In this module you will learn about an era of conservative policies during the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s with the Nixon, Ford, Reagan, and Bush administrations. You will also study the liberal policies of the Carter presidency.

**What You Will Learn . . .**

- **Lesson 1: The Nixon Administration . . . . . . . . . . . . 1164**
  - The Big Idea  President Richard M. Nixon tried to steer the country in a conservative direction and away from federal control.

- **Lesson 2: Watergate: Nixon’s Downfall . . . . . . . . . . . . 1171**
  - The Big Idea  President Richard Nixon’s involvement in the Watergate scandal forced him to resign from office.

- **Lesson 3: The Ford and Carter Years . . . . . . . . . . . . 1178**
  - The Big Idea  The Ford and Carter administrations attempted to remedy the nation’s worst economic crisis in decades.

- **Lesson 4: A Conservative Movement Emerges . . . . . . . . . . 1191**
  - The Big Idea  Conservatism reached a high point with the election in 1980 of President Ronald Reagan and Vice-President George Bush.

- **Lesson 5: Reagan and Bush Confront Domestic Concerns . . . . 1197**
  - The Big Idea  Presidents Reagan and Bush pursued a conservative agenda. It included tax cuts, budget cuts, and increased defense spending, during an era of serious social problems.

- **Lesson 6: Foreign Policy Under Reagan and Bush . . . . . . . . 1207**
  - The Big Idea  New pressures, including the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the new role of the U.S. as the world’s only superpower, affected foreign policy under Reagan and Bush.
Timeline of Events 1967–1992

**United States Events**

1968 Richard M. Nixon is elected president.

1970 The Mary Tyler Moore Show premiers on television.

1972 President Nixon is reelected.

1973 Energy crisis begins, and gasoline prices soar.

1974 Vice-President Gerald R. Ford becomes president after the Watergate scandal forces President Nixon to resign.

1976 Jimmy Carter is elected president.

1979 Ayatollah Khomeini seizes power in Iran.

1980 Ronald Reagan is elected president.

1981 Sandra Day O’Connor becomes the first woman appointed to the Supreme Court.

1984 President Reagan is reelected.

1986 Iran arms deal is revealed.

1988 George H. W. Bush is elected president.


1991 The Persian Gulf War breaks out.

1992

**World Events**

1972 China gives the United States two pandas.

1972 Terrorists kill 11 Israeli athletes at the XX Olympiad in Munich.

1978 Egyptian and Israeli leaders meet and sign the Camp David Accords with President Carter.

1979 Ayatollah Khomeini seizes power in Iran.

1982 Great Britain and Argentina go to war over the Falkland Islands.

1986 The Soviet Union suffers a disastrous accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.
The Big Idea
President Richard M. Nixon tried to steer the country in a conservative direction and away from federal control.

Why It Matters Now
American leaders of the early 1970s laid the foundations for the broad conservative base that exists today.

Key Terms and People
Richard M. Nixon
New Federalism
revenue sharing
Family Assistance Plan (FAP)
Southern Strategy
stagflation
OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries)

One American’s Story
In November 1968 Richard M. Nixon had just been elected president of the United States. He chose Henry Kissinger to be his special adviser on foreign affairs. In 1972, as the United States struggled to achieve an acceptable peace in Vietnam, Kissinger reflected on his relationship with Nixon.

“I . . . am not at all so sure I could have done what I’ve done with him with another president. . . . I don’t know many leaders who would entrust to their aide the task of negotiating with the North Vietnamese, informing only a tiny group of people of the initiative.”

—Henry Kissinger, quoted in The New Republic, December 16, 1972

Nixon and Kissinger ended America’s involvement in Vietnam, but as the war wound down, the nation seemed to enter an era of limits. The economic prosperity that had followed World War II was ending. President Nixon wanted to limit the federal government to reduce its power and to reverse some of Johnson’s liberal policies. At the same time, he would seek to restore America’s prestige and influence on the world stage—prestige that had been hit hard by the Vietnam experience.
Nixon’s New Conservatism

President Richard M. Nixon entered office in 1969 determined to turn America in a more conservative direction. Toward that end, he tried to instill a sense of order into a nation still divided over the continuing Vietnam War.

NEW FEDERALISM

One of the main items on President Nixon’s agenda was to reduce the size and influence of the federal government. Nixon believed that Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society programs had promoted greater federal involvement with social problems. He thought that this involvement had given the federal government too much responsibility. Nixon’s plan, known as New Federalism, was to distribute a portion of federal power to state and local governments.

To implement this program, Nixon proposed a plan to give more financial freedom to local governments. Normally, the federal government told state and local governments how to spend their federal money. Under revenue sharing, state and local governments could spend their federal dollars however they saw fit within certain limitations. In 1972 the revenue-sharing bill, known as the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act, became law.

WELFARE REFORM

Nixon was not as successful, however, in his attempt to overhaul welfare. He believed welfare had grown unwieldy and inefficient. In 1969 the president advocated the so-called Family Assistance Plan (FAP). Under the FAP, every family of four with no outside income would receive a basic federal payment. This payment would be $1,600 a year, with a provision to earn up to $4,000 a year in supplemental income. Unemployed participants would have to take job training and accept any reasonable work offered them. However, this requirement did not apply to mothers of preschool children.

Nixon presented the plan in conservative terms—as a program that would reduce the supervisory role of the federal government. It would also make welfare recipients responsible for their own lives. The House approved the plan in 1970. However, when the bill reached the Senate, lawmakers from both parties attacked it. Liberal legislators considered the minimum payments too low and the work requirement too strict. Conservatives objected to the guaranteed income. The bill went down in defeat.

NEW FEDERALISM WEARS TWO FACES

Nixon’s New Federalism enhanced several key federal programs as it dismantled others. Nixon needed to win support for his New Federalism program from a Democrat-controlled Congress, so he supported a number of congressional measures. As a result, federal spending increased for some social programs. Without fanfare, the Nixon administration increased Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid payments. It also made food stamps more accessible.

However, the president also worked to dismantle some of the nation’s social programs. Throughout his term, Nixon tried unsuccessfully to eliminate the Job Corps program that provided job training for the unemployed. In 1970 he vetoed a bill to provide additional funding for Housing and Urban Development. Nixon also turned to a little-used presidential practice called impoundment to deal with laws that he opposed. Nixon impounded, or
withheld, necessary funds for programs. This delayed their implementa-
tion. By 1973 it was believed that Nixon had impounded almost $15 bil-
lion, affecting more than 100 federal programs. They included programs
for health, housing, and education.

The federal courts eventually ordered the release of the impounded
funds. They ruled that presidential impoundment was unconstitutional.
Only Congress had the authority to decide how federal funds should be
spent. Nixon did use his presidential authority to abolish the Office of
Economic Opportunity. It had been a cornerstone of Johnson's antipoverty
program.

**LAW AND ORDER POLITICS**  As President Nixon fought with both houses
of Congress, he also battled the more liberal elements of society, including
the antiwar movement. Nixon had been elected in 1968 on a dual prom-
ise. He had pledged to end the war in Vietnam and mend the divisiveness
within America that the war had created. Throughout his first term, Nixon
aggressively moved to fulfill both pledges. The president de-escalated
America's involvement in Vietnam and oversaw peace negotiations with
North Vietnam. At the same time, he began the “law and order” policies
that he had promised his “silent majority.” Those were middle-class Ameri-
cans who wanted order restored to a country plagued by urban riots and
antiwar demonstrations.

To accomplish this, Nixon used the full resources of his office—some-
times illegally. Nixon and members of his staff ordered wiretaps of many
left-wing individuals and the Democratic Party offices at the Watergate
office building in Washington, DC. The CIA also investigated and compiled
documents on thousands of American dissidents, people who objected to
the government's policies. The administration even used the Internal Rev-
enue Service to audit the tax returns of antiwar and civil rights activists.
Nixon began building a personal “enemies list” of prominent Americans
whom the administration would harass.

**Document-Based Investigation Historical Source**

“Domestic Life”

Pulitzer Prize–winning cartoonist Paul Szep
frequently used Nixon as the subject of his cartoons.
Although President Nixon focused his domestic
policy on dismantling a number of Great Society
social programs, his chief interest was foreign policy.

**Analyze Historical Sources**

1. What does the cartoonist suggest about Nixon by
   showing him leaving with his bags packed?

2. Whom do the children represent in this cartoon?
Nixon also enlisted the help of his combative vice-president, Spiro T. Agnew, to denounce the opposition. The vice-president confronted the antiwar protesters. Then he turned his scorn on those who controlled the media. He viewed them as liberal cheerleaders for the antiwar movement. Agnew was known for his colorful quotes. He lashed out at the media and liberals as “an effete [weak] corps of impudent snobs” and “nattering nabobs of negativism.”

**Nixon’s Southern Strategy**

Even as President Nixon worked to steer the country along a more conservative course, he had his eyes on the 1972 presidential election. Nixon had won a slim majority in 1968—less than one percent of the popular vote. As president, he began working to create a new conservative coalition to build on his support. In one approach, known as the **Southern Strategy**, Nixon tried to attract southern conservative Democrats. He appealed to their unhappiness with federal desegregation policies and a liberal Supreme Court. He also promised to name a southerner to the Supreme Court.

**A NEW SOUTH**  Since Reconstruction, the South had been a Democratic stronghold. But by 1968 many white southern Democrats had grown disillusioned with their party. In their eyes, the party—champion of the Great Society and civil rights—had grown too liberal. This conservative backlash first surfaced in the 1968 election. That year, thousands of southern Democrats supported former Alabama governor George Wallace, a conservative segregationist running as an independent. As a result, Wallace carried five southern states and captured 13 percent of the popular vote.

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**BIOGRAPHY**

**Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994)

The hurdles that Richard Nixon overcame to win the presidency in 1968 included his loss in the 1960 presidential race and a 1962 defeat in the race for governor of California.

Nixon faced many obstacles from the start. As a boy, he rose every day at 4 a.m. to help in his father’s grocery store. Nixon also worked as a janitor, a bean picker, and a Barker at an amusement park.

The Nixon family suffered great tragedy when one of Nixon’s brothers died from meningitis and another from tuberculosis.

None of these traumatic experiences, however, dulled the future president’s ambition. Nixon finished third in his law class at Duke University. After serving in World War II, he launched his political career.

