

The Resurgence of Conservatism

1980 - 1992

Rise of the New Right

- Average American was older and more likely to live in South and West, where “Old Right” and suspicion of federal government was strongest
- Reaction against counterculture of 1960s
- Evangelical groups like Moral Majority organized the Right
- Most concerned about cultural (over economic) concerns
 - Abortion, pornography, homosexuality, feminism, affirmative action
- Supported prayer in public schools and tougher penalties for criminals

The Election of Ronald Reagan, 1980

- Reagan's background made him ideal candidate for the New Right
 - Grew up in generation before 1960s social upheaval
 - Denounced activist government of 1960s
 - Championed “common man” against big government (as FDR had championed “forgotten man” against big business)
 - Worked to win over working-class and lower-middle-class whites by implying Democrats were party of big government, minorities, and special interests



**Ronald
Reagan**

The Election of Ronald Reagan, 1980

- The neoconservatives heavily influenced Reagan's policies
 - Normon Podhoretz, editor of Commentary Magazine
 - Irving Kristol, editor of The Public Interest
 - Reaction against the excesses of liberalism in the 1960s
 - Argued for free-market capitalism, no government restraints on the economy, and hard-line anti-Soviet position on foreign policy
 - Called for reassertion of traditional values of individualism and family

The Election of Ronald Reagan, 1980

- Background on Reagan
 - Son of an poor Irish drunk
 - Grew up in small town in Illinois
 - 1930s – became sports announcer for Iowa radio station
 - 1940s – B-grade star in Hollywood
 - Early 1950s – president of Screen Actors Guild
 - Helped to purge accused communists from film industry
 - 1954 – became spokesman for General Electric
 - Abandoned views supporting New Deal; adopted pro-business, antigovernment views
 - 1966 – 1974 – became governor of California with backing of conservative Californian businessmen

The Election of Ronald Reagan, 1980

- Carter's administration seemed incapable of dealing with problems of late 1970s
 - Inflation, Iranian hostage crisis, gas shortages
- “ABC” (Anybody But Carter) movement in Democratic Party
- Democratic nomination
 - Ted Kennedy (senator from Massachusetts) ran against Carter in brutal primaries
 - Carter won the nomination, but went into general election weakened
- Reagan won the Republican nomination

The Election of Ronald Reagan, 1980

- The 1980 campaign
 - Reagan’s acting skills helped him convey his message
 - Reagan attacked Carter’s ineptitude in foreign policy and Democratic philosophy of “big government”
 - Carter on defensive because of weak economy, high inflation and interest rates
 - Carter charged that Reagan was a trigger-happy cowboy who might push US into nuclear war

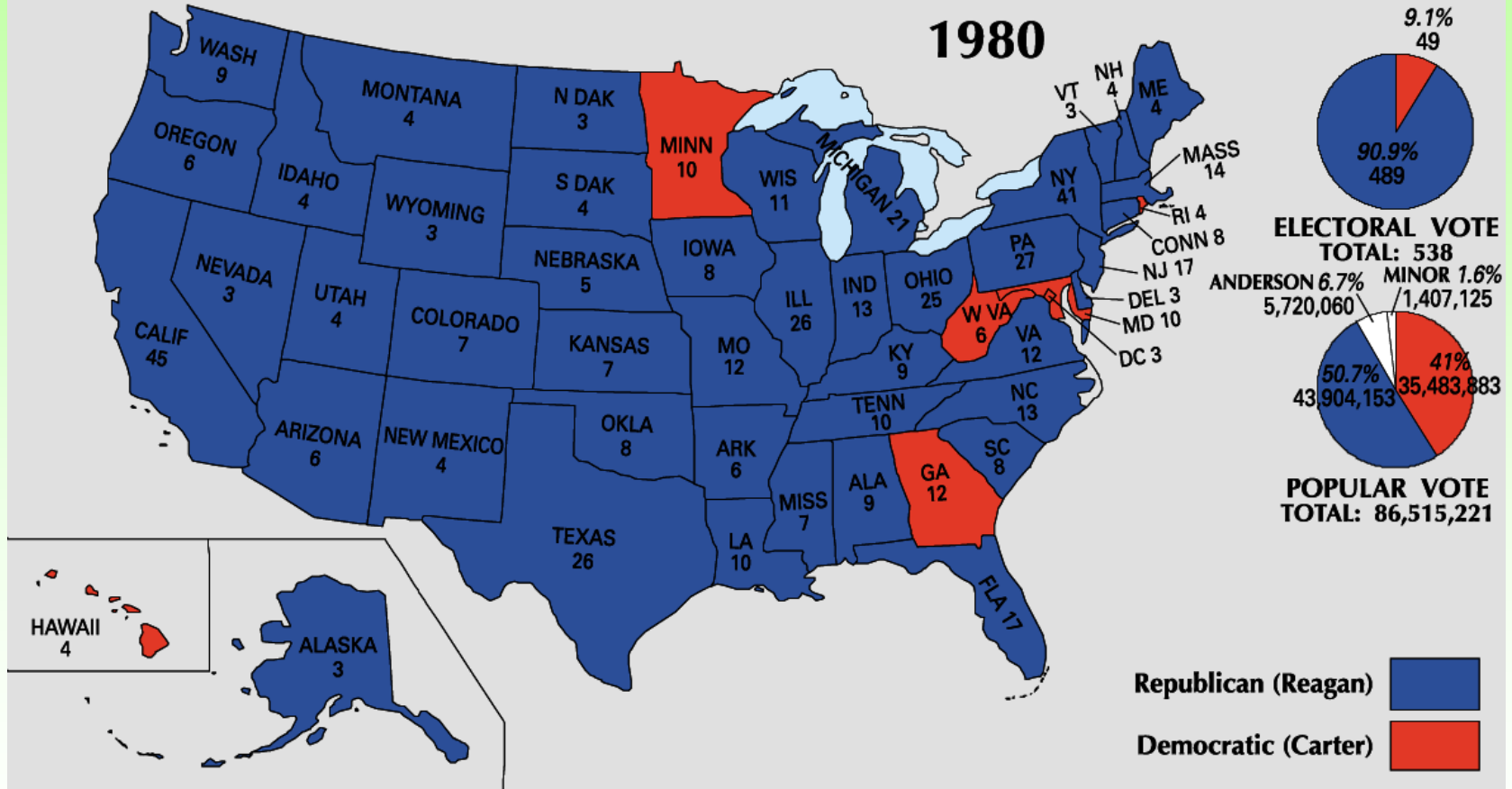
President Jimmy Carter and His Republican Challenger, Ronald Reagan, at Their Debate



The Election of Ronald Reagan, 1980

- Results of the 1980 election
 - Reagan won 51% of the vote to Carter's 41%
 - 7% went to moderate independent candidate John Anderson
 - Electoral count was 489 to 49
 - Carter was first elected president to be kicked out of office after 1 term since Hoover in 1932
 - Republicans gained control of US Senate
 - First time in 25 years

The Election of 1980



The Election of Ronald Reagan, 1980

- Carter gracious in defeat
 - Farewell Address stressed accomplishments
 - Scaling down of arms race protect human rights and the environment
 - Signed bill to protect 100 million acres of Alaskan land for national parks
 - Earned much admiration after presidency for humanitarian and human rights work
 - 2002 – won Nobel Peace Prize for decades of work



Carter Working for Habitat for Humanity

The Reagan Revolution

- Reagan as president
 - Inauguration was jubilant and festive
 - Iranians released hostages on January 20, 1981, same day as Reagan's inauguration
 - Devoted to fiscal discipline and leaner federal government
 - “Government is not the solution to our problem. Government is the problem.”
 - Reversal of 50 years of expansion of government power and dismantling of welfare state

The Reagan Revolution

- Changes in government spending (1960 – 1980)
 - Federal spending rose from 18% to 23% of GNP
 - Federal budget went from primarily national defense to entitlement programs (like Social Security and Medicare)

The Reagan Revolution

- Strong backlash against expanded government entitlements leading up to Reagan's election
 - 1978 – California's Proposition 13
 - Slashed property taxes and forced painful cuts in government services
 - Reagan felt he had a “mandate” to dismantle years of government programs

The Reagan Revolution

- 1981 federal budget
 - Reagan proposed \$35 billion in cuts to budget, mostly in food stamps and federally funded job-training centers
 - Republicans controlled Senate; Reagan got conservative Southern Democrats (“boll weevils”) to vote with him, instead of Democratic party leadership

The Reagan Revolution

- March 30, 1981 – deranged John Hinckley shot Reagan as he left a Washington hotel
 - .22 caliber bullet penetrated his chest and collapsed his lung
 - Reagan seemed to recover quickly; less than 3 weeks after the shooting, Reagan appeared on national TV to address the public on the budget
 - Outpouring of sympathy and support for Reagan was enormous

President Ronald Reagan Waves Just Before Being Shot by John Hinckley, Jr. in an Assassination Attempt



The Aftermath of Reagan's Assassination



The Battle of the Budget

- Reagan's power to get his proposals enacted surprised political observers
 - Power of presidency not seen since Lyndon Johnson

