

1980's to the Present Outline

I. The Rise of Conservatism

- A. The Fall of New Deal Liberalism
 - 1. Gun control, feminism, gay rights, welfare, affirmative action, sexual permissiveness, and drug use were viewed by the conservatives as being responsible for
 - a. Undermining family values
 - b. Undermining religious values
 - c. Undermining the work ethic
 - d. Undermining national security
 - 2. The conservatives were lead by a loose coalition of
 - a. Economic and political conservative
 - b. Religious fundamentalists
 - c. Corporate-sponsored political action committees (PACs)
 - 3. By the late 1970s, various activists had taken the lead in establishing a conservative agenda
 - a. Lowering taxes
 - b. Improved morals
 - c. Reduced emphasis on affirmative action
- B. The Taxpayers' revolt
 - 1. California takes the lead
 - a. 1978 California voter led the revolt against high taxes by passing Proposition 13
 - 1. This measure sharply cut property taxes.
 - b. Nationally, Two Republican members of Congress Jack Kemp and William Roth proposed legislation to reduce federal taxes by 30%
 - 1. This became the basis for the Reagan tax cuts
- C. Moral Revival
 - 1. Moral decay was a weekly theme of televangelists such as Pat Robertson, Oral Roberts, and Jim Bakker
 - 2. Religion became an instrument of electoral politics
 - 3. Jerry Falwell from Virginia became the founder of the Moral Majority
 - a. The organization rated politicians with "moral report cards"
 - b. They financed campaigns to unseat liberal members of Congress.
 - c. They lead the conservative counterattack against the feminists' Equal Rights Amendment and argued for the traditional Biblical view of women's role in society.
 - d. Religious fundamentalists attacked "secular humanism" as a godless creed taking over public education.

- e. They campaigned for the return of prayers and the teaching of the Biblical account of creation in the public schools.
 - f. the legalization of abortion in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) decision sparked the right-to-life movement that joined together Catholics and fundamentalist Protestants, who believed that human life began at the moment of conception.
- D. Reverse Discrimination
- a. 1965 President Johnson had committed the U.S. government to a policy of affirmative action to ensure that underprivileged minorities and women would have equal access to education, jobs and promotion.
 - b. Struggling through years of recession and stagflation in the 1970s, many white men blamed their troubles on the “reverse discrimination” imposed by the government supported of racial and ethnic quotas.
 - c. Regents of the *University of California v, Bakke* (1978) ruled that a college admission could not be based on race alone
 - 1. After this decision, conservative intensified their campaign to end all quotas and preferential treatment based on race and ethnic background.

II. Ronald Reagan and the Election of 1980

- A. Republicans – Ronald Reagan
- 1. Attacked the Democrats big government solution to problems of government and the 1970s
 - 2. Attacked the Democrats on the loss of U.S. prestige abroad
 - a. Throughout the campaign, American hostages remained in the hands of Iranian radicals
 - 3. Reagan pointed to a “misery index” of 28 (inflation added to the rate of unemployment)
 - a. Rally call became “Are you better off now than you were four years ago?”
 - 4. Democrats – President Jimmy Carter
Senator Edward Kennedy
 - a. President Carter won the Democratic nomination.
 - 5. John Anderson ran as an Independent
- B. Reagan won the election with 51% of the popular vote and 91% of the electoral vote.
- 1. Carter only received 41% of the popular vote
 - 2. Anderson received 8% of the popular vote
- C. The Significance of the election

1. Reagan's election broke up a key element of the New Deal coalition by taking over 50% of the blue-collar vote
2. For the very first time since 1954, the Republicans gained control of the Senate by defeating 11 liberal Democrats targeted by the Moral Majority
3. The Republicans also gained 33 seats in the House, which when combined with the votes of conservative southern Democrats would give them a working majority on many key issues.
4. Political analysts marked the 1980 as the end of a half century of Democratic dominance of Congress.

III. The Reagan Revolution

- A. On the day of Reagan's inauguration, the Iranians released the 52 American hostages, giving the administration a positive start.
 1. Two months later the president survived a serious gunshot wound from an assassination attempt.
 - a. Reagan handled the crisis with such humor and charm that he emerged from the ordeal as an even more popular leader.
 - b. He 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.
 - c. He delivered on all four promises – but there were some costs.
- B. Supply-Side Economics
 1. David Stockman Reagan's director of the Office of Management and Budget advocated supply-side economics.
 - a. Tax cuts and reduced government spending would increase investment by the private sector and lead to increased production, jobs, and prosperity.
 - b. This was in contrast with the Democrats, which relied on the Keynesian economic – which relied on government spending to boost consumer income and demand.
 - c. Stockman's supply-side theory reminded critics of the "trickle-down" economic of the 1920's.
 1. The wealthy Americans prospered and some of their increased profits and spending benefited the middle class and the poor.
 2. Federal tax reduction
 - a. The legislative activity early in Reagan's presidency reminded some in the media of FDR's Hundred Days
 - b. Congress passed most of the tax cuts that Reagan asked for, including a 25% decrease in personal income taxes over three years.

- c. Cuts in the corporate income tax capital gains tax, and gift and inheritance tax guaranteed that a large share of the tax relief went to upper-income taxpayers.
 - d. Under Reagan, the top income tax rate was reduced to 28%.
 - e. Small investors were helped by a provision that allowed them to invest up to \$2,000 a year in an Individual Retirement Account (IRAs) without paying taxes on this money.
3. Spending cuts
- a. The Republicans cut over \$40 billion from domestic programs, such as food stamps, student loans, and mass transportation.
 - b. These savings were offset by a dramatic increase in military spending.
 - c. No cuts in Medicare or Social Security were passed.
 - d. The Social Security system was made more solvent by legislation that raised the retirement age and taxed benefits paid to upper-income recipients.
4. Deregulation
- a. Reagan administration reduced federal regulations on business and industry.
 - b. Restrictions were eased on savings and loan institutions, mergers and takeovers by large corporations, and environmental protection.
 - c. To aid the auto industry, there was a reduction on the regulations on emissions and auto safety.
 - d. Sec. of Interior opened federal lands for increased coal and timber production and off shore waters for oil drilling.
5. Labor Unions
- a. Reagan fired thousands of striking federal air traffic controllers for violating their contract and decertified their union (PATCO).
 - 1. Many businesses followed this action by hiring striker replacement in labor conflicts.
 - 2. Government's support of this anti-union drive hastened the decline of labor unions during the 1980s.
 - 3. The recession of 1982 and foreign competition had a dampening effect on workers' wages.
6. Recession and Recovery
- a. In 1982 the nation suffered the worst recession since the 1930s.
 - b. Banks failed and unemployment reached 11%.
 - c. The Recession and falling oil prices reduced the double-digit inflation rate of the late 1970s to less than 4%.

