CHAPTER 32

THE REPUBLICAN RESURGENCE, 1980-92

SUMMARY
A charismatic politician who stressed reduced government, balanced budgets, protection of family values, and peace through increased military spending, Reagan capitalized on suburban middle-class resentment against increased taxes, welfare expenditures, and government regulation and emerged as the perfect Republican candidate.

Reagan in Power
Ronald Reagan and other conservatives took advantage of splits in the long-lasting liberal Democratic coalition and took power in a dramatic fashion in the 1980 election.

The Reagan Victory
The failure of Carter's economic policies and America's weak image abroad were issues seized by Reagan in the 1980 campaign. Reagan scored important points in a televised debate and captured 51 percent of the popular vote. The Republicans also made major gains in the congressional elections, yet most Americans voted hoping for economic relief, not for an ideological preference.

Cutting Spending and Taxes
Reagan supported supply-side economics, seeking to diminish the tax burden on the private sector and enhance investment-oriented growth. Reduction of government spending would hopefully ease inflation. Major congressional victories gave Reagan a 25 percent cut in personal income taxes over three years and significant reduction of domestic appropriations for social services.

Limiting the Role of Government
Under the direction of Reagan and cabinet officials such as Interior Secretary James Watt and Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis, deregulation of the economy and restriction of federal activities became a major theme. Congress attempted to slow the rapid growth of Social Security benefits with legislative changes in 1983. Feminist groups and minorities found Reagan's policies disappointing. Reagan’s appointees were overwhelmingly White males.

Reaganomics
The Reagan administration’s sweeping economic changes gave rise to conflicting economic expectations. Reagan put his faith in supply-side economics—he believed tax relief for investors would spark quick business growth.

Recession and Recovery
After a temporary recession in 1981-1982 (which included as one casualty the supply-side theory), the economy rebounded in 1983 with the help of the automobile industry, consumer spending, low inflation, and global decreases in energy and food.
The Growing Deficit
The failure of supply-side economics fed a huge and growing federal deficit. Congress responded with the Gramm-Rudman Act, a compromise that forced the president to give up further increases in the defense budget while Democrats sacrificed hopes for expanded social programs. A decline in exports led to an alarming second deficit in the balance of overseas trade. Foreign investment turned the United States into a debtor nation in 1985. Reaganomics maintained a high American standard of living through massive borrowing that threatened the economic security of future generations.

The Rich Grow Richer
Under Reagan, the rich got richer, the middle class scrambled to hold its own, and the poor stayed poor. Additionally, there was increasing income stratification.

Reagan Affirmed
Republicans convinced Americans that Reaganomics worked, enabling the president to easily defeat Democrats Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro in the election of 1984. Yet voters revealed mixed feelings by leaving Democrats in control of the House and the Senate.

Reagan and the World
Determined to alter America's shattered image abroad, Reagan continued the hard line adopted toward Russia and the massive military buildup begun by Carter. New military expenditures went to develop new weapons systems, and to an expanded navy.

Challenging the “Evil Empire”
Denouncing Soviet-sponsored terrorism and human rights violations, Reagan depicted the Soviet Union as the “evil empire” and pushed for the deployment of additional missiles in European NATO locations. Prompted by Soviet intransigence on arms control, the United States quickened the pace of Strategic Defense Initiative (“Star Wars”) research and development. The nuclear arms race reached an unprecedented level.

Turmoil in the Middle East
The United States made no significant effort to halt the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, but did agree to send troops under multinational direction to Beirut to permit the evacuation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The vulnerability of American noncombat troops was underscored by the destruction of a marine barracks in 1983. Despite Reagan’s aspirations, the Arab-Israeli conflict continued to worsen.

Confrontation in Central America
In Nicaragua, the Sandinistas overthrew the Somoza regime in 1979. Carter had previously authorized economic aid for the Sandinistas; Reagan reversed that policy. Accusing the Sandinistas of accepting Cuban and Soviet military assistance, the president opted for covert support for the anti-government Contras. American forces invaded the
small Caribbean island of Grenada in October 1983 to confront Cuban workers and troops and prevent the communists from acquiring a strategic military base.

