### Key to Ability Levels
- **BL**: Below Level
- **OL**: On Level
- **AL**: Above Level
- **ELL**: English Language Learners

### Key to Teaching Resources
- **Print Material**
- **Transparency**
- **CD-ROM or DVD**

### Planning Guide

#### Chapter 22

**FOCUS**
- **Daily Focus Skills Transparencies**
  - Section 1: 22-1
  - Section 2: 22-2
  - Section 3: 22-3
  - Section 4: 22-4

#### TEACH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Resources</th>
<th>Chapter Opener</th>
<th>Section 1</th>
<th>Section 2</th>
<th>Section 3</th>
<th>Section 4</th>
<th>Chapter Assess</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td><strong>Daily Focus Skills Transparencies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td>Geography and History Activity, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td>American Literature Reading, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td>Reading Essentials and Note-Taking Guide*</td>
<td>p. 233</td>
<td>p. 236</td>
<td>p. 239</td>
<td>p. 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td>Historical Analysis Skills Activity, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td>Guided Reading Activities, URB*</td>
<td>p. 80</td>
<td>p. 81</td>
<td>p. 82</td>
<td>p. 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td>ELL</td>
<td>Content Vocabulary Activity, URB*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td>ELL</td>
<td>Academic Vocabulary Activity, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td>Critical Thinking Skills Activity, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td>Reading Skills Activity, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td>ELL</td>
<td>English Learner Activity, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td>Reinforcing Skills Activity, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td>Differentiated Instruction Activity, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td>Time Line Activity, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td>Linking Past and Present Activity, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td>American Art and Music Activity, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td>Interpreting Political Cartoons Activity, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td>Enrichment Activity, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td>American Biographies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td>Primary Source Reading, URB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td>Supreme Court Case Studies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td>The Living Constitution*</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td>American History Primary Source Documents Library</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td>Unit Map Overlay Transparencies</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BL</strong></td>
<td><strong>OL</strong></td>
<td><strong>AL</strong></td>
<td><strong>ELL</strong></td>
<td>Differentiated Instruction for the American History Classroom</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Please refer to the *Unit 7 Resource Book* for this chapter’s URB materials.

* Also available in Spanish
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Resources</th>
<th>Chapter Opener</th>
<th>Section 1</th>
<th>Section 2</th>
<th>Section 3</th>
<th>Section 4</th>
<th>Chapter Assess</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>AL ELL</td>
<td>StudentsWorks™ Plus</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>AL ELL</td>
<td>American Music Hits Through History CD</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>AL ELL</td>
<td>Unit Time Line Transparencies and Activities</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>AL ELL</td>
<td>Cause and Effect Transparencies, Strategies, and Activities</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>AL ELL</td>
<td>Why It Matters Transparencies, Strategies, and Activities</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>AL ELL</td>
<td>American Issues</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OL</td>
<td>AL</td>
<td>ELL</td>
<td>American Art and Architecture Transparencies, Strategies, and Activities</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>AL ELL</td>
<td>High School American History Literature Library</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>AL ELL</td>
<td>The American Vision: Modern Times Video Program</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Strategies for Success</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Success with English Learners</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reading Strategies and Activities for the Social Studies Classroom</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Presentation Plus! with MindJogger CheckPoint</td>
<td>✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ASSESS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BL</th>
<th>OL</th>
<th>AL</th>
<th>ELL</th>
<th>Section Quizzes and Chapter Tests*</th>
<th>p. 313</th>
<th>p. 314</th>
<th>p. 315</th>
<th>p. 316</th>
<th>p. 317</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>AL</td>
<td>ELL</td>
<td>Authentic Assessment With Rubrics</td>
<td>p. 49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>AL</td>
<td>ELL</td>
<td>Standardized Test Practice Workbook</td>
<td>p. 51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>AL</td>
<td>ELL</td>
<td>ExamView® Assessment Suite</td>
<td>22-1</td>
<td>22-2</td>
<td>22-3</td>
<td>22-4</td>
<td>Ch. 22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CLOSE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BL</th>
<th>ELL</th>
<th>Reteaching Activity, URB</th>
<th>p. 77</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>Reading and Study Skills Foldables™</td>
<td>p. 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>American History in Graphic Novel</td>
<td>p. 87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

✓ Chapter- or unit-based activities applicable to all sections in this chapter.
### What is PresentationPlus! with MindJogger CheckPoint?
Glencoe’s PresentationPlus! with MindJogger CheckPoint offers ready-made presentations and review activities for each chapter or section in the textbook.

### How can PresentationPlus! help me?
PresentationPlus! allows you to create your presentations quickly and includes links to glencoe.com, In Motion Animations (maps, graphs, and charts), and a selection of transparencies that enhance the classroom discussion. Additionally, MindJogger CheckPoint offers entertaining ask-the-audience games that review content and generate student interest.

PresentationPlus! with MindJogger CheckPoint is one of Glencoe’s technology resources available for teachers.

---

### History ONLINE
Visit glencoe.com and enter QuickPass™ code TAVMT5154c22T for Chapter 22 resources.

You can easily launch a wide range of digital products from your computer’s desktop with the McGraw-Hill Social Studies widget.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media Library</th>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Section Audio</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Spanish Audio Summaries</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Section Spotlight Videos</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The American Vision: Modern Times Online Learning Center (Web Site)</th>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• StudentWorks™ Plus Online</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Multilingual Glossary</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Study-to-Go</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Chapter Overviews</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Self-Check Quizzes</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Student Web Activities</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• ePuzzles and Games</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Vocabulary eFlashcards</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• In Motion Animations</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Study Central™</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Web Activity Lesson Plans</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Vocabulary PuzzleMaker</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Historical Thinking Activities</td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Beyond the Textbook</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following videotape programs are available from Glencoe as supplements to this Modern Times chapter:


To order, call Glencoe at 1-800-334-7344. To find classroom resources to accompany many of these videos, check the following home pages:

A&E Television: www.aetv.com
The History Channel: www.historychannel.com

Additional Chapter Resources

• Timed Readings Plus in Social Studies helps students increase their reading rate and fluency while maintaining comprehension. The 400-word passages are similar to those found on state and national assessments.

• Reading in the Content Area: Social Studies concentrates on six essential reading skills that help students better comprehend what they read. The book includes 75 high-interest nonfiction passages written at increasing levels of difficulty.

• Reading Social Studies includes strategic reading instruction and vocabulary support in Social Studies content for both ELLs and native speakers of English.

www.jamestowneducation.com

The following articles relate to this chapter:


National Geographic Society Products To order the following, call National Geographic at 1-800-368-2728:

• ZipZapMap! USA (ZipZapMap!)

Access National Geographic's new, dynamic MapMachine Web site and other geography resources at:

www.nationalgeographic.com
www.nationalgeographic.com/maps

Leveled reading suggestions for this chapter:

For students at a Grade 8 reading level:
• The Cold War: An Uneasy Peace: 1945–1980, by Craig E. Blohm

For students at a Grade 9 reading level:
• The Persian Gulf War: The War Against Iraq, by Don Nardo

For students at a Grade 10 reading level:
• The Iran-Iraq War, by David Schaffer

For students at a Grade 11 reading level:
• Challenger, by Sandra Bricker

For students at a Grade 12 reading level:
• The Cold War Ends: 1980 to the Present, by Britta Bjornlund

Use this database to search more than 30,000 titles to create a customized reading list for your students.

• Reading lists can be organized by students’ reading level, author, genre, theme, or area of interest.
• The database provides Degrees of Reading Power™ (DRP) and Lexile™ readability scores for all selections.
• A brief summary of each selection is included.

Index to National Geographic Magazine:

www.nationalgeographic.com
www.nationalgeographic.com/maps

738D
**Focus**

**MAKING CONNECTIONS**

**Are There Cycles in American Politics?**

Have students read the Making Connections paragraph. Then ask students to think of any other time when voters elected a conservative president. Students may recall the election of 1920, in which voters elected Republican Warren G. Harding after the changes of the Progressive Era and World War I; students may also note that voters elected Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952 after the traumas of the Great Depression and World War II. In 1980 conservative ideas may have appealed to voters after the Vietnam War, Watergate, and the energy crisis of the early 1970s. [OL]

---

**Teach**

**The Big Ideas**

As students study the chapter, remind them to consider the section-based Big Ideas included in each section's Guide to Reading. The Essential Questions in the activities below tie in to the Big Ideas and help students think about and understand important chapter concepts. In addition, the Hands-on Chapter Projects with their culminating activities relate the content from each section to the Big Ideas. These activities build on each other as students progress through the chapter. Section activities culminate in the wrap-up activity on the Visual Summary page.

