CHAPTER 32
Conservatism Revived, 1980–1992

LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After you have studied Chapter 32 in your textbook and worked through this study guide chapter, you should be able to:

1. Examine the emergence, characteristics, goals, and accomplishments of the new conservative coalition, and discuss the impact of this coalition on the election of 1980.
2. Discuss Ronald Reagan’s personal and political background, and explain his political, social, and economic views.
3. Examine the issues and personalities and explain the outcome of the 1980 presidential election.
4. Examine Ronald Reagan’s economic policies in relation to federal spending, federal income taxes, organized labor, and federal environmental, health, and safety regulations; explain Congress’s reaction to these policies; and assess the impact of these policies on the United States.
5. Discuss the causes and consequences of the 1981–1983 economic recession.
6. Examine the issues and personalities and explain the outcome of the 1984 presidential election.
7. Examine the reasons for, the extent of, and the effects of poverty in America during the 1980s, and discuss the characteristics of the poor.
8. Discuss the expansion of the policy of deregulation during the Reagan administration, and explain the consequences of this expansion.
9. Examine, evaluate, and discuss the consequences of the defense and foreign policy views, goals, and actions of the Reagan administration.
10. Discuss the activities that constituted the Iran-contra scandal, and explain the scandal’s impact on the presidency of Ronald Reagan.
11. Examine the forces that caused increased polarization within American society during the 1980s.
12. Discuss the emergence of the religious right as a force in American society and American politics; explain the characteristics and goals of this group; and examine the “culture wars” between the religious right and its opponents.
13. Discuss the problems that nonwhites, immigrants, and women faced in American society during the 1970s and 1980s; explain their approaches to those problems; and discuss the extent to which they were successful in achieving their goals.
14. Discuss the drug epidemic and the AIDS epidemic; explain their impact on the American people and American society; and assess the government’s response to the threats posed by these epidemics.
15. Examine the issues and personalities and explain the outcome of the 1988 presidential election.
16. Discuss George Bush’s personal and political background; examine the domestic issues and political problems that faced the Bush administration; and explain and evaluate the administration’s actions concerning those issues and problems.

17. Examine, evaluate, and discuss the consequences of the defense and foreign policy views, goals, and actions of the George H. W. Bush administration.

18. Discuss the multiplicity of factors that led to the collapse of the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the reunification of Germany.

19. Explain the reasons for the end of the Cold War, and discuss the war’s legacy for the United States, the former Soviet Union, and the world community of nations.

20. Discuss the causes and consequences of the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

21. Discuss the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court; explain the issues addressed by the Senate Judiciary Committee in its confirmation hearings; and discuss the reaction of the American people to those hearings.

THEMATIC GUIDE

As the American people became more and more deeply troubled and frightened by political, social, and economic changes and forces over which they and their government seemed to have little control, they became more distrustful both of government and of those groups that continued to advocate change within society. This conservative mood was buttressed by the uniting of political and economic conservatives of the “old right” with supporters of the tax-revolt movement and with evangelical Christians of the “new right.” The channeling of these forces into a new conservative coalition, plus a distrust of government born of a generation of chaos produced America’s “turn to the right” in 1980 and led to Ronald Reagan’s victory in the presidential election of that year.

With widespread support from the American people, President Ronald Reagan, the standard-bearer of a new conservative coalition and a strong advocate of supply-side economic theory, persuaded Congress to enact three major aspects of his conservative agenda: (1) deep spending cuts in social and health programs; (2) a five-year, $750 billion tax cut that primarily benefited the wealthy; and (3) a dramatic increase in defense spending. In addition, out of the belief that government regulations reduced business profits and slowed economic growth, the Reagan administration launched an attack against federal environmental, health, and safety regulations. Although the stated intent of “Reaganomics” was the reduction of the federal debt, the federal deficit increased dramatically during the Reagan-Bush years and made the United States the world’s largest debtor nation.

Although inflation and interest rates declined during Reagan’s first two years in office, these successes resulted from the Federal Reserve Board’s policies, a decline in oil prices, which had a ripple effect throughout the economy, and a massive recession lasting from mid-1981 to late 1983. The recession affected both industrial and agricultural workers; and, in spite of an economic recovery that began in 1984, poverty increased to pre-Great Society levels and the gap widened between rich and poor. However, improved economic conditions worked to Reagan’s advantage in the 1984 presidential election. Using improved slogans and themes that depicted a renewed, prosperous, and strengthened America, Reagan won a landslide victory over Walter Mondale, his Democratic opponent.