Trading Arms for Hostages
An initiative in 1985 aimed at improving American influence in the Middle East by establishing contact with moderates in Iran deteriorated into an arms for hostages deal. In 1986, members of the National Security Council staff tied this initiative to an illegal and unconstitutional scheme to funnel arms profits to the Contras in Nicaragua. Although Reagan was never personally tied to the diversion of funds, his popularity dropped rapidly.

Reagan the Peacemaker
Mikhail Gorbachev’s ascendancy as the Soviet leader in 1985, offered hope for improved U.S.-Soviet relations. With Reagan hoping to rebound from the Iran-Contra affair and Gorbachev anxious to repair the Soviet economy, the two world leaders held a series of meetings during Reagan's second term. The resulting treaty, signed in late 1987, banned intermediate nuclear missiles. U.S.-Soviet cooperation eased tensions in global hot spots, further enhancing Reagan's reputation.

Social Dilemmas
Two complex social issues that fostered concern for all Americans, AIDS and a new drug crisis, erupted during Reagan’s tenue.

The AIDS Epidemic
First noted in the U.S. in 1981, AIDS quickly reached epidemic proportions, ultimately affecting over 500,000 people by mid-1996 and killing over 345,000. The Reagan administration proved slow and halting in its response. Only with the development of powerful new drugs by the mid-1990s has the disease perhaps become contained. While the threat in the U.S. may have diminished, it has become more of a crisis in areas that cannot afford expensive drugs used in America.

The War on Drugs
The 1980s witnessed the rapid spread of cocaine and crack use and a consequent explosion of urban crime in America. Nancy Reagan urged an educational policy of “Just Say No” and the Reagan administration later sought to seal the nation’s borders more effectively to prevent import of the South American product. Diplomatic attempts to curb the planting of coca fields abroad failed to stop the lucrative business. The Bush and Clinton administrations would pursue similar measures, with similar lack of success.

Passing the Torch
The Reagan presidency suffered some rough road in the middle of his second term as he changed staff. Reagan’s continued successes, however, opened the door for a George Bush victory in the 1988 election.
The Changing Palace Guard
Reagan used the interplay of his chief of staff, White House counsel, and special counsel to carefully guide his first administration. In 1985, however, these key advisors took different positions and achieved only limited success. Reagan had only partial success in appointing conservative judges. George Bush’s nomination of Clarence Thomas led to a national public discussion of whether Thomas was appointed for his merit or his ideology.

The Election of 1988
Republican strategists effectively deflected public attention from such issues as the Iran-Contra affair and budget woes by portraying the Democratic candidate, Michael Dukakis, as soft on crime and defense. Although the Democrats increased their control in Congress, Republican candidate George Bush’s promise not to raise taxes helped the GOP retain the White House.

Bush’s Domestic Agenda
George Bush sponsored few initiatives in education, health care or environmental protection and maintained Reagan’s theme of limited federal interference. He did, however, support the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). This act prohibited discrimination against the disabled in hiring, transportation, and public accommodations. Otherwise, Bush focused on two pressing problems: the nation’s savings and loan industry and the nation’s budget.

The End of the Cold War
An attempt at internal liberation by Chinese students proved tragically premature, while communist regimes in Eastern Europe collapsed with surprising speed in mid-1989 once it became apparent that Gorbachev would not use Soviet power to support them. By late 1991, both Gorbachev and the Soviet Union became victims of the demise of communism. Bush negotiated first with Gorbachev, then with Russian President Boris Yeltsin on the START I and II treaties, significantly reducing nuclear weapons on each side.

Waging Peace
The end of the Cold War did not mean a world free of violence. In December 1989, the United States invaded Panama to overthrow the regime of drug-trafficking General Manuel Noriega. In January 1991, the United States began an aerial assault leading to a ground offensive the next month against Iraq, aiming to free Kuwait and protect the vital oil resources of the Persian Gulf.

