

CHANGING AND ENDURING ISSUES

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The Conservative Resurgence
(1980–1993)

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Into a New Century (1992–Today)

In classrooms across
the country, today's
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tomorrow's leaders. ►

CHAPTER

32

The Conservative Resurgence 1980–1993



WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

A New Agenda

Americans were tired of the prolonged economic and foreign policy problems of the 1970s. Many looked to Ronald Reagan, the Republican candidate for President in 1980:

“I cannot and will not stand by and see this great country destroy itself. . . . I don’t agree that our nation must resign itself to inevitable decline, yielding its proud position to other hands. . . . The crisis we face is not the result of any failure of the American spirit; it is the failure of our leaders to establish rational goals and give our people something to order their lives by. If I am elected, I shall regard my election as proof that the people of the United States have decided to set a new agenda. . . .”

—Ronald Reagan, November 13, 1979

Listen to the Witness History audio to learn more about Ronald Reagan.

◀ Reagan on the campaign trail in 1980



Core Curriculum Preview

Chapter Focus Question: What was the conservative resurgence, and how did it affect the domestic and foreign policy of the United States?

Section 1

The Conservative Movement Grows
2.I.E.1, 7.V.C, 7.V.B.3

Section 2


The Reagan Revolution 7.V.C.1, 7.V.C.2, 7.V.C.5,
7.V.E.1

Section 3

The End of the Cold War 7.V.E.1, 7.V.E.2, 7.V.G,
7.VI.A.3a, 7.VI.A.3b

Section 4

Foreign Policy After the Cold War 7.V.F.2, 7.VI.A,
7.VI.A.3, 7.VI.A.3d

Use the  **Quick Study Timeline** at the end of this chapter to preview chapter events.



1980 campaign pin



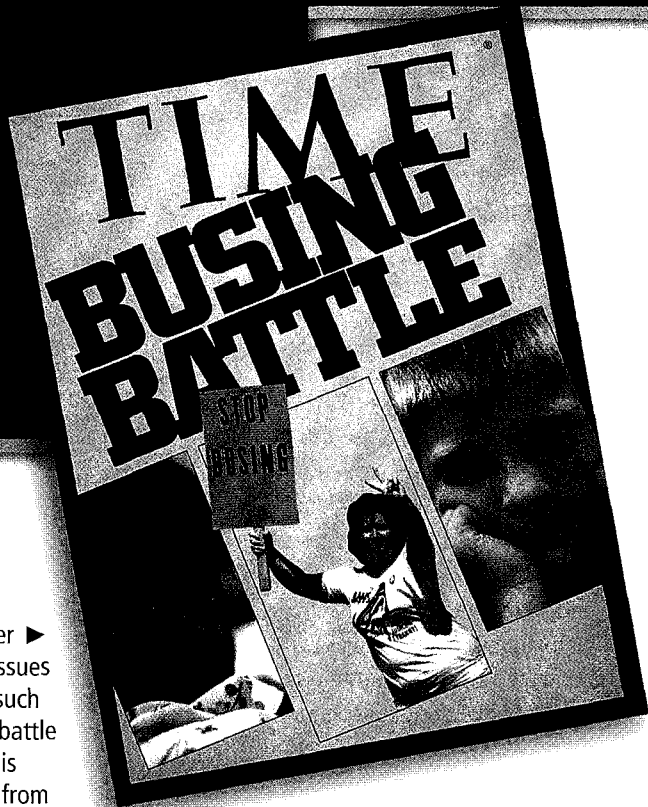
Piece of the Berlin Wall after its fall



Linda Evans and John Forsythe, stars of television's *Dynasty*

Note Taking Study Guide Online

For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector
Web Code: nee-1901



Frustration over ► controversial issues in the 1970s, such as the busing battle featured on this cover of *Time* from 1975, lingered into the 1980s.

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Backlash Against Liberal Programs

By 1980, public discontent with liberal programs, from welfare to school busing, had grown considerably. Many middle- and working-class Americans, in particular, felt that the reforms enacted during the 1960s and carried out in the 1970s threatened the American dream.

“If, during the 1960s and 1970s, there was an elite wisdom that shaped the directions of social policy, there was also a popular wisdom that explained why things were falling apart. . . . The popular wisdom is characterized by hostility toward welfare (it makes people lazy), toward lenient judges (they encourage crime), and toward socially conscious schools (too busy busing kids to teach them to read).”

—Charles Murray, *Losing Ground*, 1984

The Conservative Movement Grows



Core Curriculum Objectives

- **2.I.E.1** Basic constitutional principles: limits and potentials of national power
- **7.V.B.3** Foreign policy issues: the United States after Vietnam
- **7.V.C** Reagan and Bush, the “new” federalism and growth of conservatism

Terms and People

liberal
conservative
New Right

unfunded mandate
Moral Majority
Ronald Reagan

Why It Matters The 1964 election marked a low point for conservatives in the post–World War II era. Barry Goldwater, favorite of the conservative movement, lost the election in a landslide. Nonetheless, conservatives were not defeated by this loss at the polls. On the contrary, they set out to build an organization and to put forth a clear vision of their goals and values that would enable them to win in the future. By 1980, their plan had worked: Ronald Reagan, the new hero of the conservatives, was elected President. The modern conservative movement spearheaded by Ronald Reagan deeply affected the nation’s policies for decades. **Section Focus Question:** What spurred the rise of conservatism in the late 1970s and early 1980s?

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Summarize As you read, summarize the rise of the conservative movement in an outline. Use the one below as a starting point.

- I. Two Views: Liberal and Conservative
 - A. Liberal ideas and goals
 - 1.
 - 2.

Two Views: Liberal and Conservative

The two major political parties in the United States in the late twentieth century were the Democrats, many of whom were “liberals,” and the Republicans, who were often labeled “conservatives.” **Liberals** generally favored government intervention to help the needy, whereas **conservatives** generally favored allowing the free market, private organizations, and individuals to do that. Although the two parties did agree on many basic issues, including core American values such as freedom and equality, they diverged on many others. In addition, individual members within both parties did not always conform to their party’s majority.

The Ideas and Goals of Liberalism In the late 1970s, liberals tended to believe that the federal government should play a significant role in improving the lives of all Americans. They valued social programs that helped the poor, unemployed, elderly, and others. They also sponsored laws that protected the rights of minorities and women, especially in the post–World War II period. They supported greater government regulation of industry. In the foreign policy realm, liberals tended to favor cooperating with international organizations like the United Nations.

The Ideas and Goals of Conservatism In contrast, some conservatives felt that a large central government endangered economic growth and individual choice. They felt the liberal policies of the 1960s and 1970s left a legacy of rising inflation and enormous waste. Furthermore, some conservatives criticized the liberal solution of “throwing money” at social problems. They sought to reduce taxes and limit government regulation of industry in order to promote economic growth. As conservative economist Milton Friedman and his wife Rose Friedman wrote in their book *Free to Choose*, “The story of the United States is the story of an economic miracle. . . . What produced this miracle? Clearly not central direction by government.”

Other conservatives, neoconservatives or traditionalists, warned about the dangers posed to society by abandoning traditional values in favor of the new freedoms exemplified by the counterculture and advertised by the mass media. This concern with the perceived degeneration of modern youth dovetailed with many conservatives’ religious beliefs.

Anticommunism formed the third leg of modern conservatism. Most anticommunists focused on the dangers posed to the United States by the Soviet Union. They questioned the wisdom of the détente policy followed by Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter. They also fought against the SALT II treaty in the Senate.

Vocabulary Builder

degeneration—(dee jehn er AY shuhn) *n.* declining in quality

✓ **Checkpoint** How was conservatism different from liberalism in the early 1980s?

The Conservative Movement Gains Strength

During the 1940s and 1950s, the lines separating Republicans and Democrats had blurred. The two parties had developed a bipartisan foreign policy aimed at containing communism. Both favored a relatively significant role for the government in domestic affairs. However, during the 1960s and 1970s, many Republicans became increasingly critical of the liberal policies of the Democrats. They advanced a new conservative agenda. The differences between the two major parties grew more pronounced. The **New Right**, as the resurgent conservative movement was called, grew rapidly and was a coalition of several different groups with varying ideas and goals.

Two Viewpoints: Liberal and Conservative		Quick Study
Issue	Liberal Viewpoint	Conservative Viewpoint
Role of government in the economy	Favored more government involvement to lessen extreme economic inequalities through <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social programs (often leading to higher taxes) • government regulation of industry 	Favored limited government involvement in order to stimulate economic growth by <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reducing taxes • decreasing regulation of industry
Foreign policy	Favored international diplomacy to combat communism in other countries	Favored relying on our own national defense and actively fighting against communism in other countries

Liberalism Loses Its Appeal One reason for the revival of the Republican Party was the unraveling of the Democratic Party. The Vietnam War and urban riots of the 1960s divided the same people who had rallied around President Johnson's vision of the Great Society. The rise of the counterculture had alienated many midwestern Americans and white conservative Christians in the South. Watergate, the oil crises of the 1970s, and the Iran hostage crisis further weakened the public's faith in the federal government.

Just as importantly, the shifts in the economy of the 1970s, including the decline in northern industries, dampened America's optimism about the future. America had supported the Great Society, in part, because Johnson had suggested that the war on poverty and other new programs would not demand higher taxes. When the economy stagnated, liberal ideas lost their pull and conservative beliefs became more attractive.

The New Right Criticizes Liberal Programs Many conservatives believed that liberal policies were responsible for stagflation and other economic problems of the late 1970s. They believed that the government taxed citizens and businesses too heavily and spent too much on the wrong programs. They complained about **unfunded mandates**, programs required but not paid for by the federal government.

Some conservatives also criticized federal welfare programs, arguing they rewarded lack of effort. Furthermore, they thought that the Great Society had made the problem of poverty worse not better. They believed that welfare contributed to the rise in the number of children born out of wedlock and therefore encouraged the decline of the traditional family, consisting of a married father and mother and their children. They also felt that affirmative action programs went too far and contributed to reverse discrimination.

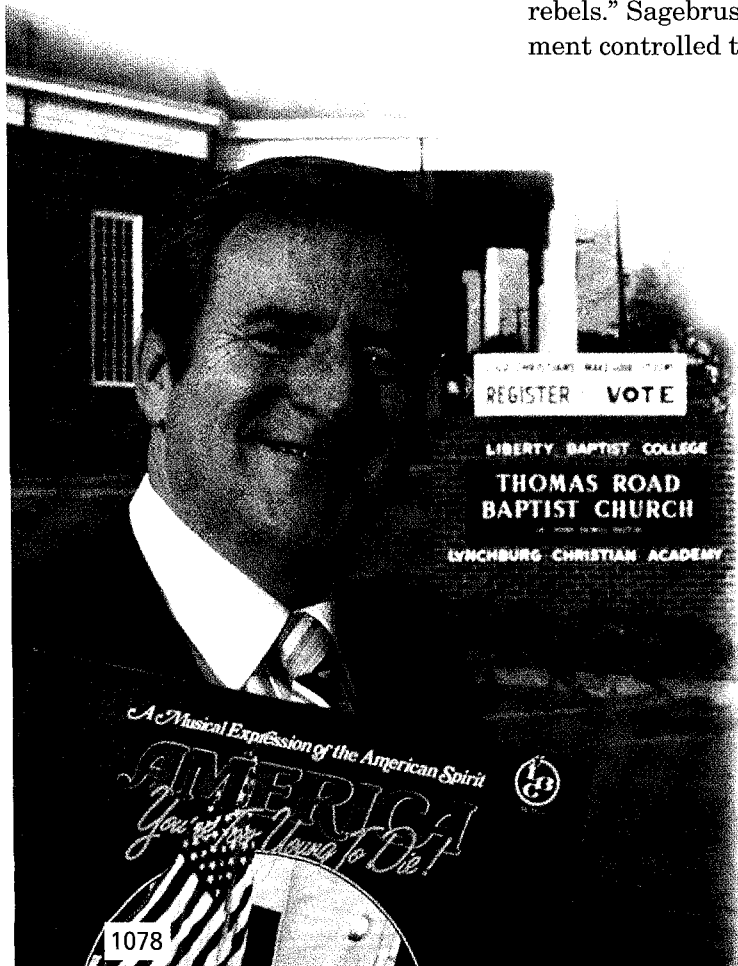
Another group that supported the conservative platform was the "sagebrush rebels." Sagebrush rebels were activists who believed that the federal government controlled too much land in the western states. They thought the federal government should give control of this land to the states, to be used to their best economic advantage. Most environmentalists opposed the movement, not wanting to expose preserved lands to possible development.

Religious Participation Rises At the same time, concern with cultural change caused more religious groups to become actively involved in politics. The **Moral Majority**, founded by Reverend Jerry Falwell in 1979, was a political organization working to fulfill religious goals. It also worried about the decline of the traditional family. The Moral Majority opposed the 1962 Supreme Court decision *Engel v. Vitale*, which forbade religious teaching in schools, as well as the historic 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision, which legalized abortion. It condemned the Equal Rights Amendment and homosexuality.

The Moral Majority boosted the Republican Party's chances of winning the presidency by reaching out to Americans who had traditionally not participated in the political process. With other groups like it, the Moral Majority registered at least 2 million new voters before the 1980 presidential election. One of their tactics was to distribute Moral Majority "report cards" on candidates, which almost always favored Republicans.

Politics and Religion Meet

Reverend Jerry Falwell, founder of the Moral Majority, stands in front of his home church in Lynchburg, Virginia, in August 1980. A banner on top of the church's sign encourages members to register to vote. *How was the Moral Majority different from traditional religious groups?*



Population Trends Boost Conservatism Demographic, or population, trends also strengthened the conservative movement. Historically, northern cities stood as the stronghold of liberal Democrats. When an increasing number of Americans moved to the suburbs, their attachment to liberalism waned as they struggled financially during the tough economic days of the late 1970s. At the same time, Republicans emphasized issues that they believed would convince moderate liberals to switch their party allegiance. For instance, Republicans attacked school busing as a form of social engineering that threatened the long-cherished ideal of neighborhood schools.

Republicans also benefited from the migration from the Rust Belt to the Sunbelt, which took place in the 1970s, and a historical realignment of white voters in the Deep South. Since the Civil War, most white southerners had voted for the Democratic Party. Following the enactment of civil rights legislation in the mid-1960s, however, many white southerners began to shift their party allegiance. By the 1980s, the Republicans had become the dominant political party in the region.

✓ **Checkpoint** What were some of the forces that helped the Republican Party grow during the 1970s?

Reagan Wins the Presidency

The growing conservative movement swept the Republican presidential candidate, a man named **Ronald Reagan**, to victory in the 1980 election. Much more charismatic and polished than Goldwater, Reagan made clear his opposition to big government, his support for a strong military, and his faith in traditional values. Just as importantly, he radiated optimism, convincing Americans that he would usher in a new era of prosperity and patriotism.

Reagan's Path to the White House Born in Tampico, Illinois, in 1911, Reagan suffered the hardships of the Great Depression as a young adult before landing a job in Hollywood as a movie actor. Never a big star, Reagan appeared in many “B” or low-budget films. His most famous starring role was in *Knute Rockne*, a film based on the life of Notre Dame's legendary football coach.

When his acting career began to wane, Reagan became a spokesperson for General Electric and toured the nation giving speeches. Although once a staunch New Dealer, Reagan had become a Goldwater conservative. In these speeches he began to criticize big government and high taxes and warned of the dangers of communism. In 1964, near the end of Goldwater's presidential campaign, Reagan delivered a nationally televised address in which he spelled out these views:

Primary Source

“This is the issue of this election, whether we believe in our capacity for self-government or whether we abandon the American Revolution and confess that a little intellectual elite in a far-distant capital can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.”

—Ronald Reagan, “A Time for Choosing,” 1964

HISTORY MAKERS

Ronald Reagan (1911–2004)

Ronald Reagan's easy communication style, which appealed so much to his supporters, was rooted in his background as an entertainer. After graduating from college, he worked as a radio sports announcer until, in 1937, he signed a contract with a movie studio. In 1954, he began hosting a television show sponsored by General Electric. Soon, he was touring the country for the company, giving speeches that promoted traditional values and American business. As Reagan's views became more conservative, he switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party. He gained political fame in 1964 with a speech supporting conservative senator Barry Goldwater's run for the presidency.



While the speech failed to bolster Goldwater's campaign, it won the admiration of many conservatives. Two years later, Reagan won the governorship of California. He served for two terms as governor and nearly won the Republican presidential nomination in 1976. In 1980, he won the nomination by a landslide. His opponent was Jimmy Carter, the Democratic incumbent.

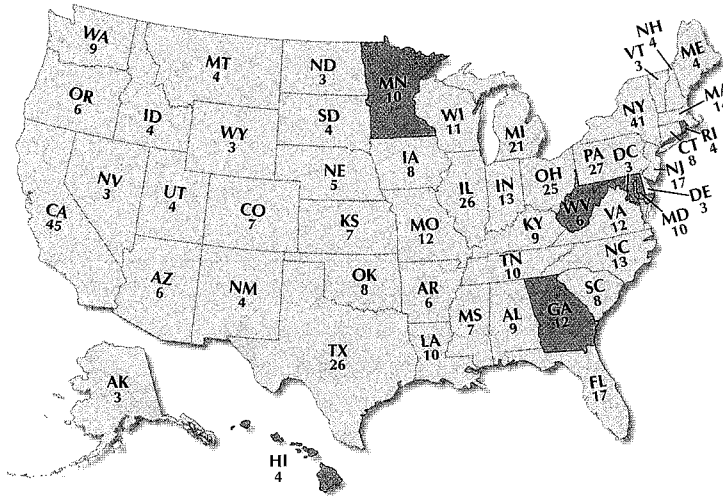
Reagan Wins a Close Election As the election approached, Carter looked like a lame duck. Persistent inflation, the Iran hostage crisis, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan made it easy for Reagan to cast the Carter presidency in a negative light. "Are you better off than you were four years ago?" Reagan

asked audiences on the campaign trail, knowing that most Americans would say, "No."

The race remained relatively close until about one week before the election, when Reagan and Carter held their only presidential debate. In this debate, Reagan's gifts as a communicator shone. He appeared friendly and even-tempered and calmed fears that he did not have enough experience to serve as President. On Election Day, Reagan won 50.6 percent of the popular vote. Because most states award electoral votes on a "winner-takes-all" basis, Reagan won an overwhelming majority of electoral college votes despite the narrow margin by which he won the popular vote. Even though the Democrats maintained control of the House of Representatives, Republicans captured the U.S. Senate for the first time since 1955. The conservatives were back.

✓ **Checkpoint** What did Ronald Reagan promise to do if elected to the presidency?

The Presidential Election of 1980



Candidate (Party)	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	% Electoral Vote	% Popular Vote
Ronald Reagan (Republican)	489	43,642,639	90.9	50.6
James Carter (Democratic)	49	35,480,948	9.1	41.2
John Anderson (Independent)	—	5,719,437	—	6.6

SECTION

1 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-1902

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining how it related to the rise of conservatism in the late 1970s.

- liberal
- conservative
- New Right
- unfunded mandate
- Moral Majority
- Ronald Reagan

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Summarize Use your outline to answer the Section Focus Question: What spurred the rise of conservatism in the late 1970s and early 1980s?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Choose a Topic

Choose a topic from this section, such as Ronald Reagan's path to the White House, that would suit the creation of a multimedia presentation. Keep in mind that a multimedia presentation is an oral report that is enhanced with artwork, charts, music, videos, and so on.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Compare Points of View** Describe one major difference between liberals and conservatives in the early 1980s.
- 5. Identify Central Issues** What policies did members of the New Right criticize?
- 6. Summarize** How did the Moral Majority help strengthen the Republican Party?
- 7. Draw Conclusions** Why did Americans elect Ronald Reagan to the presidency in 1980?



WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Reagan's Vision

During his eight years as President, Ronald Reagan earned a reputation as the "Great Communicator" because of his speaking abilities. In his farewell speech, he expressed his satisfaction with what he had accomplished:

"After 200 years, two centuries, . . . [America is] still a beacon, still a magnet for all who must have freedom. . . . We've done our part. And as I walk off into the city streets, a final word to the men and women of the Reagan revolution, the men and women across America who for eight years did the work that brought America back. My friends: We did it."

—Ronald Reagan, Farewell Address, January 11, 1989

▲ Ronald Reagan and his wife Nancy after his victory in the 1980 election. Above, a campaign button for Reagan.

The Reagan Revolution



Core Curriculum Objectives

- **7.V.C.1** Supply-side economics
- **7.V.C.2** Tax policy and deficits
- **7.V.C.5** The Supreme Court and the schools
- **7.V.F.1** Trade imbalance with Japan

Terms and People

supply-side economics	Savings and Loan crisis
deregulation	voucher
budget deficit	AIDS
national debt	

Why It Matters Conservatives celebrated Ronald Reagan's election as the fulfillment of their dreams. Some even referred to his coming to power as the "Reagan Revolution." The Reagan Revolution would bring a significant shift in the political direction of the nation. **Section Focus Question:** What were the major characteristics of the conservative Reagan Revolution?

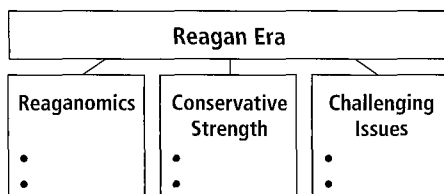
Reaganomics Guides the Economy

Reagan and his advisers based their economic policies on the theory of "supply-side economics," sometimes called "Reaganomics." The theory of **supply-side economics** rests on the assumption that if taxes are reduced, people will work more and have more money to spend, causing the economy to grow. The government will then collect more in taxes. To cut taxes while still balancing the federal budget, however, Reagan also needed to reduce federal spending on programs favored by both Democrats and Republicans.

New Policies to Boost the Economy Congress approved most of Reagan's plan to institute supply-side economics by passing the Economic Recovery Act of 1981, which reduced taxes by 25 percent over three years. The richest Americans received the largest tax cuts. Reagan justified this move by saying that the wealthy would use the money they saved to invest in new businesses, which would

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas Identify the main ideas behind Reagan's policies.



Comparing Supply-Side and Keynesian Economics

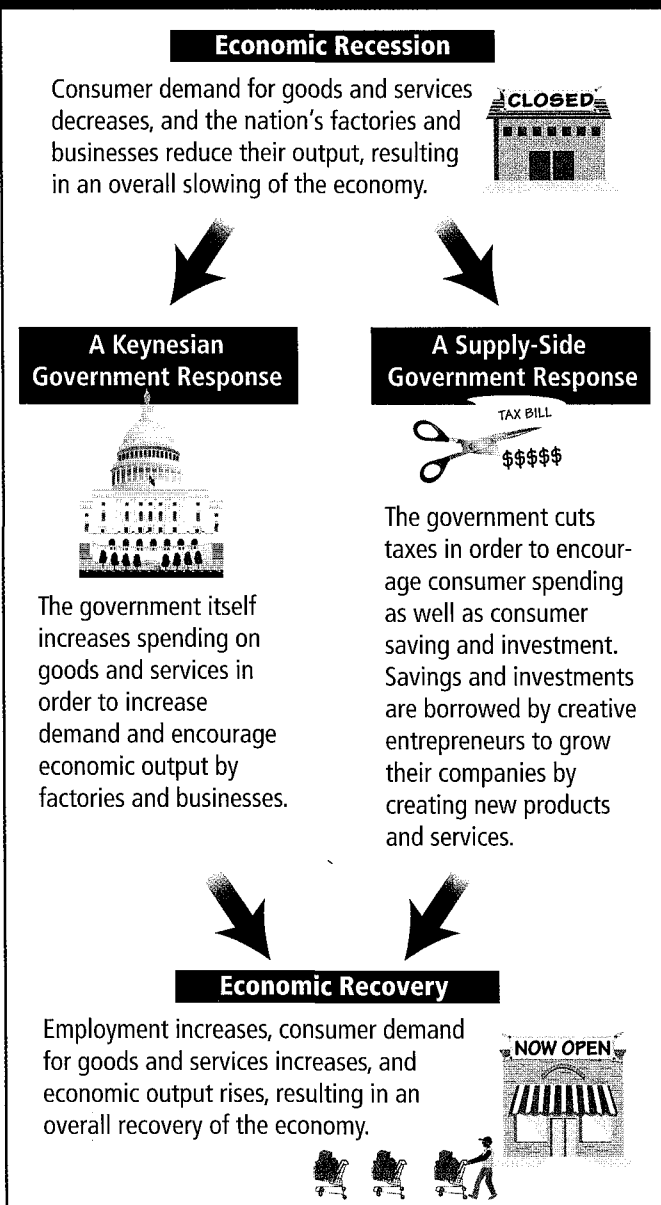


Diagram Skills Can you predict what might be the upsides and downsides of both of the responses shown above?

money spent and the amount taken in by the government, to skyrocket from about \$79 billion in 1981 to more than \$221 billion in 1986. The **national debt**, the amount of money the federal government owes to owners of government bonds, rose to \$2.5 trillion.