Deregulation, begun during the Carter administration, expanded under President Reagan. With less government oversight of the nation’s Savings and Loans institutions, high-risk investments became the order of the day, setting the stage for the industry’s collapse. High-risk investments in the “junk-bond” industry were a factor in the merger mania of the decade, characterized by corporate downsizing, debt-burdened corporations, and the further consolidation of sectors of the economy.
After examining the social and economic policies of the Reagan years, the authors, in “Reagan and the World,” turn to an examination of foreign policy. Ronald Reagan’s election in 1980 marked a return to foreign-policy themes rooted in America’s past and reminiscent of the early days of the Cold War. As defense spending increased, the questioning of U.S. intervention in Third World nations, so apparent in the immediate aftermath of the Vietnam disaster, was absent in the Reagan administration. Reagan, simplistically blaming unrest in the world on the Soviets, issued the Reagan Doctrine in which he pledged the support of the American government to anticommunist movements battling the Soviets or Soviet-backed governments. Application of the doctrine in Afghanistan turned the tide against Soviet forces. However, application of the Reagan Doctrine in the Caribbean and Central America led to alliances with antirevolutionary but unrepresentative regimes in El Salvador and Nicaragua. In fact, Reagan’s policies toward El Salvador and Nicaragua recall phrases used to describe American policy in previous eras; and Reagan’s desire for victory rather than negotiation brings to mind the early years of the Kennedy administration. However, since the Kennedy years the American people had been through the traumas of Vietnam and Watergate, and the power of Congress, relative to that of the president, had increased. Therefore, Congress in the mid-1980s was much more willing to play an active role in foreign policy decisions than it had been in the 1960s. But Congress, reflecting the debate among the American people over the nation’s policy toward Nicaragua, vacillated between ending aid to the contras in mid-1984 and again extending aid in 1986. During the period when aid was prohibited, the executive branch of the government, through the National Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency, acted to circumvent the will of Congress. These actions came to light in 1986 in the Iran-contra scandal, a scandal that deeply wounded Ronald Reagan’s ability to lead during his last two years in office.

From this discussion of the Iran-contra scandal, the authors turn their attention to continuing problems in the Middle East, the problem of terrorism against United States citizens and property, America’s ill-fated 1983 mission in Lebanon, and to a discussion of Congress’s ability to force the Reagan administration to alter its policy of “constructive engagement” toward South Africa.

In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev entered the world stage as the new leader of the Soviet Union. Perhaps President Reagan was right when he said that he was “dropped into a grand historical moment,” because under Gorbachev’s leadership the Soviet Union undertook an ambitious domestic reform program and Soviet foreign policy underwent significant changes. These dramatic changes helped reduce international tensions and, in 1987, led to a Soviet-American agreement to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

As tensions between the world’s two superpowers subsided, the tensions within American society continued. The crises of the 1960s and 1970s and the social and cultural changes resulting from those crises were factors that led to the resurgence of fundamentalist Christianity during the 1980s. Exemplified in the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition, the “new right” began a multi-front assault against the secular culture of the American majority. Those opposed to this assault found expression in People for the American Way and warned that the “new right” preached a doctrine of intolerance and threatened basic American freedoms. Thus began the “culture wars” of the 1980s.

The increase in poverty that accompanied the stagnant economy of the 1970s and the recession of the early 1980s occurred most often among nonwhites, children, and female heads of households. While racism continued to play a role in the disproportionate number of nonwhites mired in poverty, the reality of the changing job structure meant that occupational opportunities, especially for unskilled workers, were severely limited. As the gap widened between rich and poor, the crack epidemic, the AIDS epidemic, an increase in violent crime, and urban despair led to even more polarization and tension within pluralistic America. In addition, as waves of new Latin American and Asian immigrants crowded into inner-city ethnic neighborhoods and sought economic opportunities, anti-immigrant sentiment and nativist violence increased.
In 1988 George Herbert Walker Bush rode into the presidency on the back of peace and prosperity. During his first year as president, relations between the United States and the People’s Republic of China cooled as a result of the Tiananmen Square massacre. Although repression was the order of the day in China, that was not true elsewhere. Not only did the democratization of South Africa transform that society, but the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, the reunification of Germany, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and Mikhail Gorbachev’s fall from power signaled the end of the Cold War. After examining the factors responsible for this remarkable event and a look at the costs of the fifty-year contest, the authors turn to a discussion of the Bush administration’s attempts to fashion a foreign policy applicable to the post-Cold War world.

