

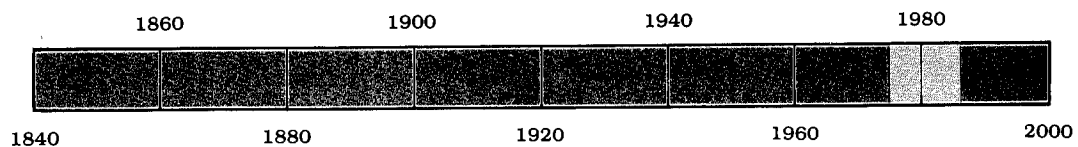
Part **14**

*New
Directions*



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Looking Ahead



American women reached a new milestone in 1984. For the first time, a major political party had nominated a woman as its candidate for Vice-President. The Democratic party chose Geraldine Ferraro as the running mate of Walter Mondale.

The nomination of Geraldine Ferraro was a great breakthrough. Women had been fighting for equal rights since abolitionist times. They had only won the right to vote in 1920. Now, some 60 years later, a woman was running for the second-highest office in the nation. As it turned out, Mondale and Ferraro were not elected. The voters decided to keep the popular Republican President Ronald Reagan in office. But

In 1984, the Democratic party picked a Representative from New York, Geraldine Ferraro, to run for Vice-President of the United States. Ferraro lost the election, but her campaign helped pave the way for female candidates in the future.

the door had been opened, and no one doubted that other women would be running for the nation's two top jobs in the coming years.

Other firsts. Ferraro's nomination was just one of the new directions American life was taking in the 1980's. Women, blacks, and Hispanics (people of Spanish origin) broke down a number of other barriers. More and more, they were moving into high-level positions in business, education, and government. Sandra Day O'Connor became the first woman Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. For the first time, an American woman and a black were among the astronauts sent into space by the U.S. space program. Henry Cisneros, the Mexican-American mayor of San Antonio, Texas, was mentioned as a possible running mate for Walter Mondale. Jesse Jackson, a black candidate for President, won 18 percent of the popular vote in the 1984 Presidential primaries. On the local level, too, there were major victories. The



The Reverend Jesse Jackson, a black, was one of the leading candidates in the 1984 Presidential election. Throughout his campaign, Jackson tried to win the support of a "rainbow coalition" of blacks, whites, and Hispanics.

cities of Los Angeles, Atlanta, San Francisco, Houston, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Antonio, and New Orleans elected blacks, Hispanics, or women to serve as mayor.

A new leader. Ronald Reagan also established a few firsts when he was elected President in 1980. He was the oldest candidate ever to be elected. He was also the first divorced man and the first professional actor ever to hold the nation's highest office.

The American voters were looking for a leader who would restore America's strength and pride. The U.S. had suffered some defeats around the world and seemed to be losing the respect of other nations. At home, prices kept rising, and workers were losing jobs. Reagan's opponents accused him of being a Hollywood cowboy ready to ride in and shoot it out with the bad guys. But the voters

liked his tough, no-nonsense image.

A new direction for government. During his first term as President, Reagan worked hard to reverse the trend toward an ever-expanding federal government. He wanted to get "government off the backs of the people." He believed that the government was running too many costly social welfare programs and interfering too much in people's lives. He tried to cut the federal budget and reduce federal spending. He encouraged states, businesses, and individuals to do more to help the poor. Reagan also wanted to reverse the trend toward government regulation of American society. He believed that too much regulation stifled opportunity and discouraged expansion of business. Reagan looked for ways to stimulate the nation's sagging economy. He gave tax breaks to businesses as well as to taxpayers in order to put more money into circulation and create new jobs.

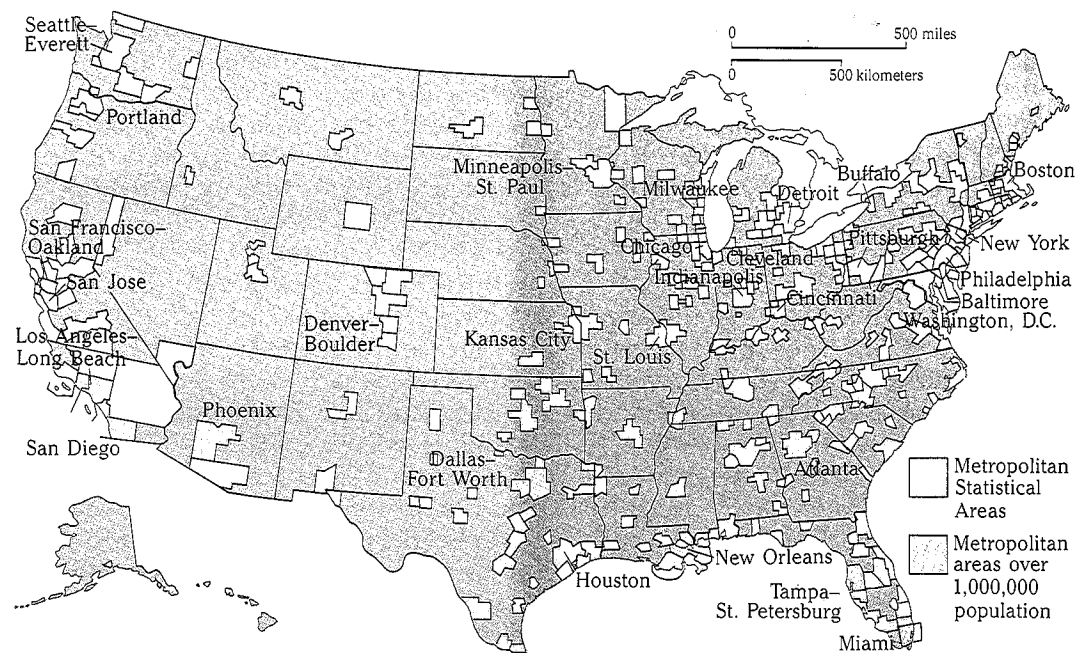
Re-arming America. Reagan believed that America could seek world peace only from a position of strength. Each year he asked for bigger defense budgets to build up the nation's military strength. Though world tensions mounted in the 1980's, many people were opposed to the high defense budgets. They questioned how well the money was being spent and pointed to the amount of waste in military budgets. Many also thought it made no sense for America and the Soviet Union to continue to compete in the nuclear arms race. Demonstrators in Europe as well as in the U.S. tried to persuade America's leaders to find ways of reducing spending on weapons.

