

UNIT 9 — Period 9: 1980–Present

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.

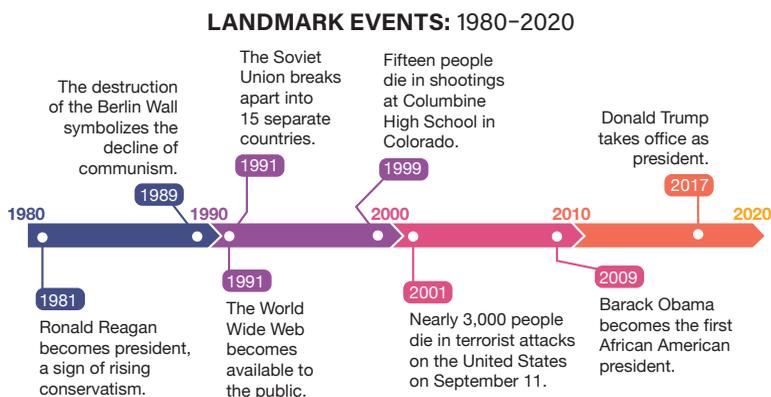
The decline of faith in the federal government's ability to solve social and economic problems, and the championing of unregulated markets by American corporations, gave conservatism new life in both the Republican

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.



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

Conservatism (PCE)	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 Act	Americans with Disabilities Act	"Don't ask, don't tell"
deregulation	political polarization	Black Lives Matter
PATCO	Brady Bill	#MeToo
		<i>Obergefell v. Hodges</i>

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem. From time to time we’ve been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people. . . .

It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal government and those reserved to the States or to the people. . . .

In the days ahead I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity. . . . It is time to reawaken this industrial giant, to get government back within its means, and to lighten our punitive tax burden. And these will be our first priorities, and on these principles there will be no compromise.”

President Ronald Reagan, inaugural address,
January 20, 1981

1. Which of the following was an accomplishment by Reagan that fulfilled the pledges made in this excerpt?
 - (A) Balancing the federal budget
 - (B) Cutting military spending through greater efficiency
 - (C) Strengthening environmental protections of federal lands
 - (D) Reducing taxes for businesses and upper-income individuals
2. Ronald Reagan’s philosophy was most similar to that of which of the following presidents?
 - (A) William McKinley because he believed that privately owned corporations were the key to economic growth
 - (B) Theodore Roosevelt because he believed that the country needed a strong federal government to regulate industries
 - (C) Franklin Roosevelt because he believed that government spending was a useful tool to boost the economy and consumer demand
 - (D) Lyndon Johnson because he supported using federal programs to reduce the income inequality among Americans

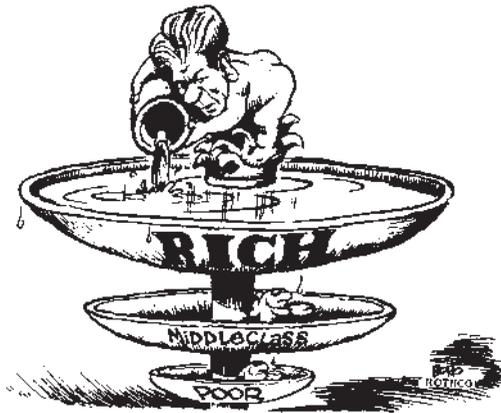
3. Which of the following would best support President Reagan's views on "removing roadblocks that have slowed our economy"?

- (A) Cutting restrictions on financial institutions
- (B) Improving mass transportation for workers
- (C) Promoting college education with student loans
- (D) Requiring older Americans to work longer

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1.



Source: Len Boro Rothco

Using the image above, which depicts a debate about the Reagan administration policies, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE perspective of the artist expressed in the image.
 - (b) Briefly explain how ONE specific event or development during the Reagan administration contributed to the perspective depicted in the image.
 - (c) Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development during the Reagan administration challenged the perspective depicted in the image.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific historical development that contributed to the conservative resurgence in the 1980s.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific effect of this resurgence on federal government policy during the 1980s.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific criticism of the Reagan administration.

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 anti-aircraft 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.

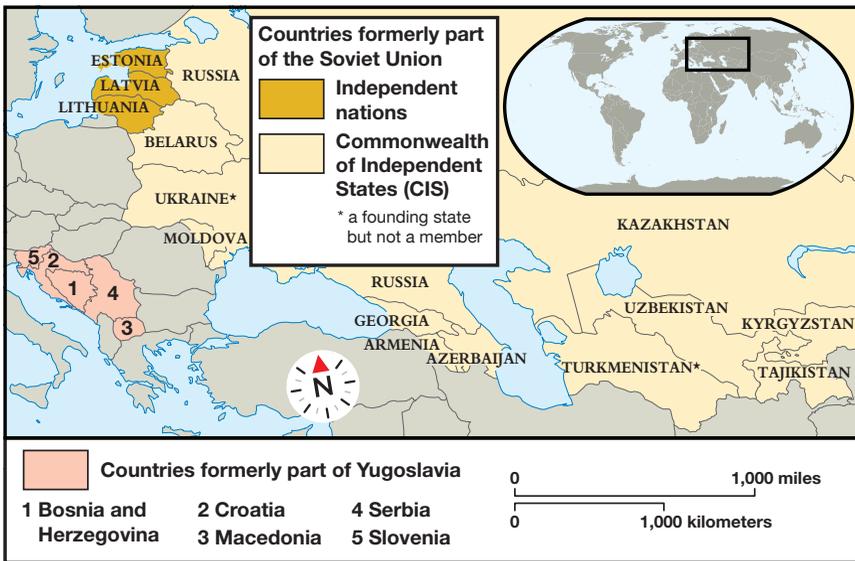
Eastern Europe Challenges to communism in Eastern Europe produced more positive results. With the overwhelming electoral victory of the once-outlawed Solidarity movement led by **Lech Walesa**, the Communist Party fell from power in one country after another—Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania. 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

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

KEY TERMS BY THEME

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"

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the excerpt below.

[On the day after Solidarity had swept Poland’s first open elections, ultimately winning 99 of 100 Senate seats, the Polish Communists met to discuss what to do.]

“Comrade W. Baka proposed to emphasize in the statement that we had taken into account the unfavorable result. We are consistent, we have no other alternative. Warn against attempts at destabilization, pointing at the situation in China. [Tiananmen occurred the same day as the Polish elections.] Comrade A. Kwasniewski emphasized that a matter extremely important after announcing the election results is to prevent spontaneous demonstrations, which neither side might be able to control. Comrade M.F. Rakowski—We had a false assessment of the situation. . . . The party are not connected with the masses. . . . There was a lack of awareness. . . . What has happened in Poland is going to have tremendous impact outside (USSR, Hungary, other countries). This may lead to upheavals in the whole camp, this must be driven to social awareness. We need to draw all conclusions from the fact that considerable part of the society said ‘no.’”

Transcript of the Central Committee Secretariat meeting of the Polish United Workers [Communist] Party, June 5, 1989

1. Which of the following was the most direct catalyst for the political situation described in this excerpt?
 - (A) Gorbachev had decided not to send in Soviet troops to support Communist governments.
 - (B) President Bush took a cautious approach and would not help the Solidarity movement.
 - (C) Most of the other Communist bloc governments in Eastern Europe had already fallen.
 - (D) The Polish Communists wanted to keep the support of the Catholic Church in Poland.
2. Why was “the situation in China” an issue for Polish Communists?
 - (A) Communist governments followed a similar economic model for their development.
 - (B) Communist China had better relations with the United States than with the Soviet Union.
 - (C) In 1989, the Polish Communists decided not to use suppression and violence to stay in power as the Chinese had.
 - (D) The Polish Communists came to regret their support of Gorbachev.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1.