In response to persistent budget deficits, Congress passed the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act in 1985. The act sought to balance the budget by 1990 by requiring automatic cuts in federal spending if the deficit exceeded a certain amount. However, the federal budget deficit set new records into the early 1990s.

The **Savings and Loan, or S&L, crisis** in 1989 exacerbated deficit problems. In the late 1980s, about 1,000 Savings and Loan banks failed, some because of fraudulent behavior and others because they made too many risky loans. Critics blamed Reagan's deregulation policies for encouraging the banks to invest in riskier propositions. To prevent a broader panic, the federal government spent upwards of \$200 billion to bail out depositors at the failed banks.

✓ **Checkpoint** What was supply-side economics?

help everyone. Reagan also convinced Congress to cut about \$40 billion from the federal budget, mostly by cutting spending for social programs.

In addition to cutting taxes, Reagan also reduced the government's role in the economy by calling for **deregulation**, or the removal of government control over industry. By the mid-1980s, Congress had deregulated the airline, telecommunications, and banking industries. The Reagan administration also cut funding for federal agencies that oversaw many other industries.

Recession and Recovery Despite Reagan's economic policies, the economy experienced a severe recession from 1980 to 1982. Unemployment rose to more than 10 percent in 1982. The recession hit blue-collar workers particularly hard. Many farmers, facing overseas competition, lost their farms. The policies that Paul Volcker, as head of the Federal Reserve Board, had introduced to tame the great inflation of the 1970s contributed to the recession in the early 1980s. Beginning in early 1983, however, the economy began to turn around. Inflation fell dramatically. The Gross National Product, or the annual income earned by Americans and American businesses, expanded at a healthy pace. America's economy seemed revitalized.

Despite this, the number of poor people, including the working poor, actually increased. In addition, immigrants from Latin America and Asia continued to pour into the United States. More than 7.3 million legal immigrants and hundreds of thousands of undocumented immigrants entered the country in the 1980s. Many of these newcomers worked in low-paying jobs and struggled to make ends meet. Meanwhile, the richest percentage of Americans grew richer.

Problems With Budget Deficits Reagan increased defense spending but failed to win huge cuts in government spending in other areas. This caused the federal **budget deficit**, or the shortfall between the amount of


Conservative Strength Grows

Despite budget and debt problems, the economic recovery improved the national mood and helped Ronald Reagan's popularity. Reagan used his time in office to strengthen the conservative cause.

Reagan Wins Reelection in 1984 During the 1984 presidential campaign, Reagan used the phrase "It is morning in America" as a campaign slogan:

Primary Source

"It's morning again in America. In a town not too far from where you live, a young family has just moved into a new home. . . . Right down the street one of the neighbors has just bought himself a new car, with all the options. The factory down the river is working again. . . . Life is better, America is back. And people have a sense of pride they never felt they'd feel again."

—Campaign commercial for the reelection of Ronald Reagan, 1984  AUDIO

This theme dovetailed nicely with Reagan's upbeat spirit, which he displayed even in his darkest moments. For example, on March 30, 1981, a disturbed man named John Hinckley, Jr., tried to assassinate the President. One bullet from Hinckley's gun lodged in Reagan's chest. According to one account, Reagan joked to his doctors, "I hope you are all Republicans."

Americans voted overwhelmingly to reelect Reagan in 1984. He easily defeated Walter Mondale, the Democratic presidential nominee, and his running mate, Geraldine Ferraro, the first woman to be nominated for Vice President by a major political party. However, Reagan's momentum did not lead to a total triumph for conservatives, as Democrats retained control of the House of Representatives.

Vocabulary Builder

momentum—(moh MEHN tuh-m) *n.* forward motion; push

Conservative Supreme Court Justices and the Equal Access Act

During his two terms, Reagan appointed judges who he hoped would reverse the liberal drift of the federal courts. He appointed three new Justices—Sandra Day O'Connor, Antonin Scalia, and Anthony Kennedy—to the Supreme Court and elevated William Rehnquist, a well-known conservative, to the position of Chief Justice in 1986. Sandra Day O'Connor, nominated in 1981, was the first female Justice and a moderate conservative. Although she voted with other conservatives on many issues, she consistently voted to uphold *Roe v. Wade*, which Reagan opposed.

Near the end of Reagan's first term, Congress passed the Equal Access Act. This act required public secondary schools to allow any group equal access to school facilities. Conservative Christian groups supported the act's passage because many public schools did not allow religious groups to meet on school property. The Supreme Court confirmed the constitutionality of the Equal Access Act in 1990 in *Board of Education of Westside Community Schools v. Menges*.

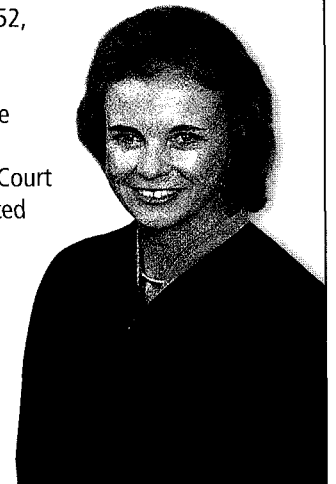
George H.W. Bush Becomes President Reagan used his personal popularity to promote George H.W. Bush, his Vice President for eight years, as Bush campaigned for the presidency against Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis in 1988. Bush called for a "kinder, gentler nation," yet both candidates attacked the other using negative campaign ads. Bush cemented his support among conservatives by promising not to raise taxes and by casting himself as a defender of

HISTORY MAKERS

Sandra Day O'Connor (born 1930)

After getting her law degree in 1952, Sandra Day O'Connor served as a lawyer for many years before becoming involved in Arizona state politics in the late 1960s. She was serving as a judge on the Arizona Court of Appeals when she was nominated to the Supreme Court in 1981.

O'Connor sat on the Supreme Court for nearly 25 years. Her vote was the tiebreaker on several influential court cases, causing her to be called one of the most powerful women in the United States.





TV Review

Dynasty:

Living large and behaving badly

Fans love the Wednesday night favorite, *Dynasty*, featuring Linda Evans as Krystle Carrington and John Forsythe as Blake Carrington. ■ See p. B6

TIMES of the Eighties

A SNAPSHOT OF THE REAGAN YEARS

Personal Computers: Hot item. ■ See p. A12



Are you a Yuppie?

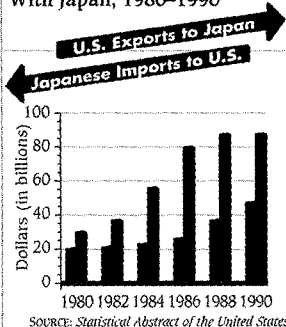
If you're under 30, live in a city, and work in an office, then *yes*—you're a Young Urban Professional, or Yuppie. ■ See p. A7

In the Economy

Trade Imbalance With Japan Deepens

Japan's import restrictions are keeping American goods off of Japanese store shelves.

U.S. Trade Deficit With Japan, 1980-1990



Trend Spotting

VCRs Bring Fitness Craze Home



Videotapes of popular exercise programs, such as Judi Missett's Jazzercise fitness plan, are flying off the shelves.

Thinking Critically

1. Draw Conclusions How do you think the trade imbalance with Japan affected the American economy?

2. Summarize How did new technologies help advance the personal fitness craze?



ADA Passed!

- The Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA) was passed by Congress and signed into law by President George H.W. Bush in July 1990.
- The act will ensure that Americans with disabilities will receive the same opportunities in employment and access to public transportation and public places as other Americans.
- The act benefits more than 43 million people and is another stride forward in the quest to protect the rights of all Americans.

Space Shuttle *Challenger* Explodes

Reagan Comforts the Nation

CAPE CANAVERAL, FLORIDA On January 28, 1986, the long-awaited launch of the space shuttle *Challenger* ended in tragedy when the shuttle exploded 73 seconds after take-off. The shuttle carried seven astronauts, including New Hampshire schoolteacher Christa McAuliffe. Her flight would have been the first time a private citizen entered space.

President Reagan spoke to the nation following the tragedy:

Primary Source "For the families of the seven [astronauts], we cannot bear, as you do, the full impact of this tragedy. But we feel the loss, and we're thinking about you so very much. Your loved ones were daring and brave, and 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. They wished to serve, and they did. They served all of us."



The space shuttle *Challenger* exploded shortly after lifting off from Kennedy Space Center. Inset: Schoolteacher Christa McAuliffe (far left) and six career astronauts died aboard the shuttle.

traditional values. However, Democrats won a majority of seats in both houses of Congress.

President Bush sought to control federal spending by encouraging Americans to volunteer. Government, he asserted, could take a smaller role in daily life if, "like a thousand points of light," community organizations and volunteers provided more help to the disabled, illiterate, and poor.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did Reagan try to build upon conservative gains during his presidency?

Confronting Challenging Issues

Despite Reagan and Bush's successes, the nation continued to face a number of pressing problems. In 1981 when thousands of air-traffic controllers went on strike, Reagan refused to negotiate with the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) and fired the striking workers because they were violating a law forbidding federal employees from striking. Many Americans admired Reagan's strong, decisive stance. Some union supporters, however, claimed that Reagan's action represented an assault on the labor movement.

In the 1980s, the rising cost of Social Security caused concern. As the number of elderly people in America grew, the Social Security system began to collect less money than it paid out. In 1983, Reagan signed the Social Security Reform Act, which raised the minimum retirement age and increased payroll taxes for Social Security. It provided a temporary fix but did not solve the long-term problems of the Social Security program.

Many Americans also worried about the state of America's public education system. In 1983, the Department of Education issued *A Nation at Risk*. This study showed that students were consistently scoring lower on standardized tests as time passed. The report argued that America's schools failed to prepare students adequately to compete with students around the globe.

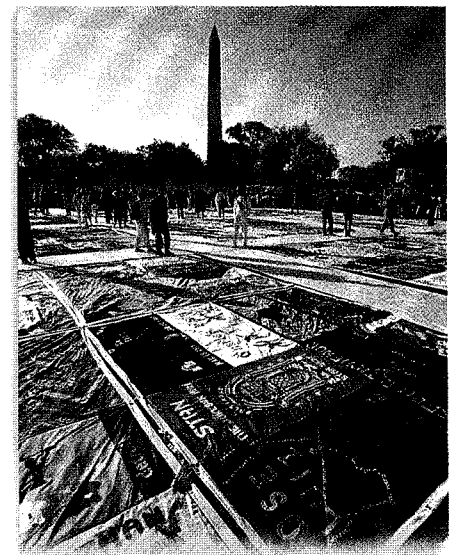
Even before the report appeared, conservatives called for providing **vouchers**, or government checks, that could be used by parents to pay tuition at private schools. Conservatives argued that vouchers would force public schools to improve in order to attract and retain students. Liberals in Congress argued that vouchers would take much-needed money away from public schools.

In addition, the nation faced the threat of a new disease, **Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS)**, which first appeared in 1981. AIDS is the last stage of the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), which attacks the immune system of its victims. There is no known cure. At first, AIDS spread mainly among homosexual men and intravenous drug users. Later, the virus infected different groups of people. By 1994, AIDS had killed more than 250,000 Americans. President Reagan responded slowly to the AIDS epidemic. During George H.W. Bush's presidency, funding for research on the disease rose substantially.

- ✓ **Checkpoint** What were some of the challenges that the nation faced during the 1980s and early 1990s?

The AIDS Quilt

When the AIDS Quilt was displayed in Washington, D.C., in October 1988, it consisted of 8,288 panels, each created in the memory of a person who had died of AIDS. Today, the quilt has more than 44,000 memorial panels.



SECTION 2 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-1903

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** For each term below, write a sentence explaining its significance to the Reagan era.
- supply-side economics
 - deregulation
 - budget deficit
 - national debt
 - Savings and Loan crisis
 - AIDS

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Identify Main Ideas Use your chart to answer the Section Focus Question: What were the major characteristics of the conservative Reagan Revolution?

Writing About History

- 3. Quick Write: Create a Storyboard** Create a storyboard that illustrates one of the challenges facing Americans during this period. Use a combination of words and images to express your points.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Summarize** In what ways did Reagan try to fulfill the goal of less government involvement in the economy?
- 5. Draw Conclusions** How did Reagan strengthen the conservative cause?
- 6. Identify Central Issues** How did Reagan address problems with Social Security?

Ronald Reagan: *Tear Down This Wall*

On June 12, 1987, President Reagan spoke at the Brandenburg Gate, near the Berlin Wall, in West Berlin, Germany. His speech acknowledged the new Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts at reform in the Soviet Union. However, Reagan was not satisfied with Gorbachev's limited measures. He challenged the Soviet leader to show a real commitment to reform by tearing down the Berlin Wall that had stood between East and West Berlin since 1961. This wall symbolized the division between communism and democracy.

In the 1950s, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind—too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds among the nations with comity [courtesy] and peace. Freedom is the victor.

And now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West, or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

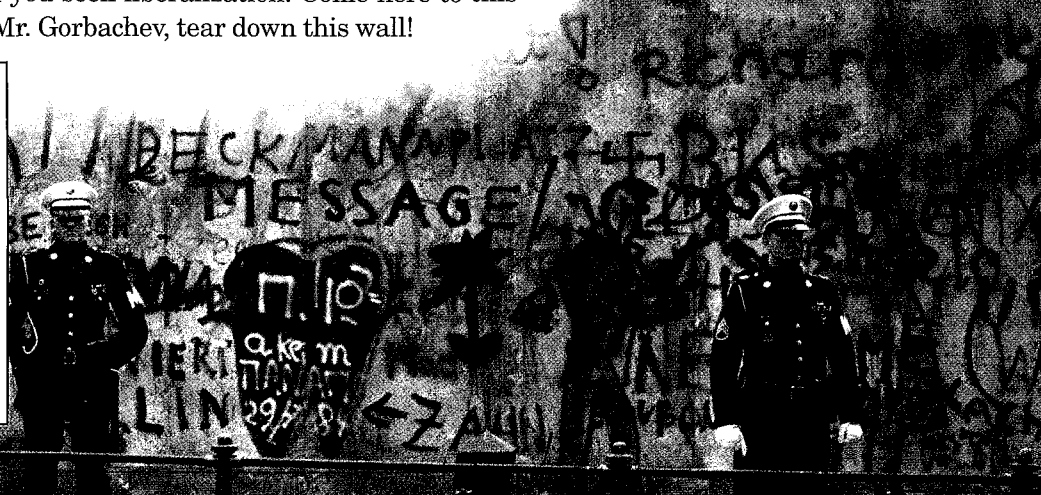
General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!



Reagan speaking at the Brandenburg Gate (above); the western side of the Berlin Wall before its fall (below)

Thinking Critically

- 1. Demonstrate Reasoned Judgment** How does Reagan support his statement "Freedom is the victor"?
- 2. Identify Central Issues** How does Reagan challenge Gorbachev to prove that his reforms are not "token gestures"?



A Strong Approach to Communism

During the first term of his presidency, Ronald Reagan challenged the Soviet Union by building up America's military and casting the Cold War as a struggle between good and evil:

“But if history teaches anything, it teaches that simpleminded appeasement or wishful thinking about our adversaries is folly. . . . I urge you to speak against those who would place the United States in a position of military and moral inferiority. . . . beware the temptation . . . to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.”

—President Ronald Reagan, March 8, 1983

▲ A soldier trains at Fort Dix in New Jersey in the 1980s.

The End of the Cold War



Core Curriculum Objectives

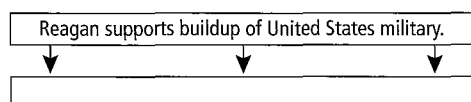
- **7.V.E.1** Renewed United States power: Central America and the Caribbean
- **7.V.E.2** Middle East: war and hostages
- **7.V.G** United States–Soviet relations
- **7.VI.A.3a** Dissolution of the Soviet Union
- **7.VI.A.3b** Fall of the Berlin Wall and German reunification (1990)

Terms and People

SDI	<i>glasnost</i>
Contras	<i>perestroika</i>
Mikhail Gorbachev	Iran-Contra affair

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Sequence As you read this section, use a flowchart like the one below to sequence major events related to the fall of communism in Europe and the Soviet Union.



Why It Matters President Ronald Reagan believed that the United States had lost its way in the wake of the Vietnam War. Rather than détente, he felt the United States should seek to roll back Soviet rule in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. Reagan believed that peace would come through strength. Although they initially increased tensions between the two superpowers, Reagan's foreign policies contributed to the end of the Cold War. **Section Focus Question:** What were Reagan's foreign policies, and how did they contribute to the fall of communism in Europe?

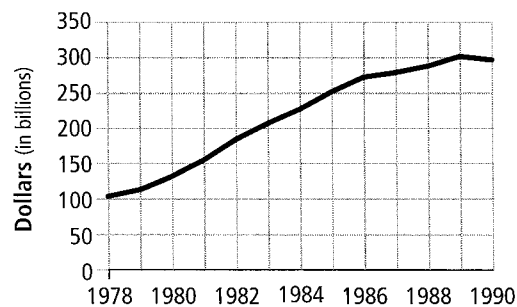
Reagan Challenges Communism

President Reagan believed that the United States needed to weaken communism by challenging it as much as possible without provoking war. To this end, he devised policies aimed at toppling communist nations, ranging from building new nuclear missile systems to funding covert operations against Soviet troops and allies around the globe.

Reagan Builds Up the U.S. Military Under Reagan, the United States committed itself to the largest peacetime military buildup in its history. Reagan dedicated billions of dollars to the development and production of B-1 and B-2 bombers, MX missile systems, and other projects. In spite of massive protests by the nuclear freeze movement in the United States and abroad, the Reagan administration placed a new generation of nuclear missiles in Europe.

Reagan supported this massive military buildup, in part, because he did not believe that the Soviet Union could afford to spend as much on defense as the United States could. Reagan felt this

Federal Defense Spending, 1978–1990



SOURCE: Statistical Abstract of the United States

Graph Skills Reagan's foreign policy stance caused defense spending to increase dramatically. *How much did defense spending increase between 1978 and 1988?*

The Contras in Nicaragua

After coming to power in 1939, Nicaragua's socialist Sandinista government accepted aid from Cuba and the Soviet Union, alarming the United States. Below, a group of Contras review a map at a base camp along the San Juan River. Contras opposed the Sandinista government. *How did a socialist government in Nicaragua alarm foreign policy officials in the United States?*



applied particularly to the **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)**, a proposed program in which land- and space-based lasers would destroy any missiles aimed at the United States before they could reach their targets. Some dubbed the missile program “Star Wars,” after the popular science-fiction movie trilogy, and claimed that it was unrealistic.

Reagan Aids Anticommunists Reagan also sought to weaken the Soviet Union by supporting anticommunist rebellions around the globe. To this end, the United States funded and trained the mujahadeen (moo jah huh DEEN), anti-Soviet rebels in Afghanistan. Reagan's advisers believed that with U.S. help, these guerrillas could drive the Soviets out of Afghanistan. In 1988, Soviet forces finally began to withdraw after years of fierce Afghan resistance.

Closer to home, Secretary of State Alexander Haig feared that the newly formed Sandinista government in Nicaragua provided the Soviets with a “safe house” in America's backyard. To counter this threat, the administration backed a group of anticommunist counterrevolutionaries, known as the **Contras**. At the same time, the United States supported a right-wing government in El Salvador as it battled leftist rebels. Many human rights activists strongly objected to this policy; even U.S. Ambassador Robert White described the legal system in El Salvador as “rotten” and called for the United States to suspend aid to the nation. Instead, Congress made funding for El Salvador's government dependent on the nation making progress on human rights.

In 1983, Reagan acted to counter another perceived threat in the Western Hemisphere. Members of a radical leftist movement, with some help from Cuba, had violently ousted the Grenadian prime minister. On October 25, 1983, U.S. troops invaded Grenada to prevent the island nation from becoming a communist outpost and to protect the lives of American medical students. Even though the legal grounds for this invasion proved questionable, most Americans approved of Reagan's decision.

Gorbachev Pursues Reform In 1985, **Mikhail Gorbachev** (mee kah EEL GOR buh chawf) became the President of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev ushered in a new Soviet era by pursuing the twin policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*. **Glasnost** meant “a new openness,” and **perestroika** stood for reforming the Soviet system—for instance, by moving away from a socialist or state-controlled economy. Gorbachev's reforms created an opening for a shift in relations between the two superpowers.

Gorbachev started these reforms mostly because the Soviet Union's economy lay in shambles. The nation faced regular shortages of food. Its factories and workers could not compete with their Western counterparts. A huge chunk of the Soviet economy's money went toward paying for the military. The war in Afghanistan had drained Soviet resources. Gorbachev realized that his nation could not match the military buildup initiated by the Reagan administration.

The Two Leaders Meet Gorbachev's policies and personality helped soften the Soviet Union's international image. Reagan responded to this change by moderating his own stance toward the Soviet Union. While the two nations had held no summits during Reagan's first four years in office, their leaders met four times between 1985 and 1989. During their final meeting in Moscow, Reagan and Gorbachev toasted each other at a state dinner, toured the sights like old friends, and held a joint press conference. At the press conference, a reporter asked Reagan about his description of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire." Reagan responded, "I was talking about another era." Then, Gorbachev allowed President Reagan to address students at Moscow State University on the benefits of the free-enterprise system and democracy:

Primary Source

"Your generation is living in one of the most exciting times in Soviet history. It is a time when the first breath of freedom stirs the air and the heart beats to the accelerated rhythm of hope, when the accumulated spiritual energies of a long silence yearn to break free. . . . We do not know what the conclusion of this journey will be, but we're hopeful that the promise of reform will be fulfilled . . . leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace."

—Ronald Reagan, May 31, 1988

Even before this summit, the two nations had signed a historic nuclear arms pact and had begun negotiations on the START I Treaty, which would reduce the number of nuclear weapons in the world.

✓ **Checkpoint** What policies toward communism did President Reagan pursue?

The Cold War Ends

In a little over three years' time after Reagan's speech in Moscow, the Cold War had come to an end. The Berlin Wall came down; Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary held democratic elections; and the Soviet Union disintegrated into numerous separate republics. *Time* magazine observed: "It was one of those rare times when the tectonic plates of history shift beneath men's feet, and nothing after is quite the same."

Communism Ends in Eastern Europe More so than any other event, the fall of the Berlin Wall symbolized the end of communism in Europe. For decades, the wall had blocked travel from communist East Berlin to democratic West Berlin. Guards shot those who attempted to escape over the wall to West Berlin. Then, in November 1989, following the fall of East Germany's communist government, East German authorities opened the wall's gates. Thousands climbed atop the wall; some even took sledgehammers and chipped away at the barricade. Within a year, East and West Germany would reunite as one single nation. Communists also lost power in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania in 1989; in Albania in 1990; and in Yugoslavia in 1991.



Analyzing Political Cartoons

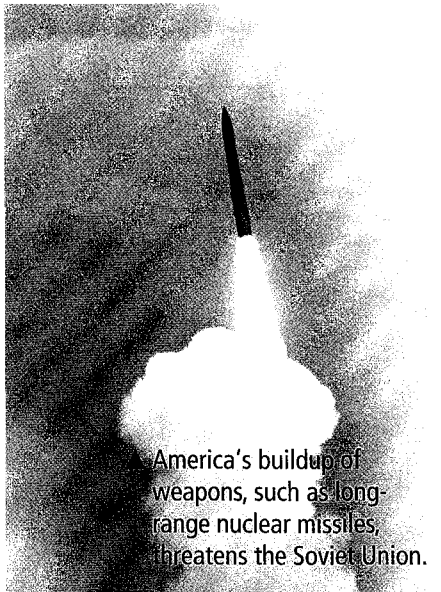
A Bumpy Ride? In this cartoon, the communist bloc, or the group of Soviet-dominated communist nations in Eastern Europe, is represented by a rickety car headed down the bumpy road of reform.