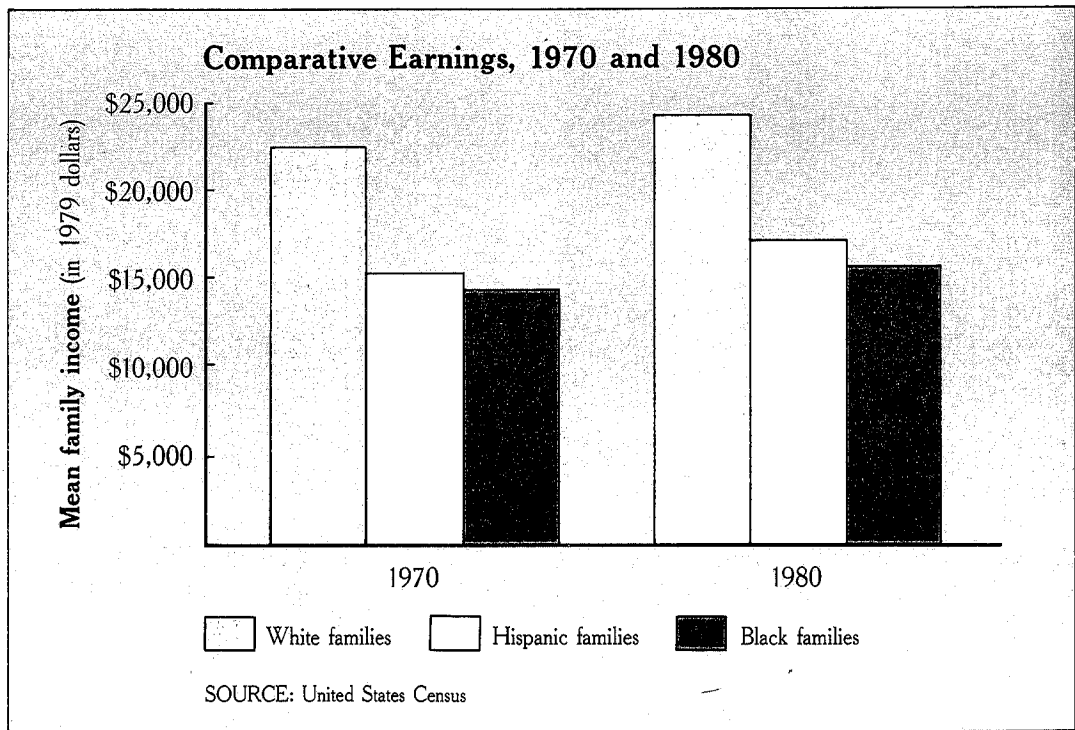


In the early 1980's an increasing number of women chose to serve their country by joining the military. And in 1980, the U.S. service academies—West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Force Academy—opened their doors to women.

Energy and resources. In 1973, Arab oil-producing nations suddenly cut off supplies of oil to the United States. Americans realized with a jolt how much they depended on some unstable Arab countries for this vital product. The U.S. imported one-third of the oil needed to keep its factories humming, cars and trucks on the road, and homes warm. During the oil shortage that followed, prices shot up. U.S. leaders looked for ways to increase the nation's coal and oil production. And the American people learned to use less energy. They found ways of cutting down and saving on oil. By the mid-1980's, the situation had changed. All over the world, people were buying less oil. Because the supply of oil was greater than the demand, prices came down.

Metropolitan Statistical Areas





On the move. The face of America changed greatly in the 1970's and 1980's. In the 1970's, businesses and people continued a pattern of migration from the industrial cities of the Northeast to the booming Sunbelt of the South and the West. By the mid-1980's, however, the movement south had slowed down. One reason for this was an upturn in the economy of the Northeast.

America's population also changed significantly. For one thing, it got older. Americans were living longer. In 1980, one American in nine was over 65. For another, hundreds of thousands of refugees and immigrants came to the United States from Asia and Latin America.

The face of the nation changed in other ways too. As the computer age came into its own, minicomputers

suddenly appeared in offices, schools, and homes across the country. Computers changed the lives of virtually all Americans.

The future. No 18th-century colonist could have imagined modern America. Once a country of scattered Indian settlements and struggling colonies, it has grown into one of the wealthiest and most powerful nations on Earth. In a few years, the United States will enter the 21st century. Where is it headed? Certainly, all Americans want their country to remain peaceful, prosperous, and free. Many Americans want to see a return to traditional values. The problem is to find a way of blending time-honored values with new needs and demands. America has met similar challenges in the past, and it will meet these challenges in the future.

CHAPTER 78

Heading South

Allen Massey wanted to get away from the Northern city where he lived. The weather was cold, he said, and the people weren't very friendly. To make matters worse, Massey complained, the crime rate was soaring. Going outside one's house, he claimed, "was almost like taking your life in your own hands."

Massey was a young businessman. In 1975 he heard of a job opening in Atlanta, Georgia. He welcomed the chance to move there with his family. In Atlanta he found what he wanted. Neighbors were friendly, business was good, and his family didn't miss the North—not even its winter sports. Now his daughter went ice skating on an indoor rink.

Massey was one of many thousands of people moving south in the 1970's. At the start of the decade, the South was gaining one million people each year. This meant that the South was growing 10 times as fast as the Northeast. Why were people leaving the North? Some were moving for business reasons. That

is, the companies they worked for were heading south. Others were simply seeking warm weather, low taxes, and a more relaxed life. Many said they found these things in the "new South."

The term *new South* dated back at least to 1886. It had been used by an Atlanta journalist, Henry Grady, only 21 years after the Civil War. Grady was looking ahead to a brighter future. He believed the South could move forward—if more industries moved in. Industries, he said, would bring the South more jobs and money.

Sense of defeat. Some industries did grow in these years. In the 1870's and 1880's, Birmingham, Alabama, became a center for steel production. In the early 1900's, Texas became a center for the oil industry. Yet most Southern industries were based on farm products. And the South continued to rely on farming for most of its income.

Some Southerners were still struggling to get over feelings of defeat

after the Civil War. This conflict had wounded Southern pride. As a Mississippi woman said, "Losing the Civil War made us think we were never as good as anyone else."

Many Southerners also tried to separate themselves from national politics. They distrusted the federal government. They feared Congress would pass laws they didn't want to follow. Some said Congress might try to strike down segregation laws. Most of these laws (though by no means all of them) existed in the South. Some Southerners, both blacks and whites, felt that the laws were unfair. But many white Southerners wanted the laws to stay.

So, half a century after Henry Grady had talked about a new South, the region was still slow to change. By now it stood in marked contrast to the heavily industrial Northeast. In 1941 a historian, W. J. Cash, wrote: "The South is another land,

sharply [different] from the rest of America."

Winds of change. Then came World War II. Some defense industries settled in the South. Some oil and gas companies moved their main offices there. After the war, these industries kept on growing. They brought more people and more money into the region. Other industries followed.

The South's warm weather also spurred its growth. After the war, more people headed south on their vacations. Some parts of the region became tourist spots. When people retired, many moved to warmer areas such as Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas. Retirement centers also sprang up in warm-weather areas of the West—mainly in Arizona and Southern California.