---

**Section 1**

**The New Conservatism**

**Essential Question:** What political changes following World War II supported the growth of political conservatism? (The focus on defeating the Soviet Union renewed debate about the role and power of the federal government. Some saw the Cold War as a religious fight between good and evil, which increased the influence of conservatives in politics.) Tell students that Section 1 will discuss the rise of the new conservative coalition in the early 1980s. [OL]

---

**Section 2**

**The Reagan Years**

**Essential Question:** Are American politics characterized by conflict or cooperation? (Government is actually designed for both, but excessive conflict makes it run less effectively.) Tell students that many citizens in the early 1980s were ready to combat a government they believed was increasingly controlling their lives. Section 2 tells how the Reagan presidency brought a different attitude and approach to government. [OL]
**MAKING CONNECTIONS**

Are There Cycles in American Politics?

After several decades where progressive and liberal ideas dominated American politics, conservatism began making a comeback in the 1970s, and in 1980 voters elected the conservative Ronald Reagan president. Reagan’s commitment to less government regulation, a stronger military, and uncompromising anticommunism seemed to meet voters’ concerns.

- Why do you think conservative ideas appealed to more Americans in the 1980s?
- How do you think conservative ideas have changed society?

---

**Analyzing Information**

Create a Folded Chart Foldable to organize information about the government under Ronald Reagan. List domestic and foreign policy for three eras: before the Reagan era, the Reagan administration, and the post-Reagan years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>• More than 35,000 cases of AIDS diagnosed for the year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>• INF Treaty between U.S. and USSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>• Persian Gulf War occurs between Iraq and UN coalition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>• Iran-Contra scandal enters the news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>• INF Treaty between U.S. and USSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>• Soviet Union dissolves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>• Germany reunites as one nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>• Persian Gulf War occurs between Iraq and UN coalition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>• Tiananmen Square protest in China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>• Communist governments in Eastern Europe collapse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>• INF Treaty between U.S. and USSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>• Persian Gulf War occurs between Iraq and UN coalition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Section 3**

Life in the 1980s

Essential Question: What are the greatest social problems in the United States today? Have students list the problems they see as the most important today. (drugs, AIDS, alcoholism, crime) Tell students that Section 3 will examine how activists in the 1980s addressed the social issues of the decade.

**Section 4**

The End of the Cold War

Essential Question: What areas of problems do presidents face? (foreign policy: diplomacy, treaties, trade policies, military; domestic policy: homeland security, education, health care, taxes, transportation) Tell students that as they read Section 4, they will learn how the first President Bush’s foreign policy was popular, while his domestic agenda was not.

---

**Foldables**

Dinah Zike’s Foldables are three-dimensional, interactive graphic organizers that help students practice basic writing skills, review vocabulary terms, and identify main ideas. Instructions for creating and using Foldables can be found in the Appendix at the end of this book and in the Dinah Zike’s Reading and Study Skills Foldables booklet.

---

More About the Photo

Visual Literacy  When the Watergate scandal forced Richard Nixon to resign from the presidency in 1974, most political observers assumed that it would take at least a generation for the Republican Party to restore its integrity in the eyes of American voters. Instead, the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 reflected the continuing strength of conservatism. Reagan appealed to economic conservatives, social conservatives, and “tough on communism” conservatives.
Chapter 22 • Section 1

Focus

Guide to Reading

Answers:

Students should complete the outline by including all headings in the section.

I. Liberalism and Conservatism
   A. Liberalism
   B. Conservatism

II. Conservatism Revives
   A. The Role of the Cold War
   B. Conservatives Organize
   C. The Rise of the Sunbelt
   D. Sunbelt Conservatism
   E. Suburban Conservatism
   F. The Religious Right
   G. A New Coalition

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes Use the major headings of this section to outline information about the rise of the new conservatism in the United States.

The New Conservatism

I. Liberalism and Conservatism
   A. Liberalism
   B. Conservatism

Liberalism and Conservatism

MAIN Idea Conservatives and liberals disagreed on the role of government.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you consider yourself liberal or conservative? Why? Read on to learn more about conservative and liberal ideas of government.

Midge Decter, a New Yorker and a writer for the conservative publication Commentary, was appalled at the violence that hit her city on a hot July night in 1977. On the night of July 13, the power failed in New York City. The blackout left millions of people in darkness, and looting and arson rocked the city. City officials and the media blamed the lawlessness on the anger and despair of youth in neglected areas. Decter disagreed:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"[T]hose young men went on their spree of looting because they had been given permission to do so . . . by all the papers and magazines, movies and documentaries—all the outlets for the purveying of enlightened liberal attitude and progressive liberal policy—which had for years and years been proclaiming that race and poverty were sufficient excuses for lawlessness. . . ."

—quoted in Commentary, September 1977

Midge Decter’s article blaming liberalism for the New York riots illustrates one side of a debate in American politics that continues to the present day. On one side are people who call themselves liberals; on the other side are those who identify themselves as conservatives. Liberal ideas had dominated American politics in the 1960s, but conservative ideas regained significant support in the 1970s, and in 1980 Ronald Reagan, a strong conservative, was elected president.

Liberalism

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

Although liberals favor government intervention in the economy, they are suspicious of any attempt by the government to regulate social behavior. They are strong supporters of free speech and privacy, and are opposed to the government supporting or endorsing religious beliefs. They believe that a diverse society made up of different races, cultures, and ethnic groups will be more creative and energetic.

Liberals often support higher taxes on the wealthy, partly because they believe that those with greater assets should shoulder more of the costs of government and partly because it allows the government to redistribute wealth through government programs and thereby make society more equal.

Conservatism

Unlike liberals, conservatives distrust the power of government. They believe governmental power should be divided into different branches and split between the state and federal levels to limit its ability to intrude into people’s lives.

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

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

Conducting an Opinion Poll

Step 1: Listing Priorities Tell students they will be conducting an opinion poll on President Ronald Reagan’s performance as president.

Organizing Have students review the material presented in Section 1 to compile a list of the issues that were most important to Americans in the 1980s.

(Chapter Project continued on page 747)
Skill Practice

Reading a Map Have students study the map. Ask: What Sunbelt states did not experience significant growth between 1950 and 1980? (North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas)

Analyzing GEOGRAPHY

Answers:
1. California, Texas, and Florida
2. Answers will vary, but students might note that people moved to states that already had a strong infrastructure and a health care system.

Answer:
Liberals often look to government to solve problems and seek government intervention in the economy to protect people from the power of big business; conservatives prefer small government and look to the free enterprise system to guide the economy.

Additional Support

Activity: Interdisciplinary Connection

Mathematics Provide the population data for the United States and selected Sunbelt states, as shown below. Explain that although you can see that the population of these states increased between 1950 and 1980, the real significance appears when you express each state’s population as a percentage of the country’s total population. Have students calculate each state’s population, in the selected years, as a percentage of the total U.S. population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1950 Population</th>
<th>1960 Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Total</td>
<td>151,868,000</td>
<td>179,975,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>750,000</td>
<td>1,302,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>10,586,000</td>
<td>15,717,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>2,771,000</td>
<td>4,952,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>7,712,000</td>
<td>9,580,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conservatism Revives

MAIN Idea Geographical regions tend to support either liberal or conservative ideas.

HISTORY AND YOU Politically, how would you define yourself or the region in which you live? Read on to learn about the growing political power of voters in the Southwest.

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

The Role of the Cold War

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

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

Conservatives Organize

In 1955 a young conservative named William F. Buckley founded a new magazine called National Review. Buckley’s magazine helped to revive conservative ideas in the United States. Buckley debated in front of college students and appeared on radio and television shows, spreading conservative ideas to an ever wider audience.

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

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

The Rise of the Sunbelt

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

This pattern began to change during World War II, when large numbers of Americans moved south and west to take jobs in the war factories. The movement to the West and South—together known as the Sunbelt—continued after the war. As the Sunbelt’s economy expanded, Americans living in those regions began to view the federal government differently from people living in the Northeast.

Sunbelt Conservatism

Industry in the Northeast was in decline, leading to the region’s nickname—the Rust Belt. This region had higher unemployment than any other, and its cities were congested and polluted. These problems prompted Americans in the Northeast to look to the government for programs and regulations that would help them solve their problems.

