

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

## **AP United States History Summer Assignment**

The AP United States History course is far and away the most difficult Social Studies course offered at General Douglas MacArthur High School. We have to cover twice the amount of material that is covered in other courses, and we have to have it done in time for the AP Exam.

You will have a great deal of responsibility in this Advanced Placement course. In a sense, I will be more of a guide than a teacher. I will be here to teach you general principles, advise you as to technique, clear up any confusion that may arise, and evaluate your progress. The responsibility for gaining specific information will be up to the student. There will simply not be sufficient class time for us to cover all of the information that is needed to possess a thorough understanding of American history.

In order to accelerate our coverage of the material in this course, you will be required to complete the following summer assignment. Please keep in mind that this is a required assignment. Partially completed and late work will not be accepted and your first quarter grade will be adversely impacted. You must complete this assignment without any consultation or assistance from other students.

**As you begin to prepare for AP United States History, a few things to keep in mind:**

- This is a college level course with advanced vocabulary, reading, and comprehension requirements. It is absolutely essential that you are a self-motivated learner. It will be my expectation that each student comes to class prepared with homework assignments completed.
- Your grades for each marking period will reflect how well you understand the material we have covered.
- You will be given a course syllabus on the first day of school. In this you will be provided expectations and long-range goals of the class. It will be your responsibility to keep up with the material we are covering and have the assignments in when they are due. Late work will automatically be graded down unless you have made prior arrangements.
- Any work missed due to absence is the responsibility of the student. Regular attendance is essential if you expect to succeed in an AP class.

**THE ASSIGNMENTS ARE DUE NO LATER THAN SEPT. 8, 2023**

If you have any questions you can contact Ms. McCue ([lmccue@levittownschools.com](mailto:lmccue@levittownschools.com)) and Mr. Abgarian ([mabgarian@levittownschools.com](mailto:mabgarian@levittownschools.com))

**THE SUMMER ASSIGNMENT IS DUE**  
**NO LATER THAN SEPTEMBER 8<sup>th</sup>, 2023**

**YOU WILL BE TESTED ON THESE CHAPTERS**  
**ON SEPTEMBER 15<sup>th</sup>, 2023**

- All students are expected to pursue honesty and integrity in all aspects of their academic work. Academic dishonesty, including plagiarism, will be handled accordingly.
- Although it may be tempting to save time by dividing up work and sharing, this is an unacceptable practice in this course for two reasons: First, using another's work violates academic integrity. Second, you will have only completed a fraction of the assignment, leaving you with only a fraction of the required knowledge.

Each student must read **United States History: Preparing for the Advancement Placement Examination:**

Period 1 - 1491-1607 - pg. 1-31  
Period 9 - 1980-present - pg. 692-749

**BEFORE YOU BEGIN** your summer assignment, it is important to be able to take good, useful notes. It is strongly recommended that you, beginning with the Summer Assignment and continuing throughout the year, take written notes for each chapter. Figure out a note taking system that works for you and then use it consistently throughout the year. Make your notes thoughtful, personal, and useful. It is not practical to write down everything you read. **DO NOT COPY** from the book or others. **Use your own words and find your own voice.** Include important names, dates, events, etc. Bring your notes to class every day. Your notes will help you to complete assignments and prepare for tests throughout the year.

# PERIOD ONE

## Key Concepts

**1.1 - As native populations migrated and settled across the vast expanse of North America over time, they developed distinct and increasingly complex societies by adapting to and transforming their diverse environments.**

**1.2 - Contact among Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans resulted in the Columbian Exchange and significant social, cultural, and political changes on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.**

TOPIC	PAGES	SCORE
Learning Objectives	2	
1.1 • Contextualizing Period 1	3	
1.2 • Native American Societies Before European Contact	4 - 5	
1.3 • European Exploration in the Americas	6 - 7	
1.4 • Columbian Exchange, Spanish Exploration, and Conquest	8	
1.5 • Labor, Slavery, and Caste in the Spanish Colonial System	9	
1.6 • Cultural Interactions Between Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans	10	
1.7 • Causation in Period 1	11	

# LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After you complete each **topic** workbook pages, you then should answer the learning objective using the **A.C.E** strategy.

- A** - Answer: Restate the question and provide an answer/claim
- C** - Cite: Give a piece of evidence to prove your answer/claim
- E** - Explain: your evidence and how it answers the question

TOPIC	LEARNING OBJECTIVE & ANSWER	TEACHER FEEDBACK
1.1 • Contextualizing Period 1	Explain the <u>context</u> for European encounters in the Americas from 1491 to 1607. A - C - E -	
1.2 • Native American Societies Before European Contact	Explain <u>how</u> and <u>why</u> various native populations in the period before European contact interacted with the natural environment in North America. A - C - E -	
1.3 • European Exploration in the Americas	Explain the <u>causes</u> of exploration and conquest of the New World by various European nations. A - C - E -	
1.4 • Columbian Exchange, Spanish Exploration, and Conquest	Explain <u>causes</u> of the Columbian Exchange and its <u>effect</u> on Europe and the Americas during the period after 1492. A - C - E -	
1.5 • Labor, Slavery, and Caste in the Spanish Colonial System	Explain <u>how</u> the growth of the Spanish Empire in North America shaped the development of social and economic structures over time. A - C - E -	
1.6 • Cultural Interactions Between Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans	Explain <u>how</u> and <u>why</u> European and Native American perspectives of others developed and changed in the period. A - C - E -	
1.7 • Causation in Period 1	Explain the <u>effects</u> of the development of transatlantic voyages from 1491 to 1607. A - C - E -	



**LEARNING OBJECTIVE:** Explain the context for European encounters in the Americas from 1491 to 1607.

# WHAT IS CONTEXTUALIZATION?

defined as the circumstances that form the setting for an event, statement, or idea, and in terms of which it can be fully understood and assessed.

Contextualization situates the argument by explaining the broader historical events, developments, or processes immediately relevant to the question. It should be addressed first in the introductory paragraph of a historical essay.

At the start of many TV show episodes there is a "previously on" or a "recap" that describes the major events or developments that happened in previous episodes that you should know to understand what is about to come next. The information gives the viewer all the background information they need to know, even if they have missed the previous episode. This is providing context!



Another Example: Your report card. Let's say you got a grade that wasn't your best. Your parents are going to want an explanation as to why the grade is so low, right? So your explanation for the low grade is basically giving your report card context. Your parents just looking at the report card does not give them enough information as to why or how your grade is so low. You need to provide more information so that they can understand.



Here are some helpful questions you should ask yourself when instructed to provide context.

- What do we know about what was going on in this location of the world during this time period in history?
- Why did this happen? Why here?
- What were the factors that caused this to happen here?
- What were the effects of this happening here?
- How does this all relate to the question/prompt?

## INTRO

Explain two turning points that caused monumental change.

Cultural Diversity in the Americas		After you write down notes from each subtopic, highlight information that can answer the following questions:
Motives for Exploration		<b>YELLOW:</b> Describe a historical context for understanding the diverse Native American cultures that had developed in the Americas by the 1490s.
Transatlantic Exchange		<b>GREEN:</b> Explain a historical context for the European exploration in the Americas from the 1490s - early 1600s.
Addition of Enslaved Africans		<b>BLUE:</b> Explain a historical context for the interactions between Europeans and Native Americans in the period from 1490 to 1607.
European Colonies		

**LEARNING OBJECTIVE:** Explain how and why various native populations in the period before European contact interacted with the natural environment in North America.

**INTRO**

How did people arrive in North America?

How many natives were estimated to be in the Americas by 1491?

**CULTURES OF CENTRAL & SOUTH AMERICA**

**MAYAS**

**AZTECS**

**INCAS**

? List three ways natives transformed the North America environment before European colonization.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Similarities shared by all three civilizations:

Click the map below to view regions | economic activities



This will help with the chart

**CULTURES OF NORTH AMERICA**

Population

General Patterns

Language Differences

Settlements	Location/Tribes	Housing	Food Sources	Other Characteristics
Southwest				
Northwest				
Great Basin				
Great Plains				
Mississippi River Valley				
Northeast				
Atlantic Seaboard				

Rewrite the **false** sentence with evidence from the text to make it **true**.

"Native Americans have always shared identity and tribes do not have any distinctive systems and traditions."

Identify one key **similarity** and one key **difference** that developed in *Central and South America* to those that developed in *North America*.

Explain the significance of the difference.

### MAP OF THE CULTURAL AREAS

- 1. Read the framework excerpts located to the right of the map, and ensure you understand & know where/what is referenced.
- 2. Circle the following groups: Pueblo, Chinooks, Iroquois, Algonquian, Wampanoags, Pequot, Powhatan
- 3. Label/Trace the starting point and expansion of maize cultivation.



On a North American continent... The spread of **maize** cultivation from present-day Mexico northward into the America Southwest and beyond supported economic development and social diversification among societies in these areas; a r of foraging and hunting did the same for societies in the Northwest and areas of California.

Societies responded to the lack of natural resources in the Great Basin and the western Great Plains by developing largely mobile lifestyles.

In the Northeast and along the Atlantic Seaboard son societies developed a mixed-agricultural and hunter-gatherer economy that favored the development of permanent villages.

European overseas expansion resulted in the **Columbian Exchange**, a series of interactions and adaptations among societi across the Atlantic. The arrival of Europeans in the Western Hemisphere in t 15th and 16th centuries triggered extensive demographic and social changes on both sides of i Atlantic.

**LEARNING OBJECTIVE:** Explain the causes of exploration and conquest of the New World by various European nations.

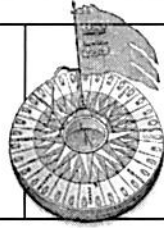
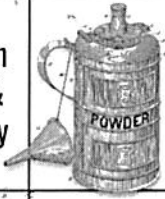
**INTRO**

What motives prompted European exploration?

What was the result of this exploration

**EUROPEAN CONTEXT FOR EXPLORATION**

Changes in Thought & Technology



Religious Conflict

How did the Catholic Victory in Europe lead to Spanish exploration in the new world?

How did the Protestant Revolt in Northern Europe lead to exploration in the new world?

Expanding Trade

How did the New Routes lead to exploration in the new world?

How and why did the Slave Trade Begin?

Examples of New Routes:

How did enslaved Africans resist slavery?

Developing Nation States

How did the Development of Nation-states further exploration?

Examples:

Does this best exemplify

GOLD

GOD

GLORY



## ? CAUSATION

What was the **impact** of the Catholic victory in Spain and the European Reformation on North America?

List three main **effects** of Europe's expanding trade in the 15th century.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Which **effect** was most significant? Explain your answer.

## DIVIDING THE AMERICAS

		GOLD	GOD	GLORY
Spanish & Portuguese Claims	Line of Demarcation:			
	Treaty of Tordesillas:			
English Claims	Amsco only mentions that Roanoke Island FAILED. <u>Research</u> and summarize what happened to this "lost colony":			
French Claims				

**LEARNING OBJECTIVE:** Explain causes of the Columbian Exchange and its effect on Europe and the Americas during the period after 1492.

**INTRO**

What was Columbus's initial goal? Did he meet his goal?

**CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS**

**THE COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE**

**THE RISE OF CAPITALISM**

EUROPE to the AMERICAS

AMERICAS to EUROPE

**HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES**

**WAS COLUMBUS A GREAT HERO?**

Arguments IN FAVOR

Arguments AGAINST

Which perspective do you side with? Explain why.

**? CAUSATION**

*How did the Columbian Exchange develop and what was its most significant impact on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean?*

To answer this question you should think about these first:  
How did European expansion **impact** European society?

How did European expansion **impact** Native American society?

Which of these consequences were the most significant? Explain.



**LEARNING OBJECTIVE:** Explain how the growth of the Spanish Empire in North America shaped the development of social and economic structures over time.

**INTRO**

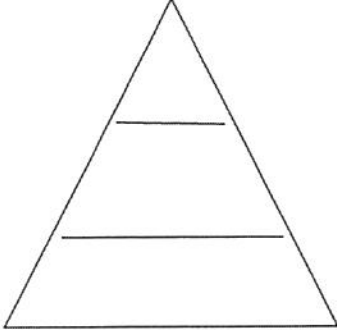
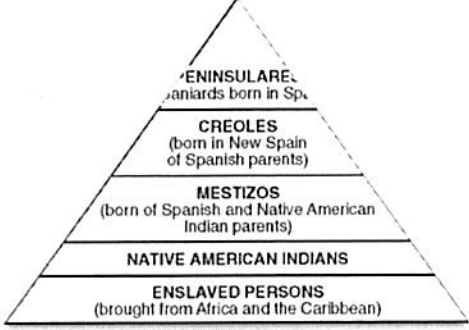
Define the term **conquistadores**.

**SPANISH EXPLORATION AND CONQUEST**

After you write down notes from each subtopic, highlight information that can answer the following questions AND then answer them.

**YELLOW:** How was the **society** of North America affected by the expansion of the Spanish Empire?

**GREEN:** How was the **economy** of North America affected by the expansion of the Spanish Empire?

<b>Explorers &amp; Conquistadors</b>	
<b>Labor Systems</b>	<p>Encomienda</p> <hr/> <p>Enslaved Africans</p> <p>Slavery</p> <p>Slave Trade</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Asiento System</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Middle Passage</p>
<b>Spanish Caste System</b>	<p>Fill in the chart with descriptions from the Amsco section. Then draw lines to the chart on the right to connect.</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  <p style="font-size: small;"> <b>PENINSULARS</b>                      (Spaniards born in Sp.)  <b>CREOLES</b>                      (born in New Spain of Spanish parents)  <b>MESTIZOS</b>                      (born of Spanish and Native American Indian parents)  <b>NATIVE AMERICAN INDIANS</b>  <b>ENSLAVED PERSONS</b>                      (brought from Africa and the Caribbean)                 </p> </div> </div>

LEARNING OBJECTIVE: Explain how and why European and Native American perspectives of others developed and changed in the period.

INTRO

EUROPEAN TREATMENT OF NATIVE AMERICANS

Spanish Policy	English Policy	French Policy

Identify three major consequences of European contact with American Indians?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Which of these were the most significant? Explain your answer.

In what ways was English policy toward Native Americans **different** from those of France and Spain?

*Different from France in that...*

*Different from Spain in that...*

How effective were Native Americans in overcoming the negative aspects of European policies?

SURVIVAL STRATEGIES BY NATIVES

ROLE OF AFRICANS IN AMERICA

Empty box for Survival Strategies by Natives

Empty box for Role of Africans in America

CREATE FLOW CHART

Create a chart showing the evolution in the views of the Europeans and Native Americans towards each during the period of European colonization.

VARIOUS OPTION

**LEARNING OBJECTIVE:** Explain the effects of the development of transatlantic voyages from 1491 to 1607.

# WHAT IS CAUSATION?

Causation is one of the Reasoning Processes that students are required to apply when engaging with historical thinking skills on the AP Exam.

Every event, pattern or trend, or action has a cause- a reason or set of reasons why it happened. Historians do not simply arrange events in chronological order; instead they seek to understand why things happened as well as what effects and event, pattern, or trend. Most events, actions, or trends have many causes; historians seek to identify the most significant short- and long- term causes and effects. Significance can be understood in different ways. Sometimes they are defined as those that contributed the most. Other times, historians look for specific types of causes and effects such as political or economic effects.

## WHAT YOU SHOULD DO

Describe causes or effects of a specific historical development or process.

Explain the relationship between causes and effects of a specific historical development or process.

Explain the difference between primary and secondary causes and between short- and long- term effects

Explain the relative historical significance of different causes and or effects.

→ What individual choice(s) made a significant difference in the lead up to a particular event or trend? Was there a moment of chance that influenced the chain of events?



## QUESTIONS TO ASK

→ What were the reasons for this event? What factors contributed to a specific pattern or trend? What prompted this person/group to act/react this way?

→ What resulted from this event, pattern, or action? What were the short & long term effects? What was most significant and why?

→ How do assessments of historians concerning causation differ from those experienced the event, pattern, or action?

→ How might the chain of cause & effect have changed and at what point? What causes were contingent on previous effects?

## FACTORS

### CAUSES

Describe what **caused** the Native Americans to develop diverse societies and unique cultures across the enormous and varied lands of North America.

↓ Explain the a significant development in Europe by the 15th and 16th centuries that caused a surge in exploration.

### EFFECTS RESULTS/IMPACT

Columbian Exchange

SHORT- TERM

LONG- TERM

POSITIVE

NEGATIVE

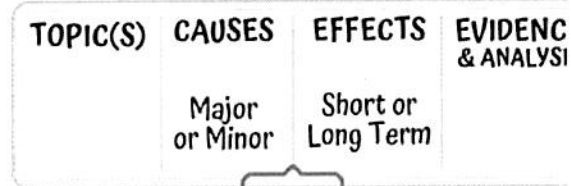
## EXTENT QUESTION

When answering a "to what extent" question you must always **EVALUATE** (judge the significance, value of a subject, event, or object). To do this you will used qualifier words like major/minor, most/few, positive/negative, short/long term, greatly/mildly similar or different.

To what extent did the Columbian Exchange have beneficial effects on both the Natives Americans and Europeans. (Now you need to ask yourself if there were more positive or negative/ short or long term/ major or minor effects)

This is a helpful organizational chart when trying to create a thesis statement or write an essay.

### CAUSATION



Identify: are they positive or negative?

# PERIOD NINE

## *Key Concepts*

**9.1 - A newly ascendant conservative movement achieved several political and policy goals during the 1980's and continued to strongly influence public discourse in the following decades.**

**9.2 - Moving into the 21st century, the nation experienced significant technological, economic, and demographic changes.**

**9.3 - The end of the Cold War and new challenges to U.S. leadership forced the nation to redefine its foreign policy and role in the world.**

*Modern times: 1980-Present*



TOPIC	PAGES	SCORE
Learning Objectives	3	
9.1 • Contextualizing Period 9	4	
9.2 • Reagan and Conservatism	5 - 6	
9.3 • The End of the Cold War	7 - 8	
9.4 • A Changing Economy	9	
9.5 • Migration and Immigration in the 1990s and 2000s	10	
9.6 • Challenges of the 21st Century	11 - 15	
9.7 • Causation in Period 9	16	

# LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After you complete each **topic** workbook pages, you then should answer the learning objective using the **A.C.E** strategy.

**A** - Answer: Restate the question and provide an answer/claim  
**C** - Cite: Give a piece of evidence to prove your answer/claim  
**E** - Explain: your evidence and how it answers the question

TOPIC	LEARNING OBJECTIVE & ANSWER	TEACHER FEEDBACK
9.1 • Contextualizing Period 9	Explain the context in which the United States faced international and domestic challenges after 1980. A - C - E -	
9.2 • Reagan and Conservatism	Explain the causes and effects of continuing policy debates about the role of the federal government over time. A - C - E -	
9.3 • The End of the Cold War	Explain the causes and effects of the end of the Cold War and its legacy. A - C - E -	
9.4 • A Changing Economy	Explain the causes and effects of economic and technological change over time. A - C - E -	
9.5 • Migration and Immigration in the 1990s and 2000s	Explain the causes and effects of domestic and international migration over time. A - C - E -	
9.6 • Challenges of the 21st Century	Explain how and why various groups responded to calls for the expansion of civil rights from 1960 to 1980. A - C - E -	
9.7 • Causation in Period 9	Explain the relative significance of the effects of change in the period after 1980 on American national identity. A - C - E -	



**LEARNING OBJECTIVE:** Explain the context in which the United States faced international and domestic challenges after 1980.

# CONTEXTUALIZATION

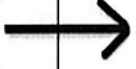
# PRIOR KNOWLEDGE

What do you already know about these topics?

Political Polarization: The US became more politically polarized, especially after the 1990s. The **Reagan Revolution** moved much of the country to the conservative right, but many in the 21st century began to push back against conservatives and/or continued to fight for the liberal legacy of programs like the **New Deal** and **Great Society**.



Economic Changes: **Globalization** affected the United States greatly during this time period as the US economy moved to a post-industrial basis, focusing more on service-sector and high-tech jobs. This created problems for previous industrial centers (the **Rust Belt**) and worsened the country's economic inequality as the rich get richer and poor and middle class wages stagnated.



Demographic Changes: The US in the 21st century was much more diverse than the US of 1950 or even of 1980. Continued immigration from Latin America and Asia created tension within the US as the US—again—wondered about how to assimilate immigrant groups and to maintain a US identity. Women were more involved in the workforce than ever before, movement to the **Sunbelt** continued as Midwestern states lost population relative to the rest of the country.



## INTRO

What changes occurred in American society after the election of 1980?

<p><b>Foreign Affairs</b></p>		<p>After you write down notes from each subtopic, highlight information that can answer the following questions;</p>
<p><b>Faith in Federal Government</b></p>		<p><b>YELLOW:</b> Explain the historical context international challenge faced by the United States after 1980.</p>
<p><b>Economic Problems</b></p>		<p><b>GREEN:</b> Explain the historical context for the domestic challenge faced by the United States after 1980.</p>

**RECREATE THE TIMELINE OF LANDMARK EVENTS: 1980 - 2020 [10 EVENTS]**



**LEARNING OBJECTIVE:** Explain the causes and effects of continuing policy debates about the role of the federal government over time.