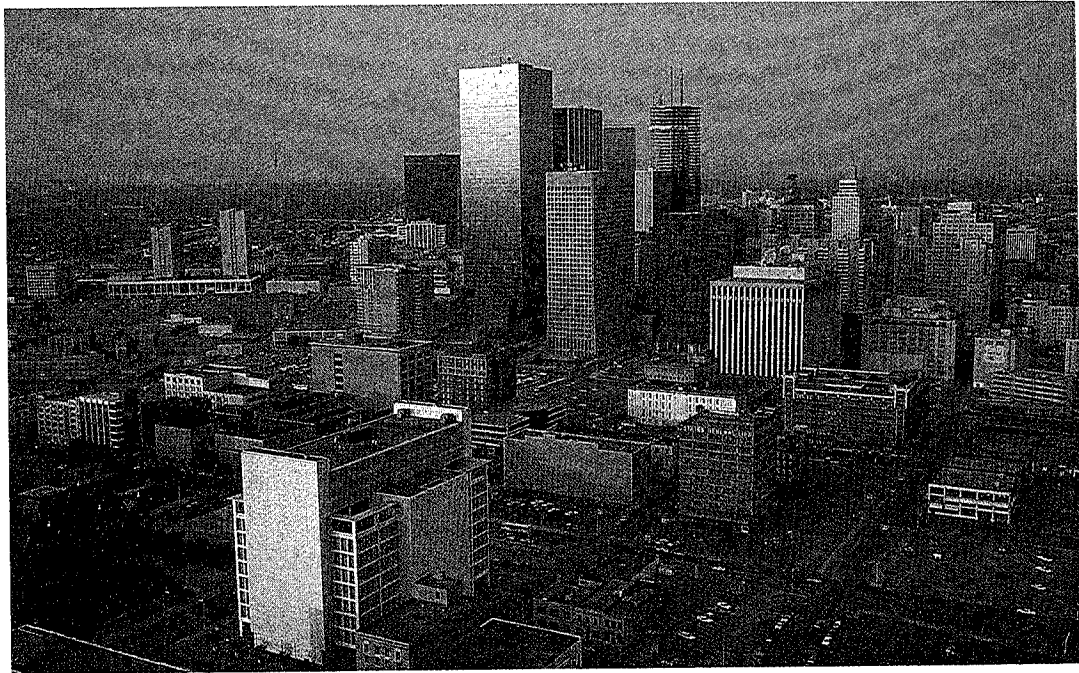
In the early 1960's, the South became a hub for a brand new industry. The region played a key part in the U.S. exploration of space. Missiles were developed in Huntsville, Alabama. They were launched from Cape Canaveral, Florida. Manned spacecraft were controlled from Houston, Texas.

Meanwhile, other changes were sweeping the nation. Some of them further narrowed the gap between North and South. One was the fading out of segregation—something Southerners themselves had helped to end. Another was a growing suspicion of the federal government, brought about partly by the Vietnam War and Watergate. Many Southerners had long held such suspicions. Now distrust seemed to be growing in other parts of the country too.

Lures for business. Still more industries began to take a second look

Retired people, heading for palm trees and golf courses, joined the movement south to the Sunbelt.





As the South grew, its cities shot skyward. Dallas, once a market for buffalo hides, became a banking center for the Southwest.

at the South. They saw features that might help them make more money. Taxes were low in many parts of the South. Land was available at low cost. Some business leaders also liked the fact that the South had fewer labor unions than other regions. To some of these leaders, the weakness of labor unions was a main attraction.

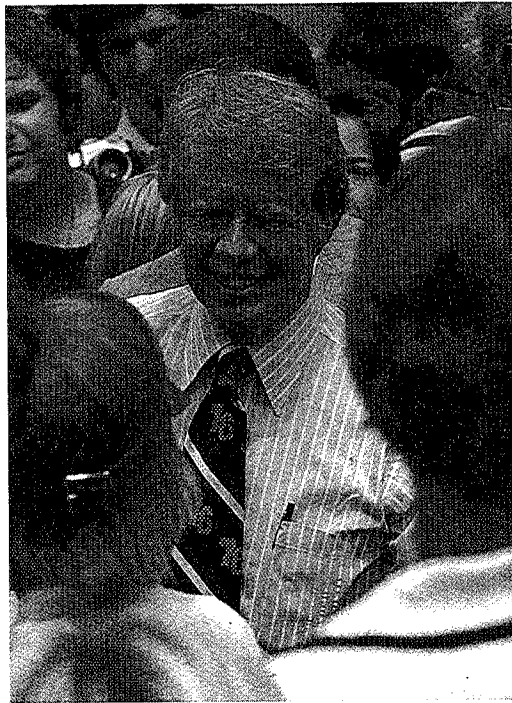
There were several reasons why unions were weak in the South. For one thing, the South had long been a farming region. It had had few industries to unionize. For another thing, Southern factory workers had expected their employers to take care of them. They had not usually seen a need for unions.

The weakness of unions in the South disturbed union members in other areas. Yet this weakness was

welcomed by many Southern business leaders. It meant that they would be less threatened by strikes and other labor troubles. It also meant cheaper labor costs.

As business boomed, other changes came. In cities such as Atlanta and Houston, new buildings rose higher and higher. An airport built between Fort Worth and Dallas covered an area larger than Manhattan Island in New York. With more money to spend, Southern cities began to give more support to local art and theater groups.

For some Southerners, the growth of "skyscraper cities" was a mixed blessing. These people thought of their region as something special. Now, they said, their cities were beginning to look exactly like cities everywhere else. In the midst of all



Southern voters helped elect Jimmy Carter to the Presidency in 1976.

the growth, the South was losing its Southern charm. Southerners who held this view questioned whether growth meant progress or not.

Shift in power. Growth did mean one thing: new political power. One sign of this new power came in 1976. Voters elected a Southerner, Jimmy Carter, as President of the United States. It was the first time a resident of the Deep South had been elected President since 1848. Carter, a peanut farmer, had been governor of Georgia from 1971 to 1974. When he entered the race for President, he was unknown to most Americans. But voters didn't mind that he was a new face in national politics. After Watergate, in fact, many voters distrusted well-known leaders.

After four years in office, Carter too was well-known. The voters once again sought a new face. In 1980 they replaced Carter with Ronald Reagan, a Californian who found his strongest support in the South and West. Both parts of the Sunbelt now had growing populations—and thus more votes.

Southern politics were changing. For decades the South had been a stronghold of the Democrats. It earned the tag “the Solid South”—solidly Democratic. But Democrats like Carter could no longer count on the South. In 1980 Reagan, a Republican, won all but two Southern states. Meanwhile, more and more Republicans were seeking—and winning—state and local office in the South. Like the rest of the nation, the South was moving toward a consistent two-party political system.

Chapter Check

1. Who coined the term *new South*? What was the meaning of the term? How does the “new South” differ from the “old South”?
2. What reasons can you give for the growth of the South? Name at least two reasons.
3. The South has had sweeping changes over the last three decades. Describe the changes in the following areas: (a) industry; (b) population; (c) cities; and (d) politics.
4. In what ways have Northerners and Southerners become more alike? What are the advantages to such a development? What are its drawbacks? Give reasons for your answers.

CHAPTER 79

Crisis in Energy

The line of cars stretched for several blocks. Drivers sat behind the wheels reading newspapers or talking with friends. Exhaust smoke formed small, white clouds in the winter air. This scene was repeated all across the U.S. in the winter of 1974. People were waiting to buy gasoline. Service stations often ran out. They put signs out front: NO GASOLINE TODAY.

What was going on?

In the fall of 1973, fighting had broken out in the Middle East. Israel had battled Egypt and Syria in a short but bloody war. The United States had sent arms and ammunition to Israel. Egypt, Syria, and their Arab allies had not been able to keep U.S. aid from reaching Israel. But they had vowed to punish the United States for taking sides against them.

