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30 Reza Pahlevi/Shah of Iran

30 Raters of Panama Caral

39 Three Mile Island Crisis

40 Sandra Day O' Granor

JIMMY CARTER

(1924- , P. 1977-1981)

"Hello, I'm Jimmy Carter, and I'm running for president." With those words spoken in a soft Georgian accent, Carter shook hands with the people of New Hampshire in one of the most unusual election victories in history.

Carter was born in Plains, Georgia, in 1924, the son of a well-to-do farmer whose black workers lived in small cottages nearby. His father strongly favored segregation, but his mother was kind and open with the workers. Jimmy was more influenced by his mother on that subject, and became a good friend to many African-Americans. The most commented-on trait of young Jimmy Carter was his refusal to



quit on anything, whether it was school work or an argument. He set an early goal of graduating from the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

In 1941, Jimmy entered Georgia Southwestern College while waiting for a letter inviting him to attend the Naval Academy. The letter finally arrived, but he would enter the Academy in the summer of 1943 rather than 1942. He switched to Georgia Tech and was accepted into the NROTC unit there to prepare for Annapolis. The Naval Academy was tough for the students, but Carter studied hard. On leave before his third year at the Academy, he fell in love with Rosalyn Smith. Graduating in the top 10 percent of his class, Carter received his commission as an ensign and married Rosalyn.

After serving on surface ships for two years, Carter chose to enter the submarine service. He became an expert on subs, and was proud of his record. He then met Admiral Hyman Rickover, a legend in the Navy for his work on building the submarine service. He asked Carter about his class rank at Annapolis and then asked if he had done his best. Carter admitted he had not. Rickover asked: "Why not?" Rickover became Carter's boss and hero; from Rickover, he learned the importance of detailed planning.

Carter's plans for a Navy career suddenly changed when his father died in 1953 and his mother asked him to take over the family farm. He resigned from the Navy and returned to Plains in 1954. Carter was elected to the Georgia Senate in 1962, failed to win the governor's race in 1966, but won in 1970. His administration was notable for several things. He did not use the race issue; he improved efficiency in government and started new social programs without increasing taxes. In 1972, Carter began exploring the possibility of running for president while speaking around the U.S. as chairman of the Democratic Campaign Committee.

The campaign of 1976. Carter was a unique candidate for president. He started out with little money, and no one had heard of him in the early primary states. He was not apologetic about being a "born-again" Christian, strongly motivated by religion. His campaign was

about character, and he wanted government to represent the honest and decent side of Americans. He was the outsider untarnished by scandals.

President Ford fought off a challenge from Ronald Reagan for the Republican nomination, but Carter won a narrow victory in the election.

CARTER AS PRESIDENT. Instead of riding home from his inauguration, Carter walked, waving to people along the way. He preferred the informal approach, and while he dressed like a president should, his staff often wore blue jeans to work. Instead of focusing on one problem, he often proposed many programs at one time, and a reluctant Congress was slow to respond to his requests.

Domestic affairs. Carter had criticized Ford for high inflation and unemployment. Despite Carter's efforts, prices kept going up, reaching 20 percent inflation in 1980. It now took \$1 to buy what would have cost 15 cents in 1940.

Part of the reason for higher prices was the cost of energy; Americans were driving bulky, gas-drinking cars rather than compact and fuel-efficient cars. Oil refineries were cutting back on production, increasing suspicions that the prices were not justified. Another reason for higher prices was the cost of electrical energy, partly caused by the use of fossil fuels. Nuclear power plants had been seen as the way to cut energy costs, but a nuclear accident at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania caused a near-tragedy. Congress finally approved a program to cut dependence on foreign oil by promoting programs to produce more coal, solar, and wind-produced electricity.

Foreign affairs. The United States faced many issues during the Carter years. Some changes came because of Carter's concern about human rights. He was very critical of nations that abused their own citizens, and he listed South Africa, North Korea, and the Soviet Union, among others, as the worst offenders.

The Panama Canal had been a trouble spot for Ford, and he had been strongly criticized by conservative Republicans when he suggested it should be given to Panama to control. The issue was still being argued when Carter became president. It was only with great effort that a treaty was made to turn the Canal over to Panama by the year 2000.

U.S. relations with China improved, and the two nations began exchanging ambassadors; trade between the United States and China began. However, U.S. relations with the Soviet Union worsened after Russian troops moved into Afghanistan. The United States led an international boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow.

Carter's greatest success was in bringing Israeli Prime Minister Begin and Egyptian President Sadat to talks at Camp David, which resulted in the peace treaty signed in 1979.

Carter's greatest defeat was in relations with Iran. Anti-American Moslem leaders, led by the Ayatollah Khomeini, had overthrown the Shah (ruler) of Iran. With government approval, students stormed the U.S. embassy in Teheran, captured the Americans there, and held them hostage. U.S. efforts to rescue the hostages failed. Americans rallied behind the hostages and put yellow ribbons around trees. The Iranian hostage crisis became a symbol of Carter's failures, and it led to the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980.

Jimmy Carter in the White House

James Earl (Jimmy) Carter came onto the national scene without significant experience in Washington. He set out to bring openness and honesty back into government and to turn around the air of pomp that had increasingly surrounded the presidency. After the inauguration, Carter and his family walked down Pennsylvania Avenue instead of riding in a limousine. He maintained an informal style. The President wore sweaters on television broadcasts and held call-in sessions in which ordinary Americans were able to telephone questions for immediate answers. In town meetings around the country, he tried to keep in touch with citizens at large. On the other hand, his good intentions caused him to blunder in dealing with Congress.