Source: Edmund S. Valtman / Library of Congress. 1991

Using the image above answer (a), (b), and (c). The image shows Karl Marx, Joseph Stalin, and Vladimir Lenin looking down from heaven as Mikhail Gorbachev leads a funeral procession. The casket says “COMMUNISM,” and Stalin is saying, “I can’t believe my eyes!”

- Briefly describe ONE historical perspective expressed in the image.
 - Briefly explain how ONE specific event or development in the period from 1980 to 1991 contributed to the process depicted in the image.
 - Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect in the period from 1980 to 2000 that resulted from the process depicted in the image.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
- Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development to support the position that the Reagan administration helped to end the Cold War.
 - Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development to support the position that political changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe helped to end the Cold War.
 - Briefly explain ONE specific historical foreign-policy challenge for the United States that resulted from the aftermath of the Cold War.

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.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Changing Economy (WXT)	Newt Gingrich	World Trade Organization (WTO)
election of 1992	Republican Revolution	International Monetary Fund (IMF)
Bill Clinton	Revolution of '94	World Bank
Ross Perot	Contract with America	Group of Eight (G8)
Brady Bill	Internet	top 1 percent
Anti-Crime Bill	globalization	
National Rifle Association (NRA)	North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)	

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“Clinton was widely hailed, even by some of his detractors, as the most gifted politician of his generation—but the political task presented to him required continual bobbing and weaving, compromising and negotiation, retreating so as to advance. . . . Clinton was forced to establish a position independent of both the hostile Republican majority and the impotent Democratic minority. . . . Under siege, though, Clinton survived to become, by the end of his second term, a singularly admired if controversial leader.”

Sean Wilentz, *The Age of Reagan: A History 1974–2008*, 2008

1. Which of the following actions provides the strongest evidence to support the claim that Clinton’s success was in “compromising and negotiation, retreating so as to advance”?
 - (A) The bill ending all discrimination against gays in the military
 - (B) The changes known as the Contract with America
 - (C) The Brady Bill on the purchase of handguns
 - (D) The actions on welfare and budget reform
2. Which of the following best explains the reason for the general popularity of the Clinton presidency?
 - (A) Clinton survived an unpopular impeachment effort led by his political opponents.
 - (B) Clinton presided over eight years of prosperity and improved middle-class incomes.
 - (C) Clinton organized successful peacekeeping efforts in the former Yugoslavia.
 - (D) Clinton negotiated a plan to stabilize Social Security and Medicare for seniors.

3. Which of the following best explains the reasons for the first budget surpluses in decades during the Clinton administration?
- (A) Military savings as a result of the U.S. victory in the Cold War
 - (B) Republicans' ability to pass budget cuts over Clinton's opposition
 - (C) A compromise between Clinton and Republicans to cut Social Security
 - (D) A mixture of tax increases, budget cuts, and a growing economy

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1.

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME, 1980 AND 2018		
Income Group	1980	2018
Wealthiest 5 Percent <i>(Included in the highest 20 percent)</i>	16.5	23.1
Highest 20 Percent	44.1	52.0
Fourth Highest 20 Percent	24.7	22.6
Middle 20 Percent	16.8	14.1
Second Lowest 20 Percent	10.2	8.3
Lowest 20 Percent	4.2	3.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Using the table above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that contributed to the increase in household income of the richest Americans after 1980.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that contributed to the general stagnation of household income of the middle and poorest groups of Americans after 1980.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect that resulted from the changes depicted in the table.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
- (a) Briefly explain ONE cause for increased productivity in the United States during the 1990s.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific problem related to the Internet and wireless communications.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE impact of globalization on the American economy 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.

Anti-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.

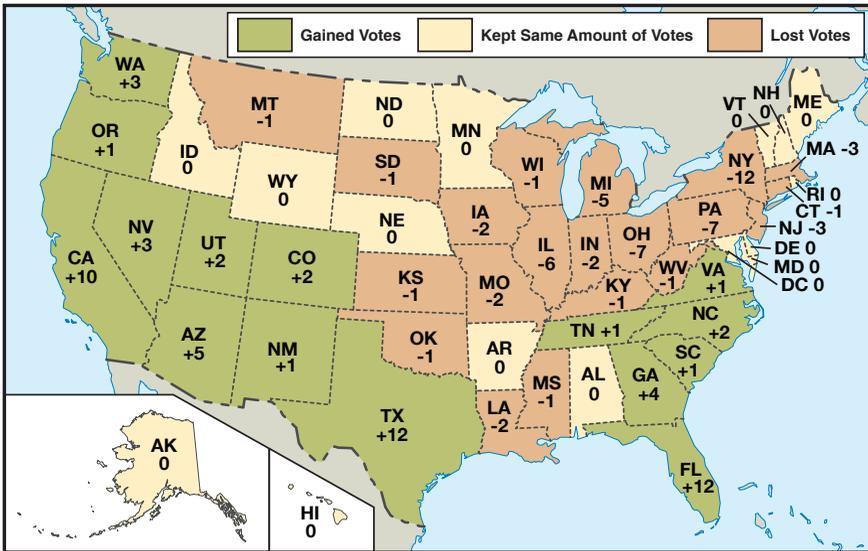
Political Power In addition to economic growth, the South and West dramatically increased their political influence. As these mostly conservative states increased their populations, they gained more seats in the House of Representatives and more electoral votes in presidential elections. These population 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

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

Immigration and Migration (MIG)

Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965

Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986

Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)

undocumented immigrants

border wall

green cards

asylum seekers

single-parent families

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

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.

1. Which of the following best supports Trump's attack on previous administrations?
 - (A) They had not built walls of any kind along the southern border.
 - (B) They had not ended illegal immigration along the southern border.
 - (C) They spent more money on welfare for illegal immigrants than for U.S. citizens.
 - (D) They focused more on winning votes of immigrants than on the votes of native-born Americans.

2. Which of the following best explains the popularity of Trump's message expressed in this excerpt?
 - (A) Trump had more experience and expertise than his opponents on national security issues.
 - (B) Voters thought building a border wall would be part of a larger government jobs program.
 - (C) Voters were influenced by their support for the America First movement of the 1930s.
 - (D) Many working-class Americans blamed their wage stagnation on illegal immigration.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific change in immigration patterns in the United States during and after the 1970s and its impact on diversity in America.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific effect of the growth of the Sun Belt on politics in the United States during the 1990s and 2000s.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific way that family structures were changing in the United States by the 2000s and its impact on society.

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.

The 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 one 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 cooperated 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. He announced that the United States 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.

Trump changed U.S. policy toward Iran. He withdrew the United States from the six-nation agreement to restrict that country's development of nuclear weapons. In addition, he 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-Israeli peace agreements with UAE, Bahrain, Sudan, and Morocco, agreements that 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 downplayed the significance of the disease, despite the warnings of his advisors. 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. The first people in the United States to receive shots were vaccinated 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

Caption: 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 freedom. He believes that the gravest threat to freedom comes from those

incapable of imagining any vision of freedom except their own.