**INTRO** What signaled the arrival of Republican dominance in American politics?



## RONALD REAGAN AND THE ELECTION OF 1980

<u>Rise of Reagan</u>	<u>Campaign for President</u>	<u>Significance</u>

## THE REAGAN REVOLUTION

Released Hostages & Assassination Attempt

Administration Promises

## REAGANOMICS

<u>Supply-side Economics</u>	<u>Keynesian Economics</u>	<u>Trickle-Down Economics</u>	
<u>Federal Tax Reduction</u>	<u>Spending</u>	<u>Deregulation</u>	<u>Labor Unions</u>
<u>Recession and Recovery</u>	<u>Social Issues</u>		

## ELECTION OF 1980

--

## BUDGET & TRADE DEFICIT

--

## IMPACT OF REAGAN

--

# PRESIDENT GEORGE H. W. BUSH



1988 Election:

Describe the Significance

Nomination of Clarence Thomas		
Taxes and the Economy		
Americans with Disabilities Act		
Political Inertia		
Earth Day & Earthrise		
Environmental Activists		
Political Inertia		

## POLITICAL POLARIZATION

<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>Shift of Conservatives</u>	<u>Divisions in Federal Government</u>	<u>The Media</u>
<u>Abortion</u>		<u>Gun Rights</u>	<u>Women's Equality &amp; Safety</u>	<u>African Americans &amp; Justice</u>
<u>LGBT Rights</u>		<u>Immigration</u>	<u>Economy &amp; Health</u>	<p>? What has come to prevent the US from dealing with issues both foreign and domestic effectively?</p>

**LEARNING OBJECTIVE:** Explain the causes and effects of the end of the Cold War and its legacy.

**QUOTE**

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

*Ronald Reagan, speech at Brandenburg Gate, West Berlin, June 12, 1987*

**Explain your interpretation of this quote.**

## FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE REAGAN YEARS

EVIL EMPIRE	MILITARY BUILDUP	CENTRAL AMERICA	LEBANON, ISRAEL, AND THE PLO
SATELLITES			
GRENADA	IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR		

## IMPROVED U.S. - SOVIET RELATIONS

GLASNOST & PERESTROIKA	SUMMIT MEETINGS	ASSESSING CAUSES
		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1.</li> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> <li>4.</li> </ol>

? What became a major obstacle in halting arms discussions between Gorbachev and Reagan at their second meeting?  
 What other actions did Gorbachev take to reduce Cold War tensions? :

# GEORGE H. W. BUSH & END OF THE COLD WAR

Describe the Significan

Persian Gulf War		
Tiananmen Square		
Eastern Europe		
Breakup of the Soviet Union		
End of the Cold WAR		

## AFTERMATH OF THE COLD WAR

WAR IN YUGOSLAVIA | RUSSIA IN EUROPE

European Union (UE):

### EASTERN EUROPE AFTER THE FALL OF COMMUNI




Why did many former soviet bloc countries become easy targets for corruption and autocratic rulers?

**LEARNING OBJECTIVE:** Explain the causes and effects of economic and technological change over time.

ELECTION OF 1992	
<b>CLINTON</b>	
<b>PEROT</b>	

CLINTON'S FOCUS ON ECONOMY	
<b>EARLY ACCOMPLISHMENTS</b>	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.
<b>DEFEATS &amp; ADJUSTMENTS</b>	
<b>BALANCED BUDGET</b>	
<b>CLINTON REELECTED</b>	
<b>TAX CUTS VS. SOCIAL SECURITY</b>	

 Despite economic prosperity, what happened to the number of people living below the poverty line in the 1990s? Describe the distribution of income at this time.

## TECHNOLOGY & A CHANGING ECONOMY

Innovations	Flattening of the Earth	Boom of the 1990s	Globalization	Digital Security & Privacy

## INCOME & WEALTH

--



**LEARNING OBJECTIVE:** Explain the causes and effects of domestic and international migration over time.

**INTRO** What was the patterns of anti-immigration sentiment in the U.S. throughout history?

## CHANGING IMMIGRATION POLICIES

Identify some of the different parts of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965:

<u>Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986</u>	<u>Illegal Immifration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996</u>	<u>Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)</u>	<u>Trump Immigration Policies</u>
<u>Undocumented Immigrants:</u>		<u>Asylum Seekers:</u>	

## INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN SOUTH AND WEST

<b>ECONOMIES</b>	
<b>POLITICAL POWER</b>	
<b>CULTURAL CHANGE</b>	

## AMERICAN SOCIETY IN 2000

? What concerns increased as the Baby boom generation aged?

**LEARNING OBJECTIVE:** Explain how and why various groups responded to calls for the expansion of civil rights from 1960 to 1980.

**INTRO**

What has exposed America's vulnerabilities since entering into the 21st c. as economically and militarily dominant?

## DISPUTED ELECTION OF 2000



## THE WAR ON TERRORISM

Roots of Terrorism	Early Terrorist Attacks		Sept. 11 Terror Attacks
War in Afghanistan	Homeland Security	Iraq War	Operation Iraqi Freedom

## ELECTIONS OF 2004 AND A BUSH SECOND TERM

Elections	Unresolved Wars	Kyoto Accord & Bush Doctrine

**FOREIGN POLICY & OBAMA PRESIDENCY 2009 - 2017**

Overview	Iraq	Afghanistan	Death of Osama Bin Laden	Arab Spring
Arab Spring	Rise of ISIS	Iran	Asia	Europe
Russia	Cuba	Cyber Attacks	<p data-bbox="1007 1541 1572 1637">  Why was the Obama administration reluctant to put troops on the ground in foreign disputes? How did it choose to engage instead?         </p> <p data-bbox="1007 1854 1572 1906">  Describe the US 's role in Iraq post 2009.         </p>	

# DOMESTIC POLICY OF GEORGE W. BUSH 2001 - 2009

Highlight in your notes the answers to the question

<b>Republican Tax Cuts</b>		Who benefited from the Bush tax cuts and how did it impact the American economy?
<b>Education &amp; Health Reform</b>		What was the No Child Left Behind Act and what did it try to do?
<b>Economic Bubbles &amp; Corruption</b>		After the burst of the tech bubble, which bubble began to grow in the US?
<b>Washington Politics</b>		How did Bush leave a lasting impact on the Supreme Court?
<b>Hurricane Katrina</b>		How did FEMA fail after the Hurricane Katrina crisis?
<b>The Great Recession</b>		What happened when the housing bubble burst?  What other events accompanied the dip in housing prices during the Great Recession?

# DOMESTIC POLICY OF OBAMA 2009 - 2017

Highlight in your notes the answers to the questions

<b>Economic Crisis &amp; TARP Funding</b>		How did President Obama request the remaining TARP money be used?
<b>Economic Stimulus &amp; American Recovery Act</b>		What were the reforms passed to ease the Great Recession under the Obama Administration?
<b>Financial Reforms</b>		
<b>Environment &amp; Climate Change</b>		What steps were taken by the Obama administration to positively impact the environment?
<b>Education</b>		How did the Obama Administration impact education in America?
<b>Budget Cuts</b>		What is the Affordable Healthcare Act and what did it aim to provide:
<b>Health Care</b>		
<b>Other Initiatives</b>		How did Obama use executive orders?
<b>Tea Party</b>		What was the Tea Party movement and what did they focus on?
<b>Elections &amp; Money</b>		What was determined in Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission?
<b>Election of 2012</b>		What were the main issues in the election of 2012 and who won?
<b>Deadlock</b>		Describe the relationship between President and Congress during Obama's first term.

# THE TRUMP PRESIDENCY & THE ELECTION OF BIDEN

2016 Election	
Domestic Policy	
Foreign Policy	
Investigation Impeachment	
2020 Pandemic	
Election of 2020	
Attack on Capitol & 2nd Impeachment	
Biden's Administration	

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

### WHAT DOES FREEDOM MEAN?

Explain the two perspectives on the meaning of freedom.

Contests over Freedom

Diverse Expressions of Freedom



**LEARNING OBJECTIVE:** Explain the relative significance of the effects of change in the period after 1980 on American national identity.

# REVIEWING CAUSATION

One way to evaluate effects on the national identity is to look at who Americans were becoming in this period after 1980. The significant shift of migration to the Sun Belt affected how many Americans thought about the nation. The norms of the urban and more liberal Northeast and Midwest were challenged in the South, where people favored less government, little regulation of business, and a more active role for religion. One could argue that the culture wars fought over these differences left Americans with deeply divided views of the national identity. The change in immigration patterns from predominantly ethnic European countries to Asian, Latin American, and African countries also sparked fears among older White majorities about what was happening to the national identity, and the identity of America in 2050 and beyond.

## WHAT YOU SHOULD DO

Describe similarities and/or differences between historical developments or processes

Explain relevant similarities and/or differences between specific historical developments or processes

Explain the relative historical significance of similarities and differences between different historical developments or processes.

OKAY, you read all this... if you remember these two steps you will have it down!

- Described similarities and differences?
- Explained the reason for/significance of/effect of these similarities and differences?

## QUESTIONS TO ASK

→ How is one development like/unlike another development from the same time/a different time?

→ Why did an event or development affect different groups in different ways?

→ How does a viewpoint (from a historical actor or historian) compare with another when discussing the event or historical development?

Economic Division

Foreign Affairs

## MULTI-STEP QUESTION

When answering a "to what extent" question you must always **EVALUATE** (judge the significance, value of a subject, event, or object). To do this you will use qualifier words like major/minor, most/few, positive/negative, short/long term, greatly/mildly similar or different.

Evaluate the extent to which changes in immigration and migration after 1980 contributed to changes in American national identity.

Evaluate the extent to which changes in the American economy after 1980 contributed to changes in American national identity.

# THINK AS A HISTORIAN DEVELOPING COMPLEXITY

On the AP exam, you will need to develop and support complex arguments, ones that are detailed and demonstrate four skills:

- **Explain the Nuance:** Nuance means subtlety or precision. A nuanced argument analyzes multiple variables related to that argument.
- **Explain Significance:** Beyond merely citing names and dates, you should describe the argument's credibility, significance, and possible limitations.
- **Explain Connections:** These connections should be relevant, which means related to the argument. They should be insightful, which means you understand why the connection is important on a deep level.
- **Explain Effectiveness:** Is the evidence solid enough, relevant enough, & impactful enough to strengthen the argument?

**Choose one of the arguments below and answer the questions that follow**

**Argument 1:**

After 1980, the United States became increasingly polarized between rural and urban regions.

**Argument 2:**

Passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1990 affected U.S. employment, transportation, and architecture in ways that still exist today.

**Argument 3:**

The political philosophy of the United States is a struggle between proponents of "freedom to" have equal rights and participation and "freedom from" government regulations and restrictions.

1. How can you make this argument more nuanced? Describe details related to this argument that make it more precise or subtle.
2. What connections can you make, either within one historical period or across periods, that will help strengthen this argument?
3. What details can you add that are significant to this argument? Significant details should be closely connected to the argument and should help to illuminate it in some way.
4. How effective is the evidence you have provided to support the argument? Explain why your evidence is relevant, trustworthy, important, or persuasive.

**Topic 1.1****Contextualizing Period 1**

**Learning Objective:** Explain the context for European encounters in the Americas from 1491 to 1607.

**T**oday, the United States is a synthesis, or combination, of people from around the world. The first people arrived in the Americas at least 10,000 years ago. A survey of how these indigenous people lived before the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Americas in 1492 provides the context for understanding the interaction of the Europeans and Native Americans and the impact this had on both groups. Columbus's first voyage was a turning point in world history because it initiated lasting contact between people on opposite sides of the Atlantic Ocean. His voyages, followed by European exploration and settlement in the Americas, had profound results on how people on every continent lived.

Another landmark change came in 1607 with the founding of the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. The Jamestown settlement marked the beginning of the framework of a new nation.

**Cultural Diversity in the Americas** When Columbus reached the Americas, the existing cultures varied greatly, partially because of differences in geography and climate. Each culture developed distinctive traits in response to its environment, from tropical islands where sugar grew to forests rich in animal life to land with fertile soil for growing corn (maize). Native Americans also transformed their environments. For example, people in dry regions created irrigation systems, while those in forested regions used fire to clear land for agriculture.

**Motives for Exploration** The European explorers in the Americas—first the Spanish and Portuguese, then the French and Dutch, and later the English—competed for land in the Americas. Some were motivated by desires to spread Christianity. Others hoped to become wealthy by finding an all-water route to Asia, establishing fur-trading posts, operating gold and silver mines, or developing plantations. Europeans often relied on violence to subdue or drive away native inhabitants.

**Transatlantic Exchange** Contact between Europeans and the natives of America touched off a transatlantic trade in animals, plants, and germs known as the Columbian Exchange that altered life for people around the globe.

Crops originally from America such as corn (maize), potatoes, and tomatoes revolutionized the diet of Europeans. However, germs that had developed in Europe caused epidemics in the Americas. Typically, the native population of a region declined by 90 percent within a century after the arrival of Europeans.

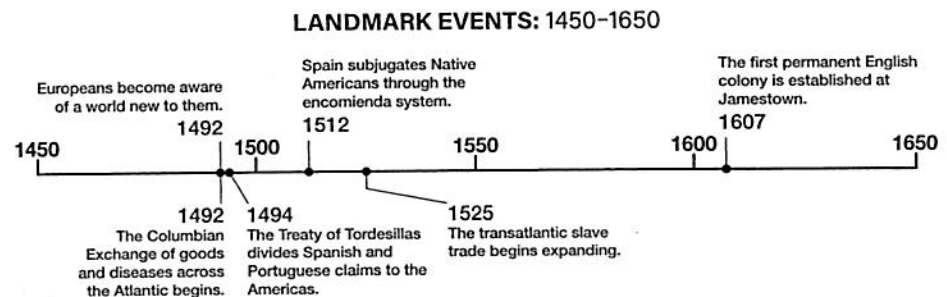
**Addition of Enslaved Africans** Adding to the diversity of people in the Americas were enslaved Africans. They were brought to the Americas by Europeans who desired low-cost labor to work in mines and on plantations. Africans, like Native Americans, resisted European domination by maintaining elements of their cultures. The three groups influenced the others' ideas and ways of life.

**European Colonies** Within a century of the arrival of Columbus, Spanish and Portuguese explorers and settlers developed colonies that depended on natives and enslaved Africans for labor in agriculture and mining precious metals. In particular, mines in Mexico and South America produced vast amounts of silver that made Spain the wealthiest European empire in the 16th and 17th centuries.

#### ANALYZE THE CONTEXT

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1. Describe a historical context for understanding the diverse Native American cultures that had developed in the Americas by the 1490s.
2. Explain a historical context for the European exploration in the Americas from the 1490s to early 1600s.
3. Explain a historical context for the interactions between Europeans and Native Americans in the period from 1491 to 1607.



## Topic 1.2

# Native American Societies Before European Contact

*The American Indian is of the soil, whether it be the region of forests, plains, pueblos, or mesas. He fits into the landscape, for the hand that fashioned the continent also fashioned the man for his surroundings.*

Luther Standing Bear, Oglala Lakota Chief, 1933

**Learning Objective:** Explain how various native populations interacted with the natural environment in North America in the period before European contact.

The original discovery and settlement of North and South America began at least 10,000 and maybe up to 40,000 years ago. Migrants from Asia might have crossed a **land bridge** that once connected Siberia and Alaska (land now submerged under the Bering Sea). Over time, people migrated southward from near the Arctic Circle to the southern tip of South America. As they adapted to the varied environments they encountered, they evolved into hundreds of tribes speaking hundreds of languages. By 1491, the population in the Americas was probably between 50 million and 100 million people.

## Cultures of Central and South America

The native population was concentrated in three highly developed civilizations.

- Between the years 300 and 800, the **Mayas** built remarkable cities in the rain forests of the Yucatán Peninsula (present-day Guatemala, Belize, and southern Mexico).
- Several centuries after the decline of the Mayas, the **Aztecs** from central Mexico developed a powerful empire. The Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán, had a population of about 200,000, equivalent in population to the largest cities of Europe.
- While the Aztecs were dominating Mexico and Central America, the **Incas** based in Peru developed a vast empire in western South America.

All three civilizations developed highly organized societies, carried on an extensive trade, and created calendars that were based on accurate scientific observations. All three cultivated crops that provided a stable food supply, particularly **corn (maize)** for the Mayas and Aztecs and potatoes for the Incas.

## Cultures of North America

The population in the region north of Mexico (present-day United States and Canada) in the 1490s may have been anywhere from under 1 million to more than 10 million.

**General Patterns** Native societies in this region included fewer people and had less complex social structures than those in Mexico and South America. One reason for these differences was how slowly the cultivation of corn (maize) spread northward from Mexico. The nutrition provided by corn allowed for larger and more densely settled populations. In turn, this led to more socially diversified societies in which people specialized in their work.

Some of the most populous societies in North America had disappeared by the 15th century for reasons not well understood. By the time of Columbus, most people in the Americas in what is now the United States and Canada lived in semipermanent settlements in groups seldom exceeding 300 people. In most of these groups, the men made tools and hunted for game, while the women gathered plants and nuts or grew crops such as corn (maize), beans, and tobacco.

**Language Differences** Beyond these broad similarities, the cultures of American Indians were very diverse. For example, while English, Spanish, and almost all other European languages were part of just one language family (Indo-European), American Indian languages constituted more than 20 language families. Among the largest of these were **Algonquian** in the northeast, **Siouan** on the Great Plains, and Athabaskan in the southwest. Together, these 20 families included more than 400 distinct languages.

**Southwest Settlements** In the dry region that now includes New Mexico and Arizona, groups such as the **Hohokam**, **Anasazi**, and **Pueblos** evolved multifaceted societies. Many people lived in caves, under cliffs, and in multistoried buildings. The spread of maize cultivation into this region from Mexico prompted economic growth and the development of irrigation systems. The additional wealth allowed for a more complex society to develop, one with greater variations between social and economic classes.

By the time Europeans arrived, extreme drought and other hostile natives had taken their toll on these groups. However, their descendants continue to live in the region, and the arid climate helped preserve some of the older stone and masonry dwellings.

**Northwest Settlements** Along the Pacific coast from what is today Alaska to northern California, people lived in permanent longhouses or plank houses. They had a rich diet based on hunting, fishing, and gathering nuts, berries, and roots. To help people remember stories, legends, and myths, they carved large totem poles. However, the high mountain ranges in this region isolated tribes from one another, creating barriers to development.

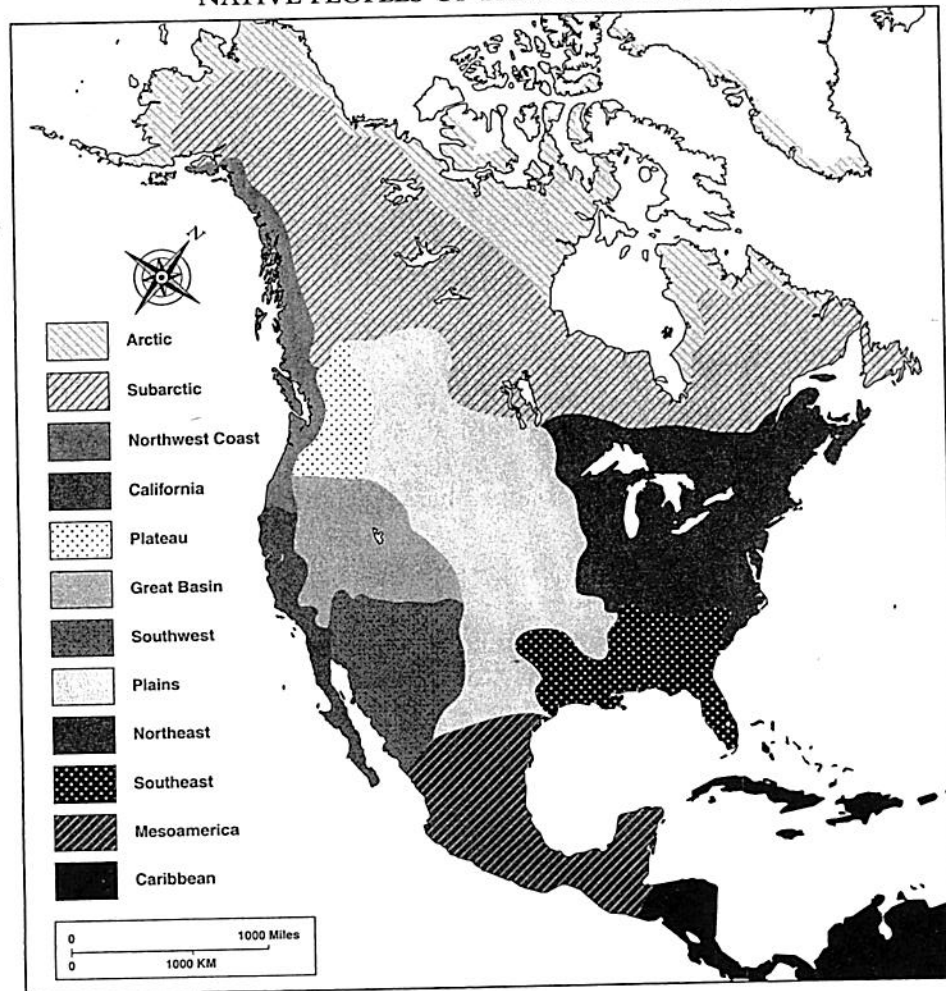
**Great Basin and Great Plains** People adapted to the dry climate of the Great Basin region and the grasslands of the Great Plains by developing mobile



ways of living. Nomadic tribes survived on hunting, principally the buffalo, which supplied their food as well as decorations, crafting tools, knives, and clothing. People lived in tepees, frames of poles covered in animal skins, which were easily disassembled and transported. Some tribes, though they also hunted buffalo, lived permanently in earthen lodges often along rivers. They raised corn (maize), beans, and squash while actively trading with other tribes.

Not until the 17th century did American Indians acquire horses by trading or stealing them from Spanish settlers. With horses, tribes such as the Lakota Sioux could more easily follow buffalo herds. The plains tribes would at times merge or split apart as conditions changed. Migration also was common. For example, the Apaches gradually migrated southward from Canada to Texas.

NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE AMERICAS, 1491



**Mississippi River Valley** East of the Mississippi River, the Woodland American Indians prospered with a rich food supply. Supported by hunting, fishing, and agriculture, people established permanent settlements in the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys and elsewhere. The Adena-Hopewell culture, centered in what is now Ohio, is famous for its large earthen mounds, some 300 feet long. One of the largest settlements in the Midwest was Cahokia (near present-day East St. Louis, Illinois), with as many as 30,000 inhabitants.

**Northeast Settlements** Some descendants of the Adena-Hopewell culture spread from the Ohio Valley into New York. Their culture combined hunting and farming. However, their farming techniques exhausted the soil quickly, so people had to move to fresh land frequently. Multiple families related through the mother's lineage lived together in **longhouses** that were up to 200 feet long.