Early in his term, Carter sought to save money by eliminating certain dam and water projects from the federal budget. Representatives from the affected regions protested vigorously. Carter attempted to achieve compromises on the projects and found his actions were interpreted as weak and wavering.

Another economy measure was the cancellation of an expensive new bomber, the B-1. Members of Congress in whose states the bomber was to have been built blamed Carter for costing their states new jobs. Other criticism came from those who felt he was failing to maintain military strength in the presence of Soviet threat.

Beginning with the Nixon years, the price of gas and oil had been soaring. Carter urged Congress to establish a national energy policy to control the crisis. Despite legislation designed to lower imports of foreign oil, the energy crisis and the high cost of fuel continued. The inflation rate rose to a new height of about 15 percent. In the struggle, regional interests had been offended, and Carter found his reputation damaged within his own Democratic Party.

As part of a program to improve relations with Latin America, Carter asked Congress to approve a pair of treaties with Panama. One of these would turn the control of the Panama Canal over to the Panamanian government at the end of 1999. The treaties were approved in 1978. This ended many disputes with the tiny nation, but it reduced Carter's popularity with those who felt that he had given away American territory.

In Iran, the Shah, considered friendly to America, was overthrown by a revolution led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a Shiite Muslim leader. The Shah's efforts to modernize his country were denounced as treason against his religion. While the United States did not send aid to the threatened government, the Shah, dying of cancer, was allowed into this country to receive medical care. This and earlier good relations with the Shah were seen as hostility to the traditional Muslim powers. The following month, Iranian revolutionaries invaded the American embassy in Tehran and took U.S. citizens working there as hostages. At that time, Iran had large amounts of money in American banks. Immediately, Carter ordered the seizure of all Iranian government property in the U.S. He then refused to release any Iranian property until the hostages were freed. Despite many and varied attempts to gain their release, the Americans were held until the day Carter left office, January 20, 1981.

The year 1979 held other international dramas. Carter was able to convince the leaders of Israel and Egypt to sign a peace treaty to end the wars they had been fighting since 1948. That same year, the Soviet Union invaded neighboring Afghanistan, and Carter established a number of sanctions against the invader. The U.S. withdrew from the Olympic Games scheduled for 1980 in Moscow, and there was an embargo against American grain sales to Russia. Both moves were highly controversial and at this writing, the fighting in Afghanistan continues.

Review and Write

1.	Extend your reading about the Carter years. How do you think history will assess this administration?
	Explain
2.	Since Carter's term, there have been other hostages taken in the Middle East. What avenues for their release have been most successful? What approach to this six ation would you take if you was a few forms.

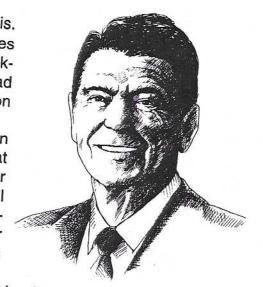


RONALD REAGAN

(1911- , P. 1981-1989)

Ronald Reagan was the son of a poor family in Illinois. His career included sports broadcasting and acting in movies and television before moving into politics. He was a fine-looking man with great charm, optimism, and ambition, who had climbed the ladder of success. In 1980, he won the election

Reagan grew up in Dixon, Illinois. His father was an alcoholic and held poor-paying jobs. Ronald sold popcorn at high school games and worked as a lifeguard in the summer to earn the money to attend college. Reagan played football and was in college theatrical productions while attending Eureka College in Illinois; he received his degree in 1932. After graduating, he became a well-known sportscaster in Des Moines, Iowa.



In 1937, Warner Brothers hired Reagan as an actor. He often appeared in "B" movies, but he was known as hard-working, reliable, and prepared. During World War II, he enlisted in the army and made training and morale-boosting films. He held the rank of captain when he was discharged.

After the war, Reagan returned to Hollywood, but his movie career was not successful; in 1951, he made the movie Bedtime for Bonzo, in which the star was a chimpanzee. Fortunately, television was growing, and he became the host for General Electric Theater and later Death Valley Days. His marriage to actress Jane Wyman ended in divorce. His 1952 marriage to actress Nancy Davis helped to change him from a Roosevelt New Deal Democrat into a conservative Republican. Some of the change came from watching lazy civil service employees during the war. He was also concerned about Communist influence in the film industry while he served as president of the Screen Actors Guild.

Small groups of wealthy Republicans suggested that Reagan run for governor of California in 1966. He promised to cut taxes and won by over a million votes. He put a hiring freeze on state jobs but was unable to persuade the legislature to lower taxes. In time, he learned to work with the legislature and to use television as a method of gaining public support. In 1972 and 1976, he tried to win the Republican nomination for president, but the times were not right. So he waited for a more conservative mood to develop in the United States. By 1980, the nation

The election of 1980. The Democrats were split between those who liked Carter and the liberals who liked Ted Kennedy; the two groups did not come together even at the convention. Reagan also had competition, and two candidates were still working against him until the end: John Anderson and George Bush. Reagan prevailed, and then he chose Bush for vice president. Anderson went on to form a new National Unity Party.