Despite the end of the Cold War and an end to civil strife in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala, United States relations with the Third World remained turbulent, as can be seen in the discussion of the U.S. invasion of Panama and the Persian Gulf War. A theme that runs through the discussion of the economic and political problems of the Third World is the contribution of the United States to problems that led to turmoil. From the U.S.-financed contra war in Nicaragua to the extension of U.S. aid to the drug-trafficking dictator of Panama, Manuel Noriega, to assistance to Iraq in its war against Iran, the story is much the same. Often in the name of “containment” of Communism and always in the name of national security, United States military aid often engendered the very instability the United States sought to prevent.

Nowhere was this clearer than in Panama and Iraq, two areas in which the United States ultimately used military force to deal with the excesses of dictators it had previously supported. Although Manuel Noriega was removed from power in Panama, the United States had few resources to help rebuild the devastated country. And although Iraq was decisively and humiliatingly defeated in the Persian Gulf War, its dictator Saddam Hussein remained in power and continued to repress the peoples of his war-ravaged nation.

Even though President Bush presented himself as the heir of his conservative predecessor, Ronald Reagan, in deed and action he seemed indecisive and out of touch. Although he most certainly wanted to be president, he seldom seemed to know what he wanted to achieve as president. Therefore, rather than leading in a decisive and positive direction, he engaged in crisis management as he attempted to maintain the status quo. Wanting an unchanging America over which he could be caretaker, President Bush instead inherited an America in which economic and social problems abounded. Although the American people had been told, and many believed, that government was the problem, a significant number still expected government to respond with meaningful solutions to the real national problems that existed. In this America George Bush’s aversion to active government made him seem out of place and out of step.

After the Persian Gulf War, the U.S. economy, already stagnant, drifted into recession. Despite rising unemployment, President Bush remained passive. His ineffectual response to the recession caused Bush’s approval rating to fall. As criticism of the administration mounted, the Clarence Thomas–Anita Hill confrontation galvanized many Americans, especially women, and increased opposition to the Republican party as the country entered the election year of 1992.

BUILDING VOCABULARY

Listed below are important words and terms that you need to know to get the most out of Chapter 32. They are listed in the order in which they occur in the chapter. After carefully looking through the list, (1) underline the words with which you are totally unfamiliar, (2) put a question mark by those words of which you are unsure, and (3) leave the rest alone.

As you begin to read the chapter, when you come to any of the words you’ve put question marks beside or underlined (1) slow your reading; (2) focus on the word and on its context in the sentence you’re
reading; (3) if you can understand the meaning of the word from its context in the sentence or passage in which it is used, go on with your reading; (4) if it’s a word that you’ve underlined or a word that you can’t understand from its context in the sentence or passage, look it up in a dictionary and write down the definition that best applies to the context in which the word is used.

**Definitions**

- **Ostentation**
- **Poignant**
- **Amicable**
- **Catapult**
- **Miniscule**
- **Malevolent**
- **Dissident**
- **Clandestine**
- **Divest**
- **Pendant**
- **Condescension**
- **Resonate**
- **Gentrify**
- **Polarize**
- **Sojourner**
- **Amnesty**
- **Scion**
- **Ascension**
- **Myriad**

**Difficult-to-Spell Names and Terms from Reading and Lecture**
IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

After studying Chapter 32 of *A People and a Nation*, you should be able to identify fully and explain the historical significance of each item listed below.

- Identify each item in the space provided. Give an explanation or description of the item. Answer the questions *who, what, where, and when*.