After winning a seat in Congress in 1946, Nixon announced, “I had to win. That’s the thing you don’t understand. The important thing is to win.”
Nixon wanted to win over the Wallace voters and other discontented Democrats. The president and his fellow Republicans hoped not only to keep the White House but also to recapture a majority in Congress.

**NIXON SLOWS INTEGRATION** To attract white voters in the South, President Nixon decided on a policy of slowing the country’s desegregation efforts. In September 1969, less than a year after being elected president, Nixon made clear his views on civil rights. “There are those who want instant integration and those who want segregation forever. I believe we need to have a middle course between those two extremes,” he said.

Throughout his first term, President Nixon worked to reverse several civil rights policies. In 1969 he ordered the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) to delay desegregation plans for school districts in South Carolina and Mississippi. Nixon’s actions violated the Supreme Court’s second Brown v. Board of Education ruling. It called for the desegregation of schools “with all deliberate speed.” In response to an NAACP suit, the high court ordered Nixon to follow the second Brown ruling. The president did so reluctantly. By 1972 nearly 90 percent of children in the South attended desegregated schools—up from about 20 percent in 1969.

In a further attempt to chip away at civil rights advances, Nixon opposed the extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The act had added nearly 1 million African Americans to the voting rolls. Despite the president’s opposition, Congress voted to extend the act.

**CONTROVERSY OVER BUSING** President Nixon then attempted to stop yet another civil rights initiative—the integration of schools through busing. In 1971 the Supreme Court ruled in Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education that school districts may bus students to other schools to end the pattern of all-black or all-white educational institutions. White students and parents in cities such as Boston and Detroit angrily protested busing. One South Boston mother spoke for other white northerners, many of whom still struggled with the integration process.

> “I’m not against any individual child. I am not a racist, no matter what those high-and-mighty suburban liberals with their picket signs say. I just won’t have my children bused to some . . . slum school, and I don’t want children from god knows where coming over here.”

—A South Boston mother, quoted in The School Busing Controversy, 1970–75

Nixon also opposed integration through busing, and he spoke on national television to urge Congress to halt the practice. While busing continued in some cities, Nixon had made his position clear to the country—and to the South.
A BATTLE OVER THE SUPREME COURT  During the 1968 campaign, Nixon had criticized the Warren Court for being too liberal. Once in the White House, Nixon suddenly found himself with an opportunity to change the direction of the Court. During Nixon’s first term, four justices, including Chief Justice Earl Warren, retired. President Nixon quickly moved to put a more conservative face on the Court. In 1969 the Senate approved Nixon’s Chief Justice appointee, U.S. Court of Appeals judge Warren Burger.

Eventually, Nixon placed on the bench three more justices, who tilted the Court in a more conservative direction. However, the newly shaped Court did not always take the conservative route—for example, it handed down the 1971 ruling in favor of racially integrating schools through busing.

Confronting a Stagnant Economy

One of the more pressing issues facing Richard Nixon was a troubled economy. Between 1967 and 1973 the United States faced high inflation and high unemployment—a situation economists called **stagflation**.

THE CAUSES OF STAGFLATION  The economic problems of the late 1960s and early 1970s had several causes. Chief among them was high inflation—a result of Lyndon Johnson’s policy to fund the war and social programs through deficit spending. Also, increased competition in international trade and a flood of new workers, including women and baby boomers, led to stagflation. Another cause of the nation’s economic woes was its growing dependency on foreign oil. In 1970 the United States got just over one-fifth of its oil from foreign sources. By 1973 that figure had risen to about one-third.

During the 1960s America received much of its foreign-sourced petroleum from oil-producing countries in the Middle East. Many of these countries belonged to **OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries)**.
a cartel established to coordinate members’ petroleum policies. During the 1960s OPEC gradually raised oil prices. Then, in 1973 Egypt and Syria started the Yom Kippur War against Israel. When the United States sent massive military aid to Israel, its longtime ally, Arab oil-producing nations responded by cutting off all oil sales to the United States. This oil embargo exposed a major challenge for U.S. foreign policy—balancing support for Israel, while maintaining friendly ties with oil-producing Arab nations in the region. The embargo and fuel shortages that followed led to long lines at gas stations, which fed the public’s frustration with the economy. When OPEC resumed selling oil to the United States in 1974, the price had quadrupled. This sharp rise in oil prices only worsened the problem of inflation.

**NIXON BATTLES STAGFLATION** President Nixon took several steps to combat stagflation, but none met with much success. To reverse deficit spending, Nixon attempted to raise taxes and cut the budget. Congress, however, refused to go along with this plan. In another effort to slow inflation, Nixon tried to reduce the amount of money in circulation by urging that interest rates be raised. This measure did little except drive the country into a mild recession, or an overall slowdown of the economy.

In August 1971 the president turned to price and wage controls to stop inflation. He froze workers’ wages as well as businesses’ prices and fees for 90 days. Inflation eased for a short time, but the recession continued.

**Reading Check**

**Analyze Causes**

What factors brought on the country’s economic problems in the late 1960s and early 1970s?

**Lesson 1 Assessment**

1. **Organize Information** In a two-column chart, list the policies of Richard Nixon that promoted change and those that slowed it down.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Promoted Change</th>
<th>Slowed Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policies</td>
<td>Policies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In what ways do you think Nixon was most conservative? In what ways was he least conservative? Explain.

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Draw Conclusions** In what ways was President Nixon’s New Federalism a reaction to President Johnson’s Great Society?

**Think About:**

- the growth of government influence under Johnson
- Nixon’s attempts to dismantle social programs
- Nixon’s use of impoundment

4. **Analyze Effects** What were the effects of the Arab OPEC oil embargo on the United States?

5. **Analyze Motives** Why did Nixon employ his Southern Strategy for the 1972 election?
The Big Idea
President Richard Nixon's involvement in the Watergate scandal forced him to resign from office.

Why It Matters Now
The Watergate scandal raised questions of public trust that still affect how the public and media skeptically view politicians.

Key Terms and People
impeachment
Watergate
H. R. Haldeman
John Ehrlichman
John Mitchell
Committee to Reelect the President
John Sirica
Saturday Night Massacre

One American’s Story
On July 25, 1974, Representative Barbara Jordan of Texas, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, along with the other committee members, considered whether to recommend that President Nixon be impeached for “high crimes and misdemeanors.” Addressing the room, Jordan cited the Constitution in urging her fellow committee members to investigate whether impeachment was appropriate.

“We the people”—it is a very eloquent beginning. But when the Constitution of the United States was completed... I was not included in that ‘We the people’... But through the process of amendment, interpretation, and court decision, I have finally been included in ‘We the people.’... Today... [my] faith in the Constitution is whole. It is complete. It is total. I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator in the diminution, the subversion, the destruction of the Constitution... Has the President committed offenses... which the Constitution will not tolerate?”

—Barbara Jordan, quoted in Notable Black American Women

The committee eventually voted to recommend the impeachment of Richard Nixon for his role in the Watergate scandal. However, before Congress could take further action against him, the president resigned. Nixon’s resignation was the first by a U.S. president.
The Watergate scandal centered on the Nixon administration’s attempt to cover up a burglary of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquarters at the Watergate office and apartment complex in Washington, DC. However, the Watergate story began long before the actual burglary. Many historians believe that Watergate truly began with the personalities of Richard Nixon and his advisers, and with the changing role of the presidency.

**AN IMPERIAL PRESIDENCY** When Richard Nixon took office, the executive branch—as a result of the Great Depression, World War II, and the Cold War—had become the most powerful branch of government. In his book *The Imperial Presidency*, historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. argued that by the time Richard Nixon became president, the executive branch had taken on an air of imperial, or supreme, authority.

President Nixon settled easily into this imperial role. He believed, as he told a reporter in 1980, that “a president must not be one of the crowd... . People . . . don’t want him to be down there saying, ‘Look, I’m the same as you.’” Nixon expanded the power of the presidency with little thought to constitutional checks and balances, as when he impounded funds for federal programs that he opposed, or when he ordered troops to invade Cambodia without congressional approval. The Constitution divides war powers between the president, who is Commander In Chief of the armed forces, and Congress, which makes declarations of war.

**THE PRESIDENT’S MEN** As he distanced himself from Congress, Nixon confided in a small and fiercely loyal group of advisers. They included H. R. Haldeman, White House chief of staff; John Ehrlichman, chief domestic adviser; and John Mitchell, Nixon’s former attorney general. These men had played key roles in Nixon’s 1968 election victory, and they now helped the president direct White House policy.

These men also shared President Nixon’s desire for secrecy and the consolidation of power. Critics charged that these men, through their personalities and their attitude toward the presidency, developed a sense that they were above the law. This sense would, in turn, prompt President Nixon and his advisers to cover up their role in Watergate and fuel the coming scandal.

**The Inner Circle**

- **H. R. Haldeman**
  - Chief of Staff

- **John Ehrlichman**
  - Chief Domestic Adviser

- **John N. Mitchell**
  - Attorney General

- **John W. Dean III**
  - Presidential Counsel
The Drive Toward Reelection

Throughout his political career, Richard Nixon lived with the overwhelming fear of losing elections. By the end of the 1972 reelection campaign, Nixon’s campaign team sought advantages by any means possible, including an attempt to steal information from the DNC headquarters.

A BUNGLED BURGLARY  At 2:30 a.m., June 17, 1972, a guard at the Watergate complex in Washington, DC, caught five men breaking into the campaign headquarters of the DNC. The burglars planned to photograph documents outlining Democratic Party strategy and to place wiretaps, or “bugs,” on the office telephones. The press soon discovered that the group’s leader, James McCord, was a former CIA agent. He was also a security coordinator for a group known as the Committee to Reelect the President (CRP). John Mitchell, who had resigned as attorney general to run Nixon’s reelection campaign, was the CRP’s director.

Just three days after the burglary, H. R. Haldeman noted in his diary Nixon’s near obsession with how to respond to the break-in.

“The P[resident] was concerned about what our counterattack is. . . . He raised it again several times during the day, and it obviously is bothering him. . . . He called at home tonight, saying that he wanted to change the plan for his press conference and have it on Thursday instead of tomorrow, so that it won’t look like he’s reacting to the Democratic break-in thing.”