- d. With the rebound of the economy in the beginning of 1983 the country entered a long period of recovery.
- e. The U.S. auto industry was helped by the Japanese agreeing to place voluntary quotas on car exports.
- f. The recovery widened the income gap between rich and poor.
- g. The Upper-income groups and “yuppies” (young urban professional) enjoyed higher incomes and material benefits from a deregulated market place, the standard of living of the middle class remained stagnant.

7. Social Issues

- a. Appointed Conservative Justices to the Supreme Court
 - 1. Sandra Day O’Connor, the first woman on the court
 - 2. Antonin Scalia and Anthony Kennedy.
 - a. Kennedy’s appointment came after Reagan’s attempt to get Senate approval for an outspoken conservative Robert Bork.
 - 3. Chief Justice William Rehnquist, under his leadership
 - a. scaled back affirmative action in hiring and promotion
 - b. limited *Roe v. Wade* by allowing states to impose certain restrictions on abortion, such as requiring minors to notify their parents before having an abortion.

8. Election of 1984

- a. Return to prosperity, even if not fully shared by all Americans, restored public confidence in the Reagan administration.
 - 1. Republicans re-nominate Ronald Reagan
 - 2. Democrats are split on their nomination
 - a. Jesse Jackson – became the first African American politician to make a strong run for the presidency by seeking the support of all minority groups under the banner of the “rainbow coalition”.
 - b. Walter Mondale – Carter’s vice president won the nomination. He chose Representative Geraldine Ferraro of New York to be the first woman to run for vice president.
- b. Reagan easily defeated the Liberal Mondale taking every state except Mondale’s home state of Minnesota.
 - 1. 2/3 of white males voted for Reagan
 - 2. Analysis of voting returns indicated that only two groups still favored the Democrats

- a. African Americans
 - b. Americans earning less than \$12,500 a year
- 9. Budget and Trade Deficits
 - a. By the mid – 1980’s Reagan’s tax cuts and military spending were creating a federal deficit of over \$200 billion a year.
 - b. Reagan’s two terms increased from \$900 billion to almost \$2.7 trillion
 - c. Tax cuts designed to stimulate investments, seemed only to increase consumption, especially of foreign-made luxury and consumer items.
 - d. U. S. trade deficit reached a staggering \$150 billion a year
 - e. The imbalance of \$1 trillion during the 1980s contributed to a dramatic increase in foreign ownership of U. S. real estate and industry.
 - f. The U. S. became a debtor nation for the first time since World War I
 - g. To control the federal deficit Congress passed the Gramm-Rudman-Holling’s Balance Budget Act
 - 1. provided for a cross the board spending cut
 - 2. Court rulings and later Congressional changes kept this legislation from achieving its full purpose
 - 3. Congress was still able to reduce the deficit from \$221 billion in 1986 to \$155 billion in 1988
 - 4. *Bowsher v. Synar* (1986) the Supreme Court ruled the system that was created by the Balanced Budget Act of 1985 to make spending cuts violated the principle of separation of legislative and executive powers.
- 10. Impact of Reaganomics
 - a. Reduced restrictions on a free-market economy and left more money in the hands of investors and higher income Americans
 - b. Reagan’s policies also succeeded in containing the growth of New Deal-Great Society welfare state
 - c. The Reagan years brought a huge federal deficit that changed the context of future political debates.
 - 1. With the deficit running between \$200 - \$300 billion it was no longer reasonable for either party to propose new social programs such as universal health coverage.
 - 2. Reaganomics changed the debate to issues of what government program to cut and by how much.

V. Foreign Policy During the Reagan Years

- A. Reagan called Soviet Communists “the focus of evil in the modern world”

1. Reagan was prepared to use military force to back up his rhetoric
 2. During his second term he proved flexible enough in his foreign policy to respond to significant changes in the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe.
- B. Renewing the Cold War
1. Reagan increased spending for defense and aide to anti-communist forces in Latin America were the hallmark of Reagan's approach to the Cold War during his first term
- C. Military build – up
1. Sec. of Defense Casper Weinberger projected doubling the defense budget by 1986
 2. He proposed spending billions to build new weapons systems, such as the B-1 bomber and the MX missile. He also proposed expanding the U.S. Navy from 450 to 600 ships
 3. The Reagan administration also increased spending on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
 - a. This was an ambitious plan for building a high-tech system of laser and particle beams to destroy enemy missiles before they could reach U.S. territory.
 - b. Critics called it "Star Wars" and argued that the costly program would only escalate the arms race
 1. It could be overwhelmed by the Soviets building more missiles
 - c. Congress made cuts in the Reagan proposal, the defense budget grew from \$171 billion in 1981 to over \$300 billion in 1985.
- D. Central America
1. Reagan supported "friendly" right-wing dictators to keep out communism
 2. He worked to overthrow Marxist regimes such as the one that had taken over Nicaragua in 1979
 - a. CIA used covert action in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Marxist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua
 - b. Large amounts of U. S. military aid went to the "contras" or anti-leftist rebels in Nicaragua who fought the Sandinistas in an attempt to seize power.
 - c. In 1985 the Democrats opposed the administration's policies in Nicaragua and passed the Boland Amendment.
 1. Prohibiting further aide to the contras
 3. In El Salvador the Reagan administration spend nearly \$5billion to support the Salvadoran government against a leftist guerrilla coalition.