The campaign had the usual number of mistakes by both candidates, but the themes were clear. Carter believed the nation was in a mess and needed his leadership. Reagan believed the problem was Carter. In their debate, Reagan asked the public: "Are you better off than you were four years ago?" "Is America as respected throughout the world as it was?" Nothing that happened afterward helped Carter's cause. Mark Twain Media, Inc., Publishers

The Reagan victory was even greater than anyone anticipated. He not only had 489 electoral votes to Carter's 49, but he also won by 8.3 million popular votes. Anderson received only seven percent of the popular vote.

REAGAN AS PRESIDENT. Reagan was a far different type of leader than Carter had been. He was cheerful and optimistic. Even when he was rolled into the operating room for a gunshot wound, he asked if the surgeons were all good Republicans.

Reagan's approach to his job was to let each official do his job. Reagan spoke in general outlines, and his officials worked out the details. When problems occurred, the official was the one in trouble with the public and press, not the president. His critics began calling him the "Teflon president" because he rarely got the blame for mistakes.

Economic problems were serious. Inflation and unemployment were high. Reagan's solution was called "supply side economics." He would reduce taxes to encourage business expansion. In 1981, taxes dropped five percent, and in 1982 and 1983, another ten percent. The government cut costs by reducing social programs like welfare benefits, unemployment compensation, and low-cost housing; and grants for college students became student loans. At the same time, he was determined to increase defense spending, which by 1985 had reached \$300 billion.

Another change occurred when the federal government started giving states "revenue sharing" money to be spent wherever they thought necessary, with only a few strings attached.

In 1982, the worst recession in many years occurred, and thousands of workers were unemployed, but by the next year, conditions had improved.

Tax money never came close to paying the cost of government, and the budget deficit rose from \$74 billion in 1980 to \$221 billion in 1986. The national debt was \$914 billion in 1980, and \$3.1 trillion in 1990.

The election of 1984. The Democratic candidate, former Vice President Walter Mondale, chose as his running mate the first woman to run on a national ticket, Geraldine Ferraro. Mondale was never able to gain much momentum in the campaign, and he lost to Reagan by 525–13 in electoral votes and by nearly 17 million popular votes.

Foreign policy. Reagan saw the Soviet Union as an enemy, an "evil empire." He saw the country as not someone to make friends with, but as an opponent to be destroyed. In 1985, his Reagan Doctrine said we would help any nation that was struggling against Communism. There were many trouble spots around the world, and the United States often became involved in them.

In Afghanistan, a civil war was going on between the Communist-controlled government supported by the Soviet Union and Moslems who were like those who ruled Iran. The United States sent support to the rebels.

<u>Libya</u> was ruled by Muammar Qadaffi, who was suspected of using his oil money to help terrorist groups in other countries. The United States found that he was helping terrorists in Germany, and American planes dropped bombs on some Libyan cities.

Iran and Iraq were at war, and the United States helped Iraq by guarding the Persian Gulf. One of the U.S. ships was attacked by an Iraqi plane. In 1988, the United States shot down an Iranian airliner by accident.

<u>Central America</u>. The United States supported an unpopular government in El Salvador that was fighting rebels. In 1983, a new leader was elected and Congress was more than willing to send help. Nicaragua had a government that supported Communism (Sandinistas), and



there were rebels who were trying to overthrow it (Contras). Many in Congress felt that the Contras were as bad as the Sandinistas, and they passed laws against military aid to the Contras. A group of White House officials thought of a way around the law; they sold supplies to Iran at a very low price, then in turn, Iran sent aid to the Contras. When this was discovered by happening.

It was in relations with the Soviet Union that Reagan policies showed surprising flexibility. He had been an enemy of the "evil empire," and at first it looked as if he was preparing for a war with them. Defense spending shot up, battleships came out of mothballs, new weapons systems were developed, and Pershing II missiles were set up in West Germany that could reach Russian targets in five minutes. The Russians began building up their military power as well.

At this time a new weapons proposal was pushed by Reagan, called the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). This program would put satellites in space, which would be capable of shooting down incoming missiles. Critics said it would not work, that it was terribly expensive, and that it might even encourage a reckless president to attack a nation with nuclear weapons.

In time, Reagan's attitude toward the Soviets softened. Some say it was because Secretary of State George Schultz became more influential with him, or it may have been changes in the Kremlin. From 1982 to 1985, the Soviet Union was led by two elderly premiers; then 54-mocracy.

Gorbachev was eager to develop better relations with the United States. Reagan saw the changes as good for peace, and he attended meetings in Switzerland and Iceland with the Russian leader. Agreements were made to destroy many of the missiles on both sides. While neither side was prepared to call off the Cold War completely, great progress was made.

Reagan returned to private life as a very popular person. After several years of retirement, Reagan developed Alzheimer's disease and now remains out of the public eye at his





Ronald Reagan: Supply-Side Economics

President Reagan wanted to cut taxes, increase military spending, and balance the national budget. According to the planners of **supply-side** economics, when taxes are cut, Americans have more money to spend. When they spend more money, businesses will grow. When businesses sell more, factories produce more, and more jobs are created. Then the formerly unemployed will also have their own money to spend, and welfare rolls will be cut. As domestic programs are cut, there will be more money available to increase military spending. Increased military spending will also create more jobs in the booming defense industries.

Unfortunately, not everything went as planned. Domestic program cuts were made before the supply-side effect began to function. Many of the elderly and the truly dependent poor faced hopeless situations without certain welfare programs. Hunger again stalked American cities. Without federal aid, educational levels fell in some states. Widespread domestic cuts were unpopular, and Congress balked at making many of the recommendations. International trade balances were down as foreign nations created attractive products at prices lower than competing U.S. goods. The national debt soon exceeded a trillion dollars and was increasing daily.

