



Unit #6: The U.S. of Awesome



Unit Notes





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U.S. Growing Pains

The year 1968 is considered by historians as being a huge “game-changer” in American history because the major political events that took place eroded faith in the Federal Government (and the country as a whole) and forced the U.S. to head in a new direction.

On January 30, 1968, the North Vietnamese launched the Tet Offensive, which consisted of surprise attacks against military command centers throughout South Vietnam.

While the U.S. eventually turned back the attacks by the end of February, the Tet Offensive showed the American public that the U.S. was, despite what the Federal Government was telling it, actually losing the Vietnam War.

The My Lai Massacre on March 16, 1968 (300-500 civilians killed) turned the rest of the U.S. against the Vietnam War.

On March 31, 1968, President Lyndon B. Johnson decided not to run for re-election.

On April 4, 1968, MLK, Jr. was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee.

JFK’s brother, Robert (Bobby), who served as Attorney General for JFK, campaigned for the Democratic Party nomination. (It was his voter appeal that caused LBJ to drop out.)

But tragedy would strike RFK as it had JFK.

Upon leaving a celebration in Los Angeles after his victory in the California primary on June 5, 1968, RFK was shot by the Jerusalem born Jordanian Sirhan Sirhan.

RFK was shot once in the head and twice in the back, and a fourth bullet passed through his jacket. RFK died the following day.

Sirhan is an Arab that hates Israel. His killed RFK to prevent RFK from sending troops to Israel “to do harm to the Palestinians”.

Sirhan is currently serving life in jail in California.





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U.S. Growing Pains

The nation, coming off of the assassination of MLK, was stunned. As with JFK, multiple conspiracy theories exist today concerning RFK's assassination.

As a result, the Election of 1968 was conducted against a backdrop that included the deaths of MLK and RFK, race riots, and anti-war protester fights at the Democratic National Convention.

In the end...

Richard M. Nixon ran for the Republicans.

Hubert H. Humphrey, LBJ's Vice President, ran for the Democrats.

George C. Wallace, the Governor of Alabama, ran as an Independent.

** 1968 ELECTION RESULTS **

<u>Popular Vote</u> (60.7% turnout)	<u>Electoral Vote</u> (270 needed)
Nixon: 31,783,783 (43.4%)	Nixon: 301 (55.95%)
Humphrey: 31,271,839 (42.7%)	Humphrey: 191 (35.50%)
Wallace: 09,901,118 (13.5%)	Wallace: 046 (08.55%)**

*** A "Faithless Elector" from North Carolina cast his Electoral Vote for Wallace instead of Nixon. He stated he would have voted for Nixon if his vote would have altered the outcome.*

The Nixon Years

Richard Milhous Nixon served as the 37th President from 1969-1974.

When Nixon took office, he inherited the Vietnam War. U.S. troop strength contracted BUT the war effort expanded. Nixon began a program of Vietnamization to decrease the number of U.S. troops in order to turn the war effort over to the South Vietnamese. Nixon extended war into Cambodia and Laos, where he *secretly* authorized bombing to block enemy supply routes.

People were outraged since Nixon campaigned that he'd end the war. And then things took a turn for the worse...





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The Nixon Years

On May 4, 1970, Ohio National Guard troops killed 4 students and wounded 9 more when they shot into an anti-war protest at Kent State University. Two of the 4 killed had been at the protest, while the other 2 were walking from one class to the next.

On May 15, 1970, police shot into a group of students at Jackson State College in Mississippi, killing 2 and injuring 12.

The shootings led to protests and the only student strike in U.S. history; 4 million students protested, closing over 900 colleges.

Nixon was in danger of being run out of office. He had to end the Vietnam War NOW. But before he could end war, it was 1972... and re-election time. Nixon won easily, beating the Democratic candidate George McGovern.

** 1972 ELECTION RESULTS **

<u>Popular Vote</u> (55.1% turnout)	<u>Electoral Vote</u> (270 needed)
Nixon: 47,168,710 (60.7%)	Nixon: 520 (96.65%)
McGovern: 29,173,222 (37.5%)	McGovern: 017 (03.16%)
Hospers: 00,003,674 (<0.1%)	Hospers: 001 (00.19%)**

*** John Hospers and Tonie Nathan ran for the newly formed Libertarian Party. They appeared on the ballot in only two states (Washington and Colorado) and received 3,674 Popular Votes. A "Faithless Elector" from Virginia cast his Electoral Vote for them instead of Nixon. This made Nathan the first woman and first Jewish candidate to receive an Electoral Vote.*

In 1973, and with the election behind him, the U.S. and North Vietnam signed the Paris Peace Accords. The terms included:

1. U.S. withdrawal of ALL forces from Vietnam.
2. Vietnamese return of Prisoners-of-War (POWs).
3. End of ALL military operations in Cambodia/Laos.

U.S. troops left, but the war between North & South continued.

South Vietnam was defeated in April 1975. After Saigon fell, Vietnam was united under communism.





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Watergate

The Tet Offensive during the Vietnam War and the Watergate Scandal did much to discredit Federal Government.

On June 17, 1972, 5 men were caught in the offices of the Democratic National Committee at the Watergate apartment and office complex in Washington, D.C.

They were gathering information illegally about Larry O'Brien, the chairman of the DNC (who was in Florida at the time). Specifically, they were trying to set up a way to monitor O'Brien's telephone conversations and photograph documents about Democratic donors and financial records.

Initially, the break-in garnered little media attention and was back-page news.

However, an investigation by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, reporters for *Washington Post*, uncovered a White House-sponsored plan of espionage and attempts to cover up how the burglary was planned and financed.

The reporters relied heavily on anonymous sources, including key source known as "Deep Throat". Not until 2005 was "Deep Throat" revealed to be W. Mark Felt, deputy director of the FBI at the time of Watergate investigation.

Testimony of White House aide Alexander Butterfield unlocked the investigation when he said on nationwide TV that Nixon had ordered a taping system be installed in the White House to automatically record all conversations.

As a result, *what* Nixon said and *when* he said it could be verified.

Eight tapes were subpoenaed. Nixon refused to release the tapes, claiming they were vital to National Security.

Allegations of wrongdoing prompted Nixon famously to state, "*I am not a crook!*" in front of 400 startled Associated Press managing editors at Walt Disney World in Florida.





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Watergate

In April 1974, House Judiciary Committee subpoenaed tapes of 42 White House conversations. Some conversations were missing; one tape had gap of 18 minutes... due to 5 separate erasures.

When more tapes were subpoenaed, Nixon refused.

The U.S. Supreme Court stepped in and voted 8-0 in *United States v. Nixon* that Nixon must turn over tapes.

On July 30, 1974, the House Judiciary Committee adopted 3 articles of impeachment against Nixon: obstruction of justice in attempting to impede the Watergate investigation, abuse of power, and contempt of Congress by defying Judiciary Committee subpoenas. These three articles were then sent to the full House of Representatives for a vote.

Rather than face vote in the full House that would have resulted in his impeachment, Nixon resigned from office on August 9, 1974. He became the first U.S. President to do so.

His Vice President, Gerald R. Ford, became President.

Impeachment means to be put on trial for removal. The House of Representatives approves the articles of impeachment, and the Senate votes on guilt. You need 67 Senators (or 2/3) to vote "guilty" on any of the articles of impeachment in order to remove a sitting President.

Only 3 U.S. Presidents have been impeached, but none have been found guilty and removed.

Andrew Johnson was impeached in 1868 with 11 articles of impeachment (but acquitted). Bill Clinton was impeached in 1998 with 2 articles of impeachment (but acquitted). Donald Trump was impeached in 2020 with 2 articles of impeachment (but acquitted).

Remember! Richard Nixon was NOT impeached. He resigned before the House of Representatives could vote on the three articles of impeachment that had been adopted by the House Judiciary Committee.





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The Ford Years

Gerald Rudolph Ford served as the 38th President from 1974-1977.

Nicknamed "Mr. Nice Guy" or "Jerry", Ford is the only person to serve as both Vice President and President without being elected to either office. Nixon's first Vice President, Spiro Agnew (served 1969-1973), resigned on October 10, 1973 following revelations of his financial improprieties. At the time, Ford was serving as the House Minority Leader. Two months after Agnew resigned, Nixon appointed Ford to be Vice President under the terms of the 25th Amendment. The next year, when Nixon resigned, VP Ford became President.

The public enjoyed Ford and his family, because they were a "normal, middle-class" family. Ford even played center for the University of Michigan and won national titles in 1932 and 1933.

Ford spent his first several press conferences answering questions about Nixon.

On September 9, 1974, Ford pardoned Nixon for any "crimes he committed or may have committed".

Ford's popularity dropped overnight - and when your popularity goes, the media gets mean. Along with shows like *Saturday Night Live*, the media started going after Ford's clumsiness, mocking the time he fell down skiing or when his knee gave out and he tumbled down the stairs of the Presidential airplane Air Force One.

Two assassination attempts were made on Ford... both in September 1975 and both in California.

On September 5th, Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme, a follower of cult leader Charles Manson, tried to shoot Ford but was tackled before a shot was fired.

On September 22nd, Sara Jane Moore fired a revolver at Ford but missed. She was an estranged civil rights activist looking to "reconnect" with her high powered friends.

Both attempts failed to garner any sympathy for Ford.





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The Ford Years

Ford also inherited weakest economy since WWII. He faced 3 problems:

1. High inflation.
2. High unemployment (9% - the highest since the Great Depression).
3. Energy use; this was due to the Oil Embargo against U.S.

The Oil Embargo against U.S. was enacted in 1973 by OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) to punish Western nations friendly to Israel during Yom Kippur War between Israel, Syria, and Egypt.

OPEC was founded in Baghdad, Iraq in 1960 by five countries: Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela. They control two-thirds of the world's oil supply.

Their Embargo resulted in the 1973 Energy Crisis under Nixon, but the effects were still felt under Ford. Brown outs, long lines at gas stations, fuel shortages, and paying higher prices at the pump (went from 30 cents/gallon to over a dollar). Drivers of vehicles with odd-numbered license plates were allowed to purchase gasoline on odd-numbered days (even-numbers on even-days).

Nixon forced gas stations to close on Sundays and limited people to 10 gallons at a time. A nationwide speed limit of 55 mph went into effect (repealed in 1995). In Detroit, production of giant, gas guzzling cars was halted. The Geo Metro and Ford Escort were modeled after the Chevy Vega and Ford Pinto of the 1970s. Japanese car sales increased because they were more fuel efficient.

Daylight Savings Time was issued year round in an effort to reduce electrical use. Some school districts turned off lights in their hallways or reduced the school week. In a year of bad news, it was symbolic when Nixon said that because of the Energy Crisis, the lights on the National Christmas Tree would NOT be turned on.

The Crisis ended in 1974, but another Oil Crisis occurred in 1979 under Carter.





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The Ford Years

To prevent the severity of another crisis, President Ford asked the American people to cut their energy consumption. Citizens who signed a pledge to save energy were sent a button with the acronym "WIN" (*"Whip Inflation Now"*).

Because the media disliked Ford, his "WIN" buttons were mocked. People wore the buttons upside down, saying that "NIM" stood for *"No Immediate Miracles"* or *"Need Immediate Money"*.

Ford also inherited the final phases of the Vietnam War.

Even though all U.S. forces were out of Vietnam, but conservatives urged Ford to continue to give military aid to South Vietnam to help them against the final North Vietnamese invasion.

Ford agreed, but the Democratic-controlled Congress rejected such bills in 1975. The U.S. Embassy in Saigon was evacuated by Ford, and in April 1975, South Vietnam fell to the North. Vietnam was unified and became communist.

At home, Ford offered amnesty (an official pardon/forgiveness) to draft dodgers. This upset both parties and much of the public. Only 20,000 of the 100,000 dodgers came home.

Record low voter turnout made the Election of 1976 between Ford and the Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter the closest in decades.