- a. Many Americans protested the killing of more than 40,000 civilians by right-wing "death squads" with connection to the El Salvador army.
4. Grenada
 - a. A coup led to the establishment of a pro-Cuban regime
 - b. 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.
 1. The invasion quickly succeeded in re-establishing a friendly government in Grenada
5. Iran – Contra Affair
 - a. Reagan's Nicaragua involvement created a serious blunder for the administration
 1. Since 1980 Iran and Iraq were engaged in a bloody war
 2. National Security adviser Robert McFarland came up with a secret plan of selling U. S. antitank and antiaircraft missiles to Iran's government for its help in freeing the Americans held hostage by a radical Arab group.
 3. In 1986, Oliver North, a staff member of the National Security Council proposed using the profits of the arms deal with Iran to fund the contras in Nicaragua.
 4. President Reagan denied that he had knowledge of the illegal diversion of funds
 - a. The activity was illegal and a violation of both the Boland Amendment and congressional budget authority.
 - b. The picture that emerged from the televised congressional investigation was of an uninformed, hands-off president who was easily manipulated by his advisors.
 - c. Reagan suffered a sharp, but temporary, drop in the polls.
 - d. Most of the American public had little interest in or concern about the Iran-contra affair, and some even saw Oliver North as a hero.
6. Lebanon, Israel, and the PLO

- a. Setback in foreign policy in 1982 in the Middle East.
 - b. In 1982 Israel invaded southern Lebanon to stomp PLO terrorists from raiding Israel.
 - 1. U.S. became involved in helping to evacuate the PLO to safe haven and providing peacekeeping forces to Lebanon.
 - 2. This was an effort to contain the country's bitter civil war.
 - 3. April 1983 an Arab suicide squad bombed the U.S. embassy in Beirut, killing 63 people.
 - 4. A few months later another Arab terrorist drove a bomb-filled truck into the U.S. Marines barracks, killing 241 servicemen.
 - 5. 1984 Reagan pulled U.S. forces out of Lebanon, with little to show for the efforts and loss of lives.
 - c. Sec. of State 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
 - 1. PLO leader Yassir Arafat agreed in 1988 to recognize Israel's right to exist.
 - 2. Amid increasing terrorism in the Middle East, small but significant steps were being taken toward an Arab Israeli settlement
7. Improved U.S. Soviet Relations
- a. The Cold War intensified in the early 1980s as a result of both Reagan's arms buildup and Soviet deployment of large numbers of missiles against NATO countries
 - b. 1985 a dynamic reformer, Mikhail Gorbachev became the new Soviet leader
 - 1. Gorbachev attempted to change Soviet domestic politics by introducing two major reforms
 - a. *Glasnost* or openness to end political repression and move toward greater political freedom for Soviet citizens
 - b. *Perestroika* or restructuring of the Soviet economy by introducing some free-marked practices.
 - c. To achieve his reforms, Gorbachev had to end the costly arms race and deal with a deteriorating Soviet economy.
 - c. In 1987 Gorbachev and Reagan agreed to remove and destroy all intermediate-range missiles (the INF agreement).
 - d. 1988 Gorbachev started the pullout of Soviet Troops from Afghanistan

- e. He also cooperated with the United States in putting diplomatic pressure on Iran and Iraq to end their war.
 - f. By the end of Reagan's second term, relations between the two superpowers had so improved that the end of the Cold War seemed at hand.
8. Assessing Reagan's Policies
- a. Reagan's administration would claim that its military buildup forced the Soviet Union to concede defeat and abandon the Cold War
 - b. Others would argue that George Kennan's containment policies and to Gorbachev's initiative.
 - c. President Reagan can at least be credited with responding to the opportunity to end the Cold War
 - d. By the end of his second term many Americans wished he could continue for another four years
 - e. In many ways he had enjoyed a charmed life in politics
 - f. He was the first president since Eisenhower to complete two terms in the White House.

VI. President Bush and the End of the Cold War

- A. The Election of 1988
- 1. The Democrats regained control of the Senate in 1986 and hoped that the Iran – contra scandal and the huge deficit under Reagan would hurt the Republicans in the presidential race of 1988
 - 2. Democrats nominated Michael Dukakis – governor from Massachusetts
 - a. He balanced the ticket by selecting Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas as his running mate.
 - 3. Republicans nominated George H. W. Bush and a young senator, Dan Quayle, as his running mate.
 - a. He overtook an expressionless Dukakis by charging that the Democrat was soft on crime, and weak on national defense
 - b. Bush also appealed to voters by promising not to raise taxes: “Red my lips – no new taxes”.
 - 4. The Republicans won a decisive victory in November by a margin of 7 million votes
 - a. The Democrats failed to win the confidence of most white middle-class voters
 - b. The voters sent mixed signals by returning larger Democratic majorities to both the House and the Senate
 - c. Americans evidently believed in the system of checks and balances, but unfortunately it often produced legislative gridlock in Washington.

VI. The Collapse of Soviet Communism

- A. Tiananmen Square

1. Spring 1989 Pro-democratic students demonstrated for freedom in Beijing's Tiananmen Square
 2. Television cameras from the West broadcast the democracy movement around the world.
 3. Under the cover of night the Chinese Communist government crushed the protest with tanks, killing hundreds and end the brief flowering of an open political environment in China.
- B. Eastern Europe
1. Gorbachev declared that he would no longer support the various Communist governments in Eastern Europe with Soviet armed forces.
 2. Beginning in Poland in 1989 with the election of Lech Walesa.
 - a. He was the leader of the Solidarity movement.
 - b. The Communist party fell from power in one country after another
 1. Hungary
 2. Czechoslovakia
 3. Bulgaria
 4. Romania
 3. The Communists in Easter Germany were forced out of power after protesters tore down the Berlin Wall, the hated symbol of the Cold War.
 4. October 1990, the two Germanys, divided since 1945, were finally reunited with the blessing of both NATO and the Soviet Union
- C. Breakup of the Soviet Union
1. The swift march of events and nationalists desire for self-determination soon overwhelmed Gorbachev and the Soviet Union.
 2. 1990, the Soviet Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania declared their independence
 3. After a failed coup against Gorbachev and Soviet hard – liners, the remaining republics dissolved the Soviet Union in December 1991.
 - a. Gorbachev became a leader without a country
 4. Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Republic, joined with nine former republics to form a loose confederation, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
 5. Yeltsin disbanded the Communist party n Russia and attempted to establish a democracy and a free-market economy
- E. End of the Cold War
1. Sweeping agreements to dismantle their nuclear weapons were one tangible proof that the Cold War had ended
 2. George H. W. Bush and Gorbachev signed the START I agreement in 1991
 - a. This reduced the number of nuclear warheads to under 10,000 for each side
 3. In 1992 G. H. W. Bush and Yeltsin agreed to a START II treaty