1. What does the cartoonist seem to think perestroika will do to the communist bloc?
2. Why might economic reforms like perestroika lead to bumpy, or troubled, times?

WITNESS HISTORY DVD

Watch *Reagan and the End of the Cold War* on the **United States Witness History DVD** to explore Reagan's role in the end of the Cold War.





America's buildup of weapons, such as long-range nuclear missiles, threatens the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union Breaks Apart In August 1991, hard-liners in the Soviet Union attempted to stage a coup in a last-gasp attempt to maintain communist rule. But when millions of Russians, led by Boris Yeltsin, rallied in the streets of Moscow in support of Gorbachev, the coup fell apart. Not long afterward, the Communist Party lost power, and the Soviet Union separated into 15 independent republics. Boris Yeltsin became the new leader of the largest new republic, the Russian Federation.

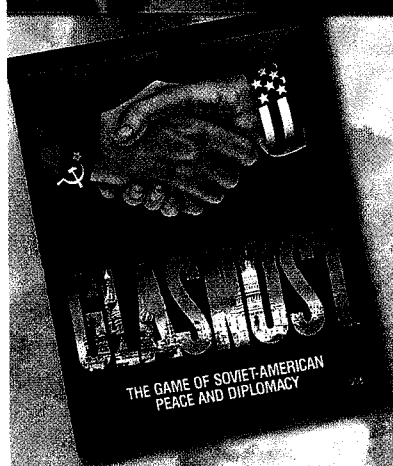
Historians do not totally agree on what caused the Soviet Union to collapse. Most acknowledge that Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* opened the floodgates to rebellions against Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. Likewise, they note that his policy of *perestroika* fostered a challenge to communist rule within the Soviet Union. Yet, a number of scholars give Reagan credit for bringing an end

Events That Changed America

THE FALL OF COMMUNISM IN EUROPE

In the early 1980s, Ronald Reagan began to build up the American military. Knowing that the struggling Soviet economy could not match this buildup, Mikhail Gorbachev began reforms in the Soviet Union and sought a better relationship with the United States.

Then came 1989, the "year of the miracle." In that year, the nations of Eastern Europe experienced a series of bloodless revolutions. In June 1989, Solidarity, Poland's anticommunist reform party, swept into power. Its leader, Lech Walesa, was elected President in 1990. In November 1989, the Berlin Wall fell. People were allowed to travel freely from East to West Berlin for the first time in nearly 40 years. Next, massive demonstrations by university students in Czechoslovakia ended communist rule there. Finally, in August 1991, following a failed coup against Gorbachev, millions of Russians led by Boris Yeltsin protested against the central Soviet government, breaking its power. Not long afterward, the Soviet Union ceased to exist. President George H.W. Bush and Boris Yeltsin, the President of the new Russian Federation, established a friendly relationship between their nations.



▲ An American game about the Soviet policy of *glasnost*

▼ Reagan shares a friendly moment with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Lech Walesa, head of Poland's Solidarity movement, kisses the Polish flag as he takes his oath as President. ▼

to the Cold War. By dedicating America to a massive arms buildup, they argue, he hastened the collapse of the Soviet economy. In turn, this compelled Gorbachev to promote reform at home and relinquish control of Eastern Europe.

The key rival, competitor, and enemy of the United States for so many years had suddenly disappeared. President George H.W. Bush met and signed agreements with first Gorbachev and then Yeltsin to scale down and even eliminate certain types of nuclear weapons. Bush and Yeltsin issued a joint statement in 1992 pledging friendship and cooperation. The long Cold War, which had absorbed so much of the energy and resources of the Soviet Union and the United States since 1945, was finally over.

✓ **Checkpoint** What key actions and events brought about the end of the Cold War?



Why It Matters

Although communism survived in China, Cuba, and a few other nations, the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union ended the Cold War. American leaders now faced new challenges and daunting questions: Should military spending be decreased? What new direction should American foreign policy take in the post-Cold War world?

◀ West Germans celebrate the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Berlin.

▲ Bush and Yeltsin meet at Camp David to discuss joint foreign-policy proposals.

◀ Thousands of Czechs hold peaceful protests and candlelight vigils to protest Czechoslovakia's communist regime.

A child plays on a statue of Stalin that has been knocked down in Gorky Park in Moscow. ▼

Thinking Critically

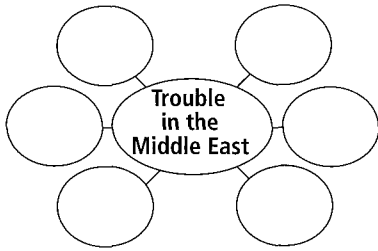
How did Reagan end up influencing Soviet policy in the mid-1980s?

History Interactive

For: More images from the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union
Web Code: nep-1904

NoteTaking

Identify Main Ideas Record the main ideas related to events in the Middle East during Reagan's presidency in a concept web like the one below.



Vocabulary Builder

contradict—(kahn truh DIHKT) *v.*
to go against

Trouble Persists in the Middle East

Even as the Soviet Union collapsed, the United States continued to confront problems in the Middle East. In 1982, Reagan sent a group of 800 United States Marines to Lebanon as part of an international force trying to bring peace to a nation torn by civil war. On October 23, 1983, a truck loaded with thousands of pounds of explosives smashed through barriers at the headquarters of the United States Marines in Beirut (bay ROOT), Lebanon's capital, and into a four-story building that housed hundreds of military personnel. The explosion killed 241 marines. Reagan withdrew the remaining marines in February 1984. The incident illustrated, once again, the complicated nature of Middle Eastern politics.

During the 1980s, the United States often clashed with Libya. Led by Muammar al-Qaddafi (MOO uh mahr al kuh DAH fee), whom Reagan described as “the mad dog of the Middle East,” Libya supported terrorist groups. In 1986, following a terrorist attack on a Berlin nightclub, which Reagan blamed on Qaddafi, U.S. warplanes bombed Libya. The air raid killed one of Qaddafi's daughters. Even though Qaddafi was unharmed, his criticism of the United States dwindled.

Reagan's presidency had started with a breakthrough in the Middle East. Twenty minutes after he took the oath of office on January 20, 1981, Iran released all 52 Americans it had held hostage since 1979. But during his second term, the Iran-Contra affair badly tarnished Reagan's reputation.

The **Iran-Contra affair** began when the United States sold weapons to Iran in 1985 in exchange for Iran's promise to pressure terrorist groups in Lebanon to release some American hostages. The plan didn't work, and it **contradicted** the administration's policy of refusing to negotiate with terrorists. Then, the administration used the money from the sale to fund the Contras in Nicaragua, despite the fact that in 1983 Congress had banned sending funds to the Contras. News of these deals came out in 1986. Although President Reagan accepted responsibility for the actions of his administration, he never admitted to ordering his aides to support the Contras. Ultimately, several leading administration officials and a top aide, Oliver North, were convicted on charges stemming from the scandal, although many of the convictions were later overturned on technical grounds. In spite of this, Reagan left office with extremely high approval ratings.

✓ **Checkpoint** What was the Iran-Contra scandal?

SECTION

3 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-1905

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining how the term or person related to the fall of communism in Europe and the Soviet Union in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

- Strategic Defense Initiative
- Mikhail Gorbachev
- *glasnost*
- *perestroika*

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Sequence Use your flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: What were Reagan's foreign policies, and how did they contribute to the fall of communism in Europe?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Choose Images Using library books or approved Internet sources, select images and write captions to create a multimedia presentation about the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Draw Inferences** How did Reagan's foreign policy differ from that of Carter?
- 5. Identify Point of View** During his first term, Reagan called the Soviet Union an “evil empire,” but in his second term, he developed a working relationship with Gorbachev. What accounts for this change in strategy?
- 6. Synthesize Information** Why did Reagan order an air raid on Libya?

A New World Order

Less than two years after the Berlin Wall fell, the United States found itself involved in another war after Iraq invaded its neighbor Kuwait. President George H.W. Bush spoke about his vision for this war:

“We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward a historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times . . . a new world order can emerge; a new era—freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice; and more secure in the quest of peace, an era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony.”

—George Herbert Walker Bush, Address to Congress, September 11, 1990

▲ President Bush and his wife, Barbara, visiting troops in Saudi Arabia during the Persian Gulf War

Foreign Policy After the Cold War



Core Curriculum Objectives

- **7.V.F.2** United States and South Africa
- **7.VI.A** The Bush Presidency
- **7.VI.A.3** Foreign policy issues
- **7.VI.A.3d** Persian Gulf crisis

Terms and People

Manuel Noriega	divest
Tiananmen Square	Saddam Hussein
apartheid	Operation Desert Storm
Nelson Mandela	

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Summarize Use a chart like the one below to summarize Bush's major foreign-policy decisions.

Post-Cold War Foreign Policy	
America's new role in the world	Persian Gulf War
• •	• •

Why It Matters When the Cold War came to an end, many Americans hoped that a new era of peace would dawn. Yet, America's foreign policy during the Bush years demonstrated that the end of the Cold War would not lead to a new era of peace, but instead to a dangerous era of regional conflicts. **Section Focus Question:** What actions did the United States take abroad during George H.W. Bush's presidency?

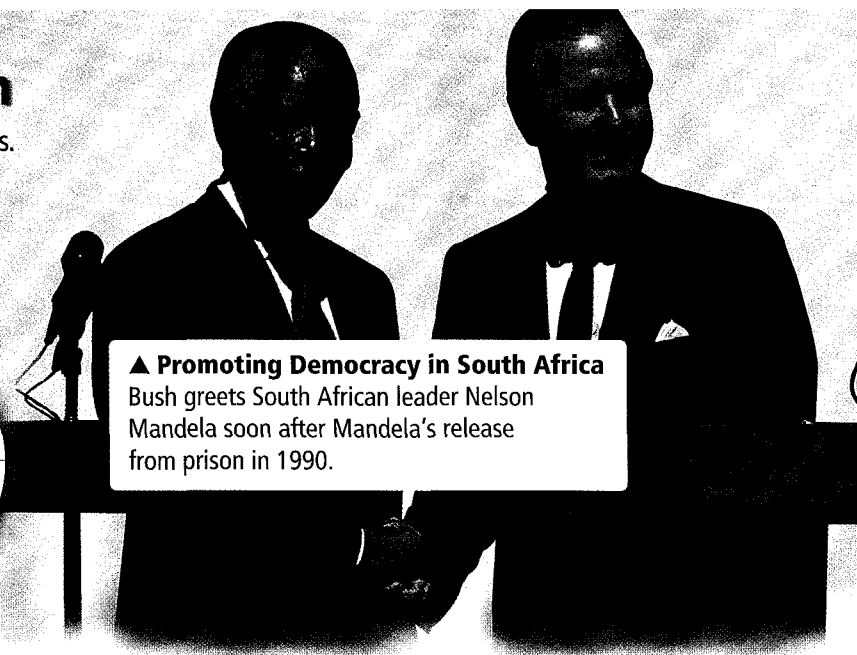
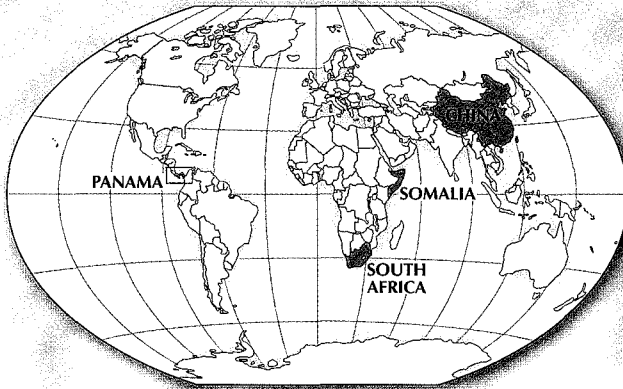
A New Role in the World

When the Soviet Union collapsed, the United States became the only unopposed superpower poised to take a leading role in world affairs under the leadership of President George H.W. Bush. Few leaders entered the White House with as much foreign policy experience as Bush. A graduate of Yale and a veteran of World War II, Bush had served as the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, as director of the CIA, and as Ronald Reagan's Vice President. His experience would be put to the test as America faced a series of difficult international crises during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Latin America and the War on Drugs In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Latin America experienced a wave of democracy. In Central America, a peace plan devised by Costa Rican leader Oscar Arias (AH ree uhs) brought free elections in Nicaragua and the end of a long civil war in El Salvador. In Chile, the notorious military dictator Augusto Pinochet (ah GOO stoh pee noh SHAY) gave up power.

Foreign Policy Under Bush

President Bush faced several foreign-policy challenges. He adjusted his policy depending on each situation. How did Bush's approach in Somalia differ from his approach in Panama?



▲ Promoting Democracy in South Africa

Bush greets South African leader Nelson Mandela soon after Mandela's release from prison in 1990.

Not all developments in Latin America, however, pleased the Bush administration. Since the Nixon administration, the government had been waging a “war on drugs,” or an attempt to stop illegal drug use by going after both sellers and users. Groups of racketeers in Latin America supplied a significant amount of the illegal drugs in the United States. The Bush administration arrested and tried several international drug figures, including Eduardo Martinez Romero, the reputed financier of a Colombian drug cartel. Even more spectacularly, in December 1989, Bush sent more than 12,000 U.S. troops to invade Panama and arrest Panama's dictator **Manuel Noriega**. Brought to the United States for trial, Noriega was convicted of several charges of drug trafficking and sentenced to 40 years in prison.

China Cracks Down on Critics Meanwhile, in the spring of 1989, Chinese students captured the world's attention by staging prodemocracy protests in **Tiananmen Square** in the heart of Beijing. Many Americans hoped that these protests might result in the fall of communism in China. Instead, on June 4, Chinese tanks rolled into Beijing, killed hundreds of protesters, crushed the demonstrations, and imprisoned many prodemocracy activists.

The Bush administration condemned this action and suspended arms sales to China. However, Bush did not believe that stiffer penalties would influence Chinese leaders. He made the pragmatic choice to remain engaged with China economically and diplomatically, rather than cut off ties with the country.

Change Comes to South Africa While China resisted changes, long overdue ones were taking place in South Africa. For years, the South African government, controlled by whites, had maintained an oppressive system of rigid segregation known as **apartheid**. The leader of the antiapartheid movement, **Nelson Mandela** (man DEHL uh), had been imprisoned since 1962. In the late 1980s, protests against apartheid within South Africa and around the globe grew. In the United States, many private firms **divested**, or withdrew investments, from South Africa. Congress imposed economic sanctions instead of fully divesting, not wanting to destabilize the struggling nation. President Bush met with Mandela after his release from jail in 1990 and endorsed the drive to bring democracy to South Africa. Soon after, apartheid began to be dismantled, and South Africans elected Mandela as their leader in 1994 in their first free elections.



▲ **Fighting Drug Trafficking in Panama** The U.S. Justice Department takes a mug shot of Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega after his removal from Panama.



▲ **Providing Aid in Somalia** An American soldier receives a warm welcome from a Somali child.



▲ **Being Careful With China** Bush reacted cautiously when the Chinese government suppressed prodemocracy protests in Tiananmen Square.

Peacekeeping and Police Actions With the fall of communism in 1991, the nation of Yugoslavia disintegrated into a bloody civil war. Bush chose not to send troops because he feared that the tangled conflict could embroil the United States in another Vietnam. Not until 1992, however, did he back a modest UN plan to restore peace in Bosnia, one of the new republics carved out of Yugoslavia. By then, more than 150,000 civilians had died.

The Bush administration acted more swiftly to protect human rights in Somalia. As part of "Operation Restore Hope," United States Marines landed in this East African nation in December 1992 to help establish a cease-fire between rival warlords and to deliver food to hundreds of thousands of starving people. The American humanitarian mission reinforced UN efforts at peacekeeping and relief. Even some of Bush's most persistent critics applauded his decision to intervene in Somalia.

✓ **Checkpoint** What domestic problems caused President Bush to order the invasion of Panama?

The Persian Gulf War

The most important foreign-policy challenge faced by the Bush administration took place in the Persian Gulf. On August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded its tiny neighbor Kuwait. Nearly 150,000 Iraqi troops quickly overran Kuwaiti forces.

Causes of the War Saddam Hussein, Iraq's ruthless dictator, had run the Middle Eastern nation with an iron fist since 1979. By invading Kuwait, Hussein sought to take over Kuwait's rich oil deposits. With Kuwait in his power, Hussein would control nearly 20 percent of the oil produced around the world. The United States feared how Hussein would use the influence that controlling such a large amount of oil would give him. In addition, nearby Saudi Arabia possessed even more massive oil reserves. The United States did not want Hussein to seek to gain control of those reserves next. President Bush made it clear that he would not tolerate Iraq's aggression against its neighbor. He worked to build an international coalition and backed a UN resolution demanding that Iraqi troops withdraw.

Vocabulary Builder

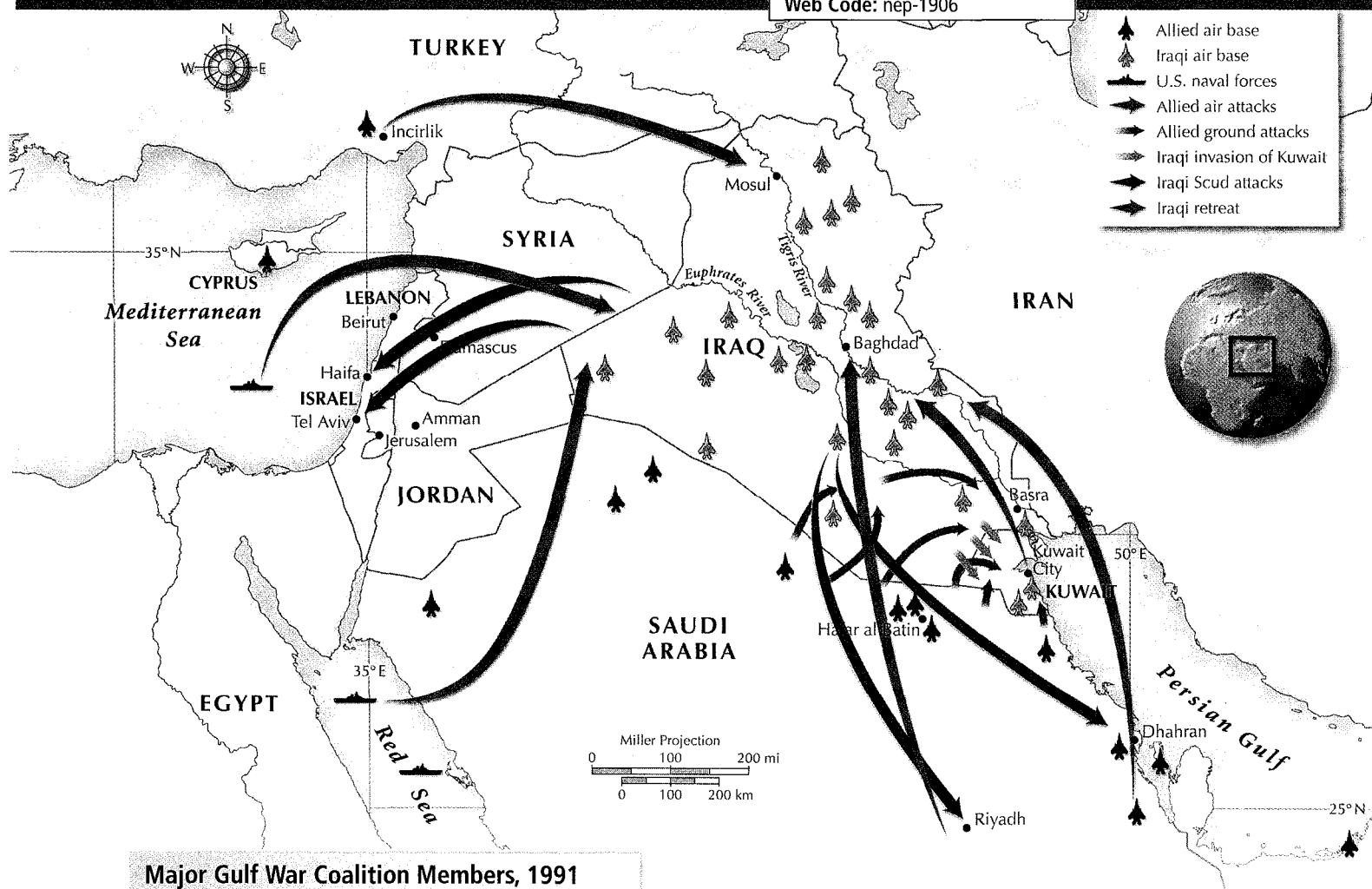
tolerate—(TAHL er ayt) *v.* to put up with

The Persian Gulf War, 1991

Geography Interactive

For: Interactive map

Web Code: nep-1906



Major Gulf War Coalition Members, 1991

Country*	Flag	Country*	Flag
Bahrain		Pakistan	
Canada		Qatar	
Egypt		Saudi Arabia	
France		Syria	
Germany		Turkey	
Japan		United Arab Emirates	
Kuwait		United Kingdom	
Netherlands		United States	
Oman			

*Other coalition members who made smaller contributions: Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Greece, Italy, Morocco, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Senegal, South Korea, Spain

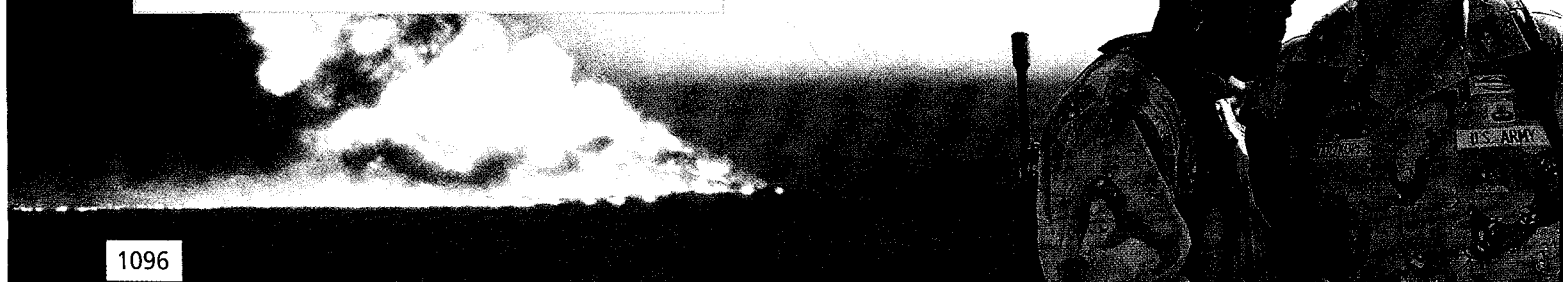
Map Skills The Persian Gulf War consisted mainly of aerial bombardment, with only a brief ground war.

1. Locate: (a) Kuwait, (b) Saudi Arabia, (c) Baghdad

2. Location Why was Saudi Arabia a strategic ally?

3. Synthesize Information From what points did the Allied forces launch air attacks?

As they retreated, Iraqi troops set fire to Kuwait's oil wells, causing great environmental harm (below). General Norman Schwarzkopf, the commander of the coalition's forces in the Persian Gulf, consults with a soldier (right).



Operation Desert Storm By late fall, about 700,000 troops had assembled in Saudi Arabia, including nearly 500,000 American forces. Britain, France, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, among others, also sent troops. Other nations, for example Japan, agreed to help pay for the costs of the operation. Initially, Bush hoped that the presence of these troops, along with the economic sanctions against Iraq, would convince Hussein to withdraw his soldiers. At the same time, the President asked for and received from Congress the authority to use force, if necessary, to back up the UN's resolution that Iraq leave Kuwait.

Operation Desert Storm, the name given to the American-led attack on Iraqi forces, began on January 16, 1991. General Colin Powell, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and General Norman Schwarzkopf devised and executed a strategy that began with five weeks of devastating aerial bombardment on Iraqi forces. Iraq countered by launching Scud missiles on both coalition forces and Israel. Although, these missiles did little serious damage, they struck terror in the hearts of many who feared they were armed with chemical warheads.