- Explain the historical significance of each item in the space provided. Establish the historical context in which the item exists. Establish the item as the result of or as the cause of other factors existing in the society under study. Answer this question: *What were the political, social, economic, and/or cultural consequences of this item?*

1. Ronald Reagan
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

2. the new conservative coalition of 1980
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

3. Reagan Democrats
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

4. Reagan’s policies toward regulatory agencies
   a. Identification
   b. Significance
5. James Watt
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

6. organized labor in the 1980s
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

7. the New Right
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

8. Sandra Day O’Connor
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

9. *Bowers v. Hardwick*
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
10. *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

11. Reaganomics
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

12. supply-side economics
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

13. the 1981 tax cuts
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

14. David Stockman
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
15. the recession of the early 1980s
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

16. Walter Mondale
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

17. Geraldine Ferraro
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

18. the 1984 presidential election
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

19. deregulation
   a. Identification
   b. Significance
20. the junk bond industry
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

21. insider trading scandals of the late 1980s
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

22. the 1981 tax cuts
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

23. the Reagan defense buildup
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

24. the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
   a. Identification
   b. Significance
25. the Reagan Doctrine
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

26. Grenada and El Salvador
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

27. the contra war in Nicaragua
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

28. the Lebanese crisis of 1982–1983
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

29. intifadah
   a. Identification
   b. Significance
30. the policy of constructive engagement
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

31. Mikhail S. Gorbachev
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

32. perestroika and glasnost
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

33. the 1987 INF treaty
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

34. the religious right
   a. Identification
   b. Significance
35. the Moral Majority  
   a. Identification  
   b. Significance

36. People for the American Way  
   a. Identification  
   b. Significance

37. the culture wars  
   a. Identification  
   b. Significance

38. poverty in the 1980s  
   a. Identification  
   b. Significance

39. the “crack” epidemic  
   a. Identification  
   b. Significance
40. homelessness in the 1980s
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

41. the AIDS epidemic
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

42. the Year of the Yuppie
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

43. the “new immigrants” of the 1970s and 1980s
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

44. growth of the Latino population in the 1970s and 1980s
   a. Identification
   b. Significance
45. the national “sanctuary movement”
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

46. anti-immigrant sentiment of the 1980s
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

47. the Immigration Reform and Control (Simpson-Rodino) Act
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

48. George Herbert Walker Bush
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

49. the 1988 presidential election
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
50. the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

51. the Tiananmen Square Massacre
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

52. F. W. DeKlerk and Nelson Mandela
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

53. the disintegration of the Soviet Union
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

54. General Manuel Antonio Noriega
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
55. Saddam Hussein
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance

56. Operation Desert Storm
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance

57. Security Council resolutions 687 and 688
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance

58. the Americans with Disabilities Act
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance

59. the Clean Air Act
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance
60. recession of 1991
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

61. Clarence Thomas
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

62. Anita Hill
   a. Identification
   b. Significance
### Key Factors in an Evaluation of Presidents Reagan and Bush (George HW)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character of Election (campaign styles, closeness, etc.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bush (George H.W.) (1989–1993)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actions Reflecting President’s Own Position in His Party (left, center, right)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President’s Political Philosophy and Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognition and Response to Terrorists and Terrorism (Foreign and Domestic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nations to Which President Applies Negative Labels (“rogue,” “evil,” etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislation and Congressional Resolutions Promoted by President and Passed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response to Division of Party Power in Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Factors in an Evaluation of Presidents Reagan and Bush (George HW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Reagan (two terms)**  
| (1989–1993) | **Outcome or Conclusion** |
| Major Features of Economy During Time in Office |  |
| Administration’s View of Causes and Solutions to Current (and Future) Economic Problems |  |
| Administration’s Position on Taxes, Spending, and Deficits (current and future) |  |
| Efforts Made To Protect or Improve Domestic Economy |  |
| Relations with Big Business, Labor |  |
| Handling of Environmental Issues and Concerns |  |
| Relations with Other Nations, International Community |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| Military and Diplomatic Intervention Abroad (willingness, instances) |  |  |  |
| Actions Concerning International Agreements |  |  |  |
| Personal Scandals Threatening Effectiveness |  |  |  |
| Other Scandals, Events, or Conditions Threatening Effectiveness |  |  |  |
| Supreme Court (appointments, rulings) |  |  |  |
IDEAS AND DETAILS

Objective 1
1. The political coalition forged by Ronald Reagan in his 1980 bid for the presidency consisted of
   a. evangelical Christians as well as traditional political and economic conservatives.
   b. advocates of Keynesian economics as well as environmentalists.
   c. traditional political conservatives as well as women’s rights advocates.
   d. advocates of supply-side economics as well as abortion rights advocates.