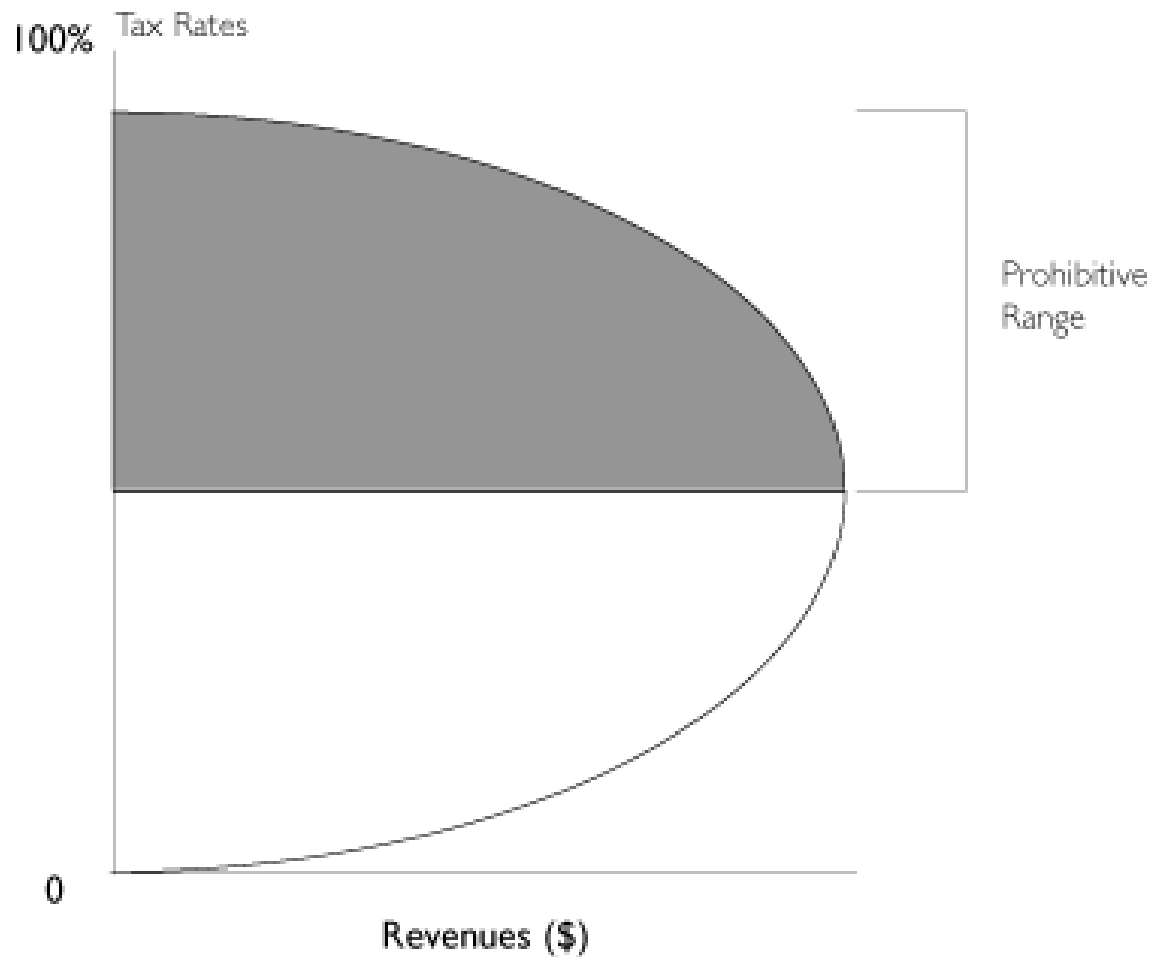
The Battle of the Budget

- Reagan's tax cuts
 - 25% across-the-board reductions in 3 years
 - Reagan got his proposals enacted because of his skill on TV and the continued defection of the “boll weevils”
 - 1981 – Congress passed tax reforms
 - Lowered individual tax rates
 - Reduced federal estate taxes
 - Created new tax-free savings accounts for small investors

The Battle of the Budget

- Reagan's "supply-side" theory ("Reaganomics")
 - Keeping budget under control and tax reduction would stimulate new investment, boost productivity, foster dramatic economic growth, and reduce the federal deficit

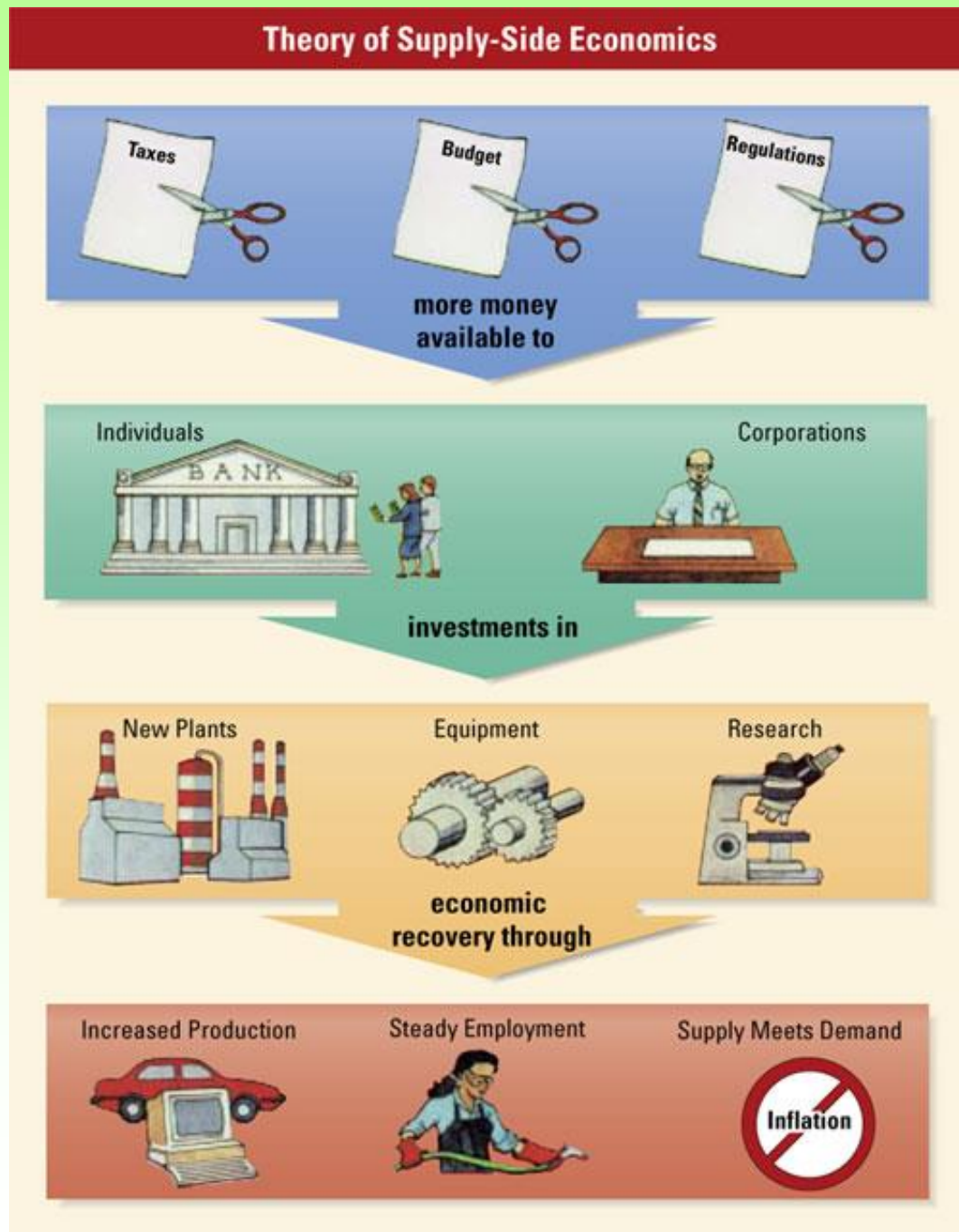
The Laffer Curve



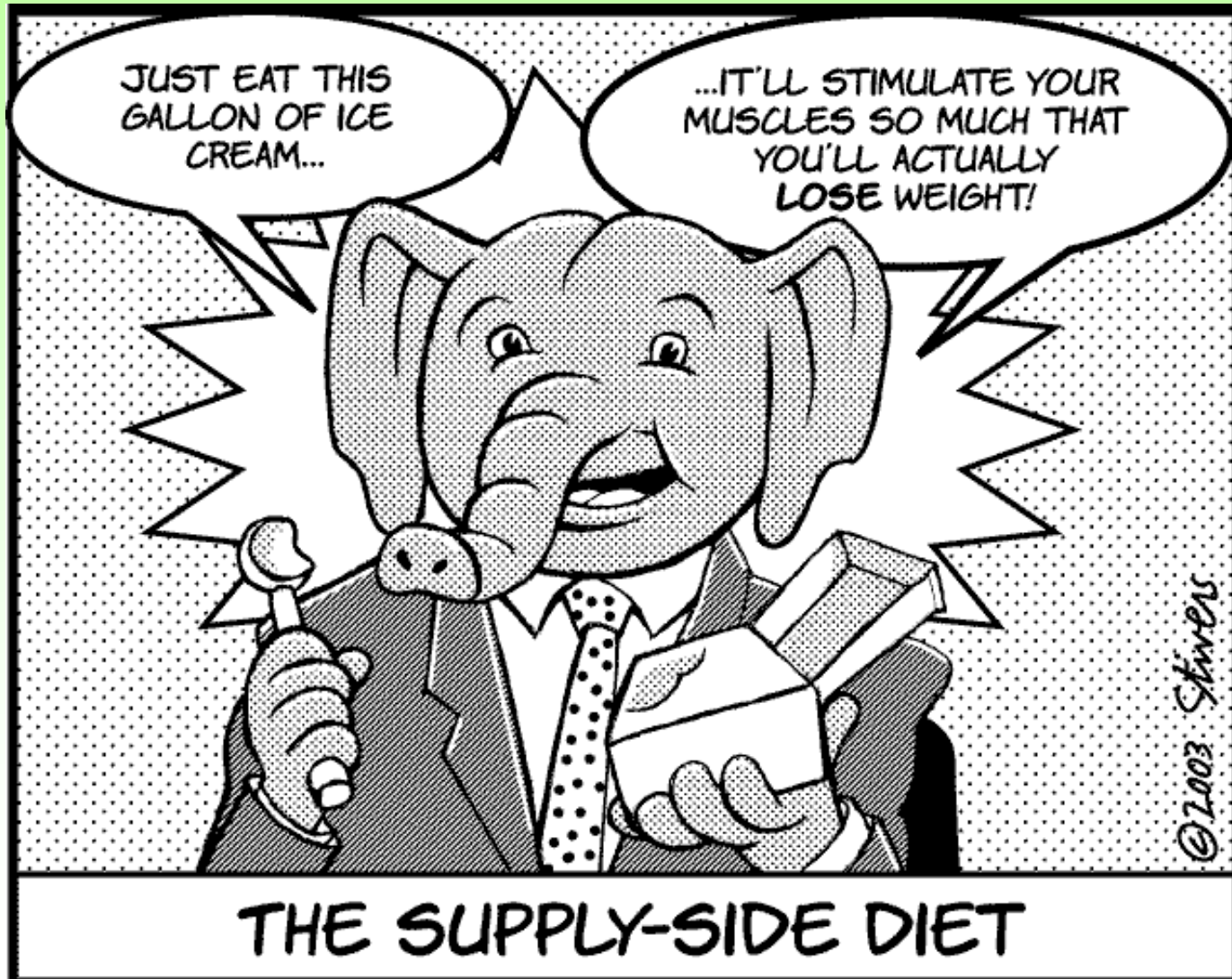
Source: Arthur B. Laffer

The Laffer Curve

Theory of Supply-Side Economics



The Supply-Side Diet



The Battle of the Budget

- 1981 – 1982 – deepest recession since 1930s
 - Unemployment reached 11%
 - Businesses folded; several bank failures occurred
 - Automobile industry pummeled by Japanese competition
 - Democrats attacked Reagan's tax and spending cuts hurt the poor and favored the rich
 - “tight money” policies (to bring inflation under control) of the Fed in 1979 under Carter caused the recession

The Battle of the Budget

- 1983 – recession ended
 - Seemed to vindicate Reaganomics
- Weakness of the economy in the 1980s
 - Gap between rich and poor increased for 1st time in 20th century; middle class stagnated
 - “Yuppies” – young urban professionals who drove BMWs; lived for conspicuous consumption; only numbered 1.5 million, but symbolized decade of greed



A Typical Yuppie

Trickle-Down Turkey



'I think this is called a trickle-down turkey!'

The Battle of the Budget

- Actual reason for the economic upturn was not budget reform or tax cuts, but massive military spending
 - \$2 trillion spent over 1980s on Pentagon
 - Put US deeply into debt, with deficits of \$200 billion per year
 - Massive government borrowing led to high interest rates
 - High interest rates elevated the value of the dollar
 - Good for US tourists and buyers of foreign goods
 - Horrible for US exporters, increasing US trade deficits
 - US transformed from world's largest creditor to world's largest debtor nation

Reagan Renews the Cold War

- Reagan's hard-line stance toward USSR
 - Soviets were “prepared to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat” to get what they wanted; USSR was the “focus of evil in the modern world”
- Reagan believed in only negotiating with USSR from position of overwhelming strength
 - He enormously expanded US military capabilities
 - Then could threaten USSR with fantastically expensive new arms race
 - US economy could better bear the increase costs
 - USSR would then come to bargaining table, willing to do what Reagan wanted

Reagan Renews the Cold War

- March 1983 – Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or “Star Wars”
 - High-technology missile defense system that would use orbiting battle stations to blast nuclear missiles out of the sky with lasers
 - SDI would throw an “astrodome” defense shield over US
 - Most scientists considered SDI unrealistic and impossible
 - Real strategy of SDI was to put the arms race into realm of expensive high technology, forcing the USSR to give in

“Star Wars”

AMERICA HAS THE TECHNOLOGY TO DEVELOP SYSTEMS TO INTERCEPT SOVIET MISSILES BEFORE THEY REACH OUR COUNTRY...