In contrast, many Americans in the Sunbelt opposed high taxes and federal regulations that might interfere with their region’s growth. Many white Southerners were also angry with the Democrats for supporting civil rights, which they interpreted as an effort by the federal government to impose its policies on the South. When Barry Goldwater argued in 1964 that the federal government was becoming too strong, many Southerners agreed. For the first time since Reconstruction, they began voting Republican in large numbers. Although Goldwater lost, he showed Republicans that the best way to attract Southern votes was to support conservative policies.

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

Activity: Interdisciplinary Connection

Civics Have students examine the income, property, and sales tax rate structure in their state. Then have them prepare a visual display of the rates to use during a brief oral presentation in which they either support the state’s current tax policies or propose a plan to raise or lower taxes. OL

W Writing Support

Narrative Writing Invite students to use library and Internet resources to write a one-page biography of William F. Buckley. Students should include a discussion of his early life and of his successes in organizing the conservative movement. Encourage students to share their biographies with the class. OL

C Critical Thinking

Making Generalizations

Have interested students use library or Internet resources to find out more information about the growth of the Republican Party in the South during the 1960s and 1970s. Ask: Do you think racism played a role in the growth of the Republican Party during the 1960s and 1970s? Why or why not? (Answers will vary, but students should base their answers on their research.) AL
The new conservative coalition that emerged in the 1970s was made up of people from the South and West, particularly middle class suburban voters, evangelical Christians, and people concerned about high taxes and resisting the Soviet Union in the Cold War.

By 1980, the population of the Sunbelt had surpassed that of the Northeast. This gave the conservative regions of the country more electoral votes. With Southerners also shifting to the Republican Party, conservatives began to build a coalition that could elect a president.

Suburban Conservatism

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

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

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

The Religious Right

While many Americans turned to conservatism for economic reasons, others were drawn to it because they feared that American society had lost touch with its traditional values. For many Americans of conservative religious faith, the events of the 1960s and 1970s were shocking. The Supreme Court decision in Roe v. Wade, which established that the right to have an abortion was protected by the Constitution, greatly concerned them. They were also critical of other Supreme Court decisions that limited
prayer in public schools and expanded protections for people accused of crimes.

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

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

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

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

**A New Coalition**

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

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

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

---

**Vocabulary**


**Main Ideas**

2. **Explaining** Why do liberals sometimes support higher taxes on the wealthy?

3. **Determining Cause and Effect** What was the cause of the Sagebrush Rebellion in the 1970s?

**Critical Thinking**

4. **Big Ideas** What kind of economy do conservatives want?

5. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list conservative beliefs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conservative Beliefs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. **Analyzing Visuals** Study the map of the Sunbelt on page 742. What impact would the migration patterns shown have on representation in the U.S. House of Representatives?

**Writing About History**

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

---

**Answers**

1. All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.

2. They believe the government should play an active role in helping disadvantaged Americans, partly by putting more of society’s tax burden on wealthier people.

3. Westerners believed that government policies were hindering the region’s development.

4. Conservatives want a free enterprise system.

5. free enterprise, emphasis on religious values, little government regulation of the economy

6. The number of representatives from the Sunbelt would increase.

7. Paragraphs will vary, but students should use information from the textbook and outside resources as needed.
Section 2

The Reagan Years

In 1980 Americans elected Ronald Reagan president. Reagan cut taxes, deregulated several industries, and appointed conservative justices. He began a massive military buildup that greatly increased the deficit and sent aid to insurgent groups fighting communism.

The Road to the White House

President Reagan’s experiences in Hollywood and as governor of California led to his successful campaign for the presidency.

HISTORY AND YOU How could a previous career as a movie star help someone get elected to public office? Read on to learn more about the way that President Reagan’s background helped to make him an attractive presidential candidate.

In 1926, at age fifteen, Ronald Reagan earned $15 a week working as a lifeguard on the Rock River in Illinois. Being a lifeguard, Reagan later wrote, taught him quite a bit about human nature:

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

—from Where’s the Rest of Me?

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

Becoming a Conservative

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

In 1947 Reagan became president of the Screen Actors Guild—the actors’ union. Soon afterward, he testified about communism in...
Chapter 22 • Section 2

Hollywood before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Reagan had been a staunch Democrat and a supporter of the New Deal, but dealing with Communists in the union shifted him toward conservative ideas.

In 1954 Reagan became the host of the television show “General Electric Theater” and agreed to be a motivational speaker for General Electric. As he traveled the country speaking to people, he became increasingly conservative. Over and over again, he said later, he heard average Americans describe how high taxes and government regulations made it impossible for them to get ahead.

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

The Election of 1980

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

Critical Thinking

Analyzing Primary Sources

Reagan once said that “people hate to be saved.” Ask: How does this quote relate to the conservative political ideology? (Conservatives believe that people should rely more on themselves to solve problems rather than expect the government to fix their problems for them.)

Reading Strategy

Activating Prior Knowledge

In 1947 Ronald Reagan testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Ask: What was the goal of HUAC? (to uncover evidence of Communist infiltration in the U.S. government)

Analyzing VISUALS

Answers:
1. Reagan’s campaign is being run as if it were a movie.
2. Carter is not popular with other members of the Democratic Party.

Conducting an Opinion Poll

Step 2: Preparing the Poll  Keeping in mind the list of issues they compiled in Step 1, students should review the material presented in Section 2.

Evaluating  Ask students to compose five statements that assess President Reagan’s job performance on five significant issues of the 1980s.

(Chapter Project continued on page 755)
Domestic Policies

MAIN Idea
Believing that government was part of the problem, President Reagan cut social service programs, sponsored tax cuts, and deregulated industry.

HISTORY AND YOU
Do you think that cutting social programs is a good way to help the economy? Read on to learn more about Reagan’s economic policies.

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

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

—from Reagan’s First Inaugural Address

Reagan also told Americans that they should not expect government to help: “In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem. Government is the problem.”

Reaganomics

Reagan’s first priority was the economy, which was suffering from stagflation—a combination of high unemployment and high inflation. According to most economists, the way to fight unemployment was to increase government spending. Increasing spending, however, made inflation worse. Conservative economists offered two competing ideas for fixing the economy. One group, known as monetarists, argued that inflation was caused by too much money in circulation. They believed the best solution was to raise interest rates. Another group supported supply-side economics. They argued that the economy was weak because taxes were too high. Supply-side economists believed that high taxes took too much money away from investors. If taxes were cut, businesses and investors could use their extra capital to make new investments. Businesses would expand and create new jobs, and the result would be a larger supply of goods for consumers, who would now have more money to spend because of the tax cuts.

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

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

Debates in History

Are Tax Cuts Good for the Economy?

Ronald Reagan believed that government regulation of the economy was harmful and that taxes should be as low as possible to promote private spending and investment. During the 1984 presidential campaign, Reagan ran against Jimmy Carter’s vice president, Walter Mondale. In these excerpts from the first debate between the two candidates, Reagan and Mondale discuss their fundamentally different approaches to government. Mondale advocated for tax increases and that is often cited as a main reason why he lost the election.

Presidential Campaigns

Political opponents unflatteringly compared Ronald Reagan to Calvin Coolidge, pointing out the similarity between Reaganomics and Coolidge’s “trickle-down” economic policies. They also noted that Reagan, like Coolidge, seemed rather detached from the process of government. Far from being insulted, Reagan reveled in the comparison. He hung Coolidge’s portrait in a prominent place in the White House and regularly quoted Coolidge’s philosophy on business and government.
Cutting Programs  Cutting tax rates meant that the government would receive less money, at least until the economy started to grow. This would increase the budget deficit—the amount by which expenditures exceed income. To keep the deficit under control, Reagan proposed cuts to social programs. Welfare benefits, including the food-stamp program and the school-lunch program, were cut back. Medicare payments, unemployment compensation, student loans, and housing subsidies were also reduced.

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

Deregulation  Reagan believed that excessive government regulation was another cause of the economy’s problems. His first act as president was to sign an executive order to end price controls on oil and gasoline. Critics said that ending controls would drive prices up, but in fact they fell. Falling energy prices freed up money for businesses and consumers to spend elsewhere, helping the economy to recover.

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

Reaganomics Posters  Organize students into five or six groups. Have students prepare posters that explain the assumptions and the results of Reaganomics. Remind the groups that each person should have a part in the project. Group members will need to plan the poster, divide the work fairly, and complete the project. Posters might include charts, graphs, or other visual aids. Some groups may want to explain their posters to the rest of the class. Display all the posters in the classroom.