During his administration, Reagan appointed a number of women to significant posts. Sandra Day O'Connor became the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court of the United States. Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick was the fiery U.S. representative to the United Nations, and Elizabeth H. Dole was the first woman to become secretary of transportation.



Throughout the world, acts of terrorism increased. After several American deaths in incidents linked to the Arab nation of Libya, Reagan authorized bombing of terrorist support bases in that country. International response was mixed. Terrorists continued in their attempts to dramatize their various causes by means of murdering the innocent and unsuspecting.

In addition to the increased military spending for overall defense build-up, Reagan persuaded Congress to approve a research program to develop a space-based missile defense system. The plan, referred to as the Strategic Defense Initiative, or more simply, "Star Wars," has added to the already tense relations with the Soviet Union.

Review and Write

1.	In order to provide money for its programs, the Reagan Administration borrowed more money than any other in American history. If you were a member of Congress, would you vote for the Reagan budget
	plans? Why or why not?
2.	Answer the above as if you were a state governor and again as if you were a city mayor
	——————————————————————————————————————

From Détente to Confrontation

Richard Nixon's years as president were marked by improved relations with the Soviet Union. Even as American troops fought in Vietnam, relations with the Soviet Union warmed. The 1970s are known as an era of **détente**. Détente (a French word meaning "relaxation") was accomplished because both American and Soviet leaders wished to have better relations and slow down the nuclear arms race. During this time, Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter met several times with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev to help improve relations between their countries. Nixon **initiated** and signed the SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitations Talks) arms control treaty to limit the buildup of atomic weapons.



Ronald Reagan

The period of détente did not last long, however. It was broken when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979. The Soviets became entangled in a long, bloody war, which they were unable to win, in Afghanistan. Many observers have referred to Afghanistan as "Russia's Vietnam."

American leaders reacted strongly to the Soviet invasion. Many people feared that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a **prelude** to a move to capture the oil fields of the Middle East. In truth, the policy of détente had never been popular among many conservative Americans, and the Soviet invasion gave them an excuse to attack that policy. In reaction to the Soviet invasion, President Carter declared an **embargo** on all American grain sales to the Soviet Union. He ended consideration of the SALT II arms control treaty. He also encouraged the American Olympic Committee to **boycott** the 1980 Olympics, which were held in Moscow. He then ordered the beginning of a military buildup that continued well into the 1980s. Soon America began sending aid to the Afghan rebels who were fighting the Soviet-installed government. Détente was definitely over. Relations between the superpowers again became confrontational.

In 1980 Ronald Reagan was elected as the new American president. The United States had suffered through a poor economy under President Carter, and many Americans felt that Carter was not tough enough with the Soviets. In contrast, Reagan was one of the fiercest anti-communists in American politics. He often referred to the Soviet Union as the "evil empire." He proposed a vast military build-up that went beyond what President Carter had planned. Reagan's aggressive speeches left little doubt that he would deal harshly with the Soviets.

Relations with the Soviet Union soon deteriorated in President Reagan's first years as president. World tensions increased as war between the superpowers again appeared to be possible. Under Reagan's direction the United States provided military aid to anti-communist querillas in Afghanistan. Aid was also given to the anti-communist guerillas,

The Cold War: 1945-1989

known as Contras, fighting a new pro-Soviet government in Nicaragua. Reagan increased the number of nuclear missiles stationed in Western Europe. He also proposed the construction of a new space-based anti-missile defense, commonly known as the "Star Wars" system. The build-up of missiles and the threat of a new anti-missile defense system started a new arms race. Debate raged within the United States over Reagan's actions. Almost all of these policies caused **controversy**. Some people felt that his actions made war with the Soviet Union more likely, rather than less likely. Yet, most Americans liked President Reagan, and he was easily re-elected in 1984.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union was undergoing its own changes. The war in Afghanistan was draining Soviet resources. Much like the Viet Cong, the out-gunned Afghan rebels proved to be dedicated guerilla fighters who were able to effectively hold off the Soviet military. The Soviet economy continued to stagnate. Communist ideology was no longer sufficient to motivate the Russian people. The Soviet population was clearly ready for a

drastic change.

The same was true in the communist countries of Eastern Europe. (See map on page 83.) The people of those countries were also dissatisfied but had no way to change their governments. The threat of **intervention** by Soviet troops prevented any change in government. In Poland, a trade union called Solidarity attempted to bring about increased freedoms for the Polish people in 1980. Solidarity initially made some gains, but by December 1981 a harsher Polish government was installed by Soviet leaders. Although Soviet troops were not used against the Polish protesters, it seemed as though the Soviet Union would continue its control of Eastern Europe for a long time.

Thus, there appeared to be little hope of ending the Cold War in the early 1980s. Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States had gone from détente to confrontation. Through the power of its military, the Soviet Union continued to control the countries of Eastern Europe. It seemed as though the Cold War would continue indefinitely, but a change was on the horizon.

Think About It 1. Ronald Reagan took aggressive actions to confront the Soviet Union. What were the possible gains of such actions? What were the possible losses of such actions? Dictionary Exercises

Find the definitions to the following words:

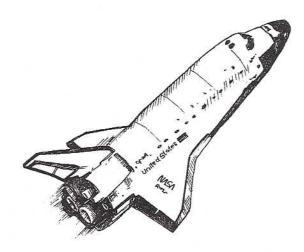
- Détente
- 2. Initiated
- 3. Prelude
- 4. Embargo
- Boycott
- 6. Controversy

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The Challenger Tragedy





In the early 1980s, NASA's space shuttle program was very active. By the end of 1985, 24 missions had been successfully completed.

