



CHAPTER

28

Resurgence of Conservatism

1980–1992

Why It Matters

The 1980s saw the rise of a new conservatism. President Reagan, standing for traditional values and smaller government, symbolized this movement. While tax cuts and new technologies fueled an economic boom, Reagan embarked on a massive military buildup and expanded efforts to contain communism. During President George Bush's term, the United States fought the Persian Gulf War, and the Cold War came to a dramatic end with the fall of the Soviet Union.

The Impact Today

Developments of the Reagan era are still visible today.

- The struggle between conservative and liberal ideas often defines American politics.
- Foreign policy has greatly changed because of the fall of the Soviet Union.
- The Americans with Disabilities Act has opened up doors for disabled citizens.



The American Republic Since 1877 Video The Chapter 28 video, "Tear Down This Wall!" describes the history of the Berlin Wall, one of the Cold War's most powerful symbols.



1979

- Jerry Falwell's "Moral Majority" movement begins



1981

- American hostages released in Iran
- Launch of *Columbia*, first space shuttle

1983

- U.S. Marine barracks bombed in Lebanon



United States

PRESIDENTS

Carter
1977–1981



1979

Reagan
1981–1989



1982

1985



World

1979

- Iranian revolution establishes Islamic republic
- Soviets invade Afghanistan

1980

- War begins between Iran and Iraq

1985

- Mikhail Gorbachev becomes leader of Soviet Union



President Reagan at the Berlin Wall in 1987

1986

- Iran-Contra scandal enters the news

1987

- INF Treaty between U.S. and USSR reduces land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles



1988

- More than 35,000 cases of AIDS diagnosed for the year

G. Bush
1989–1993



1991

- Persian Gulf War occurs between Iraq and UN coalition



1988

1991

1986

- Dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos overthrown in the Philippines

1989

- Tiananmen Square protests for democracy break out in China
- Several Communist governments in Eastern Europe collapse

1990

- Germany reunified into one nation

1991

- Soviet Union dissolves

HISTORY
Online

Chapter Overview

Visit the *American Republic Since 1877* Web site at tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 28** to preview chapter information.

SECTION 1 The New Conservatism

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

In the 1980s, discontent with government and changes in society resulted in the rise of a new conservative coalition.

Key Terms and Names

liberal, conservative, William F. Buckley, Sunbelt, Billy Graham, televangelist, Moral Majority

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read about the rise of a new conservative coalition in the United States, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

The New Conservatism
I. Conservatism and Liberalism
A.
B.
II.
A.

Reading Objectives

- **Explain** how discontent with government led to a conservative shift in Americans' political convictions.
- **Describe** how the nation's population shifts led to a change in voting patterns.

Section Theme

Economic Factors High taxes as well as economic and moral concerns led the country toward a new conservatism.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Midge Decter

Midge Decter, a New Yorker and a writer for the conservative publication *Commentary*, was appalled at the terror that hit her city on a hot July night in 1977. On the night of July 13, the power failed in New York City. Street lights went dark. Elevators, subways, and air conditioners stopped running. The blackout left millions of people in darkness, and looting and arson rocked the city.

City officials and the media blamed the lawlessness on the anger and despair of youth in neglected areas. "They were just waiting for something like this so they could go berserk," said Lydia Rivers, a Brooklyn resident. Decter, however, had other ideas about who was to blame for the terror in her city:

“The answer is that all those young men went on their spree of looting because they had been given permission to do so. They had been given permission to do so by all the papers and magazines, movies and documentaries—all the outlets for the purveying of enlightened liberal attitude and progressive liberal policy—which had for years and years been proclaiming that race and poverty were sufficient excuses for lawlessness. . . .”

—quoted in *Commentary*, September 1977

Conservatism and Liberalism

Midge Decter's article blaming liberalism for the riots in New York during the 1977 blackout exemplifies a debate in American politics that continues to the present day. On one side of the debate are people who call themselves liberals; on the other side are those who identify themselves as conservatives. Liberal ideas generally dominated American



politics for much of the 1900s, but conservative ideas gained significant support among Americans in the 1970s. In 1980 Ronald Reagan, a strong conservative, was elected president.

Liberalism In American politics today, people who call themselves liberals believe several basic ideas. In general, **liberals** believe that the government should regulate the economy to protect people from the power of large corporations and wealthy elites. Liberals also believe that the government, particularly the federal government, should play an active role in helping disadvantaged Americans, partly through social programs and partly by putting more of society's tax burden on wealthier people.

Although liberals favor government intervention in the economy, they are suspicious of any attempt by the government to regulate social behavior. They are strong supporters of free speech and privacy, and they are opposed to the government supporting or endorsing religious beliefs, no matter how indirectly. They believe that a diverse society made up of many different races, cultures, and ethnic groups tends to be more creative and energetic.

Liberals often support high taxes on the wealthy, partly because they believe taxes weaken the power of the rich and partly because the government can transfer the wealth to other Americans to keep society more equal. They believe that most social problems have their roots in economic inequality.

Conservatism Unlike liberals, **conservatives** generally have a fundamental distrust of the power of government, particularly the federal government. They support the original intent of the Constitution and believe that governmental power should be divided into different branches and split between the state and federal levels to limit its ability to intrude into people's lives.

Conservatives believe that if the government regulates the economy, it makes the economy less efficient, resulting in less wealth and more poverty. They believe that the free enterprise system is the best way to organize society. They often argue that if people and businesses are free to make their own economic choices, there will be more wealth and a higher standard of living for everyone.

For this reason, conservatives generally oppose high taxes and government programs that transfer wealth from the rich to those who are less wealthy. They believe that taxes and government programs discourage investment, take away people's incentive to work hard, and reduce the amount of freedom in society.

The more the government regulates the economy, conservatives argue, the more it will have to regulate every aspect of people's behavior. Ultimately, conservatives fear, the government will so restrict people's economic freedom that Americans will no longer be able to improve their standard of living and get ahead in life.

Many conservatives believe that religious faith is vitally important in sustaining society. They believe most social problems result from issues of morality and character—issues, they argue, that are best addressed through commitment to a religious faith and through the private efforts of individuals and communities helping those in need. Despite this general belief, conservatives do support the use of the governmental police powers to regulate social behavior in some instances.

 **Reading Check** **Contrasting** How do liberal and conservative opinions about government differ?

Conservatism Revives

During the New Deal era of the 1930s, conservative ideas had lost much of their influence in national politics. In the years following World War II, however, conservatism began to revive.

Conservatism and the Cold War Support for conservative ideas began to revive for two major reasons, both related to the Cold War. First, the struggle against communism revived the debate about the role of the government in the economy. Some Americans believed that liberal economic ideas were slowly leading the United States toward communism and became determined to stop this trend. They also thought the United States had failed to stop the spread of Soviet power because liberals did not fully understand the need for a strong anticommunist foreign policy.

At the same time, many Americans viewed the Cold War in religious terms. Communism rejected religion and emphasized the material side of life. To Americans with a deep religious faith, the struggle against communism was a struggle between good and evil. Liberalism, which emphasizes economic welfare, gradually lost the support of many religious Americans, who increasingly turned to conservatism.

Conservatives Organize In 1955 a young conservative named **William F. Buckley** founded a new conservative magazine called *National Review*. Buckley's magazine helped to revive conservative ideas in the United States. Buckley debated in front

of college students and appeared on radio and television shows, spreading conservative ideas to an even wider audience.

Within the Republican Party, conservatives, particularly young conservatives, began to push their ideas and demand a greater role in party decision-making. In 1960 some 90 young conservative leaders met at Buckley's family estate and founded Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), an independent conservative group, to push their ideas and to support conservative candidates.

By 1964 the new conservative movement had achieved enough influence within the Republican Party to enable the conservative **Barry Goldwater** to win the nomination for president. To the dismay of the conservatives, however, President Johnson easily defeated Goldwater and won the election in a landslide.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** Why did conservatism revive in the 1950s?

Conservatism Gains Support

Conservatism could not have become a mass movement if Americans had not responded to conservative ideas. The events of the late 1960s and 1970s played an important role in convincing Americans to support conservatism. After Goldwater's huge loss in 1964, American society moved decisively in a conservative direction.

GEOGRAPHY

The Rise of the Sunbelt One of the problems facing conservatives in the 1950s and early 1960s was that they generally split their votes between the Republicans and the Democrats. Two regions of the country, the South and the West, were more conservative than other areas. Southern conservatives, however, generally voted for the Democrats, while conservatives in the West voted Republican. This meant that the party that won the heavily populated Northeast would win the election. Since the Northeast strongly supported liberal ideas, both parties were pulled toward liberal policies.

This pattern began to change during World War II, when large numbers of Americans moved south and west to take jobs in the war factories. The movement to the South and West—together known as the **Sunbelt**—continued after the war. As the Sunbelt's

economy expanded, Americans living in those regions began to view the federal government differently from people living in the Northeast.

Sunbelt Conservatism Industry in the Northeast was in decline, leading to the region's nickname—the **Rust Belt**. This region had more unemployed people than any other, and its cities were often congested and polluted. These problems prompted Americans in the Northeast to look to the federal government for programs and regulations that would help them solve their problems.

In contrast, Americans in the Sunbelt opposed high taxes and federal regulations that threatened to interfere with their region's growth. Many white Southerners were also angry with the Democrats for supporting civil rights, which they interpreted as an effort by the federal government to impose its policies on the South.

When Barry Goldwater argued in 1964 that the federal government was becoming too strong, many Southerners agreed. For the first time since Reconstruction, they began voting Republican in large numbers. Although Goldwater lost the election, his candidacy showed Republicans that the best way to attract Southern votes was to support conservative policies.

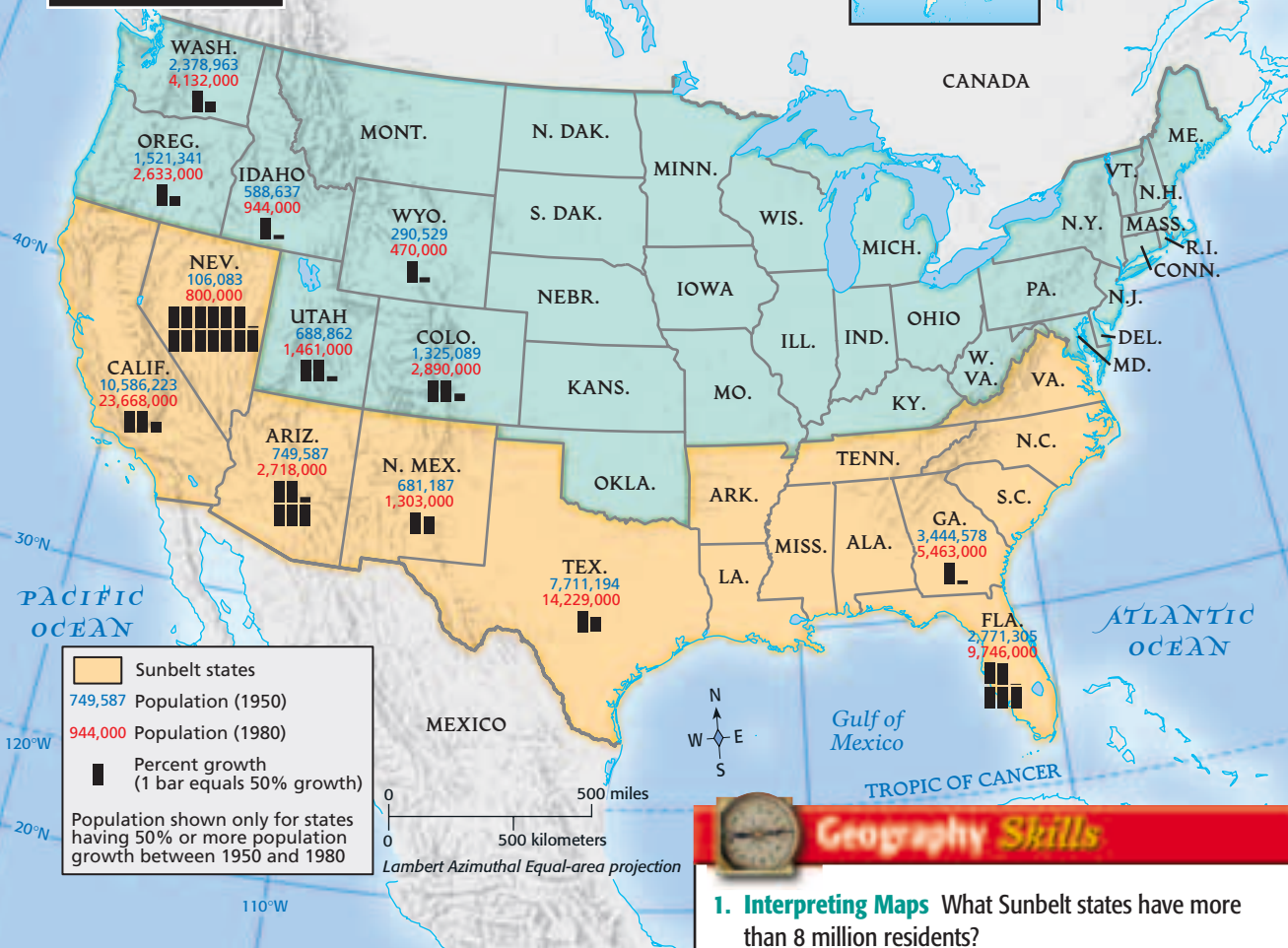
Americans living in the West also responded to conservative attacks on the size and power of the federal government. Westerners were proud of their frontier heritage and spirit of "rugged individualism." They resented federal environmental regulations that limited ranching, controlled water use, and restricted the development of the region's natural resources. Western anger over such policies inspired the "Sagebrush Rebellion" of the early 1970s—a widespread protest led by conservatives against federal laws hindering the region's development.