Develop an Argument Explain two perspectives on the meaning of “freedom.”

REFLECT ON LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the causes and effects of two international challenges the United States faced in the 21st century.
2. Explain the causes and effects of two domestic challenges the United States faced in the 21st century.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Bush Foreign Policy (WOR)

George W. Bush
Al Gore
Bush v. Gore
Colin Powell
Al-Qaeda
Osama bin Laden
Afghanistan
Taliban
“asymmetric” warfare
USS Cole
World Trade Center
September 11, 2001
USA PATRIOT Act
Department of Homeland Security
director of national intelligence
Saddam Hussein
“axis of evil”
weapons of mass destruction (WMDs)
Operation Iraqi Freedom
“war of choice”
“regime change”
Abu Ghraib
Kyoto Accord
Bush Doctrine
unilateralist approach

Obama Foreign Policy (WOR)

Hillary Clinton

Barack Obama
John McCain
Arab Spring
ISIS
Ukraine
Vladimir Putin
Cuba
cyber attacks
WikiLeaks

Bush Domestic Policy (PCE)

No Child Left Behind Act
Enron
elections of 2004
John Kerry
privatize Social Security
Hurricane Katrina
John Roberts
Samuel Alito

Great Recession (WXT)

securitization
Fannie Mae
Freddie Mac
Lehman Brothers
Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP)
Great Recession
American Recovery and Reinvestment Act
Federal Reserve
Dodd-Frank Act

Consumer Financial Protection Bureau

Obama Domestic Policy (PCE)

Sonia Sotomayor
Elena Kagan
Paris Agreement
Every Student Succeeds Act
Affordable Care Act
“Obamacare”
Tea Party
Mitt Romney
sequestrations

Trump Presidency (PCE)

undocumented immigrants
Donald J. Trump
“Make America Great Again”
Tax Cuts and Jobs Act
Neil Gorsuch
Brett Kavanaugh
Amy Coney Barrett
border wall
Robert Mueller
first impeachment
“America First”
COVID-19 pandemic
second impeachment
attack on the Capitol
Joseph Biden

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“These militants are not just the enemies of America or the enemies of Iraq. They are the enemies of Islam, and they’re the enemies of humanity. . . .

[I]t is cowardice that seeks to kill children and the elderly with car bombs, and cuts the throat of a bound captive, and targets worshipers leaving a mosque. It is courage that liberated more than 50 million people from tyranny. And it is courage in the cause of freedom that will once again destroy the enemies of freedom!

Islamic radicalism, like the ideology of communism, contains inherent contradictions that doom it to failure. By fearing freedom, by distrusting human creativity, and punishing change, and limiting the contributions of half a population, this ideology undermines the very qualities that make human progress possible and human societies successful. The only thing modern about the militants’ vision is the weapons they want to use against us. The rest of their grim vision is defined by a warped image of the past, a declaration of war on the idea of progress itself.”

George W. Bush, Veterans Day speech, November 11, 2005

1. Which of the following was the most direct cause for this speech by President Bush?
 - (A) The attack on the Twin Towers in New York
 - (B) The resurgence of the Taliban in Afghanistan
 - (C) The challenge to control the violence in Iraq
 - (D) The breakdown of relations with Iran
2. President Bush’s comparison of Islamic radicalism to communism is best supported by the claim that both opposed
 - (A) education for all children as a path to progress
 - (B) basic human rights for all individuals
 - (C) government efforts to promote cultural change
 - (D) modern advances in technology such as personal communications
3. Bush’s comment about “limiting the contributions of half a population” is a reference to
 - (A) the divide between Muslims and non-Muslims in many countries
 - (B) the struggle between Sunni and Shiite factions for power in Iraq
 - (C) the conflict between ISIS and its rivals in the Middle East
 - (D) the denial of equal rights for women by many militants

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1.



Source: Otherwords.org

Using the image above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE historical perspective expressed in the image.
 - (b) Briefly explain how ONE specific event or development in the Middle East after 2000 contributed to the perspective depicted in the image.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect of increased U.S. involvement in the Middle East after 2000.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that contributed to the Great Recession of 2008.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific political impact of the Great Recession of 2008.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific program created by the George W. Bush or Barack Obama administration to deal with the Great Recession.

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>

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
 - Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
 - Support an argument in response to the prompt using specific and relevant examples of evidence.
 - Use historical reasoning (e.g., comparison, causation, continuity or change) to frame or structure an argument that addresses the prompt.
 - Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.
1. Evaluate the extent to which the conservative resurgence changed the political and policy goals of the United States government after 1980.
 2. Evaluate the extent to which new developments in science and technology enhanced the economy and transformed society while manufacturing decreased.
 3. Evaluate the extent to which the interventionist foreign policy of the Reagan administration continued in later administrations, even after the Cold War ended.
 4. Evaluate the extent to which immigration and migration patterns changed in the United States after 1980.
 5. Evaluate the causes of the growing divide between conservatives and liberals in American politics after 1980.
 6. Evaluate the U.S. government's response to environmental concerns and the challenges of climate change since 1980.

U.S. History Practice Examination

Section 1

Part A: Multiple Choice—55 minutes, 55 questions

Directions: Two to four questions are in sets that focus on a primary source, secondary source, or other historical issue. Each question has four answers or completions. Select the best one for each question or statement.

Questions 1–4 refer to the following excerpt.

“Part of the myth about the first Americans is that all of them . . . had one culture . . . the white man turned everything upside down. Three elements were important in the early influence: the dislodgement of eastern tribes, the introduction of the horse, and metal tools and firearms.

“The British invaders of the New World, and to lesser degree the French, came to colonize. They came in thousands to occupy the land. They were, therefore, in direct competition with the Indians and acted accordingly, despite their verbal adherence to fine principles of justice and fair dealing. The Spanish came quite frankly to conquer, to Christianize. . . . They came in small numbers. . . . and the Indian labor force was essential to their aims. Therefore they did not dislodge or exterminate the Indians. . . .

“The Spanish, then, did not set populations in motion. That was done chiefly from the east. The great Spanish contribution was the horse.”

Oliver LaFarge, anthropologist, “Myths That Hide the American Indian,” *The American Indian: Past and Present*, 1971

1. During the early years of colonization, French policy in North America was based primarily on which of the following?
 - (A) Settling on lands controlled by American Indians
 - (B) Controlling the fur trade
 - (C) Farming in the Mississippi River Valley
 - (D) Establishing a series of Catholic missions
2. United States policy toward the American Indians in the 19th century was most similar to the colonial Indian policy of the
 - (A) British
 - (B) Dutch
 - (C) French
 - (D) Spanish

3. Which of the following best describes something Europeans introduced in the Americas that helped American Indians survive colonization?
- (A) New farming methods, which enabled American Indians to maintain their agricultural heritage
 - (B) Metal tools, which led to increased trade and better relationships with Europeans
 - (C) Horses, which transformed the cultures of American Indians on the Great Plains
 - (D) Christianity, which brought unity among American Indians
4. Which of the following generalizations best describes a similarity among European nations who colonized North America?
- (A) All wanted to convert American Indians to Roman Catholicism.
 - (B) All included extensive marriage between Europeans and American Indians.
 - (C) All attempted to dominate American Indians in some way.
 - (D) All intended to exterminate or remove American Indians.

Questions 5–7 refer to the following excerpt.