...WITH LASERS, MICROWAVES, PARTICLE BEAMS AND PROJECTILE BEAMS!



THANK YOU AND GOOD NIGHT.



BEAM ME UP, SCOTTY!



Engelhart THE WASHINGTON POST

Reagan Renews the Cold War

- Late 1981 – clampdown by Poland
 - “Solidarity” movement in Poland (massive union of working people for reform)
 - Poland instituted martial law
 - Reagan imposed sanctions on Poland and USSR

Demonstrators March Down a Street Carrying Banners for the Solidarity Movement in Poland



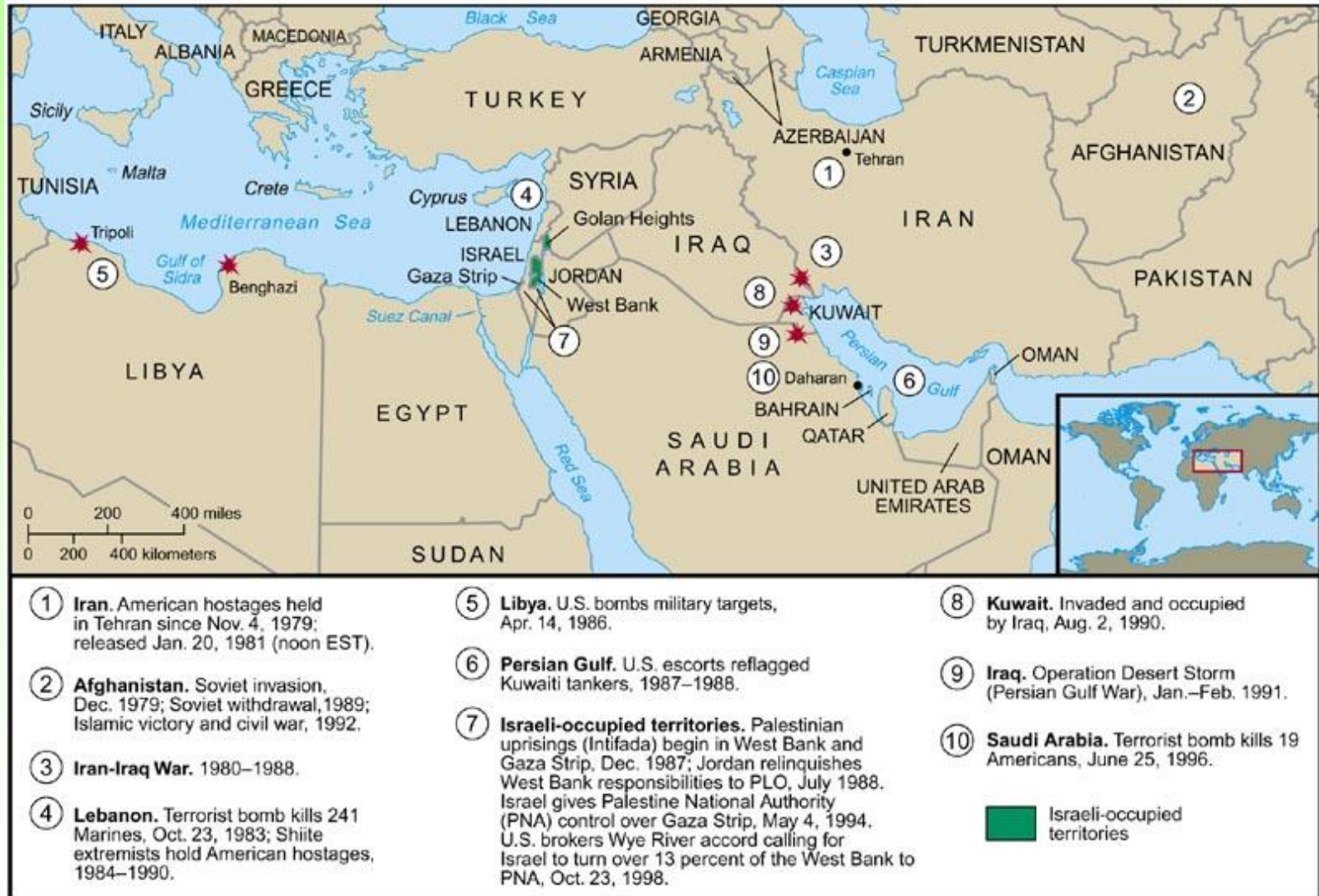
Reagan Renews the Cold War

- Worsening relations with USSR
 - Aging rulers of USSR made it difficult to conduct dialogue and negotiate
 - 1982 – 1985 – 3 died
 - September 1983 – Korean passenger airline shot down by USSR
 - Unknown why it went into Soviet airspace
 - Hundreds of civilians (including Americans) killed
 - 1984 – USSR boycotted Los Angeles summer Olympic games

Troubles Abroad

- Problems in the Middle East
 - Israel continued to allow settlements established in West Bank
 - 1982 – Israel invaded Lebanon to destroy bases from which Palestinian forces attacked Israel
 - Lebanon plunged into armed chaos
 - 1983 – US sent troops as part of international peacekeeping force
 - October 23 – suicide bomber killed over 200 marines in their barracks
 - Reagan withdrew US troops and suffered no political damage from humiliating attack
 - Opponents called him the “Teflon President” – no scandal could stick to him

Trouble Spots in the Middle East



TROUBLE SPOTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

An Aerial View Shows a Jewish West Bank Settlement



Destruction in the Wake of Israeli Bombs That Targeted Beirut, June 1982

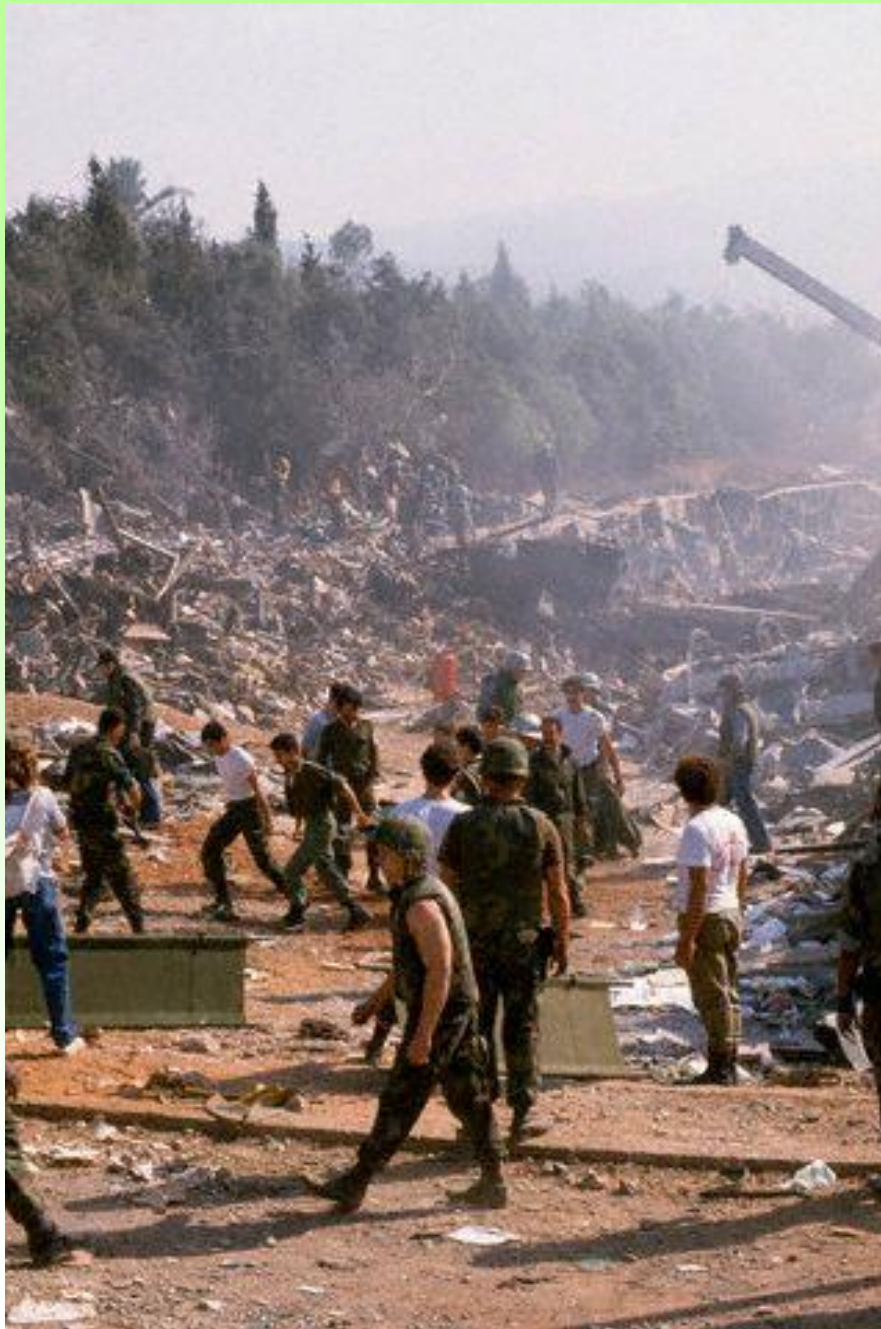


Israeli Troops in Lebanon, June 1982



A Group of U.S. Marines Carries a Corpse out of the Rubble of a Building Destroyed by a Truck Bomb, Killing over 200 Marines, October 1983





**US Marines
Among the
Rubble
Caused by the
Bombing of
the Marine
Headquarters,
October 1983**

A Teflon Frying Pan



"ON TO CENTRAL AMERICA!"