Walter Mondale

President candidate

"...[E]ven with historically high levels of economic growth, we will suffer a $263 billion deficit. ... Real interest rates—the real cost of interest—will remain very, very high, and many economists are predicting that we’re moving into a period of very slow growth. ... I proposed over a hundred billion dollars in cuts in federal spending over 4 years, but I am not going to cut it out of Social Security and Medicare and student assistance and things ... that people need. ... The rate of defense spending increase can be slowed. ... And there are other ways of squeezing this budget without constantly picking on our senior citizens and the most vulnerable in American life."

—from the first presidential debate, Oct. 7, 1984

Primary Source

"...[T]he plan that we have had and that we are following is a plan that is based on growth in the economy. ... Our tax cut, we think, was very instrumental in bringing about this economic recovery. ... So, we believe that as we continue to reduce the level of government spending ... and, at the same time, as the growth in the economy increases the revenues the government gets, without raising taxes, those two lines will meet. ... The deficit is the result of excessive government spending. ... I don’t believe that Mr. Mondale has a plan for balancing the budget; he has a plan for raising taxes. ... And for the 5 years previous to our taking office, taxes doubled in the United States, and the budgets increased $318 billion. So, there is no ratio between taxing and balancing a budget."

—from the first presidential debate, Oct. 7, 1984

Primary Source

Activity: Collaborative Learning

Answers:
1. cut taxes
2. the growth in the economy will increase revenues
3. Mondale says the nation will suffer a $263 billion deficit and that some economists are predicting that the nation is moving into a period of very slow growth.
4. Answers will vary, but students should support their answers with examples.
**Writing Support**

**Persuasive Writing**  
Ask students to carefully read the People in History feature about Sandra Day O'Connor. Have them write two-page essays either supporting or opposing O'Connor’s nomination to the Supreme Court. Students may use library or Internet resources to find information supporting their arguments.

**Skill Practice**

**Describing**  
Have students discuss the impact the Reagan administration had on the make-up of the Supreme Court. (more conservative justices were appointed; the Court was less willing to continue the reforms of the Warren Court Era)

**People in History**

**Sandra Day O’Connor**  
1930–  
When a Supreme Court vacancy opened up in 1981, President Reagan chose Sandra Day O’Connor, an Arizona appeals court judge. Unlike many Supreme Court justices, O’Connor had broad political experience. Appointed to a state senatorial vacancy in 1969, she successfully ran for the seat and became the state senate’s first woman majority leader in 1972. O’Connor won election as a superior court judge in 1974 and was later appointed to the court of appeals. O’Connor’s nomination was opposed by the Moral Majority because she had supported the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), and had refused to back an anti-abortion amendment, or criticize the decision in Roe v. Wade. Others, however, praised her legal judgment and conservative approach to the law. As a moderate conservative, she quickly became an important swing vote on the Court, between more liberal and more conservative justices.

**Why do you think O’Connor supported the Equal Rights Amendment?**

- because she is a woman

**Answer:**

**Reading Check**

**Supply-side economics proposes low taxes as an incentive to generate more investment in business.**

**Activity: Collaborative Learning**

**Voting Blocs**  
During the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, about 55 percent of all qualified voters voted in presidential elections. More women voted than men, and there were more voters in the 55–75 age range than in any other age group. Organize the class into cooperative groups, and have them research why some groups of people vote more than others. How does being from a group that is likely to vote affect a person’s clout with politicians? (For example, are politicians careful not to anger senior citizens because they vote in such large numbers?) Students will want to divide up the work and decide on a method of presentation. They may also want to create charts to show differences in voting patterns by region, age, education level, income, and so forth.
Reagan Oversees a Military Buildup

**MAIN Idea** President Reagan began a massive military buildup to weaken the Soviet economy and deter Soviet aggression.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you remember President Eisenhower’s warning about the military as he left office? Read to learn how President Reagan sought to use military power to defeat the Soviets.

Reagan also adopted a new foreign policy that rejected both containment and détente. He called the Soviet Union “an evil empire.” In his view, the United States should not negotiate with or try to contain evil. It should try to defeat it.

**“Peace Through Strength”**

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

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

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

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

—from A Time for Choosing

The United States also tried to stop nations from supporting terrorism. After Libya backed a terrorist bombing in Berlin, the United States launched an air attack on Libya on April 14, 1986. The raids killed 37 and injured about 200.

Reagan’s military buildup created new jobs in defense industries. Supply-side economists had predicted that, despite the spending, lower taxes combined with cuts in government programs would generate enough growth to increase tax revenues and balance the budget. Tax revenues did rise, but other programs were too popular for Reagan to cut significantly. As a result, the annual budget deficit went from $80 billion to over $200 billion.

**The Reagan Doctrine**

Reagan also believed that the United States should support guerrilla groups who were fighting to overthrow Communist or pro-Soviet governments. This policy became known as the Reagan Doctrine. This doctrine led to involvement in places as geographically diverse as Africa’s Angola, Middle America’s Nicaragua and Grenada, and the Middle East’s Afghanistan and Lebanon.

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

President Carter sent about $30 million in military aid to the Afghan guerrillas, but Reagan sent $570 million more. The Soviets were soon trapped in a situation similar to the American experience in Vietnam. As casualties mounted, the war strained the Soviet economy, and in 1988 the Soviets decided to withdraw.

**Nicaragua and Grenada** Reagan was also concerned about Soviet influence in Nicaragua. Rebels known as the Sandinistas had overthrown a pro-American dictator in Nicaragua in 1979. The Sandinistas set up a socialist government and accepted Cuban and Soviet aid. They then began aiding rebels in nearby El Salvador. The Reagan administration responded by secretly arming an anti-Sandinista guerrilla force known as the contras, from the Spanish word for “counterrevolutionary.” When Congress learned of this policy, it banned further aid to the contras.

**Activity: Interdisciplinary Connection**

**Geography** Organize the class into groups of six to research the island country of Grenada, located in the southeastern Caribbean Sea. It is composed of 8 separate islands, with the island of Grenada being the largest and most populous. Have each group member use library or Internet sources to learn more about one of the following topics: geography, climate, vegetation, history, government, or economy. Then have the groups create a travel poster highlighting the features of the islands and encouraging tourists to visit. Students should illustrate their posters with magazine clippings, drawings, and maps. Have each group present its poster to the class.

**English Learners** Ask students to read the text under the head “Reagan Oversees a Military Buildup” and then, working in pairs, summarize what they have just read.

**Skill Practice**

**Reading Primary Sources**

Read aloud Reagan’s quote on this page about the Soviet Union. Ask: What did Reagan mean when he said the Soviet Union had achieved its military might by “preempting the human needs of its people”? (The Soviets had denied their citizens basic freedoms.)

**Writing Support**

**Descriptive Writing** Have interested students do library or Internet research to find out more about the Reagan administration’s policies toward one of the following: the Afghan rebels, Nicaragua, or Grenada. Then have students write a one-page report describing America’s policy concerning the nation or group they chose.
Reagan’s Foreign Policy

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

The Iran-Contra Scandal

Although Congress had prohibited aid to the Nicaraguan contras, individuals in Reagan’s administration continued to illegally support the rebels. They secretly sold weapons to Iran, considered an enemy and sponsor of terrorism, in exchange for the release of American hostages being held in the Middle East. These hostages were taken by the Hezbollah terrorist group because the United States was supporting Israel’s involvement in Lebanon’s civil war. Profits from these sales were then sent to the contras.

News of the illegal operations broke in November 1986. One of the chief figures in the Iran-Contra scandal was Marine colonel Oliver North, an aide to the National Security Council (NSC). He and other senior NSC and CIA officials testified before Congress and admitted to covering up their actions.

President Reagan had approved the sale of arms to Iran, but the congressional investigation concluded that he had had no direct knowledge about the diversion of the money to the contras. The scandal tainted his second term in office.

Arms Control

As part of the military buildup, Reagan decided to place missiles in Western Europe to counter Soviet missiles in Eastern Europe. This decision triggered tens of thousands of protesters to push for a “nuclear freeze”—no more deployment of new nuclear missiles.

Reagan offered to cancel the deployment of the new missiles if the Soviets removed their

Divestment and Apartheid

In 1984 an estimated $14 billion was invested in South Africa by multinational corporations; U.S. federal, state, and municipal governments; and American universities. Many college students wanted to support black South Africans’ attempts to end apartheid—an official policy of discrimination against non-whites. Between 1977 and 1985, campus protests convinced 150 U.S. universities to divest—or remove—all or part of their investments from South Africa. In 1986 Congress banned new investments in South Africa. By 1991, more than 200 U.S. companies had divested, and 28 states, 24 counties, and 92 cities had imposed sanctions.