- a. Reduced the number of nuclear weapons to just over 3,000 each
- b. The treaty also offered U. S. economic assistance to troubled Russian economy
4. President Bush remained cautious
 - a. Instead of celebrating final victory in the Cold War the Americans grew concerned about the outbreak of civil wars and violence in the Former Soviet Union
 - b. In Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia started to disintegrate in 1991, and a civil war broke out in the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992
5. At home the end of the Cold War raised questions about whether the need still existed the heavy defense spending and large number of U.S. military bases.

F. Invasion of Panama

1. Since the outbreak of the Cold War in the 1940s, U. S. intervention in foreign conflicts had been consistently tied to the containment of communism
2. December 1989, U. S. troops were used for a different purpose, as Bush ordered the invasion of Panama to remove the autocratic General Manuel Noriega
3. The alleged purpose of the invasion was to stop Noriega from using his country as a drug pipeline to the United States.
4. U.S. troops remained until elections established a more creditable government

G. Persian Gulf War

1. President G. H. W. Bush's hopes 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.
 - a. This invasion threatened Western oil sources in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf
 - b. President Bush successfully built a coalition of United Nations members to put pressure on Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait
 - c. A U.N. embargo against Iraq had little effect.
 - d. Bush won congressional approval for a military campaign to roll back Iraq's act of aggression
 - e. January 1991, in a massive operation called Desert Storm, over half a million Americans were joined by military units from 28 other nations
 - f. Five weeks of relentless air strikes were followed by a brilliant ground war conducted by U. S. General Norman Schwarzkopf
 - g. 100 hours of fighting on the ground, Iraq was forced to concede defeat

- h. Some Americans were disappointed that the United States stopped short of driving Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq
 - a. Nevertheless, after the victory President Bush enjoyed a boost in his approval rating to nearly 90%
- H. Domestic Problems
 - 1. Nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court
 - a. Nominated to replace Thurgood Marshall but his nomination proved to be very controversial.
 - b. Thomas's conservative views on judicial issues were attacked by African American organizations, and charges of sexual harassment against him were widely believed by millions of women
 - c. The Senate confirmed Thomas' nomination
- I. Taxes and the Economy
 - 1. The Americans were shocked to learn that the government's intervention to save weak saving and loans institution and to pay insured depositors for funds lost in failed S&L would cost the taxpayers over \$250 billion
 - 2. Also disturbing was the idea that the federal budget deficits of over \$250 billion a year added over \$1 trillion to the national debt during the Bush presidency.
 - 3. Thousands of Republican voters felt betrayed when, in 1990 Bush violated his campaign pledge of "no new taxes"
 - a. He agreed to accept Congress's proposed \$133 billion in new taxes
 - b. The unpopular tax law increased the top income tax to 31% and raised federal excise taxes on beer, wine, cigarettes, gasoline, and luxury cars and boat.
 - c. Most Damaging of all for Bush's re-election prospects was a recession starting 1990 that ended the Reagan era of prosperity, increased unemployment, and decreased average family income.
- J. Political Inertia
 - 1. President Bush began his administration calling for a "kinder, gentler, America" and declaring himself the "education president"
 - a. He did sign into law the Americans With Disabilities Act (1990) which prohibited discrimination against citizens with physical and mental disabilities in hiring, transportation, and public accommodations.
 - b. Otherwise the president offered little I the way of domestic policy
 - c. In the mist of recession, he emphasized cuts in federal programs
 - d. This seemed to offer little hope to the growing numbers of Americans left behind by the "Reagan revolution."

VII. Clinton and a New Generation of Leadership

A. Anti-incumbent Mood

1. A stagnant economy, huge budget deficit and political deadlock fueled by a growing disillusionment with government, especially as practiced in the nation's capital
2. The movement to impose term limits on elected officials gained popularity on the state
 - a. The Supreme Court ruled in *U.S. Term Limits Inc. v. Thornton* (1996) that the states could not limit the tenure of federal lawmakers with a constitutional amendment
3. Another reflection of Americans' disillusionment with Washington politics was the ratification in 1992 of the Twenty-seventh Amendment
 - a. First proposed by James Madison (1789) that prohibited members of Congress from raising their own salaries. Future raises could not go into effect until the next session of Congress

B. Election 1992

1. Republicans nominate George H. W. Bush for a second term
 - a. After a long career in public service, the president seemed tired and out of touch with the average American, who were more concerned about their paychecks than with Bush's foreign policy successes.
2. Bill Clinton was the Democratic nominee
 - a. He was the youthful governor from Arkansas
 - b. He was the first member of the baby-boom generation to be nominated for president
 - c. He proved an articulated and energetic campaigner
 - d. He presented himself as a moderate on most issues, focusing on economic issues and the need to reform the nation's health and welfare system
 - e. His political advisers stressed the slogan: "The economy, stupid".
3. H. Ross Perot, a Texas billionaire, entered the 1992 race for president as an independent.
 - a. Perot appealed to millions with his anti-Washington, anti-deficit views.
 - b. He was able to use his own resources to finance a series of TV commercials
 - c. On election day, Perot captured nearly 20% of the popular vote for the best third party showing since Theodore Roosevelt campaign of 1912
4. Results