Most of the world's known oil supplies were located in the Arab nations. The U.S. had been buying oil from the Arabs since the 1950's. The U.S. was using more oil than it could produce itself. If the Arabs made

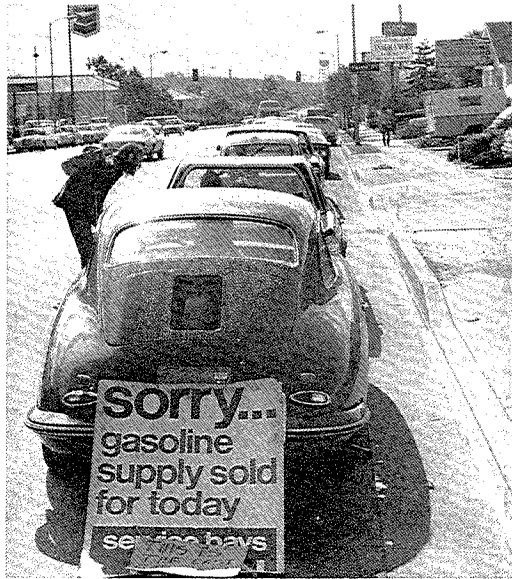
good their threat, it would mean trouble for the U.S.

As cold weather was settling in over much of the U.S., the Arabs united to show their power. They refused to sell the United States any oil. Their refusal caused immediate shortages in the U.S. Motorists were shocked to find some local service stations closed.

This wasn't the only surprise. The price of gasoline shot up. The shortage of fuel forced many factories and offices to close. The economy took a nose dive. There hadn't been so many people out of work since the Great Depression.

The Arab embargo lasted until March 1974. In the spring, the long lines disappeared from U.S. service stations. But the price of gasoline did not come down. Many layoffs ended, although the economy was slow to recover. Americans became familiar with a new term—**energy crisis**.

"Bigger is better." Americans had never really had to worry about en-



In 1974, Americans could no longer pull into a gas station and say "Fill it up." A fuel shortage forced filling stations to turn away customers.

ergy before. The United States was a rich land with abundant supplies of coal, natural gas, and oil. The U.S. was also a growing country. "Bigger is better," many people said. And there had always seemed to be cheap supplies of energy to fuel that growth.

The use of energy was growing at a rapid rate. Between 1950 and 1970, energy use in the U.S. doubled. The number of large, "gas-guzzling" cars rose. New appliances such as home freezers and clothes dryers burned up more and more electricity. Air conditioners took an especially heavy load.

Few people worried about the growth in demand for energy. After all, people said, growth was what had made America strong. But during this period, the nation had outgrown

its own ability to produce oil. The United States had had to import foreign oil. Now the Arab embargo made Americans aware of just how much they depended on that oil.

The embargo began a time of rapid spurts in energy prices. There were many reasons for these spurts. For one thing, several oil-selling nations got together and agreed to charge high prices. These nations formed OPEC—the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Also, foreign supplies were subject to disruption. For instance, in 1980 war broke out between two oil-selling nations, Iraq and Iran. The two nations had to cut oil sales. Buyers scrambled to find new suppliers, and for a time "gas lines" returned. Prices jumped to new highs.

Changing habits. Rising prices forced changes in American habits. As gasoline prices rose from 30 to 60 cents and then well over \$1 a gallon, big cars became less popular. Many people switched to compact cars that got better fuel mileage. Also, people sought ways to cut heating bills. They set thermostats lower. They wore sweaters indoors. Some cut cooling bills too, by using less air conditioning. Businesses found their own ways to save. Many firms invested in fuel-saving equipment.

Americans were learning to conserve (save) energy. This surprised many experts. The experts had predicted that U.S. energy use would keep growing as it had from 1950 to 1970. But energy growth began to level off. In some years, energy use went down instead of up.

Meanwhile, new oil supplies in the U.S. began to be tapped. The largest

new find was on Alaska's North Slope. Oil from this field began moving through a new Trans-Alaska Pipeline in 1977.

Conservation and production were two ways of meeting the energy crisis. Individuals and business firms took many steps on their own. And government leaders encouraged further steps.

Nixon. President Nixon focused on boosting U.S. output of energy. He said the U.S. could become independent of foreign oil by 1980. This goal was not met. But one Nixon measure changed American driving habits: Highway speed limits were cut to 55 miles an hour. Slower drivers use less fuel.

Carter. President Carter stressed conservation. He called the U.S. "the most wasteful nation on Earth." Under Carter, Congress voted to give tax breaks to people who put more **insulation** in their homes. (Insulation is material that keeps heat either out or in.)

Carter got Congress to set up a new Department of Energy. He took steps to boost U.S. output of coal. (Coal is our most abundant fossil fuel. The U.S. has one third of the world's coal reserves.) Carter urged the rapid growth of nuclear power. He got Congress to aid companies to develop new types of energy.

Also, Carter began to tear down a complex set of controls on energy prices. These controls dated back many decades. In the 1970's they went so far as to tell gasoline stations how much they could charge at the pump. Prices of crude oil and natural gas were closely regulated, too. Carter moved slowly to end con-

trols. He said quick action would make prices jump too high, too fast.

Reagan. President Reagan argued that government meddling had made energy problems worse. He said government should do less rather than more. This became a central theme in Reagan's presidency. Reagan said he would "take government off the backs of the . . . people." Among other things, he cut down the Department of Energy.

Reagan ended controls on gasoline and crude oil ahead of Carter's schedule. This led to price jumps. Energy firms said higher prices were needed to pay for investment in new output. Reagan agreed. He said his aim was to restore a free market in energy. This, he said, was the best way to bring supply and demand into balance.

Under Reagan, government help for new types of energy was cut back. Regulation of industry—including the energy industry—was eased. The U.S. expanded a program to let oil firms search for oil under waters near coastlines. It began to offer oil leases on lands set aside as wilderness areas.

Talk of an energy crisis was heard less and less. The U.S. still depended heavily on oil imports. But world output of oil seemed to be keeping up with demand—at least for the time being. Conservation had played a part in slowing the growth of demand. A business slump in the early 1980's also played a part. As factories cut their output, they also cut their use of energy.

Was the energy crisis gone for good? Would it soon be back? No one knew. But the shocks of the 1970's



The energy crisis forced Americans to abandon big, gas-guzzling luxury cars. Smaller, gas-efficient models imported from Europe and Japan gained popularity among American car buyers.

had left their mark on U.S. life. The days of cheap, plentiful energy were over. Americans were learning to live with scarcer energy.

Chapter Check

1. Why did the Arab nations refuse to sell oil to the United States in 1973? What were the effects of the oil embargo?
2. One response to the energy crisis was to conserve energy. In what ways did Americans do this? Can you think of other methods that might be tried? What, if anything, are you doing to conserve energy? Explain.
3. Three Presidents had to deal with the energy crisis. Each handled the problem in his own way. Who were they, and what actions did each of them take?