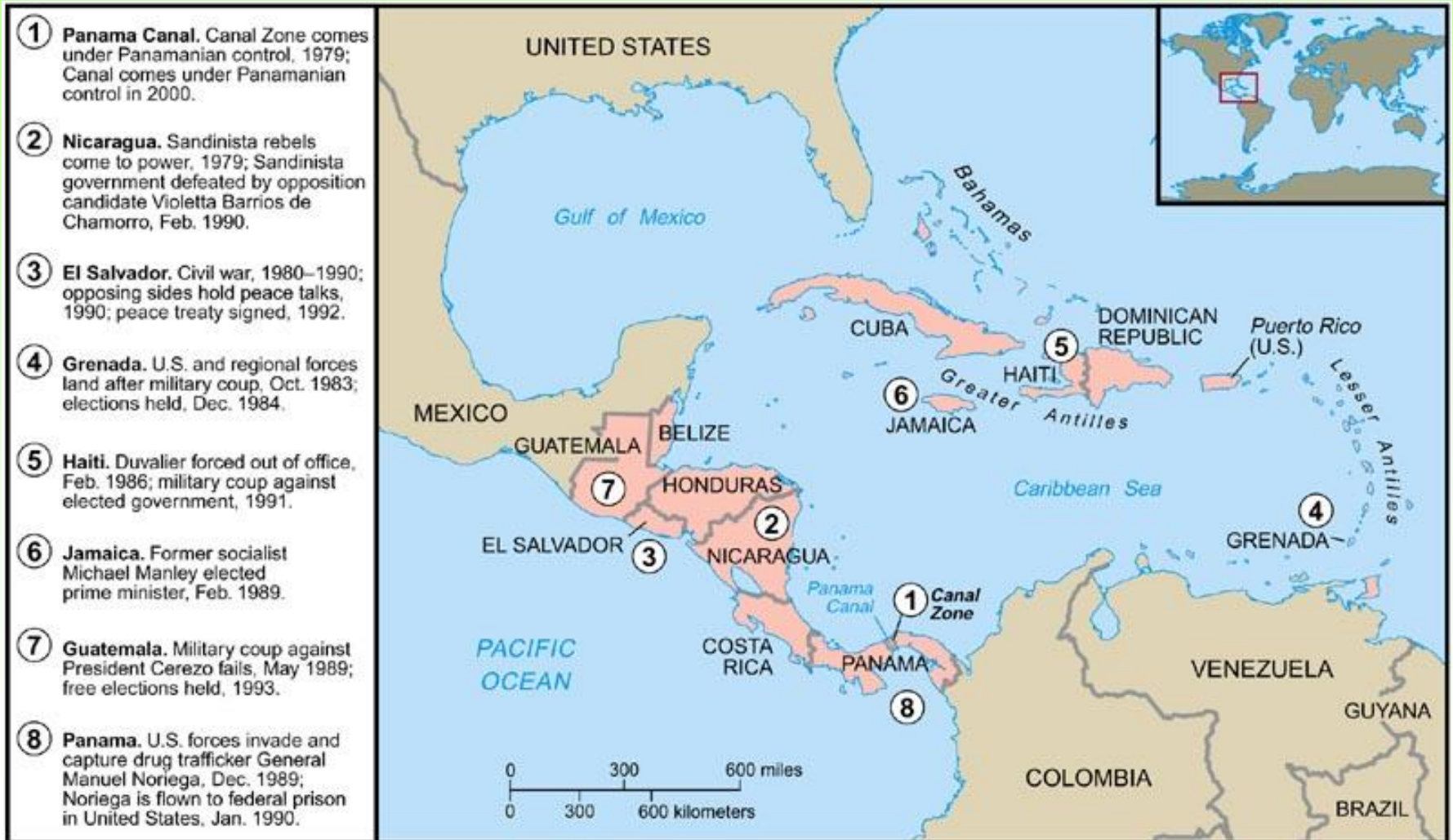


**“On to
Central
America!”**

Troubles Abroad

- Problems in Central America
 - 1979 – Sandinistas overthrew dictator of Nicaragua
 - Carter tried to ignore anti-American rhetoric and establish relations with Nicaragua
 - Reagan accused Sandinistas of turning their country into Soviet base to attack US and claimed Nicaragua was shipping arms to revolutionaries in El Salvador
 - “advisers” sent to prop up pro-US government in El Salvador
 - Secret aid (including the CIA mining harbors) to Nicaragua’s “contra” rebels (fighting the Sandinistas)
 - October 1983 – US forces sent to Grenada, where communist coup had taken over country

Trouble Spots in Central America and the Caribbean



TROUBLE SPOTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN



**After the Fall of
Former Dictator
Anastasio
Somoza,
Sandinistas
Arrive in
Managua and
Are Greeted by
the Population,
July 1979**

Nicaraguan Contras at Training Camp, 1982



A Group of Contra Special Forces on a Patrol Inside a Remote Area of Northern Nicaragua, 1983



Bringing Democracy to Nicaragua



American Soldiers Search Houses for Possible Enemies on the Second Day of the US Invasion of Grenada



Round Two for Reagan

- The 1984 election
 - Reagan easily won the Republican nomination
 - Riding high on prosperity and strong foreign policy
 - Walter Mondale won Democratic nomination
 - Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro (NY) – first woman to run for vice president
 - Mondale had served as Carter's vice president, and carried the baggage of that failed presidency
 - Results
 - Reagan won with 525 electoral votes to 13; swept every state except Minnesota (Mondale's home state) and District of Columbia
 - Popular vote was 52.6 million to 36.4 million

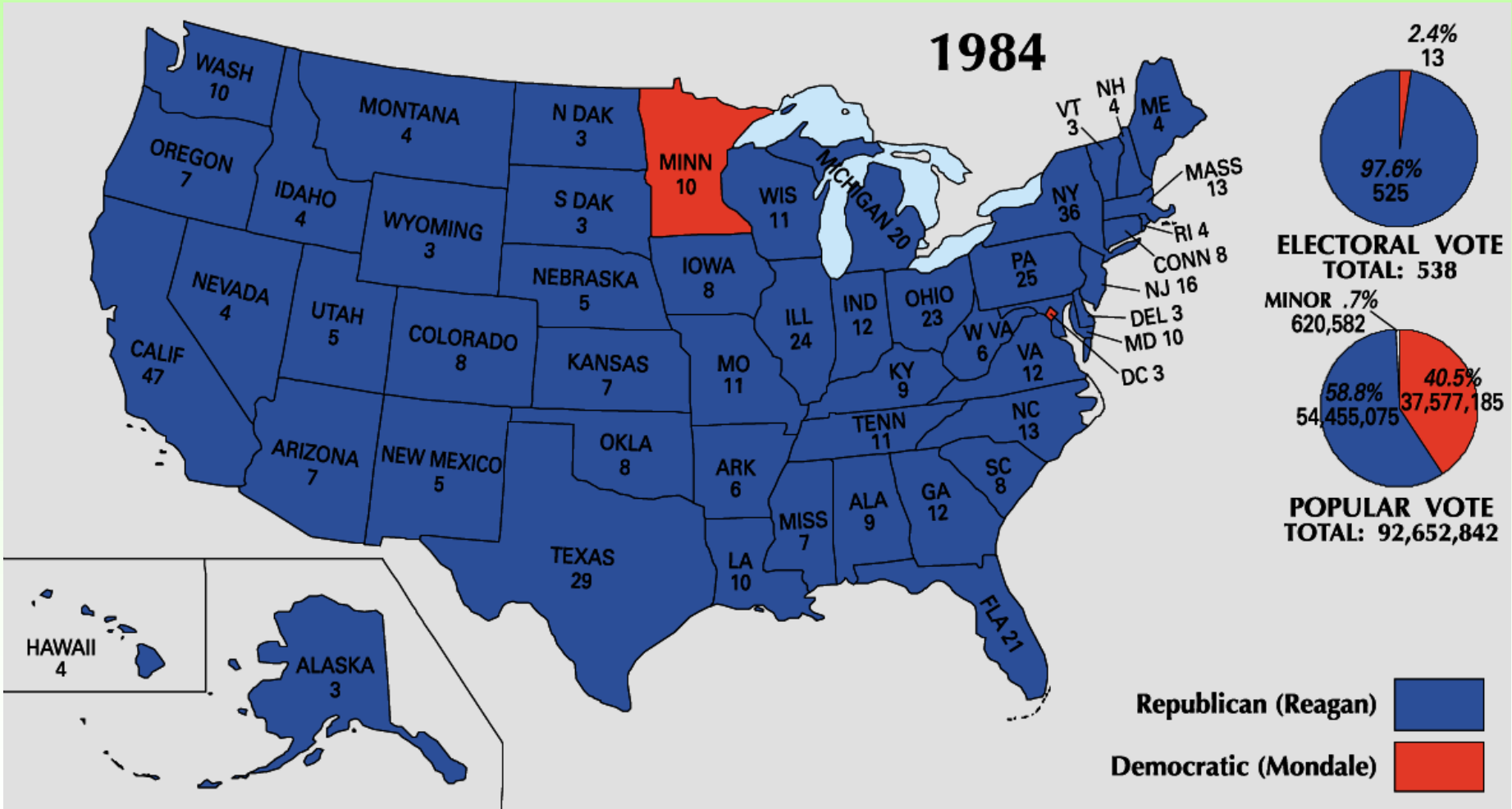
Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro



Are You Better off Today Than You Were 4 Years Ago



The Election of 1984



Round Two for Reagan

- Foreign policy dominated Reagan's 2nd term
- March 1985 – USSR installed new chairman of Communist party, Mikhail Gorbachev
 - Announced 2 policies that lead to revolutionary changes
 - “Glasnost” – “openness”, introduction of free speech and political liberties in USSR
 - “Perestroika” – “restructuring”, revival of economy by adopting some practices of capitalist West (like profit motive and end to subsidized prices)



**Mikhail
Gorbachev**

Round Two for Reagan

- Glasnost and perestroika required end to the Cold War
 - USSR needed money to revitalize economy
- April 1985 – Gorbachev announced USSR would eliminate intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) targeting Western Europe, pending their ultimate elimination

Round Two for Reagan

- Reagan's and Gorbachev's 4 summits
 - November 1985 – Geneva Switzerland
 - Gorbachev pushed for elimination of INFs
 - October 1986 – Reykjavik, Iceland
 - Broke down in stalemate
 - December 1987 – Washington, DC
 - Both leaders signed the INF treaty, banning all intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe
 - May 1988 – Moscow, Russia
 - Reagan warmly praised Gorbachev
 - Reagan had entered office condemning USSR as “evil empire” and left having seized historic opportunity to end the Cold War

Round Two for Reagan

- Other Reagan foreign-policy actions
 - February 1986 – backed overthrow of dictator Ferdinand Marcos in Philippines by Corazon Aquino
 - 1986 – lightning air raid by US jets against Libya for sponsorship of terrorism, including a bomb at a West Berlin disco that killed US troops



**Philippine
President
Ferdinand
Marcos
Poses with
His Wife
Imelda**

Some of the 2,500 Shoes of the Wife of Deposed Leader Ferdinand Marcos



Disco in West Berlin Where a Bomb Exploded; Investigators Found Libyan Officials Partially Responsible for the Blast, 1986





**Muammar al-
Qaddafi,
Leader of
Libya, in
Military
Uniform**

The Iran-Contra Imbroglia

- 2 major foreign policy problems
 - Continuing capture of US hostages by Muslim extremist groups in Lebanon
 - Continuing power of Sandinistas in Nicaragua
 - Reagan requested aid for contras, but US Congress refused
 - Reagan grew obsessed with finding way to help the contras

American and British Hostages Held by Palestinians, Hold up a Banner Indicating Their Captors' Demands, Beirut, 1987