By 1980 the population of the Sunbelt had surpassed the Northeast. This gave the conservative regions of the country more electoral votes and therefore more influence in shaping party policies. With Southerners shifting their votes to the Republican Party, conservatives could now build a coalition to elect a president.

Suburban Conservatism As riots erupted and crime soared during the 1960s and 1970s, many Americans moved to suburbs to escape the chaos of the cities. Even there, however, they found the quiet middle-class lifestyle they desired to be in danger. The rapid inflation of the 1970s had caused the



William F. Buckley



Geography Skills

- Interpreting Maps** What Sunbelt states have more than 8 million residents?
- Applying Geography Skills** Nevada has the highest percentage growth in population for the time period shown. Looking at its 1950 population, how would you explain this large percentage increase?

buying power of the average middle-class family to shrink while taxes remained high.

Many Americans resented the taxes they had to pay for New Deal and Great Society programs when they themselves were losing ground economically. By the late 1970s, Americans had begun to rebel against these high taxes. In 1978 Howard Jarvis, a conservative activist, launched the first successful tax revolt in California with **Proposition 13**, a referendum on the state ballot that greatly reduced property taxes.

Soon afterward anti-tax movements appeared in other states, and tax cuts quickly became a national issue. For many Americans, the conservative argument that the government had become too big meant simply that taxes were too high. As conservatives began to call for tax cuts, middle-class Americans flocked to their cause.

The Religious Right While many Americans turned to conservatism for economic reasons, others were drawn to it because they feared American society had lost touch with its traditional values. For many

Americans of deep religious faith, the events of the 1960s and 1970s were shocking. The Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade*, which established abortion as a constitutional right, greatly concerned them. Other Supreme Court decisions that limited prayer in public schools and expanded the rights of people accused of crimes also drew criticism from religious groups. (See page 964 for more information on *Roe v. Wade*.)

The feminist movement and the push for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) further alarmed religious Americans because it seemed to represent an assault on the traditional family. Many religious people were also shocked by the behavior of some university students in the 1960s, whose contempt for authority seemed to indicate a general breakdown in American values and morality. These concerns helped expand the conservative cause into a mass movement.



Jerry Falwell (below) and Pat Robertson (right)



“televangelists,” as they were nicknamed, included Marion “Pat” Robertson, who founded the Christian Broadcasting Network, and Jerry Falwell, who used his television show *The Old-Time Gospel Hour* to found a movement that he called the “Moral Majority.” Using television and mail campaigns, the Moral Majority built up a network of ministers to register new voters who backed conservative candidates and issues. Falwell later claimed to have brought in 2 million new voters by 1980.

A New Coalition By the end of the 1970s, the new conservative coalition of voters had begun to come together in the United States. Although the members of this coalition were concerned with many different issues, they were held together by a common belief that American society had somehow lost its way.

Although religious conservatives included people of many different faiths, the largest group within the social conservative movement was evangelical Protestant Christians. Evangelicals believe they are saved from their sins through conversion (which they refer to as being “born again”) and a personal commitment to follow Jesus Christ, whose death and resurrection reconciles them to God.

After World War II, a religious revival began in the United States. Protestant ministers such as **Billy Graham** and Oral Roberts built national followings. By the late 1970s, about 70 million Americans described themselves as “born again.” Christian evangelicals owned their own newspapers, magazines, radio stations, and television networks.

Television in particular allowed evangelical ministers to reach a large nationwide audience. These

The Watergate scandal, high taxes, and special interest politics had undermined many Americans’ faith in their government. Rising unemployment, rapid inflation, and the energy crisis had shaken their confidence in the economy. Riots, crime, and drug abuse suggested that society itself was falling apart. The retreat from Vietnam, the hostage crisis in Iran, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan made the nation look weak and helpless internationally. Many Americans were tired of change and upheaval. They wanted stability and a return to what they remembered as a better time. For some, the new conservatism and its most prominent spokesperson, Ronald Reagan, offered hope to a nation in distress.

Reading Check Summarizing Why did many Americans begin to support the conservative movement?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT



Study Central™ To review this section, go to tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central™**.

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** liberal, conservative, televangelist.
- Identify:** William F. Buckley, Sunbelt, Billy Graham, Moral Majority.
- Explain** why evangelical Protestant Christians began to support conservative issues.

Reviewing Themes

- Economic Factors** What kind of economy did conservatives want?

Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** How did Christian evangelicals contribute to a growing conservative national identity?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list conservative beliefs.

Conservative Beliefs

Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Maps** Study the map of the Sunbelt on page 863. What impact would the migration patterns shown have on representation in the U.S. House of Representatives?

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Many conservatives believe that “government that governs least, governs best.” Write a paragraph supporting or opposing this statement.

SECTION 2

The Reagan Years

Guide to Reading

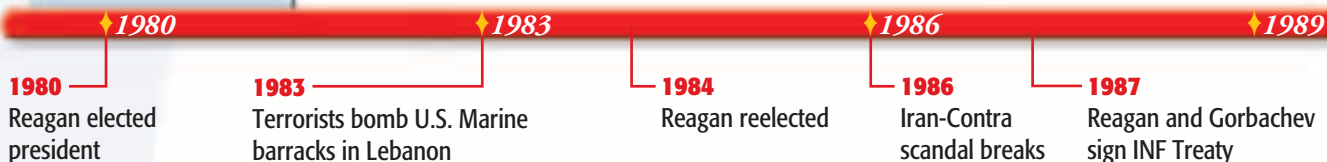
Main Idea

The presidency of Ronald Reagan brought a new conservative attitude to government.

Key Terms and Names

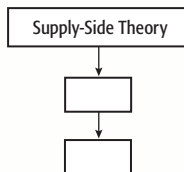
supply-side economics, Reaganomics, budget deficit, Sandra Day O'Connor, William Rehnquist, Geraldine Ferraro, contra, Iran-Contra scandal, Oliver North, Mikhail Gorbachev

Preview of Events



Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about the Reagan presidency, complete the graphic organizer below by filling in the major points of the supply-side theory of economics.



Reading Objectives

- **Explain** President Reagan's economic recovery plan.
- **Discuss** Reagan's policies toward the Soviet Union.

Section Theme

Global Connections President Reagan believed the United States should take strong action to resist Communist influence overseas.



A young Ronald Reagan

★ An American Story ★

In 1926 when he was 15 years old, Ronald Reagan earned \$15 a week as a lifeguard at Lowell Park on the Rock River in Illinois. Being a lifeguard, Reagan later wrote, taught him quite a bit about human nature:

“Lifeguarding provides one of the best vantage points in the world to learn about people. During my career at the park, I saved seventy-seven people. I guarantee you they needed saving—no lifeguard gets wet without good reason. . . . Not many thanked me, much less gave me a reward, and being a little money-hungry, I'd done a little daydreaming about this. They felt insulted. I got to recognize that people hate to be saved. . . .”

—quoted in *Where's the Rest of Me?*

The belief that people did not really want to be saved by someone else was one of the ideas that Ronald Reagan took with him to the White House. It fit with his philosophy of self-reliance and independence.

The Road to the White House

Ronald Reagan grew up in Dixon, Illinois, the son of an Irish American shoe salesman. After graduating from Eureka College in 1932, Reagan worked as a sports broadcaster at an Iowa radio station. In 1937 he took a Hollywood screen test and won a contract from a movie studio. Over the next 25 years, he made over 50 movies. As a broadcaster and actor, Reagan learned how to speak publicly and how to project an image, skills that proved invaluable when he entered politics.



Different Viewpoints

Carter and Reagan on Government

As President Carter sought re-election in 1980, he had to deal with inflation, unemployment, and an energy crisis. He urged Americans to make sacrifices so that the government could solve these problems. His opponent, Ronald Reagan, disagreed. Reagan argued that Americans should trust themselves, not the government, to solve their problems.

President Jimmy Carter:

"[A] president cannot yield to the shortsighted demands, no matter how rich or powerful the special interests might be that make those demands. And that is why the president cannot bend to the passions of the moment, however popular they might be. And that is why the president must sometimes ask for sacrifice when his listeners would rather hear the promise of comfort.

. . . The only way to build a better future is to start with realities of the present. But while we Democrats grapple with the real challenges of a real world, others talk of a world of tinsel and make-believe.

. . . A world of good guys and bad guys, where some politicians shoot first and ask questions later.

No hard choices. No sacrifice. No tough decisions. It sounds too good to be true—and it is."

—from his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention, August 14, 1980



California governor Ronald Reagan:

"The American people, the most generous people on earth, who created the highest standard of living, are not going to accept the notion that we can only make a better world for others by moving backwards ourselves. Those who believe we *can* have no business leading the nation.

I will not stand by and watch this great country destroy itself under mediocre leadership that drifts from one crisis to the next, eroding our national will and purpose.

"Trust me" government asks that we concentrate our hopes and dreams on one man; that we trust him to do what's best for us. My view of government places trust not in one person or one party, but in those values that transcend persons and parties. The trust is where it belongs—in the people."

—from his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention, July 17, 1980

Learning From History

- 1. Recognizing Ideologies** How do the two candidates differ regarding the role of government in solving the nation's problems?
- 2. Making Inferences** Ronald Reagan won the election of 1980. What part of his speech do you think may have had the most influence on voters? Why?

Moving to Conservatism In 1947 Reagan became president of the **Screen Actors Guild**—the actors' union. As head of the union, he testified about communism in Hollywood before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Reagan had been a staunch Democrat and supporter of the New Deal, but his experience in dealing with Communists in the union began shifting him toward conservative ideas.

In 1954 Reagan became the host of a television program called *General Electric Theater* and agreed to be a motivational speaker for the company. As he traveled around the country speaking to workers, secretaries, and managers, he became increasingly

conservative. Over and over again, Reagan said later, he heard stories from average Americans about how high taxes and government regulations made it impossible for them to get ahead.

By 1964 Reagan had become such a popular national speaker that Barry Goldwater asked him to make a televised speech on behalf of Goldwater's presidential campaign. Reagan's speech greatly impressed several wealthy entrepreneurs in California. They convinced Reagan to run for governor of California in 1966 and helped finance his campaign. Reagan won the election and was reelected in 1970. Ten years later, he won the Republican presidential nomination.



The Election of 1980 Reagan’s campaign appealed to Americans who were frustrated with the economy and worried that the United States had become weak internationally. Reagan promised to cut taxes and increase defense spending. He won the support of social conservatives by calling for a constitutional amendment banning abortion. During one debate with Carter, Reagan asked voters, “Are you better off than you were four years ago?” On Election Day, the voters answered “No.” Reagan won nearly 51 percent of the popular vote and 489 electoral votes, easily defeating Carter in the Electoral College. For the first time since 1954, Republicans also gained control of the Senate.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** What event jump-started Ronald Reagan’s political career as a conservative leader?

Reagan’s Domestic Policies

Ronald Reagan believed the key to restoring the economy and overcoming problems in society was to get Americans to believe in themselves again. He expressed this idea in his Inaugural Address:

“We have every right to dream heroic dreams. . . . You can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates. Others, a handful in number, produce enough food to feed all of us. . . . You meet heroes across a counter. . . . There are entrepreneurs with faith in themselves and faith in an idea who create new jobs, new wealth and opportunity. . . . Their patriotism is quiet but deep. Their values sustain our national life.”

—from Reagan’s First Inaugural Address

Reagan also explained that Americans should not look to Washington for answers: “In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem. Government is the problem.”

ECONOMICS

Reaganomics Reagan’s first priority was the economy, which was suffering from stagflation—a combination of high unemployment and high inflation. According to most economists, the way to fight unemployment was to increase government spending. Increasing spending, however, made inflation worse. Stagflation puzzled many economists, who did not expect inflation and high unemployment to occur at the same time.