CHAPTER 80

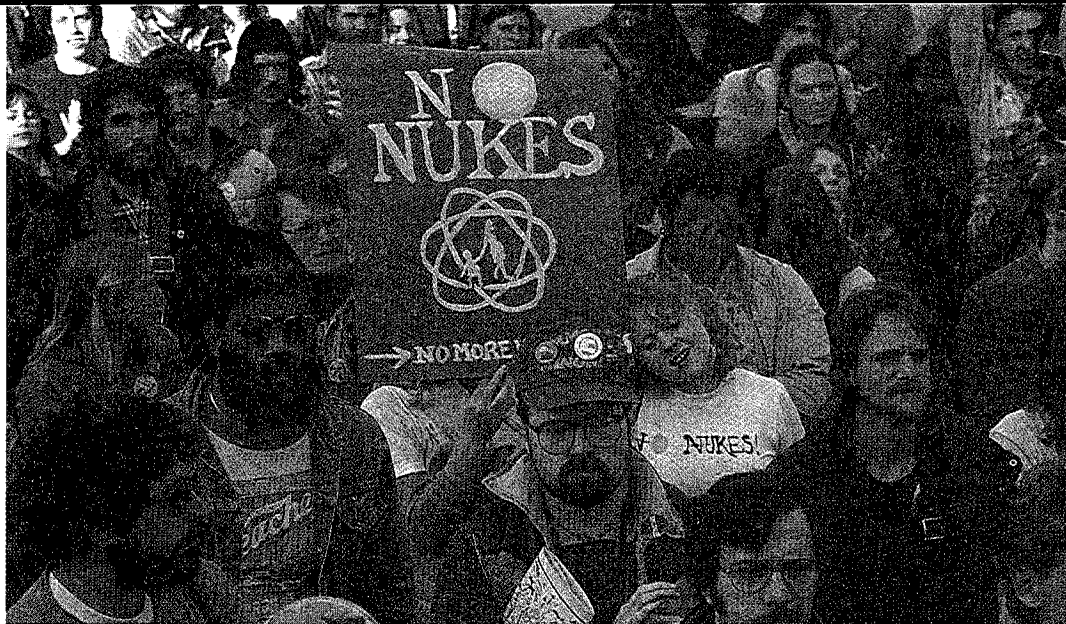
The Struggle for Peace

Ronald Reagan stood hatless in the cold sunshine as he gave his Inaugural Address. It was January 20, 1981, and he had just become the 40th President of the United States. His inauguration would mark a new beginning for America, he said. It would bring in an "era of national renewal." Even as he spoke, one unhappy episode in American's history was coming to an end. An Algerian jetliner took off from an airport near Teheran (tay-uh-RAN), Iran. On board were 52 Americans who were flying home to freedom. They had been held captive by Iranian revolutionaries for more than 14 months.

Outgoing President Jimmy Carter had worked hard for the hostages' release during his last year in office. In the end, his policy of quiet negotiation brought the hostages home safely. But it probably cost him his re-election. For 14 months, Iran had humiliated the U.S. An attempt to rescue the hostages by helicopter had ended in disaster. America seemed to

be a helpless giant, unable to save a handful of its citizens from the clutches of the Iranian revolutionaries. Many Americans resented that feeling of helplessness, and they voted for tough-talking Ronald Reagan.

U.S.-Soviet relations. President Reagan pledged to build up America's military strength and to restore the nation to a position of world leadership. He was determined to strengthen America's ties with anti-Communist governments around the world and to stand up to the Soviet Union. Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union had worsened during President Carter's administration. The two nations came into conflict in many areas of the world, including the Middle East and Central America. The Soviet Union supported Communist governments or revolutionaries, while the United States backed anti-Communist governments. All immediate hopes of *détente*—a thawing of relations between the U.S. and the So-



In the 1950's and 1960's, demonstrators cried "Ban the Bomb." In the 1970's and 1980's, a new call was raised: "No Nukes." Demonstrators demanded an end to nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

viet Union—collapsed when the Russians invaded Afghanistan in 1979. Relations grew even colder when the Polish Communist government, under pressure from the Soviet Union, introduced **martial law** in 1981. The Polish people had many of their liberties taken away. They were not allowed to gather in large groups, travel outside the country, or be on the streets after a certain hour at night. The crackdown came after strikes by the labor union Solidarity turned into riots.

Other factors contributed to the cool relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The Soviet leadership changed four times in three years. Leonid Brezhnev (BRESH-n'yev) died in 1982; his successor, Yuri Andropov (ahn-DROH-puf), died in 1984; his successor, Konstantin Chernenko (cher-NYEG-koh), died in 1985. These frequent changes made

it difficult for the two nations to build a good working relationship. Then, there was the downing of the South Korean airliner in 1983. The plane had strayed into Soviet airspace and was shot down by the Soviet air force. All those on board—269 passengers and crew—died. Many of them were U.S. citizens. The attack outraged many Americans and hardened public opinion against the Soviets.

Trade with China. America's relations with Communist China, on the other hand, remained relatively friendly. Reagan visited China in 1984 and renewed several trade agreements between the two nations. China now sells millions of dollars' worth of textiles to America each year. It also imports an enormous amount of American technology.

The nuclear debate. Throughout his first term, Reagan fought for big-

ger defense budgets and new weapons systems. By 1983, the United States and the Soviet Union had huge arsenals (stores) of nuclear weapons aimed at each other. Reagan believed that as long as the U.S. had a larger arsenal of nuclear weapons than the Soviet Union, the Soviets would not launch a nuclear war. But the growing number of nuclear weapons on each side alarmed many people in Europe and America. A strong disarmament movement developed. It began to have some influence on members of Congress. Reagan was having more and more difficulty winning approval for new nuclear weapons. A new round of disarmament talks with the Soviets began in 1982 but broke off the next year. The two nations did not return to the bargaining table until 1985.

Beirut massacre. In the troubled Middle East, Lebanon was being torn apart by war. The Lebanese were fighting the Israelis, and Christian and Muslim groups were fighting each other. The U.S. sent troops to Lebanon as part of a multinational peacekeeping force. In October 1983, terrorists blew up the American Marine headquarters at the Beirut (bay-ROOT) airport. A total of 241 Americans were killed. Another truck blew up the French military base, killing 58 French soldiers. A few months later, American forces were withdrawn from Beirut.

Central American trouble spots. U.S. concern about the spread of Communism in Central America grew during the 1980's. In El Salvador, Communist rebels were trying to overthrow the right-wing military government. The U.S. backed the

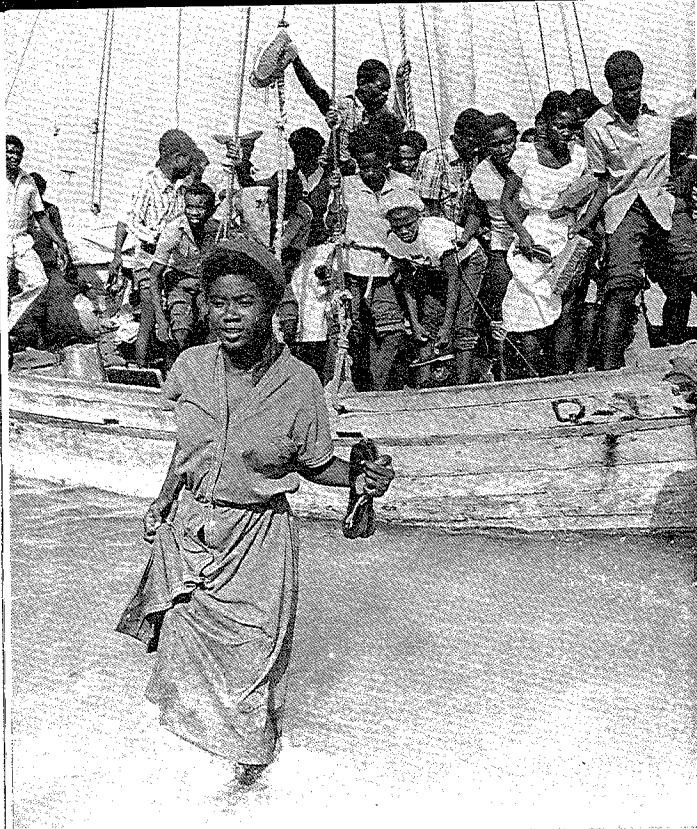
government and sent military advisers in 1981. Many thousands of Salvadoreans were killed in the conflict, both by the rebels and by right-wing "death squads."