- a. Despite the serious challenge from Perot, the front-runners divided up all the electoral votes
 - b. Clinton won 370 electoral votes and 43% of the popular vote
Bush won 168 electoral votes and 37% of the popular vote
 - c. Clinton and his running mate Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee did well in the south and recaptured the majority of the elderly and blue-collar workers from the Republicans.
 - d. Democrats won control of both houses of Congress
The new Congress better reflected the diversity of the U. S. population
 - e. Among its 66 minority members and 48 women was Carol Mosely-Braun of Illinois the first African American woman to be elected to the Senate
- B. Bill Clinton's Presidency 1993-2000
- 1. Early years were considered controversial over his cabinet nominations
 - a. He failed to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military (Don't ask, don't tell) requiring gays and lesbians to be discreet about their sexual orientation and not to engage in homosexual acts, scandal in the White House travel office, and his connection to the failed Whitewater real estate deal in Arkansas
 - 2. Setbacks
 - a. The Republicans in the first two years of the Clinton administration were successful in filibustering in the Senate and kill the president's economic stimulus package, campaign-finance reform, environmental bill, and health care reform.
 - b. The president used his wife as chief architect of his program for universal health coverage backfired.
 - 1. The Clinton's complicated proposal for managed health care ran into determined opposition from the insurance industry and small business organization.
 - 2. By the end of 1994 the Republicans had managed to stomp all the Democrats' proposals for health care reform
- C. Early accomplishments
- 1. Family and Medical Leave Act which required large companies to provide up to 12 weeks' of unpaid leave to workers for family and medical emergencies.
 - 2. The "motor voter" law that enabled citizens to register to vote as they received their driver's licenses.
 - 3. 1994 Brady Handgun – which mandated a five-day waiting period for the purchase of handguns.

4. 1994 Congress enacted Clinton's Anti-Crime Bill which provided \$30 billion in funding for more police protection and crime prevention programs.
 - a. The legislation also banned the sale of most assault weapons, which angered the gun lobby.
 5. After much negotiation and compromise, Congress passed a deficit-reduction budget that included \$225 billion in spending cuts and \$241 billion in tax increases.
 - a. Incorporated in this budget were the president's requests for increased appropriation for education and job training through Ameri-Corps.
 6. Clinton won a notable victory by signing the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which created a free trade zone with Canada and Mexico.
 - a. Many Americans blamed free-trade agreements for taking jobs from Americans
 7. Clinton took another step towards a global free trade system when he vigorously promoted the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the successor to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) the goal of free trade advocated since the end of WWII.
 8. Despite these accomplishments, Clinton's apparent waffling on policies and eagerness to compromise seemed to confirm his negative image, as "slick Willie".
- D. Republican Take Over of Congress
1. Midterm elections of November 1994, the Republicans gained control of both the House and the Senate for the first time since 1954.
 2. The GOP benefited from the perception that the Democratic Congress was inept and unresponsive to the voters and dedicated to increasing taxes, regulations, and welfare programs at the expense of the middle class and upper income voters.
 3. Special interest groups, such as the NRA and conservative talk show, were especially effective in motivating their constituencies to vote.
 4. The Congressional election 1994 confirmed that the Reagan revolution of the 1980s against big government and welfare spending would remain a powerful political force in the 1990s.
 5. President Clinton adjusted to the election and declared in his next State of the Union address and declared that "the era of big government is over."
 6. 104th Congress takes over
 - a. The House selected Newt Gingrich who was the author of their campaign manifesto, the "Contract with America.

1. In less than 100 days the well disciplined House Republicans passed legislation to balance the federal budget by the year 2002, reduce taxes, and scale back a host of welfare and entitlement programs, such as Medicare, that had been developed over 50 years under the Democrats.
2. Clinton agreed to the Republicans' goal of balancing the budget, but he proposed a smaller reduction for Medicare and a "leaner, not meaner" Budget.
3. The difference between the Congress and the White House resulted in two government shutdowns in late 1995.
4. Many Americans blamed on an overzealous Congress.
5. Finally in 1996, an election year, the president and congress compromised and passed a reform of the welfare system which sharply limited benefit periods and would save an estimated \$50 billion.
6. They agreed to a modest health insurance reform bill, and attempted to curb illegal immigration, and increase the minimum wage to \$5.15 an hour in 1997.
7. The cuts made during Clinton's first term and an improving national economy helped significantly to reduce the annual federal deficit.

E. Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era

1. Haiti, the Clinton administration put sufficient pressure on a military dictatorship to secure the return to power of the country's elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide.
2. A nuclear threat from North Korea was effectively handled when the United States and a coalition of nations convinced the North Korean government to abandon the apparent efforts to develop nuclear weapons and allow on site inspections of its nuclear power plants.
3. In South Africa, Nelson Mandela was elected president in the first election in which universal suffrage was enjoyed by the country's black majority.
4. In the Middle East, Israel, with American encouragement, furthered the peace process with its neighbors in 1994 by returning home rule to Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and in certain towns and villages in the West Bank territories.
5. Jordan and Israel signed a peace treaty ending 46 years of war and mistrust.
 - a. The assassination of Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995 by a Jewish religious extremist and the election of

Benjamin Netanyahu in 1996 did slow down the peace process in the Middle East.