In January 1986, NASA prepared to send *Challenger* into space. For the first time, one member of the crew was not a trained astronaut. She was Christa McAuliffe, a history teacher.

Seventy-three seconds after takeoff from the Kennedy Space Center, the U.S. space shuttle *Challenger* exploded, killing everyone on board.

President Reagan formed a special commission to investigate the cause of the accident and develop corrective measures. They found the disaster had been caused by the failure of a sealing ring in

one of the shuttle's solid-fuel rockets. Faulty design of the seal and the unusually cold weather had allowed hot gases to leak through. Flames inside the booster rocket escaped and burned through the shuttle's external fuel tank. Liquid hydrogen and liquid oxygen fuels mixed and began to burn, causing the shuttle to tear apart.

The commission also claimed officials at NASA had allowed the launch to take place in spite of concerns voiced by NASA engineers.

Following the *Challenger* disaster, the shuttle launch program was halted for two years until the commission's investigation was completed and designers had made several modifications. NASA implemented stricter regulations for quality control and safety.

Christa McAuliffe had been chosen to join *Challenger's* crew from among 11,000 applications to NASA's Teacher in Space Program. She planned to teach two classes from space, keep a journal of her trip, and use that information to tour the country teaching students about the space program.

In her application, she wrote, "I would like to humanize the Space Age by giving the perspective of a non-astronaut. I think the students will look at that and see that an ordinary person is contributing to history. If they can make that connection, they are going to be excited about history."

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America	in	the	1980s	and	1990s

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The Iran-Contra Scandal

In 1981, President Reagan had directed the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to help guerilla forces in Nicaragua overthrow Daniel Ortega's Sandinista government. Soldiers fighting against the communist government of Nicaragua were called Contras.

In 1986, details of what became known as the Iran-Contra scandal came to light. High-ranking members of the Reagan administration had arranged for the secret sale of arms to Iran, in direct violation of current U.S. laws. Profits from the \$30 million in weapons sales were channeled to the Contras to supply them with arms for use against the Sandinista government—also a violation of U.S. policy.

The chief negotiator of these deals was Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, a military aide to the National Security Council, who set up a covert network to provide the Contras with their own ships, airplanes, airfields, and secret bank accounts.

Following investigations by the Tower Commission in 1987, a report censured President Reagan and his advisors for not controlling the actions of the National Security Council.

Although the commission claimed the president had the ultimate responsibility for implementation of his administration's policies, they found no firm evidence that he had known about the diversion of funds to the Contras.



Oliver North

Colonel North was tried and convicted of obstructing Congress and unlawfully destroying government documents, but his conviction was later overturned.

A final report in 1994 concluded that although there was no evidence that Reagan had broken the law, the president may have participated in, or known about, a cover-up.

1.	Use a dictionary. What does guerilla mean?
2.	Use a dictionary. Define censure.
3.	Do you think a president has the right to break a law or allow others to do so, even if he believes the results are justified? Why or why not?

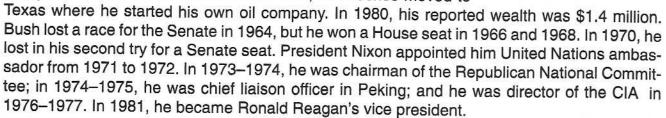
GEORGE BUSH

(1924- , P. 1989-1993)

George Bush had often taken the hard way in his life, which helped him face the difficulties of building an alliance against Saddam Hussein and Iraq in 1991. Success in that war led to one of the highest approval ratings in history for a president, 89 percent, yet he lost the election only a year later.

Bush was born into the very wealthy family of Prescott Bush in 1924. As a boy, George attended Phillips Academy. Anxious to volunteer during World War II, he lied about his age to get into the Navy aviation program, and he became a pilot at 18. From 1942 to 1945, he flew 58 missions in the Pacific. During one mission he was shot down. For heroism, he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. In 1945, he married Barbara Pierce, the daughter of a magazine publisher.

After the war, he attended Yale University where he captained the baseball team. Bush graduated with high grades. Instead of going into his father's investment business, the Bushes moved to



The election of 1988. In 1988, Reagan's popularity was very high, and that helped Bush win the nomination. For vice president, he chose a conservative, Senator Dan Quayle, from Indiana. The Democrats chose Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts as their candidate. During the campaign, Bush assured the voters: "Read my lips—no new taxes." The Dukakis campaign stumbled from the beginning, and Bush easily defeated him 426–112 in electoral votes.

BUSH AS PRESIDENT. In his inaugural address, Bush said: "A new breeze is blowing, and the old bipartisanship must be made new again." However, Bush began his term with a slow start. With Democrats controlling both Houses of Congress, his appointments to the cabinet were carefully studied. Among his cabinet members were James Baker, secretary of state; Richard Cheney, secretary of defense; and Elizabeth Dole, secretary of labor.

In 1989, with revenues dropping because of a slowing economy and high deficits, Bush reluctantly agreed to a tax hike, breaking his "Read my lips" promise.