— H. R. Haldeman, from The Haldeman Diaries

THE COVER-UP The cover-up quickly began. Workers shredded all incriminating documents in Haldeman’s office. The White House, with President Nixon’s consent, asked the CIA to urge the FBI to stop its investigations into the burglary on the grounds of national security. In addition, the CRP passed

The inside source who helped Bob Woodward (top) and Carl Bernstein (bottom) did so on the condition that he remain anonymous. Not until 2005 did W. Mark Felt identify himself publicly as their source. At the time of Watergate, he had been the deputy director of the FBI.
nearly $450,000 to the Watergate burglars to buy their silence after they were indicted in September 1972.

Throughout the 1972 campaign, the Watergate burglary generated little interest among the American public and media. Only the *Washington Post* and two of its reporters, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, kept on the story. As the two men dug deeper into the Watergate break-in, a mysterious inside source helped them uncover the scandal. In a series of articles, the reporters uncovered information that linked numerous members of the administration to the burglary. The White House denied each new *Post* allegation. Upon learning of an upcoming story that tied him to the burglars, John Mitchell told Bernstein, “That’s the most sickening thing I ever heard.”

The firm White House response to the charges, and its promises of imminent peace in Vietnam, proved effective in the short term. In November, Nixon was reelected by a landslide over liberal Democrat George S. McGovern. But Nixon’s popular support was soon to unravel.

**The Cover-Up Unravels**

In January 1973 the trial of the Watergate burglars began. The trial’s presiding judge, John Sirica, made clear his belief that the men had not acted alone. On March 20, a few days before the burglars were scheduled to be sentenced, James McCord sent a letter to Sirica, in which he indicated that he had lied under oath. He also hinted that powerful members of the Nixon administration had been involved in the break-in.

THE SENATE INVESTIGATES WATERGATE McCord’s revelation of possible White House involvement in the burglary aroused public interest in Watergate. President Nixon moved quickly to stem the growing concern. On April 30, 1973, Nixon dismissed White House counsel John Dean and announced the resignations of Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, who had recently replaced John Mitchell following Mitchell’s resignation. The president then went on television and denied any attempt at a cover-up. He announced that he was appointing a new attorney general, Elliot Richardson, and was authorizing him to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate Watergate. “There can be no whitewash at the White House,” Nixon said.

The president’s reassurances, however, came too late. In May 1973 the Senate began its own investigation of Watergate. A special committee, chaired by Senator Samuel James Ervin of North Carolina, began to call administration officials to give testimony. Throughout the summer, millions of Americans sat attentively by their televisions as the “president’s men” testified one after another.

STARTLING TESTIMONY John Dean delivered the first bomb. In late June, during more than 30 hours of testimony, Dean provided a startling answer to Senator Howard Baker’s repeated question, “What did the president know and when did he know it?” The former White House counsel declared that...
President Nixon had been deeply involved in the cover-up. Dean referred to one meeting in which he and the president, along with several advisers, discussed strategies for continuing the deceit.

The White House strongly denied Dean’s charges. The hearings had suddenly reached an impasse as the committee attempted to sort out who was telling the truth. The answer came in July from an unlikely source: presidential aide Alexander Butterfield. Butterfield stunned the committee when he revealed that Nixon had taped virtually all of his presidential conversations. Butterfield later claimed that the taping system was installed “to help Nixon write his memoirs.” However, for the Senate committee, the tapes were the key to revealing what Nixon knew and when he knew it.

**THE SATURDAY NIGHT MASSACRE** A year-long battle for the “Nixon tapes” followed. Archibald Cox, the special prosecutor whom Elliot Richardson had appointed to investigate the case, took the president to court in October 1973 to obtain the tapes. Nixon refused and ordered Attorney General Richardson to fire Cox. In what became known as the Saturday Night Massacre, Richardson refused the order and resigned. The deputy attorney general also refused the order, and he was fired. Solicitor General Robert Bork finally fired Cox. However, Cox’s replacement, Leon Jaworski, proved equally determined to get the tapes. Several months after the “massacre,” the House Judiciary Committee began examining the possibility of an impeachment hearing.

The entire White House appeared to be under siege. Just days before the Saturday Night Massacre, Vice-President Spiro Agnew had resigned after it was revealed that he had accepted bribes from engineering firms while governor of Maryland. Agnew pleaded nolo contendere (no contest) to the charge. Acting under the Twenty-Fifth Amendment, Nixon nominated the House minority leader, Gerald R. Ford, as his new vice-president. Congress quickly confirmed the nomination.
The Fall of a President

In March 1974 a grand jury indicted seven presidential aides on charges of conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and perjury. The investigation was closing in on the president of the United States.

NIXON RELEASES THE TAPES  In the spring of 1974, President Nixon told a television audience that he was releasing 1,254 pages of edited transcripts of White House conversations about Watergate. Nixon’s offering failed to satisfy investigators, who demanded the unedited tapes. Nixon refused, and the case—United States v. Nixon—went before the Supreme Court. On July 24, 1974, the high court ruled unanimously that the president must surrender the tapes. The Court rejected Nixon’s argument that doing so would violate national security. Evidence involving possible criminal activity could not be withheld, even by a president. President Nixon maintained that he had done nothing wrong. At a press conference in November 1973, he had proclaimed defiantly, “I am not a crook.”

THE PRESIDENT RESIGNS  Even without holding the original tapes, the House Judiciary Committee determined that there was enough evidence to impeach Richard Nixon. On July 27, the committee approved three articles of impeachment, charging the president with obstruction of justice, abuse of power, and contempt of Congress for refusing to obey a congressional subpoena to release the tapes.

On August 5, Nixon released the tapes. They contained many gaps, and one tape revealed a disturbing eighteen-and-a-half-minute gap. According to the White House, Rose Mary Woods, President Nixon’s secretary, accidentally erased part of a conversation between H. R. Haldeman and Nixon. More importantly, a tape dated June 23, 1972—six days after the Watergate break-in—that contained a conversation between Nixon and Haldeman, disclosed

With wife, Pat, looking on, Richard Nixon bids farewell to his staff on his final day as president. Nixon’s resignation letter was addressed to the secretary of state, Henry Kissinger.
the evidence investigators needed. Not only had the president known about the role of members of his administration in the burglary, he had agreed to the plan to obstruct the FBI’s investigation.

The evidence now seemed overwhelming. On August 8, 1974, before the full House vote on the articles of impeachment began, President Nixon announced his resignation from office. Defiant as always, Nixon admitted no guilt. He merely said that some of his judgments “were wrong.” The next day, Nixon and his wife, Pat, returned home to California. A short time later, Gerald Ford was sworn in as the 38th president of the United States.

THE EFFECTS OF WATERGATE The effects of Watergate have endured long after Nixon’s resignation. Eventually, 25 members of the Nixon administration were convicted and served prison terms for crimes connected to Watergate. Along with the divisive war in Vietnam, Watergate produced a deep disillusionment with the “imperial” presidency. In the years following Vietnam and Watergate, the American public and the media developed a general cynicism about public officials that still exists today. Watergate remains the scandal and investigative story against which all others are measured.

Lesson 2 Assessment

1. **Organize Information**  Use a timeline to trace the events of the Watergate scandal.

   June 1972  event one  event two  August 1972  event three  event four

   Which event made Nixon’s downfall certain?

2. **Key Terms and People**  For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Predict**  If Nixon had admitted to and apologized for the Watergate break-in, how might subsequent events have been different? Explain.

   **Think About:**
   • the extent of the cover-up
   • the impact of the cover-up
   • Nixon’s public image

4. **Analyze Events**  How did the Watergate scandal create a constitutional crisis?

5. **Evaluate**  Do you think that Nixon would have been forced to resign if the tapes had not existed? Explain your answer.
The Big Idea
The Ford and Carter administrations attempted to remedy the nation’s worst economic crisis in decades.

Why It Matters Now
Maintaining a stable national economy has remained a top priority for every president since Ford and Carter.

Key Terms and People
Gerald R. Ford
Jimmy Carter
National Energy Act
human rights
Camp David Accords
Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini

One American’s Story

Barely a month after Richard Nixon had resigned amid the Watergate scandal, President Gerald R. Ford granted Nixon a full pardon. Ford explained his concern that a long, drawn-out trial would only increase the strain on the nation.

“During this long period of delay and potential litigation, ugly passions would again be aroused. And our people would again be polarized in their opinions. And the credibility of our free institutions of government would again be challenged at home and abroad. . . . My conscience tells me that only I, as President, have the constitutional power to firmly shut and seal this book. My conscience tells me it is my duty, not merely to proclaim domestic tranquility but to use every means that I have to insure it. . . . ‘Now, therefore, I, Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States, . . . do grant a full, free, and absolute pardon unto Richard Nixon. . . .’”

—Gerald R. Ford, from remarks on Proclamation 4311, September 8, 1974

For many, though, Ford’s actions contributed to feelings of anger and disillusionment with the presidency in the aftermath of the Watergate scandal. During the 1970s presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter sought to restore America’s faith in its leaders. At the same time, both men had to focus much of their attention on battling the nation’s worsening economic situation.
To Pardon President Nixon or Not?

President Ford’s pardon of Richard Nixon outraged many Americans. But President Ford argued that the pardon was in the country’s best interest. He believed that a Watergate trial, which could take years to complete, would keep the anger over the incident fresh in everyone’s minds and keep the nation divided. Ford called the pardon decision “the most difficult of my life, by far.”

In 2001, after more than 25 years, Ford received the John F. Kennedy Profiles in Courage Award for his courageous decision in the face of public opposition.

1. How might the country have been affected if a former United States president had gone on trial for possible criminal wrongdoing?
2. If you had been in President Ford’s position, would you have pardoned Richard Nixon? Why or why not?

Ford Travels a Rough Road

Upon taking office, Gerald R. Ford urged Americans to put the Watergate scandal behind them. “Our long national nightmare is over,” he declared. The nation’s nightmarish economy persisted, however, and Ford’s policies offered little relief.

“A FORD, NOT A LINCOLN” Gerald Ford seemed to many to be a likable and honest man. Upon becoming vice-president after Spiro Agnew’s resignation, Ford candidly admitted his limitations. “I’m a Ford, not a Lincoln,” he remarked. However, Ford’s pardon of Nixon became the topic of fierce debate, and in the end would have a profound impact on Ford’s political future. Many Americans admitted to voting against Ford in the 1976 election because of his pardon of Richard Nixon. Early on, Ford would also face major economic challenges that would make his presidency an uphill battle from the start.