Several tribes living near the Great Lakes and in New York—the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk, and later the Tuscaroras—formed a powerful political union called the **Iroquois Confederation**, or Haudenosaunee. From the 16th century through the American Revolution, this powerful union battled rival American Indians as well as Europeans.

**Atlantic Seaboard Settlements** In the area from New Jersey south to Florida lived the people of the Coastal Plains such as the Cherokee and the Lumbee. Many were descendants of the **Woodland mound builders** and built timber and bark lodgings along rivers. The rivers and the Atlantic Ocean provided a rich source of food

**Overall Diversity** The tremendous variety of landforms and climate prompted people in North America prior to 1492 to develop widely different cultures. While Europeans often grouped these varied cultures together, each tribe was very conscious of its own distinctive systems and traditions. Not until much later in history did they develop a shared identity as Native Americans.

#### REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Describe the influence of the natural environment on the society and culture that various Native Americans had developed.

#### KEY TERMS BY THEME

Migration (MIG, ARC)	Identity and Politics (NAT, POL)	American Indians (MIG, POL, ARC)
land bridge	Mayas	Algonquian
Hohokam, Anasazi, and Pueblos	Aztecs	Siouan
Adena-Hopewell	Incas	longhouses
Woodland mound builders	corn (maize)	Iroquois Confederation
		Woodland mound builders



# European Exploration in the Americas

*Thirty-three days after my departure . . . I reached the Indian Sea, where I discovered many islands, thickly peopled, of which I took possession without resistance in the name of our illustrious monarch, by public proclamation and with unfurled banners.*

Christopher Columbus, *Select Letters*, 1493

**Learning Objective:** Explain the causes of exploration and conquest of the New World by various European nations.

Until the late 1400s, the people of the Americas carried on extensive trade with each other but had no connection to the people of Europe, Africa, and Asia. Similarly, Europeans, Africans, and Asians traded among themselves without knowing of the Americas. However, starting in the 1400s, religious and economic motives prompted Europeans to explore more widely than before. As a result, they brought the two parts of the world into contact with each other.

## The European Context for Exploration

While Vikings from Scandinavia had visited Greenland and North America around the year 1000, these voyages had no lasting impact. Columbus's voyages of exploration finally brought people into ongoing contact across the Atlantic. Several factors made sailing across the ocean and exploring distant regions possible and desirable in the late 15th century.

### *Changes in Thought and Technology*

In Europe, a rebirth of classical learning prompted an outburst of artistic and scientific activity in the 15th and 16th centuries known as the Renaissance. Several of the technological advances during the Renaissance resulted from Europeans making improvements in the inventions of others. For example, Europeans began to use **gunpowder** (invented by the Chinese) and the **sailing compass** (adopted from Arab merchants who learned about it from the Chinese). Europeans also made major improvements in shipbuilding and mapmaking. In addition, the invention of the **printing press** in the 1450s aided the spread of knowledge across Europe.

## **Religious Conflict**

The later years of the Renaissance were a time of intense religious zeal and conflict. The Roman Catholic Church and its leader, known as the pope, had dominated most of Western Europe for centuries. However, in the 15th and 16th centuries, their power was threatened by both Ottoman Turks, who were Muslims, and rebellious Christians who challenged the pope's authority.

**Catholic Victory in Spain** In the 8th century, Islamic invaders from North Africa, known as Moors, rapidly conquered most of what is now Spain. Over the next several centuries, Spanish Christians reconquered much of the land and set up several independent kingdoms. Two of the largest of these kingdoms united when **Isabella**, queen of Castile, and **Ferdinand**, king of Aragon, married in 1469. In 1492, under the leadership of Isabella and Ferdinand, the Spanish conquered the last Moorish stronghold in Spain, the city of Granada. In that year, the monarchs also funded **Christopher Columbus** on his historic first voyage. The uniting of Spain under Isabella and Ferdinand, the conquest of Granada, and the launching of Columbus's voyage signaled new leadership, hope, and power for Europeans who followed the Roman Catholic faith.

**Protestant Revolt in Northern Europe** In the early 1500s, certain Christians in Germany, England, France, Holland, and other northern European countries revolted against the authority of the pope in Rome. Their revolt was known as the **Protestant Reformation**. Conflict between Catholics and Protestants led to a series of religious wars that resulted in many millions of deaths in the 16th and 17th centuries. The conflict also caused the Roman Catholics of Spain and Portugal and the Protestants of England and Holland to want to spread their own versions of Christianity to people in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Thus, a religious motive for exploration and colonization was added to political and economic motives.

## **Expanding Trade**

Economic motives for exploration grew out of a fierce competition among European kingdoms for increased trade with Africa, India, and China. In the past, merchants had traveled from the Italian city-state of Venice and the Byzantine city of Constantinople on a long, slow, expensive overland route all the way to eastern China. This land route to Asia had become blocked in 1453 when the Ottoman Turks seized control of Constantinople.

**New Routes** So the challenge to finding a new way to the rich Asian trade appeared to be by sailing either south along the West African coast and then east to China, or sailing west across the Atlantic Ocean. The Portuguese realized the route south and east was the shortest path. Voyages of exploration sponsored by Portugal's Prince **Henry the Navigator** eventually succeeded in opening up a long sea route around South Africa's Cape of Good Hope. In 1498, the Portuguese sea captain Vasco da Gama was the first European to reach India via this route. By this time, Columbus had attempted what he mistakenly believed would be a shorter route to Asia.

**Slave Trading** Since ancient times people in Europe, Africa, and Asia had enslaved people captured in wars. In the 15th century, the Portuguese began trading for enslaved people from West Africa. They used the enslaved workers on newly established sugar plantations on the Madeira and Azores islands off the African coast. Producing sugar with enslaved labor was so profitable that when Europeans later established colonies in the Americas, they used a similar system there.

## Developing Nation-States

Europe was also changing politically in the 15th century.

- Small kingdoms were uniting into larger ones. For example, Castile and Aragon united to form the core of the modern country of Spain.
- Enormous multiethnic empires, such as the sprawling Holy Roman Empire in central Europe, were beginning to break up. For example, most of the small states that united to form the modern country of Germany in 1871 were once part of the Holy Roman Empire.

Replacing the small kingdoms and the multiethnic empires were **nation-states**, countries in which the majority of people shared both a common culture and common loyalty toward a central government. The monarchs of the emerging nation-states, such as Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain; Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal; and similar monarchs of France, England, and the Netherlands depended on trade to bring in needed revenues and on the church to justify their right to rule.

## Dividing the Americas

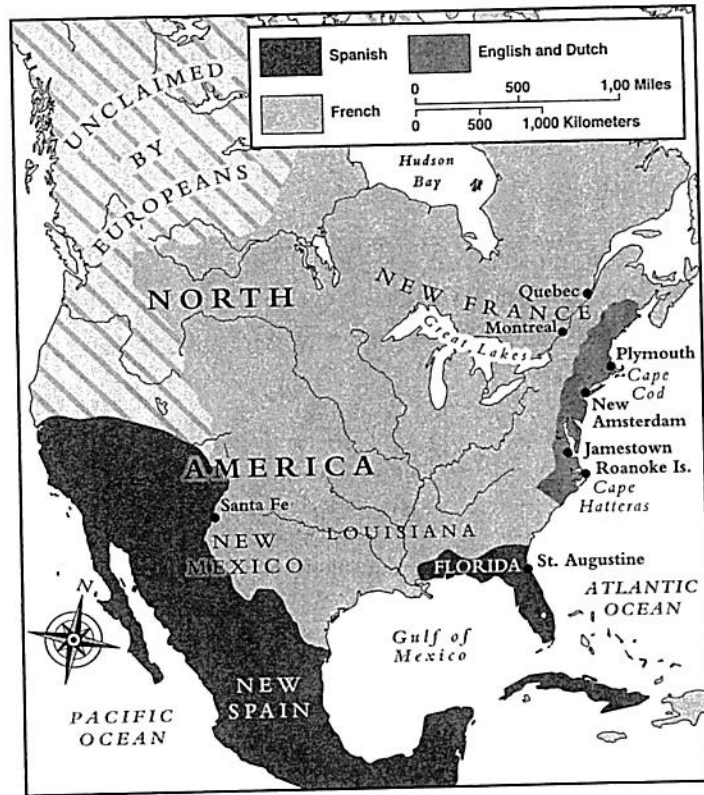
The Western European monarchs used their power to search for riches abroad and to spread the influence of their version of Christianity to new overseas dominions. This led to competition for control of land in the Americas.

**Spanish and Portuguese Claims** Spain and Portugal were the first European kingdoms to claim territories in the Americas. Their claims overlapped, leading to disputes. The Catholic monarchs of the two countries turned to the pope to resolve their differences. In 1493, the pope drew a vertical, north-south line on a world map, called the *line of demarcation*. The pope granted Spain all lands to the west of the line and Portugal all lands to the east.

In 1494, Spain and Portugal moved the pope's line a few degrees to the west and signed an agreement called the **Treaty of Tordesillas**. The line passed through what is now the country of Brazil. This treaty, together with Portuguese explorations, established Portugal's claim to Brazil. Spain claimed the rest of the Americas. However, other European countries soon challenged these claims.

**English Claims** England's earliest claims to territory in the Americas rested on the voyages of John Cabot, an Italian sea captain who sailed under contract to England's King Henry VII. Cabot explored the coast of Newfoundland in 1497.

## EUROPEAN LAND CLAIMS IN NORTH AMERICA IN THE 1600s



England, however, did not immediately follow up Cabot's discoveries with other expeditions of exploration and settlement. Other issues preoccupied England's monarchy in the 1500s, most importantly the religious conflict that followed Henry VIII's break with the Roman Catholic Church.

Later in the 16th century, England took more interest in distant affairs. In the 1570s and 1580s, under Queen Elizabeth I, England challenged Spanish shipping in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Sir Francis Drake, for example, attacked Spanish ships, seized the gold and silver that they carried, and even attacked Spanish settlements on the coast of Peru. Another English adventurer, Sir Walter Raleigh, attempted to establish a colonial settlement at **Roanoke Island** off the North Carolina coast in 1587, but the venture failed.

**French Claims** The French monarchy first showed interest in exploration in 1524 when it sponsored a voyage by an Italian navigator, Giovanni da Verrazzano. Hoping to find a northwest passage leading through the Americas to Asia, Verrazzano explored part of North America's eastern coast, including the New York harbor. French claims to American territory were also based on the voyages of Jacques Cartier (1534–1542), who explored the St. Lawrence River extensively.

Like the English, the French were slow to develop colonies across the Atlantic. During the 1500s, the French monarchy was preoccupied with European wars as well as with internal religious conflict between Roman Catholics and French Protestants known as Huguenots. Only in the next century did France develop a strong interest in following up its claims to North American land.

## REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

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1. Explain what supported and motivated European exploration and colonization in the New World.

### KEY TERMS BY THEME

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#### Atlantic Trade (WOR)

gunpowder  
sailing compass  
printing press  
Isabella and Ferdinand  
Christopher Columbus

Henry the Navigator

Treaty of Tordesillas

Roanoke Island

#### Identity & Politics (NAT, PLC)

Protestant Reformation

nation-states

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

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Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“I marvel not a little, right worshipful, that since the first discovery of America (which is now full four score and ten years), after so great conquests and plannings of the Spaniards and Portuguese there, that we of England could never have the grace to set fast footing in such fertile and temperate places as are left as yet unpossessed of them. But . . . I conceive great hope that the time approacheth and now is that we of England may share and part stakes . . . in part of America and other regions as yet undiscovered. . . .

Yea, if we would behold with the eye of pity how all our prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their country, which for small robberies are daily hanged up in great numbers, . . . we would hasten . . . the deducting [conveying] of some colonies of our superfluous people into these temperate and fertile parts of America, which being within six weeks' sailing of England, are yet unpossessed by any Christians, and seem to offer themselves unto us, stretching nearer unto Her Majesty's dominions than to other parts of Europe.”

Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent*, 1582

# Columbian Exchange, Spanish Exploration, and Conquest

*In 1491, the world was in many of its aspects and characteristics a minimum of two worlds—the New World, of the Americas, and the Old World, consisting of Eurasia and Africa. Columbus brought them together, and almost immediately and continually ever since, we have had an exchange.*

Alfred W. Crosby, historian and geographer, 2011

**Learning Objective:** Explain causes of the Columbian Exchange and its effect on Europe and the Americas during the period after 1492.

Columbus's purpose in sailing westward in the 1490s was to find a sea route to the lucrative trade with Asia, which had been limited by a long and dangerous land route. The eventual impact of what Columbus found was of far greater importance.

## Christopher Columbus

As mentioned in the previous topic, 1.3, changing economic, political, and social conditions in Europe combined to support new efforts to expand. Exploration across the seas was specifically supported by the improvements in shipbuilding and in navigation with better compasses and mapmaking. These factors all helped shape the ambitions of many to explore.

**Plans to Reach Asia** One of these explorers was from the Italian city of Genoa, Christopher Columbus. He spent eight years seeking financial support for his plan to sail west from Europe to the "Indies." Finally, in 1492, he succeeded in winning the backing of Isabella and Ferdinand. The two Spanish monarchs were then at the height of their power, having just defeated the Moors in Granada. They agreed to outfit three ships and to make Columbus governor, admiral, and viceroy of all the lands that he would claim for Spain.

After sailing from the Canary Islands on September 6, Columbus landed on an island in the Bahamas on October 12. His success in reaching lands on the other side of the ocean brought him a burst of glory in Spain. But three subsequent voyages across the Atlantic were disappointing—he found little gold, few spices, and no simple path to China and India.



## The Columbian Exchange

Europeans and the original inhabitants of the Americas had developed vastly different cultures over the millennia. The contact between them resulted in the Columbian Exchange, a transfer of plants, animals, and germs from one side of the Atlantic to the other for the first time. These exchanges, biological and cultural, permanently changed the entire world. Never again would people live in isolation from the other hemisphere.

Europeans learned about many new plants and foods, including beans, corn, sweet and white potatoes, tomatoes, and tobacco. These food items transformed the diet of people throughout Eurasia and touched off rapid population growth in regions from Ireland to West Africa to eastern China. Europeans also contracted a new disease, syphilis.

People in the Americas learned about sugar cane, bluegrasses, pigs, and horses, as well as new technology, such as the wheel, iron implements, and guns. But while the Columbian Exchange led to population growth in Europe, Africa, and Asia, it had the opposite effect in the Americas. Native Americans had no immunity to the germs and the diseases brought by Europeans, such as smallpox and measles. As a result the native population declined rapidly in the first century after contact. In Mexico, the native population declined from around 22 million in 1492 to around 4 million by the mid-16th century.

## The Rise of Capitalism

In Europe, population growth and access to new resources encouraged trade, which led to economic, political, and social changes. The medieval system of feudalism, a system in which monarchs granted land to nobles in exchange for military service, declined. In its place rose capitalism, an economic system in which control of capital (money and machinery) became more important than control of land. As trade increased, commerce became increasingly important, and political power shifted from large landowners to wealthy merchants.

One reason trade increased was that Europeans were eager to gain access to the riches of the Americas, Africa, and Asia. A single successful trade expedition could make the individual who financed the voyage very wealthy. However, ocean voyages were expensive and dangerous. One bad storm could destroy all the ships in an expedition. To finance trade voyages more safely, Europeans developed a new type of enterprise, the joint-stock company, a business owned by a large number of investors. If a voyage failed, investors lost only what they had invested. By reducing individual risk, joint-stock companies encouraged investment, thereby promoting economic growth.



### HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WAS COLUMBUS A GREAT HERO?

When Columbus died in 1506, he still believed that he had found a western route to Asia. However, many Spaniards realized he had not. Nor had he found gold and spices. They viewed him as a failure. Even the land that he had explored was named for someone else, Amerigo Vespucci.



Columbus then became more honored. Scholars praised his skills as a navigator and his daring. He traveled where nobody else had ever dared to venture. As early as 1828, Washington Irving wrote a popular biography extolling the explorer's virtues. The apex of Columbus's heroic reputation was reached in 1934 when President Franklin Roosevelt declared October 12 a national holiday.

Since the 1990s, however, historians have become more aware of the strength and diversity of indigenous cultures and the devastating impact of contact with Europeans. As a result, several biographies have revised their view of Columbus, taking a more critical look at him.

**A Fortunate Navigator** Some have argued that Columbus was simply at the right place at the right time. Europeans at the end of the 15th century were eager to find a water route to Asia. If Columbus had not run into the Americas in 1492, some other explorer—perhaps Vespucci or Cabot—would have done so a few years later.

**A Conqueror** Some revisionists take a harsh view of Columbus, regarding him not as a discoverer but as a conqueror. They portray him as a religious fanatic who sought to convert the American natives to Christianity and kill those who resisted.

**Response to the Critics** Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. argued that Columbus's chief motivation was neither greed nor ambition—it was the challenge of the unknown. Others pointed out that, while Columbus brought deadly diseases to the Americas, the costs of contact were partially offset by positive results such as the development of democracy.

Historians will continue to debate the nature of Columbus's achievement. As with other historical questions, distinguishing between fact and fiction and separating a writer's personal biases from objective reality are difficult. One conclusion is inescapable: As a result of Columbus's voyages, world history took a sharp turn in a new direction. People are still living with the consequences of this interaction.

**Support an Argument** *Explain two perspectives on Columbus's role in the European expansion in the Americas.*

## REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. How did the Columbian Exchange develop, and what was its impact on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean?

### KEY TERMS BY THEME

**Exchange & Interaction (WXT, GEO)**  
horses  
diseases

smallpox, measles  
capitalism  
joint-stock company

## Topic 1.5

# Labor, Slavery, and Caste in the Spanish Colonial System

*Know ye that I have given permission . . . to take to the Indies, the islands and the mainland of the ocean sea already discovered or to be discovered, four thousand negro slaves both male and female, provided that they be Christians.*

Emperor Charles V of Spain, colonial charter, August 18, 1518

**Learning Objective:** Explain how the growth of the Spanish Empire in North America shaped the development of social and economic structures over time.

Spanish dominance in the Americas was based on more than a papal ruling and a treaty. The new empire began with ambitious and skilled leaders in Ferdinand and Isabella. With its adventurous explorers and conquerors (called **conquistadores**) and the labor provided by Indians and enslaved Africans, Spain rapidly expanded its wealth and power.

## Spanish Exploration and Conquest

Feats such as the journey across the Isthmus of Panama to the Pacific Ocean by Vasco Núñez de Balboa, the circumnavigation of the world by one of Ferdinand Magellan's ships (Magellan died before completing the trip), the conquests of the Aztecs in Mexico by **Hernán Cortés**, and the conquest of the Incas in Peru by **Francisco Pizarro** secured Spain's initial supremacy in the Americas.

The conquistadores sent ships loaded with gold and silver back to Spain from Mexico and Peru. They increased the gold supply in Spain, making it the richest and most powerful kingdom in Europe. Spain's success encouraged other states to turn to the Americas in search of gold and power.

**Indian Labor** In Mexico and Peru, the Spanish encountered the well-organized and populous Aztec and Inca empires. Even after diseases killed most natives, millions survived. The Spanish incorporated the surviving Indians into their own empire. To control them, the Spanish used the **encomienda** system in which Spain's king granted natives who lived on a tract of land to individual Spaniards. These Indians were forced to farm or work in the mines. The fruits of their labors went to the Spanish, who in turn had to "care" for the Indians.

**Enslaved African Labor** On their sugar plantations on islands off the African coast, the Portuguese had already shown that using enslaved Africans to grow crops could be profitable. They provided a model for other Europeans. The Spanish, to add to their labor force and to replace Indians who died from diseases and brutality, began trading with African partners who could supply enslaved people. The Spanish imported people under the **asiento** system, which required colonists to pay a tax to the Spanish king on each enslaved person they imported to the Americas.

As other Europeans established American colonies, they also imported enslaved Africans in large numbers. During the colonial era, more Africans than Europeans crossed the Atlantic to the Americas. Before the transatlantic **slave trade** ended in the late 1800s, slave traders sent between 10 million and 15 million enslaved people from Africa. Between 10 percent and 15 percent died on the voyage across the Atlantic Ocean, called the **Middle Passage**.

**African Resistance** Though transported thousands of miles from their homelands and brutally repressed, Africans resisted slavery in multiple ways. They often ran away, sabotaged work, or revolted. Further, they maintained aspects of African culture, particularly in music, religion, and folkways.

## Spanish Caste System

The combination of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans made the Spanish colonies ethnically diverse. In addition, since most Spanish colonists were single men rather than families, many had children with native or African women. The result was that the Spanish colonies included many people with mixed heritage. In response, the Spanish developed a caste system that defined the status of people in the colonies by their heritage:

- At the top were pure-blooded Spaniards.
- In the middle were several levels of people ordered according to their mixture of European, Native American, and African heritage.
- At the bottom were people of pure Indian or Black heritage.

### REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

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1. How was the society and economy of North America affected by the expansion of the Spanish Empire?

#### KEY TERMS BY THEME

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**Labor Systems (WXT)**

encomienda  
asiento  
slavery

**Identity and Politics (POL)**

conquistadores  
Hernán Cortés  
Francisco Pizarro

**Atlantic Trade (WXT)**

slave trade  
Middle Passage

## Topic 1.6

# Cultural Interactions in the Americas

*The Spanish have a perfect right to rule these barbarians of the New World and the adjacent islands, who in prudence, skill, virtues, and humanity are as inferior to the Spanish as children to adults, or women to men.*

Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, Spanish theologian, 1547

**Learning Objective:** Explain how and why European and Native American perspectives of others developed and changed in the period.

**H**istory is filled with experiences of contact between diverse people, such as the Romans and Africans in the Classical Era, or the Christians and Muslims in the Middle Ages. Often these conflicts were violent, but they were in small regions and lasted no more than a couple centuries. The contact between Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans in the Americas also featured violence, but the interaction was on a much larger scale for a much longer time.

Europeans and Native Americans held conflicting worldviews. For example, most Europeans believed in a single god, while most Native Americans honored many deities. European women had little role in public life, while Native American women in some tribes held decision-making positions. Europeans used legal documents to establish the right to plow a field or hunt in a forest. Native Americans relied more on tradition to make land use decisions.