The low voter turnout was ironic since the nation was celebrating its Bicentennial. Only 53.6% of registered voters showed up (the lowest turnout since the Election of 1932). Ford had fallen again.

** 1976 ELECTION RESULTS **

<u>Popular Vote</u> (53.6% turnout)	<u>Electoral Vote</u> (270 needed)
Carter: 40,831,881 (50.1%)	Carter: 297 (55.20%)
Ford: 39,148,634 (48.0%)	Ford: 240 (44.61%)
	Reagan: 001 (00.19%)**

** Ronald Reagan had unsuccessfully challenged Ford during the 1976 Republican Primary. A "Faithless Elector" from Washington cast his Electoral Vote for Reagan instead of Ford.





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The Carter Years

James Earl Carter, Jr. served as the 39th President from 1977-1981.

"Jimmy" Carter was Governor of Georgia... and a peanut farmer. His ease in front of TV cameras and his promise "*not to lie to the American people*" was comforting.

But his campaign promises soon fell apart.

Carter promised to reform tax system... but didn't.

He promised to reduce the number of Federal agencies... but instead increased them.

He promised to manage economy different than his Republican predecessors... but instead managed it exactly like Republicans.

Polls showed that public liked Carter as a *person*... but lacked faith in his *leadership*.

Carter did try to act peacefully with foreign affairs. For example, after anti-American riots in the Panama "Canal Zone", Carter negotiated to turn over the Panama Canal (built by the U.S. from 1903-1914) to Panama in 2000.

But 5 major key foreign events/issues soon came to dominate the Carter Administration. These were:

1. The Camp David Accords

Carter proved to be a great negotiator. In 1978, he brokered a peace agreement between Israel and Egypt at Camp David in Maryland. While peace didn't last long between the two, it was a start.

2. Communist China

Carter continued Nixon's *détente* ("relaxation") policy to fix problems with China by granting them full diplomatic and trade relations. But to do this, he had to end relations with Tibet. (China claims Tibet, but Tibet maintains that it is independent.)





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3. SALT II

Carter also continued Nixon's nuclear treaties with the Soviets.

The first round of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) let both the U.S. and the Soviet Union keep what nuclear weapons they had but outlawed the building or buying of new weapons.

Carter wanted to ban nukes entirely. He met with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and signed SALT II.

SALT II set precise limits on the number and the type of nukes each nation could maintain.

4. The Iran Hostage Crisis

The Islamic Revolution in Iran created the first major foreign crisis for Carter. Iran's Monarch (called "Shah") was Mohammad Pahlavi. He had been a U.S. ally since World War II even though his rule was very autocratic (absolute power).

When the revolution broke out in January 1979, the U.S. did not intervene. The Shah was overthrown in favor of Ruhollah Khomeini, who established the Islamic Republic of Iran and made himself the nation's Supreme Leader (which he held until his death in 1989).

Known as the "Ayatollah Khomeini" in the West, the Ayatollah urged his people to demonstrate against the U.S. and Israel. Khomeini denounced the U.S. as the "Great Satan" and the "Enemy of Islam".

On November 4, 1979, a group of Iranian students (who supported the Ayatollah and opposed Western influences) stormed the U.S. Embassy in Tehrān, the capital of Iran, and took 66 Americans hostage.

The U.S. and Carter responded by freezing Iranian assets held by U.S. banks and imposing an embargo (no trade) against Iran.

The U.S. public was outraged by Iran's actions and wanted to see the hostages brought home.





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4. The Iran Hostage Crisis (continued...)

The hostage-takers, declaring their solidarity with other "oppressed minorities" and "the special place of women in Islam", released 13 female and black hostages in November 1979.

When Khomeini endorsed the students' actions, the "Iran Hostage Crisis" ensued. It would last until January 20, 1981.

The remaining hostages were kept captive and paraded around blindfolded on TV. Iran demanded U.S. apologize for acts committed in support of the Shah; help bring the Shah back to Iran (he fled to U.S.) to face trial and execution; and return billions of dollars that the Shah hid abroad.

Rejecting Iranian demands, Carter approved an ill-fated secret rescue mission called "Operation Eagle Claw". On the night of April 24, 1980, transport airplanes met up with helicopters. As they began, 2 helicopters broke down in a sandstorm. The mission was aborted, but as aircraft took off again, a helicopter clipped a plane and crashed, killing 8 and wounding 4.

In Iran, Khomeini's prestige skyrocketed as he said divine intervention caused the failure.

A second attempt called "Operation Credible Sport" hoped cargo planes could land in a soccer stadium by the U.S. Embassy in Tehrān and airlift the hostages out. During a practice run on October 29, 1980, the aircraft sustained a heavy landing which tore off a wing and set it on fire. (Luckily, the crew survived.)

Carter was now viewed as very weak and incompetent. In fact, the Hostage Crisis was a major reason behind Carter losing his re-election bid to Ronald Reagan.

On January 20, 1981, just *minutes* after Reagan was sworn in as the new President, the hostages were released after having spent 444 days in captivity.





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5. Afghanistan

Mohammed Daoud Khan served as the Prime Minister of Afghanistan from 1953-1963. In 1973, with the aid of the Soviet Union, he overthrew the monarchy and declared himself as the first President of Afghanistan. He held this position until 1978 when he was assassinated during the Saur Revolution led by the communist-driven People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) after he fell out of favor with the Soviet Union. Nur Muhammad Taraki became the new President. This 1978 coup and assassination plunged Afghanistan into a civil war.

The new communist government of Afghanistan quickly initiated a series of socialist and land reforms, many of which were extremely unpopular among the rural population. However, Soviet Afghanistan suppressed opposition by executing thousands.

By April 1979, 25 of Afghanistan's 28 provinces (like states) were in open rebellion. In September, President Taraki was murdered by his second-in-command Hafizullah Amin, who declared himself the new leader of Afghanistan.

On December 24, 1979, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev sent in troops to Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. These troops staged a coup, killed President Amin, and installed a new communist government under Soviet loyalist Babrak Karmal.

The U.S. viewed the Soviet response in Afghanistan as an "invasion". The Soviets called it an "intervention", justified by the Brezhnev Doctrine (which stated that any threat to communist rule in Central and Eastern Europe was a threat to communism itself and required immediate intervention by the U.S.S.R.).

The U.S. also worried the Soviets could seize Middle Eastern oil. Carter had to show he could be tough. He stated, "*the most serious threat to the peace since the Second World War*".

The new Carter Doctrine stated that the U.S. would not allow any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region.





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6. Afghanistan (continued...)

Carter ended the Russian Wheat Deal, which actually hurt U.S. farmers more than Russia.

He then boycotted the 1980 Summer Olympics that were to be held in Moscow. This enraged the Soviets, who later led a "revenge boycott" of the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles.

Still, none of these responses caused the Soviets to remove their troops. The Soviets used their superior air power to devastate the anti-communist rebels and Afghan civilians, leveling entire villages. They soon installed millions of land mines to combat the guerilla warfare they faced in the countryside.

In response to reports that the Soviets were committing mass genocide of Afghan civilians, the United Nations (UN) passed a resolution protesting the Soviet intervention. Soon the Afghan rebels began to receive massive amounts of support through monetary and military aid. They received training in neighboring Pakistan from the U.S. and Britain.

The Soviets had planned to secure towns and roads, stabilize the government under the new leader Karmal, and withdraw in six months or a year. However, the improved fighting strength of the guerillas turned this into a bloody 9-year-war. By the mid-1980s, the fighting increased, and the military and diplomatic cost of the war began to take its toll. In 1987, the Soviets, now under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev, began withdrawing from Afghanistan. The final Soviet troops left on February 15, 1989.

Over 15,000 Soviet troops were killed and more than 53,000 wounded in Afghanistan. The Afghan rebels suffered over 90,000 casualties (including 57,000 deaths). The war saw 2 million Afghan civilians killed, 3 million wounded, and created 5 million refugees.

Afghanistan has often been dubbed the "Soviet Vietnam". Their failure in this war was a contributing factor in the fall of the Soviet Union just two years later.





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The Carter Years

Just like what happened to Ford when he lost media support, Carter soon suffered the same. Big issues seemed worse, small issues were blown out of proportion, and Carter was harmed by oil, his brother... and a bunny.

The 1979 Energy (or Oil) Crisis came in wake of Iranian Revolution. The new Iranian regime's oil exports were lower than before, which drove up prices. Long lines again appeared at U.S. gas stations.

Carter encouraged Americans to turn down their thermostats. Solar power panels were installed on the roof of the White House. Wood-burning stoves were even put in the White House living quarters.

It was not the strong response the nation needed.

And then there was Jimmy's youngest brother, Billy Carter. Billy was, without a doubt, the family's "black sheep". When Billy did something stupid, the media asked Jimmy. Matters were made only worse when Billy endorsed Billy Beer. One ad for the beer contained this quote by Billy: *"I had this beer brewed just for me. I think it's the best I've eve tasted. And I've tasted a lot. I think you'll like it, too."* The tagline of the beer was equally as ridiculous: *"Brewed expressly for and with the personal approval of one of America's all-time great beer drinkers... Billy Carter."*

And then came the bunny.

On April 20, 1979, Carter was attacked by a "killer" rabbit on a fishing trip in Georgia. The rabbit was *"hissing menacingly, its teeth flashing and nostrils flared and making straight for the President"*. When the rabbit tried to enter the boat, Carter swung at it with an oar.

Naturally, once the media caught wind of it, it was over for Carter. Newspaper headlines read: *"President Attacked By Rabbit!"* The Press even called the rabbit "Paws" (in reference to 1975's movie "Jaws"). Carter was additionally mocked by references to the killer rabbit in "Monty Python and the Holy Grail" (1975).





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The Carter Years

The book *The Other Side of the Story* (1986) recounted the infamous Carter/Killer Rabbit story:

"Upon closer inspection, the animal turned out to be a rabbit. Not one of your cutesy, Easter Bunny-type rabbits, but one of those big splay-footed things called swamp rabbits. The animal was clearly in distress, or perhaps berserk. The President confessed to having had limited experience with enraged rabbits. He was unable to reach a definite conclusion about its state of mind."

The bunny incident became synonymous with Carter: he was hapless and enfeebled. As a result, he was beaten soundly by the Republican candidate Ronald Reagan in the Election of 1980 - an election that saw even lower voter turnout than in 1976!

** 1980 ELECTION RESULTS **

<u>Popular Vote</u> (52.8% turnout)	<u>Electoral Vote</u> (270 needed)
Reagan: 43,903,230 (50.7%)	Reagan: 489 (90.89%)
Carter: 35,480,115 (41.0%)	Carter: 049 (09.11%)
Anderson: 05,719,850 (06.6%)	Anderson: 000 (00.00%)

The Reagan Years

Ronald Wilson Reagan served as the 40th President from 1981-1989.

Born in Illinois, Reagan was a Hollywood actor for 25 years and starred in over 50 movies.

He served as Governor of California from 1967-1974. He tried to run for President in 1968 (Nixon) and 1976 (Ford) but lost in the Republican primaries both times.

His crushing defeat of Carter signaled a huge change for the U.S.

Reagan oversaw the most far-reaching changes in economic and social policy in 50 years.





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The Reagan Years

Reagan eliminated many of the social programs of Presidents FDR and LBJ and lifted restrictions on Big Business. Reagan saw his role as "*The Great Communicator*" and delegated much of day-to-day work to his staff. He defined his style as "*to identify the problem, find the right individuals to do the job, and then let them go to it.*"

He was liked by businessmen opposed to government regulation.

He was liked by anti-communists who felt the U.S. should build up its military.

He was liked by conservative religious groups who were appalled by America's growing acceptance of sex and drugs.

He was liked by moderate middle-class and working-class Americans, many whom used to support Democrats.

He was liked by people who thought the U.S. Government was too large.