The divestment movement and economic problems caused by apartheid policies themselves devastated the South African economy. Long imprisoned for his anti-apartheid activities, Nelson Mandela was freed in 1990. In 1994 he helped to craft a new constitution for South Africa that ended white minority rule.
missiles from Eastern Europe. He also proposed Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) to cut the number of missiles on both sides in half. The Soviets refused and walked out of the arms control talks.

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

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

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

Reagan and Gorbachev met in a series of summits. The first of these was frustrating for both, as they disagreed on many issues. Gorbachev promised to cut back Soviet nuclear forces if Reagan would agree to give up SDI, but Reagan refused.

Reagan then challenged Gorbachev to make reforms. In West Berlin, Reagan stood at the Brandenburg Gate of the Berlin Wall, the symbol of divided Europe, and declared: “General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet people, let us come together to negotiate a world of peace and friendship. This is what Western people want. This is what you people want. This is what most of the world wants. It is in the interest of the world and Western Europe, it is in the interest of your region, it is in the interest of the Soviet Union, and it is in the interest of the United States. We can bring that about. So let us take it together.”

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

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

With the economy booming, the American military strong, and relations with the Soviet Union rapidly improving, Ronald Reagan’s second term came to an end. As he prepared to leave office, Reagan assessed his presidency: “They called it the Reagan revolution. Well, I’ll accept that, but for me it always seemed more like the great rediscovery, a rediscovery of our values and our common sense.”

Answers

1. All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.
2. Governor of California
3. Reagan planned to appoint conservative justices.
4. to bring about the fall of the Soviet Union
5. aggressive stance toward Communism everywhere; military buildup to weaken Soviets
6. answers may include: supported Afghan guerrillas and anti-Sandinista guerrillas in Nicaragua, sent American troops to Grenada
7. Reagan is leading a group of filmmakers; Carter is causing other Democrats to run away.
8. Students’ editorials will vary.
The 1980s was a period of increased wealth for many, as areas of the economy improved and new technologies came to market. However, cuts in social programs left many Americans in need, leading to a new sense of activism.

**A Booming Economy**

*MAIN Idea* Innovation in the retailing and broadcast industries changed American society and generated new businesses and jobs.

By late 1983, the American economy had revived after the stagflation of the 1970s. Stock prices soared as many companies reported record profits. Stockbrokers, speculators, and real estate developers made multimillion-dollar deals, buying and selling hundreds of companies. Perhaps the most famous real estate developer of the era was Donald Trump, who opened Trump Tower in New York City in 1982. Many of the new moneymakers were young, ambitious, and hardworking. Journalists called them *yuppies* from "young urban professionals."

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

The strong economic growth of the 1980s mostly benefited middle- and upper-class Americans. As a result, the emphasis on acquiring wealth had another effect on society. From 1967 to 1986, the amount of money earned by the top 5 percent of Americans fluctuated between 15.6 and 17.5 percent of the nation’s total income. In the late 1980s, their share of the nation’s income began to rise. By the mid-1990s, the top 5 percent of Americans earned well over 21 percent of the nation’s income.

**A Retail Revolution**

In addition to the booming real-estate and stock markets, the economy of the 1980s witnessed a revolution in retail sales. Several entrepreneurs pioneered a new approach to retailing—or selling goods to
The American economy grew rapidly in the 1980s for several reasons—lower taxes spurred investment and spending while new methods of retailing lowered prices and new technology led to new businesses and the creation of many new jobs.

This new type of retailing, known as discount retailing, had actually begun to emerge in the 1960s—but it did not have a major impact on the economy until the 1980s. Discount retailers sell large quantities of goods at very low prices, trying to sell the goods quickly to turn over their entire inventory in a short period of time. By selling a lot of products at very low prices, they could make more money than traditional retailers who sold fewer products at higher prices. During the 1960s many new discount retail chains were founded, including K Mart, Woolco, Target, and Wal-Mart. Annual sales by discount stores grew from about $2 billion in the mid-1960s to almost $70 billion by 1985.

The most successful discount retailer was Sam Walton, the founder of Wal-Mart. Walton developed a system of distribution centers to rapidly re-supply his stores. He was one of the first retailers to use a computer database to track inventory and sales. By 1985, he was the richest person in the United States.

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

Analyzing VISUALS

1. Identifying In what year of the late 1980s did the Dow Jones sharply decline?

2. Explaining Examine the photos and then write a brief essay explaining how they demonstrate economic trends of the 1980s.

Discount retail stores (above) and cable television (right) took off in the 1980s, helping to further fuel economic growth.

Conducting an Opinion Poll

Step 3: Conducting the Poll Each student should arrange to interview at least one person who was of voting age in the 1980s. The student should then read each of the statements composed during Step 2 and ask the respondent if he or she agrees or disagrees with the statement.

Classifying Respondents should be given five options, ranked by number: (1) strongly disagree; (2) disagree; (3) neutral; (4) agree; or (5) strongly agree. Encourage students to ask follow up questions if respondents express a strong opinion on an issue. (Chapter Project continued on page 763)
Critical Thinking
Determining Cause and Effect Discuss with students the changes in television in the 1980s. Ask: In what areas of broadcasting or on what new audiences did the new networks focus? (CNN provided 24-hour news, BET focused on African Americans, MTV focused on youth.) What do you think are some effects that the new television networks may have had on consumerism and culture in the United States? (Students may note that new groups were represented more in popular culture with the new networks, but they were also exposed to advertising. CNN created a 24-hour news cycle, which may have led to a huge broadening in the definition of “news” as networks scrambled to fill air time.)

Reading Strategy
Summarizing Dr. Sally Ride became the first American woman to orbit Earth when she flew aboard the space shuttle Challenger. Ask: What are some innovations that occurred in the nation’s space program in the 1980s? (space shuttle, Hubble Space Telescope, experiments, women astronauts)

A Revolution in Media
In the 1980s other entrepreneurs began transforming the news and entertainment industries. Until the late 1970s television viewers were limited to three national networks, local stations, and the public television network. In 1970 a businessman named Ted Turner bought a failing television station in Atlanta, Georgia. Turner then pioneered a new type of broadcasting by creating WTBS in 1975. WTBS was the first “superstation”—a television station that sold low-cost sports and entertainment programs via satellite to cable companies throughout the nation.

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

Other new networks focused on specific audiences, such as churchgoers, shoppers, or minorities. In 1980 entrepreneur Robert Johnson created Black Entertainment Television (BET). Johnson—who had been born into a poor, rural family in Mississippi and gone on to earn a master’s degree from Princeton University—was convinced that television had tremendous power to promote African American businesses and culture. BET was the first, and is still the largest, African American-owned network on cable television.

In 1981 music and technology merged when Music Television (MTV) went on the air. MTV broadcast performances of songs and images, or music videos. MTV was an instant hit, though the videos it showed were often criticized for violence and sexual content. Many performers began to produce videos along with each of their new albums. Music videos boosted the careers of artists such as Madonna and Michael Jackson.

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

**Technology and Media** In the 1980s technology also transformed how people accessed their entertainment. Until the 1980s, most people listened to music on large stereo systems in their homes or relied on radio-station programming when they were driving. In the 1980s, the Sony Walkman made music portable. The Sony Walkman played cassette tapes, but it marked the beginning of a new way for people to access music. In the 1990s, portable compact disc (CD) players replaced the Walkman, and in the early 2000s digital audio players, such as the iPod and MP3 players, advanced the technology even further.

Video technology also began to change. Until the 1980s most people had to watch television shows when they aired. By the end of the 1980s, many people had videocassette recorders (VCRs), enabling them to tape television shows or watch taped films whenever they wished. By the 2000s, VCRs were being replaced by digital video disk (DVD) recorders. The growing use of VCRs changed the movie industry, as people increasingly chose to rent taped movies to watch at home rather than go to the theater.

Even as technology changed the music and television industries, it also brought about a new form of entertainment that competed with music and movies—the video game. Early video games grew out of military computer technology. The first video arcade game was a game called Pong, released in 1972. Home video games developed quickly. In the early 1980s sales reached about $3 billion with the sale of games such as Pac-Man and Space Invaders. Video arcades became the new spot for young people to meet. By the mid-1980s, home video games were able to compete with arcade games in graphics and speed. Video games have continued to grow in popularity to the present day and three major companies—Sony, Nintendo, and Microsoft—have emerged as the major developers of video games and game devices.

**Making Connections** What forms of entertainment gained popularity in the 1980s?
New Social Activism

MAIN Idea Social problems affected many people during the 1980s, and new groups formed to try to solve them.