## European Treatment of Native Americans

The Europeans who colonized North and South America generally viewed Native Americans as inferior people who could be exploited for economic gain, converted to Christianity, and used as military allies. However, Europeans used various approaches for ruling Native Americans and operating colonies.

### *Spanish Policy*

The Spanish overwhelmingly subjugated Native Americans. However, Spanish scholars also debated the status of Native Americans and the treatment of them.

**Bartolomé de Las Casas** One European who dissented from the views of most Europeans toward Native Americans was a Spanish priest named

**Bartolomé de Las Casas.** Though he had owned land and slaves in the West Indies and had fought in wars against the Indians, he eventually became an advocate for better treatment for Indians. He persuaded the king to institute the **New Laws of 1542**. These laws ended Indian slavery, halted forced Indian labor, and began to end the encomienda system that kept the Indians in serfdom. Conservative Spaniards, eager to keep the encomienda system, responded and successfully pushed the king to repeal parts of the New Laws.

**Valladolid Debate** The debate over the role for Indians in the Spanish colonies came to a head in a formal debate in 1550–1551 in Valladolid, Spain. On one side, Las Casas argued that the Indians were completely human and morally equal to Europeans, so enslaving them was not justified. On the other side, another priest, **Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda**, argued that Indians were less than human. Hence, they benefited from serving the Spaniards in the encomienda system. Neither side clearly persuaded the entire audience. Though Las Casas was unable to gain equal treatment for Native Americans, he established the basic arguments on behalf of justice for Indians.

### ***English Policy***

Unlike the Spanish, the English settled in areas with no large native empires that could provide forced labor. Further, when English colonists arrived in the 1600s, European diseases had already dramatically reduced the indigenous population. In addition, many English colonists came in families rather than as single young men, so marriage with natives was less common.

Initially, at least in Massachusetts, the English and the American Indians coexisted, traded, and shared ideas. American Indians taught the settlers how to grow new crops such as corn (maize) and showed them how to hunt in the forests. They traded furs for an array of English manufactured goods, including iron tools and weapons, that they found useful.

But peaceful relations soon gave way to conflict and warfare. Most English showed no respect for American Indian cultures, which they viewed as “savage.” American Indians saw their way of life threatened as the English seized land to support their growing population. The English occupied the land and forced the small, scattered tribes they encountered to move away from the coast to inland territories. They expelled the natives rather than subjugating them.

### ***French Policy***

The French, looking for furs and converts to Catholicism, viewed American Indians as potential economic and military allies. Compared to the Spaniards and the English, the French maintained good relations with the tribes they encountered. Seeking to control the fur trade, the French built trading posts throughout the St. Lawrence Valley, the Great Lakes region, and along the Mississippi River. At these posts, they exchanged French goods for beaver pelts and other furs collected by American Indians. Because the French had few colonists, farms, or towns, they posed less threat to the native population than

did other Europeans. In addition, French soldiers assisted the Huron people in fighting their traditional enemy, the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee).

## Survival Strategies by Native Americans

As European settlements expanded, Native Americans responded to protect their cultures. One strategy was to ally with one European power or another. For example, in Mexico, several tribes allied with the Spanish to help them win their freedom from the Aztecs in the 16th century. Later, in the Ohio River Valley, the Delawares and the Shawnees allied closely with the French against English encroachment on their land.

Other tribes simply migrated west to get away from settlers, though this often led them into conflict with Native Americans already living in a region. The conflicts reflected the strong tribal loyalty that Native Americans felt. Since they did not identify as part of a larger group that included all tribes, European settlers pushing westward rarely faced a unified response from Native Americans. Only later would the shared desire to resist European power lead people to identify as Native Americans as well as members of a particular tribe. Regardless of how they dealt with the European invasion, Native Americans would never be able to return to the life they had known prior to 1492.

## The Role of Africans in America

Africans contributed a third cultural tradition in the Americas. Their experience growing rice resulted in rice becoming an important crop in the colonies of South Carolina and Louisiana. They brought musical rhythms and styles of singing that shaped the development of music throughout the Americas. They also introduced European settlers to the banjo. By the 19th century, the banjo would be closely associated with the culture of the southeastern United States.

Europeans justified slavery in many ways. Some cited passages from the Bible to support their belief that slavery had always existed and was approved by God. As slavery became exclusively for Africans, Europeans began to argue that Africans were biologically inferior, so enslaving them was acceptable. This was similar to the argument used by de Sepúlveda regarding Native Americans.

### REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Describe the evolution in the views of the Europeans and Native Americans toward each during the period of European colonization.

#### KEY TERMS BY THEME

**Identity and Politics  
(NAT, POL)**  
New Laws of 1542

**Values and Attitudes  
(SOC)**  
Bartolomé de Las Casas

Valladolid Debate  
Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda



## Topic 1.7

# Causation in Period 1

**Learning Objective:** Explain the effects of the development of transatlantic voyages from 1491 to 1607.

The reasoning skill of “causation” is the suggested focus for evaluating the content of this period. As explained in the contextualization introduction to Period 1, there are many factors to consider in the broad topic of European encounters in the Americas in the 15th and 16th centuries. One needs to be able to *describe what caused* the Native Americans to develop diverse societies across the enormous and varied lands of North America. This appreciation of the status of Native Americans during this period will help to *explain the specific developments* when the Europeans came to explore what they saw as a “new world.”

A number of factors had come together to explain the causes of the European explorations during this particular period. For example, both desires to spread Christianity and desires for economic gain. However, not all causes are equally significant. One task of a historian is to weigh the evidence to decide how much emphasis to place on each of these various causes. Among the most common differences among historians are debates over whether one cause was more important than another.

Note that causation implies that an event or development had an effect. The results of the contact are viewed by some as the Columbian Exchange, which *explain both the short- and long-term* impact not only on both sides of the Atlantic but on people throughout the world. Given the many factors involved, one can argue as to the *historically significant effects* on the various peoples involved on both sides of the Atlantic.

### QUESTIONS ABOUT CAUSATION

1. Explain the factors that resulted in various Native American groups developing their own unique cultures.
2. Explain a significant development in Europe by the 15th and 16th centuries that caused a surge in exploration.
3. Explain the extent to which the Columbian Exchange had beneficial effects on both the Native Americans and Europeans.





Below are models of a step-by-step process for analyzing a primary source and a secondary source. As you study the italicized questions and answers, consider alternate answers based on your own knowledge and skill as a historical thinker.

### Analyzing a Primary Source

“Being earnestly requested by a dear friend to put down in writing some true relation of our late performed voyage to the north parts of Virginia [Massachusetts] I resolved to satisfy his request. . . .

“Coming ashore, we stood awhile like men ravished at the beauty and delicacy of this sweet soil. For besides diverse clear lakes of fresh water . . . meadows very large and full of green grass. . . .

“[This climate so agreed with us] that we found our health and strength all the while we remained there so to renew and increase as, notwithstanding our diet and lodging was none of the best, yet not one of our company (God be thanked) felt the least grudging or inclination to any disease or sickness but were much fatter and in better health than when we went out of England.”

John Brereton, *The Discovery of the North Part of Virginia*, 1602

### Content

- *What is the key point?* New England has a healthy environment.
- *What content is useful?* It states one early impression of New England, which can help explain why Europeans wanted to colonize the region.

### The Author's Point of View

- *Who was the author?* John Brereton, an Englishman
- *How reliable is the author?* Answering this requires additional research.
- *What was the author's point of view?* New England is a wonderful place.
- *What other beliefs might the author hold?* He believes in God.

### The Author's Purpose

- *Why did the author create this document at this time?* Others expressed interest in his experiences in land that was new to them.
- *How does the document's purpose reflect its reliability?* The author could be biased to encourage investment in colonization.

### Audience

- *Who was this document created for?* people in England
- *How might the audience affect the document's content?* The audience was looking for opportunities for success in the Americas.
- *How might the audience affect its reliability?* It might emphasize positive information.

## Historical Context

- *When and where was this produced?* England in the early 17th century
- *What concurrent events might have affected the author?* the desire of many to encourage and profit from the new colonies

## Format/Medium

- *What is the format?* a first-person narrative

## Limitations

- *What is one limitation of the excerpt or the author's view?* The document says nothing about the indigenous people living in the region.

## Analyzing a Secondary Source

“Why did the English found colonies and make them stick? For most the goal was material. . . . For some the goal was spiritual. . . . But all the colonists who suffered perilous voyages and risked early death in America were either hustlers or hustled. That is, they knew the hardships beforehand and were courageous, desperate, or faithful enough to face them, or else they did not know what lay ahead but were taken in by the propaganda of sponsors. . . . In every case colonists left a swarming competitive country that heralded self-improvement but offered limited opportunities for it.”

Walter A. McDougall, *Freedom Just Around the Corner*, 2004

## Content and Argument

- *What is the main idea of the excerpt?* English settlers came to America for diverse reasons.
- *What information supports this historian?* The author gives examples of both the religious Puritans and adventurers as settlers.
- *What information challenges this historian?* Many people were forced to settle in America because they were enslaved or convicts.
- *What is the interpretation of events argued for in this excerpt?* The opportunities for prosperity and religious freedom were far greater in the colonies than those they left behind in Europe.

## The Author's Point of View

- *How could the author's perspective have been shaped by the times in which he wrote?* The author was writing in 2004, long after the English colonies had become the United States. The size and power of the United States might have led him to focus on the lack of these traits in the colonies.
- *Why might another historian view the same events differently?* Another historian might emphasize a single factor instead of multiple factors.

## Topic 9.1

# Contextualizing Period 9

**Learning Objective:** Explain the context in which the United States faced international and domestic challenges after 1980.

The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 signaled the closing of the chapter on the postwar era. The United States now entered a more conservative political period. The political divide between rural and urban regions increased. Rural regions became older, whiter, and more conservative. Urban regions became younger, multicultural, and more open to changing ideas about gender and ethnicity. This divide showed up clearly in bitterly fought presidential elections, contentious federal court nominations, and government shutdowns.



In Reagan's historic appearance at the Brandenburg Gate of the Berlin Wall in 1987, he challenged the Soviets to "tear down this wall."

**Source:** Ronald Reagan Presidential Library

In foreign affairs, President Reagan combined an aggressive anti-Communist foreign policy with a willingness to negotiate arms-reduction treaties with the Soviet Union, which collapsed in 1991. However, the end of the Cold War took away the 45-year focus of U.S. foreign policy and revealed the political, ethnic, and religious conflicts long suppressed in many countries during the Cold War that would explode in violence in the following decades. After the terrorists' attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States quickly became involved in seemingly endless wars in the Middle East, and terrorist threats and homeland security came to dominate American priorities.

The decline of faith in the federal government's ability to solve social and economic problems, and the championing of unregulated markets by American corporations, gave conservatism new life in both the Republican

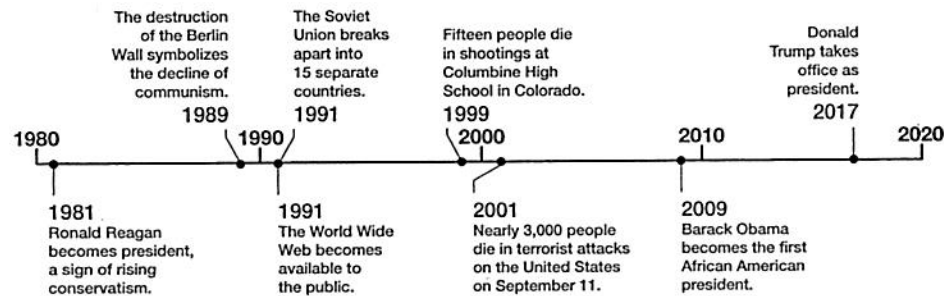
and Democratic Parties. Republicans were also strengthened by the increasing involvement of evangelical Christians in politics, the demographic growth of the Sun Belt, and the shift of Southern White conservative voters into their party. However, the economic problems of the era also opened the door to populist and autocratic movements.

After 1980, increased competition from globalization and financial mismanagement at home challenged American economic success. Corporate capitalism and tax cuts seemed to mainly benefit the top 5 percent, while the income of the lower and middle class stagnated. Industrial decline in many parts of America and downturns in the economy, such as the Great Recession of 2008, left many Americans living in or on the edge of poverty. Depression and drug use increased, and the average American life span declined for the first time in many decades.

## ANALYZE THE CONTEXT

1. Explain the historical context for the international challenges faced by the United States after 1980.
2. Explain the historical context for the domestic challenges faced by the United States after 1980.

### LANDMARK EVENTS: 1980-2020



Source: Justice for Jamar Response Action

Killings of African American by police led to marches for racial justice around the country beginning in 2014, an effort was known as the Black Lives Matter movement.

# Reagan and Conservatism

*In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem.*

President Ronald Reagan, inaugural address, January 20, 1981

**Learning Objective:** Explain the causes and effects of continuing debates about the role of the federal government.

The rebirth of the conservative movement can be traced back to the Goldwater campaign for president in 1964. The election of Ronald Reagan as president in 1980 signaled its arrival as a dominant force in American politics.

## Ronald Reagan and the Election of 1980

**Ronald Reagan**, a well-known movie and television actor, gained fame among Republicans as an effective political speaker in the 1964 Goldwater campaign. He was soon elected the governor of California, the nation's most populous state. By 1976, Reagan was the party's leading spokesperson for conservative positions, and he almost defeated President Ford for the nomination. Handsome and vigorous in his late sixties, he proved a master of the media and was seen by millions as a likable and sensible champion of average Americans. In 1980, Reagan won the Republican presidential nomination.

**Campaign for President** As the Republican nominee, Reagan attacked the Democrats for expanding government and for undermining U.S. prestige abroad. (Throughout the campaign, American hostages remained in the hands of Iranian radicals.) Reagan also pointed to a "misery index" of 22 (the rate of inflation added to the rate of unemployment) and concluded his campaign by asking a huge television audience, "Are you better off now than you were four years ago?" The voters' rejection of Carter's presidency and the growing conservative mood gave Reagan 51 percent of the popular vote and almost 91 percent of the electoral vote. Carter received 41 percent of the popular vote. A third candidate, John Anderson, a moderate Republican running as an independent, received 8 percent.

**Significance** Reagan's election broke up a key element of the New Deal coalition by taking more than 50 percent of the blue-collar vote. The defeat of 11 liberal Democratic senators targeted by a political organization of conservative Christians called the Moral Majority gave the Republicans control

of the Senate for the first time since 1954. The Republicans also gained 33 seats in the House. The combination of Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats formed a working majority on many key issues. The 1980 election ended a half century of Democratic dominance of Congress.

## The Reagan Revolution

On the very day that Reagan was inaugurated, the Iranians released the 52 American hostages, giving his administration a positive start. Two months later, the president survived a serious gunshot wound from an assassination attempt. Reagan handled the crisis with such humor and charm that he emerged from the ordeal as an even more popular leader. He ran as a mainstream conservative whose goal was to reduce the size and scope of the federal government. Reagan pledged that his administration would lower taxes, reduce government spending on welfare, build up the U.S. Armed Forces, and create a more conservative federal court. He delivered on all four promises—but there were costs.

### *Reaganomics*

The Reagan administration advocated **supply-side economics**, arguing that tax cuts and reduced government spending would increase investment by the private sector, which would lead to increased production, jobs, and prosperity. This approach, which became known as “**Reaganomics**,” contrasted with the Keynesian economics long favored by the Democrats, which relied on government spending during economic downturns to boost consumer income and demand. Critics of the supply-side theory compared it to the “**trickle-down**” economics of the 1920s, in which wealthy Americans prospered and some of their increased spending benefited the middle class and the poor.

**Federal Tax Reduction** The legislative activity early in Reagan’s presidency reminded some in the media of FDR’s Hundred Days. Congress passed the **Economic Recovery Tax Act** of 1981, which included a 25 percent decrease in personal income taxes over three years. Cuts in the corporate income tax, capital gains tax, and gift and inheritance taxes guaranteed that a large share of the tax relief went to upper-income taxpayers. Under Reagan, the top income tax rate was reduced to 28 percent. At the same time, small investors were also helped by a provision that allowed them to invest up to \$2,000 a year in Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs) without paying taxes on this money until they withdrew it.

**Spending** With the help of conservative Southern Democrats (“boll weevils”), the Republicans cut more than \$40 billion from domestic programs, such as food stamps, student loans, and mass transportation. However, these savings were offset by a dramatic increase in military spending. Reagan pushed through no cuts in Medicare or Social Security, but he did support and sign into law a bipartisan bill to strengthen Social Security. The law increased what



individuals paid into the system, raised the age at which they could get full benefits to 67, and taxed some benefits paid to upper-income recipients.

**Deregulation** Following up on the promise of “getting government off the backs of the people,” the Reagan administration reduced federal regulations on business and industry—a policy of deregulation begun under Carter. Restrictions were eased on savings and loan institutions, mergers and takeovers by large corporations, and environmental protection. To help the struggling American auto industry, regulations on emissions and auto safety were also loosened. Secretary of the Interior James Watt opened federal lands for increased coal and timber production and offshore waters for oil drilling.

**Labor Unions** Despite having once been the president of the Screen Actors Guild, Reagan took a tough stand against unions. He fired thousands of striking federal air traffic controllers for violating their contract and he decertified their union (PATCO). Many businesses followed this action by hiring striker replacements in labor conflicts. These anti-union policies, along with the loss of manufacturing jobs, hastened the decline of union membership among nonfarm workers from more than 30 percent in 1962 to only 12 percent in the late 1990s. In addition, the recession of 1982 and foreign competition had a dampening effect on workers’ wages.

**Recession and Recovery** In 1982, the nation suffered one of the worst recessions since the 1930s. Banks failed and unemployment reached 11 percent. However, the recession, along with a fall in oil prices, reduced the double-digit inflation rate of the late 1970s to less than 4 percent. With lower inflation, tax cuts, and ballooning federal deficits, the economy rebounded beginning in 1983. However, the recovery only widened the income gap between rich and poor. While upper-income groups, including well-educated workers and “yuppies” (young urban professionals), enjoyed higher incomes from lower taxes and a deregulated marketplace, the standard of living of the middle class remained stagnant or declined. Not until the late 1990s did the middle class gain back some of its losses.

### ***Social Issues***

President Reagan followed through on his pledge to appoint conservative judges to the Supreme Court. His nominations included **Sandra Day O’Connor**, the first woman on the court, as well as Antonin Scalia and Anthony Kennedy. Led by a new chief justice, **William Rehnquist**, the Supreme Court shifted to the right. It scaled back affirmative action in hiring and promotions and limited *Roe v. Wade* by allowing states to impose greater restrictions on abortion, such as requiring minors to notify their parents before having an abortion. However, the court did not end affirmative action or overturn the *Roe* decision.

### ***The Election of 1984***

The return of prosperity restored public confidence in the Reagan administration. At their convention in 1984, Republicans nominated their popular president by



acclamation. Democrats nominated Walter Mondale, Carter's vice president, to be their presidential candidate. For vice president, they chose Representative Geraldine Ferraro of New York, the first woman to run on a major-party ticket.

President Reagan campaigned on an optimistic "It's Morning Again in America" theme. Reagan won every state except Mondale's home state of Minnesota. Two-thirds of White males voted for Reagan. Only two groups of voters favored the Democrats: African Americans and people earning less than \$12,500 a year.

### ***Budget and Trade Deficits***

By the mid-1980s, Reagan's tax cuts, combined with large increases in military spending, were creating larger federal deficits. In 1979, the federal deficit was 1.5 percent of GDP. By 1986, it was 4.8 percent. Over the course of Reagan's two terms as president, the national debt tripled from about \$900 billion to almost \$2.7 trillion. The tax cuts, designed to stimulate investments, seemed only to increase consumption, especially of foreign-made luxury and consumer items. As a result, the U.S. trade deficit reached a then-staggering \$150 billion a year. The cumulative trade imbalance of \$1 trillion during the 1980s contributed to a dramatic increase in the foreign ownership of U.S. real estate and industry. In 1985, for the first time since the World War I era, the United States became a debtor nation.

Fearing that the federal deficit was getting too large, Congress passed and Reagan signed several bills to increase taxes. In 1985, Congress passed the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Balanced Budget Act, which provided for across-the-board spending cuts. Court rulings and later congressional changes kept this legislation from achieving its full purpose. However, the combination of spending cuts, tax increases, and greater revenues from a stronger economy reduced the deficit to a manageable 2.9 percent of GDP in 1988.

### ***Impact of President Reagan***

During President Reagan's two terms, the government reduced restrictions on the economy and placed more money in the hands of investors and higher-income Americans. His policies also reduced the growth of the New Deal/Great Society welfare state. Another legacy of the Reagan years was greater concern about large federal deficits. Neither Democrats nor Republicans felt they could propose new social programs, such as universal health coverage. Instead of asking what new government programs might be needed, Reaganomics changed the debate to issues of which government programs to cut and by how much.

By the end of Reagan's second term in 1988, "the great communicator's" combination of style, humor, and expressions of patriotism had won over the electorate. He would leave office as one of the most popular presidents of the 20th century. In addition, he changed the politics of the nation for at least a generation by bringing many former Democrats into the Republican Party.

## President George H. W. Bush

In the 1988 election, the Republican ticket consisted of Reagan's vice president, **George H. W. Bush**, and a young Indiana senator, Dan Quayle. Michael Dukakis, governor of Massachusetts, won the Democratic nomination and balanced the ticket geographically by selecting Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas as his running mate. Bush did not have Reagan's ease in front of the camera, but he quickly overtook a low-key Dukakis by charging that the Democrat was soft on crime (for furloughing criminals) and weak on national defense. Bush also appealed to voters by promising not to raise taxes: "Read my lips—**no new taxes.**"

The Republicans won a decisive victory in November by a margin of 7 million votes. Once again, the Democrats failed to win the confidence of most White middle-class voters. Nevertheless, the voters sent mixed signals by returning larger Democratic majorities to both the House and the Senate. Americans evidently believed in the system of checks and balances, but it often produced legislative gridlock in Washington.

President Bush faced a host of domestic problems. While some grew out of his decisions, others reflected larger economic changes. (See Topic 9.4.)