Reagan appealed directly to the American people through the media. His training as an actor gave him incredible abilities as a speaker that influenced public opinion greatly.

He could sell ketchup popsicles to ladies wearing white gloves.

But not everyone liked Reagan.

At 2:27pm on March 30, 1981, John Hinckley, Jr. fired 6 shots at Reagan as he left a hotel in D.C. after addressing an AFL-CIO conference. The bullet that struck Reagan in the chest ricocheted off the side of the Presidential limousine. The bullet just missing Reagan's heart, and the President was rushed into surgery.

During the attack, a police officer, a Secret Service agent, and Press Secretary James Brady were injured. Brady was permanently disabled in the shooting and died as a result of his injuries 33 years later in 2014. Brady's death was subsequently ruled a homicide. Prior to his death, however, the Brady Bill was passed in 1993. It implemented the 5-day waiting period to buy guns.





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The Reagan Years

As it turns out, Hinckley tried to kill Reagan as a way to attract the "respect and love" of actress Jodie Foster. Hinckley's idea came from the 1976 movie *Taxi Driver*. In the movie, a psychopath (Robert De Niro) stalks a candidate running for Senate. Jodie Foster made her acting debut in *Taxi Driver* as a sexually trafficked 12-year-old child.

When Foster entered Yale University, Hinckley moved to Connecticut to stalk her, slipping poems and messages under her door and evening calling her several times. He even considered hijacking a plane or killing himself in front of her to get her attention. Eventually he settled on killing the President, thinking that by achieving a place in history he would appeal to her as an equal.

Hinckley began following President Jimmy Carter around the U.S. before being arrested in Tennessee on a firearms charge. He returned home and began collecting material on the assassination of JFK. With a plan in place, he turned his sites on the newly elected President, Ronald Reagan. Hinckley even wrote a love letter to Jodie Foster just before his attempt on Reagan.

At his trial in 1982, Hinckley was found "not guilty" by reasons of insanity (schizophrenia) and committed to St. Elizabeths, a psychiatric hospital in Washington, DC.

Soon after his trial, Hinckley wrote that the shooting was "the greatest love offering in the history of the world" and was disappointed that Foster did not reciprocate his love.

The verdict was met with public outrage and resulted in several states amending their laws governing the insanity defense and when it can be used in a criminal prosecution.

While at St. Elizabeths, hospital staff discovered photographs and letters in Hinckley's room that showed a continued obsession with Foster. They even found evidence that Hinckley had exchanged letters with serial killer Ted Bundy and tried to get the address of incarcerated cult leader Charles Manson (who had convinced Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme to try to kill President Gerald Ford in 1975).





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On September 10, 2016, Hinckley was released from St. Elizabeths after being deemed "no longer a threat to himself or others". The conditions of his release was that he have no contact with the Reagan family, the Brady family, Jodie Foster, or Foster's family or agent. He had to live with his 90-year-old mother and be restricted to a 50-mile zone around her home in Williamsburg, Virginia. He was prohibited from using alcohol and possessing any firearms, not allowed to speak to the press, had to work at least 3 days a week, have limited Internet access and use, submit his cell phone and license plate numbers to the Secret Service, and see a psychiatrist twice a month.

In 2018, Hinckley was permitted to move out of his mother's house. He currently lives in a modest house on a golf course in Williamsburg, runs a small antiques business, and posts and sells music on-line (anonymously).

Unlike with the two Ford assassination attempts, public sympathy helped Reagan push his agenda through Congress.

Reagan also knew that it was important to convey to the country that he was going to be OK. The very first thing he said to the First Lady Nancy Reagan when she arrived at the hospital was, "Honey, I forgot to duck," a reference to a one-liner used by boxer Jack Dempsey. In fact, Reagan even said to the surgeons as he entered the operating room, "Please tell me you're Republicans." After the surgery when he was surrounded by medical staff, he joked, "If I had this much attention in Hollywood, I'd have stayed there."

Later, when Reagan was giving a speech in West Berlin, a balloon in the crowd popped very loudly and sounded like a gun shot. Without missing a beat, and in mid-sentence, Reagan said, "Missed me" and continued.

In 1984, with his popularity rising and approval ratings trending back up, Reagan cruised to re-election over the Democratic candidate Walter Mondale in one of the biggest political drubbings in history. (Mondale ran with Geraldine Ferraro as the first female Vice Presidential candidate of a *major* American political party.)





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The Reagan Years

** 1984 ELECTION RESULTS **

<u>Popular Vote</u> (53.3% turnout)	<u>Electoral Vote</u> (270 needed)
Reagan: 54,455,472 (58.8%)	Reagan: 525 (97.58%)
Mondale: 37,577,352 (40.6%)	Mondale: 013 (02.42%)

Reagan based his economic program on supply-side economics (nicknamed "Reaganomics"). Nicknamed "Reaganomics", it called for tax cuts a reduction in governmental spending. This, in theory, leaves more money in the hands of the American people. The people then spend this extra money on goods or invest in businesses, which boosts the economy. This is often known as the "Trickle-Down Theory" because when you cut taxes on high incomes and businesses, it frees up money that "tickles down" to others.

The criticism of such a theory states, *"If you feed enough oats to the horse, some will pass through to feed the sparrows."*

Supply-side economics is the opposite of Deficit Spending. With Deficit Spending (nicknamed "Pump-Priming"), the government borrows or prints more money to finance its spending. As the economy recovers, revenues increase, and the government has a surplus of money. The surplus is then used to pay back the money the government borrowed.

Still, "Reaganomics" produced economic growth and fueled a 5-year increase in the Stock Market. As a result, the 1980s were a prosperous time for many Americans, particularly those in upper class who benefited most from Reagan tax cuts.

Reagan was also determined to make the U.S. the #1 in military again. Defense spending increased, jumping from \$134 billion in 1980 to \$290 billion in 1988. This drove the National Debt up from \$908 billion in 1980 to \$2.6 trillion in 1988.

Reagan changed the tone of the U.S. foreign policy. *Détente*, the peaceful policy of coexistence with the Soviet Union that was stressed under Nixon and Ford, was de-emphasized under Reagan. In 1983, Reagan referred to the Soviet Union as the "Evil Empire" and talked about a "Second Cold War".





Unit #6: The U.S. of Awesome

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The Reagan Doctrine, put forth in 1985, aggressively pledged U.S. aid to anti-communist guerillas and resistance movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The doctrine remained a centerpiece of U.S. foreign policy until the end of the Cold War in 1991.

After the Nicaraguan Revolution deposed Nicaragua's dictator in 1979, the U.S. accused the new Sandinista Government of being allied with Cuba and the Soviet Union and for aiding communists in El Salvador and other Central American countries.

Reagan suspended aid to Nicaragua, imposed an economic boycott, and began supplying money, arms, and training for an armed opposition guerrilla force known as the Contras (short for the Spanish word for "Counterrevolutionaries").

These Contra forces, based in neighboring countries, included former members of the previous dictator's family and other Nicaraguans dissatisfied with the new communist government. Nicaragua, facing Contra attacks, began receiving military aid from Cuba and the Soviet Union. The Contra War (1981-1990) ended when the communist government peacefully surrendered power in favor of a national election. When the National Opposition Union's pro-democratic candidate Violeta Barrios de Chamorro became the nation's President, the U.S. ended its embargo.

The U.S. sent weapons and advisers to aid the government of El Salvador against communist guerillas. The Salvadoran Civil War (1979-1992) resulted in the communist guerillas being defeated. They dissolved but remain a political party in the country today.

In 1983, the U.S. and a coalition of 6 Caribbean countries invaded the island of Grenada (Operation Urgent Fury) after communists overthrew the government there. The invasion resulted in 19 killed and 116 wounded for the U.S. but also the appointment of an interim government, followed by democratic elections in 1984. Grenada has remained a democratic nation since.

The U.S. continued to send military supplies to the Afghan guerrillas fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan.





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The U.S. also aided guerrillas fighting the communist government of Angola (on the west coast of Southern Africa). The Angolan Civil War (1975-2002) began immediately after Angola gained its independence from Portugal in 1975. The war was a power struggle between two former anti-Portuguese guerilla movement: one was communist (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, or MPLA) and the other was anti-communist (National Union for Total Independence of Angola, or UNITA). The war was used as a surrogate battleground for the Cold War by the Soviet Union, Cuba, South Africa, and the U.S. All foreign forces withdrew by 1989, which resulted in a communist MPLA victory in 1992 and the creation (then collapse) of the People's Republic of Angola. From then on there were fragile periods of peace, and by the time the MPLA achieved victory in 2002, over 500,000 people had died and over 1 million became refugees.

Under Reagan, U.S. direct relations with the Soviet Union (now under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev) tempered, partly because of the U.S. military buildup. Of particular importance was Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

The SDI was a proposed missile defense system that would protect the U.S. from enemy nuclear missiles. Reagan was a strong critic of the idea of the Cold War "strategy" of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), a coin termed in 1962. MAD called for the full-scale use of nuclear weapons that would result in the complete annihilation of both the attacker and the defender. Such a doctrine required that neither side construct shelters on a massive scale. In fact, if one side constructed such shelters, it would violate the MAD doctrine and destabilize the situation because that side would have less to fear from a second (or retaliatory) strike from whatever was left of the other side.

Reagan described such an approach to nuclear war as a "suicide pact" and in 1983 called on American scientists and engineers to develop a system that would render nuclear weapons obsolete. A wide array of advanced weaponry (like space-based missile systems and lasers that could detect and deflect any inbound nuclear weapons) were studied along with computer systems that would be needed to control a system consisting of hundreds of combat centers and satellites.





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In 1987, and after spending \$30 billion (\$70 billion in today's money) on SDI, the U.S. Department of Defense concluded that the technologies being considered were decades away from being ready to use... and at least another decade of research would be required to know whether such a system was even possible. It was also estimated to cost any additional \$400-800 billion (\$934 billion to \$1.87 trillion in today's money).

SDI was criticized for threatening to destabilize the MAD-approach and re-igniting an "arms race" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Democratic Senator Ted Kennedy referred to it as "misleading Red Scare tactics and reckless 'Star Wars' scheme". The nickname of "Star Wars" stuck to Reagan's SDI program.

SDI officially ended in 1993 when President Bill Clinton redirected efforts and funding toward other defensive projects.

Whether the SDI technology could have ever been accomplished remains highly unlikely. Some historians say it was Reagan "bluffing" the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The very idea of the SDI program made the Soviet Union realize its economic and social system could not sustain a technological arms race with the U.S., forcing Soviet leadership to eventually accept defeat.

The last 2 years of Reagan's Presidency were marred by scandals, the biggest of which was known as the "Iran-Contra Affair".

It was political scandal that turned public attention to the effectiveness of Reagan's "hands-off" management style and damaged his reputation.

While Reagan had won the Election of 1984, the Democrats had taken the majority of both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Soon after, Democrats passed the Boland Amendment, which restricted the activities of the CIA and Department of Defense in foreign conflicts. This immediately put Congress at odds with the Reagan Doctrine.





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Specifically, the Boland Amendment was aimed at Nicaragua, where the anti-communist Contras were battling the communist Sandinista government. Reagan described the Contras as "the moral equivalent of the Founding Fathers" even though much of their funding, to that point, had come via Nicaragua's cocaine trade (hence Congress' decision to pass the Boland Amendment).

As a result, Reagan instructed his National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane, to find a way to assist the Contras regardless of the cost (political or otherwise).

Meanwhile, in the Middle East, where U.S. relations had been strained for decades, Iraq and Iran were engaged in a bloody war. At the same time, Iranian-backed terrorists had taken 7 Americans hostage in Lebanon. Reagan delivered another ultimatum to his advisors: find a way to bring those hostages home.

McFarlane told Reagan that Iran had approached the U.S. about purchasing weapons for its war against neighboring Iraq. (Keep in mind, however, that in 1984 Congress had designated Iran as a terrorist nation and banned any weapon sales and all U.S. assistance to Iran. In fact, a U.S. trade embargo had been in place since 1979 in response to the Iran Hostage Crisis during the Carter Administration.)