Conservative economists offered two competing ideas for fixing the economy. One group, known as

monetarists, argued that inflation was caused by too much money in circulation. They believed the best solution was to raise interest rates. Another group supported **supply-side economics**. They argued that the economy was weak because taxes were too high.

Supply-side economists believed that high taxes took too much money away from investors. If taxes were cut, businesses and investors could use their extra capital to make new investments, and businesses could expand and create new jobs. The result would be a larger supply of goods for consumers, who would now have more money to spend because of the tax cuts.

Reagan combined monetarism and supply-side economics. He encouraged the Federal Reserve to keep interest rates high, and asked Congress to pass a massive tax cut. Critics called his approach **Reaganomics** or “trickle-down economics.” They believed Reagan’s policy would help corporations and wealthy Americans, while only a little bit of the wealth would “trickle down” to average Americans.

Reagan made deals with conservative Democrats in the House and moderate Republicans in the Senate. Eventually Congress passed a 25 percent tax rate cut.

Cutting Programs Cutting tax rates meant the government would receive less money. This would increase the **budget deficit**—the amount by which expenditures exceed income. To keep the deficit under control, Reagan proposed cuts to social programs. Welfare benefits, including the food stamp program and the school lunch program, were cut back. Medicare payments, student loans, housing subsidies, and unemployment compensation were also reduced.

After a struggle, Congress passed most of these cuts. The fight convinced Reagan that he would never get Congress to cut spending enough to balance the budget. He decided that cutting taxes and building up the military were more important than balancing the budget. He accepted the high deficit as the price of getting his other programs passed.

Deregulation Reagan believed that burdensome government regulations were another cause of the economy’s problems. His first act as president was to sign an executive order eliminating price controls on oil and gasoline. Critics argued that

HISTORY
Online 

Student Web Activity Visit the *American Republic Since 1877* Web site at tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities**—**Chapter 28** for an activity on the 1980s.

getting rid of controls would drive prices up, but in fact, they began to fall. The falling energy prices freed up money for businesses and consumers to spend elsewhere, helping the economy to recover.

Other deregulation soon followed. The National Highway Traffic and Safety Administration reduced its demand for air bags and higher fuel efficiency for cars. The Federal Communications Commission abandoned efforts to regulate the new cable television industry. Carter had already begun deregulating the airline industry, and Reagan encouraged the process, which led to price wars, cheaper fares, and the founding of new airlines.

Reagan's Secretary of the Interior, **James Watt**, increased the amount of public land corporations could use for oil drilling, mining, and logging. Watt's decisions angered environmentalists, as did the Environmental Protection Agency's decisions to ease regulations on pollution control equipment and to reduce safety checks on chemicals and pesticides.

The Economy Booms In 1983 the economy finally began to recover. By 1984 the United States had begun the biggest economic expansion in its history up to that time. The median income of American families climbed steadily, rising 15 percent by 1989. Sales of goods and services shot upward. Five million new businesses and 20 million new jobs were created. By 1988 unemployment had fallen to about 5.5 percent, the lowest since 1973.

Shifting the Judicial Balance Reagan did not apply his conservative ideas only to the economy. He also tried to bring a strict constructionist outlook to the federal judiciary. Reagan wanted judges who followed the original intent and wording of the Constitution rather than those who interpreted and expanded its meaning. He also changed the face of the Supreme

Court by nominating **Sandra Day O'Connor** to be the first woman on the Supreme Court.

In 1986 Chief Justice Warren Burger retired. Reagan chose the most conservative associate justice, **William Rehnquist**, to succeed him. He then named **Antonin Scalia**, also a conservative, to fill the vacancy left by Rehnquist. In 1987 Reagan's nomination of Robert Bork to the Court led to a bitter confirmation fight in the Senate. Liberals argued that Bork's opinions on issues were too extreme, and they managed to block his confirmation. **Anthony Kennedy**, a moderate, ultimately became the new associate justice.

Reagan Wins Re-election As the 1984 election approached, the growing economy made Reagan very popular. Democrats nominated Jimmy Carter's vice president, **Walter Mondale**. He chose as his running mate Representative **Geraldine Ferraro**, the first woman to run for vice president for a major party.

Instead of arguing issues with his opponent, Reagan emphasized the good economy. In an overwhelming landslide, he won about 59 percent of the popular vote and all the electoral votes except those from Mondale's home state of Minnesota and the District of Columbia.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** What is supply-side economics?

Reagan Builds Up the Military

Reagan did not limit his reforms to the domestic scene. He adopted a new Cold War foreign policy that rejected both containment and détente. Reagan called the Soviet Union "the focus of evil in the modern world" and "an evil empire." In his view, the United States should not negotiate with or try to contain evil. It should try to defeat it.

The Attempt to Kill the President, March 30, 1981

Barely two months after the inauguration, on March 30, 1981, John Hinckley tried to kill President Reagan in a misguided attempt to impress actress Jodie Foster. Hinckley fired six shots as Reagan left a hotel in Washington, D.C. One bullet bounced off the president's rib and lodged near his heart. Another bullet seriously wounded press secretary Jim Brady. Reagan's

John Hinckley (center)



recovery was long, but he stayed upbeat. His jaunty reply to his wife, "Honey, I forgot to duck," won the affection of many.





Peace Through Strength In Reagan’s opinion, the only option open to the United States in dealing with the Soviet Union was “peace through strength”—a phrase he used during his campaign. The military buildup Reagan launched was the largest peacetime buildup in American history. It cost about \$1.5 trillion over five years.

Reagan and many of his advisers believed that if the Soviets tried to match the American buildup, it might put so much pressure on their economy they would be forced to either reform their system or collapse. In 1982 Reagan told students at Eureka College that massive Soviet defense spending eventually would cause the Communist system to collapse:

“The Soviet empire is faltering because rigid centralized control has destroyed incentives for innovation, efficiency, and individual achievement. But in the midst of social and economic problems, the Soviet dictatorship has forged the largest armed force in the world. It has done so by preempting the human needs of its people and in the end, this course will undermine the foundations of the Soviet system.”

—quoted in *Ronald Reagan*

A Growing Deficit Reagan’s military buildup drove the federal budget deficit higher and higher. At the same time, however, increased military spending helped expand the economy by providing jobs in defense industries. Originally, Reagan had hoped to offset the cost of the buildup by cutting other government programs. He also hoped, as supply-side economists had predicted, that the economic boom would lead to an increase in total tax revenue collected.

As the economy grew in the 1980s, the amount of money the government collected in taxes did rise steadily, but it was not nearly enough. With Congress unwilling to cut other programs, Reagan’s defense spending pushed the annual budget deficit from \$80 billion to over \$200 billion.

Reading Check **Describing** How did Reagan’s Cold War military policy affect the nation’s economy?

Profiles IN HISTORY

Justice Sandra Day O’Connor 1930–



When a Supreme Court vacancy opened up in 1981, President Reagan decided to fulfill his campaign promise to name the first woman justice. He chose Sandra Day O’Connor, an Arizona appeals court judge.

When Reagan called O’Connor to ask to nominate her, she was surprised. “I was overwhelmed and, at first, speechless,” O’Connor said. “After a moment I managed to tell him that I would be honored.”

O’Connor grew up on the Day family’s Lazy B Ranch in Arizona. Unlike most Supreme Court justices, she also had broad political experience. After earning a law degree in 1952, she found that most law firms would not hire a woman—except as a legal secretary. She went into public service, had three sons, and practiced law privately.

Appointed to a state senatorial vacancy in 1969, she successfully ran

for the position and became its first woman majority leader in 1972.

O’Connor won election as superior court judge in 1974 and was later appointed to the appeals court.

Her nomination to the Supreme Court had strong support from Justice William Rehnquist—a classmate at Stanford Law School—and Arizona senator Barry Goldwater. O’Connor’s nomination was opposed by the Moral Majority because she had supported the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and refused to back an antiabortion amendment or criticize the *Roe v. Wade* decision. Others, however, praised her legal judgment and conservative approach to the law. As a moderate conservative, she quickly became an important swing-vote on the Court, between more liberal and more conservative justices.

The Reagan Doctrine

Building up the military was only part of Reagan’s military strategy. He also believed the United States should support guerrilla groups who were fighting to overthrow Communist or pro-Soviet governments. This policy became known as the Reagan Doctrine.

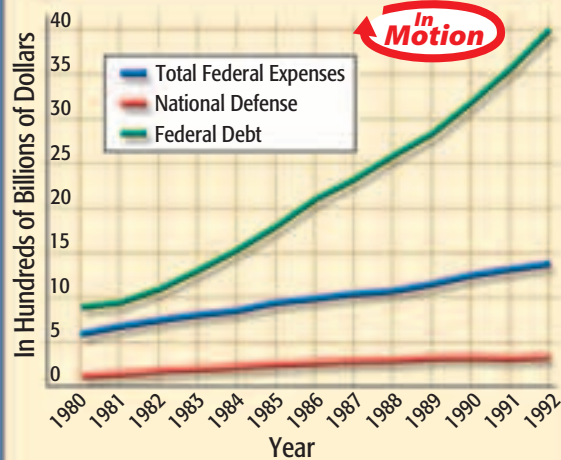
Aid to the Afghan Rebels Perhaps the most visible example of the Reagan Doctrine was in Afghanistan. In late December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan to support a Soviet-backed government. The Soviets soon found themselves fighting Afghan guerrillas known as the *mujahadeen*.

President Carter sent about \$30 million in military aid to the Afghan guerrillas, but Reagan sent \$570 million more. The Soviets were soon trapped in a situation similar to the American experience in Vietnam. They could not defeat the Afghan guerrillas. As casualties mounted, the war put additional strain on the Soviet economy. In 1988 the Soviets agreed to withdraw.

Nicaragua and Grenada Reagan was also concerned about Soviet influence in Nicaragua. Rebels known as the **Sandinistas** had overthrown a



Military Spending and the Deficit, 1980–1992



Sources: Departments of Commerce and Treasury; Office of Management and Budget.

Graph Skills

- Interpreting Graphs** How much money was spent on national defense in 1986?
- Analyzing** Why is the federal debt shown rising at a faster rate than that of the other two figures combined?

pro-American dictator in Nicaragua in 1979. The Sandinistas set up a socialist government. They also accepted Cuban and Soviet aid and began supporting antigovernment rebels in neighboring El Salvador.

In response, the Reagan administration began secretly arming an anti-Sandinista guerrilla force known as the **contras**, from the Spanish word for “counterrevolutionary.” When Congress learned of this policy, it banned further aid to the contras.

Aiding the contras was not Reagan’s only action in Latin America. In 1983 radical Marxists overthrew the left-wing government on the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada. In October, Reagan sent in American troops. The Cuban and Grenadian soldiers were quickly defeated and a new anticommunist government was put in place.

The Iran-Contra Scandal Although Congress had prohibited aid to the Nicaraguan contras, individuals in Reagan’s administration continued to illegally support the rebels. These officials secretly sold weapons to Iran in exchange for the release of American hostages being held in the Middle East. Profits from these sales were then sent to the contras.

News of the illegal operations broke in November 1986. One of the chief figures in the **Iran-Contra scandal** was Marine Colonel **Oliver North**, an aide to

the National Security Council (NSC). He and other senior NSC and CIA officials testified before Congress and admitted to covering up their actions, including shredding documents to destroy evidence.

President Reagan had approved the sale of arms to Iran, but the congressional investigation concluded that he had not been informed about the diversion of the money to the contras. To the end, Reagan insisted he had done nothing wrong, but the scandal tainted his second term in office.

Reading Check Identifying What was the Reagan Doctrine?

New Approaches to Arms Control

As part of the military buildup, Reagan decided to place nuclear missiles in Western Europe to counter Soviet missiles in Eastern Europe. This decision triggered a new peace movement. Tens of thousands of protesters pushed for a “nuclear freeze”—a halt to the deployment of new nuclear missiles.

Reagan offered to cancel the deployment of the new missiles if the Soviets removed their missiles from Eastern Europe. He also proposed Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) to cut the number of missiles on both sides in half. The Soviets refused and walked out of the arms control talks.

“Star Wars” Despite his decision to deploy missiles in Europe, Reagan generally disagreed with the military strategy known as nuclear deterrence, sometimes called “mutual assured destruction.” This strategy assumed that as long as the United States and Soviet Union could destroy each other with nuclear weapons, they would be afraid to use them.

Reagan believed that mutual assured destruction was immoral because it depended on the threat to kill massive numbers of people. He also felt that if nuclear war did begin, there would be no way to defend the United States. In March 1983, Reagan proposed the **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)**. This plan, nicknamed “Star Wars,” called for the development of weapons that could intercept and destroy incoming missiles.