6. In Northern Ireland, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) agreed to a cease-fire in the bloody 25 year struggle to end British rule, but talks were staled over the disarmament of the IRA.
7. In Bosnia in 1995, the Clinton administration took a more active role in securing peace in the civil war between the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats by sponsoring negotiations. American troops joined other NATO forces to maintain the fragile peace.
8. In Russia, the United States continued to provide financial support for the democratic reforms of President Boris Yeltsin. While burdened with civil war in the breakaway republic of Chechnya and ill health, Yeltsin was nevertheless re-elected in 1996.
9. In Southeast Asia, the United States established diplomatic relations with Vietnam in 1995, 20 years after the fall of Saigon to the Communist North.
10. While these developments were encouraging, the end of the Cold War brought ancient ethnic and religious differences and separatist movements to the center stage in many nations of the world.
 - a. The United Nations celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1995, President Clinton alerted the international body to the growing danger that local terrorist groups would use crude "homemade" or stolen nuclear weapons to achieve their aims.
11. Controversy Swirls Around the President
 - a. The president and his wife were dogged by his and his wife's role in a complex Arkansas real estate deal called Whitewater they were involved in when he was still governor of Arkansas.
 - b. The Clintons' involvement in that deal prompted the appointment of a federal special prosecutor to investigate – though an indictment for Whitewater wrongdoing never materialized.
 1. Congress ultimately soured on the independent counsel law – enacted as a coda to Watergate – and allowed it to expire in mid-1999,
 - c. Other scandals included: the suicide of Deputy White House Counsel Vince Foster and a sexual harassment suit (later settled out of court) brought against the president by Paula Jones a former Arkansas state employee.

F. The Election of 1996

1. Democrats – Clinton recaptured the Democratic nomination with out a serious challenge

2. The Republicans nominated Senator Robert Dole, the Senate majority leader and vice presidential nominee Jack Kemp a former New York congressman and Cabinet member during the G. H. W. Bush.
 - a. They campaigned on a cross – the – board tax cut, never captured the imagination of the voters.
 3. Reform Party nominated Ross Perot
 4. Most voters citing a health economy and the lack of an enticing alternative, Clinton received 49% of the vote, 47 million popular votes and 379 electoral votes
 - a. He became the first Democrat to be returned to the White House since FDR, in 1936
 - b. Dole won 41% of the vote, 39 million popular votes and 159 electoral votes
 - c. Ross Perot ran a distant third with not electoral votes 8.5% of the popular vote and had little impact on the election
 5. The Republicans, however could celebrate retaining both houses of Congress, which they had not done since the 1920's
- G. Clinton's Domestic Policies after 1996
1. Clinton sought a legacy as a preservationist by signing executive orders that set aside vast expanses of public lands, especially in the West.
 2. Campaign Finance Reform Fails to Pass Several bills were proposed in Congress, and Clinton pledged to support reform. By the end of his presidency in January 2001, however, no bill had passed.
 3. Historic Economic Boom Falter.
 - a. As of February 1, 2000, the U. S. economy had enjoyed its longest stretch of uninterrupted growth in the nation's history
 - b. Much of this growth which had begun in March of 1991, was fueled by a new industry, electronic commerce on the Internet.
 - c. Stock prices generally rose, but share prices for Internet companies rose especially fast, soaring to extraordinary heights.
 - d. 2000 investors came to see e-businesses' and high-tech stock prices as unreasonably high
 1. A number of such stocks tumbled, with some losing as much as 90% of their value
 2. Soon many formerly high flying Internet companies were folding and by the close of 2000 the future of the surviving e-businesses, as well as the economy as whole , was uncertain.
 4. The Impeachment and Acquittal of President Clinton

- a. January 1998 it was revealed that Clinton had engaged in a sexual affair with a young White House intern, Monica Lewinsky and then lied about it when he testified in another woman's civil lawsuit accusing of sexual harassment.
 1. The accusation that Clinton had lied under oath presented a stunning windfall to the special prosecutor, Kenneth Starr.
 2. He was finally forced to make the humiliating admission that he had an inappropriate relationship with her.
 3. The House quickly cranked up the rusty machinery of impeachment passing two articles of impeachment against the president.
 - a. Perjury before a grand jury
 - b. obstruction of justice
 4. Democrats argued his sexual transgressions did not rise to the level of "high crimes and misdemeanors" as prescribed in the Constitution.
 5. The House Republican manager (prosecutors) of impeachment for the Senate trial replied that perjury and obstruction were grave public issues and that nothing less than the "rule of law" was at state.
 - a. Cries of "honor the Constitution" and sexual McCarthyism" filled the air.
 - b. Most Americans leaned toward the view that the president's actions did not amount to high crimes .
 1. As a result of what American believed was partisan and not a crime, in the mid-term elections of 1998, voters reduced the House Republican's majority, causing fiery House speaker Newt Gingrich to resign his post.
 2. Although Americans held low opinion of Clinton's slipshod personal morals, most liked the president's political and economic policies and wanted him to stay in office.
 3. With the charge of obstruction of justice the Senate with the help of five northeastern Republican joined the 45 Democrats in voting not guilty.

4. The vote on the perjury charge was 45 guilty and 55 not guilty.
5. He was the second president to be impeached but not removed from office.

H. The Clinton Legacy

1. He designated major swaths of under developed land as protected wilderness and won public support for health-care improvements in the form of a "patients bill of rights"
2. He took advantage of big federal budget surpluses to win congressional approval for hiring 100,000 more teachers and 50,000 more police officers.
3. Budget surpluses brought out the enduring differences between Republicans and Democrats
 - a. Republicans and big tax cuts
 - b. Democrats emphasized new ways to shore up Medicare and Social Security
4. He was determined by to make his 1992 election promise come true by making economic growth his first priority and he succeeded.
5. The country achieved nearly full unemployment by the decade's end.
6. Poverty rates inched down and median income reached new highs.
7. By governing as a New Democrat" and centrist he did more to consolidate than reverse the Reagan-Bush revolution against the New Deal liberalism.
8. As a great communicator Clinton kept alive a vision of social justice and racial harmony.
 - a. As an executive he discouraged people from expecting government to remedy all the nation's ills.