“Instructions to you, Vicente de Zaldivar. . . . of the expedition to New Mexico. . . . for the punishment of the pueblo of Acoma for having killed . . . soldiers. . . .

“Since the good success of the undertaking depends on the pleasure of God our Lord in directing you to appropriate and effective methods, it is right that you should seek to prevent public or private offenses to Him in the expedition. . . . You will proceed over the shortest route. . . . At the places and pueblos that you pass through on the way you will treat the natives well and not allow harm to be done them. . . .

“If God shall be so merciful as to grant us victory, you will arrest all of the people, young and old, without sparing anyone. Inasmuch as we have declared war on them without quarter, you will punish all those of fighting age as you deem best, as a warning to everyone in this kingdom.”

Don Juan de Oñate, Spanish colonial official in New Mexico, 1599

5. The excerpt provides evidence to support the general claim that the Spanish who colonized America
 - (A) viewed Native Americans as criminals who deserved no mercy
 - (B) considered Native Americans as partners in serving the king
 - (C) respected Native Americans as their equals in the eyes of God
 - (D) treated some groups of Native Americans better than others
6. Which of the following best explains why Native Americans became so important to the Spanish empire?
 - (A) Native Americans quickly filled powerful positions in the Spanish colonial government.
 - (B) Native Americans provided most of the labor on Spanish-owned land.
 - (C) Native Americans often joined the Spanish military.
 - (D) Native Americans were primarily trading partners of the Spanish.
7. Officials in the Spanish colonies such as the writer of this excerpt received their authority to act from which of the following?
 - (A) The joint-stock companies that began as trading ventures
 - (B) A governor elected by residents of the colonies
 - (C) The king of Spain who claimed control over the Spanish empire
 - (D) The pope who led the Roman Catholic Church

Questions 8–10 refer to the following excerpt.

“Now we all found the loss of Captain Smith; yea, his greatest maligners could now curse his loss. As for corn provision and contribution from the savages, we had nothing but mortal wounds, with clubs and arrows. . . .

“Nay, so great was our famine that a savage we slew and buried, the poorer sort took him up again and ate him; and so did diverse one another boiled and stewed with roots and herbs. . . .

“This was that time, which still to this day, we called the starving time [1609–1610]. It were too vile to say, and scarce to be believed, what we endured; but the occasion was our own for want of providence, industry, and government, and not the barrenness and defect of the country. . . . For till then in three years, for the numbers were landed us, we have never from England provision sufficient for six months.”

John Smith, *Works*, 1608–1631

8. The group most directly responsible for governing the colony and responding to the experience described in the excerpt were
 - (A) the members of an assembly elected by colonists
 - (B) the representatives who served in Parliament in England
 - (C) the religious leaders who controlled the colony
 - (D) the shareholders of a joint-stock company
9. The reference to Native Americans in the excerpt indicate that the relationship between them and the English settlers in the Chesapeake region was characterized by
 - (A) frequent intermarriage between the two groups
 - (B) shared suffering because of a lack of food in the region
 - (C) conflicts over land and other resources
 - (D) trade based primarily on gold and silver
10. One similarity between the colony described in the excerpt and the colony founded by the Pilgrims in Plymouth was that by 1620, both would
 - (A) protect equal rights for all people
 - (B) welcome settlers of all religious beliefs
 - (C) have peaceful relations with Native Americans
 - (D) develop a type of representative government

Questions 11–13 refer to the following excerpt.

“I, Francis Daniel Pastorius . . . laid out and planned a new town. . . we called Germantown. . . in a very fine and fertile district, with plenty of springs of fresh water, being supplied with oak, walnut, and chestnut trees, and having besides excellent and abundant pasturage for the cattle. . .

“The air is pure and serene. . . and we are cultivating many kinds of fruits and vegetables, and our labors meet with rich reward.

“Our surplus of grain and cattle we trade to Barbados for rum, syrup, sugar, and salt. The furs, however, we export to England for other manufactured goods. We are also endeavoring to introduce the cultivation of the vine, and also the manufacture of woolen cloths and linen, so as to keep our money as much as possible in the country. . .

“William Penn is one of the sect of Friends. . . Still he will compel no man to belong to his particular society.”

Francis D. Pastorius, German colonist, *A Particular Geographical Description of the Lately Discovered Province of Pennsylvania*, 1700

11. Based on this excerpt, what does Pastorius think will cause people to settle in his community?
 - (A) A desire to flee political persecution and have equal rights
 - (B) A desire to escape poverty and find greater economic opportunity
 - (C) A desire to move away from rural life and live in an urban area
 - (D) A desire to leave Germany and become part of an English colony
12. The work done by colonists described in the excerpt supports the interpretation that the leaders of Pennsylvania had
 - (A) rejected the emphasis on increasing the amount of gold in England
 - (B) resisted the development of an agricultural economy
 - (C) attempted to use American Indians as a labor force
 - (D) planned to create a joint-stock company
13. Which of the following conditions could best be used to support the argument made in the last sentence of the excerpt?
 - (A) Pennsylvania had its religious leaders serve as its political leaders.
 - (B) Pennsylvania was a proprietary colony, so it was independent of English control.
 - (C) Pennsylvania allowed settlers to practice religious faiths other than Quakerism.
 - (D) Pennsylvania prohibited slavery while it was governed by Penn.

Questions 14–17 refer to the following excerpt.

“I like much the general idea of framing a government into Legislative, Judiciary and Executive. . . . I will now add what I do not like. First the omission of a bill of rights

“The second feature I dislike, and greatly dislike, is the abandonment in every instance of the necessity of rotation in office and most particularly in the case of [the] President. . . .

“I own that I am not a friend to very energetic government. . . .

“I think our governments will remain virtuous for many centuries; as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there shall be vacant lands in any part of America. . . .

“Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty.”

Thomas Jefferson, letter to James Madison, December 1787

14. Jefferson’s feelings about “rotation in office” were at least partially resolved by which of the following later actions?
- (A) The decision by George Washington not to run for a third term as president
 - (B) The development by political parties of nominating conventions
 - (C) The impeachment of Andrew Johnson for violating the Tenure of Office Act
 - (D) The ratification of the 17th Amendment requiring the direct election of U.S. senators
15. Which of the following government actions did the most to make possible Jefferson’s belief that “our governments will remain virtuous . . . as long as they [the citizens] are chiefly agricultural”?
- (A) Agreeing to the Louisiana Purchase
 - (B) Passing the Embargo Act
 - (C) Funding internal improvements
 - (D) Establishing a national bank

16. Based on this excerpt, which of the following would Jefferson most likely have supported?
- (A) Expansion of voting rights to women, African Americans, and 18-year-olds
 - (B) Establishment of publicly supported land-grant universities
 - (C) Creation of an income tax
 - (D) Prohibition of the sale of alcohol
17. Which statement best describes the context for understanding Jefferson's concern about a bill of rights?
- (A) Enlightenment ideas emphasized the importance of individual liberty.
 - (B) Federalists refused to compromise on the issue of adding a bill of rights.
 - (C) The debate over adding a bill of rights would continue until the Civil War.
 - (D) Few states included a bill of rights in their own constitutions.

Questions 18–21 refer to the following excerpt.

“I have now to perform the most pleasing task of exhibiting . . . the existing state of the unparalleled prosperity of the country. . . .

“The greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed since the establishment of their present constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824.