Even though Reagan's Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense opposed it, McFarlane argued that an arms deal with Iran would not only secure the release of the hostages but help the U.S. improve relations with Lebanon, providing the country with an ally in a region where it desperately needed one.

Additionally, the arms deal would secure funds that the CIA could secretly funnel to the Contras in Nicaragua.

In 1986, a Lebanese newspaper reported the arms deal between the U.S. and Iran. By that time, some 1,500 American missiles had been sold to Iran for \$30 million. Three of the 7 hostages in Lebanon were also released, although the Iran-backed terrorist group there took three more Americans hostage.





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An investigation into the \$30 million that Iran had paid for the weapons found \$18 million unaccounted for. At that time, Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, of the National Security Council, came forward to acknowledge that he had diverted the missing funds to the Contras, who then used the money to acquire weapons.

During the Congressional investigation in 1987, several people involved in the scandal, including Reagan, testified in hearings that were televised nationally.

During a nationally televised address from the Oval Office in March 1987, Reagan took full responsibility, stating, *"As angry as I may be about activities undertaken without my knowledge, I am still accountable for those activities."*

In the end, 14 people, including North and McFarlane, were charged. McFarlane was sentenced to 2 years' probation and \$20,000 in fines. North's conviction was later dismissed on a technicality.

Reagan was never charged but his lack of oversight and supervision enabled those working under him to divert the funds to the Contras.

In 1992, President George H. W. Bush (Reagan's Vice President) pardoned Reagan's former Secretary of Defense (who had opposed the deal from the start).

Despite this scandal, Reagan remains one of America's most beloved Presidents and is often ranked by historians in the "Top Ten".

Five years after his second term, Reagan was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease. His son, Ron Reagan, stated that he saw signs of the disease while his father was in office, and later analysis detected variations in Reagan's vocabulary during his time in office which could point to signs of dementia.

While there is no conclusive evidence that he suffered while President, rumors of dementia dogged Reagan during his 1980 campaign. When Reagan was sworn in as President in 1981, he remained the oldest President (age 69) until Donald Trump's election in 2016 (70).





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Reagan's Vice President, George Herbert Walker Bush, ran for President in 1988, promising voters: "Read my lips: No new taxes." Using Reagan's popularity, Bush easily defeated the Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis.

** 1988 ELECTION RESULTS **

<u>Popular Vote</u> (50.3% turnout)		<u>Electoral Vote</u> (270 needed)	
Bush:	48,886,597 (53.4%)	Bush:	426 (79.18%)
Dukakis:	41,809,074 (45.6%)	Dukakis:	111 (20.63%)
Bentsen:	N/A (00.0%)	Bentsen:	001 (00.19%)**

** Lloyd Bentsen ran as the Vice Presidential candidate alongside Michael Dukakis. A "Faithless Elector" from West Virginia cast her Electoral Vote for Bentsen as President and Dukakis as Vice President instead of the other way around. She did this as a form of protest against the "winner-take-all" custom of the Electoral College.

The H. W. Bush Years

George Herbert Walker Bush served as the 41st President from 1989-1993.

Despite winning the entire South, most of the West, and almost all of Midwest, the Election of 1988 left one obstacle for Bush: the Democrats kept majorities in both the House and Senate.

Still, Bush toned down the imperial image that had surrounded the Reagan Presidency by jogging every morning in D.C.

First Lady Barbara Bush talked about her fake pearls and her inability to lose weight. The result was great popularity for the new President.

Bush's most dramatic departure from Reagan was his belief that the Federal Government was not the enemy.

After Reagan's scandals, Bush spoke about the need for integrity in government. He worked to increase Federal spending for education and child care.





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Bush battled Congress on a crime bill to help police bring criminals to justice.

After 8 years of environmental disregard under Reagan, Bush moved to reauthorize the Clean Air Act, which established higher standards for air quality.

However, Reagan's economic legacy was the biggest domestic challenge Bush faced. By 1990, the Federal Debt had increased to \$3.2 trillion. Bush believed that the incomes and standard of living of most Americans would not increase if its economy was built on a foundation of debt.

Bush tried to persuade Congress to reduce the deficit but found it difficult to please Democrats AND Republicans.

Democrats believed increasing taxes on the wealthy was the solution. Republicans believed major cuts in Federal domestic spending was the solution.

Finding a compromise would have been difficult for any President, but for Bush, who never enjoyed the trust of his party's powerful conservative wing, it proved nearly impossible. As a result, Bush's Democratic rivals in Congress consistently outmaneuvered him.

Democrats forced Bush to agree to sign a statement calling for tax increases before they'd even negotiate the budget. Bush agreed (despite his campaign promise of "no new taxes"), and many Republicans felt betrayed.

The Democrats and Bush agreed to a historic package of spending cuts and tax increases that reduced the deficit by \$500 billion over 5 years, BUT angry Republican conservatives defeated the budget bill in the House.

Bush had to reassemble a bill that could win a majority, and to do so he had to accept almost all of the Democrats' demands (including higher taxes and more spending). In popularity polls, Bush's approval rating fell 20 points in one 6-week period in late 1990.





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The budget mess coincided with a mild recession in late 1990 that lasted 8 months but seemingly lingered in the public's mind for 2 years. During the recession, Federal spending on welfare and other programs increased, wiping out the savings the budget deal had promised.

In 1991, Bush proposed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the U.S., Mexico, and Canada. NAFTA would lower tariffs on trade between the 3 countries and was designed to help the 3 compete against similar free-trade zones in Europe and Asia. (It was passed in 1993 under President Bill Clinton and replaced in 2020 by President Trump.)

Bush was more successful in foreign policy than in domestic legislation, specifically when it came to Panama, the Cold War, and Iraq.

1. The Invasion of Panama

In December 1989, Bush sent U.S. troops into Panama, a country with which the U.S. has had a long-standing history.

The U.S. always wanted to a canal through Panama as a way to reduce the travel time between the East and West Coasts. In 1903, the U.S., having failed to obtain from Colombia the right to build a canal across Panama (which was part of Colombia), sent warships to aid in Panama's push for independence. Newly-freed Panama gave the U.S. the rights to build a canal, which the U.S. did from 1903-1914. The existence of an American-controlled "Canal Zone" cut Panama in half geographically. Major anti-American riots occurred in 1958, 1959, and again in 1964, resulting in the U.S. easing its control in the region. After extensive negotiations during the Carter Administration, the "Canal Zone" ceased to exist in 1979 and guaranteed Panama would gain control of the Panama Canal in 2000.

The U.S. also had a relationship with Panama's General and Dictator Manuel Noriega. He served as a U.S. intelligence asset and paid informant of the CIA from 1967 until the mid-1980s. Noriega sided with the U.S. in Central America and sabotaged the forces of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and the FMLN group in El Salvador.





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1. The Invasion of Panama (continued...)

Although Noriega worked with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) to restrict illegal drug shipments, he was known to accept "financial support" from drug dealers and assisted with the laundering of drug money. However, he received protection from DEA investigations due to his special relationship with the CIA.

In the mid-1980s, relations between Noriega and the U.S. began to fall apart. In 1986, President Reagan demanded that Noriega step down after he was implicated in the Iran-Contra Scandal. Noriega was then indicted in the U.S. for drug trafficking in 1988. Knowing that Panama would never extradite him, Noriega ignored Reagan.

Soon there was talk in the Reagan Administration about an invasion of Panama, but Reagan refused due to Bush's ties to Noriega through his previous positions in the CIA (where Bush was the Director from 1976-1977) and the Task Force on Drugs. Reagan worried this might have a negative impact on Bush's Presidential campaign.

In March 1988, Noriega's forces resisted an attempted coup against the government of Panama (of which he was the *de facto* leader). He then began to shift his Cold War allegiances to favor the Soviet Union, even receiving military aid from Cuba, Nicaragua, and Libya.

In May 1989, during the Panamanian national elections, an alliance of political parties opposed to the Noriega dictatorship ran Guillermo Endara against Carlos Duque (a candidate of a pro-Noriega coalition). Endara was victorious but physically assaulted by Noriega supporters the next day in his motorcade.

Noriega declared the election "null" and maintained power by force, making him unpopular among Panamanians. Noriega's government insisted that it had won the election and that the U.S. had interfered. President Bush called on Noriega to honor the will of the Panamanian people. Instead, Noriega had Panama's General Assembly (like their Congress) pass a resolution declaring that a state of war existed between Panama and the U.S. This put the lives of the 35,000 U.S. citizens living in Panama in jeopardy.





Unit #6: The U.S. of Awesome

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1. The Invasion of Panama (continued...)

On December 16, 1989, four U.S. soldiers from the "Canal Zone" were on their way to dinner in Panama City (the capital of Panama) when they were stopped at a roadblock. The soldiers, who were unarmed and in a private vehicle, were soon surrounded by an angry crowd of civilians and members of the Panamanian Defense Forces (PDF), the military of Panama. When the U.S. soldiers tried to flee, the PDF shot and killed one and wounded another. (The PDF claimed that the U.S. soldiers were armed and on a reconnaissance mission.)

The next day, President Bush ordered the execution of the Panama invasion plan. Bush said the U.S. needed to protect the American citizens living in Panama, defend democracy and human rights in Panama, combat drug trafficking (Panama had become a center for drug money laundering and a transit point for drug trafficking to the U.S. and Europe), and protecting the integrity of the treaty signed by President Carter that let the U.S. intervene militarily to protect the Panama Canal. His reasoning provided enough justification to establish bipartisan Congressional approval and support for the invasion. (The invasion also had 80% support from the U.S. public.)

On December 20, 1989, the U.S. launched "Operation Just Cause", sending 27,684 soldiers and 300 aircraft into Panama. The invasion, which involved the unprecedented use of 600 U.S. military women (in non-combat roles) lasted a little over a month and left 23 U.S. soldiers dead and 325 wounded. Over 200 PDF troops and 500 Panamanian civilians died.

"Operation Nifty Package" was a side-operation launched by Navy SEALs to prevent Noriega from escaping during the invasion. He was captured on January 3, 1990 and immediately flown to the U.S.

In 1992, Noriega was convicted of drug trafficking, racketeering, and money laundering and sentenced to 30 years. After 17 years, he was released in 2007... and then sentenced to 7 years in France for similar charges. In 2011, Noriega was returned to Panama to serve time for crimes committed during his rule. In January 2017, he was released and placed under house arrest. He died on May 29, 2017.





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The H. W. Bush Years

1. The Invasion of Panama (continued...)

After the invasion, the PDF were dissolved and President-elect Guillermo Endara was sworn in as President of Panama, where he served until 1994.

The U.S. paid Panama \$1 billion to repair the invasion's damage.

2. The Cold War

On the Cold War front, the Berlin Wall, which had separated Communist East Berlin from Capitalist West Berlin since 1961, fell on November 9, 1989. This led to the reunification of East and West Germany on October 3, 1990.

With communism failing in many countries, Bush wanted to forge a partnership with the Soviet Union.

He believed the Soviets could become an ally, and if that happened, he could reduce the defense budget and save taxpayers *billions*.

Bush invited the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to a 3-day summit on the Mediterranean island of Malta, where they discussed 21 proposals from military cuts to economic aid.

Gorba-who? Here's a quick history of Soviet leaders:

The Soviet Union was founded by Vladimir Lenin (served: 1917-1922), who overthrew Czar Nicholas II. After he died, he was followed by:

Joseph Stalin (served: 1922-1953) - WWII and Korean War.

Nikita Khrushchev (served: 1953-1964) - Cuban Missile Crisis.

Leonid Brezhnev (served: 1964-1982) - invaded Afghanistan.

Yuri Andropov (served: 1982-1984) - dismissed Reagan's UDI.