In neighboring Nicaragua (nik-uh-RAHG-wuh), the U.S. provided arms and money to Contras, anti-Communist rebels fighting a guerrilla war against the Communist Sandinista government. Many Americans were concerned about their government's role in another nation's affairs.

There was also trouble in the Caribbean. In October 1983, the Communist prime minister of the tiny island of Grenada (gruh-NAYD-uh) was killed by rival Communist revolutionaries. Some 6,000 American troops landed on the island and easily defeated the new rulers. The American invasion had the support of the leaders of several neighboring Caribbean nations who feared Communist revolutions in their own countries. But it was strongly criticized by many Americans who believed the U.S. had no right to invade another nation.

Refugees and illegal immigrants. America became a refuge for immigrants from trouble spots in Asia and Latin America during the 1970's and 1980's. The Vietnam War created hundred of thousands of refugees. Many South Vietnamese endured great hardship and danger to flee from the Communists. Some spent weeks on the open sea in makeshift boats before being picked up. Nobody knows how many of these "boat people" died trying to escape. But thousands eventually found their way to America.

They were joined by the steady flow of immigrants from Mexico and other



This boat held almost 100 Haitians who fled their country to start a new life in the United States.

Latin American countries. Many of these people entered the U.S. illegally. The 1965 immigration law had done away with the old quota system that limited the number of immigrants allowed from each country. But many people from Latin America knew they would have to wait years for the right to enter the United States legally. So they crossed the border without permission, hoping to find work and decent wages. Other immigrants came to America to escape political tyranny in their homelands. In 1980, some 125,000 Cu-

bans and Haitians escaped to America hoping to start new lives.

Shrinking world. International crises continued to intrude on the life of the American people in the 1980's. Every trouble spot abroad seemed to have an effect in the U.S. There was no getting away from other people's problems. Whether there was a famine in Ethiopia, a labor strike in Poland, student riots in South Korea, or a financial crisis in Brazil, the United States felt the effect. While the U.S. struggled to keep the peace with the Soviet Union, it had to deal with many small crises around the world that threatened to grow larger.

Chapter Check

1. Which of the events presented in this chapter have affected relations between the United States and the Soviet Union? List the events, and be prepared to explain your reasons.
2. From which countries did refugees come to the United States in the 1980's? For what reasons did they come?
3. What is meant by the term *disarmament*? Explain the different points of view in the debate over the build-up of nuclear weapons. What are your views about the use of nuclear weapons?
4. Some people have said that the United States had no business meddling in the affairs of countries in Central America and the Caribbean. Do you agree with this point of view? Explain your reasons.

CHAPTER 81

Changing Directions

During the election campaign of 1980, Ronald Reagan debated President Jimmy Carter on national television. Reagan, a former movie actor, made a good impression on the viewers. His greatest moment came when he looked into the television camera and asked Americans, "Are you better off today than you were four years ago?" On election day, most voters answered "No!" and voted for Reagan.

When Reagan took office, about eight million people were unemployed. The cost of living had skyrocketed. A gallon of gasoline, which had cost 25 cents in 1950, cost \$1.18 in 1980. Interest rates (the cost of borrowing money) had also risen. Many people couldn't afford to take out loans to buy houses or cars. Many businesses and farmers couldn't afford loans to buy new equipment or plant crops. To make matters worse, the federal deficit kept climbing. The **deficit** is the amount of money the government spends over and above what it col-

lects from taxes and other sources. This extra amount must be borrowed from other sources. The deficit reached record heights in the 1980's. And inflation and the high interest rates on borrowed money pushed the deficit up more each year.

Reaganomics. President Reagan introduced a new program to deal with the nation's economic problems. His advisers called it "Reaganomics," or "supply-side economics." The idea was to help the American economy by encouraging the "supply side" (production of goods and services) to grow. This would be done through tax cuts and other means. Growth in the supply side, it was argued, would create many new jobs.

Reagan persuaded Congress to cut taxes over a three-year period. Congress also agreed to reduce the federal budget by 40 billion dollars. These measures were expected to put a lot more money into people's pockets. People would then be able to afford to start new businesses and hire more workers. People would also



In 1983, President Reagan met with other Western leaders for an economic summit conference in Williamsburg, Virginia.

have more money to spend on houses, cars, and other consumer goods. Although the tax rate would be lower than before, the government would actually collect more money because of the expanded economy. This would help reduce the deficit.

But despite Reaganomics, the economy got worse. By 1982, the nation was in the grip of a severe **recession** (an economic slowdown), in which many people lost their jobs. "Stay the course," Reagan urged Americans in 1982. "There is no 'quick fix' for our problems." Reagan wanted the nation to give supply-side economics a chance to work. As it turned out, things did get better. The country recovered much of its

economic strength in 1983 and 1984.

Less government. Ronald Reagan blamed the overgrown federal government for many of the nation's economic problems. He began to fulfill his campaign promise to get "government off the backs of the people." Many Americans had voted for Reagan because they too had come to question the constant expansion of the federal government. They resented its involvement in nearly every aspect of their lives. It provided housing, medical care, welfare, and job training for the poor. It ran railroads, paid police and fire fighters, and supported artists. The taxpayers' money was used to do these things.

In order to receive government services, people often had to go through a lot of "red tape." They had to fill out long, difficult forms. Then, they might have to wait many weeks. This increased people's dissatisfaction.

Reagan believed that the federal government should not be doing things that the states could do or that people could do for themselves. Along with tax cuts, he reduced spending on such programs as Medicare for the elderly and Social Security for the disabled. He urged the **private sector** (individual volunteers and businesses) to do more to help the poor. Reagan also transferred welfare and food stamps back to the states. It was left to each state to decide whether to raise taxes or reduce benefits to its poor residents.

Reagan's programs were expected to reduce the federal deficit and even result in a balanced budget by 1985. But at the same time that Reagan

was cutting social programs, he was steadily increasing spending for the armed forces and for new weapons. Military spending, high interest rates, and inflation helped produce the highest deficit in the nation's history. Reagan's critics accused him of building up the military while ignoring the poor. Reagan insisted that his programs included a "safety net" to protect the truly needy. Nevertheless, by 1984, a new "underclass" of homeless poor were sleeping in the streets and eating in soup kitchens in America's cities.