FORD TRIES TO “WHIP” INFLATION By the time Ford took office, America’s economy had gone from bad to worse. Both inflation and unemployment continued to rise. After the massive OPEC oil-price increases in 1973, gasoline and heating oil costs had soared, pushing inflation from 6 percent to over 10 percent by the end of 1974. Ford responded with a program of massive citizen action, called “Whip Inflation Now” or WIN. The president called on Americans to cut back on their use of oil and gas and to take other energy-saving measures.

In the absence of incentives, though, the plan fell flat. Ford then tried to curb inflation through a “tight money” policy. He cut government spending and encouraged the Federal Reserve Board to restrict credit through higher interest rates. These actions triggered the worst economic recession in 40 years.

Ford, like many of his fellow Republicans, was a fiscal conservative. He believed that deficit spending, or spending that added to the government’s debt, was bad for the health of the economy. Facing a dire economic situation, though, Ford had little choice. He could approve spending increases and cut taxes or see the economy slip further into recession. Sacrificing his principles, Ford approved a stimulus package of spending increases and tax cuts in 1975. By the next year, unemployment had fallen from 9 to 7 percent and inflation had decreased from 12 to 5 percent. Although the economy had not fully recovered, Ford confidently declared that it was “headed in the right direction.”

DIFFICULT DECISIONS

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FORD PUSHES FOR A STREAMLINED GOVERNMENT  As Ford implemented his economic programs, he continually battled a Democratic Congress intent on pushing its own agenda. During his two years as president, Ford vetoed more than 50 pieces of legislation. In addition to cutting government spending, Ford wanted to curb government regulation. By the mid-1970s there were more than 90 federal agencies regulating different industries, which had developed over several decades of government. Such agencies included the Food and Drug Administration, established in 1931 to oversee the safety and quality of drugs, medical devices, and the nation’s food supply, and the Occupational Health and Safety Administration, which had been formed in 1970 to ensure safe and healthful working conditions for American workers. Ford recognized the need for some government regulation. For example, he established the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) in 1974. Until the creation of the NRC, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) had been tasked with both regulating and promoting nuclear energy, a clear conflict of interest. The purpose of the NRC was to separate these two functions and take over regulation of the nuclear energy industry. However, Ford thought that government regulation had become so unwieldy that it was hurting the economy. “A necessary condition of a healthy economy is freedom from the petty tyranny of massive government regulation. We are wasting literally millions of working hours costing billions of taxpayers’ and consumers’ dollars because of bureaucratic redtape. . . . [W]e badly need reforms in . . . key areas in our economy: the airlines, trucking, railroads, and financial institutions. I have submitted concrete plans . . . not to help this or that industry, but to foster competition and to bring prices down for the consumer.” —Gerald R. Ford, from State of the Union Address, January 19, 1976

Through reform of government regulation, the Ford administration hoped to bring down prices by increasing competition, making the public aware of the costs of regulation, making the regulation process more efficient, and replacing some regulation with antitrust enforcement. Upon winning the White House, the Carter administration embraced Ford’s ideas of responsible and efficient regulation. President Carter even established the Regulatory Analysis Review Group to oversee a formal process for reviewing the economic impact of proposed government regulation.

Carter Enters the White House

Gerald Ford won the Republican nomination for president in 1976 after fending off a powerful conservative challenge from former California governor Ronald Reagan. Because the Republicans seemed divided over Ford’s leadership, the Democrats confidently eyed the White House. “We could run an aardvark this year and win,” predicted one Democratic leader. The
Democratic nominee was indeed a surprise: a nationally unknown peanut farmer and former governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter.

**MR. CARTER GOES TO WASHINGTON** During the post–Watergate era, cynicism toward the Washington establishment ran high. The soft-spoken, personable man from Plains, Georgia, promised to restore integrity to the nation’s highest office, “I will never tell a lie to the American people.”

Throughout the presidential campaign, Carter and Ford squared off over the key issues of inflation, energy, and unemployment. On Election Day, Jimmy Carter won by a narrow margin, claiming 40.8 million popular votes to Ford’s 39.1 million.

From the very beginning, the new First Family brought a down-to-earth style to Washington. After settling into office, Carter stayed in touch with the people by holding Roosevelt-like “fireside chats” on radio and television.

Carter failed to reach out to Congress in a similar way, refusing to play the “insider” game of dealmaking. Relying mainly on a team of advisers from Georgia, Carter even alienated congressional Democrats. Both parties on Capitol Hill often joined to sink the president’s budget proposals, as well as his major policy reforms of tax and welfare programs.

**CARTER CONFRONTS THE ENERGY CRISIS** Carter considered the energy crisis the most important issue facing the nation. A large part of the problem, the president believed, was America’s reliance on imported oil.

Carter presented Congress with more than 100 proposals on energy conservation and development. Representatives from oil- and gas-producing states fiercely resisted some of the proposals. Automobile manufacturers also lobbied against gas-rationing provisions. “It was impossible for me to imagine the bloody legislative battles we would have to win,” Carter later wrote.

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**BIOGRAPHY**

*Jimmy Carter (1924–*)

James Earl Carter Jr. was born into relative prosperity. His father, Earl Carter, was a disciplinarian who tried to instill a sense of hard work and responsibility in his son.

To earn money for himself, Carter undertook a variety of jobs selling peanuts, running a hamburger and hot dog stand, collecting newspapers and selling them to fish markets, and selling scrap iron.

Before entering politics, Carter joined the navy, where he excelled in electronics and naval tactics. In 1952 he joined a select group of officers who helped develop the world’s first nuclear submarines. The group’s commander was Captain Hyman G. Rickover. Carter later wrote that Rickover “had a profound effect on my life—perhaps more than anyone except my own parents. . . . He expected the maximum from us, but he always contributed more.”
Out of the battle came the National Energy Act. The act placed a tax on gas-guzzling cars, removed price controls on oil and natural gas produced in the United States, and extended tax credits for the development of alternative energy. With the help of the act, as well as voluntary conservation measures, U.S. dependence on foreign oil had eased slightly by 1979.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS WORSENS Unfortunately, these energy-saving measures could do little to combat a sudden new economic crisis. In the summer of 1979, renewed violence in the Middle East produced a second major fuel shortage in the United States. To make matters worse, OPEC announced another major price increase. In 1979 inflation soared from 7.6 percent to 11.3 percent.

Faced with increasing pressure to act, Carter attempted an array of measures, none of which worked. Carter’s scatter-shot approach convinced many people that he had no economic policy at all. Carter fueled this feeling of uncertainty by delivering his now-famous “malaise” speech, in which he complained of a “crisis of spirit” that had struck “at the very heart and soul of our national will.” Carter’s address made many Americans feel that their president had given up.

By 1980 inflation had climbed to nearly 14 percent, the highest rate since 1947. The standard of living in the United States slipped from first place to fifth place in the world. Carter’s popularity slipped along with it. This economic downswing—and Carter’s inability to solve it during an election year—was one key factor in sending Ronald Reagan to the White House.

A CHANGING ECONOMY Many of the economic problems Jimmy Carter struggled with resulted from long-term trends in the economy. Since the 1950s the rise of automation and foreign competition had reduced the number of manufacturing jobs. At the same time, the service sector of the economy expanded rapidly. This sector includes industries such as communications, transportation, and retail trade.

“*The energy crisis . . . is a problem . . . likely to get progressively worse through the rest of this century. . . . Our decision about energy will test the character of the American people. . . . This difficult effort will be the ‘moral equivalent of war,’ except that we will be uniting our efforts to build and not to destroy.”* —Jimmy Carter, from Keeping Faith
The rise of the service sector and the decline of manufacturing jobs meant big changes for some American workers. Workers left out of manufacturing jobs faced an increasingly complex job market. Many of the higher-paying service jobs required more education or specialized skills than did manufacturing jobs. The lower-skilled service jobs usually did not pay well.

Growing overseas competition during the 1970s caused further change in America’s economy. The booming economies of West Germany and countries on the Pacific Rim (such as Japan, Taiwan, and Korea) cut into many U.S. markets. Many of the nation’s primary industries—iron and steel, rubber, clothing, automobiles—had to cut back production, lay off workers, and even close plants. Especially hard hit were the automotive industries of the Northeast. There, high energy costs, foreign competition, and computerized production led companies to eliminate tens of thousands of jobs.

**CARTER AND CIVIL RIGHTS** Although Carter felt frustrated by the country’s economic woes, he took special pride in his civil rights record. His administration included more African Americans and women than any before it. In 1977 the president appointed civil rights leader Andrew Young as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Young was the first African American to hold that post. To the judicial branch alone, Carter appointed 28 African Americans, 29 women (including 6 African Americans), and 14 Latinos.

However, President Carter fell short of what many civil rights groups had expected in terms of legislation. Critics claimed that Carter—preoccupied with battles over energy and the economy—failed to give civil rights his full attention. Meanwhile, the courts began to turn...
against affirmative action. In 1978, in the case of *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, the Supreme Court decided that the affirmative action policies of the university’s medical school were unconstitutional. The decision made it more difficult for organizations to establish effective affirmative action programs.

**Cultural Shifts in the 1970s**

In the 1970s Americans began to confront lingering social issues through television and other media. The decade also produced a great leap in computer technology.

**TELEVISION REFLECTS AMERICAN LIFE**  Television programming in the 1970s began to more closely reflect the realities of life in the United States. Hit shows like *All in the Family* confronted relevant social issues, such as racial and economic divisions in American society. For the first time, African Americans and other minorities appeared as main characters on television.

**A Mirror to American Society**

*Chico and the Man* was the first series set in a Mexican American barrio, East Los Angeles.

In the *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, Mary symbolized the young career woman of the 1970s.

*All in the Family* was the most popular series of the 1970s.
For example, the show *Chico and the Man* was the first series with a Mexican American lead character. Young, single, working women, like the character Mary Richards on the *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, were also portrayed for the first time. In addition, the newly established Public Broadcasting System began showing many issue-oriented programs and expanding educational programming for children.

**THE COMPUTER AGE BEGINS** In addition to innovations in television programming, the 1970s saw significant advances in computer technology. One of the first computers was developed by the U.S. military for use during World War II. It cost $500,000 to build, weighed 30 tons, and occupied 2,000 square feet of space. Through the 1940s and 1950s, engineers continued to develop new parts that would make computers smaller and more powerful.