A New Soviet Leader In 1985 **Mikhail Gorbachev** became the leader of the Soviet Union and agreed to resume arms control talks. Gorbachev believed that the Soviet Union had to reform its economic system or it would soon collapse. It could not afford a new arms race with the United States.

Reagan and Gorbachev met in a series of summit meetings. The first of these were frustrating for both,



as they disagreed on many issues. Gorbachev promised to cut back Soviet nuclear forces if Reagan would agree to give up SDI, but Reagan refused.

Reagan then challenged Gorbachev to make reforms. In West Berlin, Reagan stood at the Brandenburg Gate of the Berlin Wall, the symbol of divided Europe, and declared: “General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe . . . tear down this wall!”

Relations Improve By 1987 Reagan was convinced that Gorbachev did want to reform the Soviet Union and end the arms race. While some politicians distrusted the Soviets, most people welcomed the Cold War thaw and the reduction in the danger of nuclear war. In December 1987 the two leaders signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. It was the first treaty to call for the destruction of nuclear weapons.

No one realized it at the time, but the treaty marked the beginning of the end of the Cold War. With an arms control deal in place, Gorbachev felt confident that Soviet military spending could be reduced. He pushed ahead with economic and political reforms that eventually led to the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union.

With the economy booming, the American military strong, and relations with the Soviet Union rapidly improving, Ronald Reagan’s second term came to an end. As he prepared to leave office, Reagan assessed his presidency: “They called it the



Picturing History

Superpower Summits During the 1980s, President Reagan and Premier Gorbachev met several times to discuss nuclear arms reductions. [What Reagan defense proposal did Gorbachev want to eliminate before beginning arms reduction talks?](#)

Reagan revolution. Well, I’ll accept that, but for me it always seemed more like the great rediscovery, a rediscovery of our values and our common sense.”

Reading Check **Interpreting** What was the significance of the INF Treaty?

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

HISTORY Online | **Study Central™** To review this section, go to tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central™**.

Checking for Understanding

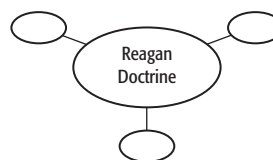
- Define:** [supply-side economics](#), [budget deficit](#), [contra](#).
- Identify:** Reaganomics, Sandra Day O’Connor, William Rehnquist, Geraldine Ferraro, Iran-Contra scandal, Oliver North, Mikhail Gorbachev.
- List** the groups that Ronald Reagan appealed to in the 1980 presidential election.

Reviewing Themes

- Global Connections** What was President Reagan’s stance on foreign policy?

Critical Thinking

- Forming an Opinion** Do you think that SDI (Star Wars) is a good idea? Why or why not?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the ways that the Reagan doctrine was implemented.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Graphs** Study the graph on page 870 detailing the amount of money spent by the federal government from 1980 to 1992. What relationship do you see between military spending and the national debt?

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Take on the role of a newspaper editorial writer during the Reagan administration. Write an article in which you present your opinion of Reagan’s plans for a military buildup.



Urban America on the Move

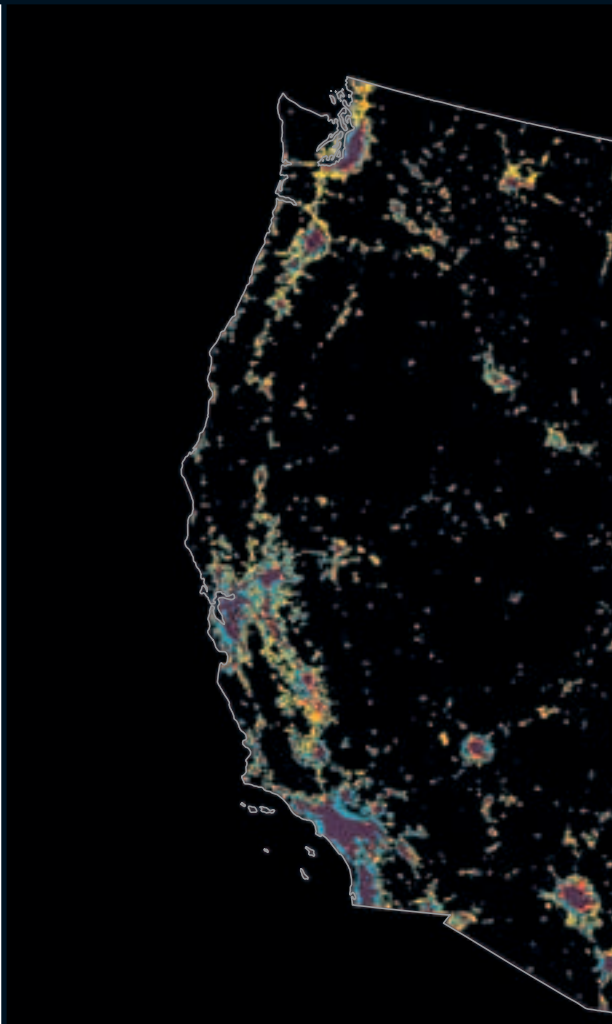
Since the end of World War II, millions of Americans have abandoned older cities to find better lives—safer neighborhoods, bigger homes, better schools, and better jobs. Many found what they were seeking in the suburbs. Cities have grown into metropolitan areas that have continued to expand farther and farther into formerly rural regions.

The map at right shows patterns of recent population growth in the United States. The yellow and red areas represent growth since 1993, showing suburbs radiating out from the cities. A lot of growth has taken place in the Sunbelt states of the South and Southwest, helped by the spread of air-conditioning. The Atlanta region, for example, has more than doubled its population to 3.3 million in the last 30 years. It is now so big—and congested—that residents drive an average of 34 miles (55 km) per day.

Such rapid urban growth, or “sprawl,” has brought a variety of cultural, social, and economic problems. In central cities and older suburbs, it has resulted in deteriorating infrastructure and a shortage of affordable housing. In the newer suburbs, growth has increased traffic and taxes and has resulted in declining air quality and a loss of open space.

Many city planners have mixed emotions about continued growth, and some—like those of Phoenix, Arizona—have tried to curb it. Such efforts have been dubbed “smart growth.” Proponents of smart growth seek to improve conditions in existing communities and to limit the spread of urbanization in outlying and rural areas. Specifically, they encourage developers to build housing and businesses in city centers rather than in the suburbs. They promote the preservation of undeveloped areas and parks near metropolitan regions. Smart growth advocates endorse expanding public transportation, combining residential and commercial areas, and building pedestrian-friendly communities as ways to reduce reliance on the automobile.

With smarter growth, cities can channel development in ways that maintain quality of life and make existing communities more inviting. Faced with long commutes on congested highways, some suburban residents are now opting to return to the cities that were so readily abandoned after the Second World War.



Existing development as of 1993
 Intense
 Moderate
Development since 1993
 Intense
 Moderate

LEARNING FROM GEOGRAPHY

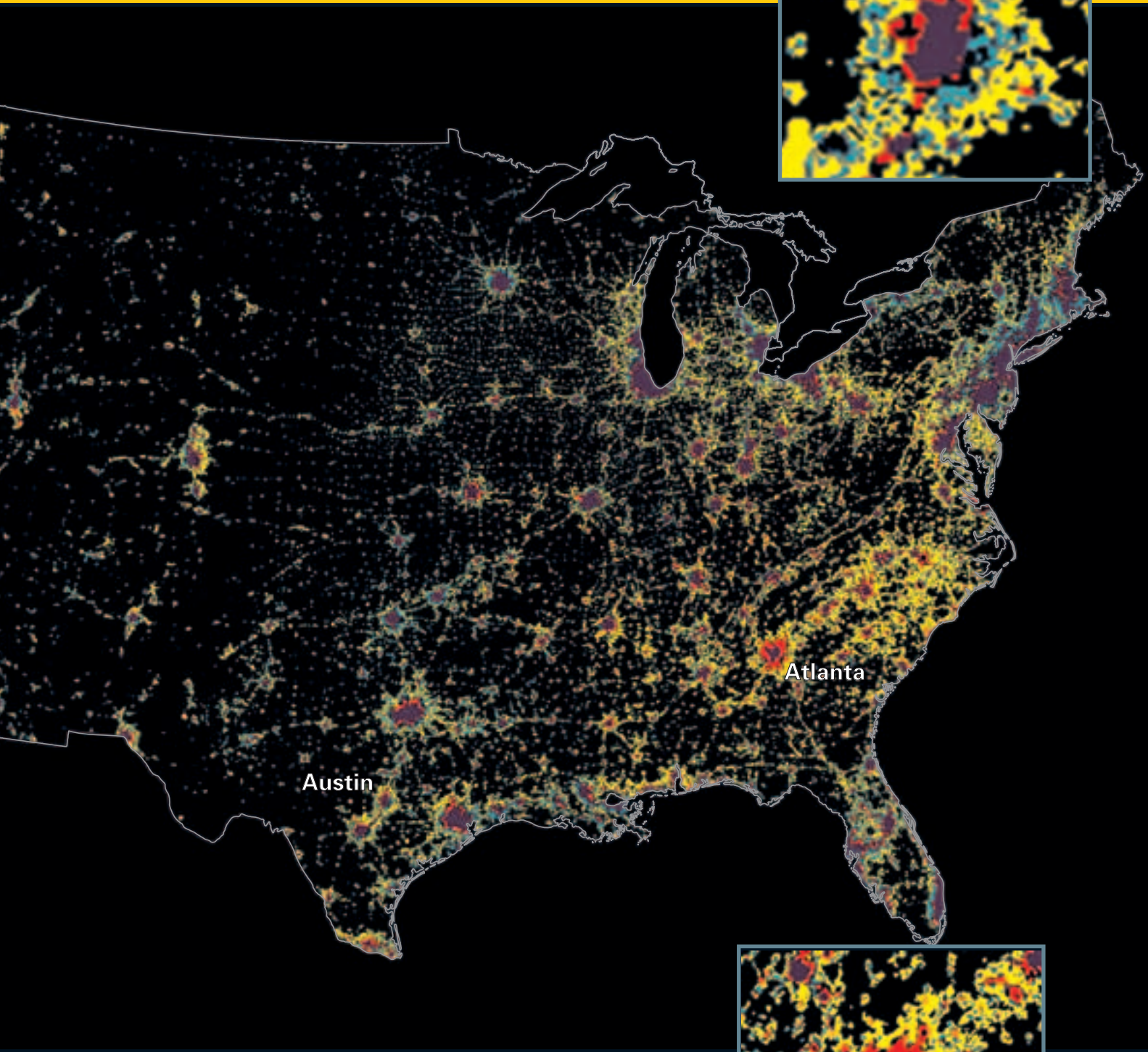
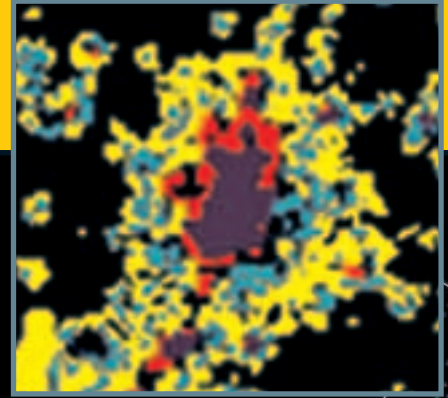
1. Why did many Americans move to the suburbs after World War II?
2. In what parts of the country are cities growing fastest?



Urban sprawl, traffic congestion, high ozone levels, and skyrocketing property taxes are part of the price Atlanta has paid for rapid growth.

AUSTIN

Like many Sunbelt cities, Austin, Texas (right), has experienced rapid growth in recent years, much of it fueled by an influx of high-tech companies. By 2010 its population—about 465,000 in 1990—is expected to reach 800,000.

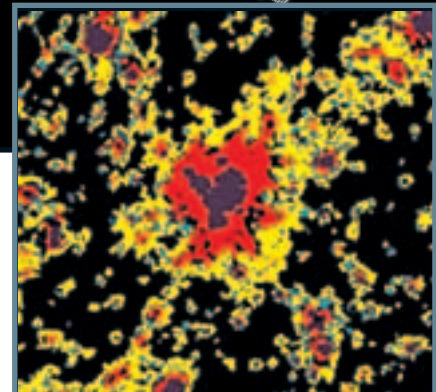


Austin

Atlanta

ATLANTA

One of the fastest-growing regions in the country, metropolitan Atlanta, Georgia (right), is already larger in area than the state of Delaware. Atlanta's expansion into the surrounding counties since 1993 is shown at right in yellow and red.



Guide to Reading

Main Idea

The 1980s was a decade characterized by wealth, but it was also a time of renewed activism.

Key Terms and Names

yuppie, AIDS, Sierra Club, American Association of Retired Persons, space shuttle, space station

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about life in the 1980s, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing the kinds of social issues that the United States faced in this decade.