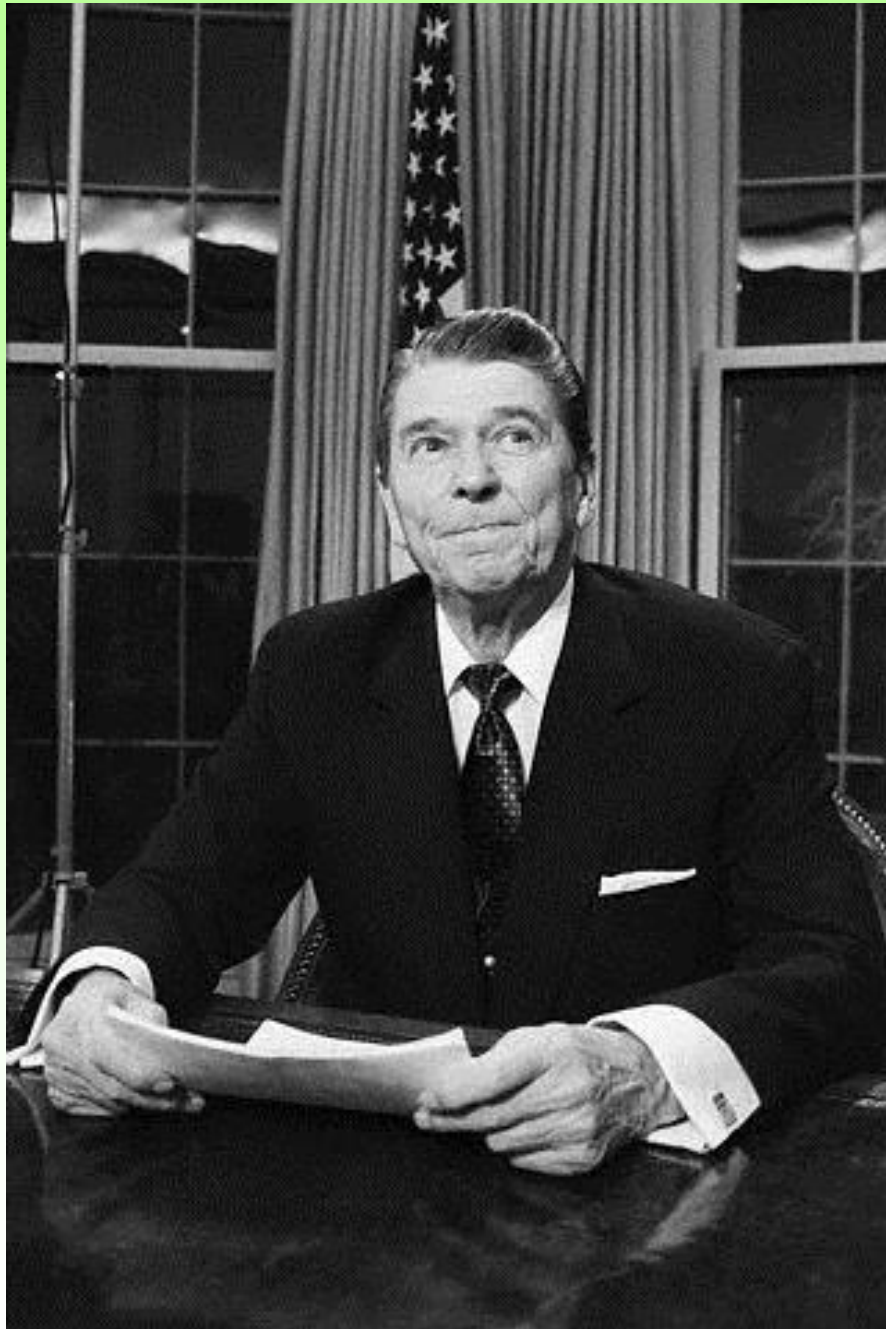


The Iran-Contra Imbroglia

- Linkage between Middle Eastern hostages and Sandinistas
 - 1985 – US secretly arranged arms sales to Iran
 - In return, Iran would help get US hostages held by terrorists
 - Money from payment of the arms was diverted to the contras
 - Audacious violation of congressional ban on military aid to contras
 - Violation of Reagan's repeated promise that he would never negotiate with terrorists

The Iran-Contra Imbroglia

- November 1986 – news of the secret Iran-contra deal broke
 - Reagan claimed he had done nothing wrong and did not know the activities of his subordinates
 - Investigation condemned the “secrecy, deception, and disdain for the law” in the administration
 - “if the president did not know what his national security advisers were doing, he should have.”
 - Obscured Reagan’s larger achievements in foreign policy with USSR



**President
Ronald Reagan
Admits in a
Television
Address That His
Staff Traded
Arms for
Hostages with
Iran and
Funneled Profits
to the
Nicaraguan
Contras, March
4, 1987**

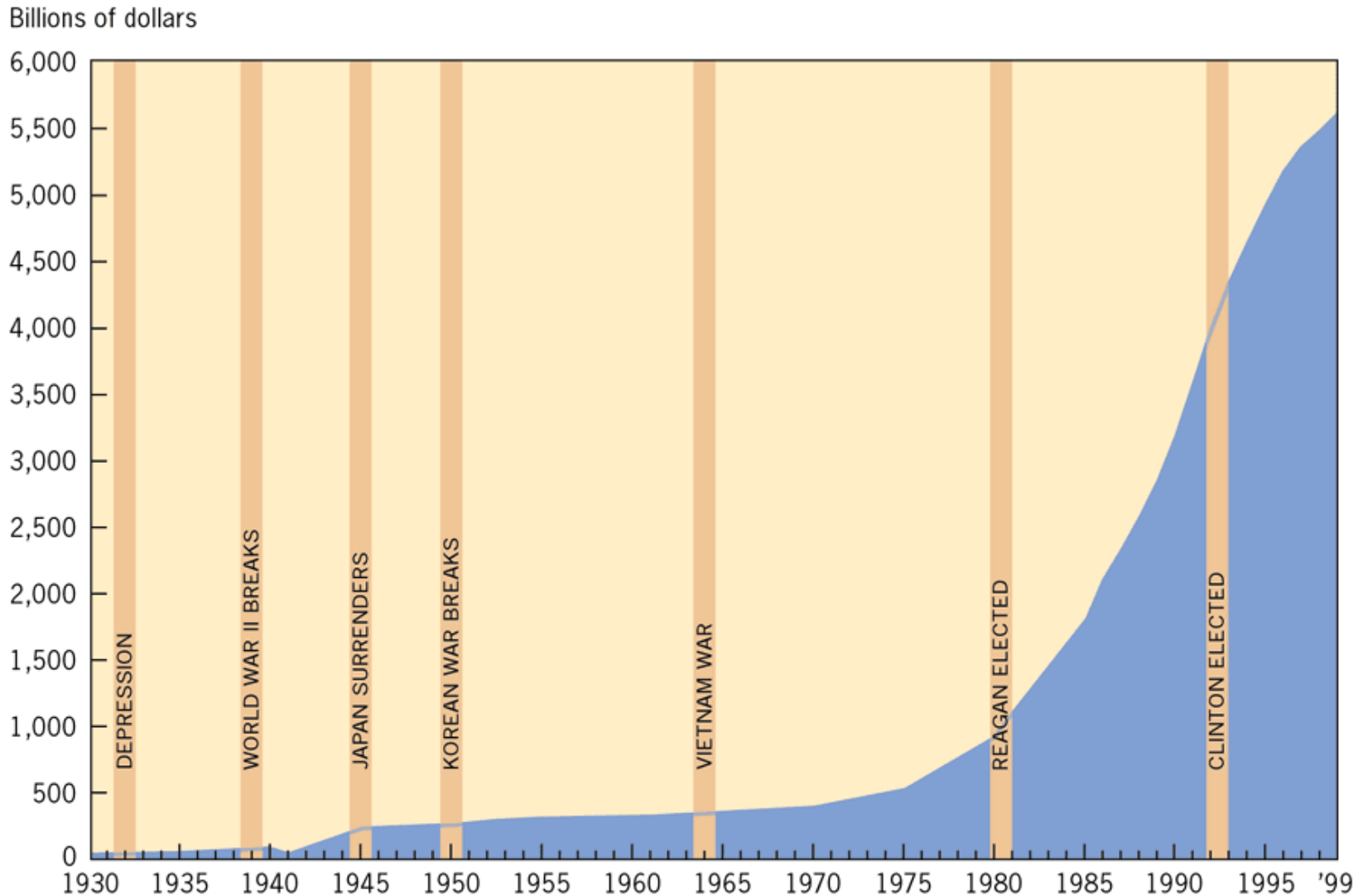
The Iran-Contra Imbroglia

- Picture of Reagan from Iran-Contra investigations
 - Lazy, maybe even senile
 - Napped through meetings and paid little (if any) attention to policy
 - Critics charged that Reagan had acted his way through the presidency
 - Reagan remained popular, despite the scandal

Reagan's Economic Legacy

- Supply-siders believed that lowered taxes would increase government revenue because of the stimulation to the economy
- Huge combination of tax cuts and increased spending on military led to huge deficits
 - \$200 billion per year
 - \$2 trillion over Reagan's 8 years in office, more than all of his predecessors combined

The National Debt, 1930 - 1999



Reagan's Economic Legacy

- Huge deficits as a Reagan failure
 - Huge amount financed by foreign lenders, especially Japanese
 - Deficits guaranteed that future US workers would have to work harder or lower their standard of living (or both) to pay back the huge debts

Reagan's Economic Legacy

- Huge deficits as a Reagan success
 - One of Reagan's biggest goals had been to slow or stop the growth of government, especially the social programs launched during the New Deal and Great Society
 - Reagan's deficits made future increases in social programs impossible

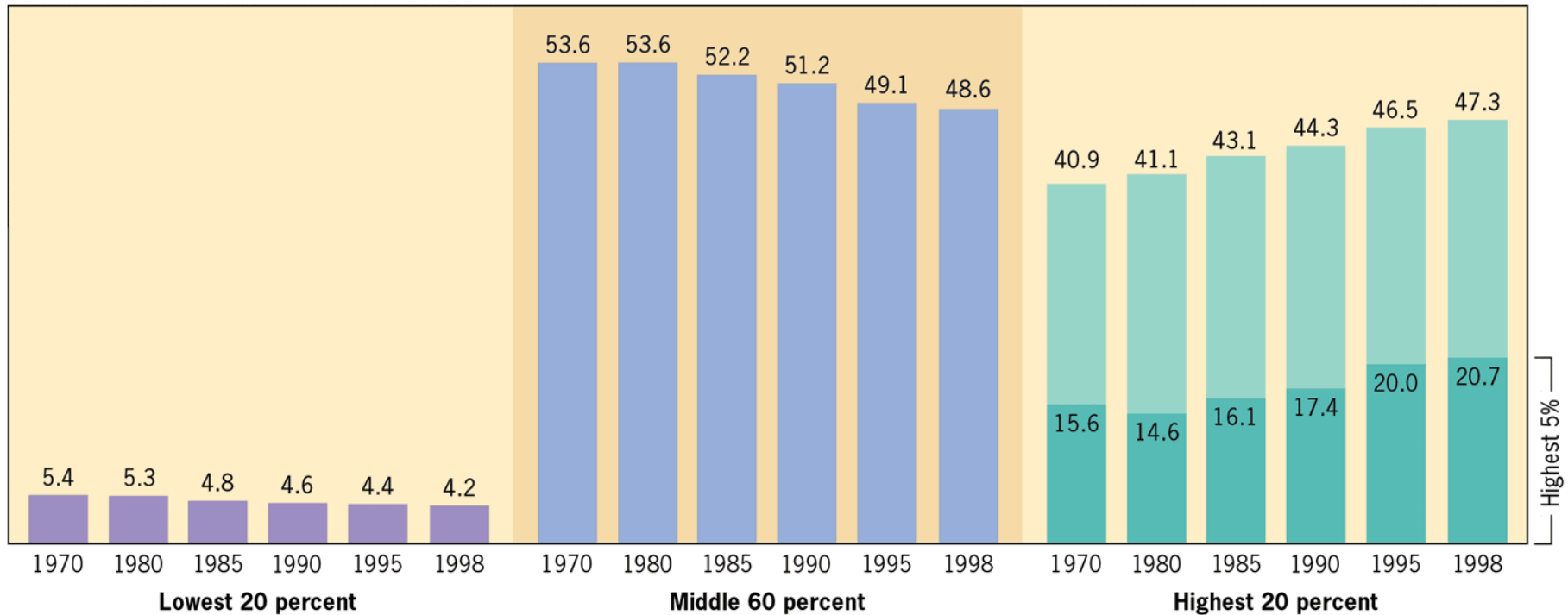
Further Sacrifices



Reagan's Economic Legacy

- Increasing income inequality during the 1980s
 - Sharp reversal of long-term trend toward more equitable distribution of income
 - Led to increasing squeeze on the poor and middle class
 - Whether this trend was because of Reagan's policies or larger economic trends is controversial