Conclusion: Republican Economic Woes
The Persian Gulf War may have damaged George Bush more that it helped him politically. It forced him to enter into a budget deal with Democrats in 1990 that raised taxes. This alienated him from conservative Republicans and interrupted the slow recovery from recession. A slow economy opened the door for a Democratic presidential takeover.
LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After mastering the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Discuss the reasons for a conservative resurgence and the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980.

2. Identify the victories as well as the disappointments of Reagan's first-term domestic policies.

3. Account for the rise and fall of the Christian Right in American politics during the Reagan-Bush era.

4. Discuss the complex social issues that arose in the 1980s and the federal government’s responses.

5. Discuss Reagan's first-term approach to the Soviet Union, the arms race, and options for the future.

6. Analyze the success of Reagan's foreign policies in the Middle East and Central America.

7. Explain the events of the Iran-Contra affair.

8. Analyze the motivations and results of Reagan's attempts at peacemaking during his second term.

9. Discuss the candidates, issues, and results of the election of 1988.

10. Explain the pressing domestic problems that preoccupied the Bush administration.

11. Discuss the reasons for and results of the Persian Gulf War in 1991.

12. Describe the series of events that signaled an end to the Cold War.
Glossary

To build your social science vocabulary, familiarize yourself with the following terms:

1. **strident** harsh; shrill. “In contrast to Goldwater's strident rhetoric, Reagan used relaxed, confident, and persuasive terms.”

2. **Ideologue** an adherent of a particular set of ideas. “without appearing to be a rigid ideologue of the right.”

3. **think tanks** associated researchers who study and report on important questions of public policy. “Scholars and academics on the right flourished in new ‘think tanks.’”

4. **onus** burden or disagreeable obligation. “leaving Carter with the onus of trying to land a low blow.”

5. **vendetta** a vengeful retaliation or blood feud. “George McGovern and Frank Church met with defeat, victims of a vendetta waged by the Moral Majority.”

6. **unilateral** one-sided; action by one country. “This unilateral Japanese action enabled the Reagan administration to help Detroit's car makers.”

7. **solvency** a state of being able to pay all debts. “Congress finally approved a series of changes that guaranteed the solvency of Social Security.”

8. **pragmatism** philosophy concerned with practical results. “the ideological purity demanded by the Christian Right was at odds with the pragmatism need to achieve their goals through the actions of government.”

9. **deployment** the act of placing into a battle-ready position a military unit or a piece of military hardware. “The Democrats . . . included plans for cruise missiles in Europe, a rapid deployment force in the Middle East.”

10. **deterrence** the act or process of discouraging or preventing. “the deadly trap of deterrence, with its reliance on the threat of nuclear retaliation to keep the peace.”

11. **covert** hidden; secret. “Reagan opted for covert action.”

12. **charismatic** marked by strong personal appeal. “Reagan . . . as a detached but charismatic chief executive.”

13. **impropriety** quality or state of being improper or unacceptable. “some of Meese's dealings had the 'appearance' of impropriety.”
14. **recriminations** bitter responses; retaliations. “Not only did Bush face recriminations from voters for breaking his 'read my lips' pledge.”

15. **euphoric** marked by elation and joy. “A sentiment widely shared by a euphoric public.”

**IDENTIFICATION**

Briefly identify the meaning and significance of the following terms.

1. the Moral Majority

2. Sandra Day O'Connor

3. Gramm-Rudman Act

4. AIDS

5. Oliver North

6. Crack Cocaine

7. Mikhail Gorbachev

8. Michael Dukakis
9. Tiananmen Square

10. Saddam Hussein

MATCHING

A. Match the following members of the Reagan administration with the appropriate description:

___ 1. James Watt  a. secretary of transportation who eased federal pollution and safety regulations for the auto industry