HISTORY AND YOU Does your school have organizations such as Students Against Drunk Driving? Read on to learn more about attempts to limit teen alcohol abuse.

The 1980s was a decade of wealth and prosperity. At the same time, many social problems continued to plague the nation, such as drugs, poverty, homelessness, and disease.

Social Problems

Ongoing problems with drug abuse in the 1980s made many neighborhoods dangerous. Drug users often committed crimes to get money for drugs. Drug use also spread from cities to small towns and rural areas.

Fighting Drugs in Schools In an effort to reduce teen drug use, some schools began searching student bags and lockers for concealed drugs. In 1984 one teen who had been arrested for selling drugs challenged the school’s right to search her purse without a warrant. In 1985, the Supreme Court case New Jersey v. T.L.O. upheld the school’s right to search without a warrant if it had probable cause. Although students did have a right to privacy, they did not have the same Fourth Amendment rights as adults.

Similarly, the 1995 case of Vernonia School District v. Acton held that random drug tests do not violate students’ Fourth Amendment rights.

Efforts to Stop Drunk Driving Abuse of alcohol was also a serious concern. In 1980 Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) was founded to try to stop underage drinking and drunk driving in general. In 1984 Congress cut highway funds to any state that did not raise the legal drinking age to 21. Within four years, all states complied.

The AIDS Epidemic Begins In 1981 researchers identified a disease that caused healthy young people to become sick and die. They named it “acquired immune deficiency syndrome,” or AIDS. AIDS weakens the

Analyzing VISUALS

Answers:
1. high interest rates and low food prices
2. low crop prices

Activity: Interdisciplinary Connection

Civics Invite someone who works in a mental health facility, free clinic, or other social agency to make a presentation to the class about ways in which students can help address an ongoing social problem, such as drug abuse, AIDS, or drunk driving. Be sure to brief the speaker beforehand on any guidelines your school may have about sensitive subjects. Allow time for students to ask questions of the guest speaker. Conclude with a discussion on civic participation. Ask: What are some ways in which you can make a difference in your community?
immune system. HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, is spread through bodily fluids.

In the United States, AIDS was first noticed among homosexual men, but it soon spread among heterosexual men and women. Many people were infected by sexual partners. A few got the disease from blood transfusions. Other victims included drug users who shared needles. Between 1981 and 1988, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention identified more than 100,000 cases in the United States.

New Activist Groups

AIDS increased the visibility of the country’s gay and lesbian community, but some homosexuals had been engaged in efforts to defend their civil rights since the 1960s. On June 27, 1969, New York City police raided a nightclub called the Stonewall Inn. The police had often raided the nightclub because of the sexual orientation of its patrons. Frustration among the gay and lesbian onlookers led to a riot. The Stonewall Riot marked the beginning of the gay activist movement. Soon after, organizations such as the Gay Liberation Front began efforts to increase tolerance of homosexuality.

Rock ‘n’ Rollers Become Activists

Many musicians and entertainers in the 1980s began using their celebrity to raise awareness about social issues. To help starving people in Ethiopia, Irish rocker Bob Geldof organized musicians in England to present “Band Aid” concerts in 1984. In the next year, the event grew into “Live Aid.” People in some 100 countries watched benefit concerts televised from London, Philadelphia, and Sydney, Australia. The organization’s theme song, “We Are the World,” was a best-seller. In the same year, country singer Willie Nelson organized “Farm Aid” to help American farmers who were going through hard times. Musicians also publicized efforts to end the segregated apartheid system in South Africa. In the late 1980s, the United States and other nations were attempting to end apartheid in South Africa by imposing economic sanctions against the country.

Senior Citizens Begin to Lobby

Another group that became politically active in the 1980s was senior citizens. Decades of improvements in medicine had resulted in more Americans surviving to an older age. In addition, the birthrate had declined, so younger people represented a comparatively smaller proportion of the population. The fact that more Americans were receiving Social Security payments created budget pressures for the government.

Older Americans became very vocal in the political arena, opposing cuts in Social Security or Medicare. Because they tend to vote in large numbers, senior citizens are an influential interest group. Their major lobbying organization is the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), founded in 1958.

Vocabulary

1. Explain the significance of: yuppie, discount retailing, Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD), AIDS, Stonewall Riot, American Association of Retired Persons (AARP).

Main Ideas

2. Summarizing How did retailing change in the 1980s?

3. Listing What are three social problems that gained focus in the 1980s?

Critical Thinking

4. Big Ideas What new innovations occurred in the consumer electronics industry in the 1980s?

5. Organizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the changes in entertainment in the 1980s.

6. Analyzing Visuals Study the graph of the stock market rise on page 755. How is this graph indicative of what you have read about in this section?

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

Answers

1. All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.
2. Some companies began to grow in the area of discount retailing.
3. drug abuse, alcohol abuse, AIDS
4. the Sony Walkman, VCRs, video games
5. Innovations include rap music; listening to music on tiny portable cassette players; watching movie and music videos and cable or satellite TV; and playing video games.
6. It indicates a booming economy.
7. Students’ letters will vary but should use standard grammar, use correct letter format, and be persuasive.
**Focus**

Ask students to define basic terms such as urban, rural, and suburban. Explain the meaning of “exurbs.” Have students identify the type of community in which they live.

**Teach**

**Reading Skill**

**Determining Importance**

Ask: What are the possible advantages in several of the high growth areas that have made people and industry move there? (Students might suggest climate, large labor pool, and infrastructure already in place.)

**Critical Thinking**

**Analyze Information** Have students work in teams to create surveys about local community development. Tell students to devise 10 questions that can be answered with a range of responses. (One example could be: Do you favor increased mass transit options? Sample responses might be Strongly Favor, Favor, Neutral, Oppose, and Strongly Oppose.)

**Analyzing GEOGRAPHY**

1. **Movement** Which regions experienced the most growth after 1993?

2. **Human-Environment Interaction** How does the urban geography of American cities shape voting patterns and preferences?

**Collaborative Learning**

**Create an Urban Plan** Divide the class into small groups. Challenge each group to imagine that they are a firm of urban planners specializing in “smart growth” and “green building.” Have them use the Internet or library resources to find out more about these concepts. Then have them outline a plan with rough sketches for the new community they have designed. Remind them to take climate into account; a development planned for the Sunbelt states will look different than one in northern states.
Atlanta, Georgia was one of the fastest growing cities in the early 1990s. The expansion of Atlanta’s suburbs into surrounding counties since 1993 is shown in red and yellow.

Like many Sunbelt cities, Austin, Texas, experienced rapid growth in the 1980s and 1990s—much of it fueled by the influx of new high-tech companies. Austin’s population was about 465,000 in 1990. By 2007, it had reached 690,000.

**Assess/Close**

**Activity: Top Ten Cities** Ask students to use an almanac or other reference source to find the top ten most populous cities in the United States. Have them locate those places on the map. Do they observe any changes or new patterns emerging?

**Analyzing GEOGRAPHY**

**Answers:**
1. the south and west
2. Urban voters tend to vote Democratic, while suburban and exurban voters tend to vote Republican. This may reflect the tendency of urban dwellers to rely on and be willing to support government services, while suburban and exurban dwellers tend to distrust government and prefer independence.

**Technology Connection**

**Urban Planning in China** Have students working in pairs use the Internet to find reputable sources on the problems of growing industrial cities in China. Ask students to read and summarize at least three articles suggesting ways that China can continue to modernize and still follow the Kyoto Protocols.
In the late 1980s, the United States faced a series of international crises. The Cold War came to an end in Europe, but events in the Middle East soon led the United States into its first major war since Vietnam.

The Soviet Union Collapses

MAIN Idea The Soviet Union's attempts at reforming its social and economic systems failed, leading to the collapse of the Communist Eastern bloc.

HISTORY AND YOU What can you recall about the division of Europe after World War II? Read on to learn about the massive changes that took place in Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s.

When Ronald Reagan left office, few Americans were thinking about foreign policy. Many generally wanted a continuation of Reagan's domestic policies—low taxes and less government action. When Republicans nominated George H.W. Bush for president in 1988, he reassured Americans he would continue Reagan's policies by making a promise: "Read my lips: No new taxes."

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

The Democrats nominated Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis. The Bush campaign portrayed him as too liberal and "soft on crime." The Democrats questioned Bush's leadership abilities, but Bush had Reagan's endorsement and, with the economy still doing well, most Americans felt that Bush was the more able candidate. Bush easily defeated Dukakis in the general election, although Democrats kept control of Congress.