**Reading Objectives**

- **Discuss** the importance of money to the culture of the 1980s.
- **Explain** the growth in social activism during the decade.

Section Theme

Science and Technology Achievements in space and technology during the 1980s symbolized the optimism many associated with the Reagan era.

Preview of Events

♦ 1981

1981

MTV goes on the air

♦ 1984

1985

"Live Aid" rock concert benefit

♦ 1987

1986

Space shuttle *Challenger* explodes

♦ 1990

1988

More than 35,000 cases of AIDS diagnosed for the year

★ *An American Story* ★

In the 1980s many young, ambitious professionals entered the heady world of finance. Julie Katzman, in her twenties, was on the fast track:

“I constantly spent my time at the firm. I mean, all the time. I worked probably eighty hours a week. At the end of the summer, that Labor Day weekend, I got involved in another huge acquisition. That weekend I worked two and a half days without sleeping, and from that point until early December I didn’t work a single week less than a hundred hours. You spend all your time working. You’re kind of wiped out, but there’s a lot of fulfillment.

There’s an incredible adrenaline rush. This is what you live on. You live on the highs.”

—from *Sleepwalking Through History*



Finance traders at work

A Decade of Indulgence

Cultural commentators and the media in the 1980s portrayed American society as one of wealth and success. Stories emphasized the limousines, yachts, corporate jets, and designer gowns of the wealthy. Status symbols such as expensive watches and luxury cars became important. Popular television shows such as *Dallas* and *Dynasty* glamorized the lives of the very wealthy.

By late 1983, the economy had revived after the 1981 recession. News stories described young stockbrokers, speculators, and real estate developers making multimillion-dollar deals. Hundreds of companies were bought and sold. Real estate and stock values soared. Developer Donald Trump said: “I don’t do it for the money. I’ve got enough, much more than I’ll ever need. I do it to do it. Deals are my art form. Other peo-



ple paint beautifully on canvas or write wonderful poetry. I like making deals, preferably big deals.”

Yuppies The new moneymakers were young, ambitious, and hardworking. Journalists called them **yuppies**, from “young urban professionals.” Many worked in law or finance. They rewarded themselves with expensive stereo systems and luxury cars. They bought designer clothes and ate in upscale restaurants.

The rapid economic growth and emphasis on accumulating wealth in the 1980s was partly caused by the baby boom. By the 1980s, many baby boomers had finished college, entered the job market, and begun building their careers. Young people entering the workforce often placed an emphasis on acquiring goods and getting ahead in their jobs. Because baby boomers were so numerous, their concerns tended to shape the culture.

The strong economic growth of the 1980s benefited nearly everyone, but because much of it happened in industries that employed large numbers of middle- and upper-class professionals, it shifted the distribution of the nation’s income. From 1967 to 1986, the top 5 percent of Americans earned between 15.6 and 17.5 percent of the nation’s total income. In the late 1980s, their share of the nation’s income began to rise. By the mid-1990s, the top 5 percent of Americans earned well over 21 percent of the nation’s income.

A Retail Revolution While news commentators in the 1970s and 1980s focused on inflation, the energy crisis, corporate mergers, and yuppies, several entrepreneurs worked on pioneering a new approach to retailing—or selling products to consumers—that greatly reduced prices for Americans.

This new type of retailing, known as discount retailing, began in the 1960s. Discount retailers sell large quantities of goods at very low prices, trying to sell the goods quickly so as to turn over their entire inventory in a short period of time. By selling a lot of products at low prices, they could make more money than traditional retailers who sold fewer products at higher prices. During the 1960s, many new discount retailers were founded, including K Mart, Woolco, Target, and Wal-Mart. Annual sales by discount stores grew from about \$2 billion in the mid-1960s to nearly \$70 billion by 1985.

The most successful discount retailer was Sam Walton, the founder of Wal-Mart. Walton grew up in poverty in the Dust Bowl of Oklahoma during the Great Depression. He was a plainspoken man who worked 16-hour days and stressed the importance of cost cutting and good customer service. He developed a system of distribution centers to rapidly resupply his

stores, and he was one of the first retailers to use a computer database to track inventory and sales. By 1985 he was the richest person in the United States.

Others soon copied Walton’s approach. By the late 1970s, retailers had begun to build huge “superstores” that enabled them to sell large quantities of goods very quickly at very low prices. One such entrepreneur was Arthur Blank, who grew up in a tiny one-bedroom apartment in Queens, New York. Blank studied accounting and worked hard as a manager. In 1978 he opened Home Depot, a chain of giant home-improvement stores. In 1983 Richard Schulze, a former air force officer, used his technical training to found Best Buy, a huge discount retailer of consumer electronics. Dozens of other entrepreneurs started discount stores in other industries. Their innovations created millions of new jobs in the 1980s and helped fuel the era’s rapid economic growth.

 **Reading Check** Identifying Who were yuppies?

Technology and the Media

In the 1980s, other entrepreneurs began transforming the news and entertainment industry. Until the late 1970s, television viewers were limited to three national networks and public television. In 1970 a 32-year-old businessman named Ted Turner used money from the billboard business he had inherited from his father to buy a failing television station in Atlanta, Georgia. Turner then pioneered a new type of broadcasting by creating WTBS in 1975. WTBS was the first “superstation”—a television station that sold low-cost sports and entertainment programs via satellite to cable companies throughout the nation.

Turner’s innovation changed broadcasting and helped spread cable television across the country. Dozens of networks soon appeared. Many of the new networks specialized in one type of broadcasting, such as sports, movies, or news. In 1980 Turner himself founded the Cable News Network (CNN)—the first 24-hour all-news station in the nation.

Other new stations focused on a specific audience, such as churchgoers, shoppers, or minorities. In 1980 entrepreneur Robert Johnson created Black Entertainment Television (BET). Johnson was born into a poor family in rural Mississippi, the ninth of ten children. Hard work and determination enabled him to earn a master’s degree from Princeton University. Johnson believed television had tremendous power to promote African American businesses and culture. In 1978, at age 32, he developed a plan to produce television programs for African Americans. His enthusiasm

won him the support of several investors, and BET, the first and largest black-owned company on cable television, began broadcasting in 1980.

In 1981 music and technology merged, and Music Television (MTV) went on the air. MTV mixed songs and video images to create music videos. Music videos were like fast-moving short films, with costumes, makeup, and choreography. MTV was an instant hit, though its videos were often criticized for violence and sexual content. Many performers began to produce videos with their new albums. Music videos boosted the careers of artists such as Madonna and Michael Jackson.

Rap music was another new sound of the 1980s. This musical style originated in local clubs in New York City's South Bronx. Emphasizing heavy bass and very rhythmic sounds, rap artists did not usually sing but rather spoke over the music and rhythmic beats. Rap's lyrics frequently focused on the African American experience in the inner city. While rap was initially popular among East Coast African Americans, it has grown in popularity, becoming a multimillion-dollar industry.

While the music industry was changing, new forms of entertainment also developed, including video games. The first video arcade game, called Pong, was released in 1972. In the early 1980s, sales reached about

\$3 billion with the release of games such as PacMan and Space Invaders. Video arcades became the new spot for young people to meet. By the mid-1980s, new technology allowed home video games to compete with arcade games in color and speed. Home video game sales rose dramatically in the 1990s.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** What forms of entertainment gained popularity in the 1980s?

A Society Under Stress

Although the 1980s were prosperous, many social problems continued to plague the nation.

Crime and Drugs Ongoing problems with drug abuse in the 1980s made many city neighborhoods dangerous. Drug users often committed crimes in order to get money for drugs, and dealers backed by street gangs fought to protect their territory. Cocaine use increased, especially a concentrated form, crack cocaine, which made users hostile and aggressive. First Lady Nancy Reagan tried to discourage teen drug use with her "Just Say No" campaign. Many young people, however, continued to use drugs, especially marijuana and amphetamines. Drug use spread from cities to small towns and rural areas.

Problems With Alcohol Abuse of alcohol was also a serious concern. Teenagers with fake identification cards could easily buy alcoholic beverages. Although teen alcohol use declined during the 1980s, thousands of alcohol-related auto accidents involved young people. In 1980 **Mothers Against Drunk Driving** (MADD), a grassroots organization, was founded to look for effective solutions to underage drinking and drunk driving. In 1984 Congress cut highway funds to any state that did not raise the legal drinking age to 21. All states quickly complied.

A Deadly Epidemic In 1981 researchers identified a disease which caused seemingly healthy young men to become sick and die. They named it "acquired immune deficiency syndrome," or **AIDS**. AIDS weakens the immune system, lowering resistance to illnesses such as pneumonia and several types of cancer. HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, is spread through bodily fluids. In the United States, AIDS was first noticed among homosexual men. Soon AIDS began to spread among heterosexual men and women as well. A few people got the disease from blood transfusions. Other victims included drug users who shared needles and, through them, infected blood. Many people were infected by sexual partners. By 1988 the

Picturing History

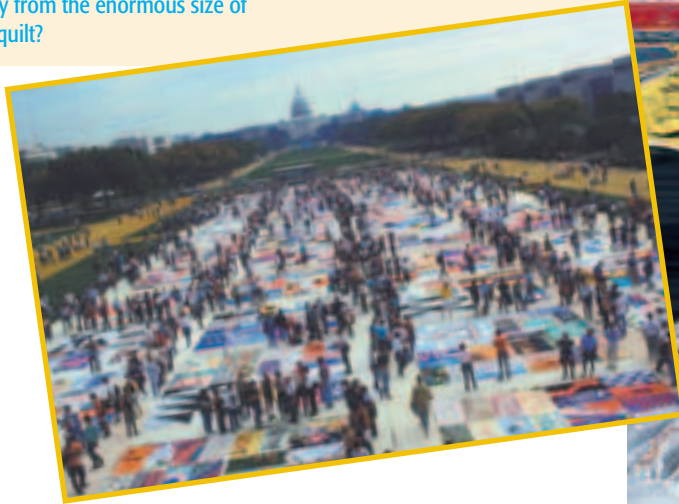
Homelessness During the 1980s, many people began living on the streets in makeshift shelters of boxes and rags. A lack of low-income housing and care for the mentally ill contributed to the problem. [How do you think the country's general prosperity influenced people to think about this problem?](#)





Picturing History

Silent Witness The AIDS Quilt remembers those who have died from AIDS. Comprising more than 40,000 panels, it was first displayed near the Washington Monument. **What lesson do visitors take away from the enormous size of the quilt?**



Centers for Disease Control had identified more than 100,000 AIDS cases in the United States.

Reading Check **Evaluating** What social problems did Americans face in the 1980s?

Social Activism

AIDS increased the visibility of the country's gay and lesbian community, but some homosexuals had been defending their civil rights since the 1960s. On June 27, 1969, New York City police raided a Greenwich Village nightclub called the Stonewall Inn. The police had a history of raiding the nightclub and targeting its patrons because of their sexual orientation. Frustration among the gay and lesbian onlookers led to a riot. The **Stonewall riot** marked the beginning of a gay activist movement. Soon after, organizations such as the Gay Liberation Front tried to increase tolerance of homosexuality and media coverage of gays and lesbians.

Although the 1980s witnessed the rise of a powerful conservative movement, liberal organizations and social activists continued to push their agenda as well, particularly on issues involving the environment and developing nations. In addition, elderly Americans began to organize politically for the first time.

Environmental Activism Grows Trying to promote environmental protection during the Reagan years was frustrating for environmental activists. Secretary of the Interior James Watt encouraged development on public lands, saying, "We will mine more, drill

more, cut more timber." Congress, under pressure from environmental groups, blocked many of Watt's plans. Worried about Watt's program, many new members joined groups such as the **Sierra Club**.

The environmental movement born in the 1970s continued to grow in the 1980s. Environmentalists were active in protesting nuclear power plants and protecting fragile wetlands. Communities started recycling programs. Activists became concerned about the ozone layer and rain forests.

Artists Become Activists In the 1980s, ministers, politicians, and others targeted and criticized rock musicians as promoters of drug use and other negative behavior. Still, singers, actors, and other entertainers often organized benefit concerts to help others. In hits such as "Born in the USA," Bruce Springsteen sang about working-class Americans. A social activist, he gave concerts to benefit food banks and the homeless.

To help starving people in Ethiopia, Irish rocker Bob Geldof organized musicians in England to present "Band Aid" concerts in 1984. The next year, the event grew into "Live Aid." Musicians including Paul McCartney, Madonna, The Who, and Tina Turner participated in the musical benefits. Its theme song, "We Are the World," was a best-seller. The same year, country singer Willie Nelson organized "Farm Aid" to help American farmers going through hard times.