Objective 4
2. President Reagan’s appointees to the National Labor Relations Board
   a. actively encouraged companies to declare bankruptcy as a way of canceling union contracts.
   b. questioned the right of union members to strike.
   c. consistently voted in favor of management.
   d. campaigned in favor of the closed shop.

Objectives 1 and 12
3. Which of the following was most likely to vote for Republican presidential candidates in the 1980s?
   a. An advocate of the Equal Rights Amendment
   b. An advocate of strict enforcement of the Clean Air Act
   c. An advocate of abortion
   d. An advocate of “family values”

Objectives 4 and 16
4. An issue of growing concern throughout the Reagan and Bush administrations concerned
   a. the nation’s weakening defense posture.
   b. deep cuts in Social Security and Medicare.
   c. the growth of the national debt.
   d. America’s lack of influence over Israel.

Objective 4 and 5
5. A major reason for the dramatic decline in inflation from 1980 to 1982 was
   a. increasing productivity among American workers.
   b. the decision by the Federal Reserve Bank to raise interest rates for bank loans to an unprecedented level.
   c. increased spending by Americans.
   d. the rise in the Gross National Product due to increased investment spending.
Objective 8
6. Which of the following was a consequence of the expansion of deregulation during the Reagan administration?
   a. Businesses usually became less efficient as the result of downsizing.
   b. The Savings and Loans industry collapsed as the result of billions of dollars of bad investments.
   c. In the telecommunications field, smaller corporations found it impossible to challenge corporate giants.
   d. The wave of mergers lightened the debt burden of most American corporations.

Objective 4
7. Which of the following benefited the most from the 1981 tax reductions?
   a. The poor
   b. The wealthy
   c. The middle class
   d. Married couples

Objective 9
8. What was the Reagan administration’s goal in Nicaragua?
   a. To persuade the Sandinista government to hold elections
   b. To remove the Sandinista government from power
   c. To reduce foreign military bases and advisers in that country
   d. To bring about a negotiated settlement between the Sandinista government and the contras

Objective 10
9. As a result of the Iran-contra scandal,
   a. President Reagan apologized for subverting the will of Congress.
   b. the House Judiciary Committee began impeachment hearings against President Reagan.
   c. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger was convicted of lying to Congress.
   d. President Reagan’s popularity declined.

Objectives 9, 18, and 19
10. The improvement in Soviet-American relations during Reagan’s second term may be attributed in large part to
   a. Reagan’s apology for his “evil empire” rhetoric.
   b. the Reagan administration’s agreement to limit research on the Strategic Defense Initiative.
   c. cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union to combat international terrorism.
   d. Gorbachev’s decision to reduce Soviet military expenditures and decrease foreign aid.

Objective 12
11. Which of the following was the goal of the Moral Majority?
   a. The creation of a “Christian America”
   b. An increase in funding for welfare and job-training programs
   c. A dramatic reduction in the size of the nuclear arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union
   d. The acceptance and celebration of America as a multicultural society
Objectives 7 and 13
12. As a result of changes in the job market in the 1980s,
   a. occupational segregation by sex slowly disappeared.
   b. the number of blue-collar jobs increased dramatically.
   c. unskilled workers found it increasingly difficult to find well-paid jobs.
   d. organized labor became more interested in unskilled laborers.

Objective 14
13. Which of the following caused caution to replace the liberated sexual practices associated with the sexual revolution?
   a. The threat of sexually transmitted diseases
   b. The health risks associated with the use of birth-control pills
   c. The graying of America
   d. The influence of TV evangelists

Objectives 17 and 20
14. What did the United States want to accomplish by sending troops to the Persian Gulf and engaging in the 1991 Persian Gulf War?
   a. To defend Israel against attack by Syria and Libya
   b. To defend Saudi Arabian oil exports to the United States and force Iraq to abandon its takeover of Kuwait
   c. To enforce the cease-fire between Iraq and Iran
   d. To force the United Arab Emirates to stop preying on American tankers in the Persian Gulf

Objective 21
15. As a result of Anita Hill’s testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee,
   a. the gender gap in American politics widened.
   b. the Bush administration withdrew its nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.
   c. the full Senate failed to confirm Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.
   d. legislation was passed making it easier for women to file sexual harassment charges.