Revolution in Eastern Europe

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

The other principle of Gorbachev’s plan was glasnost, or “openness.” It allowed more freedom of religion and speech, enabling people to discuss politics openly. With Gorbachev’s support, glasnost spread to Eastern Europe. In 1989 revolutions replaced Communist rulers with democratic governments in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. The tide of revolution then swept over East Germany, and at midnight on November 9, 1989, guards at the Berlin Wall opened the gates. Within days, bulldozers leveled the hated symbol of Communist repression. Within a year, East and West Germany had reunited to form one nation—the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Soviet Union Collapses

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

Conducting an Opinion Poll

Step 4: Analyzing the Findings Have students return to their groups and compare their poll results.

Identifying Points of View Ask students to calculate the average response to each of their statements and then write a brief paragraph for each in which they attempt to interpret their findings. (Chapter Project continued on Visual Summary page)
Reading Strategy

Reading Primary Sources

Ask students where U.S. forces launched attacks before they attacked the invading Iraqis in Kuwait. (Iraq)

Answers:
1. Coalition forces most likely chose to launch their invasion from Saudi Arabia because Saudi Arabia, unlike Iran, was an ally, needed some protection anyway, and shared a border with Kuwait, unlike Syria and Turkey.
2. Saudi Arabia and Israel

Answer:

It was intended to save the Soviet economy by allowing some private enterprise and profit-making.

A “New World Order”

MAIN IDEA
Bush used his foreign policy expertise to deal with crises in China, Panama, and the Persian Gulf.

HISTORY AND YOU
Do you remember learning about student protests in the 1960s? Read on to learn about a student protest in China.

After the Cold War, the world became increasingly unpredictable. President Bush noted that a “new world order” was emerging. This new world order introduced new military challenges around the globe. For example, U.S. troops led Operation Restore Hope, providing humanitarian assistance and famine relief to refugees in Somalia, which had collapsed when the Cold War motivations were removed. Several other crises requiring military action emerged in China, Panama, and the Middle East.

Additional Support

Extending the Content

Strait of Hormuz

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

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

Shocked, the United States and several European countries halted arms sales and reduced their diplomatic contacts with China. The World Bank suspended loans. President Bush resisted harsher sanctions, believing that trade and diplomacy would eventually moderate China’s behavior.

**Panama**

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

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

**The Persian Gulf War**

President Bush faced perhaps his most serious crisis in the Middle East. In August 1990 Iraq’s dictator, Saddam Hussein, sent his army to invade oil-rich Kuwait. American officials feared that the invasion might be only the first step and that Iraq’s ultimate goal was to capture Saudi Arabia and its vast oil reserves. American troops rushed to the Middle East and took up positions in Saudi Arabia in response.

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

On October 31, 1990, General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, and other high-ranking officials met with President Bush. It was clear that Iraq would not obey the UN deadline. Powell presented the plan for attacking Iraq. Several advisers gasped at the numbers, which called for over 500,000 American troops. “Mr. President,” Powell began, “I wish . . . that I could assure you that air power alone could do it but you can’t take that chance. We’ve gotta take the initiative out of the enemy’s hands if we’re going to go to war.” Cheney later recalled that Bush “never hesitated.” He looked up from the plans and said simply, “Do it.”

On January 16, 1991, the coalition forces launched Operation Desert Storm. Dozens of cruise missiles and thousands of laser-guided bombs fell on Iraq, destroying its air defenses, bridges, artillery, and other military targets. After about six weeks of bombardment, the coalition launched a massive ground attack. Waves of tanks and troop carriers smashed through Iraqi lines and encircled the Iraqi forces defending Kuwait.

The attack killed thousands of Iraqi soldiers, and hundreds of thousands more surrendered. Fewer than 300 coalition troops were killed. Just 100 hours after the ground war began, President Bush declared Kuwait to be liberated. Iraq accepted the coalition’s cease-fire terms, and American troops returned home to cheering crowds.

**Comparing Invasions** In the debate over whether to use force against Saddam Hussein, some who favored military action used the example of Hitler to justify their stance. Those who opposed action used the example of Vietnam. Have students work in pairs. One partner is to review the chapters about World War II; the other, the chapter about the Vietnam war. Ask them to share their information and decide whether each of these historical examples applied to the situation in Kuwait. Then ask students to consider the war that began with Iraq in 2003. Ask: Which example best fits that war? (Students’ answers will vary but should be supported with facts.)
Domestic Challenges

**MAIN Idea**  To reduce the deficit, President Bush raised taxes, an unpopular decision that helped Bill Clinton win the election.

**HISTORY AND YOU**  How are your school and community designed to provide access for people who use wheelchairs? Read on to find out more about the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.

President Bush spent much of his time dealing with foreign policy, but he could not ignore domestic issues. He inherited a growing deficit and a slowing economy. With the Persian Gulf crisis, the economy plunged into a recession and unemployment rose.

The Economy Slows

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

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

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

As the economy slowed, hundreds of savings-and-loan institutions collapsed. After President Reagan had allowed them to be deregulated, many had made risky or even dishonest investments. When these investments failed, depositors collected on federal programs to insure deposits. The cost to the public may have reached $500 billion.

**Gridlock in Government**

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

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

**The 1992 Election**

Although the recession had weakened his popularity, Bush won the Republican nomination. Bush promised to address voters’ economic concerns and he blamed congressional Democrats for the gridlock that seemingly paralyzed the nation’s government.

The Democrats nominated Arkansas governor William Jefferson Clinton, despite stories that questioned his character and the fact that he did not serve in Vietnam. Calling himself a “New Democrat” to separate himself from more liberal Democrats, Clinton promised to cut middle-class taxes, reduce government spending, and reform the nation’s health care and welfare programs. His campaign repeatedly blamed Bush for the recession.

Some Americans were not happy with either Bush or Clinton. This enabled an independent candidate, billionaire Texas businessman H. Ross Perot, grassroots movement—groups of people organizing at the local level—to put Perot on the ballot in all 50 states. Bill Clinton won the election with 43 percent of the popular vote and 370 electoral votes. The Democrats also retained control of Congress. Bush won 37 percent of the popular vote, while Perot received 19 percent—the best showing for a third-party candidate since 1912—but no electoral votes.

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

**Vocabulary**

1. Explain the significance of: perestroika, glasnost, Boris Yeltsin, Tiananmen Square, Saddam Hussein, downsizing, capital gains tax, H. Ross Perot, grassroots movement.

**Main Ideas**

2. Explaining How did perestroika and glasnost create conditions that led to the fall of the Soviet Union?

3. Describing What actions did the United States take in Panama in 1989?

4. Determining Cause and Effect How did the huge deficits from the Reagan years lead to economic problems under George Bush?

**Critical Thinking**

5. Big Ideas How did the economy affect the 1992 election?

6. Organizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the causes of the recession of the early 1990s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Budget Problems</th>
<th>Economic Problems</th>
<th>Foreign Developments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

7. Analyzing Visuals Examine the map on page 764. Which nations have significant oil resources?

**Writing About History**

8. Descriptive Writing Suppose that you are traveling in West Germany in 1989 when the Berlin Wall is being torn down. Write a letter to a friend at home to describe the event and how you think it will affect the United States.

**Assess**

**History ONLINE**

Study Central™ provides summaries, interactive games, and online graphic organizers to help students review content.

Answer: The economy was failing, and Bush broke his promise not to raise or introduce new taxes.

**Close**

**Summarizing** Ask: How did Clinton gain support in the 1992 election? (He set himself apart from other Democrats by calling himself a “new Democrat.” He also promised to cut taxes and spending.)

**Answers**

1. All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.

2. They created a more open economy and society; people were allowed to discuss politics and to protest, and this led to the overthrow of several Communist regimes in the eastern bloc and, eventually, to the fall of the Soviet Union.

3. U.S. troops invaded Panama, arrested its dictator, Manuel Noriega, and then helped the people hold elections and establish a democratic government.

4. The huge deficit forced the government to borrow money to pay for its programs. This borrowing kept money from being available to businesses. The government also had to pay interest, money that might otherwise have been used to fund programs or boost the economy.

5. The recession hurt Bush’s efforts to win reelection.

6. Budget Problems: tax increase; Economic Problems: recession, high consumer debt, federal deficit; Foreign Developments: fall of the Soviet Union, Persian Gulf War

7. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, and Syria

8. Students’ letters will vary but should be descriptive and use standard grammar and punctuation.
Chapter 22 • Visual Summary

Activity: Collaborative Learning

**Government Priorities** As described in this chapter, conservatives and liberals believe in different types of spending, government control, and freedom from government. Have students work in groups. Ask them to discuss what spending, controls, and freedoms are most important.