“This transformation of the condition of the country from gloom and distress to brightness and prosperity, has been mainly the work of American legislation, fostering American industry. . . .

“When gentlemen have succeeded in their design of an immediate or gradual destruction of the American system, what is their substitute? . . . Free trade!

“Gentlemen are greatly deceived as to the hold which this system [the American system] has. . . . They represent that it is the policy of New England. . . . and most determined in its support is Pennsylvania. . . . Maryland was against it; now the majority is for it. . . . The march of public sentiment is to the South.”

Henry Clay, “Defense of the American System,” 1832

18. Which leader most clearly expressed ideas on trade and economic development similar to those held by Clay?
- (A) Alexander Hamilton when arguing in support of his financial plan
 - (B) Thomas Jefferson while debating with the Federalists in the 1790s
 - (C) James Madison during the War of 1812
 - (D) James Monroe in response to foreign intervention in Latin America
19. The economic philosophy expressed in this excerpt was a response to a desire
- (A) to connect the American West with the East to create national self-sufficiency
 - (B) to persuade European countries to reduce tariffs on imported American goods
 - (C) to reverse the declines in the exports of cotton to Great Britain and France
 - (D) to acquire lands from Mexico that would become slave states

20. Which of the following later groups would strongly oppose the ideas about trade expressed in this excerpt?
- (A) Owners of manufacturing companies during the Civil War
 - (B) Leaders of the Republican Party in the late 1800s
 - (C) Most Populists and Progressives
 - (D) Supporters of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff
21. The most persistent opposition to Clay's ideas in this excerpt came from which of the following groups?
- (A) Industrialists who faced competition from British companies
 - (B) Politicians who opposed to the expansion of slavery into the territories
 - (C) Judges who thought the Constitution supported a strong federal government
 - (D) Plantation owners who primarily raised cotton for export

Questions 22–25 refer to the following excerpt.

“We. . . declare that this act on our part implies no sanction of, nor promise of voluntary obedience to such of the present laws of marriage, as refuse to recognize the wife as an independent, rational being. . . .

“We believe that personal independence and equal human rights can never be forfeited, except for crime; that marriage should be an equal and permanent partnership, and so recognized by law; that until it is so recognized, married partners should provide against the radical injustice of present laws, by every means in their power.

“We believe that where domestic difficulties arise, no appeal should be made to legal tribunals under existing laws, but that all difficulties should be submitted to the equitable adjustment of arbitrators mutually chosen.

“Thus reverencing law, we enter our protest against rules and customs which are unworthy of the name, since they violate justice, the essence of law.”

Lucy Stone, speech at her marriage, 1855

22. Which of the following groups would be most likely to support the views expressed by Stone in this excerpt?
- (A) Participants in the Second Great Awakening
 - (B) Members of the American Party
 - (C) Supporters of the Liberty Party
 - (D) Individuals who attended the Seneca Falls Convention
23. The words and ideals expressed in the excerpt fostered which of the following later reforms in U.S. history?
- (A) The union movement in the late 19th century
 - (B) The antiwar movement in World War I
 - (C) The rise of isolationism in the 1920s
 - (D) The feminist movement that began in the 1960s
24. At the time this excerpt was written, which of the following activities were women legally able to do in most states?
- (A) Work in factories
 - (B) Vote in federal elections
 - (C) Hold political office
 - (D) Serve on juries

25. What does Stone mean by “marriage should be an equal and permanent partnership”?
- (A) In the 19th century, wives and husbands did not have the same legal rights.
 - (B) Until the Civil War, marriage was a religious ceremony rather than a government one.
 - (C) One of the reforms of the Jacksonian era was to outlaw divorce.
 - (D) In 1855, most people thought of marriage as a business arrangement.

Questions 26–28 refer to the following excerpt.

“We want peace and good order at the South; but it can only come by the fullest recognition of the rights of all classes. . . .

“We simply demand the practical recognition of the rights given us in the Constitution and laws. . . .

“The vicious and exceptional political action had by the White League in Mississippi has been repeated in other contests and in other states of the South, and the colored voters have been subjected therein to outrages upon their rights similar to those perpetrated in my own state at the recent election . . . and we ask such action as will not only protect us in the enjoyment of our constitutional rights but will preserve the integrity of our republican institutions.”

Senator Blanche K. Bruce, African American U.S. senator
from Mississippi, speech to the Senate, 1876

26. Which of the following developments had the clearest influence in eventually overcoming the issue raised by Senator Bruce in the excerpt?
- (A) The formation of the NAACP in 1909
 - (B) The decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954
 - (C) The March on Washington in 1963
 - (D) The passage of civil rights legislation in 1964 and 1965
27. One response to Bruce’s call for action in the excerpt was Booker T. Washington’s program based on which of the following?
- (A) Participation in the Republican Party to gain political power
 - (B) Migration of African Americans to Africa
 - (C) Development of job skills that promote economic self-help
 - (D) Creation of an agriculture-based society
28. The end of Senator Bruce’s senate career and the reduction of African American political power in the South were the result of the
- (A) removal of federal troops from the South
 - (B) success of the radical wing of the Republican Party
 - (C) election of a Republican as president
 - (D) rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan

Questions 29–31 refer to the following excerpt.

“That evening there was a general discussion in regard to the main subject in hunters’ minds. Colorado had passed stringent laws that were practically prohibitory against buffalo-hunting; the Legislature of Kansas did the same. . . .

“General Phil Sheridan was then in command of the military department of the Southwest. . . . when he heard of the nature of the Texas bill for the protection of the buffaloes. . . . He told them that instead of stopping the hunters they ought to give them a hearty, unanimous vote of thanks. . . . “These men . . . will do more in the next year to settle the vexed Indian question . . . they are destroying the Indians’ commissary. . . .”

“But there are two sides to the question. It is simply a case of the survival of the fittest. Too late to stop and moralize now. And sentiment must have no part in our thoughts from this time on.”

John R. Cook, soldier, hunter, and author,
The Border and the Buffalo, 1877

29. Which of the following ideas provided the base of Cook’s point of view and government policies toward American Indians in the 1870s?
- (A) Finding ways for the U.S. government to protect traditional tribal cultures
 - (B) Establishing new reservations in order to separate American Indians and Whites
 - (C) Removing Indians to lands west of the Great Plains
 - (D) Forcing American Indians to assimilate into White culture
30. Cook’s perspective on buffalo hunting and the future of American Indians shows the influence of which of the following ideas?
- (A) The gospel of wealth
 - (B) Laissez-faire principles
 - (C) Social Darwinism
 - (D) Protectionism
31. Opposition to the policies expressed in the excerpt came from which of the following movements?
- (A) Grange members who were eager for new farmland
 - (B) Conservationists who wanted to preserve natural areas and habitat
 - (C) Industrialists who hoped to open factories in western states.
 - (D) National Labor Union members who saw American Indians as rivals for jobs

Questions 32–34 refer to the following excerpt.

“There is not among these three hundred bands of Indians one which has not suffered cruelly at the hands of either the Government or of white settlers. . . .

“It makes little difference, however, where one opens the record of the history of the Indians. . . . every page and every year has its dark stain. . . . but neither time nor place makes any difference in the main facts. Colorado is as greedy and unjust in 1880 as was Georgia in 1830, and Ohio in 1795. . . .

“President after president has appointed commission after commission to inquire into and report upon Indian affairs. . . . These reports are bound up. . . . and that is the end of them. . . .