Konstantin Chernenko (served: 1984-1985) - boycotted '84 Olympics.

Mikhail Gorbachev (served: 1985-1991) - ended Cold War.





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2. The Cold War (continued...)

In the late 1980s, Gorbachev tried to change society with his policies of *glasnost* (Russian for "openness") in political and cultural affairs and *perestroika* (Russian for "restructuring") in economic affairs. Gorbachev's policies prepared the country for democratic reforms and helped ease tensions with the U.S.

Gorbachev and Bush worked together to help bring the Cold War to a smooth end. In fact, the Cold War ended like an old man easing into a bathtub, a far cry from the nuclear standoff that might have been expected only a few years earlier.

The end started when, from August 20-31, 1991, 8 of the republics that made up the Soviet Union (Estonia, Latvia, Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia, Kirgizia, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan) joined Lithuania and Georgia in declaring their independence. Other republics followed in September and October.

On December 25, 1991, Gorbachev announced his resignation as leader in a solemn TV address. The Soviet Parliament passed its final resolution, acknowledging the dissolution of the Soviet Union, on December 26th. On December 31st, the Soviet Union ceased to exist.

After Gorbachev's abdication, Boris Yeltsin served as the 1st President of a non-communist Russia from 1991-1999.

3. The Persian Gulf War

President Bush is best remembered for being in office during the Persian Gulf War (1991).

In August 1990, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein launched an attack on neighboring Kuwait, seizing control of the tiny country... and 10% of the world's oil. Hussein then sent Iraqi forces to the border of Saudi Arabia, which controlled 25% of the world's oil.

With 10% of the world's oil in Iraq, this now put Saddam in striking distance of controlling almost half of the world's oil.





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3. The Persian Gulf War (continued...)

Throughout the Cold War, Iraq had been an ally of the Soviet Union, and there was always some friction between it and the U.S. The U.S. disliked Iraq's support for many Arab and Palestinian militant groups. This resulted to Iraq being designated a terrorist nation in December 1979. (Saddam Hussein had become the country's leader in July of the same year.)

In 1980, Iraq invaded Iran, beginning the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988). The U.S. remained officially neutral but did provide some resources, political support, and "non-military" aircraft to Iraq. In 1982, Iraq was removed from the list of terrorist nations, and the U.S. sent several billion dollars worth of economic aid, military intelligence, and special operations training. The U.S. never sent any military arms to Iraq (although the U.S. was sending secret weapons to Iran in the "Iran-Contra Affair").

A ceasefire brokered by the United Nations ended the deadliest conventional war ever fought between regular armies of developing countries. Both sides claimed victory in the Iran-Iraq War that resulted in over 1 million casualties and left more than 100,000 civilians dead. Both sides used ballistic missiles, and Iraq used several chemical weapons against Iran, including the use of nerve gas that killed 20,000 Iranian soldiers on the spot. In total, Iraq caused over 100,000 casualties with its chemical warfare.

At the end of the conflict, Iraq was heavily in debt, with most of its debt owed to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Iraq pressured both countries to forgive the debts, but they refused.

Iraq then accused Kuwait of exceeding its OPEC quotas for oil production. In order for OPEC to maintain its desired price of \$18 a barrel, discipline was required of all nations in OPEC. If a country overproduced, the result would be too much supply (compared to demand), and a drop in the cost per barrel of oil.

In 1989, oil dropped to \$10 a barrel, which resulted in each OPEC nation losing \$7 billion. Iraq could ill-afford to lose money.





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3. The Persian Gulf War (continued...)

Iraq also historically viewed Kuwait as Iraqi territory, dating back to the days of the Ottoman Empire. In 1922, and after World War I (in which the Ottoman Empire was on the losing side), England drew a border between Iraq and Kuwait that made Iraq landlocked and with no access to the Persian Gulf. Iraq desperately wanted access.

Iraq had the world's fourth largest army with 1 million active soldiers and another 850,000 in reserve, 5,500 tanks, 3,000 artillery pieces, and 700 combat aircraft.

Meanwhile, Kuwait had an army of 16,000 soldiers and 40 aircraft.

Within 12 hours, Iraq had taken Kuwait City and forced the Royal Family to flee. In just 2 days, all of Kuwait was under Iraqi control. After the invasion, the Iraqi military took over \$1 billion from Kuwait's Central Bank.

Within hours of Saddam's attack, Bush began lining up European, Asian, and Middle Eastern allies, many of them suspicious of one another but nevertheless willing to work together to stop Saddam. Bush wanted to create a coalition against Iraq under the leadership of the United Nations, which had brought immediate economic sanctions against Iraq just 4 days after they attacked Kuwait.

On August 9, 1990, Bush ordered the organization of "Operation Desert Shield" in order to prepare U.S. troops to become part of the international coalition in a war against Iraq. This was done in accordance with the Carter Doctrine (which stated that the U.S. would use military force to defend its interest in the Persian Gulf) and out of fear that Iraq's next attack would be on Saudi Arabia.

With the permission of the Saudi Arabian monarch King Fahd, over 500,000 U.S. soldiers were sent to Saudi Arabia in the biggest deployment of soldiers since the Vietnam War.

Bush famously commented, *"This will not stand. This will not stand, this aggression against Kuwait."*





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3. The Persian Gulf War (continued...)

On November 29, 1990, the UN's Security Council passed "Resolution 678", which gave Iraq until January 15, 1991 to withdraw from Kuwait and granted permission to Bush's coalition to use "all necessary means" to force Iraq out of Kuwait after the deadline.

Bush's coalition consisted of forces from 34 countries. As the clock for Iraq's withdrawal ticked down, stories detailing atrocities committed by Iraqi soldiers on the Kuwaiti people began to pour in. This prompted Bush to compare Saddam Hussein to Adolf Hitler.

In December, Iraq offered to end the conflict in exchange for part of Kuwait... but Bush wanted complete withdrawal.

On January 12, 1991, the Democratic-controlled Congress voted to authorize U.S. troops to attack Iraq. (The Senate adopted the resolution by a vote of 52-47; the House vote was 250-183.) The action was the most explicit authorization of war by Congress since the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution approved U.S. military involvement in Vietnam in 1964. Bush said, *"Peace is everyone's goal. Peace is everyone's prayers. But it is for Iraq to decide."*

General Norman Schwarzkopf was selected to lead coalition forces.

January 15th came... and went.

The Persian Gulf War (called "Operation Desert Storm") began with an extensive aerial bombing campaign. For 42 consecutive days and nights, hundreds of aircraft and bombers from different nations subjected Iraq to one of the most intensive air bombardments in military history. More than 4,000 bombing runs were flown in the first week, and the pace continued for another 4 weeks leading up to the ground invasion phase of the war.

In all, the coalition flew over 100,000 sorties (missions) and dropped 88,500 tons of bombs, successfully crippling Saddam's Air Force, its anti-aircraft facilities, its command and communication buildings, and military targets throughout Iraq and Kuwait.





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3. The Persian Gulf War (continued...)

Iraq's air-defense system proved ineffective, and the coalition suffered only 75 aircraft losses (with just 44 due to Iraqi action) in the 100,000 sorties flown.

Of particular concern, however, was destroying Iraq's Scud missile launchers. (Scuds were tactical ballistic missiles developed by the Soviets, who sold them during the Cold War to any country that wanted them.)

Five hours after the first attacks, Iraq's state radio broadcast, "*The dawn of victory nears as this great showdown begins!*" Iraq fired 8 Scud missiles into Israel the next day in an attempt to provoke a military response from them. Saddam hoped that many Arab countries would withdraw from the coalition rather than fight alongside a common-enemy in Israel.

Following the attacks, Israeli Air Force jets were deployed to patrol the northern airspace with Iraq. Israel prepared to retaliate, as its policy for the previous 40 years had always been retaliation. However, Bush pressured Israel's Prime Minister to not retaliate and to withdraw his jets. The U.S. promised to deploy surface-to-air Patriot missiles to defend Israel. (By the end of the war, Iraq fired a total of 42 Scuds at Israel, killing 74 and wounding 230 Israelis.)

In addition to the attacks on Israel, 47 Scuds were fired into Saudi Arabia, killing 1 and injuring 78 Saudi civilians. In both Israel and Saudi Arabia, the governments issued its civilians gas masks in fear Iraq would be using missiles with chemical or biological warheads.

During the opening phase of the war (and then throughout the duration of the conflict), the U.S. used new weapons that had been developed during the Reagan-Bush military buildup of the 1980s. This included Tomahawk missiles (long-range, jet-powered, and fired from submarines) and F-117 stealth bombers (an aircraft with faceted-angle surfaces to make it hard to detect, or "invisible", on radar).





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3. The Persian Gulf War (continued...)

On February 24th, and after weeks of intensive bombing, U.S.-led coalition forces launched a ground invasion of Kuwait and Iraq. The ground campaign (called "Operation Desert Saber") would feature three of the largest tank battles in U.S. history. Iraq lost over 3,000 tanks and 2,000 other combat vehicles during these battles.

Iraq's outdated and poorly supplied soldiers were rapidly overwhelmed. By the end of the first day, the Iraqi Army had effectively folded and 10,000 of its troops were prisoners.

After less than 4 days, Kuwait was liberated, and a majority of Iraq's armed forces had either been destroyed, surrendered, or retreated. However, as Iraqi troops left Kuwait, they set 737 of Kuwait's oil wells on fire. The fires burned out of control for 10 months to the tune of 6 million barrels of oil lost each day. The last fire was extinguished in November 1991.

Soon, a long convoy of retreating Iraqi troops formed along the main Iraq-Kuwait highway. They were bombed so extensively by coalition air forces that it came to be known as the "Highway of Death". Thousands of Iraqi soldiers were killed. Specifically, U.S., British, and French forces continued to pursue the Iraqi troops over the border and back into Iraq, eventually moving to within 150 miles of Baghdad (the capital) before withdrawing back to Iraq's border with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

One hundred hours after the ground campaign began, on February 28th, Bush declared a cease-fire.

Critics called Bush's decision to halt the invasion after 100 hours "premature" since thousands of Saddam's best troops were allowed to escape. Bush was also condemned for not driving Iraqi forces all the way back to Baghdad and removing Saddam from power.

Bush defended his decision by restating that had never made Saddam's removal the objective. He wanted to keep U.S. casualties low and return control of Kuwait to Kuwait. He had achieved both goals.





Unit #6: The U.S. of Awesome

The H. W. Bush Years

3. The Persian Gulf War (continued...)

In 1992, the Secretary of Defense during the war, Dick Cheney, agreed with Bush, stating, *"I would guess if we had gone in there, we would still have forces in Baghdād. We'd be running the county. How many additional American casualties is Saddam worth? And the answer is, not that damned many. We were not going to get bogged down in the problems of trying to take over and govern Iraq."*

The removal of Saddam became the objective of the Second Persian Gulf War, a.k.a. the Iraq War (2003-2011). Bush's son, George W. Bush, was the President... and his Vice President was Dick Cheney.

By war's end, the U.S. had suffered 148 battle-related deaths (35 to friendly fire) with one pilot listed as MIA (his remains were found in August 2009). An additional 145 Americans died in non-combat accidents for a total of 293 total U.S. military deaths. There were 458 wounded. The Persian Gulf War had a 0.21% casualty rate (compared to 6.69% in World War II and 10.66% in Vietnam). However, almost 250,000 of these soldiers would later suffer from "Gulf War Syndrome", a multi-symptom illness, due to toxic exposures.

There were 190 coalition troops KIA and another 379 coalition deaths from friendly fire or accidents. The coalition suffered 776 WIA. Kuwait's armed forces suffered 4,200 KIA, 12,000 captured, and saw 1,000 of its civilians killed.