**Ask:** Is it more important for citizens to have personal freedoms or for business to have freedom from control? Should military spending be more or less important than programs that aid citizens personally? Have students make a three-column chart headed “Spending,” “Controls,” and “Freedoms” and then rank their items in order of priority. Have a member from each group report the results, including disagreements among group members, to the class.

**Narrative Writing** Have interested students create a narrative history of U.S. involvement in China, the Middle East, or Latin America during Reagan’s and George H. W. Bush’s presidencies.

**Hands-On Chapter Project**

**Step 5: Wrap Up**

**Conducting an Opinion Poll**

**Step 5: Wrap Up** Have groups share their results with the rest of the class. Encourage students to discuss why President Reagan scored higher on some students’ polls than others.

**Putting It Together** Have students evaluate the project by answering the following questions:

- What was the most difficult part of the project? Why?
- What was the best part of the project? Why?
- What was the most important thing I learned by completing this project?

Ask students to record their responses in their journal.

---

**Causes of the New Conservatism**

- The Cold War promotes strong foreign policy and an emphasis on minimal government interference in economics.
- Cold War fears of communism encourage many religious Americans to turn to conservative ideas.
- Many Americans are disturbed by the protests, demonstrations, and violence of the 1960s.
- The population growth in the Sunbelt increases support for conservative politicians.
- The rise of an evangelical movement willing to use politics to change society and defend its values helps mobilize conservative voters.
- Frustration with rising taxes and government regulation, especially in the South and West, turns many voters to conservative ideas.
- Both Western conservatives and Southern conservatives come to see the Republican Party as the more conservative party.

**The Reagan Administration**

- Reagan promotes supply-side economics and pushes large tax cuts through Congress.
- Many industries are deregulated, helping spur a boom in the oil, transportation, and communications industries.
- A political debate over cutting government programs rather than expanding them shapes the domestic politics of the era.
- Reagan’s administration takes a strong anti-Communist stance in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East, providing aid to groups that resist communism.
- The nation begins a sustained military buildup to put pressure on the Soviet economy; in addition the United States begins work on anti-missile “Star Wars” technology.
- The failure to cut domestic programs, combined with increased military spending, drives the growing budget deficit to record levels.
- Energy prices fall, the economy grows rapidly, and stock market values soar.
- The farm debt crisis and deregulation of the banks leads to the collapse of many family farms, and many savings and loan institutions.
- Under great economic stress, the Soviet Union introduces perestroika and glasnost; communism falls across Eastern Europe in 1989, and then the Soviet Union collapses in 1991.
Reviewing Vocabulary
Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

1. Political views held by ________ include the belief that the government should regulate the economy to protect people from the power of large corporations.
   A economists
   B liberals
   C conservatives
   D televangelists

2. Reagan based his policies on ________, a philosophy that advocates tax cuts to improve the economy.
   A monetarist economics
   B supply-and-demand economics
   C microeconomics
   D supply-side economics

3. A new business model known as ________ had a major impact on the economy starting in the 1980s.
   A superstations
   B wholesale retailing
   C discount retailing
   D direct mail

4. One part of Mikhail Gorbachev’s plan to improve conditions in the Soviet Union was to allow ________, or increased freedom in speech, religion, and political discussion.
   A glasnost
   B perestroika
   C contra
   D rights of assembly

5. To combat the recession of the late 1980s, and searching for greater efficiency, many corporations began laying off employees, a process called
   A downsizing.
   B mass firing.
   C horizontal integration.
   D vertical integration.

6. Critics of Reagan’s economic policy referred to it as “trickle-down economics” because they
   A believed that the plan would work, allowing wealth to “trickle down” to the middle and lower classes.
   B ridiculed the idea that much wealth would “trickle down” to the middle and lower classes.
   C believed that the plan was messy and would cause a great deal of wasteful government spending.
   D agreed that the richest people would share their wealth with the neediest in society.

7. D Review “Sunbelt Conservatism” and “Suburban Conservatism” on pages 743–744 with students. The groups/areas listed in A and B in general tend to be liberals. C does not make sense because it includes “Democrats.”

8. B Critics believed Reagan’s policies would help the wealthy, but that it would not help, or trickle-down to, the middle and lower classes. The question asks about critics’ opinions, so A and D are incorrect, because they are supportive of the plan, not critical.

Reviewing Main Ideas
Directions: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

Section 1 (pp. 740–745)
6. One main difference between liberals and conservatives is that, generally,
   A conservatives believe in government regulation of the economy, while liberals do not.
   B liberals believe in government regulation of the economy, while conservatives do not.
   C conservatives believe that all power should be held by the national government, while liberals do not.
   D liberals believe that all power should be held by the states, while conservatives do not.

Section 2 (pp. 746–753)
8. Critics of Reagan’s economic policy referred to it as “trickle-down economics” because they
   A believed that the plan would work, allowing wealth to “trickle down” to the middle and lower classes.
   B ridiculed the idea that much wealth would “trickle down” to the middle and lower classes.
   C believed that the plan was messy and would cause a great deal of wasteful government spending.
   D agreed that the richest people would share their wealth with the neediest in society.

Answers and Analyses

Chapter 22 • Assessment

1. B Review the general differences between liberals and conservatives with students, who will most likely have trouble choosing between B and C. Economists are people who study economics. They can be liberal or conservative. Teleevangelists are preachers on television.

2. D Reaganomics was based on supply-side economics. Basically, the theory says that lower taxes lead to more money being spent (including investments), thereby stimulating the economy and leading to economic growth. Basically, supply-side economics seeks to increase the supply of capital. Greater money supply = greater investment.

3. C Discount retailing offered goods at a discount. Discount retailers are prevalent today. Ask students to discuss how they think shopping was different in the years before discount retailing.

4. A Glasnost means “openness.” A way for students to remember its meaning is to think of glass, which is clear, and relate it to openness. Perestroika dealt with restructuring the economy. To remember this, students should think of the “rest” in Perestroika to “restructuring.”

5. A Downsizing was a popular way to combat rising business costs during this era and was the focus of much media coverage. Downsizing was replaced by outsourcing in the later 1990s.

6. B Review the sections on liberals and conservatives. Generally, conservatives support a more hands-off government with a laissez-faire approach to economics.
9. C The key word in SDI is defense. Only C includes an action that is a directly defensive maneuver.

10. B VCRs revolutionized the way people watched TV and movies at home. The DVD and the PDA were not available in the 1980s. The digital watch was invented in the 1970s.

11. C Nancy Reagan’s “Just Say No” campaign sums up a major focus of 1980s activism. As first lady for most of the decade, Nancy Reagan was able to keep the program in the forefront of public focus. She believed that eliminating drug abuse would lead to a reduction in crime.

12. B Boris Yeltsin was the president of Russia at the time of the coup. He was instrumental in dismantling it. The Berlin Wall had come down in 1989. D is irrelevant.

13. B The events in Tiananmen Square sparked protest in the U.S. and other nations, so students can reason that the actions of those nations expressed displeasure with China. Therefore, A can be eliminated. Making plans to express their concerns at a meeting would not be harsh enough. The U.S. did not send troops into China.

Critical Thinking
14. A The religious right is conservative in morals and values. Their concern for morals and values led them to join the conservative movement. Liberals generally favor increased social-welfare programs, not conservatives. The religious right was more concerned with the domestic agenda rather than with foreign relations. D would not make sense.

15. A Choices C and D can be immediately eliminated. Baby boomers spent money and sought out success, they did not reject it. Baby boomers are now affecting the economy because they are becoming eligible for Social Security, but were too young then for this to be a concern.

16. C The bottom line on the graph represents defense spending.
17. A The beginning of the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe is most closely associated with the
   A fall of the Berlin Wall.
   B admission of Warsaw Pact nations to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).
   C intervention of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Yugoslavia.
   D formation of the European Union.

18. B In the cartoon, Marx, Lenin, and Stalin can be seen peering down with looks of disapproval. They did not believe in private enterprise, so perestroika would not please them.

19. Reagan believed his greatest accomplishments were economic recovery and the recovery of American morale and international respect.

20. Reagan felt his administration preserved peace by becoming strong by rebuilding defenses.

Extended Response
21. Essays must demonstrate a strong understanding of the events that led to the end of the Cold War. Events should be presented with an understanding of their chronological order, and opinions on why the Cold War ended when it did should be supported with well-reasoned arguments.