“All judicious plans and measures for their safety and salvation must embody provisions for their becoming citizens as fast as they are fit. . . .

“Cheating, robbing, breaking promises—these three are clearly things which must cease to be done.”

Helen Hunt Jackson, writer and activist for American Indians,
A Century of Dishonor, 1881

32. The actions referred to in the excerpt about Georgia in 1830 are strongly associated with which of the following actions?
- (A) Massacres of Native Americans in their homes and villages
 - (B) Removal of Native Americans to lands farther west
 - (C) Establishment of reservations in Georgia for Native Americans
 - (D) Use of Native Americans as troops in conflicts with Mexico
33. Jackson’s statement that policies toward American Indians “must embody provisions for their becoming citizens as fast as they are fit” is most similar to
- (A) the widespread treatment of Tories after the Revolutionary War
 - (B) the Jim Crow laws regarding Black Americans in the late 1800s
 - (C) the melting pot concept regarding immigrants in the early 1900s
 - (D) the executive order about Japanese Americans during World War II
34. The ideas expressed in this excerpt supported which development?
- (A) Legislation to establish a clearer policy of assimilation
 - (B) Legislation to grant Native Americans the lands of their ancestors
 - (C) Recognition of the cultural identities of the Native American tribes
 - (D) Recognition that Native American tribes had the same status as foreign nations

Questions 35–37 refer to the following excerpt.

“They were begging for workers. They didn’t care whether you were black, white, young, old. . . . I got caught up in that patriotic ‘win the war,’ ‘help the boys.’ The patriotism that was so strong in everyone then. . . .

“The first paycheck I got in aircraft was more money than I’d ever seen in my life. I didn’t even know what to do with it. I didn’t have a bank account. You couldn’t buy anything much. . . .

“Soap was rationed, butter, Kleenex, toilet paper, toothpaste, cigarettes, clothing, shoes. And you saw people making a lot of money and not doing anything for the war effort. . . .

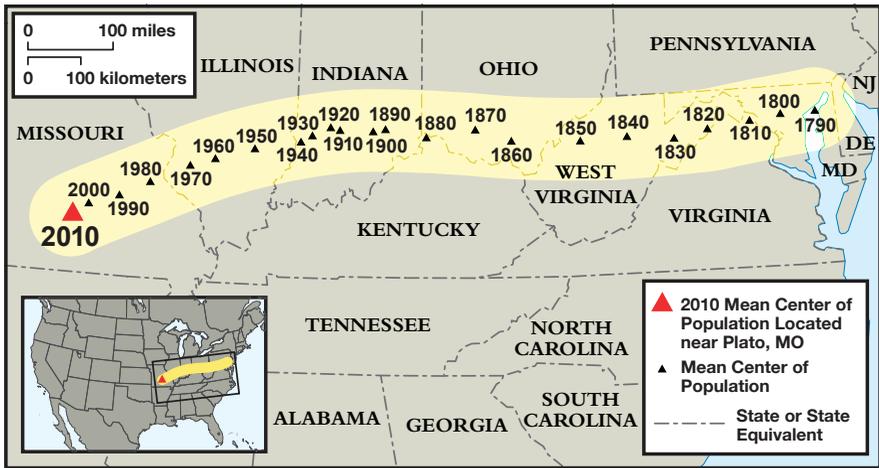
“By 1944 a lot of people were questioning the war. . . . I think when we actually began to see boys come home in late 1943, 1944—those that had been injured. . . .—then the rumbles grew into roars, and the young people thought maybe they were being led into this.”

Juanita Loveless, African American worker in a war plant,
Rosie the Riveter Revisited, 1988

35. Which of the following groups of people does Loveless imply had their lives improved during World War II?
- (A) Soldiers who returned home who were treated as heroes
 - (B) Producers of common consumer products such as soap and shoes
 - (C) Women working in factories who received equal pay with men
 - (D) African Americans who moved to jobs in the North and West
36. Loveless provides evidence that indicates which of the following changed in the U.S. economy?
- (A) Factory jobs paid higher wages, but rationing limited spending.
 - (B) Taxes increased so much that people could not afford to buy much.
 - (C) The sale of war bonds increased the amount of money circulating in the economy.
 - (D) Union demands for higher wages caused prices to increase dramatically.
37. During World War II, the U.S. government took stronger actions than in previous wars to
- (A) lower taxes so that people could afford to pay for needed goods
 - (B) avoid borrowing money to pay for the costs of fighting
 - (C) give companies flexibility so they could increase production
 - (D) regulate wages and prices throughout the economy

Questions 38–40 refer to the map below.

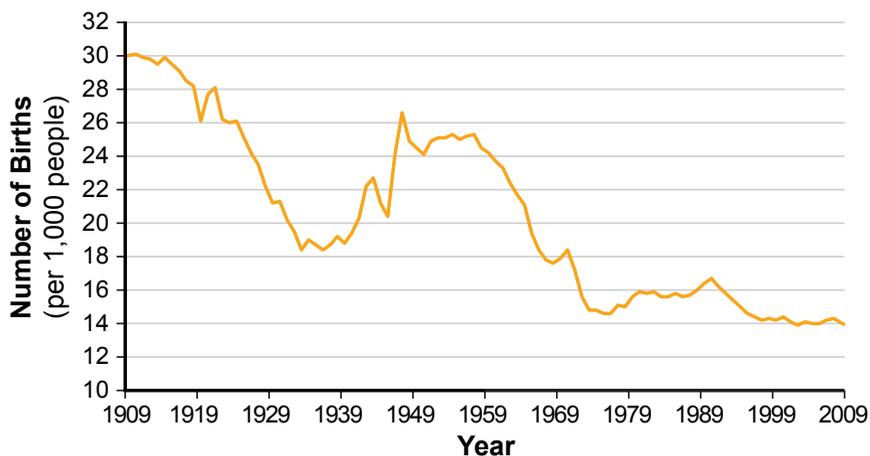
MEAN CENTER OF POPULATION FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1790 TO 2010



38. Which of the following contributed most to the slight northward movement shown in the map between 1860 and 1870?
- (A) Completion of the Erie Canal
 - (B) Start of the California gold rush
 - (C) End of the Civil War
 - (D) Purchase of Alaska
39. The slowing of the westward movement of the center of population in the first decades of the 20th century is best explained by which of the following?
- (A) Many people were moving to rural areas after World War I ended.
 - (B) Farmers from western states were returning to farms in the Midwest.
 - (C) African Americans were moving from southern states to northern states.
 - (D) European immigrants were moving to cities in eastern states.
40. Which of the following changes in the United States during and immediately after World War II most directly contributed to the shift shown in the map?
- (A) Conflicts between younger and older generations caused people to move.
 - (B) Decreasing prosperity pushed people to move to other regions.
 - (C) The expansion of the defense industry created jobs in certain regions.
 - (D) Climate changes made some regions easier to live in than they had been.

Questions 41–43 refer to the graph below.

U.S. BIRTH RATE, 1909 TO 2009



41. The graph above provides evidence of a population change following World War II that is commonly referred to as the
- (A) cult of domesticity
 - (B) generation gap
 - (C) baby boom
 - (D) population bomb
42. Which of the following generalizations about the birth rate between 1949 and 2009 is best supported by this graph?
- (A) It generally increased as immigration increased.
 - (B) It generally increased during the civil rights movement.
 - (C) It generally decreased whenever the economy got worse.
 - (D) It generally decreased when more women entered the workforce.
43. Which of the following government policies contributed most to the changes in the birth rate in the decade following World War II?
- (A) Containing communism around the world
 - (B) Reducing the power of labor unions
 - (C) Encouraging steps toward racial equality
 - (D) Helping GIs attend college and buy homes

Questions 44–46 refer to the photograph below.