**Nomination of Clarence Thomas** The president's nomination of **Clarence Thomas** to the Supreme Court to replace the retiring Thurgood Marshall proved extremely controversial. Thomas faced strong opposition because of his conservative judicial philosophy, opposition to government efforts to combat racism, and the charges of sexual harassment against him. In the final Senate vote, a coalition of 41 Republicans and 11 Democrats approved his confirmation. He became only the second African American member of the Supreme Court.

**Taxes and the Economy** Americans were shocked to learn that the government's intervention to save weak savings and loan institutions (S&Ls) and to pay insured depositors for funds lost in failed S&Ls would cost the taxpayers more than \$250 billion. Also disturbing were the federal budget deficits of more than \$250 billion a year. In 1990, Bush, worried that federal deficits were growing too high and recognizing that most federal spending was for programs voters liked, such as defense, violated his campaign pledge of "no new taxes." He agreed to \$133 billion in new taxes. Many Republicans felt betrayed. The unpopular tax law increased the top income tax rate to 31 percent and raised federal excise taxes on beer, wine, cigarettes, gasoline, luxury cars, and yachts. Most damaging of all for Bush's reelection prospects was a recession starting in 1990. The prosperity that began under Reagan ended as unemployment increased and average family income decreased.

**Americans with Disabilities Act** Bush's most significant accomplishment in domestic affairs was that he signed into law the **Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA)** in 1990. This act prohibited discrimination against citizens with physical and mental disabilities in hiring, transportation, and public accommodation. This act had a lasting change on the country, bringing individuals with disabilities into the mainstream of American life.

**Political Inertia** President Bush began his administration calling for “a kinder, gentler America” and declaring himself the “education president.” However, dealing with budget issues and the declining trust in government allowed him little opportunity to change the direction of government. He tried to carry on Reagan’s attempt to cut federal programs, but this was difficult in the midst of a recession. His administration seemed to offer little hope to the growing numbers of Americans who felt left behind by economic change and the “Reagan revolution.”

## **Political Polarization**

During most of this period the nation continued to become more divided between the conservative South, Great Plains, and Mountain States and the more moderate-to-liberal Northeast and West Coast. As a result of this division, a few swing states, such as Ohio and Florida, determined presidential elections. The more traditional, religious, and limited- or anti-government small towns and rural areas went Republican, while the more diverse large urban centers and internationally minded coasts voted Democratic.

The shift of Southern White conservatives that began in the 1960s from the Democratic to the Republican Party transformed American politics. In the 1990s, Southern conservatives took over the leadership of the Republican Party, making it more conservative and partisan. As the party of Lincoln became the party of Ronald Reagan, moderate Republicans lost influence and primary contests to conservatives. In the state legislatures, both parties gerrymandered congressional districts to create “safe seats,” which rewarded partisanship and discouraged compromise in Congress. As the Republican Party became more ideologically conservative and Southern conservatives left the Democratic Party, the political split deepened. Close elections often created divided governments and legislative stagnation.

**Divisions in the Federal Government** The conservative resurgence starting with the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 was most apparent in state legislatures and the control of Congress. In the post-World War II era, Democrats controlled the House and Senate with few exceptions until the 1980s, after which the control of the House and Senate has been closely contested, resulting in legislative stalemate and government shutdowns. However, the shift of Southern conservatives to the Republican Party gave the edge to the Republicans, especially in the Electoral College.

In the seven presidential elections after 1988, the Democrats won the popular vote for six times, but won the White House only four times. In 2000 and 2016, the Republican candidates won the electoral vote and hence the presidency. In often very close elections, Democratic Bill Clinton won the presidential elections of 1992 and 1996. Republican George W. Bush (son of George H. W. Bush) won the elections of 2000 and 2004. Democrat Barack Obama won the elections of 2008 and 2012 to become the first African American president. In 2016, Donald Trump, a one-time Democrat who became a Republican and reshaped the party, won the election for president.

POLITICAL CONTROL OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, 1980 TO 2018							
Election Year	House of Rep.	Senate	Presidency	Election Year	House of Rep.	Senate	Presidency
1980	D	R	R	2000	R	D	R
1982	D	R		2002	R	R	
1984	D	R	R	2004	R	R	R
1986	D	D		2006	D	D	
1988	D	D	R	2008	D	D	D
1990	D	D		2010	R	D	
1992	D	D	D	2012	R	D	D
1994	R	R		2014	R	R	
1996	R	R	D	2016	R	R	R
1998	R	R		2018	D	R	

**The Media** Conservative versus liberal disagreements contributed to the growing partisan divide in Washington and across the nation. Changes in the media also intensified partisanship. CNN, television's first 24-hour all-news network in 1980, and the growth of cable television provided platforms that opened up American media to many different views and voices. The growth of talk radio in the late 1980s provided another outlet, especially for conservative opinions. Hosts such as Rush Limbaugh developed a large following. The media became more polarized after an FCC ruling in 1987 abolished the fairness doctrine. This doctrine had required broadcasters to present the news and issues of public debate in a manner the FCC considered honest, equitable, and balanced. Critics argued that the doctrine violated freedom of speech.

**Abortion** The Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* ruling in 1973 granted women the right to choose to have an abortion without excessive government restrictions. This ruling prompted a fierce, ongoing moral debate over abortion. Some argued that human beings came into existence at the moment of conception, so abortion was murder and should be illegal. Others argued that each woman had a right to control her own body, so whether to have an abortion was her choice and should be legal. In national politics, the issue produced a continual fight over appointment of federal judges, especially to the Supreme Court, who could uphold, restrict, or overturn the decision.

**Gun Rights** The assassination attempt on President Reagan renewed discussion for regulating gun ownership, especially for unstable persons. Congress in 1993 passed the **Brady Bill**, which mandated background checks and a five-day waiting period for the purchase of handguns. The **National Rifle Association (NRA)** mobilized its supporters to overturn the bill and helped to defeat politicians who supported it. In 2008, the Supreme Court ruled in *District of Columbia v. Heller* that the 2nd Amendment provides an individual the right to possess a firearm unconnected with service in a militia.

This created a new hurdle for the regulation of gun ownership, as some gun advocates argued that gun ownership was a constitutional right that allowed no, or only very limited, restrictions. The debate over guns grew more intense in the 21st century in response to mass shootings in schools, workplaces, clubs, and concerts. In general, conservatives and Republicans opposed new regulations on gun sales, background checks, and the ownership of semi-automatic military-style weapons, while liberals and Democrats were more supportive of these regulations.

**Women's Equality and Safety** Women during this period increased their participation in the labor force, narrowed the pay gap, and were more likely to be college educated than men. However, women still lagged in achieving pay equity and getting hired as top business leaders.

Women were also twice as likely as men to report gender discrimination on the job. It took the #MeToo movement in 2017 to roll back the curtain on the problem of sexual harassment and sexual abuse throughout society. In response, many businesses examined how they could improve their sexual harassment policies and end gender-based pay differences. A priority for the #MeToo movement was to change the laws surrounding sexual harassment and assault and to give survivors the ability to file complaints without retaliation. Many people with traditional views felt that the proposed reforms went too far.

**African Americans and Justice** The civil rights movement of the previous period opened up opportunities for many African Americans to move into the middle class and leadership positions in business and government. However, the legacy of segregation and ongoing discrimination was still evident in the poverty and incarceration rates, which for Black men was five times greater than Whites. Police beatings and killings of unarmed Black men and boys during arrests drew increasing attention during this period. The video of the severe beating of Rodney King in 1991 and the acquittal of the police involved ignited a national conversation about racial disparity in the justice system and the police use of force. The issue escalated as more videos captured police killing and beating Black men and boys. Starting in 2013, the **Black Lives Matter** movement began campaigning for reforms in police training and arrest procedures. The death of George Floyd in 2020 resulting from a police officer kneeling on his neck created international protests and deepened the divide between advocates for human rights and advocates for law and order.

**LGBT Rights** Equality related to sexual orientation continued to divide conservatives and liberals. President Clinton (1993–2001) failed to end discrimination against gays in the military and settled for the rule, “Don’t ask, don’t tell.” In 2009, Congress made it a federal crime to assault someone because of sexual orientation or gender identity. Over several years, more than 30 states allowed same-sex marriage by legislation or by court order. Finally, in a 5–4 decision, the Supreme Court ruled in *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015) that the Fourteenth Amendment protects the right of same-sex couples to marry. Some objected to same-sex marriage because of their religious beliefs or cultural values.



**Immigration** Demographic changes such as immigration from Latin America and Asia also contributed to political divisions during this period. (See Topic 9.5.) The divisions continued the long history of conflict over immigration between some native-born citizens who found fault with the newer arrivals because of their ethnic, racial, religious, or cultural traits. During this period, the issue of amnesty for those who had entered the country without authorization became a roadblock to immigration reform in Congress. Opponents argued that undocumented immigrants should be forced to leave the United States and, like other aspiring immigrants, apply to enter the country.

**Economy and Health** The growing income and wealth disparities between the wealthy and lower-income Americans and the domination of the economy by Wall Street and large corporations created debates, especially during recessions, when lower-income Americans tended to suffer the most, such as in the Great Recession of 2008. However, the issue of health care coverage for all Americans was an ongoing issue between those who argued that health care was a right and others who held it was a personal responsibility that should not involve the government. The Affordable Care Act of 2010 deeply divided Washington, with Republicans repeatedly trying to repeal it. The pandemic of 2020 also raised doubts about both the readiness of the health care system in the United States during a crisis and the disparity in health outcomes for the poor and minorities.

The problem of political polarization between liberals and conservatives, between Democrats and Republicans, became more critical during this period because it often prevented the political system from dealing with the challenges coming from within and from outside the nation. It caused former allies and observers around the world to question if the United States could carry on the leadership roles that it took on during the 20th century, or would that leadership pass on to others?

#### REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain two causes and two effects of the debate about the role of the federal government during the period after 1980.

#### KEY TERMS BY THEME

<b>Conservatism (PCE)</b>	Sandra Day O'Connor	National Rifle Association
Ronald Reagan	William Rehnquist	(NRA)
supply-side economics	George H. W. Bush	<i>District of Columbia v.</i>
("Reaganomics")	"no new taxes"	<i>Heller</i>
"trickle down" economics	Clarence Thomas	LGBT rights
Economic Recovery Tax	Americans with Disabilities	"Don't ask, don't tell"
Act	Act	Black Lives Matter
deregulation	political polarization	#MeToo
PATCO	Brady Bill	<i>Obergefell v. Hodges</i>



## Topic 9.3

# The End of the Cold War

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

Ronald Reagan, speech at Brandenburg Gate, West Berlin, June 12, 1987

**Learning Objective:** Explain the causes and effects of the end of the Cold War and its legacy.

Historians debate the relative importance of the various causes for the end of the Cold War, but the roles of Ronald Reagan of the United States and **Mikhail Gorbachev** of the Soviet Union were pivotal. Today, Europeans, Russians, and Americans continue to experience its long-lasting effects.

## Foreign Policy During the Reagan Years

Reagan started his presidency determined to build the military might and superpower prestige of the United States and to intensify the Cold War competition with the Soviet Union. He called the Soviet Communists the “**evil empire**” and “focus of evil in the modern world.” Reagan was prepared to use military force to back up his rhetoric. During his second term, however, he proved flexible enough in his foreign policy to respond to significant changes in the Soviet Union and its **satellites** in Eastern Europe.

## Renewing the Cold War

Increased spending for defense and aid to anti-Communist forces in Latin America marked Reagan’s approach to the Cold War during his first term.

**Military Buildup** The Reagan administration spent billions to build new weapons systems, such as the B-1 bomber and the MX missile, and to expand the U.S. Navy from 450 to 600 ships. The administration also increased spending on the **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)**, an ambitious plan for building a high-tech system of lasers and particle beams to destroy enemy missiles before they could reach U.S. territory. Critics called the SDI “**Star Wars**” and argued that the costly program would only escalate the arms race and could be overwhelmed by the Soviets building more missiles. Although

Congress made some cuts in the Reagan proposals, the defense budget grew from \$171 billion in 1981 to more than \$300 billion in 1985.

**Central America** In the Americas, Reagan supported “friendly” right-wing dictators to keep out communism. In **Nicaragua** in 1979, a Marxist movement known as the **Sandinistas** had overthrown the country’s dictator. In response, the United States provided significant military aid to the **Contras** trying to dislodge the Sandinistas. In 1985, Democrats opposed to the administration’s policies in Nicaragua passed the **Boland Amendment**, which prohibited further aid to the Contras.

In El Salvador, meanwhile, the Reagan administration spent nearly \$5 billion to support the Salvadoran government against a coalition of leftist guerrillas. Many Americans protested the killing of more than 40,000 civilians, including American missionaries, by right-wing death squads with connections to the El Salvador army.

**Grenada** On the small Caribbean island of **Grenada**, a coup led to the establishment of a pro-Cuban regime. In October 1983, President Reagan ordered a small force of marines to invade the island in order to prevent the establishment of a strategic Communist military base in the Americas. The invasion quickly succeeded in reestablishing a pro-U.S. government in Grenada.

**Iran-Contra Affair** If Grenada was the notable military triumph of Reagan’s presidency, his efforts to aid the Nicaraguan Contras involved him in a serious blunder and scandal. The so-called **Iran-Contra affair** had its origins in U.S. troubles with Iran. Since 1980, Iran and Iraq had been engaged in a bloody war. Reagan aides came up with the plan—kept secret from the American public—of selling U.S. antitank and antiaircraft missiles to Iran’s government for helping to free the Americans held hostage by an Iranian-linked group in Lebanon. In 1986, another Reagan staff member had the “great idea” to use the profits of the arms deal with Iran to fund the Contras in Nicaragua.

President Reagan denied that he had knowledge of the illegal diversion of funds—illegal in that it violated both the Boland Amendment and congressional budget authority. The picture that emerged from a televised congressional investigation was of an uninformed, hands-off president who was easily manipulated by his advisers. Reagan suffered a sharp, but temporary, drop in the popularity polls.

### ***Lebanon, Israel, and the PLO***

Reagan suffered a series of setbacks in the Middle East. In 1982, Israel (with U.S. approval) invaded southern Lebanon to stop **Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)** fighters from raiding Israel. Soon the United States sent peacekeeping forces into Lebanon to contain that country’s bitter civil war. In April 1983, an Arab suicide squad bombed the U.S. embassy in Beirut, killing 63 people. A few months later, another Arab terrorist drove a bomb-filled truck into the U.S. Marines barracks, killing 241 soldiers. Reagan soon pulled U.S. forces out of Lebanon, with little to show for the effort and loss of lives.

Secretary of State George Schultz pushed for a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by setting up a homeland for the PLO in the West Bank territories occupied by Israel since the 1967 war. Under U.S. pressure, PLO leader Yasser Arafat agreed in 1988 to recognize Israel's right to exist.

### ***Improved U.S.-Soviet Relations***

The Cold War intensified in the early 1980s as a result of both Reagan's arms buildup and the Soviet deployment of more missiles against NATO countries.

**Gorbachev** In 1985, however, a dynamic reformer, Mikhail Gorbachev, became the new Soviet leader. Gorbachev attempted to change the troubled Communist political and economic system by introducing two major reforms: (1) *glasnost*, or openness, to end political repression and move toward greater political freedom for Soviet citizens, and (2) *perestroika*, or restructuring of the Soviet economy by introducing some free-market practices.

To achieve his reforms, Gorbachev wanted to end the costly arms race. However, Soviet conservatives fought efforts to reduce military spending. In 1987, President Reagan challenged the Soviet leader to follow through with the reforms he said he wanted. In front of Brandenburg Gate and the Berlin Wall, the most tangible symbol of the Cold War, Reagan ended his speech with the line, "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall."

Reagan and Gorbachev held three summit meetings. The first, in November 1985, resulted in agreements on a range of issues, from cultural and scientific exchanges to environmental issues. A second meeting the following October in Reykjavik, Iceland, was less successful, since Reagan's commitment to a new missile defense system proved to be a major obstacle to talks on arms control. At their third summit in 1987, which took place in Washington, D.C., both sides were able to compromise on a range of arms-control issues. They agreed to remove and destroy all intermediate-range missiles (the **INF agreement**).

In 1988, Gorbachev further reduced Cold War tensions by starting the pullout of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. He also cooperated with the United States in putting diplomatic pressure on Iran and Iraq to end their war. By the end of Reagan's second term, superpower relations had so improved that the end of the Cold War seemed at hand.

**Assessing Causes** Multiple causes contributed to the decline in the Cold War. Some historians emphasize Gorbachev's desire for domestic reforms, which contributed to his willingness to negotiate. Others argue that Reagan's military buildup forced the Soviet Union to concede defeat in the Cold War. Reagan is also credited for his willingness to negotiate arms reductions with the Soviets. His actions relieved Russian domestic pressure on Gorbachev, who could then pursue his reform agenda. Historians also credit other leaders and thinkers besides Reagan and Gorbachev. For example, the opponents of communism in Eastern Europe, such as a Polish union leader, Lech Walesa, and a Polish pope, John Paul II, carried on a long struggle for freedom. In the United States, George Kennan's containment policy guided the United States through the Cold War without setting off a world war.

## **George H. W. Bush and the End of the Cold War**

The Cold War threatened the existence of humankind. At the same time, it gave clear purpose to U.S. foreign policy. What would be the U. S. role in the world *after* the Cold War? George H. W. Bush, a former ambassador to the United Nations and director of the CIA (and the father of President George W. Bush), became the first president to define the country's role in the new era.

### ***Persian Gulf War***

President Bush's plans for a "new world order" of peace and democracy were challenged in August 1990 when Iraq's dictator, Saddam Hussein, invaded oil-rich but weak Kuwait. This move threatened Western oil sources in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf. President Bush successfully built a coalition of United Nations members to pressure Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait. In January 1991, in a massive operation called Desert Storm, more than 500,000 Americans were joined by military units from 28 other nations. A brilliant invasion led by American forces took only 100 hours of fighting to defeat the Iraqi army. However, Saddam Hussein, though weakened, remained the dictator in Iraq.

### ***The Collapse of Soviet Communism and the Soviet Union***

The first years of the Bush administration were dominated by dramatic changes in the Communist world.

**Tiananmen Square** In China, during the spring of 1989, prodemocracy students and workers demonstrated for freedom in Beijing's **Tiananmen Square**. Television cameras from the West broadcast the prodemocracy movement around the world. Under the cover of night, the Chinese Communist government crushed the protest with tanks, killing hundreds and ending the brief flowering of an open political environment in China. The Chinese Communist Party, while promoting economic development and national pride, ruled its large population as an authoritarian one-party state.

**Eastern Europe** Challenges to communism in Eastern Europe produced more positive results. With the overwhelming electoral victory of the once-outlawed Solidarity movement led by **Lech Walesa**, the Communist Party fell from power in one country after another—Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania. The Communists in East Germany were forced out of power after protesters tore down the **Berlin Wall**, the hated symbol of the Cold War, in late 1989. In October 1990, the two Germanys, divided since 1945, were finally reunited with the blessing of both NATO and the Soviet Union.

**Breakup of the Soviet Union** The swift march of events and the nationalist desire for self-determination soon overwhelmed Gorbachev and the Soviet Union. In 1990, the Soviet Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania declared their independence. After a failed coup against Gorbachev by Communist hard-liners, the remaining republics dissolved the Soviet Union in December 1991, leaving Gorbachev a leader with no country. **Boris Yeltsin**,

president of the **Russian Republic**, joined with nine former Soviet republics to form a loose confederation, the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**. Yeltsin disbanded the Communist Party in Russia and attempted to establish a democracy and a free-market economy.

**End of the Cold War** Sweeping agreements to dismantle their nuclear weapons were one piece of tangible proof that the Cold War had ended. Bush and Gorbachev signed the **START I** agreement in 1991, reducing the number of nuclear warheads to under 10,000 for each side. In late 1992, Bush and Yeltsin agreed to a **START II** treaty, which reduced the number of nuclear weapons to just over 3,000 each. The treaty also offered U.S. economic assistance to the troubled Russian economy.

#### EASTERN EUROPE AFTER THE FALL OF COMMUNISM



Even as Soviet communism collapsed, President Bush, a seasoned diplomat, remained cautious. Instead of celebrating final victory in the Cold War, Americans grew concerned about the outbreak of civil wars and violence in the former Soviet Union. In Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia started to disintegrate in 1991, and a civil war broke out in the province of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992. At home, the end of the Cold War raised questions about whether the United States still needed such heavy defense spending and so many U.S. military bases around the world.

#### Aftermath of the Cold War in Europe

In 2002, the **European Union (EU)** became a unified market of 15 nations, 12 of which adopted a single currency, the **euro**. The EU grew to include 27 European nations by 2007, including 10 former satellites of the USSR, such as **Poland**, **Bulgaria**, and **Romania**.



**Russia** Under President Boris Yeltsin, Russia struggled to reform its economy and to fight rampant corruption. In 2000, Yeltsin's elected successor, **Vladimir Putin**, took office. Relations with the United States were strained by Russia's brutal repression of the civil war in Chechnya, by NATO's admittance in 1999 of the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, and by Russia's support of Serbia in the Balkan wars of the 1990s.

**War in the Former Yugoslavia** Serbian dictator Slobodan Milosevic violently suppressed independence movements in the former Yugoslav provinces of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Kosovo. Ethnic divisions were complicated by religious rivalries among Roman Catholics, Orthodox Christians, and Muslims. Hundreds of thousands of people, including many Muslims, were killed in "ethnic cleansing." A mix of diplomacy, bombing, and NATO troops, including U.S. troops, stopped the bloodshed in **Bosnia** in 1995 and then in Kosovo in 1999. These Balkan wars were Europe's bloodiest conflicts since World War II and reminded people of how World War I had started.

**Difficult Times** The path to democracy and prosperity for the former Communist bloc nations in Eastern Europe and Russia was hard. Years of economic stagnation under communism were difficult to overcome, and democracy was slow to take root in these newly independent states. These states became easy targets for corruption and autocratic rulers.

#### REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

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1. Explain two causes and two effects of the end of the Cold War.