___ 2. Edwin Meese  b. attorney general that blamed Poindexter and North for Iran-Contra affair

___ 3. Drew Lewis  c. secretary of the treasury who questioned the wisdom of supply-side economics

___ 4. Caspar Weinberger  d. secretary of state who strenuously objected to the policy of trading arms for hostages

___ 5. George Schultz  e. secretary of defense who presented plans for more than a doubling of defense spending

f. secretary of the interior who outraged environmentalists by opening federal lands to coal and timber production
B. Match each of the following countries with the appropriate description:

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<td>1. Lebanon</td>
<td>a. the Reagan administration opposed the government of this country by supplying its armed enemies with covert aid</td>
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<td>2. Israel</td>
<td>b. the Reagan administration supported its moderate government under Jose Napoleon Duarte</td>
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<td>3. Grenada</td>
<td>c. the Reagan administration tacitly supported its armed invasion of a neighboring country</td>
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<td>4. El Salvador</td>
<td>d. the Reagan administration ordered the American marines to invade this country</td>
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<td>5. Nicaragua</td>
<td>e. the Reagan administration ordered the withdrawal of American forces from this country after a terrorist attack killed 239 marines</td>
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<td>f. the Reagan administration supported this embattled democracy with covert action against its several totalitarian neighbors</td>
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**COMPLETION**

Answer the question or complete the statement by filling in the blanks with the correct word or words.

1. Walter Mondale became the first presidential candidate of a major political party to choose a woman as his running mate when he selected New York Congresswoman ______________ as the Democratic vice-presidential nominee in 1984.

2. The 700 Club helped televangelist ______________ by providing grassroots workers for his effort to win the Republican nomination for president in 1988.

3. The death of movie star ______________ from AIDS in 1985 intensified the sense of national panic surrounding the growing epidemic.

4. In 1982, First Lady ______________ chose drug education as her special project, urging young Americans to “Just Say No.”
5. In 1984, Congress prohibited any United States agency from spending money in Central America with passage of the ________________.

6. Gorbachev was intent upon improving Soviet relations with the United States as a part of his new policies of ______________ (restructuring the Soviet economy) and ______________ (political openness).

7. The Senate rejected Reagan's nomination for a Supreme Court justice position for ______________, an outspoken critic of judicial activism.

8. In June 1989, Lech Walesa and his Solidarity movement came to power in free elections in ______________.

9. Newly elected president of the Russian Republic, ________________ helped break up a military coup and secure the release of Gorbachev from right-wing plotters.

10. In December 1989, the United States invaded Panama to overthrow the government of drug-trafficking General ________________.

TRUE/FALSE

Mark the following statements either T (True) or F (False).

_____ 1. Reagan proved to be an attractive candidate partly because of his friendly, relaxed manner and his mastery of television.

_____ 2. Reagan was a strong advocate of Keynesian economics, relying on government spending to boost consumer demand.

_____ 3. In an attempt to win African Americans to the Republican party, Reagan supported this group with a large number of government jobs and favors.

_____ 4. The average American family enjoyed a significantly better economic position by the end of the Reagan years than it had in 1973.

_____ 5. The rise of the religious right during the 1980s marked the return of a recurring theme in American history, when large-scale concerns about a changing society result in a religious “awakening.”

_____ 6. The Reagan administration boldly attacked the AIDS epidemic with proposals for greater sex education in public schools.

_____ 7. Measures by the Reagan and Clinton administrations succeeded in stopping the flow of illegal drugs into the United States.
8. The central tenet of Reagan’s foreign policy was that the Soviet Union was a deadly enemy that threatened the well-being and security of the United States.

9. In Central America, it was the oppression by United States-backed regimes that had often driven those seeking political change to embrace revolutionary tactics.

10. Oliver North’s plan to use the profits from the sale of weapons to Iran to finance the contra campaign in Nicaragua was not only illegal, but unconstitutional.

MULTIPLE CHOICE

Circle the one alternative that best complete the statement or answers the question.