On February 23, coalition troops stormed into Kuwait. Easily overmatched, Iraqi troops surrendered or fled, setting fire to Kuwaiti oil rigs along the way. Less than five days after the ground war began, Iraq agreed to a UN cease-fire. It had lost an estimated 25,000 soldiers. American deaths totaled 148. "We've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all," proclaimed Bush. He then chose to limit American actions to enforcing the UN resolution. The coalition's forces would compel Iraq to leave Kuwait but would not continue on to Baghdad, Iraq's capital, to topple Saddam Hussein. As a result, Hussein and his regime survived the war. Bush's public approval rating skyrocketed.

HISTORY MAKERS

Colin Powell (born 1937)

The son of Jamaican immigrants, Colin Powell joined the army after college and served two tours of duty in Vietnam. He held several jobs in the army and in the government during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1989, President George H.W. Bush named General Powell Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. From that post, he guided the American victories in Panama and the Persian Gulf War. Powell later served as Secretary of State under President George W. Bush.



✓ **Checkpoint** What strategic political and economic interests caused the United States to become involved in the Persian Gulf War?

SECTION

4 Assessment

Progress Monitoring *Online*

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-1907

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining how the term or person demonstrated the new role of the United States after the end of the Cold War.

- Manuel Noriega
- Tiananmen Square
- apartheid
- Nelson Mandela
- divest
- Saddam Hussein
- Operation Desert Storm

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Summarize Use your chart to answer the Section Focus Question: What actions did the United States take abroad during George H.W. Bush's presidency?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Create a Timeline Plan, draft, and create a multimedia timeline featuring American foreign policy after the Cold War. Consider using a slideshow computer application to present your timeline.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Draw Inferences** Why did President Bush respond differently to the crisis in Somalia than he did to the crisis in China?
- 5. Compare** How was the Persian Gulf War fought differently from the Vietnam War?
- 6. Draw Conclusions** Why did the U.S.-led coalition decide not to invade Baghdad or try to oust Hussein after driving Iraq out of Kuwait?

Progress Monitoring OnlineFor: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-1908■ **Key Policies and Actions of Ronald Reagan**

Domestic
Supported tax cuts and deregulation to stimulate demand under the theory of supply-side economics
Took a strong stance on air-traffic controllers' strike
Appointed conservative Justices to the Supreme Court
Reformed Social Security
Increased defense spending
Foreign
Pressured the Soviet Union by building up the American military, including the Strategic Defense Initiative program
Aided anticommunist forces in several countries, including Afghanistan and Grenada
Signed arms control agreements with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev
Sent peacekeeping force to Lebanon
Ordered an air raid on Libya because of Libyan leader Muammar al-Qaddafi's involvement in terrorist attacks

■ **Key Events in George H.W. Bush's Presidency**

- Signed Americans With Disabilities Act into law
- Forged friendly relationship between the United States and the new Russian Federation
- Continued the war on drugs by invading Panama and arresting Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega on drug-trafficking charges
- Sent humanitarian mission to Somalia
- Headed an international coalition of forces in the Persian Gulf War

■ **The Fall of Communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union**✓ **Quick Study Timeline**

In America	1981 Hostages in Iran released on first day of Reagan's presidency	1983 Economy starts to recover from recession
Presidential Terms Ronald Reagan 1981–1989		
1980 Around the World	1982 Argentina and Great Britain battle for control of Falkland Islands	1984 Indira Gandhi, prime minister of India, is assassinated



American Issues Connector



7.VI.A.3d

By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study guide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com **Web Code:** neh-1910).

Issues You Learned About

● **America and the World** The Cold War dominated American foreign policy for half a century, starting in the 1940s.

1. When and why was the Berlin Wall constructed? How did the United States respond at the time?
2. Why did Reagan's attitude toward Soviet leader Gorbachev change? What events and policies demonstrated this change?
3. What role do some historians believe the United States played in the fall of the Soviet Union?

● **Sectionalism and National Politics** Most politicians in the United States are members of a political party.

4. What were the first two major political parties in the United States, and what policies did they generally favor? In the late twentieth century, what were the country's two major political parties, and what policies did they generally favor?
5. What complaints did Republicans lodge against Democratic economic policies in the late 1970s?
6. Why had many white southerners changed their historical allegiance from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party by the 1980s?

● **Government's Role in the Economy** Different administrations back their own economic policies, such as raising or lowering taxes and increasing or decreasing funds for government programs.

7. What is supply-side economics? What changes did Reagan's application of supply-side economics bring to taxpayers?
8. What steps did Reagan take to lessen the federal government's role in the economy?

Connect to Your World

New York

New York Goes to War In 1991, hundreds of soldiers from New York's 42nd Infantry Division, a National Guard unit headquartered in Troy, volunteered to serve in the Persian Gulf War. Known as the "Rainbow Division," the 42nd Division had fought in Europe during both World Wars. The Rainbow soldiers had also helped solve problems at home — providing relief to New Yorkers after a major hurricane in 1972, and briefly taking over the state's prison system during a corrections officers' strike in 1979. In 2001, they responded quickly to the emergency created by the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City. Research the 42nd Infantry Division and create a timeline of its major accomplishments.

1987
Reagan and Gorbachev
sign treaty agreeing
to eliminate some
nuclear missiles



1991
United States leads
coalition of forces in
Persian Gulf War

George H. W. Bush 1989–1993

1986

1988

1990

1992

1988
Soviet forces begin to
pull out of Afghanistan



1989
Berlin
Wall falls

1991
Soviet Union
breaks up;
Cold War ends

History Interactive
For: Interactive timeline
Web Code: nep-1909

Chapter Assessment

Terms and People

1. What was the **New Right**? Give two reasons for the rise of the New Right.
2. What was the **Savings and Loan crisis**? How did the federal government respond to this crisis?
3. What is **AIDS**? How did Reagan and Bush react to the increase of AIDS in the United States?
4. What were **glasnost** and **perestroika**? What effect did they have on the Soviet Union?
5. Define **apartheid**. What actions did the United States take to end apartheid?

Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is **What was the conservative resurgence, and how did it affect the domestic and foreign policies of the United States?** Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 4 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

Section 1

6. What spurred the rise of conservatism in the late 1970s and early 1980s?

Section 2

7. What were the major characteristics of the conservative Reagan Revolution?

Section 3

8. What were Reagan's foreign policies, and how did they contribute to the fall of communism in Europe?

Section 4

9. What actions did the United States take abroad during George H.W. Bush's presidency?

Writing About History

Create a Multimedia Presentation In the late 1980s and early 1990s, sweeping changes happened in Europe and other places around the world. These changes affected the United States in subtler but still significant ways. Choose one of these changes, and create a multimedia presentation showing what happened and how it affected the United States.

Prewriting

- Go online to PHSchool.com and enter **Web Code:** nep-1911 to review several presentations that use different types of media to make their points.
- Brainstorm topics and choose the one that you think lends itself best to a multimedia format.
- Outline the main points you would like to make and choose the type of media you will use to make each point.

Critical Thinking

10. **Categorize** Identify the goals of the conservative movement in the early 1980s.
11. **Analyze Charts** Study the chart below. Use it, along with your reading of this chapter, to explain how the conservative movement affected Congress.

Composition of Congress, 1979–1983

Year	House of Representatives			Senate		
	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.
1979	276	157	0	58	41	1
1981	243	192	0	46	53	1
1983	269	165	0	46	54	0

12. **Recognize Effects** Think about the economic policies that Reagan followed. Then, identify and describe one positive and one negative effect that his policies had on the economy.
13. **Identify Central Issues** In the Iran-Contra affair, what actions of several members of Reagan's administration went against the policies of the federal government?
14. **Make Generalizations** Describe the political policies that led to U.S. involvement in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Grenada.
15. **Synthesize Information** Reagan's foreign policy was directed at stopping communism. What was the basis of Bush's foreign policy? Give one specific example of this foreign policy.
16. **Draw Inferences** How did George H.W. Bush approach the war against Iraq in 1991?

Drafting

- Write a draft of your presentation.
- Search for or create images and artwork to enhance your presentation.
- Create storyboards showing how you will blend the text and images in your presentation.
- Consider using a computer application to put together the final presentation.

Revising

- Use the guidelines on page SH31 of the Writing Handbook to revise your work.



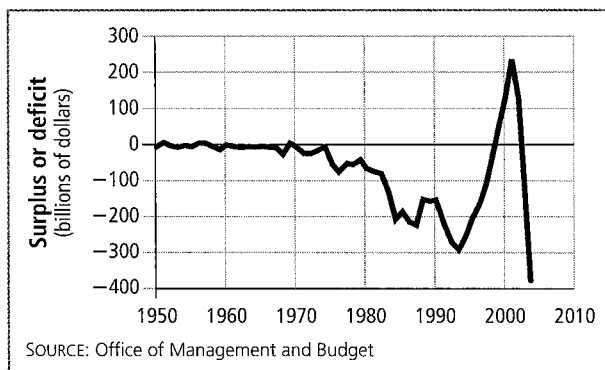
Regents DBQ Practice

Is the National Debt a Problem?

During the 1980s, the Reagan administration lowered tax rates, hoping to pull the economy out of a recession. At the same time, defense spending increased. These factors, in part, led to annual budget deficits that added substantially to the national debt. There remains substantial debate about the costs and benefits of national debt. Use your knowledge of Ronald Reagan's economic policies and Documents 1, 2, and 3 to answer questions 1 through 4.

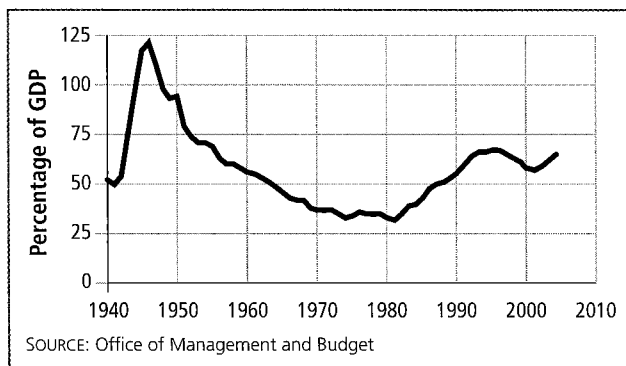
Document 1

Budget Surpluses and Deficits, 1950–2004



Document 2

National Debt as a Percentage of GDP, 1940–2004



Document 3

"Large deficits and rising federal debt constrain future economic growth and living standards by reducing the amount of saving in the United States available for private investment. Federal borrowing to finance deficits may also put upward pressure on interest rates, which increases household borrowing costs for such things as homes, cars, and college loans.

In addition to these economic consequences, the budgetary effects of deficits and growing debt reduce the federal government's flexibility in funding various programs and activities. . . . In fiscal year 2003, net interest spending was the sixth largest item in the federal budget—about 7 percent of total federal spending was primarily used to pay interest on debt held by the public rather than to finance other public priorities. . . .

Federal borrowing has both advantages and disadvantages. . . . Borrowing, in lieu of higher taxes or lower government spending, may be viewed as appropriate during times of economic recession, war, and other temporary challenges. . . . Borrowing for such short-term circumstances can permit the government to hold tax rates relatively stable and avoid economic disruptions. Federal borrowing might also be viewed as appropriate for federal investment, such as building roads, training workers, and conducting scientific research, contributing to the nation's capital stock and productivity. . . . In concept, federal spending that is well chosen . . . could ultimately contribute to producing a larger economy from which to pay the interest and principal on the borrowed funds. However, in practice, [the Congressional Budget Office] concluded that many federal investments might not significantly increase economic growth because some are selected for political or other noneconomic reasons and others displace more productive investments by the private sector or state and local governments."

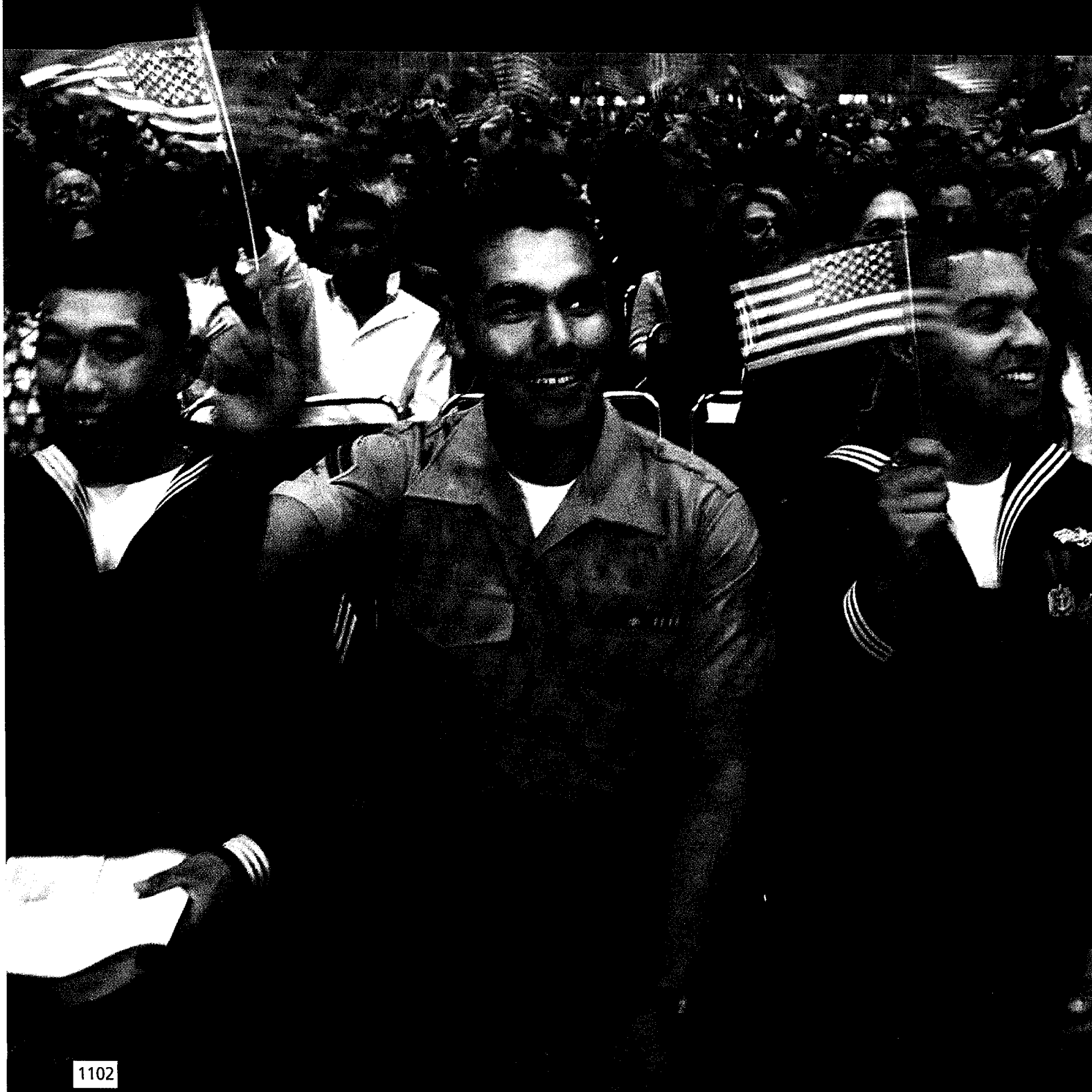
—from *Federal Debt: Answers to Frequently Asked Questions*, U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2004

1. According to Document 1, annual budget deficits
 - A remained relatively low during the 1980s.
 - B increased dramatically during the 1980s.
 - C decreased dramatically during the 1980s.
 - D disappeared during the 1980s.
2. According to Document 2, national debt
 - A was at its lowest point ever during the 1980s.
 - B was at its highest point ever during the 1980s.
 - C increased during the 1980s.
 - D decreased during the 1980s.
3. According to Document 3, federal debt
 - A makes it easier for individual citizens and companies to borrow money.
 - B makes it more difficult for the government to fund other public priorities.
 - C is never desirable.
 - D always increases economic growth.
4. **Writing Task** Do you think benefits of the increased national debt during the 1980s and 1990s outweighed the costs? Why or why not? Use evidence from the documents and the chapter to support your answer.

CHAPTER

33

Into a New Century 1992–Today



WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Becoming American Citizens

Every year, hundreds of thousands of immigrants change their lives by taking part in naturalization ceremonies to become U.S. citizens. After declaring their commitment to this nation and renouncing allegiance to their home countries, they join other Americans in lending their talents, skills, and dreams to their new country. President George W. Bush has described citizenship in this way:

“America has never been united by blood or birth or soil, we are bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds. . . . Every immigrant by embracing these ideals makes our country more, not less, American.”

Listen to the Witness History audio to hear more about American citizenship.

- ◀ Immigrants wait to be sworn in as U.S. citizens during a ceremony in Los Angeles, California, in February 2005.



Core Curriculum Preview

Chapter Focus Question: What political, social, technological, and economic trends have shaped American life since 1990?

Section 1

The Computer and Technology Revolutions 7.I.A, 7.I.A.3, 7.I.A.4, 7.I.A.5

Section 2

The Clinton Presidency 7.VI.B, 7.VI.B.1a, 7.VI.B.1c(2), 7.VI.B.1d

Section 3


Global Politics and Economics 7.VI.B.2, 7.VI.B.2a, 7.VI.B.2b, 7.VI.B.2c

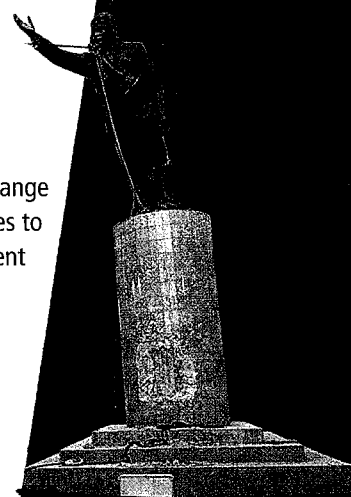
Section 4

The George W. Bush Presidency 1.I.D.1, 2.I.E.4, 2.I.E.9, 7.V.C.2

Section 5

Americans Look to the Future 1.I.D.2, 2.I.E.6, 7.V.D.3, 7.V.D.4

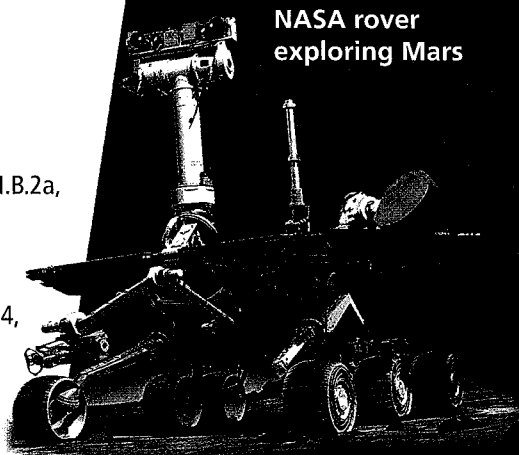
Use the  **Quick Study Timeline** at the end of this chapter to preview chapter events.



Saddam Hussein's statue being toppled in Iraq



A simple “W ‘04” declares Bush’s reelection campaign



NASA rover exploring Mars

Note Taking Study Guide Online

For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector
Web Code: nee-2001

◀ Michael Dell with one of his computers

WITNESS HISTORY  AUDIO

A Young Entrepreneur

In 1980, a Texas teenager named Michael Dell bought his first computer. He immediately took the computer apart to see if he could rebuild it. Though Dell entered college intending to become a doctor, his real interest lay in the computer company he started from his college dorm room. By 2003, that small company had grown into a global corporation called Dell Inc.—the most profitable company in the computer industry.

“There were obviously no classes on learning how to start and run a business in my high school, so I clearly had a lot to learn. And learn I did, mostly by experimenting and making a bunch of mistakes.”

—Michael Dell, 1999

The Computer and Technology Revolutions



Core Curriculum Objectives

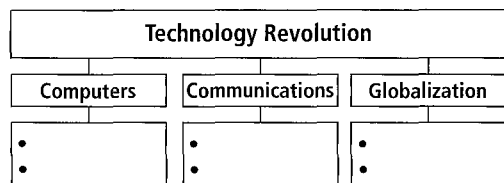
- **7.I.A** Changes within the postindustrial United States
- **7.I.A.3** Technology (computers)
- **7.I.A.4** Corporate structures (multinational corporations)
- **7.I.A.5** Nature of employment

Terms and People

personal computer	globalization
biotechnology	multinational corporation
satellite	service economy
Internet	

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Categorize As you read, fill in a flowchart like this one to help you categorize technological changes and their impact.



Why It Matters During the twentieth century, the rate of technological change sped up dramatically. New technology touched every aspect of life, including how Americans worked, played, and communicated. At the same time, globalization transformed the American economy, bringing both new challenges and new opportunities. **Section Focus Question:** How have technological changes and globalization transformed the American economy?

Technology Changes American Life

The 1900s was a century of unparalleled change. In 1903, Orville Wright flew the first airplane. Less than 70 years later, astronaut Neil Armstrong walked on the moon. During that same span of time, television went from a novelty at a World's Fair to a standard household possession, and sophisticated microscopes and telescopes unveiled previously hidden worlds. One of the most important innovations was the development of the computer.

Developing the Modern Computer Intense rivalry between enemies during World War II brought about a life-and-death race to develop new technologies, such as the computer. The U.S. government funded research that led to the creation of the first modern computer in 1946. This huge machine occupied the entire basement of the research lab. It calculated artillery ranges and performed computations for the atomic bomb.

Soon after World War II, universities and corporations joined government agencies to develop smaller, faster, more powerful computers that could perform a range of functions. The IBM company developed one of the first commercially successful computers in 1954. In the 1960s, a few companies located south of San Francisco, California, focused on developing improved technology for running the computer. Their efforts led to the microchip, a tiny fragment of silicon containing complex circuits, and the microprocessor, a silicon chip that held a central processing unit. These chips made possible the development of small computers, called **personal computers**.

Transforming Business and Industry At first, personal computers were a novelty item, used mainly by hobbyists. But by the 1980s, computers were transforming industries, research labs, and businesses. Personal computers could perform many different tasks but were small and simple enough for the average person to use. The technology that created them eventually spread to many other industries. Video games, cellular telephones, and other electronics all depended on microchips and microprocessors. Entrepreneurs played a large role in accelerating the use of personal computers. Steve Jobs's Apple Computers and Bill Gates's Microsoft made computers and software affordable for millions of Americans. Jeff Bezos's Amazon.com ushered in buying and selling products by computer. Like Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller a century before, these men amassed great fortunes by pioneering new technologies.

Revolutions in Science and Agriculture Medical science also moved ahead by gigantic leaps in the twentieth century, often aided by computer technology. Scientists developed drugs that extended patients' lives, reduced pain, and battled a huge number of diseases. They made artificial hearts and learned how to successfully transplant body organs. Such advancements, along with **biotechnology**, or the use of living organisms in the development of new products, have produced a level of healthcare unknown to any previous generation.

Advances in agricultural technology, including improved machinery, irrigation techniques, and growing methods, have brought profound changes to American society. While farms have grown larger and more productive, fewer people are needed to work them. In 1900, 50 percent of the labor force worked on farms. At the end of the century, only 2 percent did.