The greatest technological leap, however, occurred in 1971 when an engineer named Ted Hoff developed one of the first microprocessors. This tiny “chip” that measured less than one inch had the same computing power as the hulking early computers. By 1974 there were personal computers that people could buy and build in their homes. In 1975 Paul Allen and Bill Gates formed Microsoft, developing new software that would make computers much easier to use for the average consumer. In 1977 Apple, founded by Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak, would be the next to make a major breakthrough. That year, they introduced the Apple II computer, which had a keyboard, color screen, and data storage. Soon, more companies would join the marketplace, helping to make computers smaller, cheaper, and more powerful.

**A Human Rights Foreign Policy**

Jimmy Carter rejected the philosophy of realpolitik—the pragmatic policy of negotiating with powerful nations despite their behavior—and strived for a foreign policy committed to human rights.

**EFFORTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS** Jimmy Carter, like Woodrow Wilson, sought to use moral principles as a guide for U.S. foreign policy. He believed that the United States needed to commit itself to promoting human rights—such as the freedoms and liberties listed in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights—throughout the world.

Putting his principles into practice, President Carter cut off military aid to Argentina and Brazil. These countries had good relations with the United States, but they had imprisoned or tortured thousands of their own citizens. Carter followed up this action by establishing a Bureau of Human Rights in the State Department.

Carter’s philosophy was not without its critics. Supporters of the containment policy felt that the president’s policy undercut allies such as Nicaragua, a dictatorial but anti-Communist country. Others argued that by supporting dictators in South Korea and the Philippines, Carter was acting inconsistently. In 1977 Carter’s policies drew further criticism when his administration announced that it planned to give up ownership of the Panama Canal.
TRANSFER OF THE PANAMA CANAL  Since 1914, when the United States obtained full ownership over the Panama Canal, Panamanians had resented having their nation split in half by a foreign power. In 1977 the two nations agreed to two treaties, one of which turned over control of the Panama Canal to Panama on December 31, 1999.

In 1978 the U.S. Senate, which had to ratify each treaty, approved the agreements by a vote of 68 to 32—one more vote than the required two-thirds. Public opinion was also divided. In the end, the treaties did improve relationships between the United States and Latin America.

THE MARIEL BOATLIFT  The Carter administration had always had an open-door policy for Cuban refugees seeking asylum in the United States. In 1980, however, this policy would be put to the ultimate test. On April 20 of that year, Cuban dictator Fidel Castro announced that the port of Mariel would be open to any Cuban citizen wishing to leave the country. Over the next few months, about 125,000 Cuban refugees crowded onto boats bound for the coast of Florida, only 90 miles away. When it was later learned that the Castro government had released criminals to join the refugees, public opinion turned against the Carter administration.

Triumph and Crisis in the Middle East

Through long gasoline lines and high energy costs, Americans became all too aware of the troubles in the Middle East. Since its inception in 1948, Israel had been in conflict with its Arab neighbors, many of whom refused to recognize the country’s right to exist. In that region of ethnic, religious, and economic conflict, Jimmy Carter achieved one of his greatest diplomatic triumphs—and suffered his most tragic defeat.

Arab-Israeli Tension

Following the Camp David Accords in 1978, tensions between Israel and its Arab neighbors still ran high. The United States and other Western nations continued to help negotiate a series of peace agreements, including the Oslo Accords in 1993 and the Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty in 1994.

In 2003 the United States, Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations laid out a “roadmap for peace.” The cornerstone of this proposal was a two-state solution, in which an independent Palestinian (Arab) state would be carved out of Israel. After some early progress, talks were halted on the “roadmap” in 2006. In 2007 President George W. Bush was able to bring Israeli leaders together with Palestinian leaders and the leaders of more than a dozen Arab countries to resume talks on the “roadmap.”

Despite making significant progress, the talks broke down in 2008. In 2009 and 2013 the two sides agreed to resume talks, but both times they could not reach an agreement. By 2014 talks on the “roadmap” had ceased once again. Although the United States remains committed to negotiating a peaceful solution, the search for a lasting peace continues.
THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS  Through negotiation and arm-twisting, Carter helped forge peace between long-time enemies Israel and Egypt. In 1977 Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat and Israeli prime minister Men-achem Begin met in Jerusalem to discuss an overall peace between the two nations. In the summer of 1978, Carter seized on the peace initiative. When the peace talks stalled, he invited Sadat and Begin to Camp David, the presidential retreat in Maryland.

After 12 days of intense negotiations, the three leaders reached an agreement that became known as the [Camp David Accords](#). Under this first signed peace agreement with an Arab country, Israel agreed to withdraw from the Sinai Peninsula, which it had captured from Egypt during the Six-Day War in 1967. Egypt, in turn, formally recognized Israel’s right to exist.

Joking at the hard work ahead, Carter wrote playfully in his diary, “I resolved to do everything possible to get out of the negotiating business!” Little did the president know that his next Middle East negotiation would be his most painful.
THE IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS  By 1979 the shah of Iran, an ally of the United States, was in deep trouble. Many Iranians resented his regime’s widespread corruption and dictatorial tactics.

In January 1979 revolution broke out. Rebels, led by the Muslim religious leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, overthrew the shah and established a religious state that was based on strict obedience to the Qur’an, the sacred book of Islam. Carter had supported the shah until the very end. In October 1979 the president allowed the shah to enter the United States for cancer treatment, though he had already fled Iran in January 1979.

The act infuriated the revolutionaries of Iran. On November 4, 1979, armed students seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took 52 Americans hostage. The militants demanded that the United States send the shah back to Iran in return for the release of the hostages.

Carter refused, and a painful year-long standoff followed, in which the United States continued quiet but intense efforts to free the hostages. The captives were finally released on January 20, 1981, shortly after the new president, Ronald Reagan, was sworn in. Despite the hostages’ release after 444 days in captivity, the crisis in Iran seemed to underscore the limits of American power and influence during the 1970s.

Reading Check
Summarize Why were the Camp David Accords considered such a huge diplomatic achievement?

Lesson 3 Assessment

1. Organize Information Create a timeline and record the major events of the Ford and Carter administrations.

   event one event three
   event two event four

   Which two events do you think were the most important? Why?

2. Key Terms and People For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. Analyze Issues Do you agree with President Carter that human rights concerns should steer U.S. foreign policy? Why or why not?

   Think About:
   • the responsibility of promoting human rights
   • the loss of good relations with certain countries
   • manipulation by other governments

4. Evaluate Do you think that Ford made a good decision in pardoning Nixon? Explain why or why not.

5. Compare How were the actions taken by presidents Ford and Carter to address the country’s economic downturn similar? How did they differ?
Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978)

ORIGINS OF THE CASE
In 1973 Allan Bakke applied to the University of California at Davis Medical School. The school had a quota-based affirmative-action plan that reserved 16 out of 100 spots for racial minorities. Bakke, a white male, was not admitted to the school despite his competitive test scores and grades. Bakke sued for admission, arguing that he had been discriminated against on the basis of race. The California Supreme Court agreed with Bakke, but the school appealed the case.

THE RULING
The Court ruled that racial quotas were unconstitutional, but that schools could still consider race as a factor in admissions.

LEGAL REASONING
The Court was closely divided on whether affirmative-action plans were constitutional. Two different sets of justices formed 5–4 majorities on two different issues in Bakke.

Five justices agreed the quota was unfair to Bakke. They based their argument on the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Justice Lewis Powell, writing for the majority, explained their reasoning.

“The guarantee of equal protection cannot mean one thing when applied to one individual and something else when applied to a person of another color. If both are not accorded the same protection, then it is not equal.”

The four justices who joined Powell in this part of the decision said race should never play a part in admissions decisions. Powell and the other four justices disagreed. These five justices formed a separate majority, arguing that “the attainment of a diverse student body . . . is a constitutionally permissible goal for an institution of higher education.” In other words, schools could have affirmative-action plans that consider race as one factor in admission decisions in order to achieve a diverse student body.

LEGAL SOURCES

LEGISLATION

U.S. Constitution, Fourteenth Amendment (1868)
“No state shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”

RELATED CASES

United Steelworkers of America v. Weber (1979)
The Court said a business could have a short-term program for training minority workers as a way of fixing the results of past discrimination.

The Court struck down a federal law to set aside 10 percent of highway construction funds for minority-owned businesses. The Court also said that affirmative-action programs must be focused to achieve a compelling government interest.

Allan Bakke receives his degree in medicine from the medical school at U.C. Davis on June 4, 1982.
On October 8, 1977, protesters march in support of affirmative action at a park in Oakland, California.

**WHY IT MATTERED**

Many people have faced discrimination in America. The struggle of African Americans for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s succeeded in overturning Jim Crow segregation. Even so, social inequality persisted for African Americans, as well as women and other minority groups. In 1965 President Lyndon Johnson explained why more proactive measures needed to be taken to end inequality.

“You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains and... bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, ‘you are free to compete with all the others’ and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.”

As a result, Johnson urged companies to begin to take “affirmative action” to hire and promote African Americans, helping them to overcome generations of inequality. Critics quickly opposed affirmative-action plans as unfair to white people and merely a replacement of one form of racial discrimination with another.

University admissions policies became a focus of the debate over affirmative action. The Court’s ruling in Bakke allowed race to be used as one factor in admissions decisions. Schools could consider a prospective student’s race, but they could not use quotas or use race as the only factor for admission.

**HISTORICAL IMPACT**

Since Bakke, the Court has ruled on affirmative action several times, usually limiting affirmative-action plans. For example, in Adarand Constructors v. Peña (1995), the Court struck down a federal law to set aside “not less than 10 percent” of highway construction funds for businesses owned by “socially and economically disadvantaged individuals.” The Court said that affirmative-action programs must be narrowly focused to achieve a “compelling government interest.”

On cases regarding school affirmative-action plans, the courts have not created clear guidelines. The Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal of a 1996 lower court ruling that outlawed any consideration of race for admission to the University of Texas law school. Yet in the 2003 decision in Grutter v. Bollinger, the Court protected a University of Michigan law school admissions policy that required the admissions committee to consider the diversity of its student body. The Court reaffirmed the Bakke view that “student body diversity is a compelling state interest.”

Since the Grutter decision, several states have passed laws or constitutional amendments requiring race-blind admissions—effectively barring affirmative action. These laws were passed by ballot initiative, reflecting a popular view that sees affirmative action as “reverse discrimination.”