Estimates range concerning Iraq's casualty numbers. Approximately 50,000-100,000 Iraqi soldiers were KIA. Upwards of 75,000 were wounded and 80,000 captured. There were over 3,500 Iraqi civilian deaths. One Iraqi soldier, who had fought in the Iran-Iraq War, said that his brigade *"had sustained more punishment from allied airpower in 30 minutes than in 8 years of fighting against Iran."*

Iraq accepted the UN Security Council's terms to end the war. Saddam agreed to give up all Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs), pay damages for its 7-month occupation of Kuwait, and submit to UN inspectors. U.S. and British aircraft would also patrol the skies and enforce a no-fly zone over Iraq.





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3. The Persian Gulf War (continued...)

The U.S. spent \$61.1 billion on the Persian Gulf War (\$119 billion in today's money).

The war was heavily televised. For the first time, people all over the world were able to watch live pictures of missiles hitting their targets and fighters departing from aircraft carriers. (This resulted in the war earning the nickname the "Video Game War".) The U.S. made it a point to demonstrate its weapons' accuracy, and the world marveled at this new technological war.

Newspapers and magazines from all over the world also covered the war in great detail. However, U.S. policy regarding media freedom was much more restrictive than it had been in the Vietnam War. Most of the press information came from briefings organized by the military. Only selected journalists were allowed to visit the front lines or conduct interviews with soldiers. Such visits were subject to approval by the military and censorship afterward. This policy was heavily influenced by the military's experience in Vietnam.

Bush enjoyed 89% approval ratings after the war (the highest of any President up to that date). Nearly 9 in 10 Americans approved of the President's overall job performance, including most Democrats. Naturally, his Administration believed this would allow him to coast into a second term.

However, Bush never put the same energy into domestic affairs that he did in the war. This would cost him in the Election of 1992.

Democrats nominated Bill Clinton, the Governor of Arkansas. Clinton attacked Bush as a President who would do nothing to solve the problems of the average citizen.

Texas billionaire Ross Perot complicated the political situation early in 1992 by launching a third-party bid for the Presidency. Running as an Independent, Perot argued that neither Republicans nor Democrats could be trusted to eliminate the deficit and make the U.S. Government more efficient. Many people agreed with Perot.





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Bush also wasn't helped by his bumbling Vice President Dan Quayle, who continually made embarrassing mistakes. Many supporters said Bush needed to drop Quayle from the ticket.

The U.S. also entered a recession in 1990, which lasted 8 months through March 1991. Bush's once high approval rating dropped below 50%. Although the recession was mild relative to other post-war recessions, unemployment continued to rise through June 1992. By July, Bush's approval rating had sunk to its lowest during his Presidency: 31%.

Clinton jumped over the slumping U.S. economy, pointing out that Bush was "out of touch" with Middle America and had lost focus on the economy. Bush's image soon shifted from "conquering hero" to a "politician befuddled by economic matters".

In fact, during the campaign, Clinton's strategist, James "the Ragin' Cajun" Carville, hung a sign outside the office to keep everybody focused on what mattered. It read: *"It's the economy, stupid!"*

Perot attacked Bush's proposal of NAFTA, which he claimed would lead to major job loss. National polling taken in mid-1992 actually showed Perot in the lead, but Clinton experienced a surge when he selected Senator Al Gore, a popular and relatively young Senator, as his running mate.

On Election Day, Perot's impact was massive. Even though he didn't win any Electoral Votes, he pulled enough votes away from Republicans in key states. Had Perot not entered, Bush would have won.

Together, Perot and Clinton managed to unseat a once popular war-time President.

** 1992 ELECTION RESULTS **

<u>Popular Vote</u> (55.2% turnout)	<u>Electoral Vote</u> (270 needed)
Clinton: 44,909,889 (43.0%)	Clinton: 370 (68.77%)
Bush: 39,104,550 (37.4%)	Bush: 168 (31.23%)
Perot: 19,743,821 (18.9%)	Perot: 000 (00.00%)





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William Jefferson Clinton served as the 42nd President from 1993-2001.

During most of his Presidency, "Bill" Clinton maintained strong support from those who had elected him, principally African-Americans, women, and blue-collar workers. Such strong minority support resulted in him being informally called "*America's first black President.*"

Among all U.S. Presidents, Clinton was one of the most forceful champions of civil rights for minorities and equality for women. He appointed record numbers of minorities and women as Federal court judges, Cabinet members, and other governmental officials.

Clinton continued to focus on the economy, which had helped him defeat incumbent George H. W. Bush in the Election of 1992.

Clinton believed that the key was reducing spending by the Federal Government in order to eliminate the huge deficits that occurred in the budget each year because the country spent more than it took in from taxes.

In 1993, Clinton submitted a budget to Congress that reduced Federal spending and increased taxes. *Every* Republican in Congress voted against it, but the budget passed in both houses without one vote to spare. Clinton's budget victory reversed the trend of rising deficits, and it stimulated the economy.

Clinton's major policy initiative of his first term (providing health care insurance for *all* Americans) collapsed after a bitter fight in 1994. This failure, along with the tax increase and budget battles with Republicans, hurt Clinton and the Democrats in 1994's Congressional Elections. The Republicans won a majority in both the House and Senate in what was dubbed the "Republican Revolution". In one of the biggest upheavals in Congressional history, Republicans achieved something they hadn't done since 1952.

(Meanwhile... Republican George W. Bush's election as Governor of Texas laid the groundwork for his Presidential campaign in 2000.)





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Republicans were able to nationalize the election by campaigning on a "Contract with America", a legislative agenda that detailed the actions the Republicans promised to take if they won back Congress (including 8 reforms and 10 bills). Some of these included a balanced budget, tax cuts for small businesses, families, and seniors, term limits for legislators, social security reform, and welfare reform.

The new Republican makeup of Congress dramatically changed Clinton's strategy. Unable to push his own programs, he turned his attention to preventing the Republicans' agenda from becoming law by frequently vetoing their budgets and bills.

In 1995, the Republican-controlled Congress shut down the Federal Government twice, once for 5 days and another for 21 days. Congress and Clinton didn't approve a budget because of conflicts over funding for education, the environment, and public health. The two sides did reach a compromise on welfare reform, but this angered many in Clinton's own party.

Many Federal Government agencies and programs rely on annual funding from Congress. Congress must pass and the President must sign budget legislation for the upcoming fiscal year (which, for the Federal Government, begins on October 1st). In a "shutdown", Federal agencies must discontinue all non-essential functions until new funding legislation is passed and signed into law. Essential services continue to function. Shutdowns cause the disruption of government services and programs, including the closure of national parks and institutions. A major loss of government revenue comes from lost labor from furloughed employees (those that are not called in to work because of the shutdown but who are still paid).

Polling generally showed that most Americans blamed Congressional Republicans for the two shutdowns, and Clinton's handling of them bolstered his successful re-election campaign.

In 1996, Clinton ran for re-election against Republican Senator Bob Dole, the Majority Leader of the Senate, and Ross Perot, who ran as the candidate of the Reform Party.





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Voters were happy with the robust economy, and Clinton claimed credit for decreasing the number of people on welfare. He promised additional reforms if re-elected.

Dole, a World War II veteran, was seen as "out-of-touch" with current issues and lacked the energy of Clinton's campaign.

Perot was not as effective as he had been in 1992, but he did keep Clinton from hitting 50% of the Popular Vote once again.

The Election of 1996, however, saw the lowest voter turnout in U.S. history. Only 49% of registered voters cast a ballot.

** 1996 ELECTION RESULTS **

<u>Popular Vote</u> (49.0% turnout)	<u>Electoral Vote</u> (270 needed)
Clinton: 47,401,185 (49.2%)	Clinton: 379 (70.44%)
Dole: 39,197,469 (40.7%)	Dole: 159 (29.55%)
Perot: 08,085,294 (08.4%)	Perot: 000 (00.00%)

After Clinton's win, Congress was less confrontational.

In 1997, Clinton and Congress worked out several compromises and other reforms aimed at producing a balanced budget. This was a remarkable achievement since the Constitution doesn't require Congress to pass a balanced budget, one in which the projected income to the government through taxes, fees, fines, and other revenues equals or exceeds the amount proposed to be spent. This has led to Deficit Spending and the creation of a National Debt. (Except for a short period during the Presidency of Andrew Jackson, the U.S. has always been in debt.) A Balanced Budget Amendment that would make it unconstitutional for the Federal Government to run annual budget deficits passed in the House of Representatives but came within one vote of passing in the Senate.

Because the Cold War ended before he took office, Clinton didn't face the "Soviets" or anything that posed as great of a threat to national security like every President since Harry Truman had to.





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Still, he had to make difficult decisions about whether to intervene in bloody conflicts in Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo and how to deal with the growth of international terrorism.

Clinton was the opposite of his predecessor George H. W. Bush: he outperformed domestically but was hit or miss internationally.

1. Starvation in Somalia

In January 1991, the Somali President was overthrown by a coalition of opposing clans, starting the Somali Civil War. By September, severe fighting had broken out in Mogadishu (the capital) and spread throughout the country. Over 20,000 people were killed or injured before the end of the year. The war led to the destruction of Somalia's agriculture, which in turn caused massive starvation. Soon many countries began to send food and supplies to Somalia, but 80% of it was hijacked and brought to local clan leaders, who then exchanged it with different countries for weapons. Further starvation resulted in the deaths of 300,000 Somalis. In July 1992, after a ceasefire between opposing clans, the UN sent military observers to watch the food's distribution. "Operation Provide Relief" began in August 1992 when President Bush announced the U.S. would assist the UN relief efforts. When this proved inadequate to stop the massive death and displacement of the Somali people (500,000 were now dead and over 1.5 million had become refugees), the U.S. launched "Operation Restore Hope". This sent troops into Mogadishu to secure the city, port, and airport. On October 3, 1993, 160 U.S. soldiers were sent to capture Mohamed Farrah Aidid, a Somali military and political leader who had driven out the President in 1991. The mission was to last no longer than one hour. Shortly after the assault began, Somali militia and armed civilians shot down two U.S. Black Hawk helicopters. The operation to recover the downed crews turned into an overnight standoff between 160 U.S. soldiers and 4,000 Somali militia. The Battle of Mogadishu resulted in 18 U.S. deaths, 73 wounded, and 1 captured. The Somali militia suffered 1,500-3,000 casualties. Some of the American bodies were dragged through the streets and broadcast on TV stations.

Clinton's response: All U.S. forces were withdrawn from Somalia.





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2. Genocide in Rwanda

Rwanda is a country in Central and East Africa about the size of Massachusetts. Rwandans form three groups: Hutu, Tutsi, and the Twa. Scholars disagree on the origins of (and differences between) the two largest groups, the Hutu and Tutsi. Some believe they are derived from former social castes, while others view them as being races or tribes.

The Berlin West Africa Conference of 1884-1885 assigned the territory of Rwanda to Germany. Belgian forces took control of Rwanda and neighboring Burundi during World War I. Both the Germans and the Belgians considered the Hutu and Tutsi to be different races. They believed the Tutsi were more "white" than the Hutu and were, therefore, racially superior and better suited to carry out colonial administrative tasks. In 1935, Belgium introduced identity cards labeling people as either Tutsi (good), Hutu (bad), or Twa (meh).

From 1959-1961, the Rwandan Revolution saw the Hutu began killing the Tutsi (20,000-100,000 killed and 130,000 forced to seek refuge elsewhere). In 1961, the now pro-Hutu government voted to abolish the Belgian monarchy. Rwanda was separated from Burundi and granted its freedom by Belgium in 1962. Cycles of violence followed, with exiled Tutsi attacking and the Hutu retaliating with large-scale slaughter and repression of the Tutsi. In 1973, Juvénal Habyarimana took power in Rwanda in a military coup. Pro-Hutu discrimination continued, but there was greater economic prosperity and a reduced amount of violence against Tutsi. In 1990, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a rebel group composed mostly of Tutsi refugees, invaded Northern Rwanda, initiating the Rwandan Civil War (1990-1993). Neither side was able to gain a decisive advantage in the war, and a cease-fire was declared in 1993.