#### KEY TERMS BY THEME

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##### Reagan Foreign Policy (WOR)

Mikhail Gorbachev  
 "evil empire"  
 satellites  
 Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)  
 "Star Wars"  
 Nicaragua  
 Sandinistas  
 Contras  
 Boland Amendment  
 Grenada  
 Iran-Contra affair  
 Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)  
 Yasser Arafat  
*glasnost*  
*perestroika*  
 INF agreement

##### End of the Cold War (WOR)

Tiananmen Square  
 Poland  
 Lech Walesa  
 Berlin Wall  
 Boris Yeltsin  
 Russian Republic  
 Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)  
 START I  
 START II  
 European Union (EU)  
 euro  
 Vladimir Putin  
 Bosnia  
 "ethnic cleansing"



## Topic 9.4

# A Changing Economy

*"We need a new approach to government. . . . A government that is leaner, not meaner; a government that expands opportunity, not bureaucracy; a government that understands that jobs must come from growth in a vibrant and vital system of free enterprise."*

Bill Clinton, nomination acceptance speech, July 16, 1992.

**Learning Objective:** Explain the causes and effects of economic and technological change over time.

The Republicans nominated President George H. W. Bush in 1992 for a second term. After a long career in public service, the president seemed tired and out of touch with average Americans, such as when he was surprised by the use of barcode scanners in the check-out line at the supermarket. The Cold War was over, and America wanted to enjoy its economic benefits and the technological innovations of the period.

## Election of 1992

A youthful governor of Arkansas, **Bill Clinton**, emerged from the Democratic primaries as the party's choice for president. The first member of the baby boom generation to be nominated for president, Clinton presented himself as a moderate "New Democrat" who focused on economic issues such as jobs, education, and health care, which were important to the "vital center" of the electorate. The strategy was, according to his political advisers, to focus on "the economy, stupid!" Clinton did well in the South and recaptured the majority of the elderly and blue-collar workers from the Republicans. Despite a serious third-party challenge from **Ross Perot**, a Texas billionaire, Clinton won with 370 electoral votes (and 43 percent of the popular vote) to 168 for Bush (37 percent of the popular vote).

## Clinton's Focus on the Economy

During the first two years of the Clinton administration, Senate Republicans used filibusters and the threat of filibusters to prevent passage of the president's economic stimulus package, campaign finance reform, environmental bills, and health care reform. However, some "incremental" reforms did become law.

**Early Accomplishments** The Democratic Congress was able to pass the Family and Medical Leave Act, which required businesses to allow workers to take unpaid leave for specific medical reasons. It also passed the “motor voter” law that enabled citizens to register to vote as they got their driver’s licenses. The **Brady Bill**, which mandated a five-day waiting period for the purchase of handguns, was enacted. In 1994, Congress enacted Clinton’s **Anti-Crime Bill**, which provided \$30 billion in funding for more police protection and crime-prevention programs. The legislation also banned the sale of most assault rifles, which angered the gun lobby led by the **National Rifle Association (NRA)**. After protracted negotiation and compromise, Congress passed a deficit-reduction budget that included \$255 billion in spending cuts and \$241 billion in tax increases. Incorporated in this budget were the president’s requests for increased appropriations for education and job training.

**Defeat and Adjustments** In the midterm elections of November 1994, the Republicans gained control of both houses of Congress for the first time since 1954. Led by Representative **Newt Gingrich** of Georgia, who would become Speaker of the House, the phenomenon came to be known as the “**Republican Revolution**” or the “**Revolution of ’94**.” They benefited from a well-organized effort to promote a short list of policy priorities they called the “**Contract with America**.” In addition, the Democratic Congress was unpopular because it had raised taxes and limited gun ownership. President Clinton adjusted to his party’s defeat by declaring in his 1995 State of the Union address, “The era of big government is over.”

**Balanced Budget** Finally, in the 1996 election year, Congress and the president compromised on a budget that left Medicare and Social Security benefits intact, limited welfare benefits to five years under the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act, set some curbs on immigration, increased the minimum wage, and balanced the budget. The spending cuts and tax increases made during Clinton’s first term, along with strong economic growth, helped to eliminate the deficit in federal spending in 1998 and produced the first federal surplus since 1969. Unlike any other modern president, Clinton could point to a total \$63 billion surplus during his two terms, if one adds up their four deficits and four surpluses.

**Clinton Reelected** In his battle with the Republican Congress, President Clinton tried to position himself as a moderate. He characterized the Republicans as extremists while at the same time he took over their positions that were popular, such as balancing the budget and reforming welfare. In the 1996 election, Clinton was aided by a fast-growing economy that had produced more than 10 million new jobs during his first term. Clinton became the first Democrat since Franklin Roosevelt to be reelected president. The Republicans could celebrate retaining control of both houses of Congress, which they had not done since the 1920s.

**Tax Cuts Versus Social Security** The prosperity of the late 1990s shifted the debate in Washington to what to do with the federal government’s surplus

revenues, projected to be \$4.6 trillion over the first ten years of the 21st century. In 1997, Congress and the president did compromise on legislation that cut taxes on estates and capital gains and gave tax credits for families with children and for higher education expenses. The Republicans pressed for more tax cuts, such as the elimination of the estate tax (the “death tax”) and taxes on two-income families (the “marriage penalty”). Clinton held out for using the projected surplus to support Social Security, expand Medicare, and reduce the national debt.

While Clinton could point to successful policies, his personal activities created problems for him. In 1999, the Republican House impeached President Clinton for lying under oath about sexual relations and related abuses of power, but he was not convicted. For his ability to get out of trouble, his critics nicknamed him “Slick Willie.”

## Technology and a Changing Economy

During President Clinton’s two terms, the United States enjoyed the longest peacetime economic expansion in its history, with annual growth rates of more than 4 percent. Much of the economic boom resulted from increased productivity related to technological innovations.

**Technological Innovations** The use of the **Internet**, personal computers, software, and wireless mobile communications fueled increased national productivity (a gain of more than 5 percent in 1999) and made “e-commerce” (or electronic commerce) part of American life. GPS systems, digital photography, solar panels, and wind turbines brought more economic changes. High-tech companies, such as Apple, Intel, and Microsoft, were joined during the “dot-com” boom by the likes of Amazon, AOL, Yahoo, and Google.

Innovations in the medical field included DNA testing and sequencing, human genome mapping, magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), and robotic and noninvasive laser surgery. These new diagnostic tools and advances in surgery, along with drug development based on individual genetic factors, promoted the growth of the medical field and promises for the conquest of diseases.

**Flattening of the Earth** The technology of the period created new opportunities for growth and development across the globe. For example, cellular communication grew from zero to over four billion people with mobile devices that could connect them with other people and the latest knowledge all over the world. Technology leveled the playing field regardless of one’s location. As Thomas Friedman explained in his book *The World is Flat*, the swift advances in technology and communications linked people all over Earth, creating new wealth in the developing world and flattening competition around the globe.

**The Boom of the 1990s** After years of heavy competition with Europe and Asia, American businesses had become proficient in cutting costs, which both increased their profitability and held down the U.S. inflation rate to below 3 percent a year. Investors were rewarded with record gains of more than 22 percent in the stock market. The number of households worth \$1 million or

more quadrupled in the 1990s to more than 8 million, or one in 14 households. The unemployment rate fell from 7.5 percent in 1992 to a 30-year low of 3.9 percent in 2000. The unemployment of African Americans and Hispanics was the lowest on record to that point. During the peak of prosperity from 1997 to 1999, middle- and lower-income Americans experienced the first gains in real income since 1973. However, the economic boom was over by 2001, and both investors and wage earners faced another recession.

**Globalization** The surging increases in trade and communications and the movement of capital around the world during this era were key parts of the process of **globalization**. Globalization promoted the development of global and regional economic organizations. During the Clinton administration, the **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)** was passed by Congress and signed by the president over objections from union leaders, who feared job losses to low-wage Mexico. It created a free-trade zone with Canada and Mexico. The **World Trade Organization (WTO)** was established in 1994 to oversee trade agreements, enforce trade rules, and settle disputes. The powerful **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** and the **World Bank** made loans to, and supervised the economic policies of, poorer nations with debt troubles.

The **Group of Eight (G8)**, the world's largest industrial powers (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States), which controlled two-thirds of the world's wealth, remained the leading economic powers in 2000. However, China, India, and Brazil would soon surpass many of the older industrial powers in the 21st century. The growing gap between the rich and poor nations of the world caused tensions, especially over the debts the poor nations owed to powerful banks and the richest nations. Workers and unions in the richest nations often resented globalization because they lost their jobs to cheaper labor markets in the developing world.

**Digital Security and Privacy** The use of wireless communications and the Internet raised the issue of privacy in the digital age. Domestic and foreign hacking of digital data and the use of social media to disrupt politics exposed failings and abuses by large Internet companies such as Facebook and Google. These companies became wealthy and powerful through the extraction and analysis of personal data of hundreds of millions of their users for focused advertisements and resale of data to third parties. Fearful of discouraging innovation, the government exercised little regulation of the industry. Congressional hearings exposed the failure of the Internet companies to monitor how the data was used or to protect it from cyber attacks. Some saw the rise of "surveillance capitalism" as a growing threat to Americans' privacy, security, and tradition of self-government.

## **Income and Wealth**

In many ways, Americans were achieving the American dream. Homeownership continued to climb during the prosperity of the 1990s to 67.4 percent of all households. The economy was continuing to generate more and more wealth.

Per capita income in constant (inflation-adjusted) dollars rose dramatically, from \$12,275 in 1970 to \$22,199 in 2000. However, in 1999 the top fifth of American households received more than half of all income. The average after-tax income for the lowest three-fifths of households actually declined between 1977 and 1997. In addition, the distribution of income varied widely by race, sex, and education. For example, the median income in 2000 was \$53,256 for White families, \$35,054 for Hispanic families, and \$34,192 for Black families. High school graduates earned only half the income of college graduates.

**Concentration of Wealth** In terms of wealth, which includes property and investments minus debts, data from 2007 show that wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few:

- the wealthiest 1 percent possessed 35 percent of the nation's wealth
- the next 19 percent possessed 50 percent
- the bottom 80 percent owned only about 15 percent

By the late 2010s, wealth was even more concentrated, with the **top 1 percent** holding 43 percent of the nation's financial wealth. The wealthy possessed greater financial opportunities that allowed their money to make more money. In contrast, one study found 62 percent of households headed by a single parent were without savings or other financial assets. The United States was the richest country in the world, but among industrialized nations, it had the largest gap between lowest and highest paid workers and the greatest concentration of wealth among the top-earning households. The economist Joseph Stiglitz argued that the decline of strong unions since the 1970s was related to the rise in the inequality of income and wealth in the United States.

This concentration of wealth reminded some of the Gilded Age of the late 19th century. Scholars and political leaders expressed concern that high levels of wealth inequality were incompatible with a democratic society and would result to a drift towards oligarchy and autocratic governments.

One debated cause of wage stagnation was the increase in immigration to the United States in the 1990s and 2000s. Topic 9.5 will explore the causes and effects of immigration and the shift of population growth to the South and West.

#### REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain a cause and an effect of economic change after 1980.
2. Explain a cause and an effect of technological change after 1980.



# Migration and Immigration in the 1990s and 2000s

*"America has constantly drawn strength and spirit from wave after wave of immigrants. . . . They have proved to be the most restless, the most adventurous, the most innovative, the most industrious of people."*

President Bill Clinton, speech at Portland (Oregon) State University, June 13, 1998

**Learning Objective:** Explain the causes and effects of domestic and international migration over time.

**A**nti-immigrant sentiment has risen and fallen throughout American history. Immigrants made up 13 percent to 15 percent of the nation's population in the decades before the passage of legislation restricting immigration in the 1920s. In the 2010s, the immigrant population again reached over 13 percent, and again restrictions on immigration gained a popular following. This was made evident in the 2016 national election, when supporters of the winning candidate opposed to undocumented immigration from Mexico chanted, "Build the wall!" The causes and effects of migration and immigration shaped many aspects of American life in the 1990s and early 2000s.

## Changing Immigration Policies

The **Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965** did away with the racially based quota system of the 1920s. The new system gave preference to potential immigrants with relatives in the United States and with occupations deemed critical by the Department of Labor. It also opened up immigration from non-European countries. This change occurred as the recovery of Europe after World War II meant that fewer Europeans were interested in migrating, while Castro's takeover of Cuba and the war in Vietnam prompted people to flee those countries. The result of all of these changes was a dramatic change in the origins of immigrants to the United States. For example, the percentages of immigrants from Europe and Canada gradually dropped between 1970 and 2015 from 68 percent to 14 percent of the annual immigrant population. In contrast, the number of immigrants from South and East Asia increased from 7 percent to 27 percent, those from Mexico increased from 8 percent to 27 percent, and those from Latin America outside of Mexico increased from 11 percent to 24 percent.



By 2000, the Hispanic population was the fastest-growing segment of the population and emerged as the largest minority group in the nation, representing 13 percent of the population. The number of Asian Americans also increased sharply, exceeding 4 percent. Immigration accounted for 27.8 percent of the population increase in the 1990s and was a key stimulus to the economic growth during the decade. Without immigration, the United States was on a path to experience negative population growth by 2030.

**Federal Legislation** Undocumented entry into the United States became a growing political issue in the 1990s and 2000s. The **Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986** attempted to create a fair entry process for immigrants, but it failed to stop people in search of work from entering the United States without authorization. The law was also criticized for granting amnesty to over three million undocumented immigrants from Mexico and the Americas.

During the Clinton administration, Congress passed the **Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996** to reform the process for admitting or removing undocumented immigrants. It strengthened U.S. immigration laws, restructured immigration law enforcement, and limited immigration by addressing undocumented migration. However, these reforms did little to stop the flow of people. Private employers continued to hire undocumented workers, paying them far lower wages than they would have had to pay legal residents.

**Executive Action** In the 21st century, Congress discussed various plans for controlling immigration, but the Senate and House were unable to reach an agreement. The Obama administration had no more success than the Bush administration in getting immigration reform through Congress.

In 2012, President Obama took executive action to protect undocumented young people brought to the United States as children (known as “Dreamers”) from deportation and to allow them to continue their education and apply for work permits. The **Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)** program was controversial. Further action to expand it in 2014 was challenged by lawsuits from 26 states and partially blocked by a federal judge. Anger at Obama’s immigration policies increased, even though the number of border guards was increased, deportations of **undocumented immigrants** increased, and the total undocumented immigrant population decreased during his presidency.

**Trump Immigration Policies** As a presidential candidate in 2016, Donald Trump promised to be much tougher on immigration and asylum seekers than Obama had been. After his election, President Trump proposed policies to fulfill this promise. For example, he said he would force Mexico to build a 2,000-mile **border wall**, require Mexico and Central American countries to stop migrants at their borders to keep them from getting to the U.S. border, and use the courts to end the DACA program. Further, he would restrict legal immigration, limit the number of “**green cards**” granted legal residents and

asylum seekers, and prevent all immigrants from receiving welfare within the first five years of their arrival.

This broad attack on immigration did discourage the number of migrants trying to get into the United States by 2019. Many welcomed the changes as a needed pause after a period of dramatic increase in immigration, while others criticized these policies for abandoning an American tradition as a nation welcoming of, and built by, immigrants.

## **Influence of the American South and West**

By 2000, almost 60 percent of Americans lived in the South or West. The increasing influence of the two regions was related to their growing economic and political power, which also affected their traditional cultures.

**Economies** By the 1980s, the Sun Belt was booming. The shift to the Sun Belt continued in the 1990s and 2000s because of its friendly business environment of small government, low taxes, weak labor unions, and low-wage economies. By the 1990s, these states had improved their communication and transportation systems to support growth. Southern states had also desegregated their public institutions to the extent that the region no longer discouraged the relocation of large corporations. Oil helped Texas grow economically, and military installations drew people, defense industries, and aerospace firms to the Southwest, while favorable weather led to increased tourism in Southern California, Las Vegas, and Florida.

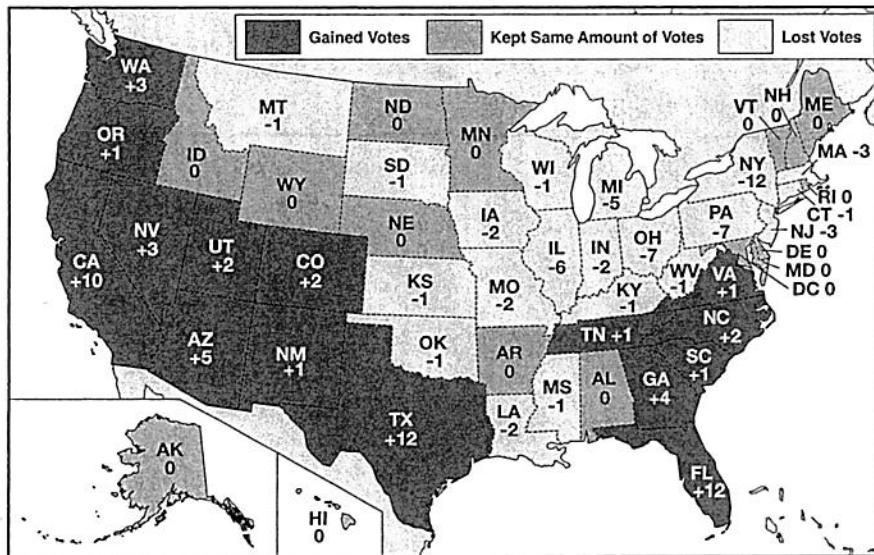
**Political Power** In addition to economic growth, the South and West dramatically increased their political influence. As these mostly conservative states increased their populations, they gained more seats in the House of Representatives and more electoral votes in presidential elections. These population shifts, along with the movement of Southern conservatives from the Democratic to the Republican Party, played an important role in the Republican majorities in both houses of Congress for the first time in 40 years. By the 1990s, most U.S. political leadership came from the Sun Belt. Before the election of Barack Obama of Illinois in 2008, the previous seven U.S. presidents had come from the Sun Belt. Meanwhile, the more liberal Northeast and Midwest, which had been the most influential regions in U.S. politics since the Civil War, lost representation in Congress and some of their former political influence.

**Cultural Change** The culture of the South and West became more influential throughout the country. For example, country and western music became increasingly popular in all regions. Ideas once associated with these regions, such as evangelical Protestant Christianity, conservative attitudes toward gender issues, and opposition to regulations on gun ownership spread.

On the other hand, the cultures of these regions also changed. The growing Hispanic population made Mexican food, Roman Catholic Christianity, and the Spanish language more common. The migration of Americans from other regions to Southern states modified its traditional "Southern" culture and made

the region more urban and cosmopolitan. In some cases, such as Virginia, the migration caused them to become politically liberal, with Democrats gaining control of the state government and even passing gun regulations.

Electoral Vote Shift, 1980–2020



## American Society in 2000

According to the 2000 census, the resident population of the United States was 281.4 million, making it the third most populous nation in the world, after China and India. The fastest-growing regions of the United States in the 1990s continued to be in the West and the South. The 2000 census reported that 50 percent of U.S. residents lived in suburbs, 30 percent in central cities, and only 20 percent in rural regions. Immigration was making the country more ethnically diverse.

A falling birthrate combined with an increase in life expectancy resulted in a population that was “graying.” By 2000, 35 million people were over 65, but the fastest-growing segment of the population was those 85 and over. As the baby boom generation aged, concern about health care, prescription drugs, senior housing, and Social Security increased. In 2010, there were 2.9 workers for each beneficiary receiving Social Security. By 2035, the number of workers would decrease to 2.3.

The decline of the traditional family and the growing number of **single-parent families** was another national concern. The number of families headed by a female with no husband soared from 5.5 million in 1970 to 12.8 million in 2000. Single women headed 47.2 percent of Black families in 2000, but the same trend was also evident in White and Hispanic households with children under 18. Children in these families often grew up in poverty and without adequate support.

## REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

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1. Explain the causes and effects of international migration from 1980 to the present.
2. Explain the causes and effects of domestic migration from 1980 to the present.

### KEY TERMS BY THEME

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<b>Immigration and Migration (MIG)</b>	Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)
Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965	undocumented immigrants
Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986	border wall
Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996	green cards
	asylum seekers
	single-parent families

### MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

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Questions 1-2 refer to the excerpt below.

“The truth is, the central issue is not the needs of the 11 million illegal immigrants or however many. . . . Our government has no idea. . . . We will build a great wall along the southern border. . . .

AUDIENCE: Build the wall! Build the wall! Build the wall!

We’ve admitted 59 million immigrants to the United States between 1965 and 2015. Many of these arrivals have greatly enriched our country. So true. But we now have an obligation to them and to their children to control future immigration. . . . Within just a few years, immigration as a share of national population is set to break all historical records. . . . We take anybody. . . . Not anymore. . . .

We need a system that serves our needs, not the needs of others. Remember, under a Trump administration it’s called America First. Remember that. . . . We will break the cycle of amnesty and illegal immigration. We will break the cycle. There will be no amnesty.”

Donald J. Trump, campaign speech in Phoenix, September 1, 2016.



## Challenges of the 21st Century

*There is not a Black America and a White America and Latino America and Asian America—there's the United States of America.*

Barack Obama, Democratic National Convention keynote address, 2004

**Learning Objective:** Explain the causes and effects of the domestic and international challenges the United States faced in the 21st century.

**T**he United States entered the 21st century with unrivaled economic and military dominance in the world. Few countries in history had been so powerful. However, international terrorism, economic problems, and partisan politics exposed the nation's vulnerabilities.

### Disputed Election of 2000

The presidential election of 2000 was the closest since 1876 and the first ever to be settled by the Supreme Court. President Clinton's vice president, **Al Gore**, easily gained the nomination of the Democratic Party. Governor **George W. Bush** of Texas, eldest son of former President George H. W. Bush, won the nomination of the Republican Party. Both candidates fought over the moderate and independent vote. Ralph Nader, the candidate for the Green Party, ran a distant third, but he might have taken enough votes from Gore to make a difference in Florida and other states.