ESSAY QUESTIONS
Objectives 4, 5, and 7
1. Discuss the economic policies of the Reagan administration, and examine the impact of these policies on the United States.

Objectives 4, 5, and 7
2. Examine the reasons for and the extent of poverty in the United States in the 1980s. What groups were most affected? Why?

Objective 9
3. Explain the following statement: “Ronald Reagan’s foreign policy was driven by beliefs rooted in America’s past.”
Objective 9
4. Discuss and evaluate the Reagan administration’s policy toward Third World nations, paying particular attention to its policy toward Central America.

Objectives 9 and 19
5. Defend or refute the following statement: “The turnaround in Soviet-American relations which began in 1985 stemmed more from changes abroad than from President Reagan’s decisions.”

Objectives 11 and 12
6. Discuss the causes and consequences of the “culture wars” that began in American society in the 1980s.

Objective 14
7. Discuss the extent of the AIDS epidemic, and explain the impact of the epidemic on the sexual behavior and attitudes of Americans.

Objective 13
8. Discuss the characteristics of the new immigrants of the 1980s and explain the impact of these immigrants on American society.

Objectives 18 and 19
9. Discuss the factors that brought an end to the Cold War, and discuss the legacy of the war for the United States, the Soviet Union, and the world community of nations.

Objective 17
10. Discuss the causes and consequences of the 1989 U.S. invasion of Panama.

Objective 20
11. Discuss the causes and consequences of the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Objective 21
12. Examine the controversy surrounding President Bush’s nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court and discuss the impact of the Senate Judiciary Committee’s confirmation hearings on the American electorate.
ANSWERS

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. a. Correct. Reagan received support from traditional political and economic conservatives who wanted to reduce the size of the federal government, strengthen national defense, and create economic conditions favorable to business and industry. Reagan was also able to obtain support from evangelical Christians by standing against abortion and passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and by supporting prayer in public schools and “family values.” In addition, Reagan attracted middle- and working-class whites who supported the tax revolt movement of the 1970s. In forming an alliance among these groups, Reagan forged a new conservative coalition in his bid for the presidency in 1980. See page 892.

b. No. Reagan supported the idea of “supply-side” economics and did not support the concepts of Keynesian economics. In addition, environmentalists found it almost impossible to support a man who stated that “approximately 80 percent of our air pollution stems from hydrocarbons released by vegetation.” See page 892.

c. No. Traditional political conservatives who wanted to reduce the size of the federal government and increase defense spending supported Reagan. However, since Reagan was against ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, he did not receive the support of advocates of women’s rights. See page 892.

d. No. Although advocates of supply-side economics supported Reagan in his 1980 bid for the presidency, that was not true of abortion rights advocates. See page 892.

2. c. Correct. Reagan’s appointees on the NLRB demonstrated their hostility toward organized labor by consistently voting in favor of management. See page 894.

a. No. Although this practice was used by companies and was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court, Reagan’s appointees to the NLRB did not actively encourage companies to declare bankruptcy as a way of canceling union contracts. See page 894.

b. No. The right of union members to strike was not questioned by Reagan’s appointees to the NLRB. See page 894.

d. No. A closed shop or union shop is a business whose employees are required to be union members. Reagan’s appointees to the NLRB did not favor the closed shop. See page 894.
3. d. Correct. Cultural conservatives who advocated “family values” were a major element in the Republican coalition that voted for Reagan and for George H. W. Bush. Therefore, an advocate of family values would most likely vote for Republican presidential candidates from the 1980s to today. See pages 892–893.

a. No. Although some Republicans favored ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), the party itself stood against ratification. For that reason, most advocates of the ERA did not support Republican presidential candidates during the 1970s and 1980s. See pages 892–893.

b. No. The Republican party and Republican presidential candidates tend to take stands against government regulatory agencies and regulatory legislation such as the Clean Air Act. Although President George H. W. Bush signed the 1990 reauthorization of the Clean Air Act, Bush’s Council on Competitiveness, headed by Vice President Dan Quayle, gutted enforcement of the act. Therefore, one who advocated strict enforcement of the Clean Air Act would most likely not vote for Republican presidential candidates. See pages 892–893.

c. No. The Republican party, from the 1980s to the present, has stood against abortion rights. Therefore, an advocate of abortion would most likely not vote for Republican presidential candidates. See pages 892–893.