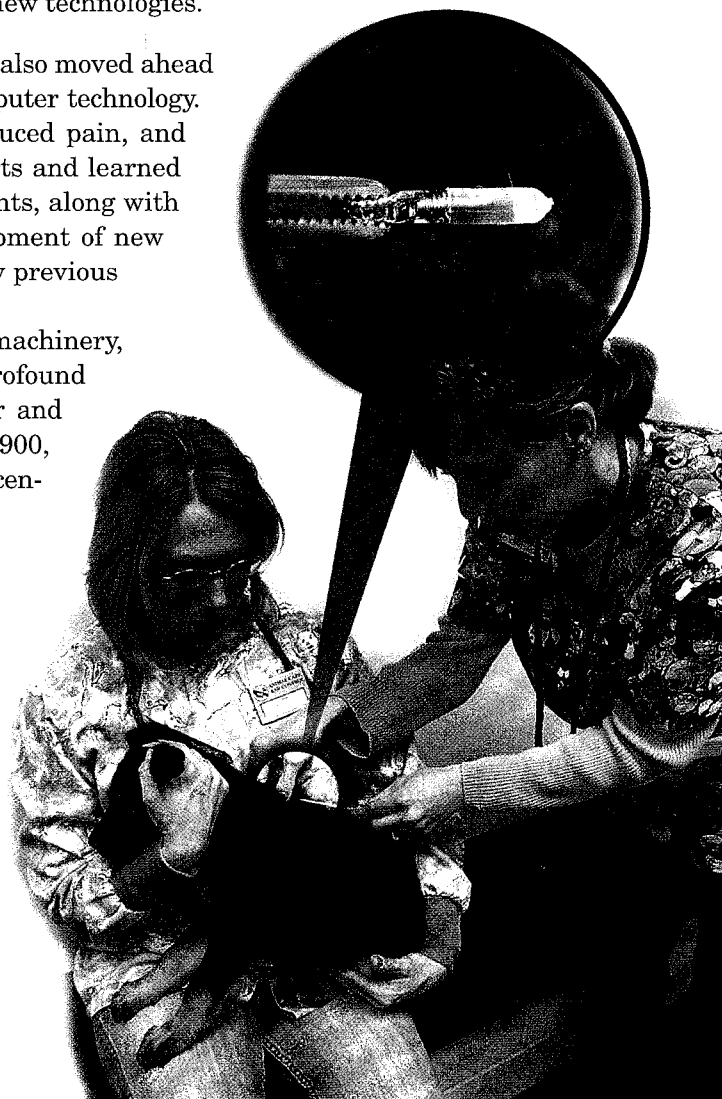
✓ **Checkpoint** What was the impact of the personal computer?

A Communications Revolution

Late in the twentieth century, commentators began to describe their times as the “information age.” Access to information, they claimed, was access to power. Computers, cellphones, e-mails, and instant messaging became the tools of the information age. Entrepreneurs who could control these tools became wealthy—and powerful. For example, media executives who decide what gets on television can exert influence on political elections and controversial topics. But computer and communication technologies also have a democratic leveling effect. Anyone with access to a computer can acquire information that was once available only to a few, well-connected leaders.

A New Form of I.D.

A vet implants a tiny microchip (inset) into a puppy. If the dog is lost, a simple scan of the chip will reveal its name and its owner's address.



Satellite Technology Satellite technology increased the speed of global communications. **Satellites** are mechanical devices that orbit Earth in space, receiving and sending information-filled signals that are then relayed to televisions, telephones, and computers. Originally developed for military purposes during the Cold War, satellite technology was used in the 1970s by businessman Ted Turner to run the first “superstation,” broadcasting into cable-equipped households across the country. In 1980, Turner began the 24-hour-per-day, all-news Cable News Network (CNN). Cellular telephones used similar satellite technology, allowing people to communicate away from their homes.

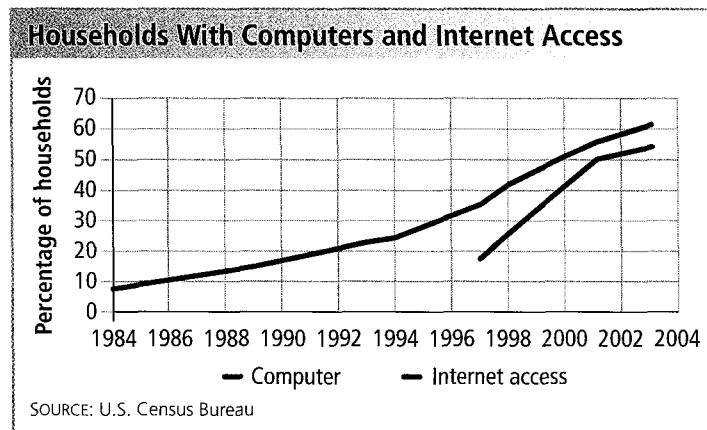
The Internet Is Born In the 1970s, various branches of the U.S. government along with groups in several American universities led efforts to link computer systems together via cables and satellites. By the 1980s, the **Internet**, or World Wide Web, had been born, reaching the general public in the 1990s. The Web made communication and access to information almost instantaneous. This break-

through completely and profoundly transformed commerce, education, research, and entertainment. E-mail provided great advantages over the delays of postal mail and the expense of telephones. The impact has been especially great on people living in rural areas. The Internet’s immense storage capacity also changed the world of research. In the 1980s, scientists and scholars primarily used the Internet to share information. By the early 1990s, they were using it as a research tool and an online database.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did new technology revolutionize communications?

Vocabulary Builder

access – (AK sehhs) *n.* means of getting or using



Graph Skills The graph shows how Americans’ access to computers and the Internet has changed over the past two decades. Describe the change. Note that the data for Internet access do not begin until 1997. Why might this be so?

A Changing American Economy

All of these technological changes had a dramatic effect on the American economy. New technology influenced how and where people did their jobs. In this changing economy, one sector—the service industry—grew rapidly. A lower percentage of Americans than ever before worked on assembly lines or on farms. Instead, they provided services.

The Impact of Globalization New communications infrastructures—especially satellites and computers—have made it easier for companies to do global business. This has increased **globalization**, or the process by which national economies, politics, cultures, and societies become integrated with those of other nations around the world. **Multinational corporations** are one example. Such a corporation might have its financial headquarters in one country and manufacturing plants in several others, and may obtain its raw materials from many different places. The company then sells the products it makes to a worldwide market.

Globalization has made more products and services available to greater numbers of people, often at lower prices. It has hastened the development of some nations. But it has also had some drawbacks. Industrial nations have seen their manufacturing jobs flow out to less developed nations. Steel that was once manufactured in Pittsburgh, for example, might now be made in South Korea. In less developed nations, workers often do not enjoy the protections that workers have in industrial nations. Finally, the interconnection of world economies almost guarantees that economic problems in one region will be felt in others.

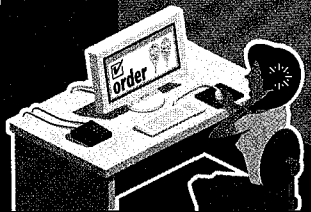
Computers Transform Workplaces Computer technology has also changed the nature of the American economy. Many workers have found that they need computer skills to get jobs. Banking, stockbroking, programming, and the many other occupations dependent on information and computers have added millions of jobs to the service economy. Many white-collar workers in the information economy have seen their jobs radically change. Professional workers are

INFOGRAPHIC

The Global Reach of E-commerce


Global communications, especially the Internet, have reshaped ways of doing business. Just 10 years ago, shoppers bought almost everything they needed at local stores, and most things they bought were made in the country where they lived. The Internet and e-commerce—electronic commerce, or business conducted over the Internet—have helped to change that. This illustration shows an example of e-commerce in progress.

1



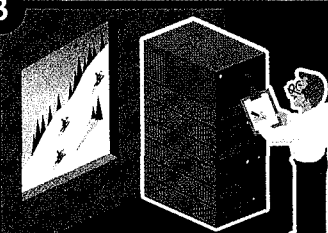
A woman in Minneapolis, MN, shops for a pair of snowshoes online. She has questions about a model she likes and calls the toll-free number on the Web site.

2



A customer-service representative in Bangalore, India, answers her questions.

3



The customer's order is received and processed by a computer at the sporting-goods company in Stockholm, Sweden. The computer sends messages to two locations.

4



A message to the Swedish company's U.S. warehouse in Los Angeles, CA, tells workers there to ship the shopper a pair of snowshoes.

5



Another message to a factory in Shanghai, China, tells workers there to produce more snowshoes and ship them to Los Angeles, CA.

Thinking Critically
Synthesize Information Use the illustration above to describe the impact of globalization.

History Interactive *

For: More about e-commerce
 Web Code: nep-2011

Occupations Predicted to Grow the Fastest, 2004–2014

- Home health aides
- Network systems analysts
- Medical assistants
- Computer software engineers
- Physical therapist assistants
- Dental hygienists

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor

Chart Skills Americans' occupations in the next few years will be dramatically different from what they were 100 years ago. *Which two fields are projected to grow the fastest in the next few years?*

linked by a network of computers, fax machines, television screens, and cell phones. They often telecommunicate, holding meetings that involve participants sitting in offices around the world.

The Service Sector Expands With the production of services increasing faster than the production of goods, some economists say that America now has a **service economy**. Jobs in the service sector vary widely. Lawyers, teachers, doctors, research analysts, police officers, professional athletes, and movie stars are all service workers, as are salespeople and the people behind fast-food counters. Service workers are among the lowest paid and the highest paid people in the United States.

The transition from an industry-based economy to a service-based one has created opportunities for entrepreneurs. For example, Californians Richard and Maurice McDonald opened their new restaurant in 1948. The brothers emphasized efficiency, low prices, high volume, and quick service. They did away with anything that slowed down the process, including plates, glasses, dishwashing, and tipping. In 1955, Ray Kroc began to franchise the McDonald's system and name. By the end of the century, McDonald's had become the most successful food service organization in history, and the name McDonald's came to stand for low-priced, standardized-quality food.

Other entrepreneurs' names also came to symbolize their businesses. For example, Wal-Mart, a discount merchandising business founded by Sam Walton, became one of the most successful businesses in the late twentieth century.

Organized Labor Declines The rise of the service economy and the decline in American coal mining, steelmaking, and automobile manufacturing has had a strong impact on organized labor. At its peak in 1945, about 35 percent of all American workers belonged to unions. In 2000, less than 15 percent of workers did. Blue-collar jobs, once the mainstay of American labor, declined dramatically in the second half of the twentieth century. As a result, the political power of labor unions, as well as farm organizations, has fallen. At the same time, workers' average wages—especially those of nonprofessional workers—have fallen.

✓ **Checkpoint** How has globalization affected the American economy?

SECTION

1

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-2011

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each term below, write a sentence explaining its effect on American society or the economy.

- personal computer
- biotechnology
- satellite
- Internet
- globalization
- multinational corporation
- service economy

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Categorize Use your flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: How have technological changes and globalization transformed the American economy?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Choose a Topic

Recall all the American issues you have studied in this course. Identify an issue that comes into play in this section, and explain how.

Critical Thinking

4. Draw Inferences Why are new technologies often developed as a result of waging war?

5. Recognize Cause and Effect How has the computer sped up the pace of globalization?

6. Test Conclusions Cite evidence to support or refute this statement: A service economy provides more opportunities to entrepreneurs than does an industrial economy.


WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Becoming President

In 1963, a high school student named Bill Clinton from Hope, Arkansas, went to the White House as part of a youth leadership conference. He was first in line to shake President Kennedy's hand. Thirty years later, Clinton was sworn in as President of the United States.

"Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundation of our nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow citizens, this is our time. . . . And so today, we pledge an end to the era of deadlock and drift—a new season of American renewal has begun."

—Bill Clinton, First Inaugural Address, 1993

- ▲ Sixteen-year-old Bill Clinton meets President Kennedy on July 26, 1963. A campaign button proclaims his own presidential bid nearly 30 years later.

The Clinton Presidency


Core Curriculum Objectives

- **7.VI.B** The Clinton Presidency
- **7.VI.B.1a** Clinton: Social concerns
- **7.VI.B.1c(2)** Clinton: Gun control
- **7.VI.B.1d** Clinton: Impeachment and acquittal

Terms and People

William Jefferson Clinton	Newt Gingrich
H. Ross Perot	Contract With America
Family Medical Leave Act	Kenneth Starr
Brady Bill	impeachment

Why It Matters The conservative revolution of the 1980s had kept Republicans in the White House for 12 straight years and influenced every branch of government. The election of Bill Clinton to the presidency in 1992 signaled that Americans were ready for a change. Clinton's position as a moderate, practical Democrat had broad appeal for a wide range of voters. **Section Focus Question:** What were the successes and failures of the Clinton presidency?

The 1992 Election

After the 1991 Persian Gulf War ended, President George H.W. Bush's approval rating reached 91 percent. In less than one year, however, public opinion had changed. Saddam Hussein had stayed in power, continuing to threaten peace in the Middle East. The American economy had gone into recession and the federal deficit had risen. People were angered by Bush's betrayal of his 1988 campaign pledge not to raise taxes. Bush's sinking popularity opened up the way for the Democratic challenge.

Clinton Raises the Challenge The Democrats nominated **William Jefferson Clinton**, governor of Arkansas, as their presidential candidate. Clinton was born in 1946 into a humble home and had worked his way through college and law school before being elected governor of Arkansas in 1978. To widen his appeal and distance himself from traditional "tax and spend" liberals, Clinton promoted himself as a "New Democrat." New Democrats were centrists who sought to

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Summarize Create an outline like the one below as you read to summarize information about the Clinton presidency.

- | |
|--|
| I. The 1992 Election
A. Bush's popularity plummets
B. Clinton runs as "New Democrat"
C. Clinton carries the election
II. Clinton's Domestic Policies
A. |
|--|



Celebrating Victory

Newly elected President Bill Clinton, Vice President Al Gore, and their families greet supporters in Arkansas on November 3, 1992.

reconcile liberal and conservative ideals. They believed in strong national defense, tough stands on crime, free trade, welfare reform, and closer ties with corporations. They believed that government was necessary and important but that it had grown large and inefficient. Clinton's centrist position attracted conservative and liberal Democrats as well as moderate Republicans.

Winning the White House By 1992, Clinton was poised to capitalize on Bush's political problems. He entered the presidential race along with Texas billionaire **H. Ross Perot**, who led a self-funded independent party and promised to govern by sound business principles. Clinton's campaign focused on economic and social opportunity. Clinton charged that Bush's economic policies had made the rich richer. He also pointed out that, unlike Bush, he came from a family that had struggled through hard times and knew what it was like to worry about paying bills. Bush responded by attacking Clinton's character. Republicans accused the governor of draft-dodging, marital infidelity, and other moral laxities. Bush also suggested that Clinton and his vice presidential candidate Al Gore were too inexperienced to lead the nation.

In the end, Clinton's message carried the election. In the largest voter turnout since 1960, more than one hundred million Americans turned out at the polls. Clinton received 43 percent of the popular vote to Bush's 37 percent and Perot's 19 percent. Democrats also retained control of the House of Representatives and the Senate.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did Clinton use his stance as a moderate to attract voters?

Clinton's Domestic Policies

When Bill Clinton took the presidential oath of office on January 20, 1993, he faced a great challenge. Since 1968, Americans had chosen Republican Presidents in five out of six elections. The Republican argument that government was the problem, not the solution, resonated with many Americans. Clinton therefore needed to chart a middle course between the limited role for government advocated by Republicans and the traditional Democratic reliance on government programs to address social problems.

Signing New Laws Early in his presidency, Clinton signed the **Family Medical Leave Act**, which had been vetoed by President Bush despite having bipartisan support. The act guaranteed most full-time employees 12 workweeks of unpaid leave each year for the birth and care of a newborn child, to recover

from a serious illness, or to care for an immediate family member with one. The Clinton administration also raised the minimum wage, increased access to college loans, and expanded tax credits for higher education.

Healthcare Reform Fails Healthcare reform headed Clinton's list of priorities. The United States was the only developed country without national healthcare. Though Clinton did not advocate socialized medicine, he wanted a program that would guarantee care for all Americans. His wife, Hillary Clinton, was appointed to head a healthcare task force to investigate the issue. The task force conducted highly publicized hearings and produced a long, detailed proposal that attracted immediate criticism from diverse interest groups. The bill never won congressional support and was ultimately dropped after about a year of debate.

Clinton had miscalculated Americans' faith in the federal government to solve the country's social problems. Millions of Americans simply did not feel that enlarging the federal bureaucracy and allowing the government to run healthcare was a good idea.

Dealing With Violence Clinton also tried to address the issue of violence in American society. In 1993, he signed the **Brady Bill**, a gun-control act named for presidential aide James Brady, who had been wounded in the 1981 assassination attempt on Ronald Reagan. Under Clinton, Congress also passed a \$30 billion anticrime bill that increased funding for police and banned several kinds of assault weapons.

Still, violence continued to haunt the nation. In 1995, Americans were horrified by the bombing of a government building in Oklahoma City that killed 168 people and injured more than 800 others. The mass murder was committed, not by foreign terrorists, but by home-grown anti-government extremists. To deal with the threat of terrorism, federal buildings in major cities were surrounded with barriers to ward off similar attacks. New laws were passed to deter terrorism and impose stiffer penalties.

In 1999, yet another act of senseless violence stirred nationwide debate. At Colorado's Columbine High School, two heavily armed students killed 12 fellow students and a teacher, as well as wounding 24 others. In the aftermath of this tragedy, schools across the nation installed metal detectors and other security measures. Many schools instituted new anti-bully policies and "zero tolerance" approaches to school violence.

✓ **Checkpoint** What were Clinton's legislative successes and failures?

The Republicans Galvanize

After two years in office, Clinton had achieved a few lasting legislative victories. Yet the failure of his healthcare initiative signaled that his popularity, and his control of Congress, was waning. With the 1994 mid-term elections approaching, congressional Republicans seized the opportunity to advance their own ideas.

Vocabulary Builder

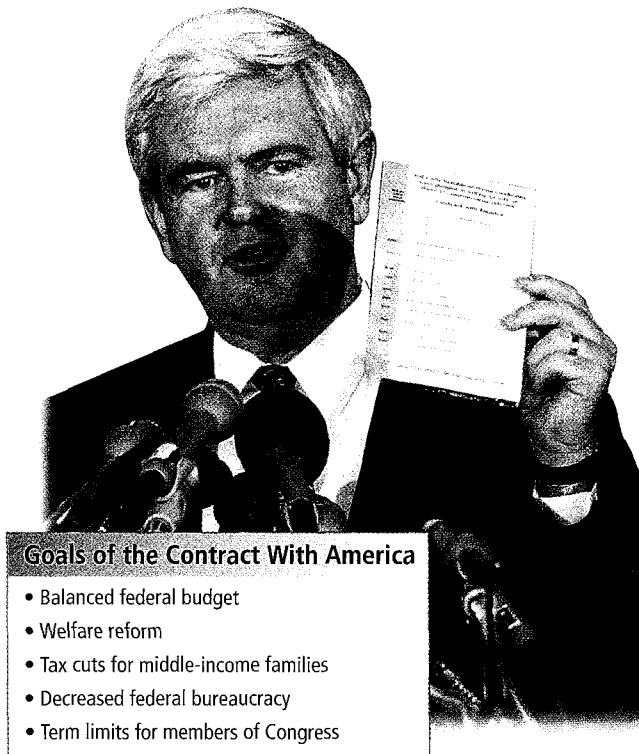
ultimately – (UHL tuh miht lee)
adv. in the end; finally

Oklahoma City Bombing

The Oklahoma City bombing of April 1995 was the worst act of domestic terrorism in American history. The victims included a number of children in a day care center.

For: History Snapshot
Web Code: ncr-0034





Goals of the Contract With America

- Balanced federal budget
- Welfare reform
- Tax cuts for middle-income families
- Decreased federal bureaucracy
- Term limits for members of Congress

The "Gingrich Revolution"

Gingrich explains his Contract with America at a press conference in January 1994. *How did his goals attract voters who were opposed to "big government"?*

Gingrich's Contract With America Georgia congressman **Newt Gingrich** led the opposition to Clinton. Gingrich was bold and aggressive and not interested in compromising with the Democrats: "We will cooperate, but we won't compromise." Many people thought that Gingrich's goal of the Republicans gaining control of the House of Representatives in 1994 was a nearly impossible task. After all, the Democrats had controlled the House for 58 of the previous 62 years.

Gingrich, however, galvanized Republicans around his **Contract With America**, a plan that attacked big government and emphasized patriotism and traditional values. The Contract With America called for congressional term limits, reduction of the federal bureaucracy, a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution, and large tax cuts, as well as increased defense spending, significant welfare reform, and tough anticrime legislation. The idea was to capture the votes of Americans who felt the federal government was too big, too wasteful, and too liberal.

Capturing the 1994 Elections Although most eligible voters did not vote in 1994, there was a strong turnout among Republicans. For the first time in 40 years, the Republicans won control of the House. They also captured the Senate and most of the governorships. *Newsweek* magazine observed:

Primary Source

"Last week in one of the most profound electoral routs in American history, Republicans won the right to occupy the Capitol and mount what their . . . commanders think of as a counter-revolution: a full-scale attack on the notion that a central government should play a central role in the life of the nation."

Once in office, Republicans passed most of Gingrich's program, but their attempts to slash Medicare and other government programs proved unpopular. Many Americans were also upset when the government shut down in 1995 because Congress would not pass Clinton's budget. Meanwhile, Clinton incorporated some of the conservative agenda into his own 1996 reelection bid. He signed a bill to reform welfare, passed legislation that appropriated more money for law enforcement, and called for stiffer sentencing for criminals. Finally, he made balancing the budget and reducing the federal deficit a priority.

Clinton Wins Reelection Beginning in the mid-1990s, the American economy broke out of recession and began to soar, starting the longest period of sustained growth in the country's history. Americans benefited from low unemployment, low inflation levels, and the government's efforts to balance the budget and reduce the deficit. In 1994, Clinton's disapproval rating had exceeded 60 percent, and few expected him to win a second term. As the 1996 election approached, however, the booming economy meant that few Americans had a compelling reason to change leadership.

The Republicans nominated Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole, a World War II hero and a moderate Republican. H. Ross Perot entered the race as the Reform Party candidate. Clinton skillfully captured the middle ground, labeling Dole as an out-of-touch conservative and Perot as a political quack. On election day, Americans chose Clinton by a wide margin. The House of Representatives and Senate, however, retained their Republican majorities.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did the Republicans take control of Congress?

Scandals, Impeachment, and Trial

President Clinton had dodged scandals from his first days in office. One, a sexual harassment suit, had stemmed from his years as governor of Arkansas. Another concerned investments that Bill and Hillary Clinton had made in the Whitewater Development Corporation, an Arkansas real estate company, in the 1970s and 1980s.

Prosecuting Clinton A special prosecutor appointed by Attorney General Janet Reno investigated the Whitewater investment case and recommended that no criminal charges be filed. However, in July Congress passed a new law requiring that special prosecutors be selected by a three-judge panel from the U.S. Court of Appeals. As a result, in August of 1994 special prosecutor **Kenneth Starr** was appointed to investigate the case again. In seven years of investigation Starr failed to uncover any conclusive evidence of the Clintons' guilt, though some of their associates were convicted.

In the process of prosecuting Whitewater, Starr began investigating Clinton's relationship with a White House intern. Clinton had denied under oath that the two had an affair. Eventually, Clinton admitted that he had lied. The Whitewater case was quickly overshadowed by the new scandal. In 1998, Starr recommended **impeachment** proceedings on a number of counts, all related to the intern scandal rather than to Whitewater.

Impeaching the President Most Americans condemned Clinton's actions but opposed impeachment. Congressional Democrats, similarly, did not believe his behavior met the standard of "Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors" required by the Constitution for the impeachment and removal of a President. Nevertheless, the House of Representatives, led by the Republican majority, impeached Clinton on the charges of perjury and obstruction of justice.

In January 1999, the Senate tried the President. The removal of a President requires a two-thirds majority of senators, and from the beginning it was clear that Clinton's opposition did not have the necessary votes. After a short trial, the President was acquitted on both counts on February 12.

✓ **Checkpoint** What was the outcome of the Clinton impeachment?

SECTION 2 Assessment

Progress Monitoring *Online*

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-2021

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** For each item below, write a sentence explaining how it relates to Clinton's presidency.
- H. Ross Perot
 - Family Medical Leave Act
 - Brady Bill
 - Newt Gingrich
 - Contract With America
 - Kenneth Starr
 - impeachment

2. **NoteTaking** Reading Skill:

Summarize Use your completed outline to answer the Section Focus Question: What were the successes and failures of the Clinton presidency?

Writing About History

3. **Quick Write: Form a Main Idea**

This section touches on the American issue of social problems and reforms. Compare the scandals surrounding Clinton to historical scandals you have read about. Write down a main idea that you will present in your response.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Identify Central Issues** How did Clinton position himself ideologically in order to win over both Democrats and Republicans in the 1992 election?
- 5. Recognize Ideologies** On what domestic issues did Democrats and Republicans differ during Clinton's presidency?
- 6. Synthesize Information** Why did Clinton win reelection?
- 7. Summarize** Summarize the events surrounding Clinton's impeachment.



▲ Former White House official John Sununu meets with Saudi Arabian government leaders at a dinner during the Millennium Summit in New York City in 2000.