Share of Received Income by Families, by Quintile, 1970–1998



The Religious Right

- Religion and politics combined in favor of Republicans in 1980s
 - 1979 – Reverend Jerry Falwell from Virginia founded the Moral Majority
 - Preached against sexual permissiveness, abortion, feminism, gay rights
 - By 1981 – registered 2 – 3 million voters
 - “televangelists” used radio, direct-mail marketing, cable TV to reach huge audiences
 - Collected millions of dollars
 - Aggressively pushed conservative causes

Jim and Tammy Bakker with Their Cat



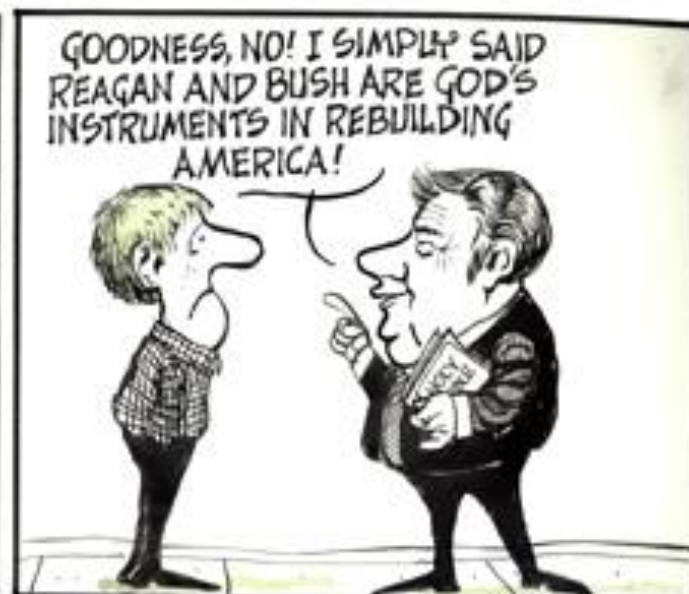
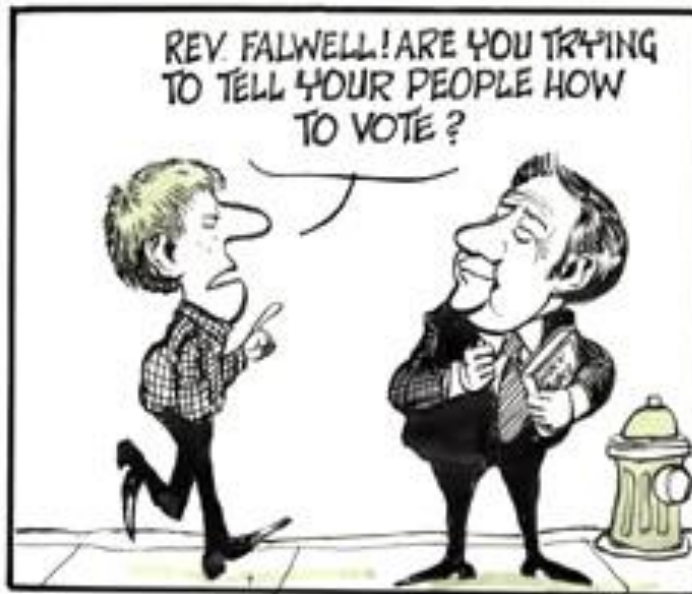


Televangelist Oral Roberts Preaching

Jimmy Swaggart, a Televangelist of the Assemblies of God, a Pentecostal Christian Church, Preaches on TV



The Religious Right



The Religious Right

- “movement conservatives”
 - Religious right was answer to (reaction against) radicalism of 1960s
 - What had been personal in the past (gender roles, homosexuality, prayer) became ways to organize huge numbers of people politically
 - Used “identity politics” like left did
 - Declared themselves pro-life or Christian
 - Used tactics of the 1960s protestors
 - Prayer meetings, articulation of positions in language of rights or entitlements (right-to-life), used civil disobedience to protest abortion
 - Several televangelists went to jail for sex and financial crimes in late 1980s, but Christian right as a political power stayed strong

Protest at the Capitol in Favor of School Prayer Organized by the Moral Majority, 1984



Conservatism in the Courts

- Courts were Reagan's chief weapon in "culture wars"
 - Reagan appointed almost 1/2 of all sitting judges in his 8 years
 - More importantly, Reagan named 3 Supreme Court justices
 - Sandra Day O'Connor – 1st woman justice

Conservatism in the Courts

- The Court and affirmative action
 - 1984 case involving Memphis firefighters
 - Union rules about job seniority could outweigh affirmative action concerns over promotions
 - 1989 – Ward's Cove Packing v. Antonia and Martin v. Wilks
 - More difficult to prove an employer practiced racial discrimination in hiring and made it easier for white males to argue reverse discrimination

Conservatism in the Courts

- The Court and abortion
 - 1989 – Webster v. Reproductive Health Services
 - Approved Missouri law that imposed some restrictions on abortion
 - 1992 – Planned Parenthood v. Casey
 - States could restrict access to abortion as long as it did not place an “undue burden” on the woman
 - State could not compel a wife to tell her husband about an abortion, but a minor child could be required to tell her parents
 - Casey decision hardened pro-choice activists to fight pro-life forces

Referendum on Reaganism in 1988

- Democrats hopeful of defeating Republicans in 1988 elections
 - 1986 – Democrats won back control of Senate
 - 1987 – Senate rejected Reagan nominee Robert Bork to Supreme Court
 - Iran-Contra scandal and high levels of unethical behavior among others in administration

Robert Bork



Referendum on Reaganism in 1988

- Economic problems in the late 1980s
 - Huge budget deficits and trade deficits
 - S&L (savings and loans) bailouts
 - Deregulation and bad loans made by S&Ls led to \$500 billion bailout by federal government
 - Wave of mergers, acquisitions, and leveraged buyouts on Wall Street; left many companies with huge amounts of debt
 - October 19, 1987 – “Black Monday”
 - Leading stock market index dropped 508 points – largest 1-day decline in history

Referendum on Reaganism in 1988

- 7 Democrats (the “Seven Dwarfs”) run for nomination
 - Colorado Senator Gary Hart forced to drop out in May 1987 because of allegations of marital infidelity
 - Jesse Jackson campaigned vigorously
 - Michael Dukakis, governor of Massachusetts won nomination
 - Few gains made in exploiting Republican ethical and economic problems

Michael Dukakis



Referendum on Reaganism in 1988

- The Republican nomination
 - George H.W. Bush (Reagan's vice president) won
 - Campaigned on Reagan's record
 - Tax cuts, strong defense, toughness on crime, opposition to abortion, long-running economic expansion

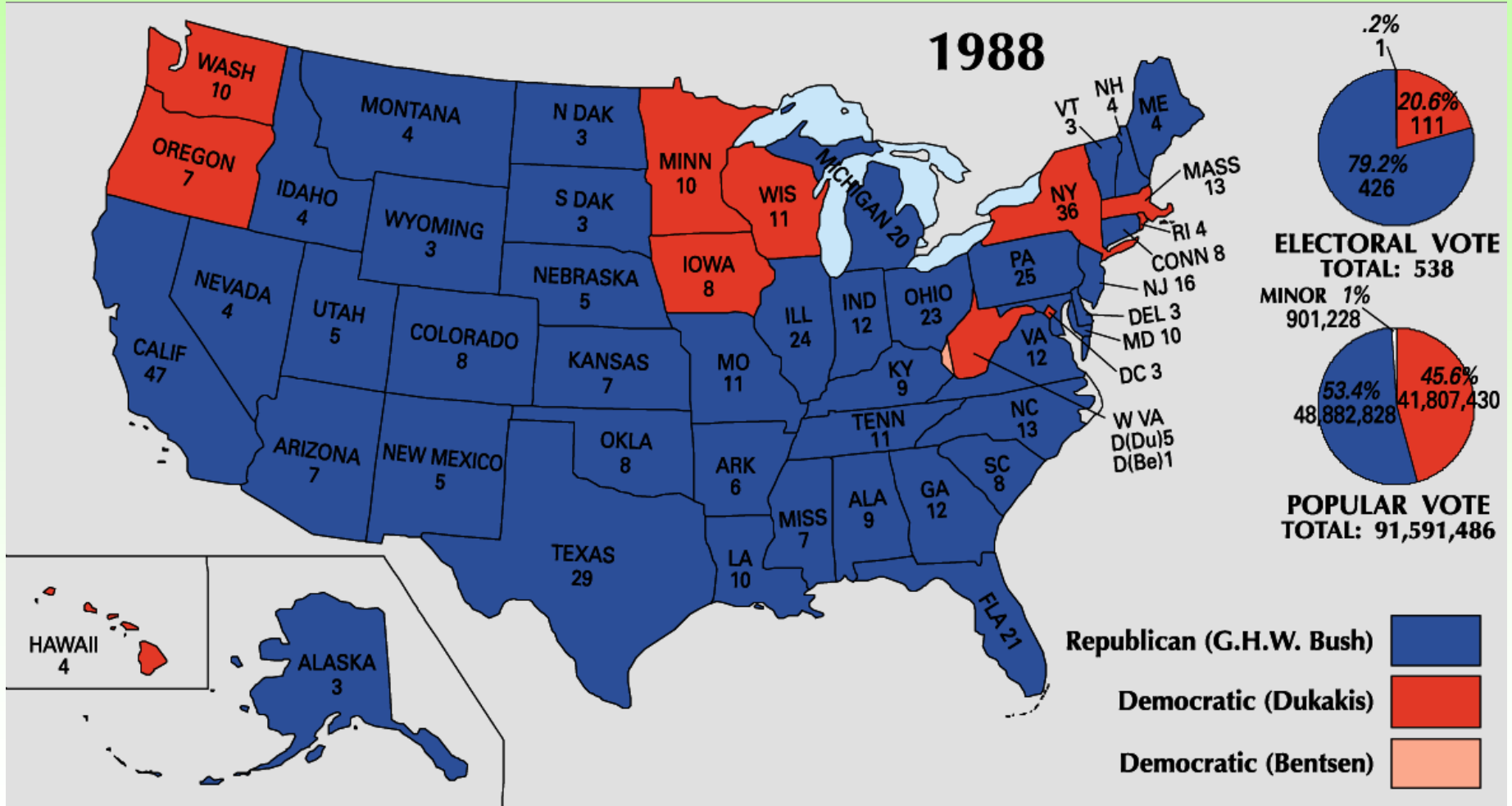


George Bush

Referendum on Reaganism in 1988

- Results of the 1988 election
 - Bush beat Dukakis
 - 47.9 million to 41 million popular votes
 - 426 to 111 electoral votes