4. c. Correct. Although candidate Reagan promised to balance the federal budget, President Reagan oversaw the accumulation of more new debt than the combined deficits of all previous presidents. When Reagan came into office in 1981, the national debt was about $900 billion. By the end of the Bush presidency in 1993, the national debt had more than tripled to about $3 trillion. See page 895.

a. No. President Reagan oversaw a multi-trillion-dollar defense-spending program that favored building the B-1 bomber, enlarging the navy, increasing the production of poison gas, deploying the MX missile, and deploying an antimissile defense system in space. See page 895.

b. No. Although Reagan and Bush did oversee cuts in social programs, Congress did not go along with cuts in Social Security and Medicare. See page 895.

d. No. Although the United States certainly did not dictate to Israel, there was not a “lack of influence” either. See page 895.

5. b. Correct. The Federal Reserve Bank raised interest rates for bank loans to 21.5 percent in 1981 to tighten the money supply, slow the economy down, and battle inflation. Although the nation plunged into a recession that brought soaring unemployment, severe economic hardship to many farmers, and an overall increase in the poverty rate, the rate of inflation dropped from 12 percent in 1980 to less than 7 percent in 1982. See pages 895–896.

a. No. During 1981 and 1982 there was less than a 1 percent increase in the rate of productivity. See pages 895–896.

c. No. An increase in spending by Americans did not cause prices to decline. See pages 895–896.

d. No. Both the GNP and investment spending fell during this period. See pages 895–896.
6. b. Correct. Due to the deregulation of the S&L industry in the early 1980s, S&Ls put billions of dollars of depositors’ savings into high-risk investments. Ultimately, this led to a collapse of the S&L industry. The bailout of the industry in the Reagan-Bush administrations cost taxpayers around $500 billion. See pages 897 and 898.

a. No. Downsizing (laying off employees to make a corporation more profitable) caused many businesses and industries to become more efficient, not less efficient. See pages 897 and 898.

c. No. In some ways deregulation helped smaller telecommunications corporations challenge the virtual monopolies of giant corporations in the industry. See pages 897 and 898.

d. No. In many cases American corporations became more burdened by debt, not less burdened. See pages 897 and 898.


a. No. Those in the poorest fifth saw their tax rates increase by 16 percent, and by 1984 the after-tax income of those in the second-poorest fifth increased by only 1.4 percent. See pages 898–900.

c. No. Although the after-tax income of those Americans in the middle fifth increased by 2.8 percent by 1984, another group’s after-tax income increased by a higher percentage. See pages 898–900.

d. No. Among the groups listed, married couples did not save the most as a result of the 1981 income-tax reductions. See pages 898–900.

8. b. Correct. The Reagan administration believed that the Sandinista government in Nicaragua was becoming a client state of the Soviet Union. Therefore, it initiated an economic embargo against Nicaragua, encouraged covert activities by the CIA, and extended aid to the contras, all in an attempt to topple the Nicaraguan government. See page 902.

a. No. Although the administration criticized the Sandinistas for not holding elections, when elections were held in November 1984, the administration called them a “sham.” See page 902.

c. No. Although the Reagan administration criticized the presence of Cuban advisers and Soviet arms in Nicaragua, it wanted more than simply a reduction of foreign military bases and advisers. In fact, it rejected the Contadora peace plan which would have reduced foreign bases and advisers in Nicaragua. See page 902.

d. No. The Reagan administration’s actions toward Nicaragua do not indicate a desire for a negotiated settlement. In fact, two peace plans were put forward during the 1980s by representatives of Latin American countries. The administration’s out-of-hand rejection of both the Contadora peace plan and the Arias peace plan is further indication that a negotiated settlement was not Reagan’s goal in Nicaragua. See page 902.
9. d. Correct. Polls from the time indicated a drop in Reagan’s approval rating from 67 percent to 46 percent due to the Iran-contra scandal. Polls also indicated that 62 percent of the public believed that Reagan lied about Iran-contra. See page 902.
   a. No. Reagan never apologized for having subverted the will of Congress by illegally funneling aid to the contras in Nicaragua. See page 902.
   b. No. The House Judiciary Committee did not hold impeachment hearings against President Reagan. See page 902.
   c. No. Weinberger was indicted for lying to Congress but was pardoned by President Bush before he left office in 1993. See page 902.