The recession in 1991 resulted from a drop in profits and less buying by consumers. Businesses began laying off workers, and unemployment jumped from 5.5 percent in 1990 to 6.5 percent in 1991 to 7.4 percent in 1992.

Some major issues occurred during Bush's presidency. One was the large oil spill from the tanker, *Exxon Valdez*, which occurred off the coast of Alaska. Another, the federal government had to rescue some savings and loans that had made unwise loans and whose presidents were paid very high salaries. The problems with drug trafficking and abuse also continued to cause great concern for state and federal officials.



Foreign affairs. Major changes in the world had a major effect on the United States and its foreign affairs. Since the Truman era, the Soviet Union and United States had engaged in the Cold War. The Soviets had the larger army, but the United States had a much larger navy and more advanced technology. By the time Bush came into office, the Soviets were falling

Other trouble spots, however, were becoming serious threats. The global economy is so complex that an epidemic in Africa led to a world-wide AIDS crisis, a drop in the Japanese and Singapore stock markets led to a drop in the U.S. stock markets, and war in the Middle East drew in nations dependent on oil. The international drug traffic threatened the United States. In 1988, a U.S. grand jury indicted General Noriega of Panama for drug trafficking. The next year, 24,000 U.S. troops were involved in an attempt to capture Noriega. He surrendered himself in January, and was convicted in Miami of drug trafficking.

The United States found itself involved in different parts of the world and facing new enemies. In 1991, two major events occurred: the Gulf War and the collapse of the Soviet

The Gulf War. From 1980 to 1988, Iraq and its neighbor, Iran, fought a war that killed thousands on both sides. After the war, the ruler of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, found his nation in deep financial trouble. He wanted an easy victory to restore his reputation as a great leader in the Muslim world. In 1990, he threatened, then seized, the small, oil-rich neighbor country Kuwait. To frighten Saudi Arabia, he moved troops to the Arabian border. Other countries in the region gave their support to the Saudis, and the United States quickly sent a fleet, troops, and

Israel was also in danger of attack by Iraqi Scud missiles, so the United States sent Patriot missiles to Israel and Saudi Arabia to shoot down the Scuds. The United Nations condemned Iraq, and many nations sent troops to form a 600,000-man coalition army and air force

Hussein rejected all demands that he pull out of Kuwait. On January 10, 1991, Congress authorized the use of force against Iraq; war began a week later with air attacks. Operation "Desert Storm" had begun. Iraq's capital, Baghdad, was hit with missiles and bombs that destroyed most of its communications operations. Iraq's Scud missiles were fired at Israel and

In his State of the Union Address, Bush said the purpose of the war was to free Kuwait, not destroy Iraq. He warned that Iraq would be invaded unless it pulled out of Kuwait. Land fighting began on February 24, with 200,000 troops taking part in the attack. Some coalition troops moved into Kuwait, still others into Iraq. Retreating Iraqi forces set fire to many oil facilities before leaving Kuwait. They then began dumping oil into the Persian Gulf, creating an oil slick 60 miles long and 20 miles wide. On February 27, Bush announced that Kuwait was freed and Iraq's army defeated. The land war had lasted 100 hours, but Iraqi losses had been devastating: up to 100,000 killed and wounded, 175,000 captured, and about 3,700 tanks destroyed.

Hussein was still in power, however, and he defied the rules set down by the United Nations for inspection of his atomic and bacteriological warfare plants. Many Americans were convinced that the war should have continued until Hussein was forced out of office.

The breakup of the Soviet Union. Conditions in the Soviet Union worsened every day. While crops rotted in fields because transportation had broken down, food stores in cities had



bare shelves. Workers complained that they were not being paid, and strikes were held. Oil could not be exported because the pipelines were old and leaking. The meltdown at Chernobyl indicated that shoddy construction in Russia was not only in its buildings but in its nuclear power plants as well. While the Communist Party leaders enjoyed great privileges, they did not make the changes that were needed for the rest of the nation.

Along with other members, Boris Yeltsin, leader of Russia's Soviet Socialist Republic, left the Communist party. In July 1991, Yeltsin defeated a Communist for the presidency of the Russian S.S.R. That August, eight Communist leaders attempted to seize control of the Soviet Union by arresting Mikhail Gorbachev; Yeltsin called for a general strike, and the eight leaders were arrested. Gorbachev and the Soviet Parliament suspended all Communist Party activities. This led to a breakup of the Soviet Union. The republics that had made up the U.S.S.R. were given the choice of leaving and forming independent nations or remaining in a new Commonwealth of Independent States. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania left, and President Bush recognized them in December 1991.

The election of 1992. The possibility of reducing military expenses, paying off some of the national debt, or putting money into social programs appealed to many in Congress but not to Bush. With rising unemployment, his popularity began to wane.

The Democrats chose Governor William (Bill) Clinton of Arkansas as their candidate. Bush easily won the Republican nomination. A third challenger, Texas billionaire Ross Perot, founded the Reform Party in an effort to reform American politics.

Clinton won by 5.6 million popular votes and 357–168 electoral votes over Bush. For the first time in 12 years, a Democrat was to occupy the White House. The Bushes retired to a new home in Houston, Texas. Later, Bush took pride in two sons becoming governors, George W. Bush in Texas and Jeb Bush in Florida.



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President George Bush

After serving eight years as vice president, George Bush ran for president in 1988. Bush promised to veto any increases in taxes. "Read my lips. No new taxes," he stated. He also promised to cut the capital gains tax and continue Reagan's defense programs. Bush opposed gun control and abortion.