VIII. The Election of 2000

- A. Democrats – nominated Clinton's vice president Albert Gore
 1. Many Americans found his stiff personal manner to be off-putting, especially when contrasted with the winsome charm of his former boss Clinton
 - a. Trying to detach himself from the Clinton – era scandals he chose as his running mate Connecticut senator Joseph Lieberman, and outspoken critic of Clinton during the Lewinsky affair and the First Jew nominated to a national ticket by a major party.
- B. Republicans nominated Texas Governor George W. Bush and chose Richard Cheney, former secretary of defense in this fathers administration and the key planner in the Persian Gulf War of 1991
 - a. G. W. Bush was a popular two-term governor of Texas.
 - b. His campaign promised "to restore dignity to the White House"

- This was a thinly veiled attack on Clinton's personal failings.
- c. He styled himself as a "compassionate conservative" and promised to end the strident partisan warfare that paralyzed Washington in the Clinton years.
 - d. With the rosy estimate that the federal budget would produce a surplus of \$2 trillion over the up coming decade bush called for returning 2.3 of the surplus :to the people" in the form of huge tax cut, smaller government, Bush championed private-sector initiatives, such as school vouchers, a reliance on :faith based" institutions to serve the poor, and reforms to the Social Security system that would permit individual workers to invest part of their pay roll taxes in private tax cut targeted at the middle and lower classes and proposed using most of the surplus to reduce or even eliminate the national debt, shore up Social Security and expand Medicare.
 - e. In the post-Cold War era, foreign policy did not figure prominently in either candidate's campaign
 - f. Bush struck a moderate note when urged that American should be a "humble nations."
- C. Ralph Nadar ran under the Green party and threatened to siphon off the ballots of environmentalist who might otherwise have voted for Gore.
- D. Controversial Election of 2000
1. Pollsters and candidates alike predicted a close election
 2. Florida a pivotal state the votes were so close that state law compelled a recount
 3. Democrats called for further recount by had because of confusing ballots and faulty voting machine seemed to have denied Gore a legitimate majority. of other counties when Bush's paper thin margin of victory.
 4. Calling foul the Republican turned t the courts to block any more recounting
 5. When the Florida Supreme court ordered a hand count of nearly sixty thousand ballots the Republican-dominated Florida legislature moved to name a set of pro-Bush electors regardless of the vote tabulating and re-tabulating .
 6. In the Supreme Court ruling they gave Bush the White House bus also cast a dark shadow of illegitimacy of his presidency.
 7. Final tally was Gore won 50,000,897 popular votes and 266 electoral votes. George W. Bush received 50,456,002 popular votes and with his winning of Florida 271 electoral votes. Congress was more evenly divided than before at 50/50 in the Senate and the GOP's grip on the House dwindled to a mere 10 vote majority.

IX. Bush Begins his Presidency

- A. Bush soon proved to be more of a divider than a uniter, less a “compassionate conservative” than a crusading ideologue.
1. Religious traditionalist cheered but liberals jeered when he withdrew American support from international health programs that sanctioned abortions, advocated federally financed faith – based social welfare initiatives and sharply limited government-sponsored research on embryonic stem cell, which many scientists believed held the key to conquering diseases such as Parkinson’s and Alzheimer’s.
 2. He pleased corporate Chieftains but angered environmentalists by Challenging scientific findings on ground-water contamination and global warming, repudiating the Kyoto Treaty limiting greenhouse gas emissions (negotiated by the Clinton administration but never ratified by the Senate)
 3. He advocated new oil exploration in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge on Alaska’s ecologically fragile northern coast.
 4. Allowed Dick Cheney to hammer out his administrations energy policy in behind-closed doors meeting with representative of several giant oil companies.
 5. Even many fiscal conservatives thought him reckless when he pressed ahead with a whopping \$1.3 trillion tax cut.
 6. Together with the softening economy, the tax cut turned the federal budget surpluses of the late 1990s into yawning deficits, reaching more than \$400 billion in 2004
 7. The new president’s initiatives were so divisive that Senator James Jeffords, severed his connection with the Republicans in May 2001, giving control of the Senate to the Democrats.
 - a. They became the Senate minority party once again following the 2002 elections
- B. Terrorism Comes to America
1. September 11, 2001 – suicidal terrorists slammed tow highjacked airliners, loaded with passengers and jet fueled into the two World Towers of New York City’s World Trade Centers.
 2. President Bush responded with a sober and stirring address to Congress nine days later.
 3. When the Taliban refused to had over bin Laden the head of the terrorist organization responsible for 9/11 the President ordered a massive military campaign against Afghanistan.
 - a. Within three months American and Afghan rebels forces had overthrown the Taliban but failed to find Bin Laden.
 - b. Americans continued to live in fear of future attacks
 4. In the anxious atmosphere, Congress in October 2001 rammed through the USA Patriot Act which permitted extensive telephone and e-mail surveillance and authorized the detention and deportation of immigrants suspected of terrorism.

5. Just over a year later Congress created a new cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security to protect the nation's borders and ferret out potential attackers.
 - a. The Justice Department meanwhile rounded up hundreds of immigrants and held them without habeas corpus (formal charges in an open court)
 - b. The Bush administration further called for trying suspected terrorists before military tribunals, where the usual rules of evidence and procedure did not apply.
 - c. Hundreds of Taliban fighters captured in Afghanistan languished in legal limbo on the American military base at Guantanamo, Cuba, public opinion polls showed American encroachments on American's venerable tradition of protecting civil liberties.

C. Bush Takes the Offensive Against Iraq

1. Bush administration warned that it would not tolerate Iraq's continued defiance of United Nations weapons inspections mandated after Iraq's defeat in the 1991 Persian Gulf War
 - a. Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein had played hide-and-seek with inspectors for years and expelled them in 1998 along with U.N. Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC).
 - b. This induced President Clinton with congressional approval to declare that Saddam's removal (regime change) was an official goal of U. S. policy – No military action against Iraq had followed.
 - c. Now with the new terrorist threat, the Bush administration focused on Iraq with a vengeance.
2. Bush Identifies the Axis of Evil – Iraq, Iran, and North Korea in January 2002
3. In that spirit Bush began laying plans for a war against Iraq, while somewhat halfheartedly pursuing diplomatic initiative to avoid war
 - a. With the help of his Vice president and the “neo-conservative,” Bush accused the Iraqi regime of all manner of wrong doing
 1. Oppressing its own people
 2. Frustrating the weapons inspectors
 3. Developing nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
 4. Supporting terrorist organizations like Al Qaeda
 5. Suggesting that a liberated, democratized Iraq might provide a beacon of hope to the Islamic world and thereby begin to improve the political equation in the volatile Middle East.