10. d. Correct. When Gorbachev assumed power and embarked on a reform program in the Soviet Union in 1985, he reduced military expenditures and expenditures on foreign aid. Therefore, he reduced the Soviet Union’s armed forces and withdrew Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Largely because of these policies, Soviet-American relations improved. See pages 904–905.
   a. No. Reagan never apologized for his statement that the Soviet Union was the source of evil in the world. See pages 904–905.
   c. No. There were no obvious signs of cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union to combat international terrorism. See pages 904–905.

11. a. Correct. The Moral Majority, founded in 1979 by Jerry Falwell, was a political action group composed of fundamentalist Christians. Favoring prayer and the teaching of creationism in public schools, the group was against ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, gay rights, and abortion rights. Its goal was the creation of a “Christian America.” See page 905.
   b. No. Increased funding for welfare and job-training programs was not the goal of the Moral Majority. See page 905.
   c. No. The Moral Majority was ardently antimunist. The group opposed both nuclear disarmament and arms-reduction treaties between the United States and the Soviet Union. See page 905.
   d. No. By rejecting the idea that different lifestyles and cultures were equally valid, the Moral Majority opposed the concept of multiculturalism. See page 905.

12. c. Correct. As the economy shifted from an industrial to a service orientation, well-paid jobs that had traditionally been available to the unskilled decreased. The labor demand was in the area of skilled, white-collar, high-technology jobs. See page 906.
   a. No. Occupational segregation continued as the shift from an industrialized to a service-oriented economy took place. See page 906.
   b. No. The shifting occupational structure meant the loss of many blue-collar jobs and an increase in skilled, white-collar, high-technology jobs. See page 906.
   d. No. The shift from an industrialized to a service-oriented economy, and the resulting shift in labor demand, caused unions to devote more energy to organizing white-collar workers. See page 906.
13. a. Correct. The threat of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases caused many Americans to be more cautious about their sexual practices. See page 908.

b. No. Although there were some concerns about the possibility that health risks were associated with the use of birth-control pills, these concerns were relatively minor and were not a primary cause for Americans to become more cautious about their sexual practices. See page 908.

c. No. The fact that Americans were living longer and that the number of elderly Americans was increasing was not a reason for Americans to become more cautious about their sexual practices. See page 908.

d. No. Although TV evangelists preached against the practices associated with the sexual revolution, their influence was not a major cause for Americans to become “more cautious” about their sexual practices. See page 908.

14. b. Correct. After Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, the United States feared the action might threaten Saudi Arabian oil exports. Therefore, in the 1991 Persian Gulf War the United States acted not only to force Iraq out of Kuwait, but also to defend oil exports from Saudi Arabia to the United States. See pages 912–913.

a. No. Although the United States feared that unrest in the Middle East might embolden Arab states or even lead to a coalition of Arab states against Israel, the defense of Israel from an attack by Syria and Libya was not the immediate goal of the United States in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. See pages 912–913.

c. No. The Iran-Iraq war ended in 1988; therefore, the goal of the United States in the 1991 Gulf War was not to enforce a cease-fire between those two nations. See pages 912–913.

d. No. The United Arab Emirates was not preying on American tankers in the Persian Gulf; therefore, the 1991 Persian Gulf War was not undertaken for the reason stated in this choice. See pages 912-913.

15. a. Correct. The Senate’s disregard of Anita Hill’s testimony so angered many women that they vowed to oppose the Republican party in 1992. As a result, the gender gap (the difference in the way in which men and women vote) in American politics widened. See page 914.

b. No. The Bush administration did not withdraw its nomination of Thomas to the Supreme Court. See page 914.

c. No. Despite Anita Hill’s testimony, the Senate confirmed Thomas’s nomination to the Supreme Court. See page 914.

d. No. The Senate did not pass such legislation. See page 914.