The cease-fire ended on April 6, 1994, however, when President Habyarimana's plane was shot down by a surface-to-air missile. While it will probably never be known who fired the missile, most observers believe it was Hutu extremists who had been promoting ethnic cleansing over the radio airwaves. Habyarimana's death was the catalyst for the Rwandan Genocide, which began a few hours later.





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2. Genocide in Rwanda (continued...)

Over the course of approximately 100 days, between 500,000 and 1 million Tutsi (or 70% of the entire Tutsi population) were killed in well-planned attacks on the orders of the interim Hutu government. Many Twa were also killed, despite not being directly targeted. The Tutsi RPF restarted their offensive and took control of the whole country by mid-July 1994. This sent two million Hutu fleeing to other countries in fear of reprisals. Within Rwanda, a period of reconciliation and justice began, but the scars of the genocide remain to this very day.

Intelligence reports indicate that Clinton was aware that a "final solution to eliminate all Tutsis" was underway.

Clinton's response: The U.S. will not intervene.

Years later, Clinton has referred to his refusal to intervene in the genocide as one of his major foreign policy failings, saying, "*I don't think we could have ended the violence, but I think we could have cut it down. And I regret it.*"

3. Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia

At the end of World War I in 1918, territory that had been a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was merged with the country of Serbia to form the "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes". In 1929, its name was changed to Yugoslavia. In 1941, Yugoslavia was invaded and occupied by the Nazis. Following World War II, Yugoslavia became communist and renamed the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

As communism began to collapse in Eastern Europe in the 1980s, two of its wealthier republics (Croatia and Slovenia) seceded. Nationalism and ethnic differences among the republics soon doomed the country. In 1992, Yugoslavia began to disintegrate and eventually dissolving into five new countries: Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, and Serbia & Montenegro. Each of these new nations had large Serbian minority populations whose goals were to secede and unite with all of the other Serbs.





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3. Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia (continued...)

The leader of Serbia & Montenegro, Slobodan Milošević, wanted this to happen in order to form a "Greater Serbia". Such aspirations of Serbian nationalism (which started World War I in 1914) led to civil war in Croatia and in Bosnia & Herzegovina. With support from Milošević, Serb forces seized large parts of both Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina, expelling or killing most non-Serbs in those parts in what became known as "ethnic cleansing". Nicknamed the "Butcher of the Balkans", Milošević's ethnic cleansing resulted in the deaths of over 250,000 non-Serbs in the region.

Milošević was widely blamed for inciting and backing Serb forces and atrocities in Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina. Economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations in 1992 did little to stop him. The war in Bosnia, and Milošević's role in that war, continued until 1995, when the Croatian army took back most of the Croatian territory that Serbs had controlled since 1991 and a joint Croatian-Muslim offensive in Bosnia, combined with NATO air strikes, succeeded in bringing Milošević to the bargaining table.

On November 1, 1995, he represented the Bosnian Serbs in peace talks at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio. On December 14th, he signed the Dayton Peace Accord in Paris (along with the leaders of Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina), bringing the highly-destructive Bosnia War (1992-1995) to an end.

Clinton's response: Deployed U.S. peacekeepers to Bosnia in late 1995 to uphold the Dayton Accords.

Milošević was indicted in May 1999 for "crimes against humanity" and "genocide" for his ethnic cleansings in the Bosnia War and in the Kosovo War (1998-1999). Clinton authorized the use of U.S. force in a NATO bombing campaign ("Operation Allied Force") against Serbia in 1999 for Milošević's actions in Kosovo. (Some 90% of the country's Albanian population was expelled and over 8,600 were killed.) His trial began at The Hague in the Netherlands in 2002, but he died of a heart attack in prison in 2006 before the trial ended. He became the first ever head of state to be tried for war crimes.





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4. Peace Talks in Ireland

The Acts of Union in 1707 united the kingdoms of England (which included Wales) and Scotland to form the Kingdom of Great Britain. In 1801, another Act of Union united it with the Kingdom of Ireland, creating the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. This existed until the Irish War of Independence (1919-1921), which was a guerilla war fought between the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and British forces. This resulted in the partition of Ireland, which divided the island into Northern Ireland (which stayed with the United Kingdom) and the independent Republic of Ireland.

In the late 1960s, an armed conflict between Northern Ireland and Ireland (called "The Troubles") broke out. The key issue was the "status" of Northern Ireland. Unionists/loyalists (who were mostly Protestants) wanted Northern Ireland to remain within the United Kingdom. Irish nationalists/republicans (who were mostly Catholics) wanted Northern Ireland to leave the United Kingdom and join a united Ireland.

Severe violence in August 1969 resulted in the deployment of British troops in what would become the British Army's longest ever operation. They built "peace walls", which were massive barriers in Northern Ireland to separate the Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods. A majority of the walls were constructed in Belfast, the capital of Northern Ireland.

On January 30, 1972, in Derry, Northern Ireland, British soldiers shot unarmed civilians during a protest march, killing 14 and injuring 15. All of those shot were Catholic. Dubbed "Bloody Sunday", it fuelled Catholic and Irish nationalist hostility toward the British Army and further worsened the conflict. Support for and recruitment by the new Provisional IRA took off. In just 1972 alone, the Provisional IRA carried out 1,300 bombings and killed 100 British forces and wounded 500 others, the most notable being "Bloody Friday" on July 21, 1972 in Belfast when 22 car bombs were set off in an hour. This resulted in it being labeled a terrorist group by the United Kingdom. By the end of 1972, the deadliest year in the conflict, 500 people (half of them civilians) lost their lives.





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4. Peace Talks in Ireland (continued...)

Of particular importance was Sinn Fein, an Irish republican political party that was active in both Northern Ireland and Ireland. It was founded in 1905 but split on a number of occasions throughout its history. The party took its current form (it's still around today) in 1970. It has been associated with the Provisional IRA and wants a unified Ireland. It was often said, *"The IRA wages an armed campaign while Sinn Fein maintains the propaganda war and is the public and political voice of the movement."*

In 1984, the IRA set off a 100-pound bomb in a hotel in Britain where prominent politicians were staying, including Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Although Thatcher narrowly escaped the blast, 5 were killed and 31 wounded. The IRA was boosted by large donations of weapons from Libya due to Libya's leader Muammar Gaddafi's hatred of Thatcher. (In April 1986, Thatcher assisted the U.S. and President Reagan in launching air strikes against Libya in retaliation for Libya bombing a West German nightclub that killed 2 U.S. soldiers. During these attacks, one of Gaddafi's children was allegedly killed.)

In 1991, the IRA attempted to assassinate Britain's Prime Minister John Major and his war cabinet by launching a mortar at 10 Downing Street (like our White House).

Clinton's response: In January 1994, he granted a 2-day travel visa to Gerry Adams, the leader of Sinn Fein, so Adams could visit the U.S. and discuss peace. Britain's Prime Minister John Major was furious, saying that the visit would give the IRA a high-profile platform to justify terrorism. While no peace came from the meeting at the time, Adams later stated that Clinton's decision to allow him to travel to the U.S. helped to pave the way for the IRA's truce 7 months later.

In November 1995, Clinton became the first U.S. President to visit Northern Ireland where he saw the divided communities of Belfast and shook hands with Adams. Clinton went on to play a role in the peace talks, which led to the Good Friday Agreement in 1998.





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4. Peace Talks in Ireland (continued...)

On the question of whether Northern Ireland should remain in the UK or become part of a united Ireland, the Good Friday Agreement said there would be no change without the "consent of the majority". This meant that, in the future, staying or leaving could be tested by referendum, called a "border poll", conducted by voters in Northern Ireland and Ireland.

5. Osama bin Laden

Founded in 1988 by a Saudi Arabian citizen named Osama bin Laden during the Soviet-Afghan War, al-Qaeda is a network of Islamic extremists and jihadists. It was designated as a terrorist group by the United Nations, NATO, the European Union, the U.S., Russia, India, and a host of other countries worldwide.

On August 7, 1998, al-Qaeda used truck bombs to attack U.S. Embassies in East Africa, specifically targeting the ones in Kenya and Tanzania. The attacks killed 224 people (including 12 Americans) and injured over 4,000.

Clinton's response: Two weeks later, he ordered "Operation Infinite Reach", a series of cruise missile strikes on targets in Sudan and Afghanistan. Clinton announced the planned strike in a prime time address on TV.

These preemptive strikes by the U.S. took out a factory in Sudan suspected of manufacturing a nerve gas for Osama bin Laden and Afghan training camps in Afghanistan.

However, bin Laden was not present.

"Operation Infinite Reach" was the largest U.S. action in response to a terrorist attack since the 1986 bombing of Libya. U.S. allies and most of the American public supported the strikes, but the targeted countries, Islamic militant groups, and other nations in the Middle East opposed them. The failure of the attacks to kill bin Laden only enhanced his image in the Muslim world.





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5. Osama bin Laden (continued...)

On October 12, 2000, a suicide attack on the USS *Cole* while the battleship was being refueled in Yemen, a country at the southern end of the Arabian Peninsula. Seventeen U.S. sailors were killed and 39 wounded. Immediately after, al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for the attack. In Afghanistan, the bombing was a "great victory" for bin Laden. Al-Qaeda camps filled with new recruits.

Clinton's response: No military action was taken.

Al-Qaeda's role in the bombing was investigated and found to be "increasingly clear" by November 11th. By December 21st, the CIA made a preliminary judgment that al-Qaeda was involved. The outgoing Clinton Administration and incoming George W. Bush Administration have been criticized for failing to respond militarily.

The *9/11 Commission Report* cites one source who said in February 2001, "Osama bin Laden complained frequently that the U.S. had not yet attacked in response to the *Cole*. Bin Laden wanted the U.S. to attack, and if it didn't, he would launch something bigger."

Reports now show that on four separate occasions, Clinton knew of bin Laden's whereabouts. Clinton refused to act, however, because of the potential of killing innocent civilians in the process.

Clinton's reluctance came partially because in May 1999 (during the NATO strikes against Serbia), the U.S. accidentally sent missiles into the Chinese Embassy in Serbia's capital of Belgrade when it meant to hit a nearby Yugoslav supply building. Three were killed and 27 wounded, forcing Clinton to apologize to an outraged China.

Ironically, on September 10, 2001 - the day before the infamous 9/11 terrorist attacks - Clinton spoke at a business conference in Australia. He mentioned how he had nearly gotten bin Laden, stating, "I nearly got him. And I could have killed him, but I would have to destroy a little town called Kandahar in Afghanistan and kill 300 innocent women and children, and then I would have been no better than him."





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6. Iraq

In Clinton's 1998 State of the Union Address, he warned Congress that Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein was building an arsenal of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. Seeking to weaken Saddam's grip on Iraq, Clinton signed the Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 into law. This instituted a policy of "regime change" against Iraq and set aside funds for Iraqi opposition groups in the hopes of removing Saddam from power and replacing his regime with a democratic government. Despite all of this, the Iraq Liberation Act didn't authorize or provide for direct intervention on the part of the U.S. military.

In response to reports that Saddam had failed to comply with the terms that ended the Persian Gulf War in 1991 and had didn't cooperate with UN inspectors, Clinton launched a 4-day bombing campaign named "Operation Desert Fox" in December 1998. The main targets included weapons research and development buildings, air defense systems, weapon and supply depots, and the barracks and command headquarters of Saddam's Republican Guard (elite troops of the Iraqi Army that reported directly to him). One of Saddam's lavish palaces was also destroyed. U.S. and British aircraft in the Iraq no-fly zone attacked hostile Iraqi air defenses 166 times in 1999 and 78 times in 2000.

Clinton's real emphasis in foreign policy was on economic globalization. This means he believed that American security and prosperity depended on removing barriers to trade with other nations and by stabilizing countries with economic troubles.