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**Critical Thinking**

1. **Connect to History** Research articles about Bakke in the library or on the Internet. Read the articles, and write a paragraph for each one explaining the writer’s point of view on the case. Conclude by telling which article gives the best discussion of the case. Cite examples to support your choice.

2. **Connect to Today** Do Internet research to learn about Proposition 209, California’s 1996 law banning affirmative action at state universities. Prepare arguments for an in-class debate about whether the law will have a positive or negative long-term effect.
The Big Idea
Conservatism reached a high point with the election in 1980 of President Ronald Reagan and Vice-President George Bush.

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

Key Terms and People
- entitlement program
- New Right
- affirmative action
- reverse discrimination
- conservative coalition
- Moral Majority
- Ronald Reagan
- Geraldine Ferraro
- George H. W. Bush

One American’s Story
Peggy Noonan grew up with a strong sense of social and political justice. After college, she went to work for CBS. Over the years, Noonan’s political views became increasingly conservative. She eventually won a job as a speechwriter for Ronald Reagan, whose commitment to his conservative values moved her deeply. Noonan recalled that her response to Reagan was not unusual.

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

— Peggy Noonan, from What I Saw at the Revolution: A Political Life in the Reagan Era

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The Conservative Movement Builds

Ever since Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona had run for president in 1964, conservatives had argued that state governments, businesses, and individuals needed more freedom from the heavy hand of Washington, DC. By 1980 government spending on entitlement programs—programs that provide guaranteed benefits to particular groups—was nearly $300 billion annually. The costs together with stories of fraudulently obtained benefits caused resentment among many taxpayers.

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

THE NEW RIGHT

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

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

THE CONSERVATIVE COALITION

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

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

Religion, especially evangelical Christianity, played a key role in the growing strength of the conservative coalition. The 1970s had brought a huge religious revival, especially among fundamentalist sects. Each week, millions of Americans watched evangelist preachers on television or listened to them on the radio. Two of the most influential televangelists were Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. Falwell formed an organization called the Moral Majority. The Moral Majority consisted mostly of evangelical and fundamentalist Christians who interpreted the Bible literally and believed in absolute standards of right and wrong. They condemned liberal attitudes and behaviors and argued for a restoration of traditional moral values. Jerry Falwell became the spokesperson for the Moral Majority.

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

Conservatives Win Political Power

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

Document-Based Investigation

Historical Source

Moral Majority

The Moral Majority worked toward their political goals by using direct-mail campaigns to reach voters and by raising money to support candidates. In 1980 Reverend Jerry Falwell wrote a book in which he explained the motivations behind the actions of the Moral Majority.

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

—Jerry Falwell, from Listen, America!

Analyze Historical Sources

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

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

Thanks in part to his acting career and his long experience in the public eye, Reagan was an extremely effective candidate. In contrast to Carter, who often seemed stiff and nervous, Reagan was relaxed, charming, and affable. He loved making quips: “A recession is when your neighbor loses his job. A depression is when you lose yours. And recovery is when Jimmy Carter loses his.” Reagan’s long-standing skill at simplifying issues and presenting clear-cut answers led his supporters to call him the Great Communicator. Also, his commitment to military and economic strength appealed to many Americans.

On October 28, 1980, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan participated in the election’s only presidential debate. This debate only helped to solidify the differences between the two candidates in voters’ minds. Reagan attacked Carter’s record as president and his handling of the energy crisis and international terrorism. Carter countered by claiming Reagan was too conservative for America, warning of cuts to social programs like Medicare.

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

Presidential Election of 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Electoral Votes</th>
<th>Popular Votes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>Ronald Reagan</td>
<td>489</td>
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<td>Jimmy Carter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>John Anderson</td>
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<td>5,720,060</td>
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</table>

Not shown: Alaska, Hawaii, District of Columbia

Interpret Maps
1. Location Which states and/or district voted for Jimmy Carter in 1980?
2. Region Which region of the country—North, South, East, or West—voted exclusively for Ronald Reagan?
Now, conservatives had elected one of their own—a true believer in less government, lower taxes, and traditional values. After he was elected, Reagan worked to translate the conservative agenda into public policy. He used his charisma and the disillusionment of the public, fueled by scandal and years of ineffective government, to restore Americans’ faith in the presidency and start a “Reagan revolution.”

Conservative Victories in 1984 and 1988

It was clear by 1984 that the Reagan revolution had forged a large coalition of conservative voters who highly approved of his policies. These voters included the following:

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

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

In 1984 the economy was strong. Reagan and Bush won by a landslide, carrying every state but Mondale’s home state of Minnesota and the District of Columbia.
THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION  In 1988 a majority of Americans were economically comfortable. And they attributed their comfort to Reagan and Bush. When Michael Dukakis, the Democratic governor of Massachusetts, ran for the presidency in 1988 against George H. W. Bush, Reagan’s vice-president, most voters saw little reason for change.

George Bush simply built on President Reagan’s legacy by promising, “Read my lips: no new taxes” in his acceptance speech at the Republican Convention. He stressed his commitment to the conservative ideas of the Moral Majority. Though Bush asserted that he wanted a “kinder, gentler nation,” his campaign sponsored a number of negative “attack ads.” He told audiences that Dukakis was an ultraliberal whose views were outside the mainstream of American values, suggesting that Dukakis was soft on crime and unpatriotic.

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

Reading Check
Analyze Causes
What factors contributed to Reagan’s victory in 1984 and Bush’s victory in 1988?

Lesson 4 Assessment

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

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

2. Key Terms and People  For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

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

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

5. Analyze Motives  How did the leaders of the conservative movement of the 1980s want to change government?

Think About:
• the difference between the conservative view of government and the liberal view
• the groups that made up the conservative coalition
• conservatives’ attitudes toward existing government programs
The Big Idea
Presidents Reagan and Bush pursued a conservative agenda. It included tax cuts, budget cuts, and increased defense spending, during an era of serious social problems.

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

Key Terms and People
Reaganomics
supply-side economics
Sandra Day O’Connor
deregulation
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome)

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

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

—Ronald Reagan, from a televised speech to the nation, February 5, 1981

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

As soon as Reagan took office, he worked to reduce the size and influence of the federal government. He thought these reductions would encourage private investment. Because people were anxious about the economy, they were open to new approaches to taxes and the federal budget.

**BUDGET CUTS** Reagan’s strategy for downsizing the federal government included deep cuts in government spending on social programs. Yet his cuts did not affect all segments of the population equally. Entitlement programs that benefited the middle class, such as Social Security, Medicare, and veterans’ pensions, remained intact. On the other hand, Congress slashed by 10 percent the budget for programs that benefited other groups. These programs included urban mass transit, food stamps, welfare benefits, job training, Medicaid, school lunches, and student loans. At the same time, Reagan authorized increases in military spending that more than offset cuts in social programs, adding to the deficit. In order to compete with the Soviet Union in the arms race, between 1981 and 1984 the Defense Department budget almost doubled.

**TAX CUTS** “Reaganomics” rested heavily upon *supply-side economics*. This theory held that if people paid fewer taxes, they would save more money. Banks could then loan that money to businesses. Businesses, in turn, could invest the money in resources to improve productivity. Then the supply of goods would increase, which would drive down prices. Reagan based his ideas for supply-side economics on the work of economists such as George Gilder and Arthur Laffer.

Ronald Reagan’s budget director, David Stockman, used supply-side economics to draft the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. At Reagan’s urging, Congress lowered income taxes and business taxes by about 25 percent over a three-year period. The largest tax cuts went to those with the highest incomes. As Reagan decried in his first inaugural address, “those who . . . work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement.” Administration officials defended the plan. They claimed that as prosperity returned, the extra income acquired by wealthy investors and large corporations would trickle down to the middle class and even the poor in the form of wages. Despite Reagan’s “trickle-down” theory, the wealthy gained the most from these tax cuts. In the 1980s the rich got richer as poverty deepened for many others.

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

**SAVINGS AND LOAN CRISIS** Economic downturns in the late 1970s and early 1980s also had disastrous effects on the Savings and Loan (S&L) industry. S&Ls were small community banks that made mortgage loans. In 1980 there were about 4,000 S&Ls with about $600 billion in assets. By the early 1980s high interest rates and high inflation caused many of their mortgage investments to lose value. When the S&Ls could not attract enough depositors to offset these losses, the government loosened regulations. This allowed S&Ls more freedom to attract new depositors, but this only made the problem worse. By 1989 more than 1,000 S&Ls were forced to close. The Savings and Loan crisis of the 1980s cost the government, and the taxpayers, more than $120 billion.

**THE NATIONAL DEBT CLIMBS** Beneath the surface of recovery lay problems that continued to plague the economy. Tax cuts had helped the rich. At the same time, social welfare cuts had hurt the poor. Loose regulations played a significant part in the Savings and Loan crisis, leaving the government and taxpayers responsible for paying to clean up the mess. Despite large reductions in parts of the budget, federal spending still outstripped federal revenue. Budget deficits were growing. Even though Reagan backed away from supply-side economics in 1982 and imposed new taxes, they were not enough to balance the budget. By the end of his first term, the national debt had almost doubled.

**Reagan’s Policy Goals**

After setting his economic policies in motion, President Reagan turned his attention to social and political goals. The conservative coalition had identified two areas that they believed needed change. Their focus was on the Supreme Court and on government regulation policies.
JUDICIAL POWER SHIFTS TO THE RIGHT One of the most important ways in which Reagan accomplished his conservative goals was through his appointments to the Supreme Court. Reagan nominated Sandra Day O’Connor, Antonin Scalia, and Anthony M. Kennedy to fill seats left by retiring justices. O’Connor was the first woman to be appointed to the Court. He also nominated Justice William Rehnquist, the most conservative justice on the Court at the time, to the position of Chief Justice.

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

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

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

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

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

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

AIDS is transmitted through bodily fluids. And most of the early victims of the disease were either homosexual men or intravenous drug users who shared needles. However, many people also contracted AIDS through contaminated blood transfusions. And children acquired it by being born to infected mothers. As the 1980s progressed, increasing numbers of heterosexuals began contracting AIDS. As the epidemic grew, so did concern over prevention and cure.

**AIDS Epidemic**

Since 1985 the development of new AIDS medications has made great advances in treating patients and helping to slow the spread of the disease. Unfortunately, though, the drugs have remained expensive, making it difficult for many patients in poorer countries to receive treatment.