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Calling for a “Shared Future”

In 2000, the United Nations launched the Millennium Summit. The three-day event, held in New York City, was the largest gathering of world leaders in history. In the Millennium Declaration, they stated:

“We believe that the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world’s people. For while globalization offers great opportunities, at present its benefits are very unevenly shared, while its costs are unevenly distributed. . . . [O]nly through broad and sustained efforts to create a shared future, based upon our common humanity in all its diversity, can globalization be made fully inclusive and equitable.”

—Millennium Declaration, September 8, 2000

Global Politics and Economics



Core Curriculum Objectives

- **7.VI.B.2** Clinton: Foreign policy issues
- **7.VI.B.2a** United States–Middle East relations
- **7.VI.B.2b** United States in the global economy: NAFTA, GATT
- **7.VI.B.2c** Intervention in Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, and Yugoslavia

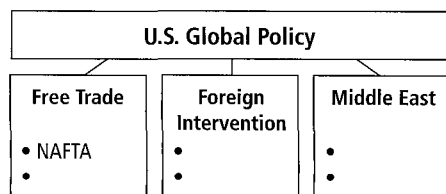
Terms and People

EU	WTO
NAFTA	ethnic cleansing
GATT	al Qaeda

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas

Complete a flowchart like this one to help you identify main ideas about global politics and economics.



Why It Matters With the end of the Cold War, the United States was the sole superpower in a dramatically changing world. No longer defined by its opposition to communism, the United States had to carve out new roles for itself in a world of globalization and increasing regional conflict. President Clinton, the nation’s first baby-boomer President, ushered in this new period of American soul-searching. **Section Focus Question:** What role did the United States take on in global politics and economics following the Cold War?

Competing in the Global Economy

In the 1990s, the United States was both an important promoter of global trade and an example for newly industrializing nations to emulate. As more and more nations participated in economic globalization, the United States tinkered with its own policies to ensure it remained an economic powerhouse.

The Role of Free Trade As an economic leader, America has had a major role in globalization. Even so, free trade—the guiding principle of globalization—has been hotly debated in American politics. Americans want the lower costs that free trade creates but worry about the loss of American jobs to other countries. Generally, Republicans have supported the interests of big business and free trade agreements. Democrats have been more sympathetic to labor interests and have often opposed legislation that would cost American workers’ jobs. Depending on which party has been in power, free trade has either been encouraged or hindered by tariffs and economic protectionism.

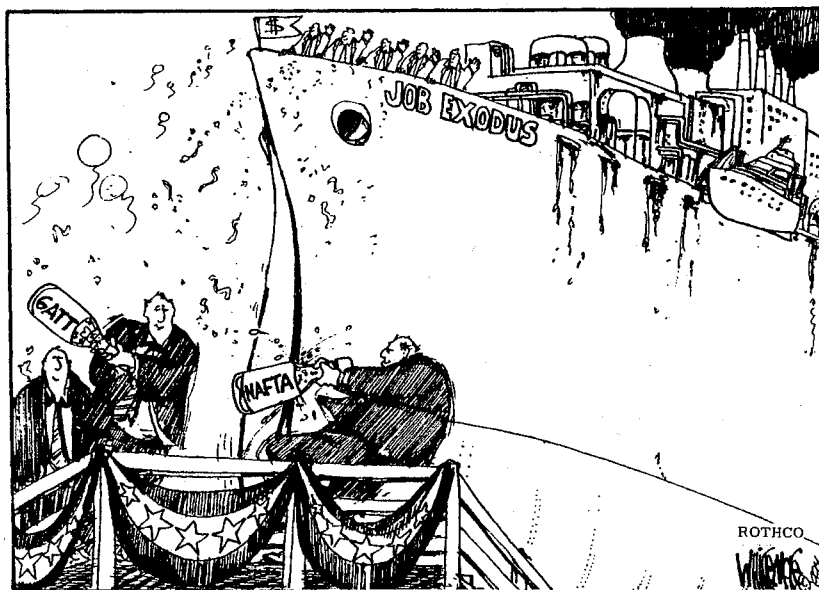
Bill Clinton challenged the traditional Democratic thinking by supporting free trade blocs, which in theory would both increase the prosperity of particular regions and protect their economies. Europe was an example of such a bloc. In 1993, a number of European nations established the **European Union (EU)** to coordinate monetary and economic policies. By the end of the century, the EU had adopted a single currency, the euro, to promote economic efficiency. The EU's combined resources both encouraged trade among its members and challenged the economic leadership of the United States. North American free trade proponents believed a similar bloc would stimulate their own region.

America Joins NAFTA The **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)** was a direct response to the EU. NAFTA was originally proposed during the Bush administration. President Bush and leaders of the other nations signed the agreement in 1992, but Congress blocked it. It called for a gradual removal of trade restrictions among the United States, Canada, and Mexico. NAFTA's supporters maintained that creating a free trade zone in North America would promote economic growth, reduce prices, increase exports, and encourage economic investment. Most labor leaders, environmentalists, and liberal Democrats opposed NAFTA. They argued that it would force American manufacturers to relocate to Mexico, where wages were lower and environmental controls were less rigid. They feared that hundreds of thousands of American jobs would be lost, and environmental pollution would increase. Newly elected President Clinton embraced NAFTA and pushed it through Congress. It went into effect in 1994, and since then the three countries have also signed agreements covering environmental protection, safety standards, and workers' rights.

Expanding Global Trade Clinton signed a total of 270 free trade agreements, including the revision of the **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)** in 1994 and the accords of the **World Trade Organization (WTO)** in 1995. GATT's goal was to reduce tariffs to promote free trade. The WTO replaced GATT, expanding the organization's authority to negotiate trade agreements, settle disputes, and enforce compliance with them. Clinton also continued the strong U.S. support of the World Bank.

Critics complain that the WTO and World Bank favor business interests over environmental concerns and workers' rights. At the 1999 WTO meeting in Seattle, protesters filled the streets, disrupting the proceedings. Yet most people agree that economic globalization has often had positive effects by exposing people to new ideas, technology, and communications. Nations involved in free trade have often become more democratic. Normalizing trade—engaging in free trade with countries rather than imposing sanctions based on disagreements—can strengthen economic ties. For example, normalizing trade with China has encouraged that country to adopt free market reforms.

✓ **Checkpoint** Which trade blocs has the United States become involved with?



Analyzing Political Cartoons

This political cartoon appeared as part of an intense national debate about the United States joining NAFTA.

1. What is the cartoonist's opinion about joining NAFTA?
2. Based on the cartoon, how will joining NAFTA affect the United States?

Americans on the Global Stage

When Bill Clinton became President, the more than 40-year-old American foreign policy of fighting communism had just ended. The United States needed to develop a role for itself in the post-Cold War world. Americans were willing to provide economic aid, as they did to nations of the former Soviet Union. But many of them questioned military intervention abroad, fearing a costly commitment like the Vietnam War. With violence surging in regional conflicts throughout the world, however, Clinton found it necessary to intervene. He did so with mixed success.

Vocabulary Builder

intervention—(ihn tuhr VEHN shuhn) *n.* becoming involved in the affairs of another nation, often by force

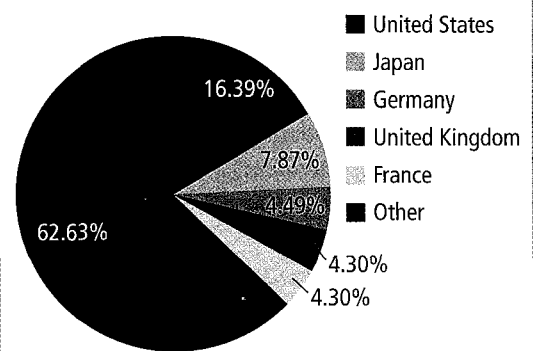
INFOGRAPHIC AUDIO

The World Bank

The World Bank was founded in 1944 to help rebuild war-torn Europe. It still handles reconstruction efforts, as it did in India following a 2001 earthquake. **1** Yet it has increasingly focused on issues facing developing countries, such as healthcare, human rights, debt relief, economic growth, and poverty. In Latin America, the Bank gives loans to people like this Peruvian man so they can own their own homes and businesses. **2** Throughout the developing world, the Bank works to promote education for people like this Bulgarian girl. **3**

The U.S. has taken a primary role in the financing and management of the Bank. The Bank, led by American Paul Wolfowitz, has its headquarters in Washington, D.C. As one of the Bank's most important partners, the U.S. has long seen the Bank and its work as integral to the American economy. Forty-five percent of U.S. exports go to developing countries in which the Bank is active, supporting American jobs. The U.S. also believes that strong and stable developing countries are vital to its own security.

Voting Power by Country



SOURCE: The World Bank

▲ Five of the Bank's 184 member countries take the lead in setting its direction. The chart shows the voting power for the Bank's Reconstruction and Development department. As with the World Bank's four other departments, the United States has the most voting power.

▼ A Senegalese family picks tomatoes on land that used to be plagued by drought. The Bank worked with governments and local communities to make the land usable and promote agriculture.

Thinking Critically

- 1. Analyze Information** What kinds of work does the World Bank do?
- 2. Draw Inferences** Why is it in America's interest to support the World Bank?

Intervening in Somalia and Haiti In the late 1980s, civil war broke out in Somalia. By 1991, the government had disintegrated and the fighting had caused widespread famine. In 1992, the United States led a multinational force, later joined by the UN, to bring about peace and distribute food. The coalition fell apart in 1994 when several countries, including the United States, suffered steep casualty rates and withdrew their troops. Eventually, the UN also withdrew, and civil war dragged on for several more years in the devastated country.

Meanwhile, conflict was simmering in Haiti. In 1990, Haitians brought Jean-Bertrand Aristide to the presidency, in the nation's first free elections. Less than a year later, a military coup overthrew Aristide, plunging the country into turmoil. Thousands of Haitians left the country by boat to immigrate to the United States as political refugees. Many were sent back by American immigration officials, causing a public outcry. In 1994, Clinton sent American troops to Haiti to restore Aristide to power. Although American action improved the situation, within a decade Haiti faced a sinking economy and rising rates of disease and crime.

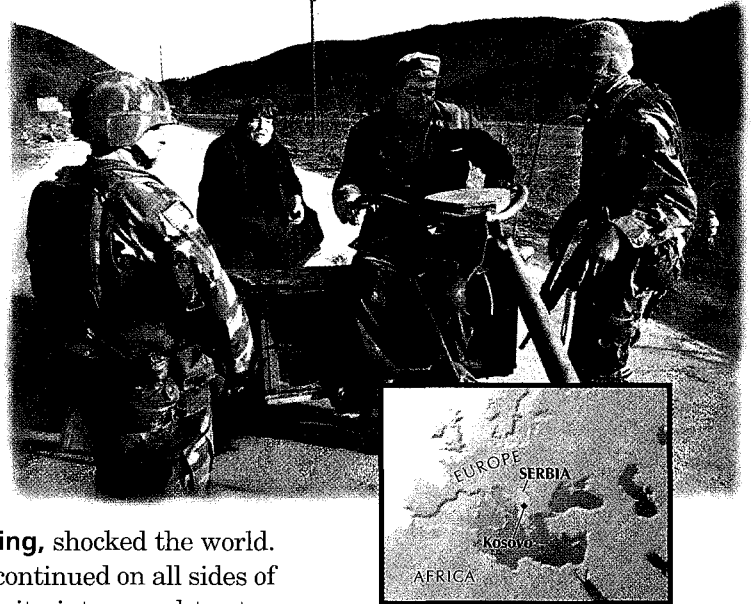
NATO in the Balkans

American soldiers monitor a border crossing between Serbia and Kosovo in 2001.

Fighting Ethnic Cleansing in Eastern Europe

In the Balkans, the collapse of communism broke up the country of Yugoslavia. For decades, the communist leader Tito had contained ethnic and religious strife. But his death in 1980, and the collapse of communism in 1989, left the country with no unifying forces. Soon, four of Yugoslavia's six major republics formed their own states, and long-suppressed ethnic and religious hostilities came boiling to the surface.

In newly independent Bosnia, ethnic and religious rivalries among Eastern Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats, and Bosnian Muslims eventually led to civil war. Serbs, with the help of Serbia-dominated Yugoslavia, attacked Bosnians and Croats. In many cases, they forcibly removed Bosnians and Croats from their homes and later murdered them. This state-sanctioned mass murder, violence, and rape, known as **ethnic cleansing**, shocked the world. The UN intervened with humanitarian aid. Yet atrocities continued on all sides of the struggle, and years went by before the world community intervened to stop the slaughter.



Galvanizing NATO Forces Finally, in the late summer of 1995, Clinton encouraged NATO to bomb Serbian strongholds. This was the first time the organization had gone into combat, and its use of force quickly brought about a cease-fire. In December 1995, the Dayton Accords established a federated, multinational Bosnia. Although the ethnic cleansing had ended, the enforced peace had not solved the problems of the region. In 1998, violence flared up anew—this time in Kosovo, a Serbian province on the Adriatic Sea. The fighting once again involved ethnic cleansing and also spread to the neighboring countries of Macedonia and Albania. NATO forced Serbs to withdraw from Kosovo.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did Clinton involve the United States in foreign conflicts?

America and the Middle East

In the 1990s, disputes and fighting between Israelis and Palestinians grew increasingly fierce. The conflict had increased instability in the region as a whole. As Clinton worked to address it, violence originating in the region spread outward, with the United States increasingly a target.



Camp David Talks

President Clinton walks with Ehud Barak and Yasir Arafat in the woods of Camp David in July 2000.

Trying for Peace in Israel In 1993, Palestinians and Israelis conducted secret negotiations in Oslo, Norway. The resulting Declaration of Principles promised Palestinian self-rule in Jericho and the Gaza Strip, as well as security for the Israelis. The declaration did not address Israeli settlement of the West Bank, a major issue that led to chronic violence, nor did it in any way placate extremists on both sides who had no interest in compromising. Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, who had signed the declaration, fell victim to the fury in 1995 when an Israeli religious fundamentalist assassinated him.

In 2000, Clinton invited Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat and Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak to Camp David to work on a peace agreement. They came close to signing one, but Arafat was not satisfied with any of the proposals. Back in Israel, Barak was ousted by Ariel Sharon, a “hawk” who opposed any concessions to the Palestinians. Palestinian suicide bombings increased, and with them so did crackdowns by the Israeli military.

Dealing With Terrorism In 1993, a terrorist group called **al Qaeda** exploded a bomb in the World Trade Center in New York City, killing six people and injuring more than one thousand others.

Al Qaeda was led by a wealthy Saudi businessman named Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden had fought in Afghanistan in the 1980s on the side of Islamic fundamentalists who sought to expel the Soviet Union. By the late 1990s, he had formed al Qaeda with the purpose of ending American involvement in Muslim countries. Five years after the U.S. bombing, al Qaeda set off car bombs at American embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The blasts killed 225 people and injured more than 5,500 others. In 2000, al Qaeda bombed the USS *Cole*, an American warship anchored off the coast of Yemen, killing 17 American sailors. These attacks angered Americans and frustrated politicians, who were learning that fighting terrorism would be extremely difficult.

✓ **Checkpoint** What strategic, political, and economic interests did the United States have in the Middle East?

SECTION

3 Assessment

Progress Monitoring *Online*

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nea-2031

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each term below, write a sentence describing what effect it has on the global economy or global society.

- EU
- NAFTA
- GATT
- WTO
- ethnic cleansing
- al Qaeda

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Identify Main Ideas Use your completed flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: What role did the United States take on in global politics and economics following the Cold War?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Plan a Structure

Compare the issue of America and the world in the context of this section with how it related to an earlier period in American history. Choose the best way to structure your comparison, such as point by point or topic by topic.

Critical Thinking

4. Identify Central Issues Why have efforts to reduce tariffs and trade barriers often been controversial in the United States?

5. Identify Assumptions What basic assumption about the U.S. role as sole superpower underlies American peacekeeping efforts of the 1990s?

6. Analyze Information For what various reasons has the United States become involved in Middle Eastern affairs?



▲ Bush's casual style attracted voters in both of his presidential races. By his reelection in 2004, he was often referred to simply as "W."

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

A Two-Term President

In 2005, George W. Bush was sworn in as President for a second term. In his inaugural address, he alluded to a remarkable shift in traditional American foreign policy, saying that the cause of advancing freedom and democracy abroad was sufficient reason for the United States to involve itself in conflict overseas.

"All who live in tyranny and hopelessness can know: the United States will not ignore your oppression, or excuse your oppressors. When you stand for your liberty, we will stand with you."

—George W. Bush, Second Inaugural Address, 2005

The George W. Bush Presidency



Core Curriculum Objectives

- **1.I.D.1** U.S. demographics: characteristics
- **2.I.E.4** Civil liberties—balance between government and the individual
- **2.I.E.9** Presidential power in wartime and in foreign affairs
- **7.V.C.2** The growth of conservatism: tax policy and deficits

Terms and People

George W. Bush	Taliban
<i>Bush v. Gore</i>	Patriot Act
No Child Left Behind Act	Department of Homeland Security
Afghanistan	WMD

Why It Matters The election of **George W. Bush** to the presidency assured Republican domination of the White House and Congress. When the United States was attacked on September 11, 2001, Bush would use this unity—along with the support of a galvanized American public—to move the nation in a new direction. **Section Focus Question:** What was the impact of Bush's domestic agenda and his response to the terrorist attack against the United States?

An Election Controversy

The year 2000 brought an end to Clinton's two terms as President. Clinton's legacy of a strong economy coupled with personal scandal polarized voters. As candidates geared up for the 2000 presidential race, it promised to be a close election.

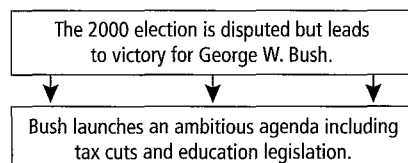
Three Candidates Run Clinton's Vice President, Al Gore, Jr., of Tennessee, ran for the Democrats. Gore selected Connecticut senator Joseph Lieberman as his Vice President, making Lieberman the first Jewish person to be on the ticket of a major party. Gore tried to associate himself with the economic record of the Clinton administration while distancing himself from Clinton's personal scandals.

The Republicans chose George W. Bush as their candidate. A son of George H.W. Bush and a former governor of Texas, Bush was popular with party leaders, conservatives, and Christian fundamentalists. As governor of Texas, he had been adept at working with Democrats as well as Republicans. Although he was not a gifted orator, he struck many Americans as down-to-earth and sincere.

Consumer advocate Ralph Nader ran for the Green Party. Saying that corporate interests controlled the two major parties, he claimed he alone represented all Americans.

NoteTaking

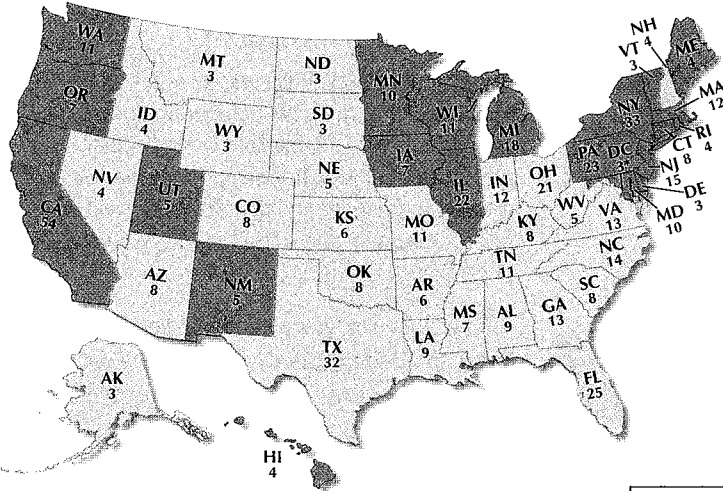
Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence Record the sequence of events in Bush's presidency in a flowchart like the one below.



Presidential Election of 2000

Geography Interactive

For: Interactive map
Web Code: nep-3341



Map Skills In the 2000 presidential election, the votes were so close in the state of Florida that officials like the one above recounted ballots by hand.

Although Al Gore wound up winning the popular vote, George Bush captured a greater number of electoral votes, winning him the presidency.

1. Identify In general, which regions voted for Bush? Which voted for Gore?

2. Predict Consequences How might the dispute over the 2000 election affect future elections?

Candidate (Party)	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	% Electoral Vote	% Popular Vote
George W. Bush (Republican)	271	50,456,002	50.5	47.9
Albert Gore (Democratic)	266	50,999,897	49.5	48.4
Ralph Nader (Green)	—	2,882,955	—	2.7
Other	—	1,066,246	—	1

*One elector from Washington, D.C., abstained from voting

A Tight Race The campaigns focused mainly on how to spend the federal budget surplus. Bush wanted to use it to institute widespread tax cuts, while Gore proposed strengthening Social Security and paying down the national debt. Bush also said that a Republican President would restore morality to the White House. None of the candidates had the appeal of former Presidents Reagan or Clinton. Bush tended to mispronounce words, and Gore appeared dull and cold. On election night, Americans voted mainly by party affiliation.

The vote margin in the Electoral College was razor thin. Although Gore received a half million more votes than Bush, he fell short of winning the 270 electoral votes needed to capture the presidency. So did Bush. The issue was Florida's 25 electoral votes. Gore ran strong in the cities and along the coast, but Bush won the suburbs and the center of the state. The popular vote in Florida was so close that a state law mandated an automatic statewide recount of votes. Bush led by a margin of 327 popular votes. He was awarded a total of 271 electoral votes, one more than was needed to win the election.

The Supreme Court Intervenes Given the extreme closeness of the votes, Democrats demanded a hand, rather than machine, recount in several Florida counties. Republicans countered by suing in a Miami district court to prevent the hand recount. For more than a month, confusion reigned as each charge prompted a countercharge. Finally, the Supreme Court ruled on the issue. In the case of **Bush v. Gore**, the court ended the re-counting by a 5-to-4 decision. On December 12, 2000, Gore conceded defeat, and Bush delivered a conciliatory victory speech. The election showed an interesting geographical pattern. The Democrats captured votes in their traditional strongholds such as the two coasts and large cities. The Republicans had extended their influence, winning voters in a large bloc that included most of the Midwest and the South.

✓ **Checkpoint** Why did the Supreme Court decide the 2000 presidential election?

Bush Launches an Ambitious Agenda

Once in office, Bush turned to the domestic issues that most concerned him, including using Clinton's budget surplus to finance tax cuts. Like most Republicans, Bush believed that tax cuts would stimulate the economy. He felt they would provide Americans with more disposable income, leading to greater spending, heavier investment, and the creation of new jobs. In 2001, Bush successfully pushed a \$1.3 trillion tax cut through Congress. The cut was highly controversial. It did put more money in the hands of consumers. Yet coming on the heels of a declining economy, it also increased federal budget deficits.

Bush's other domestic priority was education. He favored legislation that tied the federal funding of schools to demonstrable academic success. The 2002 **No Child Left Behind Act**, which attracted bipartisan support, held schools accountable by penalizing those that did not reach federal performance standards. It also called for improving teacher quality and for making information about schools more readily available to parents.

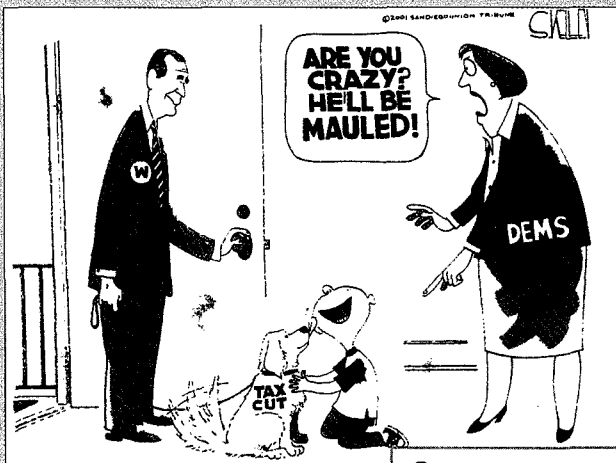
Bush also addressed the concern of older Americans who were caught between their relatively fixed incomes and the rising costs of prescription drugs. In 2003, Congress extended Medicare to cover prescription drugs for senior citizens. Like his tax cuts, the measure was controversial. It was expensive, creating further budget deficits, and many seniors found its provisions confusing and its coverage inadequate.

✓ **Checkpoint** What were Bush's domestic priorities?