1. As governor of California, Ronald Reagan
   a. proved effective, but rigid in supporting only conservative measures.
   b. confronted campus radicals and slashed funds for higher education.
   c. emerged as a masterful politician, especially adept in scoring symbolic victories.
   d. all of the above

2. The conservative resurgence of the late 1970s and early 1980s resulted from an increasing
   a. public frustration with liberal reliance on government to solve the nation's problems.
   b. concern about greater social and sexual permissiveness in American society.
   c. fear that liberals had been too soft on the communist threat abroad.
   d. all of the above

3. According to the theories of supply-side economics, embraced by Reagan,
   a. the federal government should increase spending to boost consumer demand.
   b. federal spending and taxes should be cut to release private revenue for investment.
   c. taxes should be increased and federal spending decreased to eliminate the deficit.
   d. funding for entitlements should be increased to pump more money into the economy.

4. Among Reagan's most significant political successes in domestic affairs were his
   a. budgetary and tax reforms.
   b. increased governmental restrictions in land and resource development.
   c. overhauls of the Social Security System.
   d. advancement of civil rights and women's rights.
5. Which of the following televangelists did not fall victim to scandal?
   a. Oral Roberts
   b. Jim and Tammy Bakker
   c. Jimmy Swaggart
   d. Jerry Falwell

6. American marines were sent to Lebanon in 1982 to
   a. help Israel secure its northern border.
   b. aid the Christian faction in its war against Moslem forces.
   c. join a multinational peacekeeping force during the evacuation of the PLO.
   d. avenge the terrorist truck-bombing of an American barracks.

7. The Reagan administration policy to trade arms for hostages was “fatally flawed” in that
   a. it was criminal because of the Boland Amendment.
   b. it failed to win compliance from the Iranians.
   c. it led to the seizure of American soldiers.
   d. it encouraged an end to the war between Iran and Iraq.

8. When Congress seemed reluctant to seek a military solution to America's troubled relations with the Sandinistas, the Reagan administration supported instead
   a. covert action by the CIA in support of the Contras.
   b. economic assistance to moderate the Sandinista coalition.
   c. solutions of land reform and redistribution of wealth.
   d. negotiations initiated by countries of Central and South America.

9. Which of the following best explains the 1981-1982 recession?
   a. Reagan's insistence on a massive military buildup.
   b. The tight money policy of the Federal Reserve Board.
   c. Sharp reductions in personal income taxes.
   d. The dramatic reduction of government spending for social services.

10. The major problem accompanying the economic expansion of the 1980s was a(n)
    a. increase in the cost of living.
    b. reduction in consumer spending.
    c. significant decline in the Dow Jones industrial average.
    d. mounting federal deficit.

11. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev supported the
    a. adoption of a socialist economy for the Soviet Union.
    b. supply of Mujadeen guerrillas fighting in Afghanistan.
    c. limitation of political parties within the Soviet Union.
    d. removal of Soviet forces propping up repressive regimes in Eastern Europe.
12. In his relations with the Supreme Court, Ronald Reagan
   a. refused to consider the appointment of a female justice.
   b. appointed conservative William Rehnquist as Chief Justice.
   c. supported a policy of judicial activism.
   d. tried to balance the court with liberal as well as conservative appointees.

13. The summit meetings between Reagan and Gorbachev led to an agreement in 1987 to
   a. abolish all nuclear weapons in a decade.
   b. ban all intermediate nuclear weapons.
   c. abandon plans for any “star wars” projects.
   d. reduce conventional force around the world.

14. During the campaign of 1988, George Bush
   a. portrayed Dukakis as soft on crime and defense.
   b. hinted that mounting federal deficits might require tax increases.
   c. disassociated himself from the Reagan administration.
   d. called for meaningful health care reform.

15. From 1989 to 1991, communist regimes collapsed in all of the following countries except:
   a. Poland.
   b. East Germany.
   c. China.
   d. the Soviet Union.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

To check your understanding of the key issues of the period, solve the following problems:

1. Did Reagan's victory in 1980 signal a major realignment in American politics with the Republicans becoming the majority party?

2. Analyze the success of the Reagan administration in curing the nation's economic woes.

3. What factors contributed to the rise and fall of the Christian Right in American politics during the Reagan-Bush era? Why has American history been marked by periodic religious revival movements?