Source: Madison, Wisconsin, 1967. AP Photo/Neal Ulevich

44. Which of the following groups provided the most consistent and active support for the position on the Vietnam War portrayed in the photo?
- (A) Members of conservative religious denominations
 - (B) Members of labor unions
 - (C) Supporters of funding the Great Society programs
 - (D) University students opposed to the draft
45. This photo provides support for the claim that one problem faced by the U.S. government during the Vietnam War was that it
- (A) failed to maintain strong public support for its policies
 - (B) did not employ enough experts on Southeast Asia to advise it
 - (C) placed too many restrictions on the military
 - (D) suffered from weak presidential leadership under Johnson
46. The movement most similar to the one portrayed above was the
- (A) American Indian Movement, because both had deep historical roots
 - (B) labor union movements, because both suffered from hundreds of protesters being killed
 - (C) civil rights movement, because both used mass marches effectively
 - (D) Populist movement, because both founded strong new political parties

Questions 47–49 refer to the following excerpt.

“Monday, January 3, 1983

“A tough budget meeting & how to announce the deficits we’ll have—they are horrendous & yet the Dems. in Cong. are saying there is no room for budget cuts. . . . Newt Gingrich has a proposal for freezing the budget at the 1983 level. It’s a tempting idea except that it would cripple our defense program. . . .

“Monday, October 24, 1983

“Opened with NSC brf. [brief] on Lebanon & Grenada. Lebanon gets worse as the death toll climbs. . . . Amb. Hartman [Russia] came by. He confirms what I believe: the Soviets won’t really negotiate on arms reductions until we deploy the Pershing II’s [missiles] & go forward with MX [another missile program]. . . .

“Then at 8 P.M., Tip, Jim Wright, Bob Byrd, Howard Baker, Bob Michel [five congressional leaders] & our gang met upstairs in the W.H. [White House] & told them of the Grenada operation that would take place in the next several hours.”

Ronald Reagan, *The Reagan Diaries*, published in 2007

47. On which topic mentioned in this excerpt did Reagan make the most progress in achieving his goals during his presidency?
- (A) Freezing the budget for the defense program
 - (B) Approving a peace agreement between Lebanon and its neighbors
 - (C) Reducing the threat of nuclear war with the Soviet Union
 - (D) Stopping the Grenada operation
48. The change in federal spending that had the most impact on the overall budget balance during the Reagan administration was on
- (A) nutrition programs
 - (B) Social Security
 - (C) welfare benefits
 - (D) the military
49. Reagan’s goal for the federal budget implied in this source would be achieved during
- (A) his second term in office
 - (B) the administration of George H. W. Bush
 - (C) the administration of Bill Clinton
 - (D) the administration of George W. Bush

Questions 50–52 refer to the following excerpt.

“Besides being political to the core, Clinton is notable for his intelligence, energy, and exceptional articulateness. He is also marked by a severe lack of self-discipline that leads to difficulties, and a resiliency and coolness under pressure. . . . The most damaging blow of the year for Clinton was the failure of his most ambitious policy initiative, a bill guaranteeing health care to all Americans. . . .

“Clinton’s first two years in the White House were marked by such legislative successes as NAFTA, the creation of a youth volunteer corps, a major deficit-reduction measure, and a law permitting family members to take unpaid leave to attend to children and sick relatives. . . . Clinton seems certain to be recognized for moving the Democratic Party to the center of the political spectrum and for many incremental policy departures.”

Fred I. Greenstein, political scientist,
The Presidential Difference, 2000

50. Which of the following developments provides the most significant context for economic change during the Clinton presidency?
- (A) Technological innovations in communication systems and data transmission
 - (B) Reductions in social services spending by the federal government
 - (C) Significant declines in budget allocations for the military
 - (D) Foreign policy initiatives in Eastern Europe and the Middle East
51. The primary reason many Americans viewed Clinton’s presidency as a success was his
- (A) personal behavior as a leader for the country
 - (B) economic policies that promoted growth
 - (C) domestic policies such as support for medical insurance reform
 - (D) foreign policy in the Balkans and the Middle East
52. Based on Clinton’s actions as president, which of the following most accurately describes his basic views as president as portrayed by Greenstein?
- (A) Conservative, because his policies often were similar to those of Reagan
 - (B) Moderate, because his policies often tried to appeal to people in both parties
 - (C) Progressive, because his policies often anticipated future problems
 - (D) Radical, because his policies often called for far-reaching political changes

Questions 53–55 refer to the following excerpt.

The second half of the 1990s marked the longest sustained stretch of economic growth in U.S. history. Unlike other periods of long-term economic expansion reversed by rising inflation, growth continued and even accelerated as inflation declined. The combination of rapid technological change, rise of the services sector, and emergence of the global marketplace had experts convinced that the United States was in the midst of ‘a second industrial revolution.’ . . .

“Economists attributed these developments to a restructuring of companies and an economy abetted by such government policies as the North American Free Trade Agreement. . . . Many economists pointed to the breakup of AT&T (1995) and the deregulation of the telecommunications industry as enhancing opportunities for competition, innovation, and growth. . . . A decline in the influence of organized labor, for better or worse, enabled firms to exercise greater flexibility.”

“The American Economy,” *American Decades*,
1900–1999, 2001

53. The causes of economic change described in the excerpt were most similar to causes of economic change in which of the following periods?
- (A) The post-Revolutionary War era
 - (B) The mid- and late-19th century
 - (C) The 1920s
 - (D) The 1950s
54. The changes described in this excerpt most directly affected politics in the 1990s by
- (A) increasing the popularity of the Democratic presidential administration
 - (B) causing conservative Christians to gain more power in the Republican Party
 - (C) strengthening the power of state and local governments
 - (D) prompting additional regulations on banks and other financial institutions
55. Which of the following did not share in the economic growth of the 1990s as much as other groups did?
- (A) Large corporations
 - (B) College graduates
 - (C) Southern states
 - (D) Labor unions

Section 1

Part B: Short Answer—40 minutes, 3 questions

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the following excerpts.

1. “By the fall of 1963 the Kennedy administration, though still worried about its ability to push legislation through a recalcitrant Congress, was preparing initiatives on civil rights and economic opportunity. . . .

“John F. Kennedy cautiously eased tensions with the Soviet Union, especially after Kennedy found himself on the brink of nuclear war over the presence of Soviet weapons in Cuba in 1962.

“Although Kennedy did not rush to deal with domestic issues—in large part because he believed that foreign policy needed precedence—the press of events gradually forced his administration to use government power to confront racial discrimination and advance the cause of equality at home.”

John M. Murrin, et al., historians,
Liberty, Equality and Power, 1996

“Chopped down in his prime after only slightly more than a thousand days in the White House, Kennedy was acclaimed more for the ideals he enunciated and the spirit he had kindled than for the concrete goals he had achieved. He had laid one myth to rest forever—that a Catholic could not be trusted with the presidency of the United States.