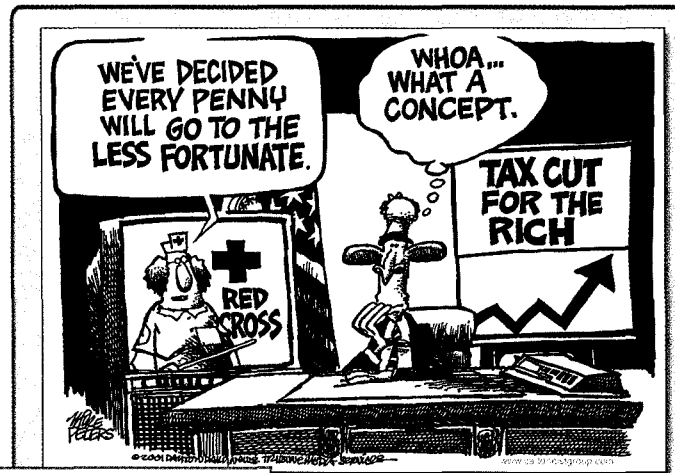
Comparing Viewpoints

Should President Bush's Tax Cuts Be Passed?

President Bush's tax cuts sharply divided Americans into two camps—those who agreed with the cuts and those who opposed them.



Primary Source



Primary Source

Compare

1. In the cartoon on the left, the artist mocks Democrats for overreacting to the tax cuts. How does he do this?
2. Who does the artist of the cartoon on the right imply is the main beneficiary of Bush's tax cuts?

WITNESS HISTORY DVD

Watch *The War on Terrorism* on the **United States Witness History DVD** to explore how the attacks of September 11, 2001, prompted the United States to wage a wider war on terrorism.

Discovery
EDUCATION

The United States Is Attacked

Bush had been in office less than a year when the United States was attacked by a foreign enemy for the first time since Pearl Harbor. Following the hijacking and crashing of four commercial airplanes on September 11, 2001, millions of Americans rushed to donate money, supplies, services, and their own blood. As it became clear that the crashes were part of an organized terrorist attack on the United States, Americans responded as they had after Pearl Harbor—as a unified, determined nation. The attack challenged the new President in unforeseen ways and led to a major shift in American foreign policy. On the day of the attacks, President Bush addressed the nation:

Events That Changed America

8:45 a.m.

A hijacked airplane crashes into the north tower of the World Trade Center.

9:03 a.m.

A second hijacked airplane crashes into the south tower.

9:43 a.m.

A third hijacked airplane crashes into the Pentagon (right).



10:05 a.m.

The south tower of the World Trade Center collapses.

10:10 a.m.

A fourth hijacked airplane crashes into a field south of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

The Terrorist Attacks of 9/11

Shortly before 9 A.M. Eastern time on September 11, 2001, American Airlines Flight 11 slammed into the north tower of the World Trade Center in New York City. The crash was the first of four airplane crashes in an orchestrated attack against the United States. As panicked people fled the city, (left and above right) stunned Americans watched the horrific scenes unfold on their televisions. Just over an hour after the first crash, the World Trade Center began to collapse, spewing dust and debris over the city, and trapping the hundreds of firefighters and police who had gone into the towers to rescue people. Meanwhile, passengers on another hijacked plane learned of the crashes on their cell phones. They bravely stormed the cockpit, refusing to allow the hijackers to target another building. As the day wore on, Americans learned that terrorists had spearheaded the attacks.

◀ Terrified workers run away from the collapsing World Trade towers.

A firefighter breaks down in grief; ▶ the side of one of the towers tilts eerily over the mountains of debris where the World Trade Center once stood (right).

Primary Source

“Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, and our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. . . . Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror. . . . These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed. . . . Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shatter steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve.”

—President George W. Bush, September 11, 2001

✓ **Checkpoint** What was the significance of September 11, 2001?

10:28 a.m.
The World Trade Center's north tower collapses.



2:49 p.m.
New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani says that the number of people killed is “more than any of us can bear.”

8:30 p.m.
President Bush addresses the nation, calling for prayers for victims and their families.



Why It Matters

September 11 was the first attack against Americans on American soil in 50 years, since the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in World War II. In total, more than 3,000 Americans died in the attacks, more than died at Pearl Harbor. September 11 became a watershed in modern American history, a moment when Americans' confidence in their nation's power and safety was deeply shaken. Americans came together to grieve, (above right) rebuild, and decide how to deal with the threat of terrorism. The name “9/11” quickly entered the national lexicon, with people viewing historical events and even ideas as “before 9/11” or “after 9/11.”

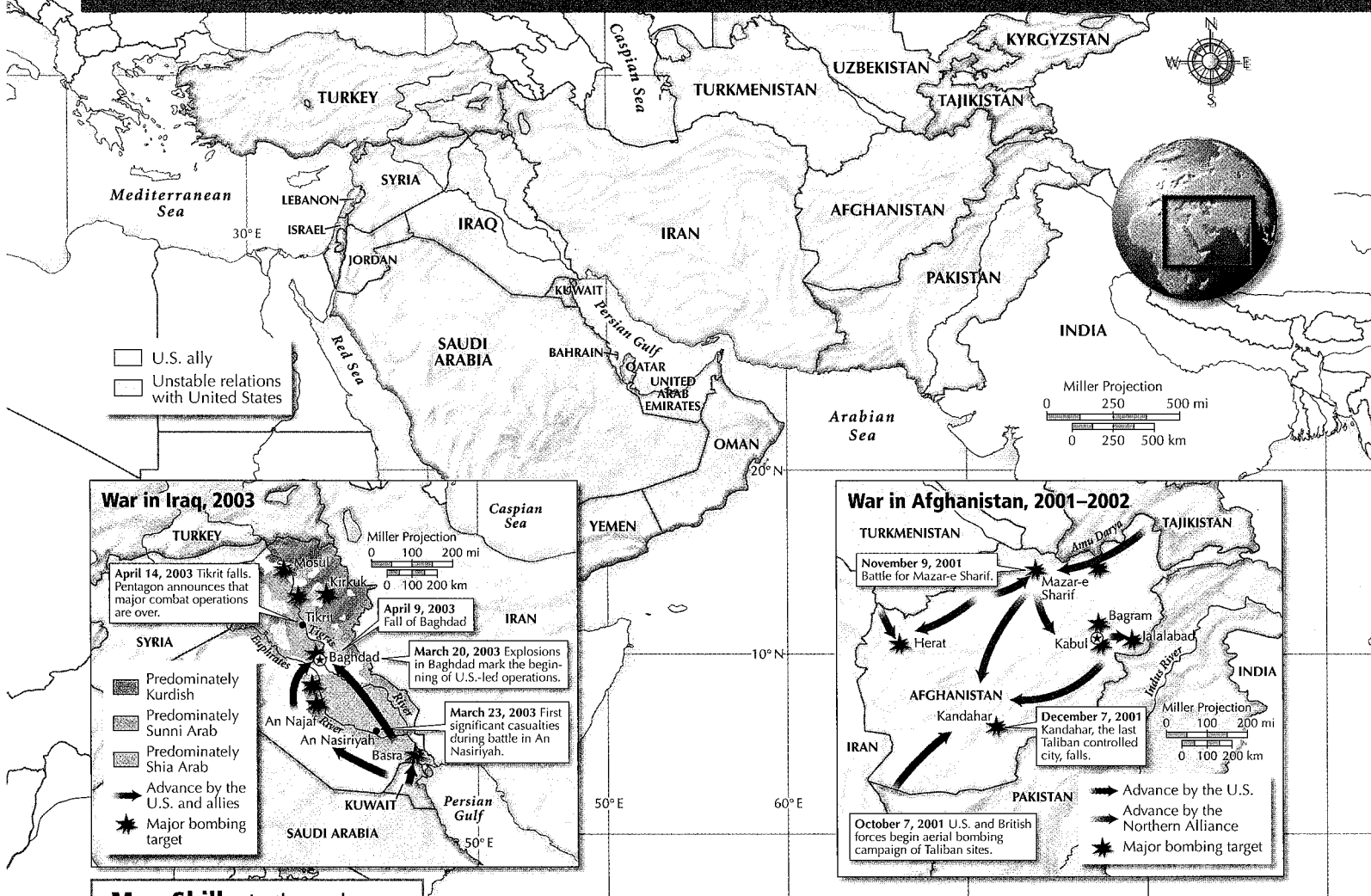
Thinking Critically

1. Expressing Problems Clearly

Why was September 11, 2001, an “event that changed America”?

2. Draw Inferences After the attacks, a French newspaper declared “We are all Americans.” What was meant by this statement?

The United States and the Middle East



Map Skills In the early 2000s, the United States waged two wars in the Middle East.

- 1. Locate:** (a) Baghdad, (b) Kabul, (c) Pakistan, (d) Syria
- 2. Location** Describe the location of Baghdad. What difficulty might a Baghdad-based government have keeping peace?
- 3. Draw Inferences** Notice the location of Pakistan. Why is it important to the United States that Pakistan remain a reliable ally?

Geography Interactive

For: Interactive map
Web Code: nep-2043

America's War on Terrorism

In the wake of September 11, Bush and his advisers considered how to make the United States more secure. Everyone agreed that the most important priority should be finding and prosecuting the people behind 9/11. This would be just the first step in what Bush called the “war on terrorism.”

Invading Afghanistan American government officials quickly determined that Osama bin Laden’s al Qaeda network had been behind the September 11 attacks. Bin Laden opposed the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia, the U.S. economic boycott against Iraq, and U.S. support for Israel. He also opposed any governments in the Middle East that he felt were pro-Western. Bin Laden and other al Qaeda leaders were believed to be hiding in **Afghanistan**, where the Islamic fundamentalist **Taliban** government allowed them to operate training camps for terrorists.

Bush believed that any government that sponsored terrorism, even if it did not itself commit terrorist acts, should be held accountable. He immediately demanded that the Taliban turn over bin Laden to U.S. custody and shut down the terrorist training camps. When the Taliban refused, he quickly sent American forces, joined by Great Britain and other allies, into Afghanistan to strike terrorist and Taliban military and communication bases. Joined by Afghan rebels, the allied forces overthrew the Taliban within three months. Although

American troops captured several of al Qaeda's leaders, bin Laden himself escaped. While Afghanistan held its first free elections and wrote a new constitution, the United States still faced the threat of terrorism elsewhere.

Improving National Security Bush also moved quickly on the home front to prevent future terrorist attacks. Soon after September 11, Congress passed the **Patriot Act** to give law enforcement broader powers to monitor suspected terrorists and detain or deport aliens who were associated with terrorist groups. Congress also approved Bush's call for the creation of a new Cabinet-level **Department of Homeland Security** to coordinate domestic security matters among a number of federal, state, and local agencies. Some critics charged that the Patriot Act violated civil liberties, but most Americans were willing to give up some freedoms in return for improved protection against attack.

Launching Operation Iraqi Freedom Bush next turned his attention to Iraq. In the decade after the first Gulf War, Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein had defied UN weapons inspectors. Years before 2001, President Clinton had launched several missile strikes against the country, but Saddam remained in power. Many people both inside and outside of the Bush administration believed that Saddam was constructing and stockpiling nuclear, biological, and chemical **Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)**. Bush contemplated invading Iraq as part of his wider war on terrorism. In a State of the Union address to the American people in 2002, Bush asserted that Iraq, Iran, and North Korea constituted an "axis of evil" that threatened American and world security.

Despite many Americans' belief that UN weapons inspectors should be allowed to continue their search for WMD, in October of 2002 Congress authorized Bush to use American military forces against Iraq. On March 19, 2003, American and British military forces invaded Iraq in Operation Iraqi Freedom. Saddam's forces collapsed almost immediately. As the Iraqi capital of Baghdad fell, Saddam and the other Iraqi leaders went into hiding. Bush gave a victory speech on May 1, 2003, in front of a banner reading "mission accomplished." In the months that followed, Saddam and many of his supporters were captured.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did Bush combat terrorism?

Bush's Second Term

The Iraq war, terrorism, and the budget weighed heavily on Americans' minds as they cast their votes in the 2004 election.

Bush relied heavily on his image as a "war president," saying that the lack of an attack on American soil since 9/11 proved his competency as commander in chief. His campaign implied that Americans would be most secure with a Republican President. The Democratic candidate, Massachusetts senator John F. Kerry, was a decorated Vietnam veteran with many more years of political experience than Bush. His message never fully resonated with Americans, however, and Bush defeated Kerry by a comfortable margin. Once again, the U.S. electoral map indicated what many began to call a "red state, blue state" divide, with people along the coasts and in the big cities voting Democratic, and people in the South, Midwest, and rural areas voting Republican.

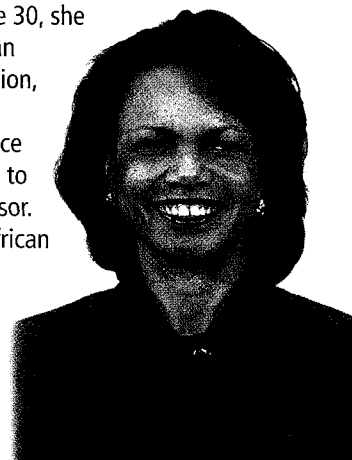
Vocabulary Builder

assert—(uh SERT) *v.* to declare or affirm

HISTORY MAKERS

Condoleezza Rice (born 1954)

Condoleezza Rice grew up in segregated Birmingham, Alabama. At age 15, she entered college intending to become a concert pianist but graduated at age 19 with a degree in political science instead. By age 30, she had earned a Ph.D., served as an intern in the Carter administration, and held a professorship at Stanford University. In 2000, Rice was tapped by George W. Bush to become National Security Advisor. In 2004, she became the first African American woman to be named Secretary of State. Dr. Rice has taken an active role in the U.S. rebuilding of Iraq.



Major World Terrorist Attacks Since 2000

Quick Study

Place/Date	Details of Attack	Group Responsible
Tel Aviv, Israel June 1, 2001	Suicide bombing outside nightclub kills 21 and injures 120.	Hamas
New York City; Near Washington, D.C.; Pennsylvania Sept. 11, 2001	Hijacked airplanes crash into the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and a Pennsylvania field; kills around 3,000.	al Qaeda
Bali, Indonesia Oct. 12, 2002	Car bomb explodes outside a nightclub; kills 202 and wounds around 300.	al Qaeda
Madrid, Spain March 11, 2004	Train bombings kill more than 200 and injure more than 1,400.	al Qaeda
Beslan, Russia Sept. 1–3, 2004	Guerrillas seize a school and hold the inhabitants hostage; 335 are killed and more than 550 wounded.	Chechnyan rebels
London, England July 7, 2005	Series of suicide bombings on the public transit system; kills 52 and injures more than 700.	al Qaeda

Iraq remained the major focus of Bush's second term. Saddam's brutal rule kept fighting among Iraq's three major groups: Sunnis, Shi'a, and Kurds in check. With Saddam's overthrow, these groups fought bitterly for power. Iraqi terrorists and those from other Middle Eastern nations, attacked American soldiers, Iraqi security forces, and innocent Iraqi people. By the end of 2005, Iraq had written a new constitution and established the beginnings of a democracy. But chaos continued to plague Iraqis. Saddam went into hiding, but was soon captured. After a lengthy trial, Iraq's High Tribunal sentenced him to death for crimes against humanity, including the killing of many Iraqi citizens. Saddam was executed in 2006.

By early 2004, the United Nations had determined that Saddam had never possessed

nuclear weapons or the materials to make them. Critics of Bush charged that he had exaggerated evidence of WMD and misled Congress and the American people in his effort to win support for the war. Even those who agreed that the war was necessary worried that the United States had gotten itself into a quagmire.

Meanwhile, Bush faced serious domestic challenges. With so much money being spent on Iraq, the federal deficit grew larger. Even people who had supported Bush's tax cuts began to criticize them. In August of 2005, Hurricane Katrina hit the Gulf Coast, destroying much of the city of New Orleans and displacing tens of thousands of people. The government response to Katrina, which largely affected poor people, was slow, adding to the criticism of President Bush. National discontent was reflected in the 2006 Congressional elections in which Democrats, for the first time in 12 years, won control of both the House and the Senate.

✓ **Checkpoint** What challenges did Bush face in his second term?

SECTION

4 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-2041

Comprehension

1. Terms and People Using complete sentences, relate each of the following items to the presidency of George W. Bush.

- *Bush v. Gore*
- No Child Left Behind Act
- Afghanistan
- Taliban
- Patriot Act
- Department of Homeland Security
- WMD

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Recognize Sequence Use your completed flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: What was the impact of Bush's domestic agenda and his response to the terrorist attack against the United States?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Provide Details

Choose an American issue that has relevance both to the Bush presidency and to an earlier period of American history. Analyze the issue in both time periods, including details that define the issue and support your points.

Critical Thinking

4. Compare Points of View Compare how Democrats and Republicans viewed the initial results of the 2000 election.

5. Draw Inferences Why was Bush's tax cut extremely controversial, while his support for the No Child Left Behind Act was not?

6. Identify Assumptions What assumptions about the United States were conveyed in Bush's speech to the nation on September 11?

7. Recognize Cause and Effect How did the September 11 attacks influence American policy in the Middle East?



▲ The Trans today (above) with their sons and at their wedding in Vietnam (left).

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Finding the American Dream

In 1990, Eddie (Duc) and Linda (Lieu) Tran left Vietnam with their young son to start over in Columbus, Ohio. Sponsored by Linda's brother, who had fled Vietnam by boat during the fall of Saigon in 1975, the Trans were aware of the obstacles that faced them in their new country.

“Learning the English language and finding jobs were our biggest challenges. We listened to the radio and tried to converse as much as possible with our co-workers to learn English. Everyone was helpful. And we were determined never to receive welfare. Linda got a job as a tailor ten days after we arrived. I owned a manufacturing business in Vietnam, but it took me six months to get employed here. Times were hard, and we still work 12-hour days in our restaurant now. But the best thing about this country is freedom. If you work hard, you can achieve the American dream.”

—Eddie and Linda Tran, 2005

Americans Look to the Future



Core Curriculum Objectives

- **1.I.D.2** Immigration
- **2.I.E.6** Equality—its historic and present meaning as a constitutional value
- **7.V.D.3** The “new” immigrants (Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986)
- **7.V.D.4** Changing demographic patterns (growing numbers of elderly)

Terms and People

Immigration Act of 1990	affirmative action
bilingual education	Violence Against
Immigration and Control	Women Act
Act of 1986	privatize

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Supporting Details

Record supporting details about the changing American society in a table like this one.

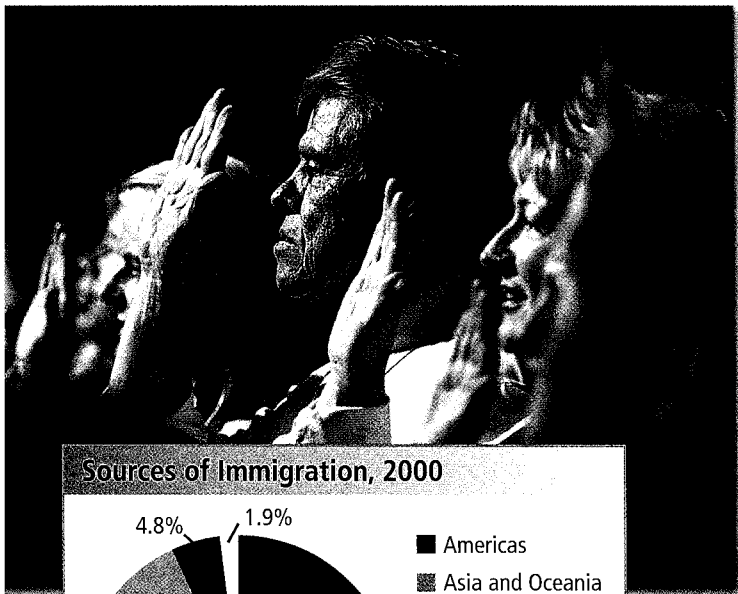
A Changing Society	
Immigration	Demographics
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigration policies relax • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family structures change •

Why It Matters As the twenty-first century dawned, American society looked very different from the way it had during the previous century. It also faced different challenges. As the nation entered the new millennium, it sought ways to preserve its heritage while at the same time adapting to rapid social, political, and technological change. **Section Focus Question:** How was American society changing at the beginning of the twenty-first century?

Immigrants Shape a Nation

For two centuries, American protection of religious and personal freedom, along with opportunities for social and economic mobility, has attracted huge numbers of immigrants. Over time, however, the nature of immigration has changed.

Immigration Policies Change For years, the government limited immigration to mainly northern and western Europeans. In the 1960s, however, laws began to relax immigration limitations. The **Immigration Act of 1990** increased quotas by 40 percent and eased most remaining restrictions. As a result, the period from the 1990s to the 2000s saw the largest numbers of immigrants in the country's history. During that time, almost one million immigrants arrived in America each year from all over the globe, representing a wide variety of cultures and religions. Today, immigrants account for more than 10 percent of the total American population.



Latinos Exert Their Influence Most of the new immigrants were Latinos. In 2000, 27 percent of the total immigrant population were Mexicans, with people from the Caribbean and Central America making up almost 17 percent. Mexicans and Central Americans settled largely in the South and Southwest. Caribbean immigrants, many of them Cubans, settled in Florida in large numbers. These immigrants have added to already large Latino populations. The census of 2000 showed that a third or more of the residents of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California were Latinos.

Like all immigrants, Latinos have varying educational and employment backgrounds. On the whole, however, they tend to have fewer job skills, forcing them to take lower-paying jobs with no healthcare benefits. Whatever their backgrounds, Latino immigrants have had a profound social, cultural, and political impact. By 2001, Latinos held about 5,000 political offices and 4 percent of the seats in Congress, primarily as Democrats. Cuban Americans in

Florida, generally Republican, have had an enormous influence on American political policy concerning Cuba.

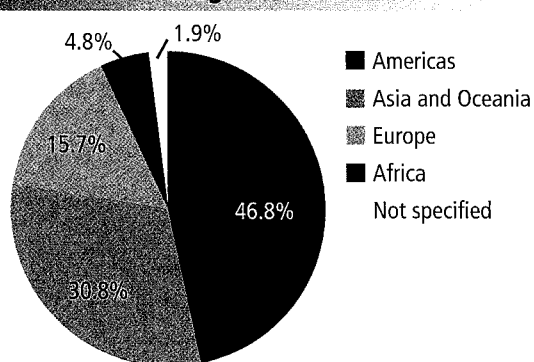
A Surging Asian Population Asians make up the second-largest source of the new immigration. In 2000, they were nearly 23 percent of the total immigrant population, with the largest numbers coming from China, the Philippines, and India. The majority of Asian immigrants have settled in California, adding to the large Asian population in that state. As a group, Asian immigrants have had widely varying backgrounds, but overall they have the highest level of education. Some came to America with college degrees and marketable skills and found professional jobs. Others came from war-torn countries, with very little education.

Debating Immigration Immigration has long been debated in this country. People who would restrict it worry that immigrants take jobs and social services away from native-born Americans. They generally oppose **bilingual education**, in which students are taught in their native languages as well as in English, saying that immigrants must learn English in order to assimilate into American society and succeed economically. Proponents point out that immigrants contribute to the economy, often by taking jobs no one else wants. They also argue that with the U.S. birthrate falling

immigrants help the country by maintaining its population.

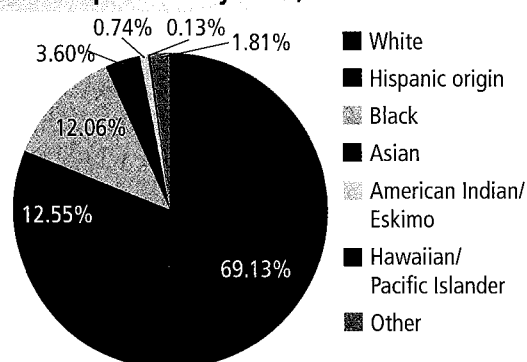
Much of the debate concerns illegal immigrants. A large number of immigrants to the United States, especially Latinos, have come illegally. They labor in low-paying jobs, such as migrant farmwork, and receive no benefits. The **Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986** hoped to stop the flow of illegal immigrants by penalizing employers who hired them and by granting resident status to those residing in the United States since 1982. But illegal immigrants still regularly cross U.S. borders. How to treat these illegal—but often necessary—workers is an ongoing debate.