A changing America. America changed in many ways during the

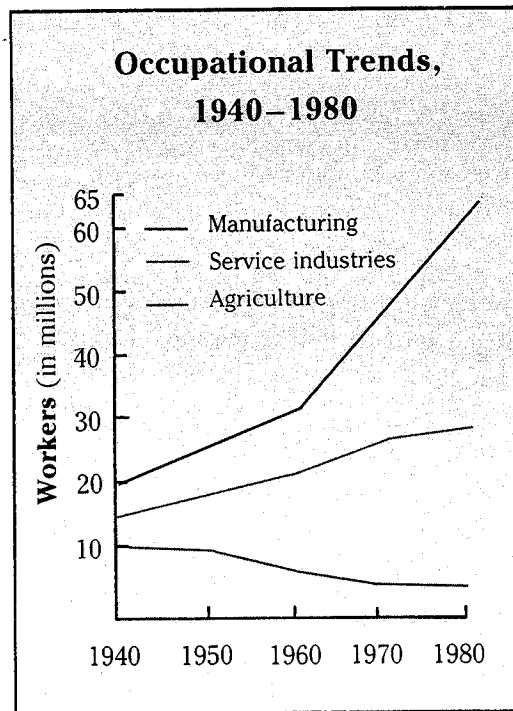
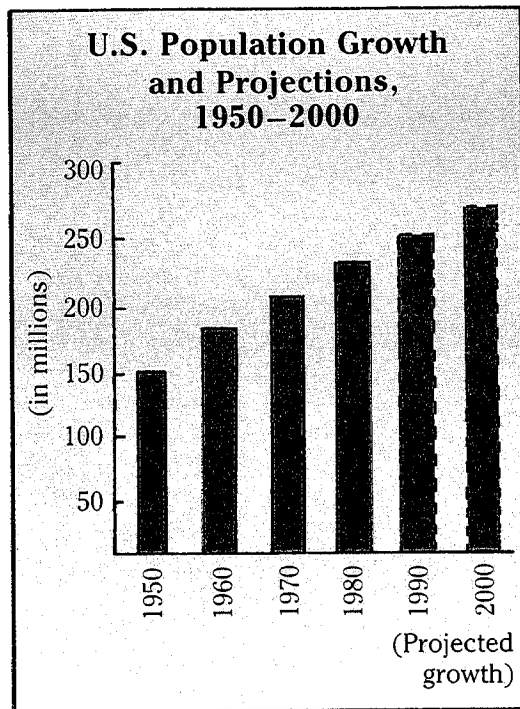
1970's and 1980's. At first, businesses and people moved out of the old industrial cities of the Northeastern and Great Lakes states. Many migrated to the booming states of the Sunbelt. California, Texas, and Florida grew at the fastest rates. By the mid-1980's, the Northeast was again holding its own. The economy of this region showed a sharp upturn as new industries moved in and the number of jobs increased.

In the 1980's, the numbers of blacks and Hispanics in the U.S. increased more rapidly than the rest of the population. New groups of immigrants also changed the face of the

This 1983 cartoon portrayed the federal budget deficit as an oversized crow hanging over the Reagan recovery. Do you think this cartoon gives an accurate picture of Reaganomics?



Reprinted with permission from the Minneapolis Star and Tribune.



nation. Thousands of Vietnamese settled in Louisiana and Texas. Other Asian refugees moved to California and Texas. Many Hispanics settled in Arizona, California, New Mexico, Texas, and Florida.

Computers and other electronic equipment brought great changes to people's lives in the 1980's. A new industry grew up around this **high-tech** equipment. Computers transformed the American way of life. Everything from buying theater tickets to gas was being done through computers. Compact personal computers also entered the nation's schools and homes. Just as earlier generations had grown up with cars and television, the children of the 1980's grew up with computers.

In 1976, the United States cele-

brated its 200th birthday. In the 1980's, the country continued to grow and change in many ways. New approaches to old problems were tried. New problems appeared. And the search for solutions went on.

Chapter Check

1. Explain the term "Reaganomics." What problems was "Reaganomics" supposed to correct?
2. Reagan promised to get "the government off the backs of the people." What did he mean by this?
3. What changes in population occurred during the 1980's?
4. What changes did computers bring to the U.S? In what ways do computers affect your life?

CHAPTER 82

Old and Still Young

Centuries have come and gone. A band of colonies has been transformed into a strong federal union. Cow paths and rude log cabins have given way to gleaming towers of glass and steel.

America has changed. It has aged—grown more mature. Yet it retains its youthful spirit. It keeps faith with the vision of its founders.

Many buildings that once echoed with historic speeches have been retired from active life. But they still have a role to play. They can remind each new generation of the nation's rich and enduring past.

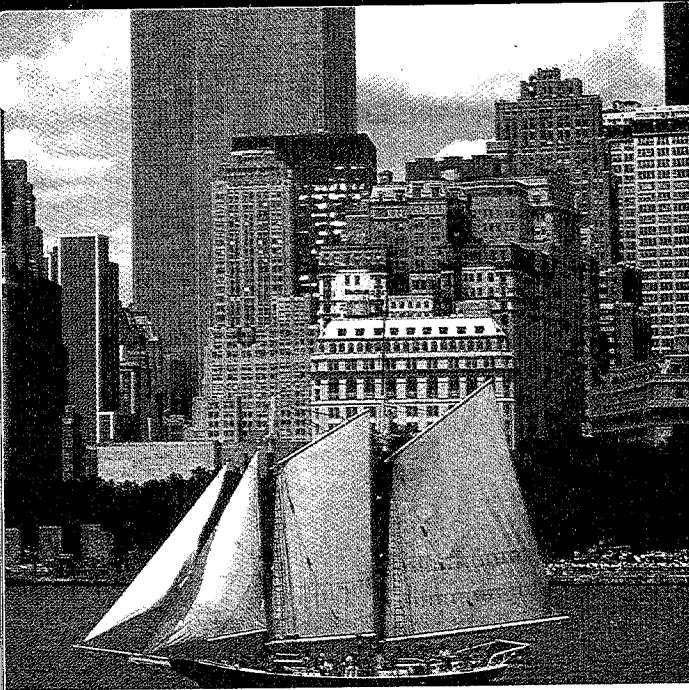
One of the most honored of American buildings is a red brick structure in central Philadelphia. It seems small by today's standards. There are just two stories and a bell tower. The brick building is Independence Hall. Here, in 1776, the Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. And here, on September 17, 1787, a special convention adopted a new constitution for the infant United States. That document

has proved an enduring one. Nineteen eighty-seven is the 200th anniversary of the Constitution.

If you visit Independence Hall, you can see the rooms where the historic debates on the Constitution took place. You can see the chair in which George Washington sat. Carved on the back is a golden sun against a broad horizon. Benjamin Franklin referred to that carving when the delegates finally agreed on the Constitution. "Now at length," he said, "I have the happiness to know that it is a rising, and not a setting, sun."

What kind of nation is that sun rising on today? Washington and Franklin would recognize many features of the present-day United States. But other features would surprise them. Let's consider some of the ways the nation has grown and changed over the past two centuries:

Land. The United States started as a small strip of land along the Atlantic Coast. Today it stretches across the continent. It reaches out to Alaska in the north and Hawaii in



One of America's greatest cities, New York, has undergone enormous changes since sailing ships first docked there more than three centuries ago.

the west. It also includes many outlying territories.

People. The early United States held fewer than four million Americans. Today there are more than 238 million. This makes the U.S. the world's fourth most populous country.

But there have been changes in more than mere *numbers* of people. At first most Americans had their roots in Northern Europe. Three out of four were British. Most were Protestant. Though there were many Indians, most Americans did not count them as part of the U.S. Though there were many blacks, most were slaves. Some blacks did play important parts in the young nation. On the whole, though, it was run by white males of British origin.