4. A heavy majority in both houses of Congress passed a resolution in October 2002 authorizing the president to employ armed forces to defend against to enforce United Nations resolutions regarding Iraq.
5. A month later the U.N. Security Council voted unanimously to give Iraq "a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations".
6. U.N. weapons inspectors returned to Iraq and no weapons of mass destruction were found.
7. The inspectors asked for more time but the United Nations declined to authorize the use of force to compel compliance.
8. Bush with Britain his only major ally launched the long anticipated invasion of Iraq on March 19, 2003.
 - a. Hussein's vaunted military machine collapsed almost immediately.
 - b. In less than a month, Baghdad had fallen and Saddam had been driven from power and hounded into hiding
 - c. From the Deck of a U.S. aircraft carrier off the California coast, speaking beneath a banner declaring "mission Accomplished," Bush triumphantly announced on May 1, 2003 that "major combat operations in Iraq have ended."

D. Owing Iraq

1. Combat may have ended, but the conflict did not.
2. The rosy prediction that the Iraqi people would welcome the Americans as liberators and that democracy would sweetly blossom was not the reality.
3. Iraqi insurgent, aided by militants drawn from Islamic nations, repeatedly attack American troops
4. Revelations in April 2004 about American abuse in Iraqi prisoners in Baghdad Abu Ghraib prison further inflamed anti-American sentiment
5. Once a model democracy and an inspiration to the world, the U.S. is now reviled in many quarter as just another arrogant imperialist power.
6. President Bush campaigned in 2000 and denounce "nation building" is now committed to the reconstruction of Iraq.
7. On June 28, 2004 two days ahead of schedule Bush handed over political power (but only limited sovereignty) to interim Iraqi government.
8. Elections were held in January 2005.
6. Controversy continues to swirl about Bush's declared rationale of war
 - a. No Weapons of Mass Destruction found
 - b. Now the administration blames bad intelligence
7. There is little evidence that Saddam's downfall might topple other autocratic regimes in the region.

- E. A Country in Conflict – A great divide in America
1. Democrats still fumed with the resentment over the “stolen” 2000 election.
 2. Civil libertarians fulminated over the restriction on citizens rights imposed by the USA Patriot Act and its zealous administrator, Attorney General John Ashcroft.
 3. Anti-war skeptics felt duped and misled into the potential quagmire of Iraq
 4. Revelations about flagrant corporate fraud and energy giants Enron, telecommunications titan WorldCom and other prominent companies fed rampant popular disillusion with business community.
 5. Pro-life and pro-choice champions still could not find any common ground on the troubled issue of abortion.
 6. Acrimonious controversies over the right of gays and lesbians to marry flared up in San Francisco, Massachusetts, and Portland, Oregon in 2004.
 5. Affirmative Actions also continued to agitate the American people.
 - a. African Americans and other minorities hailed it as just and necessary antidote to centuries of oppression.
 - b. Many other Americans countercharged that affirmative action amounted to an unjustifiable violation of the Constitution's protection of equality before the law
 - c. The Supreme Court was equally divided on these position.
 1. *Gratz v. Bollinger* the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a numerical formula for admitting minority undergraduate students to the University of Michigan
 2. *Grutter v. Bollinger* The Supreme Court allowed to stand a more flexible, individually based minority admissions procedure for the Michigan law school, even while registering its unease with its own opinion by declaring “We expect that 25 years from now, the use of racial preferences will no longer be necessary.”
- F. Reelecting George W. Bush – Election 2004
1. Democrats – nominate Senator John F. Kerry
 - a. Relied on his record as a decorated Vietnam veteran
 1. However his later anti-war stance prompted many Vietnam War Vets to attack him blurring his image
 2. Because of his lengthy service in the legislature he was seen as a “flip – flopper” on his voting record
 2. The continued turbulence in Iraq and substantial job losses during Bush's first term fueled hopes for the Democrats at the polls.
 3. Republicans re-nominated George W. Bush

- a. He trumpeted his tax cuts as a way to return money to citizens' pockets and throttle the growth of run-away big government.
 - b. Campaigned to end the "soft bigotry of low expectations" and championed the No Child Left Behind Act in 2002. This mandated sanctions against schools that failed to meet federal performance standards.
 - c. Trying to reclaim the "compassionate conservative" label, he persuaded Congress in 2003 to pass an immensely costly prescription drug benefit for senior citizens which further widened the deficit gap created by his tax cuts.
 - d. He cultivated his conservative electoral base by resisting full-scale embryonic stem-cell research and calling for a constitutional amendment banning gay marriage.
 - e. He cast himself as a war president and a stalwart, decisive commander – in – chief who was sternly facing down the terrorist threat.
 - f. Bush hammered home the simple message that he was an unflinching, God-fearing, conservative defender of traditional moral values and an implacable foe of America's enemies.
4. On election day Bush nailed down a decisive Victory.
- a. He posted the first popular vote majority in more than a decade 60,639,282 and 286 elector votes
 - b. John Kerry posted 57,355,978 popular votes and 252 electoral votes
5. Democrats licked their wounds as they contemplated the dimensions of Bush's victory
- a. The Republican gained a substantial victory in both the Senate and the House
 - b. Bush was the first Republican to win a majority of the historically Democratic Catholic vote
 - c. He polled 43% of the Latino vote
 - d. He ran up heavy majorities among evangelical Christians concentrated especially in the southern "Bible Belt."
 - e. Bush gained a substantial majority among suburban voters , the most numerous and fastest growing part of the electorate.
6. As a result of the 2004 election President Bush could claim a conclusive mandate to advance the conservative cause, including dramatic changes to the Social Security system, further tax reforms, and the appointment of right-leaning judges to the federal courts.
7. He can further pursue his ambitious agenda to re-make much of the world by force of arms if necessary, in the image of America's democracy.
8. George W. Bush took the Inaugural Oath in January 2005

- a. He seemed determined not merely to be a good steward of the nation's affairs but to effect transformational changes in the Republic's domestic and foreign policies.