Sources of Immigration, 2000



SOURCE: Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, 2003

U.S. Population by Race, 2000



SOURCE: CensusScope

Graph Skills Every year, people from all backgrounds are sworn in as U.S. citizens. Study the two pie charts. What was the largest minority group in 2000? How does the Sources of Immigration graph support the data in the U.S. Population by Race graph?

✓ **Checkpoint** How has immigration to America changed over time?

Changing American Demographics

At the beginning of 2000, Americans were on the move more than ever. Coastal cities as well as the Sunbelt, or the region of warm southern and southwestern states, saw rapid population and economic growth as people left the cold Northeast and the Rust Belt. Meanwhile, the family itself was changing.

The Changing Family In 1960, more than 70 percent of American households were headed by a working father and a nonworking mother, neither of whom had ever been divorced. By 2000, fewer than 15 percent of households fit this model. In 2000, one out of every two marriages ended in divorce, and in a high percentage of households both parents worked outside the home. Single-parent households were far more common, with a quarter of all children growing up in a single-parent household. The number of children born to unmarried mothers also rose. In 1960, only 5 percent of children were born out of wedlock. In 2000, one out of every four white babies, one out of every three Latino babies, and two out of every three African American babies were born to unmarried mothers.

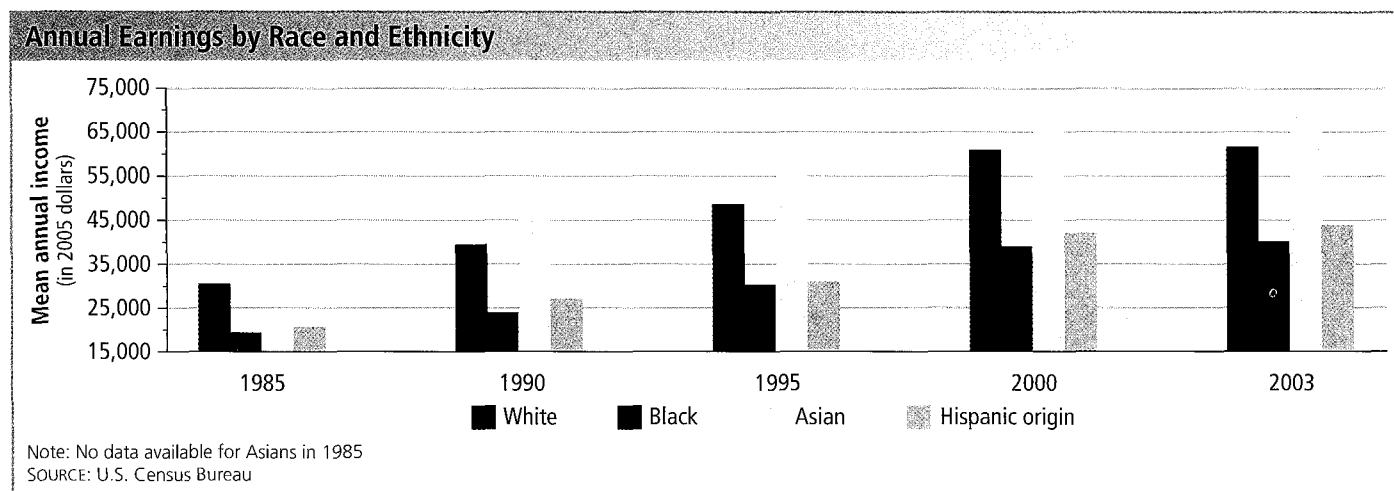
Debating Affirmative Action In the 1960s, President Johnson introduced the idea of **affirmative action**, or improving opportunities for women and minorities by giving preference to them in school admissions and job applications. Since that time, affirmative action has been hotly debated. Proponents argue that without such initiatives, minorities cannot overcome generations of discrimination. Opponents say that the policy is unfair and discriminates against nonminorities. In 1996, Californians voted to end affirmative action in state hiring and education. That same year, a federal court struck down an affirmative action admissions program at the University of Texas. In 2003, however, the Supreme Court decided in two cases involving the University of Michigan that while race could not be the deciding factor in admissions, it could be one of several factors.

Expanding Rights for All At the turn of the new century, African Americans and women continued to make social and political gains. By 2002, 33 percent of African American families enjoyed incomes of at least \$50,000, placing them in the middle class. Also in 2002, 17 percent of African Americans over the age of 25 held bachelor's degrees. At the same time, legislation to enforce equal pay for equal work, address child care needs for working women, and end sexual harassment in the workplace has improved the lives of working women. Outside of the world of work, women have also achieved victories. Issues such as spouse abuse and date rape are now widely discussed. Incidents of violence against women are more often reported and more often punished than ever before.

Vocabulary Builder

discrimination—(dih skrihm ih NAY shuhn) *n.* unfair bias in the treatment of a particular group

Graph Skills While the income gap is slowly narrowing, wages among ethnic groups still vary widely. Study the graph. Which group enjoyed the highest income in the period shown? What might explain this?





TRACK THE ISSUE

What should be the goals of American education?

Over time, the purpose of American education has changed. From an early focus on religion, schools turned to the promotion of democratic values. Today, they are placing a strong emphasis on performance standards. Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.

1600s–1700s Colonial Education

Schools emphasize religious study.

1852 Public Schools

Massachusetts passes first compulsory school attendance law in the United States.

1903 Du Bois-Washington Debate

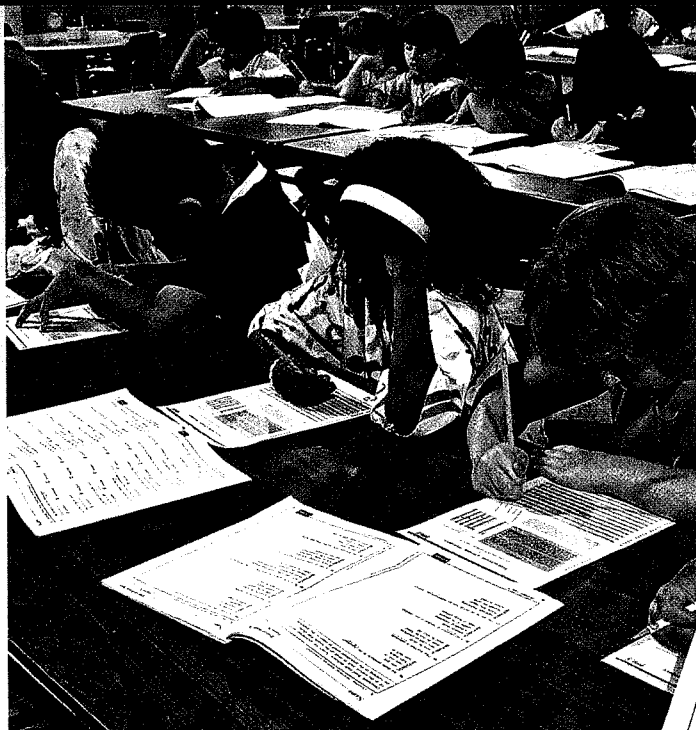
Scholars debate the role of education in improving African Americans' lives.

1926 Scholastic Aptitude Test

The Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) is first administered.

2001 No Child Left Behind Act

Federal law tries to raise student performance through standardized testing and other measures.



DEBATE THE ISSUE

Standardized Testing Standardized tests are used both to assess students and to hold teachers accountable for meeting standards. But critics argue that an emphasis on testing is hurting American schools.

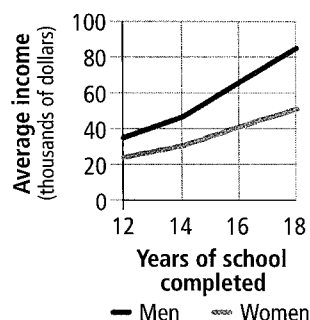
“We have learned a great deal about the nature of teaching and learning, and we know that students need to have opportunities to construct knowledge and connect that knowledge to what they already know. However, many . . . [standardized tests] still continue to focus on the memory of isolated facts which are destined to be forgotten.”

—Marilyn Bizar, North Central Regional Educational Laboratory

“You can’t figure out whether schools are doing a good job unless you have some way of measuring how much their students are learning. . . . A guarantee by the national government of a decent education for every child is a noble cause, and so is the idea that all Americans will acquire a common body of skills and knowledge as they come of age.”

—Nicholas Lemann, writer, *The New Yorker*

Education and Income



SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

Connect to Your World

- 1. Compare** Why does Bizar oppose standardized testing? Why does Lemann support standardized testing?
- 2. Analyze** Do you think that the increase in standardized testing will cause students' achievement scores to rise? Explain.
- 3. Debate** Learn more about recent debates on standardized testing and prepare an argument supporting one viewpoint. **Web Code:** neh-3351

The 1994 **Violence Against Women Act** increased federal resources to apprehend and prosecute men guilty of violent acts against women.

America Grows Older While the life expectancy of an American born in 1900 was less than 50 years, an American born in 2000 can expect to live to age 77. By 2000, older Americans tended to retire earlier, live longer, and exert more political influence. These factors have strained the country's social welfare system, especially Social Security and Medicare. In 1960, the federal government spent less than \$100 billion on social welfare. By 2003, the amount had increased to \$1.4 trillion.

With the large baby-boom generation reaching retirement age, the issue of elder care has become critical. Falling birthrates over the past two decades have meant that when the huge population of baby boomers retires, there will not be enough workers to cover their Social Security benefits. Politicians have been debating how to deal with this impending reality. In his second term, President Bush called for **privatizing** Social Security by allowing younger workers to invest some of their earnings in individual retirement accounts. Critics defeated the measure, saying that it would put younger workers at the mercy of fluctuating stock market returns without addressing the shortfall of funds. As Americans get older, the debate continues.

Facing the Future As the new millennium began, Americans looked back at a century of great change and technological progress. Looking forward, immense challenges remain. Americans still struggle with basic problems with which societies throughout history have struggled, as well as some new problems unique to the time. Yet with its greatest resource—the American people—the United States faces this new century with strength and optimism.

✓ **Checkpoint** What challenges have changing American demographics brought?

HISTORY MAKERS

George H. W. Bush (born 1924) and William Jefferson Clinton (born 1946)

Both presidents Bush and Clinton (below with the president of Indonesia) have spent much of their lives as public servants. Former political opponents, the two men formed an organization to bring relief to Southeastern Asians in the wake of the 2004 Asian tsunami. Touring the United States, the men raised millions of dollars by appealing to Americans to contribute to tsunami relief. A year later, Bush and Clinton went into action again in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. The former Presidents raised \$100 million dollars and immediately set to work rebuilding and providing economic and educational opportunities to Americans devastated by the disaster. At the end of 2005, the former Presidents remarked that “the generosity of people never ceases to amaze us.”



SECTION

5 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-2051

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** For each term below, write a sentence explaining its significance to American society in the twenty-first century.
- Immigration Act of 1990
 - bilingual education
 - Immigration and Control Act of 1986
 - affirmative action
 - Violence Against Women Act
 - privatize

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Identify Supporting Details Use your completed table to answer the Section Focus Question: How was American society changing at the beginning of the twenty-first century?

Writing About History

- 3. Quick Write: List Details** You are writing an essay that analyzes the American issue of education and American society. List details from this section that support your analysis.

Critical Thinking

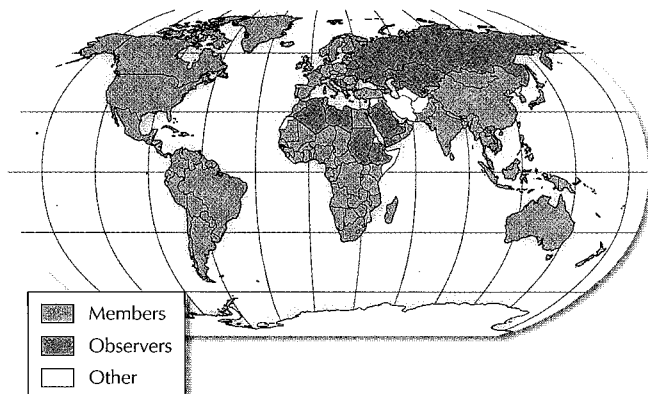
- 4. Draw Inferences** How can a nation's immigration policies affect its economy?
- 5. Identify Central Issues** Why is an aging population a problem for a society?

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nea-2061

■ World Trade Organization Members and Observers



■ Major Events in the Clinton and Bush Presidencies

President	Event
Clinton	1993 Signed Brady Bill
	1994 Sent troops to Haiti
	1995 Sent forces into Bosnia as part of NATO
	1996 Signed bill to reform welfare
	1999 Impeached; cleared of charges
	2000 Led Israeli-Palestinian peace talks at Camp David
Bush	2001 Pushed for major tax cuts; sent troops to war in Afghanistan; signed Patriot Act
	2002 Signed No Child Left Behind Act
	2003 Sent troops to war in Iraq

■ Major Issues of American Society in the New Millennium

Technology—Computers, satellites, and advances in agriculture raise productivity and efficiency, but challenge many workers and industries.

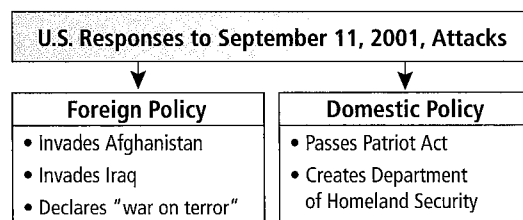
Globalization—Globalization brings consumers more choices and opportunities, but can result in the loss of American jobs.

Terrorism—After September 11, government must work to make America more secure.

Immigration—Immigrants continue to enrich American society and fuel its economy, but their increasing numbers spark debate.

Demographics—Federal and local governments must find ways to support older Americans, Americans on the move, and nontraditional families.

■ U.S. Response to September 11



✓ Quick Study Timeline

In America



1992
Bill Clinton is
elected President

1994
Republicans win
control of Congress

1996
Congress
passes Welfare
Reform Act

Presidential Terms

George H. W. Bush 1989–1993

William J. Clinton 1993–2001

1992

1994

1996

Around the World

1993
European
Union forms

1994
Mandela is
elected
President of
South Africa

1995
NATO forces restore order in
Bosnia; WTO is established

American Issues Connector



7.VI.B.1b

By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study guide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com **Web Code:** neh-2051).

Issues You Learned About

● **Education and American Society** American leaders continually try to find new ways to improve the quality of the American education system.

1. Name and describe an educational reform in the United States that you have already learned about.
2. Why do you think the No Child Left Behind Act attracted the support of both Republicans and Democrats?
3. As part of the No Child Left Behind Act, schools must demonstrate success in order to receive federal funding. What are some ways that schools can demonstrate success?

● **Technology and Society** The development of the modern computer has changed the way people live, work, and play.

4. Prior to the computer, what do you think was the most important technological development, and why?
5. What spurred the development of the modern computer?
6. What are some ways that you use personal computers?

● **Global Interdependence** The United States economy depends on trade with countries around the world.

7. What are some of the issues that have caused a debate in the United States over free trade?
8. Why was Clinton's support of NAFTA controversial?
9. What are some of the benefits and drawbacks of globalization?

Connect to Your World

New York

Technology and Society The New York Stock Exchange (NYSE), founded in 1792, is the world's largest marketplace for stocks and bonds. Its headquarters are in the heart of New York City's Financial District. Though many other major stock exchanges operate electronically, most of the NYSE's business is still conducted face to face by people called floor traders. However, in 1999 investors began trading outside normal business hours by computer. Today, floor traders can receive information directly from investors through an electronic system called DOT (Designated Order Turnaround) rather than through a stockbroker hired by the investor. Research the NASDAQ, another famous stock market, and write a paragraph that compares and contrasts it with the NYSE.

1998
President Clinton
is impeached



2001
Terrorists attack United
States on September
11; the United States
invades Afghanistan

2003
War in
Iraq begins



George W. Bush 2001–

1998

1998
Indonesian dictator
Suharto steps down

2000

2000
Putin is elected
President of Russia

2002

2002
Al Qaeda car
bombs kill more
than 200 people
in Indonesia

2004

History Interactive
For: Interactive timeline
Web Code: nep-2061

Chapter Assessment

Terms and People

1. Define **satellite**. What role does satellite technology play in everyday life?
2. Who is **Newt Gingrich**? What were some of his specific proposals during the Clinton presidency?
3. Define **ethnic cleansing**. Where was it used, and by whom?
4. What was the **Patriot Act**? What caused Congress to pass this legislation?
5. What is **bilingual education**? Why are some people opposed to it?

Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is **What political, social, technological, and economic trends have shaped American life since 1990?** Build an answer to this question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 5 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

Section 1

6. How have technological changes and globalization transformed the American economy?

Section 2

7. What were the successes and failures of the Clinton presidency?

Section 3

8. What role did the United States take on in global politics and economics following the Cold War?

Section 4

9. What was the impact of Bush's domestic agenda and his response to the terrorist attack against the United States?

Section 5

10. How was American society changing at the beginning of the twenty-first century?

Writing About History

Writing for Assessment As Americans head into the new millennium, many of the major issues that have been part of American history for over two centuries remain relevant. Write an essay that traces an important American issue over time. Explain why it became an American issue and how its relevance has changed or remained the same over time.

Prewriting

- Go online to www.PHSchool.com and enter **Web Code:** neh-2061 to find a list of American issues.
- Eliminate issues about which you are unsure. Choose the one for which you have the most background information or ideas.
- Identify the focus of your essay by forming a main idea.

Critical Thinking

11. **Identify Central Issues** How did the rise of the service sector benefit some Americans and harm others?
12. **Draw Inferences** In the 1988 presidential election, 57.4 percent of Americans voted; in 1992, 61.3 percent voted, and in 1996, 54.2 percent voted. What may have contributed to the 1992 spike in voter participation?
13. **Analyze Evidence** In 1996, during his reelection campaign, Clinton announced, "The era of big government is over." Cite evidence supporting or refuting this statement.
14. **Synthesize Information** What foreign policy did the United States adopt in the post Cold War world?
15. **Determine Relevance** How helpful was the Declaration of Principles at resolving problems in the Middle East?
16. **Analyze Visuals** Study the visual below. What event are these newspaper headlines describing?



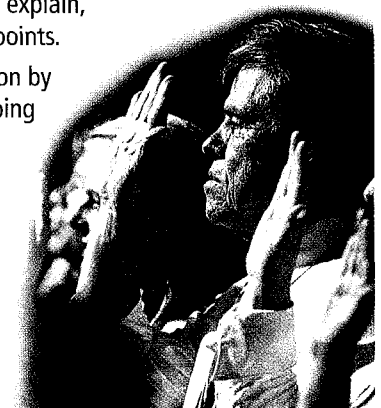
17. **Analyze Information** Did Operation Iraqi Freedom succeed at improving the lives of the Iraqi people?
18. **Explain Causes** Why was affirmative action first introduced in the United States?

Drafting

- Sketch out an organizational plan for your essay. Consider using an outline or other graphic organizer to help you.
- Provide details that define, explain, support, or illustrate your points.
- Strengthen your introduction by including an interest-grabbing sentence.

Revising

- Use the guidelines on page SH11 of the Writing Handbook to revise your report.



Regents DBQ Practice

Media Influence on Political Issues

News coverage of the war in Iraq became news in itself. While editorial writers strongly supported or opposed American policy, other journalists questioned the way the war was being reported. Was the media too critical—or not critical enough? Use your knowledge of media coverage of the war in Iraq and Documents 1, 2, 3, and 4 to answer questions 1 through 4.

Document 1

"Mr. Bush's 'Plan for Victory' speech was, of course, the usual unadulterated nonsense. Its overarching theme—'We will never accept anything less than complete victory'—was being contradicted even as he spoke by rampant reports of Pentagon plans for stepped-up troop withdrawals between next week's Iraqi Elections and the more important (for endangered Republicans) American Election Day of 2006. The specifics were phony, too. Once again inflating the readiness of Iraqi troops, Mr. Bush claimed that the recent assault on Tal Afar 'was primarily led by Iraqi security forces'—a fairy tale immediately unmasked by Michael Ware, a Time reporter embedded in the battle's front lines, as 'completely wrong.'"

—Frank Rich, *The New York Times*, December 11, 2005

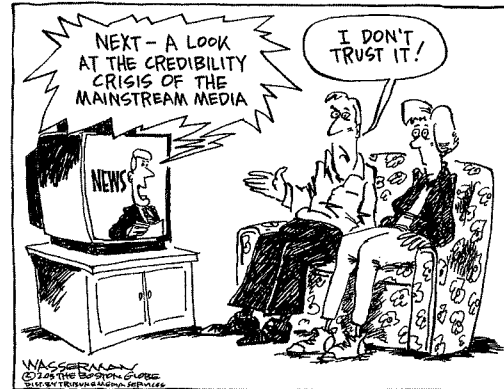
Document 2

Over the past few years, the Iraq war has morphed from a war of liberation against Saddam into a civil conflict between Sunnis and Shiites. . . . But the best news out of Iraq last week was that the Sunnis voted joyfully and in large numbers. In what they said and the way they acted, both the Sunnis and Shiites made it clear that while they are engaged in a fierce rivalry, they fervently believe in a democratic and unified Iraq. This is not yet a to-the-death struggle. . . . That's why it's necessary to have a third party—in Iraq, the United States—to cajole the two sides toward the settlement, to enforce the agreement afterward, to nurture a functioning social contract after that, and to prevent

hostile outside powers from spoiling the deal. That's why, again, it is essential that the U.S. remain in Iraq long enough to deescalate the conflict.

—David Brooks, *The New York Times*, December 18, 2005

Document 3



Document 4

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting did a study. In the week leading up to General Colin Powell going to the Security Council to make his case for the invasions and the week afterwards—this was the period where more than half of the people in this country were opposed to an invasion—they did a study of CBS *Evening News*, NBC *Nightly News*, ABC *World News Tonight*, and the *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* on PBS. The four major newscasts. Two weeks. Three hundred and ninety-three interviews on war. Three were anti-war voices. Three of almost four hundred, and that included PBS. . . . [T]hey have to provide the diversity of opinion that fully expresses the debate and the anguish and the discussions that are going on all over this country. That is media serving a democratic society.

—Amy Goodman, "Independent Media in a Time of War," April 21, 2003

- Which of the documents is critical of the government's positive assessment of the war in Iraq?
(1) Document 1 (3) Document 3
(2) Document 2 (4) Document 4
- According to Amy Goodman, which of the following statements is the most accurate assessment of media coverage of the invasion of Iraq?
(1) All the major newscasts tried to present both points of view about the invasion.
(2) The media coverage resulted in a national debate about the invasion.
(3) Media coverage favored opponents of the war.
(4) Media coverage did not reflect the diversity of opinion about the war.
- What is the main point of the cartoon in Document 3?
(1) People generally do not trust the mainstream media.
(2) Although people claim to distrust the media, they still rely on it for information.
(3) The mainstream media is biased.
(4) The mainstream media is unbiased.
- Writing Task** Think about the political perspectives on the war in Iraq expressed in the media. Do you think the media has played an influential role in shaping American foreign policy in Iraq? Use your knowledge of media coverage of the war, key events in the war, and specific evidence from the primary sources above to support your opinion.

Connect to New York

Learning from New York's Past

As Americans look toward the rest of the twenty-first century, we often depend on the past to guide us through future challenges. In New York, learning from the past can be as easy as visiting one of the historic markers or sites around the state.

Beginning in the 1920s, the historical marker program was managed by the Education Department's State History office. Though the state does not fund new markers today, the archives and the records of the state's 2,800 historic markers are maintained by the New York State Museum. New markers are still being erected today under the guidance of local historians and civic groups. Some markers commemorate events that are widely known in American history; others remember individuals or places especially meaningful to the people of New York.

"COLONEL REVOLUTIONARY WAR
MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY, STATE SENATOR
FIRST [S]UPERVISOR TOWN BALLSTON
MEMBER OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON VISITED HERE 1783"

—Text on marker at the home of James Gordon,
Saratoga County

In addition to small markers at buildings or other sites, New York has large-form markers that give information about significant trends in the history of the state.

"THE CATSKILL MOUNTAINS"

"The Catskill Mountains tower above the Hudson River . . . These time-worn mountains were called Kaatskill (Cat Creek) by Dutchmen of the seventeenth century, probably because of the wildcats that once roamed the area."

—Text on marker on Route 17, east of Rockland

As you have read in this textbook, the United States has a rich, diverse history. You can continue to explore the ways that history shapes the world around us through the historical marker program operating throughout New York.