The Election of 1988



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

- Background on Bush
 - Born with immense privileges
 - Father had served as senator from Connecticut
 - Bush went to Yale
 - Amassed small fortune in oil business in Texas
 - Served as congressman, emissary to China, ambassador to UN, director of the CIA, and vice president

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

- Communism falls and democracy begins in former communist block
- China
 - Spring 1989 – pro-democracy demonstrators marched into Tiananmen Square in Beijing
 - Erected a 30-foot-high statue, “Goddess of Democracy”, modeled on Statue of Liberty
 - June 1989 – Chinese rulers moved against demonstrators
 - Tanks rolled over demonstrators, machine-gunners killed hundreds
 - US and world condemned the attack
 - Bush insisted on maintaining normal relations with China

A Sea of Student Protesters Gathers in Tiananmen Square on May 4, 1989, Demanding Greater Freedom of Speech and Democracy



Protesters Surround Goddess of Democracy in Tiananmen Square, 1989



A Beijing Demonstrator Blocks the Path of a Tank Convoy Along the Avenue of Eternal Peace Near Tiananmen Square



"PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC"



**People's
Republic**

Chinese Army Attacks Students in Tiananmen Square, June 1989



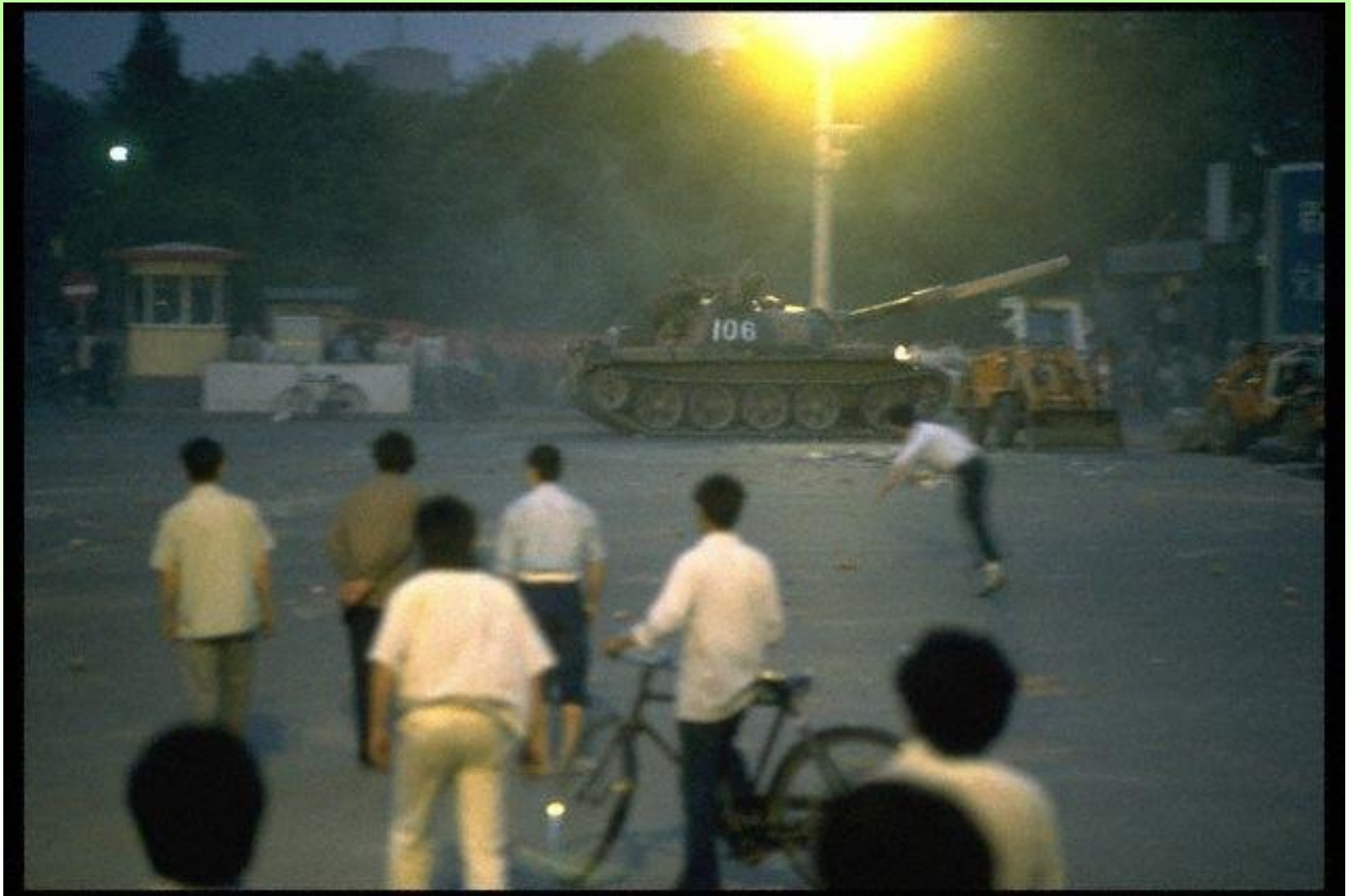
Chinese Army Attacks Students in Tiananmen Square, June 1989



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Chinese Army Attacks Students in Tiananmen Square, June 1989



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

- Former communist-controlled Eastern Europe changed in just a few months in 1989
 - August – Solidarity movement in Poland overthrew the communist government
 - Communist governments then fell in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Romania
 - December 1989 – Germans began tearing down hated Berlin Wall
 - October 1990 – 2 Germanies reunited

Tearing Down the Berlin Wall



Tearing Down the Berlin Wall



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

- Changes in the USSR came as result of perestroika and glasnost
- August 1991 – hard-line communists attempted coup of Gorbachev but failed
- Soviet Union dissolved into 15 separate republics loosely confederated (called the Commonwealth of Independent States – CIS)
 - Russia was the most powerful state, led by Boris Yeltsin
 - Separate governments ended communism and began democratic and free-market reforms
- December 1991 – Gorbachev resigned as Soviet president

The End of the Cold War

- 1 Poland.** Solidarity Party sweeps elections, June 1989.
- 2 Czechoslovakia.** Communist leadership ousted, Nov. 1989; country divided into Czech Republic and Slovakia, Jan. 1, 1993.
- 3 Germany.** Berlin Wall breached, Nov. 1989; East and West Germany reunited, Oct. 1990.
- 4 Yugoslavia.** Country disintegrates, 1991–92; civil war begins in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1992.
- 5 Romania.** Communist dictator Ceausescu overthrown and executed, Dec. 1989; Salvation Front led by dissident former Communists wins elections, May 1990.
- 6 Lithuania** declares independence, Mar. 1990.
- 7 Latvia and Estonia** begin process of separation from Soviet Union, Apr. 1990.
- 8 Hungary.** Free election sweeps non-Communists into power, Apr. 1990.
- 9 Bulgaria.** Government pledges free elections and new constitution in 1990; free elections sweep non-Communists into power.
- 10 Albania.** Free elections sweep non-Communists into power.
- 11 Soviet Union.** Dissolved, Dec. 1991; Russia and 10 former Soviet republics form Commonwealth of Independent States.



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

- End of the Cold War was miraculous
 - Experts had preached communism would never peaceably end
- Cold War tensions between US and USSR ended
- Bush spoke hopefully of “new world order” of democracy and diplomacy
- Some historians preached “the end of history” because democracy had no more ideological battles left to fight, having “won”

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

- Important questions remained
 - Who would honor arms-control agreements with US
 - Which successor state would take over USSR's nuclear weapons
- Partial answer was: Russia (largest state in former USSR)
 - 1993 – Bush signed START II with Boris Yeltsin, promising reduction of long-range nuclear weapons by 2/3 in 10 years

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

- Nationalism and ethnic and racial hatred in former communist areas
 - Communist dictatorships had at least kept deep-rooted hatreds in Southeast Europe under control
 - 1991 – Chechnyan minority in Russian Caucasus tried to declare independence
 - Yeltsin sent in troops
 - Yugoslavia – ethnic cleansing campaigns against various minorities

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

- Other problems with end of communism
 - Refugees from Eastern Europe flooded to west
 - Western European economy buckled from huge influx of poor, uneducated refugees
 - Strong German economy wobbled at having to absorb weak East German economy

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

- The end of communism and US foreign policy
 - US had pursued consistent foreign policy for 45 years
 - Would the US revert to its traditional isolationism?
 - What principles would guide US diplomacy without anticommunism as a guide?

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

- The end of communism and the US economy
 - Huge sectors of economy sustained by military contracts
 - 1991 – Pentagon announced closings of 34 bases and cancelled \$52 billion order for new navy airplane
 - More closings and cancellations followed
 - Southern California hit especially hard – had both bases and defense contractors

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

- Democracy around the world
 - South Africa
 - White racist society
 - 1990 – freed Nelson Mandela, who had served 27 years for conspiracy to overthrow the government
 - 1994 – elected as South Africa's president
 - Nicaragua
 - 1990 – elections removed Sandinistas from power
 - El Salvador
 - 1992 – peace finally came



Nelson Mandela

The Persian Gulf Crisis

- 1989 – Bush sent US troops to Panama to capture drug lord Manuel Noriega



**General
Manuel
Noriega**

**Noriega Had Been a US Ally Before His Overthrow;
Here Vice President Bush Meets with Noriega, 1983**



US Army Personnel in a Road in Panama During Operation Just Cause





**Burned Cars
and
Destroyed
Buildings
Are All That
Remain in a
Section of
Panama
after the US
Invasion,
1989**

The Persian Gulf Crisis

- August 2, 1990 – Saddam Hussein (Iraq) invaded Kuwait
 - Iraq needed Kuwait's oil to pay its war bills (after fighting an 8-year war with Iran)
 - Hussein's larger plan was control over entire Middle East, to control world's oil supply



**Iraqi
President
Saddam
Hussein
During a
Military
Parade in
Baghdad**

The Persian Gulf Crisis

- US supplied Hussein with weapons and money during 1980s
 - US knew he was a brutal dictator who tortured, raped, and murdered
 - Since Iraq was fighting Iran, and US hated fundamentalist Iran, and “the enemy of my enemy is my friend” – US aided Iraq

Donald Rumsfeld Meeting with Saddam Hussein in the Early 1980s



The Persian Gulf Crisis

- August 3, 1990 – UN Security Council unanimously condemned the invasion
 - Demanded immediate and unconditional surrender of Iraq's troops
- Economic embargo failed to remove Hussein
- UN gave Iraq ultimatum
 - By January 15, 1991 – Iraq must leave Kuwait or Un would use “all necessary means” to remove his troops