Gore received over 500,000 more popular votes nationwide than Bush, but victory hinged on who won Florida's 25 electoral votes. Bush led by only 537 popular votes in Florida after a partial recount. Then the Democrats asked for manual recounts of the error-prone punch cards. The Supreme Court of Florida ordered recounts of all the votes, as requested by the Gore campaign.

Then the Bush campaign appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. In *Bush v. Gore*, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a 5–4 decision that overruled the Florida Supreme Court, making Bush the victory. The majority ruled that the varying standards used in Florida's recount violated the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, so the recount should be halted. The division on the Court reflected the division in the country. The five justices appointed by Republican presidents voted to end the recount. The four justices appointed by Democratic presidents voted to let the recount go forward.

Al Gore ended the election crisis by accepting the ruling. Governor Bush won with 271 electoral votes against Gore's 266. (One elector abstained.)

## The War on Terrorism

George W. Bush entered the White House with no foreign policy experience. However, he surrounded himself with veterans of previous Republican administrations. For example, his vice president, Dick Cheney, had served as secretary of defense under Bush's father. General **Colin Powell** became his secretary of state, the first African American to hold the job. President Bush's confident and aggressive approach against terrorism won over many Americans, but his administration often alienated other nations.

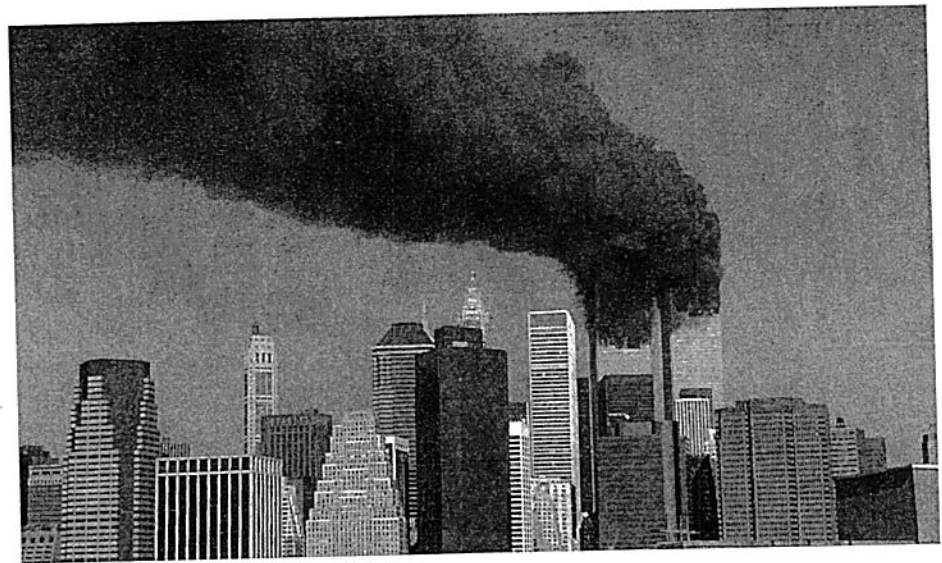
**Roots of Terrorism** The United States was faulted by many in the Arab world, as well as in the non-Arab world, for siding with Israel in the deadly cycle of violence between Palestinians and Israel. However, the causes of anti-Americanism often went deeper. After World War I, the Ottoman Empire, the last of the Islamic empires, was replaced in the Middle East by Western-style, secular nation-states. Religious fundamentalists decried modernization, including equality for women, and the corruption of the "House of Islam," an ancient Islamic ideal of a realm governed by the precepts of the Quran (Koran) and Sharia (Islamic law). They saw the stationing of U.S. troops in the Middle East after the Gulf War as another violation of their lands. Islamic extremists, such as supporters of **Al-Qaeda** ("The Base"), preached jihad, which they defined as a holy war against the "Jews and Crusaders." The goal of Al-Qaeda and others was to restore an Islamic caliphate, or realm, from North Africa to East Asia. The restrictive economic and political conditions in the Middle East also provided a fertile breeding ground for recruiting extremists.

**Early Terrorist Attacks** The threat of terrorism and "asymmetric" warfare in which a small band of militants could inflict great damage on a more powerful country was brought home to the United through several attacks.

- In 1993, a truck bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City killed six people.
- In 1998, bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania killed over 200 people, including 12 Americans. The United States responded by bombing Al-Qaeda camps in Afghanistan and the Sudan. Al-Qaeda leader **Osama bin Laden** had fled to **Afghanistan** and allied himself with the **Taliban**, Islamic fundamentalists who controlled Afghanistan.
- In 2000, two suicide bombers in a small rubber boat nearly sank a billion-dollar warship, the **USS Cole**, docked in the Middle Eastern country of Yemen.

**September 11 Terror Attacks** The coordinated attacks by Al-Qaeda terrorists in commercial airliners on the twin towers of the **World Trade Center** in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., and a fourth plane that crashed in Pennsylvania, claimed nearly 3,000 lives on **September 11, 2001**. The attacks galvanized public opinion as nothing had since the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, and they empowered the Bush administration to take action.





Source: World Trade Center, September 11, 2001. Wikimedia Commons/Michael Foran

**War in Afghanistan** President Bush declared that he wanted Osama bin Laden and other Al-Qaeda leaders “dead or alive.” The Taliban refused to turn over bin Laden and his associates. In the fall of 2001, a combination of U.S. bombings, U.S. special forces, and Afghan troops in the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance quickly overthrew the Taliban government. American and Afghan forces continued to pursue the remnants of Al-Qaeda in the mountains bordering Pakistan but failed to capture bin Laden. With U.S. support, Hamid Karzai became head of the government in Kabul, but Afghanistan remained unstable and divided by the Taliban insurgency and tribal conflicts.

**Homeland Security** After the 9/11 attacks, most Americans accepted more extensive security measures such as background checks and airport searches. The USA PATRIOT Act of 2001 gave the U.S. government unparalleled powers to obtain information and to expand surveillance and arrest powers. However, many Americans were troubled by unlimited wiretaps and the collection of records about cell-phone calls and emails. Some also objected to the use of military tribunals to try suspects accused of terrorism and the indefinite imprisonment and alleged torture of suspects at a U.S. military prison in the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba.

To better protect against terrorism, the Bush administration created a new **Department of Homeland Security** by combining more than 20 federal agencies with 170,000 employees. Among these were the Secret Service, the Coast Guard, and agencies dealing with customs and immigration. This was the largest reorganization of government since the creation of the Department of Defense after World War II. Many in Congress questioned why the FBI and CIA were left out of the new department. In 2004, a bipartisan commission on terrorism criticized the FBI and the CIA, as well as the Department of Defense,

for failing to work together to “connect the dots” that might have uncovered the 9/11 plot. Congress followed up on the commission’s recommendations, creating a **director of national intelligence** with the difficult job of coordinating the intelligence activities of all agencies.

**Iraq War** In his 2002 State of the Union address, President Bush singled out Iraq, North Korea, and Iran as the “**axis of evil**.” While U.S. intelligence agencies were finding no link between Iraq’s **Saddam Hussein** and the September 11, 2001, attacks, the Bush administration publicly asserted there was. Furthermore, the Bush administration argued that Iraq was developing nuclear or biological **weapons of mass destruction (WMDs)** that it could use or sell to terrorists. Late in 2002, Secretary of State Powell negotiated an inspection plan with the UN Security Council, which Iraq accepted. UN inspectors would investigate Iraqi facilities to search for signs of weapon development. In the following months, the UN inspectors failed to find WMDs in Iraq.

**Operation Iraqi Freedom** In early 2003, President Bush declared that Iraq had not complied with numerous UN resolutions and that “the game was over.” Without support of the UN Security Council, the United States launched air attacks on Iraq on March 19. In less than four weeks, U.S. armed forces, with the support of the British and other allies, overran Iraqi forces, captured the capital city, Baghdad, and ended Hussein’s dictatorship. When U.S. forces could not find WMDs in Iraq, criticism of the “**war of choice**” and the “**regime change**” mounted both at home and overseas.

The defeat of the Iraqi army and the capture of Saddam Hussein in late 2003 did not end the violence in Iraq. Diverse groups of insurgents (Sunni followers of the former dictator, Shiite militias, and foreign fighters, including Al-Qaeda) continued to attack U.S. and allied troops and one another. Millions of Iraqis fled the country or were displaced by the sectarian attacks. The Bush administration was widely criticized for going into Iraq without sufficient troops to control the country and for disbanding the Iraqi army. Photographs of the barbaric treatment of prisoners by U.S. troops at **Abu Ghraib** further diminished America’s reputation in Iraq and around the world.

## **Elections of 2004 and a Bush Second Term**

The Democrats approached the **elections of 2004** optimistic that they could unseat the incumbent president burdened by an increasingly unpopular war and limited economic recovery. Democratic voters selected Senator **John Kerry** of Massachusetts as their presidential candidate. The Republicans successfully energized their conservative base on issues such as the war against terrorism, more tax cuts, and opposition to abortion and gay marriage.

President Bush received 51 percent of the popular vote and captured 286 electoral votes to Kerry’s 252. The Republicans also expanded their majorities in the Senate and House and continued to gain on the state level, especially in the South. This left the party in its strongest position since the 1920s.

**Unresolved Wars** The reconstruction of Iraq had made some headway by 2005, when the Iraqis held their first election, created a national assembly, and selected a prime minister and cabinet ministries, but the violence continued. On average, 100 Americans and 3,000 Iraqis were killed each month. In an attempt to reduce the violence, President Bush sent a “surge” of an additional 30,000 U.S. troops in early 2007. By late 2008, militia violence and American deaths were down in Iraq, and the United States had started to turn over control of the provinces to the Iraqi government.

In Afghanistan, the Taliban stepped up their attacks. For the first time, the number of Americans killed there outnumbered those killed in Iraq. President Bush turned over to the next president two unresolved wars and incomplete efforts to deal with nuclear threats from Iran and North Korea. The Bush administration, though, did have the satisfaction of knowing that there had not been another major terrorist attack in the United States since September 11, 2001.



Credit: Rockfinder

The war in Afghanistan began in 2001. By the time this photo was taken in 2013, the conflict was on its way to becoming the longest war in U.S. history.

**Other Foreign Policies** President Bush played an active role in selected global affairs. For example, he worked with European nations to expand the European Union and NATO, supported admission of China to the World Trade Organization, and brokered conflicts between India and Pakistan.

However, the Bush administration refused to join the **Kyoto Accord** to combat climate change, walked out of a UN conference on racism, abandoned the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with Russia, and for years would not negotiate with North Korea or Iran. Critics questioned whether the administration valued cooperation with the nations of the world or instead followed a **unilateralist approach**. The president argued, in what became known as the “**Bush Doctrine**,” that the old policies of containment and

deterrence were no longer effective in a world of stateless terrorism. The president claimed that the United States was justified in protecting itself by using preemptive attacks to stop the acquisition of WMDs by terrorists and by nations that support terrorism.

## **Election of 2008**

In 2008, the Democrats went through a long primary battle. The top candidates were former first lady and U.S. senator from New York **Hillary Clinton** and the charismatic 47-year-old African American junior senator from Illinois, **Barack Obama**. After winning the nomination, Obama chose as his running mate Joseph Biden of Delaware, an experienced member of the Senate. In the shadow of the unpopular Bush administration, the Republicans nominated Senator **John McCain** of Arizona, a Vietnam War hero and a political maverick who hoped to appeal to undecided voters.

Senator McCain briefly led in the polls, but Obama's message for change, his opposition to the Iraq War, and an economy on the brink of collapse helped the Democrats win in November. Obama received a decisive 364 electoral votes to McCain's 174 by taking eight states (including Florida, Ohio, Virginia, and North Carolina) that had been won by Bush in 2004. The Democrats also increased their majorities in the House and Senate well beyond their victories in 2006.

The election of the first African American president of the United States was historic. However, Barack Obama and the Democrats faced the country's worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, two unfinished U.S. wars, and a world increasingly skeptical of U.S. power and leadership. President Obama appointed his Democratic primary opponent, Hillary Clinton, as secretary of state and reappointed a Republican, Robert Gates, as secretary of defense to provide operational continuity in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars.

## **Foreign Policy of the Obama Presidency (2009-2017)**

Barack Obama was elected in part because of his opposition to the Iraq War and his promise to end the unilateral approach overseas that had damaged the reputation of the United States during the Bush presidency. In general, the Obama administration was reluctant to use large-scale military actions that would put many U.S. troops on the ground. Instead, they opted for negotiations, targeted operations by special forces, and drone strikes. Critics attacked Obama for "leading from behind," but the issue remained unresolved whether more troops would solve or worsen conflicts in the Middle East and elsewhere.

**Iraq** In early 2009, the United States continued to wind down ground combat operations in Iraq. U.S. military support and air power helped the Iraqi forces battle insurgents through 2011, when the last of U.S. forces were withdrawn. However, sectarian violence between Sunni and Shiite Muslims erupted again.



**Afghanistan** The Obama campaign charged that the Bush administration had ignored Afghanistan in order to invade Iraq. As president, Obama made fighting Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan a priority. He approved adding 17,000 troops to the U.S. forces in Afghanistan in 2009 and then 30,000 more in 2010. The counterterrorism surge proved effective in Afghanistan, but the increased use of pilotless drone attacks on terrorists in Pakistan intensified anger against the United States. In 2012, President Obama and President Karzai of Afghanistan signed a long-term partnership agreement. After 2014, the new focus for U.S. forces was to train and support the Afghan military.

**Death of Osama bin Laden** In May 2011, Osama bin Laden, the leader of Al-Qaeda, was killed in Pakistan in a clandestine operation of the CIA and Navy SEALs. The death of bin Laden and other top leaders of Al-Qaeda raised the question of whether the U.S. role in the area was completed.

**Arab Spring** In June of 2009, President Obama traveled to Egypt and gave a speech at the University of Cairo calling for a “new beginning” in relations between the Islamic world and the United States. In 2010, Obama was soon tested by a wave of protests across the Middle East and North Africa, known as the “Arab Spring.” Civil unrest and armed rebellion toppled governments in Tunisia, Libya (where the dictator, Muammar Gaddafi, was killed), Egypt (where the president, Hosni Mubarak, was imprisoned), and Yemen. However, the civil war in Syria created a greater humanitarian crisis as 12.5 million Syrian refugees tried to escape to safety, often to neighboring countries in the Middle East and Europe. President Obama was widely criticized for not intervening more effectively.

**Rise of ISIS** In Syria and Iraq, another terrorist movement, ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, also known as ISIL) vowed to create a worldwide caliphate under strict Islamic law. This well-financed movement used social media to recruit fighters from around the world. Former members of the Iraqi military, driven from power in the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, also joined ISIS. President Obama, while reluctant to return American soldiers to fight in Iraq and Syria, did commit American air power and trainers to help Iraq regain lost territories. By 2016, the United States had around 5,000 military personnel in Iraq.

**Iran** The Obama Administration joined other world powers in a 2015 agreement with Iran that would prevent Iran from developing and producing nuclear bombs for at least 15 years. Republicans opposed the agreement because it released the frozen assets of Iran, which it could use for conventional weapons and terrorism.

**Asia** Events in the Middle East limited President Obama’s planned “pivot” to Asia. The administration understood that America’s economic and strategic future was closely tied to the Pacific Rim. The United States and 11 other Pacific countries (excluding China) negotiated the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade agreement in 2016. However, American public opinion turned against globalization, and the U.S. Senate did not ratify the TPP.

U.S. relations with China and North Korea also became more difficult under Obama. China's attempts to claim islands in the South China Sea threatened Southeast Asian nations and free passage through international waters guarded by the U.S. Navy. The most immediate threat to U.S. interests in Asia came from North Korea, which was developing nuclear weapons and long-range missiles.

**Europe** After the Great Recession of 2008, the European Union struggled with a debt crisis, especially in countries with weaker economies, such as Greece. The crisis passed, but the resulting fiscal austerity programs and the EU open-borders policies alienated many working-class people. This promoted a resurgence of nationalism among people who worried that they were losing their jobs and national identities.

**Russia** In 2014, Ukraine's pro-Russian government was overthrown by a popular pro-Western movement. Russia, under **Vladimir Putin**, responded by orchestrating a revolt of pro-Russian partisans in eastern Ukraine and annexing the militarily strategic Crimea peninsula. The United States and European nations retaliated by placing economic sanctions on Russia and its leaders. A resurgent Russia also intervened in Syria's civil war, making it a player in Middle Eastern politics once again. By the end of the Obama administration, relations between the United States and Russia were at their lowest point since the end of the Cold War.

**Cuba** President Obama started a slow normalization of relations with **Cuba**. In 2015, the two countries agreed to open embassies in Havana and Washington and to resume direct flights for the first time since the Eisenhower administration. Against some Republican opposition, American travelers and businesses took advantage of the thaw in relations with the former Cold War enemy.

**Cyber Attacks** The greatest new threats to the nation's security in the 21st century were electronic. Cybercrime, such as stealing digital data, and cyber warfare, such as incapacitating the computerized networks that operate another country's electric power grid, threatened to be very destructive. Russians, Chinese, Iranians, and others used **cyber attacks** to steal U.S. private and governmental digital data, including credit card and personnel records. In 2016, Russian agents hacked documents and emails from Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign and released the information through the anti-secrecy group **WikiLeaks** in an effort to disrupt the U.S. election.

## **Domestic Policy of the George W. Bush Years (2001-2009)**

On the domestic front, President George W. Bush aggressively pushed his conservative agenda: tax cuts, deregulation, federal aid to faith-based organizations, antiabortion legislation, school choice, privatization of Social Security and Medicare, drilling for oil and gas in the Alaskan wildlife refuge, and voluntary environmental standards for industry.



**Republican Tax Cuts** In 2001, Congress, enjoying a rare budget surplus, passed a \$1.35 trillion-dollar tax cut spread over ten years. The bill lowered the top tax bracket, gradually eliminated estate taxes, increased the child tax credit and limits for IRA and 401(k) contributions, and gave all taxpayers an immediate tax rebate. In 2003, President Bush pushed through another round of tax cuts for stock dividends, capital gains, and married couples. Democrats criticized the tax cuts for giving most of the benefits to the richest 5 percent of the population and for contributing to the doubling of the national debt during the Bush presidency from about \$5 trillion to \$10 trillion. By the time Bush left office, the deficit was approaching 10 percent of GDP, about triple what economists thought was manageable.

**Education and Health Reform** President Bush championed the bipartisan **No Child Left Behind Act**. It aimed to improve student performance and close the gap between well-to-do and poor students in the public schools through testing of all students nationwide, granting students the right to transfer to better schools, funding stronger reading programs, and training high-quality teachers. Republicans also passed laws to give seniors enrolled in Medicare the option to enroll in private insurance companies. Congress also fulfilled a campaign promise by President Bush to provide prescription drug coverage for seniors. Democrats criticized the legislation as primarily designed to profit insurance and drug companies.

**Economic Bubbles and Corruption** The technology boom of the 1990s peaked in 2000 and was over by 2002. The stock market crashed; the Dow Jones Industrial Average fell by 38 percent. The unemployment rate climbed to 6 percent, and the number of people living in poverty increased for the first time in eight years.

Fraud and dishonesty committed by business leaders also hurt the stock market and consumer confidence in the economy. For example, the large corporations **Enron** and **WorldCom** had “cooked their books” (falsified stated earnings and profits) with the help of accounting companies.

The Federal Reserve fought the recession by cutting interest rates to 1.25 percent, the lowest in 50 years. The end of the technology boom-bust cycle (1995–2002) encouraged many investors to move their money into real estate, which created another speculative “bubble” (2002–2007) that would burst with even more tragic consequences in Bush’s second term.

**Washington Politics** After his reelection victory in 2004, President Bush pushed Congress without success to **privatize Social Security** by encouraging Americans to invest part of their Social Security payroll deductions in various market investments. His administration also argued for immigration reform, which was blocked by conservatives who criticized it as “amnesty” for undocumented immigrants. President Bush did, however, leave a lasting impact on the federal courts by appointing two conservatives to the Supreme Court—**John Roberts** (as Chief Justice) and **Samuel Alito**—and increasing conservative majorities in the federal appellate courts.

When **Hurricane Katrina** hit the Gulf Coast hard and flooded New Orleans in August 2005, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) failed both to anticipate and respond to the crisis. More than 1,000 people died, and tens of thousands of others (mostly poor people) were left in desperate conditions. Public dissatisfaction with the Katrina response, the Iraq War, and a variety of Republican congressional scandals involving bribery, perjury, and obstruction of justice helped the Democrats win control of both houses of Congress in 2006.

**The Great Recession** The housing boom of 2002–2007 was fueled by fraudulent mortgage lending and runaway real-estate speculation, particularly by nonbank financial institutions that worked with little government regulation. Wall Street firms packaged these high-risk loans into a variety of complex investments (**securitization**) and sold them to unsuspecting investors around the world.

However, as soon as housing prices started to dip, the bubble burst. Prices collapsed, foreclosures climbed, and investments worth trillions of dollars lost value. Investors panicked, which caused many banks and financial institutions at home and overseas to face failure. This resulted in a credit, or liquidity, crisis because banks either lacked funds or were afraid to make the loans to businesses and consumers that were necessary for the day-to-day functioning of the economy.

As the crisis within credit markets deepened, Americans were also hit with soaring gas prices (well over \$4 a gallon), stock market declines of more than 40 percent, and rising unemployment. In early 2008, the federal government tried a \$170 billion stimulus package and took over a few critical financial institutions, such as quasigovernmental mortgage institutions **Fannie Mae** and **Freddie Mac**.

However, the crisis was not over. In September, the bankruptcy of the large Wall Street investment bank **Lehman Brothers** led to panic in the financial industry. This persuaded the Bush administration to ask Congress for additional funds to help U.S. banks and restore the credit markets. Congress passed the controversial Economic Stabilization Act of 2008, creating a \$700 billion **Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP)** to purchase from financial institutions failing assets that included mortgages and mortgage-related securities. Some conservatives attacked TARP as “socialism,” while some liberals attacked it as a bailout of the Wall Street executives who had caused the problems.