4. What were the causes of the AIDS epidemic and drug crisis that threatened the U.S. during the 1980s? Why was the federal government slow and ineffective in its responses?
5. Reagan began his administration by characterizing the Soviet Union as a deadly enemy and the “evil empire.” By the end of his presidency, however, he had assumed the role of peacemaker and pointed to the end of the Cold War. Trace the evolution of events that allowed this change.

6. The deal to trade United States arms to Iran for hostages was bad policy, but the Iran-Contra affair was criminal. Explain.

7. Discuss the events that signaled an end to the Cold War during the Bush administration.


CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS


Ronald Reagan, Speech to the House of Commons (1982)

We're approaching the end of a bloody century plagued by a terrible political invention-totalitarianism. Optimism comes less easily today, not because democracy is less vigorous, but because democracy's enemies have refined their instruments of repression. Yet optimism is in order because day by day democracy is proving itself to be a not at all fragile flower. From Stettin on the Baltic to Varna on the Black Sea, the regimes planted by totalitarianism have had more than thirty years to establish their legitimacy. But none—not one regime—has yet been able to risk free elections. Regimes planted by bayonets do not take root.

The strength of the Solidarity movement in Poland demonstrates the truth told in an underground joke in the Soviet Union. It is that the Soviet Union would remain a one-party nation even if an opposition party were permitted because everyone would join the opposition party. . . .

If history teaches us anything, it teaches self-delusion in the face of unpleasant facts is folly. We see around us the marks of our terrible dilemma—predictions of doomsday, antinuclear demonstrations, an arms race in which the West must, for its own protection, be an unwilling participant. At the same time we see totalitarian forces in the world who seek subversion and conflict around the globe to further their barbarous assault on the human spirit. What, then, is our course? Must civilization perish in a hail of fiery atoms? Must freedom wither in a quiet, deadening accommodation with totalitarian evil? . . .

It may not be easy to see; but I believe we live now at a turning point. In an ironic sense Karl Marx was right. We are witnessing today a great revolutionary crisis, a crisis where the demands of the economic order are conflicting directly with those of the political order. But the crisis is happening not in the free, non-Marxist West, but in the home of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union. It is the Soviet Union that runs against the tide of history by denying human freedom and human dignity to its citizens. It is also deep in economic difficulty. The rate of growth in the national product has been steadily declining since the fifties and is less than half of what it was then.

The dimensions of this failure are astounding: a country which employs one-fifth of its population in agriculture is unable to feed its own people. . . . The decay of the Soviet experiment should come as no surprise to us. Wherever the comparisons have been made between free and closed societies—West Germany and East Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia, Malaysia and Vietnam—it is the democratic countries that are prosperous and responsive to the needs of their people. . . .

Our military strength is a prerequisite to peace, but let it be clear we maintain this strength in the hope it will never be used, for the ultimate determinant in the struggle that's now going on in the world will not be bombs and rockets but a test of wills and ideas, a trial of spiritual resolve, the values we hold, the beliefs we cherish, the ideals to which we are dedicated. . . .
I’ve often wondered about the shyness of some of us in the West about standing for these ideals that have done so much to ease the plight of man and the hardships of our imperfect world. This reluctance to use those vast resources at our command reminds me of the elderly lady whose home was bombed in the Blitz. As the rescuers moved about, they found a bottle of brandy she’d stored behind the staircase, which was all that was left standing. And since she was barely conscious, one of the workers pulled the cork to give her a taste of it. She came around immediately and said, “Here now—there now, put it back. That’s for emergencies.”

Well, the emergency is upon us. Let us be shy no longer. Let us go to our strength. Let us offer hope. Let us tell the world that a new age is not only possible but probable.

George Bush, Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf (1991)

Just 2 hours ago, allied air forces began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Ground forces are not engaged.

This conflict started August 2d when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait—a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations—was crushed; its people, brutalized. Five months ago, Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq] Saddam Hussein started this cruel war against Kuwait. Tonight, the battle has been joined.