Despite opposition from his own party, Clinton pushed Bush's North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) bill through Congress in 1993. NAFTA lowered tariffs on trade between the U.S., Canada, and Mexico and allowed them to compete against similar free-trade zones in Europe and Asia. Canada benefited the most (it saw 3.6% economic growth compared to the 3.3% in the U.S. and 2.7% in Mexico). Nearly all trade unions in the U.S. opposed NAFTA, fearing that it would rob U.S. workers of jobs. In September 2018, the 3 reached an agreement to replace NAFTA with the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA). All 3 countries ratified it by March 2020.





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From his first months in office until his last day, Clinton's Presidency was plagued by charges of wrongdoing, most notably Whitewater, Monica Lewinsky, and his impeachment.

1. Whitewater

The longest-running issue was the Whitewater Controversy, a small real-estate project in Arkansas in which Clinton and his wife Hillary had invested during the late 1970s. Before Clinton was elected Governor of Arkansas in 1978, he and Hillary were looking for ways to boost their income. The Clintons were approached by James McDougal and his wife about investing in the Whitewater Development Corporation. The Clintons knew the McDougals from having previously invested in another deal with the couple.

The Clintons and McDougals purchased 230 acres of land to build and sell vacation homes in the Ozark Mountains in Arkansas. Several problems hindered their plan, notably the accessibility of the land and flooding. The real estate venture failed, costing the Clintons \$40,000 in losses. a shady land deal that eventually fell through. Everyone (but the Clintons) did time in jail. Many accused Bill of using his position as President to "make it go away" and hinder the investigation. Clinton was elected Governor of Arkansas a short time later in November 1978. James McDougal entered the banking industry and formed Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan.

In 1986, federal regulators investigated another real estate investment back by James McDougal. The investigation led to McDougal's resignation from Madison Guaranty and the eventual collapse of the bank. Its failure cost the government between \$65-75 million.

Questions surrounding Clinton's involvement in the Whitewater deal grew during Clinton's first term as President, and an investigation into the legality of the Whitewater transaction was launched. Allegations surfaced during the investigation that Clinton pressured David Hale (former president of a small business investment firm) into making a \$300,000 loan for the Whitewater deal. Other allegations said debts incurred during Clinton's campaign for governor were paid off by Madison through McDougal.





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1. Whitewater (continued...)

President Clinton and Hillary were subpoenaed for documents, but the Clintons reported the documents missing. The documents were eventually found and cleared the Clintons of any wrongdoing.

The investigation continued, however, with Kenneth Starr at the helm. James McDougal was sentenced to 3.5 years in jail for fraud and his wife was given two years. James died of a heart attack while incarcerated in Texas. His death was a clear setback to Starr and his prosecutors and reduced the legal risks to the Clintons.

In the end, and after three separate inquiries, insufficient evidence linked the Clintons with criminal conduct.

2. Monica Lewinsky

The real scandal dropped in 1998 concerning a sexual affair Clinton had with a 22-year-old White House intern named Monica Lewinsky.

This was not the first time that allegations of sexual misconduct had been leveled against Clinton. In 1998, and while Clinton was President, he settled a sexual harassment case out-of-court when he paid Paula Jones \$850,000 to drop her harassment case from 1991 (when Clinton was the Governor of Arkansas).

Kenneth Starr, who had been appointed to look into the Whitewater scandal, was the lead investigator again.

Monica Lewinsky grew up in Southern California and graduated from Lewis & Clark College in Oregon in 1995 with a degree in psychology. With the help of a family connection, she got an unpaid White House summer internship in the office of White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta. She moved to DC and took up the position in July 1995. In December 1995, she was promoted to a paid position in the White House Office of Legislative Affairs. In April 1996, Lewinsky's superiors relocated her job to the Pentagon (where she befriended Linda Tripp), because they felt she was spending "too much time around Clinton".





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2. Monica Lewinsky (continued...)

While working in the Pentagon's public affairs office, Lewinsky befriended and then later confided in a woman named Linda Tripp (who was 24 years older than Lewinsky). Lewinsky said she had sexual encounters with Clinton on 9 occasions from November 1995 to March 1997. First Lady Hillary was at the White House while 7 of these "encounters" happened.

After Lewinsky revealed this to Tripp, Tripp (acting on the advice of Lucianne Goldberg, a literary agent/book dealer) began to secretly record her phone conversations with Lewinsky in September 1997. She also convinced Lewinsky to save the gifts Clinton had given her and to not dry clean the semen-stained blue GAP dress in order to keep it as an "insurance policy". Tripp reported their conversations to Goldberg who now urged Tripp to take the tapes to Kenneth Starr and bring them to the people working on the Paula Jones harassment case (which hadn't been settled out-of-court yet). In the fall of 1997, Goldberg began speaking to reporters (including an investigative journalist named Michael Isikoff of the weekly news magazine *Newsweek*) about the tapes.

As the Paula Jones case continued to be investigated, Lewinsky was contacted and submitted an affidavit (a written sworn statement of fact) that denied any physical relationship with Clinton. In January 1998, Lewinsky tried to persuade Tripp to commit perjury (lie under oath) in the Jones case. Instead, Tripp gave the tapes to Starr, who was simultaneously investigating the Whitewater scandal.

Starr was now armed with evidence of Lewinsky's admission of a physical relationship with Clinton, and he broadened the investigation to include Lewinsky and her possible perjury in the Jones case. Additional ammo against Clinton stemming from the sworn deposition the President gave during the Paula Jones' harassment case.

News of the scandal first broke on January 17, 1998 on the *Drudge Report*, a news website launched by Matt Drudge in 1995. The site consists mainly of links to news stories from other outlets about politics, entertainment, and current events.





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The Clinton Years

2. Monica Lewinsky (continued...)

The website reported that *Newsweek* editors were sitting on a story by Michael Isikoff exposing the affair. The story broke in the mainstream press on January 21st in *The Washington Post*. Despite swift denials from Clinton, the demand for answers from the White House grew more intense.

On January 26th, Clinton, standing with Hillary, spoke at a White House press conference and issued a denial in which he said, *"I want to say one thing to the American people. I want you to listen to me. I'm going to say this again: I did not have sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky. I never told anybody to lie, not a single time. These allegations are false."*

The next day, Hillary said on NBC's *Today* morning show, *"The great story here for anybody willing to find it and write about it and explain it is this vast right-wing conspiracy that has been conspiring against my husband since the day he announced [he was running] for President."*

For the next several months, the media debated whether an affair had occurred and whether Clinton had lied or obstructed justice, but nothing could be established beyond the tape recordings because Lewinsky was unwilling to discuss the affair or testify about it.

On July 28, 1998, Lewinsky received total immunity (which would protect her from future prosecution) in exchange for grand jury testimony concerning her encounters with Clinton. She also turned over the blue dress to the Starr investigators, thereby providing DNA evidence that could prove the relationship despite Clinton's official denial.

On August 17, 1998, Clinton admitted in taped grand jury testimony that he had engaged in an "improper physical relationship" with Lewinsky.

That evening Clinton gave a nationally televised statement admitting that his relationship with Lewinsky was "not appropriate".





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The Clinton Years

2. Monica Lewinsky (continued...)

Three days after he testified, "Operation Infinite Reach" launched missiles against al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. The media and some Republicans accused Clinton of ordering the attacks as a diversion.

The entire Clinton-Lewinsky fiasco was far from over.

In his deposition for the Paula Jones harassment lawsuit, Clinton denied having sexual relations with Lewinsky. Based on the evidence (like the blue dress), Starr concluded that the President's sworn testimony was false and he had committed perjury (lying under oath). (It's one thing to lie during a TV interview. It's another to lie under oath.)

3. Impeachment

Clinton's Democratic Party was still in the minority in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. A few Democrats and most Republicans claimed that Clinton giving false testimony and influencing Lewinsky's testimony were crimes of obstruction of justice and perjury... and impeachable.

On December 12, 1998, and after a delay due to "Operation Desert Fox" (the bombing of Iraq), the Republican-controlled House approved 2 of the 4 articles of impeachment sent to it by the House Judiciary Committee.

Clinton would now face a trial in the Senate for grand jury perjury and obstruction of justice. (Remember, the House impeaches and the Senate convicts.) The House failed to approve the other two charges (perjury in the Paula Jones case and abuse of power).

Polls showed that only 44% of the U.S. public approved the impeachment and removal of Clinton. In fact, heading into the impeachment trial, Clinton's job approval rating sat at a robust 62%.

On February 12, 1999, the Senate voted; 67 Senators (or two-thirds) would have to vote "GUILTY" in order to convict and remove.





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For Article 1 (grand jury perjury), 45 Senators voted "guilty" while 55 voted "not guilty". Specifically, the 45 that voted "guilty" were all Republican. Of the 55 that voted "not guilty", 45 were Democrats and 10 were Republicans.

For Article 2 (obstruction of justice), 50 Senators voted "guilty" and 50 voted "not guilty". Specifically, the 50 that voted "guilty" were all Republican. Of the 50 that voted "not guilty", 45 were Democrats and 5 were Republicans.

Although the affair and impeachment sullied Clinton's Presidency, he was able to turn the investigation against the Republicans. Many voters thought the Republicans were being unfair and hypocritical in pressing for impeachment and removal. In fact, Clinton's approval rating climbed to 71% after his acquittal.

In April 1999, about two months after the trial, Clinton was cited by Federal District Judge Susan Webber Wright for civil contempt of court (being disobedient) for his "willful failure" to obey her orders to testify truthfully in the Paula Jones case. For this, Clinton was fined \$90,000 and the matter was referred to the Arkansas Supreme Court. On the day before leaving office, Clinton agreed to a 5-year suspension of his Arkansas law license and to pay an additional \$25,000 fine. He was also disbarred from practicing law before the U.S. Supreme Court.

In the end, Clinton's biggest achievement was eliminating the Federal budget deficit. Clinton's final four budgets (1998-2001) were balanced budgets that actually had surpluses. When he left office in January 2001, the country was running on a surplus instead of a deficit. Historians consider Clinton to be one of the nation's most brilliant economic leaders.

Al Gore, Clinton's Vice President, ran for President in 2000. Gore distanced himself from Clinton and even asked him to not campaign on his behalf. Gore's Republican challenger was George Walker Bush, former Governor of Texas and son of former President George H. W. Bush. Bush won the Election of 2000 despite losing by 543,895 Popular Votes in one of the closest and craziest elections in history.





Unit #6: The U.S. of Awesome

The W. Bush Years

** 2000 ELECTION RESULTS **

<u>Popular Vote</u> (50.3% turnout)		<u>Electoral Vote</u> (270 needed)	
Gore:	50,999,897 (48.4%)	Bush:	271 (79.18%)
Bush:	50,456,002 (47.9%)	Gore:	266 (20.63%)**

** A "Faithless Elector" from Washington, D.C. chose to not cast her Electoral Vote for Gore. She did this as a form of protest against Washington, D.C.'s lack of voting congressional representation. She said her blank ballot was an act of civil disobedience.

How does the Electoral College Work?

As bizarre as that may seem, the election of George W. Bush (even though he lost by over half a million Popular Votes) is totally within the realm of possibility under the current electoral system in the U.S. In fact, this happened 5 times:

- 1824 (John Q. Adams)
- 1876 (Rutherford B. Hayes)
- 1888 (Benjamin Harrison)
- 2000 (George W. Bush)
- 2016 (Donald J. Trump)

To understand how this can happen, let's examine how Presidential Elections work in this country.

For starters, electing a President is indirect. This means your vote does NOT actually determine who wins the White House. Instead, when you vote, you're actually choosing Electors in the Electoral College for your state.

The Electoral College was created by the Founding Fathers because they didn't trust us (and let's be honest, our track record up to that point in time of getting drunk and rioting didn't help us). However, the Founding Fathers most certainly didn't want to have Congress pick the President.

**These notes are being edited to best reflect recent events.
A new version will be uploaded soon.**