As with the Great Depression of 1929, the causes of this crash will be debated for years. Some blamed the Federal Reserve for keeping interest rates too low. Others criticized excessive deregulation of the financial industry. And others saw the cause in government efforts to promote home ownership. Moreover, real-estate bank fraud and Ponzi schemes that cost investors tens of billions of dollars in losses also helped to destroy investor confidence. Whatever its causes, the crisis significantly affected the 2008 election.

## Domestic Policy of the Obama Presidency (2009–2017)

The rapidly growing economic crisis dominated the transition between President Bush and President Obama. Congress approved the use of the second half of the controversial TARP funding—\$350 billion. At Obama's request, Bush used more than \$10 billion of TARP funds to support the failing automakers General Motors (GM) and the Chrysler Corporation. Republicans largely rejected the president's efforts at bipartisanship legislation.

However, during Obama's first term, Democrats controlled the House and briefly had enough Senate votes to stop filibusters and so could pass legislation with little Republican support. Several Republicans did vote to confirm the appointments of **Sonia Sotomayor** and **Elena Kagan** to the Supreme Court. Since the new justices replaced other liberals, Justice Anthony Kennedy remained the swing vote in many 5–4 decisions.

**Economic Stimulus** The **Great Recession** of 2008 started in the United States. During the downturn, the stock market lost half of its value and unemployment peaked at more than 10 percent. Relying on Keynesian economic ideas to avoid a greater depression, Obama and the Democrats enacted a number of programs to promote recovery and financial reform.

The **American Recovery and Reinvestment Act** of 2009 provided a \$787 billion economic stimulus package designed to create or save 3.5 million jobs. Included was \$288 billion for tax cuts to stimulate spending and \$144 billion to help state and local governments maintain services. The balance of the package was for construction projects, health care, education, and renewable energy. The **Federal Reserve**, under the leadership of economist and scholar of the Great Depression Ben Bernanke, also promoted recovery. It lowered interest rates and injected \$600 billion dollars into the banking system.

With the domestic auto industry near collapse, the federal government became deeply involved in its recovery. The government temporarily took over General Motors ("Government Motors") while the company went through bankruptcy and guided the sale of Chrysler to Fiat, an Italian automaker. The popular "Cash for Clunkers" program provided \$3 billion in incentives to U.S. residents to scrap old cars in order to promote sales and to purchase new, more fuel-efficient vehicles.

**Financial Reforms** The Great Recession revealed serious flaws in the federal oversight of financial institutions after the deregulation that began in the 1970s. The comprehensive **Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act** (2010) was designed to improve regulation of banking and investment firms and to protect taxpayers from future bailouts of businesses that were "too big to fail." The act also set up a new **Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB)** to regulate consumer products, such as mortgages and credit cards. Some criticized the act for not breaking up the big banks that contributed to the meltdown of the economy and needed the bailouts.

By late 2016, the economy looked far stronger than in 2010. It had added 15 million jobs, the unemployment rate had fallen to 4.6 percent, and the



Dow Jones Industrial Average was up 210 percent. The new CFPB had already investigated nearly one million consumer banking and credit card complaints and provided \$11.7 billion in relief for more than 27 million consumers. However, the Obama administration was still criticized for a slow recovery, and a lower percentage of Americans were working than before the recession.

**Environment and Climate Change** The Obama administration used the stimulus bill to reduce reliance on oil and increase development of alternative energy sources, such as solar and wind power. Auto manufacturers were encouraged to produce more hybrid and electric cars. In 2015, the United States joined 195 other nations in the **Paris Agreement** to reduce global carbon emissions. However, many in Congress disagreed with the science behind climate change and opposed tighter controls of greenhouse gases caused by the use of fossil fuels, making the environment another partisan issue.

**Education** In the stimulus package, Obama promoted reforms in early childhood and K-12 education (Race to the Top), including more private-public partnerships and more use of charter schools. Democrats attacked the growing college loan debt crisis by cutting out private banks in the federal college-loan program. The bipartisan **Every Student Succeeds Act** was signed into law in 2015 to replace No Child Left Behind, which had been attacked for excessive testing and for supporting efforts to develop common curriculum standards across the country. The new law placed more emphasis on local and state flexibility.

**Budget Deficits** The recession decreased federal tax receipts, increased federal spending to avoid a depression, and shrank the overall economy. As a result, total national debt initially ballooned under Obama. Congressional efforts to reduce deficit spending were stymied by Democrats who opposed cuts to social services and by Republicans who fought tax increases: *compromise* had become a dirty word in Washington. Despite the stalemate in Congress, renewed economic growth reduced the burden of the annual deficit. It declined from almost 10 percent of GDP at the depth of the recession to under 3 percent in 2016, a level most economists thought the government could afford.

**Health Care** The U.S. “fee for service” medical system was the most expensive in the world but produced mixed results. It promoted innovation but left more than 45 million people outside the system to seek medical care in emergency rooms. The Patient Protection and **Affordable Care Act** of 2010 (“**Obamacare**”) aimed to extend affordable health insurance to an additional 25 million Americans through combinations of subsidies, mandates, insurance exchanges, and expansion of Medicaid while introducing medical and insurance reforms to control health care costs. The act required insurance companies to accept patients regardless of preexisting conditions, allowed children to remain on their parents’ insurance until age 26, and funded wellness exams and women’s medical needs. Republicans opposed the law for its regulations and costs, but after a slow rollout, nearly 20 million Americans gained coverage through private health insurance or Medicaid.

**Other Presidential Initiatives** President Obama signed a number of executive orders to overturn actions of the Bush administration. He placed a formal ban on torture by requiring that army field manuals be used as the guide for interrogating terrorist suspects. The new president expanded stem cell research and ended restrictions on federal funding of overseas health organizations. One of the first bills passed by Congress that Obama signed was the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act that strengthened protection of equal pay for female employees. He had promised to close the U.S. prison at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, but failed to win needed congressional support.

**The Tea Party** The opposition to government spending and to “Obamacare” coalesced in a loosely united conservative and libertarian movement known as the **Tea Party**. While many in the movement focused on debt and health care, others emphasized expanding gun rights, outlawing abortions, and preventing undocumented immigration. Fueled by Tea Party energy, the Republicans in 2010 took control of the House with a 242 to 193 majority. In the Senate, the Republicans reduced the Democrats’ majority to 53 votes, which consisted of 51 Democrats and 2 independents who caucused with them.

**Elections and Money** In 2010, the Supreme Court ruled in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* that corporations were “legal persons” and had the same rights as individuals to buy ads to influence political elections. This ruling opened a flood of new money into politics from wealthy donors. As individual donors replaced traditional party fundraising, the parties became weaker.

**Election of 2012** The presidential election of 2012 was dominated by issues related to the Great Recession, the Affordable Care Act, immigration, and the long-term fiscal health of the United States. Republicans conducted a long, hard-fought battle for their party’s nomination before selecting **Mitt Romney**, former governor of Massachusetts. President Obama defeated Romney 332 to 206 in the Electoral College and by five million popular votes. The president ran strongly among Hispanics, winning 71 percent of their votes.

In Congress, Republicans could celebrate after the election of 2012 by keeping their strong majority in the House of Representatives, while the Democrats retained control of the Senate. However, the election of 2014 again proved the strength of the Republican turnout in nonpresidential elections as the Republicans took control of both the House and Senate.

**Government in Deadlock** During Obama’s first term, the divisions between the Democratic president and the Republican-controlled Congress were so serious that Standard & Poor’s downgraded the government’s credit rating. These differences continued through the last four years of Obama’s presidency. Compromise was difficult and rare, and as a result, little significant legislation was signed into law. The sharply divided government produced one on-budget stalemate after another and even a Republican threat to default on the national debt.

One high-profile point of conflict was the Affordable Care Act. After Republicans regained control of the House, they unsuccessfully tried more than 50 times to overturn or defund the ACA.

The two parties did pass one major tax compromise in January 2013. It preserved the Bush tax cuts for incomes of \$400,000 and less and allowed the top tax rate to rise to 39.6 percent for higher incomes. However, Congress was unable to compromise on the annual budget, so **sequestrations** (automatic cuts) went into effect across both domestic and defense spending. Neither party liked the impact on military and domestic programs, but the deep divisions prevented compromise. In October 2013, Republicans carried out their threat to shut down the federal government, which remained closed for 16 days.

The unexpected death of Justice Antonin Scalia in February 2016 opened a new arena for conflict. Senate Republicans refused to hold hearings for Obama's Supreme Court nominee, Merrick Garland. As a result, the Supreme Court had only eight members for 13 months. When the Court deadlocked 4-4, it could not rule on decisions made in the lower federal courts.

## **The Trump Presidency and the Election of Biden**

The flood of refugees and immigrants into Europe from the Middle East and Africa fueled a worldwide backlash against immigration and globalization. In the United States, the unsolved issues of 11 million undocumented immigrants and the loss of manufacturing jobs to new technology and to lower-wage countries in Asia and Latin America set the stage for a dramatic political upset.

**2016 Election** The most vocal U.S. leader against globalization was Donald J. Trump, a well-known real estate developer and reality TV show personality. He became a prominent political figure by fueling the false belief that Obama was not born in the United States. He criticized Washington politicians ("drain the swamp"), unwanted immigration ("build the wall"), and international trade deals (such as NAFTA). Trump's effective use of slogans ("Make America Great Again"), social media (Twitter), and large rallies won him the Republican Party's presidential nomination. In the Democratic Party, Hillary Clinton, former secretary of state, U.S. senator, and first lady, became the first woman nominated for president by a major party. She vowed to build on Obama's achievements by expanding access to health care and continuing U.S. leadership globally.

Early polls favored Clinton. However, Trump's bold attacks energized some working-class voters, adding them to the traditional Republican base. Though Trump lost the popular vote by three million votes, he won the closely contested "swing" states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Florida. As a result, he received 306 electoral votes against Clinton's 232 votes, giving him a solid victory. The Republican Party held control of the House and Senate.

**Trump's Domestic Policy** President Trump emphasized tax cuts, deregulation of the private sector, trade protection, and immigration control. In 2017, he signed the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, which cut the corporate tax rate



from 35 to 21 percent, temporarily lowered personal tax brackets, and raised the threshold for estate taxes to \$11 million per individual. The cuts mostly benefitted wealthy Americans and resulted in a sharp increase in the federal deficit. The Republicans dismantled parts of the Dodd-Frank Act that regulated banks and consumer borrowing and overturned Obama era regulations to control greenhouse gases.

Trump used executive orders to weaken Obama's Affordable Care Act by eliminating the mandate to buy health insurance and to overturn DACA, an Obama program that stopped deportation of individuals who had entered the country with their families as children. His administration discouraged illegal immigration with get-tough policies at the border and cooperation with Mexico and Central American countries to restrict people leaving them.

President Trump fulfilled another campaign promise by filling over 200 vacancies in the federal courts with conservative judges, including three Supreme Court justices: Neil Gorsuch, Brett Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett. By 2019, President Trump enjoyed the lowest unemployment rate (3.5 percent) in decades, steady business growth, and a booming stock market.

However, Trump failed to deliver on his pledges to propose a replacement for the ACA and to persuade Mexico to pay for a border wall. In addition, Trump's term was marked by frequent firings and resignations of top officials, and the president was repeatedly cited by fact-checking services for making false statements.

**Trump's Foreign Policy** On the international front, Trump pledged to follow an "America First" policy. He pulled the United States out of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty with Russia, the Paris Agreement to curb climate change, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the UN Human Rights Council, and UNESCO, and he announced that the U.S. would withdraw from the World Health Organization. Further, he threatened to leave NATO and the World Trade Organization. Trump placed tariffs on China with mixed results, including increased prices for U.S. consumers, difficulties for U.S. manufacturers that relied on parts imported from China, and reduced agricultural exports to China. However, the tariffs led to a "Phase 1" trade agreement that softened the impact of the trade war.

With Iran, Trump withdrew the United States from the six-nation agreement to restrict Iran's development of nuclear weapons and ordered the assassination of a top Iranian general who had been involved in terrorist attacks. In a strategy to isolate Iran, the administration brokered Arab-Israel peace agreements with UAE, Bahrain, Sudan, and Morocco, which some of his critics supported.

**Investigation and Impeachment** In 2017, the Justice Department appointed Robert Mueller to lead an investigation into the Russian government's interference in the 2016 election. The investigation resulted in 34 indictments and 8 convictions of Trump campaign staff. However, following Justice Department guidelines against indicting a sitting president, Mueller did not make an explicit recommendation to indict Trump.

After the Democrats gained control of the House in the 2018 elections, they impeached President Trump for abuse of power and obstruction of Congress for withholding military aid to Ukraine in exchange for evidence against the Biden family. In February 2020, the Republican majority in the Senate found Trump not guilty. Democrats generally saw Trump's actions as a threat to the rule of law. Some Republicans labeled Mueller's investigation as a "witch hunt" based on unproven charges. Others argued that what Trump did was not an impeachable offense.

**2020 Pandemic** The virus COVID-19 was first identified in China in December 2019. The first case in the United States was confirmed on January 20, 2020. While the Trump administration restricted travel from China and later from Europe, he consistently rejected the warnings of his advisors and downplayed the significance of the disease. With a lack of federal leadership, the United States was slow in testing for the virus and in manufacturing critical medical supplies, and policies across the 50 states were inconsistent. Many Americans refused to wear masks or practice social distancing, seeing these actions as violations of their personal liberties. Together, these factors contributed to the United States having one of the poorest records among advanced nations in its initial response to the crisis. By early 2021, over 500,000 Americans had died.

The pandemic caused many schools and all but essential businesses to close. Tens of millions of people lost their jobs and many businesses failed. The economic disruption did benefit Internet and e-commerce companies. Congress and the Federal Reserve responded with a series of aid programs costing over \$7 trillion to help the unemployed, small businesses, and industries. President Trump's Operation Warp Speed, a \$10 billion government program to help pharmaceutical companies develop COVID-19 vaccines at a record pace, proved successful, with the first shots given in December 2020.

**Election of 2020** The pandemic curtailed large political rallies and promoted voting by mail. The government's response to the pandemic and economic stress contributed to President Trump's decline in the polls. The Democrats nominated 78-year-old Joseph Biden, Barack Obama's former vice president. He picked California Senator Kamala Harris as his vice president, the first person of color for the position.

In a historic turnout of more than 66 percent of eligible voters, Biden and Harris won by seven million votes, receiving 306 electoral votes to Trump's 232. Yet President Trump, without evidence, claimed he had won. After months of recounts and court rulings, no serious fraud was found. However, Trump continued to energize his followers to "Stop the Steal."

**Attack on the Capitol and a Second Impeachment** Finally, on January 6, 2021, the date the Senate was to accept the electoral votes from the 50 states, Trump held a rally near the White House, encouraging his supporters to march to the Capitol. That march turned into an attack on the Capitol, the first since



Source: Wikimedia

On January 6, a mob vowing to overturn the election attacked the Capitol.

the British invasion in 1814. Five people died and hundreds were injured, as lawmakers and their staff members fled for their lives. After troops overcame the mob, the Senate finally confirmed Biden as president.

Trump's actions before and during the attack on the Capitol resulted in his becoming the first president ever to be impeached twice by the House of Representatives. In the Senate, the vote to convict him won bipartisan, majority support but not the two-thirds needed to pass.

**Biden's Administration** Speaking to a deeply divided nation, President Biden called for unity in his inaugural address: "Every disagreement doesn't have to be a cause for total war." His priority was to end the suffering from the pandemic, in part through a \$1.9 trillion aid package for struggling Americans and by vaccinating every American against COVID-19 by the fall of 2021.



#### HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT DOES FREEDOM MEAN?

Freedom is a major theme of American history, but people have always disagreed on what "freedom" means. The most dramatic example of this was the Civil War. Both sides fought in the name of freedom, but for Confederates the right to enslave others was a "freedom."

**Contests over Freedom** In *The Story of American Freedom* (1999), Eric Foner traced America's thoughts about freedom from the struggle for independence through the Reagan era. The Reconstruction, Progressive, New Deal, and Civil Rights eras enlarged the meaning of freedom to include equal rights for more people, often by expanding the power of government to protect individuals. During the Reagan Revolution, freedom was frequently defined as reducing the power of "big government" by cutting federal regulations. Foner attributed this change to reactions against federal court rulings promoting desegregation, equality, privacy, abortion rights, and other issues.

**Diverse Expressions of Freedom** David Hackett Fischer, in *Liberty and Freedom* (2005), pursued its meaning through American visual expressions, customs, and what Tocqueville called "habits of the heart." Fischer's analysis of the images and symbols from the Liberty Trees of the American Revolution through the protest posters of the late 20th century revealed the rich diversity of traditions about freedom that eluded abstract definitions. Hackett concluded that the United States remains free because of its diversity of traditions about

## Causation in Period 9

**Learning Objective:** Explain the relative significance of the effects of change in the period after 1980 on American national identity.

One way to evaluate effects on the national identity is to look at who Americans were becoming in this period after 1980. The significant shift of migration to the Sun Belt affected how many Americans thought about the nation. The norms of the urban and more liberal Northeast and Midwest were challenged in the South, where people favored less government, little regulation of business, and a more active role for religion. One could argue that the culture wars fought over these differences left Americans with deeply divided views of the national identity. The change in immigration patterns from predominantly ethnic European countries to Asian, Latin American, and African countries also sparked fears among older White majorities about what was happening to the national identity, and the identity of America in 2050 and beyond.

**Economic Division** The economic changes after 1980 were particularly negative for many lower- and middle-class Americans. In previous decades, they had won prosperity and security from industrial growth, strong unions, and the social safety net policies of the New Deal and Great Society. However, new technology, globalization, and pro-business public policies meant that the benefits of economic growth were distributed unequally. The identity of the United States as the land of opportunity suffered in both the old industrial centers of the Rust Belt and in the new low-wage economy of the Sun Belt.

At the same time, the American dream and entrepreneurial opportunities remained strong for well-educated people in urban centers. The result caused deeper divisions between rural and urban regions and between working-class and upper-class Americans. Critics wondered if America's democracy would survive the inequality caused by the concentration of wealth.

**Foreign Affairs** The end of the Cold War and the rise of terrorism also left Americans with a less clear mission of how to use the country's military power. Formerly, the country could focus on a single foe, such as the Soviet Union, that could be deterred by a large military. Replacing it were stateless terrorists scattered around the world with access to powerful explosives. After 2001, the large-scale use of American troops in the Middle East, a region with deep-rooted conflicts, seemed inappropriate to many. These challenges again left Americans divided over the U.S. role in the world. Would it be a partner in collective security pacts with other nations, a superpower that would take unilateral action for its own purposes, or a bystander in a type of isolationism?

## QUESTIONS ABOUT CAUSE AND EFFECT

1. Evaluate the extent to which changes in immigration and migration after 1980 contributed to changes in American national identity.
2. Evaluate the extent to which changes in the American economy after 1980 contributed to changes in American national identity.



### THINK AS A HISTORIAN: ARGUMENTATION—DEVELOPING COMPLEXITY

To do well on the AP® exam, you will need to develop and support complex arguments, ones that are detailed and demonstrate four skills:

- **Explain the nuance.** Nuance means subtlety or precision. A nuanced argument analyzes multiple variables related to that argument.
- **Explain connections.** These connections should be relevant, which means related to the argument. They should also be insightful, which means you understand why they are important on a deep level.
- **Explain significance.** Beyond merely citing names and dates, you should describe the argument's credibility, significance, and possible limitations.
- **Explain effectiveness.** Is this evidence solid enough, relevant enough, and important enough to strengthen the argument? Why or why not?

Being able to write a complex argument is one of the most challenging tasks for many students. Mastering it takes practice.

*Choose one of the arguments below and answer the questions that follow.*

**Argument 1:** After 1980, the United States became increasingly polarized between rural and urban regions.

**Argument 2:** Passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1990 affected U.S. employment, transportation, and architecture in ways that still exist today.

**Argument 3:** The political philosophy of the United States is a struggle between proponents of “freedom to” have equal rights and participation and “freedom from” government regulations and restrictions.

1. How can you make this argument more nuanced? Describe details related to this argument that make it more precise or subtle.
2. What connections can you make, either within one historical period or across periods, that will help strengthen this argument?
3. What details can you add that are significant to this argument? Significant details should be closely connected to the argument and should help to illuminate it in some way.
4. How effective is the evidence you have provided to support the argument? Explain why your evidence is relevant, trustworthy, important, or persuasive.



## UNIT 9 – Period 9 Review: 1980–Present



### WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: REREAD AND EVALUATE

You can learn how to best use the 40 minutes allotted for the long essay by writing several timed essays. Allowing time to understand the task and gather your evidence before you start writing will likely result in a stronger essay. Leave time at the end of the 40 minutes to reread and evaluate your essay. As you evaluate your essay, start at the basic level: Did you fulfill the task the prompt requires? Check the key terms of the question and the key terms you use in your response, and be sure they align.

For an easy reminder of what else you should look for, remember this sentence: The clearest essays require care. The first letter of each word, T, C, E, R, and C, can remind you of the key elements your essay must contain:

1. **Thesis/claim:** The thesis must make a historically defensible claim that responds to the prompt and lays out a line of reasoning. It must also consist of one or more sentences located in one place, either in the introduction or the conclusion.
2. **Contextualization:** Place your thesis in historical context, relating the topic of the prompt to broader historical events, developments, or processes that occur before, occur during, or continue after the time frame of the question.
3. **Evidence:** Provide a number of specific and relevant pieces of evidence, and clearly show how they support your thesis.
4. **Reasoning:** Use the historical reasoning process of comparison, continuity and change, or causation to frame your argument. Use an organizational strategy appropriate to the reasoning process.
5. **Complexity:** Check that you have woven a complex understanding throughout your essay (or fully developed it in one place). Look for an explanation of multiple variables and both causes and effects, similarities and differences, and continuities and changes; connections across and within periods; the significance of a source's credibility and limitations; and the effectiveness of a historical claim.

**Application:** After answering one or more of the long essay questions on the next page, use "The clearest essays require care" to evaluate your essay. Make revisions where you believe you can make your essay stronger, clearer, or more aligned with the rubric expectations.

For current free-response question samples, visit: <https://apcentral.collegeboard.org/courses/ap-united-states-history/exam>