Other Groups Become Activists One noticeable political change in the 1980s was the stronger presence of senior citizens. Decades of improvements in medicine had resulted in more Americans surviving to an older age. In addition, the birthrate had declined, so younger people represented a smaller proportion of the population. The fact that more Americans were receiving Social Security payments created budget pressures for the government.

Older Americans became politically active, opposing cuts in Social Security or Medicare. Because they tended to vote in large numbers, senior citizens became an influential interest group. Their major lobbying organization was the **American Association of Retired Persons (AARP)**.

Reading Check **Summarizing** What issues did environmental activists focus on in the 1980s?

A New Era in Space

President Reagan, like many Americans, saw space as an exciting frontier. Improved technology and new exploration programs rekindled the nation's excitement for space exploration.

The Space Shuttle After Americans reached the moon, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) began work on the **space shuttle**—a reusable spacecraft with wings that could rocket into space and then glide back to Earth. On April 12,

1981, the first space shuttle, *Columbia*, lifted off its launch pad in Florida. On board were two astronauts: John Young and Robert Crippen. John Young was a hero to many Americans. He had flown three times in the 1960s and commanded the *Apollo 16* mission to the moon in 1972. After the shuttle landed successfully, Young remarked to the crowd: “We’re really not too far, the human race isn’t, from going to the stars.”

Young and Crippen’s flight demonstrated the shuttle’s capabilities. Previously astronauts had been military pilots, but the shuttle could function as an orbiting laboratory, and civilians could now be astronauts. In 1983 **Sally Ride** became the first American woman in space, and after her flight, female astronauts became increasingly common.

In January 1986, disaster struck. The shuttle *Challenger* exploded after liftoff, killing everyone on board: Michael Smith, Dick Scobee, Judith Resnik, Ronald McNair, Ellison Onizuka, Gregory Jarvis, and Christa McAuliffe. Although Americans mourned the lost lives, President Reagan reminded everyone that the exploration of space required bravery:

“The Challenger Seven were aware of the dangers, but overcame them and did their jobs brilliantly. . . . They had that special grace, that special spirit that says, ‘Give me a challenge and I’ll meet it with joy.’ They had a hunger to explore the universe and discover its truths. . . . We’ve grown used to the idea of space, and perhaps we forget that we’ve only just begun. We’re still pioneers. . . . [S]ometimes painful things like this happen. It’s all part of the process of exploration and discovery. It’s all part of taking a chance and expanding man’s horizons. The future doesn’t belong to the faint-hearted; it belongs to the brave.”

—from *Speaking My Mind*

In June 1986, a presidential commission reported that defective seals in the rocket boosters had caused the explosion. Engineers fixed the problem, and in September 1988, the shuttle resumed operations.

A Home in Space Between September 1988 and December 2002, the shuttle completed 87 missions. It

Profiles IN HISTORY

Franklin R. Chang-Diaz 1950–

Born in Costa Rica, Franklin R. Chang-Diaz dates his fascination with space to hearing about the *Sputnik* launching in 1957. His mother told him that a new star, made by humans, had been placed in the heavens. This convinced him, he said later, to become “a space explorer.”

Chang-Diaz managed to save enough money—\$50—to immigrate to the United States at the age of 18. He went to Hartford, Connecticut, where he had relatives. After completing high school and college, he went on to earn a doctorate in applied plasma physics and fusion technology at MIT in 1977.

His goal of becoming an astronaut came true in 1980 when NASA selected him for the space shuttle program. In the following years, Chang-Diaz worked as part of the astronaut support crew and in early space station design studies.

His first spaceflight came in January 1986 on the space shuttle *Columbia*. In the late 1980s and 1990s, Chang-Diaz flew a number of shuttle missions.





First Female Astronaut Dr. Sally Ride (below) was accepted into the astronaut program in 1978. She became the first American woman to orbit the earth when she flew aboard the space shuttle *Challenger* in June 1983. The space shuttle *Discovery* is shown on the right.



placed many satellites in orbit, including the Hubble Space Telescope in 1990. This telescope gave astronomers the ability to look farther into space than ever before.

One reason NASA built the shuttle was to provide transportation to **space stations**—manned orbiting platforms that serve as a base of operations for space research. The United States had launched the space station *Skylab* in 1973, but it stayed in orbit only until 1979. In 1986 President Reagan announced that the United States would build a new space station.

In the years following Reagan’s announcement, the space station became an international project, and 16 nations helped create the International Space Station. Shuttle astronauts began assembling the station in

December 1998, and the station’s first crew arrived in October 2000. By December 2002 the shuttle had completed 16 missions to the space station.

Seventeen years after the *Challenger* disaster, tragedy struck again. On February 1, 2003, the shuttle *Columbia* came apart while reentering the earth’s atmosphere. All seven crew members were killed. As people around the world mourned, NASA began investigating the accident. Speaking to the nation, President George W. Bush proclaimed, “Mankind is led into the darkness beyond our world by the inspiration of discovery and the longing to understand.” The president then promised that American space exploration would continue.

Reading Check **Describing** How was the space shuttle different from previous spacecraft?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT



Study Central™ To review this section, go to tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central™**.

Checking for Understanding

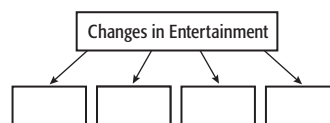
- Define:** **yuppie, space shuttle, space station.**
- Identify:** AIDS, Sierra Club, American Association of Retired Persons.
- Summarize** the causes for which several musicians held concert benefits in the 1980s.

Reviewing Themes

- Science and Technology** What new innovations occurred in the nation’s space program in the 1980s?

Critical Thinking

- Comparing** How do the social problems the United States faces today compare with those the nation faced in the 1980s?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the changes in entertainment in the 1980s.



Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Diagrams** Study the illustration on page 875. What elements of the diagram depict the concept of materialism?

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Choose one of the social problems of the 1980s. Write a letter to members of your favorite band asking them to perform a concert to benefit your cause. Your letter should include reasons the cause is important.



Critical Thinking SKILLBUILDER

Analyzing News Media

Why Learn This Skill?

Every citizen needs to be aware of current issues and events in order to make good decisions when exercising citizenship rights. To stay informed, people use a variety of news sources, including print media, broadcast media, and electronic media.



Learning the Skill

To get an accurate profile of current events, you must learn to think critically about the news. The steps below will help you think critically.

- First, think about the source of the news story. Reports that reveal sources are more reliable than those that do not. If you know the sources, you can evaluate them.
- Many news stories analyze and interpret events. Such analyses may be more detailed than other reports, but they also reflect a reporter's biases. Look for biases as you read or listen to news stories.
- Ask yourself whether the news is even-handed and thorough. Is it reported on the scene or secondhand? Does it represent both sides of the issue? How many sources are used? The more sources cited for a fact, the more reliable it usually is.

- 3 Did either of the articles reflect a bias toward one viewpoint or the other? List any unsupported statements.
- 4 Was the news reported on the scene or secondhand? Do the articles seem to represent both sides fairly?
- 5 How many sources can you identify in the articles? List them.

Practicing the Skill

Follow the steps below to analyze two types of print media.

- 1 Find two articles, one in a current newspaper and the other in a newsmagazine, on a decision made by the president or Congress on a topic such as Social Security, education, or taxes.
- 2 What points were the articles trying to make? Were the articles successful? Can the facts be verified?

Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 889 and the Chapter 28 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

Applying the Skill

Analyzing News Media Think of an issue in your community or in the nation on which public opinion is divided. Read newspaper features and editorials and monitor television reports about the issue. Can you identify any biases? Which reports more fairly represent the issue? Which reports are the most reliable?



Glencoe's **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

SECTION 4

The End of the Cold War

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

President George Bush's foreign policy commanded broad support, but his domestic agenda did not.

Key Terms and Names

perestroika, glasnost, Boris Yeltsin, Tiananmen Square, Saddam Hussein, downsizing, capital gains tax, H. Ross Perot, grassroots movement

Reading Strategy

Categorizing As you read about the administration of President Bush, complete a chart similar to the one below by describing U.S. foreign policy in each of the places listed on the chart.

Place	Foreign Policy
Soviet Union	
China	
Panama	
Middle East	

Reading Objectives

- **Identify** the events that brought an end to the Cold War.
- **Explain** the domestic challenges facing the Bush administration.

Section Theme

Economic Factors The deficit and an economic slowdown hurt George Bush's attempt to win re-election in 1992.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Colin Powell

On October 31, 1990, General Colin Powell, who was the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, and other high-ranking officials met with President George Bush. In August the country of Iraq had invaded neighboring Kuwait. American troops had been rushed to the Middle East in response. Now the president had to decide whether to go to war.

General Brent Scowcroft, a close adviser to Bush, began the meeting: "Mr. President, we are at a Y in the road. Down one branch we can continue sanctions. . . . Down the other branch we . . . go on the attack." Powell then presented the plan for attacking Iraq. Several advisers gasped at the numbers, which called for over 500,000 American troops. "Mr. President," Powell began, "I wish . . . that I could assure you that air power alone could do it but you can't take that chance. We've gotta take the initiative out of the enemy's hands if we're going to go to war." Cheney later recalled that Bush "never hesitated." He looked up from the plans and said simply, "Do it."

—adapted from *Triumph Without Victory* and *PBS Frontline Gulf War Interviews*

George Bush Takes Office

The war in the Persian Gulf was only one of many international crises that confronted President George Bush after his election in 1988. Fortunately, Bush's strength was in foreign policy. In the 1970s, he had served as ambassador to the UN and as the nation's first



abilities, but Bush had Reagan’s endorsement, and with the economy still doing well, few Americans wanted to switch parties. Bush won 54 percent of the popular vote and defeated Dukakis 426 to 111 in the Electoral College. Democrats, however, kept control of Congress.

✓ Reading Check

Describing What kind of strategy did the Bush campaign use in the 1988 election?

The Cold War Ends

Almost immediately after taking office, President Bush had to draw on his foreign policy experience. With the help of Secretary of State James Baker, the president steered the United States through an era of sweeping change that resulted from the sudden end of the Cold War.

Geography Skills

- 1. Interpreting Maps** Which Eastern European countries abandoned communism first?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Why was the fall of communism in East Germany significant?

diplomatic envoy to the People’s Republic of China. He then headed the CIA from 1976 to 1977 before becoming vice president in 1981.

When Ronald Reagan left office, few Americans were thinking about foreign policy. They wanted a continuation of Reagan’s domestic policies—low taxes and less government action. When Bush accepted the Republican nomination in 1988, he reassured Americans with this promise: “Read my lips: No new taxes.”

The Democrats hoped to regain the White House in 1988 by promising to help working-class Americans, minorities, and the poor. One candidate, civil rights leader Jesse Jackson, tried to create a “rainbow coalition”—a broad group of minorities and the poor—by speaking about homelessness and unemployment. He finished second in the primaries, the first African American to make a serious run for the nomination.

The Democrats’ final choice was Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis. The Bush campaign portrayed him as too liberal, unpatriotic, and “soft on crime.” The Democrats questioned Bush’s leadership

Gorbachev’s Reforms As president, Bush continued Reagan’s policy of cooperation with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. By the late 1980s, the Soviet economy was suffering from years of inefficient central planning and huge expenditures on the arms race. To save the economy, Gorbachev instituted *perestroika*, or “restructuring,” and allowed some private enterprise and profit-making.

The other principle of Gorbachev’s plan was *glasnost*, or “openness.” It allowed more freedom of religion and speech, allowing people to discuss politics openly.

Revolution in Eastern Europe Protests in Poland had led to the first independent trade union, Solidarity, in 1980. It was suspended a year later, but with Gorbachev’s support, *glasnost* spread to Eastern Europe. In 1989 peaceful revolutions replaced Communist rulers with democratic governments in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria. The spreading revolution soon reached East Germany, and at midnight on November 9, 1989, guards at the Berlin Wall opened the gates. Within days, bulldozers leveled the hated symbol of Communist repression. Within a year, East and West Germany had reunited.



The Soviet Union Collapses As Eastern Europe abandoned communism, Gorbachev faced mounting criticism from opponents at home. In August 1991, a group of Communist officials and army officers staged a coup—an overthrow of the government. They arrested Gorbachev and sent troops into Moscow.

In Moscow, Russian president **Boris Yeltsin** defied the coup leaders from his offices in the Russian Parliament. About 50,000 people surrounded the Russian Parliament to protect it from troops. President Bush telephoned Yeltsin to express the support of the United States. Soon afterward, the coup collapsed, and Gorbachev returned to Moscow.

The defeat of the coup brought change swiftly. All 15 Soviet republics declared their independence from the Soviet Union. Yeltsin outlawed the Communist Party in Russia. In late December 1991, Gorbachev announced the end of the Soviet Union. Most of the former Soviet republics then joined in a federation called the Commonwealth of Independent States.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** Why did Mikhail Gorbachev institute the policy of *perestroika*?