This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions and with the consent of the United States Congress, follows months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States, and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution, only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. Others traveled to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice. Our Secretary of State, James Baker, held an historic meeting in Geneva, only to be totally rebuffed. This past weekend, in a last-ditch effort, the Secretary-General of the United Nations went to the Middle East with peace in his heart—his second such mission. And he came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

Now the twenty-eight countries with forces in the Gulf area have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution—have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear-bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical-weapons facilities. Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed. Our operations are designed to best protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal. Initial reports from General Schwarzkopf are that our operations are proceeding according to plan.

Our objectives are clear: Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place, and Kuwait will once again be free. Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions, and then, when peace is restored, it is our hope that Iraq will live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus enhancing the security and stability of the Gulf.

Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over five months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically raped, pillaged, and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. He subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities—and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children.

While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses, and infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction—a nuclear weapon. And while the world waited, while the world talked peace and withdrawal, Saddam Hussein dug in and moved massive forces into Kuwait.

While the world waited, while Saddam stalled, more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the Third World, emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, to the entire world, including to our own economy.

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations, he could weaken the forces arrayed against him.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace with open contempt. While the world prayed for peace, Saddam prepared for war.

I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took its resolute action, Saddam would realize the could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation resolutions. He did not do that. Instead, he remained intransigent, certain that time was on his side.

Saddam was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations: Leave Kuwait, or be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings. Instead, he tried to make this a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he failed. tonight, twenty-eight nations—countries from five continents, Europe and Asia, Africa, and the Arab League—have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. These countries had hoped the use of force could be avoided. Regrettably, we now believe that only force will make him leave.

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Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed our military commanders to take every necessary step to prevail as quickly as possible, and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and allied service men and women. I've told the American people before that this will not be another Vietnam, and I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back. I'm hopeful that this fighting will not go on for long and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum.

This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order—a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful and we will be—we have a real chance at this new world order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.

We have no argument with the people of Iraq. Indeed, for the innocents caught in this conflict, I pray for their safety. Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq. It is the liberation of Kuwait. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "These are the times that try men's souls." Those well-known words are so very true today. But even as planes of the multinational forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united. No nation will be permitted to brutally assault its neighbor.

No president can easily commit our sons and daughters to war. They are the Nation's finest. Ours is an all-volunteer force, magnificently trained highly motivated. The troops know why they're there. And listen to what they say, for they've said it better than any President or Prime Minister ever could.

Listen to Hollywood Huddleston, marine lance corporal. He says, "Let's free these people, so we can go home and be free again." And he's right. The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.

Listen to one of our great officers out there, Marine Lieutenant General Walter Boomer. He said: "There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn't the kind of world we're going to want to live in."

Listen to Master Sergeant J. P. Kendall of the 82d Airborne: "We're here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we're doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next 100 years. It's better to deal with this guy now than five years from now."

And finally, we should all sit up and listen to Jackie Jones, an army lieutenant, when she says, "If we let him get away with this, who knows what's going to be next?"

I have called upon Hollywood and Walter and J. P. and Jackie and all their courageous comrades-in-arms to do what must be done. Tonight, America and the world are deeply grateful to them and to their families. And let me say to everyone listening or watching tonight: When the troops we've sent in finish their work, I am determined to bring them home as soon as possible.

Tonight, as our forces fight, they and their families are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, and the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf, and may He continue to bless our nation, the United States of America.

1. According to Reagan, what does history teach us? How does this relate to the central message of his speech?

2. What does Reagan mean when he says that “in an ironic sense, Karl Marx was right”?

3. What objectives does Bush offer for the 1991 allied military action in the Persian Gulf and why does he feel the action was necessary at that time?

4. What does Bush mean by his use of the phrase “new world order”? How and why might some Americans have objected to such a phrase?

5. Why does Bush assure the American people that the Persian Gulf action “will not become another Vietnam”? How might such a concern of Bush have affected the outcome of the action?