The Persian Gulf Crisis

- The attack
 - US's all-volunteer military assembled 539,000 troops
 - Combined with 270,000 from 28 other countries
 - January 12 – Congress voted approval for the attack

The Persian Gulf Crisis

- January 16, 1991 – US launched 37 days of precision bombing of Iraq
 - Iraq used “Scud” missiles to attack Saudi Arabi and Israel that did little damage

The Night Sky over Baghdad as the Bombing Campaign Began, January 1991

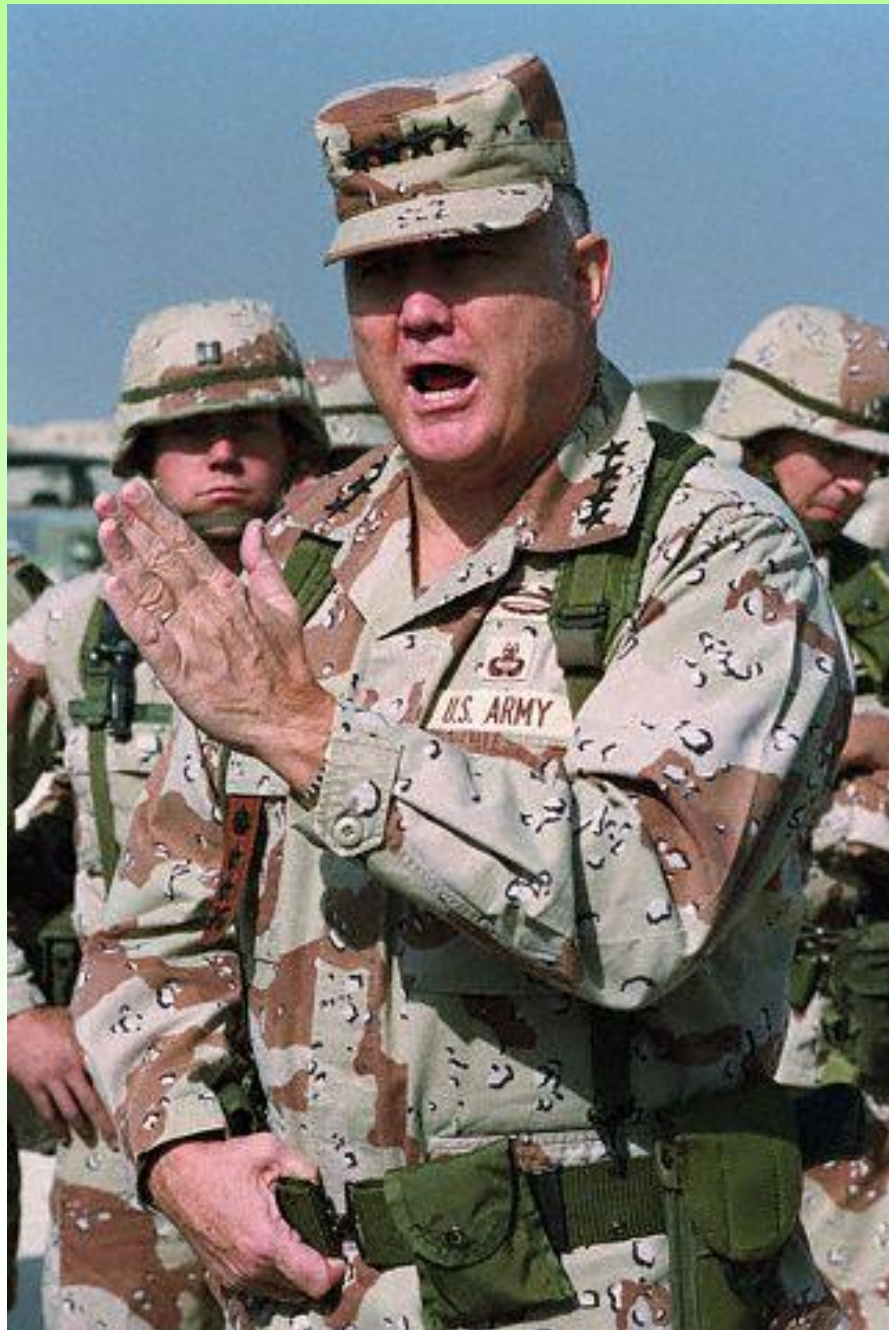


The Persian Gulf Crisis

- General Norman Schwarzkopf's plan for the land war
 - Iraq had power to unleash chemical and biological weapons on US troops
 - Iraq started many oil fires and dumped gigantic oil slick in Persian Gulf to prevent amphibious assault
 - Schwarzkopf's plan was to bomb Iraq relentlessly and then attack them with overwhelming force



Burning Oil Fields in Kuwait

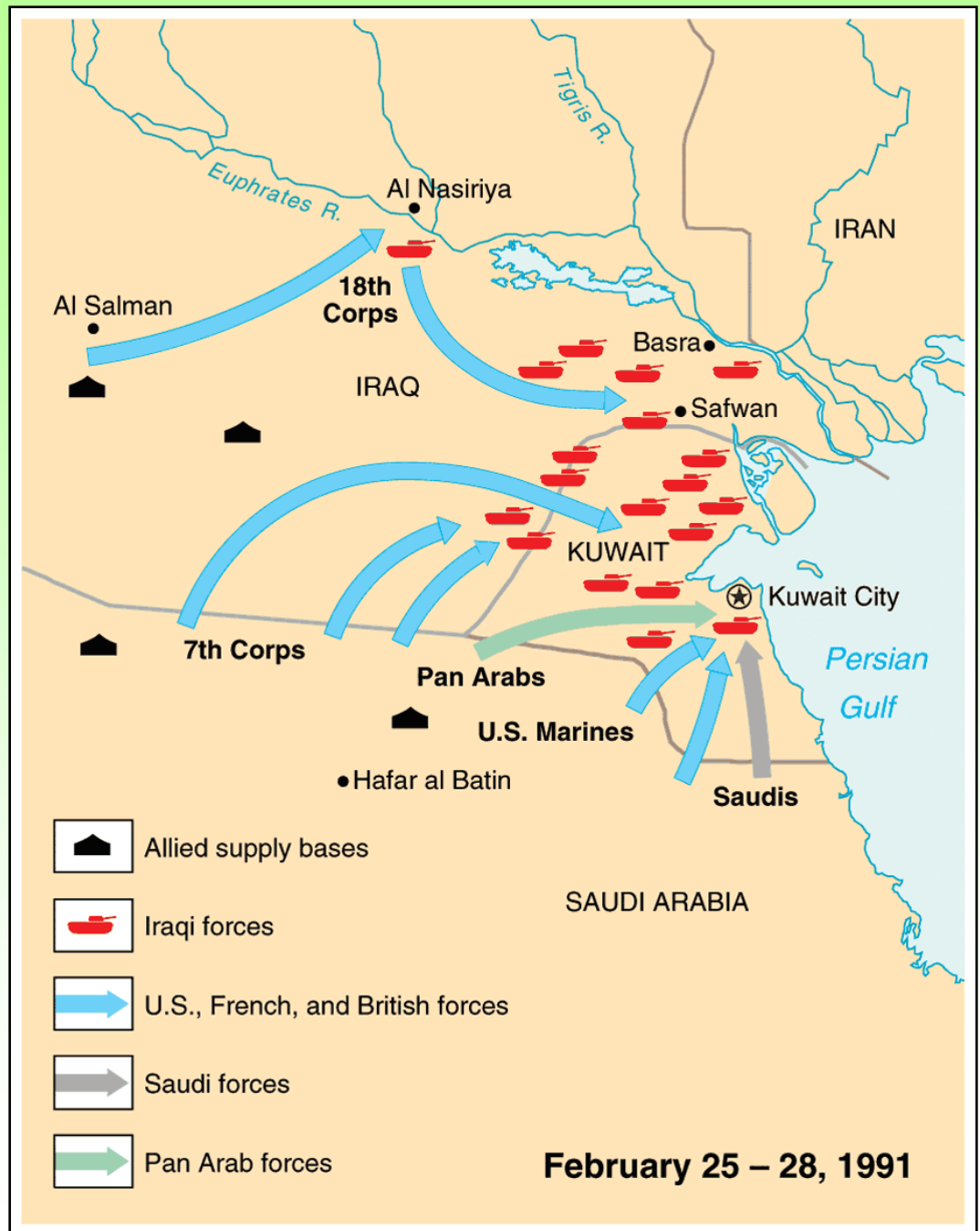


**General
Norman
Schwarzkopf,
Commander of
Operation
Desert Storm,
Speaks to
Troops, 1991**

The Persian Gulf Crisis

- February 23, 1991 – “Operation Desert Storm”
 - Land war in Iraq
 - Lasted 4 days – the “hundred hour war”
 - Outflanked occupying forces in Kuwait, preventing retreat or reinforcement
- February 27, 1991 – Hussein accepted cease-fire and Kuwait was liberated
- Saddam Hussein remained in power
 - Allies had agreed only to remove Iraq from Kuwait, not regime change

Operation Desert Storm: The Ground War, February 23–27, 1991



Bush on the Home Front

- Bush had pledged to work toward a “kindler, gentler America” during campaign
 - 1990 – Americans with Disabilities Act passed
 - Prohibited discrimination against 43 million Americans with physical or mental disabilities
 - 1992 – major water projects bill
 - Reformed distribution of federal water in West
 - Put environment ahead of agriculture
 - Made more water available to cities in West

Bush on the Home Front

- Bush and the “social issues”
 - 1990 – Bush’s Department of Education challenged scholarships targeted to minorities
 - Bush promised to veto law that would make it easier to prove discrimination in hiring and promotion
 - 1991 – Bush signed watered-down civil rights bill

Bush on the Home Front

- Bush and the Supreme Court
 - 1991 – nominated Clarence Thomas
 - Black; opposed affirmative action strongly
 - Widely opposed by liberal groups
 - Senate Judiciary Committee divided 7-7 and sent nomination to full Senate without recommendation
 - October 1991 – revealed in press that Anita Hill had accused Thomas of sexual harassment
 - Anita Hill hearings detailed Thomas' alleged harassment
 - Senate finally voted 52 – 48 to confirm Thomas



**Clarence
Thomas**



**Anita Hill's
Testimony
Before the
Senate Judiciary
Committee on
the Nomination
of Judge
Clarence
Thomas**

Bush on the Home Front

- Problems in Bush's presidency, leading to election of 1992
 - “gender gap”
 - Women grew more critical of Bush and Republicans and joined Democrats
 - Economy
 - Weak economic performance and relatively high (7%) unemployment
 - Tax increase
 - 1990 – Bush agreed to \$133 billion in new taxes
 - Violated his 1988 campaign pledge: “Read my lips—no new taxes.”

**Read My
Lips...I Lied!**

NEW YORK POST
METRO EDITION
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, 1990 / 12th Ave. and 42nd St. / 10¢ / 11 Pages / Page 1

READ MY LIPS... I LIED!

Bush breaks campaign vow, says he must hike taxes

President Bush, who vowed repeatedly during his 1988 election campaign that there would be "no new taxes," said yesterday that "tax increases to stimulate" are needed to end the federal budget deficit. There was no word on what the increases would be.

DONALD DOES IT
Bartholomew and... Page 3

WITNESS IS WACKY
George... Collection... Page 4

AS BU
... Page 5