In 2003 President George W. Bush announced a plan to fight the AIDS epidemic in one of the hardest-hit regions—sub-Saharan Africa.

The President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) pledged an initial $15 billion to provide treatment for those infected. By 2008 the number of Africans receiving treatment increased from 50,000 to more than 2 million. These treatments helped prevent an estimated 12 million new infections. Between 2005 and 2011 the number of deaths from AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa decreased by 32 percent, from 1.8 million to 1.2 million per year.

**NOW & THEN**

The AIDS quilt was displayed on the National Mall in Washington, DC, in 1987. Each panel honors a person who died of AIDS.
ABORTION  Many Americans were concerned about abortion. Abortion had been legal in the United States since 1973, when the Supreme Court ruled in *Roe v. Wade* that a woman’s right to privacy protected first-trimester abortions. Abortion opponents quickly organized under the pro-life banner. They argued that human life begins at conception and that no woman has the right to terminate a human life by her individual decision. Abortion proponents described themselves as pro-choice. They argued that reproductive choices were personal health-care matters. They also noted that many women had died from abortions performed by unskilled people in unsterile settings before the procedure was legalized.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A young boy offers clothes to a homeless man in Philadelphia, 1983.
HIGH COSTS OF SPACE EXPLORATION  By the mid-1970s public interest in the space program waned as lofty goals gave way to routine missions. Beginning in 1981 NASA hoped to revive interest in space flight through the space shuttle program. That year, the space shuttle Columbia became the first reusable spaceship. NASA thought that a fleet of reusable spaceships, like Columbia, could help reduce costs and make space travel more routine. In 1983 NASA accomplished two more firsts. In June of that year, Sally Ride became the first American woman in space. In August, Guion S. Bluford became the first African American astronaut in space. Public interest in the new shuttle program seemed to be on the rise.

In 1986 NASA was set to complete yet another first. Christa McAuliffe was selected to become the first teacher and first civilian in space as a member of the Challenger crew. Tragically, the space shuttle Challenger never completed its mission to deploy a communications satellite. Shortly after takeoff, the shuttle exploded, killing McAuliffe and the other six crew members. The investigation that followed determined that a rubber O-ring on the solid rocket booster failed, causing the explosion. NASA suspended all space shuttle flights for more than two years, while they redesigned parts of the shuttle. Although shuttle flights resumed in 1988, with space shuttle Discovery, NASA’s reputation never fully recovered from the Challenger disaster.

Bush’s Domestic Policies

Many of the domestic issues that lingered through the 1980s fell to President Bush to try to resolve. In his inaugural address on January 20, 1989, Bush noted many of the problems American cities faced—homelessness, drug addiction, and crime. He pledged to support the efforts of community organizations and volunteers in cities across the country, calling them “a thousand points of light . . . that are spread like stars throughout the nation, doing good.” His initial promises, though, often fell short.

Sending Money Into Space

Under the Reagan administration, the government shifted the emphasis of the space program from scientific to military and commercial applications. The space shuttle Challenger explosion caused a reexamination of ventures into space. NASA’s budget had grown from about $3 billion in 1975 to about $7 billion in 1983. While this figure was still less that 1 percent of the total federal budget, many people began to question the value of the space program. Some thought that the money spent on space might be better spent on the country’s growing social needs.

1. Should the federal government spend money on space exploration when so many American citizens require basic assistance?

2. If you were a legislator being asked to vote in favor of funding space exploration today, how would you vote? Why?
The federal deficit, now at $2.8 trillion, had tripled since 1980. During his campaign, Bush had also promised that he would not enact new taxes. This meant that there was no money in the federal budget to fund major domestic programs to address many of the social issues the country faced. Despite these financial constraints, President Bush was able to announce a new education initiative, “America 2000.” He argued that choice was the salvation of American schools. And he recommended allowing parents to use public funds to send their children to the schools of their choice, whether public, private, or religious.

President Bush also signed two important pieces of legislation—the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and the Clean Air Act Amendments. The ADA made it illegal to discriminate against individuals with disabilities in employment, transportation, and public buildings. Bush hoped that the amendments to the Clean Air Act of 1963 would bring government and business into a partnership to find innovative ways to reduce pollution and clean up the environment.

Although Bush had impressive foreign policy successes, his modest domestic achievements tarnished his image. Throughout his presidency, rising deficits and a recession that began in 1990 and lasted through most of 1992 hurt him. Forced to raise taxes despite his campaign pledge, Bush’s approval rating had dropped to 49 percent by 1992. The weak economy and the tax hike doomed his reelection campaign, and 12 years of Republican leadership came to an end.

**Lesson 5 Assessment**

1. **Organize Information** Use a chart to list some of the social problems of the Reagan and Bush years and how the government responded to them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Problems</th>
<th>Government Responses</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Predict** How might improvements in the educational system help solve other social problems?

   **Think About:**
   - the impact education might have on health-related problems
   - the impact that education might have on urban problems
   - the impact that education might have on unemployment

4. **Analyze Motives** Why did President Reagan and President Bush think it was important to appoint conservative justices to the Supreme Court?

5. **Form Generalizations** Why might a widening gap between the richest and poorest citizens of a country be a cause for concern about that country’s future?
From Rust Belt to Sun Belt

In the 1970s many Americans left the Midwest and Northeast regions, which came to be called the Rust Belt because many of their aging factories had been closed. These people moved to the South and Southwest, which became known as the Sun Belt due to their warm climate. In the postwar decades, the Sun Belt experienced an increase in job opportunities that attracted many new residents. These states typically had a lower cost of living, as well. And, with the widespread availability of air conditioning, living in these states became more practical than it had once been.

AMERICANS ON THE MOVE, 1970s

Between 1970 and 1975 the population center of the United States, which had generally moved westward for 17 decades, suddenly moved southward as well. The arrows show the net number of Americans who migrated and their patterns of migration in the early 1970s. The West gained 311,000 from the Northeast plus 472,000 from the Midwest region, for a total of 783,000 people. However, it also lost 75,000 people to the South. During the 1980s and 1990s the southward and westward shift continued.

Regional Internal Migration, 1982–1998

As a geographical term, region is used to designate an area with common features or characteristics that set it apart from its surroundings. Between 1982 and 1998 internal migrations in the U.S. saw more people moving from Rust Belt states to Sun Belt states. Beginning in the early 1970s, the nation also saw a reverse migration of African Americans from the Midwest and Northeast back to the South. From 2005 to 2010, the South saw an average annual increase of about 66,000 African Americans per year due to migration. When the economic factors that pulled African Americans north began to wane, the Sun Belt’s growing economy and climate enticed many to move south once again.
SHIFTS IN POLITICAL POWER

Between 1990 and 2000 our country's population grew by a record 32.7 million people to 281.4 million. For the first time in the 20th century, all 50 states gained people between census years. However, as people migrate internally from state to state, and from region to region, they gradually transform the balance of political and economic power in the nation. Each census in recent times has recorded how certain states have gained population and others have lost population. If the gains or losses are large enough, a state's representation in the U.S. House of Representatives will increase or decrease commensurately.

Critical Thinking

1. Analyze Distributions Which states lost the most people between 1990 and 2000? Which states gained the most people?

2. Create a Graph Choose one of the most populous states, and then pose a historical question about population in that state. Create a graph or graphs that show various aspects of population for the state you have chosen. Be sure that the graph(s) help answer the question you posed. Then display the graph(s) and the question in the classroom.
The end of the Cold War was just one of the foreign policy challenges the Reagan and Bush administrations faced. During their time in office, both presidents also had to confront issues in other parts of the world.

**The Big Idea**
New pressures, including the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the new role of the U.S. as the world’s only superpower, affected foreign policy under Reagan and Bush.

**Why It Matters Now**
The United States continues to provide substantial economic, diplomatic, and military support to nations around the world.

**Key Terms and People**
apartheid
Tiananmen Square
Sandinistas
Contras
Operation Desert Storm

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**One American’s Story**

It was fitting that George H. W. Bush, former head of America’s Cold War spy agency, the CIA, was the president who would preside over the end of the Cold War. Elected in 1988, President Bush soon confronted the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The United States emerged from this period of massive global upheaval as the world’s lone superpower. And the Bush administration became the first to be tasked with trying to define America’s new role in the world.

“The end of the cold war has been a victory for all humanity. . . . Europe has become whole and free, and America’s leadership was instrumental in making it possible. . . . For generations, America has led the struggle to preserve and extend the blessings of liberty. And today, in a rapidly changing world, American leadership is indispensable. Americans know that leadership brings burdens and sacrifices. But we also know why the hopes of humanity turn to us. We are Americans; we have a unique responsibility to do the hard work of freedom. And when we do, freedom works.”


The end of the Cold War was just one of the foreign policy challenges the Reagan and Bush administrations faced. During their time in office, both presidents also had to confront issues in other parts of the world.
Foreign Policy in Africa and Asia

As the leaders of a global superpower, U.S. presidents have often had to choose whether or not to become involved in regional conflicts. They have also had to weigh a number of factors, including U.S. national security, to determine the degree of involvement, either diplomatically or militarily. Presidents Reagan and Bush both had important decisions to make about trouble spots in Africa and Asia.

APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA  President Reagan took a noninterventionist position in confronting the South African government over apartheid. For decades, apartheid (“apartness”) had mandated racial segregation throughout South African society. Under apartheid, the minority white population enjoyed great privileges. Meanwhile, the government forcibly relocated millions of people categorized as nonwhite to desolate frontier lands. Nonwhites were banned from decent jobs, schools, and housing. They could not own land, vote, or travel freely.

American companies and investments in the resource-rich country helped keep the white regime in power. Starting in the 1970s, anti-apartheid groups urged nations to divest, or withdraw investments, from South Africa.

Reagan preferred a policy of “constructive engagement.” He wanted to maintain business ties, while offering incentives for reform and engaging in diplomacy with the government. Critics charged that the policy enriched a corrupt, white minority regime.

In 1986 Congress overrode a Reagan veto to pass the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which imposed trade limits and sanctions. The Bush administration supported these sanctions and worked with South African president F. W. De Klerk to peacefully end apartheid. With a new constitution and democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, apartheid officially ended.