After winning the election, Bush became a very active, popular president. He signed the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1990 to reduce legal and physical obstacles to people with disabilities. He worked to increase federal programs for education, child care, and technological research and development. Bush signed a bill to improve the nation's interstate highway system. He also signed the Clean Air Act, setting higher standards for air quality and cleaner burning fuels.

Bush's plans to help the troubled savings and loan industry backfired, however, when more than a thousand savings and loan associations went bankrupt due to poor banking practices, poor government regulation, and corruption.

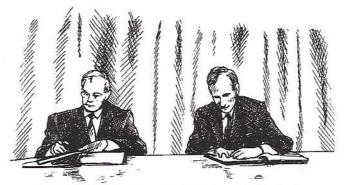
In December 1989, Bush sent 24,000 troops to Panama to help overthrow President

Manuel Noriega who had been indicted for drug trafficking; U.S. officials claimed he had lost the 1989 election for president.

Working with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Bush launched plans to reduce U.S. troops in Europe and move the Soviet Union toward a democratic form of government.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, Bush formed a coalition of 30 nations and sent troops to the region, freeing Kuwait.

While successful in areas of foreign policy, Bush's attempts to balance the bud-



Mikhail Gorbachev and George H.W. Bush

get and reduce the national debt without raising taxes met resistance in Congress. When he ran for reelection in 1992, he was defeated by Bill Clinton.

1.	Which of Bush's achievements do you think were the most important?
2.	Why?



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Operation Desert Storm



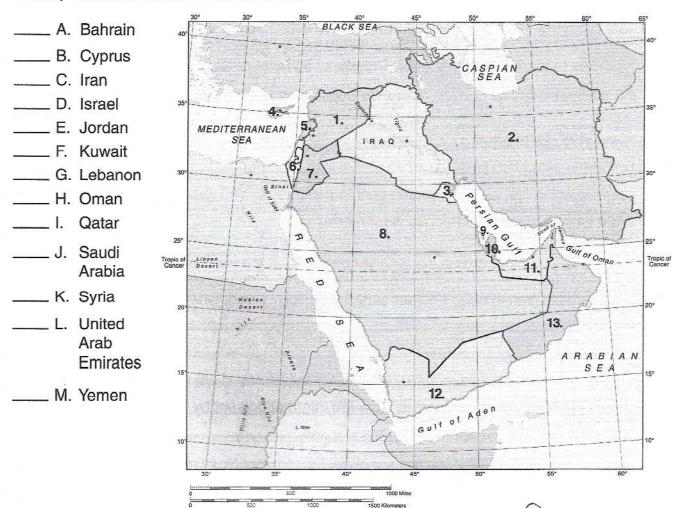
In 1990, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein sent troops to invade and occupy Kuwait to gain control of more of the oil resources in the Middle East. This presented a threat to Saudi Arabia, a U.S. ally and the region's leading oil producer. Hussein was also developing nuclear, chemical, and possibly biological weapons.

Understanding the threat of Hussein and the importance of oil to the U.S. economy, President George Bush stated, "This aggression will not stand." He compared Hussein to Adolf Hitler.

A coalition of 30 nations joined in a buildup of more than half a million troops in the region. Bombing of Iraq began in January 1991, followed by a ground invasion in February, which quickly ended the invasion of Kuwait. Before leaving, Iraqi troops set fire to Kuwaiti oil fields. More than 150,000 Iraqi soldiers and civilians died in the brief Persian Gulf War. Fewer than 200 Allied troops were killed.

However, Saddam Hussein remained in power and continued to be a source of problems for the rest of the decade.

Use reference sources to identify the following Middle East countries. Place the number of the country next to its name in the list below.



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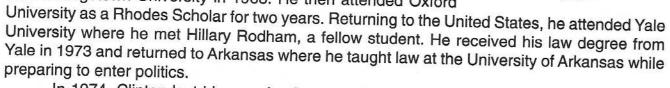
WILLIAM (BILL) CLINTON

(1946- , P. 1993-2001)

While attending a Rose Garden ceremony honoring Boys State delegates, a teenager shook hands with President Kennedy. That occasion caused the young man to devote his life to public service. In 1993, William Jefferson Clinton took the oath of office and became the youngest president since Kennedy. His presidency was to be successful in some ways, but unfortunately marred by accusations of misconduct.

Clinton was born in Hope, Arkansas, in 1946. His father had been killed in a traffic accident three months before he was born. His mother was remarried when he was four years old to Roger Clinton. While he was in high school, Bill adopted his stepfather's last name. Two events of his high school years were important to him. He played saxophone in the band, (which he frequently played to entertain crowds during his political career); the other was his Boys State visit to the White House, which resulted in his resolution to go into politics.

Clinton received his bachelor's degree in foreign service from Georgetown University in 1968. He then attended Oxford



In 1974, Clinton lost his race for Congress from the Arkansas Third District. The next year, he married Hillary Rodham. In 1976, he was elected as the Arkansas attorney general, and he became governor in 1978. He lost his re-election bid four years later, but then regained the office in 1986 and was governor from then until 1992.

The election of 1992. George Bush was again the presidential nominee of the Republicans. After defeating other rivals for the Democratic nomination, Clinton focused on the economy, which was not doing well. The third candidate in the campaign was Ross Perot, a billionaire who attracted much attention with his criticisms of governmental inefficiency. Bush believed government was too big and spent too much. Clinton argued that government had a major part to play in putting America to work again.

