals. In defending his actions, North talked about patriotism and love of country. He asserted that he thought he was carrying out the president’s wishes and that the end of helping the Contras justified almost any means.

After a congressional investigation, Special Prosecutor Lawrence E. Walsh, early in 1988, indicted various members of the Reagan administration who were involved in the scandal. Oliver North was found guilty of taking part in the cover-up. He was sentenced to pay a stiff fine and perform community service. On Christmas Eve of 1992, President Bush pardoned a number of Reagan officials.

**THE PERSIAN GULF WAR** Regardless of the scandal surrounding the Iran-Contra affair, conflict with Iraq (Iran’s long-standing enemy) and its leader, Saddam Hussein, soon eclipsed U.S. problems with Iran. During the 1980s, Iran and Iraq had fought a prolonged war, and Hussein found himself with enormous war debts to pay. Several times, Hussein had claimed that the oil-rich nation of Kuwait was part of Iraq. On August 2, 1990, Iraqi troops invaded a disputed area claimed by Kuwait. The Iraqi invaders looted Kuwait, then headed toward Saudi Arabia and

## POINT

### **“The United States must occasionally intervene militarily in regional conflicts.”**

Proponents of U.S. military intervention abroad agreed with General Norman Schwarzkopf that “as the only remaining superpower, we have an awesome responsibility . . . to the rest of the world.”

“The United States must take the lead in promoting democracy,” urged Morton H. Halperin, former director of the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union).

“To say ‘Let the UN do it’ is a cop-out,” stated adviser Robert G. Neumann.

Political scientist Jane Sharp expressed a similar sentiment. She asked, “Can any nation that has taken no action [in Bosnia] to stop the Serbian practice of ethnic cleansing continue to call itself civilized?”

## COUNTERPOINT

### **“The United States should not intervene militarily in regional conflicts.”**

A foreign-policy analyst at the Cato Institute, Barbara Conry, stated that “intervention in regional wars is a distraction and a drain on resources.” What’s more, she argued, “it does not work.” Recalling the presence of American troops in Lebanon, Conry argued that intervention not only jeopardized American soldiers, it often obstructed what it sought to achieve.

“The internal freedom of a political community can be achieved only by members of that community,” agreed Professor Stephen R. Shalom. He added that “using [military action] encourages quick fix solutions that ignore the underlying sources of conflict.”

### THINKING CRITICALLY

#### 1. CONNECT TO TODAY Comparing and Contrasting

What do you think are the strongest arguments for and against military intervention in regional conflicts?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R8.

- #### 2. CONNECT TO HISTORY Hypothesizing
- With at least one partner, research the events leading up to U.S. involvement in one of these countries: Lebanon, Grenada, Panama, or Kuwait. Then negotiate to resolve the conflict.



**MAIN IDEA**

**Drawing Conclusions**

**D** What issue led to the conflict in the Middle East?

its oil fields. If Iraq conquered Saudi Arabia as well as Kuwait, it would control one-half of the world's known oil reserves, which would severely threaten U.S. oil supplies. **D**

For several months, President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker organized an international coalition against Iraqi aggression. With the support of Congress and the UN, President Bush launched **Operation Desert Storm** to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi control. On January 16, 1991, the United States and its allies staged a massive air assault against Iraq. On February 23, they launched a successful ground offensive from Saudi Arabia. On February 28, 1991, President Bush announced a cease-fire. Operation Desert Storm was over. Kuwait was liberated.

Millions of Americans turned out for the victory parades that greeted returning soldiers. After the debacle in Vietnam, they were thrilled the war was over, with fewer than 400 casualties among UN coalition forces. (However, there were subsequent reports that Gulf veterans were suffering from disabilities caused by chemicals used in the war.) By contrast, Iraq had suffered an estimated 100,000 military and civilian deaths. During the embargo that followed, many Iraqi children died from outbreaks of cholera, typhoid, enteritis, and other diseases.

**BUSH'S DOMESTIC POLICIES** Despite his great achievement in the Persian Gulf War, President Bush was not as successful on the domestic front. He was hurt by rising deficits and a recession that began in 1990 and lasted through most of 1992. Bush was forced to raise taxes despite his campaign pledge. His approval rating had dropped to 49 percent by 1992. The weak economy and the tax hike doomed Bush's reelection campaign, and 12 years of Republican leadership came to an end.

**KEY PLAYER**



**H. NORMAN SCHWARZKOPF**  
1934–

In 1988, Norman Schwarzkopf, shown above, became commander in chief of forces in Asia and Africa. During the Persian Gulf War, more than 540,000 men and women served under the command of "Stormin' Norman." Schwarzkopf said of Saddam Hussein that he was "neither a strategist, nor is he schooled in the operational art, nor is he a tactician, nor is he a general, nor is he a soldier. Other than that, he is a great military man."

**4**

**ASSESSMENT**

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its meaning.

- Mikhail Gorbachev
- glasnost

- perestroika
- INF Treaty

- Tiananmen Square
- Sandinistas

- Contras
- Operation Desert Storm

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

Use a chart like the one below to explain U.S. foreign policy toward world regions.

U.S. Foreign Policy
Europe
Central America and Caribbean
Middle East

Now write a paragraph in which you describe a trouble spot in one of these regions.

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. ANALYZING CAUSES**

What factors caused the end of the Cold War? **Think About:**

- events in the Soviet Union
- events in Germany and Eastern Europe
- how U.S. leaders responded to those events

**4. FORMING GENERALIZATIONS**

What factors do you think determined whether or not the United States intervened militarily in other nations?

**5. HYPOTHESIZING**

Is it possible for an authoritarian government to make economic reforms without also making political reforms? Support your answer with details from the text.