The “New World Order”

After the Cold War, the world became increasingly unpredictable. In a phrase made popular by President Bush, a “new world order” was developing. While trying to redefine American foreign policy, Bush faced crises in China, Panama, and the Middle East.

Tragedy in Tiananmen Square Despite the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, China’s Communist leaders were determined to stay in power. China’s government had relaxed controls on the economy, but it continued to repress political speech and dissent. In May 1989, Chinese students and workers held demonstrations for democracy. In early June, government tanks and soldiers crushed their protests in **Tiananmen Square** in Beijing—China’s capital. Many people were killed and hundreds of pro-democracy activists were arrested. Many were later sentenced to death.

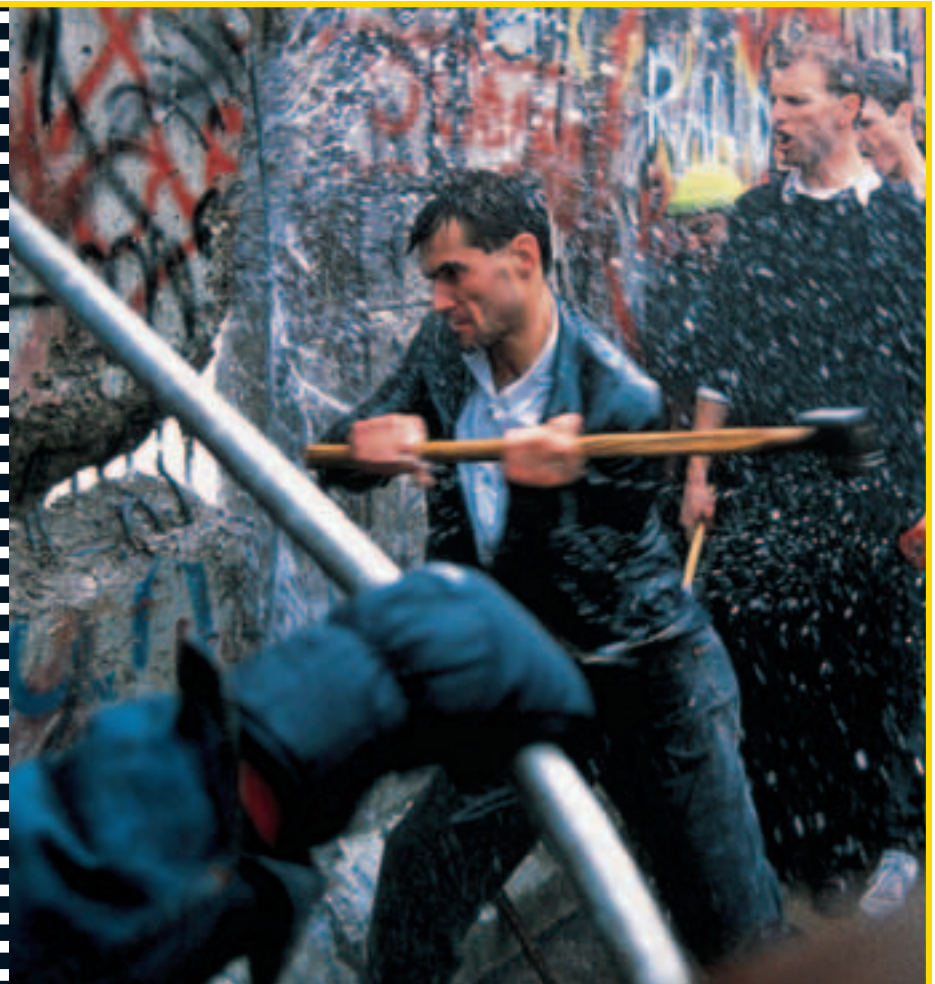
These events shocked the world. The United States and several European countries halted arms sales and reduced their diplomatic contacts with China. The World Bank suspended loans. Some congressional



MOMENT in HISTORY

A CITY REUNITED

Built in 1961, the Berlin Wall served to stem the mounting tide of immigration from Communist East Germany into the democratic western sector of the city. The wall also stood as a symbol of Cold War tensions between the world’s superpowers. As reforms sparked by Mikhail Gorbachev swept through Eastern Europe, however, East German citizens began pressuring their government to open its borders. On November 9, 1989, the gates were thrown open, and East and West Berliners finally mingled freely. With great enthusiasm, they took hammers and chisels to the wall and tore down the hated symbol of division.



Why It Matters

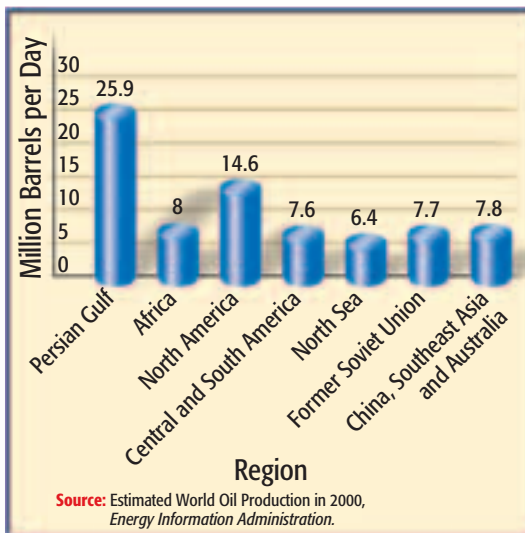
Strait of Hormuz

The Strait of Hormuz is a narrow shipping lane between the Persian Gulf, the Gulf of Oman, and the Arabian Sea. Most of the crude oil produced in the Middle East passes through the Strait of Hormuz. In 1997 about 14 million barrels of crude oil passed through the Strait every day. Since the waterway is only about 40 miles (64 km) across at its widest point, it is possible that a country might block or hamper passage of ships. During the 1980s, the United States began escorting oil tankers through the Strait to protect them from Iranian attacks. If the passage were ever closed, oil would

have to be shipped overland by pipeline—a much more expensive option.



World Oil Production



The Persian Gulf countries consist of Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates. They may hold as much as 70 percent of the world's proven oil reserves.

leaders urged even stronger sanctions, but President Bush resisted these harsher measures, believing that trade and diplomacy would eventually moderate China's behavior.

Panama While President Bush struggled to deal with global events elsewhere, a crisis developed in Panama. In 1978 the United States had agreed to give Panama control over the Panama Canal by the year 2000. Because of the canal's importance, American officials wanted to make sure Panama's government was both stable and pro-American.

By 1989 Panama's dictator, General Manuel Noriega, had stopped cooperating with the United States. He also aided drug traffickers, cracked down on opponents, and harassed American military personnel defending the canal. In December 1989, Bush ordered American troops to invade Panama. The troops seized Noriega, who was sent to the United States to stand trial on drug charges. The troops then helped the Panamanians hold elections and organize a new government.

The Persian Gulf War President Bush faced perhaps his most serious crisis in the Middle East. In August 1990, Iraq's dictator, **Saddam Hussein**, sent his army to invade oil-rich Kuwait. American officials feared the invasion was only the first step and that Iraq's ultimate goal was to capture Saudi Arabia and its vast oil reserves.

President Bush persuaded other UN member countries to join a coalition to stop Iraq. Led by the United States, the United Nations first imposed economic sanctions on Iraq and demanded the Iraqis withdraw. The coalition forces included troops from the United States, Canada, Europe, and Arab nations. The UN set a deadline for the Iraqi withdrawal, or the coalition would use force to remove them. Congress also voted to authorize the use of force if Iraq did not withdraw.

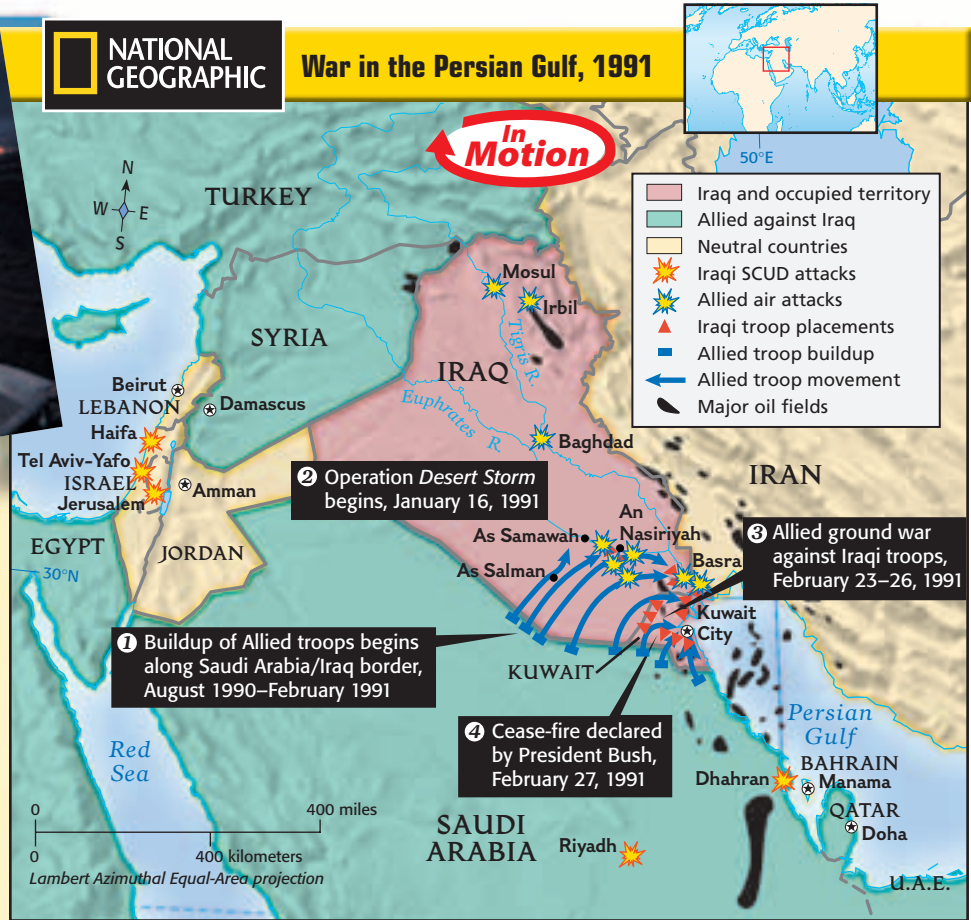
Iraq refused to comply with the UN deadline, and on January 16, 1991, the coalition forces launched **Operation Desert Storm**. Dozens of cruise



▲ Burning oil fields in Kuwait

Persian Gulf War ▶

Oil was an important factor in the Gulf War. In August 1990, Iraq invaded its oil-rich neighbor, Kuwait. To repel this aggression and to prevent oil reserves from falling under the control of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, President Bush sent troops to the area. Working with troops from other nations, American forces expelled Hussein's troops from Kuwait.



missiles and thousands of laser-guided bombs fell on Iraq, destroying its air defenses, bridges, artillery, and other military targets. After about six weeks of bombardment, the coalition launched a massive ground attack. Waves of tanks and troop carriers smashed through Iraqi lines and encircled the Iraqi forces defending Kuwait.

The attack killed thousands of Iraqi soldiers. Hundreds of thousands more surrendered. Fewer than 300 coalition troops were killed. Just 100 hours after the ground war began President Bush declared victory. “Kuwait is liberated,” he announced. Iraq accepted the coalition’s cease-fire terms. American troops returned home to cheering crowds celebrating the U.S. victory in the first large-scale war since Vietnam.

Reading Check **Examining** Why did President Bush take action when Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait?

Domestic Challenges

President Bush spent much of his time dealing with foreign policy, but he could not ignore domestic issues. He inherited a growing deficit and a slowing

economy. As the Persian Gulf crisis began, the economy plunged into a recession and unemployment rose rapidly.

ECONOMICS

The Economy Slows The recession that began in 1990 was partly caused by the end of the Cold War. As the Soviet threat faded, the United States began reducing its armed forces and canceling orders for military equipment. Thousands of soldiers were released, and defense industry workers were laid off.

Across the nation, other companies also began **downsizing**—laying off workers and managers to become more efficient. The nation’s high level of debt made the recession worse. Americans had borrowed heavily during the 1980s and now faced paying off large debts.

In addition, the huge federal deficit forced the government to borrow money to pay for its programs. This borrowing kept money from being available to expanding businesses. The government also had to pay interest on its debt, money that might otherwise have been used to fund programs or jump-start the economy.



Gridlock in Government Shortly after taking office, Bush tried to improve the economy. He called for a cut in the **capital gains tax**—the tax paid by businesses and investors when they sell stocks or real estate for a profit. Bush believed the tax cut would encourage businesses to expand. Calling the idea a tax break for the rich, Democrats in Congress defeated it.