Today there are Americans from just about every part of the world. Some 50 million Americans—almost one in four—are Roman Catholic. Almost six million are Jewish.

Americans from many different backgrounds have a share in running the country. There are Catholic mayors and Jewish mayors, Italian mayors and Hispanic mayors, black mayors and white mayors. There are U.S. Senators whose ancestors came from Asia and U.S. Representatives whose ancestors came from Africa. Even so, not all groups feel that they have a fair share in running the country. Blacks, Indians, Mexican-Americans, and others are still struggling to make their voices heard more directly.

Disabled people are also taking a more active part in America. Through their efforts, laws have been passed making public buildings more accessible to disabled people. Inside those buildings, many disabled people hold jobs and public offices. They contribute in many ways to American life.

Wealth. At first most Americans were farmers or craftspeople. But in the 19th century, the U.S. began to change. Factories sprang up. Cities spread as millions of immigrants came to America from Europe and Asia. The U.S. grew wealthy. But the wealth was spread unevenly.

Today the wealth is spread more widely. Yet millions of Americans still live in slums. And the wealth of industry has created serious problems. Americans are still working on ways to put things right.

Power. Americans were strong enough to fight for their indepen-

dence in 1776. But the U.S. was not a strong country. The big powers of the world were then in Europe. For years the U.S. tried to stay off by itself.

By 1900 the U.S. was becoming a world power. Then it helped win two world wars. In 1945, at the end of World War II, its power looked almost limitless. The U.S. was then the only country with an atomic bomb. Its businesses began spreading around the globe. U.S. culture followed close behind. U.S. astronauts went farther still—to the moon.

Today U.S. power is felt all over the globe. But it is an uneasy power. Some Americans say their nation has tried to do too much with its strength. They say it pushes small countries around. Other Americans say the U.S. uses its strength too hesitantly. They say it lets other nations push it around.

After the Vietnam War, a debate raged over U.S. power and its uses. For a time that debate centered on "limits to power." People argued over whether or not the U.S. was biting off more than it could chew. More recently the focus of debate has shifted. People have argued over whether the U.S. had become so toothless that it could not chew anything. U.S. leaders said the U.S. had fallen behind the Soviet Union and must build up its armed forces.

Finding security in the Nuclear Age is a question that will remain with us in the future. Other questions and concerns also remain. For instance:

Equality. Blacks, women, and other groups are still claiming a more equal share in American life. So are

disabled people, poor people, and old people.

Energy and the environment. The U.S. must continue to seek new sources of energy. At the same time, it must grapple with pollution and the costs of a clean up.

Technology. The rapid rate of development in science and technology raises many questions. What effects—direct and indirect—will this technology have on the lives of Americans? Can our system of education keep up with the new technology? How many people will lose their jobs because of new technology? What kinds of new jobs will be created?

The United States is now in its third century. What will tomorrow bring? Problems lie ahead, certainly. But so do opportunities. The problems and opportunities will surely bring changes in their wake. But then, dealing with change is part of what life in the United States is all about. "It is difficult to be an American," said prizewinning U.S. author Thornton Wilder. "Americans are still engaged in inventing what it is to be an American."

Chapter Check

1. In what ways has the nation changed since 1776?
2. Are changes still needed in order for the United States to become an even better country?
3. Some people say that the nation's growth must be slowed down to save the environment. Others say that growth is the only way to assure jobs for all. Do you believe that the two goals are really in conflict? Discuss.

Looking Back: *New Directions*

MAIN EVENTS

1. Many thousands of Americans moved to the South in the 1970's. The weather was warmer and life was more relaxed. And they believed the taxes were lower.
2. Americans had to face the fact that their natural resources were not unlimited. The energy crisis forced people to learn how to conserve energy.
3. Ronald Reagan was elected President in 1980. He believed that less government was better. He wanted the states and the private sector to take responsibility for many of the social and educational programs.
4. Reagan also believed that the U.S. should rebuild its military strength. It would then be in a better position to deal with the Soviet Union.
5. U.S.-Soviet relations worsened in the early 1980's. The two nations came into conflict in many parts of the world.
6. The nuclear arms race between the U.S. and the Soviet Union caused concern all over the world. A strong disarmament movement developed.
7. Much has changed since the 13 colonies became the United States of America in 1776. The population has increased from four million to almost 240 million. There are now 50 states. America has grown into one of the wealthiest and most powerful nations on Earth.

WORDS TO KNOW

Below is a list of vocabulary terms from Part 14. Decide which term best completes the sentences that follow. Number your paper from 1 to 8. Write the correct term next to each number.

energy crisis

conservation

insulation

martial law

deficit

recession

private sector

high-tech

1. In 1981, the Polish government introduced =====. People were not allowed to be on the streets after a certain hour or to gather in large groups.
2. The ===== is the amount of money the government spends above what it collects in taxes.
3. The Arab oil embargo caused an ===== in the United States.
4. President Reagan urged the ===== to help the poor. He did not believe it should be the responsibility of the federal government.
5. ===== industries produce computers and other advanced electronic equipment.
6. During the fuel shortage, Americans learned about the ===== of energy.
7. In 1982, the U.S. economy slowed down, and many people lost their jobs. It was a severe =====.
8. ===== helps to keep houses warm in cold weather and cool in hot weather.

THINKING AND WRITING

A. Into the Future

A *time capsule* is a sealed container that contains a variety of objects from a certain period of time. It is stored or buried so that it can be opened and studied by people in the future.

Imagine that you have been asked to contribute to a time capsule that will be placed in the cornerstone of a new school. The capsule will be opened in 100 years. The contents of the time capsule should give a good idea of what life was like in the 1980's. You may put in one object, one photograph, and one page of writing.

1. What object would you choose? Give your reasons.
2. What kind of photograph would you include? Why?
3. What would you write? You could describe a typical day, or you could discuss some current events. Or you might want to write a letter to the person who

will open the time capsule 100 years from now. Remember that you must limit yourself to one page.

B. The New South

Use the following 10 sentences as a basis for writing a short essay about the growth of the South. Include all 10 sentences in the text of your paragraph. Add background and details where needed.

1. The weather was warm.
2. Labor unions were weak.
3. The South became the hub of the space industry.
4. Businesses moved to the South.
5. People moved south.
6. "Skyscraper cities" developed.
7. Land was available at low cost.
8. Big airports were built.
9. The South gained political power.
10. Southern cities had more money to support local art and theater groups.

SHARPENING YOUR SKILLS

Study the line graph. It shows the budgets of two agencies of the federal government—the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)—between 1970 and 1985. (The EPA was established in 1970 as an independent agency responsible for enforcing federal laws and regulations on pollution.) Then, answer the following questions.

1. Which agency showed a sharper increase in spending between 1970 and 1975? Between 1975 and 1980? Between 1980 and 1985? Which showed a decrease during any of these periods?
2. Some people say that too much money is being spent on space exploration. They suggest that this money might be better spent to improve the lives of people on Earth. Compare the budgets of the EPA and NASA from 1980 and 1984. What do these budgets show about the government's priorities (things considered most important)? Do you think these priorities are right? Give reasons for your answers.