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

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

China’s premier, Li Peng, eventually ordered the military to crush the protesters. China’s armed forces stormed into Tiananmen Square, slaughtering unarmed students. The world’s democratic countries watched these events in horror on television. The collapse of the pro-democracy movement left the future in China uncertain. As one student leader said, “The government has won the battle here today. But they have lost the people’s hearts.”
The United States and other nations condemned the actions of China’s government and even imposed economic sanctions. Critics, however, felt that the actions of the Bush administration were not stern enough. When it was learned that U.S. officials had met with the Chinese government to ease tensions, critics accused the Bush administration of placing a higher value on economic concerns than human rights.

**Central American and Caribbean Policy**

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

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

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

Between 1977 and 1979 Nicaragua was engulfed in a civil war between Somoza’s national guard and the Sandinistas, rebels who took their name from a rebel leader named Sandino who had been killed in 1934. When Sandinista rebels toppled the dictatorship of Somoza’s son in 1979, President Carter recognized the new regime and sent it $83 million in economic aid. The Soviet Union and Cuba sent aid as well.
In 1981, however, President Reagan charged that Nicaragua was a Soviet outpost that was exporting revolution to other Central American countries. Reagan cut all aid to the Sandinista government. He then threw his support to guerrilla forces known as the **Contras** because they were against the Sandinistas. By 1983 the Contra army had grown to nearly 10,000 men. And American CIA officials had stationed themselves to direct operations—without congressional approval. In response, Congress passed the Boland Amendment, banning military aid to the Contras for two years. However, Reagan’s administration still found ways to negotiate aid to the Contras.

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

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

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

**Middle East Trouble Spots**

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

**TRAGEDY IN LEBANON** President Reagan believed that American interests required stability in the Middle East. For years, civil war had ripped apart the Mediterranean coastal country of Lebanon. Muslim and Christian factions battled for control of the country. Various groups, including the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), used Lebanon as a base for attacks against Israel to the south. In 1982 Israel invaded and occupied southern Lebanon to expel the PLO and try to form a new reliably friendly government. The invasion threatened to turn Lebanon’s civil war into a general Middle East war.

In 1983 an international peacekeeping force, including some 800 U.S. Marines, arrived in Lebanon’s capital, Beirut. On October 23 a suicide bomber drove a truck filled with explosives into the marine barracks in Beirut. The blast leveled the building, killing 241 sleeping soldiers inside. This tragedy was one of the first suicide terrorist attacks against the United States.

**THE IRAN–CONTRA SCANDAL** In 1983 terrorist groups loyal to Iran took a number of Americans hostage in Lebanon. Reagan denounced Iran and urged U.S. allies not to sell arms to Iran for its war against Iraq. In 1985 he declared that “America will never make concessions to terrorists.” Therefore,
Americans were shocked to learn in 1986 that President Reagan had approved the sale of arms to Iran. In exchange for those sales, Iran promised to win the release of seven American hostages held in Lebanon by pro-Iranian terrorists. What’s more, members of Reagan’s staff sent part of the profits from those illegal arms sales to the Contras in Nicaragua—in direct violation of the Boland Amendment. President Reagan held a press conference to explain what had happened.

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

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

After a congressional investigation, Special Prosecutor Lawrence E. Walsh, early in 1988, indicted various members of the Reagan administration who were involved in the scandal. Oliver North was found guilty of aiding the cover-up. He was fined and sentenced to perform community service. (His conviction was later overturned because he testified under a grant of limited immunity.) On Christmas Eve of 1992, President Bush pardoned a number of Reagan officials.

THE PERSIAN GULF WAR Regardless of the scandal surrounding the Iran-Contra affair, conflict with Iraq (which was Iran’s long-standing enemy) and its leader, Saddam Hussein, soon eclipsed U.S. problems with Iran. During the 1980s Iran and Iraq had fought a prolonged war, and Hussein found himself with enormous war debts to pay. Several times, Hussein had claimed that the oil-rich nation of Kuwait was really part of Iraq. On August 2, 1990, Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait. The Iraqi invaders looted Kuwait. Then they headed toward Saudi Arabia and its oil fields. If Iraq conquered...
The Persian Gulf War, 1990–1991

Aug. 2, 1990
Iraq invades Kuwait.

Jan. 16, 1991
US/UN air attacks begin against Iraq.

Feb. 23, 1991
UN coalition launches ground war.

Interpret Maps
1. Region  What did UN coalition forces probably hope to achieve by moving forces into southern Iraq?

2. Movement  How did the movements of coalition ground forces show that the intention of the coalition in the Gulf War was ultimately defensive, not offensive?
Saudi Arabia as well as Kuwait, it would control one-half of the world’s known oil reserves, which would severely threaten U.S. oil supplies.

For several months, President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker organized an international coalition against Iraqi aggression. They also sought the approval of the U.S. Congress, which would need to authorize any use of force against Iraq. According to the U.S. Constitution, only Congress has the power to declare war. With the support of Congress and the UN, President Bush launched **Operation Desert Storm** to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi occupation.

Women served along with men in the military during the Gulf War.

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**Critical Thinking**

1. **Connect to History**  With at least one partner, research the events leading up to U.S. involvement in one of these countries: Lebanon, Grenada, Panama, or Kuwait. Then negotiate to resolve the conflict.

2. **Connect to Today**  What do you think are the strongest arguments for and against military intervention in regional conflicts?
Iraqi control. On January 16, 1991, the United States and its allies staged a massive air assault and bombarded Iraq. On February 23 they launched a successful ground offensive from Saudi Arabia. On February 28, 1991, President Bush announced a cease-fire. Operation Desert Storm was over. Kuwait was liberated.

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

Lesson 6 Assessment

1. Organize Information  Use a chart to explain U.S. foreign policy toward world regions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Foreign Policy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa and Asia</td>
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<td>Central America and the</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
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Write a paragraph in which you describe a trouble spot in one of these regions.

2. Key Terms and People  For each key term in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

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

4. Analyze Events  Over several months, the Bush administration used diplomacy to organize international support and the support of Congress for Operation Desert Storm. Why do you think they took these extra steps before invading Iraq?

Think About:
- the powers granted to Congress by the Constitution
- the costs of fighting a foreign war
- the economic importance of the region
Module 26 Assessment

Key Terms and People
For each key term or person below, write a sentence explaining its significance to the presidential administrations of the 1970s and 1980s.
1. stagflation
2. Watergate
3. Jimmy Carter
4. Camp David Accords
5. Moral Majority
6. Ronald Reagan
7. supply-side economics
8. Geraldine Ferraro
9. AIDS
10. Operation Desert Storm

Main Ideas
Use your notes and the information in the module to answer the following questions.

The Nixon Administration
1. In what ways did President Nixon attempt to reform the federal government?
2. How did President Nixon and the U.S. Supreme Court clash on school segregation?
3. Why had many Democratic voters in the South become potential Republican supporters by 1968?
4. Why did President Nixon oppose the extension of the Voting Rights Act?
5. How did Nixon try to combat stagflation?

Watergate: Nixon's Downfall
6. In what ways did the participants in Watergate attempt to cover up the scandal?
7. What role did the media play in the Watergate Scandal?
8. What events led to the Saturday Night Massacre?

The Ford and Carter Years
9. What were Gerald Ford's greatest successes as president?
10. Why did the Ford administration want to reform government regulation?
11. How did President Carter attempt to solve the energy crisis?
12. What factors played a role in America's economic stagnation?
13. How did the changing economy under Carter affect unemployment?

A Conservative Movement Emerges
14. What caused the conservative revolution of the early 1980s?
15. What were the main concerns of the Moral Majority?
16. What factors led to Ronald Reagan's victory in 1980?

Reagan and Bush Confront Domestic Concerns
17. What principles formed the basis of “Reaganomics”? 
18. What were some of the effects of “Reaganomics”?
19. How were the domestic policies of the Nixon and Reagan administrations similar?
20. What is deregulation, and how did it affect certain industries in the 1980s?
21. What problems in education emerged during the 1980s?

Foreign Policy Under Reagan and Bush
22. How did the Bush administration respond to the events in Beijing's Tiananmen Square?
23. Why did the United States send troops to Panama in 1989?
24. Why did Israel become involved in the civil war in Lebanon?
25. Summarize the U.S. response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.
Critical Thinking

1. **Evaluate**  In a chart, identify one major development for each issue listed that occurred between 1968 and 1980. Indicate whether you think the impact of the development was positive (+) or negative (–).

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Development</th>
<th>Impact</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic conditions</td>
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<td>Democratic government</td>
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<td>Efficient energy use</td>
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<td>Environmental protection</td>
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2. **Analyze Events**  Between 1972 and 1974 Americans were absorbed by the fall of President Nixon in the Watergate scandal. What might Americans have learned about the role of the executive branch? Explain.

3. **Synthesize**  President Carter took special pride in his civil rights record. How did Carter’s foreign policy mirror his domestic policy?

4. **Analyze Motives**  In 1977 the Carter administration successfully negotiated the Camp David Accords. How might a peace agreement between Egypt and Israel affect the U.S. economy?

5. **Analyze Effects**  Think about the short-term and long-term effects of Reaganomics. Do you think that Reaganomics was good or bad for the economy?

6. **Evaluate**  Review the goals of the conservative movement and the actions of the federal government under presidents Reagan and Bush. Evaluate how well the goals had been achieved by the end of Bush’s term.

7. **Compare and Contrast**  In 1964 President Lyndon Johnson unveiled his domestic agenda—the Great Society. Compare and contrast the political philosophies of President Ronald Reagan with those of President Lyndon Johnson.


9. **Form Opinions**  Do you think the actions of the Reagan administration during the Iran-Contra affair were justified? Explain.

10. **Analyze Effects**  What were the positive and negative effects of the Gulf War?

Engage with History

Imagine that you are working as a speechwriter for Ronald Reagan in 1980. Develop a campaign slogan, and then write a speech that contains your slogan and explains why Americans should vote for Reagan. Present your speech to the class.

Focus on Writing

Imagine that you are a journalist in the 1980s. Choose the social concern of the period that you believe to be the most significant domestic issue facing the United States. Write a newspaper editorial in which you persuade others that your issue is the most important and outline your approach for solving it. Use descriptive examples and vivid language to convince your audience to support your perspective.

Multimedia Activity

Do library or Internet research to find out more about Saddam Hussein’s rise to power in Iraq. Write and record a short podcast describing the tactics that Hussein used to become dictator and how his policies affected the people of Iraq.