“In later years revelation about Kennedy’s womanizing and allegations about his involvement with organized crime figures tarnished his reputation. But despite those accusations, his apparent vigor, charisma, and idealism made him an inspirational figure for the generation of Americans who came of age in the 1960s.”

David M. Kennedy, et al., historians,
The American Pageant, 2006

Using the excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE major difference between Murrin and Kennedy’s interpretations of the impact of the Kennedy presidency.
- (b) Briefly explain how ONE event, development, or circumstance from the period 1960 to 1963 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts supports Murrin’s view.
- (c) Briefly explain how ONE event, development, or circumstance from the period 1960 to 1963 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts supports Kennedy’s view.

Question 2 is based on the following painting.

2.



Source: Benjamin West, *American Commissioners of the Preliminary Peace Negotiations with Great Britain*, London, England, 1783. Winterthur Museum, gift of Henry Francis du Point, 1957.856

Using the image above, which depicts the peace negotiations of 1783, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe one historical perspective expressed in the image.
- (b) Briefly describe one specific historical event or development in the period from 1754 to 1783 that contributed to the process depicted in the image.
- (c) Briefly explain one historical effect in the period 1783 to 1812 that resulted from the process depicted in the image.

Choose EITHER Question 3 OR Question 4.

Question 3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE specific historical difference between American society and culture in the mid-18th century and the mid-19th century.
- (b) Briefly describe ONE specific historical similarity between American society and culture in the mid-18th century and the mid-19th century.
- (c) Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect of American society and culture in either the mid-18th century or the mid-19th century.

Question 4. Answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE specific historical similarity between the women's rights movement in the period from 1900 to the 1920s and in the period from the 1960s to the 1970s.
- (b) Briefly describe ONE specific historical difference between the women's rights movement in the period from 1900 to the 1920s and in the period from the 1960s to the 1970s.
- (c) Briefly explain ONE reason for the difference in the two movements for women's rights in 1900 to the 1920s and 1960s to 1970s.

Section 2

Part A: Document-Based Question—60 minutes, 1 question

Directions: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 45 minutes writing your answer. In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
 - Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
 - Support an argument in response to the prompt using at least six documents.
 - Use at least one additional piece of specific historical evidence (beyond that found in the documents) relevant to an argument about the prompt.
 - For at least three documents, explain how or why the document’s point of view, purpose, historical situation, and/or audience is relevant to an argument.
 - Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.
1. Evaluate the extent to which the reform efforts of the Progressive Era were aimed at maintaining the existing society rather than bringing about radical changes.

Document 1

Source: Progressive Party Platform, August 5, 1912

The conscience of the people, in a time of grave national problems, has called into being a new party, born of the nation’s sense of justice. We of the Progressive Party here dedicate ourselves to the fulfillment of the duty laid upon us by our fathers to maintain the government of the people, by the people and for the people whose foundations they laid. . . .

Political parties exist to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people. . . . Instead of instruments to promote the general welfare, they have become the tools of corrupt interests which use them impartially to serve their selfish purposes. Behind the ostensible government sits enthroned an invisible government owing no allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people.

To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics is the first task of statesmanship of the day.

Document 2

Source: President Woodrow Wilson, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1913

No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic Party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view. Some old things. . . . as we have latterly looked critically upon them. . . . have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them. . . . have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions.

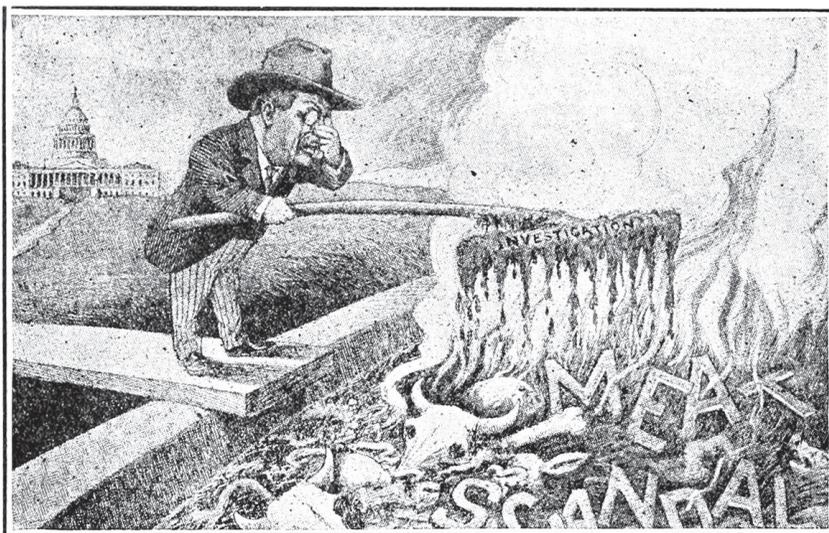
We have itemized. . . . the things that ought to be altered. . . . A tariff which makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which restricts labor, and exploits natural resources; a body of agriculture never served through science or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs.

Document 3

Source: Senator Elihu Root, former secretary of state and secretary of war, "Experiments in Government," lecture at Princeton University, April 1913

The recognition of shortcomings or inconveniences in government is not by itself sufficient to warrant a change of system. There should be also an effort to estimate and compare the shortcomings and inconveniences of the system to be substituted, for although they may be different, they will certainly exist.

Document 4



Source: Library of Congress

Document 5

Source: W. E. B. Du Bois, sociologist and civil rights activist, “An Open Letter to Woodrow Wilson,” September 1913

Sir, you have now been President of the United States for six months and what is the result? It is no exaggeration to say that every enemy of the Negro race is greatly encouraged; that every man who dreams of making the Negro race a group of menials and pariahs is alert and hopeful.

A dozen worthy Negro officials have been removed from office, and you have nominated but one black man for office, and he, such a contemptible cur, that his very nomination was an insult to every Negro. . . .

To this negative appearance of indifference has been added positive action on the part of your advisers, with or without your knowledge, which constitutes the gravest attack on the liberties of our people since emancipation. Public segregation of civil servants in government employ. . . . has for the first time in history been made the policy of the United States government.

Document 6

Source: Mary Harris “Mother” Jones, labor and community organizer, *Miners’ Magazine*, April 1915

When one starts to investigate conditions the result is appalling. . . . For instance, it is a fact that although this country is in its infancy, and has gained in wealth more in fifty years than any other country has in 700 years, still we have more poverty in comparison with any of those old countries.

I have always felt that no true state of civilization can ever be realized as long as we continue to have two classes of society. But that is a tremendous problem. . . . I think myself that we are bound to have a revolution here before these questions are straightened out. We were on the verge of it in the Colorado strike and the reason we did not have it then was not due to the good judgement of public officials, but to that of labor officials, who worked unceasingly to prevent it.

Document 7

Source: George Grantham Bain Collection, Library of Congress



Part B: Long Essay Question—40 minutes, 1 question

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: Choose Question 2 OR Question 3 OR Question 4. The suggested writing time for each question is 40 minutes. In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
 - Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
 - Support an argument in response to the prompt using specific and relevant examples of evidence.
 - Use historical reasoning (e.g., comparison, causation, continuity, or change) to frame or structure an argument that addresses the prompt.
 - Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.
2. Evaluate the extent of similarity in American views concerning the British following the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution.
 3. Evaluate the extent of similarity in American views concerning the role of the United States in North America between 1800–1850 and 1860–1910.
 4. Evaluate the extent of similarity in American views concerning the role of the United States in the world following World War I and World War II.