Whether it was to save campaign money or to humanize the candidates, talk shows became a place for candidates to go to reach the public with their message.

Personal attacks on Clinton's character were sometimes bitter. He had avoided the draft and opposed the Vietnam War, and there were charges of infidelity and profiting from a failed Whitewater land scheme in Arkansas. Most Democratic attacks were on Vice President Dan Quayle whose blunders were commonly joked about on late-night television shows.

Clinton won the election by 370–168 in electoral votes and by 5.8 million popular votes. Perot came in third with 19.7 million popular votes.

CLINTON AS PRESIDENT (first term). Like many presidents before him, Clinton struggled in his first months in office. His first problem came in an argument with military lead-



ers over allowing homosexuals to serve in the armed forces. They reached a compromise of: "Don't ask, don't tell." His budget was in trouble because of conservative demands that spending be cut and taxes lowered. Heated debates occurred over such issues as health care and welfare reform. Many of his proposals failed or were compromised, but he did win a victory in getting the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) passed. This made trade with Mexico and Canada easier. Congress eventually approved a budget deficit bill to slow the growth of the national debt; a bill to establish a waiting period before a person could buy handguns (the Brady Bill); and AmeriCorps, a national service program.

The Republicans, led by Newt Gingrich, gained control of the House and Senate in 1994. Republican conservatives put great effort into investigating charges made earlier about the Whitewater land deal and possible Clinton involvement. An independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, was appointed to investigate. His investigations spread to include many other matters, including the firing of workers at the White House travel office, the death of a White House lawver, and cover-ups of Clinton infidelities.

Foreign and domestic issues continued to arise. Israel and Jordan signed a peace agreement in 1994 at the White House. Clinton tried to end "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia without using U.S. troops, but by 1995, the United States joined other countries in sending "peace-keeping" troops to Bosnia. The president had difficulty in supporting Yeltsin against Communist critics in Russia while criticizing the Russian invasion of Chechnya, a region trying to break away from Russian domination.

The election of 1996. The Republicans chose Senator Bob Dole as their candidate to oppose Clinton in 1996. Ross Perot again entered the contest but with much less support than in 1992. To the average voter, the successful economy overshadowed the charges brought out in Starr's investigations. Clinton won over Dole by 379–159 in electoral votes and by 8.2 million popular votes. Perot had 11 million fewer votes than in 1992.

CLINTON AS PRESIDENT (second term). The issue dominating the next three years of the Clinton administration was that of the Paula Jones lawsuit and the Monica Lewinsky affair. Ms. Jones had charged that while he was governor of Arkansas, Clinton had made unwanted advances toward her. She then had sued him for sexual harassment. The case had been tied up in court for years, with Clinton publicly denying it had ever happened. Starr believed that it was true, however, and he was looking for information from other women. An intern at the White House, Monica Lewinsky, told a friend that she had had an affair with the president.

Clinton testified in a televised appearance before the Starr grand jury looking into charges of perjury in the Paula Jones case. Starr then took his charges of a cover-up to Congress. The House judiciary committee investigated and brought four charges of impeachment against Clinton. Public opinion polls indicated that most Americans believed the charges were politically motivated. In a tense House vote, two charges were dropped, but two impeachment charges passed. The Senate trial began on January 7, 1999, and was presided over by Chief Justice Rehnquist. The trial was shortened by the decision not to call witnesses. It ended with a not guilty vote of 45–55 on one charge, and 50–50 on the other, far short of the two-thirds required by the Constitution to remove a president from office.

While this important issue was being settled, Clinton and other leaders were working on other problems as well. The Food and Drug Administration was attacking the sale of tobacco products to young people, and lawsuits by state attorneys general forced the tobacco companies to stop advertising on billboards and television. The Internet, movie, and television produc-



ers were criticized for making violent and other objectionable materials available to young people.

A strong economy made it possible to create 22 million jobs, and unemployment dropped to four percent in June of 2000. With welfare rolls cut and restraint in federal spending, the federal government and most states were bringing in more taxes than ever before. At the same time, higher interest rates kept inflation under control. The stock market was higher than ever as well. With record amounts of tax money coming in, it was possible to begin paying off part of the national debt. In July 2000, the Treasury Department announced that \$221 billion would be paid on the national debt that year. It was expected that there would be a \$211 billion surplus for 2000. However, a threat to the nation's economy came from rising oil prices. These were caused by OPEC nations reducing oil production and the increased popularity of fuel-wasting vehicles.

World Affairs. The United States was much involved in world affairs. In some cases the United States was directly involved, while in others its prestige helped bring opposing sides to the bargaining table. Terrorism was taking on new forms, and nations had to work together to capture criminals. Drug dealers often crossed borders, and the United States worked with other nations to prevent drugs from entering the country.

The United States feared that nations like Iraq and Libya would receive missiles and other arms from the nations of the old Soviet Union. The United States and Russia agreed to destroy many missiles.

The Clinton administration also worked to bring warring peoples together. In Northern Ireland, the United States helped bring peace between warring Catholics and Protestants. The United States was also involved in talks between North and South Korea. The most difficult area was still the Middle East, where the United States, led by Secretary of State Madelaine Albright and other negotiators, continued to work with Israel, the Palestinians, and other Moslem neighbors to work out an agreement.

Many issues remained to be settled when the Clinton administration ended. These were topics for debate in the 2000 election, and the two candidates often proposed widely different ways of solving them.