Aware that the growing federal deficit was hurting the economy, Bush broke his “no new taxes” campaign pledge. After meeting with congressional leaders, he agreed to a tax increase in exchange for cuts in spending. This decision turned many voters against Bush. They blamed him both for the tax increase and for trying to cut social programs.

Extending Rights Although President Bush and Democrats in Congress disagreed on economic issues, they cooperated on other legislation. One example was the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), signed by Bush in 1990. The legislation forbade discrimination in workplaces and public places against people who were physically or mentally challenged. The law had widespread effect. Access ramps were added to buildings, closed-captioned television became more commonplace, and wheelchair lifts were installed on city buses.

Reading Check **Summarizing** Why did President Bush lose popularity as the 1992 election approached?

The 1992 Election

Although the recession had weakened his popularity, Bush won the Republican nomination. Bush promised to address voters’ economic concerns, and

he blamed congressional Democrats for the gridlock that seemingly paralyzed the nation’s government.

The Democrats nominated Arkansas governor Bill Clinton, despite stories that questioned his character and his failure to serve in Vietnam. Calling himself a “New Democrat” to separate himself from more liberal Democrats, Clinton promised to cut middle-class taxes and spending and to reform the nation’s health care and welfare programs. His campaign repeatedly blamed Bush for the recession.

Many Americans were not happy with either Bush or Clinton. This enabled an independent candidate, billionaire Texas businessman **H. Ross Perot**, to make a strong challenge. Perot stressed the need to end deficit spending. His no-nonsense style appealed to many Americans. A **grassroots movement**—groups of people organizing at the local level—put Perot on the ballot in all 50 states.

Bill Clinton won the election with 43 percent of the popular vote and 370 electoral votes. The Democrats also retained control of Congress. Bush won 37 percent of the popular vote, while Perot received 19 percent—the best showing for a third-party candidate since 1912—but no electoral votes.

As the first president born after World War II, the 46-year-old Clinton was the first person from the “baby boom” generation to enter the White House. It was his task to revive the economy and guide the United States in a rapidly changing and increasingly technological world.

Reading Check **Evaluating** Why did some people vote for H. Ross Perot in 1992? How successful was his election campaign as a third-party candidate?

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT



Study Central™ To review this section, go to tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central™**.

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** *perestroika, glasnost, downsizing, capital gains tax, grassroots movement.*
- Identify:** Boris Yeltsin, Tiananmen Square, Saddam Hussein, H. Ross Perot.
- Describe** how Mikhail Gorbachev tried to reform the Soviet government.

Reviewing Themes

- Economic Factors** How did the economy affect the 1992 election?

Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** How did the United States and its Western allies finally achieve victory in the Cold War?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the causes of the recession of the early 1990s.

Budget Problems	Economic Problems	Foreign Developments

Analyzing Visuals

- Studying Maps** Examine the map on page 885. Which nations have significant oil resources?

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Imagine that you are traveling in West Germany in 1989 when the Berlin Wall is being torn down. Write a letter back home to describe the event and the feelings of the German people. Also include your reaction to the situation and how you think it will affect the United States.



American LITERATURE



Richard Rodriguez

Hispanic Americans are the fastest-growing minority in the United States. Hispanics cherish their heritage, and many speak only Spanish among their friends and family. Most of their children's teachers, however, speak only English. As a result, Hispanic students often find school confusing and humiliating. Hispanic American Richard Rodriguez describes his struggle to become educated in his autobiography, *Hunger for Memory*.

In this excerpt, Rodriguez describes the difficulties he encountered at home after he became comfortable speaking English at school.

Read to Discover

What is the reaction of Richard's relatives to his reluctance to speak Spanish to them?

Reader's Dictionary

reticent: reluctant

anglicized: made to sound English

diminutive: shorter or more affectionate version

from *Hunger for Memory*

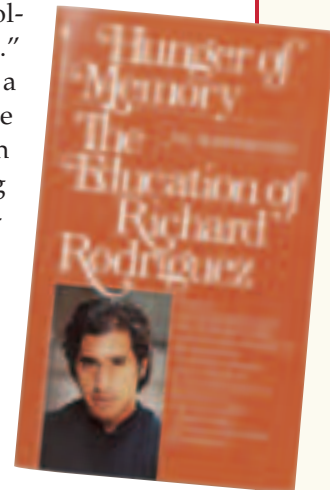
by Richard Rodriguez

I grew up victim to a disabling confusion. As I grew fluent in English, I no longer could speak Spanish with confidence. I continued to understand spoken Spanish. And in high school, I learned how to read and write Spanish. But for many years I could not pronounce it. A powerful guilt blocked my spoken words; an essential glue was missing whenever I'd try to connect words to form sentences. . . .

When relatives and Spanish-speaking friends of my parents came to the house, my brother and sisters seemed reticent to use Spanish, but at least they managed to say a few necessary words before being excused. . . . I was cursed with guilt. Each time I'd hear myself addressed in Spanish, I would be unable to respond with any success. I'd know the words I wanted to say, but I couldn't manage to say them. I would try to speak, but everything I said seemed to me horribly anglicized. My mouth would not form the words right. . . .

It surprised my listeners to hear me. They'd lower their heads, better to grasp what I was trying to say. They would repeat their questions in gentle, affectionate voices. But by then I would answer in English. No, no, they would say, we want you to speak to us in

Spanish. . . . But I couldn't do it. *Pocho* then they called me. Sometimes playfully, teasingly, using the tender diminutive—*mi pochito*. Sometimes not so playfully, mockingly, *Pocho*. (A Spanish dictionary defines that word as an adjective meaning "colorless" or "bland." But I heard it as a noun, naming the Mexican-American who, in becoming an American, forgets his native society. . . .)



Analyzing Literature

- 1. Recall and Interpret** What do you think Richard meant when he said that "an essential glue was missing" whenever he tried to speak Spanish?
- 2. Evaluate and Connect** Why did Richard's relatives nickname him *Pocho*?

Interdisciplinary Activity

Journalism Interview a bilingual friend, relative, or classmate about when and where they use each of the languages they speak. Write a transcript of the interview.

Reviewing Key Terms

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. liberal | 8. space shuttle |
| 2. conservative | 9. space station |
| 3. televangelist | 10. <i>perestroika</i> |
| 4. supply-side economics | 11. <i>glasnost</i> |
| 5. budget deficit | 12. downsizing |
| 6. contra | 13. capital gains tax |
| 7. yuppie | 14. grassroots movement |

Reviewing Key Facts

- Identify:** William F. Buckley, William Rehnquist, Mikhail Gorbachev, AIDS, Boris Yeltsin, Saddam Hussein, H. Ross Perot.
- Why did people in the Sunbelt tend to be conservative?
- What three steps did President Reagan take to improve the economy?
- What social issues did the United States face in the 1980s?
- What event triggered the Persian Gulf War?
- What economic problems did President George Bush face during his administration?

Critical Thinking

- Analyzing Themes: Global Connections** What event brought an end to the Cold War in the 1980s? What effect did that have on U.S. policies and on the U.S. economy?

- Synthesizing** How did conservatives gain political power in the 1980s?
- Forming an Opinion** On what part of the liberal-conservative spectrum would you place yourself? Why?
- Interpreting Primary Sources** President Ronald Reagan addressed the American people for the last time at the end of his presidency in 1988. The following is an excerpt from that address:

“It’s been quite a journey this decade, and we held together through some stormy seas. And at the end, together, we are reaching our destination. . . . The way I see it, there were two great triumphs, two things that I’m proudest of. One is the economic recovery, in which the people of America created—and filled—19 million new jobs. The other is the recovery of our morale. America is respected again in the world and looked to for leadership. . . .

Common sense told us that when you put a big tax on something, the people will produce less of it. So, we cut the people’s tax rates, and the people produced more than ever before. The economy bloomed. . . . Common sense told us that to preserve the peace, we’d have to become strong again after years of weakness and confusion. So, we rebuilt our defenses, and this New Year we toasted the new peacefulness around the globe. . . .

Countries across the globe are turning to free markets and free speech and turning away from the ideologies of the past. . . .

Chapter Summary

Resurgence of Conservative Politics

- The Cold War promotes a strong foreign policy and an emphasis on minimal government intervention in economics.
- Cold War fears of communism encourage religious Americans to turn to conservative ideas.
- Barry Goldwater wins the 1964 Republican presidential nomination.
- The growth of the Sunbelt increases conservative support.

Reagan’s Agenda

- Supply-side economics emphasizes large tax cuts.
- Reagan’s administration takes a strong anti-Communist stance in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East.
- Reagan and Gorbachev begin new nuclear arms reductions.
- Military spending drives the growing budget deficit to record levels.

The Bush Years

- Communism collapses in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.
- The uncertainty of a “New World Order” replaces the dualism of the Cold War.
- The Persian Gulf War drives Bush’s popularity to its highest level.
- A domestic economic recession weakens Bush’s re-election campaign.

Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Republic Since 1877* Web site at tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 28** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

[O]ne of the things I'm proudest of in the past eight years [is] the resurgence of national pride that I called the new patriotism. This national feeling is good, but it won't count for much, and it won't last unless it's grounded in thoughtfulness and knowledge. . . .

An informed patriotism is what we want. . . . Let's start with some basics: more attention to American history and greater emphasis on civic ritual. . . .

—from *Speaking My Mind*

- a. What did Reagan believe were his greatest accomplishments as president?
 - b. What did Reagan believe would promote patriotism in the nation? Do you agree with his belief? Why or why not?
25. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the domestic and foreign issues faced by the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Issues	Reagan Administration	Bush Administration
Domestic		
Foreign		

Practicing Skills

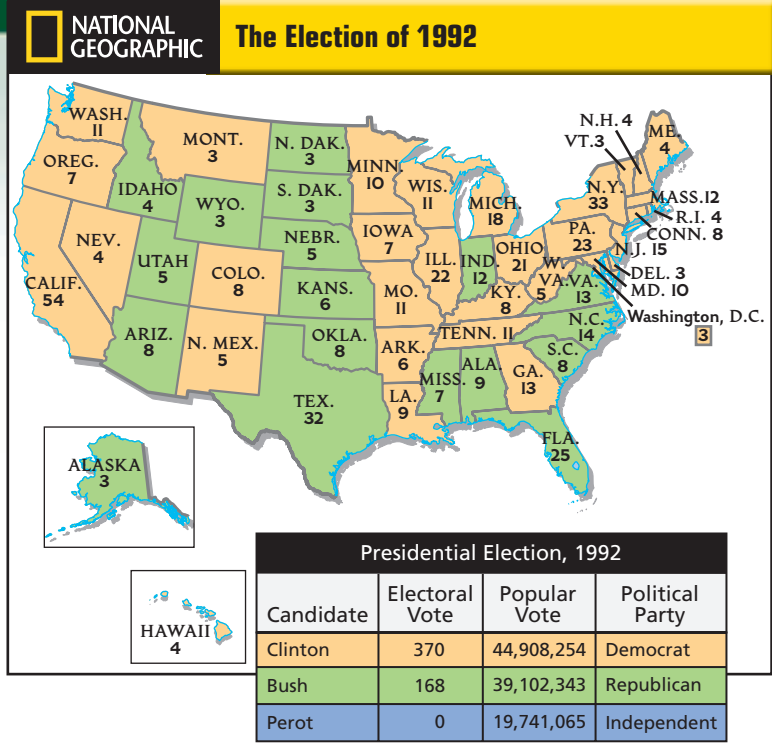
26. **Analyzing News Media** Choose one current issue or event and compare its coverage in two different media. Which medium supplies the most facts? Is the coverage that is provided by both media consistent? What are the advantages and disadvantages of each medium? Write a two-page analysis comparing the two media, including a conclusion about which one is better.

Writing Activity

27. **Writing a Report** Research the status today of the independent republics formed from the Soviet Union. Find out about their political, social, and economic situations. Present your findings in a written report.

Chapter Activity

28. **Creating a Thematic Graph** Using a scale of 1 to 10, evaluate how successful each president was in dealing with the issues you listed in question 25. Create a thematic graph depicting each president's success rate per issue.



Geography and History

29. The map above shows the results of the 1992 presidential election. Study the map and answer the questions below.
- a. **Interpreting Maps** How far short did President Bush fall in the race for Electoral College votes?
 - b. **Applying Geography Skills** Bill Clinton won his strongest support in which region of the nation?

Standardized Test Practice

Directions: Choose the phrase that best completes the following sentence.

The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) was proposed to strengthen the military by

- A preventing the expansion of Communist countries.
- B reemphasizing the use of infantry troops in future wars.
- C developing weapons that would intercept and destroy incoming nuclear missiles.
- D severely reducing the number of American troops stationed worldwide.

Test-Taking Tip: Eliminate answers that do not make sense. Reducing the number of American troops (answer D), for example, probably would not strengthen the military.